Variation in Representation through Architectural Benefaction under Roman Rule: Five Cases from the Province of Asia c. 40 B.C. – A.D. 68

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Abstract

This thesis explores a new approach to understanding the influence that Rome had on its provinces through a study of architectural benefactors and their buildings. It moves away from the process-centric approach which has been prevalent in scholarship since the mid nineteenth century. Instead, it focuses on individual architectural benefactors, those who would have been directly affected by Roman rule, and how they construct and inscribe public monuments to represent the relationships between themselves, their home town and to the wider Roman world. This approach is more nuanced than earlier approaches, allowing for a more accurate picture of how provincial citizens responded to Roman rule and how they represented how Roman rule influenced their lives. The thesis examines the epigraphic and architectural evidence for two individual, two pairs, and four families of architectural benefactors, active in Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Miletus from *c.* 40 B.C. to *c.* A.D. 68. Where applicable, honorific texts and other literary evidence for the benefactor's lives and works in their home towns and further afield were included. It has found that in a very small sample of architectural benefactors there was scope for variation in how they represented their relationship to Rome and their city. Such a variety of responses in very small geographical and chronological contexts suggests that across the span of the Roman empire homogeneity in responses to Roman rule did not exist and should not be searched for. Such findings have many implications for how scholars understand, and study, the influence of Rome on its provinces. It advocates a move away from models that aim to find a standardised process for examining the impact of Roman rule towards one that focuses more on how individuals and smaller groups of people were affected by, and responded to, Roman rule in the provinces.

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"What I have written, I have written."

(John 19.22)

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1

Introduction

This thesis aims to understand the variations seen in architectural benefaction, and benefactors, in early Roman Asia, and how these variations can be used to understand the influence of Rome on its provinces. For this thesis, architectural benefaction is defined as a contribution towards the construction of the whole, or part, of a public building. The analysis is set within three distinct contexts. The first is the concept of euergetism, or reciprocal generosity motivated by prestige and honour. Most scholars who have included architectural benefaction in their discussions of euergetism see architectural benefaction as a part of it; however, this thesis treats architectural benefaction as a related, but separate process, on a scale far grander, motivated by other factors, and involving a greater level of commitment than other forms of euergetism. Additionally, it will argue that architectural benefactions were influenced by both the social position of their benefactors and their unique physical and socio-historical contexts.

The second context is geographical, focussing on three cities within the province of Asia. Bequeathed to Rome in 133 B.C. upon the death of Attalus III, the province had experienced Roman migration and interactions prior to its annexation. Annexation, and Augustus' reforms of provincial administration in 27 B.C., increased Roman influence and presence in the area, and as a result, interactions between Romans and locals. The role of these interactions in shaping the architectural benefactions of the ethnically diverse province of Asia will be reiterated throughout this thesis.

The third context is the debates surrounding the results of cultural interactions between Romans and non-Romans, and the outcomes of this process. The focus of the discussion will centre on the Eastern provinces, rather than the more often discussed Western provinces. Debates on 'Romanisation' have been refined since they were first outlined in the nineteenth century into less top-down or homogeneous approaches, focusing instead on the involvement of individual indigenous residents and local cultures in shaping Roman identity. This thesis explores how interactions between local elites and the Roman Imperial system impacted upon architectural benefactions. It will focus on how each benefactor's relationship and interactions with Rome affected the way that they were represented through their monuments. It aims to find an effective approach which allows for variations in architectural benefaction. With these variations in mind, it will argue that the way that individual architectural benefactors' responses to Rome's influence were represented can be used to construct an innovative approach to consider its impact on its provinces. The people who experienced Roman rule and influence and the way their public architectural benefactions were used to represent their responses to it will not be fitted into an over-arching, processual concept. Rather, these responses by individual people will be used as evidence to show how Roman influence impacted differently on people, in similar and differing spatial and chronological contexts.

1.1. Architectural Benefaction in the Context of Euergetism

Architectural benefaction has been considered by Arjan Zuiderhoek to be the largest and most expensive form of ancient benefaction, undertaken by only the wealthiest of elites.[1] Architectural benefaction was a complex process, with a number of motivating factors: necessity; imperial preference; love of one's home town; career obligation; ambition for advancement; desire for commemoration are just some.[2] Whilst architectural benefaction was an exclusive practice, deserving of special consideration and treatment, it must be placed within the wider context of euergetism, and the term's proliferation throughout modern scholarship. Paul Veyne's *Le pain et le cirque,* published in 1976, defines euergetism, as:

> "L'évergétisme est le fait que les collectivités (cités, collèges...) attendait des riches qu'ils contribuassent de leurs deniers aux dépenses publiques, et que leur attente n'était pas vaine: les riches y contribuaient spontanément ou de bon gré."[3]

He later adds further clarification:

> "…nous avons vu que l'évergétisme était très différent du don comme première forme de l'echange; il ne permet pas de se procurer des biens et des services

[1] Zuiderhoek 2009, 23.

[2] Ng 2015, 120.

[3] Veyne 1976, 20. Trans. Pearce 1990, 10: "Euergetism means the fact that communities (cities, *collegia*) expected the rich to contribute from the wealth to the public expenses, and that this expectation was not disappointed: the rich contributed indeed, spontaneously or willingly."

> par un échange informel. Il appartient à une autre espèce, celle de dons politiques…qui se rapportent d'une certaine manière aux rapports d'autorité (et l'on n'oubliera pas que ces rapports son en même temps relations de prestige); qui dit don politique dit don symbolique."[4]

Seven years prior to his *magnum opus,* Veyne published *Panem et Circenses: l'évergétisme devant les sciences humaines.* It opens with the following definition:

> "Panem et circenses: chacun sait la place énorme qu'occupe le don dans la vie collective à l'époque hellénistique et romaine. Tout membre de l'aristocratie gouvernante de chaque cité est tenu, par une sorte de morale de classe, de faire à ses compatriotes des libéralités et de donner des plaisirs au peuple, et, de leur côté, le peuple et la cité attendent cela de lui. C'est ce qu'on appelle l'évergétisme."[5]

Veyne's definitions of euergetism focus upon the resultant prestige and honour as motivating factors for undertaking such work. In other words, benefactors undertook their work in order to receive commemoration in one form or another. A factor highlighted in current scholarship on architectural benefaction which differentiates it from other forms of gift exchange in the ancient world is that constructing all or part of a public monument was only partially driven by the desire for personal commemoration.[6] Diana Ng has shown in her study of the use of both buildings and spectacles as means of elite commemoration that despite the scale and physical presence of a public monument, a recurring spectacle had greater commemorative

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[4] Veyne 1976, 185. Trans. Pearce 1990, 70: "…euergetism was very different from the gift as primary form of exchange. It does not enable a person to obtain goods and services through an informal exchange. It belongs to a different species, political gifts, which are bound up in a certain way…with relations of authority (and it is not to be forgotten that these are also relations of prestige). A political gift is a symbolic gift."

[5] Veyne 1969, 785; "Bread and Circuses: everyone knows the enormous place occupied by the gift in the collective life at the Hellenistic and Roman period. Every member of the governing aristocracy of each city is bound by a sort of morale of class to give liberalities to their compatriots and to give pleasures to their people, and the people and the city are expecting this of them. It is what we call euergetism."

[6] Ng 2015, 101.

power.[7] Public buildings, she argues, often remained unfinished by the original benefactor, resulting in other benefactors needing to step in or the work remaining incomplete. They were also subject to neglect and decay and affected by natural disasters and inevitable ageing. The completion of, or repairs to, such monuments allowed others to use the monument to commemorate their work. The monument no longer served solely to commemorate the original benefactor.[8] This thesis will acknowledge the role played by public buildings in the commemoration of their benefactors, but this will not be its primary focus. Instead, it will acknowledge, and develop, another role played by public monuments that Ng discusses. She states that public monuments acted as a means of communication between local notables and the emperor and provided a physical and social environment in which to situate such interactions.[9] This thesis will argue that public monuments acted as a visual representation of the relationship between local elites and both Rome and their local city, and what these relationships can tell us about the influence of Rome on its provincial cities.

Discussions of a concept involving a process of formally exchanging goods and services associated with the motives of prestige and authority pre-date Paul Veyne's definitions. Its earliest use appears to be in André Boulanger's 1923 work *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie.* Here, Boulanger refers in passing to how we know from inscriptions that "'euergetism'", very much in inverted commas, was "a tradition" amongst a "great number of families."[10] This comment follows notes on how rich families in Asia in the first two centuries A.D. had realised that they could work for the good of the people without neglecting the need to sustain their own prestige and glory. This work, Boulanger continues, took the form of holding public offices, bearing the brunt of liturgies, and taking charge of embassies from other cities. Despite listing these examples, which all can be considered acts of 'euergetism,' Boulanger is allusive in his usage of the term, citing examples of euergetic acts rather than defining exactly what he means by 'euergetism,' which he throws into the

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[7] Ng 2015, 121.

[8] Ng 2015, 120.

[9] Ng 2015, 101.

[10] Boulanger 1923, 25: "…et les inscriptions nous font connaître un grand nombre de familles où l''évergétisme' était une tradition."

discussion in a somewhat loose manner. He does not include financing public buildings as an act of euergetism, but does indicate that the main evidence for euergetism are honorific inscriptions,[11] evidence which became the foundation for most later work. Aside from this, Boulanger's under-developed remarks concerning "euergetism" offer very little to the discussion of the usage and development of the term in scholarship, other than that it was in use in the 1920s.

A generation later, Henri-Irénée Marrou's work *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité* discusses the term in more detail. Like Boulanger, Marrou's work focusses on the epigraphic evidence for euergetism, and almost all the examples of euergetism he provides come from honorific inscriptions.[12] In the context of problems faced by the Hellenistic education system he argues that a solution was to appeal to the generosity of individuals for financial support. He states that this was an appeal to the benefactor, or Εὐεργέτης. Εὐεργέτης, he suggests, was a title of renown; was much sought after; and granted through honorific decrees. The desire for this title led to the emergence of a system known as euergetism, in which an individual provided the city with sufficient capital to improve, or at least maintain, a particular service, something that continued throughout the Hellenistic and into the Roman periods.[13] Marrou's discussion of euergetism, and how a benefactor gained the title εὐεργέτης, is shaped by his focus on the Hellenistic education system, so architectural benefactions are not discussed as being part of euergetism. Instead, his focus is on monetary donations. Marrou's brief discussion has more to offer than Boulanger's. He interprets Εὐεργέτης as a desirable title, whose prestige encouraged others to act in a similar manner. Marrou does not say that those Εὐεργέται would have called what they were doing 'euergetism', but he does suggest that competition for an obtainable honour was the motivating factor behind a process which arose out a period of crisis in the Hellenistic period.

When Marrou was taking a linguistic approach to gift giving and beginning to define the modern concept of euergetism, Marcel Mauss took an anthropological approach.

[11] Boulanger 1923, 25-6.

[12] Domingo Gygax 2016, 3.

[13] Marrou 1950, 160.

Studying those whom he considers "primitive tribes",[14] he argues that there is no such thing as a "free gift," and that a gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity between the giver and the receiver is a contradiction.[15] He discusses the concept of potlatch, where each gift is part of a system of reciprocity that engages the honour of both giver and receiver. The main rule is that every gift must be exchanged in a way that sets up a continual cycle of exchanges within and between generations.[16] Within this system gifts and good works must be rewarded in accordance with how generous, or on what scale, the original gift or work was. If a giver is not rewarded accordingly, they will not give again in the future.[17] Furthermore, gifts must be returned because any unreciprocated gifts make the person who has accepted it inferior to the giver, particularity when they have accepted the gift with no thought of returning it.[18] The system of potlatch, despite its "primitive" origins in the culture of the Native Americans shares many characteristics with the modern concept of euergetism. Gifts must be reciprocated, and the giving and receiving of gifts are inextricably linked to the concept of honour within the respective societies. In the context of the Greco-Roman worlds, this process of gift giving, and exchange is most akin to the practices seen amongst the Homeric rulers. At that time, Hans van Wees argues, there were no gifts given without proper recompense.[19] This gift exchange, whether through the provision of feasts, distribution of booty or the construction of monuments, has been considered a forerunner of the later process known as euergetism, but not euergetism itself. The system of potlatch is too primitive a system to apply to the complex nature of Roman architectural benefaction, but Mauss' study still has its worth in this context. By taking an anthropological approach to gift giving, rather than relying on textual evidence, Mauss importantly differentiates between the language associated with the practice and the practice itself: "Men had learnt how to pledge their honour and their

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[14] Mauss 1950, 48.

[15] Douglas 1990, ix-x.

[16] Douglas 1990, xi.

[17] Mauss 1950, 99.

[18] Mauss 1950, 83.

[19] Finlay 1977; van Wees 1992, 222.

name long before they knew how to sign the latter."[20] This can be applied to and used to critique many modern scholars' approaches towards benefaction. Though he discusses historical societies more generally, Mauss' observation implies that practices are often far older than the language used to the describe them. The presence or absence of specific terminology in the written record or the written record itself is not a definitive indicator of whether a practice occurred; complex social dynamics, customs and exchanges were established long before written communication. Although most of the evidence for benefaction in Greek and Roman society comes from written sources, they should not be used to define categorically what 'euergetism' is and when the practice began.

In Anglophone scholarship, euergetism is discussed in several articles from the late 1950s onwards. In his 1958 article A. F. Norman, in relation to elites becoming more involved in administration under Valentinian, states:

> "…in the emergence of the principales the survival of the Hellenic conception of the euergetes (is seen). If so, it was self-interested euergetism on the part of both government and principalis; for the government seems to have found it a more congenial and convenient method of local administration, and the principalis made the most of his opportunities in order to secure still more."[21]

Norman's use of the word euergetism, without definition, implies that it was a familiar concept in scholarship eighteen years prior to the publication of *Le pain et le cirque.* The concept of being an *euergete* is an ancient one, and whilst it is unspecified, the separation of being an *euergete* and self-interested euergetism suggests that Norman considers the latter as a neologism rather than an ancient concept. Norman's application of the modern term euergetism to the fourth century by referring to the continuation of the concept of the Hellenistic *euergetes* shows that, in the mindset of scholars pre-Veyne, euergetism was not tied to a specific area or period. The idea, although now being challenged, that euergetism only existed between c. 300 B.C. and A.D. 300 has its origins in, and was a result of, *Le pain et le cirque.* Furthermore, to a greater extent than Boulanger and Marrou, Norman stresses the fact that elite

[20] Mauss 1950, 48.

[21] Norman 1958, 83.

participation in public giving occurred with their own interests in mind, and what they could gain from it.

Five years prior to the publication of *Le pain et le cirque* A.B. Breebaart in his article *Plutarch and the Political Development of Pericles* makes the following observation:

> "In chapter nine he (Plutarch) closely follows Aristotle in making Pericles' moves in democratic radicalism a response to Cimon's euergetism and ensuing popularity."[22]

This statement, in the same way as Norman's, confirms that elite participation in public life and good works were undertaken with what the benefactor could gain in mind. Yet, despite the prevalence of civic benefaction when Plutarch was writing and Breebaart's observation, there is no mention of euergetic language when describing the works that both Cimon and Pericles performed:

> "In the beginning…pitted as he was against the reputation of Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was the inferior in wealth and property, by means of which Cimon would win over the poor, - furnishing a dinner every day to any Athenian who wanted it, bestowing raiment on the elderly men, and removing the fences from his estates that whosoever wished might pluck the fruit, - Pericles, outdone in popular arts of this sort, had recourse to the distribution of the people's own wealth."[23]

There are two different types of benefaction occurring here, both of which had the same aim, to win over the Athenians. Cimon used his own wealth, while Pericles distributed public money, with the latter gaining more favour from the *demos* for his actions.[24] Whilst Pericles' actions ultimately gained him the prestige and favour he desired, it is Cimon's actions not his that would have most associated with the civic euergetism of the second century A.D. Cimon's generosity, and the motivations behind it, is a clear example of what modern scholars would consider to be euergetism, as Breebaart did. These two early Anglophone discussions of euergetism indicate how the process was far from static, varied over time, and its occurrence should not be

[22] Breebaart 1971, 264.

[23] Plut. *Per.* 9.2.

[24] Stadter 1989, 112.

determined by the presence of language to describe it. Cimon's good works in fifth century Athens and the involvement of the notables in administration under Valentinian were both acts of giving which resulted in increased power and influence for both parties. Therefore, throughout antiquity there was no such thing as a free gift, and political gifts were always tied into a formal process of exchange and reciprocity; euergetism.

Breebaart's article, perhaps inadvertently, questions the origins of euergetism; a theme which has become prevalent in modern studies of the concept:

> "Plutarch viewed Pericles' building program in light of civic euergetism characteristic of his own days. Plutarch is so carried away by his enthusiasm for the Periclean monuments that from a 'demagogue' Pericles becomes the great benefactor of the community."[25]

Breebaart criticises Plutarch's interpretation of Pericles' building activities, and in doing so, questions whether euergetism, particularly one must note, architectural euergetism, occurred as early as the fifth century B.C. Plutarch, writing in the first and second centuries A.D., Breebaart suggests, applies a familiar concept to activities which would have been designated as euergetic in his own time, but may not have been in the fifth century. However, as Mauss suggests, the presence or absence of language to describe a practice does not indicate the presence or absence of the practice. Whilst Pericles' building projects may not have been designed as great acts of public generosity, they were not solely aggrandising. They would have strengthened Athens' position in addition to emphasising Pericles' influence in the city. Five years prior to the publication of *Le pain et le cirque,* the definition and development of euergetism were themes already present in Anglophone scholarship.

Veyne's definition of euergetism implies a straightforward process, reciprocal generosity aimed at promoting one's status or influence. Its name is derived from the presence in the epigraphic record of derivatives of the words εὐεργέτης, benefactor, εὐεργετέω, to be a benefactor, and εὐεργέτημα, a benefaction. The chronological time frame Veyne ascribes to the occurrence of euergetism, between *c.* 300 B.C. and *c.*

[25] Breebaart 1971, 269.

A.D. 300,[26] coincides with the time when fellow citizens honoured their civic benefactors. Most scholars follow Veyne's dating.[27] Within the parameters of his definition, Veyne defines three different types of euergetism: free euergetism or patronage; euergetism *ob honorem*, that which is associated directly with the public office which the benefactor held; and funerary euergetism.[28] Within these sub-types, many different types of gift can be placed. Examples of "euergetism" include but are not exclusive to monetary donations; building or repairing public monuments; and the provision of food or games. Furthermore, these gifts can either be one-off donations, recurring, say annual, donations for the duration of the benefactor's lifetime, or tangible gifts, such as a public monument or other construction project. The primary condition for euergetism to occur, Veyne states, is the establishment of a regime of notables who saw public office as their responsibility, and as part of the regime, gave pledges or paid the price for it.[29] Although Veyne recognises that the exchange of gifts and honours occurred in ancient societies, he maintains that no exchange between the giver and the *demos* could explain the causes of euergetism. In Veyne's view, euergetism is not a consequence of an exchange of gifts for power.[30] When discussing the role of euergetism in ancient society, Veyne stresses that the driving factor behind it was not simply a class distinction, the rich giving to the poor to symbolise their authority and prestige, but what he calls "social distance".[31] This concept, fundamental for his argument,[32] not only encompasses the gap between rich and poor, but also other divisions in societal relations: foreigner and local; ruler and subject, regardless of wealth. Despite not discussing the linguistics of the word,[33] Veyne argues that the term euergetism does not originate in antiquity.[34] Regarding chronology, Veyne maintains that the process known as euergetism cannot be extended back to the Classical period, as at that time, the main reason for an individual's act of generosity was their

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[26] Veyne 1976, 209.

[27] Domingo Gygax 2016, 3.

[28] Veyne 1976, 209.

[29] Veyne 1976, 256.

[30] Domingo Gygax 2016, 4.

[31] Veyne 1976, 47.

[32] Andreau, Schmitt and Schnapp 1978, 316.

[33] Andreau, Schmitt and Schnapp 1978, 310.

[34] Veyne 1976, 20.

obligation to their city. What led to euergetism was the establishment of a political regime centred around the city's 'notables,' and, after the establishment of the Hellenistic kingships, the decline of the city as a player on the international stage. This meant that officials worked at a more local level than previously, so such acts of generosity also became more focused on a local level.[35] The consequent increases in 'social distance' between various groups of people within society resulted in the need for public generosity. However, as will be discussed in more detail below, the process now known as euergetism pre-dates the fourth century B.C.

Whilst Veyne's study looks at euergetism in both the Hellenistic and Imperial period, he states at the outset his intention to ignore the benefactions of Roman notables, focusing instead on a comparison between the work of Hellenistic notables and those of the emperor.[36] Unlike Veyne's work, this thesis bridges the gap between the Hellenistic and Roman periods by engaging with the architectural benefactions of elite members of both late-Hellenistic and early-Roman provincial cities. Throughout his study, Veyne focuses on the relationships fostered between giver and receiver, and benefits that each party received from the exchanges involved in euergetism. *Le pain et le cirque* focuses to a far lesser extent on different types of benefaction and the meaning of different gifts; Veyne places next to no emphasis on architectural benefaction as a form of exchange of goods and services in exchange for prestige and honour. A public monument would have been a gift of great value to the recipient city, but its neglect in the twentieth century's fundamental work on benefaction highlights the differences between it and other forms of benefaction and warrants a study of architectural benefaction as a separate entity.

Since *Le pain et le cirque* was published, Veyne's definition of euergetism has been addressed by several scholars. In his review of the work, Fergus Millar simply translates euergetism as "public philanthropy,"[37] and in theirs', Jean Andreau, Pauline Schmitt and Alain Schnapp maintained that unless a gift was directed towards the whole of the city, there was no euergetism.[38] They continue by stating that,

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[35] Domingo Gygax 1994, 121 in reference to Veyne 1976, 256-8 ; 271.

[36] Veyne 1976, 1.

[37] Millar 1978, 365.

[38] Andreau, Schmitt and Schnapp 1978, 309 referring to Veyne 1976, 190.

linguistically, there was no separation, either by Greek or Latin authors, of public and private donations, implying that all giving, regardless of motivation or reward, was considered in the same terms.[39] In his review Chevallier defines euergetism as "the antithesis of the gift as primitive form of exchange."[40] In other words, for a gift exchange to be considered an act of euergetism it must be part of a formalised process, with rules that must be followed, and reciprocated accordingly. Furthermore, particularly pertinent for this thesis, Chevallier also states that euergetism carried out by Greeks and Romans was different, the latter's motivations being not only an expression of superiority and gaining from performing civic duties, but also a desire to rule in good conscience.[41] These observations emphasise that euergetism was not only a formal process of giving by an individual to a wider group, in exchange for reward, but also that it was motivated by a desire to do good. Although such a desire would have been a motivation to give benefactions, there are far more which must be considered, as will be discussed below.

Philippe Gauthier, in his seminal work, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs,* considers euergetism differently from Veyne, describing it as action, influence and prestige of the leaders, citizens and foreigners in the cities.[42] Within his work, he studies the phenomenon of benefaction over the period from about 400-100 B.C., with particular focus on change and continuity across the whole period, rather than from the Classical to the Hellenistic periods, and from the high, and low, Hellenistic periods.[43] Unlike Veyne, Gauthier does not stress the need for reciprocity in the process; though he goes on to say that the eponymous Greek terms are found generally in the context of recognising or affirming the outstanding services of a person towards a city.[44] Rather, he seems to consider it a phenomenon characterised by the granting of honours. Focussing, like his scholarly predecessors, on honorific inscriptions, his study pays more attention to the honours received than to how, and why, benefactions

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[39] Andreau, Schmitt and Schnapp 1978, 310.

[40] Chevallier 1978, 226.

[41] Chevallier 1978, 229.

[42] Gauthier 1985, 1 ; "l'action, l'influence et le prestige des notables, citoyens et étrangers, au sein des cites."

[43] Rousset 2014, xx.

[44] Gauthier 1985, 7.

were made to the city.[45] This approach has been met with criticism, particularly by Guy Rogers. Gauthier, he argues, analyses euergetism, including the foundation of festivals such as that of Demosthenes at Oenoanda, almost purely from an institutional point of view. However, the lack of independent information about many institutions that influenced euergetism exposes the dangers of Gauthier's approach. Gauthier also loses track of a question that Rogers considers critical for interpreting a benefactor's motivations, that of whether they were citizens or foreigners.[46] This is a crucial oversight, as the motivations to give to one's own city, and to another city could have been very different.

Erich Gruen remarks how Gauthier tries to explain away the epigraphic references to citizen *euergetai*, referring to such instances as either unofficial designations, a different type of institution, or the result of "particular circumstances."[47] This, Gruen adds, "borders on special pleading."[48] A further criticism of Gauthier is that he saw benefactions as part of a competition for institutionally awarded titles and privileges, as if public giving existed outside the social customs and beliefs that gave the titles and privileges symbolic value.[49] Rogers refutes this approach, stating that an analysis of euergetic foundations in terms of the institutions involved should be the first step in the interpretation, not the last as in Gauthier's analysis.[50] The festival of Demosthenes at Oenoanda is an example of a different kind of euergetism, in a different time to those that Gauthier considers, and shows that even as late as the second century A.D, euergetism was not a fixed process. This thesis argues that benefactions were inseparable from, and influenced by, the socio-historic context in which it occurs. Public giving cannot be separated from the wider society in which it occurred. Furthermore, Gauthier's reward-driven approach lacks rigorous discussion into different forms of benefaction, and, consequently, how and why benefactors gave public monuments.

[45] Domingo Gygax 2016, 3-4.

[46] Rogers 1991, 98.

[47] Gruen 1987, 230; in reference to Gauthier 1985, 15-16, 33-9.

[48] Gruen 1987, 230.

[49] Rogers 1991, 98.

[50] Rogers 1991, 99.

The flaws in Gauthier's over-reliance on the language of euergetism as indicators of origins and development of practice are illustrated in a text from Didyma. The text dates from 41/0 B.C. and it in, Eudemus, a resident of Miletus, claims he was descended from a long line of *euergetai*, dating back to at least the third century B.C.:

> [π]ροφήτης Εὔδημος Λ[έο]ν[τος?, κατὰ ποίη]-
> σιν δὲ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλωνίου
> [τ]οῦ Πολίτου Τρυβλίχου, μητρὸς δὲ Ἡδήας
> [τ]ῆς Εὐανδρίδου, πατριᾶς Φιλοστιδῶν,
> δήμου Ἀργασέων, ἀπόγονος ὑπάρχων
> [κ]αὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς προγόνων
> εὐεργετῶν τοῦ δήμου, τοῦ μὲν πάππου
> μου Εὐανδρίδου εὐεργέτου κεχρηματισμέ-
> [ν]ου ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Παυσανίου ἐνιαυ-
> τῶι, τοῦ δὲ προπάππου μου Ἀλεξίωνος εὐερ-
> [γέ]του προσηγορευμένου ἐπὶ στεφανηφ[όρου]
> [Σ]ιμιάδου τοῦ τε πατρὸς το[ῦ π]ροπάππο[υ]
> [Ἑρ]μώνακτος κεχρηματισμένου εὐερ[γέτου]
> [ἐπὶ] στεφανηφόρου Ἐπιγόνου, ἀνηγορευ[μέ]-
> [νο]υ δὲ εὐεργέτου τοῦ δήμου, καὶ Μύρμη-
> [κος] τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἑρμώνακτος ἐπὶ τοῦ ι´ [θε]-
> [ο]ῦ τοῦ μετὰ Θεόδοτον· προσηγορεῦσθαι
> δὲ εὐεργέτας τοῦ δήμου Εὔδημόν τε Θεο-
> δώρου ἐν τῷ γραφέντι ψηφίσματι ἐπὶ στεφα-
> νηφόρου Νικομάχου καὶ πάλιν κεχρηματίσθα[ι]
> τὸν προγεγραμμένον Εὔδημον εὐεργέτην

τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τοῦ ν ι´ ν θεοῦ ̣τοῦ μετὰ Ἱππό-

μαχον καὶ Εὔδημον Θαλλίωνος ἀνηγορεῦσ[θαι]

εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ στεφανηφό[ρου]

Ἑ̣κ̣αταίου τοῦ Φορμίωνος ἐνιαυτῶι· ἐντ̣ε[θαμ]-

[μ]ένων δὲ τῶν προγόνων μου ἐμ μέ[σωι τῷ]

[πρ]ότερον τῶν νέων γυμνασίωι Ἀ[ντήνορος]

[τοῦ] Ξενάρου καὶ Ξενάρου το̣ῦ̣ [Ἀντήνορος καὶ]

[Ἀλ]κιμάχου τοῦ Ἀντήνορος κ[αὶ Ἀντήνορος]

[το]ῦ Εὐανδρίδου· καὶ Εὐανδρίδ[ου τοῦ Εὐανδρί]-

[δο]υ· Ἀλεξινίκης δὲ τῆς Ποσ[— καὶ? —]

[τ]ῆ̣ς Σώου τὸ Λύκειον ἠργα̣[σμένων? — ὥστε]

[με]τέχειν ἐκ τοῦ γένους υ̣[—]

καταστάσεως τῶν ε[—]

τον μέχρι τῶν δύο̣ [—]

[πα]τρὸς Εὐδήμο[υ —]

[Εὐαν]δρίδου π[—]

[…μ]ένου [—]

The prophet Eudemus son of Leon(?) who [by adop]tion Marcus Antonius Apollonius Polites Tryblichus, my mother Hydea daughter of Evandrides, of the Philostidai *patria*, of the Argasiai *deme*, being descended from benefactors on both my father and mother's side, my grandfather Evandrides was entitled benefactor in the year of the stephanephorete of Pausanias', my great-grandfather Alexion was addressed as benefactor the stephanephorete of Simiadas, my great-great-grandfather Hermonax was entitled benefactor during the stephanephorete of Hepigonus, and Murmex the father of Hermonax in the tenth year of Theodotus; was addressed as benefactor of the *demos* Eudemus and Theodorus and was named in the inscribed decree during the

> stephanephorete of Nikomachus Eudemus benefactor of the people in the tenth year after Theodotus; with Hippomachus and Eudemus son of Thallion were called benefactor of the people during the stephanephorete of Hekataia son of Phormion my ancestors were buried in the middle of the former gymnasium Antenor son of Xenares and Xenares son of Antenor and Alkimachus son of Antenor and Antenor son of Evandrides and Evandrides son of Evandrides and Alexinike the daughter of Pos [- -and - -] Sous (?) who having completed the Lyceum(?) [- - - -] share in out of the family [- - - -] appointment of the [- - - -] as far as the [- - - -] father of Eudemus [- - - -][51]

At first glance, it appears that a number of Eudemus' ancestors were given the title *euergetes* by their home town of Miletus. In his discussion of the text, Luigi Moretti concludes that Eudemus' ancestors were early examples of citizen *euergetai,* and that the practice of giving the title *euergetes* to citizens occurred in Miletus far earlier than other parts of the Greek-speaking world.[52] There are several issues with Moretti's interpretation of the text, one of which is that he does not consider the fact that the text dates from several centuries after the death of many of these so-called citizen *euergetai,* at a time when citizens were often rewarded in this way. The awarding of these titles to his ancestors may have been retrospective, indicative of practices that occurred at the time of the text's inscribing rather than at the time the events occurred. Gauthier is highly critical of Moretti's interpretation, arguing that Eudemus' ancestors only "had been" or "called", εὐεργέτης, as opposed to being "registered" as benefactors by the city:

> "Il ne dit pas que ses ancêtres avaient été "inscrits" comme évergètes par la cite, mais seulement qu'ils "avaient été" des évergètes, ou encore qu'ils avaient été "appelés" ou "proclamés" (προσηγορευμένοι) évergètes" [53]

Through this statement, Gauthier's over-reliance on diagnostic language, and unacceptance of any variations in representation of benefactors is clear. He also

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[51] *Didyma* II 259.

[52] Moretti 1977, 5-6.

[53] Gauthier 1985, 13. "It does not say that his ancestors were "registered "as benefactors by the city, only that they "had been" the benefactors, or that they had been "called" or "proclaimed" (προσηγορευμένοι) benefactors."

ignores the presence in lines 8-9 of the phrase εὐεργέτου κεχρηματισμέ[ν]ου "bearing the title *euergetes.*" This suggests two possibilities, either that Eudemus' ancestor was indeed awarded the title εὐεργέτης during their lifetimes, or that Eudemus retrospectively rewarded his ancestor. Eudemus may not have considered it necessary to be as specific about exactly how his ancestors came to be referred to as εὐεργέτης as Gauthier may have liked. As by the first century B.C., when the text was inscribed, the title εὐεργέτης was more regularly bestowed on citizens, its audience were more familiar with the practice than their third century ancestors would have been. Regardless of whether Miletus granted the title *euergetes* to Eudemus' third century ancestors, this text shows not only a number of different ways of representing benefactors but also that a solely linguistic approach to understanding the practice of benefaction is not sufficient to understand a highly complex and varied process.

Gauthier states that the rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms after the death of Alexander the Great led to an inevitable decline in democracy, and an increase in oligarchy in the Greek cities.[54] In Asia, this political system resulted in a small number of citizens having to endure most of the expenses needed to maintain social peace and mediate first with the Hellenistic kings and then, after annexation in 133 B.C., the Romans. The influence that interactions with Rome had on benefactors will play a significant part in this thesis, but increased interactions with the Hellenistic kings allowed citizens to become benefactors through taking part in embassies or other occasions whereby they could gain something of benefit for their city from the kings. These so-called great benefactors were above all others and honoured accordingly by their cities.[55] In the third, and first decades of the second, century B.C. these benefactors were honoured more for their dedication and their generosity. Benefactions were not made to gain popularity, but were part of civic duty, for benefactors were elected, and thus made accountable for their actions, and honoured accordingly.

Gauthier maintains that there was very little difference between early Hellenistic benefactors and the *prostatai* of the *demos* during the Classical period in what they were doing. Thus, they were rewarded in the same way as a benefactor would have been in the fourth century with praise and crowns; statues in the agora; and food in the

[54] Gauthier 1985, 8-9.

[55] Gauthier 1985, 67.

prytany.[56] Here, Gauthier stresses the similarities between benefactors from the Classical period and those of the early Hellenistic period in an attempt to emphasise his argument that the turning point for euergetism was the later Hellenistic period. He argues that the honours that late Hellenistic benefactors received were different. Honorific decrees from this period stress the moral qualities of the benefactor, rather than the honouring, and thanking, him for his gift. Rather than a zealous and devoted citizen, the late Hellenistic benefactor was a man of special character, which explained his generosity, and made him a suitable candidate to receive exceptional honours.[57] The major flaw in this argument is that honorific texts stressing the moral qualities of the honorand existed long before the late Hellenistic period.[58] Polly Low's study of biographic epigraphy has illustrated that in the Classical period honorific decrees frequently listed the abstract virtues of the benefactor but rarely mentioned the actions of the benefactor.[59] But, in contrast to Gauthier, Low has suggested that a shift in honorific practice occurred from the 320s B.C. The shift that she recognises is not one which prioritises the honouring of the benefactor over thanking him for his gift, but rather one which moved from formulaic, abstract honours and gave precedence to longer, more detailed statements about the reason why the benefactor had been honoured.[60] This trend became more apparent in the third century and beyond, where inscribed texts were as interested in the actions of the benefactor as their character.[61] Gauthier and Low's analysis of shifting patterns in honorific texts shows the fluidity

[56] Gauthier 2011, 323-324.

[57] Gauthier 2011, 328.

[58] One of the most common moral characteristics praised in honorific degrees, particularly in relation to benefactors is εὔνους, showing good sense, or being well-disposed. A search of the PHI texts for instances of this term in Asia Minor returns 31 uses of εὔνους securely dating to before the second century B.C. out of 110 instances: (*SEG* 26, 1222; *CIG* 2671, ll. 29-64; *IStr* 503; *IMagn* 2; *IMagn* 5; *IMagn* 7c; *IMagn* 4; *IMagn* 3; *IMagn* 6; *IMagn* 11; *IEry* 27; *IEry* 21; *IEry* 34; *AJP* 1935, 379-80, no. IV; *Milet* I 3, 138; *IPri* 54.1-34; *IPri* 59; *IPri* 5; PHI Teos 30 (Anadolu 1965, 33-36); *IvE* 2004; *IvE* 1443; *IvE* 1441; *IvE* 1405; *IvE* 1427; *IvE* 1474; *IvE* 1456; *IvE* 1438; *IK* 3,32; *IK* 3,40; *OGIS* 6; *CIG* 3655.)

[59] Low 2016, 154.

[60] Low 2016, 155.

[61] Low 2016, 166.

of the honorific culture of the Hellenistic period and, indirectly, the fluidity of the practices in which benefactors partook to gain these honours.

Gauthier also argues that there were other changes in honorific practices in the late Hellenistic period. He claims that before the second century B.C. the erection of a statue in the agora for a citizen was rare, but by then, benefactors were receiving multiple statues.[62] In his discussion of statues in the agora,[63] John Ma does not specify when statues of citizens begin to appear in agorae, but all the examples which he does give date to the second century B.C. or later, suggesting that Gauthier's assessment is correct. New honours were also introduced, in addition to the multiplication of older honours. These included the city performing thanksgiving sacrifices for the restoration of a benefactor's health, the prescription of exceptional funerary honours, making the benefactor an eponym of a tribe and establishing a cult in his honour.[64] Whilst statues of citizen benefactors became much more common, other honours were still exceptional, and reserved for very prestigious benefactors,[65] so should not be taken as definitive indicators of change.

Gauthier claims that the great benefactors emerged and euergetism arose from the second century B.C. onwards as the kings began to fall.[66] Local elites had to step into the void left by these royal benefactors to provide for their cities as, unlike in the democracies of the Classical period, each citizen was no longer contributing to his city in accordance to his means.[67] He adds that the rise of Roman rule in the Greek world, the evolution of international relations, and economic and social conditions, meant that the great benefactors were given further opportunities to be benefactors of their cities.[68] Whilst Klaus Bringmann's study has shown that there was a decline in royal

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[62] Gauthier 2011, 328.

[63] Ma 2013, 75-79.

[64] Gauthier 2011, 328.

[65] Particularly pertinent for this thesis are the major benefactors Gaius Iulius Zoilus and Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, respectively. The former received multiple statues, and a (probable) funerary monument located in the city, whilst the latter received cultic status and (probably) a games in his honour.

[66] Gauthier 2011, 367.

[67] Domingo Gygax 1994, 121-122 ; Gauthier 2011, 308 ; 317.

[68] Gauthier 2011, 328-329.

generosity from about 150 B.C.,[69] no doubt exacerbated by the fall of the Hellenistic Kings, both Gruen and Rogers are critical of Gauthier's argument that, between the fall of the Greek monarchies and the entry of Rome into the east, euergetism changed in character becoming less of a civil service and more of a kind of government.[70] Rogers simply states that there is very little evidence to support Gauthier's claims.[71] Stefan Cramme states that Roman emperors continued to give material support to the cities within and without their realm to ensure good relations, as the Hellenistic Kings had done,[72] so the fall of the Kings and the decline of their gifts to the cities cannot be the cause of euergetism. The coming of Roman rule in the Greek East may have resulted in further opportunities for prominent citizens to make benefactions to their city, but euergetism is a process with origins far preceding the second century B.C.

Gauthier also claims that the similarities between the Roman system of patronage, particularly the relationship between patron and client, and Greek euergetism allowed the Romans to succeed the Hellenistic kings in relation to the cities without much difficulty.[73] Once again, the city's great benefactors had to shoulder the burden of appeasing a ruling overlord, once a Greek king, now a Roman emperor. However, as Andrew Erskine has argued, the Romans were not considered a substitution for the Hellenistic kings, but as a different kind of benefactor. From the second century B.C., the epithet Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κοινοὶ εὐεργέται begins to appear in inscriptions, but the epithet, κοινός εὐεργέτης, was rarely used in texts relating to relations between Greek cities and the Hellenistic kings, is virtually unknown in the relations between kings and Greek cities or civic institutions.[74] The Hellenistic kings were frequently called *euergetai,* and the use of Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κοινοὶ εὐεργέται might simply be a continuation of a Hellenistic practice. Erskine describes this interpretation as over-simple and underestimating of the complex nature of the Greek response to Rome.[75] By adopting

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[69] Bringmann 1993, 11; He states that from the end of the Attalid dynasty down to 30 B.C., only fifteen pieces of testimony exist and apart from the reconstruction of the Odeion at Athens these deal with rather small donations.

[70] Gruen 1987, 230; Rogers 1991, 98: in reference to Gauthier 1985, 4; 68; 72-5; 147.

[71] Rogers 1991, 98.

[72] Cramme 2001, 25.

[73] Gauthier 2011, 357.

[74] Erskine 1994, 70.

[75] Erskine 1994, 71.

this phrase, the Greeks acknowledged that the Romans were benefactors but that, unlike the Hellenistic kings, they neither had to prove they were Greeks, or were they trying to maintain their position of power.[76] They were merely consolidating their power through benefaction. The creation of a new phrase to describe the Romans, rather than continuing to use the language previously ascribed to the Hellenistic kings suggests that the Greeks did not see the Romans as simply successors to previous rulers as Gauthier seems to imply. Rather, it shows that they have interpreted the power relationship between themselves and the Romans as something new and different, so much so that new rhetoric was required to express it. The epithet "common benefactor" here acknowledges Rome's supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean; they were the common benefactors because there was no-one left to rival them.[77] Having become clients of Rome, civic communities gradually melted into an anonymous crowd of subjects of Rome as Gauthier claims.[78] Gauthier is misguided. As this thesis shall argue, architectural benefaction in the Roman period in the province of Asia was a varied process, carried out by many different people, and that this tangible form of benefaction was used to represent them and their relationship to their home city and to Rome. Had the benefactors of these communities simply melted into the crowd, then there would have been less diversity in architectural benefaction. Benefactors would have all been of a similar social background, they would have built similar, Roman-style monuments, and they would have been rewarded in the same manner as the Roman state dictated. As will be discussed below, this was clearly not the case.

In his 1991 review in response to Brian Pearce's 1990 translation into English of *Le pain et le cirque* Peter Garnsey, after praising Veyne as a scholar, remarks that it provided "an occasion for an assessment of this somewhat neglected work."[79] Aside from Millar's brief review in the Times Literary Supplement, *Le pain et le cirque* had only been reviewed by French scholars, and Garnsey's observations suggest that the original French had had comparatively little impact on Anglophone scholarship. Where Garnsey disagrees most with Veyne is with regards to the role that competition

[76] Erskine 1994, 83.

[77] Erskine 1994, 85.

[78] Gauthier 2011, 358.

[79] Garnsey 1991, 164.

between elites had in euergetic practices. Veyne acknowledges that competition between the elites was an element of euergetism, but unlike Garnsey, would not describe it as power play.[80] Garnsey states that the notion of a power vacuum in the cities is implausible as the relationship between the ruler and ruled in the cities was not empty of power, and that the notables were instrumental in maintaining law and order as these day-to-day responsibilities were entrusted to the city's governing classes.[81] Garnsey, rather pessimistically concludes his review thus:

> "As it stands, his euergetism in its 'pure' form, as essentially symbolic and devoid of functional significance, seems a rather empty concept, and the phenomenon itself of rather less interest than we were led to expect."[82]

Fifteen years after its publication, it appears that *Le pain et le cirque* did not have the same impact in Anglophone scholarship as it did in its Francophone counterpart. However, in the quarter of a century since the publication of the translation, Veyne's work has gained precedence and euergetism is now considered a process full of variations with a complex pattern of development over wide spatial and chronological spans rather than being an empty and uninteresting concept. As this thesis shall argue, the giving of public monuments is just one element of this complex social practice.

Specifically related to Asia Minor is Zuiderhoek's 2009 study *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire Citizens, Elite and Benefactors in Asia Minor.* Zuiderhoek focuses on a range of benefactions, including public buildings, financing games, festivals, food distributions and donations to gymnasia.[83] Although he pays attention to the people involved in the benefactions, his focus is not on their individual roles and how they and their work were represented through the associated epigraphic and architectural material. He also does not consider the diversity of the local elites, considering the upper strata of provincial society as more homogenous than was the case. Rather, his focus is on how elite public giving was a reaction of urban elites to developments within provincial society, particularly the increased oligarchising of

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[80] Veyne 1976, 299; Garnsey 1991, 168.

[81] Garnsey 1991, 168.

[82] Garnsey 1991, 168.

[83] Zuiderhoek 2009, 23-28.

civic life and the growing wealth of an elite minority after the coming of Rome.[84] Zuiderhoek also focuses on the rewards that benefactors received for their work, particularly how such recognition legitimated a benefactor's actions.[85] His work develops and expands upon J. E. Lendon's observations in his 1997 work *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World,* in which he states that the giving and receiving of honour was an integral part of rule and authority in the provinces.[86] This thesis builds on and challenges the work of Zuiderhoek by considering the provincial civic elites as a diverse group, with individuals with their own ideas of prestige and honour, and how this and their relationship to their city and to Rome was represented through their benefactions.

The most recent major study of euergetism is Marc Domingo Gygax's 2016 work *Benefaction and awards in the Ancient Greek City: The Origins of Euergetism.* From the outset, Domingo Gygax defines euergetism as a 'modern' construct first used, as stated above, by Boulanger and Marrou. Domingo Gygax suggests that euergetism gained its popularity as a concept in the years after the publication of *Le pain et le cirque* with the shift in the social sciences and humanities towards a post-modernist paradigm, away from the Marxist one prominent amongst thinkers in the 1970s.[87] Domingo Gygax defines euergetism as:

> "…the phenomenon of the voluntary financing of public buildings, festivals, and city institutions such as schools, as well as the distribution of food or money by individual citizens, foreigners, Hellenistic kings, Roman emperors, and their representatives."[88]

This all-encompassing definition, combining elements of Veyne, Marrou, and Boulanger's definitions, indicates the complex nature of the process. Unlike the others, however, he stresses the voluntary nature of euergetism, separating it from benefactions made in association with civic offices. As the title of his work suggests, Domingo Gygax is concerned with when and how the process of euergetism began

[84] Zuiderhoek 2009, 2.

[85] Zuiderhoek 2009, 113-153.

[86] Lendon 1997, 11-12.

[87] Domingo Gygax 2016, 1-2.

[88] Domingo Gygax 2016, 2.

and developed. Whilst he includes the giving of public buildings alongside other forms of dedication in his definition of euergetism, he does not discuss it, or indeed any of them, as different forms of benefaction. Rather, he combines all forms of benefaction into one all-encompassing process, not considering the different motivations, scales, and financial commitment that each type entailed.

Unlike Veyne and Gauthier, Domingo Gygax maintains that euergetism was an established institution in the Archaic period,[89] when foreigners were honoured with titles, distinctions, and privileges. Euergetic decrees were being issued by the sixth century,[90] but honouring citizens in the same way did not occur until the late fifth century.[91] Veyne, Gauthier and others who place too much emphasis on the presence of the word εὐεργέτης are missing the point. The ancients would not have considered the modern concept of euergetism, derived from the Greek word for benefactor, in the same way.[92] Modern scholars have put a label on a process and attempted to give it defined parameters and a chronological framework. However, an ancient benefactor would not have referred to his actions as euergetism. What an ancient benefactor would have been aware of was the existence of the words εὐεργέτης, εὐεργετέω, and εὐεργέτημα, all of which were used about those who had bestowed a gift on a city. These words may not have entered dedicatory rhetoric until the Classical period, but the phenomenon would have predated this. Although we do not know if the ancients had a specific name for the process of reciprocal benefaction, it seems unlikely that our definitions of euergetism reflected what the ancients thought that they were doing.

[89] Domingo Gygax 2016, 5.

[90] A sixth century inscription from Cyzicus (Nomina I 32) states that two typical euergetic rewards, exemption from taxes (ateleia) and the right to dine (sitêsis) in the prytaneion were granted to an individual named Manes, as well as to the sons of a certain Aesepus and his descendants.; Domingo-Gygax 2016, 58-59 "It also records that "the polis has given the stele to Manes" another characteristic reward of euergetism." A fifth century text from Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 64) states that the city gave a present (dôrea) to Dionysius…[for his valour] in war and his benefactions (euergesiai),…exemption from all taxes (atelia) for him [and his descendants], a citizen's justice, a house in Aulon inside the fortress and a parcel outside.; Domingo Gygax 2016, 59: (this inscription is) "reminiscent of the typical honorific decrees of the Classical and Hellenistic age in terms of expressions and formulations used, as well as the honours and benefactions mentioned."

[91] Domingo Gygax 2016, 44.

[92] Domingo Gygax 1994, 119 ; Ma 2013, 2.

The actions that we have labelled euergetism when they occurred in a certain period did not suddenly begin when εὐεργέτης, εὐεργετέω, and εὐεργέτημα appeared in the dedicatory rhetoric. Instead, these terms are more likely to be indicative of the formalisation of a practice that had been occurring less formally for several centuries.

Throughout their extensive studies on the origins, developments, practice, and rewards for euergetism, Veyne, Gauthier, Domingo-Gygax and others have paid relatively little attention to the specific process of architectural benefaction. A gift that involved a greater commitment of time, effort and money than most others, it could only have been undertaken by the richest in society and only in certain circumstances; there was only limited space within a city for theatres, basilicas and temples for example. These less frequently occurring, more exclusive forms of benefaction, however, presented the ideal opportunities for the representation of the most elite of all benefactors. The way that benefactors were represented through the epigraphy associated with their benefaction is another element of euergetism and euergetic activities largely absent from studies of euergesia to date. This section explores the giving of public monuments in relation to current studies of euergesia, before developing further and building on current work. It argues that architectural benefaction is not only a phenomenon worth considering but also that architectural benefactors were represented through their monuments and associated epigraphy from the Archaic to the Late-Hellenistic period. These representations, and any change in practice will be used as indicators of wider social changes.

Whilst the origins of euergetism may date from sixth century B.C., some of the most famous sixth century B.C. architectural benefactions in what became the Roman province of Asia are not considered as acts of euergetism. These monuments, the building projects of the tyrant Polycrates on the island of Samos, have instead been used as evidence for euergetism being a later phenomenon. Polycrates' building projects were on a grand scale. His aqueduct, described by Herodotus as one of three of the greatest building and engineering feats in the Greek world,[93] the Temple of Hera, the harbour with its quarter-mile breakwater, and the markets[94] would have come at a significant financial cost, and would have had an immediate impact on the

[93] Hdt. 3. 60.

[94] Lewis 2009, 29; 39.

city. A reason argued for the building projects of the tyrants not being considered acts of euergetism or generous benefaction is that their monuments were designed to have no direct benefit to the residents of the city but to promote the tyrants' self-indulgence, and self-aggrandising agenda.[95] The utilitarian nature of most of Polycrates' building projects, bringing water into the city and constructing a place for trading, contradicts this theory, even if the benefits brought to the Samians through these monuments were secondary. Whilst Polycrates initiated these projects, they cannot be used as evidence for him representing his own relationship and interactions with Samos or elsewhere. As tyrant, Polycrates was effectively the embodiment of Samos. These projects were not paid for from Polycrates' personal funds but from state-controlled funds, that he would have had access to, most likely collected from taxation and booty. Thus, these projects served only to represent the relationship between Polycrates and Samos to the wider world, rather than Polycrates' relationship between himself, Samos and the wider world. The interconnectedness of the individual ruler and the state in Samos under the tyranny meant that regardless of the level of involvement Polycrates had in the construction of his monuments, they were very much state buildings. Therefore, whilst these monuments did represent Polycrates, they cannot, and should not, be considered in the same way as later public monuments built by individuals.

Elsewhere, the Pisistratids were responsible for updating the water supply system, including Athens' first aqueduct, and building the Temple of Olympian Zeus. In his *Politics* Aristotle describes the construction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus as a means of keeping the people poor and busy to prevent them plotting.[96] The *AthPol* offers more on the motivations behind the Pisistratids' work, which also included offering loans to people to support themselves:

> "In doing this he had two objects, to prevent their stopping in the city and make them stay scattered about the country, and to cause them to have a moderate

[95] Lewis 2009, 28; 30.

[96] Arist. *Pol.* 5. 1313b. "…the building of the temple of Olympian Zeus by the Pisistratidae and of the temples at Samos, works of Polycrates (for all these undertakings produce the same effect, constant occupation and poverty among the subject people)…"

> competence and be engaged in their private affairs, so as not to desire nor to have time to attend to public business.[97]"

Whilst the provision of work constructing their architectural benefactions and loans to the peoples of Athens by the Pisistratids may have improved the lives of the citizens and developed the city, their apparent generosity was not designed to help the people of Athens, but to exert their control over them. Thus, the way that they were represented through their architectural benefactions on the one hand would have shown them as benevolent rulers, on the other would have cemented their absolute rule in Athens. Like Polycrates at Samos, the nature of the Pisistratids' relationship between themselves and Athens, as embodied by their tyrannical regime, meant that their architectural benefactions were state projects rather than the work of individuals. However, the work that the Pisistratids undertook in Athens were more in line with the modern concept of euergetism than those of Polycrates. Veyne's description of euergetism as generosity motivated by prestige and honour is certainly applicable to the Pisistratids' building projects. Investing money into building projects and loans and, by doing so, made the Athenians more dependent upon them, would have strengthened their position and made themselves worthier of prestige and honour. Whilst this reciprocity is firmly skewed in the Pisistratids' favour, it does exist, and suggests that there was some semblance of modern euergetism in sixth century B.C. Athens.

The democratisation of society in the fourth century resulted in benefaction becoming decentralised and more independent. Donations made both in office and privately increased, as did benefactions made to individual demes, rather than the whole polis. This allowed those of lesser means to become *euergetai* of a deme rather than the polis. This may have resulted from a transfer of administrative responsibility from polis to demic level, which led to the demes relying on financial assistance from wealthy demesmen.[98] Despite this opening up of benefaction to a wider number of citizens, there is no evidence for any individuals who contributed to construction projects, despite the flurry of building activity that was taking place there at the time.[99]

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[97] Arist. *Const.* 16.1-3.

[98] Domingo Gygax 2016, 214.

[99] Domingo Gygax 2016, 151.

The phenomenon of individuals making private donations, unrelated to a civic office, towards public buildings and utilities began towards the very end of the Classical period. The increased numbers of individuals partaking in architectural benefaction from the late Classical period onwards offers the opportunity to enrich the discussion by taking how benefactors were represented through their monuments.

Plutarch describes how Lycurgus, a leading statesman of Athens between 338 and 324 B.C., was entrusted by a number of Athenian citizens with funds for a number of projects including contributions towards architectural projects.[100] A man named Neoptolemus, working on Lycurgus' initiative, was given a statue for covering the altar of Apollo in the agora with gold,[101] and restoring the temple of Artemis Aristoboule in his home deme of Melite, for which he was honoured by his demesmen.[102] The votive pillar of Hymettian marble with a cavetto capital, has two texts, the first, lines 1-5 were inscribed on the capital in large letters and record a dedication to Artemis by Neoptolemus, son of Anticles, of Melite when Chairylle was priestess. The second, lines 6-27, is on the shaft in small letters and records a decree of the people of Melite in honour of Neoptolemus.[103] The badly damaged text[104] represented Neoptolemus as someone who made benefactions on both a local, demic level and a wider, polis level,[105] indicating his involvement and influence in both strata of Athenian society. Furthermore, he made donations as an official of Athens, as a private person without fulfilling a public function, and as a member of his deme.[106] Despite his generosity, Neoptolemus' work did not earn him the honour of being called *euergetes* of either his deme or the polis. Such a designation was very rare for a citizen in the fourth century: had the same generous work been undertaken two centuries later, or if Neoptolemus was a foreigner, then he would have been honoured in this manner. However, he was rewarded in other ways and receiving both a statue and a crown in

[100] Plut. *Mor.* 852a-d.

[101] Plut. *Mor.* 843f-4a.

[102] Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, 32; what exactly Neoptolemus gave to the sanctuary of Artemis is not clear as the text is badly damaged, though that he took care of the needs of the cult can be made out in line 11.

[103] Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1965, 31.

[104] *SEG* 22 116.

[105] Domingo Gygax 2016, 233.

[106] Domingo Gygax 2016, 249.

recognition for his generosity shows that, even with the absence of diagnostic euergetic language, Neoptolemus was partaking in the process now called euergetism.[107]

Cases like Neoptolemus' bring the dating of euergetism – as a separate phenomenon to being called a euergete – into question. Mauss, as discussed earlier, remarks that social practices predate the written records of them, and Neoptolemus' benefactions, for which he was rewarded by both polis and deme, is an example of a rich citizen carrying out generous works in exchange for prestige and honour. Whilst the honour of being called euergete of the deme would not have been a driving factor behind Neoptolemus' benefactions, *philotimia*, or love of honour was. According to Veyne's definition gaining honour was one of the motivations behind euergetism. Neoptolemus' *philotimia* was recognised by his deme and he was rewarded accordingly. Neoptolemus' benefactions to the city of Athens and to his home deme Melite show that euergetism, aimed at both ones' immediate locality and a wider scale, occurred earlier than 300 B.C., and that recognition by the gaining of a title was not the only motivation for elite public giving.

Further evidence for fourth century benefactions by an individual for the benefit of his deme was found in the deme of Kephissia. The benefactor, whose name is now only partially preserved, received an honorific inscription for preforming several civic duties and repairing building public monuments:

> [Ἑ]πικλῆς εἶπεν · ἐπε<ι>δὴ Φρο[υρ (ca.8) καλῶς καὶ]
>
> [φιλ]οτίμως τῶν ἱερῶν τῶ[ν Ἑρμαίων? ἐπεμελήθη καὶ]
>
> [ἐν? τῶ]ι αὑτοῦ χωρίωι τῶ[ι? (ca. 18)]
>
> [. . καὶ τ]ὴν κρήνην καὶ τὸν [ὀχετὸν καὶ (ca. 8)]
>
> [κατεσκ]εύασε καὶ τῆς παλα[ίςτρας ἐπεστάτησε?·]
>
> [καὶ τὸ] ἀποδυτήριον τῆς πα[λαίστρας ἐπεσκεύασε]
>
> [καὶ τ]ῆν κρήνην ἔφραξεν ὥ[στε τὰ πρόβατα μὴ εἰσι]-

[107] Domingo Gygax 2016, 249.

έναι εἰς αὐτην καὶ τἆλλα φι[λοτίμως ἔπραξε πρὸς]

τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κ[η]φ[ιϲ]ιέων · δ[εδόχθαι τοῖς δημόται]-

[ϲ] ἐπαι[νέσα]ι Φρου[ρ (ca 23)]

- -[108]

[E]pikles spoke: whereas Phrour ... {patronymic} well and honorably oversaw] the sacred rites (sacrifices?) [of the Hermaia and] on? his own land [...] [... and constructed] a springhouse and a [channel and ...,] and [was the epistates] of the pala[istra,] [and repaired the] apodyterion of the pa[laistra,] [and] fenced in the spring so that [sheep do not get] into it, and [accomplished] the rest [of his duties honorably for] the deme of the Kephissians, [the demesmen decided] to praise Phro[ur {patronymic) and to crown him] [...[109]

The end of the inscription is now lost, so whether the benefactor gained any other recognition for his benefactions, such as the title *euergetes* from his deme, in addition to his inscriptions and his crowning, is now unknown. Whilst the demesmen of Kephissia award their benefactor for performing his duties, Neoptolemus' good works and love of honour towards his deme are praised. Both men, amongst other things, gave architectural benefactions to their demes in fourth century Athens. Even at a date when Veyne and Gauthier believed that euergetism had not yet evolved as a process, seeking honour by doing one's duty or performing good works, were motivating factors behind giving architectural benefactions. Whether or not the missing text from this inscription contained titles and other euergetic language, the anonymous benefactor from Kephissia, like Neoptolemus, was performing what is now called euergetism as early as the fourth century B.C. The gradual decentralisation of euergetism from polis to demic level in fourth century B.C. Athens pre-empted and paved the way for individuals to give generously to their home town and gain due reward for their work.

The Archaic and Classical examples discussed above suggest that architectural benefactions were considered differently from other forms of giving, and that being

[108] Piraeus Museum ΜΠ 3514; *SEG* 32 147.

[109] Reconstruction and translation; Morison 2000, 95.

named as a *euergetes* was not a primary motivation. Public giving in the Classical period, as seen in the case of Neoptolemus, was also motivated by *philotimia*¸ and was not simply an act of charity.[110] Honour had always been central to the political economy of the Greek city, and the circulation and exchange of honours was a crucial ingredient of euergetism.[111] Whilst desiring, and gaining honour was a clear motivation for giving benefactions during the Classical period, one motivation that was less apparent was *philanthropia*. Whilst Millar translates one neologism 'euergetism' with another 'public philanthropy'[112], the two should not be equated as simply as Millar did. Bauman claims that the concept of *philanthropia,* or the love of man, was largely absent from the Greek consciousness as there are very few references to it in Classical literature.[113] In particular, there is no mention of *philanthropia* in Thucydides, particularly in the catalogue of human virtues outlined in Pericles' Funeral Oration.[114] A survey of instances of *philanthropia* in Classical literature explains this. If the tragedy *Prometheus Bound* can be attributed to Aeschylus, then *philanthropia*'s appearance in lines 11 and 28 are the earliest mentions of it as a compound word.[115] Even if *Prometheus Bound* post-dates Aeschylus, it, and Aristophanes' comedy *Peace*[116] are not only the two surviving pre-fourth century B.C. usages of *philanthropia* in literature, but also they both refer to the philanthropic characteristics of deities not mortals.[117] If *philanthropia* was considered a virtue only worthy of the gods when Thucydides was writing this would explain its absence from Pericles' Funeral Oration. *Philanthropia* was only later used to describe the

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[110] van Nijf 2001, 313.

[111] van Nijf 2015.

[112] Millar 1978, 365.

[113] Bauman 2000, 11; Attic literature supplies only three examples of its use. In Aeschylus' *Prometheus* the gods punish his presumption by discontinuing their visual philanthropia towards men (VV. 11, 28) Aristophanes' 'most gracious of daimons' (*Pax.* 392) is no more than a 'courteous' stereotype. A fragment attributed to Euripides' lost play Kresphontes, has an unhappily married daughter beg her father for a 'just and philanthropic favour' (Eur. Fr. 953. 40-42).

[114] Thuc. 2. 34-46; Bauman 2000, 11.

[115] Sulek 2010, 387.

[116] Aristoph. *Pax.* 394.

[117] For a more detailed discussion of the context of these uses of *philanthropia,* see Sulek 2010, 388-389.

relationship between generous rulers and their subjects, before finally being applied to generous wealthy people more generally.[118]

The earliest extant reference to the *philanthropia* of a mortal is in Plato's *Euthyphro,* thought to have been composed in the 390s B.C. This is also the first time the term appears as a noun, rather than in an adjectival form.[119] Xenophon, in his treatises on horsemanship and hunting[120], refers to *philanthropia* as an distinctive characteristic of a person or thing that causes them to be attracted to humans.[121] *Philanthropia* becomes more widely used in the fourth century B.C., and appears in the works of Demosthenes,[122] Isocrates,[123] Aristotle,[124] Aeschines,[125] Demades,[126] and Hyperides.[127] Throughout these orators' works, *philanthropia* is associated with the virtues of political leadership such as justice, clemency and generosity.[128] Prior to this, gestures a modern audience would call philanthropic would have been understood as acts of *eunoia,* good thinking, or *praos,* goodness or mildness. This does not mean that selfless generosity, or any other modern definition of philanthropy,[129] was not a motivating factor behind benefaction in the Classical period. As Mauss outlined, absence of language does not indicate absence of practice. Philanthropic gestures may well have occurred far earlier than the attribution of the virtue of *philanthropia* to human beings, but they were not referred to as acts of *philanthropia.* To reassess Millar's equation of euergetism and philanthropy, the two concepts are related but are

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[118] Cunningham 2016, 43.

[119] Plato *Euthyphro,* 3d-3e; Sulek 2010, 391.

[120] Xen. *On Horsemanship* 2.3; *On Hunting* 3.9 and 6.35.

[121] Sulek 2010, 394.

[122] Demos, *Speeches* 6.1, 7.31, 8.33, 16.9, 24.193, 36.55; Letter 2. 21.

[123] Iso. *Speech* 4 sec. 29.

[124] Aristotle, *Nic.* 1155a.

[125] Aeschin, *Speech.* 1.137.

[126] Demades, *Speech.* 1.30.

[127] Hyperides, *Speech* 5, Fragment 6.

[128] Sulek 2010, 393.

[129] For example Cunningham 2016, 42 summarises philanthropy as a "gift relationship", whilst Kidd 1996, 184 defines philanthropy as "…non-commercial social transfers of wealth, material objects or non-material assistance rendered in forms that are culturally meaningful and that generate moral relationships between individuals or groups such as solidarity, dependence, legitimacy, and reputability."

not the same thing. Euergetism should be considered the process in which gifts are exchanged within a system of reciprocal generosity. Philanthropy encompasses more than a process of giving and receipt of an expected reward. It encompasses the motivations behind the generosity of the gift, the relationships created by the act of giving and the sense of having performed a good deed is the main reward received by the philanthropist.

Philotimia, although usually defined as 'love of honour,' is not as simple as this. Its inclusion in epigraphic contexts, particularly alongside other virtues, implies that *philotimia* was a positive attribute. In contrast, ancient authors, who also assimilated the ideas of a desire for distinction and ambition into *philotimia,* often saw *philotimia* as a negative attribute.[130] Thucydides, for example, attributes the evils of society to a love of power, whose origins lay in greed and ambition.[131] What one did with one's *philotimia* , rather than *philotimia* itself, should be considered as either a positive or a negative attribute. If, as Thucydides claims, one's *philotimia* led to societal evils then of course those responsible deserve chastisement. However, another definition of *philotimia* is ambitious display or ostentation.[132] This aspect of *philotimia* is different from simply desiring, or loving, honour; it goes further, by acting upon the desire and displaying it for all to see. *Philotimia* also went together with the love of one's city, as both a motivation for political activity and the stimulus for inter-city rivalry.[133] This is the manner of using one's *philotimia* that would have been celebrated in an epigraphic context. With regards to architectural benefaction, this aspect of *philotimia* is particularly relevant, as the benefactor is using this medium to represent their love of honour for all to see. The lavish displays associated with *philotimia* were not always negative. Where the ambition of the rich led them to spend in a way that benefitted the

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[130] Evidence for *philotimia* being a negative attribution includes Eur. *IA*, 527; Aristoph. *Thesm*. 383, Aristot. *Nic. Eth*., 1125b 22. Aristotle does not see it as negative. Rather, he considers not showing any *philotimia* as a negative attribute.

[131] Thuc. 3 82. 8.

[132] Lys. 33.2

[133] Mitchell 1993, 207.

population, this deserved acknowledgement.[134] Finally, *philotimia* was considered an honour and distinction in its own right.[135]

The Hellenistic kings strove to foster good relations between themselves and the Greek cities. Benefactions, including those of public buildings, were one of the methods used. Particularly pertinent for Asia, the Attalids were prodigious builders both in their own territories and elsewhere.[136] The period between 188 and 133 B.C. in particular saw a major increase in civic building projects in the area.[137] There and elsewhere, they were particularly prodigious constructors of stoas, the most famous being the Stoa of Attalus II in Athens[138] but others were built at Termessus,[139] and Delphi[140] as well as whole agorae at Aegae and Assus.[141] In their capital Pergamon, Philetairus built the Temple of Demeter,[142] whilst Eumenes II built the Great Altar and his eponymous Propylon that acted as the entrance to the sanctuary of Athena Nikephorus.[143] The Hellenistic period was also the time when citizens became more involved in constructing public monuments, both under the guise of their official position within the city and on their own initiative. In Calymnus in the third century B.C. the *stephanephorus* Aratocritus wanted to decorate the sanctuary of Delian Apollo so, at the sanctuary's theatre, he built a *skene* and a *proskenion,* dedicating it to the god.[144] Aratocritus' desire to improve his city's sanctuary and his construction of a *skene* and *proskenion* are comparable to Gaius Iulius Zoilus' projects, which will be discussed in Chapter 2. This, and the expenses associated with holding the office[145] indicate that *stephanephoroi* were wealthy citizens. At Priene, during the first century B.C. Phile,

[134] Aeschin. 3.19.

[135] Two examples where *philotimia* refers to the honour itself are Dem. 20.69 and Xen. Hiero. 1. 27.

[136] Dickenson 2017, 145.

[137] Thonemann 2016, 41.

[138] Stewart 2004, 96; Dickenson 2017, 145.

[139] Kosmetatou 1997, 28.

[140] Dickenson 2017, 145.

[141] Kosmetatou 1997, 33.

[142] Kästner 2016, 33.

[143] Stewart 2004, 33; 105.

[144] *Tit. Calymnii* 52; Quaß 1993, 205.

[145] *IMilet* 7, 203 states that *stephanephoroi* had to pay for the costs associated with the office and a sum to take over the office.

daughter of Apollonius, built an aqueduct and water distribution system.[146] She is recorded as the first female *stephanephorus* of Priene.[147]

The bouleuterion at Miletus was constructed sometime between 175 and 164 B.C. by two Milesian brothers, Timarchus and Heracleides, and was in the centre of the city, on the border between the North and South Markets.[148] The brother's careers and their relationships with both the Seleucid king Antiochus IV and Rome are described in the following passage of Diodorus Siculus:

> "When it became known that the Romans were ill disposed towards Demetrius, not only the other kings but even some of the satraps subject to him regarded his kingship with scant respect. Of these satraps the most outstanding was a certain Timarchus. A Milesian by birth, and a friend of the previous king, Antiochus, he had, in the course of a series of missions to Rome, worked serious detriment to the senate. Providing himself with large sums of money, he offered the senators bribes, seeking especially to overwhelm and lure with his gifts any senators who were in a weak financial position. By gaining in this way a large number of adherents and supplying them with proposals contrary to the public policy of Rome, he debauched the senate; in this he was seconded by Heracleides, his brother, a man supremely endowed by nature for such service. Following the same tactics, he repaired to Rome on the present occasion, being now satrap of Media, and by launching many accusations against Demetrius persuaded the senate to enact the following decree concerning him: "To Timarchus, because of . . . to be their king." Emboldened by this decree he raised an army of considerable size in Media; he also entered

[146] *IPriene* 208. [Φίλ]ῃ Ἀ̣πολλωνίου, [γυ]νὴ δὲ Θεσσαλοῦ / [τ]οῦ Πολυδεύκου, / [στ]εφανηφορήσα[σα] / [πρ]ώτη γυναικῶν ἀν[έ]- / θηκε παρ᾽ ἑαυτῆς τ[ὸ] / ἐγδόχιον τοῦ [ὕ]δ̣ατ̣[ος] / καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆι πόλε[ι] / ὑδραγώγια; van Bremen 1996, 31.

[147] Quaß 1993, 214; van Bremen 1996, 31-32; The Milesian *stephanephorus* lists are complete from 525/4 to 260/59 B.C., 233/2 to 184/3 B.C. and from 89/8 B.C. to 31/2 A.D. Only one woman appears in the extant lists (Iulia Glyconis in 31/2 A.D.) There may have been more women in the missing years, but it is significant that there are no female names for the whole of the first century B.C. A woman in this role at this time would have been considered an anomaly. Phile's claim to have been the first female *stephanephorus* in Priene was probably true; Thonemann 2016, 132.

[148] Rawson 1975, 44; Schaaf 1992, 37.

> into an alliance against Demetrius with Artaxias, the king of Armenia. Having, moreover, intimidated the neighbouring peoples by an impressive display of force, and brought many of them under his sway, he marched against Zeugma, and eventually gained control of the kingdom."[149]

Timarchus gained further prestige when he was given the title *basileus* of Media, and in the crisis caused by the death of Antiochus IV in 164 B.C., Timarchus, backed by Heracleides, usurped the Seleucid dynasty, holding the title *basileus* until 160 B.C.[150] The semi-circular meeting house itself sat within a wider complex of buildings which included a colonnaded courtyard which combined elements of both the Doric and Ionic orders. It is unusual for a bouleuterion to be situated within a courtyard, the only other known one is at Heraclea under Latmus.[151] The entrance to the complex was formed of a propylon with Corinthian columns. Corinthian columns were a characteristic feature of the Seleucid buildings in the city,[152] but propyla associated with bouleuteria were unusual but not unique: the Hellenistic bouleuterion at Athens also has an associated propylon.[153] The final element of the complex is what Hildegard Schaaf describes as "the most controversial part of the Bouleuterion."[154] Inside the courtyard is a large foundation which was originally interpreted as an altar owing to the discovery nearby of relief panels, some depicting garlanded *bucrania*, others depicting, probably, mythological figures.[155] The stylistic features of the relief do not allow a definitive dating of the monument, and since it is not aligned with the city's axis plan or the rest of the building complex, it may not be contemporary with Timarchus and Heracleides' building project.[156] The inscription on the building's architrave reads:

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[149] Diod. Sic. xxxi 27a. Trans. Walton. For further details and discussion of the brother's careers, see Rawson 1975, 44; Grandinetti 2010, 99

[150] Grandinetti 2010, 99.

[151] Mitchell and McNicoll 1979, 73.

[152] Mitchell and McNicoll 1979, 73.

[153] Schaaf 1992, 50.

[154] Schaaf 1992, 37-38.

[155] Schaaf 1992, 38.

[156] Schaaf 1992, 39.

> [Τίμαρχο]ς κ[αὶ Ἡρακλείδη]ς οἱ Ἡρακλείδου ὑπὲρ βασ[ιλέως Ἀ]ντιόχου Ἐπιφαν[οῦς]
>
> [Ἀπό]λλωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ἑστίαι Βο[υ]λαίαι καὶ τῶι Δήμωι.
>
> Timarchus and Heracleides, sons of Heracleides, (dedicated the building) on behalf of King Antiochus Epiphanes, to Apollo of Didyma, Hestia Boulaia, and the Demos.[157]

The order of the names in the inscription should be noted. Timarchus and Heracleides appear first, then the text goes on to state that they are working on behalf of Antiochus IV. Placing their names first, rather than naming Antiochus IV as the benefactor of the bouleuterion, then stating that they carried out the work, suggests that the brothers may have been attempting to overemphasise their role. Antiochus IV clearly was involved at some level with the construction of the bouleuterion, but Timarchus and Heracleides did the groundwork, and, particularly given that this was in their home town, they wanted local recognition for it. This idea can also be seen in the dedication of the monument. As it is not dedicated to Antiochus IV, but to local deities and the people of Miletus, it is likely that the two men had the influence they could gain locally in mind, in addition to representing themselves as loyal citizens of Miletus. Had they dedicated the monument to Antiochus IV alongside the other honorands, then one could argue that they were trying to gain further influence on a wider scale or represent themselves as loyal servants of the Seleucids. The basic structure of their dedicatory inscription, their names, the situation in which their dedication came about, and then the building's honorands, anticipates the dedicatory inscriptions of later Hellenistic benefactors such as Zoilus at Aphrodisias.

This section has highlighted the complexities of the process now known as euergetism. It has shown that pre- and post- *Le pain et le cirques*, the term euergetism can be, and was, applied to acts of generosity across the spatial and chronological limits of the Greek-speaking world. Actions covered by the remit of euergetism were not confined to the 300 years either side of the birth of Christ as Veyne advocated. This section has also exposed the flaws in approaches such as Veyne's, but particularly Gauthier's, which heavily rely on the appearance of euergetic language in honorific and building

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[157] *IMilet* I 2, 2.

inscriptions as indicators of euergetism being practised. Cases such as Neoptolemus', where his honours for his generosity to both deme and polis did not include the language diagnostic of euergetism in Gauthier's mind, are clear examples of the process of euergetism. Veyne's emphasis on "social distance" being the driving factor behind euergetism is perhaps less relevant to architectural benefaction as those in the position to construct public buildings would have been called upon to contribute to projects that would have benefitted all strata of society.

This thesis will offer a new model for considering how architectural benefaction, and particularly those involved in it, worked in the province of Asia. Like in the works of Veyne, Gauthier, Domingo Gygax, and others, building and honorific inscriptions will form a significant component of the discussion. However, unlike in previous works, these texts will not be used as evidence for whether the work that architectural benefactors carried out could be considered euergetism. Neither will they be used to prove the origins of euergetism, nor as evidence for the development of, or a change in, practice. Instead these texts, and the variations between them, will be used to understand how architectural benefactors and their work were represented in relation to both the local city and to Rome. It will argue that in such texts, which have traditionally been considered as highly formulaic, there was scope for variations. Furthermore, those involved in the construction project would have had some say in the way that they were represented in building inscriptions and honorific texts, This approach considers to a far greater extent before the people involved in the practice of architectural benefaction and how they used this medium to respond to the socio-historical and cultural contexts which it occurred in. Particularly, it will consider how the representation of architectural benefactors through their monuments can be used as an indication of how individuals responded to the growing influence of Roman rule in three provincial cities of Asia from annexation to the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

1.2 Architectural Benefaction in the Context of Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Miletus

The second context in which this thesis is placed is three cities within the province of Asia: Aphrodisias; Ephesus and Miletus. Across these three cities, five cases studies, involving architectural benefactions by two individuals, two pairs, and several families of benefactors will be examined. These cities have been selected for several reasons. The extant archaeological and epigraphic material from all three sites is plentiful, allowing greater scope for study than less well-preserved sites. Each city had a different relationship with Rome. Aphrodisias was a free city, outside of the provincial governor's jurisdiction, but had a direct connection with the Imperial family. Ephesus had a sizeable pre-annexation Roman population. Its port would have aided a greater flow of immigrants and resulted in greater interactions between them and the native Ephesians. It also became provincial capital, and probable residence of the governor of Asia. Miletus was a long-standing Greek city whose importance as a political entity had diminished by the Roman period, so it presents a contrast to the cities that had a greater political role at this time. However, its location in the Maeander valley, which became home to many Italian immigrants,[158] meant that it would not have been completely isolated and immune from the flow of Roman influence into the province. Furthermore, the construction of many monuments in each city resulted from the generosity of private benefactors, rather than from public funds.

The province of Asia was bequeathed to Rome by Attalus III in 133 B.C., but the area had already experienced prolonged interactions with Rome. Roman elites, businessman, and traders had migrated and settled in the Greek East from the third century B.C. The *Romaioi,* as they were known, became integrated into the Greek communities that they settled in, and made the Greek language and culture desirable and respectable at their own level.[159] In the early second century B.C. Rome's interest in the Greek East increased. The threat that Roman influence presented resulted in the Syrian War, and the armies of Rome and her allies defeated those of Antiochus III first at Thermopylae in 191 B.C. and eventually at Magnesia the following year.[160] The ensuing Treaty of Apamea in 188 B.C., carved up the former Seleucid territories and divided them between Rome's principal allies, Eumenes II and Rhodes, effectively ending Seleucid rule there.[161] Eumenes II's successor, his brother Attalus II, maintained a close alliance with Rome and with the other Greek cities of Asia, allying

[158] For more details of the settlement of Italians in the Maeander valley, see Thonemann 2011 esp. Chapter 8.

[159] Errington 1988, 140. For more on the *Romaioi* in Asia Minor see Galinsky 2005; Purcell 2005; Kirbihler 2007.

[160] For full accounts of these events see App. *Syr.* 17-20; 30-36.

[161] Magie 1950, 19; Mitchell 1993, 24.

himself with the Kings of Cappadocia, Pontus and Bithynia.[162] When Eumenes II's son, Attalus III, died in 133 B.C. without a successor, he left his both his private fortune and his royal lands to Rome.[163] Post-annexation, the loose network of Roman dependencies and client kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean left after the Treaty of Apamea were transformed into a coherent landscape of directly administered Roman provinces.[164] This was largely undertaken through punitive taxation.[165] There was very little direct Roman intervention in Asia in the first decades post-annexation, but the levels of taxation imposed upon the cities of Asia resulted in them having to borrow from Roman money-lenders and sell their assets to Roman buyers. Asia became dependent on Rome and Romans acquired more and more land in the area, often purchased from Asians unable to raise their taxes.[166] Under Augustus' reorganisation of provincial administration in 27 B.C., Asia became a senatorial province, governed by the Procurator of Asia.[167]

1.2.1. Aphrodisias

The city of Aphrodisias has been known to travellers since the 18th century and has been subject to excavation and research since the beginning of the 20th. Early excavations on the site in the 1900s and 1910s were undertaken by a French excavation team led by Paul Gaudin.[168] An Italian team were involved briefly in the 1930s.[169] From 1961 to his death in 1990, Kenan T. Erim of New York University directed the excavations at Aphrodisias. Since Erim's death Christopher Ratté and Bert Smith have directed the continuing excavations, undertaken collaboratively between New York and Oxford Universities. The epigraphic material from the site was collected and published by Joyce Reynolds between 1966 to 1994. The King's College, London's *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Database*, is a collaboration between Reynolds, Charlotte Roueché and Gabriel Bodard to collate the epigraphic research from the site and was

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162 Magie 1950, 19.

163 Magie 1950, 32.

164 Thonemann 2016, 44.

165 Magie 1950, 34; Mitchell 1993, 30.

166 Mitchell 1993, 30.

167 Magie 1950, 446.

168 For details and findings from these early French excavations see: Collignon 1904; Mendel 1906; Boulanger 1914.

169 Jacopi 1940, 722-32.

first published online in 2007. Aphrodisias was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2017.

Stray finds suggest that human habitation existed as early as the Late Neolithic, late sixth-millennium B.C. in the area around Aphrodisias, whilst the earliest intensive occupation occurred around a millennium later. The area emerged as a local cult centre as early as the sixth century B.C. and there was probably always an associated, small, permanent settlement.[170] A number of small figures, interpreted by Erim as idols, were found in the excavations of the prehistoric mounds have been interpreted as the first manifestations of the goddess who became identified with Aphrodite.[171] The earlier temple may, like other parts of the city, have been damaged, or destroyed during the war against Labienus and the statue of Eros, mentioned by Octavian in his letter to the Ephesians which was later inscribed upon the Archive Wall, may have been looted from there.[172] Like the rest of Aphrodisias, little survives from the pre-Hellenistic phase of the temple. Foundation or support walls have been found in association with Archaic pottery sherds, though the contexts are disturbed; Hellenistic material has been found in amongst the Archaic.[173] An Archaic lion-spout, found in 1904 by Gaudin, is large enough to suggest that it came from a substantial building, though the scantiness of detail in the excavation reports and the lack other contemporary architectural evidence prevents firm conclusions being made as to the existence and exact nature of an Archaic shrine. Three fragmentary terracotta figurines of a seated goddess dating from the sixth century B.C. were found in the area behind the apse of the church, but this context was also disturbed. Despite the lack of stratigraphy, the goddess figurines alongside the lion spout suggest the existence of an Archaic phase of a building associated with the city's cult.[174]

Despite the near-continuous occupation of the site since the Neolithic period,[175] very few of the visible remains in the city pre-date the late-Hellenistic period. The area

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[170] For discussions of the pre-Roman evidence from Aphrodisias see Robert 1965; 1973; Theodorescu 1987 and Ratté 2012, 23.

[171] Erim 1986, 17.

[172] *IAph*2007 8.31.

[173] Erim 1986, 57-58.

[174] Erim 1986, 58.

[175] Ratté 2012, 21.

surrounding the city of Aphrodisias had been occupied long before it was officially unified as a *polis*, most likely in the immediate aftermath of the Treaty of Apamea.[176] The evidence for this date comes from a decree honouring the Rhodian commander in Caria, Damocrines.[177] Damocrines was in office *c.* 188-167 B.C., and the lack of both the headings expected when a foreign community erected an inscription in a sanctuary and an ethnic, implies that the *polis* mentioned in the text is that of Aphrodisias.[178] This was a turning point for Aphrodisias, establishing it as a city in the full sense of the word.[179]

Quintus Labienus, in the wake of the collapse of the anti-Caesarean movement after the Battle of Philippi, had invaded Asia Minor from the East in 41/40 B.C., aided by the Parthians.[180] The brunt of the invasion fell on Caria, after Alabanda and Mylasa capitulated. Stratoniceia resisted Labienus but its territory, including the sanctuary of Hecate at Lagina was devastated.[181] Labienus sacked Aphrodisias, and most likely its surrounding territory too,[182] to the extent that Octavian took it upon himself to intervene.[183] Labienus' invasion had only been possible because Asia Minor had remained unguarded in Antony's absence. Once Antony had dispatched a force under Publius Ventidius Bassus, Labienus' forces were overwhelmed, and he was captured in Cicilia and put to death.[184] In the aftermath of the war against Labienus, Octavian granted Aphrodisias its freedom.[185] For a city to receive its freedom from direct Roman rule was a great honour, but it was not one that was given lightly.[186] The freeing

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[176] Ratté 2012, 23.

[177] Chaniotis 2010, 456; *SEG* 60 1075.

[178] Chaniotis 2010, 456.

[179] Erim 1986, 27.

[180] Magie 1950, 430; Smith 1993, 6-8.

[181] Magie 1950, 431.

[182] Ratté 2012, 25.

[183] See below for the discussion of Octavian's letter to the Ephesians.

[184] Magie 1950, 431-432.

[185] Texts that survive which attest to the granting of Aphrodisias' freedom include a letter from Octavian to the Magistrates, Council and People of the Plarasans and Aphrodisians (*IAph*2007 8.25) and a *Senatus Consultum* (*IAph*2007 8.27).

[186] See *IAph2007* 8.32. for a letter from Octavian to the people of Samos where he refuses to grant them their desired freedom because he considers them unworthy of such an honour.

of Aphrodisias was clearly a great honour for the city to have received, and such a privilege and honour would have dictated relations between the city and the ruling powers. How these relations between the elites of Aphrodisias and the city of Rome were represented through architectural benefactions will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

1.2.2. Ephesus

Like at Aphrodisias, extensive excavations have occurred at Ephesus for well over a century. The first excavations were undertaken at the site from 1869 onwards under the direction of John Turtle Wood.[187] After Wood's death in 1890, the Austrian Archaeological Institute began working there in 1895 under the direction of Otto Benndorf. The Austrian Archaeological Institute's excavations continued, interrupted only by the World Wars. Excavations resumed in 1954 and were continuous until a dispute between Austria and Turkey in 2016, with the Austrians only being allowed to return two years later. The site was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2015.

Founded in the tenth century B.C. by Ionian colonists led supposedly by Androclus son of Codrus, Ephesus was a far older city than Aphrodisias.[188] From the sixth century B.C., the city was subject to the Lydians, the Persians, Lysimachus, the Seleucids and finally the Attalids before being bequeathed to Rome on the death of Attalus III in 133 B.C.[189] Very little of the city founded by Lysimachus in *c.* 290 B.C. survives;[190] most of the buildings visible at the site today date to late Hellenistic and Imperial periods. In 89/88 B.C. Ephesus supported Mithridates in his anti-Roman campaigns, which resulted in a massacre of the Roman residents. The exact numbers are unknown, but Valerius Maximus recorded 80,000, while Plutarch provides the upper estimate of 150,000.[191] To reprimand the city, in 84 B.C. Sulla removed the privilege of freedom

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[187] For these early excavation reports see Wood 1877; 1890.

[188] Hornblower and Spawforth. *OCD*[3] Ephesus. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-2423?rskey=Uv8cQU&result=2424 (Last accessed 4/3/19)

[189] Steel, 1992, 95.

[190] Scherrer 1995, 3.

[191] Valerius Maximus XI.2.4; Plut. *Sulla.* XXIV.

and liberty earlier bestowed upon it by Attalus III.[192] During the civil wars, Ephesus was the location for several events associated with the activities of the triumvirate. Julius Caesar visited in 49/48 B.C. to receive embassies from various cities of Asia Minor, Brutus and Cassius sought refuge there in 44 B.C. after they had murdered Caesar, and in 41 B.C. Anthony and Cleopatra resided there.[193] Prior to the Imperial period, Ephesus had already experienced direct influence and interaction with Rome. Regardless of whether Plutarch or Valerius Maximus' estimation of the number of Roman citizens massacred during the Mithridatic war is the most accurate, by the early first century B.C., Ephesus was home to a significant population of Roman citizens. The visits of Julius Caesar and Anthony and Cleopatra would only have added to these direct interactions with Rome and the highest levels of its administration. Ephesus experienced far more pre-Imperial interactions with Rome, its people, and its administration than Aphrodisias and Miletus had done. The old Hellenistic city founded by Lysimachus quickly grew into a Roman city from the reign of Augustus onwards, and soon became one of the largest, wealthiest, and most prominent cities in Asia.[194] This thesis argues that this rapid growth and development of the city during the Roman period occurred through the agency of local benefactors who had interacted with Roman culture and practices.

1.2.3. Miletus

Miletus was first excavated in 1873 by a French team led by Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas.[195] Since then, the German Archaeological Institute have primarily undertaken excavations at Miletus, beginning under the direction of Theodor Wiegand between 1899 and 1933, and continuing under Carl Weickert between 1938 and 1959. Later excavations were carried out by Gerhard Kleiner from 1958 and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener from 1974. Since 1989 the excavations and the archive have been managed by Ruhr University, Bochum.

Like Aphrodisias and Ephesus, Miletus was an old settlement by the Roman period, with evidence for human occupation in the area dating to as early as 1700 B.C. Unlike

[192] App. *Mith*, 9.61-62; Raja, 2012, 57.

[193] Raja 2012, 57.

[194] White 1995, 49; Burrell, 2004, 59.

[195] For details of these early excavations see Rayet and Thomas 1887-85.

the other cities, the pinnacle of Milesian history was in the Bronze Age and Archaic periods. It was a Cretan colony and outpost of the Minoan culture.[196] By the seventh century B.C., it was one of the richest of the Greek cities, but after four centuries of independence, it was conquered in the sixth century B.C. by the Lydians, and then became part of the Persian empire under Cyrus.[197] Miletus led a revolt against the Persians, resulting in the destruction of the city in 494 B.C. It was soon revived and rebuilt, albeit on a more modest scale than the Archaic city,[198] and provided the Greeks with what has been referred to as "the most noteworthy model of a completely planned city."[199] Throughout the Hellenistic period, the city was revived and rebuilt, beginning in earnest after the victory of Seleucus I at Ipsus in 301 B.C, after which the king began consultations with the Milesians on the continuation of temple building.[200] Throughout the Hellenistic period, Miletus saw the erection of many public monuments. The bouleuterion, whose construction was overseen by the brothers Timarchus and Heracleides,[201] was a benefaction by Antiochus IV. As discussed above, benefactions of this sort indicate not only the desire of the Hellenistic kings to show favour to the cities, but also that local officials could gain favour with their rulers by carrying out work on their behalf. The Gymnasium of Eudemus was a benefaction by a Milesian citizen, indicating that the benefaction of monuments by local elites was a well-established practice prior to any interaction with Rome. The theatre and the Delphinium also date from this period. Although Miletus as a city was considered politically and economically less important than Ephesus, in addition to these monuments, by the Roman period the city also had a stadium, markets, basilicas, and a harbour with a commemorative monument in the middle of it.[202] Miletus' inferior political and economic position in the province would account for the lack of Imperial involvement in architectural benefactions seen in Aphrodisias, where Caesar defined the new boundary of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, and particularly in Ephesus, where

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[196] Gorman 2001, 1.

[197] Gorman 2001, 2; 13.

[198] Gorman 2001, 165.

[199] Gorman, 2001, 2.

[200] Habicht 1959, 155.

[201] *IMilet* I 2, 2.

[202] Müller-Wiener 1996; Gorman, 2001, 165.

Imperial agents were sent to oversee projects. It would also explain why Roman architectural styles and techniques began to emerge in Miletus far later than in these cities. A lack of Imperial involvement in architectural benefaction at Miletus means that the changes in architectural styles seen in the city must have resulted from interactions between resident elites and the Roman world.

This thesis attempts to show that in a relatively small sample of cities, buildings and benefactors, there was the potential to display a wide variety of responses to Roman rule. To achieve this aim, the selected cities needed to be sufficiently different, yet not so diverse that comparisons between them could not be found. Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Miletus all had different histories prior to annexation by Rome and different political and social statuses within the province, yet all had Roman residents and interactions with the Roman administration. Together, these three cities complement each other in their representation of the interactions between Greek cities and Rome and allow for a wide-as-possible potential for variations in how architectural benefactors were represented in relation to their city and to Rome.

1.3 Architectural Benefaction in the Context of Cultural Interactions under Rome

This thesis argues that the variations in representation through architectural benefaction can be used a means to understand the influence of Rome on the province of Asia. These variations will be considered on their own terms, rather than as deviations from a supposed, or manufactured, norm. These supposed norms have been the foundations of the process-centric approaches to the influence of Roman rule such as Romanisation,[203] Acculturation,[204] Creolisation,[205] Cultural *Bricolage*,[206] and Globalisation[207] which have meandered their way through scholarship since the early

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[203] For the origins, development, definitions, and criticism of Romanisation see: Herbert 1836; Haverfield 1905; Collingwood 1932; Jones 1940; Alcock 1997; Barrett 1997; Freeman 1997; Mattingly 1997; Millett 1997; Lomas 1998; Meyer 2007.

[204] For the origins, development, definitions and criticism of Acculturation see: Redfield et al 1936, 149; Slofstra, 1983; Smith, J. T, 1978; Reece 1980; 1988; Errington 1988; Hingley 1989; Millett 1990a; 1990b; Hanson 1994; Meyer, 2007, 10-11.

[205] Abrahams 1983; Ferguson 1992; Webster 2001.

[206] Terrenato 1998; Roth 2007.

[207] For the origins, development, definitions and criticism of Globalisation see: Wallerstein 1974; Hopkins 1978; Hazelgrove 1987; Cunliffe 1988; Robertson 1992; Frank 1998; Laurence 1999; Chase-

nineteenth century. Early scholarship on the influence of Rome on its provinces such as works by Algernon Herbert,[208] Theodor Mommsen,[209] Henry Pelham[210] and Francis Haverfield[211] focused almost exclusively on the Western provinces. Their approaches to Rome's influence on its provinces were hugely influenced by their own socio-historical situations, either that of British Imperialism or, in Mommsen's case, German unification. These early scholars' other influence was the famous passage from Tacitus' *Agricola* concerning the Britons' adoption of Roman culture:

> "The following winter passed without disturbance and was employed in salutary measures. For, to accustom to rest and repose through the charms of luxury a population scattered and barbarous and therefore inclined to war, Agricola gave private encouragement and public aid to the building of temples, courts of justice and dwelling-houses, praising the energetic, and reproving the indolent. Thus, an honourable rivalry took the place of compulsion. He likewise provided a liberal education for the sons of the chiefs and showed such a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls that they who lately disdained the tongue of Rome now coveted its eloquence. Hence, too, a liking sprang up for our style of dress, and the "toga" became fashionable. Step by step they were led to things which dispose to vice, the lounge, the bath, the elegant banquet. All this in their ignorance, they called civilization, when it was but a part of their servitude."[212]

The views of these early scholars on the influence of Rome on its provinces can be summarised as a requirement for indigenous populations to comply with the 'model' of Rome, and the efforts made in order to achieve this imply a power or cultural gap between the passing standard, Rome, and those who achieve, or want to achieve, this

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Dunn and Hall 2000; Ekholm-Friedman 2000; Frank and Gills 2000; Friedman 2000; Modelski 2000; Laurence 2001; Woolf 2004; Hingley 2005; Sweetman 2007; Hitchner 2008; Pitts 2008; Revell 2009; Jennings 2011; Laurence and Trifilo 2015; Nederveen Pieterse 2015; Pitts and Versluys 2015.

[208] Herbert 1836.

[209] Mommsen 1885.

[210] Pelham 1893.

[211] Haverfield 1905.

[212] Tac. *Ag.* 21.

standard.[213] In other words, it implies the adoption of Roman culture and identity at the expense of one's own: the non-Romans became Roman.

The works of Herbert, Mommsen, Pelham and Haverfield went largely unchallenged until the 1930s,[214] with the publication in 1932 of R. G. Collingwood's study *Roman Britain.* He argued that the civilisation found even in the most "Romanised" parts of Britain certainly was not a pure Roman civilisation, but a mixture of Roman and Celtic elements, Romano-British in fact.[215] Regarding the East, it was not until 1940 that A. H. M. Jones put forward the claim that no attempt was made to 'Romanise' the Greek speaking provinces.[216] The influence of Rome on the East has traditionally been given less attention in scholarship. This can be attributed to the fact that much of the evidence for such changes seen in the West, such as planned settlements, grand public buildings and the use of high-status pottery to name a few, were already used and present in the East prior to the rise of Rome. It is too simplistic to suggest, as Clifford Ando does, that Rome had so little to offer the Greek world that 'Romanisation' did not happen in the East at all and the term can only be used to describe what happened in the western empire.[217] The impact of Roman rule in the eastern empire may not have been as dramatic as in the western empire, or as obvious in the archaeological record, but changes certainly occurred in the Greek East under Rome, facilitated, as shall be argued in this thesis, through the agency of architectural benefactors interacting with local and Roman people, techniques and practices.

Susan Alcock's 1993 study of Roman Achaea, and Christian Marek's 2009 study of Pontus-Bithynia function as useful comparisons to Asia to illustrate the variety of ways that Roman rule influenced and shaped its eastern provinces. Like in Asia, direct Roman influence in Achaea occurred long before it became a Roman province. The province was formally created in 27 B.C. but foreign *negotiatores* – men of business – attracted by both commercial opportunities and later the availability of land began arriving in the second century B.C.[218] Roman Corinth contained many Italic buildings

[213] Meyer 2007, 15.

[214] Freeman 1997, 46.

[215] Collingwood 1932, 98.

[216] Jones 1940, 60.

[217] Ando 2000, 50.

[218] Alcock 1993, 9; 75

such as podium temples and an amphitheatre.[219] The city's colonists were a mixture of Rome's freedman class, the urban poor and Caesarean veterans,[220] who no doubt would have been instrumental in bringing these Italic features into their new homeland. As shall be argued throughout this thesis, in the cities of Asia, architectural benefactors who had interacted with and been influenced by Rome and its administration were pivotal in introducing Roman-style buildings and dedications into provincial contexts. Whilst Corinth, as a colony, was a different kind of settlement to Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Miletus, there was still a varied population within the city. The variety of responses, by a variety of benefactors will shape and develop a more nuanced understanding of a heterogenous process, undertaken by an equally heterogenous population.

In the rural province of Pontus-Bithynia the influence of Rome was very different from the more urbanised provinces of Achaea and Asia. Marek argues throughout that, in the comparatively rural provinces of the Roman East, Rome had very little impact in spreading its culture and added very little to the province. In already urbanised areas, the *demos*, the *boule*, and the *archons* continued to function in accordance with the Hellenistic model.[221] Marek does not specifically discuss benefaction in his article, but as the process and development of benefaction from the Classical into the Hellenistic and Roman periods were intrinsically linked to the socio-historical context in which they occurred, the inference can be made that in such provinces there were less discernible changes in how and why benefactions occurred and how benefactors were represented through their work. Marek is particularly sceptical of the impact of Rome on Pontus. He argues that the annexation of the province could not have resulted in anything more than the establishment of a base for political institutions and urban development. Yet, these were not explicitly Roman developments. In Pontus, right into the Imperial period, a distinction between the Hellenised or semi-Hellenised citizens of the cities and the rural populations within their territories remained apparent.[222] Latin was never widely used in the province, and where it was, it was used

[219] Alcock 1993, 168.

[220] Alcock 1993, 168.

[221] Marek 2009, 39.

[222] Marek 2009 39.

in contexts associated with the Roman military or the road systems. In addition, a small number of funerary inscriptions proudly emphasised Roman citizenship or marriage to a Roman citizen. However, this element of 'Romanisation', Marek argues, was merely a nod of courtesy to Rome, rather than evidence for an embracing of Roman ideas.[223] The response to Roman rule by the peoples of Pontus-Bithynia and how this was played out should not be considered as a contrast or an opposite to the responses seen in Achaea and Asia, nor should they be considered as evidence of resistance or hostility to Rome. Rather, they could be considered as just some of the variety of responses to Roman rule that occurred amongst the peoples of the empire, shaped by the unique social, cultural, historical, and spatial context that the responses took place in.

The lack of scope to take variations in response to Roman influence by individuals and communities into account is the greatest flaw of all modern, processual, approaches. This thesis aims to approach the influence of Roman rule on its provinces differently, by focussing on architectural benefactors and how their relationships to Rome and their home city were represented through their monuments. It aims to show that provincial societies and the peoples who resided within them, the ways that individuals responded to Rome, and how these responses were presented, were all varied. This approach will consider the socio-historical and spatial context of the architectural benefaction, arguing that these affected how benefactors were represented through their monuments rather than conventions dictated by either by the monument's locality or by Rome. Taking an architectural benefactor-led approach to understanding the influence of Rome on its provinces will fill in the gaps left by previous work and create an approach that can accurately explain the diverse responses to Roman rule seen in the archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

[223] Marek 2009, 38.

2

The Freedman in the Free City: The building projects of Gaius Iulius Zoilus at Aphrodisias

2.1. Gaius Iulius Zoilus

The Carian city of Aphrodisias underwent a period of redevelopment after annexation by Rome in 133 B.C., and this thesis's first major architectural benefactor can be placed into this period. The monuments of the Imperial freedman Gaius Iulius Zoilus: the Temple of Aphrodite; the *scaenae frons* and stage building of the theatre; and the North Stoa of the North Agora, illustrate the variety seen in architectural benefaction in Asia in the early Roman period. In the context of architectural benefactors Zoilus is an exceptional case because, comparatively, we know so much about him: a considerable amount of textual evidence for his life and work survives; significant structure remains of his monuments have also survived; he had demonstrable personal relations with Octavian, and important roles within his native city. Zoilus' works can be used to help understand the roles which local people played in the development of their cities, the increased involvement and influence of Rome in the affairs of provincial cities, and different ways that benefactors could be rewarded for their work.

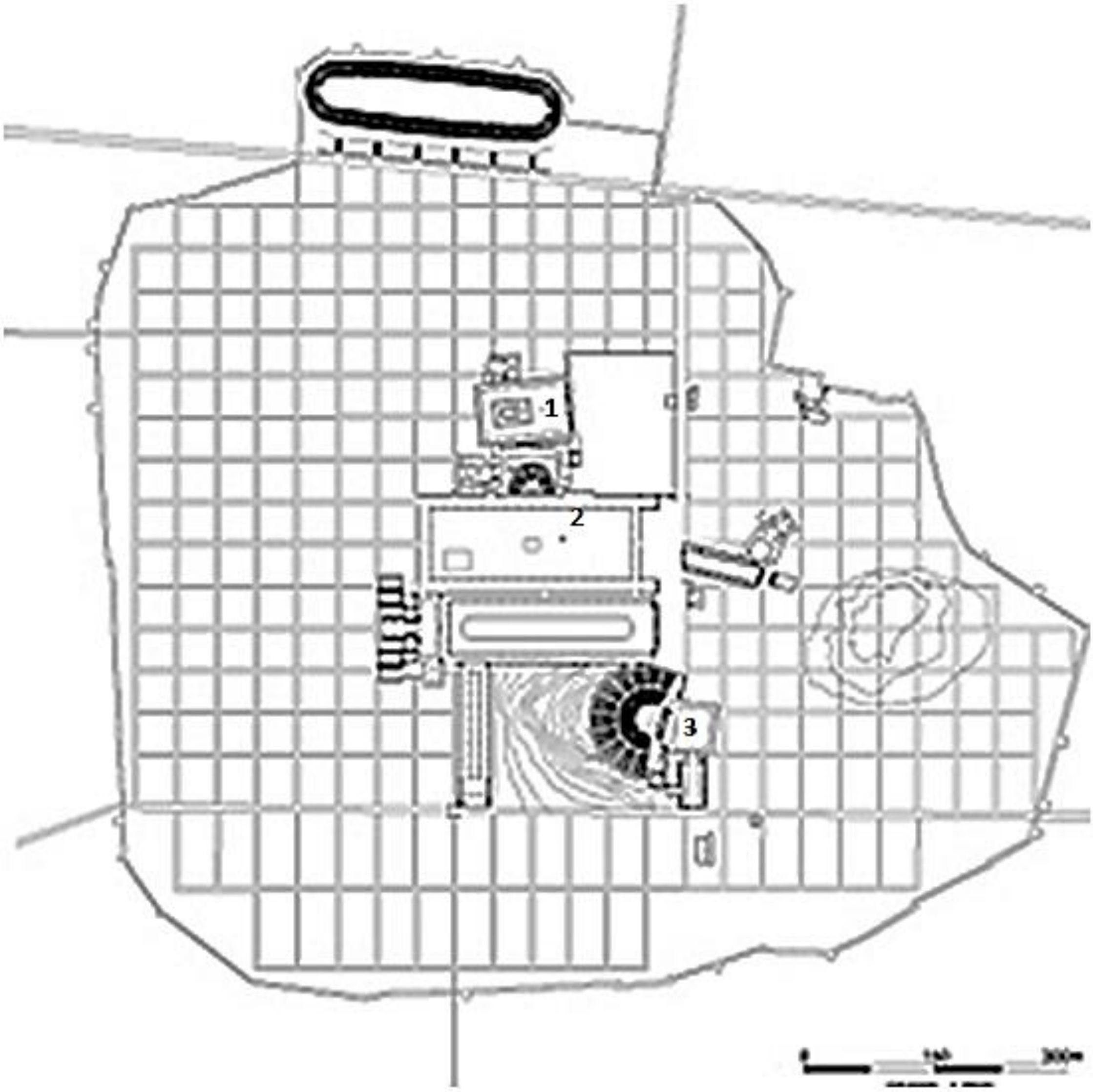

Figure 1: City Plan of Aphrodisias, with the locations of Zoilus' building projects marked. 1) Temple of Aphrodite. 2) North Stoa of the North Agora. 3) Theatre stage building. (Adapted after Aphrodisias Excavations, Oxford University. Last Accessed 6/1/2020)

Two surviving texts testify to Zoilus' relationship with Octavian. The first survives in two copies, found on the Doric and Ionic storeys of the theatre stage building and refers to Zoilus as a freedman of the Imperial family:

> Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζωΐ̣λος θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υ[ἱ]οῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, στεφανηφορήσας τὸ δέκατον ἑξῆς, τὸ λογήϊον καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῶι προσκοσμήμ̣ασιν [πᾶσιν, Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τῶι] Δήμωι.
>
> Gaius Iulius Zoilus freedman of the divine Iulius' son Caesar, after being *stephanephorus* for the tenth time in succession (gave) the stage and the *proskenion* with all the applied ornaments on it to Aphrodite and the Demos.[224]

The second is a letter dating from late 39 or early 38 B.C.,[225] preserved on the Archive Wall, the name given to the south wall of the north *parodos* of the city's theatre.[226] This letter was inscribed at the top of the fourth, of five, columns of text.[227] Octavian wrote it to Stephanus, a man thought to be an aide of Mark Antony, who was based in the city.[228] The text reads:

> *vacat.* Καῖσαρ Στεφάνῳ *v.* χαίρειν *vacat.* ·
> ὡς Ζωΐλον τὸν ἐμὸν φιλῶ ἐπίστασαι· τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσα καὶ
> Ἀντωνίῳ συνέστησα.
> *v.* ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἄπεστιν δὸς ἐργασίαν μή τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιβάρησις γένηται· Μίαν
> πόλιν ταύτην
> ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας ἐμαυτῷ εἴληπφα. *v. v.* Τούτους οὕτω θέλω φυλαχθῆναι ὡς
> ἐμοὺς πολείτας.
> *vacat.* Ὄψομαι ὡς τὴν ἐμὴν σύνστασιν ἐπὶ πέρας ἀγάγῃς *vacat.*

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[224] IAph.2007 8.1; 8.5.

[225] Millar 1973, 57 argues for 38 B.C; Reynolds 1982, 97 argues for late 39 or early 38 B.C.

[226] Reynolds 1982, xv: Upon the Archive Wall are inscribed a series of documents, dating from the late Republican period to the reign of the Emperor Gordian III (A.D. 238-244). Despite the wide chronological range of the texts, they were all inscribed during the third century A.D., mostly during the reign of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235), with the more recent texts added later.

[227] Reynolds 1982, 37.

[228] Reynolds 1982, 39.

> "Caesar to Stephanus, greetings. You know my affection for my Zoilus. I have freed his native city and recommended it to Antonius. Since Antonius is absent, take care that no burden falls on them. This one city I have taken for mine out of all of Asia. I wish these people to be protected as my own townsmen. I will see that you carry out my recommendation to the full."[229]

Octavian's choice of language in the letter suggests that their relationship is far more than master and freedman. Zoilus has clearly gained great favour from Octavian and the use of the word φιλῶ implies a degree of intimacy between the two men, something not unheard of between masters and slaves during the Roman period.[230] A near contemporary, albeit Latin comparison, is the way that Cicero addresses Tiro in his letters.[231] Like Zoilus, Tiro, later Marcus Tullius Tiro, was a slave who gained manumission. Both men had obviously gained great favour and personal affection from their masters. In his letter, Octavian uses the word 'ἐμὸν' to refer to Zoilus, whilst Cicero consistently refers to Tiro as "mi Tiro".[232] The latter has also been translated as "dear Tiro" but the literal translation of "mi" in this context, from *meus*, is a possessive my i.e. "belonging to me." Similarly, ἐμὸν' has possessive connotations. Zoilus was once Octavian's property, though may have continued to work on Octavian's behalf in Aphrodisias. Here, ἐμὸν' may have been used to describe their new working relationship i.e. "my employee Zoilus," rather than "my possession Zoilus." We do not know the exact dates for either Zoilus' or Tiro's manumission but Octavian's letter almost certainly post-dates Zoilus' and Cicero calls Tiro "my Tiro" in letters dated before and after the latter's manumission.[233] Although for parts of their lives Zoilus and Tiro had been the possessions of Octavian and Cicero respectively it is clear that the usage of these 'possessive' terms have affectionate connotations, rather than one of current or former ownership. The similarity between how these two

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[229] *IAph*2007 8.29.

[230] Bradley 1987, 13.

[231] For a more detailed overview of Cicero and Tiro's relationship, see McDermott 1972, 259-263.

[232] Examples of where Cicero uses possessives in relation to Tiro are Cic. *Fam.* 16.4.2-4; 16.6.2; 16.9.4; 16.10.1; 16.21.2, 7; 16.22.2.

[233] Examples of where Cicero uses possessives in relation to Tiro are Cic. *Fam.* 16.4.2-4; 16.6.2; 16,9,4; 16.10.1; 16.21.2, 7; 16.22.2. Beard 2002, 132 states that the dating of the letter from Quintus (*Fam.* 16.16) that refers to Tiro's manumission cannot be dated with any certainty. The suggested date is 53 B.C.

Romans addressed their (former) slaves even in different languages is striking and tells us much about the relationships between masters and their freedmen. After manumission, Cicero continued to protect Tiro, providing him with funds to pay for his own estate.[234]After Cicero's death, Tiro most likely remained under the protection of Atticus and Axius, two senatorial friends of Cicero, and then under that of his son Marcus.[235] There is no evidence for Octavian providing Zoilus with either money or continued protection post-manumission, but had the former been provided, it would explain how a former slave was able to lavish his home town with such grand architectural benefactions.

Despite Zoilus' close connections with, or special favour from Octavian, there is no epigraphic, or literary evidence for how this came about, resulting in much speculation by modern scholars. Bert Smith argues that he may have been taken captive and enslaved as a result of either piracy or warfare as early as the 70s or 60s B.C. and bought by Caesar. After faithful service and demonstration of talent, he was freed and became a member of Caesar's unofficial staff, before being passed on to Octavian in 44 B.C. Smith also claims that Zoilus returned to Aphrodisias in time to take part in the war against Labienus.[236] The letter from Octavian to Stephanus makes specific references to the granting of autonomy to the city of Aphrodisias. If Zoilus was involved in the war against Labienus, then he must already have been freed when Octavian wrote to Stephanus.

Louis Robert also argues that Zoilus was an important figure in assuring the city's autonomy during and after the wars against Labienus, possibly resulting in him being granted the priesthood of Eleutheria.[237] The cult of Eleutheria appears not to have been a widespread cult in the Greek world. Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion* makes no mention of the cult at all. Lewis Farnell's extensive study *The Cults of the Greek States* is now more than a century old, so omissions are to be expected, but it files the cult of Eleutheria under 'Minor Cults' and refers to only three texts. One being one of Zoilus' statue bases, and another from Cyaneai in Lycia where it is thought to refer to "a

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[234] Cic. *Fam*. 16. 21. McDermott 1972, 271

[235] McDermott 1972, 277.

[236] Smith 1993, 6-8.

[237] Robert 1966, 422-423.

special form of Artemis”[238], as opposed to a separate cult. The third is a late Imperial example from Sardis.[239] It seems likely that the cult of Eleutheria was one particular to a place as a result of a specific event. In Zoilus’ case, he was granted a priesthood of the cult of Eleutheria because of his role in bringing about freedom to Aphrodisias after the war against Labienus.

Octavian’s designation of Aphrodisias as his (i.e. Zoilus’) city suggests one of two things. Either Zoilus was instrumental in bringing about the freedom of his city, which led to him being given the priesthood of Eleutheria, or Octavian granted autonomy to Aphrodisias because, after freeing his friend, he used his influence with Octavian to gain the city’s freedom. The former is more likely. It would seem a strange move by Octavian to grant an entire city political autonomy based on his relationship with one man, and it would have been unlikely that Zoilus was given this priesthood if he was not involved somehow with the freeing of his city. Millar noted the importance of the cult of Venus-Aphrodite to the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and infers that this is the reason why he has “taken” the city of Aphrodisias as his own.[240] Zoilus and Octavian appear to have shared a close personal friendship, though it is likely that either Zoilus himself, or his fellow citizens, used this relationship to their advantage to gain favour, and political autonomy, from Octavian. Zoilus’ relationship with Octavian, and the benefits gained both for himself and Aphrodisias, have resulted in him, and others in similar positions, to be described as the ‘new euergetai’, local men with access to Roman leaders and patrons who played major roles in their locality.[241]

A slightly earlier example of one of these “new euergetai” is Theophanes of Mytilene, a friend of Pompey, from whom he received his Roman citizenship.[242] A Greek

[238] Farnell 1909 (Vol. 5), 476; Brit. Mus. Cat. 'Caria' p. 80.

[239] Kaibel, *Ep. Graec*. 903. “Οὑτος ὁ τῆς Ἀσιας ὑψαύχενα θῶκον ὑπάρχων
πυργώσας καθαροῖς [λ]ουμασιν Ἀχολιος
ᾧ βουλὴ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν χάριν εἰκονα χαλκῆν
στησαμέν[η τειμὴν ὤπασε θ]ειοτάτην
ἠδ’ ὅτι λα[ι]νέων δαπέδων κρηπῖδα τορήσας
τεῦξε[ν] Ἐλευθερίης ἐνναέταις τέμενος”

[240] Millar, 1973, 56-57.

[241] Ma 2013, 138.

[242] Gold 1985, 321. For details of him gaining his citizenship see Cic. *Arch.* 24.

intellectual who met Pompey during his campaign in the East in 67 B.C., he became Pompey's personal historian and chronicler, advisor, confidant, and guide to the East.[243] Knowledgeable about politics of his own city and the geography of the region Theophanes had taken a leading role in opposing Mithridates on Lesbos in the 80s B.C. However, Mytilene subsequently lost her freedom in 79 B.C. due to their opposition to the Romans.[244] On a visit to Mytilene with Theophanes after the defeat of Mithridates, Pompey attended a festival in his honour and restored Mytilene's freedom. Theophanes, or more specifically, his relations with an important Roman official, like Zoilus later at Aphrodisias, is thought to have been instrumental in bringing about his city's freedom.[245] For this he was rewarded with inscriptions honouring him as benefactor, saviour, and second founder of Mytilene, and probably posthumously, with deification.[246] If cases like Zoilus and Theophanes are indicative of the norm, by the late first century B.C., giving generously may no longer have been enough to be considered an *euergetes* under Roman rule; personal relations with the Roman leaders and the ability to influence, and gain influence, were also desirable qualities for *euergetai.* These relationships between local architectural benefactors and the Roman Imperial system resulted in the introduction of new practices into the provinces and influenced the way that the former was represented through their monuments.

Another line of scholarship offers different dates for Zoilus' enslavement. Joyce Reynolds argues that Zoilus was taken captive during the Caesarean civil war of 49-45 B.C., and was sold to, and later freed by, Octavian, and that he 'returned' to Aphrodisias sometime between 44 B.C. and 38 B.C.[247] These dates are based on the death of Caesar and the earliest known written evidence for Zoilus being in the city,

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[243] Gold 1985, 312.

[244] Gold 1985, 319-320.

[245] Gold 1985, 324-325; Erskine 1994, 76.

[246] *IG* XII 2 150: Γναίωι Πομπηίωι, / Ἰεροίτα ὑΐωι, Θεοφάνη, / σώτηρι καὶ εὐεργέτα.

IG XII 2 163: a.1.Γναίω Πονπ[η]- / ίω, Γναίω ὑΐω, / Μεγάλω, αὐτο / κράτορι, τῶ εὐ- / εργέτα καὶ σώ- / τηρι καὶ κτίστα.

b.1 [θ]έω Δ[ί ι Ἐλευθε]- / ρίω Φιλοπάτριδι / Θεοφάνη τῶ σώ- / τηρι καὶ εὐεργέ- / τα καὶ κτίστα δευ- / τέρω τᾶς πάτριδος.

c.1 Ποτάμωνι / Λεσβώνακτο[ς] / τῶ εὐεργέτα / καὶ σώτηρος / καὶ κτίστα τᾶς / πόλιος.

[247] Reynolds 1982, 97; 157.

Octavian's letter to Stephanus, dating from late 39 or early 38 B.C.[248] We have no written evidence to suggest where Zoilus may have returned from during this period, Smith assumes that he lived in Rome.[249] As will be shown below in the discussion of the so-called Zoilus freize, there is archaeological evidence which suggests that Zoilus may have indeed resided in Rome. With all our known evidence in mind, a probable chronology for Zoilus is as follows. He was enslaved, perhaps in the 60-50s B.C., and came into the ownership of Julius Caesar; he was inherited by Octavian in 44 B.C., and freed by him in time to return to Aphrodisias and be involved in repelling Labienus in 40 B.C. Once the threat from Labienus had been removed, Zoilus became involved in the civic life of Aphrodisias. Soon after this, he would have been granted his priesthoods and first *stephanephorate* and begun to construct his public buildings.

Although his life before his manumission by Octavian is uncertain, Zoilus' later career is somewhat clearer. He held the title of *stephanephorus,* an eponymous official permitted to wear a crown,[250] at least ten times in succession.[251] He was also a priest of both Aphrodite and Eleutheria, as attested in an honorific inscription found in the area of the façade of the Baths of Hadrian, whose text reads:

> [ἡ βουλὴ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτ[ε]ίμησεν [Γά]ϊον Ἰούλιον Ζωΐλον τὸν [ἱερ]έα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς [Ἐλε]υθερίας διὰ βίου
>
> The council and the people honoured Gaius Iulius Zoilus, the priest of Aphrodite and of Eleutheria for life.[252]

The text does not explicitly mention the reasons that the council and people of Aphrodisias honoured Zoilus with this inscription, but it was most likely given in recognition for fulfilling the duties associated with the priesthoods mentioned. He received at least one other statue, which was located in the theatre. His name appears on a plinth which was reused in a later wall on the north side of the north parados. The text from its base is now very fragmentary:

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[248] Reynolds 1982, 97.

[249] Smith 1993, 5.

[250] Sherk 1991, 238.

[251] *IAph*2007 8.1; 8.5.

[252] *IAph*2007 5.101.

[*vacat*? ὁ] δῆμος *vacat* [ἐτείμησεν?] Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ζωΐλ[ον —].

…the people (honoured?) Gaius Iulius Zoilus…[253]

There is no surviving evidence that suggests that Zoilus held a civic magistracy.[254] His date of death is unknown, but it has been assumed that it occurred between *c.* 28, when he appears to be last attested in the epigraphic record, and 20 B.C.[255]

Smith and Reynolds' assumptions that Zoilus returned to Aphrodisias from somewhere are based on images from the 'Zoilus frieze' shown below:

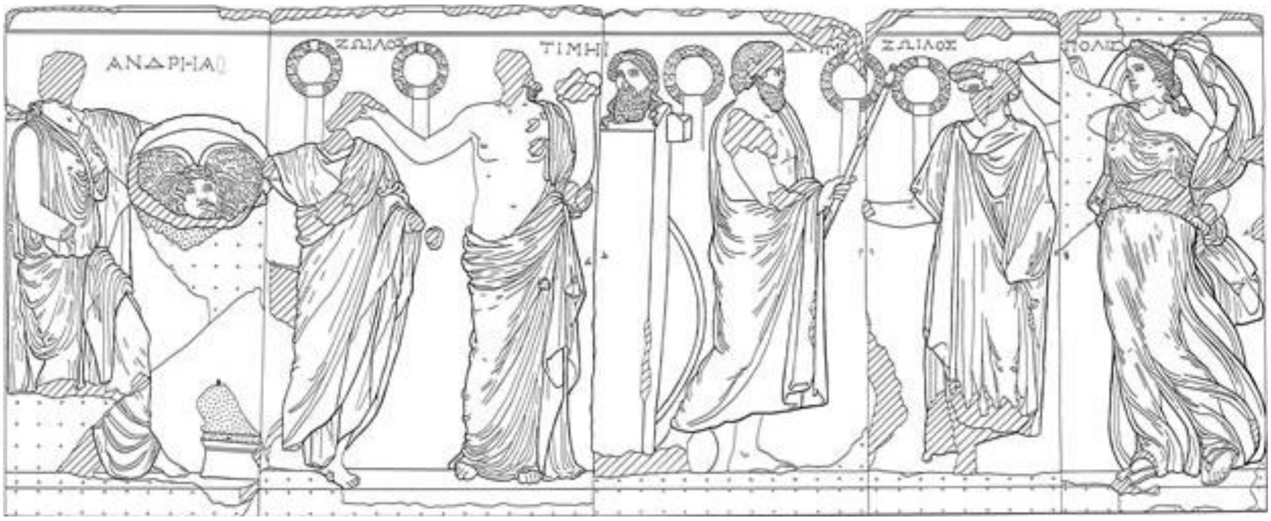

Figure 2: Sketch of the most complete panel of the Zoilus frieze. Left-Right: *Andrea* - Zoilus - *Timé*. *Demos* - Zoilus – *Polis* (Smith 1993, 16).

The Zoilus frieze, and the monument that it would have been a part of, cannot strictly be considered as part of Zoilus' architectural benefactions to the city of Aphrodisias, as the monument was designed to exclusively celebrate Zoilus, rather than as a functional monument that happened to be inscribed with Zoilus' name. Furthermore, as there is no epigraphic material surviving to indicate who commissioned and paid for this monument or chose the images that were carved upon it, it cannot be ascribed to him with any certainty.[256] There are also no identifiable immediate descendants of

[253] *IAph2007* 8.203. For further discussion of this text, see n. 307

[254] Sturgeon 2004, 420.

[255] Smith 1993, 7; Raja 2012, 24; both base their dates on Zoilus being active under Caesar.

[256] Smith 1993, 60 makes reference to the fact that the monument can only be dated externally, based upon other epigraphic material relating to the life and career of Zoilus.

Zoilus at Aphrodisias, though a Tiberius Julius Pappus, son of Zoilus is known to have been head of the libraries of the Augusti in Rome between the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius.[257] If Zoilus did not commission the monument, a highly likely scenario is that it was commissioned by the city or by a, now unknown, member of his family.[258] Its date and original location are now also unknown as none of the structural remains of the monument itself have ever been clearly identified.[259] Despite these uncertainties, the Zoilus frieze's function as a pictorial representation of Zoilus in relation to both Aphrodisias and the wider Roman world warrants an extensive discussion of it here prior to the discussion of his monuments.

The surviving panels of the frieze depict what Smith and Ratté describe as an allegorical biography of Zoilus.[260] Four panels were found in 1956 reused near the north east gate of the late antique city wall.[261] The other remaining ten fragments were found in the same area between 1961 and 1989.[262] The frieze measures 1.85 metres high and the panels measure 0.75-1.3 metres wide and 0.4-0.5 metres deep.[263] Early commenters dated the monument to the second century A.D.,[264] but its association with Gaius Iulius Zoilus was not identified until Robert's 1966 study of a series of inscriptions from the city.[265] Described as one of the finest and earliest sculptured monuments of the city,[266] the panels were carved in a combination of low and high relief, the heads of the figures are almost in the round, projecting limbs and attributes, with one exception, are worked without resorting to attaching other pieces of stone,

[257] Smith 1993, 8.

[258] For a comparable example of a son building an honorific monument for his father, see the discussion of the Pollio Monument in Chapter 3.

[259] Smith 1993, 22. Smith mentions the discovery of a square pier capital, which has been dated to the late Republican or early Imperial period by the design and execution of its mouldings. It was found about 100 metres to the north of where the frieze panels were found, also reused in the city wall and may have formed part of the structure of the Zoilus monument: Smith 1993, 60.

[260] Smith and Ratté 1995, 56.

[261] Smith 1993, 1.

[262] Smith 1993, 1-2.

[263] Smith 1993, 14.

[264] Dönmez 1959, 712; Guiliano 1959-1960, 393-394.

[265] Robert 1966, 427-432.

[266] Smith and Ratté 1995, 55.

and virtually all tool marks have been smoothed from the figures.[267] The frieze panels were not carved *in situ* as the angles required for the carving of some elements could not have been achieved while it was in position.[268] The frieze panels are thought to have decorated a square, high-sided marble podium monument.[269]

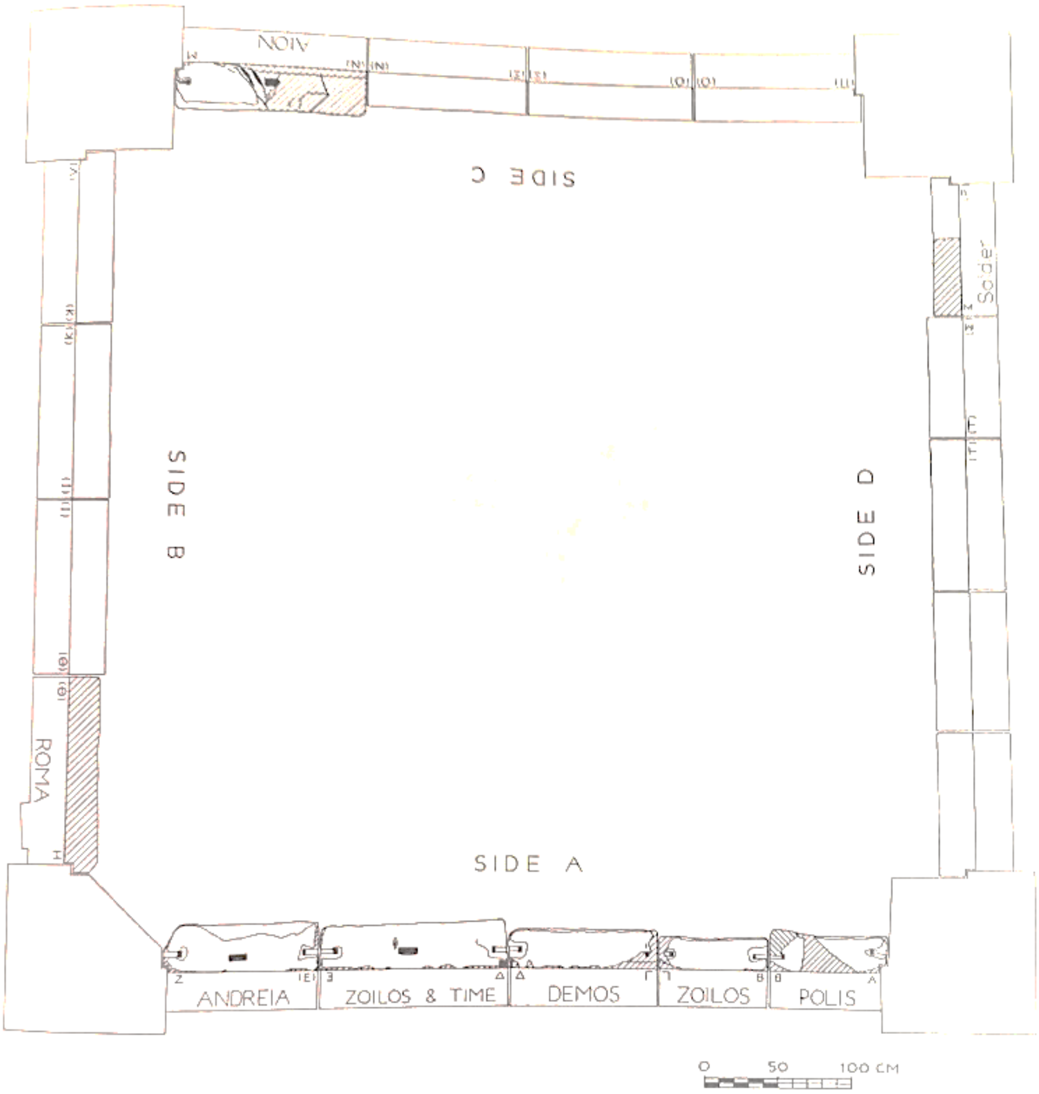

Figure 3: Plan of the surviving panels of the Zoilus frieze in proposed relation to each other. (Smith 1993, 19)

The surviving remains contain two scenes of three figures each, divided by a central herm. Zoilus appears twice in the surviving fragments. In each, personifications of

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[267] Smith 1993, 14.

[268] Smith 1993, 15.

[269] Smith 1993, 21.

desirable attributes flank him. On the left, he is depicted in a Roman toga being presented with a shield by *Andrea* and crowned by *Timé*.[270] These two attributes placed together suggest that the honours that Zoilus received resulted from bravery within a military context, most likely the war against Labienus. The combination of these figures and their inscriptions would have been readily understood by a contemporary viewer as a celebration of Zoilus' bravery, honour, and Roman citizenship. The crowning here by Timé would have been immediately understood as a visual representation of an honorific decree.[271] His designation as *soter,* saviour, of his city also strengthens the claim that Zoilus was involved in protecting Aphrodisias from a military threat. In the Hellenistic period *soter* was used for the Kings and other persons worthy of heroic status, which indicates the esteem that Zoilus was held in by his fellow citizens. There are five crowns in the background of the frieze; Reynolds suggests that there may have been at least five other crowns carved elsewhere on the monument to indicate Zoilus' ten, at the very least, *stephanephorates.*[272] This image showed Zoilus the brave and virtuous Roman citizen, and acknowledge his roles in ensuring Aphrodisias' autonomy.

In the next scene Zoilus is presented in a Greek civil context, as opposed to one associated with the Roman military.[273] Rather than a toga, here he wears a chiton, a long chlamys, and a broad, flat, sharp-rimmed hat, which Smith interprets as to most likely represent a travelling costume.[274] He stands between personifications of *Demos* on the left and *Polis* on the right, who are crowning him. The combination of these two personifications and the clothing Zoilus is wearing has been interpreted as him being welcomed home by them,[275] but another interpretation of this crowning scene is that Zoilus was being recognised for his achievements in civic office. Alternatively, the crowning scene may have been designed to represent a combination of these two interpretations; Zoilus, returned home and admirably performed his civic duties and received due honours.

[270] Smith 1993, 1.

[271] Smith 1993, 28-29.

[272] Reynolds 1982, 159.

[273] Smith 1993, 32.

[274] Smith 1993, 34-35.

[275] Smith and Ratté 1995, 56 -58; Reynolds, 1982, 159.

The presence of a figure identified as Roma gives further support for the theory that Zoilus returned to Aphrodisias from Rome. As seen in Figure 4 below, the surviving remains are complete enough to say fairly categorically that this is Roma. She was depicted seated, with a large shield beside her, the remains of what look like the shaft of a spear and a helmet are visible on her right arm and above her hairline respectively. Her right breast is exposed, in the manner of an Amazon. Reynolds suggests that there would have been an inscription naming Roma on one of the now lost pieces of the panel.[276] Reynolds also suggests that the presence of Roma on the Zoilus monument recalls the part played by Zoilus in cementing the relations between Aphrodisias and the ruling power. Whoever commissioned the Zoilus frieze wished to acknowledge his status as a Roman citizen and emphasise his links to either the literal city of Rome or the concept of what Rome, or Roman, meant within a provincial setting in the earliest years of the reign of Augustus.

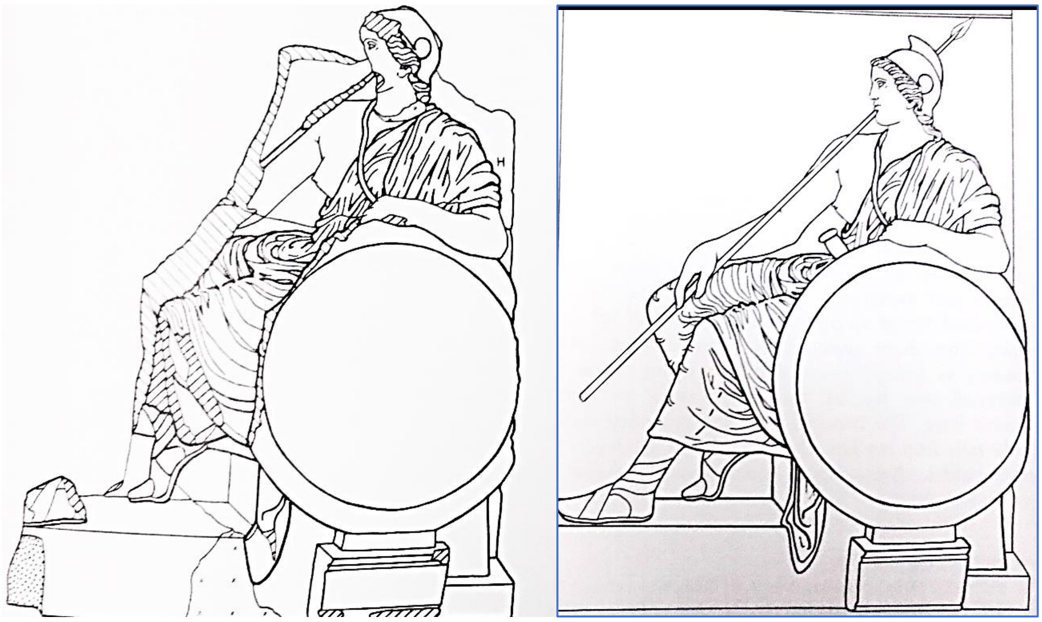

Figure 4: Sketches of the surviving remains of Roma (left) and a reconstruction of Roma (right) from the Zoilus frieze (Smith 1993, 43).

Other surviving panels include those depicting *Mneme*, *Aion,* Minos, a man wearing a himation, a soldier, *Arete,* and *Pistis.*[277] Whilst all of these images are particularly appropriate for a monument in honour of a great citizen, the inclusion of *Mneme*

[276] Reynolds 1982, 159.

[277] Smith 1993, 45-59.

(memory) and *Aion* (time) on the frieze is noteworthy.[278] Although the concepts themselves were very familiar in the Hellenistic period, there is very little evidence for personified representations of them.[279] The Zoilus frieze depicts the earliest image of *Aion* we have, though his representation here bears little resemblance to other, albeit much later, surviving examples.[280] Personified representations of *Mneme* are even rarer; the only other surviving representation of her is on the Archelaus relief.[281] Found in Alexandria and carved by Archelaus of Priene, the relief dates from 255-205 B.C. The Archelaus relief represents the deification of Homer, watched by deities and personifications of desirable attributes; the inhabited world; history; myth; genres of literature; and nature.[282] The Archelaus relief clearly represents the celebration, honouring and memorialising of a great figure. The reliefs on the Zoilus monument would have had a similar purpose. Whilst the personifications on the Archelaus relief celebrated Homer's contribution to literature, those on the Zoilus frieze celebrated his contribution to Aphrodisian and Roman society. However, it is the apparent rarity of depictions of *Mneme,* and her presence on these two reliefs, which is the most striking feature of them. The rarity of depictions of *Mneme* in funerary and/or honorific contexts suggests that they occurred on monuments for those most worthy of honour. In the third century B.C., Homer was clearly considered to be worthy of deification and of being remembered by the entire world. The appearance of *Aion* alongside *Mneme* on the Zoilus frieze suggests that his fellow Aphrodisians considered him worthy of being remembered for the rest of time. The Zoilus frieze acted as a vivid representation of the deeds performed in life, and the lasting memorial, of a great man of early Roman Aphrodisias.

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[278] Reynolds 1982, 159; Reynolds argues that their presence provides evidence for the Zoilus frieze being originally part of his funerary monument.

[279] Smith 1993, 49.

[280] Smith 1993, 48.

[281] Smith 1993, 49-50.

[282] Elderkin 1936, 496.

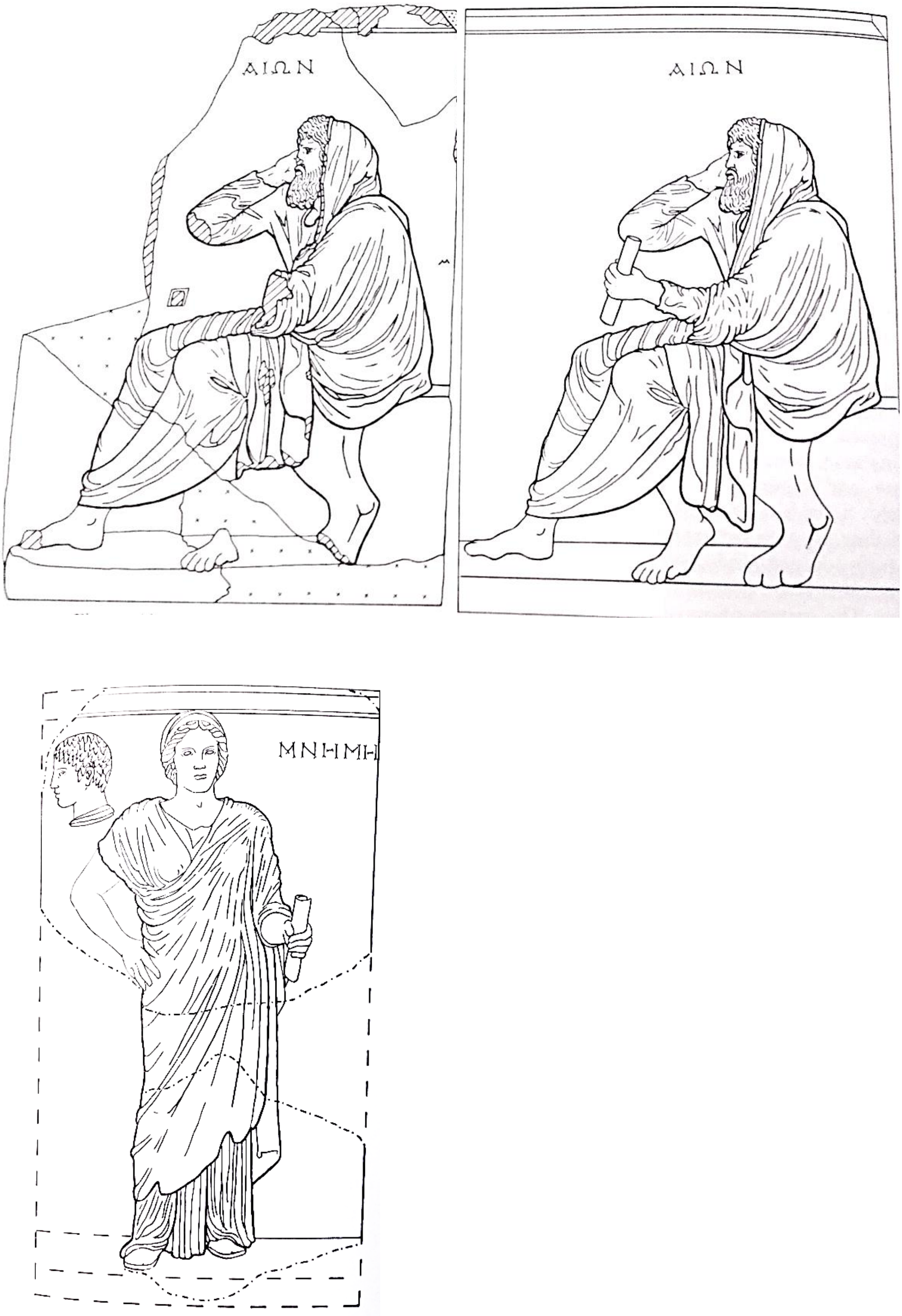

Figure 5: Sketches of the surviving remains of *Aion* (top left) and a reconstruction of *Aion* (top right) and of a reconstruction of *Mneme* (bottom) all from the Zoilus frieze (Smith 1993, 46; 49).

Figure 6: The Archelaus relief. British Museum, inv. 1819,0812.1.

Figure 7: Detail of the lower register of the Archelaus relief. The personifications' names are inscribed below them, and *Mneme* is thought to be the figure at the back right of the group of four.

Mneme and *Aion's* presence on the Zoilus frieze suggest a that the monument was funerary in nature and was designed to create a lasting memory of Zoilus the man. However, these two personifications could have a further meaning in this context. Reynolds states that these two personifications emphasise the eternally memorable quality of Zoilus' public services.[283] This frieze was a pictorial representation of a good citizen and suggests that the qualities Zoilus possessed should be emulated by future citizens of Aphrodisias. Placing *Mneme* and *Aion* in the context of the rest of the friezes' surviving figures, the public services that Reynolds refers to are Zoilus' *stephanephorates* and his role in the war against Labienus. However, as the archaeological and epigraphic remains from Aphrodisias testify, Zoilus also performed "public services" of a more material kind. Through his public monuments, Zoilus not only created lasting structures but also created visual reminders of himself, his work, and his place in Aphrodisias. *Mneme* and *Aion's* presence on the Zoilus frieze, regardless of whether or not the monument from which it came was funerary in nature, mimicked and added to the theme of a lasting memory of Zoilus the exemplary citizen and architectural benefactor of Aphrodisias.

Having explored the way that Zoilus was honoured and represented in his home city during his life and posthumously, the following section explores how Zoilus' monumental benefactions were affected by both his interactions with Rome and their unique geographical and socio-historical contexts. It will then discuss how his position within both local and wider society was represented through these monuments.

[283] Reynolds 1982, 159.

2.2. The Temple of Aphrodite

Zoilus’ involvement in the late-Hellenistic temple’s construction in known through the inscription on the *fasciae* of the moulded lintel of the main door. The text was originally published in 1982 by Reynolds and her reading of it then was thus:

> Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζω[ΐ]λος ὁ ἱερεὺς θε̣ο̣ῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς —] *vacat.* σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος *v.* τὸ̣ν̣ ἱερὸ̣ν̣ Ἀφροδ̣ε̣ίτης [—]
>
> “C. Iulius Zoilus, priest of the goddess Aphrodite, saviour and benefactor of his country (? built? defined the boundary of) the sanctuary of Aphrodite.”[284]

With further study, Reynolds altered her interpretation of the text, stating that the accusative noun in the second line must be changed from ἱερὸ̣ν̣, sanctuary, to ναὸν, temple, and revised the text to read:

> Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζω[ΐ]λος ὁ ἱερεὺς θε̣ο̣ῦ Ἀφροδείτη[ς —] *vacat.* σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος *v.* τὸ̣ν̣ ν̣α̣ὸ̣ν̣ Ἀφροδ̣ε̣ίτης [—]
>
> “C. Iulius Zoilus, priest of the goddess Aphrodite, saviour and benefactor of his country (dedicated) the temple of Aphrodite.”[285]

There is nothing in the dedicatory inscription that can be used to date this phase of the building. If the Temple was damaged and looted during the sack of the city by Labienus, it is logical to assume that its importance to the city would mean that its reconstruction would have been paramount, and undertaken as quickly as possible. It can be suggested then that Zoilus’ work on the Temple of Aphrodite was the first project to be initiated, and then the others followed, with the theatre stage building being dedicated at least ten years after Zoilus had returned to Aphrodisias.

At the time of the republication of the text, Reynolds noted that some of the letters had been “deliberately, but not quite efficiently erased.”[286] Anna Sitz suggests that the erasure coincided with the remodelling of the temple into a church, so all the phrases

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[284] Reynolds 1982, 163.

[285] Reynolds 1990, 38; *IAph*2007 1.2.

[286] Reynolds 1990, 37.

referring to Aphrodite and those which called Zoilus a priest and saviour, which were inappropriate for the entrance of a church, were removed.[287] Sitz also includes a reading of the text which takes the erasures into account for the first time:

> Γ[[άϊος Ἰούλιος Ζώ[ϊ] λ]]ο̣ς ὁ ἱερ[[εὺς θε̣ο̣ῦ Ἀφροδείτης]] / σ**[[**ωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτη**]]**ς τῆς πατ[[ρίδος τὸν ναὸν Ἀφροδ̣ε̣ίτη̣]].[288]

The difference between constructing a temple and defining the boundary of a sacred precinct is vast in terms not only of cost, time, and labour, but also as an indicator of the influence and authority that Zoilus had as a benefactor at Aphrodisias. Marie-Christine Hellmann in her 2002 work *L'Architecture Grecque* defines *hieron* as "a sanctuary, more rarely a sacred building"[289] and a *naos* as "the temple, or sometimes, its main hall, the cella."[290] So, whilst *naos* is a term that applies only to a temple, in whole or in part, *hieron* is less specific as it can refer to both a sacred building and its wider sanctuary. As a result of the editions to her translation of the text, Reynolds suggested that the unexpressed verb would have been the specific, sacred, term ἀνέθηκεν, dedicated, as opposed to a more general, secular term suggesting he built or defined the area of the sanctuary.[291] The definition of *hieron* is not as categorical as Reynolds makes it out to be, but the definition of *naos* is much more so. If Reynolds' re-evaluation of the text is correct, then it can be said categorically that the text found above the door of the Temple of Aphrodite refers to Zoilus as the one who dedicated the temple in addition to his other role there; defining the boundary of the sanctuary, which will be discussed below.

The original interpretation of the text from the temple's main door resulted from Zoilus' involvement in the erection of the boundary stones of the sanctuary. Two surviving inscribed boundary stones state that Zoilus was responsible for setting them up. The first is badly damaged and was found in the necropolis. It has been reconstructed to read:

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[287] Sitz 2019, 149-150.

[288] Sitz 2019, 149.

[289] Hellmann 2002, 349: "Une sanctuaire, plus rarement une édifice sacré."

[290] Hellmann 2002, 349: "Le temple, ou parfois, sa salle principale, la cella."

[291] Reynolds 1990, 38.

·· ? ··]
καὶ [ἡ σ]ύ̣ν̣κλητ[ο]ς καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος]
ὁ Ῥωμαίω[ν] καθὼς καὶ τὰ φιλάν -
θρ[ω]πα [καὶ] δ̣[ε]λτογραφήματα
κ[αὶ] ἐ̣πι[τάγμ]ματα περιέχει ἀνέσ-
τησε v. δὲ τ[οὺ]ς [ὅρου]ς Γάϊος
[Ἰο]ύλ[ιο]ς [Z]ῳ̣[ΐ̓λ]ος ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἀ-
φροδίτης *vac*.

> [This area is the sacred asylum as defined by the great Caesar, the Dictator, and his son Imperator Caesar] and [the S]enate and [the people] of Rome, as is also contained in the grants of privilege, the public documents and decrees. C. [I]ul[iu]s [Z]o[il]us priest of Aphrodite set up [the boundary stones.][292]

The second is also badly damaged and its exact provenance is now unknown,[293] but it has been restored to read:

[οὗτος? ὁ τόπο]ς ἱερὸς ἄσυ-
[λος ὡς? ἔκριναν] *v.* ὁ μέγας
[Καῖσαρ? ὁ δικ]τ̣άτωρ
καὶ [ὁ? υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐ]τοκράτωρ
[Καῖσαρ καὶ ἡ σύ]νκλητος
[καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥ]ωμαίων
[καθὼς καὶ τὰ] φιλάνθρω-

[292] *IAph*2007 1.38. Trans. Reynolds 1982.

[293] Reynolds 1982 refers to the inscription as a "stray find".

[πα καὶ δελτογρα]φή-
[ματα καὶ ἐπικρίματα]
[περιέχει, ἀνέστησεν]
[δὲ τοὺς ὅρους Γάϊος]
[Ἰούλιος Ζωΐλος ὁ ἱερεὺς]
[τῆς Ἀφροδείτης.]

> "[? This area is] the sacred asylum [? as defined by] the great [? Caesar, the] Dictator, and [? his son] Imperator [Caesar and the] Senate [and People] of Rome, [as is also contained in the] grants of privilege, the public documents [and decrees. C. Iulius Zoilus priest of Aphrodite set up the boundary stones]."[294]

Rome's involvement at the Temple of Aphrodite is detailed in the *Senatus Consultum de Aphrodisiensibus,* dated by the names of the consuls in the first lines to either 39 or 35 B.C.:[295]

> "The temple or precinct of the goddess Aphrodite which is in the city of the Plarasans and the Aphrodisians, that temple or precinct is to be an asylum, with the rights and the religious sanctity which pertain to the temple or precinct of Ephesian Artemis at Ephesus, for an area of 120 feet surrounding that temple or precinct in all directions; that area is to be an asylum."[296]

These inscriptions make it clear that the exact location of the boundary of the temple precinct was not defined by Zoilus, but that this decision was being made by the highest authority in Rome. If Reynolds' reconstruction is correct, the mention of "great (Caesar the) Dictator" as the joint instigator of the redefinition of the Temple precinct's boundary is an interesting one. It suggests that the decision was taken prior to 44 B.C., but only enacted later, perhaps at the same time as the issuing of the *Senatus*

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[294] *IAph*2007 1.1.

[295] Reynolds 1982, 63.

[296] *IAph*2007 8.27. ll. 55-57.

Consultum di Aphrodisiensibus. The involvement of the Imperial family in this project suggests that Zoilus was merely carrying out the work. This implies that, although he may not have held an official position, he maintained his links with them and worked on their behalf in Aphrodisias. The phrase 'the Senate and People of Rome' is ubiquitous in building dedications in the City of Rome and its presence in the boundary stone inscriptions emphasises not only Zoilus' links with the metropolis, but the increasing involvement of the central power in local decisions in Asia. There is no reference to his status as freedman on the boundary stones, only to his priesthood of Aphrodite. This implies that, despite working on behalf of his former masters, Zoilus was represented purely as a citizen of Aphrodisias, rather than as someone with connections to the Imperial family.

The Temple of Aphrodite's dedicatory inscription is usually interpreted as indicating that Zoilus paid for the building the construction of the Temple of Aphrodite. When considered alongside the defining of the boundary, it implies that Zoilus was involved in an extensive project. The building of a whole temple by an individual is highly irregular for the late-Hellenistic period. Throughout Greek history, temples were built primarily with the city funds, composed of taxes, booty, and donations made by the citizens.[297] Outsiders, such as the Hellenistic kings, also contributed to the construction of temples. As some of the most important and richest men in the Hellenistic world, the Kings would have been natural candidates for building temples, as they had both the influence and resources required.[298] The fact that Zoilus was also able to construct a temple in the same manner is indicative of the importance and prestigiousness of Zoilus' benefaction. In the context of the Greek world in the early Roman period, Zoilus' ability to dedicate an entire temple is highly irregular. Sometime in the early first century B.C., a Messenian decree honours contributors to the restoration of different buildings in the city.[299] These included repairs of the temple of Demeter, funded by Dionysius son of Aristomenes, costing 500 denarii, and the restoration of the temple of Herakles and Hermes at the gymnasium by Domitius.[300] Whilst, like Zoilus, these Messenian benefactors contributed to temple buildings, they made

[297] Domingo-Gygax 2016, 75.

[298] For further details see Ma 1999.

[299] *SEG* 23. 207.

[300] Lafond 2016, 20.

repairs to the structures, rather than building a new temple as Zoilus appears to have done. A little later than Zoilus, the city of Megalopolis honoured a benefactor who paid for the refurbishment of the city's sanctuary with the priesthood of the Imperial cult and civic honours including *proehedria* at the games and exemption from taxes.[301] The temple of *Despoina* at Megalopolis was collapsing and was repaired by Xenarchus, his wife Nicippa, and their relatives at their own expense.[302] However, like the benefactors at Messenia, the architectural benefactors from Megalopolis only contributed to repairs to the temple, their project was not on the same scale as Zoilus' appears to have been. In an apparent contrast to the provinces, in Rome itself during the second half of the first century B.C., officials could build and rebuild temples.[303] If Zoilus did build the whole of the Temple of Aphrodite it implies the introduction of such Roman practices.[304]

Even though Zoilus' construction of the Temple of Aphrodite is almost undisputed in modern scholarship, it cannot be categorically stated that he did build it. Two key pieces of information are missing from the text which would prove for certain that Zoilus did build the Temple of Aphrodite. The first is a verb associated with either making something, such as ποιέω, or dedication such as ἀνατίθημι. Unlike the boundary stone inscriptions, where the verb ἀνίστημι, to set up, is used to indicate Zoilus' involvement in the project, here there is no specific indication of involvement. Without a verb in the inscription it is impossible to know exactly what role Zoilus played in the temple. In Asia at this time, the city would have been the usual financer of a temple whilst, as a priest of Aphrodite, Zoilus would have been the obvious choice to carry out the role of dedicating a new temple. Therefore, Zoilus may have had no more involvement in the Temple of Aphrodite than carrying out a dedication

301 Melfi 2016, 5.

302 *IG* V. 2. 515b; Kantirea 2016, 33.

303 A few examples of Roman elites who built or rebuilt temples in Rome contemporarily or near-contemporarily to Zoilus' projects in Aphrodisias include: Gaius Sosius, who reconstructed the Temple of Apollo, later named the Temple of Apollo Sosianus; Marcus Agrippa, who built the first Pantheon; Lucius Munatius Plancus, who rebuilt the Temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum; Pompey, who built the Temple of Venus Victrix atop his theatre.

304 Alternatively, if the Temple of Aphrodite had been destroyed during the war against Labienus, Zoilus may have been the only forthcoming source of financing a project on such a vast scale, so all usual protocol was abandoned in the face of necessity.

ceremony. The second missing piece of information that would help prove Zoilus' involvement in constructing the Temple of Aphrodite is any mention of funding. Whilst this is not always included in the dedicatory inscriptions from public monuments in Asia, if the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων or something similar had been used here this would have proved that Zoilus had paid for the construction of the Temple of Aphrodite. Without such information, it is impossible to know where the source of funding for the Temple of Aphrodite came from. These omissions from the Temple of Aphrodite's inscription diminish the certainty held by modern scholars that Zoilus built the temple. He certainly set up the boundary stones, and there is nothing to suggest that he did not build the Temple of Aphrodite but, from the evidence that we have, it cannot be taken for granted that he did. However, as our current evidence does not provide us with another plausible candidate for the benefactor of the Temple of Aphrodite, Zoilus remains the most likely candidate for undertaking the work.

In this inscription Zoilus is called σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος, saviour and benefactor of his country. This inscription is the only surviving text in which Zoilus was given these honours. Reynolds suggests that the reason for this is that the inscription was commissioned and drafted by others after Zoilus' had died, honouring him for the work he had carried out during his life.[305] In the case of the inscription being posthumously dedicated to Zoilus, this is certainly plausible. If Zoilus paid for the construction of the Temple of Aphrodite, it would have been an enormous undertaking. Even though the Temple of Aphrodite was probably begun soon after the war against Labienus, there are only ten years where Zoilus is attested in the epigraphic record at Aphrodisias, so he may have died prior to the temple's completion.[306] As noted earlier, only two honorific inscriptions to Zoilus survive, one is badly

[305] Reynolds 1990, 38.

[306] Reynolds 1990, 38. Reynolds estimates a date of death for Gaius Iulius Zoilus in the first third of the reign of Augustus.

damaged,[307] the other was more complete but is now lost[308] but neither appeared to have included these epithets. The pair that survive may be but two of many, so it is possible that a statue base naming him as σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης or just εὐεργέτης was awarded to him. No funerary or honorific inscription survives from the Zoilus monument. If these honours had appeared there too, then this would further strengthen the theory that these honours were posthumous only. The fact that these two prestigious honours appear only on the Temple of Aphrodite, arguably the most prestigious monument that Zoilus was associated with, strengthens the assumption that he was involved in its construction, and was rewarded accordingly. As far as the evidence allows though, we know that he was rewarded with a statue that, one assumes given its content, recognised his work as a priest of Aphrodite and of Eleutheria. At some point before the completion of the Temple of Aphrodite, he was also given the titles σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης, though why these honours were bestowed, and whether he was alive or dead at the time is unclear.

Most of the temple's features were pre-Roman. Its octastyle and pseudo-dipteral design predates the Hellenistic period.[309] The stylobate was constructed of marble blocks that varied in length from 1.6-1.65 metres for those that supported the columns and 0.94-1 metres for those between the columns.[310] The foundations of the cella were constructed of local stone, without mortar, dug unto a trench that was then packed with gravel and ceramic fragments. The cella measured approximately 22.45 x 9.6 metres.

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[307] *IAph2007* 8.203. Reynolds 1982, 163. The block was reused in a later wall which has resulted in the survival of only the left side of the original feature. From the remaining text, the following reconstruction has been suggested:

[? vac. ὁ] δῆμος vac. [?ἐτείμησεν]

Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Ζώιλ[ον…

The missing portion of the stone may have contained further epithets.

[308] *IAph2007* 5.101; Reynolds 1982, 158. From the squeeze, it appears that there were no further lines of text after those which had survived:

[ἡ βουλ]ὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτ[ε]ίμησεν

[Γά]ϊον Ἰούλιον Ζώιλον τὸν

[ἱερ]έα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς

[Ἐλε]υθερίας διὰ βίου

[309] Tomlinson 1976, 47; Steele 1992, 139; Ratté 2001, 121.

[310] Theodorescu 1990, 52.

Its walls measured between 1.4 and 1.9 metres in width, and was surrounded by a peristyle of 8 x 13 Ionic columns.[311] The six that are still standing, including their capitals, stand at heights ranging from 9.3 to 9.37 metres, the shortest of them stood at the corners of the temple, the highest in the centre of the façade. Dinu Theodorescu suggests this could be explained by the effect of a possible optical correction.[312] As the *adyton* had its own *pronaos*, the *naos* consisted of three chambers, though there is no clear indication of an *opisthodomos*. The foundations of the *pronaos* appear to have cut through the remains of a crudely made mosaic floor.[313] This floor, which included traces of blue-black borderlines against a white background, and animal figures in an emblem, or separated area, almost certainly belonged to an earlier phase of the sanctuary, dated to the early third century B.C. by three coins embedded in its mortar.[314]

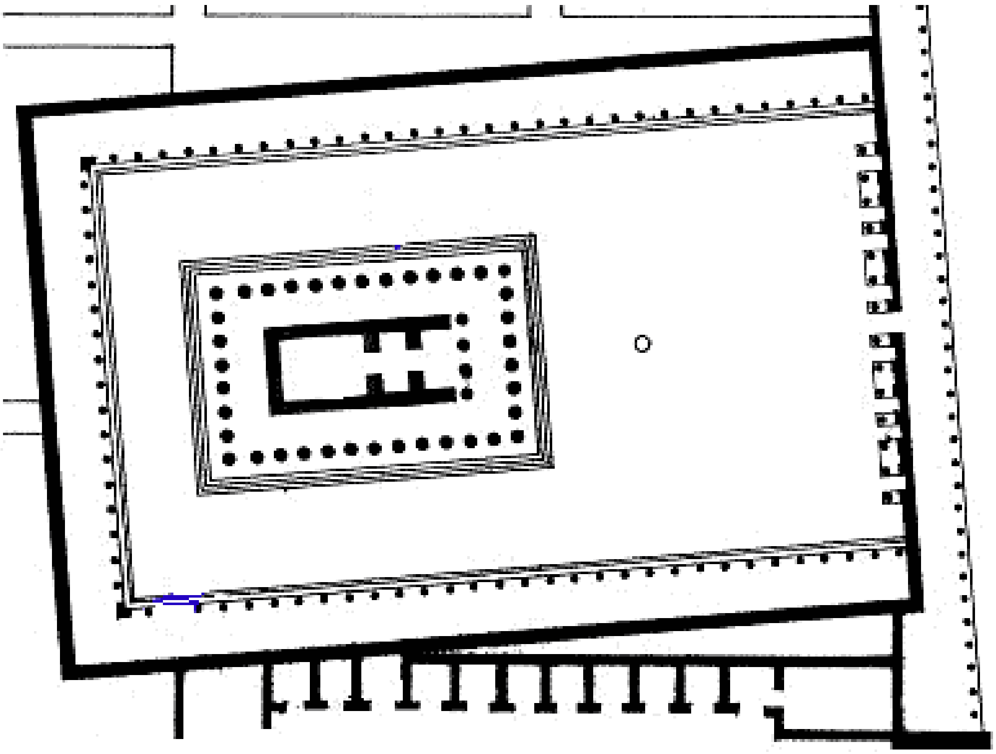

Figure 8: Floorplan of the Temple of Aphrodite (New York University).[315]

[311]Theodorescu 1990, 49; 51.

[312] Theodorescu 1990, 53; “Ce fait pourrait s'expliquer - toutes les précautions prises - par l'effet d'une éventuellement correction optique…”.

[313] Erim 1986, 57.

[314] Erim 1986, 57.

[315] https://www.nyu.edu/projects/aphrodisias/taph.state.htm (Last Accessed 4/7/2018)

The temple was converted into a cathedral in *c*. 500 A.D.,[316] so very little of its original decoration survives, Fragmentary blocks have been discovered that were decorated with rows of ovals and palmettes and a Lesbian *kymation*.[317] Five fragments of a frieze decorated with garlands supported by figures in oriental clothes and Phrygian caps have also survived. The capitals were also decorated with ovals and vegetation motifs.[318] Its Ionic order, typical of temple architecture in Asia, evoked a traditional, Hellenistic style of temple building, rather than using the more elaborate Corinthian order. The Corinthian order began to occur within Rome during the second century B.C.,[319] yet it did not appear in Asia until the first century B.C.[320] Despite this early appearance, the Corinthian order was not common in Asia until the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian: The Temple of Trajan and Zeus Philius at Pergamon and the Temple of Zeus at Euromus are well-known examples.

Figure 9 : The Temple of Aphrodite, Aphrodisias (April 2011).

[316] Örgü 2012, 367.

[317] Theodorescu 1990, 52.

[318] Theodorescu 1990, 53; 61.

[319] Stamper 2005, 66.

[320] See Gros 2006, 483 for examples.

Despite the overwhelmingly local architectural features in terms of order and layout, there are some indications within the epigraphic evidence associated with the Temple of Aphrodite that increased interactions with Roman and local elites had resulted in changes in the practice of both architectural benefaction and how benefactors were represented through architecture by the late Hellenistic period. Possibly the most 'Roman' feature of the Temple of Aphrodite is that it was built of marble: the first in the city to be constructed of the material.[321] This is interesting, as the sanctuary was already several centuries old by this point, and the area was rich in marble. The so-called 'City Quarry', located two kilometres east of the city along the slopes of Baba Dağ,[322] was one of nine marble quarries within the city's vicinity.[323] Leah Long's studies of the quarrying of these resources suggests that although marble was used in the tombs, settlements, and rural fortifications of pre-Hellenistic and Early Hellenistic Aphrodisias and the surrounding areas, large-scale quarrying did not begin in earnest until the construction of Zoilus' monuments.[324] It is difficult not to see the motive behind the use of this new resource when contemporary Rome was becoming a city of marble. The use of marble was hardly new in the Greek world, so it is particularly surprising that marble was not used for the temple building at Aphrodisias until this building project. It may be too far either to state categorically that the origins of the use of marble in Aphrodisian building projects were a direct result of Zoilus himself seeing marble monuments, or interacting with sculptors and architects from, elsewhere in the empire, but it is hard to ignore the correlation. Marc Waelkens speculates that there are other parallel examples of Roman citizens introducing new building techniques into provincial contexts. He argues that it cannot be coincidental that the first solid brick monument in Ephesus, the Marnas aqueduct bridge built by Gaius Sextilius Pollio, and the first major concrete building at Miletus, the Baths of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, were both creations of Roman officials, who must have encountered Roman building techniques elsewhere.[325] Waelken's interpretation is too clear cut as, although we know that Capito was Procurator of Asia and Prefect of Egypt, there is

[321] Raja 2012, 16.

[322] Akurgal 1973, 172.

[323] Long 2012, 169.

[324] Long 2012, 185.

[325] Waelkens 1987, 101-102.

no evidence that Pollio held any official positions in Ephesus or the Imperial administration.[326] A more accurate assessment would be that Roman-style building practices such as these were introduced into the provinces by individuals who had connections to, or interactions with, the city of Rome or the Imperial administration more generally. This broader definition encompasses men, like Zoilus, who was not a Roman official but had demonstrable connections with outside of Aphrodisias and, like these other benefactors, introduced Roman building practices into his city. Using marble, the Temple of Aphrodite became a striking and different feature of the townscape and this indicates how architectural benefactors could add uniqueness and variety to their projects. Zoilus did not follow previous practices of using poorer quality limestone but exploited a new resource.

The architectural and decorative features of the Temple of Aphrodite indicate how varied a process major architectural benefaction could be, and how benefactors could represent themselves in many ways through this medium. Zoilus, the Aphrodisias-born Roman citizen who may have spent time in Rome, chose to build the temple to his city's patron goddess in the style of his local city rather than in a manner that reflected his, and Aphrodisias', place in the Roman world. Its Ionic, rather than Corinthian, columns were in keeping with the old Hellenistic cityscape, and its dedication was in a style befitting its place and its honorands. Despite its Hellenistic appearance, the Temple of Aphrodite did not escape the influence of Roman architectural and dedicatory practices, in that Zoilus could build a temple, a task once the preserve of the city and the Hellenistic kings. Now, as in Rome, an individual member of the local elite could do so too. The defining of the boundary by Caesar, and Zoilus' carrying out the work on his behalf further suggests the increased influence which Rome and Roman practices was beginning to have on architectural benefaction in the latter part of the first century B.C. The start of large-scale quarrying of marble in the city's hinterland, and the commencement of its use for public monuments, such as the Temple of Aphrodite, could also indicate an introduction of Roman building practices in the area, resulting from Zoilus' interactions with Rome or Roman architects. Despite being an Imperial freedman, and one who boasted special favour from Octavian, there is no indication of this relationship from any of the temple's

[326] For a discussion of the works of Pollio and Capito, see Chapters 3 and 5, respectively.

surviving epigraphy. Instead, Zoilus is only referred to as holding a local priesthood. Apart from his name, there is no indication of any involvement with, or influence of, Rome at all. At the Temple of Aphrodite, Zoilus was primarily represented as a local benefactor, carrying out work for his home city, and secondarily as a local carrying out a project on Caesar's behalf. The Roman influence in Zoilus' benefaction of the Temple of Aphrodite is present, but minimal. This was a monument dedicated by a local man, the priest of the cult in his home city, to his local deity, and Zoilus was represented as such.

2.3. The Stage Building of the Theatre

Zoilus' second building project in Aphrodisias was at the city's theatre. The theatre building itself predates Zoilus. The *cavea*, built into the side of an artificial hill formed of earlier settlement debris, was horseshoe-shaped and divided into two, perhaps three, *diazomata*. Its estimated capacity was 8,000 spectators.[327] The dedicatory inscription does not give the precise date of Zoilus' benefaction, but Reynolds argues for a date of no later than 28 B.C. She offers two pieces of evidence which support this date. First, is the absence of the title 'Augustus' in the patron's name, which would indicate a date prior to January 27 B.C. Secondly, based upon calculations of the possible range of dates for Zoilus' return to Aphrodisias, his tenth continuous *stephanephorate* must have ended in late 28 at the latest.[328] The theatre stage building would have been a less extensive building project in comparison with the Temple of Aphrodite, and, arguably, would have been a lesser priority than the rebuilding of a sacked cult sanctuary. Therefore, the theatre stage building would have been started some time after Zoilus returned to Aphrodisias and dedicated prior to 27 B.C. when Zoilus had been *stephanephorus* for the tenth time in succession.

The two, identical, dedicatory inscriptions, one found on the Doric storey, the other on the stylobate of the Ionic storey, may support this view.[329] They read:

[327] Erim 1986, 79; de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 29.

[328] Reynolds 1982, 162.

[329] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 37.

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ζωΐ̣λος θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υ[ἱ]οῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, στεφανηφορήσας τὸδέκατον ἑξῆς, τὸ λογήϊον καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῶι προσκοσμήμασιν [πᾶσιν, Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τῶι] Δήμωι.

"Gaius Iulius Zoilus freedman of the divine Iulius' son Caesar, after being *stephanephorus* for the tenth time in succession (gave) the stage and the *proskenion* with all the applied ornaments on it to Aphrodite and the Demos."[330]

The formula of the theatre stage's dedication largely follows that of those dated to the preceding centuries. It named Zoilus first as the dedicator, and then what he had constructed, finally those to whom it was dedicated. The only part of the text that differentiates it from an earlier Hellenistic building dedication is the inclusion of Zoilus' status as Imperial freedman, instead of patronymics. As a freedman the absence of Zoilus' patronymics was not unusual, however, this was the only text that referred to his status as an Imperial freedman. A cursory glance at the building inscription from the bouleuterion at Miletus discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, constructed over a century prior to Zoilus' monuments, illustrates that Zoilus' texts were structured in a similar way to earlier Hellenistic monumental dedications:

[Τίμαρχο]ς̣ κ̣[αὶ Ἡρακλείδη]ς̣ οἱ Ἡρακλείδου ὑπὲρ βασ[ιλέως Ἀ]ν̣τιόχου Ἐπιφαν[οῦς]

[Ἀπό]λλωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ἑστίαι Βο̣[υ]λ̣αίαι καὶ τῶι Δήμωι.

Timarchus and Heracleides, sons of Heracleides, (dedicated the building) on behalf of King Antiochus Epiphanes, to Apollo of Didyma, Hestia Bulaia, and the Demos.[331]

The beginnings and the ends of the two texts are very similar. The names of the benefactors appear first, and the honorands appear last in both inscriptions. Whereas Timarchus and Heracleides state that they were working on behalf of Antiochus IV, thus legitimising what they were doing, Zoilus' work was legitimised by stating that he had held the title of *stephanephorus* ten times in succession. This is where the

[330] *IAph*2007 8.1; 8.5.

[331] *IMilet* I 2, 2.

similarities end. The theatre stage building texts goes into detail as to what his benefaction entailed, whilst Timarchus and Heracleides' inscription gave no details at all. The reason for the latter was that they built the whole of the bouleuterion, so there would have been no reason to clarify exactly what their benefaction entailed.

Exactly what Zoilus built at the theatre needs to be discussed and clarified, and the epigraphic material must be considered alongside the archaeological remains to determine exactly what Zoilus was responsible for building at the theatre. The inscription states that he gave two elements of the stage building: the stage "τὸ λογήϊον" and the *proskenion* with all the applied ornaments on it "τὸ προσκήνιον σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῶι προσκοσμήμασιν πᾶσιν." Vitruvius defines the *logeion* thus:

> "The stage is narrower: this they call logeion (speaking-place), for the reason that the tragic and comic actors deliver their speeches on the stage."[332]

The *proskenion,* which Virtuvius simply calls "the stage" and states it should be no shorter than 10 feet and no higher than 12,[333] referred to a platform directly in front of the stage building.[334] In their 1991 publication on the Aphrodisian theatre, de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu argued that the location of the upper inscription confirmed that *proskenion* in fact not only referred to the Doric storey supporting the *logeion* but also the rest of the *scaenae frons*.[335] However, the text from the Ionic storey was inscribed much later than the one on the Doric storey, perhaps as late as the second century A.D., to judge by the hand and the fact that the text encroaches onto the drafting of the sylobate.[336] Therefore, the upper text's use of the word *proskenion* cannot be used as evidence for a change in definition of the term.

In their 2017 publication, *Le théâtre d'Aphrodisias: Les structures scéniques,* de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu attempted to add more credence to their argument for the term *proskenion* referring to architectural features other than a platform in front of the rest of the stage. Whilst there is no evidence to support their theory that the theatre stage may have been commissioned by Octavian while he was in Samos in 29 B.C in

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[332] Vitr. 5.7.2.

[333] Vitr. 5.7.1-2.

[334] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 37; 42; Hellmann 2002, 350.

[335] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 37.

[336] Graham 2018, 278.

an attempt to rehabilitate the image of Rome in Asia Minor,[337] excavations and surveys of the remains of the theatre suggest that the whole of the initial phase of the stage building was built in the second half of the first century B.C. They argue throughout that Zoilus was responsible for the construction of the whole stage building, despite the apparently very clear description in the dedicatory inscription as to what he did contribute.[338]

Their first suggestion is that *proskenion* could refer to more than one architectural feature. They compare Zoilus' theatre dedication with the one found on the theatre stage building at Patara in Lycia, dedicated in 147 A.D. by Vilia Procula.[339] Whilst it is much later than the stage building at Aphrodisias, there are similarities between how different components of the stage are named. Lines 9-12 of the dedicatory inscription describe the *proskenion* as the place where the statues and decorations were located,[340] whilst lines 13-14 refer to the *logeion* with its structure "κατασκευὴν" and its coating "πλακωσιν".[341] Ordinarily, the *proskenion* would have been considered part of the structure of the *logeion*,[342] however here de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu suggest that the designation of the structure and coating of the *logeion* as a separate architectural element to the *proskenion* implies that *proskenion* was being used to describe the decorative scene building above the *logeion*.[343] The separation of the *proskenion* and the *logeion* in the theatre building appears to have been unusual.[344]

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337 de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 175; 182.

338 de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 31.

339 *TAM* II, 408; Jameson 1966, 133.

340 *TAM* II, 408 ll. 9-12; καὶ καθιέρωσεν τό τε προσκήνιον, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν
ἐκ θεμελίων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς Κο(ΐντος) Οὐείλιος Τιτιανός,
καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν τῶν
ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀνάστασιν

341 *TAM* II, 408 ll. 13-14; καὶ τὴν τοῦ λογείου κατασκευὴν καὶ
πλάκωσιν

342 In their glossary of terms Csapo and Slater (1994, 443) describe the *logeion* as the roof of the *proskenion,* implying that the former was a constituent part of the latter.

343 de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 31.

344 In the *PHI* online database, the only texts which refer to a separate *logeion* and *proskenion* are Zoilus' text and the text from Patara. Surviving instances of προσκήνιον alone include: *Epigr. tou Oropou* 430; *IK Sestos* 7; *IMyl* 509; *IK* 3,158. In the *SEG* online database the only instance of the phrase τὸ λογήϊον καὶ τὸ προσκήνιον is Zoilus' dedication of the theatre, whilst the only instance of the word

However, with only one comparable, but later example, it cannot be categorically stated that there was a change in use of terminology in theatre dedications at either Aphrodisias or at Patara.

Their second suggestion is that Zoilus, having spent a long time in Rome, confused the Greek word *proskenion,* for the Latin *proscenium*. This would mean that "*proskenion*" referred to a lower, flatter stage, while *logeion* referred to the Doric portico, the terrace atop it and the *scaenae frons.*[345] A change in application of terminology may have occurred at this relatively early date, in a provincial context, when constructing a monument that would not have been entirely familiar in such a context. However, de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu's assertions are speculative and unsupported by comparable examples of linguistic changes. Therefore, Zoilus' dedicatory inscriptions alone cannot be used solely to prove that he built the whole stage building. However, a more detailed analysis of the architectural features of the stage building can aid such an interpretation.

Figure 10: The remains of the theatre, Aphrodisias. (April 2011).

λογήϊον being used alone is in a Roman dedication (date unknown) from Orchomenos (*SEG* 34 356). Surviving instances of προσκήνιον alone include: *SEG* 57 373; *SEG* 40 995; *SEG* 52 1496; *SEG* 39 869 (which refers to the construction of the *skene* and *proskenion*); *SEG* 52 1496.

[345] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017.

Although newly constructed in the late first century B.C., the stage building has been interpreted as antiquated by Roman standards and unsuitable for most forms of modern drama.[346] This would explain the relatively short period between its initial construction and the when the *logeion* began to be used to display statues of *euergetes* and magistrates, indicating its lack of use, by the second half of the first century A.D. A statue base inscribed with Zoilus' name survives from the theatre,[347] and above Zoilus' building inscription on the *proskenion* survive honorific texts for Tiberius Claudius Diogenes,[348] Gaius Hosidius Ioulianus,[349] and Tiberius Claudius Zelos.[350] The dates

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[346] Csapo and Slater 1994, 87.

[347] *IAph* 2007 8.203. Trans. Reynolds 1982. See n. 307.

[348] *IAph* 2007 8.23. Trans. Reynolds 1981; [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Τι(βέριον) ?Κλαύ] | διον Διογένην ἀρχιερέα τῆς | Ἀ̣σίας καὶ σεβαστοφάντην καὶ ἀγωνοθέ - [?την ·· c. 27 ··] | εὐεργέτην δίκαιον φιλάνθ[ρ]|ωπον φιλοπολείτην *stop* νομοθέτην δὶς γυ-[μνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς λοι]|π̣ὰς ἀνυπερθέτως πεπλη̣|ρωκότα πάσας *vac.*

"[The Council and the People honoured Ti(berius) Clau]dius Diogenes, high-priest of Asia, and sebastophant, and contest-president[...] benefactor, just, lover of mankind, lover of the citizens, nomothete, twice gy[mnasiarch and] having carried out all [the other offices] unsurpassably."

[349] *IAph* 2007 8.38. Trans. Roueché 2007; Ἡ γερουσία ἐ̣κ̣ τῶν ἰδίων Γάιον Ὁσίδιον Ἰουλιανὸ | ν ἀναθέντα τῇ πατρίδι ἀγῶνα εἱμιταλαντιαῖον stop καὶ τῇ θεῷ ἀναθήματα ἐπιμεληθέ̣[ν]τος Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδ[ώρ]ο̣υ̣ | [το]ῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Κικιννᾶ γραμμα̣τέω[ς τ]ὸ β´ leaf

"The Gerousia, from their own funds, (honoured) Gaius Hosidius Iulianos, who dedicated for his fatherland a contest in the half-talent category, and dedications for the goddess; the overseer was Menandros son of Artemidoros son of Menandros son of Artemidoros son of Kikinnas, secretary for the second time."; *IAph* 2007 8.39. Trans. Roueché 2007; Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Γ | [άιον] Ὁσίδιο[ν Ἰουλι]α̣νὸν φιλόπατριν καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀνα|θέντα χρήματα εἰς ἀγῶν[ας ·· c. 5 ··ε]-
τηρικοὺς καὶ τῇ [θ]ε<ᾳ> Ἀφροδίτῃ κατ[αλιπ]|όν[τα ἀρ]γύρεα χρυσένπαιστα δηλούμενα διὰ τῆ|ς διαθη̣κῆς αὐτοῦ stop τὸ δὲ [εἰς τὴν ?τεί]μην τοῦ ΑΝΔ̣Ο̣[·]Ο[··] Ε̣Γ̣Η̣Γ̣ | [·· c. 12 ··]ῶν προσόδων ἐργεπισ̣[τα]τ̣ή̣σαντος Ἀνδρο | [ν]ε̣ίκου τοῦ Παρδαλᾶ τ[οῦ ?Παπίου]

"The Council and the People (honoured) Gaius Hosidius Iulianos, a lover of his country and a benefactor, who dedicated money for contests [on a ?-year] cycle and to the goddess Aphrodite bequeathed (offerings) of silver inlaid with gold as set out in his will. The [?money] for the price of the [?offering ?he gave from] [...] income; the work was overseen by Andronikos son of Pardalas [?son of Papias]."

[350] *IAph* 2007 8.84. Trans. Roueché and Bodard 2007; ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερο|υσία καὶ οἱ νέοι ἐτείμησα̣|ν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Ζῆλον ἀρχιερέα κ|αὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ *v.*
τοῦ Δήμου, τὸν κτίστην καὶ εὐ|εργέτην ἐν πᾶσιν τῆς π|ατρίδος ἐπιμεληθέντος Ποπλίου Αἰλ | ίου Καλλικράτους τοῦ πρωτολόγου ἄρχοντος

of these inscriptions range from the late Julio-Claudians to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the use of this space for honorific inscriptions and possibly statues suggests that the function of the *proskenion* had begun to change approximately 70-80 years after it was built. This change in the *proskenion's* usage indicates an evolution in the type of drama held there: Roman drama had far less use for an upper platform.[351] This evolution would have led to the construction of the wide stage platform which survives today. The orchestra was also expanded at this time, resulting in a relationship between stage and orchestra more akin to the Vitruvian model of a Latin theatre.[352] Despite many later additions, a three-storied stage building formed part of a single construction phase. This work was carried out by Zoilus.[353]

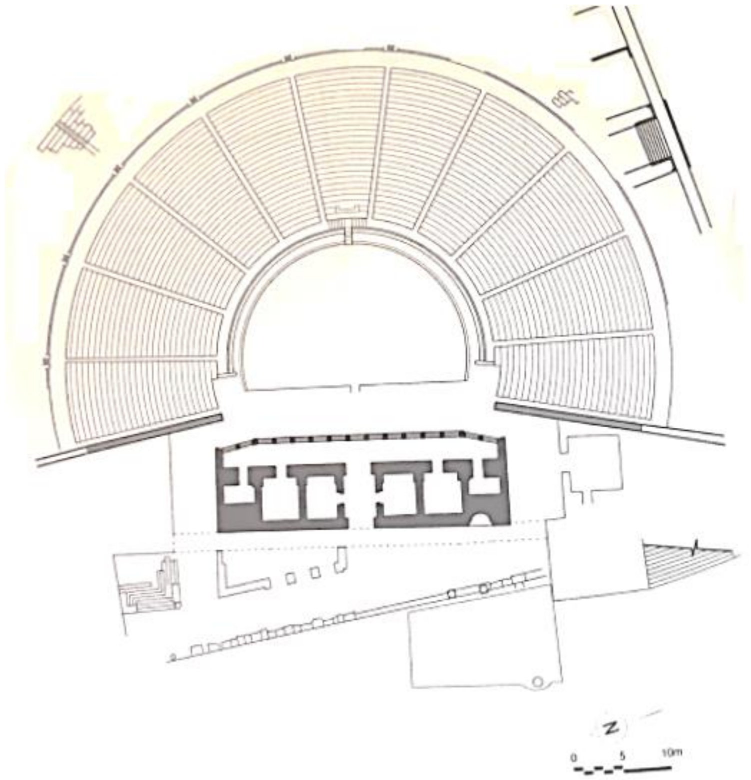

Figure 11: Schematic plan of the theatre of Aphrodisias. (de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 2).

"The Council and the People and the Gerousia and the Young Men honoured Tiberius Claudius Zelos, high-priest and priest for life of goddess Aphrodite and of the People, founder and benefactor in all things of his fatherland. The overseer was Publius Aelius Kallikrates, the First Archon."

351 de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 175.

352 de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 35.

353 de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 219.

Relatively little of Zoilus' construction phase of the theatre stage building is still visible to a modern visitor to Aphrodisias. The largest surviving feature, an 8.6 metres wide platform, comprises the supporting structures of Zoilus' stage building and the later *pulpitum.* The *pulpitum,* which juts out into the orchestra, is 5.5 metres wide and 2.35 metres high.[354] In its current form, it dates from either the second or third century A.D. if, as Reynolds suggests, the dedicatory inscription that survives on it was moved when the stage was expanded at some point after the initial construction.[355] The stage building occupied an area covering 215 square metres and behind it was six rooms, two that opened onto a passage covered by barrel vaulting. The other four opened onto a corridor created by the *proskenion* colonnade.[356] This vault was an innovative feature of the stage building, allowing movement of people between the terrace of the *proskenion* and the *porticus post scaenum*.[357] The front parts of the rooms display high quality Hellenistic masonry, whist the back walls and the vaults display the small-stone technique, possibly indicating late-Roman or Byzantine repairs.[358] The passage opened into the *cavea* through a monumental gate, flanked by protruding pilasters. Vaults of *opus quadratum* supported the *scaenae frons*, whilst vaults of rubble supported the floors of the first floor.[359] In terms of dimensions and proportions, the relationship between the stage building and the orchestra conform to the almost

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[354] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 33.

[355] Reynolds 1991, 19: The benefactor who constructed this part of the stage's initial phase was Tiberius Claudius Zelos, high priest of the Imperial cult and of Aphrodite. The text which dates to between December A.D. 139 and March A.D. 161 reads θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνεινῷ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐήρῳ Καίσαρι καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι οἴκω τῶν Σέβαστῶν καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτη πατρίδι *leaf* Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ζῆλος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς διὰ βιου θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης τοὺς κείονας καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν κόσωον καὶ τὴν σκούτλωσιν τοῦ τοίχου και τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν *leaf.* "To the goddess Aphrodite, to Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Verus Caesar and the whole family of the Augusti, and to his very dear country; Tib. Claudius Zelos, high priest, priest for life of the goddess Aphrodite, prepared and dedicated the columns and the entablature above them and the veneering of the wall and of the floor at his own expense". *SEG* 26 1220; (Trans.) Reynolds 1991, 26.

[356] Erim 1986, 80.

[357] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 35.

[358] Erim 1986, 80.

[359] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 31.

contemporary Vitruvian model of a Greek theatre not a Latin one.[360] The *scaenae frons* here replaced the more traditionally Hellenistic *thyromata*, seen at Priene for example, but the still-distinct *proskenion* opposes what would be considered a Roman model.[361] There was a platform, an additional element to Hellenistic theatres, on which stood a Doric portico, which stood 2.46 metres high, and was formed of half-columns and pilasters. Unlike the relationship between the orchestra and the stage building, the *proskenion* did not follow Vitruvian proportions. Not only is it far taller than Vitruvius suggests but also the Doric columns are out of proportion and are far slenderer than expected: 7 times the height of their lower diameter, whereas 5.7 times was more normal.[362] The portico ran the total length of the *scaenae frons*, a total of 31.68 metres, and had five bays. The sides of the pilasters show slots where painted wooden scene panels would have slotted.[363] There were no *parascenia* or closing elements on the stage, which would have opened the stage doors, an element necessary for the action in Greek drama,[364] implies that this theatre stage building, and what took place there, were becoming more Roman in character.

In addition to the structure of the stage building, its decorations also warrant discussion because the inscription mentions that Zoilus gave all the decorations. In their 1991 collaboration on the theatre stage, de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu note that the Doric storey was decorated with iconic Doric motifs, such as metopes, friezes with *bucrania*, *patera*, and garlands. The capitals of the pilasters were decorated with ovals and half-palmettes, flowers and scrolls.[365] Erim notes that the Doric columns should once have been level with the orchestra, in the same way that they occur at the Hellenistic theatre in Priene.[366] However, in their 2017 publication, they state that all the extant decorations and statues appear on the Ionic and Corinthian storeys, not on the Doric.[367] The earlier publication discussed the preliminary findings of the

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[360] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 32-33. For Vitruvius' discussion of the correct plan of a Greek and Latin theatre see Vitr. 5. 7. 1 and 5. 6. 1. respectively.

[361] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 57.

[362] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 62

[363] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 32.

[364] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 56.

[365] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 45.

[366] Erim 1986, 80.

[367] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2007, 31.

excavations at the theatre, whilst the latest is a full report, so in the intervening 26 years there would have been plenty of time for a reassessment of the evidence. Whilst some of the architectural decoration initially attributed to the Doric storey could have been reattributed to the Ionic or Corinthian storeys, features such as the metopes and the details to the pilasters can only be attributed to the Doric storey.

Above the Doric *logeion* was the *scaenae frons,* a two-storey façade, one in the Ionic order, the other in the Corinthian.[368] This *scaenae frons* has been described as "a remarkably early example" of such as stage building, especially as it also featured a high *logeion.*[369] There is no standing evidence of the façade, but remains of Ionic and Corinthian capitals and shafts have been found in the area,[370] which, in addition to studies of their relative sizes, implies that these stories were present in the façade. On the Ionic storey, there were *aediculae,* measuring about 1.20 metres deep.[371] There were three doors in the storey where the actors would have entered. The central one stands the height of the storey, whilst the side ones were half the height of the storey. On the four columns found at the corners of the *aediculae* framing the central door were carved eagles. The eagles were the height of the architrave and frieze and, as de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu make clear, were triumphal in character. The presence of elegantly carved *Nikai,* that Erim describes as "almost baroque",[372] further affirm the triumphal nature of the monument's decoration.[373] The Ionic storey's friezes featured either, bulls' heads and *paterae,* or bulls' and rams' heads, connected with garlands or *palmette* motifs.[374] Several intricately carved floral acroteria have also been found.[375] The use of bull's heads draped in garlands on the frieze could allude to

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[368] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 32.

[369] Csapo and Slater 1994, 87.3

[370] Erim 1990, 32.

[371] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 43.

[372] Erim 1986, 82.

[373] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 55.

[374] Erim 1990, 32.

[375] Erim 1986, 82.

Rome.[376] Whilst *bucrania,* bull's skulls, and garlands were a common decorative feature from the Classical period onwards, living bulls were more unusual.

Figure 12: Surviving fragment from the Ionic frieze of the stage building of the theatre of Aphrodisias, showing a bull's head, not a skull, draped in garlands (de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 46).

De Chaisemartin and Theodorescu state that the images on the Ionic storey, although common in Doric and Corinthian settings, are otherwise unknown in Ionic contexts. For example, the *bucrania* are usually used in religious or funerary contexts, although friezes from the palace of Hyrcanus at Iraq al-Amir in Jordan, dating from 187 B.C. and the Doric frieze of the *proskenion* at Delos, where they alternate with tripods, are notable exceptions.[377] The inclusion of an elaborately decorated *scaenae frons,* a feature not part of the Greek theatre tradition, at this relatively early date suggests that by constructing the whole stage Zoilus attempted to introduce new building styles, and, as a result, new forms of drama that he would have experienced outside of Aphrodisias into his local city.

[376] Erim 1990, 32. For further discussion of the relationship between bulls' heads and the Julio-Claudian dynasty, see Chapter 3.

[377] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 51.

The new building enabled Greek drama to continue, whilst incorporating new traditions into broader provincial life and culture. The theatre at Aphrodisias was used not only for plays and festivals but also for civic functions and meetings. There was a vaulted passageway in the first floor of the stage building connecting the *proskenion* and the *porticus post scaenae*, which allowed a speaker to address audiences both inside the theatre itself and outside in the square to the east of the theatre.[378] Similarly, the vaulting underneath the stage building would have not only played a role in staging shows but also the performance of speakers at the citizens assembly, allowing easy entry and exit from the stage.[379] As mentioned above, the use of the theatre stage to honour worthy magistrates and *euergetes* indicate that the theatre also had a civic nature. Building a theatre stage that allowed for both theatrical and civic functions to occur both within and without the theatre at Aphrodisias, would have resulted in the familiar functions being conducted in an unfamiliar space. Decorating such a unique space with familiar images such as *bucrania*, *paterae*, and garlands, would have brought a sense of the familiar as the architecture of their theatre began to change around them. These design features, like those elsewhere in the city, indicate the growth and development of Aphrodisias after it had been granted its freedom and privileges by Rome.[380] Under the guidance and through the initiative of Zoilus, the public architecture of Aphrodisias began to develop towards a state befitting its place in the Roman Empire.

The third, and final, storey of the stage building was built in the Corinthian order. The Corinthian storey was dominated by a large central niche. The niche, which measured 3.02 metres wide by 4.64 metres high,[381] housed a statue group, consisting of Apollo Citharoidus being crowned by two Muses,[382] The statue group of Apollo may have been interpreted as representing Octavian’s victory at Actium. This image was used instead of one of Dionysus more traditionally associated with the theatre because Antony identified himself with Dionysus.[383] The scene was framed by foliage which

[378] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 31.

[379] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 159.

[380] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 182.

[381] Theodorescu 1996, 139.

[382] Theodorescu 1996, 139.

[383] Erim 1974, 162-166; de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 141.

appeared to be sprouting out of the shoulders of a feminine bust that held two scrolls. The foliage itself was formed of thick stems, strongly twisted into spirals, and combined volutes of both flowers and non-vegetation.[384] De Chaisemartin and Theodorescu describe the acanthus leaves as canonical in style, remaining true to Aphrodisian, Hellenistic models. Isolated acanthus leaves as decorative friezes are thought to have been oriental in origin, but its trend of usage seen in the late Hellenistic period originated in Ephesus. Here the motif was seen on small commemorative buildings dating from the third quarter of the first century B.C., with the frieze of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate being a notable example.[385] The remains of a pediment have also been discovered, which probably crowned the aedicule above the statue group.[386]

On the friezes from the Corinthian storey there was what de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu call Egyptian imagery. These include: serpents, not only reminiscent of a pharaonic crown but also an image associated with eastern cults; birds; and characters depicted with Egyptian hairstyles.[387] There were also Tritons carved on the Corinthian storey, each grasping a spiral of foliage in both of their hands. This type of decoration, derived from black-figured ceramics, often appeared on pediments, rather than friezes, as seen here. The appearance of the Tritons on the frieze may simply evoke a marine theme; they appear in paintings at the first century B.C. villas at Boscoreale and Boscotrecase. However, given the date of the monument, sometime before 28 B.C., the Tritons could also allude to the naval battle at Actium.[388] The appearance of tritons, alongside the 'Egyptian' imagery and the eagles discussed above all allude to a connection with Octavian's victory over Mark Antony and

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[384] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 50.

[385] Alzinger 1974, 9-11; de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 53. This monument, and its benefactors, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

[386] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 47; 2017, 224.

[387] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 47-48.

[388] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 47-48: The use of Tritons in monuments to celebrate Octavian's victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra is not unheard of in Asia Minor. Notable examples include: the so-called Harbour Monument at Miletus; the Arch of Augustus at Pisidian Antioch (Ossi 2016, 411). Examples in other places include: the restorations to the Temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum, undertaken by Lucius Munatius Plancus (Rebeggiani 2013, 57) and the Augustan triumphal arch at Orange in southern France (Picard 1992, 127).

Cleopatra in 31 B.C. A likely completion date of *c.* 28 B.C. would have allowed enough time to elapse between the battle and the dedication. However, the primary function of the theatre stage building at Aphrodisias was not an Actium victory monument, or a celebration of any achievement of Zoilus' former master. It should be considered as a representation of Zoilus, his relationships with both Octavian and his native city, his awareness of the major socio-political events in the empire, and how these shaped his place in both Aphrodisian and wider Roman society.

Each storey of the stage façade was richly decorated, though the term προσκοσμήμασιν implies decorative features beyond those simply required to distinguish the architectural orders. The decorative features that de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu initially identified as being part of the Doric storey would not have been considered unusual or exceptional in this context. This implies that the additional ornaments attributed to Zoilus in the inscription do not refer to the decorative features of the Doric storey. In contrast, the large niche with statues of Apollo and the Muses, the carved eagles, tritons, and the Egyptian imagery from the Ionic and Corinthian storeys would have been "additional ornaments" in such a context. This suggests that Zoilus contribution to the stage building was not limited to the lowermost storey. Furthermore, the use of these images together on the higher storeys, and their obvious allusions to Octavian's victory at Actium, also strengthens the case that they date from the earliest, Zoilan, phase of construction.

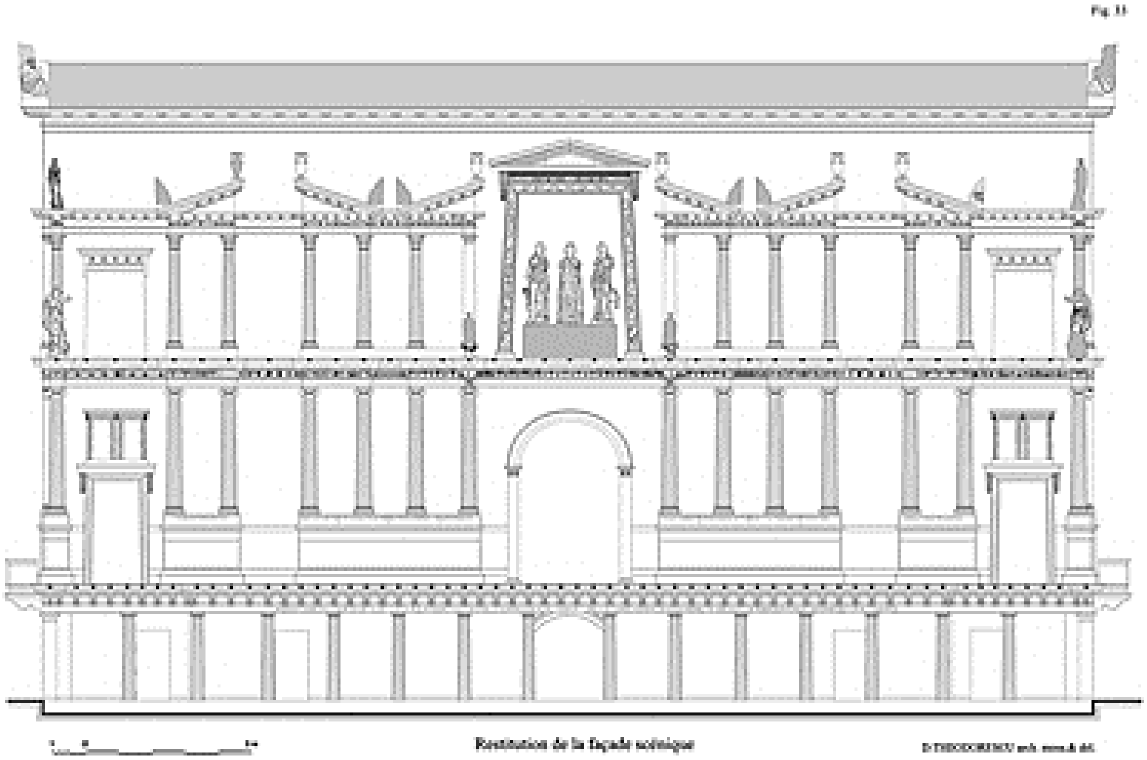

Figure 13: Reconstruction of Zoilus' Stage Building. (de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 70).

Although there are shortcomings in our knowledge of theatre buildings contemporary to Zoilus', de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu claim that Zoilus' theatre was on the border between the models of Hellenistic theatres seen elsewhere in Asia Minor and those seen of Campano-Latin influence, and could be seen as a missing link or an original, experimental fusion between the two.[389] Such a fusion of traditions should be attributed to the influence of Zoilus, resulting from his position and background as a favoured Imperial freedman and prominent member of Aphrodisian society. This strengthens the case that the whole stage building dates from Zoilus' time. The influence Rome had on both Aphrodisias and Zoilus are clearly present in the epigraphy and iconography of the stage building, but this influence has not superseded the relationship between Zoilus and his home city. However, alongside an inscription detailing that the benefactor of the monument had been *stephanephorus* ten times in succesion, this statue group would have been associated with Zoilus himself. Like the

[389] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, 57; 2017, 156.

rest of the monument, the decoration and iconography of the Corinthian storey was designed with several functions in mind. Zoilus' position in Aphrodisian society would no doubt have resulted from him using his relationship with Octavian to bring about Aphrodisias' freedom, and when this imagery is considered alongside the monument's dedication, the only surviving text where Zoilus was called an Imperial freedman, this relationship was represented and celebrated. However, the more overt message is that this monument celebrated Zolius and his civic achievements.

The dedicatory inscription from the theatre stage building at Aphrodisias at first glance spells out exactly what Zoilus built, a stage and a *proskenion.* However, a more detailed study of the surviving architecture has shown that there was far more to Zoilus' building project than the epigraphic evidence suggests. Recent work on the site has shown that the whole stage building, including the *proskenion, logeion,* and *scaenae frons* were all built in a single phase of construction. The decoration on all three levels followed a similar theme, combining traditional Hellenistic iconography with images that alluded to Rome and particularly to Octavian's victory at Actium. In addition, the innovation in building techniques, using elements of both Greek and Roman theatres together in one monument suggests that the whole stage building, and not just the *logeion and proskenion,* date from the later first century B.C. and were constructed by Zoilus, the Imperial freedman and ten-time *stephanephorus*.

The stage building of the theatre, far more so than the Temple of Aphrodite, is indicative of the influence Rome was beginning to have on architectural benefaction in the city of Aphrodisias. In terms of its dedicatory inscription, very little about it differs from any other text of this nature dating from the Hellenistic period. There is certainly no attempt to dedicate this monument formally to the Imperial family. Its only differing feature is that Gaius Iulius Zoilus is referred to as an Imperial freedman; the only time in this is the case in the surviving epigraphy. Through this inscription Gaius Iulius Zoilus was formally represented as having links to, and place in, the Roman Imperial system. Whilst the dedication was very Hellenistic in style, the architecture of the theatre stage building was far less so. The use of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian Orders together on the façade was unusual but was seen elsewhere in Roman contexts. Naming the entire structure, the *proskenion,* as opposed to the platform that preceded the stage, as the *proskenion* of a Greek theatre usually referred to, suggests an attempt to combine the familiar name with an unfamiliar structure. The combination of Roman and Greek elements and missing Greek elements such as the *parascenia* imply both the building of theatres, and the action that took place inside them was becoming more Roman in character.

The stage building of the theatre of Aphrodisias tells us much about how increased interactions with Rome not only affected architectural benefaction but also how Zoilus was represented through his monuments. Unlike his other projects, Zoilus did not create a completely new monument here. Instead he added to an older monument. De Chaisemartin and Theodorescu's research at the theatre seems to indicate that Zoilus' stage building was the earliest construction phase of the remains that survive today. However, as the cavea had Hellenistic origins, there must have been a wooden stage building there prior to Zoilus' work. Some Hellenistic elements, such as decorative elements, were still present, ensuring that the façade was not completely Roman in character. Furthermore, Zoilus' stage did not include the *pulpitum* that is still visible today. The addition of the *pulpitum* in the second century A.D. would have created a characteristically Roman stage. By retaining some local elements, whilst incorporating new Roman elements into his stage building, Zoilus emphasised both the influence that Rome was having on himself and his city. In addition, he also retained both his and his city's Greek identity. Alongside its local elements, the new stage building also consisted of many Roman elements. The use of the three architectural orders on the façade, although unusual, was very much a Roman feature. The lack of *parascenia* implied that it was built with Roman, as well as Greek, forms of drama in mind. The iconography of the Corinthian storey and the statue group alluded to both Imperial victories and to the civic achievements of Zoilus himself. In the dedication, Zoilus was referred to as Octavian's freedman, unlike in the dedication of the Temple of Aphrodite. The temple was a more locally aimed monument, made by a local for a local purpose, whilst at the theatre, a monument without local cultic associations, Zoilus could be represented in a more cosmopolitan style, including information that reflected his involvement with, and status within, the Roman world. Yet, despite the Roman images and spelling out his identity in relation to Octavian, the stage building was not dedicated to any Roman honorands. Like the temple, it was built for the people and patron deity of his home city. The placing of a monument with Roman characteristics and functions into a familiar Hellenistic context emphasises the gradual introduction of Roman practices into provincial cities, resulting from interactions between local elites such Zoilus and the Roman system. Through this composite monument, Zoilus was represented as a Roman citizen more overtly than through his other monuments. Yet, his Aphrodisian identity was not superseded by his Roman identity and in this context Zoilus could express the fact he was both a resident of Aphrodisias and a Roman citizen. Even without a dedication to Octavian, the theatre stage building was the most Roman of Zoilus' monuments, both in terms of architectural and decorative style, and in terms of the representation of the benefactor as a member of Roman society.

Despite many changes to the theatre over time to adapt to changing tastes in drama, the façade of the stage building was never modified. This, alongside the dedicatory inscription and his statue that stood in the theatre, preserved the memory of Zoilus and his roles in both freeing Aphrodisias and developing its urban architecture.[390] The introduction of Roman practices resulting from Roman-local interactions was slower and much more nuanced than is generally thought, as even locals who had experienced as much first-hand interaction with the Romans as Zoilus had retained previous practices. It was certainly not an overnight, nor uniform, transformation. Like its creator, the stage building at the theatre of Aphrodisias was a hybrid, a concoction of local and foreign, Greek and Roman, yet uniquely shaped by its place the world. Zoilus and his theatre stage perfectly reflect the variations and diversity of both architectural benefactors, and their buildings in late first century B.C. Asia Minor, and the influence that interactions with the wider Roman world had on both parties.

2.4. The North Stoa of the North Agora

The third architectural benefaction that can be attributed to Zoilus at Aphrodisias was the North Stoa of the North Agora, thought to have been built in the 20s B.C.[391] If this dating is correct, it would make the North Stoa the latest of his known benefactions to the city. Zoilus' association with the monument comes from a very fragmentary inscription that was found lying in the North Stoa of the agora.[392] The first piece that was discovered has been restored to read:

[390] de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 2017, 181.

[391] Ratté and Smith 2008, 723.

[392] Reynolds 1982, 163.

[— ἱερεὺς — τῆς] Ἐλευθερίας διὰ [βίου —][393]

Although the surviving fragment makes no mention of Zoilus' name, in her 1982 commentary on the text Reynolds argues that the similarities between it and the inscription on a dedicatory statue base, in both the letter cutting and the mention of the title [ἱερεὺς — τῆς] Ἐλευθερίας, directly associate the inscription and the North Stoa with him. A second piece of the text was found during the 1998 excavation season, which has been restored to read:

[στεφανηφ]ορήσ̣α̣ς το [---]

Like the first fragment, there is no mention of Zoilus' name here, but if the reconstruction of the title *stephanephorus* is correct, it provides a more conclusive association with Zoilus as he is attested elsewhere as having held this title ten times in succession. Zoilus' position as the priest of Eleutheria further supports Robert's claim that he played a pivotal role in gaining the city's autonomy. Ratté and Smith, writing twenty-five years later offer no alternatives to Reynolds' speculative interpretations.[394]

Zoilus' stoa formed the northern colonnaded range of the civic space of the city, which in total was *c*. 202 metres long and 72 metres wide.[395] The agora was constructed over several generations, and the space was finally enclosed by the construction of the South Stoa by Diogenes, son of Menandrus, in the reign of Tiberius.[396] The dedicators of the East and West Stoas are unknown, but the East Stoa was certainly only single colonnaded, which may suggest a different dedicator to the rest of the Agora.[397] The North Stoa was double colonnaded, with Corinthian columns on the inside and Ionic columns on the outside.[398] The use of two different orders of architecture, with the more 'elaborate' order on the inside, within Greek stoa buildings dates back long before Zoilus. Examining examples from the province of Asia, the North Stoa at Assus and the southern wing of the Lower Agora at Pergamon are two Hellenistic

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393 Reynolds 1982, 163; *SEG* 32, 1097; *BE* 1983:388; *AnnEpig* 1984, 878.

394 Ratté and Smith 2008, 723.

395 Raja 2012, 30.

396 Ratté and Smith 2008, 723; Raja 2012, 33. Diogenes, son of Menandrus' architectural benefactions will be discussed in Chapter 4.

397 Ratté and Smith 2004, 158; Raja 2012, 33.

398 Raja 2012, 30.

monuments that display the same characteristics.[399] There were no rooms built into the back of the North Stoa, but the later bouleuterion, dating from the second half of the second century A.D., was built behind it.[400] Whether there was an earlier bouleuterion on the same site has been subject to debate; recent research has shown that an earlier structure would have been of a different shape and there is no conclusive evidence that speaks in favour of the earlier building being a bouleuterion.[401]

The use of stoas in the North Agora of Aphrodisias implies a tendency to continue the Hellenistic style of defining public space. The earlier examples of the Stoa of Attalus and the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora have been described as giving "a new geometry to the erratic assemblage that had previously diversified the civic centre."[402] However, the complete enclosure of public spaces as eventually occurred at Aphrodisias, whether through the use of individual stoas or continuous porticoes is a practice more akin to Roman civic planning. A comparable example to the North Agora of Aphrodisias is the Upper Agora at Sagalassus. Originally laid out in the second century B.C., it was modified throughout the Imperial period.[403] An irregular, trapezoidal shape, there were arched gateways on the north east and both south corners, a small monument of Julio-Claudian date formed of four columns on pedestals that supported a canopy on the southern side, an Imperial-dated porticoed hall on the north, a bouleuterion on the west, and the earliest monument, a three storied Doric portico dating to the third quarter of the first century B.C. on the east.[404] The additions and remodelling of the Upper Agora at Sagalassus continued into the Antonine period,[405] suggesting that, like here at Aphrodisias, the defining of public spaces in a more 'Roman' manner was a process that occurred gradually and organically. Ratté has pointed out that Zoilus and the later builders of the North Agora were not at all conservative in their building styles.[406] By entirely enclosing the public space with

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399 Liljenstolpe 1999, 132.

400 Raja 2012, 35.

401 Bier 2008, 167-168; Raja 2012, 36.

402 Wheeler 1964, 111.

403 Waelkens and Owens 1994, 177; Mitchell and Waelkens 1987, 38.

404 Mitchell and Waelkens 1987, 38; 40; Waelkens and Owens 1994, 179; Gates 1996, 311-312.

405 Gates 1995, 231-232; Mitchell 1989-1990, 121.

406 Ratté 2002, 12.

colonnades, they separated it from the rest of the urban centre. As a result, in its final form the Aphrodisian agora showed characteristics of a complex influenced by Roman concepts of architectural design. The complete enclosure of an agora with stoas and isolating it from the surrounding street plan, as opposed to using them to more loosely define the space has been described as “one of the changes to the built environment of the Greek city most often associated with the Roman period.”[407] As the civic space became enclosed the building style alluded to the grand porticoes known from Rome, such as the Portico of Pompey and the enclosed Forum of Caesar.[408] Although the North Agora was constructed in stages, the plan for a ‘Roman’ style public space was firmly in place before this. As neither the theatre, nor the sanctuary of Aphrodite were aligned with the grid plan, the suggestion can be made that the formal planning of the city dates from the construction of Zoilus’ stoa in the mid- to late- first century B.C.[409]

The North Stoa of the North Agora is similar in form to earlier buildings of this type. Like other stoas of the Hellenistic world, such as those of Attalus in Athens, the Agora at Cyrene, Antigonus on Delos, Epidaurus, the Agora of Heracleia on Latmus, and the Agora at Magnesia,[410] it combined two different architectural orders, with the more elaborate on the inside, and would have originally been freestanding, but was later incorporated into a Roman-style public space. By constructing the North Stoa of the North Agora, Zoilus was not attempting to ‘Romanise’ the centre of Aphrodisias. However, his initial work created an opportunity for others to create a Roman-style public space, finally completed during the reign of Tiberius.[411]

The use of the Corinthian capitals for the inner colonnade, as opposed to the more usual combination of Doric and Ionic, was one of the few features that could possibly be cited as having been influenced by Rome. Corinthian capitals were not a Roman innovation, having first appeared in Aegean Greece in the fifth century B.C,[412] but the Romans standardised and proliferated the so-called “Normal Corinthian” capital. These are characterised by the helices and corner volutes springing together from the

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[407] Dickenson 2017, 324.

[408] Raja 2012, 36-37.

[409] Raja 2012, 26-29.

[410] Coulton 1976, 219; 230-231; 239; 242; 253.

[411] For further discussion of the construction of the South Stoa of the North Agora, see Chapter 4.

[412] McKenzie 2007, 84.

same fluted sheath, or *cauliculus*, which was crowned by a small acanthus leaf and plain helices and corner volutes with concave cross-sections.[413] This style originated in Hellenistic Asia Minor and the nearby islands, and became typical of Roman architecture, arriving in Italy by the first century B.C.[414] The use of Corinthian capitals here does not indicate a necessarily new trend in architectural benefaction, but it does represent the use of a trend prevalent in Rome and the empire in the first century B.C. In his extensive study of stoas, J. J. Coulton names only two pre-Imperial examples that had a Corinthian inner colonnade, the South Stoa at Olympia and the Stoa in the Valley of the Muses in Boeotia, neither of which are in Asia.[415] The adoption of Corinthian capitals at this time was not an establishment of a new form but the adaptation of very old and very rich traditions.[416] Through the North Stoa of the North Agora, Zoilus introduced a practice of stoa construction that was new to Aphrodisias, but should not be described as the introduction of a new, Roman, building technique. Rather, it represented an adaptation of an old, Greek practice under the influence of Rome.

Without any useful surviving epigraphy, we cannot be certain how Zoilus was represented in the dedication of the North Stoa of the North Agora. The surviving portion of the text refers to his priesthood of Eleutheria, a role unmentioned in the inscriptions from either the Temple of Aphrodite, or the theatre stage building. From this scant evidence, one can infer that he was represented as having fulfilled least one of his local honours, though whether this was the only role mentioned, or whether it was included alongside a string of others is now impossible to ascertain. The archaeological remains of the North Stoa of the North Agora indicate the effect that interactions with Rome had on architectural benefaction. The composition of the colonnades, with the more elaborate Corinthian columns on the inside and plainer Ionic columns on the outside is not unusual. Indeed, had the orders been arranged the opposite way around, this would have looked out of place, and unusual in Aphrodisias at that time. The use of porticoes to demarcate space was certainly not a new or Roman

[413] McKenzie 1990, 94; 2007, 85.

[414] McKenzie 2007, 103.

[415] Coulton 1976, 102.

[416] Gros 2006, 483.

concept in Asia Minor at that time, but completely enclosing civic spaces with porticoes was a move towards Roman practices of land use. By constructing the North Stoa of the North Agora, Zoilus started the enclosure of this part of Aphrodisias; he did not build the whole agora. After Zoilus, as more and more local elites, some known, others now unknown, began to interact with Rome and adopt Roman practices, they added to Zoilus' stoa, gradually developing an organised, central civic space within Aphrodisias, which was completed during the reign of Tiberius.

Zoilus was the great man and benefactor of late first century B.C. Aphrodisias, with demonstrable connections to the Roman Emperor and a holder of civic and religious offices. In each of his three building dedications, Zoilus was represented slightly differently, placing emphasis on the different roles he fulfilled in society and how these influenced him in his role as benefactor. At the Temple of Aphrodite, he was represented in his role as priest of the cult. There was Imperial involvement in the defining of the temple precinct, work which Zoilus himself carried out, but his status as an Imperial freedman was not represented in this context. In contrast, at the theatre, Zoilus was represented as both an Imperial freedman and as having held the local office of *stephanephorus* ten times in succession. The architectural details and function of the theatre explain Zoilus' representation there as both Imperial freedman and local *stephanephorus.* The stage building was designed so that both Greek and Roman forms of drama could be staged there. In addition, due to its function as both a space for spectacles and public gatherings, both locals and non-locals would have frequented the theatre. The decoration of the theatre stage building contained several motifs that had Roman or Imperial connotations yet all these images, apart from the eagles, could be interpreted as having local, non-Roman connotations. The Roman and the local are represented in the function and decorative features of the theatre stage building, and in its benefactor. The inscription from the North Stoa of the North Agora is very fragmentary but it presented Zoilus, at the very least, as priest of Eleutheria. Zoilus was represented in a variety of ways, in different parts of the city, and no inscription or building told the reader everything about him. Only when seen all together can Zoilus' representation in relation to both Aphrodisias and to Rome be truly understood.

3

The *Civium* Constructing: Two Pairs of Architectural Benefactors in Augustan Ephesus

3.1. Asia during the reign of Augustus

In January 27 B.C., Octavian resigned his power to the will of the Senate and the Roman people, and was granted the name Augustus by a *senatus consultum*.[417] Provincial regimes, encouraged by Roman policies after 27 B.C., became increasingly oligarchic, and the competition between elites resulted in the development of a systematic pattern of benefaction, and thus opportunities to gain influence.[418] During that same year Augustus instigated a policy of provincial reorganisation across the empire. Asia, as an older, relatively peaceful, province with no exposed frontiers, remained under the control of the Senate, governed by former consuls or praetors.[419] The establishment of the office of Proconsul of Asia, and the sending out of a Roman citizen and his entourage into the provinces represented a move towards a more direct Roman involvement in the province of Asia than had previously occurred.

Prior to annexation, Romans and Italians were already present in Asia and would have interacted with the local population.[420] In the years immediately after annexation, Rome established an oligarchic system of government in the provincial communities and had largely allowed them to manage their own affairs, whilst extracting taxes and providing jurisdiction for cases involving Roman citizens.[421] Provincial reorganisation and the resultant direct jurisdiction over both Roman and non-Roman provincial citizens would have not only increased the number of interactions between Romans and local elites but also made them more direct. Provincial elites and communities were no longer clients of Rome. Rather than simply paying their taxes whilst retaining most of their autonomy, they were now also answerable to Roman jurisdiction. The

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[417] Aug. *RG.* 34.; Magie 1950, 445.

[418] Mitchell, 1993, 210.

[419] Magie 1950, 445-446.

[420] For detailed discussions of the presence of Romans and Italians in Asia Minor prior to, and immediately after annexation, see Errington 1988; Kirbihler 2007; Scherrer 2007.

[421] Jones 1937 (2nd E.D. 1971), 93.

work of the Proconsul would have more firmly established these connections, such as dealing with disputes and hearing cases from the locals on behalf of Rome. As a result, there was a gradual decline in the political importance of the province's Greek cities.[422]

As the influence of Roman administration increased in the provinces, Roman citizens were sent there to perform functions aside from administrative ones. By the very end of the first century B.C., the results of increased interactions with the Roman Imperial system had become evident within the architectural benefactions made by provincial residents. Alongside, and because of, the increased oligarchising of provincial cities, a major feature of city life developed that secured stability within the community. This was the development of a systematic pattern of benefactions by the aristocracy.[423] From the end of the second century B.C. onwards, as taxes and other sources of revenue were diverted into Roman coffers, cities in the Roman provinces no longer had the right to raise substantial revenue by directly taxing their citizens.[424] As civic income declined, the gap had to be filled by contributions from rich citizens. By the time of the Roman Empire these richest citizens were the ones who held the majority of civic magistracies and were most active in the public life of their city.[425] Contributing to public buildings in the cities of Asia Minor became a hallmark for civic life, with buildings typical of the Imperial period creating an entirely new urban environment.[426]

Sviatoslav Dmitriev notes, pertinently for this thesis, that Roman rule in Asia Minor did not result in a homogenisation of city administration, and that there was still considerable variation in how cities were administered in different parts of the provinces as late as the third century A.D. [427] Individual cities within the province of Asia would have been governed differently, and would have experienced different levels of Roman influence and jurisdiction. These variations help to explain why

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[422] Dmitriev 2005, 304.

[423] Mitchell 1993, 210.

[424] Abbott and Johnson 1926, 117-120: Taxes were levied on land, property including slaves and produce of land in form of quotas.

[425] Mitchell 1993, 210-211.

[426] Mitchell 1993, 217.

[427] Dmitriev 2005, 331.

Rome's influence on both architectural benefactions, and on how benefactors' relationships with Rome and their city were represented through their work, was also not constant. Variations occurred within both these processes, not only across vast chronological and spatial ranges, but also within very small ones.

This chapter discusses the monuments of two pairs of benefactors from Augustan Ephesus: the freedmen Mazaeus and Mithridates and the Imperial agents Gaius Sextilius Pollio and his stepson Gaius Ofillius Proculus. This chapter has the following aims. The first is to explore how variations in building and dedicatory practices could occur even within similar spatial and chronological contexts, through a discussion and comparison of the origins and careers of the benefactors and the epigraphic and architectural evidence for their monuments. The second aim is to use this evidence to understand how the relationships between these benefactors and both their local city and Rome were represented. The similarities and differences between the two pairs of benefactors and the monuments that they built will contribute to a greater, and more nuanced, understanding of the influence of Rome upon both individual elites and provincial society.

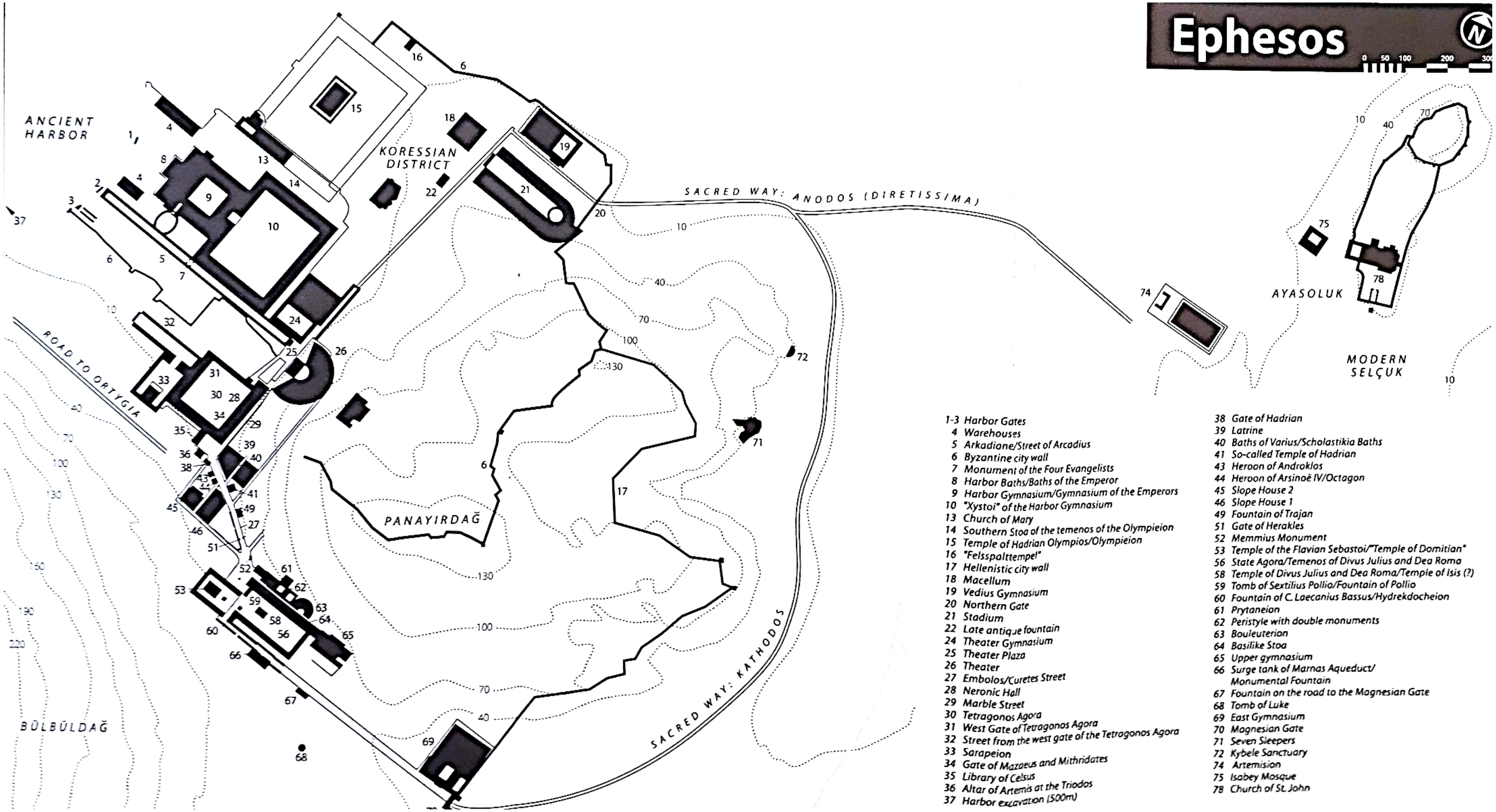

Figure 14: Map of Ephesus. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate is numbered 34, the Pollio Monument 59, and the Basilica Stoa 64. (Koester (eds.) 1995)

3.2. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate

In comparison to the other benefactors discussed in this thesis, relatively little is known about Mazaeus and Mithridates, aside from the fact that they built the triple-arched South Gate into the city's Lower Agora. Located at the end of Curetes Street, which linked the State and Lower agorae, the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was thought to have originally been a free-standing arch. When the Lower Agora was enlarged at the very end of the first century B.C. Plateia Street, which ran alongside its east side, was moved to the east. This resulted in the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate being incorporated into the perimeter wall of the Lower Agora.[428]

Helmut Halfmann has suggested that Mazaeus and Mithridates were not natives of Ephesus. Based on their names, he claims that they were from either Eastern Anatolia or Syria.[429] Certain architectural elements of their gate had eastern characteristics, which has been used as evidence for Mazaeus and Mithridates' much further eastern origins.[430] Whilst the evidence from onomastics is more useful for showing the fluctuating popularity of names and their associated cultures than as a means of proving ethnicity, rulers called Mazaeus and Mithridates certainly appear more frequently in places like Persia, Syria, Pontus, and Bithynia, than further West. Mazaeus and Mithridates may have been enslaved by Agrippa, who is named as one of their patrons in the dedicatory inscription, whilst he was legate in Syria, but communities in the East in this period were not static. The name Mazaeus appears not to have been common in Rome; no inscriptions from volume VI of *CIL* mention a Mazaeus. An undated architrave inscription from the Agora at Ephesus mentions a man named Philippus Mazaius.[431] The proximity of this text to the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, a lack of standardised spelling, and its unknown date mean that Philippus Mazaius and Mazaeus could be the same person. Alternatively, they could have been related, and both involved in the wider redevelopment of the agora. Five texts in volume VI of *CIL* mention someone called Mithridates,[432] while at Ephesus in addition to the texts associated with our Mithridates, three other texts concerning someone by this name

[428] Raja 2012, 72-74.

[429] Halfmann 2004, 44.

[430] Halfmann 2004, 44; Alzinger 1974, 15; "In der Form der Archivolte über den seitlichen Nischen sieht Weigand das dritte Element der römischen Reichkunst, das orientalische, manifestiert."

[431] *IvE* 434.

[432] *CIL* VI 6220; 34655; 10384; 16814; 9732.

survive. One dates from 54-59 A.D.,[433] one is thought to be from the first century B.C.,[434] and the third is undated.[435] Mazaeus and Mithridates could have travelled, perhaps as traders, and settled further West. Alternatively, they could have been first generation migrants, who had been given names pertaining to their parents' birthplace rather than their own.

Another interpretation of why these two seemingly Syrian or Eastern Anatolian freedmen have settled and built far from their supposed homeland is that they were given different names when they were enslaved. Asia Minor and Syria were hotbeds for slave trading and peoples of the southeast, Syrians, Jews, Egyptians, Arabians, and Parthians, were preferred to those of the northeast.[436] Mazaeus and Mithridates could have been given names more usually associated with further east to make them seem more attractive to a potential buyer. Mary Gordon argues that certain races were thought to be particularly skilled in certain areas – Gauls were supposed to be skilled at handling horses for example. In other words, Mazaeus and Mithridates' could have been given names by slave traders for this reason. She adds once a slave become someone's property, the master could re-name the slave as he saw fit, and these names could be completely arbitrary and fanciful.[437] Gordon's first theory seems rather far-fetched, as Mazaeus and Mithridates' inability to speak the correct language would have immediately given away their true origins. Her second theory is more plausible, and is corroborated by Emma Dench's study of slave names, which indicated that slave owners often gave slaves new names that were associated with the role they played within the household.[438] It is impossible to tell whether or not Mazaeus and Mithridates were names given to them upon enslavement or whether they were their birth names, but the former cannot be ruled out and would explain why a man called Mithridates lived, built, and died in Augustan Ephesus. Mazaeus could have a similar story to tell, but without any other surviving evidence for him, not even a speculative claim about his origin can be made. Regardless of their origins and where and how they became enslaved, whilst honouring and acknowledging their relationship with the highest echelons of Imperial society, Mazaeus and Mithridates were represented as non-Romans in their hometown.

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433 *IvE* 1008.

434 *IvE* 1687 (14) 3.

435 *IvE* 2429, 6.

436 Gordon 1924, 94.

437 Gordon 1924, 104; 110; 103-104.

438 Dench 2005, 296.

Werner Eck states that the consensus is that both men were freedmen of Agrippa.[439] However, Wilhelm Alzinger, Barbara Burrell, and Abigail Graham all suggest that Mazaeus must have been a freedman of Augustus.[440] The evidence for this comes from Mithridates' epitaph inscription. The bilingual inscription, found re-used near the theatre as street paving,[441] reads;

Mithradates ‹ Agrippae ‹ L

Μιθραδάτης Ἀγρίππα (vac.)

ἀπελεύθερος [[ζῆ]][442]

Mithradates, freedman of Agrippa.

Mithradates, freedman of Agrippa,

he lives[443]

There is no such evidence to confirm Mazaeus' freedman status, but his mention in the same context as Mithridates on the gate, suggests that he shared his fellow benefactor's status. Regardless of Mazaeus and Mithridates' origins, we know that, after emancipation, they settled and built in Ephesus and at least one of them was buried there.

There are two dedicatory inscriptions on the gate. The Latin text, whose letters measure 0.12-0.14 metres high, is spread over the left and right arches and records that the gate was dedicated to their patrons, Augustus and Livia, and Agrippa and Iulia. The text reads:

[439] Eck 2009, 25. See also Wiplinger and Wlach, 1996, 29; Kearsley 2001, 125; Scherrer 2000, 138 refers to them as "freedmen of the Imperia house"; Raja 2012, 73 simply calls them imperial freedmen and does not attempt to assign them to one patron.

[440] Alzinger 1974, 11; Burrell 2009, 72; Graham 2013, 391.

[441] Kearsley 2001, 15.

[442] *IvE* III 851.

[443] Kearsley 2001, 15.

Left Arch	Right Arch
Imp. Caesari Divi. f. Augusto pontifici	M. Agrippae. L. f. cos. tert. imb. tribunic
maximo, cos. XII, tribunic. potest. XX et	potest. IV et
Liviae Caesaris Augusti	Juliae Caesaris Augusti fil.
Mazaeus et	Mithridates patronis

For Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the god, pontifex maximus, consul for the twelfth time, with tribunician power for the twentieth time and for Livia (wife of) Caesar Augustus.

For Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul for the third time, imperator, with tribunician power for the sixth time and for Iulia, daughter of Caesar Augustus.

Mazaeus and Mithridates to their patrons.[444]

[444] *IvE* 7, 1, 3006; trans Kearsley 2001, 125.

Figure 15: Latin text from left arch of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate (April 2011).

Figure 16: Latin texts from right arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate (April 2011)

Burrell suggests that Mazaeus must have been a freedman of Augustus, noting that his name appears on the arch where Augustus and Livia are honoured, whilst Mithridates' name appears alongside Agrippa and Iulia.[445] This is plausible, especially as Mithridates' surviving epitaph only mentions that he was a freedman of Agrippa. However, the way that the Latin text is inscribed does not fully support Burrell's theory. She undermines herself by saying that the first three lines of the left arch were to be read first, then the corresponding lines on the right arch. The fourth line, which is spread across the two arches, was meant to be read last.[446] Graham's interpretation of this text also suggests that the two halves of the arch should be read completely independently of each other, and that each benefactor belonged to one of the patrons:

> Left Arch
>
> "To Emperor Augustus, son of divine Caesar, pontifex maximus, consul for the 12th time, with tribunician power for the 20th time and to Livia, (wife of) Caesar Augustus Mazaeus (set up this monument) for his patron."
>
> Right Arch
>
> "Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul for the third time, holder of Imperium, with tribunician power for the fourth time and Julia, the daughter of Caesar Augustus, Mithridates (set up this monument) for his patron."[447]

Graham's reading of the text ignores the "et" between Mazaeus and Mithridates' names. Its location encourages the reader to read the fourth line as a continued statement, in contrast to the upper lines which are designed to be read as two discrete texts. This clearly suggests that the pair worked together to honour their patrons. If each freedman belonged to only one of the married couples and honoured their own patron individually as Graham suggests, there was plenty of room on the fourth line to clearly distinguish this relationship in a manner akin to her interpretation. However, this was not the case. The text should be read as though both men, at some point in their lives, were the property of both Agrippa and Augustus or were owned by Agrippa but had some association with, or received patronage from, either Augustus or him

[445] Burrell 2009, 72.

[446] Burrell 2009, 72-74.

[447] Graham 2013, 391.

and Livia. A likely scenario is put forward by Eck, who suggests that both men were freedmen of Agrippa who were transferred to Augustus' hands after their patron's death.[448] When an Emperor died, his successor inherited his slaves and the patronal rights over his freedmen.[449] A similar situation may have occurred here, with Augustus taking responsibility for his son-in-law's slaves and freedmen rather than leaving them in the care of his daughter or young grandsons. The layout of the four lines of Latin text makes such a suggestion plausible. The Latin text was not two separate dedications, with Mazaeus honouring his patrons and Mithridates honouring his, but the two honoured both couples. If both men were the property of Agrippa but were granted emancipation by Augustus upon Agrippa's death, it would explain why the monument was dedicated to both couples and why Mithridates is named as freedman of Agrippa. Without evidence for a direct link between Mazaeus and Augustus akin to Mithridates' epitaph, it is impossible to determine from the gate the exact relationship between the patrons and benefactors or how the relationship came about. However, Mazaeus and Mithridates clearly considered these four members of the Imperial family worthy of such a grand and visible honour.

The recessed central arch bears a shorter and less specific Greek inscription. The letters measure 0.15 metres high, and record a dedication to the People of Ephesus as well as their patrons:

> Μαζ[αῖο]ς καὶ Μιθριδάτης [τοῖς] πά[τ]ρωσι καὶ τῶι δή[μωι]
>
> Mazaeus and Mithridates for their patrons and the *demos*.[450]

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[448] Eck 2009, 25. Thür (1997, 73) names them as freedmen of Augustus and Agrippa "Mazaeus und Mithridates, Freigelassene des Augustus und des Agrippa"

[449] Weaver 1972, 2.

[450] *IvE* 7.1, 3004; trans Kearsley 2001, 125.

Figure 17: The Greek text of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate (April 2011).

The designation of both Augustus and Agrippa as their patrons is noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, when the monument was dedicated, Agrippa had been dead for nine years. Whilst posthumous monuments and dedications are not unheard of, the fact that Mazaeus and Mithridates ‘speak’ of Augustus and Agrippa in the same breath, without acknowledgement that the latter is dead and therefore can no longer be their patron is strange. Furthermore, they refer to Iulia, Agrippa’s widow who had been remarried to Tiberius by 4/3 B.C., in the same way as they referred to Livia. They add that Iulia was Augustus’ daughter, perhaps as a method of clarification, or further legitimising the relationship between themselves, their (probable) former owner and Augustus, but it reads as though Iulia was still married to Agrippa The text is constructed in a way that makes it appear that Mazaeus and Mithridates still have two prestigious, Imperial patrons, whilst they could only have had one by the time the gate was built. Being represented in a manner that suggested close ties to Augustus and Agrippa shows the positive influence which they had had on Mazaeus and Mithridates. The two men wanted to honour their patrons and display to the residents of Ephesus their connection to them, and by doing so, represented themselves as connected to and part of, the wider Roman world.

Mazaeus and Mithridates' use of Latin only to emphasise their relationship to their Imperial patrons could be considered as a form of code switching.[451] Whilst J. N. Adams' extensive study of bilingualism focuses primarily on interactions between Latin speakers and speakers of languages other than Greek, he discusses the concept of code switching in detail. He quotes an inscription from Zorava in Syria, erected by a soldier:

> Κλ. Κλαυδιανὸς οὐετρανὸς Θεοφάνου leg(atus) p(ro) p(raetore) ex leg(ione) III K(yrenaica) ἐποίησεν τὴν στήλην ἰδίαις αὐτοῦ δαπάναις
>
> Claudius Claudianus, veteran, son of Theophanes, Praetorian Legate from the Legio III Cyrenaica, made the stone at his own expense [452]

Claudius Claudianus, son of a Greek called Theophanes most likely gained his Roman citizenship for his military service. Adams argues that by switching from Greek to Latin to record his military position and in doing so expressing the most 'Roman' part of his identity Claudius Claudianus placed a greater emphasis on this part of his identity.[453] Mazaeus and Mithridates are doing something very like Claudius Claudianus by only referring to the exact identities of their Roman patrons in Latin. They also switched codes to emphasise the 'Roman' part of their identity, switching languages within the same epigraphic conversation. The use of bilingualism in architectural dedicatory inscriptions represented not only the influence of Rome personally on the monument's benefactors, but also on the wider population of the place in which it was situated, as they were the texts' main audience.

The texts from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate are the earliest example of attached monumental bronze letters in Ephesus. A technique often used in Augustan epigraphy, it appeared in Rome from the 30s B.C., and became more prevalent after 17 B.C.[454] The medium in which inscriptions were written would have aided a viewer's understanding of the purpose of the text. In the same way that bronze tablets would be

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[451] Code switching has been defined as "the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same conversation" (Hoffan 1991, 110) or "the alternate use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation." (Milroy and Muysken 1995, 7.)

[452] *CIL* III 125.

[453] Adams 2003, 302.

[454] Alföldy 1991, 297-298. Alföldy 1992, 18. Graham 2013, 392.

associated with the legal documents often inscribed upon them, gilded letters on monuments would have been associated with dedications by benefactors and for important honorands, even if the viewer was not literate enough to understand every word of the inscription.[455] It is also one of the earliest bilingual building dedications not only in Ephesus but also in the province of Asia, indicating the increased influence of Roman epigraphic practices resulting from interactions between Romans and provincials. Whilst bilingual epitaphs and honorific dedications have been found in the province dating from the second half of the first century B.C.,[456] the earliest known bilingual building inscription dates to 5 B.C., a year before the *terminus post quem* of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate. Reused in a late-antique wall to the south of the temple of Artemis, the text reads:

> Imp· Caesar· Divi· f· Aug· cos· XII· tr· pot· XVIII· pontifex·
>
> maximus· ex· reditu· Dianae· fanum· et· Augusteum· muro·
>
> muniendum curavit· C Asinio· [[Gallo· procos]]· curatore·
>
> Sex· Lartidio· leg(ato)
>
> Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβασ (v.v.) τὸς ὕπατος (v.) τὸ ιβ´ δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη´
>
> [ἐκ τ]ῶν ἱερῶν τῆς θεοῦ προσόδων τὸν (v.v.) νεὼ καὶ τὸ Σεβαστῆον τιχισθῆναι προενοήθηι
>
> [[ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαΐου Ἀσινίου Γάλλου]] ἐπὶμελήᾳ Σέξστου Λαρτιδίου πρεσβευτοῦ.
>
> (vacat)
>
> (Latin) Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the god, consul for the twelfth time, in the eighteenth year of tribunician power, pontifex maximus, from the revenue of Diana he saw to it that the temple and the Augusteum were protected by a wall; when Gaius Asinius Gallus was proconsul, under the supervision of Sextus Lartidius, legate.

[455] Leatherbury 2018, 380.

[456] For a catalogue of bilingual inscriptions in Roman Asia Minor see Kearsley 2001.

> (Greek) Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the god, consul for the twelfth time, in the eighteenth year of tribunician power, from the sacred revenues of the goddess he made provision that the temple and the Sebasteion be surrounded by a wall; when Gaius Asinius Gallus was proconsul, under the supervision of Sextus Lartidius, legate.[457]

Figure 18: Copy of *IvE* 5. 1522. (Museum of Roman Civilisation, Rome Inv. No. MCR 276.)

Despite being an almost perfect contemporary of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, when compared to it, the construction of the Artemision wall indicates how varied the process of architectural benefaction was in early Imperial Ephesus. The inscription indicates the direct involvement of Rome in the construction of public monuments. Augustus appears to have been involved in instigating the work at the Artemision, but rather than using Imperial funds, the work was paid for by money from the temple's treasury. Although the work was paid for using Ephesian money, the man involved in seeing that the work was carried out was a Roman legate. Sextus Lartidius was undoubtedly sent to Ephesus to oversee this project, either directly from Rome or from where his legion was stationed. The use of military personnel as the overseer of an Imperial-instigated building project at a monument as important to Ephesus as the Artemision indicates the increased involvement of Rome in its provinces. It also indicates the Ephesian's acceptance of Roman involvement in giving benefactions to their important monuments.

[457] *IvE.* 5. 1522. Trans. Kearsley 201, 124.

Another difference between these two architectural benefactions is the way that bilingualism is used. Firstly, this text is not a dedicatory inscription; the sanctuary wall was not dedicated to Augustus but was instigated by him. Secondly, the information provided by the two texts are almost identical, - the Greek text is only missing Augustus' designation as *pontifex maximus* – whilst the texts on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate provide different pieces of information. Thirdly, the Latin text is much larger than the Greek in the text from the sanctuary wall, meaning that it was far more visible and easier to read. The bisected Latin text from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate is arguably harder to read than the Greek text located over the central arch only. Whoever had this text inscribed wanted to convey the same information about the instigator and the overseer of the project to both Latin- and Greek-speaking audiences, but the message was very different. Here, Roman involvement is made very clear.

The texts from the sanctuary wall and the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate indicate variations in how major architectural benefactions could be instigated and overseen, and how those involved were honoured and represented. Both locals and outsiders could instigate major architectural benefactions in provincial cities, though someone local carried out the work itself. Both monuments also honoured one or more members of the Imperial family, one because of the work that they had carried out, the other as a mark of respect by their former slaves. What appear to be the two earliest surviving bilingual building inscriptions from Ephesus suggest that bilingualism was used not only by Roman 'outsiders' but also by locals who, having had interactions with Rome and Roman practices, had become Roman citizens. We cannot know for certain whether locals first introduced bilingual building inscriptions to Ephesus, but they adopted the practice, and adapted it in their own way for their own monumental dedication. This resulted in them being represented as members of both a local Ephesian, and a wider Roman, community.

The layout of the Latin and Greek texts on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate aids our understanding of the differences between them, and what they represented. To a modern viewer, the shorter Greek text in the recessed arch appears to be less prominent and noticeable than the Latin text, as though it had been pushed backwards. The shadow cast onto the recessed arch would have made the gold letters even more difficult to see. On a bright day, with the sun shining off the pronounced Latin text, the contrast in the visibility of the two texts would have been even greater. This arrangement suggests that the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate's primary function was as a monument to honour their Roman patrons. The gate's functions as the entrance to the Agora and to honour the people of Ephesus appear secondary. However, someone who used the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate everyday would have seen the texts very differently from a modern viewer standing and admiring it. Potential readers, hurrying into the Agora, would realistically only be able to snatch a quick glance up at the inscriptions. The Greek text that was located only over one arch would have been the easier to read than the more pronounced, yet bisected, Latin text. To those reading this text, the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was a monument to the patrons of two local citizens, and the city of Ephesus, as befitting a functional public monument.

The texts of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate display two different messages to two different audiences about both the influence of Rome on architectural benefaction and how benefactors were represented through their monuments. To the Latin-speaking citizens of Ephesus Mazaeus and Mithridates, despite not displaying their Roman *tria nomina*, had demonstrable connections to the Roman Imperial family. They erected an honorific monument to their Imperial patrons in the centre of Ephesus, inscribing a dedication in a style familiar to their honorands. To those who could only read Greek, Mazaeus and Mithridates were Greek speakers who dedicated a functional, public monument to their patrons and their city, in their hometown, in their own language. There is no indication of who their patrons were, or where they were from. Apart from πάτρωσι being a transliterated loan word from Latin, there is nothing in the Greek text that indicates that Mazaeus and Mithridates had any connections to Rome, or anywhere outside of Ephesus. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was designed to honour various honorands, separately and together, using a variety of dedicatory rhetoric. As seen in the case of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, variations in representation used in architectural benefactions reflected both the benefactors' position within their own cities, and their interactions with the Roman Imperial system, in this case, the Imperial family themselves.

Whilst Mazaeus and Mithridates appear keen to represent themselves as well connected to the Imperial family and the Roman world outside of Ephesus, they do not make their Roman identities known publicly. They do not use the Roman *tria nomina* granted them on their emancipation but keep their non-Roman names.

Mazaeus and Mithridates' lack of *tria nomina* is not unusual. In his study, Paul Weaver has identified that over one in three recorded Imperial freedmen do not use their *nomen* or have it recorded on their inscriptions.[458] Amongst freedman procurators the absence of *tria nomina* is even greater, with 125 of the 210 recorded not using their *nomen*.[459] There have been several reasons suggested for the absence of freedmen's *tria nomina* in the epigraphic record, though, rather dismissively, Weaver remarks that these reasons are unclear and unimportant.[460] Unnecessary duplication is one reason for these emissions, particularly in the instance of the freedmen of the *Augusti liberti,* where the *nomen* was the same in both cases and omitted from the patron's name.[461] Heinrich Chantraine's study has shown that another reason for the omission of a freedman's *nomen* is that the emperor was named in extended form, whether as part of the nomenclature of the freedman himself or elsewhere in the inscription. Thus, the *nomen* of Imperial freedmen was usually given in such cases only when it differed from that of the emperor in question.[462] Despite Weaver's extensive study on the subject, and the fact the Imperial freedmen omit their *nomen* frequently in all periods, no trend in the practice is discernible.[463] It appears that in terms of their nomenclature, Imperial freedmen could be represented in a number of ways; they were under no obligation to follow Roman naming-conventions.

The inscriptions on the gate are very different in style from the earlier dedications by Zoilus at Aphrodisias. There is no mention of any titles or offices held by Mazaeus or Mithridates, only those of Augustus and Agrippa. The city goddess Artemis is omitted, and the *demos* of Ephesus are included only in the Greek text. Even there, however, the dedicators' Roman patrons replace the city's goddess. A near-contemporary comparison is the inscription from the western propylon of the Roman Agora at Athens, dated to 11/10 B.C.:[464]

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[458] Weaver 1972, 37.

[459] Weaver 1972, 37-38.

[460] Weaver 1972, 38.

[461] E.g. *CIL* III 2097: C. Iulius Sceptus Ademti Aug. lib. [l]ib.; XIV 2780: Ti. Claudius Oniri Aug. l. l. Domesticus; 51: P. Aelius Trophimi Aug. l. lib…

[462] Weaver 1972, 38; Chantraine 1967, 29; 53.

[463] Weaver 1972, 38.

[464] Dickenson 2017, 240.

ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν δοθεισῶν δωρεῶν ὑπὸ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος θεοῦ.

καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

Ἀθηνᾶι Ἀρχηγέτιδι στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας Εὐκλέους Μαραθωνίου

τοῦ καὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου, τοῦ καὶ πρεσβεύσαντος,

ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νικίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος Ἀθμονέως.

The people, from the funds given by the divine Gaius Iulius Caesar and the Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the god (dedicate this) to Athena Archegetis when Eukles of Marathon was Hoplite General, and also Ambassador, who had succeeded his father as *Epimeletes,* during the archonship of Nikias, son of Serapion, of Athmonon.[465]

There are obvious differences, in both the content and language of the texts and the benefaction process in these cases, but Athena Archegetis (the Leader) is the sole honorand here. The city did not honour Caesar and Augustus for their generosity in providing funds alongside Athena, and it stressed that, because of Imperial funding, the *demos* are the ones able to make this dedication. The inclusion of Athena's epithet Archegetis emphasised the fact that she was the one most worthy of honour, rather than the new 'leader' of Athens, the Roman Emperor. Although this pair of entrances into agorae are situated in different Roman provinces, there was clearly no standard method of funding, or dedicating such a monument in the last decade of the first century B.C. However, the Athenian propylon's inscription, with the name of the dedicator first, followed by the honorand, is more akin to late Hellenistic building dedications such as Zoilus' than it is to the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, where the order is reversed. The 'recipient first' dedicatory formula is thought to date from the beginning of the first century A.D.,[466] but the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, albeit narrowly, precedes this date. These similarly functioning monuments also indicate differences in representation between architectural benefactors. At Athens, although acknowledging Caesar and Augustus' financial contribution to the propylon, the *demos* represented themselves as the primary benefactors of it. Despite this funding,

[465] *IG* II^2 3175. Trans. Adapted after Dickenson 2017, 240.

[466] Graham 2018, 282.

the propylon was a monument made by the people, in honour of Athena. Through the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, the benefactors were represented in a different way.

The differences in the content of the texts on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate raise questions as to the messages the texts were trying to convey and to whom. Whilst Alzinger states that the formula of the texts can only be a bow to the native population,[467] these texts are far more complicated than that and require further discussion. The inscription from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate is an unusual text in that the Latin is far more informative than the Greek. Bilingual texts from the East from the Augustan period generally give the same information in both languages, as seen in the inscription from the wall of the Sanctuary of Artemis discussed below, or the Greek is more informative, such as in Titus Arminius Tauriscus' dedication of a bridge to Augustus at Megalopolis:

> [Imp(eratori) Caesa]ri Aug(usto) et civitati ita [iubente] / [senat]u ut promiserat T(itus) Arm[i]/[niu]s Tauriscus pontem fecit // [Αὐτοκρ]άτορι Καίσαρι καὶ τῇ πόλει [Τ(ίτος) Ἀρμίνι]/[ος Ταυ]ρίσκος ἐπόησε τὴν γέφυραν καθὼς [ἐπηγ]/[γείλατο κ]ατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συνέδρων ἐφ' ᾧ[τε] / [λήψεσθ]αι αὐτὸν τὸ ἐπινόμιον καὶ βαλάνω[---] / [ὅσων] ἔχει θρεμμάτων διὰ βίου[468]
>
> Latin: T. Arminius Tauriscus erected the bridge to Imperator Caesar Augustus and to the city, just as he promised and with consent of the council.[469]
>
> Greek: (Dedicated) to Imperator Caesar and the city T. Arminius Tauriscus built the bridge as he had announced according to the councillors' degree on the condition that he would receive the pasture payment and acorns for all the animals he has for life.

In addition to showing a different use of bilingualism in a Roman province, this text also gives an insight into the process of how architectural benefactions were made. Unlike many other building inscriptions considered in this study this one makes clear that even by the early Roman period there was still an element of reciprocity involved in the construction of public monuments. The text seems to imply that Tauriscus

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[467] Alzinger 1974, 12: "Er kann nur als Reverenz vor der einheimischen Bevölkerung gewertet werden".

[468] *CIL* 3, 1.496.

[469] Trans. Spawforth 2011, 210.

requested his reward of pasture payment and enough acorns for all his animals for the rest of his life, a reward that he presumably considered worth the cost of constructing a bridge. The idea of performing a service for one's city in exchange for a predetermined reward is reminiscent of smaller scale euergetistic practices dating from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, rather than architectural benefaction in the Roman period. The inclusion of the details of the reward in only the Greek part of the text is noteworthy. Such details would only be relevant to his fellow citizens, not only to make sure that he was duly rewarded, but also to legitimise the rewards he received. However, this selective use of language also affirms the importance of reciprocal generosity in Greek society. This does not mean that reciprocal generosity did not exist in Roman euergetic practices, but that it was more expected in Greek culture. Comparing Tauriscus to Pollio and Proculus, who also built a bridge during the reign of Augustus, there is nothing in the latter's inscription to suggest that they carried out the work in exchange for any pre-agreed reward. From this, one can infer that there were different motivations behind the benefactors wanting to build their bridges. Tauriscus built his bridge to gain material rewards, and to represent himself as a man who fulfils his promises. Pollio and Proculus, as argued below, would have had different motivations and their impressive structure represented both their loyalty to the Imperial family and their position as new men in Ephesus. The cases of these two bridge builders show the variations in both the practice of architectural benefaction and how monuments could be used to represent their builders. Such diversity must be taken into account when discussing the influence of Rome on its provinces, particularly on tangible cultural aspects such as architecture.

The longer and more detailed Latin inscription on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate not only represented their position and role in Roman Ephesus and their relationship with their Imperial patrons, but also reflected how the Ephesian population had changed because of interactions with Rome. As discussed above, Asia had had Roman residents long before annexation. Whilst Plutarch's assertion that 150,000 Romans, Italians, their freedmen and their families were killed in Ephesus in a single day during the Mithridatic War was probably an exaggeration, it can be assumed that there was a sizable population of Roman citizens residing there and elsewhere in the area at the time.[470] At Ephesus, its Roman citizens began to make their mark on the city's buildings and public spaces, and the civic life of the city after the civil wars and under Augustus. The cult of Roma was established there in the first century B.C., and Roman freedmen held the position of *prytanis* by the 20s B.C.[471] Many of the inscriptions and monuments associated with Roman citizens were found in and around the city's two agorae. The Temple of Divine Iulius and Roma, thought to have been located next to the *prytaneum,* built by the city's Roman citizens with Augustus' permission in 29 B.C.,[472] the Memmius Monument, the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate and, by the end of the period, the buildings constructed by Gaius Sextilius Pollio and Gaius Ofillius Proculus were all located in and around the agorae. The presence of buildings and monuments of Roman citizens within the civic heart of an ancient Greek city by and during the reign of Augustus emphasises the growing influence of Rome on provincial society, facilitated by the works of Roman citizen benefactors. Mazaeus and Mithridates' Gate formed part of a landscape which represented this influence. Latin never became the predominant language of the eastern empire, even at Ephesus Latin dedications were rare, and the *boule* and *demos* never used Latin for Imperial dedications.[473] Its use here by two freedmen as the main language of a monument associated with the civic heart of a Greek city, the agora, represents how integral Rome had become to Ephesus.

The primary reason for the construction of the gate was to celebrate Mazaeus and Mithridates' Roman patrons with a smaller, but still significant, nod to the city and people of Ephesus. There was another important honorific function which the gate, and particularly its bilingual inscriptions, would have performed. The inclusion of their names in Latin and Greek and not, one should note, their patrons' names, meant that every literate person in Ephesus, regardless of their native language, would have known exactly who was responsible, and had to be thanked, for the gate.[474] The celebration of their Imperial patrons, and the opportunity to gain recognition for themselves by this act, Burrell suggests, would have elevated them into a place hitherto

[470] Plut. *Sull.* 24; Scherrer 2007, 63.

[471] Scherrer 2007, 68-69.

[472] Cassius Dio. 51. 20. 6; Scherrer 2007, 63; 68.

[473] Eck 2009, 25.

[474] Eck 2009, 25.

unobtainable. She states that as neither are known to have held offices on an Imperial, provincial or civic scale they would have struggled amongst freeborn Ephesians without their Imperial connections.[475] Dedicating such an impressive, albeit functional monument in the heart of Ephesus, to their patrons and their city, represented the cementation of Mazaeus and Mithridates' place in Ephesian society. Furthermore, by honouring their Roman patrons and respecting the traditions of the polis by dedicating it to the *demos* of Ephesus[476] the freedmen represented not only the relationship which they had with each party, but also how their honours and places in the world were shaped by the relationships which they had with both Rome and Ephesus.

When first excavated in 1903, it was thought that the gate dated from the Hellenistic period, due to the high quality of the stonework, the shape of the joints and the style of the individual ornaments on it. Only after the discovery of the inscription was the date of the monument placed much later: Augustus's titulature dates the monument precisely to 4/3 B.C.[477] The misidentification of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate as a Hellenistic monument by its excavators suggests a continuation of earlier architectural practices into the Imperial period. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was formed of blocks of square masonry, each layer measuring 0.5 metres high. The façade is divided by four pillars, which carry a three-fascia architrave, a vine frieze, a dentil frieze topped by egg-and-dart and beading, and a highly decorated cornice with lion heads, acanthus involucres, trifoliate half-palmettes and upturned scrolls. Each fascia is crowned by a rounded bar, and, underneath the architrave, on the inner corners of the recessed arch, are bull's heads. A highly mutilated female head was found on the outer corner of the cornice, and dowel holes have been found on the central entrance, indicative of further, similar, now lost images. The capitals of the pilasters are decorated in a variety of ways but are typical of the Ionic style. The doorjambs each have three fasciae, each with strings of beads in between and the cornices above the lintels are also richly ornamented.[478] There are niches in the sides of the archivolts, a requisite, Alzinger states, of late Hellenistic art. Yet, these niches were not designed

[475] Burrell 2009, 74

[476] Eck 2009, 21; 25.

[477] Burrell 2009, 74 is more precise than Alzinger 1974, 9, who suggests a date sometime between 4 and 2 B.C.

[478] Alzinger 1974, 9-11.

for holding sculptures, but were intended as a decorative feature.[479] The decorative features of the façade of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate are overtly Hellenistic in character; there is little evidence of Roman innovation here.

The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate most likely was constructed as part of the remodelling of the lower agora during the reign of Augustus. The Hellenistic agora, perhaps due to earthquake damage, was razed to the ground, and rebuilt with two-aisled, two-storey stoas on all four sides, with the gate being built directly into the market halls.[480] As seen at Aphrodisias, there was a move from the end of the first century B.C. onwards to enclose completely public spaces in a style reminiscent of the Imperial fora in Rome. Completely enclosed Hellenistic agorae were rare, though those that did exist date to the early Hellenistic period. Before this, it was more usual for individual stoas to be erected along one or more sides of the space.[481] The earliest known of these "peristyle" type agorae was at Pella in Macedonia, dating from the late fourth century B.C.[482] Its total area of around 3.5 hectares, one of the largest in any period of Greek history, was surrounded by four connected stoas. Prior to this, peristyles were used only to surround the smaller courtyards of gymnasia and religious complexes.[483] Like the Lower Agora at Ephesus, Pella's agora also had a monumental gateway that formed the main entrance into the complex. A smaller entrance on the west had what the excavators have interpreted as guardrooms to check merchandise coming into the square.[484] As discussed above, the building projects of many Roman citizens were focused around the Ephesian agorae, and the work to remodel this space coincided with the period that saw an increase in such activities. Thus, it would seem more reasonable to suggest that the Augustan remodelling of the Lower Agora was styled upon the fora of Italian cities, rather than a rare Hellenistic agora-type.

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[479] Alzinger 1974, 15.

[480] Scherrer 2007, 64 remarks that the exact dating evidence for this reconstruction is unknown; Hueber 1997, 74.

[481] Dickenson 2017, 55.

[482] Dickenson 2017, 59-60.

[483] Dickenson 2017, 57-58.

[484] Dickenson 2017, 60.

Figure 19: The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, Lower Agora, Ephesus (April 2011).

The iconography from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate indicates both the benefactors' interactions with the Roman Imperial system and the variety of decorative features used in architectural benefactions in the late first century B.C. Statue base inscriptions for Augustus, and Gaius and Lucius Caesar, have been found in association with the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, and it is likely that statues of the rest of the Imperial family were included on top of the gate.[485] There is no mentioned of Agrippa and Iulia's sons in the dedication of the gate, but the 0.065 metre bronze letters, an uncommon feature in Ephesian statue bases, associate it with the gate both contextually and aesthetically.[486] The presence of a statue of Lucius Caesar suggests that there were statues of all the members of Augustus and Agrippa's families on top of the gate.[487] Alongside the figures of the Imperial family, there were also images more usually seen in Hellenistic contexts. In the centre of the tendril frieze there is a female figure, who held her arm in a heraldic position. This pose, Alzinger argues, involuntarily recalls the primitive πότνια θηρῶν, or queen of the hunt. In

[485] *IvE* 3006-3007; Raja 2012, 73; Graham 2013, 394.

[486] Graham 2013, 394.

[487] Raja 2012, 73; *IvE* 3006-3007.

architecture dating from the Hellenistic period in Asia Minor, the figure in the centre of the tendrils usually appears with wings and wearing a Kalathos. The figure on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate has neither wings nor a Kalathos, but alongside her are Erotes/Cupids and birds in the vines. These attributes characterise her as Aphrodite.

Figure 20: The ‘queen of the hunt’ goddess from the tendril frieze of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate. (April 2011).

The image of Aphrodite emerging from foliage harks back to the ancient depictions of her seen in the East but was used by the Greeks also.[488] The foliage and the birds surrounding her indicate fertility and prosperity, whilst the accompanying Erotes indicate not only passion, but also motherhood. Different audiences could have interpreted this figure, like many other elements of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, in different ways. More expected in Ephesus would be to see depictions of Artemis, rather than Aphrodite and Eros, but an Ephesian audience would have recognised this figure as Aphrodite. A Roman audience would equate this image with Venus, and whilst the image lacks the iconography associated with Venus Genetrix, the founding mother of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, such as an apple and a pose in which she holds her drapery, the link would be made to the Imperial family. Located on the frieze, below the statues of the Julio-Claudians, the image of Venus literally provides the foundation for the dynasty which the monument honours. Although the goddess’s iconography would have been familiar to a Greek audience, her association with the Julio-Claudians would have been less so. Paul Zanker’s seminal 1990 study *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* devotes little attention to the use and reception

[488] Alzinger 1974, 14. “Sie ist nicht nur die altorientalische Aphrodite, die dem sprießenden Grün entsteigt und die bei den Griechen zur "Aphrodite in den Gärten" wurde”

of the association between Venus/Aphrodite and Augustan dynasty in visual culture in the provinces. He does note, however, that in the East, despite not being treated as equal to the gods, Augustus and his family were associated with the traditional cult of the gods.[489] Given the frequent use of such images in Rome itself, it would not be unfounded to suggest that similar “propaganda” images were also disseminated throughout the provinces. Her placing here integrated the unfamiliar into a familiar context, emphasising the growing influence of Rome and the honouring of the Imperial family in the provinces.

A further decorative element of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate indicative of its purpose to honour the Julio-Claudian dynasty are the carved bulls’ heads that adorn the central arch, shown in Figure 21 below.

Figure 21: One of the bulls heads from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, Ephesus (April 2011).

[489] Zanker 1990, 298-299.

Bull's heads were popular requisites of triumphal symbolism, and were also used on doors, usually decorating the keystone of the archivolt or on consoles.[490] The bull's head was a recurring motif on public monuments from the early Imperial period, and were found on the Arch of Augustus at Rimini, dating from 27 B.C. and the Porta Tiburtina in Rome, dating from 5 B.C. The bull's head was the emblem of Iulius Caesar's legion, the *Legio X Equestris,* as Taurus was the sign of the zodiac of the month in which the protective deity of the Iulian house, Venus Genetrix, governed.[491] The bull also appeared on the obverse of Iulius Caesar's coins, including the Denarius shown in Figure 22 below.

Figure 22: Denarius of Iulius Caesar, with bull on the obverse (Crawford 526/04).

As in the case of their inclusion on Gaius Iulius Zoilus' stage building at Aphrodisias, their inclusion here indicates that by the very end of the first century B.C., the Imperial family received honours through major architectural benefactions. Whilst the symbolism of the bull's head is strictly speaking that of the tenth legion rather than the Imperial family, the bull's link to Venus, and thus hers to the Julio-Claudians, can explain their usage here.[492] The combination of both obviously Roman iconography,

[490] Alzinger 1974, 14.

[491] von Domaszewski 1909, 6.

[492] An alternative interpretation of the inclusion of the bull's heads is offered by Alzinger (1974, 14-15) He associates them with the cult of Poseidon, and the connections between Poseidon and Octavian's naval victory at Actium. However, this seems a tenuous link. If Augustus was the arch's sole dedicatee, given its similarity in form to a Roman triumphal arch, the association between the bulls, Poseidon and Actium may have been more plausible. Its dedication to members of the Imperial family who were not

and Hellenistic iconography which could be seen to have Roman connotations suggests that a variety of images, were being used to honour both the Imperial family, and the people of Ephesus.

Burrell has claimed that each half of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was constructed by a different team of sculptors, further suggesting that each half of the monument was dedicated by one of the men to their respective married patrons.[493] She cites Charles Rose's 1997 study of the monument's inscriptions and statues in *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian period*. Rose, however, provides no substantial evidence for his claims:

> "Information kindly supplied by F. Hueber of the Austrian Excavations at Ephesus, who was director of the anastylosis project for the gate."[494]

An examination of Friedmund Hueber's discussion of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate in his 1997 work *Ephesos Gebaute Geschichte* shows that whilst he claims that the two halves were built simultaneously before being joined, not perfectly, together in the centre, he provides neither detailed description of the architectural evidence, nor any photographs of the join.[495] As mentioned above, Burrell argues that Mazaeus was a freedman of Augustus and Mithridates was a freedman of Agrippa, rather than either them both being the property of Agrippa or being the property of both at some point in their lives. The epigraphic evidence from the gate does not conclusively support Burrell's theory that each man belonged to one Imperial patron. If, as she claims, the two halves of the gate were built simultaneously, this would add credence to her theory that each benefactor worked independently to honour their own patron. However, her lack of evidence to prove that the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was built in two

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involved in the Battle of Actium means it is more likely that the bull's heads are an allusion to Iulius Caesar and Venus as founders of the dynasty honoured by this monument, rather than Octavian and Poseidon.

[493] Burrell 2009, 74.

[494] Rose 1997, 276.

[495] Hueber 1997, 76; "Es fand sich der Nachweis, daß der westliche und der östliche Gebäudeflügel gleichzeitig, aber unabhängig voneinander errichtet worden sind und dann - mit einigen Problemen bei der Zusammenführung - die Verbindung durch das mittlere Tor geschaffen wurde."

halves, as two simultaneous projects, considering the uncategorical epigraphic evidence her interpretation borders on special pleading.

The epigraphic and iconographic evidence from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate are indicative of the benefactors' interactions with the Roman Imperial system, and how these interactions affected the way that they were represented through this medium in their home city. The most obvious influence that interactions with the Roman Imperial system had on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate is the shape of the monument itself. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate combines architectural features from a Greek and a Roman monument type. In terms of elevation, the gate is reminiscent of a Roman triumphal arch, whilst Alzinger describes its ground plan as more like a Greek propylon.[496] Triumphal arches were completely new to Ephesus but the arches of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate resembled the Arch of Augustus at Susa, built in 9/8 B.C.[497]

Figure 23: The Arch of Augustus at Susa (Rome Across Europe).[498]

[496] Alzinger 1974, 13.

[497] Kader 1996, 259–60; Burrell 2009, 74.

[498] (http://www.romeacrosseurope .com/?p=700#sthash.6OP86jY0.dpbs)

The gate's other features, such as its U-shape and triple passageway traces its ancestry to much earlier back to Mnesicles' Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis.[499]

Figure 24: Mnesicles' Propylaea looking inwards (March 2013).

Figure 25: Mnesicles' Propylaea looking outwards (March 2013).

[499]Alzinger 1974, 9–16; Ortaç, 2002, 175–7, 179–81.

An example from the province of Asia is the South Propylon from the Sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda, which has the same three entrances as Mnesicles' Propylaea and the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, but not the full colonnade in front of it as the former does.

Figure 26: Surviving remains of the South Propylon, Labraunda (Labraunda Organisation).[500]

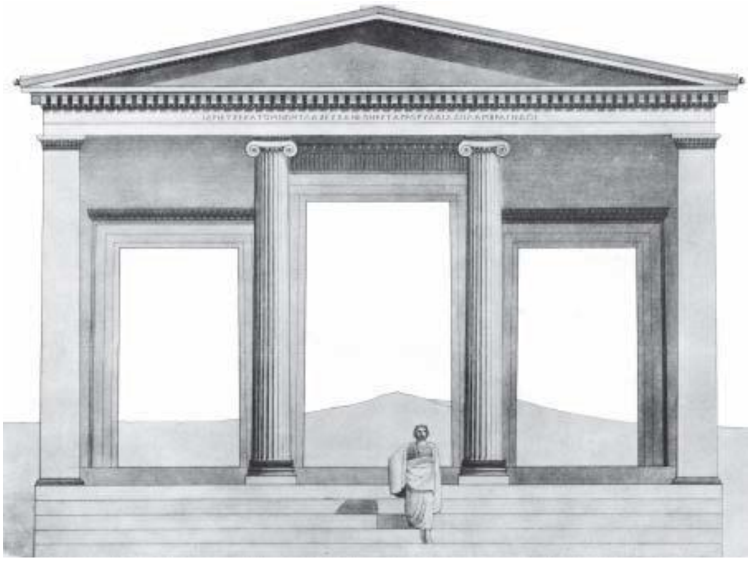

Figure 27: Reconstruction drawing of the façade of the South Propylon, Labraunda. (Labraunda Organisation, after Jeppesen, 1955)[501]

[500] http://www.labraunda.org/Labraunda.org/South_Propylon_eng.html (Last accessed 20/8/2019)

[501] http://www.labraunda.org/Labraunda.org/South_Propylon_eng.html (Last accessed 20/8/2019)

Side wings on buildings originated in fifth-century Greece, with the halls of the Artemis-Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis and the Zeus Stoa in the Agora being notable early examples.[502] However, the side wings of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate are atypical, and unnecessary, for a triumphal arch.[503] Peter Scherrer suggest that the side wings of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate functioned as its benefactor's final resting place. He offers no archaeological evidence from the building itself, other than the existence of the side wings, but offers Mithridates' grave inscription, found nearby, as evidence.[504] Hilke Thür takes Scherrer's interpretation further. She erroneously claims that Scherrer suggested that the eastern wing would have been Mithridates' resting place in his 1995 paper. She concludes, therefore, that Mazaeus must have been buried in the western wing.[505] Scherrer does assign resting places to both freedmen in his 2000 edited volume *Ephesus. The New Guide*.[506] Considering the epigraphic evidence from the gate, Thür and Scherrer's conclusions make sense, however the evidence for their theory is somewhat problematic. Mithridates' grave inscription is no longer *in situ*, having been reused to pave the Marble Road. It may have come from anywhere in the city. Furthermore, there is very little left of either side wing, the west wing having been removed to allow for the construction of the Library of Celsus,[507] so it is impossible to identify a potential burial chamber in either wing. Despite Scherrer and Thür's assertions, it is impossible to state categorically that Mazaeus and Mithridates were buried within the structure of their gate.

The unnecessary, but Greek, additions to the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate shows that it was designed to be seen neither simply as a freestanding arch that was built solely in honour of a certain group of people, which alongside supporting statues was the main function of such a monument,[508] nor as a market gate designed to be the entrance to the Agora. Its floorplan fitted into what was still a predominantly

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[502] For more details of these two monuments see Coulton 1976, 222 Stevens 1936, 459-470; Travlos 1971, 124-126 and Agora Guide 1976, 79-82; Camp 1986, 105-107; Coulton 1976, 222; Travlos 1971, 527-533 respectively.

[503] Alzinger 1974, 12.

[504] Scherrer 1995, 7.

[505] Thür 1997, 74.

[506] Scherrer 2000, 138.

[507] Thür 1997, 74.

[508] Burrell 2009, 74.

Hellenistic space, yet its façade meant that it looked like a Roman honorific monument.[509] It was a clear attempt to combine two different architectural traditions, and designed, like its inscriptions, to appeal to two different audiences in Early Imperial Ephesus. To combine these features and dedicate such a monument to both Roman and Greek honorands in the civic heart of the city further strengthens the importance of both cultures in the life of a provincial city. For a Greek audience, the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was just that, a gateway, a functional entranceway into the Agora, dedicated by two local men, to the city's deity and their unnamed patrons. For a Latin-speaking audience this was a Roman monument honouring the Imperial family erected by two Imperial freedmen. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was not a new monument forced upon the Ephesian population by the Romans, but a product of cohesive interactions between Mazaeus and Mithridates and their Imperial patrons.[510] They chose to honour the Imperial family by constructing an archway in their honour yet retained a Greek floorplan and decorative elements. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate was unlike anything previously seen in Ephesus and was designed by two residents to represent their affinity to both honorands: Rome and their home town.

Further indications of how varied both the process of architectural benefaction, and the way architectural benefactors were represented through their monuments in Roman Asia Minor can be seen through a comparison between the texts of Zoilus' monuments and those from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate. A benefactor's use of bilingualism does not correspond to the level of interaction between themselves and Rome. Nor were there any norms governing the use of one language or another.[511] Zoilus uses only the language of his native city, whilst Mazaeus and Mithridates used both Latin and Greek. The use of Latin was never common in Aphrodisias, so whether a city was publicly bilingual or not may have been a result of the whole city's

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[509] Alzinger 1974, 13-14; Cramme 2001, 199.

[510] Weigand's description of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate as being a piece of Roman art that was planted brutally and powerfully into the middle of an environment which was quite different (Weigand 1928, 109) must be considered as in keeping with the theories and thinking about the impact of Rome on its provinces at the time of writing. See Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion on the progression of thought on the impact of Rome on the province of Asia.

[511] Eck 2009, 28.

interaction with Rome, rather than the relationship between individuals and Rome. Zoilus' lack of dedications to the Imperial family suggests that in the early years of the Principate dedicating major architectural benefactions to them was neither expected nor standard practice, even amongst those who had had direct interactions with the Imperial family and/or had been under their patronage. Zoilus' dedicatory inscriptions celebrated him and his achievements in life as much as they honoured the intended recipients, whilst Mazaeus and Mithridates' achievements were unheralded and are now unknown. Architectural benefactions in Asia Minor in the late first century B.C. could honour the benefactor, Imperial and local honorands, though exactly who was honoured, and how, appears to be dictated by the individual benefactor. Whilst both Zoilus' and Mazaeus and Mithridates' benefactions indicate interactions with the Imperial family, Roman practices of benefaction were certainly not imposed, either directly by the Roman administration, or by local benefactors. Roman and non-Roman influences were used alongside each other in a variety of ways depending upon the unique context of the monument, and the position of the benefactor within local, and Roman society. Architectural benefactors were represented in a manner which reflected the diversity, both of themselves as a group of elites, and of Roman provincial society.

Major architectural benefaction in Early Roman Asia Minor was a diverse institution, with the potential for variations within it, and the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate makes this apparent. Although we know very few details about their lives, Mazaeus and Mithridates, despite being Imperial freedmen, retained their non-Roman names and identities. The surviving evidence does not tell us whether they held a civic office or not, but as presumably wealthy citizens, they may have held some decree of influence within the city. They both had interactions and connections with the Roman system and built in a style that reflected and represented these interactions. The gate was a composite monument, located in a city where evidence for interactions between it and the Roman administrative system were beginning to show. The differences in the Latin and Greek texts, not only in terms of language but also in content, indicate not only that the benefactors wanted to present different messages, but also the variety of audiences which would have seen and read the text. The gate's combination of architectural features from a Roman triumphal arch and a Greek propylon, in addition to its dual function as both an honorific monument and a gateway into the Lower

Agora, also indicates that there was scope for variation in architectural benefaction in early Imperial Ephesus. Contrasting the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate with the monuments of Zoilus discussed in Chapter 2, the possible variations in architectural benefactions, and their benefactors in the latter half of the first century B.C. in Roman Asia Minor become more apparent. Although both of freedman status, Zoilus built and dedicated his monuments largely in a Hellenistic style, whilst Mazaeus and Mithridates built and dedicated in a style that retained some older elements but were predominantly Roman. The differences between how Zoilus on the one hand, and Mazaeus and Mithridates on the other, named themselves on their monuments, the former used his *tria nomina* whilst the latter used their non-Roman names, indicate how men of a similar status within Roman society were represented in different ways in their provincial cities. Although separated chronologically and spatially, the monuments of Zoilus, and Mazaeus and Mithridates indicate that Imperial freedmen were represented in a variety of ways through their architectural benefactions. Zoilus, and Mazaeus and Mithridates had similar interactions with Rome and status within the Roman Imperial system but the differences in representation of these Imperial freedmen show that there was not one standard way that freedmen could or should be presented in such a context. There must have been scope for choosing how a benefactor was represented through their architectural benefaction, dictated by a combination of their or their city's preferences, and the unique social and spatial context of the building itself.

3.3. Gaius Sextilius Pollio and Gaius Ofillius Proculus.

A second pair of Ephesian benefactors active during the reign of Augustus were Gaius Sextilius Pollio and Gaius Ofillius Proculus. The father and stepson were Roman citizens and they were involved in two major architectural benefactions in and around the city. Few firm details of Pollio's life survive, other than that his full name was Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius of the Voturia tribe. The Voturia tribe was the original tribe of Rome's port Ostia, but the other two locations of Veturii were also port towns; Antium and Caere.[512] Pollio may have originated from one of these port cities and it can be speculated that he had previous experience that would have rendered him a suitable candidate to oversee a provincial public building project. Due

[512] Taylor 1960, 42.

to his *cognomina*, there has been some speculation as to whether he was a relative, or the freedman of, Vedius Pollio, a friend of Augustus.[513] As we know his father's name, he could not have been the son or adopted son of Vedius Pollio, and since his father was also Roman, Pollio could not have been a freedman of Vedius Pollio. In most of the inscriptions, Proculus is called Pollio's son, apart from the one on the Pollio monument, where Proculus is named as Gaius Ofillius Proculus, son of Aulus, of the Cornelia tribe.[514] The location of the Cornelia tribe is less clearly defined than the Voturia, but they seem to have originated from the area immediately north east of Rome.[515] Ofillia Bassa, Pollio's wife and Proculus' mother, is mentioned alongside them in the dedications. Sometime after the erection of these monuments, Pollio adopted Proculus. They were named together on a subscription list dating from the reign of Tiberius, but Proculus' *tria nomina* had become Gaius Sextilius Proculus.[516]

Pollio and Proculus are known from numerous monuments and inscriptions from in and around the city. They oversaw the construction of the Aqua Throessitica and built the aqueduct bridge over the Marnas Valley. They also built the Basilica Stoa on the north side of the Upper Agora and Proculus dedicated a monument to Pollio. Proculus also erected statues of Pollio and Ofillia Bassa. Pollio and Proculus', probable, initial role as overseers of an aqueduct and their proudly acclaimed Italian origins suggests that they were sent from Italy on the emperor's behalf to carry out this project. Their other architectural benefactions to Ephesus and the appearance of Pollio and Proculus on the Tiberian subscription list suggests that they continued to reside in Ephesus after the Aqua Throessitica was complete.

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[513] Kirbihler 2007, 30: "Sein Beiname erinnert vielleicht an eine Freundschaft oder Verwandtschaft mit bzw. Erbschaft von Vedius Pollio."; 27 "…ein persönslicher Freund des Augustus."

[514] *IvE* 405.

[515] Taylor 1960, 34.

[516] Text discussed in Knibbe, Engelmann and Iplikcioglu 1989, 200-202; Knibbe, D., and Buyukkolanci, M. 1989, 45, designated Fragment a, column 2, line 4-6. Proculus' name, before and after his adoption, is unusual. Kajanto 1965, 32; states that from the Republican period an adopted person's *cognomen* was formed from the *gentilicium* of the father, which was added to the *praenomen* and *gentilicium* obtained from the adoptive father Before adoption, Proculus has his mother's *gentilicium*, rather than his father Aulus', but on adoption, he only takes Pollio's *gentilicium*, as opposed to changing and adding to his name.

Another inscription, found on Domitian Street, may bear his name. It is highly fragmentary, and it is impossible to determine whether it was from a stele or a statue base. The reconstruction reads:

> ἡ βουλ[ὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος] ἐτείμη[σαν Γάϊον Σεξτί]λιον Π[οπλίου υἱὸν] Οὐοτ[ουρία Πολλίωνα
>
> The *boule* [and the people] honoured [Gaius Sexti]lius P[ollio, son] of Publius of the Vot[uria] tribe.[517]

The fragmentary state of this dedicatory inscription makes it difficult to identify the recipient definitively as Gaius Sextilius Pollio, but the survival of "λιον Π" and "Οὐοτ" on the stone, and the fact that he gave number of benefactions to the city,[518] suggests that he was the recipient of this dedication. The text's find spot, near both the Pollio Monument and the Basilica Stoa, strengthens the case for Pollio being the honorand. Two other statue bases survive, one of Pollio and one of Ofillia Bassa, each with a hole for a plinth on top, one with moulding across the top.[519] These were found in the rubble of the Byzantine house east of the Basilica Stoa and were dedicated by Proculus in honour of his parents.[520] The bilingual texts which are further evidence for both the combination of both Roman and Greek cultures in provincial cities and Proculus' desire to represent and honour his parents in a way that all would understand, read:

> C‹ Sextilio Pollion[i]
>
> C ‹ Ofillius ‹ Proculus patri
>
> Γάϊον Σ[ε]ξτίλιον Πωλλῶνα
>
> Γά[ϊος Ὀφέλλ]ιος [Πρόκλος τὸ]ν πατέρα

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[517] *IvE* 717 A.

[518] Zuiderhoek 2009, 7; argues that virtually all public benefactors would have received a statue from the city.

[519] Kearsley 2001, 85.

[520] Alzinger 1974, 269.

For Gaius Sextilius Pollio

Gaius Ofillius Proculus for his father

(Honouring) his father Gaius Sextilius Pollio

Gaius Ofillius Proculus

Ofilliae ‹ Bassae

C ‹ Ofillius ‹ Proculus matri

Ὀφέλλίαν Βάσσαν

Γ[ά]ϊος Ὀφέλλιος Πρόκλος τὴν μητέρα

For Ofillia Bassa

Gaius Ofillius Proculus for his mother

(Honouring) his mother Ofillia Bassa

Gaius Ofillius Proculus.[521]

The discovery of these statue bases near the Basilica Stoa is particularly significant. It indicates strongly that the statues were either located in the building or outside of it. Had they been located outside of the Basilica Stoa, they would have been visible to all who visited the Agora, This, combined with the dedicatory inscription above their heads, would have told any onlooker who was responsible for the construction of the Basilica Stoa. If they were located within the Basilica Stoa, their find spot suggests they may have been located within the East Hall, alongside the statues of Augustus and Livia; a clear indication of the way Proculus wanted his parents to be seen.

The most significant of Pollio's rewards was an honorific monument, now known as the Pollio Monument. It is located in a prominent position on 'Domitian Street,' near both the terminus of the Aqua Throessitica and the Basilica Stoa, between Curetes Street and the western boundary of the Upper Agora.[522]

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[521] *IvE* II 407; Kearsley 2001, 85.

[522] Akurgal 1973, 166; Aristodemou 2002, 1; Halfmann 2004, 41.

Its location would have created a visual link between the reasons that Pollio was honoured and the honour that he received for the work. Its siting, just off the agora, also places Roman Pollio at the heart of the Greek city that became his home and kept his memory and achievements alive there. The Pollio Monument's bilingual inscription, located on its western wall, is particularly fragmentary. The Latin inscription is thought to have been higher up on the monument than the Greek, located at the beginning of the archway, whilst the Greek text was lower down, as seen on Figure 28 below.[523] Although very little has survived of the Greek text, it is assumed that the Latin and Greek texts gave similar information. Thus, the following interpretation has been suggested:

C(aio) Sextilio P(ublii) f(ilio) Vot(uria) Pollioni

C(aius) Ofillius A(uli) f(ilius) Cor(nelia) Proculus patri

[Γάϊον Σεξτίλιον Ποπλίου]

[υἱὸν Οὐοτουρία Πολλίωνα]

[Γάϊος Ὀφέλλιος Αὔλουυἱὸς Κορ]-

dato a civitat[e loco.] νηλία Πρόκ[λος τὸν πατέρα]

τὸ πουδοθ[έντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.]

For Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius, Voturia (tribe)

Gaius Ofillius Proculus, son of Aulus, Cornelia (tribe), for his father.

The site was granted by the citizens.

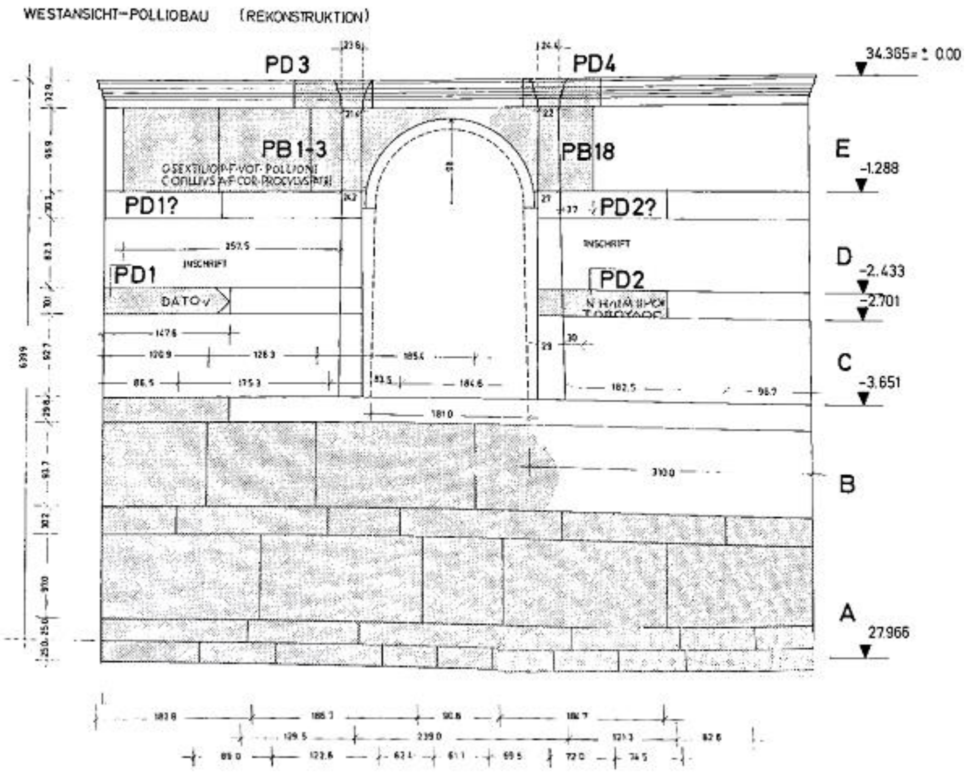
(Honouring) his father Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius, Voturia (tribe);

Gaius Ofillius Proculus, son of Aulus, Cornelia (tribe).

The site was granted by the people.[524]

[523] Bammer 1976, 83-84.

[524] *IvE* 405; Trans. adapted after Kearsley 2001, 84. Kearsley translated *civitate* as ”the people”.



3: Grundriß und Westansicht

Figure 28: Reconstruction of the Façade of the Pollio Monument (Bammer 1976, 83-84).

The text makes clear that Proculus was the dedicator of the monument, and that the people of Ephesus granted the land it was built on. No reference is made to the city being involved in its construction, or that the monument was a public honour. It has been argued, largely due to its proximity to the earlier funerary monument of Memmius, the grandson of Sulla, that the Pollio Monument was his funerary monument.[525] However, there is both epigraphic and archaeological evidence that questions this interpretation. The form of Proculus' name in the texts suggests that the Pollio Monument was erected prior to his adoption, so Pollio was still alive when the monument was completed. In addition, although its survival is affected by the later construction of the Fountain of Domitian,[526] none of the surviving archaeological evidence suggests that it was used as a funerary monument.[527] Martin Steskal states

[525] Alzinger 1974, 24; Bammer 1976, 77-92; Berns 2003, 197-198.

[526] Longfellow 2011, 61; *IvE* 413.1; *IvE* 413.2; *IvE* 419.

[527] Steskal 2011, 249.

that there may have been an inaccessible burial chamber, a sarcophagus in an upper story or an urn for ashes,[528] which, while plausible, is entirely unsupported by the available evidence. Whether or not the Pollio Monument was its namesake's final resting place, and despite his stepson rather than the city of Ephesus having erected it, it would still undoubtedly have been considered as a great honour for Pollio and a celebration of him. As with all the other texts associated with Pollio and Proculus, whilst they are very similar, there are subtle differences between the Latin and Greek texts. The Latin is in the dative case, suggesting that the monument was for Pollio, or given to him, whilst the Greek text is in the accusative case. Although a verb of honouring is absent from the text, it is implied that Proculus erected this monument to honour his father. The construction of the Greek text, particularly when considered alongside how Proculus was named in it, suggests that the monument was erected while Pollio was alive rather than after he had died.

The location of the Pollio Monument is particularly significant, both in relation to Pollio and Proculus' architectural benefactions and to the wider topography. The Pollio Monument is located near to both the terminus of the Aqua Throessitica and the Basilica Stoa. The proximity of these two architectural benefactions to the honorific monument of their benefactor would have resulted in greater evocation of the benefactor and his works given to the city of Ephesus. It is also located just off the Upper Agora, near the main thoroughfare between the upper and lower city, so people would have seen it as they moved through the city. The visibility of the Pollio Monument would only add to the evocation of him and his generosity to the city. The surviving archaeological evidence for the Pollio Monument does not tell us whether there were statues of him, or other members of his family, but if there were, in addition to the statues of him located at the Basilica Stoa, they would have given further visual reminders of Pollio the benefactor. The Pollio Monument, and the statues of Pollio and Ofillia Bassa, located in prominent places near the monuments that the family constructed, created a landscape of honour and memory, representing and evoking a great benefactor of the city of Ephesus.

Very little of the structure of the Pollio Monument survives as a result of the construction of the Fountain of Domitian adjacent to it. Excavations have shown that

[528] Steskal 2011, 249.

the floorplan of the first phase of the monument measured 8.03 x 6.57 metres, and it stood 6.399 metres high.[529] A Nymphaeum, thought to be separate from the Fountain of Domitian, was built over the Pollio Monument, either during the Flavian period or during the reign of Trajan. It was U-shaped, richly decorated with an elaborate edifice, with Corinthian pilasters, aediculae, a three-fascia architrave, and a relief frieze. The water-supply system has survived, in the form of clay pipes.[530] Much of the surviving visible archaeological evidence is from the later phase of construction.[531] Enough of the original structure survives to show that the Pollio Monument's walls were constructed with what Alzinger and Bammer describe as a core of *opus caementicium*, which was covered with lime plaster, and faced with marble slabs.[532] Yet, as will be discussed in the context of the Marnas aqueduct bridge, this material is likely to be a local attempt at *opus caementicium,* using available materials rather than true *opus caementicium.* In the centre of the monument was a niche measuring 1.81 metres wide, 1.1 metres deep and 3.06 metres high; this may have once contained a statue of Pollio.[533] Five of the marble slabs mentioned by Alzinger that would have originally formed part of a parapet cannot be placed on either the Fountain of Domitian, or the Pollio Monument. This has led to the conclusion that they once formed the façade of a basin associated with the first phase of the Pollio Monument. The basin, measuring 3.5 x 1.2 metres, was placed on the western side of the Pollio Monument, with the wall of the Pollio Monument functioned as the basin's rear wall. Whilst no trace of a water supply survives for the first phase of the monument, the terminus of the Aqua Throessitica was close enough to suggest that the monument and its basin formed the end of the aqueduct.[534]

[529] Bammer 1976, 85-86; Aristodemou 2002, 1. The latter's measurements are less precise, recording the structure as measuring 8 x 6.5 x 6.4 metres.

[530] Bammer 1976, 86; Aristodemou 2002, 2.

[531] Halfmann 2004, 41.

[532] Alzinger 1974, 24; Bammer 1976, 86.

[533] Bammer 1976, 86; 91.

[534] Aristodemou 2002, 1.

Figure 29: The standing remains of the Pollio Monument, Ephesus. (April 2011).

Figure 30: Fragments of sculptural decoration from the later Nymphaeum of Pollio, Ephesus. (April 2011.)

The recognition Pollio received tells us much about the variety of rewards which architectural benefactions could receive, and how there were many processes by which a benefactor could be rewarded. Pollio's rewards show that in Early Roman Asia Minor, major architectural benefactors could receive both public dedications from the recipient city and private ones from members of his own family. There was also not one prescribed honour for major architectural benefactors. Pollio received inscribed honours from the city of Ephesus, and statues and a monument from Proculus. Pollio's various rewards also indicate that there was no guarantee of major honours from the recipient city, even for numerous major architectural benefactions. Proculus, not the city of Ephesus, built the Pollio Monument, the grandest and most visible of Pollio's rewards, which has survived in the city. The city's role in this reward only went as far as donating the land on which it stood.

Although a very different monument in form to the Pollio monument, the monument of Gnaeus Babbius Philinus at Corinth, constructed in the early first century A.D. is a comparable example of an honorific monument that the city neither granted nor erected. The text reads:

> [C]n(aeus) Babbius Philinus aed(ilis) pontif[ex] [d(e)] ṣ(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) ç(uravit), ịdemque IIvir p(robavit)
>
> Cnaeus Babbius Philinus, aedile, pontifex, undertook the construction at his own expense, and the same, as duovir, approved it.[535]

Unlike the Pollio monument, the Babbius monument was built, not by his son or another member of his family, but by Babbius himself. He then used his position as *duovir* to approve its construction. Whilst it was normal and expected for a *duovir* to approve public building projects, ensuring that they have been constructed correctly and as stated in the contract,[536] Babbius is represented here as more than working in his official capacity as *duovir.* He represented himself in positions of power where he could not only build a monument, but also legally ensure that the work was completed safely. Babbius' motivation behind this must have been associated with representing himself as a prominent, important citizen within Roman Corinth. Babbius considered

[535] PHI Corinth 8, 2 132. Trans. American School of Classical Studies online catalogue. Last Accessed 9/1/18.

[536] Martin 1986, 323.

himself worthy enough to represent himself and his contribution to the life of Corinth by having a grand honorific monument erected in the city. Arguably, Proculus thought the same of Pollio and wanted to represent him in this same manner. Though in this case the city granted the land on which the Pollio monument stood. This may also have been the case with the Babbius monument, but it was not declared in the inscription. The Pollio and Babbius monuments indicate that provincial elites strove to represent themselves, or other members of their family, in a manner that they considered the honorand deserved. Furthermore, they provide further evidence for the variety of ways in which elite members of provincial society used architectural benefaction as a means of representation.

3.3.1. The Overseeing of the Aqua Throessitica

The first of Pollio and Proculus' architectural projects in Ephesus was not one that they paid for, or instigated, themselves. A bilingual inscription found reused in the western façade of the Vedius Gymnasium[537] reads:

> Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus) et Ti(berius)
>
> Caesar Aug(usti) f(ilius)
>
> Aquam Throessiticam
>
> induxerunt curam
>
> agentibus C(aio) Sextilio P(ublii) f(ilio) Pollione
>
> et C(aio) Offilio Proculo.
>
> Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ
>
> Σεβαστὸς
>
> καὶ Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ, Σεβαστοῦ
>
> υἱός,
>
> τὸ Θροεσσειτικὸν ὕδωρ εἰσήγαγο[ν]
>
> ἐπιμεληθέντων Γαΐου Σεξτιλ[ίου,]

[537] Keil 1943, 102; Waelkens 1987, 96; Kearsley 2001, 126; Aristodemou 2002, 1.

[Ποπλίου υἱοῦ, Πωλλίωνος καὶ Γαΐου]

[Ὀφιλλίου Πρόκλου.]

Imperator Caesar Augustus and Tiberius

Caesar, son of Augustus,

brought in the Throessitica water.

Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius

and Gaius Ofillius Proculus

oversaw the work.[538]

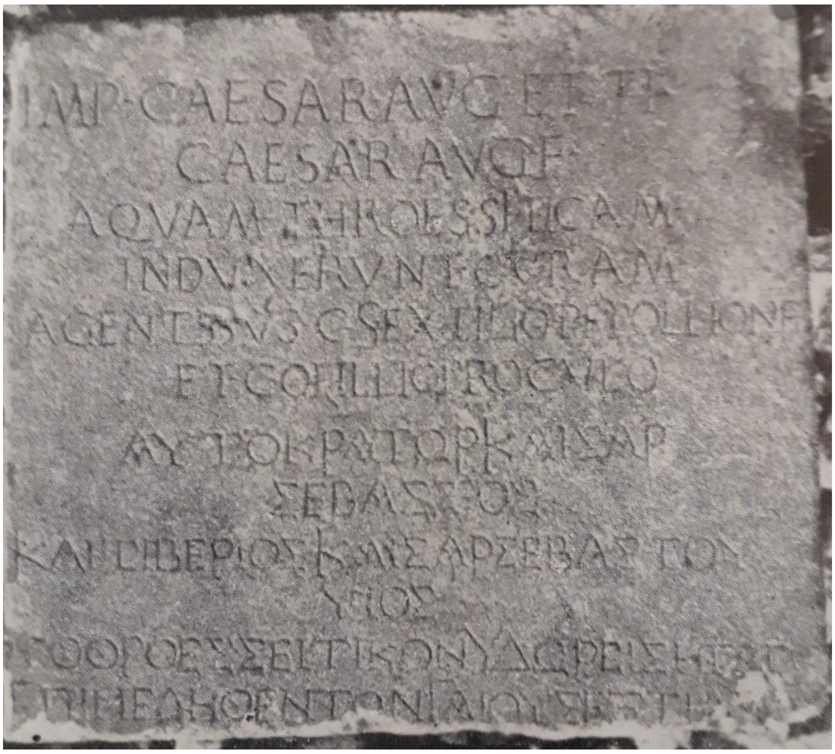


Figure 31: Surviving remains of *IvE* 402 (Keil 1943, 103).

[538] Keil 1943, 102; *IvE* 402; trans Kearsley 2001, 127.

The text is inscribed on a slab of bluish marble, cut off at the bottom, measuring 0.53 x 0.6 metres, with letters ranging between 0.022 and 0.035 metres.[539] It refers to the construction by Augustus and Tiberius of an aqueduct called the Aqua Throessitica.[540] The inscription is undated though the presence of both Augustus and Tiberius' names mean it can be dated, relatively, to between A.D. 4 and 14. The inscription, like the one on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate, began by naming the members of the Imperial family, before naming the men who were involved in carrying out the project. This inscription is not dedicatory in nature: Augustus' and Tiberius' names appear in the nominative, not in the dative as in a dedicatory inscription. Therefore the primary function of this text was to commemorate Augustus and Tiberius provision of the required finances for this water pipe.[541] The word *agentibus* in this inscription is particularly noteworthy as it represented Pollio and Proculus as the ones who carried out the Emperor's work in Ephesus. For this project, their primary role was to oversee the work, there is no indication here that they provided any funds for the project. Overseers of privately funded projects were rare in this period, those attested are most

[539] Keil 1943, 102.

[540] The name of the water channel has received very little discussion in scholarship. Throessitica is unattested elsewhere in the Ephesian toponymy, so it may not refer to part of the local landscape. (Keil 1943, 105.) The lack of an obviously local name for this monument could be indicative of the outside involvement in the project. Keil suggests two different interpretations for the origins of the monuments' name. His first suggestion is that Θροεσσετικός derives from either θρόος or θροέω. (*Ibid*.) This, he argues, refers to the noise of the bubbling water that the aqueduct would have carried. (*Ibid*; Keil translates the name as "Tosende" - thunderous). θρόος and θροέω can be translated as "noise" and "cry out" respectively, and particularly the former could be applied to running water. The name Throessitica, found only in the inscription that states Augustus and Tiberius' involvement in the project, is not included in the dedicatory inscriptions on the Marnas aqueduct bridge. Keil's second interpretation is that it derives from the name Θρυόεσσα. (*Ibid*.) The name has Homeric origins, the city of Thryoessa appears in the *Iliad* and is described as a steep-hill town beside the Alpheus. (Hom. *Il*. 11. 711.) Derived from θρύον, reed or rush, the name does have a tenuous link to water "reedy" does not seem to be the most appropriate description for water carried by an aqueduct. Keil admits that he is unsure of the origins of the water channel's name, and that he has merely suggested some possibilities, (Keil 1943, 105-106.) but neither of his suggestions for the origin of Θροεσσετικός are entirely appropriate for an aqueduct.

[541] Keil 1943, 104-105.

likely to be associated with public works.[542] As seen with both Timarchus and Heracleides, and Zoilus, local elites constructing public monuments on behalf of rulers was not a new phenomenon, but the role played by Proculus and Pollio was different from that of these earlier cases. Timarchus and Heracleides built the Milesian bouleuterion on behalf of Antiochus IV, whilst Zoilus set up the boundary stones of the precinct of the Temple of Aphrodite after Caesar defined its location. In both cases, those who were working on the other's behalf paid for the work. Contributing financially to the construction of the Aqua Throessitica may not have been Pollio and Proculus' primary role in the project, but their work must have been of considerable importance to be commemorated in the inscription alongside Augustus and Tiberius.

This text indicates that a variety of factors influenced major architectural benefaction in Asia Minor in the early first century A.D. It indicates a greater Imperial involvement in such work in provincial cities. Whilst Caesar was directly involved in defining the boundary of the temple precinct at Aphrodisias, Zoilus would have paid for the boundary stones and had them erected. Here, Augustus and Tiberius have instigated this project, set aside Imperial funds for it, and sent two men to Ephesus to oversee the work. The Imperial involvement in this project, when considered alongside the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate that was built a decade or so earlier, indicates that a variety of people, both locals and outsiders, were actively involved in architectural benefaction in first century A.D. Ephesus. Pollio and Proculus' arrival from Rome to oversee an Imperial-instigated project resulted in greater interactions between Roman, and non-Roman elites, and thus the potential for the introduction of Roman practices of benefaction and building techniques into provincial contexts increased. If others like them also remained in the province after the completion of their original task, the potential for such introductions and interactions became even greater.

[542] Cramme 2001, 75-76.

3.3.2. The Marnas Aqueduct Bridge

Epigraphic evidence states that Pollio and Proculus not only oversaw the Imperial-led construction of the Aqua Throessitica but also that they paid for, and dedicated, the most spectacular part of the channel.[543] Described as "one of the finest and oldest aqueducts in Anatolia",[544] the aqueduct bridge, now known as the Marnas aqueduct bridge, is located about 4 kilometres to the southeast of the city, spanning the valley after which it is named and the road to Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.[545] Pollio and Proculus' association with the aqueduct is evident in the bilingual inscription, found on the north and south sides of the bridge.[546] The texts read:

> Deanae Ephesiae et Imp(eratori) Caesari Aug(usto) et Ti(berio) Caesari Aug(usti) f(ilio) et civitati Ephesiae C(aius) Sextilius P(ublii) f(ilius) Vot(uria) Pollio cum Ofillia A(uli) f(ilia) Bassa uxore sua et C(aio) Ofillio Proculo f(ilio) suo cetereisque leibereis sueis pontem de sua pecunia faciundum curavit.
>
> Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσ[ί]αι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Κ[αί]σαρι Σεβαστῶι καὶ Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶν Ἐφεσίων Γάϊος Σεξτίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Οὐοτουρία Πολλίων σὺν Ὀφελλίᾳ Αὔλο[υ] θυγατρὶ Βάσσῃ τῇ ἑατοῦ γυναικὶ καὶ Γαΐωι Ὀφ[ελ]λίωι Πρόκλωι τῶι ἑατοῦ υἱῶι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τέκνοις τὴν γεφύραν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν.
>
> For Ephesian Diana and for Imperator Caesar Augustus and for Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, and for the people of Ephesus, Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius, Voturia (tribe) with Ofillia Bassa, daughter of Aulus, his wife and Gaius Ofillius Proculus, his son, and with the rest of their children provided for the making of a bridge with their own money.
>
> For Artemis Ephesia and for Imperator Caesar Augustus and for Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, and for the people of Ephesus, Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius, Voturia (tribe) with Ofillia Bassa, daughter of Aulus, his wife

[543] Keil 1943, 105.

[544] Bean 1966, 252.

[545] Akurgal 1973, 166; Alzinger 1974, 21; Halfmann 2004, 41.

[546] Graham 2013, 396.

> and Gaius Ofillius Proculus, his son, and with the rest of their children dedicated the bridge with their own money"[547]

The aqueduct bridge was two-tiered, but the text is found only across the west and central of the three arches of the lower tier. The ancient road between Ephesus and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander ran under these two arches, whilst the River Denenddere runs through the eastern arch. The explanation of the asymmetry of the inscription is a desire to improve its visibility to travellers along the road.[548] The upper register was half the height of the lower storey, but there were twice as many arches.[549] On the north side, the arrangement of the letters was in two lines, with Latin above and Greek below. On the south side, the arrangement was slightly different: there was an additional, short, centred, third line. On the south side, *faciendum* was written out in full, and on the north, it was abbreviated.[550] On both sides of the bridge the Latin text was inscribed on the top line in larger letters than its Greek counterpart on the lower. The heights of the Latin letters are 0.115 metres on the north side and 0.075 metres on the south, whilst the Greek letters are 0.07 metres on the north side and 0.06 metres on the south.[551] The reason for the differing heights of the letters was most likely for reasons of practicality, rather than as a suppression of Greek in favour of Latin. The Greek inscription consists of more letters than the Latin, so making the letters smaller would have made the two texts appear the same length. All the letters would have been the same size if this was not desired.

The Marnas aqueduct bridge's texts, being almost identical in length and content, are markedly different from those on the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate. On the latter monument, the Latin celebrates only the freedmen's Imperial patrons, whilst the shorter Greek includes both their patrons and the *demos*. Here, in both languages, the honoured members of the Imperial family were placed between two honorands ubiquitous in Hellenistic dedications, the local deity, and the people of the recipient city. This was followed by the names of the benefactors and the gift that they made.

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[547] *IvE* 7(1) 3092; Trans. Adapted after Kearsley 2001, 126.

[548] Akurgal 1973, 169; Alzinger 1974, 21; Graham 2013, 396.

[549] Alzinger 1974, 22.

[550] Kearsley 2001, 126.

[551] Graham 2013, 396.

Without the Imperial honorands, the Marnas aqueduct bridge's texts included elements typical of a Hellenistic monumental dedication. However, the structure of the Marnas aqueduct bridge's texts is very different from those on Zoilus' monuments. Zoilus' texts mention himself, and his gift, before the honorands. The structure of the Marnas aqueduct bridge's texts begins with the honorands, then the benefactors, then the details of the gift. The transition seen between Zoilus, Mazaeus and Mithridates, and Pollio and Proculus' in terms of structure indicates the influence Roman dedicatory practices had on provincial monumental benefaction. The transition was complete by the end of the Julio-Claudian period.

This inscription, unlike the one found re-used in the Vedius Gymnasium is a dedication as, in both languages, the Imperial family are named in the dative rather than the nominative. The naming of Augustus and Tiberius in the nominative in the re-used inscription suggests that they were the ones who constructed the Aqua Throessitica. In the Marnas aqueduct bridge's dedication, Pollio, Ofillia Bassa, and Proculus are named as those who provided the funds for the project. The two texts are very similar, but the last phrases of each text differ. The Greek text uses ἀνέθηκεν, implying that the monument was dedicated to Artemis, Augustus, Tiberius, and the people of Ephesus. The word ἀνέθηκεν was used in inscriptions from the Archaic Period to Late Antiquity and whilst ἀνατίθημι can be defined as 'to put up' or 'to erect' it is usually defined as 'to dedicate.' John Ma asserts that ἀνατίθημι, has religious connotations and should be expressed as meaning "to dedicate",[552] and this is supported through its usage in the epigraphic record.[553] The Latin text lacks a specific verb of dedication, but instead uses the phrase *faciundum curavit*, meaning that they

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552 Ma 2013, 26.

553 As part of the preparatory work in the early stages of this thesis, an epigraphic survey, using the online version of *SEG*, of the use of the term ἀνέθηκεν in dedicatory inscriptions was undertaken. This work found that the term's usage began in the Archaic period and was used only in dedications in honour of deities and in texts associated with sacred laws and traditions. It was not until the fourth century B.C. that ἀνέθηκεν began to be used in relation to dedications to mortals (*SEG* 33, 200; *SEG* 18 208), but these are unusual cases. The term's association with dedications to mortals became more common from the third century B.C., with Hellenistic Kings being honoured in this way (*SEG* 20, 467; *SEG* 25 417; *SEG* 8 467) By the first century B.C. fewer dedications to deities containing the word ἀνέθηκεν seem to have survived, whilst the term was now used as often to honour people, particularly Roman citizens (*SEG* 24 214; *SEG* 49 1508; *SEG* 51 1588; *SEG* 49 1510; *SEG* 51 1590; *SEG* 54 752).

took care of the building of the monument. Although less specifically dedicatory in nature the naming of the honorands in the dative case make it clear that the Marnas aqueduct bridge was built for them. The use of *faciendum curavit* in this text, although specifically referring to the bridge upon which it was inscribed, rather than in relation to the whole Aqua Throessitica, suggests to a Latin-speaking audience that although Pollio and Proculus' money, rather than Imperial funds, paid for this part of the channel, their involvement was still one associated with their role as overseers. It suggests that they stepped in with their own money to complete the project, whether by choice or necessity. Regardless of the reason, they ensured that their financial contribution was known. Unlike *faciendum curavit*, ἀνέθηκεν does not have the same 'overseeing' or 'taking care of' connotations. Instead, both senses of the word ἀνέθηκεν imply that Pollio and Proculus were more directly involved than merely overseeing the building work. They used their own money to dedicate an aqueduct bridge to the honorands of their choice. To a Greek-speaking audience, this was their building project, built as part of a wider programme to bring water into Ephesus, and dedicated to both local and Imperial honorands

The Marnas aqueduct bridge must have been dedicated between Augustus naming Tiberius as his heir in A.D. 4, indicated by the latter's designation as *Imperator*, and Augustus' death in A.D. 14.[554] In addition to Pollio, Ofillia Bassa and Proculus,[555] Pont suggests, unlike Kearsley and the editors of *Inschriften von Ephesos*, that τέκνον and *liberi* refer to the family's freedmen rather than other children being involved in the project. However, a flaw in her reasoning is that she states that the only other known attestation of this practice is from the Basilica Stoa.[556] Whilst we know of no children born to Pollio and Ofillia Bassa – Proculus being the only dedicatee on his mother and step-father's statue bases may indicate that he was their only surviving child - we also have no evidence of any freedmen. Without any comparable examples, aside from one built by the same benefactors, it is impossible to prove that Pollio and Proculus' freedmen, if there were any at all, were involved in building either of these

[554] Ward-Perkins 1981, 273

[555] Keil 1943, 105; *IvE* 402; Pont 2010, 336.

[556] Pont 2010, 334; "...les affranchis de C. Sextilius Pollio furent associés par leur patron à la dédicace de la basilique entre 11 et 14, et à celle du pont d'un aqueduc entre 4 et 14, pratique dont nous n'avons pas trouvé d'autre attestation."

monuments. Regardless of exactly whom τέκνον and *liberi* refer to in this inscription, at the end of the reign of Augustus architectural benefaction in Asia could be a family affair. This was certainly a trend that continued in the province of Asia Julio-Claudian period, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.[557] The decision by Pollio, Proculus and the rest of the family to pay for this section of the Aqua Throessitica themselves, rather than use Imperial funds, suggests that the family were becoming involved in major architectural benefaction in Ephesus on a personal, rather than an official level. They used the opportunity to pay for the construction of the Marnas aqueduct bridge to establish themselves within the elite of the city and dedicate it to both the Imperial family and the traditional honorands of their home town. Through this dedication, Pollio and Proculus were represented as both citizens loyal to Rome, and residents of a province willing to respect and honour local traditions. This initial gesture of beneficence towards the city of Ephesus would have resulted in the influence within the city that they as outsiders needed to be able to build within the city itself.

Figure 32: The Marnas aqueduct bridge viewed from the modern road between Ephesus and Magnesia-on-the-Maeander. (April 2011).

[557] Several generations of families working together to construct public monuments was neither a unique phenomenon, nor a practice reserved for provincial-based Roman citizens.

The sections of the aqueduct's arches are made of dressed stone, and carried by piers with an ashlar facing around a fill of *opus incertum*.[558] The ashlar facing of the lower storey was cut far more regularly than on the upper storey.[559] Its abutments and superstructure consist of mortared rubble faced with small irregular stones.[560] Clay pipes carried the water the length of the channel: surviving examples from outside of the city measure 0.022 metres in diameter with walls measuring 0.035 metres thick. The pipes were mortared into place on supporting berms.[561] This technique is different from later water channels in Ephesus. The channel of the second-century A.D. aqueduct dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Aristion is formed of an *opus signinum* culvert, covered by a stone vault.[562] The use of clay pipes mortared together, as opposed to vaulted culverts, suggests a continuation of less ostentatious Greek methods of water management. A reason that free-standing aqueducts were not present in the Greek world prior to the *Pax Romana* was that, until that point, the area was not stable enough to display to your enemies that you were relying on an external water supply, which could be cut off.[563] If this mind set was prevalent in the early Imperial period, clay pipes mortared together, as opposed to a vaulted culvert, may have been considered a safer option. The Marnas aqueduct bridge illustrates the results of interaction between Roman and non-Roman cultures and their representation through architectural benefaction. Pollio and Proculus went to Ephesus to oversee the construction of the Aqua Throessitica and, most likely, took a Roman workforce, or at least a Roman architect with them. Yet, the inclusion of local water management techniques within an overtly Roman structure shows that local techniques, and probably local workers, were also used. The combination of architectural techniques used in the Marnas aqueduct bridge emphasises the interactions between Roman and local parties. There was not an imposition of Roman water management techniques upon Ephesus, but they were used alongside existing practices. The results of these

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[558] Alzinger 1974, 22: N.B. Alzinger here refers to a different building material (opus incertum) rather than opus caementicium, which is usually what the infill of the Marnas aqueduct bridge is designated as. For further discussion of the building materials used in the Marnas aqueduct bridge, see below.

[559] Alzinger 1974, 22.

[560] Waelkens 1987, 96.

[561] Wiplinger 2006, 24.

[562] Wiplinger 2006, 28.

[563] Coulton 1987, 72-73.

interactions indicate the use of a variety of techniques in major provincial architectural benefaction in the early first century A.D.

Further evidence for interactions between Roman and local architectural practices is found in the materials of which the Marnas aqueduct bridge was constructed. Although often cited as the earliest example of the use of Roman concrete, or *opus caementicium* in Asia Minor,[564] Hazel Dodge has argued against this, reasoning that the mortared rubble from which the Marnas aqueduct bridge was constructed may look like *opus caementicium,* but had different physical properties to true Roman concrete.[565] She states that *opus caementicium* was used in the Eastern Mediterranean, but only in very localised cases where there was direct Roman influence on building and the availability of the right materials.[566] Vitruvius states that the necessary materials were sand, lime, and what he describes as "the powder which comes from the country extending from Cumae to the promontory of Minerva."[567] This powder is volcanic ash, or *pozzolana*, desired for its properties for creating a material of exceptional strength.[568] *Pozzolana* does not occur outside of Italy, but Dodge acknowledges the use of "pozzolanic materials"[569] which would have produced mixtures of similar strength to those using *pozzolana*. Examples of the use of *opus caementicium* in the East include "a unique Hellenistic use" in a second century B.C. fountain of the Upper Pirene at Corinth, the so-called Reticulate Baths and the harbour mole at Elaeusa-Sebaste and the bath-buildings at Corycus, dating from the Roman period.[570] There was certainly direct Roman influence in the construction of the Marnas aqueduct bridge, but the materials to make Italian *opus caementicium* were not available locally or able to be imported alongside a Roman workforce.

Dodge claims that the standard of *opus caementicium* found in Rome and Italy did not occur in the eastern Roman provinces.[571] Whilst she dismisses the Marnas aqueduct

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[564] Akurgal 1973, 169; Ward-Perkins, 1981, 273.

[565] Dodge 1984, 160.

[566] Dodge 1984, 160 (Figure 13).

[567] Vitr. 2.5.1; Vitr. 5.12.2.

[568] Dodge 1984, 39; Humphrey 2006, 169.

[569] Dodge 1984, 42.

[570] Dodge 1984, 43.

[571] Dodge 1984, 42.

bridge as the first usage of *opus caementicium* in Asia Minor, she acknowledges that it is the earliest instance of mortared rubble employed for wall construction in the province.[572] The Greeks knew the technique of making and using mortar, and its waterproofing properties, from as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. The use of mortar as a binding agent for rubble walls did not appear in the Greek world until its usage in the walls of houses on Thera and Delos in the first century B.C. However, the technique was not fully utilised and developed until the Roman period.[573] Marc Waelkens' extensive survey of the mortars used in buildings at Sagalassus suggests that there was little evidence for the use of building mortar in the city prior to A.D. 120 with only one sample possibly dating from the Augustan period; this date is uncertain.[574] The evidence from Sagalassus is not indicative of empire-wide practices of mortar usage, but the sharp increase in usage after approximately A.D. 120 may suggest that mortared rubble was not a common building material in Asia in the early Imperial period. This survey does not prove that the Marnas aqueduct bridge was the first example of mortared rubble used in a Roman manner in Asia Minor, but does add credence to the theory. The Marnas aqueduct bridge was not made of *opus caementicium*, so Rome's impact on provincial benefactors and architectural benefaction was not one that created increased homogeny in architectural techniques. Rather, it added to the variety. The techniques brought to Ephesus by Pollio and Proculus were adapted to, and by, the materials and knowledge that was available locally. These adaptations resulted in a monument that reflected the Marnas aqueduct bridge and represented its benefactors' unique place within the diverse architectural history of both Ephesus and the province of Asia.

Another standing aqueduct on the channel provides further evidence that the only part of the Aqua Throessitica that Pollio and Proculus personally paid for was the Marnas aqueduct bridge. The Büllükdere aqueduct is another bridge on the channel, formed of a single arch with a span of 7.9 metres. It stood approximately 4.5 metres high and had a depth of 2.8 metres at the apex and 3.2 metres at the supports. It is made of large,

[572] Dodge 1984, 164.

[573] Viaene, Waelkens, Ottenburgs and Callebaut 1997, 405.

[574] Viaene, Waelkens, Ottenburgs and Callebaut 1997, 409-410; the 'Augustan' sample has not been firmly dated, and could also date from the second century A.D.

un-mortared, stone blocks in a pre-Roman technique,[575] though as Augustus and Tiberius instigated the project, the Büllükdere Aqueduct must be Roman in date. The differences between the aqueduct bridges indicate the variety of building techniques used in major monumental benefactions in the early first century A.D. The simpler, and most likely local, technique of building the Büllükdere Aqueduct suggests that local builders made part of the Aqua Throessitica, using techniques familiar to them, whilst the construction techniques used in the Marnas aqueduct bridge are suggestive of local attempts to replicate Roman practices. The Büllükdere aqueduct has no surviving associated epigraphy, so it is impossible to determine its funding source. However, its functional, rather than spectacular, appearance suggests that it did not perform an honorific function, as the Marnas aqueduct bridge did. If Pollio and Proculus had paid for and dedicated the Büllükdere aqueduct to the Imperial family, they would have built it in style befitting an honorific dedication. Although none of the available evidence is conclusive, it seems most likely that Pollio and Proculus paid for the Marnas Aqueduct Bridge from their own private wealth and the rest of the Aqua Throessitica, including the Büllükdere aqueduct, was built under their supervision using Imperial funding.

The Aqua Throessitica and the Marnas aqueduct bridge indicate how varied both major architectural benefactors, and their benefactions, were in Early Roman Asia. These monuments also indicate the increased involvement that Rome was beginning to have in the province by the beginning of the first century A.D. Whilst Caesar was only involved in defining the boundary of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, Augustus and Tiberius instigated and paid for the Aqua Throessitica. Although they dutifully carried out the work of the Imperial family, Pollio and Proculus did not allow the opportunity to gain some personal prestige to pass them by. Constructing the Marnas aqueduct bridge, the most splendid and most visible part of the channel with their own money, showed those passing on the road that they were important members of society. Whilst dedicating monuments to the Imperial family was becoming more common amongst Roman citizens by the late Augustan period, the fact that they also dedicated it to the patron deity and the people of Ephesus suggests that Pollio and Proculus were attempting to establish, and represent, themselves as prominent citizens

[575] Wiplinger 2006, 24; refers to the construction technique as being “vorrömische”.

within Ephesian society too. This is different from both Zoilus, and Mazaeus and Mithridates, as they gave their monuments to their home cities, implying that they were already considered amongst the prominent citizens of Aphrodisias and Ephesus, respectively. The tribute list from the reign of Tiberius tells us that Pollio and Proculus remained in Ephesus long after the completion of the project they went to oversee. Their giving of tribute to, and further major architectural benefactions in, Ephesus suggests that they succeeded in establishing themselves within the highest echelons of Ephesian society. The variety of building techniques used throughout the water supply system is indicative of the interactions between Roman and local cultures and practices at work in Augustan Ephesus. Aqueduct bridges were a new phenomenon in the Greek world at that time, and Pollio and Proculus' attempts to construct their bridge in a manner which replicated Roman building materials as accurately as possible with locally available resources indicates how interactions with the Roman Imperial system had an impact on architectural benefaction in Asia during the early first century A.D. In a similar way, Mazaeus and Mithridates combined both Roman and local building techniques and dedicatory rhetoric, but both their project, and Pollio and Proculus' differ from those of Zoilus' as Zoilus, despite his interactions with Rome, builds and dedicates in an overtly Hellenistic manner. The overseeing of the Aqua Throessitica and the construction of the Marnas aqueduct bridge by Pollio and Proculus shows how major architectural benefaction in early Roman Asia Minor was a varied process. Roman outsiders, as well as locals who had interacted with Rome, were involved and by combining both Roman and local techniques, created diverse, composite monuments that reflected the unique spatial, and socio-historical contexts of the monuments and their benefactors.

3.3.3 The Basilica Stoa

The second monument dedicated by Pollio and Proculus was the Basilica Stoa. Built sometime between A.D. 10/11 and A.D. 14, it was located on the north side of the Upper Agora.[576]

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[576] Knibbe and Büyükkolanci 1989, 43-45; Raja 2012, 68.

Figure 33: Surviving remains of the nave of the Basilica Stoa, Ephesus. (April 2011)

The Basilica Stoa's inscription, in bronze letters, was located on the frieze.[577] Like the inscription on the Marnas Aqueduct Bridge, the Latin letters were larger than the Greek ones, measuring 0.19-0.2 metres. and 0.11-0.12 metres respectively, running on one line, Latin followed by Greek.[578] The different lengths of the inscriptions can explain the variance in the letter sizes between the two languages.[579] As discussed above, the use of bronze letters shows the growing influence of Imperial epigraphic traditions in the city. The location of the inscription on the frieze is unusual. In Rome and the West, inscriptions were usually located on the frieze, whilst in the Greek East they were more usually located on the architrave. The frieze is the tallest section of the entablature and given the length of the inscription and the height of the building, so perhaps it was considered the place where the text would be the most visible. Measures were made to improve the visibility of the text of the Marnas aqueduct

[577] Knibbe and Büyükkolanci 1989, 43 refer to the stone with the text on it as "Friesfragmentes"; Gros 1996, 111.

[578] Knibbe and Büyükkolanci 1989, 44; Pont, 2010, 88.

[579] Raja 2012, 85.

bridge from the road, so a similar measure may have been taken here. The inscription reads:

> basili[cam· Dianae· Ephesiae· et· Imp(eratori)· Caesari· Divi· f(ilio)· Augusto· pontifici· maximo· tribunicia· potestate· XXX - - - co(n)s(uli)· XIII· imp(eratori)· XX· patri· patriae· et· Tiberio· C]aesa[ri· A]u[gusti· f(ilio)· tribunicia· potestate· - - - ´· co(n)s(uli)· II· imp(eratori)· - - -´· et·] civitati· Eph[esiorum· C(aius)· Sextilius· P(ublii)· f(ilius)· Vot(uria)· Pollio· cum·] Ofil[lia· A(uli)· f(ilia)· Cor(nelia)· Bassa·] uxor[e· sua·] e[t· C(aio)· Ofillio·] A(uli)· f(ilio)· Cor(nelia)· Pro[culo· f(ilio)· suo· cetereisqu]e· le[ibereis· sueis·] d(e)· s(ua)· [p(ecunia)· f(aciendam)· curavit.]

> βασιλι[κὴν· στοὰν· Ἀρτ]έμι[δι· Ἐφεσίαι· καὶ· Αὐτοκράτορι· Καίσαρι· θεοῦ·] υἱῶ[ι· Σεβαστῶι· ἀρχιερεῖ· μεγίστωι· δημαρχικῆς· ἐξουσίας· τὸ· λ´· ὑπάτωι· τὸ· ιγ´· αὐτοκράτορι·] τὸ· κ´[· πατρὶ· πατρίδος· καὶ· Τιβερίωι·] Καίσαρι· Σεβασ[τοῦ· υἱῶι· δημαρχικῆς· ἐξουσίας· τὸ· - - -´· καὶ· τῶ]ι· δήμ[ωι· Ἐφεσίων· Γάϊος· Σεξτίλιος· Ποπλίου· υἱὸς· Οὐοτουρία]· Πω[λλίων· σὺν· Ὀφελλίαι· Αὔλου· θυγατρὶ· Κορνηλία· Βάσσηι· τῆι· γυναικὶ· καὶ· Γαΐωι· Ὀφελλί]ωι· Κορ[νηλία· Πρόκλ]ωι· τῶι· υἱῶι[· καὶ· τοῖς· λοιποῖς· τέκνοις· ἐκ· τῶν· ἰδίων· ἀνέθηκεν·.]

> For Ephesian Diana and for Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the god, Pontifex maximus, in the thirty-…year of tribunican power, consul for the thirteenth time, imperator for the twentieth time, father of his native land, and for Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, in the …year of tribunician power, consul for the second time, imperator for the…time, and for the city of the Ephesians, Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius, Voturia (tribe) with Ofillia Bassa, daughter of Aulus, his wife and Gaius Ofillius Proculus, his son, and with the rest of their children caused the basilica to be constructed from their own money.

> For Artemis Ephesia and for Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the god, Pontifex maximus, in the thirty-…year of tribunican power, consul for the thirteenth time, imperator for the twentieth time, father of his native land, and for Tiberius Caesar, son of Augustus, in the …year of tribunician power, consul for the second time, imperator for the…time, and for the *demos* of the

> Ephesians, Gaius Sextilius Pollio, son of Publius, Voturia (tribe) with Ofillia Bassa, daughter of Aulus, his wife and Gaius Ofillius Proculus, his son, and with the rest of their children dedicated the basilica from their own funds.[580]

The structure of both the Latin and the Greek inscriptions has been reconstructed in the same way as those on the Marnas aqueduct bridge, but unlike the Marnas aqueduct bridge, the full titles of both Augustus and Tiberius are included. It has been argued that the location of the dedication to Augustus and Tiberius, between those to the patron deity and the people of Ephesus, hints at a clarification of hierarchy; the Imperial family were now ruling over the city and its people, but the local patron goddess ruled over all.[581] The inclusion of the patron deity and the people suggests a continuation of familiar, Hellenistic dedicatory practices, but by adding the Imperial honorands, Gaius Sextilius Pollio placed the unfamiliar into a familiar context, and adopted Roman dedicatory practices. Unlike the Aqua Throessitica, which was an Imperial project overseen by Pollio and Proculus, the Basilica Stoa was their own project. Whilst the two monuments could be contemporary, the argument that the beginning of the Basilica Stoa post-dates the construction of the Aqua Throessitica and Marnas aqueduct bridge will be made. Their involvement in an Imperial project and their permanent settlement in Ephesus brought them to the attention of the local community. In addition, the dedication of the Marnas aqueduct bridge with their own money to local and Roman honorands would have helped them to gain further prestige and local influence. The Basilica Stoa, built in the city itself suggests that by the time of its construction, Pollio and Proculus had gained enough influence to be able to construct a monument in such a prominent place within the city.

The Upper, or State, Agora at Ephesus was first laid out in the Late Hellenistic period, though human activity had been present there since the early Hellenistic period. Little remains of the pre-Roman phase of the Upper Agora, which was subject to expansion and development during the reign of Augustus, most likely due to suffering earthquake damage in the late Hellenistic period. A long terrace wall with an oblique west end, found on the north side of the site, dating to the third century B.C., is a rare pre-Roman

[580] *IvE* 404; trans. Kearsley 2001, 128.

[581] Graham 2013, 395.

survivor, and may have been the foundations of an early stadium.[582] Directly below the Augustan Basilica Stoa, lie the foundations of an earlier one-aisled stoa, probably built in the Doric order, which has been dated to the first half of the second century B.C. by the pottery found in association with it. This was most likely built in the Doric order, an assumption based on the evidence from the other two stoas in the agora, those of the south and east sides.[583] There was also a Doric gatehouse on the southeast corner of the Upper Agora, loosely dated from between the middle of the second century B.C and the Augustan period.[584] The west side of the Upper Agora appears not to have been colonnaded. Instead, the retaining wall bordering Domitian Street formed the boundary.[585]

The area covered by the Basilica Stoa measured *c*. 180 x 20 metres[586] and it would have stood approximately 11 metres high.[587] Of this total length, the middle section measured 164 metres, whilst the east and west rooms measured 15.5 metres and 16.4 metres long respectively.[588] These proportions are very elongated for a Roman Basilica. Vitruvius states that the normal proportions of Roman Basilicas were as follows:

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[582] Alzinger 1988, 21; Scherrer 2001, 71-74. Scherrer bases the identification of this wall as part of a stadium on its overall length of c. 180 m, the apparent lack of an early-Hellenistic phase of either the extant theatre or the stadium, and its proximity to a gymnasium. He also argues that the gymnasium situated next to the site for the Imperial cult was for the *neoi* of Ephesus, and that it originated as early as the second, if not third, century B.C.

[583] Alzinger 1974, 50; Knibbe and Büyükkolanci, 1989, 44; Wiplinger and Wlach 1996, 82; Thür 2007, 80; Raja 2012, 65 it is assumed that this earlier stoa was Doric as the two-aisled stoa on the south side of the Upper Agora was built in that Order, and the east stoa may also have been, though its exact nature is unclear. For the date see Thür 2007, 79.

[584] Thür 2007, 80; This loose dating is based upon construction and ornamental typologies as, at the time of Thür's publication, the analysis of the pottery from the excavations has not been completed, so an accurate date for the gatehouse is not possible.

[585] Alzinger 1974, 50; Thür 2007, 80.

[586] Stinson 2007, 92; these dimensions appear to include the surviving east hall, Gros 1996, 111 states that the stoa basilica is 160 metres long; Halfmann, 2004, 40; 164 metres.

[587] von Hesburg 2002, 151.

[588] Thür 2007, 82.

> "In breadth they should be not less than one third nor more than one half of their length, unless the site is naturally such as to prevent this and to oblige an alteration in these proportions."[589]

Vitruvius also notes that basilicas should have rectangular proportions and consist of three aisles divided by columns, the central nave being considerably wider and taller than the side aisles.[590] These features were present in the Basilica Stoa, which was divided into two side aisles and a central nave by two rows of columns, the former being two-thirds the height of the latter.[591] The central nave was the widest of the three, measuring 6.85 metres across, with the outer aisles measuring 4.72 metres.[592] The interior colonnades' inter-axial spacing was originally 4.8 metres; double that of the outer front colonnade.[593] The building opened on to the square by its one long side,[594] and in addition to being comparatively elongated, it was comparatively low in height.[595] In setting the inter-axial spaces in the ratios that they did, the builders and the architect of the Basilica Stoa respected longstanding traditions in the planning and construction of Greek stoas.[596] Whereas the architect was clearly attempting to respect local traditions in the lower story of the Basilica Stoa, he also took risks in attempting to be innovative. By insisting on a wide inter-axial spacing for the lower story, and halving the spacing on the upper story, he jeopardised the structural integrity of the whole building.[597] The wider spacing, Thür argues, would have "created a totally new interior spatial structure, which was flooded with light."[598] Stinson claims that the Basilica Stoa is the earliest structure in Asia Minor with elements influenced by the Roman basilica,[599] usually defined as an enclosed, rectangular building that functioned

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[589] Vitr. 5. 1. 4.

[590] Vitr. 5. 1. 5

[591] Akurgal 1973, 166-167.

[592] Alzinger 1974, 29; Fossel-Peschl 1982, 5.

[593] Stinson 2007, 92; these inter-axial measurements are between the columns with Ionic capitals, prior to the addition of the columns with Corinthian capitals

[594] Raja 2012, 68.

[595] Stinson 2007, 92.

[596] Stinson 2007, 92.

[597] Stinson 2007, 93.

[598] Thür 2007, 83; "...schufen ein absolut neues Inneraumgefüge, das von Licht durchflutet war."

[599] Stinson 2007, 92.

as a roofed extension of the forum with a spacious, protected interior that permitted activities to take place in any kind of weather.[600] If the Basilica Stoa was perceived differently from existing Greek stoas, even if to look at, it shared a number of characteristics with its predecessors, this is important evidence for the impact that interactions with the Roman Imperial system had on major architectural benefaction. A colonnaded building, full of light, rather than a shaded stoa, implies a monument designed for something more than sheltering from the weather or defining a public space. Aside from housing statues of Augustus and Livia, we cannot be sure exactly what purpose the Basilica Stoa had. If it had a similar function to basilicas in Rome, such as for law courts, then it would have been obvious that this building was not just a place of shelter. It may have had a similar function to the so-called Julian Basilica at Corinth, built in the early first century, that closed off the east end of the main forum. This basilica has an identifiable tribunal within it and held statues of the first Imperial dynasty. Both of these features affirm suggestions that it may have had a political function.[601] The rooms at either end of the Basilica Stoa could have been used for such a purpose, even though they lacked the shaping of a traditional Roman tribunal. The lack of obvious remains of shops or seats in the Basilica Stoa also marks this building out as something different from the rest of the stoas surrounding the Upper Agora. Alzinger maintains that typologically, the Basilica Stoa was nothing like Italian basilicas,[602] yet in his analysis, Henner von Hesberg saw strong references to Italian monuments.[603] However, the Basilica Stoa was sufficiently different from both typical Greek stoas known in the area, and the rest of the colonnades surrounding the Upper Agora. Thus, onlookers were aware that the Basilica Stoa was a different type of monument, one built for a different purpose to the others that formed the rest of the Upper Agora. Such measures were not an after-thought, so the architectural innovations and their risks, were calculated and planned for prior to the monument's construction.

[600] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 3-4; Stinson 2007, 91; von Hesberg 2002, 149.

[601] Dickenson 2017, 287.

[602] Alzinger 1974, 37.

[603] von Hesberg 2002, 149.

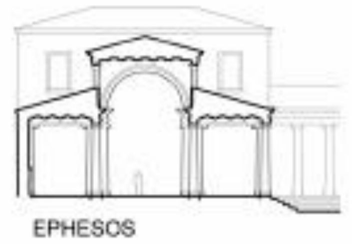

Figure 34: Proposed elevation of the Basilica Stoa, Ephesus. (Stinson 2007, 99).

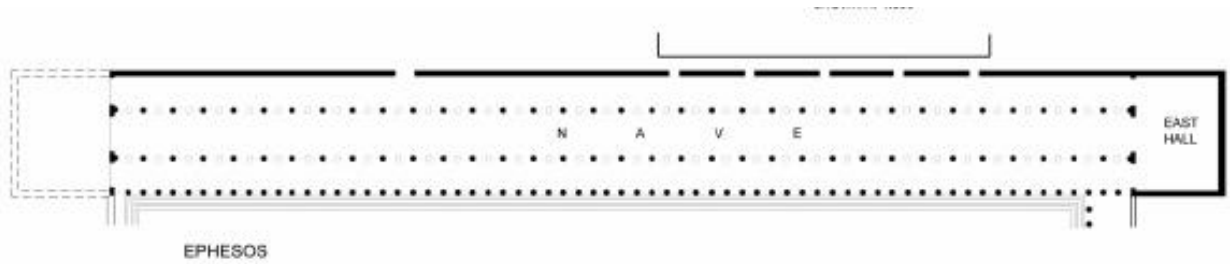

Figure 35: Proposed floorplan of the Basilica Stoa, Ephesus. (Stinson 2007, 99).

At the east end of the Basilica Stoa's nave there was a rectangular hall, and there probably was a corresponding room at the west end. If a west hall existed, it would protrude beyond the boundary of the agora, as the east hall does; there is space at that end of the Basilica Stoa to allow for such a construction. Thür states that it measured 16.4 metres long,[604] slightly longer than the east hall, which measures 20 x 14.5 metres, with an entrance from the nave through a wide archway and from the side aisles through trabeated openings. The hall's exact function is uncertain, but possible functions include meetings of various kinds, or for tribunals, if indeed the Basilica Stoa had a governmental function.[605] Direct parallels cannot be made between the east hall at Ephesus and the tribunals of contemporary Roman basilicas, as it is not attached to the middle of the back wall as recommended by Vitruvius,[606] but to the short end of

[604] Thür 2007, 82.

[605] Stinson 2007, 93.

[606] Vitr. 5. 1. 7.

the nave's longitudinal axis.[607] Such spaces exist on the ends of Hellenistic stoas elsewhere in Asia, such as the North Stoa at Assus and the South Stoa at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.[608] The east hall has been called a *chalcidicum.*[609] Vitruvius states that a *chalcidicum* was built at the end of a basilica if the site was too long,[610] implying that the east hall was built to solve a practical problem, rather than having a particular purpose. Stinson argues that the east hall was a "major destination point,"[611] rather than a porch or vestibule, so the name *chalcidicum* is therefore inappropriate. There is surviving evidence that suggests that the east hall was built for a specific function rather than as a space-filling vestibule: the over-life-sized statues of Augustus and Livia found there. Scherrer claims that the purpose of the Basilica Stoa was to serve as a portrait gallery of the Julio-Claudian house,[612] whilst Helmut Englemann claims that this was the purpose of the East Room alone.[613] However, it seems more plausible that the presence of these statues in this location indicate that the east hall had an Imperial cult function, perhaps for the display of honorific dedications.[614]

The Basilica Stoa, by combining the elongation and inter-axial spacing typical of a Greek stoa, and the elevation, aisles, and annexes more typically associated with Roman basilicas, shows how a variety of architectural features were combined within a single monument. The Basilica Stoa also indicates how varied colonnaded halls could be in the Roman Empire. Whilst Vitruvius' guidelines for the ideally proportioned basilica seem neatly defined, a closer look shows that his own definition allows for variations. Thus, basilicas were constructed in a variety of shapes and sizes. Walthew's study of Roman basilicas in Italy discusses the measurements of ten basilicas. Only one of the ten follows the proportions outlined by Vitruvius, that of Alba Fucens, which measured 180 x 78.75 Roman feet. The basilica at Ardea in Lazio

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[607] Stinson 2007, 93.

[608] Stinson 2007, 94.

[609] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 42 refers to both an "Ost- und Westchalkidicum."

[610] Vitr. 5, 1, 4.

[611] Stinson 2007, 94.

[612] Scherrer 2001, 71.

[613] Engelmann 1993, 279.

[614] Stinson 2007, 93; Raja 2012, 70.

is the only other one that came close to fitting Vitruvius' ideal dimensions, measuring 157.5 x 82.5 Roman feet. Whilst seven of the remaining eight are disproportionately wide,[615] the basilica at Iuvanum is, like the Basilica Stoa, disproportionately narrow, measuring 123.75 x 33.75 Roman feet. It also had annexes on the east and west ends, increasing the length of the monument to 157.5 Roman feet. However, unlike the Basilica Stoa, the basilica at Iuvanum did not have an internal colonnade, and on the north side, there was an apsidal room, which functioned either as a curia or as an *aedes Augusti*, which increased the building's overall width, including the apse, to 86.25 Roman feet.[616] The late-Republican Basilica at Lucus Feroniae had an *aedes Augusti* added onto the back sometime during the Augustan period. As at Iuvanum, the *aedes Augusti* at Lucus Feroniae was an apsidal room, it was over 6 metres long with a mosaic floor. The east and west walls were each flanked by four pedestals, whilst the apse at the north was occupied by two large statue bases. These bases and pedestals probably carried statues of Augustus, Agrippa and other members of the Julio-Claudian house. Walthew interprets the introduction of the *aedes Augusti* here as part of a policy to create both a more formal and ceremonial role for basilicas, and in doing so enhance the prestige of the Imperial family in Italy and the provinces.[617] The presence of statues of the Imperial family within rooms attached to basilicas in both Italy and the provinces in the Augustan period could also be indicative of the development of the Imperial cult. Pollio and Proculus, tasked with building public monuments on the Imperial family's behalf probably would have either known about such plans and policies for the empire's existing basilicas or commissioned architects that did, so they may have built their new one with this very purpose in mind. The inclusion of statues of the Imperial family here and in the Basilica Stoa more than confirms that there was an honorific and cultic component to these monuments.

The Basilica Stoa was built using a variety of building techniques and materials. The stereobate consisted of medium-large sized pieces of rubble in mortar, whilst the northern side of the Basilica Stoa consisted of a continuous wall of *opus incertum,* on

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[615]All measurements in Roman feet: Cosa 117.25 x 88.75; Egnazia 117 (N) 120 (S) x 71.25; Lucus Feroniae 69 x 48.75; Ordona 142.5 x 93.75; Ostia 140 x 82.5; Roselle 105 x 67.5; Saepinum ?105 x 63.75.

[616] Walthew 1995, 138.

[617] Walthew 1995, 146-147.

a base of marble blocks.[618] These are typical Roman building techniques. Remains of a three-tiered entablature, formed of an architrave, a frieze that carried the dedicatory inscription and a dentil geison were found. In the central nave, the architrave has three *fasciae,* whilst in the central aisles it has two *fasciae*.[619] The geison has rounded dentils, a rounded drip gulley and a sima with lion-head waterspouts on the outside.[620] These are all typical Hellenistic architectural features. The Basilica Stoa was built in the Ionic order with bulls' heads decorating the capitals on two sides.[621] Bulls' heads as decoration for Ionic capitals is not unique to the Basilica Stoa. Hellenistic examples survive in several locations. These include the agora at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander; the market hall at Aegae; and the so-called "Hall of the Bulls" on Delos.[622] The Hall of the Bulls dates to around 300 B.C.[623] Whilst Webb does not describe the bulls' head capitals in detail, citing their damage,[624] she does describe those on the triglyphs. They are nearly in the round with pronounced forelocks and forward projecting horns; partly visible ears; round protruding eyes, some of which had red paint on them; and broad muzzles with delineated nostrils.[625] Unlike these Hellenistic examples however, Alzinger states that those from the Basilica Stoa were not of as high a quality in terms of carving technique. The only part of the carving that he describes as having any degree of vividness is the forelocks, which he compares to the fringes of Augustan portraits.[626] This technique would have been brought in either by sculptors from Rome commissioned to carry out the work, or by local sculptors who learned this technique from interacting with Roman sculptors. The similarity between the curls of the bull's forelocks on the Basilica Stoa and the fringes of contemporary Imperial portraiture

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[618] Alzinger 1974, 29-30.

[619] Alzinger 1974, 30.

[620] Alzinger 1974, 30-31.

[621] Akurgal 1973, 167.

[622] Webb 1996, 93 (Magnesia on the Maeander); 18 (Aegae) Here, a marble console composed of a bull's head and neck has been found dating to the third quarter of the second century B.C; 10; 136 (Delos) Here bulls' head capitals appear on the upper, Ionic storey, above the lower, Doric, storey, and on the triglyphs of the frieze.

[623] Webb 1996, 134.

[624] Webb 1996, 135

[625] Webb 1996, 136-137.

[626] Alzinger 1974, 36.

clearly expresses the influence of Roman sculptors and sculptural techniques on provincial architecture.

Figure 36: Bulls head capitals, Basilica Stoa, Ephesus. (April 2011).

Sometime during the life of the building, columns with Corinthian capitals were placed between those adorned with bulls' heads. It has been argued that this occurred during the late Imperial period,[627] possibly as part of post-earthquake rebuilding and repairs, which occurred many times over the building's lifetime.[628] Another argument is that this occurred during the initial phase of construction, as to carry out this work at a later stage would have required "significant efforts".[629] The most likely purpose for the addition of the columns with Corinthian capitals was to give extra support to the nave. As discussed above, the architect put various measures into place to increase the building's stability, most notably the widening of the abacus of the Ionic capitals. If the need for increased support occurred during the initial construction, it seems likely that the architect, aware that instability may occur, would have rectified the

[627] Akurgal 1973, 167.

[628] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 4 ; 17.

[629] Stinson 2007, 93.

situation, by either further widening the capitals or adding more Ionic columns. If the Corinthian columns were a later addition, they were perhaps part of a rebuilding phase after one of the devastating earthquakes in the third century A.D. We also know that two priestesses of Artemis repaired the Basilica Stoa, possibly during the reign of Domitian;[630] the Corinthian columns could have been added then. Whilst it would have required "significant efforts" to add the Corinthian columns at a later stage whilst the building was intact, it would have been far easier to add these columns as part of a rebuilding phase whilst the building was in ruins.

Figure 37: Columns with both Corinthian and Ionic capitals, Basilica Stoa, Ephesus. (April 2011).

[630] *IvE* 987 ; Cramme 2001, 190.

The walls, like the Marnas aqueduct bridge and the Pollio Monument, were made of mortared rubble, and were dressed with yellowish-white, medium-grained marble, whilst the original floor surface was also most likely to have been marble.[631] Much of the original decoration of the Basilica Stoa is now lost or fragmentary, but the surviving evidence is fine enough to lead to its description as a classic example of Graeco-Roman architectural decoration.[632] The so-called "architectural masterpieces" of the monument are its mature, well-structured wall designs with half columns, pilasters, arches, elegant intersections and well-composed, richly decorated bulls-head capitals with diagonal volutes.[633] A frieze also ran around the sidewalls of the Basilica Stoa, and the architrave and the blocks were tapered to correspond with their locations between or above the columns.[634] These are further examples of the Basilica Stoa's architect attempting to be innovative whilst ensuring the structural integrity of the building.

Temples in honour of the Roman Emperor had already been built in Ephesus before Pollio and Proculus dedicated the Basilica Stoa. The double temple, located beside the council house, has been identified as the Temple of Roma and Julius Caesar, whose usage by the Roman citizens of Asia was authorised by Augustus.[635] There was also a Temple of Augustus within the Artemision,[636] and another in the centre of the Upper Agora itself, founded in 27 B.C.[637] The Basilica Stoa was a secular building used for a number of functions, in addition to being a place honouring the Imperial family. The inclusion of these honorific elements within the Basilica Stoa indicate that in Early Roman Asia Minor a variety of buildings were used as places of honour for the Imperial family, even if their primary purpose was not as a cult centre. The dedication of both temples and secular buildings to the Imperial family indicate different ways of

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[631] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 9-10; 12.

[632] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 17; "Es findet sich hier ein klassisches Beispiel hoher, griechisch-römischer Architektenkunst."

[633] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 17.

[634] Fossel-Peschl 1982, 31.

[635] Cassius Dio 51, 20, 6; Price 1984, 254; Scherrer 1995, 4; 2001, 69; Burrell, 2004, 59.

[636] *CIL* III 7118; *I. Eph* II 412; Price 1984, 254.

[637] *I.Eph.* III 902; Price 1984, 254.

honouring the Imperial family, both as deities, but also as worthy Roman citizens. Architectural benefactions in Early Roman Ephesus celebrated and honoured both the human and divine perceptions of the Emperor and his family.

In addition to statues of the Imperial family, the statues of Pollio and Ofillia Bassa discussed above may have stood in or near the Basilica Stoa.[638] These statues, and their placement within a monument that was not only dedicated to the Imperial family, but also had an explicit honorific function, tells us much about the different ways major architectural benefactors were rewarded in Early Roman Asia Minor. The city of Ephesus did not put up these statues of Pollio and Ofillia Bassa; Proculus erected them. Despite being put up in a very public place, either within the Basilica Stoa itself or within the Agora, as Proculus paid for them, they were private, not "public", dedications i.e. the city of Ephesus had no material involvement in their erection. Whether the statues were inside the Basilica Stoa, or outside of it, the city would have had to give permission for their placement there. If the fragmentary honorific text discussed above does refer to Pollio, then it shows that the city at least honoured him for his work, even if his wife and stepson's involvement was not honoured. This honorific text is too fragmentary to ascertain whether it was originally part of a stele or statue base, but it is the only surviving evidence for the city of Ephesus directly honouring Pollio for his gift to Ephesus. Within the surviving group of statues, there is not a statue of Proculus. This may be an issue of survival, but it is possible that there was never one of him there in the first place; erecting a statue of oneself would have been considered hubristic. The apparent lack of a statue or any kind of honours for Proculus, despite being equally involved in the architectural benefactions as Pollio, suggests that benefactors were not guaranteed rewards from the city.

The Basilica Stoa provides further evidence to suggest that architectural benefaction in Early Roman Asia Minor was a diverse process, both in terms of how the monuments were constructed, and how benefactors were represented and rewarded for their work. The Basilica Stoa was a composite monument, neither a Roman basilica, nor a Greek stoa. The Basilica Stoa combined elements of both these monument types in plan; elevation; dimension; the addition of rooms onto the ends; and the deliberate measures taken to ensure that there was plenty of light. Such composite monuments

[638] Alzinger 1974, 28; Kearsley 2001, 85.

reflected both local traditions, and Roman ones brought in by men like Pollio and Proculus who settled in Ephesus after they had completed the task that they had originally been sent there to do. Whilst most of the decorative features of the Basilica Stoa are Hellenistic in character - the 'Roman' Corinthian capitals were probably added much later than Pollio and Proculus - the dedications to, and the statues of, the Imperial family, leave no doubt as to the Roman nature of this monument. The Basilica Stoa also indicates that public buildings in the province were designed to have a variety of functions. In addition to serving as a sheltered space adjacent to the Upper Agora, the Basilica Stoa would have had civic functions. It may have been a law court as other Roman examples were, it served as an honorific monument, celebrating both the Imperial family and the Romans who built it and arguably, with the statues inside it, it could have served as a space for the Imperial cult. The variety of uses for Basilica Stoa further emphasises the results of interaction between the Roman practices brought in by Pollio and Proculus and the longstanding local practices already present in the city. The alien concept of honouring the Imperial family was placed into the familiar context of an annexed room on the end of a colonnaded structure. The presence of the statues of Pollio and Ofillia Bassa within the Basilica Stoa suggests that in addition to honouring its primary recipients, a major architectural benefaction could also serve as a place where the benefactors themselves could be recognised and rewarded. However, these recognitions and rewards did not necessarily come from the recipient city. Finally, the Basilica Stoa particularly suggests that there may have been variations in how major architectural benefactors were rewarded for their work, even if they were equally involved in the project. Whilst Pollio received rewards from the city of Ephesus directly, in the form of an honorific inscription and indirectly via their granting of the land for the Pollio Monument, and from Proculus, Proculus seems not to receive such honours. He erected statues of his parents, but his parents do not seem to have reciprocated the honour, further indicating the complexity and diversity of the honorific system in Early Roman Asia Minor.

The monuments of Mazaeus and Mithridates and Pollio and Proculus indicate how interactions with Rome resulted in variations in architectural benefactions in Augustan Ephesus. Both pairs of benefactors interacted with Rome, but their relationships with the Imperial system were very different. Mazaeus and Mithridates were Imperial freedmen, building in their hometown, whilst Pollio and Proculus were free-born

Romans who were sent to Ephesus to oversee an Imperial project. Despite their differing origins, both pairs of benefactors attempted to incorporate Greek and Roman elements into their monuments. However, the benefactors' interactions with Rome do not directly correlate with how 'Roman' their monuments appeared. The Greek freedmen, Mazaeus and Mithridates, constructed their gate into the Lower Agora with a façade that resembled a Roman triumphal arch, and a ground plan reminiscent of a Greek propylon. Whilst retaining some Hellenistic decorative features, the dedicatory inscriptions in gilded letters and the statues of the Imperial family atop the arch would have made it clear that this monument not only served a practical purpose in forming the entrance to the Agora, but also served to celebrate Mazaeus and Mithridates' Imperial patrons. The Roman officials Pollio and Proculus also combined Roman and local techniques in their architectural benefactions. The aqueduct bridge was a new type of monument in the Greek East, indicative of the origin of the two men sent there to oversee the construction of the Aqua Throessitica. Their own addition to the channel, the bridge over the Marnas Valley, emphasises that both Imperial and private funds were used for major architectural benefactions in Augustan Ephesus. Despite the Imperial involvement with the Aqua Throessitica, the way it was constructed was not Roman. Throughout the channel, the water was carried through clay pipes cemented together, rather than arched culverts more typical of aqueducts in Italy. A further indication of the influence that Rome had on major architectural benefaction in Augustan Ephesus was that the Marnas aqueduct bridge was built of a local attempt at *opus caementicium*, using available materials to create something that resembled the Roman original. Although some elements of the Basilica Stoa would have been unfamiliar in Augustan Ephesus, such as its elevation and three-aisled floorplan, the concept of an aisled hall adjacent to the Agora would have been instantly recognisable to the local population.

The monuments of Mazaeus and Mithridates and Pollio and Proculus also indicate how provincial benefactors were represented through their monuments in relation to both their local cities and to Rome. The Imperial freedmen Mazaeus and Mithridates, who were from Ephesus, emphasised their relationship with their patrons and their status as freedmen through their dedications to them. However, by not using their *tria nomina*, they were represented as locals. The Greek inscription on the gate that does not name their Imperial patrons affirms this: a Greek-speaking audience could easily interpret the gate as having been dedicated to a local patron to whom Mazaeus and Mithridates were clients. The architectural and decorative features of the gate itself also represented Mazaeus and Mithridates' Roman citizenship and their residency in Ephesus, constructing a monument that simultaneously honoured the Imperial family, the local deity and people, and performed a practical function as the entrance into the agora. Pollio and Proculus, as Roman citizens with Italic origins, included local honorands alongside the Imperial family in their dedications. The recognition of the patron deity and the people of Ephesus first in the inscription would have no doubt aided them to gain the influence and prestige locally to allow them to build the Basilica Stoa. Through this monument, but particularly through the statues that were located within it, Pollio and his family were represented as great benefactors, worthy of the highest honours alongside the Imperial family. Proculus', rather than the city's, construction of the Pollio Monument further emphasised how the family were represented as great and worthy benefactors within Ephesus. Although overseeing an Imperial-funded civic project, Pollio and Proculus did not build entirely in a Roman style but incorporated local materials and techniques into their building projects. By doing so, they created composite monuments, reflecting both their status and identity as Roman citizens and their membership of the Ephesian elite. Both pairs of benefactors, one from Asia, the other from Italy, represented their local and Roman identities through their monuments, promoting their dual identities in a manner most easily understood by their target audiences.

The monuments, located within a relatively small spatial and temporal location, show how different architectural benefactions, and their benefactors could be. These monuments also show that how 'Roman' a benefactor was, did not determine how 'Roman' their monument was. The Greeks Mazaeus and Mithridates built a predominantly Roman monument to honour their Roman patrons but retained some familiar Hellenistic features in keeping with its function as the entrance into the Lower Agora. The Romans Pollio and Proculus built a Roman looking monument, with some unseen local elements and materials outside of the city, whilst inside the city their monument would have looked familiar to a local audience. The Roman architectural elements of the Basilica Stoa would have been less obviously different from what was contained within it, the statues of members of the Imperial family.

4

Familial Representation through Architectural Benefaction in Post-Augustan Aphrodisias

4.1. Post-Augustan Building at Aphrodisias.

In contrast to the previous two, this chapter considers the representation of architectural benefactors who had no direct link to Rome, and how the impact of Rome can be understood through their monuments. Across Aphrodisias from the reign of Tiberius to the reign of Nero, and possibly as late as the Antonine period, several generations of four families worked on numerous building projects. Whilst the post-Neronian benefactors are outside of this thesis' time period, they will be mentioned to show the continuation of the family's work in Aphrodisias. The construction, or completion, of many of the Roman buildings that are still visible today occurred during this period, including the Sebasteion and the colonnaded central spaces of the city. The Temple of Aphrodite also underwent significant reconstruction work. This chapter considers both the role that local elite benefactors had in introducing Roman architectural techniques and dedicatory practices to their city, and how even within families of benefactors, there was scope for variations in terms of the benefactions and the way that benefactors were represented through architecture.

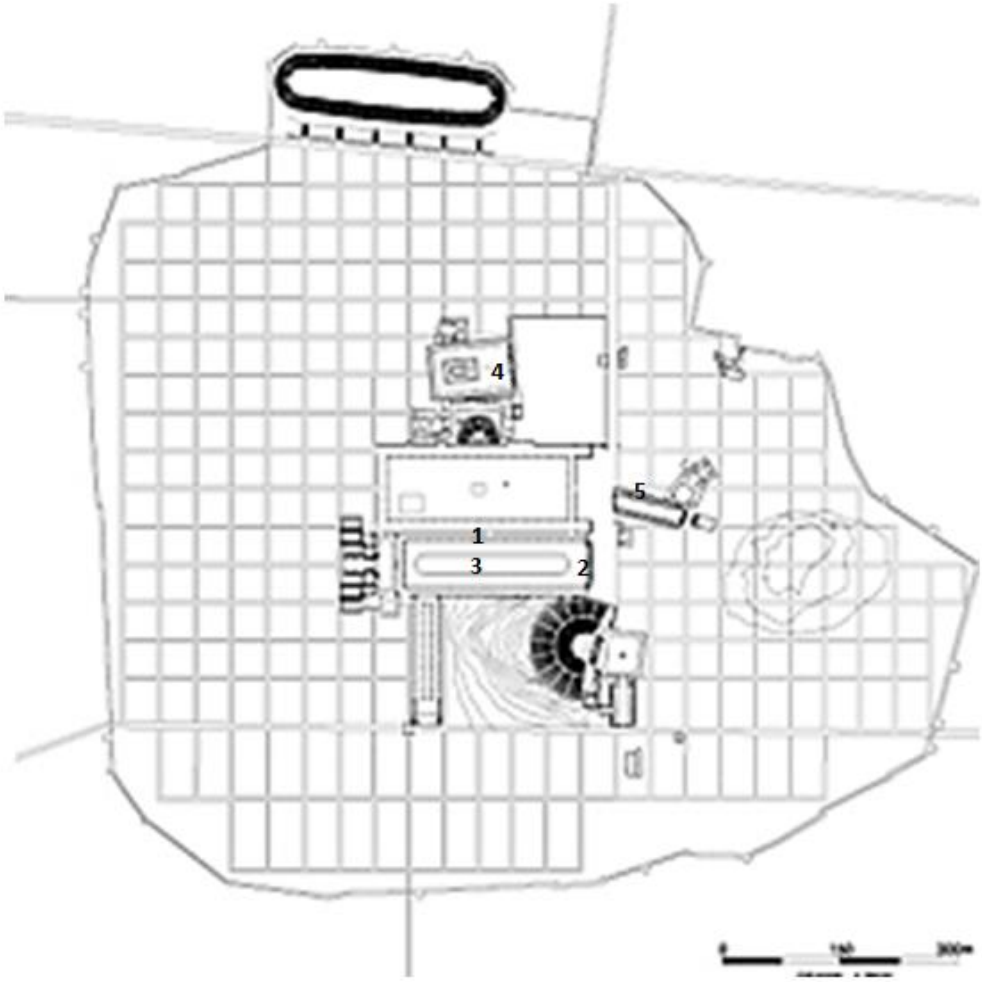

Figure 38: City Plan of Aphrodisias, with the locations of the families' building projects marked. 1) The 'Portico of Tiberius' 2) The East Gate. 3) Proposed location for the Gymnasium of Diogenes. 4) Temple of Aphrodite. 5) Sebasteion complex. (Adapted after Aphrodisias Excavations, Oxford University. Last Accessed 6/1/2020)

4.2. Four Late Julio-Claudian Aphrodisian Families

In the later Julio-Claudian period, there were many architectural benefactions made by families in Aphrodisias. These included the South Stoa of the North Agora; the north and east sides of an enclosed space to the south of the North Agora; the temple of Aphrodite; and the Sebasteion. Several honorific inscriptions to them also survive.[639] Those involved with most of this chapter's architectural benefactions came

[639] *SEG* 31 900 is a marble statue base with an honorific inscription to Attalis Apphion; *SEG* 31 901 is an honorary inscription for Tiberius Claudius Diogenes cut on three cornice blocks from the scaenae frons of the theatre.

either from two separate families (A and B) or were from branches of the same family. The naming conventions are very similar, but it is not possible to match up the two branches from the surviving evidence. The other families (C and D) appear to have been unrelated to the others but collaborated with them on the same monuments. Figure 39 shows the genealogies of the benefactors, and the monuments they are known to have constructed.

A

Artemidorus

Diogenes (1)

Menandrus

Diogenes (2)

Portico of Tiberius

Menandrus

Diogenes (3)

East Gate of Colonnaded Space to the South of the North Agora

B)

Attalus   Andronus

Menandrus   Menecrates

Diogenes (4)   **Attalus** = **Attalis Apphion**

Sebasteion   *Temple of Aphrodite and Sebasteion*

Tiberius Claudius Diogenes

Sebasteion

C) Eunicus

Menandrus Menandrus

Apphias= Eusebes **Menandrus**

Sebasteion *Sebasteion*

Tata

Sebasteion

Eusebes **Menandrus**

Sebasteion *Sebasteion*

D) Eumachus

Athenagoras Molon

Athenagoras Adrastus Dionysius

Eumachus Diogenes = **Ammias Olympias**

Temple of Aphrodite *Temple of Aphrodite*

Figure 39: Family trees of the case study’s benefactors. Bold indicates those known from the epigraphic record to have given public monuments. Blue lines indicate natural succession, red indicate adoption.

4.3. The 'enclosed space south of the North Agora'

The space in question, described in earlier publications as the city's second monumental square, measured 216 x 69 metres and was begun sometime between A.D. 14 and 28/29.[640] The space was enclosed by stoas on the north, south and west sides, and by the building known as the 'Agora Gate' on the east side, henceforth called the East Gate. The construction of stoas by elite residents to surround a space was not unusual in the East at that time. Zoilus, as discussed in Chapter 2, began the demarcation of the agora in the late first century B.C., whilst at Thasos in the mid-first century A.D. two brothers constructed a stoa of the agora and were honoured with a heroon.[641] Several generations of one of the families were involved in the construction of elements of this space.

4.3.1 The "Portico of Tiberius."

The North Stoa, also known as the Portico of Tiberius, was the earliest part of the complex and shared its back wall with the South Stoa of the North Agora. The portico was 212.10 metres long and comprised seventy-one Ionic columns. The average space between the columns was 2.89 metres, though the 'central' door is off-centred; there are thirty-four columns to the west, thirty-seven to the east. This resulted from either the Stoa being extended eastwards towards the East Gate or shortened at the west end to establish the, later, West stoa.[642] The Stoa rested on an *euthynteria* of blue-grey marble, whose curved steps resembled 'theatre seats.'[643] The inscription, found towards the west end of the Portico of Tiberius and reconstructed from thirteen white marble architrave blocks, was formed of a moulded edge and three fasciae.[644] The letters measure 0.10 metres,[645] and were inscribed only on the uppermost fasciae. It

[640] Smith, 1996, 13. For *terminus ante quem* see Reynolds 1980, 78 (death of Livia in A.D. 29) and de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 149 (A.D. 28).

[641] Dickenson 2017, 189.

[642] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 149-150.

[643] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 151.

[644] *IAph2007* 4.4.

[645] Reynolds 1980, 78; King's College, London's Aphrodisias epigraphy database describes the block as being part of a cornice; however closer examination of photographs of the stone suggests that this surviving architectural detail was part of a khmer moulding.

was initially discovered during the 1937 Italian excavations, and was published two years later by Giulio Jacopi. Jacopi's text reads:

> Ἀφροδίτηι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεῶι Σεβαστῶι Διὶ Πατρῴωι
>
> καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορι Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶι Σεβαστῶι
>
> καὶ Ἰουλίαι Σεβαστῆι καὶ τῶι Δήμωι Διογένης Μενάνδρου
>
> τοῦ Διογένους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου vacat Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Μένανδρος[646]

However, the text that Jacopi publishes differs slightly from the texts which appear later in *SEG* and *IAph*2007:

> *vv.* Ἀφροδίτηι καὶ | Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεῶι | Σεβαστῶι Διὶ Πατρῴωι καὶ | Ἀυτοκράτορι Τιβερίωι Καίσα[ρι] | [Θεο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶι Σε | βαστῶι *stop* καὶ *stop* Ἰουλίαι Σεβασ | τῆι *stop* καὶ τῶι Δήμωι τὴν στόα[ν] | *vv.* Διογένης Μενάνδρου τοῦ | [Δ]ιογένους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρ|[ου καὶ ·· c. 13 ·· ἱερ]|ηα Ἀφροδίτης *stop* καὶ *stop* Μένανδ | [ρος ·· ? ··]
>
> *1*[·· ? ··]ẠỊΙΑΛ[·· ? ··]
>
> *1*[·· ? ··]ΤΑ[·· ? ··]
>
> *1*[·· ? ··]ṬΙ[·· ? ··]
>
> To Aphrodite, the Deified Emperor Caesar Augustus Zeus Patroos, and the Emperor Tiberius Caesar, son of the Deified Emperor and the Empress Iulia and the *demos*, Diogenes, son of Menandrus, son of Diogenes, son of Artemidorus (dedicated) the stoa and…priest of Aphrodite and Menandrus (?)…[647]

What is present in later publications of this text, but absent from Jacopi's transcription, is the details of what is being dedicated, the stoa. Further pieces of this text were found during the American excavations in the mid-late 1980s, but these later additions cannot explain the absence of the letters τὴν στόα[ν] from Jacopi's transcription. Although the editors of *IAph*2007 do not publish a photograph of this block, their edition

[646] Jacopi 1939, 15-16.

[647] *SEG* 30 1244; *IAph*2007 4.4.

suggests that τῆι καὶ τῶι Δήμωι τὴν στόα[ν] formed one block. The stone on which τὴν στόα[ν] was inscribed, therefore, cannot be a later addition to the text found in the 1980s when the New York team re-found the text recorded by Jacopi. There are several possible reasons for this discrepancy. The first is that Jacopi's omission was simply a copying error. Secondly, a later editor may have placed τὴν στόα[ν] into parentheses to indicate that the missing object of dedication, and subsequently τὴν στόα[ν] was taken as being present in the original text. A third reason is that the text recorded in 1937 by Jacopi is a different text to the one 're-found' in the 1980s. Whilst Jacopi states that the text was found near the stoa on the north side of what was later called the 'South Agora', he acknowledges that the buildings he was excavating had been damaged by an earthquake.[648] As the South Stoa of the North Agora and the Portico of Tiberius shared a back wall, and Jacopi's description of the inscription's findspot is not detailed enough to state categorically where the text was originally placed; it could have fallen from the South Stoa of the North Agora.

The monument's benefactor was Diogenes 2 and he dedicated the building to the deified Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia. In the text, Augustus is described as *theos* and identified with Zeus Patroos, thus the dedication of the building must post-date his death in A.D. 14. The dedication also includes Tiberius, designated *Imperator,* and Livia, as Julia Augusta. The grouping of the three members of the Imperial family, Reynolds argues, is clearly presented as a *domus divina*. She goes on to say that the formula seen here is well on the way to the standard dedication of public monuments.[649] Recent work has demonstrated that this formula was established in the East by the mid-first century A.D.[650] However, despite including common elements of Roman architectural dedications, the text demonstrates that there was still room for variation and individual representation within such contexts. Whilst the text may contain elements common in Roman monumental dedications, it was not completely Roman in character. After the dedication to the Imperial family, there is a vacant space. The *vacat* was placed deliberately to separate the inscription into two parts, one

[648] Jacopi 1939, 22.

[649] Reynolds 1980, 78.

[650] See Graham 2018 for a discussion of the use of the recipient first formula in building inscriptions from first century A.D. Aphrodisias. Also, Graham 2013, 1-30 and Burrell 2006, 437-42 for discussions of similar patterns of dedicatory rhetoric in first century A.D. Ephesus.

Roman, one local. The first, Roman, section honours the members of the Imperial family alongside the local deity and the *demos*, in a manner reminiscent of the texts seen on the monuments of Gaius Sextilius Pollio and Gaius Offilius Proculus in Augustan Ephesus.

By including the benefactor's full list of patronymics and the offices that he had held, the second part of the text resembled older Hellenistic dedicatory practices. This part of the inscription resembled those from the monuments of Gaius Iulius Zoilus. The Roman and Hellenistic sections of this dedicatory indicate that the influence of Rome had resulted in local benefactors considering the Imperial family worthy enough to be honoured through their monuments but that local practices of representing architectural benefactors were retained. By combining characteristics seen in earlier Hellenistic practices in Aphrodisias and near-contemporary Roman practices in Ephesus, this text shows that variations in representation of architectural benefactors occurred. Diogenes' 2 dedication indicates how the influence of Rome can be shown through architectural benefaction. Diogenes 2 was neither a Roman citizen, nor someone with a demonstrable connection to Rome or the Imperial family, but he dedicated his monument to them. Forty years earlier, the buildings of Zoilus, a freedman of Octavian, had not been dedicated to the Imperial family; instead; he was represented almost exclusively as a prestigious member of local elite. The Greek freedmen Mazaeus and Mithridates, honoured their Roman patrons, but their dedication had very little indication of their local origins. Near contemporaries of Diogenes 2, the Roman officials Pollio and Proculus dedicated their monuments to the Imperial family, and, although they were represented as the financial sponsors of the monuments, no mention was made of how they gained the authority to construct them. By the middle of Tiberius' reign, therefore, there was no standard formula for the dedication of a provincial monument. Nor were monumental dedications used for a set purpose. Both Romans and non-Romans honoured the Imperial family and there were variations on how elites from both groups were represented. The question of whether they were Greek or Roman or had a demonstrable connection to Rome did not dictate who an architectural benefactor was, how they were honoured through their monuments, or how they were represented in the dedication. This degree of variation suggests heterogeneous responses to Roman rule, which must be considered when discussing its impact on provincial cities and their residents.

There is circumstantial evidence for Diogenes 2 being involved in the construction of the South Stoa of the North Agora in the form of a fragmentary inscription found during Christopher Ratté and Bert Smith's 2002-2005 excavations in the area. They state that the inscription, found on an architrave block, names "Diogenes," who the authors assume is the same Diogenes 2 who dedicated the Portico of Tiberius.[651] However, in their publication, they provide neither an image nor a transcription of the text. These are also missing from Esen Öğüş' most recent report on the ongoing excavations of the area, published in 2016.[652] Ratté and Smith's analysis of the discoveries of their excavations suggests that construction of these two porticoes occurred at the same time, by the same person,[653] but this cannot be proved. However, if this text was structured in the same way as the one from the Portico of Tiberius, and was placed directly opposite Zoilus' text, it would indicate within the same space not only the growing influence of Rome in the province, but also a progression in how benefactors were represented in the period between the accession of Octavian and the death of Livia.

[651] Ratté and Smith 2008, 720.

[652] Öğüş 2016, 151-156; 151 Öğüş states that "the S stoa (of the North Agora) was built in the Tiberian period, as was the Portico of Tiberius in the "South Agora" but cites Smith and Ratté's article on the excavations, rather than the dedicatory inscriptions. The text almost certainly remains unpublished.

[653] Smith and Ratté 2000, 235; Ratté and Smith 2008, 720.

Figure 40: The Portico of Tiberius, Aphrodisias. (April 2011).

4.3.2 The East Gate

A building traditionally, but inaccurately, called the ‘Agora Gate’ stood on the East side of the complex. It was built during the second century A.D. and completed the enclosure of the space. De Chaisemartin and Lemaire describe the East Gate as resembling a *scaenae frons*, flanked by two square towers. It is on a slightly skewed alignment in relation to the rest of the complex, as it is not perpendicular to the North and South Stoas.[654] Andrew Wilson notes that the gate should be dated to the late Hadrianic or early Antonine period on grounds of architectural style alone, but the only architectural features he mentions are columns and aediculae.[655] He also notes that the epigraphic evidence may point to a Hadrianic date.[656] Statue bases of Nerva and Hadrian survive from the gate, and record that Diogenes Menandrou paid for them,

[654] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 158.

[655] Wilson 2016a, 107; 130.

[656] Wilson 2016a, 107.

but these inscriptions also remain unpublished.[657] A third, published, base of Antoninus Pius reads:

Αὐτοκράτορα
Καίσαρα Τίτον
Αἴλιον Ἀδρια
νὸν Ἀντωνεῖ-
νον Σεβασ-
τὸν Εὐσεβῆ
vv. ὁ δῆμ[ο]ς
ἐξ ὧν ὑπ[έ]σ̣χε-
το Ἄδρασ̣τος
Ἀδράστο̣υ τοῦ
[Ἀ]πολλωνίου
[τ]οῦ Ἀνδρῶνος
[v. Ἀ]ττάλου v.

Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius. The People (put up his statue) from the (funds) which Adrastus son of Adrastus, the son of Apollonius the son of Andron? Attalus, promised.[658]

[657] Wilson 2016a does not mention the texts. They are absent from the extensive 2006 study of the Roman portrait statuary from Aphrodisias by Smith et al, and the commentary of *IAph*2007 4.201, the published statue base from the Gate of Antoninus Pius, states: “This text is a little different from those found in the same area, honouring Nerva, (unpublished) (=77.34) and Hadrian (unpublished) (=83.75).”

[658] *IAph*2007 4.201. Ed. Joyce Reynolds, 2007. This Adrastus may have been the same Adrastus who was Procurator of the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome and later declared an Imperial freedman sometime in the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (A.D. 197-211). *CIL* VI.1585b; Moore 2012, 225. This is pure speculation as, whilst the text from Aphrodisias mentions Adrastus’ father, there are no patronymics in the text from Rome. Without any patronymics, it is harder to be definitive as to whether the same Adrastus erected a statue of Antoninus Pius at Aphrodisias and served as procurator in Rome.

This gift by a separate benefactor suggests that the gate may be Hadrianic, and along with the baths, belonged to a larger, contemporary, programme of remodelling the east and west ends.[659] De Chaisemartin and Lemaire claim that an inscription on the Ionic architrave states that the gate was erected by Diogenes 3, son of Menander, son of Diogenes the Younger 2.[660] Wilson suggests that it would have been fitting if a benefactor embellished the complex funded by his grandfather,[661] lending further support to the theory that Diogenes 2 built the Portico of Tiberius, whilst his grandson of the same name built the East Gate. However, neither de Chaisemartin and Lemaire, nor Pont, nor Wilson, quote the text in their publications, not give any references to it.[662]

As Diogenes 2 was active during the reign of Tiberius, it would be plausible for his grandson still to be building public monuments during the reign of Hadrian. Although Wilson argues that the architectural features of the gate suggest a later Hadrianic or early Antonine date, rather than an early Hadrianic one, Diogenes 3 probably died before the accession of Antoninus Pius; otherwise, it is likely that he, Diogenes 3, rather than Adrastus, would have paid for the statue of that emperor. Diogenes 3 may have begun and paid for the project early in the reign of Hadrian but died prior to the monument's completion. Adrastus, and perhaps other, now unknown benefactors,

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659 Wilson 2016a, 107.

660 de Chaisemartin and Lemaire, 1996, 158. Wilson 2016a, 107 and Pont 2008a, 185 also recognises that these benefactors may be related to one another.

661 Wilson 2016a, 107.

662 The text is also absent from the online Aphrodisias inscription database published by King's College, London. Despite the lack of recent updates, the most recent being October 2007, it was published eleven years after de Chaisemartin and Lemaire's article, so the 'dedicatory inscription' from the Agora Gate should be in the online database, as it contains published and unpublished texts. In his 2016 article, Wilson alludes to the importance of the epigraphic evidence for the dating of the gate but notes in his references that this inscription remains unpublished. Pers. comm. Ben Russell, February 2020. "Angelos Chaniotis is working on the inscription from the East Propylon, the publication of which will appear in the volume edited by Andrew Wilson and Ben Russell on the excavations in the area of what was formally known as the South Agora, now identified as the Place of Palms. This text shows that a Diogenes 'the Younger', son of Menandrus, son of Diogenes, paid for the East Propylon (Agora Gate) and Chaniotis argues that he is almost certainly the grandson of the Diogenes son of Menandrus who built the North Stoa (Portico of Tiberius)."

completed the project, adding to it the statue of the then reigning Emperor, Antoninus Pius.

4.3.3. The Gymnasium of Diogenes?

In his 2008 article *Twelve Buildings in Search of Locations* Angelos Chaniotis discusses a text which refers to later building work at the Gymnasium of Diogenes.[663] The location of the Gymnasium of Diogenes has not been formally identified but there is substantial evidence to suggest that it was located within the complex located to the south of the North Agora, and named after Diogenes 2 and Diogenes 3, who instigated, and completed the building work respectively. Ferri suggested that the space might have functioned as a gymnasium as early as 1938.[664] The location and architectural features of the complex make this interpretation plausible. The area was prone to flooding and this tendency would make the area unsuitable for habitation.[665] The obvious parallel is the Campus Martius in Rome, which was used for military training prior to being drained and then built on during the late Republican period. Such a space is not unique to Rome; many other campuses are known elsewhere.[666] The Campus Martius was also favoured for this purpose because it lay outside the *pomerium,* whereas this space is in the centre of Aphrodisias. Although the use of a space for such a purpose in Rome does not necessarily mean that a space with similar characteristics was used for the same purpose in Aphrodisias, the lack of any buildings in the area constructed prior to the Roman period,[667] allows for the possibility that it could previously have been used for training activities.

In Book 5, Vitruvius describes what a gymnasium should look like. He states that the peristyle should be long enough to accommodate a running circuit two *stadia* in length.[668] The estimated size and shape of the central pool would have allowed enough space for a running track between its edge and the portico measuring 394 metres, or just over two *stadia*.[669] The portico on three sides should be single, whereas on the

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[663] *CIG* 2782; Chaniotis 2008, 72-73.

[664] Ferri 1938, 69.

[665] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 166.

[666] Devijver and van Wonterghem 1981, 33.

[667] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 159.

[668] Vitr. 5. 11. 1.

[669] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 166-167.

south it should be double, to protect the interior from inclement weather.[670] The south portico here is not a double portico. The north portico would have been used for an indoor running track, so that training could continue in bad weather.[671] No traces of a running track survive in the ground, but the North Stoa was the only one unpaved. Comparable indoor running tracks dating from the early Imperial period have been found at Pergamon, Priene and Cyrene.[672] The North Stoa would have been the only feasible location in the complex for an indoor running track.[673] However, relying on Vitruvius' treatise and some far from diagnostic archaeological evidence remains problematic.

What is absent from Vitruvius' description of the ideal gymnasium is the *natatio*, or cold pool. In his extensive study of Greek gymnasia, Jean Delorme suggests that swimming was never a competitive sport in the Greek world, and as a result, would not have formed part of athletic training.[674] Despite the lack of competitive swimming during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Delorme notes a number of pools in gymnasia, including at Nemea, Apollonis, Delphi, and Athens[675] At Aphrodisias, a stone pool, 169 metres long and 19 metres wide dominated the internal area of the space. When first excavated the pool had an estimated depth of *c.* 0.85 metres.[676] More recently, its floor and an associated overflow pipe have been found, which indicate a water depth of *c.* 0.94 metres, just deep enough to swim in.[677] Associated sculptures have been discovered, including a channel block in the shape of a prow of a ship with gambolling dolphins, which may have been the original inflow. Other finds include fountains, which would have delivered jets of water, and a waterspout in the shape of a boy astride a dolphin. Fragments of statues, including nine heads, a seated himation statue, and two bases, that were found in the west end of the pool may have been associated with the pool. However, their original context is unknown.[678] Such

[670] Vitr. 5. 11. 1.

[671] Vitr. 5. 11. 3-4.

[672] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 170.

[673] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 167.

[674] Delorme 1960, 371.

[675] Delorme 1960, 371.

[676] Erim 1990, 20; de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 158.

[677] Wilson 2016a, 118; Wilson, Russell, and Ward 2016, 83.

[678] Wilson 2016a, 126; Wilson 2016b, 111; 116.

decoration suggests that this feature was not just part of the area's drainage work but designed with aesthetics and its place within the city in mind.

Pottery found in the preparation layers for the paving around the pool date it to sometime during the first century A.D. It was contemporary with, or immediately followed the Portico of Tiberius.[679] Wilson states that a first century date suggests that the pool was part of the original layout, before discussing the necessity of having large-scale drainage infrastructure in place prior to construction of the Portico.[680] Yet, this pool is the only first-century evidence of water management in that area. The many terracotta pipes found across the space indicate the area's liability to flooding in antiquity,[681] but a construction on the scale of this pool is unlikely to have had the purpose of collecting water. Furthermore, the sides of the pool were stepped, resembling theatre seats.[682] The steps down into the pool at Aphrodisias are comparable to earlier pools in gymnasia at Apollonis and at Delphi. The pool at Delphi is more than twice as deep as the Aphrodisian pool, but its diameter of 10 metres rendered it unsuitable for racing.[683] Whilst Delorme concludes his analysis by stating that gymnasium pools in the Greek world were designed with hydrotherapy rather than competitive racing in mind,[684] the Aphrodisian pool would have had a number of uses. Whilst it was only just deep enough to swim in, its elongated shape would have allowed either for competitions or for longer distance training swims. At the same time, the terraced sides would have functioned both as an easy entry and exit and for sitting partly submerged whilst cooling down after exercise in the same way that earlier gymnasium pools had been used. All of these features suggest that this pool was designed for something more than the collection of water in a flood-prone area. Furthermore, where purpose-built cold-water bathing facilities existed in the Greek world during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, they were an exclusive privilege of athletic bathing facilities, rather than public facilities. Even here, immersion pools

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[679] Wilson, Russell, and Ward 2016, 78.

[680] Wilson 2016a, 127-128.

[681] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 159.

[682] Erim 1990, 20, 22-23.

[683] Delorme 1960, 311-312.

[684] Delorme 1960, 312.

were still rare.[685] This extensive evidence shows that this pool must have been designed to be used as part of the training and exercise regimes that occurred within the new gymnasium.

Although not considered necessary for gymnasia by Vitruvius, the Italian *campus* was often supplemented by a swimming pool.[686] Hubert Devijver and Frank van Wonterghem's 1981 study of the epigraphic evidence for *campi* shows that they were attested at sixteen Latin-speaking cities.[687] Evidence for associated pools are known from four of these sixteen: Forum Novum Sabinorum; Treia; Divodurum and Saepinum.[688] In the Roman colony of Narbo an inscription has been found dating from the Republican period, which, although does not specifically mention a *campus,* states that there was a pool within what has been interpreted as a campus-like structure; an empty space fenced with rubble.[689] The original phase of the Gymnasium of Diogenes, prior to its complete enclosure by colonnades, may have been a less formal affair more akin to a *campus* or the campus-like structure as described by Devijver and van Wonterghem at Narbo. If this was the case, this would have been highly unusual in a Greek city, as all known examples of such structures come from Latin-speaking contexts. This is one way of explaining the use of this space since the other three sides post-date the Portico of Tiberius. The South and West Stoas predate the East Gate, so the space may have functioned as a gymnasium with three enclosed sides for a period before it was finally enclosed during the reign of Hadrian. Even without the East Gate, the Gymnasium of Diogenes would have functioned as a space where tradition Greek

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685 Trümper 2013, 61.

686 de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 164-165.

687 Sarmizegetusa, Dacia *CIL* III 7983; Como *CIL* V 5279; Carthage *CIL* VIII 12573; Forum Novum Sabinorum *CIL* IX 4786; Cupra Marittima *CIL* I^2 1917; Teramo *CIL* I^2 1905-6; Treia *CIL* IX 5656; Nola *CIL* X 1236; Aletrium *CIL* I^2 1529; Cagliari *CIL* X 7581; Albinum *CIL* XII 2493-5; Namnetes *CIL* XIII 3107; Divodurum *CIL* XIII 4324 and *CIL* XIII 11353; Praeneste *CIL* XIV 2940; Teggiano M. Della Corte, Avanzi del sepolcro monumentale di C. Luxilius Macer, Nsc (1926) pp. 258-260; Saepinum M. Gaggiotti, Note urbanistico-topografiche tratte da un'iscrizione inedita Sepinate. Annali Fac. Lett. Filos. Univ. Pergia, Studi Class., Vol. XVI II (1978-79) p. 51 + Tav I.

688 *CIL* IX 4786; *CIL* IX 5656; *CIL* XIII 4324; M. Gaggiotti, Note urbanistico-topografiche tratte da un'iscrizione inedita Sepinate. Annali Fac. Lett. Filos. Univ. Pergia, Studi Class., Vol. XVI II (1978-79) p. 51 + Tav I)

689 *CIL* XII 1488; Devijver and van Wonterghem 1981, 44.

exercise and training activities could take place, with the additional functions of incorporating Roman practices and honouring the Imperial family. By the Hadrianic period the Gymnasium of Diogenes would also have facilitated bathing in a Roman manner

In Roman cities, such swimming pools were necessary for military training, and their presence within sports facilities in Italy was characteristic of urbanisation during the first centuries B.C. and A.D. From this period onwards, baths gradually began to replace traditional gymnasium complexes.[690] The ample running water present in the area would have fed such a swimming pool and later may have functioned to complement the Baths of Hadrian, which did not have the cold pool traditionally associated with such a complex.[691] Further evidence to suggest the area's usage for training activities was the discovery of marble sling bullets and iron spears. The conical shape of the spears' sockets mean that they were training, rather than offensive, weapons.[692] It would have been likely for Aphrodisias to have such a complex. Augustus had restored honour sports and civic activities of the *juvenes*, which had largely developed in the Roman West. The provision of such a complex by Diogenes 2, Diogenes 3, and the other benefactors demonstrates that local elites had accepted, adopted, and adapted Roman practices. By contributing to the construction of this complex, the benefactor's attitudes towards both Roman cultural influences, and their preservation of older practices, were publicly represented in the heart of the city.

The decorative features of the complex provide evidence for this space's function as a gymnasium. A frieze of carved heads and garlands adorned the Ionic entablature of the three porticoes and the lower order of the East Gate. At first sight this frieze seems to evoke the theme of celebration and concord; however, the variety of the styles of heads offers the key to understanding their purpose.[693] These include theatre masks and heads of Dionysian figures. These formed a relatively small group on the north frieze, while they were dominant over those of the West and South Stoas and the East Gate. Numerous figures of deities were also present on the friezes, including Apollo,

[690] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 164.

[691] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 166.

[692] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 171.

[693] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 161.

Artemis, Athena, Hermes, and Heracles, all associated with Hellenic *paideia*. Interestingly, there are figures of athletes, perhaps indicative of the complex's purpose. These follow the classic models of either Polycletus or Lysippus, and representations of Amazons accompany them. The final type of head are representations of Greek princes. Those surviving include: several portrait types of Alexander the Great; Antigonus Monophthalmus; Demetrius Poliorcertes; Lysimachus; Pyrrhus; Philetairus; Ptolemy Soter; Seleucus the Great; Attalus I; Ptolemy Philadelphus; Ptolemy IV; Antiochus IV; Antiogone and Gonatas.[694] The portraits of athletes would be an obvious choice of decoration in a gymnasium. The portraits of Hellenistic kings would have been ideal subjects for such an establishment, serving as exempla to the youths receiving instruction there. Both the Ptolemaic and, particularly, the Attalid kings sponsored the building or the restoration of gymnasia and received honours from the recipient cities as benefactors.

Figure 41: Carved heads from the friezes of the enclosed space to the south of the North Agora, Aphrodisias. (April 2011).

[694] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 163.

A comparative collection of subjects, consisting of eighty-five bronze and marble sculptures,[695] was found at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. In addition to the portrait types seen in Aphrodisias, those at the Villa of the Papyri include intellectuals, philosophers, and playwrights. These images, like those of the deities, are all associated with the Greek cultural world and emphasise the importance of *paideia* in elite society.[696] In their studies of the iconography of the sculpture from the Villa of the Papyri, Gilles Sauron[697] and Maria Wojcik[698] have argued that the plan of the villa intentionally reproduced the plan of a Greek gymnasium. The first peristyle corresponded to the *palaestra*, which opened onto a long peristyle court with a central basin, reminiscent of the *xysta*.[699] The letters of Cicero also use these gymnasium-like terms to describe open spaces within houses and allude to the presence of art works of discernment there.

> "If you light on any articles of *vertu* suitable for a gymnasium, which would look well in the place you know of; please don't let them slip. I am so delighted with my Tusculan villa that I never feel really happy till I get there."[700]

> "The Megaric statues and the Hermae, which you mentioned in your letters, I am waiting for impatiently. Anything you have of the same kind which may strike you as worthy of my 'Academia,'' do not hesitate to send, and have complete confidence in my money-chest. My present delight is to pick up anything particularly suitable to a 'gymnasium.'"[701]

De Chaisemartin and Lemaire propose that the portraits from the friezes of the space are a parallel to the 'gymnasium' iconography of the Villa of the Papyri. Both this space and the Villa of the Papyri would have evoked a place of privileged Hellenic culture, where Romans of high status maintained a sense of nostalgic reverence while emphasising to their peers their own social standing.[702] Although rich Romans like

[695] Thonemann 2016, 105.

[696] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 163-164.

[697] Sauron 1980, 289-93.

[698] Wojcik 1986.

[699] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 163.

[700] Cic. *Att.* 1.6.2.

[701] Cic. *Att.* 1.9.3.

[702] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 164.

Cicero were obviously keen to furnish their private villas with Hellenic imagery, there must be some consideration as to why such images are present on a public monument of the Roman Imperial period. The use of Hellenistic images within the gymnasium hints at a retention of older practices within Aphrodisias. Until the addition of the bath complex to the west end of the space in the Hadrianic period, it would have functioned much the same as any other gymnasium anywhere else in the Greek world. The continuation in function of a space would have facilitated a continuation in decoration type; if one remains constant why change the other? The continuation of traditional Hellenistic gymnasium decorative features within a monument dedicated to the Imperial family indicates that this local family were remembering their Greek roots, traditions, and practices, in addition to embracing the cultural changes that occurred around them. The main honorand of this monument was the Imperial family and having received acknowledgement, the individual benefactor, as financier of the monument, could decorate their monument as they saw fit. Diogenes 2 and Diogenes 3, through both the epigraphic and decorative evidence associated with their benefaction were clearly represented as benefactors who responded to the growing influence of Rome in their city, whilst maintaining their own ideas, culture, and preferences. These responses further strengthen the need to acknowledge the complexities and lack of homogeneity when discussing the influence of Rome on the people of its provinces.

Further evidence that this space later functioned as a gymnasium comes from an inscription, found reused in the city walls to the north-west of the stadium. The honorific text to Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus is forty-six lines long, but the most relevant sections, lines 1-2, and 21-29, read:

> ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀφροδισιέων καὶ ἡ γερουσία
>
> Μᾶρ(κον) Οὔλ(πιον) Καρ(μίνιον) Κλαυδιανόν, ὑὸν Καρ(μινίου) Κλαυδιανοῦ
>
> …
>
> καὶ τὸ ἔργον δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς πλατείας ἔ-
>
> ξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους
>
> ἐκ θεμελίων μέχρι γείσους εὐτυχῶς γέγονε καὶ γε-
>
> νήσεται, καὶ ἐν τῷ Διογενιανῷ δὲ γυμνασίῳ ὁ ἐ-

> τέρων ἰδίων χρημάτων τὸ ἀλιπτ<ή>ριον, καὶ τὸν ἐνασι-
> λικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους μετὰ ἧς
> γυναικὸς Ἀπφίας <σ>κου<τ>λ<ώ>σαντα, καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα πάν-
> τα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας οἴκοεν
> κατεσκευακότα …

> The Council, the people of Aphrodisias, and the Gerousia have caused to be erected in their own monuments (a statue of) Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus, son of Carminius Claudianus … and this construction of the wide street has been carried out with good fortune and will continue (and be carried out) from both sides, from the beginning to the end, from the foundation to the cornices; and from other funds of his own (he constructed) the place of anointing in the Gymnasium of Diogenes and (he funded) together with his wife Apphia the covering with revetment plaques of the basilica which is inside as well as of the entrances and the exits; and (he also donated) all the statues and portrait statues which are in these building works…[703]

Claudianus was a member of a family from Attouda and one of Aphrodisias' most prominent benefactors in the period between *c.* A.D. 170 and 190. He was involved in several building projects including a place for anointing in a building called in line 24 'the Gymnasium of Diogenes'.[704] He and his wife also paid for the revetment plaques of a basilica, statues and a vault, the first of these at least appears to be inside what is referred to as the Gymnasium of Diogenes. The inscription was found reused in the city walls, so its context does not help with identifying the location of the gymnasium. What does help to locate these building projects is the reference to his construction of a *plateia* (πλατείας, line 21). Chaniotis and Pont translate πλατείας as "the wide street"[705] and "l'avenue"[706] respectively. However, these translations are not adequate when discussing the urban topography of Aphrodisias. Unlike Ephesus for example,

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[703] *CIG* 2782; Trans. Chaniotis 2008, 72-73.

[704] *CIG* 2782 ll. 24-25 "καὶ ἐν τῷ Διογενιανῷ δὲ γυμνασίῳ ὁ ἑτέρων ἰδίων χρημάτων τὸ ἀλιπτ<ή>ριον" de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 171-172.

[705] Chaniotis 2008, 72.

[706] Pont 2008b, 242.

Aphrodisias did not have wide colonnaded streets but instead two open spaces dominate the centre of the town, a long, thin one to the south of a squarer one to the north. The πλατείας in this inscription must refer to this southern colonnaded space. Given the basilica's location adjacent to this colonnaded space, "which is inside" could refer to them being joined, or that the basilica was situated on land that belonged to the Gymnasium of Diogenes.

Chaniotis suggests that the Gymnasium of Diogenes was named not after any of the first century A.D. individuals named Diogenes, but after the senator Lucius Antonius Claudius Diogenes Dometreinus in *c*. A.D. 175, who is known from two inscriptions. The first is on his sarcophagus:

> [--------------- τῆς ἐπιγρα]φῆς ἀποτεθεισθαι ἀντῖγραφ[ον εἰς τὸ]
>
> [χρεοφυλάκιον ἐπὶ στεφανφόρου Δομετε]ίνου Διογένους τὸ ζ' μηνὸς [---][-]
>
> …and let a copy of this inscription be deposited in the registry-office during the seventh stephanephorate of [Domete]inus Diogenes, in the month [-].[707]

The second was inscribed on what is thought to be a statue base found reused in the walls near the south-east gate, where he is described as εὐεργέτης and γυμνασίαρχον δι´ αἰῶνος.[708]

> αμ[·· c. 6 ··]
> [··]τεινον Διογέ-
> νην Ἀσίας ἀρχ-
> ιερῆ νομοθέ-
> την γυμνασί-
> αρχον δι´ αἰῶνος
> τὸν εὐεργέτην
> ἡ πατρίς scroll
> ἐπιμεληθεν-

[707] *PIR* II^2 193 C 851; Trans. Chaniotis 2004, 413.

[708] *CIG* 2777. N.B ll. 5-7.

τος τῆς ἀναστά-
σεως τοῦ ἀνδρι
αντος Ἡφαιστι-
ωνος β´ τοῦ Δη-
μητρίου τοῦ
πρωτολόγου ἄρ-
χοντος scroll leaf

> […]teinos Diogenes, *archiereus* of Asia, lawgiver, gymnasiarch, eternal benefactor, the fathers took (care of) the erection of the statue on the second day of Hephaistion of Demetrious the chief magistrate.[709]

Lucius Antonius Claudius Diogenes Dometreinus provided funds for the office of gymnasiarch in eternity.[710] This links him to a gymnasium more closely than the evidence associated with Diogenes 2. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that these funds were for a gymnasium that he constructed, only one with which he was involved in an official capacity. The word εὐεργέτην is present in the statue base inscription, but without more details, it is unclear as to whether he was called this because he built a gymnasium or because he provided funds for the gymnasiarch. Chaniotis suggests that the gymnasium should be located near the theatre on the grounds of the topographical locations of Claudianus' various projects and the fact that he built at the Gymnasium of Diogenes.[711] This is tenuous as benefactors did not always concentrate their building projects in one specific area of the city: the projects of Zoilus are in the northern, central, and southeast districts of Aphrodisias. Furthermore, our space is located only slightly further away from the theatre than the Theatre Baths, so determining an identification of the Gymnasium of Diogenes' based on the proximity of Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus' projects alone is not sufficient. A further flaw in Chaniotis' argument for the Theatre Baths being both the Gymnasium of Diogenes and named after Lucius Antonius Claudius Diogenes

[709] *CIG* 2777.

[710] Chaniotis 2008, 73 "γυμνασίαρχον δι´ αἰῶνος"

[711] Chaniotis 2008, 73.

Dometreinus in *c.* 175 A.D., is that the Theatre Baths were built in the early to mid-second century A.D. Chaniotis offers two possible explanations for these chronological discrepancies. He states at the time of Lucius Antonius Claudius Diogenes Dometreinus' foundation, either an existing building was re-named after him, or additional constructions were carried out at that time.[712] Either of these is plausible, but not supported by any epigraphic evidence; we only know that Lucius Antonius Claudius Diogenes Dometreinus was a gymnasiarch, not that he gave any money towards, or constructed, a specific gymnasium building.

Further evidence to support the theory that Diogenes 3 constructed a monument at Aphrodisias that was part of the Gymnasium of Diogenes is the following inscription:

ἡ βουλὴ καῖ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμῃσαν καὶ
μετῃλλαχοτα ταῖς μεγίστᾳι̣ς καὶ
καλλίσταις τείμαις Διογένην Μενάν-
δρου τοῦ Διογένους ἱερέα γενόμενον Θε-
ᾶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀμε-
ριμνίας γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ στεφα-
νηφορήσαντα καὶ ἱερεύσαντα τῶν Σεβασ-
τῶν ὑπερβαλλούσαις φιλοδοξίαις καὶ
πανδήμοις ἑστιάσε[σ]ιν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τε-
λέσαντα φιλοδόξως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ εὐσε-
βῶς [···]

The Council and the People honoured, even after his death, with the greatest and most splendid honours Diogenes son of Menandrus the son of Diogenes. He had been priest of the goddess Aphrodite and of the Securitas of the gods, the Augusti; he (acted as) gymnasiarch, stephanephorus and Priest of the Augusti with outstanding ambition and feasts for the whole people, and carried out the magistracies ambitiously, and the rest with piety [...][713]

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[712] Chaniotis 2008, 73.

[713] *IAph*2007 15.261. Trans. Reynolds, 2007.

Diogenes 3, honoured here posthumously, was obviously an influential member of Aphrodisian society praised by the *boule* and the *demos* for his dedication to his duty. Crucially, one of the official positions he held was gymnasiarch. The original location of this inscription is now unknown, but it would have been set up in a prominent place. Without further contextualisation Diogenes' 3 position as gymnasiarch does not provide any further proof that this space functioned as a gymnasium. Diogenes 3 was clearly involved in the running of a gymnasium, and if the inscription mentioned by de Chaisemartin and Lemaire does state that Diogenes 3 built the East Gate, it is not completely unfounded to suggest that he became the gymnasiarch of a gymnasium which he helped to construct. Had this been the case, the Gymnasium of Diogenes was the name of the gymnasium established by the early second century A.D in the now completely enclosed southern colonnaded space in the centre of Aphrodisias. It was named after the gymnasiarch Diogenes 3 who had completed the final stage of the complex's construction, and his grandfather, Diogenes 2, who had begun construction in the area. Its dimensions, the presence here of a swimming pool large enough that a running track two *stadia* in length could fit around it, a feasible location for an indoor running track, iconography appropriate for a gymnasium setting and the discovery of training weapons all suggest that this was the purpose of this area. It was added to over time, particularly the modifications to the West Stoa to incorporate the Baths of Hadrian, and those of Marcus Ulpius Carminius Claudianus.

The identification of the southern colonnaded space at Aphrodisias as the Gymnasium of Diogenes known from later epigraphic evidence locates one of the twelve "lost" buildings outlined in Chaniotis' study. More pertinently for this thesis however, ascribing the Portico of Tiberius and the East Gate to a gymnasium indicates far more about the influence of Rome, and how architectural benefactors represented this influence through their buildings, than if they were part of an agora or a monumental square. Elements of a Gymnasium were dedicated to members of the Imperial family. This is a different practice to honouring the Emperors with a statue in a Gymnasium, which would have been the natural progression from honouring the Hellenistic kings in the same way. Gymnasia were not dedicated to the Hellenistic kings, so the dedication of elements of the Gymnasium of Diogenes to members of the Imperial family Roman Emperor represents local benefactors' acceptance of Roman rule and respect for them. Furthermore, the initial swimming pool, and eventually, the Baths of

Hadrian testify to the gradual influence and uptake of Roman exercise and bathing practices in this area of Aphrodisias in the first and second centuries A.D., facilitated by local elite architectural benefactors.

Smith has offered the main arguments against this space being a gymnasium.[714] He acknowledges that, seen in isolation, the gymnasium hypothesis is attractive, but the idea becomes more problematic in the wider urban context. Smith claims that a gymnasium would barely tolerate the levels of through-traffic that the plan of the city seemed to imply. Furthermore, a gymnasium was a more private space than, for example, an agora and, in theory at least, could be closed off. Smith argues that this space in Aphrodisias was a public one, with at least five entrances and formed part of a North-South thoroughfare through the city centre at several points. At first sight, Smith's argument is convincing, but when compared to evidence from elsewhere, his view seems to be guided by the modern assumption that a gymnasium should be cut off from the rest of the city around it. Evidence to refute Smith is Strabo's description of Nicaea:

> "The city is sixteen stadia in circuit and is quadrangular in shape; it is situated in a plain and has four gates; and its streets are cut at right angles, so that the four gates can be seen from one stone which is set up in the middle of the gymnasium."[715]

As the four gates of the city were visible from the centre of the gymnasium at Nicaea, it could not have been a completely enclosed space, and must have allowed the possibility of through-traffic. The Gymnasium of Diogenes, with its five separate entrances, would have allowed a level of through-traffic moving from the basilica to the south, the theatre to the southeast, the Sebasteion to the east, later the baths to the west, northwards into the agora towards the Temple of Aphrodite and the stadium. In a similar way, the Italic *campus* was also not an entirely enclosed, private space. The following text from Aletrium describes many benefactions made by a L. Betilienus Varus in the late Republican period[716]:

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[714] Smith 2016.

[715] Strab. 12.4.7.

[716] Devijver and van Wonterghem 1981, 38.

L. Betilienus L.f. Vaarus

haec quae infera scripta

sonta de sentatu sententia

facienda coiravit: semitas

in oppido (sic) omnis, porticum qua

in arcem eitur, campum ubei

ludunt, horologium, macelum,

basilicam calecandam, seedes,

(l)acum balinearium, lacum ad

(p)ortam, aquam in opidum adqu. (sc. adqu(e)

arduom pedes CCCXI, fornicesq(ue)

fecit, fistulas soledas fecit,

Ob hasce res censorum fecere bis,

senatus filio stipendia mereta

esse iousit, populusque statuam

donavit Censorino.

Lucius Betilienus Varus, son of Lucius, by a vote of the Senate superintended the construction of the works which are recorded below: all the street-paths in the town; the colonnade along which people walk to the stronghold; a playing-field; a sun-dial; a meat-market; the liming of the town-hall; seats; a bathing-pool; he constructed a reservoir by the gate; an aqueduct about 340 feet long leading into the city and to the height; also the arches and good sound water-pipes. In reward for these works the Senate and people made him censor twice; the Senate ordered that his son be exempt from military service; and the people bestowed the gift of a statue on him over the title of Censorinus.[717]

[717] *CIL* I^2 1529; Trans. E. H. Warmington, 1940.

Devijver and van Wonterghem note that the phrase *campum ubei ludunt* indicates that this *campus* was part of the public spaces of Aletrium. This space, they argue, had a more general usage than one that was simply designated a *campus.* This was a space not only for sports and training but also for recreation, socialising and playing games.[718] A further argument for the gymnasium being an accessible place within the city is the presence, by the late Hellenistic period, of large numbers of honorific statues within them. Ma states that the gymnasium was one of the most important sites within the city for the display of honorific statues.[719] The presence of honorific statues of people whose benefactions were to the city, rather than the gymnasium itself, such as three surviving examples from Messene[720] suggests that the general population must have had some degree of access to the gymnasium, to allow the statue to be seen and the benefactor honoured accordingly. It would make little sense to erect statues in gymnasia of benefactors who had no connection to the establishment if only the users of the gymnasium could see them. This space in Aphrodisias, open to the public, could easily have functioned as a space for both private, formal training and public, informal recreation.

In his 1996 article on the subject Smith makes a second, and much less convincing point against this space functioning as a gymnasium. He notes the designation of the Portico of Tiberius as merely ἡ στοὰ, ‘the stoa’ rather than something more indicative, and argues that this very generic name implies that it was more likely to be one side of a public space rather than a wing of a gymnasium. He also points out several features of the space that are more akin to a public civic space, such as the gate and the text of Diocletian’s Price Edict, which was carved onto the façade of the Basilica entrance. Smith concluded that the space was a second monumental square, equipped with lavish marble architecture, an ornate gate, and a magnificent pool, all very stylish, but useless.[721] This argument does not stand up to scrutiny. There are not many names that one could call the Portico of Tiberius other than ἡ στοὰ, especially as it was the first part of a longer-term project. The presence of Diocletian’s Price Edict hardly influenced the use of the space in the first and second centuries A.D., so this cannot

[718] Devijver and van Wonterghem 1981, 38.

[719] Ma 2013, 90.

[720] *SEG* 41 347; 46 423; 47 399.

[721] Smith 1996, 49.

be used as evidence against this being a gymnasium. Similarly, the presence of a monumental gateway does not prevent this space functioning as a gymnasium, as both in the eastern and western empire spaces for training were open enough for public usage. This area, despite its generic name and civic architecture, was an important, functioning space, designed to cater for the needs of a changing and developing provincial city, rather than being just a matter of style over substance.

A third point against this space acting as a gymnasium is the presence of what has been identified as the Civil Basilica in the south-west corner of the space. In his extensive study of this building, despite the lack of definitive epigraphic evidence, Stinson states that it was definitely a basilica, not the building constructed by Carminius Claudianus at the Gymnasium of Diogenes, whose name is usually restores as *embasilikos* or *oikobasilikos.*[722] Dedicated to either Titus or Domitian[723] the Civil Basilica was part of the extensive building regime which took place in the area to the south of the Agora between the reigns of Tiberius and Hadrian. It is an unusual monument in many ways, not least because it is built longitudinally in relation to the open space, rather than latitudinally.[724] If, as Smith and Stinson suggest, this space to the south of the Agora was a public one, then the ideal location for the Civil Basilica would have been along its southern edge. This arrangement would have been more in keeping with basilicas in Rome and elsewhere in Italy and the only earlier known example from the province, the Basilica Stoa at Ephesus. The decision to build the Basilica longitudinally may be explained by the presence of another building along the south side.

There are both architectural and sculptural similarities between the Civil Basilica and the Portico of Tiberius, including the use of the Ionic order of the primary colonnades and a mask-and-garland frieze. The latter is located inside the Civil Basilica, which Stinson remarks is an unusual feature.[725] However, in terms of its three-aisled plan, the central aisle being wider than the outer two, and the elevation, its roof was higher

[722] Stinson 2016, 6-8.

[723] *IAph2007* 6.2 fragment m [·· ? ··] *v.* ἀνείκῃ[το·· ? ··] Stinson 2016, 16 interprets the letters on this fragment as the word ἀνείκητοος (unconquered or invincible). This term is usually used to refer to either Domitian or Titus.

[724] Stinson 2016, 2.

[725] Stinson 2016, 3

over the central aisle, the Civil Basilica more closely resembles the Basilica Stoa at Ephesus.[726] The Civil Basilica's North Façade is the grander of the two entrances, which would suggest that this was designed to be the main entrance.[727] This is the entrance from the space to the south of the North Agora. This richly decorated façade, consisting of Corinthian half columns, high-quality decorative moulding and entablature, and a probable mask-and-garland frieze[728] would have been the ideal location to place the main dedicatory inscription. The use of a variety of decorative elements, some in keeping with the buildings around it and others that were different to the space suggest that the benefactors were working alongside the other benefactors in the area, but had some independent influence over the design of their building.

The presence of the Civil Basilica bordering on a space that could be identified as the Gymnasium of Diogenes would perhaps be unexcepted. It must be noted that both the Civil Basilica and the space to the south of the Agora are unusual features for cities in first century A.D. Asia Minor. Without significant numbers of comparanda for either basilicas, gymnasia with pools, or public squares with pools in Asia Minor at this time, it is very difficult to rule out the possibility that a basilica and a space for gymnasium activities could not co-exist in this part of Aphrodisias. One surviving piece of evidence that could be used to suggest that two very different activities took place inside the Civil Basilica and outside in the square to its north is the location of the dedicatory inscription. The Civil Basilica's dedicatory inscription is located inside the building alongside the east colonnade[729] as opposed to above one of the two entrances. The benefactors chose to spell out the function of the building and their involvement in its construction, in the space where these activities took place as opposed to outside in a space where unrelated activities may have taken place. Furthermore, the decision to locate the dedicatory inscription inside the Civil Basilica may have been a conscious decision to not encroach on the other buildings surrounding it. Had the inscription been on the North Façade i.e. outside of the Civil Basilica, it would have been inside another space with a potentially very different function.

[726] Stinson 2016, 72; 88.

[727] Stinson 2016, 2.

[728] Stinson 2016, 21-23

[729] Stinson 2016, 16-19.

Throughout his study, Stinson refers to how the Civil Basilica was located off the 'south agora' and was designed to function as a thoroughfare between it and the rest of the city.[730] Further excavation undertaken in the area since Smith's 1996 article confirms that this space was certainly not a second agora.[731] If the space to the south of the agora did house the Gymnasium of Diogenes, the Civil Basilica's function as a thoroughfare into the agora that Stinson argues for still can be explained by the surviving archaeology. During sessions when training was taking place, rather than foot traffic from the south heading straight across the space into the North Stoa and then into the agora, it could have been funnelled through the West Stoa, as there is a doorway at its north end which led into the porticoes of the agora. Any traffic entering the space through the East Gate could enter the Civil Basilica by walking the length of the South Stoa. As seen at Nicaea, gymnasia did not have to be completely enclosed spaces, and there are workable solutions that would allow for the movement of people from the Civil Basilica into the agora, and from the East Gate to the Civil Basilica, that both corroborate the archaeological evidence for wear on the steps due to foot traffic, and allow training to continue undisturbed.

The confirmation that the space to the south of the agora was not a second agora has also resulted in the presentation of a further argument against this space functioning as a gymnasium. Whilst Smith refers to the area as "a great urban park with tree plantings,"[732] Wilson is far more specific about the function of this space. During the 2012 excavation season, evidence was found between the north edge of the pool and the Portico of Tiberius of what Wilson has interpreted as two paralleling planting beds, with a space *c.* 3.5 metres wide between them.[733] One trench was 1.1-1.3 metres wide, the other 1.65 metres wide. He also refers to the finding of a fragment of palm leaf in the fill at the bottom of the central pool.[734] Wilson places so much emphasis on these rather speculative pieces of evidence because they potentially corroborate an

[730] Stinson 2016, 2; 88.

[731] Smith 2016.

[732] Smith 2016, 13.

[733] Wilson 2016a, 130.

[734] Wilson 2016a, 130.

inscription found on the East Gate. The text dates from the late fifth or early sixth century[735] and reads:

> ἴδμονι θεσμοσύνης γλυκερῷ γενετῆρι τιθήνης |
> Ἀμπελίῳ Νύμφαι χάριν ἴσχομεν οὕνεκα θάμβος |
> χώρῳ φυνικόεντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ὤπασε κάλλος |
> ὄφρα καὶ ἡμετέροις τις ἐν ὕδασιν ὄμμα τιταίνων |
> αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ χῶρον ὁμοῦ Νύμφας τε λιγαίνοι. |
> Τραλλιανὸς ῥητὴρ τάδ' ἐγράψατο Πυθιόδωρος
>
> "To Ampelius, learned in law, sweet father of his motherland, we Nymphs are grateful, because he gave wonder and splendid beauty to (this) place of palms, so that anyone who, among our waters, turns his glance around, may always sing the praise both of him, and of the place, and of the Nymphs as well. Pythiodorus, the speaker from Tralles, wrote this."[736]

Wilson combines the planting trenches, the fragment of palm, the presence of a pool where nymphs may have lived, and this inscription to argue that the 'south agora' was the "place of palms" described in the inscription.[737] Whereas the text implies that there was a place in Late Antique Aphrodisias with water and palm trees, the actual archaeological evidence is far less convincing. If, as Wilson implies, these palm trees were right next to the central pool, and when considered alongside the waterlogged conditions found in this area of Aphrodisias, more than one fragment of palm leaf would have expected to have been preserved in the pool. It could have been blown or brought in from almost anywhere. As for the planting trenches, the evidence for these are also speculative, as, if indeed they were planting trenches, they could have had anything planted in them. If they were planting trenches they would have been backfilled almost immediately after the plants were added, so the fill material will be consistent and lack any stratigraphy. There are two distinct layers of each trench, the upper layer consists of compacted light brownish-pink sandy soil with crushed brick dust, tile and stone fragments and animal bones, while the lower layer consisted of

[735] Wilson 2016a, 129.

[736] *IAph*2007 4.202.i.

[737] Wilson 2016a, 130.

large bricks, stones and animal bones.[738] Whilst Wilson interprets the make-up of these trenches as an attempt to create a free-draining environment more suitable for growing trees than the surrounding, poorly draining natural clay, the quantity of material in the trenches makes one wonder how conducive the environment was for a large tree to thrive in. On a similar note, these trenches are only 0.45 metres deep. If Mark Robinson's analysis of the plant remains from the pool is correct, and the palm leaf came from a Cretan date palm,[739] these trenches seem to be rather shallow to contain the root system of a grove of palm trees. Trenches *c.* 1-1.65 metres wide x 0.45 metres deep would have been enough to plant a Cretan date palm. As the trees grew, their root system would have spread far wider and deeper than these initial boundaries, and in doing so, breaking down the original sides of the cut feature, and spreading the infill out into the surrounding natural clay. The definition of these trenches are still clear features in the trench, so it seems unlikely that something as large as a Cretan date palm were planted it in. It seems more likely that these trenches were dug either side of an unpaved path, filled with more porous material than the surrounding areas to deal with any run-off and to aid drainage in the area.

Palm groves did exist elsewhere in Asia Minor, and were associated with public buildings. One example is mentioned in a text dating from *c.* A.D. 124 from Smyrna. The text is a list of people who donated to several building projects in the city and reads:

[—].Ρ̣Ι̣Α̣Σ̣
δὲ ̣τὸ δ΄?, [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐ]άρεστος τὸ ς΄,
ἐφ' οὗ στρατηγοῦντος ὑπέσχοντο
οἵδε· Κλ(αύδιος) Βάσσος ἀγωνοθέτης
Νεμέσεων στρώσειν τὴν βασι-
λικήν· Φοῦσκος ἔργον ποιήσειν
<μυ> (ριάδων) ζ΄· Χερσίφρων ἀσιάρχης τοὺς
κήπους εἰς τὸν φοινεικῶνα·

738 Wilson, Russell, and Ward 2016, 78.

739 Robinson 2016, 99.

Λούκιος Πομπήϊος εἰς τὸν φοι- νεικῶνα <μυ> (ριάδας) ε´· Λούκιος Βηστεῖνος τὴν βασιλικὴν στρώσειν τ<ὴν> πρὸς τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ χαλ- κᾶς τὰς θύρας ποιήσειν· ❦ Σμάραγδος πρύτανις ναὸν Τύχης κατασκευάσειν ἐν τῷ φοινεικῶ- νι· Κλαυδιανὸς πρύτανις χρυσώ- σειν τὸν ὄροφον τοῦ ἀλιπτηρίου τῆς γερουσίας καὶ ΟΙ εἰς τὸν χα- ριστήριον νεὼ κείονα σὺν σπει- ροκεφάλῳ· Νυμφιδία ἀρχιέρεια, Κλ(αυδία) Ἀρτέμυλλα, Κλ(αυδία) Πῶλλα, ❦ Κλαυδία Νεικήτου, Θευδιανὸς στεφανηφόρος β´, Φλ(αουία) Ἀσκληπιακή, Εἰσίδωρος σοφιστής, Ἀντωνία Μάγνα, Κλ(αυδία) Ἀρίστιον, Ἀλβιδία Μάγνα <μυ> (ριάδα) α´· Κλ(αυδία) Ἡδεῖα <μυ>(ριάδα) α´· Κλ(αυδία) Χάρις <μυ>(ριάδα) α´· Κλ(αυδία) Λεόντιον <μυ>(ριάδα) α´· Κλ(αυδία) Ἀυρηλία κείονας Κυμβελλείτας σὺν σπειροκεφάλοις εἰς τὸν φοινει- κῶνα νβ´· οἵ ποτε Ἰουδαῖοι <μυ>(ριάδα) α´· Μητρόδωρος Νεικάνορος <ΔΙΚ̣ΗΝΟΣ> εἰς τὸν φοινεικῶνα ͵ζφ´· Μούρδιος Καικιλιανὸς <μυ> (ριάδας) β´· καὶ ὅσα ἐπετύ- χομεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Ἁδριανοῦ διὰ Ἀντωνίου Πολέμω-

νος· δεύτερον δόγμα συνκλήτου,
καθ’ ὃ δὶς νεωκόροι γεγόναμεν·
ἀγῶνα̣ ἱ̣ε⌊ρ⌋όν, ἀτέλειαν, θεολόγους,
ὑ̣μνῳδούς, μυ̣⌊ρ⌋ιάδας ἑκατὸν
πεντήκοντα, κείονας εἰς τὸ
ἀλειπτήριον Συνναδί⌊ους οβ´,
Νουμεδικοὺς κ´, πορφυρείτας ς´·
κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἡλιοκά-
μεινος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ὑπὸ Σέξτου
ἀρχιερέως.[740]

… during Euarestus’ (?) sixth time in overseeing the temple, when he was serving as commander, they promised the following: Claudius Bassos, director of contests of the festival of Nemesis, to pave the basilica; Fuscus to do work worth seventy thousand denarii; Chersiphron the Asiarch to contribute towards the gardens in the palm grove; Lucius Pompeius to contribute fifty thousand towards the palm grove; Lucius Vestinus to pave the basilica which is near the Council’s meeting place and to have the bronze door made; Smaragdus the civic president to have the temple of Tyche built in the palm–grove; Claudianus the civic president to gild the roof of the place of anointing in the elders’ gymnasium and to provide the columns along with the bases and capitals for the thank–offering in the temple; Nymphidia the high priestess, Claudia Artemulla, Claudia Polla, Claudia daughter of Neiketes, Theudianus the crown–bearer for the second time, Flavia Asklepiake, Isidorus the sophist, Antonia Magna, Claudia Aristion, and Albidia Magna to contribute ten thousand; Claudia Hedeia to contribute ten thousand; Claudia Charis to contribute ten thousand; Claudia Leontion to contribute ten thousand; Claudia Aurelia to contribute fifty two towards the kymbellitic marble columns along with the bases and capitals in the palm–grove; those formerly from Judea to contribute ten thousand; Metrodorus son of Neikanor to contribute seven

[740] *ISmyrna* 697.

> thousand five hundred towards the palm–grove; and, Murdius Caecilianus to contribute twenty thousand.
>
> Also, because of Antonius Polemon, we were successful in gaining from lord Caesar Hadrian a second senatorial decree in which we have become twice temple–warden, as well as a sacred contest, immunity, theologians, hymn–singers, 1,500,000 denarii, and columns for the place of anointing, including seventy–two made from Synnadian marble, twenty from Numidian stone, and six from purple stone. And the sun–room in the gymnasium was supplied by Sextus the high–priest.[741]

The four projects that these benefactors contributed to are a basilica, a temple, a palm grove, and the elders' gymnasium. It states that only the Temple of Tyche was to be located within the palm grove specifically. The presence of a palm grove does not preclude the construction of public monuments within it in Smyrna, but a temple is a much more suitable building to be housed in a tree-lined space than a gymnasium. The palm grove at Smyrna appears to function as an enclosure itself whereas, if Smith and Wilson were correct, the Aphrodisian palm grove would have been enclosed, rather than functioning as an enclosure. Furthermore, whilst the same group of people can contemporaneously give funds for both a gymnasium and a palm grove, they are clearly separate projects, located near to each other, but the former did not encroach on the latter. Despite the assertions made by the most recent excavators of the site, the evidence for a palm grove located anywhere in Aphrodisias prior to the late fifth century A.D. is very tenuous. From the available epigraphic and archaeological evidence, the most likely scenario seems to be that Diogenes 2 built the earliest phase of the complex, the Portico of Tiberius, other benefactors contributed to the west and south sides of the complex, and then the space was enclosed by the benefaction of the East Gate by Diogenes' 2 grandson, Diogenes 3. This space was used as a gymnasium and would have been known as The Gymnasium of Diogenes after two of its principal benefactors.

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741 Trans. P. Harland. www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=1441. Last accessed 28/8/2017.

4.3.4 The South and West Stoas

Later in the first century A.D., other benefactors set about enclosing the space to the south of the Portico of Tiberius. The absence of a gymnasium of any kind prior to this date in Aphrodisias was probably the driving factor behind this project. The fact that the *natatio* was included in the construction of the gymnasium, a feature more akin to a Roman Baths, implies a move towards a Roman-style complex. However, even if this project resulted from the necessity, or the desire, to have a gymnasium in this area, the dedicatory inscriptions still suggest that even benefactions of this nature still had other driving factors. The West and South Stoas of the space were almost certainly contemporary due to the comparable levels of their stylobates which differ from that of the North.[742] They may have belonged to a single phase of construction. The epigraphic evidence for both stoas is also inconclusive. An architrave inscription, found fallen between the sixth and seventh columns of the South Stoa reads:

> v. Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Π | [··? ··]
> vv. Ἀντίπατρος πριμοπειλάριος συ| [ν·· ? ··]
>
> To the deified Emperor Caesar Augustus…
> Antipatrus *primipilaris…*[743]

The find spot, relatively close to both the West and South Stoas means that it could have come from either of them. The text can also only be dated relatively to the first or second century A.D., based on the letter forms and terminology. The only building dedications that can be solidly attributed to the West Stoa are from later restorations and alterations, as attested in inscriptions on columns from the early sixth century, which celebrate Albinus' building of the stoa.[744] Antipatrus, known from the architrave inscription, may be the same *primipilaris* M. Cocceius Antipatrus Ulpianus, known from a text inscribed on another marble architrave block found in the arena of the stadium directly in front of the east tunnel.[745] He could have been either the original

[742] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 157-158.

[743] *IAph*2007 4.3.

[744] *IAph*2007. 4.21. 1; de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 155-156.

[745] Reynolds 1980, 78; *SEG* 54 1027: [- -] Μ̣ᾶρκος Κοκκήιος Οὐλπ̣ια̣ν̣[ό]ς̣.

benefactor of either stoa; but, as he was thought be have lived in the second century A.D., the inscription could have commemorated alterations made to the West Stoa during the construction of the Baths of Hadrian behind it.[746] In his study of the Civil Basilica, Stinson suggests that the South Stoa in its current form was not built until the Late Antique period, citing the use of spolia, including a piece of the Basilica in its stylobate, and the an architrave inscription that suggests new construction rather than reuse.[747] The text, which on prosopographic grounds could date from as late as the fifth or sixth century A.D. reads:

> *cross* Φίλιππος Ἡροδιαν(οῦ) ὁ θαυμ(ασιώτατος) εὐχαριστῶν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πατρίδι τὰ β´ διάχορα ἐσκέπασεν *cross*
>
> Philippos, son of Herodianos, *admirandissimus*, returning thanks to his own fatherland, covered (i.e. ?roofed) the two sections.[748]

The text shows that, like at the West Stoa, there was building work occurring in the area over the course of many centuries. But, even when combined with the extensive use of spolia, this text does not prove that the South Stoa was a new construction in the Late Antique period. The relative heights of the stylobates of the West and South Stoas suggest that there was an earlier Stoa there, which could have completely collapsed, perhaps in an earthquake of sufficient magnitude to cause damage to the stylobate. The Basilica would also have been damaged, so spolia from it could have easily been reused. Stinson argues that the main purpose of the South Stoa was to mask the now crumbling façade of the Flavian Basilica which has begun to fall out of use by the fifth century A.D.[749]. The West Stoa was certainly modified to incorporate the later Baths of Hadrian behind it, so it can be speculated that an earlier South Stoa, the original terminating before the façade of the Civil Basilica, was also modified to extend over the entrance to the Civil Basilica in Late Antiquity. If it was in ruins at the time, this would have been all the easier. Without any further epigraphic evidence Philip, son of Herodian's work to roof/reroof a small section of the South Stoa proves

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[746] de Chaisemartin and Lemaire 1996, 155-156.

[747] Stinson 2016, 82; 85

[748] *IAph2007* 4.19. Trans. Roueché

[749] Stinson 2016, 85.

only that there was building work still occurring in the area in Late Antiquity, rather than dating the original construction of the South Stoa to the Late Antique period.

Without the availability of the necessary evidence to date or attribute an original benefactor to either monument, it can be speculated that these porticoes were built perhaps by a relative of Diogenes 2 and Diogenes 3, the latter's father Menandrus is a plausible candidate. Alternatively, the benefactors may have been members of another elite family. If the whole complex was originally built by several generations of the same family, and all the dedications resembled those of the Portico of Tiberius, the family would have been represented not only as supportive of the Imperial family but also as prominent members of Aphrodisian society.

If Reynolds' identification of the benefactor as the *primipilaris* M. Cocceius Antipatrus Ulpanius is correct, then this Roman citizen with a position in the military is a different kind of benefactor from Diogenes 2. M. Cocceius Antipatrus Ulpanius may have been a military veteran, settled in Aphrodisias, rather than someone who was born in the city. As a possible outsider, his motivation behind building a stoa may have been to gain status and influence in Aphrodisias, but as a Roman his primary dedicatee was the emperor.

The architectural benefactions made in the central spaces of the city from the reign of Tiberius onwards indicate the continued influence of Rome on provincial architectural benefaction. The construction of the South Stoa of the North Agora completed a project, begun by a Roman citizen, to create a fully enclosed central civic space reminiscent of Italian fora. The Portico of Tiberius was the first structural element of what became another enclosed space in the city but was originally a stand-alone honorific monument to the divine Augustus and living members of the Imperial family. Whilst its architectural features are not overtly innovative, innovation and introduction of new practices is evident in the dedicatory inscription. The inscription has elements of both Greek and Roman dedications, and the differences between the two styles are further emphasised by the *vacats* dividing them. The combination, but at the same time, distinction between the two different forms of dedication emphasise that changes were occurring because of interactions with Rome, but that these practices were not completely integrated. Diogenes 2, as a local, incorporated Roman ideas into his own locality, and that these different traditions could happily co-exist without assimilation. Diogenes 2 has no demonstrable connections to Rome, but regardless of where he encountered Roman ideas, techniques, and dedicatory rhetoric, he obviously adopted and adapted them to fit his own needs and place in time and space. The Gymnasium of Diogenes, which was the eventual purpose of the southern enclosed space within Aphrodisias, was a testament to the incorporation of Roman architectural and cultural elements into a local space. The combination of a *natatio* and a running track indicates two different traditions of training of youths, athletes, and soldiers. The unpaved Portico of Tiberius could have contained an indoor running track to allow exercise to take place in bad weather, as Vitruvius suggests. The frieze portraits that decorated the porticoes all represent either ideals of Hellenic culture or figures from Greek history. Seen alongside the Imperial portraits and dedications to living and deified Emperors, the iconography would have given the youths of Aphrodisias ideals from two cultures that they could aspire to. The East Gate, which finally enclosed the space, arguably displayed the most overtly Roman architectural features. Built to resemble a *scaenae frons,* a feature more usually associated with Roman theatre buildings, shows innovation in architectural design and an attempt to incorporate unfamiliar ideas into a familiar context. A propylon, or even a gate modelled on the triumphal arches which were beginning to appear across the provinces, would have been a more expected monument in such a context at that time. The combination of the Hellenistic frieze portraits and the Imperial statues, like the dedication on the Portico of Tiberius, indicate the co-existence of Hellenistic and Roman cultural practices. Even in the mid-second century A.D., when the final touches to the East Gate were added, local cultures had not been replaced by, or assimilated into, Roman culture. The addition of the Baths complex to the west of the space in the Hadrianic period, the final construction phase, would have incorporated further elements of Roman cultural and exercise practices into Aphrodisias, a trend which began with the construction of the *natatio.* From the complex's earliest phase in the reign of Tiberius to its final in the early Antonine period, Roman and local architectural features worked side by side, emphasising the growing influence of Rome on the provinces, but without usurping or compromising provincial artistic, architectural, or dedicatory practices.

The patchy epigraphic publication record has blighted the analysis of this complex, so for all bar one of the complex's dedications, comment cannot be made upon how each benefactor was represented through this medium. By completing a project begun by a

Roman to enclose the city's central civic space in a manner akin to such spaces in Rome and Italy, Diogenes 2 was likely to have been favourable to aspects of Roman culture, most obviously, practices of spatial management. His construction of the Portico of Tiberius and the dedication of it to living and dead members of the Imperial family corroborates this. However, by taking the opportunity to celebrate his and probably other members of his family's achievements too, the text is damaged at this point, Diogenes 2 emphasises his local citizenship and identity as Zoilus had done elsewhere in the city. Despite this obvious attempt to incorporate Roman cultural practices into Aphrodisias, Diogenes' 2 use of decorative Hellenistic masks and royal portraiture emphasises his Greek heritage, citizenship, and identity. Diogenes' 2 grandson, Diogenes 3 built the most overtly Roman side of the complex. With its appearance reminiscent of a *scaenae frons*, the East Gate could only be viewed as something different and Roman, particularly when both propyla and monumental gates modelled on honorific arches already existed in the province. The decision to place such a monument in this context was a unique piece of innovation on Diogenes 3 and his architects' part, adapting the Roman *scaenae frons* and using it in a context where a propylon would have been more expected. The placing of a Roman feature into the Aphrodisian landscape emphasises Diogenes' 3 acceptance of Roman architectural traditions. Like his grandfather, Diogenes 3 also combined Greek and Roman iconography in his monument, which would have not only represented both the multi-cultural nature of the monument, but also Greek Diogenes' 3 place in, and interactions with, the Roman world. As far as surviving evidence allows us to ascertain, neither Diogenes had Roman citizenship or any known political or economic connection to Rome, but their architectural benefactions at least conspicuously celebrate Roman power. However, at the same time, these benefactors are also staunchly local and promoted themselves in the centre of Aphrodisias alongside the Imperial family.

If the Portico of Tiberius dedicated by Diogenes 2 and the gate completed by his grandson enclosed, as I have argued here, the Gymnasium of Diogenes, this reveals more about both the representation of local benefactors in relation to both Aphrodisias and Rome. Their gymnasium did not only celebrate explicitly Greek social practices and values, but was dedicated to, and, with the additions of Diogenes 3, would also include statues of, Roman Emperors. The family were represented as clearly favourable to Rome and the Emperors, whilst also celebrating and representing their Greek heritage and identity. Furthermore, the buildings and dedications of Diogenes 2 already indicate an increased influence of Rome and changes in the representation of benefactors accordingly since the time of Zoilus. Whilst the Roman citizen Zoilus barely even acknowledged his Roman identity or relationship with the Imperial family after he returned to Aphrodisias, let alone honour them through his monuments, Diogenes 2, who had neither citizenship nor demonstrable connections to Rome, honoured them.

4.4. The Temple of Aphrodite

The marble Temple of Aphrodite was dedicated by Zoilus in the 30s B.C. Whilst the dedicatory inscription suggests that Zoilus was the monument's only benefactor, other inscriptions surviving from the temple indicate that at some point in its life, other benefactors were involved in constructing elements of it. Six column dedications[750] and a dedication of a marble architrave have survived.[751] The column dedications date to the early first century A.D., whilst the architrave can only be dated relatively to the Julio-Claudian period. The inscription from the north portico of the Sebasteion states that an earthquake damaged it during its construction.[752] If the Temple of Aphrodite also suffered a similar degree of damage this would explain why so many new columns and architrave were required relatively soon after the temple was initially constructed. This is supported by the fact that Attalus and Attalis Apphion dedicated columns at the Temple of Aphrodite and, as will be discussed below, built at the Sebasteion before and after an earthquake. Other interpretations for these columns are offered by Reynolds who suggests either that the work may have been one long phase of building, beginning with Zoilus, or at some point the temple had been destroyed or desecrated

[750] *IAph*2007 1.4-9.

[751] *IAph*2007 1.102; almost certainly relate to the dedication of parts of the temple in subsequent phases of construction. Ten texts, recorded as "panel fragments" may also be associated with dedications of architectural elements, but are in too poor a state of preservation to ascertain this. *IAph*2007 1.113 and 1.115, an inscribed revetment and paving slab respectively, may also be the remains of building dedications.

[752] See below for detailed discussion of the construction of the Sebasteion.

by Labienus' army.[753] However, the most likely scenario is that an earthquake damaged both the Sebasteion and the Temple of Aphrodite.

Of the six columns whose dedication survive, two were given by Attalus, son of Menandrus and his wife, Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menecrates. The first fluted white marble column was from the north colonnade; it has fallen so its exact original location is unknown. The letters measuring 0.025-0.03 metres are inscribed inside *tabula ansata*, 0.745 metres wide and 0.465 metres high. The text reads:

Ἄτταλος Με-
νάνδρου τοῦ
Ἀττάλου καὶ
Ἀτταλὶς Μενεκρά-
τους Ἄπφιον οἱ ἱε-
ρεῖς τῆς Ἀφροδεί-
της θεᾷ Ἀφροδεί-
τῃ καὶ τῷ Δήμωι

Attalus son of Menandrus the son of Attalus, and Attalis Apphion daughter of Menecrates, priests of Aphrodite, for the goddess Aphrodite and the People.[754]

[753] Reynolds 1990, 39.

[754] *IAph*2007 1.7.

Figure 42: Surviving remains of *IAph2007* 1.7. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias

The text can only be dated relatively to the early first century based on studies of the palaeography, context, and prosopography. Palaeography alone is not an accurate method of dating inscriptions, due to the diversity of letter forms across the Greek speaking world,[755] but some diagnostic observations can be made. The pi has an elongated right hasta, and apices appear on many letters, including the tops of the alphas (though those on the bottom are less pronounced), the deltas and the lambdas. The former began to occur in the first century B.C., whilst the latter began to occur in the first century A.D. The alphas in particular are splayed and squat, not elongated as became the norm during the first two centuries A.D. [756] The second text has been reconstructed from three fluted white column fragments measuring: 0.30 metres wide × 0.30 metres high × 0.14 metres deep; 0.28 metres wide × 0.80 metres high × 0.40 metres deep and 0.27 metres wide × 0.36 metres high × 0.29 metres deep. Like the

[755] McLean 2002, 43.

[756] For a brief overview of dating Greek inscriptions using letter forms see McLean 2002, 40-50.

first text it was inscribed inside a *tabula ansata*, and the letters measure 0.03-0.035 metres, though the style of the letters suggests that this text is slightly later than the first, more akin to examples from the mid-first century A.D. The apices are far more pronounced in this text, particularly on the base of the alphas and the upsilons are far more curved, a practice which began in the first century A.D. and became more common in the second century A.D.[757] The text is more fragmentary than the first, surviving in three pieces, but it is thought to be identical to it. It has been reconstructed as follows:

Ἄτταλος Μεν-

ἄνδρ̣ου τοῦ Ἀτ-

τ̣άλ̣ου καὶ Ἀττα-

λὶς Μ̣ενεκρά [τους]

Ἄπφιον οἱ [ἱερ]εῖς

τῆς Ἀφροδείτης

θ̣εᾷ Ἀφροδείτ̣η *v.*

[καὶ τῷ Δήμωι] *vac.*

Attalus son of Menandrus the son of Attalus, and Attalis Apphion daughter of Menecrates, priests of Aphrodite, for the goddess Aphrodite and the People.[758]

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[757] McLean 2002, 41.

[758] *IAph*2007 1.8.

Figure 43: The three surviving fragments of *IAph2007* 1.8. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

These inscriptions are similar in structure to the earlier Aphrodisian inscriptions from Zoilus' monuments, the main differences being the inclusion of patronymics, and the absence of the specific details of the benefaction here; the obviousness that they had given this column explains the latter. Despite the brevity of the text, there is something to be said about how Attalus and Attalis Apphion are represented though their dedication. Through the listing of both their patronymics and their priesthoods, they were presented as being rooted, publicly and privately, into the Aphrodisian locality. Although their known contribution to the Temple of Aphrodite, two columns, is relatively modest in comparison with their other building projects,[759] their involvement in the Temple of Aphrodite cannot be seen in isolation but must be linked to the rest of their work in Aphrodisias. In addition to being priestess of Aphrodite, Attalis Apphion was also a high priestess, as attested in the following inscription, found on a marble statue base:

> [Ἀ]τ̣τ̣α̣λ̣ί̣δα Μενεκράτ[ους]
>
> τ̣οῦ Ἄνδρωνος Ἄπφιο[ν]
>
> ἀ̣ρχιέρειαν καὶ ἱέρειαν
>
> Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menecrates, son of Andronus
>
> High priestess and priestess.[760]

---

[759] Pont 2008a, 185.

[760] Reynolds 1981, text 3; *IAph*2007 15.260.

Figure 44: Statue base for the Attalis Apphion, high priestess and priestess. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

Reynolds suggests that the priesthood, ἱέρειαν, refers to the one of Aphrodite that Attalis Apphion shared with her husband, whilst the high priesthood, ἀρχιέρειαν, must be a high priesthood of the Imperial cult.[761] There are no other epigraphic attestations of Attalis Apphion's high priesthood, so it is now impossible to ascertain whether she also held this high priesthood alongside her husband, or whether she contributed to the building of the Sebasteion before or after she was granted her high priesthood. The Sebasteion was a monument dedicated to the Imperial family, whereas the Temple of Aphrodite was a local, Greek monument. Despite being constructed long after the area came under Roman jurisdiction and influence, the Temple of Aphrodite retains architectural and decorative features characteristic of monuments from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, rather than those more closely associated with Rome.

Attalus and Attalis Appion are not the only couple who gave columns to the Temple of Aphrodite. Eumachus Diogenes and his wife Ammias Olympias dedicated three

[761] Reynolds 1981, 320.

from the north colonnade, the fourth, seventh, and ninth columns from the west. The texts read:

Εὔμαχος Ἀθηναγό-
ρου τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου
τοῦ Εὐμάχου Διογένη-
ς Φιλόκαισαρ καὶ Ἀμιὰς v.
Διονυσίου φύσι δὲ Ἀδρά<σ>του
τοῦ Μόλωνος Ὀλυνπιὰς
τὸν κίονα θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ
καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ vacat

Eumachus Diogenes son of Athenagoras the son of Athenagoras the son of Eumachus, Friend of Caesar, and Amias Olympias, daughter of Dionysius, by birth of Adrastus, the son of Molon (dedicated) the column to the goddess Aphrodite and the People.[762]

Figure 45: Surviving remains of *IAph2007* 1.4. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

[762] *IAph*2007 1.4. - Seventh column from the west end of north colonnade.

Εὔμαχος Ἀθηνα-
γόρου τοῦ Ἀθηναγό-
ρου τοῦ Εὐμάχου Δι-
ογένης Φιλόκαισαρ
καὶ Ἀμμιὰς Διονυσί-
ου φύσι δὲ Ἀδράστου
τοῦ Μόλωνος Ὀλυν-
πιὰς τὸν κίονα θεᾷ
Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τῷ
vac. Δήμῳ vac.

Eumachus Diogenes son of Athenagoras the son of Athenagoras the son of Eumachus, Friend of Caesar, and Ammias Olympias, daughter of Dionysius, by birth daughter of Adrastus the son of Molon (dedicated) the column to the goddess Aphrodite and the People.[763]

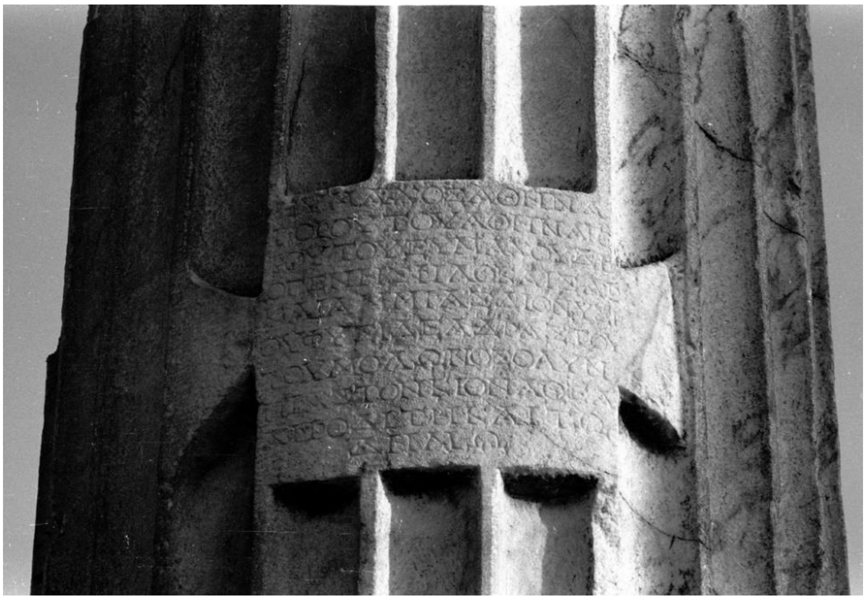

Figure 46: Surviving remains of *IAph2007* 1.5. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

[763] *IAph*2007 1.5. - Ninth column from the west of the north colonnade.

Εὔμαχος Ἀθηναγό-
ρου τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου
τοῦ Εὐμάχου Διογε-
{γέ}νης Φιλόκαισαρ καὶ
(sic) Ἀμιὰς Διονυσίου φύσι
δὲ Ἀδράστου τοῦ Μό-
λω<ν>ος Ὀλυ<ν>πιὰς τὸν κί-
ονα θεᾷ Ἀφροδίτῃ {τὸν}
{κίονα} καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ

Eumachus Diogenes son of Athenagoras the son of Athenagoras the son of Eumachus, Friend of Caesar, and Ammias Olympias, daughter of Dionysius, by birth daughter of Adrastus the son of Molon (dedicated) the column to the goddess Aphrodite and the People.[764]

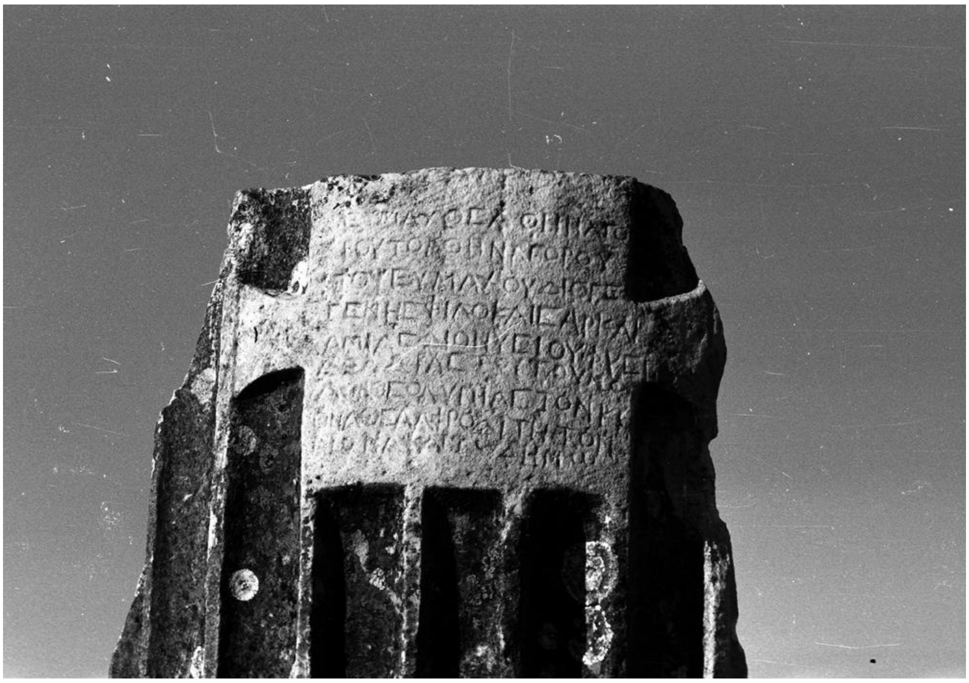

Figure 47: Surviving remains of *IAph2007* 1.6. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

[764] *IAph*2007 1.6. - Fourth column from the west of the north colonnade.

It is clear from the texts from the three columns that they were all given by the same benefactors, presumably as part of a single donation to the temple. However, a study of the palaeography of the three texts indicates that the texts were not all carved at the same time. The letter forms of *IAph*2007 1.4., shown in Figure 45, are the earliest and are comparable to other texts from Aphrodisias which date from the late Republican and early Augustan period.[765] The arrangement of the words is untidy in places with odd line breaks, the letter heights range between 2-3 centimetres and lack uniformity. The incisions are deep, letters such as alpha, lambda and mu are angular, the rhos have small legs, and the omegas are oval. Serifs are small on all the letters. There are also a number of spelling mistakes, a mu is missing from Ammias and a sigma from Adrastus.[766] The text that seems to have been carved next is *IAph*2007 1.5. The text is arranged more neatly than *IAph*2007 1.4 and the spelling mistakes have been rectified. The letter sizes are more even, ranging from 2.5-2.75 centimetres, and are squarer and more regular than before, and the omegas are round rather than oval. The serifs on the letters here are much more pronounced and more deeply carved. All these features are common to texts from Aphrodisias dated to the late 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., but do not feature in those attributed to the Augustan period.[767] A comparable text to *IAph*2007 1.5 was found reused at the temple, but had been originally part of a gymnasium:

> [·· ? ··αὐ]|τοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τρ[α | ϊα]νῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστ|ῷ καὶ τ[·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ··] | τὸ γυμνάσιον τῶν νέων καὶ ΤỌ[·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ··]ΙΟ[·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ·· Ν] | εικοτείμου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ζήνωνος | [·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ·· το]|ῦ Μενάνδρου ṭ|[οῦ ·· ? ··]
>
> To the emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus [·· ? ··] the gymnasium of the Young Men and the [·· ? ··] son of Nikotimos son of Artemidoros son of Zenon [·· ? ··] son of Menandros.[768]

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765 Graham 2017, 371.

766 Graham 2017, 370-372.

767 Graham 2017, 370; 373-374.

768 *IAph*2007 1.174. Trans. Reynolds 2007.

Figure 48: One surviving fragment of *IAph2007* 1.174. Note the similarity in letter forms to *IAph2007* 1.5. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

The square, regularly carved letters, deep serifs, and rounded omegas present in both *IAph*2007 1.5 and *IAph*2007 1.174 suggest that the former may have been re-carved during the Hadrianic period.[769] The letter forms of the third column dedication, *IAph*2007 1.6, differ again. The first three lines are the same as *IAph*2007 1.4, and Adrastus is spelled correctly, but there are new spelling errors throughout, including duplicating two letters of Diogenes, missing nus in both Molon and Olympias and repeating "the column" in lines 9 and 10. Ammias is also spelled incorrectly here too. Unlike the other two dedications, there are no spaces or decorations to distinguish sections of the text and this, combined with the use of lunate omegas and sigmas suggest a Late Antique date for the re-carving of this third text.[770] The apparent need and desire to re-carve a dedication made over 300 years earlier at the Temple of Aphrodite implies both the continued importance of the cult within a now Christian Empire and the commemoration and representation of long-dead benefactors through the medium of architecture.

[769] Graham 2017, 374.

[770] Graham 2017, 375-6; Graham suggests a date sometime between an earthquake in A.D. 359 and the conversion of the temple into a church after A.D. 450.

Like Attalus and Attalis Appion's, Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias' inscriptions include extensive patronymics, including details of Ammias Olympias' adoption, presenting them as rooted within elite Aphrodisian society. However, unlike Attalus and Attalis Appion, there is no evidence that Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias held priesthoods of Aphrodite. Their apparent lack of involvement with the temple or the cult of Aphrodite raises the question of their right to carry out the work that they did. If these column dedications were part of reconstruction work at the temple, perhaps after an earthquake, then Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias, as members of the Aphrodisian elite, may simply have been called upon to contribute to the restorations. However, Eumachus Diogenes was not presented here as an ordinary citizen of Aphrodisias. He is described as Φιλόκαισαρ, friend of Caesar. If this was an epithet one had to be 'entitled to,' rather than a self-professed claim of love for the emperor, it would imply that Eumachus Diogenes had personal relationship with the Imperial family or had demonstrated loyalty and devotion to the Emperor. The presence of this epithet here on a civic, as opposed to an Imperial temple, seems incongruous. Had the epithet been φιλοπάτριδος, lover of the homeland, it would explain why Eumachus Diogenes carried out the work he did in his home city's sanctuary. Comparing these texts with those of Zoilus, whose included titles differ depending on the context of the inscription, one would expect to see Φιλόκαισαρ on a monument dedicated to the emperor. However, the relationship between a benefactor called Φιλόκαισαρ and the Temple of Aphrodite can be explained by relating the honorand of the building with the honorand of the epithet. To be a lover of Caesar was to also be a lover of his dynasty's founding goddess Venus/Aphrodite. These associations were made clear in the art and literature from the Augustan period onwards, and provincial architectural benefactors like Eumachus Diogenes were also keen to emphasise this link and represent their understanding of this affiliation. His love for the emperor could have given him the authority to carry out the work at the Temple of the patron deity of the Imperial house. By including this epithet Eumachus Diogenes' links to both his city and the wider Roman Empire were represented through his architectural benefactions. His three, known, column dedications may have been a relatively small benefaction in comparison with the rest of the Julio-Claudian benefactors discussed in this chapter, but despite this, he was no less represented through this medium than the others.

All the column dedications were inscribed inside *tabula ansata*. Originally a Greek concept, they originated from late Archaic inscribed votive plaques with handles which allowed them to be hung up without the nails damaging the text.[771] The carved form, a frame designed to isolate an inscription from a busy background (in this case, column flutes) to increase legibility and treat the text as a separate entity, first became popular under Rome.[772] However, by then the *tabula ansata* had lost its links to votive practices and had become a general commemorative frame for a variety of texts.[773] In addition to framing texts on columns, *tabula ansata* have been found framing mosaic inscriptions, on sarcophagi and epitaphs. Comparable examples of temple column dedications that were inscribed upon the columns themselves and within *tabula ansata* have been found at the Temple of Apollo at Hierapolis, dating from the reign of Tiberius,[774] and the Hadrianic Temple of Zeus at Euromus.[775] The inscribing of column dedications in this manner also appears in other contexts across Asia Minor, such as in a bath complex at Didyma,[776] in funerary contexts at Etenna,[777] Sagalassus,[778] and Hamaxia,[779] and in the agora at Philadelphia.[780] The use of *tabula ansata* by the column benefactors at the Temple of Aphrodisias warrants consideration as to how they were presented. Using *tabula ansata* made the dedication as clear as it could be on a column. Furthermore, they did so in a manner that would have been most expected in a Roman context at this time, not in a Greek context. Comparison must be made to a seventh column dedication from the Temple of Aphrodite. This text is thought to be much earlier than the Julio-Claudian ones. It is highly fragmentary, but reads:

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771 Leatherbury 2018, 384.

772 Leatherbury 2018, 381-382; 385.

773 Leatherbury 2018, 387.

774 *SEG* 62 1195.

775 *CIG* 2713; 2714.

776 *SEG* 30 1294

777 *SEG* 42 1217.

778 *SEG* 50 1322.

779 *SEG* 48 1764.

780 *SEG* 40 1057.

[·· ? ··]ẸNOY τὸν κίọ[να ·· ? ··]

[·· ? ·· ?son of] —enos, the column...[781]

The most striking difference between this column dedication and the Julio-Claudian ones is where on the column it was located. As seen in Figure 49 below, this earlier text was not inscribed in *tabula ansata,* but on the base of the column.

Figure 49: Hellenistic column dedication, inscribed upon the base. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

The non-specific Hellenistic date for this inscription could mean that it is contemporary with Zoilus' involvement at the temple, or that it came from a pre-Zoilus construction phase. Regardless of the date of the column, the location of the dedication tells us much about how the now unknown benefactor was represented. Attalus and Attalis, and Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias' column dedications, carved high on the column and framed clearly and neatly in *tabula ansata,* would have been easily seen and were designed to represent and honour both Aphrodite and the demos and the benefactors. The Hellenistic text carved far below the eyeline served a far less celebratory role. It would have identified the benefactor and their work, recognising their contribution to the building, but its purpose was not to represent and honour them.

[781] *IAph*2007 1.9; Trans. Reynolds 2007.

This change in practice can be attributed to the impact of Rome on the province. The increased oligarchising of provincial society under Roman rule created the necessary conditions for such elite competition and benefactions in the first century A.D. were used to gain prestige for themselves. This contrasts with the general practice of the Hellenistic period, when architectural benefaction was part of civic duty and expected of those who could afford to contribute.

Inscribing dedications inside *tabula ansata,* and the implications this had for how benefactors were represented, is the clearest indication from the Temple of Aphrodite of the influence that Roman rule had on the city. Despite the use of Roman epigraphic techniques to represent their work, there was still variation in how the benefactors of the columns were presented, in relation to both their home town and the Roman Empire. Attalus and Attalis Apphion were represented here as local Greeks, dedicating their columns to local honorands only, whilst emphasising their own roles as priests of Aphrodite. There is no mention of Rome or any connection with Rome. This can be interpreted in many ways. Firstly, the erection of these columns took place prior to their interest and involvement in the construction of the Sebasteion, so there would not have been an Imperial cult centre where they could have been priest. The dating of this benefaction to before the work on the Sebasteion explains why Attalus appears to be alive here and deceased when the Sebasteion was completed. Secondly, as was seen with Zoilus' monumental dedications, benefactors could be represented differently in different contexts. Attalus and Attalis Apphion may have considered it inappropriate to emphasise their associations with the Imperial cult at the Temple of Aphrodite, if they were established when this text was inscribed. Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias were represented differently from Attalus and Attalis Apphion. The inscription details Ammias Olympias' adoption, giving her biological father's patronymics but only her adopted father's name. Whilst the adoption of males was a common practice amongst Roman elites and carried out primarily with succession in mind, adoption of females was a more unusual practice. Why, and when, Dionysius adopted Ammias Olympias is unknown but she, Eumachus Diogenes, or both, were as keen to stress Ammias Olympias' connection to Adrastus and Molon as her connection to Dionysius. By expounding Ammias Olympias' pre- and post-adoptive relations, the family placed emphasis on the fact that they were engaged in a similar process of establishing familial relations or succession as the Imperial family had done contemporarily to them.

The most obvious indication that these benefactors were represented as being connected to or at least supportive of Rome was that Eumachus Diogenes was called "friend of Caesar." If *philokaisar* were a title bestowed on a person then Eumachus would have performed some deed either in honour, or on behalf, of the Emperor. If his honourable actions were aimed at a wider authority, a more generic epithet such as *philorhomanoi* would have been used. In Eumachus Diogenes' two dedications, the verb is absent, entitled has been inserted by the editors. If *philokaisar* was not a formerly given title, Eumachus Diogenes may have used the opportunity presented by donating to the reconstruction of the Temple of Aphrodite to display his favourability towards the Emperor. This self-professed love and loyalty of the Emperor would be a stronger representation of how elite members of provincial society wanted to be seen in relation to the Roman Imperial system than a title given to them by Rome. Despite Eumachus Diogenes' profession of love for the Emperor, neither of his column dedications are to the Emperor. Instead, he and Ammias Olympias retain the local practice of dedicating to Aphrodite and the city. Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias, although willing to be openly more outward looking than the rest of the benefactors at the Temple of Aphrodite, dedicate their benefaction in the only way appropriate for its context. Eumachus Diogenes and Ammias Olympias represented themselves as pro-Roman, but also as Aphrodisians who respected their local traditions and continued to uphold the sanctity of their local deity in the face of socio-cultural change brought about because of interactions between themselves and Roman citizens, culture, and practices.

4.5 The Sebasteion

The Sebasteion was a site of significant importance for the practice of the Imperial cult in Aphrodisias. Its construction began during the reign of Tiberius and was finished during the reign of Nero.[782] Constructed by two Aphrodisian families, the complex is located to the east of the city centre and is misaligned in relation to the rest of the city grid. It consisted of a propylon, two porticoes which flank a processional

[782] Burrell, 2004, 314.

avenue 90 metres long and 14 metres wide, and a cult temple.[783] Each element is discussed in this order rather than chronologically as this is the way a visitor to the Sebasteion in antiquity would have seen it as they moved through the space. A discussion in this manner will also aid an understanding of the representation of the benefactors. The family of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes were responsible for building the cult temple and the South Portico.[784] The Propylon and the North Portico were begun by Eusebes and Menandrus and completed by Eusebes' wife Apphias with her daughters and grandsons. Evidence from the remains of the complex show that the two halves of the project were undertaken by separate architects and workshops, to two different designs and programmes.[785] Smith notes several features of the complex that would have been considered innovative or unusual for a sanctuary. It is unclear whether initially the porticoes were designed to fulfil a practical purpose or if they were there simply for show.[786] The placing of a temple in a colonnaded court was already common practice in the Hellenistic period. Whilst Greek temples were generally set in the middle of the sanctuaries, where the Sebasteion differed was that the colonnaded area had been narrowed to act more like a processional way, drawing the visitor's attention to the temple at the end. Whilst some Hellenistic building complexes had a similar effect, for example, the agora at Assus and perhaps the theatre terrace at Pergamon, these grew organically, whilst the Sebasteion was a deliberate creation of this effect in a single, designed complex. This effect is also seen in the two Imperial *fora* at Rome that had been built by this time, those of Caesar and Augustus, where in each case the temple is placed axially at the end of symmetrical flanking porticoes in a single integrated complex.[787] Aphrodisias, unlike many other cities in Asia Minor, did not have a great architectural past, and there is little evidence for large-scale Hellenistic structures on which builders in the early Imperial period could draw on for inspiration. Smith states that this, and the city's connection with, and favourability towards, Rome, would explain its features.[788] These features can also be

[783] Smith 2013, 1.

[784] Pont 2008a, 185.

[785] Smith 2013, 30.

[786] Smith 1987, 95.

[787] Smith 1987, 93.

[788] Smith 1987, 94; 2013, 3.3

explained by how architectural benefactors and the relationship between themselves their city and Rome were represented through their buildings.

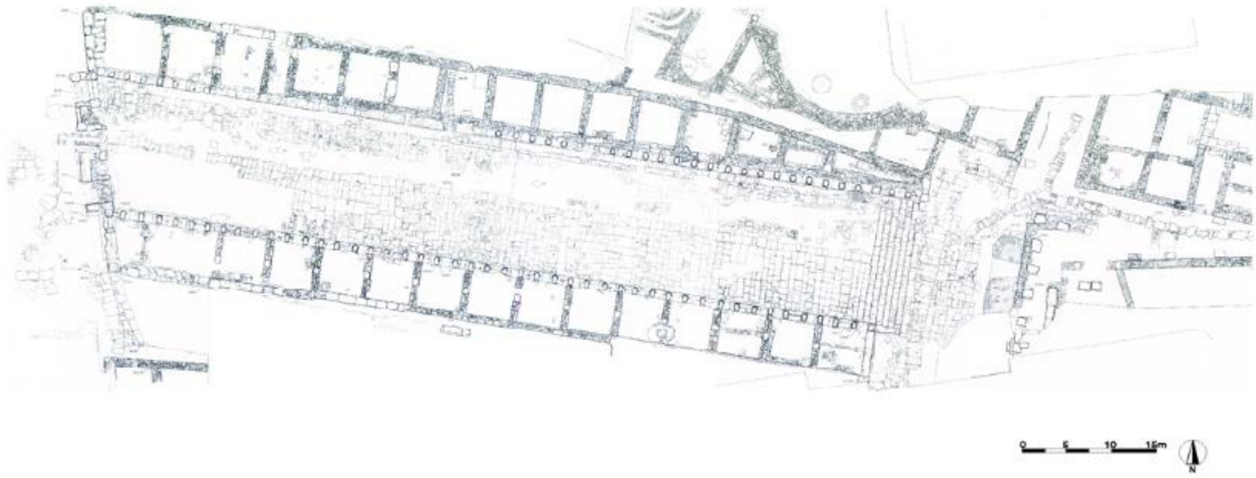

Figure 50: Plan of the Sebasteion (Smith 2013, 8)

4.5.1 The Propylon.

Entry into the Sebasteion complex was through the propylon. The propylon belongs to the earliest, most likely Tiberian,[789] phase of its design and combines features typical of both *skene* and propylon architecture. It was two-storeyed, with superimposed Ionic and Corinthian orders, and was designed to be double-sided; the east and west façades were equally monumental.[790] The absence of a back wall and bays distinguishes the propylon from other city gates and triumphal arches of this period such as the Porta Borsari in Verona or the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate at Ephesus.[791] Smith notes a number of similarities between the façade of the Sebasteion propylon and the stage building at the theatre of Aphrodisias, including projecting aediculae on podia, superimposed orders, broken, flat-topped pediments, and heraldic eagles. Furthermore, the style and craftsmanship displayed throughout the theatre stage building and the Sebasteion suggests that the same workshop, or workshops, were involved in both monuments.[792] The heraldic eagles have been interpreted as

[789] de Chaisemartin 2006, 34-35: The propylon certainly dates prior to the South Portico as the last mask on the south side of the entablature was cut to allow for the portico’s south west pilaster.

[790] Smith 2013, 26.

[791] de Chaisemartin 2006, 35.39

[792] Smith 2013, 26; 28.

having both Ptolemaic influences – similar eagles were found holding up the roof of the Tent of Ptolemy II – and, when seen alongside the dedication to the deified Augustus and his successors, as an evocation of Augustus' apotheosis.[793]

On the west side of the propylon is a frieze of large frontal masks in high relief.[794] De Chaisemartin sees comparable elements between this element of the Sebasteion propylon and another monument in Aphrodisias; the Portico of Tiberius. Both feature such friezes, a decorative element which was comparatively rare in Julio-Claudian architectural contexts.[795] Whilst there are some similarities between the subjects of the two sets of masks, images of Dionysus and Hermes appear in both sets for example,[796] those from the propylon differ in style from those from the Portico of Tiberius. The masks from the Portico of Tiberius on the whole are designed to look like portraits of real people, whilst the majority of those from the propylon are far more mask-like and lack in realism.[797] However, there are cases where the masks from the propylon are similarly worked to those on the portico of Tiberius, including some on the same block as ones that are mask-like and stylised. De Chaisemartin has interpreted this as evidence for the craftsman of the Portico of Tiberius assisting a colleague on the Sebasteion propylon.[798] Smith also notes a large-scale transfer of forms of components such as capitals, entablatures and profiles, of moulding patterns and of marble carving technology from Zoilus' theatre stage to the Sebasteion.[799] De Chaisemartin also notes how the lateral projections of the entablature and the half pediments of the Propylon recall the theatre stage.[800] Smith suggests that the workshop that was created for Zoilus' monuments, particularly the theatre stage, went on to work on the Augustan phases of the Temple of Aphrodite, the Portico of Tiberius and then the Sebasteion. The Sebasteion borrows from the theatre stage not only its unusual façade but also the precise and sensitive, late Hellenistic manner in which the motifs and decorations were

[793] de Chaisemartin 2006, 39; 70-71; 81.

[794] Smith 2013, 15.

[795] de Chaisemartin 2006, 34.

[796] For a detailed catalogue of all the mask-types that appear on the Sebasteion propylon, see de Chaisemartin 2006, 41-51.

[797] de Chaisemartin 2006, 40.

[798] de Chaisemartin 2006, 79.

[799] Smith 2013, 28.

[800] De Chaisemartin 2006, 36.

carved.[801] The similarities between the architectural and decorative features of these early Imperial buildings at Aphrodisias suggest a degree of cohesion in the planning and developing of the central spaces of the city. The same workshop may have created all these monuments, but it is clear from the involvement of sculptors working in different styles on the Propylon that there was scope for variety within the projects. The combination of innovation and older techniques and features shows the local elites' attempts to incorporate Roman practices into their own local context, whilst maintaining traditional elements of the cityscape.

The Propylon carried two inscriptions, one on the outside, one on the inside. The external inscription was divided across the architrave of the lower, Ionic order of the North and South *aediculae*[802] as follows:

North

> Ἀφροδίτηι Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς v. τῶι δήμῳ τὸ πρόπυλον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῶι τιμὰς

South

> [Εὐσ̣]έβης Φιλόπατρις vac. καὶ Μένανδρος [Μεν]άνδρου τοῦ Εὐνίκου καὶ [᾿Α]πφιὰς Μ[ενά̣]νδρου

North

> To Aphrodite, Divi Augusti and the *demos*, the propylon and the honorary statues.

South

> Eusebes *philopatris* and Menander sons of Menander, the son of Eunicus and Apphias daughter of Menander.[803]

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[801] Smith 2013, 28.

[802] Smith 2013, 15.

[803] Text and translation Graham 2018, 288.

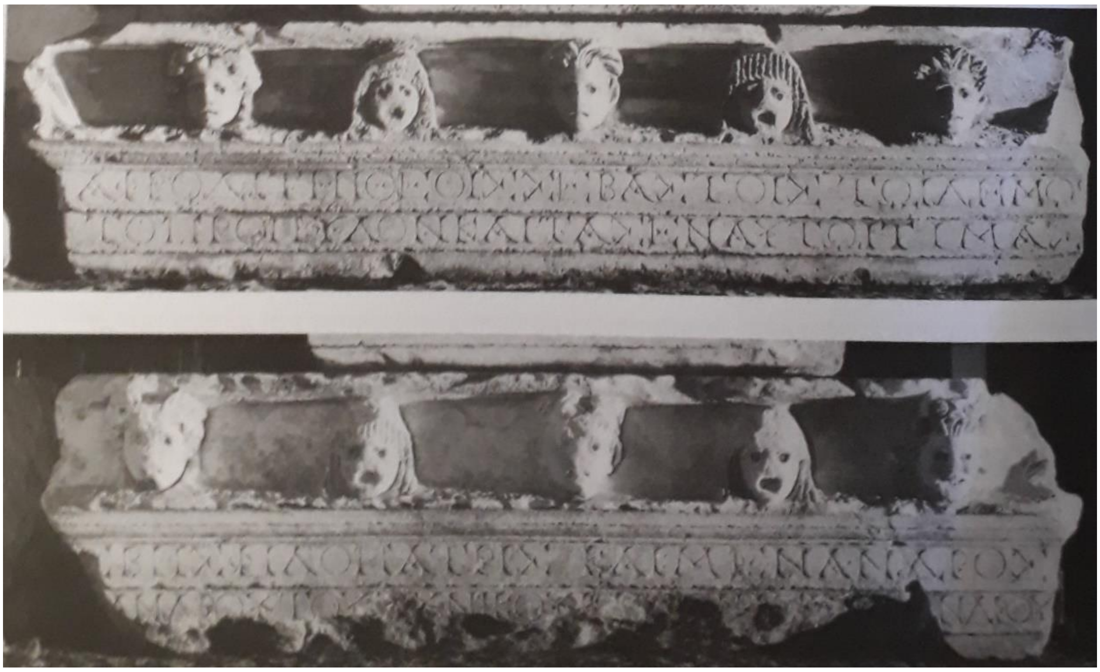

Figure 51 Surviving remains of the external dedication of the Sebasteion Propylon (Graham 2018, 288)

The layout of the external text of the Sebasteion propylon bears some resemblance to the Latin text from the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate at Ephesus. Both texts were bisected, with the North *aedicula* designed to be read before the South. However, unlike at Ephesus, there was no continuous bottom line spanning the *aediculae*. Here, the benefactors are separated from those in receipt of the honour, whilst Mazaeus and Mithridates appear together with the Imperial honorands on their gate. As discussed in Chapter 3, whilst Eck and Burrell see the layout of Mazaeus and Mithridates' text as a measure to ensure they were recognised and honoured for their work alongside their Imperial patrons, the complete separation between honorands and benefactors on the Sebasteion propylon gives a different message. Here, the honorands and the form that the honours took, were separated from those honouring them. Aphrodite, the Imperial family, and the *demos* of Aphrodisias are the ones who are receiving the honours, whilst Eusebes, Menander and Apphias were the ones who brought about the honours.

The internal propylon dedication is set out differently from the external text and was designed to be read as one continuous text:

> vacat Ἀφροδίτ]ηι [v?] Θεοῖς Σ[εβ]α[στ]οῖς stop τῶι δήμῳ stop τὸ πρόπυλον stop καὶ τάς ἐν αὐτῶι τιμὰ[ς vacat]

[vacat] Εὐσέβης Φιλό[π]ατρις star καὶ Μένανδρος οἱ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Εὐνίκου stop καὶ Ἀπφιὰς Μενάνδρου γ[υν]ὴ Εὐσεβοῦς

To Aphrodite, the *Divi Augusti,* and the *demos,* the *propylon* and the honorary statues (were set up by) Eusebes *philopatris* and Menander, sons of Menander, the son of Eunicus and Apphias, the daughter of Menander, wife of Eusebes.[804]

Figure 52: Surviving remains of the interior dedication of the Sebasteion propylon. (Graham 2018, 285)

Here, honorands and benefactors were not separated, but presented alongside each other. Of the two texts, this is the one that would have been less obvious to a viewer; having viewed the external text and walked through the propylon, one would have to turn around to read this text. Although identical in terms of content, the two texts from the propylon represent two different relationships between the benefactors and their honorands. The external text marks the honorands out as worthy of the benefactions

[804] Text and translation Graham 2018, 286-287

and honours that they received, whilst the internal text places honorand, gift and benefactors all on the same level, with both parties worthy of honour. This was not accidental,[805] and provides further evidence for the variations in how benefactors used buildings and associated epigraphy to not only express the influence of Rome in provincial contexts, but also to represent their relationship to both Rome and Aphrodisias.

The propylon's decoration includes statues of many of the Julio-Claudian family, placed on bases within the niches of the aedicular façade on its western side, facing the agora.[806] Some of these portraits are of those that one would have expected to be there, such as Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Drusus the Younger, and Agrippina the Younger, but there are some unexpected inclusions such as Tiberius Claudius Drusus, Claudius' first-born son, who died when very young.[807] Statues of Aeneas and Aphrodite were also located there.[808] The inscription from the statue of Aphrodite is particularly interesting as she is called the mother of the Augustan gods:[809:]

> Ἀφροδίτην
>
> Προμήτορα
>
> v. θεῶν v.
>
> Σεβαστῶν
>
> (Statue of) Aphrodite, the first mother of the gods, the Augusti.[810]

---

[805] Graham 2018, 287-288

[806] Erim 1986, 111.

[807] For the full list of the members of the Imperial family included on the propylon of the Sebasteion, described as "a rather odd selection of princes and princesses" see Reynolds 1986, 112.

[808] Erim 1986, 111; Smith 1987, 95

[809] Erim 1986, 111 translates Προμήτορα θεῶν Σεβαστῶν as "ancestral mother of the divine Augusti."

[810] *IAph*2007 9.34. Trans. and commentary Roueché and Bodard 2007.

Figure 53: Statue base for Aphrodite from the propylon of the Sebasteion (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

This text not only emphasises the diagnostic link between Aphrodite and the Roman Emperors but also positions the Romans Emperors on a par with the goddess. The cults of Aphrodite and the Imperial family were of equal importance at Aphrodisias by the mid- to late-Julio-Claudian period. Unlike Tiberius Claudius Diogenes' family, we do not know if any members of this family were involved in either building the Temple of Aphrodite, or whether they held priesthoods, but the inclusion of this statue of Aphrodite is a clear association between the local and the Imperial cult. The attempts to link the local and Imperial cult architecturally at the Sebasteion, reflects the linking of the two more generally in the religious life of Aphrodisias. Benefactors involved at both temples held priesthoods of both cults. These were not separate religions in the modern sense, but the two cults were accepted and practised alongside each other. As descendants of their patron goddess, to honour the Julio-Claudians in the same way would have naturally progressed from honouring Aphrodite. The Sebasteion propylon has been described as "conveying complex relationships between

Gods, Emperors and local dynasties,"[811] and the benefactor's use of epigraphy and iconography to associate themselves with both the Imperial family and Aphrodisias and its patron deity was a deliberate measure to gain prestige and honour from both parties. As will be discussed in more detail below, the two major sanctuaries at Aphrodisias were linked not only by the benefactors involved but also through iconography and the strengthening of the relationship between the two honorands.

4.5.2 The North Portico

The inscription from the North Portico shows that it was built by the same family who built the Propylon, but more members were involved over a greater period:

> [?Ἀφροδίτῃ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς Ὀλυνπίοις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ] | star Εὐσέβης φιλό[πατρις καὶ Μένα]ν̣δρος οἱ Μ | ενάν[δρου τοῦ Εὐνί]κου [καὶ Ἀπ] | φίας Μενάν[δρου γυνὴ Εὐσε]βοῦς stop ἀνέθη̣[κ]α̣ν ἐκ τῶ | ν ἰδ[ίων] star ὑπὸ σεισ̣[μῶ]ν δ[ὲ κατενεχθέντα καὶ ἀχρηω]θέν|[τ]α πά[λ]ιν ἐκ τῶν ἰ|δίων stop Ἀπφίας v. σὺν | καὶ Τάτα̣ τῇ θυγα|τρὶ v. καὶ Μενάνδρῳ | κ[α]ὶ Εὐσεβεῖ τοῖς ἐγ|γόνοις τελέσασα | ἀποκαθέστησεν | vac.
>
> [For Aphrodite, for the gods Augusti Olympians, for the People]: Eusebes (entitled) lover of his country, and Menandrus, the sons of Menandrus the son of Eunicus, and Apphias daughter of Menandrus, [wife of] Eusebes set (this) up at their own expense. After it was thrown down and made useless by earthquakes, again at their own expense Apphias completed and set it up again, in company with Tata, her daughter, and Menandrus and Eusebes her grandsons.[812]

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[811] Graham 2018, 2.

[812] *IAph*2007 9.1. Trans. and commentary Reynolds 2007.

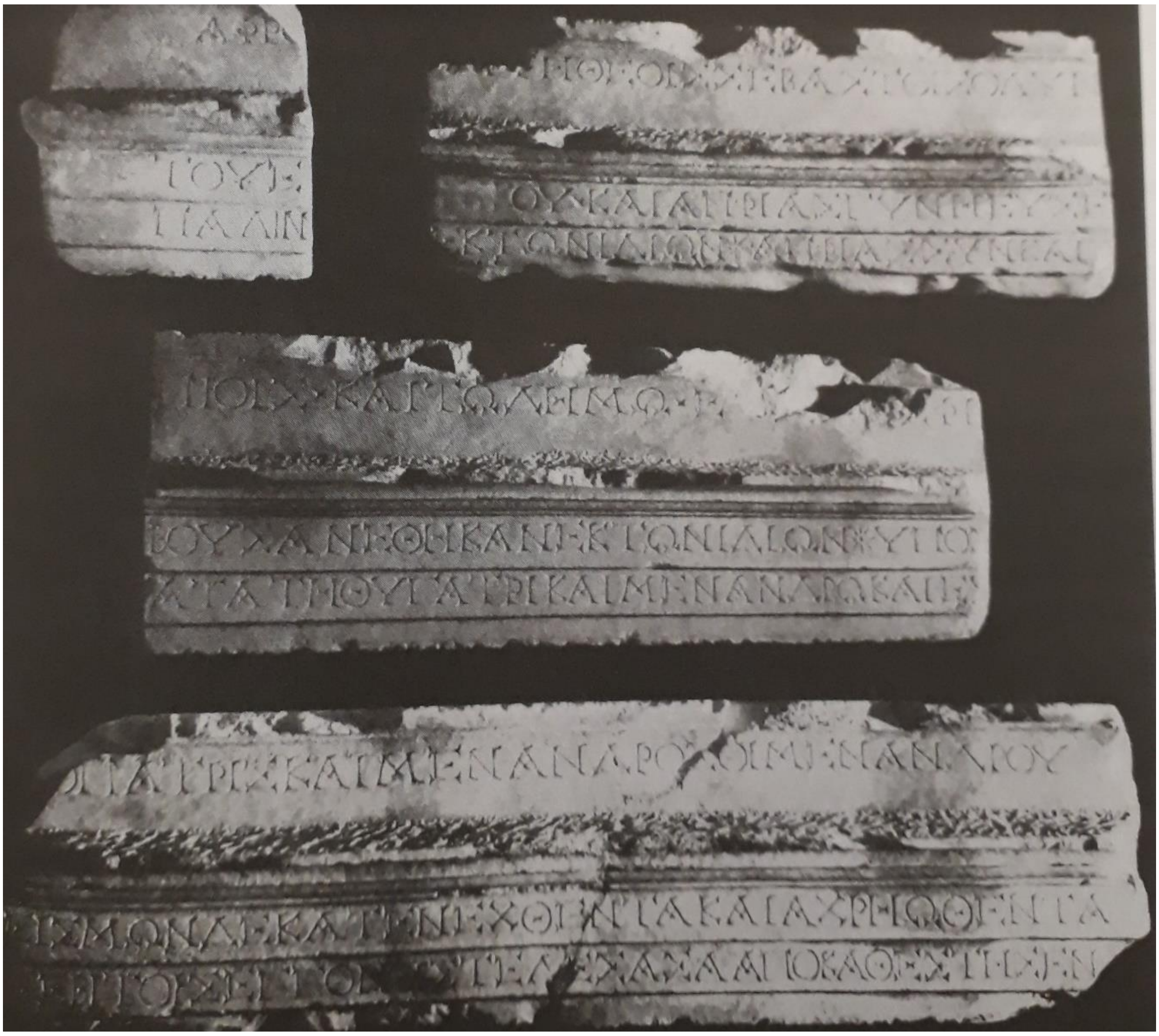

Figure 54: Restoration of the dedication of the North Portico of the Sebasteion (Graham 2018, 293

This text includes information about the circumstances surrounding the benefaction, and particularly concerning why so many generations of the two families were involved in the project, which the inscriptions of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes and Attalis Apphion fail to mention. It seems that the first generation of this family, Eusebes, Menandrus and Apphias were the three initial benefactors of this part of the Sebasteion. The earthquake destroyed the building, perhaps when only partially finished. Eusebus and Menandrus probably died before the rebuilding phase could take place, or be completed, so Attalis carried on her husband and brother-in-law's work to complete the monument, aided by her daughter and grandsons. If the two families were working on their halves of the Sebasteion simultaneously, then the work started by Diogenes 4 and Attalus was damaged in the same earthquake, leading to Attalis Apphion and Tiberius Claudius Diogenes having to complete the work.

The flanking colonnades were divided into rooms behind, but from the front, they formed a continuous columnar façade. The façade's decoration was a series of reliefs that combined mythological, allegorical, and Imperial subjects, in a manner unseen elsewhere.[813] The sculptural decorations from the North Portico depicted allegories on the upper storey, of which now only *Hemara* and *Okeanos,* Day and Ocean, survive, and female representations of the peoples of the Roman Empire on the lower.[814] There was enough space for fifty figures, and they were arranged geographically, with only a few exceptions, i.e. those from the West of the empire were located on the west end of the monument.[815] Smith states that the personifications represent the peoples that Rome had defeated in war, and the idea of portraying peoples in this way was distinctively Roman, had grown out of the Roman triumph.[816] Reynolds suggests that a plausible point of origin for the conception of the *ethne* figures is Augustus' funerary procession.[817] Tacitus describes how the senator Lucius Arruntius proposed that during the funeral procession, Augustus' body should be preceded by placards showing the titles of all the laws he had passed and the name of every people he had

[813] Smith 1990, 89.

[814] Smith 1990, 89; 92.

[815] Smith 1990, 94; 2013, 311.

[816] Smith 1990, 95.

[817] Reynolds 1986, 116.

conquered.[818] Cassius Dio adds that the procession also included images of his ancestors, deceased relatives, and other distinguished Romans.[819] In his most recently publication on the reliefs, Smith claims that the personifications of *ethne* were clearly inspired by a monument in Rome.[820] Their inscribed labels, rather than the figures themselves, he argues, provide the evidence for their Roman origins. In the (supposed) Latin original, the inscriptions for each *natio* would have been in the nominative feminine (nation of…). However, as there is only one word for nation in Greek, *ethnos*, which is neuter, the labels of the figures on the North Portico of the Sebasteion are in the genitive. The use of the genitive to label the female personifications as "(image) of the nation of the…" prevents the awkwardness of a neuter nominative being used to describe a feminine subject.[821] This, Smith claims, is a clear indication of a monument that has been translated both from Latin to Greek, and from Rome to Aphrodisias.[822]

Without any surviving archaeological evidence for such a set of figures from Rome or elsewhere in the Latin-speaking world, it is impossible to say that the *ethne* from the Sebasteion are a copy of a similar monument. They may have been based upon figures of conquered peoples, or even allies, from a number of different contexts. However, the methods employed, and the lengths taken to solve the linguistic issues in the inscriptions from the Sebasteion suggest that if a Latin model was used for these figures, they must have been female representations. In terms of the relationship between the statue and the text, it would have made more sense for a Greek original to have included male figures and for the inscription to be in the nominative neuter. If the representations of the *ethne* from the North Portico of the Sebasteion were based upon a similar set of images from a Roman, or at least Latin, context, then they provide evidence for a direct outside influence on architectural benefaction in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias. They suggest that Roman/Italic sculptors were either involved directly at the Sebasteion or those from local workshops had interacted with such sculptors. Alternatively, they suggest that the Greek builders of the Sebasteion, with the required

[818] Tac. Ann. 1.8.4

[819] Cassius Dio 56.34.2.

[820] Smith 2013, 310.

[821] Smith 2013, 311.

[822] Smith 2013, 311.

knowledge of this earlier monument, in the appropriate context of an Imperial cult sanctuary, were attempting to represent the Romans, and the relationship between Rome and its conqueror peoples, as the Romans represented themselves.

Whilst the North Portico may have been a designed to show the triumph of Rome over all the peoples they had conquered, there is another interpretation which is equally befitting an Imperial cult complex, but particularly such a monument in a provincial context built by local non-Romans. The images from the North Portico imply that they were designed to function as a representation of the Roman Empire and was a tribute to its diversity. The clearly defined way that individual ethnic groups were represented suggests that they maintained their own identities despite having been brought together under the rule and influence of Rome. The representation of the peoples of the empire in this way clearly evoked how the Greek benefactors of the monument were seen both within Aphrodisias and within the wider Roman Empire, united, yet able to celebrate their diversity. Neither architectural benefactors, nor their perceptions of themselves and others within the Roman world were homogenous. The benefactors of the Sebasteion were seen like this, so the rest of the peoples of the empire were portrayed in the same way.

4.5.3. The South Portico

The inscription from the South Portico has been reconstructed from nine fragments of six white marble architrave blocks. The text, whose distinctively Julio-Claudian letters measure 0.07 metres high[823] was inscribed in two lines on the two fasciae reading as follows:

> | Ἀφροδίτηι star θε(---)ι Σεβαστ | (---) <Τιβερ>ίωι Κλαυδίωι Κ||[αί]σαρι star τῶι Δήμωι dolphin | Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Διογένης φιλοπολίτης | ἃ ἐπηνγείλατο
>
> | vac. Διογένης ὁ πατὴ||[ρ α]ὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀτταλὶς v. | καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀττάλ | ου τοῦ θείου τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μέρος v. ἀποκα [θ]έσστησεν vac.

[823] Reynolds 1981, 317.

> For Aphrodite, for the God (?Goddess) Augustus (?Augusta), for Tiberius Claudius Caesar, for the People, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, friend of the citizens, restored what Diogenes his father promised, and Attalis, and also on behalf of his uncle Attalus his part.[824]

The text implies that Attalus and his brother Diogenes 4 pledged to contribute to the construction of the Sebasteion but died before they could do so. As a result, Tiberius Claudius Diogenes gave the share of the costs that his father Diogenes 4 promised, whilst Attalis Apphion gave what her husband Attalis promised. The dedication to the living Emperor Claudius dates the text to A.D. 41-54. Women involved themselves in architectural benefaction for the same reasons as men did, and were no less eager to gain glory and long-term benefits for their families.[825] Under the empire, female members of the Imperial family were less involved as independent architectural patrons, but private women, both Greek and Roman, both took the opportunities to build, and were no less willing, able, or compelled to do so.[826] By completing her husband's project in her own name, Attalis was not doing something unusual or unbecoming for a woman, but something that was firmly established in society and no doubt expected of her upon the death of her husband.

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[824] *IAph2007* 9.25. Trans. Reynolds 1981.

[825] Wescoat 2015, 189.

[826] Wescoat 2015, 194-195.


ΙΩΙΚ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΑ


ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ
ΘΕΑΥΤΟΝ

Figure 55: The eight surviving fragments of the inscription from the Sebasteion's South Portico. (Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

Simon Price's *Ritual and Power* places great emphasis on the incorporation of the Imperial cult into the traditional religious system of Asia Minor. His study showed that across Asia Minor the emperor was honoured at ancestral religious festivals, placed within Greek gods' sanctuaries and temples, and his protection was invoked at sacrifices to the gods.[827] Under the empire, the cultural system of Asia Minor was predominantly Greek, and the Imperial cult was designed to fit cohesively into the extant system.[828] The cohesion between the Imperial cult and the cult of Aphrodite here at Aphrodisias must have been all the smoother thanks to the associations between the Julio-Claudian family and Venus/Aphrodite. Like Eumachus Diogenes at the Temple of Aphrodite, whose dedication emphasised his love for both Aphrodite and the Emperor, the builders of the Sebasteion used the opportunity to integrate the Imperial cult into the cult of Aphrodite. Both were given equal honour and precedence in the city, and the families were represented as the ones who brought about these associations and honours.

The South Portico, constructed by the family of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, survives in a much better condition than its northern counterpart. It had three storeys and a panelled façade. The central panels were wider than the side panels, measuring *c.* 1.6 metres wide and *c.* 1.4 metres wide, respectively. Their height and depth, *c.* 1.6 metres and *c.* 0.45 metres respectively, remain constant throughout.[829] Like the North Portico, it was richly decorated with sculptures. Of the forty-five original relief panels, thirty have survived in a state of near completion, and substantial fragments survive from most of the other fifteen.[830] On the upper storey there were images of Roman emperors and Olympian gods which represented three main themes: Imperial victory, the divine emperors, and the gods.[831] There is no distinction in the reliefs between living and deceased emperors, all are depicted as *theoi*.[832] Imperial victory was portrayed both by the images of the emperors themselves and by the images of Nike, of which four are extant. Some of the Imperial images, such as that of the image of Claudius subduing Britannia, would have been unfamiliar to most Greek viewers, so were inscribed accordingly.[833] The *ethne*

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[827] Price 1984, 235.

[828] Price 1984, 87; 235.

[829] Smith 1987, 98.

[830] Smith 1990, 95.

[831] Smith 1987, 97.

[832] Smith 2013, 312.

[833] Smith 1987, 97.

portraits were also inscribed to make them identifiable, as were the allegorical images of Day and Ocean.[834] However, there appears to be no epigraphy associated with the panels depicting scenes from Greek mythology, presumably because they would have been familiar to an Aphrodisian audience.[835] In addition to Claudius and Britannia and two that feature Augustus, others show: Claudius and Agrippina; a figure who is probably Germanicus; an unidentified emperor or prince; Nero and Armenia; Tiberius (?) with a captive; two young princes; and an empress making a sacrifice.[836] The placing of images of the emperors, the celebration of whose cult was the purpose of this new monument, alongside familiar figures from the Greek pantheon, shown here as cult statue-like figures, was a deliberate attempt to place the emperors, and the worship of them, into a familiar, local context.[837] The images of the victorious emperors always show victories over barbarians of various kinds. This, Smith suggests, shows that the conquest of the Greeks is long forgotten; this was before the emperors.[838] These images show that the Greeks were now partners, not "subjugated recalcitrants."[839] Rome, and its emperors were no longer a threatening, conquering entity, but one which they had become part of, as further emphasised by the *ethne* discussed above, and honoured and respected accordingly.

The inclusion of images evoking and displaying victorious, powerful Romans in the context of a monument where they were celebrated on a par with the gods would have been a key part of representing the new regime. Yet, as the Imperial cult was a provincial one, rather than originating in Rome, these images also indicate how the benefactors of the Sebasteion represented their relationship with Rome, its cult, and their home city. The Greek builders of the Sebasteion, some of whom were priests of the Imperial cult, placed themselves alongside the Roman Emperors. By juxtaposing images of Romans subjugating barbarians with ones of them alongside characters from Greek mythology they represented the benefactors, and the citizens of Aphrodisias more widely, as a privileged people with freedom granted by Octavian. The images from the upper storey of the south portico not only represented the regard that the Roman Emperors were held in in Aphrodisias by the mid first century A.D. but also how its residents saw themselves in relation to the Emperor, and the rest of the peoples of the empire.

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[834] Smith 1987, 88-89.

[835] Smith 1987, 95-97.

[836] Smith 1987, 100-101. For detailed discussions of these reliefs see Smith 2013, 128-147; 152-154; 158-160

[837] For a detailed discussion of these reliefs see Smith 2013, 126-188.

[838] Smith 2013, 313.

[839] Smith 1987, 97-98.

Such perceptions are vital for understanding the heterogeneity of the impact of Roman rule on its provinces through the medium of architectural benefaction.

The lower storey depicted a long series of scenes from Greek mythology. Many of the subjects are recognisable, unlike many other reliefs none are inscribed, and draw on a variety of earlier sources, both late Classical and early Hellenistic.[840] One such scene is that of Achilles and the Amazon Queen Penthesilea. Smith notes its similarity to depictions of the same scene seen elsewhere, such as on an Attic sarcophagus now housed in the Louvre.[841] Other scenes include: the freeing of Prometheus by Heracles; a child Dionysus with the Nymphs; Heracles finding Telephus; Heracles and boar; three heroes with a bitch;[842] Bellerophon; what appears to be a rape, possibly of Cassandra; and a seated hero with a dog. Hermes is crowning the hero, and presence of a flirtatious Amazonian figure in the scene dismisses her identity as Artemis, so the scene's most likely subject is Meleager and Atalante.[843] The scenes that appear closest to the temple are particularly indicative of the purpose and over-arching theme of the Sebasteion reliefs. Over the room closest to the temple, there is a relief of the flight of Aeneas from Troy. To the left, is a scene showing Aphrodite with a baby Eros and to the right, an image of Poseidon. The image of the flight from Troy contains many familiar elements, but with the addition of an Aphrodite escorting them.[844] This is clearly an attempt to bring a scene which, although would have been familiar to a Greek audience, had a huge significance to the Julio-Claudian dynasty into a local context. Aphrodite, as the city's deity, offers by her presence safety and guardianship to those whom the family to whom the Sebasteion is dedicated. The adoption of the Julio-Claudians by Aphrodite, and vice-versa, evokes the sense of concord between Rome and Aphrodisias that has been fostered from the time of Augustus and continues to be recognised and celebrated under the later Julio-Claudians through the agency of local architectural benefactors.

The depiction of the theme of concord between Rome and Aphrodisias, and the adoption of the former's culture into that of the latter, in the Sebasteion reliefs, represents wider socio-cultural changes in the city in the mid- to late- Julio-Claudian period. Local Roman and non-Roman benefactors used their architectural benefaction at the Sebasteion to represent their perception

[840] Smith 1990, 95; Smith 2013, 313.

[841] Baratte and Metzger 1985, no 166; Smith 1990, 95.

[842] Smith offers no indication of their identity.

[843] Smith, 1990, 95-97.

[844] Smith 1990, 97.

of their city's place in the Roman Empire and the harmoniousness of the relationship between Rome and Aphrodisias. The appearance of such images on a monument built by local people for the celebration of a provincial cult shows not only the influence that Rome had on them but also how they chose to represent this influence. Such representations of the impact of Roman rule on its provinces greatly aid our understanding of how individuals and communities responded in different ways in different socio-cultural, chronological and geographical contexts, allowing a more nuanced picture of Roman influence in the province of Asia.

Figure 56: Aeneas' flight from Troy watched by Aphrodite from the Sebasteion, now in the Aphrodisias museum. (Oxford University. Last Accessed 15/7/2019)[845]

The links between the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the patron goddess of Aphrodisias are further emphasised by the scene of Aphrodite and baby Eros. Aphrodite sits on a throne with Eros on her knee, and her veil billows around her head.[846] Smith states that it seems to be a unique composition with a perhaps intentional allusion to the famous Tellus[847] figure on the Ara

[845] http://aphrodisias.classics.ox.ac.uk/sebasteionreliefs.html

[846] Smith 2013, 202.

[847] Although Smith identifies the goddess on the Ara Pacis as Tellus, her identity is far from conclusive. For the various possible identities of the goddess: Venus - Galinsky 1966, 1992; Pax - Thomson de Grummond 1990; Tellus - Petersen, 1902; Italica – Strong 1937; Ceres - Stanley Spaeth, 1994.

Pacis.[848] The style of her hair and the carving of her facial features have some similarities to the 'ideal' portraits of Livia,[849] further strengthening the links between her and the Imperial family. On the relief is a cloaked male figure, which given the Trojan theme of the adjacent panel, is probably Anchises. The presence of Eros brings an obvious element of love to the scene, so this panel may represent the union of Anchises with Aphrodite, as described in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite.[850]

Figure 57: Aphrodite, Eros, and Anchises from the Sebasteion, now in the Aphrodisias museum. (Ancient Anatolia Blogspot. Last accessed 28/3/2016)[851]

The myths used to decorate the South Portico, particularly those of the Trojan wars and where Aphrodite is present, were designed to show Imperial themes within a Greek context. They portray Greek culture as both a forerunner and the natural background of Imperial rule, something described as one of the most striking features of the complex.[852] The inclusion of such themes suggest that the families were attempting to represent Roman rule not as an overpowering, usurping force, but as a natural progression in the socio-political life of Aphrodisias. This makes these images different from the *ethne* on the North Portico but related

[848] Smith 1990, 97.

[849] Smith 2013, 203.

[850] *Hom. Hymn. Aph.* 5. 155-170; Smith 1990, 97.

[851] http://ancient-anatolia.blogspot.co.uk/2011/03/anchises-aphrodite.html.

[852] Smith, 1990, 100.

thematically. The North, rather than portraying the ideal relationship between the Julio-Claudians emperors and the Greek world, represented the diverse range of peoples who inhabited, or interacted with the Roman Empire.[853] At the east end, nearest to the temple, the close proximity of images of Aphrodite, Aeneas and Augustus was clearly a deliberate attempt to show these themes within a specifically Aphrodisian context and perspective.[854] The majority of the scenes were easily recognisable, drew on late Classical and Hellenistic sources, and were an attempt to reconcile Imperial rule with their own culture. This was a means to make the emperor more familiar, and to present the Greeks not as conquered subjects, but partners in the empire.[855] Its architecture was Italic in nature, using the Corinthian order and specifically tapering the porticoes to draw visitors' attention towards the temple rather than merely defining the space around it. Its similarity in style to monuments such as the Fora of Caesar and Augustus, and, as Ratté suggests, the Porticus ad Nationes, leads to him to describe it as, "more purely Italian than any other building complex at Aphrodisias."[856] The Sebasteion represents not only a clear influence of Rome on provincial public architecture but also how local architectural benefactors represented their responses to Roman influence in Aphrodisias.

The Sebasteion is unique, in that there are no other surviving examples of monuments that portrayed the role of the emperors in such an elevated manner.[857] The two families involved in its construction clearly wished to honour and recognise the new, Roman Imperial cult with a building befitting its nature. Yet, the same time, they recognised a need to integrate this new cult into the religious life of the people of Aphrodisias. By depicting the Imperial family, their origins, and achievements in the context of the familiar, whether the Greek myths or the Olympian gods, a Greek audience would have gained visual reference points for the importance of the Imperial cult. The Sebasteion represented local people gradually incorporating new ideas into a familiar context in a way that made sense to them. This is particularly pertinent for understanding the influence of Rome on its provinces. The families who built and decorated the Sebasteion ensured that Rome was represented as a positive influence on provincial society, incorporating images, building styles, and the honouring of the Imperial family into the existing

[853] Smith, 1990, 95.

[854] Smith, 1990, 100.

[855] Smith, 1990, 95; 100.

[856] Ratté, 2001, 121.

[857] Smith 2013, 314.

socio-cultural environment of the city. By doing so, the families were represented as both supportive of Roman rule and as adherents to older traditions. They, like the city around them, cannot be considered as representing a Romano-Greek dichotomy, but a Romano-Greek unity.

Figure 58: View of the Sebasteion complex, looking west. (April 2011)

4.5.4 The Imperial Cult Temple

The Imperial cult temple is the least well-preserved part of the Sebasteion; it was almost certainly dismantled, perhaps in the fifth century at the same time that the Temple of Aphrodite was converted into a church.[858] Attalis Apphion may have been the temple's sole benefactor, or she may have built it in partnership with Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, as was the case with the South Portico. Smith notes that the temple was "of imperial type,"[859] suggesting its design was clearly inspired by Rome. It was a raised, podium temple, its stylobate standing *c.* 5.2 metres above the avenue, with a flight of steps at the front only.[860] These steps led up to a tall, Corinthian, prostyle façade of six columns.[861] Several inscribed architrave blocks and other

[858] Smith 2013, 30.

[859] Smith, 1990, 89.

[860] Smith 2013, 28.

[861] Smith 1987, 94; Erim, 1990, 13; Smith, 1990, 89.

architectural fragments found nearby suggest that this Corinthian temple was built on a grand scale.

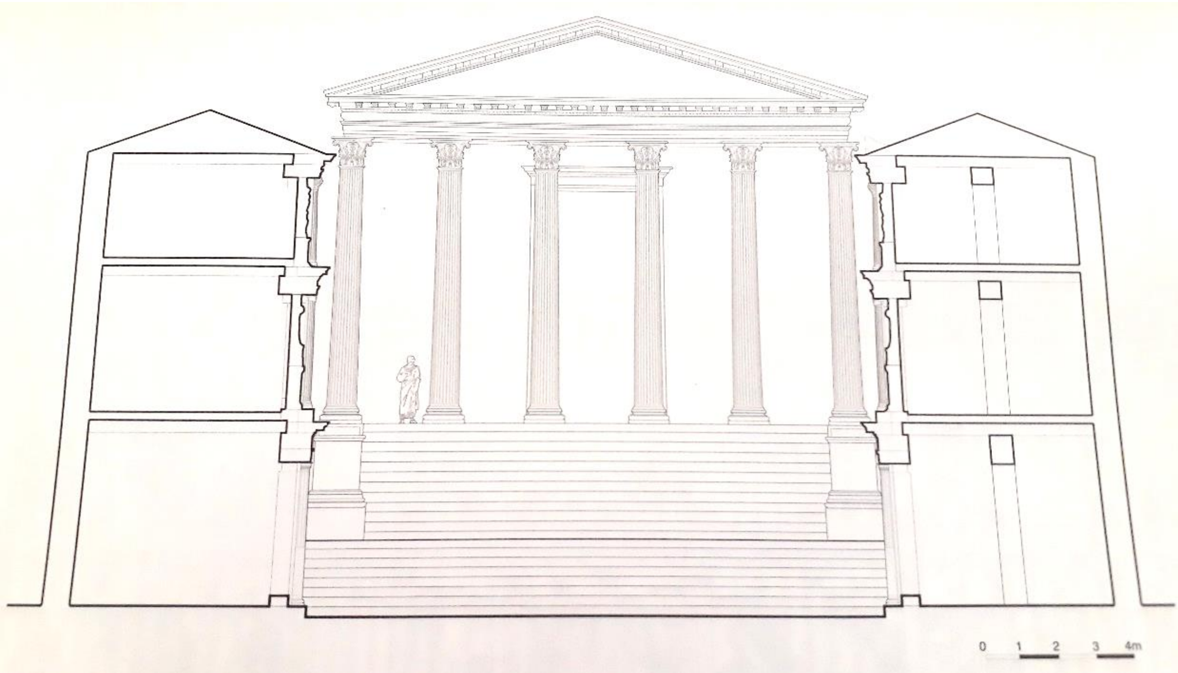

Figure 59: North-south section of the Sebasteion, looking east towards the Temple. (Smith 2013, 33)

The dedicatory inscription, which would have originally been located on the front of the temple, has been reconstructed from four fragments of white marble architrave blocks, with three fasciae which have bead and reel decoration between them. The blocks, all of which are damaged, measure (Width x Height x Depth) 1.54 × 0.45 × 0.58 metres, 1.0 × 0.42 × 0.58 metres, 1.54 × 0.45 × 0.58 metres, and 1.0 × 0.42 × 0.58 metres. The text is presented in three lines, with letter heights of 0.095 metres, 0.075 metres, and 0.08 metres respectively and reads:

> [·· ? ·· Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβ]ερίῳ Καίσαρι θε[οῦ Σεβα]στο[ῦ υἱῶι Σεβαστῶι καὶ Ἰ]ουλίαι Σεβαστῆ[ι νέαι] Δημητρ[ὶ ·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ·· Ἀτ]ταλὶς Μενεκρ[άτους Ἄ]πφιο[ν ·· c. 12 ·· ὑπὲ]ρ Ἀττάλου τοῦ Μ[ενάνδρ]ου τοῦ ΑΝ[·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ··] τὸν νάον καὶ τ[ὸν βῶμ]ον [·· c. 15 ··] *vac.* ὑπὲρ τοῦ [·· c. 5 ··]ου *vac.* [·· ? ··]
>
> [·· ? ··] for the Imperator Tib]erius Caesar [Augustus, son] of the god Augustus, and for Julia Augusta, the new Demeter [. . .

. . . .] Attalis Apphion, daughter of Menecrates [. . . ? . . .] on behalf of Attalus, son of Menandrus, ? her [husband . . .

. . .] the temple and ? the [altar . . ? . . .] on behalf of [. . .[862]

Figure 60: The four surviving fragments of the inscription from the Sebasteion Temple. Kings College London, Inscriptions of Aphrodisias)

The text is very fragmentary but from the extant letters, it appears that Attalis Apphion built, or rebuilt, the Imperial cult temple on behalf of her husband, Attalus. It is possible that other members of the family were involved in this project, but without the rest of the inscription, it is impossible to know. Although Diogenes 4 is certainly dead by the time of reconstruction works carried out by his sister-in-law and his son during the reign of Claudius, he may have been alive at the temple's dedication during the reign of Tiberius, therefore may have been another benefactor recorded in the now-missing section of the dedicatory inscription.

The dedication to the Emperor Tiberius and to Livia dates the Imperial cult temple to sometime between A.D. 14-37, though as it is unclear whether Livia was still alive when the temple was

[862] *IAph*2007 9.112.

dedicated a more precise date cannot be offered. Livia is described as the new Demeter. The association between Livia and Demeter is not uncommon.[863] An inscription found at Lampsacus in Troas hailed as hailed her as "New Demeter"[864] and in one found at Cyzicus, "*thea* Demeter".[865] Coins minted in both Asian and African mints have been discovered depicting Livia holding ears of wheat, one of the most common visual epithets of Demeter.[866] The link between Demeter/Ceres and Livia has its origins in the Augustan period, but becomes much more common during the reign of Tiberius. This association, plus those of other matronly and fertile goddesses such as Juno,[867] evokes themes of the foundation, and continuation of the Imperial dynasty whose cult was celebrating within this new temple complex. Reynolds suggests that Augustus would have posthumously associated here with Zeus Patroos, stating that it would have been very unlikely for Livia to be associated with an Olympian and not Augustus too.[868] The cella would have held statues of Aphrodite and leading members of Augustus' family, and others such as Claudius, Nero, and princes and imperial women were probably honoured in a similar manner.[869] As seen throughout the Sebasteion complex, the imagery was designed to integrate the Imperial cult into familiar Greek myths and religious practices, equating the earthly, human mother of the Julio-Claudian dynasty with a deity associated with the earth and fertility. This would have allowed a far easier integration of the Imperial cult into the city's religious life.

The Imperial cult temple was the focal point of the Sebasteion, but it does not aid our understanding of the family as benefactors any more than the portico discussed above. However, what is noticeable is that in the dedicatory inscription of the Imperial cult temple, any mention of the benefactors' priesthoods is absent. Admittedly, the text is very fragmentary, but the space after Attalis Apphion's name, estimated by those reconstructing the text to be

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[863] Stirling 2012, 642. For similar inscriptions, see Rose 1997, 23 n. 20.

[864] *IGRR* 4 180.

[865] *SEG* 33 1055. It is a marble stele, reused, now in four fragments, one of which includes a male figure (? Apollo), twenty lines of text, dates to after A.D. 15

[866] Stirling 2012, 642; Harvey 2011, 205-206; 256-259.

[867] Stirling 2012, 628; A lengthy digression of the assimilation of Livia with these goddesses is not necessary here, but the topic has been studied at length. For further examples and discussion see also; Spaeth 1994, 88–9; 1996, 100–1, 120–21, 145–46; Kozakiewicz 1998, 102; Wood 1999, 110–13; Bartman 1999, 93–5, 107; Alexandridis 2004, 48–9

[868] Reynolds 1996b, 45.

[869] Smith 2013, 30.

around twelve letters long, is too short for the original text to have read high priestess and priestess and too long to have read just high priestess. It is likely that when the work on the Sebasteion was completed, and the monument dedicated, Attalis Apphion did not hold her high priesthood of the Imperial cult. Without the obligation associated with holding a priesthood to contribute to the construction of a monument, Attalis Apphion and her family's authority to build, or exact motivations behind building, either the cult temple or indeed the rest of their contribution to the Sebasteion complex cannot be ascertained. However, their apparent generosity, and devotion to the Imperial cult may have resulted in Attalis Apphion being granted her high priesthood, which would explain why the title is present on her honorific statue, but not on the monument. Taking part in the construction of a monument so directly associated with the Imperial family, seemingly without any direct obligation to do so, suggests that Attalis Apphion and her family were represented as favourable to both the cult and the Roman influences associated with it. Their first, small-scale benefaction of two columns at the Temple of Aphrodite resulted in them being represented as favourable to their city's patron deity. However, a benefaction on a scale as great as that seen at the Sebasteion had far greater, and far wide-reaching aims and implications for how the influence that Rome had impacted upon them, and how they chose to represent this.

The very purpose of the Sebasteion complex, the worship of the Imperial cult, indicates the influence that interactions with the Roman Imperial system would have had on provincial architectural benefaction. However, as the Imperial cult began in the provinces, rather than in Rome, this influence must have resulted from a provincial respect for Roman culture, rather than a transfer of cultural practices resulting from interactions between Roman and local elites. The form of the monument reflected the early Imperial fora in Rome, and whilst very little of the temple survives it was built in a style that would have not looked out of place in Rome at that time. The iconography throughout the complex featured Greek and Roman themes and images, combining them to create a monument that reflected Aphrodisias' place within the Roman Empire. The Sebasteion was a quintessentially provincial monument, built for a provincial cult in a composite style. The architectural features used in the Sebasteion indicate that its Aphrodisian benefactions were represented in a manner indicative of the diverse cultural nature of their locality. The benefactors were represented as sympathetic to Roman culture and to the worship of the Imperial cult. Yet, by incorporating their patron deity into the epigraphy and iconography of the Sebasteion, they stayed true to their Greek roots. In doing so, they strengthened the association between Aphrodite and Venus Genetrix and her role as the founder of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[870] The iconography of the Sebasteion indicates the religious, cultural, and ethnic diversity of the Roman Empire under the later Julio-Claudian emperors. The monument's Aphrodisian benefactors, a family of Roman and non-Roman citizens, were placed within the diverse nature of the population of the Roman Empire and represented how architectural benefactors were as heterogenous as the population of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, local, and Roman cults, monuments, and styles of benefaction coexisted within the diverse phenomenon of architectural benefaction.

[870] For further discussion of this association see Reynolds 1996b, 44.

5

Cosmopolitan Capito: Architectural Benefaction by a Roman Official in Late Julio-Claudian Miletus

After considering the architectural benefactions of Imperial freedmen, Imperial agents and a local family with Roman sympathies, this final chapter considers a further category of benefactor, the Roman provincial official. The provincial official in question is Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, known from surviving epigraphic evidence to have held positions in Rome, and provincial positions including a high priesthood of the Imperial cult, the procuratorship of Asia and the prefecture of Egypt.

5.1. Administration of the East under the Later Julio-Claudians

Until the reign of Claudius, there were very few changes to the province of Asia's administrative structure established by Augustus. Tiberius, overall, scrupulously observed Augustus' policies in Asia. Gaius' relatively short reign did not result in any major changes in Asian policy either, aside from his encouragement of the erection of the Imperial cult temple at Miletus, of which Capito is known to have served as high priest.[871] Capito's roles within the Roman provincial administration during Claudius' reign coincided with a number of developments and changes. A key change in the administration of Asia was the role of Procurator. The Imperial Procurator, an equestrian position often held by former soldiers, was established by Augustus, and were appointed to handle the financial affairs within provinces.[872] Whilst some procurators were little more than managers of the Emperor's property, even under Augustus, others had additional roles such as supervising the collection of taxes.[873] The power of the Imperial Procurators increased under Tiberius, a development which led Tacitus to suggest that the Emperor's administration deteriorated as time went on:

> "It will be opportune, I take it, as this year brought the opening stages of deterioration in the principate of Tiberius, to review in addition the other departments of state and the methods by which they were administered up to that period…The imperial property

[871] Magie 1950, 512; 515.

[872] Sherwin-White 1939; Jones 1960, 117; 123. For Augustus' appointment of his freeman Licinius to the procuratorship of Gaul see Cassius Dio 54. 21; Suet. *Aug.* 67.1; Sen, *Apocolocyntosis,* 6.

[873] Brunt 1966a, 88.

> was entrusted by Caesar to men of tested merit, at times to a personal stranger on the strength of his reputation; and his agents, once installed, were retained quite indefinitely, many growing grey in the service originally entered… He saw to it that the provinces were not disturbed by fresh impositions and that the incidence of the old was not aggravated by magisterial avarice or cruelty: corporal punishment and the forfeiture of estates were not in vogue."[874]

Claudius' foreign policy, especially compared with Tiberius', was aggressive and expansionist, marked by the annexation of the Lycian Federation and Rhodes in A.D 43 and 44 respectively.[875] Apart from the displays of aggression in Lycia and Rhodes, Claudius maintained the liberal attitude of his predecessors towards the cities of Asia. In a letter praising Mytilene for its citizens' loyalty to the Imperial house, he officially recognised the city's autonomy, even if as David Magie describes it, it was somewhat limited.[876] Under Claudius, the Imperial Procurators began to possess increased power and influence.[877] Strabo reports that in Spain the Procurator was responsible for paying troops.[878] In A.D. 53, Claudius issued a *Senatus Consultum,* which gave Imperial Procurators judicial validity and provision *plenius quam antea et uberius* (more extensive and fuller than previously).[879] Brunt interprets this passage of *The Annals* as implying that at least some of the Imperial Procurators already had recognised judicial powers before A.D. 53.[880] Capito, having served as Procurator of Asia most likely in the years preceding A.D. 47, may have been one of those whose role involved more than managing the Emperor's private property.

The trend towards the increasing of Imperial Procurator's power and influence continued under Nero.[881] The role of Prefect of Egypt also underwent a development under the later Julio-Claudians. It was originally a praetorian, rather than equestrian, post: there is no evidence for a non-praetorian Prefect of Egypt prior to the reign of Claudius.[882] Capito may have been one

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[874] Tac. *Ann.* IV, 6.

[875] Magie 1950, 547-548.

[876] Magie 1950, 542.

[877] Sherwin-White 1939, 13.

[878] Strab. 3.20.

[879] Tac. *Ann.* XII, 60.

[880] Brunt 1966b, 464.

[881] Magie 1950, 562.

[882] Sherwin-White 1939, 16; Tac. *Ann.* XII. 60.

of the first to gain promotion from a provincial procuratorship to the prefecture of Egypt. Capito's promotion to Prefect of Egypt is particularly unusual because most known officials were either provincial prefects or provincial procurators; not many were both. Furthermore, one did not necessarily follow from another.[883] Where men did serve as both procurator and prefect, they were more likely to be military procurators, rather than provincial procurators as Capito had been. Hans-Georg Pflaum's catalogue of 357 equestrian officials,[884] both military and provincial, up to the reign of Gallienus includes thirty-three provincial prefects. Eight of these prefects held military procuratorships; a further eight held provincial procuratorships;[885] and five held both military and provincial procuratorships. Of the twenty-one who did hold procuratorships and prefectures Capito is the only one known from the Julio-Claudian period.[886] In contrast to Capito's career, thirteen of the thirty-nine prefects are thought not to have held a procuratorship of any kind. Of the thirteen, only two can be dated with certainty to the Julio-Claudian period, Gaius Caecina Tuscus, who was Prefect of Egypt by A.D. 63, and Ti. Iulius Alexander, whose administrative career spanned the period from Claudius to Vespasian.[887]

Capito held both a procuratorship and a prefecture during his career, which across the chronological span of Pflaum's study is not unusual. However, within the chronological span of this thesis, and most relevantly, when Capito was active, it would have been more usual for a prefect to not have also held a procuratorship. Already Stein had noted that even in the second century A.D. it was rare for a the holder of a junior prefecture, such as the *Praefectus Vigilium*, to rise straight to a post as high as Prefect of Egypt, whereas holding a procuratorship prior to

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[883] Sherwin-White 1939, 15.

[884] Pflaum 1960-1982.

[885] Pflaum 1960-1982: Those that had similar careers to Capito (Prefect of Asia c. 40s A.D and Prefect of Egypt c. A.D. 47-52) include: Gaius Pompeius Planta (Procurator of Lycia c. A.D. 75 and Prefect of Egypt A.D. 98-100); C. Vibius Maximus (Procurator of Pannonia and Dalmatia A.D. 95, Prefect of Egypt A.D. 103-107); T. Flavius Titanius (Procurator of Pontus and Galatia, Prefect of Egypt A.D. 126-133.); Valerius Eudaemon (Procurator of Lycia, Pamphylia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, Pisidia, Pontus and Asia, Prefect of Egypt, Hadrianic.); T. Flavius Titianus II (Procurator of Lyon and Aquitaine, Prefect of Egypt A.D. 164-167); Q. Baienus Blassianus (Procurator of Lugdunensis and Aquitaine, Prefect of Egypt under Marcus Aurelius; C. Iulius Pacatianus (Procurator of Mauretania, Prefect of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Severan period);

[886] Pflaum 1960-1982.

[887] Pflaum 1960-1982.

being Prefect of Egypt was more common.[888] Capito's administrative career, progressing from a procuratorship to a prefecture, whilst unusual for an equestrian in the first century A.D., appears to have anticipated what became a typical path in subsequent centuries. Of the known officials with similar career paths to Capito, there is no evidence to suggest that they were architectural benefactors as he was. Although Pflaum's study is comprehensive, it is not complete, and therefore the trends seen in the careers of our known provincial officials should not be considered definitive. What can be stated with more certainty is that the transformation of the role of the Imperial procurator under the later Julio-Claudians would have allowed him greater opportunities than before to gain both prestige and honours in both his city of residence and elsewhere in the province, and to further his career.

5.2. Capito's Miletus

As discussed in Chapter 3, the area that became the Roman province of Asia had been home to Italian settlers long before the Imperial period. In Ephesus in particular, there were large numbers of Italian settlers by the first century B.C.; conservative estimates are in the tens of thousands.[889] However, in the area around Miletus the surviving evidence for Italian settlers is much scanter than at Ephesus. Peter Thonemann's discussion of Italian immigrants into the Maeander Valley is rather brief and lacks detailed epigraphic and historical evidence. The evidence for Italian settlers and landowners that he does include is allusive at times. He suggests that Italian immigrants were present in the area around Miletus in the first century B.C. These settlers initially owned large plots of land in the Maeander valley, but by the end of the century rural settlement decreased rapidly. This was thought to have coincided with an increase in the urban population of Miletus.[890] With regards to Italian landowners near Miletus at the time, Thonemann mentions only Capito's father. As will be discussed below, Thonemann's evidence for this claim is tenuous. Other Italians who are known to have owned land near Miletus and the Maeander Valley in the first century A.D. include the family of L. Malius Reginus,[891] and Tacitus notes that Rubellius Plautus owned estates in Asia during the reign of Nero.[892] Miletus was not the centre of Italian immigration and influence that Ephesus

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[888] Stein 1950, 180-183.

[889] Valerius Maximus XI.2.4; Plut. Sulla. XXIV.

[890] Thonemann 2011, 293.

[891] *IDidyma* 343; Thonemann 2011, 252 notes that Reginus' granddaughter refers to Miletus as her *patris.* The inference is made that the family had been in the area for several generations by the time of this inscription.

[892] Tac. *Ann.* 14. 22.

had become by the first century A.D., but outside influences had begun to make their mark on the old city.

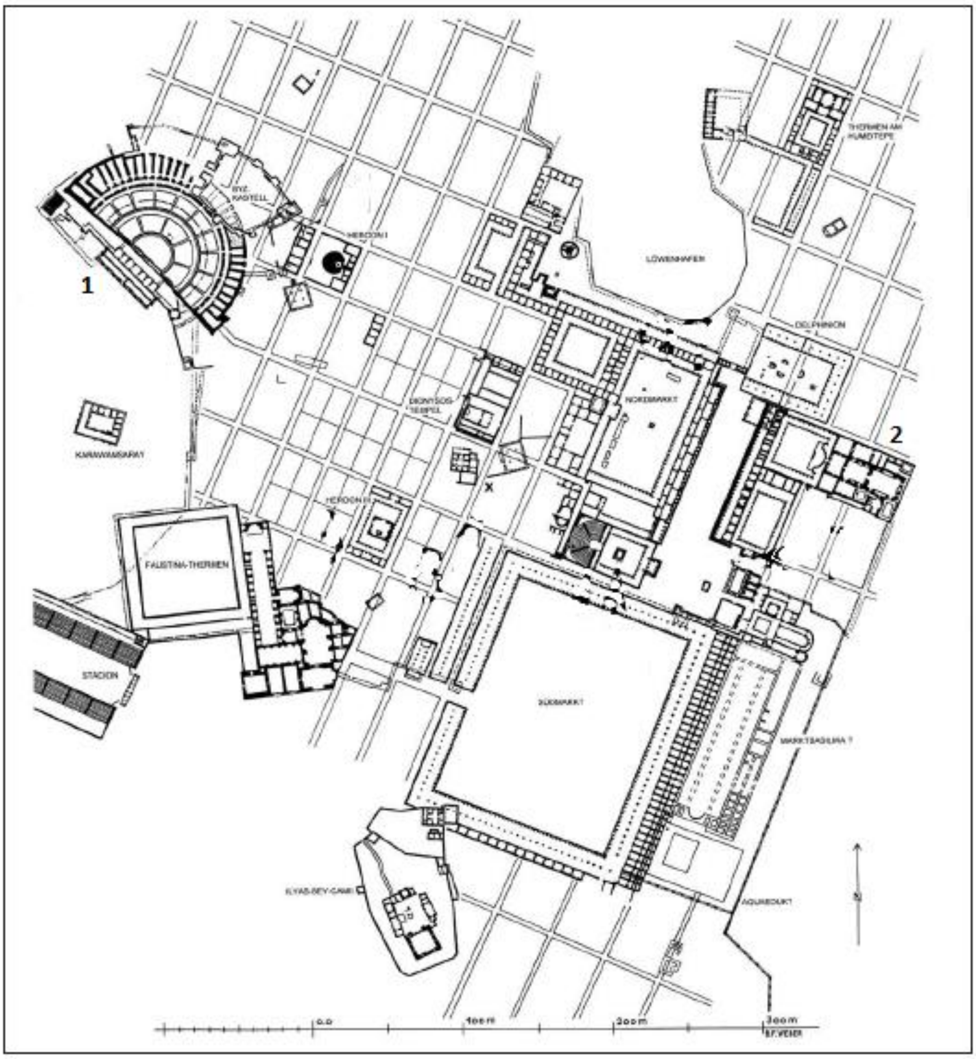

Figure 61: Map of Miletus with Capito's monuments numbered 1) Theatre Stage Building. 2) Baths Complex. (Adapted after Weber 2007, 352, fig. 17)

An early study of Capito suggested, albeit with little evidence or argumentation, that he was not from Miletus, but from Tarracina.[893] This claim is based upon the following passage from Tacitus' *Histories* which describes how a slave of a man called Verginius Capito deserted and joined Lucius Vitellius in the siege of Tarracina in A.D. 69:

[893] Stein 1950, 31.

> “Meanwhile a slave belonging to Verginius Capito deserted to L. Vitellius and having engaged, on being furnished with a force, to put him in possession of the unoccupied citadel, proceeded at a late hour of the night to place some light-armed cohorts on the summit of a range of hills which commanded the enemy's position.”[894]

The one-letter difference in spelling between Vergilius and Verginius results from a copying error. The eleventh century *Mediceus II* manuscript names the slave owner as Vergilius Capito. All other surviving manuscripts of the *Histories* are copies of the *Mediceus II*, and despite Moore’s description of these later manuscripts as “comparatively useless”, he follows the *Puteolanus* manuscript, which erroneously calls the slave owner Verginius Capito.[895] This text appears to show that+ Capito continued his life in Tarracina, perhaps leaving relatives and descendants to manage any land he may have owned in Asia. An issue arises when examining the text more closely. Capito himself is not mentioned in the text, only one of his slaves. Furthermore, Tacitus gives no indication that Capito was present at the time of the slave’s desertion. The slave appears to have deserted the estate, rather than Capito. In other words, Capito may not have been in Tarracina at all. If this estate had been inherited from his Italian father, by A.D. 69 the estate may have been managed on his behalf by a *vilicus* whilst he continued to reside in Miletus. Alternatively, a son of the same name (Tacitus does not give the slave owner’s full patronymics) could be managing the estate on his father’s behalf. In other words, there is no conclusive evidence that our Capito was ever in Tarracina, only that he owned land there.

More recent work has shown that Capito and his family had connections to Miletus. Capito’s father Gnaeus was Italian and is thought to have married into the Milesian Iulii, who Thonemann describes, with very little evidence or justification, as the “most successful native family of the late Republican and early Imperial period.”[896] The inscription that he refers to in support of his claim is quoted below:

> [Γ]αίον Ἰούλιον Ἐπικράτη ἥρωα φιλόπατριν, πατέρα
>
> [Ἰ]ουλίας [τῆς θε]ίης Γν(αίου) Οὐεργιλίου Καπίτωνος,

[894] Tac. *Hist.* 3.77.

[895] Moore 1931, xiv; Godley in his 1898 edition of the text also follows the *Puteolanus* manuscript.

[896] Thonemann 2011, 252.

φίλον [---(*c*.5-7)---]ον γενόμενον Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσα[ρος θε]οῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ αἰτη-
σάμεν[ον τή]ν τε ἀσυλίαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ
τὴν ἀπ[ο]γα̣ι̣[ου]μένην χώραν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου
καὶ τοὺς γα̣ι̣ε̣ῶνας καὶ τὴν ἀ̣[τ]έ̣λ̣ειαν τῶν Διδυ-
μείων καὶ τῶν νήσων, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν
Ἰώνων διὰ βίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου καὶ
γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων
καὶ πάσας τὰς λειτουργίας ἐπιτελέσαν-
τα καὶ διά τε λόγων καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἀναθη-
μάτων καὶ δωρεῶν κοσμήσαντα τὴν πα-
τρίδα καὶ ἐπιχ[ορηγή]σαντα, εὐεργέτην
τῆς πόλεως κ[αθὼ]ς τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ψη-
φίσματα περιέχει
Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διαδούμενος
τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐμπρησμῷ διαφορη-
θέντα ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπισκευάσας
ἀποκατέστησε
α̣ἰ̣τησάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα
περὶ τούτου

C. Iulius Epicrates, hero, *philopatris*, father of Iulia aunt of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, having become … friend of the Emperor Caesar Augustus god, son of the god and who had asked for the *asylia* of Apollo, the lands which were drained by the Maeander, as well as the earth mounds, *ateleia* of the Didymeia and the islands, high priest of Asia and Ionian for life, *agonothetes* for life, gymnasiarch of all the gymnasia, who took over all liturgies and who through words and deeds, and dedications and gifts adorned

> and provided for his native city, benefactor of the city, as is contained in the degrees about him.
>
> Gaius Iulius Diadumenos repaired and replaced the statue which destroyed by fire in the gymnasium, after asking for a resolution from the city council in this matter.[897]

Although the key names that would definitively link Capito to the Iulii, his mother and father, are missing from this text, it is clear enough to link Capito with one of the most important families of Early Imperial Miletus. What there is not enough evidence for in this text is Thonemann's claim that Capito's father, like many other Italians who migrated to the Maeander Valley, bought land there.[898] The only mention of land in this text is the dried-up lands near the river that Epicrates had requested. The only other piece of evidence which suggests that any Vergilii owned land in the area is a cadastral text dating from the third-fourth century A.D. from Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.[899] Line 13 of fragment e of this inscription states that the land once owned by Volvianus and Vergilius was now in the possession of a man called Eutychis of Ephesus.[900] The relative rarity of the *nomen* Vergilius in Asia Minor has led to the assumption that this farm had been owned by the Milesian Vergilii.[901] These farm owners were probably descendants of Capito, present in the area in the second and third centuries A.D., and the assumption can be made that this farm had been the property of the Milesian Vergilii since the time of Capito and his father.

The subject of the dedication, Gaius Iulius Epicrates who was a friend of Augustus, is referred to as "father of Iulia, aunt of Cn. Vergilius Capito". This periphrasis implies that Epicrates was Capito's great uncle rather than his grandfather by marriage, or, as Peter Herrmann suggested, "aunt" (θείης) here refers to mother's cousin rather than mother's sister.[902] Figure 62 shows Herrmann's interpretation of the possible relationships between Epicrates, Iulia and Capito:

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[897] *Milet* VI 3, 1131. Herrmann 1994, 210 suggests that the missing letters in line three should be reconstructed as either [καὶ οικεῖ]ον or [πατρῶι]ον.

[898] Thonemann 2011, 252.

[899] *IMag.* 122.

[900] *IMag.* 122e13 χω(ρίον) Βολβιανὸν καὶ Βιργίλλιον ἐξ (ἀπογραφῆς) Εὐτυχίδ(ος) Ἐφ(εσίας) ζυ(γὰ) ς´ < γ´ λ´ τ´

[901] Thonemann 2011, 252.

[902] Herrmann 1994, 209.

C.Iulius Epicrates (Grandmother)

Iulia (Mother) = (Vergilius)

Cn. Vergilius Capito

Figure 62 : The family of Epicrates, Iulia and Capito according to Peter Herrmann.[903]

The presentation of the relationship between Epicrates and Capito in the inscription seems far more tenuous and distant that Herrmann's interpretation suggests. Rather than being the brother of Capito's maternal grandmother, as Herrmann suggests, I suggest that Epicrates was a further step away from Capito, and that he was the father of the wife of an uncle of Capito's (i.e. great uncle by marriage.) Figure 63 explains this alternative relationship between Epicrates, Iulia, and Capito:

C. Iulius Epicrates (Grandmother) = (Grandfather) (Grandmother) = (Grandfather)

Iulia = (Uncle) (Mother) = (Vergilius)

Gn. Vergilius Capito

Figure 63: Alternative interpretation of the family of Epicrates, Iulia and Capito.

The text states that it replaced an earlier inscription which was destroyed by a fire at a gymnasium. This second statue of Epicrates is assumed to have been erected posthumously, around A.D. 50. The basis for this is that by then Capito had gained prominence in Rome, Miletus, and Asia more widely, and Egypt. Whoever drafted the inscription, perhaps a relative of Epicrates and Capito, was keen to emphasise the precise relationship between the deceased Epicrates and his successful, famous descendant. The mentioning of this relationship prior to the one between Epicrates and Augustus suggests that it was considered more important for

[903] Herrmann 1994, 209.

Epicrates to be associated with the living Capito than the deceased Augustus. This text was designed to link Epicrates not simply with Capito a fellow Milesian, but with Capito the now successful Roman official. The inscription seems to 'name drop' Capito, without context or apparent justification. This could be explained by the fact that this text was a replacement. The erection of this new statue of Epicrates occurred during the height of Capito's career. If Gaius Iulius Diadumenos, the financier of the statue, was a member of the same branch of the Iulii as Epicrates, it would be very appropriate for him to insert his relation's, famous, descendant. There is no clarification in the text of Capito's local or imperial connections, but this may not have been required if Capito's name was known within the city. By the supposed date of the dedication, Capito would have held local and provincial positions, and may have returned from Egypt. The public buildings he was responsible for may have also been under construction. The inclusion of Capito's name and relationship to Epicrates, most likely as an addition to the original dedicatory inscription, represented both Epicrates' relationship with Rome in his own lifetime, and his relationship with his descendant whose life and work intertwined him into the political and religious life of the Roman Empire.

Capito's building projects have been considered to be part of reconstruction work to Miletus after an earthquake.[904] The famous earthquakes in A.D. 17 and 23 described by Tacitus struck some distance from Miletus and were also too early to be likely candidates for a Milesian quake.[905] Other earthquakes also affected Asia in A.D. 53[906] and A.D. 60,[907] but again, the location of the quakes prevent them being candidates for affecting Miletus. It is thought that around A.D. 47 an earthquake hit the eastern Mediterranean.[908] In their catalogue of ancient earthquakes Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina claim that it affected Samos; Ephesus; Smyrna; Hierapolis; Laodicea; Chios; and Delos. There are no surviving contemporary accounts for this earthquake, the nearest in date being Pliny the Elder's mention of Delos being struck by earthquakes at least twice, despite its supposed immunity.[909] Whilst this brief note offers nothing to date this earthquake, Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina suggest that Pliny's source, Licinius Mucianus, was in the province of Asia during the reign of Claudius and would have

[904] Habicht 1959, 163; specifically refers to an earthquake occurring during Claudius' reign.

[905] Tac. *Ann.* 2. 47. 1-4; 4.13.1.

[906] Tac. *Ann.* 12.58.2.; Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 192-193.

[907] Tac. *Ann.* 14.27.1.: Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 194-195.

[908] Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 188-190.

[909] Plin. *NH.* 4.66.

been able to give a first-hand account of this earthquake.[910] Mucianus' work described both natural and unnatural curiosities that he had seen, so earthquakes in places that were considered immune from seismic activity would certainly fall under Mucianus' remit. Mucianus was in the East during the reign of Claudius serving as governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, before commanding Syria and its legions.[911] Tacitus notes that Mucianus withdrew to Asia as he believed that Claudius was angry with him, but Tacitus does not mention whether Mucianus withdrew from Rome or Syria. Had it been the former, he may have travelled via the Cyclades, stopping at Delos. The nearest to Delos that Mucianus is known to have visited is the island of Andros to the north. Pliny informs us that, according to Mucianus, there was a spring on the island that tasted like wine on the *nones* of January.[912] If any of this account can be believed, it suggests that Mucianus did at least visit the archipelago at some point in his life. However, there is no surviving evidence to suggest that Mucianus was an eyewitness to an earthquake that affected Delos, Samos, or anywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean during the reign of Claudius.

Later written evidence for a Claudian earthquake is also rather problematic. John Malalas mentions extensive earthquake damage to Ephesus and Smyrna during Claudius' reign, and that the Emperor paid for reconstruction work in both cities.[913] Malalas does not date the earthquake that devastated these cities. Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana mentions that Apollonius correctly predicted damage to Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, and many Ionian cities.[914] This account only shows that at some point between Apollonius' birth in the first century A.D. and when Philostratus was writing in the third century, all these town succumbed to seismic activity. In his translation and commentary of Philostratus' text, C. P. Jones dates the Milesian earthquake to the reign of Claudius, but does not give any evidence to support his assumption.[915] The Byzantine chronicler George Syncellus adds that earthquake damage was suffered by Hierapolis, Laodicea, Colossae, and an Antioch at this time.[916] The issue here is that all these cities are some distance from Miletus, there may be more than one

[910] Traina 1987; Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 189.

[911] Baldwin 1995, 292. Tac. *Hist.* 1. 10; Jos. *AJ.* 12. 119; Suet. *Ves.* 6.

[912] Plin. *NH.* 2. 106.

[913] Malalas 10. 23.

[914] Philostr. *V. Apo.*4.6.

[915] Jones 2014, 333.

[916] Georg. *Sync.* 638.

earthquake involved, and George Syncellus relied on Eusebius for his dating, rather than a more contemporary source.[917]

The epigraphic evidence for an earthquake occurring in around A.D. 47 is found in two inscriptions from Samos, one Latin, one Greek, which refer to the rebuilding of its temple of Liber Pater with funds provided by Claudius:

> Ti(berius) Claudius Caesar Aug(ustus) / Germanicus, Pontifex / Maximus, Tribuniciae / Potestatis VII, Imp(erator) XV, Co(n)s(ul) IIII, / Pater Patriae, Censor, aedem Liberi Patris / vetustate et terra motu [conlapsam restituit].
>
> Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus,* granted tribunician power for the seventh time, (acclaimed) emperor for the fifteenth time, consul for the fourth time, father of his country, *censor,* [rebuilt] the Temple of Liber Pater, [which had collapsed] through age and because of an earthquake.[918]
>
> Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος / Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς / Γερμανικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς /μέγιστος [δημαρχικῆς] / ἐξουσια[ς τὸ ἕβδομον] / αὐτοκ[ράτωρ] / τὸ πεντε[ὶκαυδέκατον] / ὕπαντος [τὸ τέταρτον] πατὴρ [πατρίδος] / τειμητή[ς, τὸν ναὸν] / τοῦ Διο[νύσου] / [ἀρχαιότητι καὶ] / [σεισμῷ γενομένῳ] / [κατεφθαρμένον] / [ἀποκατέστησε][919]
>
> Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus,* in the seventh year of his tribunician power, in the fifteenth year of his imperial power, in his fourth year as consul, father of his country, *censor,* rebuilt the temple of Dionysus, which had been reduced to ruins through age and because of an earthquake.[920]

Claudius' seventh tribunician power date this inscription to A.D. 47/48. Whilst Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina quickly change from describing an earthquake that occurred in "about 47" to "the 47 A.D. earthquake,"[921] this text does not refer to an earthquake hitting the eastern Mediterranean in the year A.D. 47. The inscription, dated to A.D. 47, refers to Claudius having rebuilt the Temple of Liber Pater by that date, rather than to his pledging the money to rebuild it then. In other words, the Temple of Liber Pater was most likely destroyed in an earthquake

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917 Ritti 1985, 27; Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 190.

918 *AE* 1912 216 Trans. adapted after Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 188.

919 For reconstruction of the text see Freis 1985, 192.

920 *IG* XII, 6. Trans. adapted after Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 189.

921 Guidoboni, Comastri and Traina 1994, 188-189.

in the early A.D. 40s. and its reconstruction was completed in A.D. 47. If it was of a great enough magnitude, this same earthquake may have also affected Miletus. Despite the proliferation in scholarship of the theory that Capito's building projects were a response to Miletus being damaged by an earthquake, from the surviving written record it is far from clear whether an earthquake did strike Miletus at any point during Capito's lifetime. As a result, this assumption about his building projects must be reconsidered.

5.3. Gnaeus Vergilius Capito

Two statue bases found at Didyma provide the majority of our evidence for Capito's career. The first reads:

> ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων
>
> τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην
>
> Γναῖον Οὐεργίλιον Γναίου
>
> υἱὸν Φαλέρνα Καπίτωνα
>
> [τὸν] ἐπίτροπον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
>
> [Καί]σαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
>
> [ἔ]παρχον Ἀσιας καὶ Αἰγύπτου.
>
> The people of the Milesians (honoured) its own benefactor Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, son of Gnaeus, of the Falerna tribe, the procurator of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, prefect of Asia and Egypt.[922]

The second, discovered to the south of the Temple in the early 2000s, provides a more detailed *cursus*. The text was inscribed on a round statue base of white marble.[923] It has been dated to after A.D. 47,[924] the earliest possible date of his prefecture of Egypt, and reads:

> Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων
>
> Γναῖον Οὐεργίλιον Γναίου υἱὸν Φα-

[922] *IDidyma* 149.

[923] Günther and Ehrhardt 2008, 108.

[924] Ricl and Akat 2007, 29.

λέρνα Καπίτωνα, χιλίαρχον, ἔπαρ-

χον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἐπίτροπον Ἀσίας Τιβε-

ρίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ-

μανικοῦ, ἔπαρχον Αἰγύπτου, [τ]ὸν

ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην

The Milesian people (honour) Gnaeus Vergilius, son of Gnaeus, of the Falerna tribe, Capito, tribune, prefect in Rome, procurator of Asia of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, prefect of Egypt, its own saviour and benefactor.[925]

This is the only known text which details Capito's junior positions in the Roman administration. His military tribunate would have been held in late teens or early 20s. His position of ἔπαρχον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης is somewhat ambiguous. Unlike later in his career when he was ἔπαρχον Αἰγύπτου, the preposition ἐπὶ suggests that he was Prefect *at* Rome rather than Prefect *of* Rome. On the probable assumption that the offices are listed here in chronological order, its early place in his *cursus* inscription suggests that the role of ἔπαρχον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης would have still been a junior one, and it was very unlikely that a military tribune could have risen straight to *Praefectus Urbis.* Wolfgang Günther and Norbert Ehrhardt suggest that that ἔπαρχον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης refers to the *Praefectus Vigilum*, rather than the *Praefectus Annonae*, as prior to A.D. 48 the latter had been held for several decades by C. Turranius.[926]

In both these dedications, Capito was called *euergetes* and *soter kai euergetes*, which recognises his work in the city of Miletus. It is not known when these honours were bestowed upon Capito. Sturgeon asserts that he had already gained these titles during the reign of Caligula.[927] She does not quote any texts from the reign of Caligula where Capito is called *soter kai euergetes,* but references Capito's entry in *R.E.*[928] None of the texts that Stiglitz mentions that date to the reign of Caligula mention these titles, and there is no mention of them at all in the entry. The only inscription that refers to Capito that dates from the reign of Caligula does not mention the term *euergetes* at all.[929] So, Sturgeon's argument cannot be considered

[925] *SEG* 57-1109bis.

[926] Tac. *Ann.* 1.7; 11.31; Günther and Ehrhardt 2008, 113.

[927] Sturgeon 2004, 419.

[928] Stiglitz 1958, 2419-2420.

[929] *I Didyma* 148.

credible. Regardless of when these honours were bestowed, they were unusual honours for cities to grant to their own citizens in the first century A.D., as it was usually reserved for non-locals. However, like Zoilus in Aphrodisias, Theophanes of Mytilene,[930] and Xenon of Thyateira,[931] these honours were still given to those considered most worthy. Zoilus and Theophanes most likely gained these honours because of their work to gain their cities' freedom after the wars against Labienus and Mithridates respectively, whilst Xenon gained them perhaps for his priesthood and dedication to Thyateira.[932] Günther and Ehrhardt, and Habicht have argued that the awarding of these honours to Capito must have been associated with coming to the aid of Miletus after an earthquake.[933] As discussed above, the evidence for an earthquake in Miletus during Capito's lifetime is questionable but like Zoilus, Theophanes, and Xenon, Capito was clearly considered worthy of great honours and represented accordingly.

These two statue base inscriptions are the only texts that mention Capito's tribal affiliation. The Falerna tribe, which Capito and his father Gnaeus belonged to, has been described as one of two tribes whose sites are unquestionable.[934] The other was the Oufentina, and both were first organised in 318 B.C.[935] The Falerna tribe were located to the south of the Volturnus river, whilst the Oufentina were located much closer to Rome. Capito appears to have owned land in Tarracina, was located within the territory of the Oufentina tribe, not the Falerna.[936] Whilst tribal affiliations and settlement patterns did not always correspond, with two tribes so well defined spatially it may have been considered unusual for a Falerna to own land in Oufentina territory. Capito's tribal affiliation cannot rule out him owning land in Tarracina but its inclusion here is indicative of how Capito was represented in Miletus. He was represented as both a successful Roman official and a prestigious member of Milesian society.

The earliest of Capito's roles that can be dated are two that are not mentioned in any extant *cursus* inscriptions, those of high priest of Gaius at Miletus, and high priest of Asia. These roles would have been undertaken after he was *Praefectus Vigilum* but before he was Procurator of

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930 *IG* XII 2 163.

931 *TAM* V, 1098.

932 Harland 2014, 230-231.

933 Habicht 1959, 163; Günther and Ehrhardt 2008, 106.

934 Taylor 1960, 55.

935 Liv. 9. 20. 6.

936 Taylor 1960, 47.

Asia under Claudius. The evidence for him holding these roles also comes from Didyma, from an inscription commemorating the foundation, and founders of, the Temple of Gaius at Miletus:

> [Αὐτοκράτορα Γάϊον Κ]α̣ί̣σαρα Γερμανικὸ̣ν
> [Γερμανικοῦ υἱ]ὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸν vacat νεοπ̣ρ̣
> ι̣ο̣ὶ ο̣ἱ πρώτως νεοποιήσαντες αὐτοῦ
> ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Γναίου Οὐεργιλίου Καπίτωνος
> τοῦ μὲν ἐν Μειλήτωι ναοῦ Γαΐου Καίσαρος τὸ πρῶ-
> τον, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὸ τρίτον κ̣αὶ Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Δη-
> μητρίου νομοθέτου υἱοῦ Μηνογένους ἀρχιερέως
> τὸ δεύτερον καὶ νεωκόρου τοῦ ἐν Μειλήτωι ναοῦ vacat καὶ
> Πρωτομάχου τοῦ Γλύκωνος Ἰουλιέως τοῦ ἀρχινεοποι-
> οῦ καὶ σεβαστόνεω<ι> καὶ σεβαστολόγου vacat ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-
> ων ἀνέθηκαν. vacat
> Πρωτόμαχος Γλύκωνος Ἰουλιεύς vacat Νέων Ἀρτέμω-
> νος Μειλήσιος φιλογάϊος vacat Θεόπομπος Θεοπόμ-
> που Ἀσκληπιογένης Περγαμηνός vacat Σωχάρης Σωχάρους
> Ἀντιοχεύς vacat Πειθίας Πυθέου Κυζικηνός vacat Διοκλῆς v2
> Μοίτα Ἀπαμεύς vacat Γλύκων Εὐάρχου Λαοδικεύς vacat Ἱεροκλῆς
> Ἀρτεμιδώρου Καισαρεύς vacat Δαϊμένης Ἀντιγόνου Ἀδραμυ-
> τηνός vacat Πυλάδης Πανταλέοντος Φιλομηλεύς vacat Ἀσπά-
> σιος Ἀριστοκλέους Ἁλικαρνασσεύς vacat Ὀλυμπιανὸς
> Ποπλίου Ἱερώνυμος Ζμυρναῖος vacat Ἕρμιππος vacat Ἑρ-
> μίππου Σαρδιανός vacat οἱ φιλοσέβαστοι vacat
> γραφέντων τῶν ὀνομάτων κατὰ κλῆρον vacat

> The temple officials who first curated his temple dedicated with their own money (the statue of) Emperor Gaius Caesar Germanicus son of Germanicus the divine Augustus, Gnaeus Vergilius Capito was high priest of the temple of Gaius Caesar in Miletus for the first time and high priest of Asia for the third time, and (under) Tiberius Iulius Menogenes, son of the *nomothetes* Demetrius high priest for the second time and the custodian of the temple at Miletus and Protomachus son of Glycon of Iulia the chief temple builder and *sebastoneoi* and *sebastologos*: Protomachus son of Glycon of Iulia;

> Neon son of Artemon of Miletus *philo-Gaius*; Theopompus son of Theopompus of Pergamon, born to Asclepius; Sochares son of Sochares of Antioch; Peithias son of Peithias of Cyzicus; Diocles son of Moitas of Apamea; Glycon son of Euarchus of Laodicea; Herocles son of Artemidorus of Caesarea; Daimenes son of Antigonus of Adramyttium; Pylades son of Pantaleontus of Philomelion; Astasius son of Aristocleus of Halicarnassus. Olympianus Publius son of Hieronymus of Smyrna. Hermippos of Sardis, the *philosebastoi.* The (order of the) names were written by lot.[937]

Robert interprets the list of thirteen *neopoioi*, each from different cities including Miletus, as delegates of the main assize centres who represented the whole province at the establishment of the cult of Gaius.[938] The date of the foundation of the cult of Gaius at Miletus was thought to be AD. 40-41.[939] Cassius Dio discusses Gaius' order of the construction of a temple to him at Miletus in the same chapter as the birth of his daughter Iulia Drusilla in the summer of A.D. 39.[940] Philo of Alexandria states that by A.D. 40, Gaius was appearing in public dressed as gods and demigods.[941] Suetonius describes how, amongst other ambitious building projects, Gaius intended to complete the Temple of Apollo at Didyma.[942] There is no evidence to suggest that a Temple of Gaius was ever constructed at Miletus or Didyma, and the cult ceased upon Gaius' death[943] so it is probable that cult, if it indeed was practised formally, was centred around the Temple of Apollo.

The text states that Capito had been high priest of Asia three times and differentiates between this priesthood and his holding of the priesthood of Gaius at Miletus, of which he was in his first term of office when this text was inscribed. This implies that he had held the office of high priest of Asia elsewhere, either Pergamon or Smyrna, the only two Imperial *neokoroi* in Asia prior to the accession of Gaius. In addition to this observation, Louis Robert suggests that Capito was either chosen, or put himself forward, to be high priest of the cult of Gaius because he was already a "character of great fame", worthy of Gaius' calibre.[944] Robert also states that

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[937] *IDidyma* 148.

[938] Robert 1949, 222; Habicht 1975, 70-71.

[939] Robert 1949; Habicht 1975, 70; Sherk 1988, 81-82 no. 43; Herrmann 1994, 227-228; Thomas 2013, 149.

[940] Cass. Dio. 59.28.1; 7.

[941] Cass. Dio. 59.26.6; Philo. *Legat.* XI-XV.

[942] Suet. *Cal.* 21.

[943] Günther and Ehrhardt 2008, 104.

[944] Robert 1949, 209.

the other high priest mentioned in the inscription, Tiberius Iulius Menegenes, who had previously been high priest twice, was probably not a high priest of Gaius, but had been high priest of Asia at either Pergamon or Smyrna.[945]

This text has also been used to argue that Capito, despite his membership of the Falerna tribe, was a native Milesian, rather than a foreigner. Of all those involved in the Temple of Gaius, only he and the other priest of the cult, Tiberius Iulius Menogenes, do not have their ethnicity inscribed alongside their names. Pflaum suggests that if Capito was an outsider his ethnic would have been included so, as a result, he must be Milesian.[946] Robert however, turned this evidence around, suggesting that as Menogenes' ethnic is also not included, he must be a Milesian like Capito.[947] An issue arises when considering the priests' names and lack of ethnic alongside the list of the temple officials and their ethnics. The list includes the Milesian Neon, son of Artemon. The need to include Neon, son of Artemon's ethnicity may be explained by one or all of the following possibilities: he personally had previously not fulfilled any official roles in Miletus; he was the first member of his family to be involved in the civic or religious life of Miletus; he was the first member of his family to be born in Miletus; or it was included so that all the names in the list followed the same formula. Capito's lack of ethnicity in this text, particularly in context with the presentation of the rest of those involved in the Temple of Caligula, strengthens the claim that he was a Milesian, but the inclusion of Neon's ethnicity means the lack of Capito's cannot be entirely indicative of Milesian ethnicity. This text alone cannot be used as definitive evidence for Capito's Milesian origins but when considered alongside the evidence for his extended family's connection to Miletus it could be suggested that Capito was at the very least resident at Miletus when this text was inscribed. When his affiliation to the Falerna tribe is also considered, it shows that Capito was seen, and most likely saw himself, as a citizen of both Miletus and Rome.

The generally accepted *terminus ante quem* for Capito's term as Procurator of Asia has been calculated based upon the dates of his term as Prefect of Egypt. This more senior post that appears later in his, probably chronological, *cursus* can be dated the most securely of all his offices. The dating of his term is still not absolute and is based upon a number of texts. The

[945] Robert 1949, 209.

[946] Pflaum 1960 (vol 1), 33.

[947] Robert 1949, 209.

first is a dedicatory inscription erected by the third and twelfth legions from Ekfas in Lower Egypt, in which Capito is named as the Prefect:

> Ti(berius) Claudius Caesar
>
> Aug(ustus) Germanic(us) Pont(ifex)
>
> Maximus Trib. Potest VII
>
> Co(n)s(ul). IV. Imp. XV. P. P. Censor
>
> Leg(io). III et Leg(io). XXII
>
> Cn. Vergilio Capitone Praef(ecto).
>
> Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus (having held) tribunician power for the seventh time, Consul for the fourth time, Imperator for the fifteenth time, Father of the Fatherland, Censor, (put up by) the third and twelfth legions (when) Gnaeus Vergilius Capito was Prefect.[948]

Claudius' tribunician power and imperial salutations date this text from between 25th January A.D. 47 to 24th January A.D. 48. The latest known text for Capito's work in Egypt is preserved in the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and details a release from military service:

> ἀντίγραφον ἀπολύσεως
>
> ἔτους ιβ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
>
> Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
>
> Αὐτοκράτορος, Φαρμοῦθ(ι) κθ, Σεβαστ(ῇ)(*).
>
> ἀπελυθηι(*) [ὑ]πὸ Γναίου Οὐεργιλίου
>
> Καπίτων[ο]ς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
>
> ἀμφοτέρων
>
> Τρύφων Διονυσίου γέρδιος,
>
> ὑποχυμένος(*) ὀλίγον βλέπων,

948 *CIL* III 6024.

τῶν ἀπ’ Ὀξυρύγχων τῆς μητροπόλ(εως).

ἐπεκρίθ(η) ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρείᾳ).

ἐπεκρίθ(η) ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρείᾳ).

ἐπικέκριται

ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

"Copy of a release dated and signed in the twelfth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pharmouthi 29. Release from service was granted by Gn. Vergilius Capito, prefect of Upper and Lower Egypt, to Tryphon, son of Dionysius, weaver, suffering from cataract and shortness of sight, of the metropolis of Oxyrhynchus. Examination was made in Alexandria."[949]

Oscar Reinmuth dates Capito's term as prefect of Egypt based on the dates of these two texts to the period between before 25th January A.D. 48 and 24th April A.D. 52.[950] Pharmouthi 29 of the twelfth year of Claudius' reign corresponds to 24th April A.D. 52 in the Julian calendar.[951] It is thought that this text dates from near the end of Capito's term in office, as it is assumed that Capito's successor as Prefect of Egypt, L. Lucius Geta, was in post between A.D. 52 and A.D. 55. There is epigraphic evidence for L. Lucius Geta holding the post by A.D. 54[952] and the Ephesian Ti. Claudius Balbillus holding it between A.D. 55-59.[953] Paola Grandinetti states that Capito would have begun his term at some point in A.D 47.[954] This is the earliest date that Capito could have taken up the position of Prefect of Egypt as a dedication to Claudius, found in Rome, also dating from between 25th January A.D. 47 to 24th January A.D. 48 names Gaius Iulius Postumus as Prefect of Egypt:

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[949] *P.Oxy.* 39. Trans. Grenfell and Hunt 1898, 83.

[950] Reinmuth 1935, 132.3

[951] Leo Depuydt's 1997 study *Civic Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt* does not provide tables for converting between the Egyptian and Julian Calendar. However, the University of Heidelberg have created the following website, http://aegyptologie.online-resourcen.de/home, to convert dates in the Egyptian calendar to dates in the Later Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, Julian, and Gregorian calendars. Their work is based upon: Pestman 1967; 1994 and Skeats 1969.

[952] *AE* 1900, 28 = *IGR* I, 1118.

[953] Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 22; *Ann. serv.* XIII, 1913, 96; Günther and Ehrhardt 2008, 103.

[954] Grandinetti 2010, 96.

Pro Salute

Ti. Claudi. Caesaris. Aug. Germanici. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. VII. Cos. IIII

Imp. XV. P.P. Censoris ////////////////////////////////// Liberorumque //////

ex Voto. Suscepto. C. Iulius. Sex. F. Cor. Postumus. Praef. Aegypti

Ti. Claudi Caesarus Aug. Germanici ex Auri. P. XVI.

> For the safety of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power for the seventh time, consul for the fourth time, having been acclaimed *Imperator* for the fifteenth time, censor, [[*/////////*]] and of the children [[///////]] from the vow undertaken by Gaius Iulius Postumus, son of Sextus, of the Cornelia tribe, Prefect of Egypt. Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus 16 pounds weight of gold.[955]

The fairly accurate known start date for Capito's Prefecture of Egypt has led to the interpretation that he would have been Procurator of Asia sometime between the accession of Claudius in A.D. 41 and late A.D. 47. Epigraphic evidence testifies that Capito was prefect of Asia under Claudius, so his procuratorship must post-date the high priesthoods held under Caligula. His name appears in a dedicatory inscription to Claudius, found at Amyzon in Caria:

[Τ]ιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Καίσα-
ρι Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶ[ι]
καθιερώθη ἐγ μέρους
ὑπαρχόντων Εὐξένου
τοῦ Μενίππου κατὰ τὸ ἐπί-
κριμα τὸ Γναίου Οὐεργιλίου
[Κ]απίτωνος τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου

[955] *CIL* 6 918.

(This) was dedicated to Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus by a share of lots on the initiative of Euxenus son of Menippus in accordance with the decree of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, the procurator.[956]

Capito, in his role as Procurator of Asia, was actively involved in the granting of the bestowed upon Claudius and was most likely in Amyzon at the time. This text gives an indication of the power that Capito held in the province as its procurator. He was able to ratify the decree associated with the erection of this inscription. This implies that Capito had a degree of legal authority in the province and is testament to the development of the role of the provincial procurators away from simply managing the imperial property and finances in the provinces.

Sometime during his Procuratorship, the people of Cos honoured him[957]:

[Ὁ δ]ᾶμος ἀνέθηκεν Γν.

[Οὐεργίλι]ον Καπίτωνα Τιβερ(ίου)

[Κλαυδίου] Καίσαρος Σεβαστ(οῦ)

[Γερμανικ]οῦ ἐπίτροπον

[ἀρετᾶς ἕ]νεκα καὶ εὐνοίας

[τᾶς ἐς αὐ]τόν

The people set up (the statue of) Cn. Vergilius Capito procurator of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, on account of his virtue and favour towards them.[958]

Cos remained a free and independent state after the peace of Apamea until the reign of Augustus when it was incorporated into the province of Asia, losing both its free city status and its immunity from paying tribute to Rome.[959] The Coans had lost their freedom and

[956] Pflaum 1960, 32-33, no. 13*bis*, no. 4; Robert and Robert, 1983. no. 69 (PH); *BE* 1984:431.

[957] *SEG* 45 1067 refers to Werner Eck's 1995 reconstruction of the text, following it *ad verbatim*, but report that it was found on the island of Rhodes. In his discussion of the text, Eck states that it was found in the sanctuary of Asclepius on the island of Cos. (Eck 1995, 251) The editors of the 1935 edition of *L'Année Épigraphique* offer no comment on the text itself, but include it alongside other texts from the Coan sanctuary of Asclepius (Cagnat and Merlin 1935, 23-24.) which were originally published in 1932 by Goffredo Patriarca.

[958] *SEG* 45 1067; (Text) Eck 1995, 254.

[959] Sherwin-White 1978, 139; 145.

immunity by 27 B.C., but the exact date of the loss in unknown.[960] Susan Sherwin-White suggests that the loss of these privileges resulted from the Coans' alignment with Antony.[961] In A.D. 53 Claudius granted Cos immunity from tribute. According to Tacitus, this was brought about by the influence of the Emperor's Coan physician Gaius Stertinius Xenophon.[962] Cos had neither autonomy nor immunity from tribute during the possible years of Capito's procuratorship, so would have been under the direct control of the Procurator of Asia. This would explain why Capito was on the island, and one can suggest that his inscription was no doubt set up in recognition of a role he performed as Procurator of Asia. In the texts from both Amyzon and Cos, Capito is known only as the Procurator of Claudius. These texts have been relatively dated to A.D. 41-47, from the accession of Claudius to the beginning of Capito's Prefecture of Egypt, there is nothing to date either text more specifically than A.D. 41-54.

In his study, Pflaum does not attempt to define the date when Capito was Procurator of Asia, merely noting that it may or may not have immediately preceded his prefecture of Egypt.[963] The average length of many provincial posts, including the procuratorship of Asia, is difficult to estimate, both because of inadequate evidence and because the period of any office would have been at the discretion of the emperor.[964] However, estimates of Capito's tenure can be extrapolated from elsewhere. Between 30 B.C. and A.D. 236, ninety Prefects of Egypt are known. Whilst Capito held the post for four to five years (late A.D. 47-52), the average length of tenure was three years.[965] In Judaea, fifteen equestrian governors are known from 6 B.C.-A.D. 41 and A.D. 44-66, and whilst tenures were longer under Tiberius, the average length had fallen to three years under Claudius and Nero.[966] Whilst it is possible that Capito could have been Procurator of Asia from shortly after the accession of Claudius until he became Prefect of Egypt over six years later, the law of averages seems to suggest that this was unlikely. It is

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[960] Sherwin-White 1978, 147: (*SB Berl. Ak,* 1901, 486, no.4) "…the Coan *fasti* from Halasarna of the late first century B.C. and the first century A.D. We learn of the restitution of the Coan *nomoi* in year 105 of this list of priests of Apollo." The first priest mentioned in the text was in office in 27 B.C., and Cos had already lost its immunity then.

[961] Sherwin-White 1978, 148.

[962] Tac. *Ann* XII 61; Sherwin-White 1978, 149.

[963] Pflaum 1960 (vol 1), 33.

[964] Stein 1950, 186.

[965] Brunt 1983, 49; Stein 1950, 186; under Tiberius, C. Galerius served as Prefect of Egypt for 16 years.

[966] Brunt 1983, 49.

much more likely that he was Procurator of Asia for approximately three years sometime between A.D 41 and A.D. 47.

Capito was present in Miletus by A.D. 40-1 and was sent to Egypt to act as Prefect in late A.D. 47. It has always been assumed that for at least some of the intervening six to seven years he held his procuratorship of Asia. Definitive dating evidence for when Capito was Procurator of Asia does not survive, neither does evidence of a predecessor or successor. In other words, he could have been Procurator of Asia after his Prefecture of Egypt, or he may have held the post before and after his Prefecture. Pflaum and Sherwin-White's research suggests that the former would have been an unusual career move, the Prefecture of Egypt traditionally the more senior post. However, either scenario fits with what we know about Capito, his buildings, and his relationship to Miletus and the Roman administration. The text from Cos, more so than the text from Amyzon, aids the dating of Capito's *cursus.* Cos was granted autonomy in A.D. 53, the year after Capito returned from Egypt, so this text may date from as late as A.D. 53, rather than A.D. 41-47. In other words, Capito could have been acting as Claudius' procurator in Cos much later than previously thought. This later date for his either first, or potentially second, term procuratorship of Asia also aids our understanding of his relationship to Miletus and why he built his public monuments. Regardless of his connections to, or residency in, the city prior to the foundation of the cult of Gaius and his priesthood, it can now be suggested that Capito was resident in Miletus for at least some time, if not continuously, between A.D 40 and A.D. 47. Whilst the cult of Gaius did not continue in Miletus after his death, but it is not unfounded to say that Capito remained in a city where he had family connections at this time when he no longer held an imperial priesthood. It was only after A.D. 47 that it is known for certain he gained another official position in the Roman administration, in which he served in Egypt and Asia, returning to his hometown to dedicate monuments during the reign of Nero.

After his death, a text from Didyma testifies to the existence of the Capitoneia, that was either a festival or games. The text reads:

τύ[χῃ v. v. v. v. v. ἀγα]θῇ
προφήτης εὐσεβη[ς Οὔ]λπιος Ἀθηναγόρας
αὐτοέτης αὐτεπ[άγγελτ]ος πανηγυρικός
βούλαρχος, ἀγωνοθ[έτης τ]ῶν Μεγάλων Διδυ-
μείων Κομμοδείων, [ἀγω]νοθέτης Καπιτω-
νείων καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰ[ς καὶ] λειτουργίας τε[τε-]

λεκώς, ᾧ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐ[ν αὐ]τοματισμῷ ἔ[χρησε]
[τ]ἆλλα θ̣εμ̣ισ̣[—] π̣α̣[ρ]εχε[—]
- - ε - - - - - - -
Λητο ..3-4.. ανευετα - - - - - -

πατρὸς Οὐλ[πί]ου Ἀθηνα[γόρου - - - -]
πανηγυριαρχήσαντο[ς - - - - - - διὰ]
παντὸς τῶν πατέρων [γυμνασιαρχησάντων πάν-]
των τῶν γυμνασίων - - - - - - -
Μητρὸς Φλαβίας Κλεοσ[τράτης ὑδροφόρου τῆς]
Πυθίης Ἀρτ[έμι]δος, π - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

To good fortune.
Pious prophet Ulpius Athenagoras
in the same year of his self-appointed *panegyricus*
of the senate, *agonothete* of the great Didymaean
Commodeia, *agonothete* of the Capitoneia
and performed other offices and liturgies
to whom the god responded spontaneously
another laid down - - - hand over
- - - - - - e - - - - - -
Leto(?)- - - - (ανευετα)
his father Ulpius Athenagoras
having served as panegyriarchus through
all of the fatherland, having served as gymnasiarch
of all the gymnasia - - - - - - -
his mother Flavia Cleostrates, water bearer
of Pythia Artemidia p - - - - - - - - -[967]

[967] *IDidyma* 278.

The text dates from during or soon after the reign of Commodus,[968] and when it was first published, the honorand of the Capitoneia games was thought to be our Gnaeus Vergilius Capito.[969] Rehm's identification was corroborated by Robert,[970] and Habicht, who links the granting of the Capitoneia with Capito's work to rebuild Miletus after it was damaged by an earthquake.[971] However, as discussed above, the evidence for an earthquake hitting Miletus at this time is somewhat negligible. Since the text was published the identification of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito as the honorand of the Capitoneia has been challenged. Ehrhardt suggests that the Capitoneia was more likely held in honour of a Vergilius from the second century A.D., for example the *archiprytanis* of A.D. 135-136 of the same name recorded in an honorary inscription for Hadrian.[972] This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that if this was our Capito, he would have been the only person recorded in the calendar who was alive in the first century A.D. Whilst there is insufficient evidence to prove which Capito the Capitoneia honoured, a case can still be made for it being in honour of our first century A.D. Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, rather than a descendent of the same name.

Based on all known evidence about the lives and careers of Capito and his second century A.D. *archiprytanis* namesake, the former's achievements seem to have merited the honour more. He was related to one of the most important Milesian families and had served as a high priest in the city and, most tangibly, constructed public monuments in Miletus. The second century A.D. Capito may have only been *archiprytanis* which, although an important position within Milesian society, is unlikely to have warranted an honour as prestigious as an eponymous festival. Ehrhardt notes that other *archiprytaneis* are mentioned in the calendar but does not give any indication of whether they, or the second century A.D. Vergilius Capito had founded a festival, had a festival named after them, or whether they had done something that resulted in the foundation of a festival. Without further evidence for his life and career it is hard to attribute the honour of the Capitoneia to the second-century A.D. Capito. What makes such an attribution more doubtful are the trends surrounding the practice of offering games in honour of individuals during the first and second centuries A.D. Games and cults in honour of

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968 Fontenrose 1988, 232 dates the text to A.D. 202.

969 A. Rehm in both his commentary on the text in *I.Didyma* and in *Milet* 1.9 *Thermen und Palaestren*, nos. 328-9 identifies the Vergilius Capito mentioned as the first century A.D. Procurator of Asia and Prefect of Egypt.

970 Robert 1949, 209.

971 Habicht 1959, 163.

972 *I.Milet* I 2, 20; Ehrhardt 1984, 391.

individuals originated in the Hellenistic period and, in both mainland Greece and Asia Minor, were most often associated with the kings.[973] With the coming of Rome, the worship of these royal benefactors was gradually substituted by the worship of major citizen benefactors instead.[974] The cult of Xenon of Thyateira, known to have occurred in the 20s B.C. is a famous example.[975] Despite Augustus' attempts to quash the practice,[976] cults to other private individuals date from after the outlawing. These include the cult of C. Vibius Postumus from Samos, dating from either A.D. 6-9 or A.D. 12-15,[977] and another concerning the Imperial procurator Geminus[978] from Megalopolis has been dated on relative grounds to the first century A.D. In both these cases, the cultic aspects of the honours are obvious; like Xenon of Thyateria, C. Vibius Postumus is called a "hero"[979], whilst Geminius is described as being "honoured like the gods".[980] Price is somewhat derogatory in his analysis of both heroic cults and of those based upon those of the gods for mortals. The former he describes as having gone through "a process of debasement", and the latter as "no more than a final stage of 'grade inflation'" and that such cults "cannot be more than honours."[981] Regardless of the exact significance of being referred to as a hero or honoured like the gods, the appearance of these terms in the honorific

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[973] Price 1984, 25-40; Gauthier 1985, 39-75.

[974] Thériault 2001, 86; the earliest attested games in honour of a Roman magistrate are those held in honour of the proconsul M. Marcellus at Syracuse, shortly after 212 B.C (Plut. Marc. 23, 7). They were abolished by Verres around 73-71 B.C. but were still considered an important event then (Cic. Verr. II, 51-52; 154; IV, 151).

[975] *TAM* V,2 1098 (Trans. adapted after Harland 2014, 300); ὁ δῆμος / τọ̀ Ξενώνηον καὶ τὴν ἐντο- / [μ]ὴν [κα]θιέρωσεν Γαΐωι Ἰουλίωι Ἀπο[λ]- / [λωνί]δου υἱῶι Ξένωνι ἥρωι εὐερ- / γέṭηι γεγονότι ἀρχιερεῖ τοῦ / [Σ]ε[βαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ θεᾶς Ῥώ]- / [μης καὶ εὖ πεποιηκότι πᾶσαν τὴν] / Ἀσίαν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κ̣ạτὰ πά[ν]- / τα σωτῆρι καὶ εὐεργέτηι καὶ κτ[ί]- / [στη]ι καὶ πατρὶ γεγονότι τῆς πα- / [τρί]δος, πρώτῳ Ἑλλήνων. κατ[ε]- / σ̣[κεύα]σαν οἱ <Ἰ>ουλιασ[ταί]. The People dedicated the sanctuary for Xenon and the hewn stone to Gaius Iulius Xenon son of Apollonides, hero and benefactor, who had become high priest of Caesar Augustus and goddess Roma and who had made the greatest benefactions for all of Asia. He was a saviour, benefactor, and founder in relation to all and became father of the fatherland, foremost among the Greeks. The Iuliasts prepared (this monument)

[976] Cassius Dio 56.25.6.

[977] *IG* XII 6 1 365 = *OGIS* 469 = *IGR* IV 963.

[978] *IG* V 2 435.

[979] *IG* XII 6 1 365 = *OGIS* 469 = *IGR* IV 963; ὁ δῆμος Γαΐωι Οὐβίωι Ποστόμω[ι] τὸ τρις ἀνθυπατωι, ἥρωι [[*rasura?*]] εὐεργέτηι [[ἀ[θ]ήμεραν]]

[980] *IG* V 2 435 ll. 6-7; Γέμενον ἐπ̣[ίτροπον Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα] / ρος τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις

[981] Price 1984, 24.

rhetoric associated with Xenon, C. Vibius Postumus and Geminius implies something more cultic in nature than any of the surviving honorific material associated with Capito. Whilst such epigraphic evidence has not survived in Capito's case, an eponymous festival suggests a prestigious honour, where he may have been treated like a hero. Games and festivals in honour of individuals were unusual when our Capito was alive in the first century A.D. and would have been even more so by the Hadrianic period when his *archiprytanis* namesake was active in Miletus. Our knowledge of the careers of these two Capitones, and the history of offering festivals and cultic activity in honour of individual benefactors suggests that the Capitoneia was instigated to honour the first century A.D. Gnaeus Vergilius Capito: tribune; prefect at Rome; high priest of Asia and of Gaius at Miletus, procurator of Asia, prefect of Egypt and architectural benefactor. The date of the foundation of the Capitoneia is unknown, but it may have been a posthumous foundation, occurring on the date of his death. If Thonemann is correct in suggesting that Capito's family remained in Miletus until the fourth century A.D., their presence might help to explain the Capitoneia's longevity and the preservation of their ancestor's memory.

A second text which may also testify to the enduring honours that Capito received comes from fragments of a calendar recording days of remembrance for both private people and deified emperors.[982] It was found in Miletus, dates from either shortly after A.D 195 or A.D. 215 and states that 6th August was a memorial for a Vergilius Capito.[983] August 6th may have been the

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[982] Ehrhardt 1984, 384-391; those honoured include: Lucius Verus; Antoninus Pius: Commodus; Licinius Arrianus; and Philauianus Apollonius. 389; Trajan and Hadrian are also known to have connections to Miletus and may have been honoured in the calendar too.

[983] *SEG* 34 1186;

A	B
μη(νὸς) ια' ιγ' Οὐεργιλ(ίου)	μη(νὸς) ια' ιε' θεοῦ
Καπίτωνος	Κομμόδου ἐκ προ-
vac	
- - - - - - - - - -	[σόδων δημοσίων ?]
- - - - - - - - - -	
- - - - - - - - -	

Ehrhardt 1984, 379; Thériault 2001, 92-93.

date when the Capitoneia was held, but without specific reference to a festival in the calendar, it can only be speculated that the two fell on August 6th. The private people whose names appear in the calendar alongside those of the emperors are thought to be *euergetai* of the city.[984] If so, this is the only known example from the East of an epigraphic monument where both Emperors and *euergetai* were honoured together.[985] The inscription naming Pompey alongside Theophanes and the *euergete* Potamon from Mytilene, mentioned in Chapter 2, presents an example where a Roman leader is represented alongside a city's *euergetai,* so the practice of honouring Roman leaders alongside a city's benefactors is itself not unique.[986] However, the text from Mytilene is very different to the Milesian calendar text. The former would have likely celebrated the three men together at one particular event or for one particular achievement. The specific purpose of the latter was to ensure the lasting memorial of Capito alongside the deified emperors. The lack of comparable texts from the Imperial period only strengthens the importance and significance of Capito and his work for the people of Miletus.

The fact that a 'Vergilius Capito' day appears in the Milesian calendar alongside days honouring the deified emperors and other *euergetai* and that, possibly at the same time, a festival called the Capitoneia was held strengthens the case that a Vergilius Capito at Miletus received honours that could be perceived as akin to the cults of individuals seen in the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. Our Gnaeus Vergilius Capito's designation as the Milesians' own saviour and benefactor and the prestigious and extensive nature of his work in both Miletus and in the wider Roman Empire suggests that he would have been a worthy recipient of the honour of a memorial day, and/or a festival. It is impossible to rule out that, on August 6th, as late as the early third century, the Milesians gathered to remember their great benefactor Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, a tradition kept alive by his descendants who still lived in the area. If this memorial day and associated activities were cultic in nature, the original eponymous recipient of them was more likely to be the first century A.D. Gnaeus Vergilius Capito. The Capitoneia and his memorial day on August 6th were fitting rewards for a man who was an important figure in both local Milesian, and wider Roman society.

[984] Ehrhardt 1984, 390.

[985] Ehrhardt 1984, 398.

[986] *IG* XII 2 163.

5.4. The Stage Building of the Theatre

Gnaeus Vergilius Capito dedicated the new stage building of the theatre. This monument is discussed first, not because it pre-dated the baths, but because there is enough evidence to date the monument on relative criteria. A relative date is lacking for the Baths, but the date of the stage building questions current scholarship on the dating of the Baths, and with these implications in mind, the dating of the theatre is discussed first.[987] The dedicatory inscription was found *in situ* in three pieces on the architrave of the stage above the central door. [988] The inscription, whose letters are 0.1 metres high, with line spaces ranging between 0.015 and 0.02 metres[989] is very fragmentary:

AYTO [---------------]

KAI [------------------]

OYE [--------------------]TOY

KAI [----------------------]I[990]

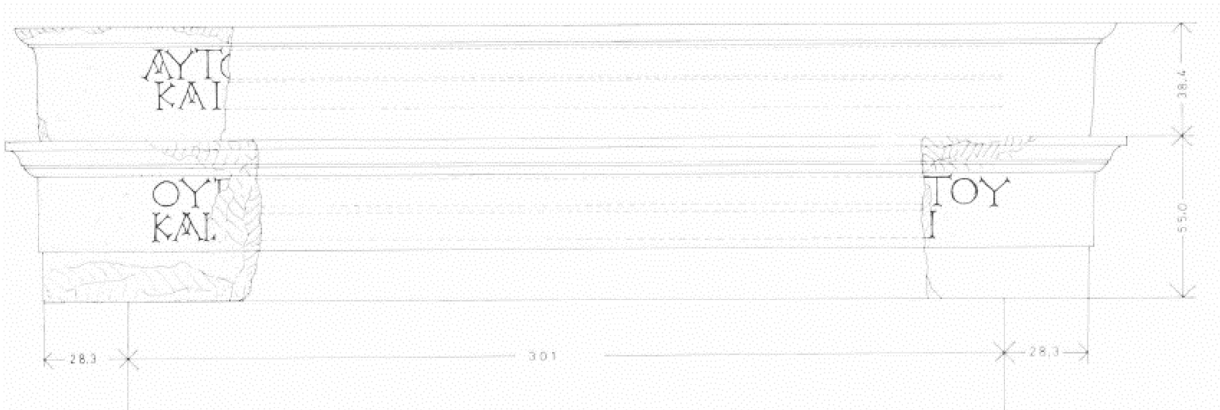

Figure 64: Reconstruction of the in-situ elements of the dedicatory inscription from the theatre stage, Miletus. (Herrmann 1986, 178)

[987] However, Altenhöfer 1986, 173 categorically states that the theatre post-dates the Baths of Capito.

[988] Sturgeon 2004, 419.

[989] Herrmann 1986, 176-177.

[990] Herrmann 1986, 176.

This version of the text was presented at the *Milet 1899-1980* colloquium in Frankfurt by Peter Herrmann, and he initially interpreted OYE to be the first letters of the name of the Emperor Vespasian.[991] He later suggested two reconstructions of the text, one naming Vespasian and Titus as the ones responsible, the other naming Titus and Domitian.[992] Herrmann's initial suggestion that the theatre stage dates to the reign of one of the Flavians may be the reason for Sear's dating of the monument to this period.[993] Later in the article, Herrmann mentions both a fourth fragment of the inscription, found in the bouleuterion, but now known to be part of the theatre text, and the presence of a rasura on its left side.[994] This fourth piece contains the letters Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ on one line, and ωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ τῶι Δήμ below. After considering Gaius, Nero, and Domitian as possible honorands, he settles on Nero, but does not include Capito as the benefactor in any of his reconstructions.[995] He also did not suggest Claudius as a potential honorand at any point, and left the question of the meaning of OYE and its relationship to AYTO in the first line unanswered.[996] In the same colloquium, whilst focusing on the extant archaeological remains rather than the epigraphic material, Erich Altenhöfer stated that the first Roman stage building dated from the reign of Claudius.[997] In his note at the end of Herrmann's article written in 1984, four years after the colloquium, Donald McCabe reconstructs the inscription to suggest that OYE formed the first letters of Vergilius, rather than Vespasian. He concluded that Capito was the benefactor of the monument and that it was probably dedicated to Nero.[998] The publication of all the fragments in *SEG* in 1986 includes details of a rasura just before Καίσαρι and this strengthens the case that Nero was the more likely honorand.[999] McCabe reconstructs the text as follows:

Αὐτο[κράτορι [[Νέρωνι]]] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ[ι]
καὶ [Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ τῶι Δήμ[ωι]
Ουἐ[ργίλιος Καπίτων ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπ]του

[991] Herrmann 1986, 177.

[992] Herrmann 1986, 179.

[993] Sear 2006, 344.

[994] Herrmann 1986, 180.

[995] Herrmann 1986, 180-184

[996] Herrmann 1986, 182.

[997] Altenhöfer 1986, 171.

[998] McCabe 1986, 186-189.

[999] *SEG* 36 1057.

καὶ Ạ[σίας ἐπίτροπος ἀνέθηκε]ṿ.[1000]

To the Emperor Nero Caesar Augustus, Apollo of Didyma and the People, Vergilius Capito, Prefect of Egypt and Procurator of Asia dedicated (this).

Figure 65: Reconstruction of the dedicatory inscription of the theatre stage building in Miletus, taking into account the text of the fourth fragment. (McCabe 1986, 188.)

This dedicatory formula is different from those of the benefactors discussed so far. Unlike Zoilus' which do not include any mention of the Emperor, or those of Pollio and Proculus and the Aphrodisian families who honour the city deity, then the Emperor and finally the *demos*, in this dedication the Emperor is the primary honorand. This is a development that began to occur under the later Julio-Claudians and would have emphasised the increasing influence of the Roman administration and prestige of the Emperor in the provinces. At Miletus, Capito's monuments seem to be the first instance of the use of the Emperor as the primary honorand. The formula next seems to occur here during the reign of Domitian. A dedication to Domitian and the *demos* by the *prophetes* Gaius Iulius Antiochus[1001] and a broken architrave block which appears to be dedicated to Domitian and other honorands[1002] survive from the city. This formula does not become the standard formula in Miletus. Whilst dedicatory inscriptions where the Emperor is the primary honorand have also been found there dating to the reign of Hadrian,[1003]

[1000] McCabe 1986, 188.

[1001] *IMilet* I 6, 189.

[1002] *IMilet* VI, 2 9123

[1003] *IMilet* I 2, 22; VI 3, 1333.

dedications where the Emperor was not the primary honorand have been found dating to the reigns of both Trajan[1004] and Hadrian.[1005]

Elsewhere in Asia, a mixture of the two forms of dedication also occurred. The Emperor-first formulation occurs in Ephesus during the reign of Domitian, where dedication of a statue group to him and the demos by Tiberius Claudius Nysius,[1006] and a fragmentary architrave dedication in which Domitian appears to be the primary honorand[1007] are known. Despite the appearance of the Emperor-first formulation in Ephesus at this time, there are many examples of dedicatory inscriptions where Artemis, not Domitian, is the primary honorand.[1008] Dedications where the Emperor was the primary honorand are known to Trajan at Ceramus,[1009] Antoninus Pius at Ceramus[1010] and Stratoniceia[1011] and Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, Iulia Domna and their family, also at Ephesus.[1012] Yet, there are far more examples of the dedication formula where the Emperor is not the primary honorand. Examples of this formula have been found in dedications to Nerva or Trajan,[1013] Trajan,[1014] Hadrian or Antoninus Pius,[1015] Hadrian,[1016] and Antoninus Pius,[1017] all at Ephesus, Hadrian at Iasos[1018] and Aphrodisias[1019] and Antoninus Pius at Smyrna.[1020]

1004 *IMilet* I. 9. 301.

1005 *IDidyma* 58; *CIG* 2863; *IMilet* I 7, 301; *CIG* 2866; *IMilet* I 7, 302; *IMilet* VI 3, 1326; *IMilet* VI, 3 1332; *IMilet* VI 3, 1346; *IMilet* VI 3, 1347; *IMilet* VI 3, 1349

1006 *SEG* 13, 512.

1007 *IvE.* 263A.2.1.

1008 *IvE* 413.1; 418; 2034; 2035; 2047; 3005; 3008; JÖAI 62, 1993, 125, no.15.

1009 *IKeramos* 17; *IKeramos* 18.

1010 *IKeramos* 21.

1011 *IStratonikeia* 1009.

1012 *IvE* 435 and Add. p. 11.

1013 *IvE* 264B and Add. p. 7.

1014 *IvE* 421; 422 and Add. pp. 9-10; 424A and Add. P. 10; 424; 425A; 430; 470; 509; 517; 857 and Add. p. 22.; 858 and Add. p. 22.; 2037

1015 *IvE* 280B

1016 *IvE* 273; 1260; JÖAI 62, 1993, 122/3, No. 12.

1017 *IvE* 431 and Add. p. 11; 438; 469; 586; 1503; *SEG* 34, 1123

1018 *SEG* 36, 987.A

1019 *IAph2007* 5.207; 5.208.

1020 *ISmyrna* 767.

This brief overview of the epigraphic evidence has shown that there was not a standard way of honouring the Emperor in relation to other honorands. Whether the Emperor was the primary or a secondary honorand in the province of Asia does not seem to have been affected by geographical or chronological factors. The practice of placing the Emperor as the primary honorand appears to post-date honouring him secondarily to a city's patron deity but in Asia the former does not replace the latter. As both practices occur simultaneously in the cities of Asia, the choice of dedicatory formula cannot be dictated either by local, or Roman, convention. Instead, those involved in the dedication would have had the freedom to choose the way that they honoured the Emperor, and their city's patron deity and people. This in turn, represented the benefactor's relationship to each of the honorands, and their response to the influence of Rome.

Capito appears to have been one of the first benefactors, whose dedications survive, to use the Emperor-first dedicatory formulation. His roles in both local and Roman society could explain the presentation of the honorands here. As a former provincial official who was now dedicating public buildings in his home city, he could use this authority to ensure that the honorands were presented in the manner which he considered most appropriate. Alternatively, the city were the ones in the more active role and chose to present the Emperor as the primary honorand because of Capito's former offices and position in Roman society. Capito is represented as owing much of his influence and prestige to the Roman administration so whilst the local deity and people of his city are included in the dedication, his primary and worthiest recipient was the Emperor.

Of the Roman citizens in this study who can be described as "officials" i.e. Zoilus, Pollio and Proculus, and Capito, there is a major difference in the inscriptions of one of them in comparison to the other two. The phrases de sua pecunia and ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων appear in both the Marnas aqueduct bridge and the Basilica Stoa inscriptions. These phrases are not found in any of the inscriptions of any of the other benefactors in the study, Roman citizen or not. As argued in Chapter 3, Pollio and Proculus were outsiders sent to Ephesus to oversee the construction of the Aqua Throessitica who decided to remain in the city after the project was complete. As recent migrants to Ephesus they would not have the same authority to construct public monuments there as longstanding residents such as Zoilus and Capito would have had in Aphrodisias, and Miletus, respectively. By including confirmation of their own personal contribution to their projects their money and their willingness to contribute gave Pollio and Proculus the authority to build in Ephesus, rather than the holding of a Roman or local office.

Neither Zoilus nor Capito here, on the other hand, needed to include any indication of their generosity as they, as established residents of their cities, did not need to legitimise their work.

From all surviving textual evidence, it can be said with certainty that Capito cannot have held either his procuratorship of Asia or his prefecture of Egypt under Nero. Ségolène Demougin suggests that Capito retired from public life in A.D. 52,[1021] and in her defence of a Neronian date for the theatre stage, Sturgeon suggests that the gift may have occurred at the end of Capito's long career, possibly in anticipation of a final, large honour from the city.[1022] A part of this honour, she argues, was the foundation of his cult, but not the Capitoneia games, which she claims Capito himself founded.[1023] Whether or not Capito retired from his career in Roman provincial administration in A.D. 52. cannot be proven, but unlike other scholars, Sturgeon explicitly states that Capito no longer held either of his official positions when these monuments were dedicated. She interprets the dedicatory inscription from the theatre as follows:

> "At Miletus Cn. Vergilius Capito, once procurator of Asia and prefect of Egypt, built the first Roman stage building and dedicated it to Nero, to the Didymean Apollo, and to the *demos* (A.D. 54-68)."[1024]

Sturgeon implies therefore that these positions did not give him the authority to build these monuments. Whilst he was not in office when the buildings were dedicated, he may have been when they were first initiated, particularly if the dedication occurred very early in Nero's reign. Alternatively, the dedication to Nero implies that the project may not have been started until after Capito finished his term as Prefect of Egypt in A.D. 52.[1025] Either of these timescales strengthen the case that Capito continued to reside in Miletus. He no longer held any Imperial authority in the province which would have compelled him to be involved in such work, so would not have had any official reason for being in Miletus. Combined with his known family connections to Miletus, it is most likely that, having served his term as Prefect of Egypt, he returned there, and dedicated these buildings not because it was his duty as an Imperial official,

[1021] Demougin 1992, 569-571.

[1022] Sturgeon 2004, 424.

[1023] Sturgeon 2004, 420; she provides no evidence to prove whether Capito founded his own games or whether the Capitoneia was established by the city of Miletus.

[1024] Sturgeon 2004, 419.

[1025] Reinmuth 1935, 132.

but because he was willing and able to carry out the work. It cannot be stated with the same degree of certainty that the cult of Capito at Miletus was a direct response to his building projects as Sturgeon seems to suggest, but his benefactions would almost certainly have been a contributing factor to the honours that he received.

The theatre stage building clearly indicates how Capito was represented through his architectural benefactions. The dedicatory inscription of the theatre stage building, even with the addition of the fourth piece, is still highly fragmentary, but enough survives to show that the emperor was the primary honorand. As would be expected in a dedication by a Roman citizen and official, the Emperor is presented as the primary honorand. But, with the inclusion of Capito's prestigious, former, titles, he was represented as someone prestigious and worthy of honour. This is an older, Greek practice, reminiscent of the epigraphic habits of Zoilus or the Aphrodisian families. Neither Mazaeus and Mithridates, nor Pollio and Proculus are represented as successful or prestigious citizens with long lists of titles or official positions. Here both Capito and the Emperor were represented as worthy of honour.

Although the surviving remains are almost entirely Roman, the Milesian theatre was Hellenistic in origin, the earliest phases dating to the third quarter of the third century B.C.[1026] A series of excavations carried out in the early twentieth century have identified four different stage buildings predating the additions by Capito. The earliest phase of construction has been dated to the mid-third century B.C., with the second occurring possibly within a few decades of the first. The third and fourth phases are thought to have been constructed in the mid, and late, second century respectively.[1027] With a front measuring 140 metres across and an estimated capacity of 15,000, it was probably the largest theatre in Asia Minor.[1028] The *cavea* originally had three tiers, the lowest of which was built into a slope, and it was slightly over semi-circular.[1029] The Hellenistic stage building was dismantled down to its lowest levels, which were then incorporated into a limestone platform that formed the foundation of the new Roman stage building.[1030] To accommodate the new Roman stage, the orchestra was lowered by

[1026] Müller-Wiener 1996; Sear 2006, 344.

[1027] For an overview of the Hellenistic material found in these early twentieth century excavations see Krauss 1973, 5-61.

[1028] Kleiner 1968, 69; Krauss 1973, 63; Müller-Wiener 1996.

[1029] Kleiner 1968, 69-70; Sear 2006, 343.

[1030] Altenhöfer 1986, 167.

approximately 0.7 metres from its Hellenistic level.[1031] Capito's stage building occupied the entire front of the theatre, measuring approximately forty metres wide. In the building phase which Capito was responsible for the stage building had two storeys.[1032] The theatre stage building at Ephesus at this time also had two storeys, yet Zoilus' stage at Aphrodisias had three.[1033] A third storey was added at Miletus in the second century A.D. Rising from the orchestra, immediately preceding the *scaenae* was a podium 1.762 metres high.[1034] Within the podium there were seven uniformly distributed niches that were decorated, framed with marble and had coffered ceilings.[1035] The Roman stage building, like its Greek predecessor, was not connected to the parodos wall; a more typical Roman construction at this time would have been for the stage building and cavea to be connected.[1036]

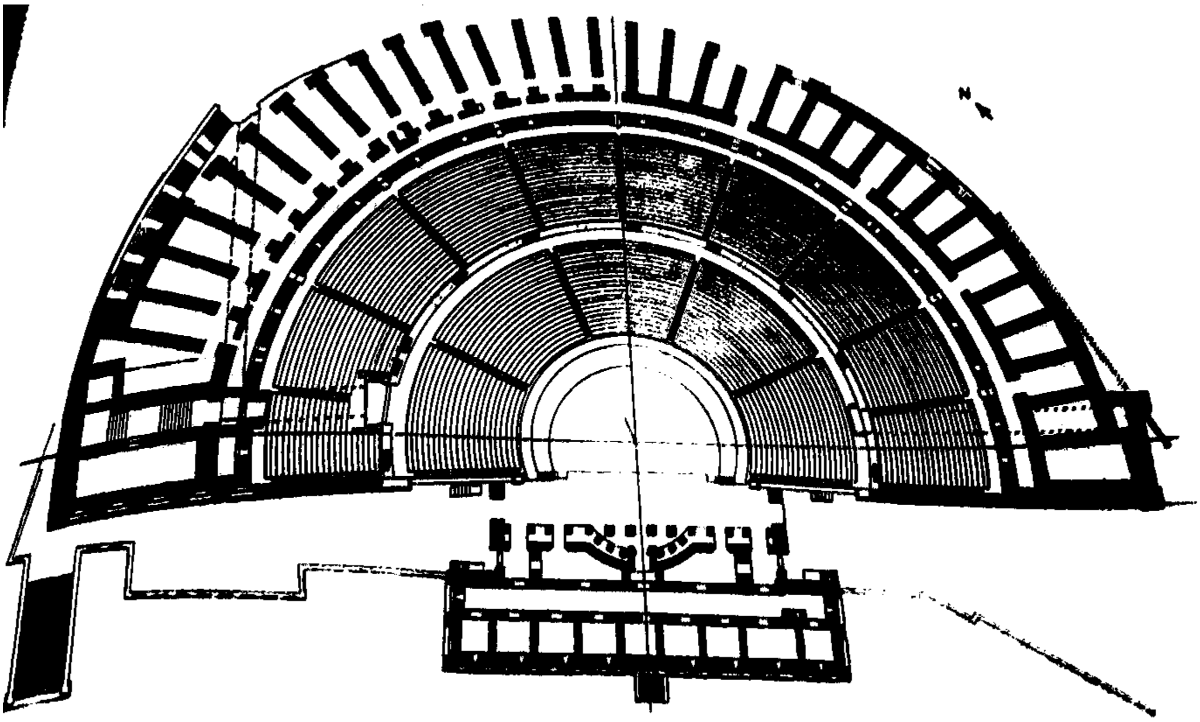

Figure 66: Plan of the Theatre at Miletus (Sear 2006, 343).

[1031] Krauss 1973, 66; 184.

[1032] Krauss 1973, 62; Müller-Wiener 1996.

[1033] Altenhöfer 1986, 172.

[1034] Krauss 1973, 76.

[1035] Krauss 1973, 70-73.

[1036] Altenhöfer 1986, 171

The walls of Capito's stage were mainly constructed of while limestone and were faced with white-grey marble slabs. Brown and white *poros* and gneiss were used in its foundations.[1037] Although Krauss offers no details as to the origins of these materials in his discussion, there were probably locally sourced materials. The blocks were of uneven size and the joints between them varied throughout the building. Some were filled with smaller stones, whilst the others were mortared.[1038] The façade was richly decorated.[1039] Altenhöfer remarks that Capito's stage building brought a completely new style of architecture to Miletus as there were no other similar façades in the city.[1040] Whilst new to Miletus, such façades were already present elsewhere in the province: the recessed arch of the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate at Ephesus and the propylon from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively, are earlier examples of this feature.

Later, Altenhöfer notes that Capito's stage building is the oldest known example in Asia Minor of what he describes as "Tabernakelversetzung".[1041] This refers to the arrangement of the aediculae on the façade so that those on the upper storey are off-set in relation to those on the lower storey, rather than being directly above them. A famous example of this arrangement of aediculae is found on the façade of the second century A.D. Library of Celsus. Although not mentioned by Altenhöfer, a closer example both geographically and chronologically of the same arrangement of aediculae is found on the façade of the Domitianic Nymphaeum, built by Marcus Victor Traianus, the father of the emperor Trajan.[1042]

[1037] Krauss 1973, 69-70

[1038] Krauss 1973, 69-70.

[1039] Krauss 1973, 70.

[1040] Altenhöfer 1986, 171.

[1041] Altenhöfer 1986, 172.

[1042] Hülsen 1919, 53; Gros 1996, 428.

Figure 67: The Library of Celsus, Ephesus (April 2011).

The theatre stage at Miletus combined architectural and decorative elements that were new and innovative for the city with ones that would have been more familiar in a provincial context. The arrangement of the aediculae sat alongside older Hellenistic architectural decorative features such as egg-and-dart motifs and bands of alternating open and closed palmettes.[1043] In addition to the innovative arrangement of the columns on the façade, Capito's stage included unfluted monolithic columns of coloured marble, some of Euboean Cipollino,[1044] and others with red to blue veins.[1045] Kleiner gives no further description of this marble, but its colouring suggests that it may be Pavonazzetto, sourced from further east in Asia Minor. Alternatively, it may have been Egyptian porphyry, which Pliny describes as being sourced during the reign of Claudius from near Alexandria.[1046] The reddish colouration characteristic of Egyptian porphyry forms less vein-like features than the equivalent colouration in Pavonazzetto, but as

[1043] Krauss 1973, 71.

[1044] The author has been unable to access the most comprehensive study of the sourcing of Euboean Cipollino, which is I. Papageorgakis' 1964 article Τα αρχαία λατομεία του καρύστιου μαρμάρου (Ancient quarries of Karystian marble) published in the *Annals of Academy of Athens* 39, 262 - 278.

[1045] Kleiner 1968, 71.

[1046] Plin. *NH.* 36, 11.

Capito is known to have been stationed in Alexandria during his term as Prefect of Egypt, he may have had the necessary connections there to buy and import porphyry.

This thesis has argued that provincial architectural benefactors who had interacted with, or had been influenced by, Roman culture, rule, and practices, functioned as agents to introduce new elements into their own city. There are a number of elements found in the stage façade which had not been seen before in Miletus, and as seen elsewhere with the other benefactors in this thesis, Capito's connections to the Roman administrative system and experience of Roman cultural practices in both Italy and beyond would have influenced the way that his buildings were constructed. The use of coloured marbles was very unusual before the late Hellenistic period, but became increasingly popular under Augustus and his immediate successors.[1047] Cipollino in particular was hardly used by the Greeks, but was extensively exploited by the Romans between the first century B.C. and second century A.D.[1048] There is evidence for its usage at this time in Italy, mainland Greece and the Islands, Asia Minor, North Africa, the Near East and Dalmatia.[1049] Whilst unexploited by the Greeks, it was particularly favoured in both Rome and Campania for public and official buildings usually, as here, for columns.[1050] Capito may have seen Cipollino marble in Rome while he was prefect there and possibly in Campania, the traditional heartland of his tribe.[1051] If Capito had seen Cipollino in Italy, and perhaps also porphyry in Alexandria, and had the ways and means to obtain them, Capito's own experiences gained through his career in the Roman administrative system would have resulted in the introduction of these materials and the practice of their use into a new, provincial, context.

From an early date the source of Cipollino, the Carystian quarries, were imperially owned.[1052] This was not an unusual case; by the reign of Tiberius, most of the major quarries of the empire were under Imperial control.[1053] Once under Imperial ownership, the running of the quarries

[1047] Dodge 1984, 72; Ward-Perkins 1992a, 21.

[1048] Dodge 1984, 92; Sutherland 2013, 17.

[1049] Sutherland 2013, 17-118; Whilst Kleiner had identified the marble used at the theatre as Cipollino in his 1968 publication, Sutherland makes no mention of it in her catalogue of Cipollino distribution.

[1050] Ward Perkins 1992a, 21; 1992b, 23.

[1051] Dodge 1984, 72; 92-93.

[1052] Dodge 1984, 92.

[1053] Suet. *Tib.* 49: "He (Tiberius) removed from a great many cities and private individuals their old immunities and rights over mineral resources."; Waelkens, de Paepe, and Moens 1988, 109.

was reorganised and managed by appointed officials, either Imperial slaves or freedmen.[1054] Under this system, a practice of bulk-production and stockpiling of architectural elements began to be put into place. Ward-Perkins suggests that such systems were established in the empire's quarries by the second half of the first century A.D.[1055] when Capito's building projects were underway. Whilst it was not until the early second century that fine marbles were available from Imperial quarries to anyone who could afford them,[1056] as an early beneficiary of the Imperial-controlled marble trade, Capito's status as an important, well connected, and wealthy, provincial elite meant that he could buy and ship these marbles. The use of coloured marbles alongside local materials for Capito's stage building represented a marked difference in building styles by introducing Roman materials into a Greek context. Their use in Rome has been described as visual representation of the city's expansion into exotic parts of the world, and of the power required by the emperor to acquire and transport such resources back to Rome.[1057] It can be suggested that similar sentiments can be applied to this early use of coloured marbles at Miletus. The use of resources from across the empire represented Capito's travels, his work and influence in the empire, and the prestige and wealth he must have acquired in order to afford such materials.

Capito's stage building shared several characteristics typical of Western theatres but did not completely correspond to what would have been considered typical for Romano-Italic stage buildings.[1058] Such characteristics have been recently interpreted as products of architectural translation, where Italic or Roman architectural elements are used in "a manner comprehensible in the local region."[1059] Where architectural translation differs from other concepts associated with the effects interacting cultures had on monuments is that its focus is less on which elements were adopted and why, and more on how the receiving population understood the 'translated' concept.[1060] This approach is particularly relevant for a study of how architectural benefactions can be used to understand the impact of Rome in its provinces because it aims to understand how builders and residents adopted, adapted and understood Roman ideas.

[1054] Ward-Perkins 1992b, 25.

[1055] Ward-Perkins 1992b, 25.

[1056] Ward-Perkins 1992b, 30.

[1057] Packer 2001, 180; Bradley 2004, 1.

[1058] Altenhöfer 1986, 171.

[1059] Thomas 2013, 156.

[1060] Thomas 2013, 156.

There are many elements of Capito's stage façade that have been used as evidence for the translation of Romano-Italic architectural elements into Greek contexts. One is using a colonnaded façade in front of the old rectangular stage building to create a curvilinear appearance, a design seen in Italy a century before, and common by the Augustan period.[1061] This was different from the usual scheme of such buildings in Asia Minor. Another unusual feature was that instead of triple recessing seen in Greek theatre stages, there was a single, shallow but unusually wide, curved recess. Sear mentions three Western theatres that date from between the late Republic and the reign of Tiberius whose stage buildings displayed this characteristic: Herculaneum; Nuceria Alfaterna, which like Capito's stage building utilised coloured marbles in the form of veneering; and Arles.[1062] Stage buildings of Western theatres usually had a round niche in the centre, and some had two lateral rectangular niches on either side of the rounded one. The only other Eastern example is the theatre at Pessinus, which is undated.[1063] Four freestanding columns on podia, unusually, preceded the Milesian niche. There were also five entrances, as traditional in Greek theatre buildings, rather than the usual three used in the Latin theatre.[1064] This new form of stage building represented a translation of Latin theatrical and architectural practices into a format that could be understood by the local people.[1065] The people of Miletus were not attempting to directly copy or imitate Latin theatrical and architectural practices, but to incorporate them into local contexts and practices, to no detriment to Greek forms of drama.

[1061] Ward-Perkins 1981; Sear 2000; Thomas 2013, 162.

[1062] Sear 2006, 124; 128; 247-248.

[1063] Sear 2006, 363-364 only dates building activity in the area of the theatre to the reign of Tiberius rather than the theatre itself. The source he refers to for the remains of Pessinus' theatre (Bittel 1967, 142-150) is very scant in its detail and provides no dates.

[1064] Thomas 2013, 162-163.

[1065] Thomas 2013, 163.

Figure 68: The remains of the theatre, including the stage building built by Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, Miletus. (April 2011).

In the same way that Capito's work at the theatre had been preceded by a number of construction phases, further remodelling and redesigning of the theatre stage succeeded him. The theatre and its stage underwent further remodelling again in the second century A.D., work which included the construction of the so-called 'Imperial box' that was located in the centre of the first tier, and a third storey of the stage building.[1066] This later tier was decorated with sculptures attributed to the so-called 'School of Aphrodisias', including friezes depicting Eros, hunting scenes, and Apollo of Kanachus, the cult image of nearby Didyma.[1067]

[1066] Kleiner 1968, 69-70; Müller-Wiener 1996.

[1067] Kleiner 1968, 70.

5.5. The Baths of Capito

Gnaeus Vergilius Capito's other building project was the bath-complex now known as the Baths of Capito. The date of the baths has also been subject to debate, both by archaeologists and epigraphists. One interpretation is that the baths date to the reign of Claudius. Its dedicatory inscription was initially found in the early twentieth century and published first by Wiegand,[1068] and then by Mitteis and Wilcken.[1069] The text was initially interpreted as a dedication to Claudius and reconstructed thus:

> Αὐτοκράτορ[ι Τιβερίωι Κλα-
>
> υδίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Γε-
>
> ρμανικῶι Γναῖος Οὐεργίλι-
>
> ος Καπίτων ἔπαρχος τῆς Αἰγ]-
>
> ύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτ[ρο]-
>
> πος τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀνέθηκεν.
>
> To the Emperor [Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, son of Gnaeus, prefect of Egy]pt and procurator of Asia dedicated the baths.[1070]

The editors of *Inschriften von Milet* reconstruct the text slightly differently to Mitteis and Wilken, condensing Capito's honours:

> Αὐτοκράτορ[ι Τιβερίου Κλα|υδίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Γε|ρμανικῶι Γναῖος Οὐεργίλι|ος Γναίου υἱὸς Καπίτων Αἰγ]|υπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτ[ρο]|πος τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀνέθηκεν.
>
> To the Emperor [Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Gnaeus Vergilius Capito son of Gnaeus] procurator [of Egy]pt and Asia dedicated the bath.[1071]

Its entry in the corpus records its findspot as the north side of the Ionic portico, which must be the portico that ran parallel to the Sacred Way. The description states that the final two blocks are complete whilst the first is fragmentary suggesting that the surviving parts of the text remain

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[1068] Wiegand 1908

[1069] Mitteis and Wilken 1912.

[1070] Mitteis and Wilken 1912, 375.

[1071] *IMilet* I 328/329.

in situ. Wiegand suggests that there were twenty-two letters across six architrave blocks, and the editors used his calculations to reconstruct the text. The monument was dedicated to the Emperor, and Capito is here called procurator, ἐπίτροπος, of Egypt and Asia, whilst in other texts he is referred to as procurator of Asia, but prefect, ἔπαρχος, of Egypt. Magie questions the reconstruction, believing it to be wrong and states that Capito's titles should read ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπος.[1072]

Although highly familiar in its style, the Ionic portico also contained features more associated with Italic monuments, such as friezes of acanthus tendrils. This ornament was given political significance under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians in Italy, conveying a sense of abundance, fertility and strength of the empire, key themes associations with early Imperial ideology.[1073] Delorme questions the function of this portico, wondering whether it could have been used as part of the complex's training facilities. Its internal length of around 94 metres is approximately half the usual length of the running test.[1074] These dimensions alone are enough to convince Delorme that the Ionic portico could not have been used as an exercise space. However, the fact that the portico fronted a row of shops, the north end of which opened onto the palaestra, and separated the bath complex from the street, indicates it had a more ornamental function. A fragment of another text survives from the architrave of the palaestra:

- - | Οὐεργιλ - -[1075]

The palaestra and the Ionic portico must be two different spaces within the complex, as Corinthian columns surrounded the palaestra, so there must have been two inscriptions referring to Capito within the Baths. The text on the Ionic portico would have been visible to anyone passing the Baths of Capito, so would have been seen by more people than the text from the palaestra, which would have only been visible once inside the Baths. The lettering of this fragment is different from that of the Bath's dedication, which led to Ehrhardt's interpretation that this text refers not to our Capito but the *archiprytanis* of the Hadrianic

[1072] Magie 1950, 1398.

[1073] Castriota 1995, 21-22 concerning the floral friezes on the Ara Pacis; Sauron 2000; Thomas 2013, 151.

[1074] Delorme 1960, 269.

[1075] *IMilet* 1 329; Köster 1993 430; 2004, 35-36 questions whether the Palaestra is the correct original location for this text, due to its find spot (north west of the Delphinion) and that the size and decoration of the block does not fit neatly into current reconstructions of the monument. However, despite these concerns he neither offers an alternative location for the text, nor allows these concerns to hinder his argument that Gnaeus Vergilius Capito was the benefactor of the Bath complex and the Ionic Hall.

period.[1076] McCabe, however, argues that the letters, although somewhat later in style than the Baths' dedicatory inscription, are not as late as the Hadrianic period but possibly from the turn of the first to the second century.[1077] If McCabe is correct and this inscription predates the Hadrianic Capito, the most likely explanation for the later letter forms of the palaestra dedication is that the same or a similar text to the one on the Ionic portico was simply added later, perhaps to reaffirm exactly what the first century A.D. Capito was responsible for building.

Habicht supports a Claudianic date for the Baths, suggesting that Capito was first procurator of Asia, then left Asia in late A.D. 47 to become prefect of Egypt, returning after he had served his term to see the buildings dedicated to Claudius.[1078] Reinhard Köster also supports an earlier date. He cites Capito's honorific inscription from Didyma,[1079] which states that he was prefect of Egypt under Claudius, and notes that the title is also present on the Baths' inscription.[1080] He claims this does not rule out the possibility that the Baths were constructed during the reign of Claudius. Köster is an archaeologist, his authority lies in the study of architectural remains rather than epigraphy, and his agenda is to create a temporal classification of the architectural ornamentation of one of the only monuments in Miletus with a fixed date.[1081] Despite Köster's confidence in the dating of the Baths, McCabe suggests that they, like the theatre, were dedicated to Nero. Nero's name is only two letters shorter than Claudius' and would take up a similar sized space when inscribed, so the former's name cannot be dismissed. With consideration to his theory, McCabe reconstructs the first part of the text to read:

> Αὐτοκράτορ[ι Νέρωνι Κλαυδίωι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶι].[1082]

There is no evidence from the Baths which can accurately date the structure, but the Neronian date for the theatre, combined with the dates when Capito was absent from Miletus in Egypt,

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[1076] *IMilet* 1 2 20; Ehrhardt 1984, 390.

[1077] McCabe 1986, 31.

[1078] Habicht 1959, 163.

[1079] *SEG* 57-1109bis.

[1080] Köster 2004, 33-35.

[1081] Köster 2004, 33: "Da die Capitothermen als eines der wenigen fest datieren Monumente Milets gelten und damit für die absolute Chronologie der Bauornamentik von emineneter Bedeutung sind, muß hier zuerst näher auf die Grundlage ihrer zeitlichen Einordnung eingegangen werden."

[1082] McCabe 1986, 188.

the most likely scenario is that both monuments were dedicated in the early years of Nero's reign.

Figure 69: The standing remains of the Baths of Gnaeus Vergilius Capito, Miletus. (April 2011).

Figure 70: View from inside the Baths of Capito. The Ionic Portico that fronted the building is visible between the gaps in the standing wall. (April 2011.)

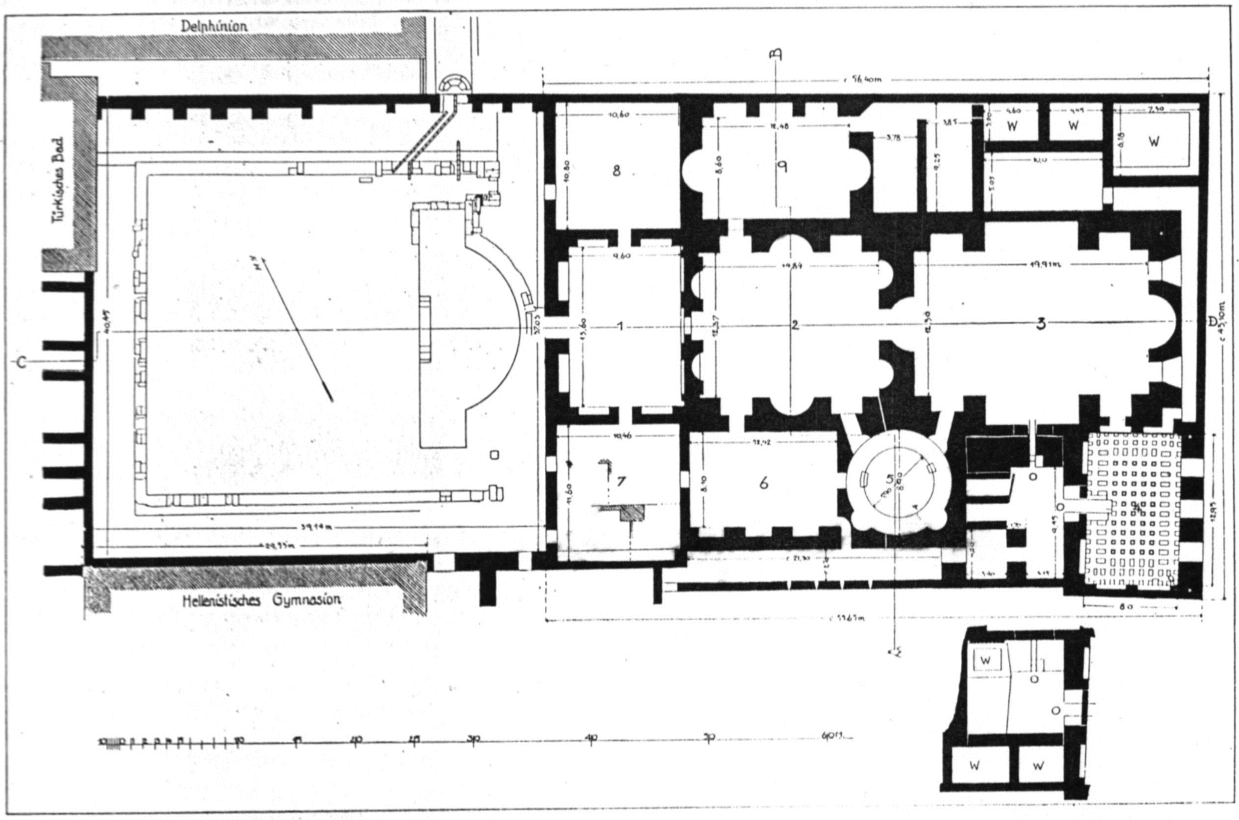

Figure 71: Plan of the Baths of Capito (Striewe 2003, 23)

Described by an early scholar as being "of especial architectural interest…a type transitional between a Hellenistic gymnasium and a Roman bath,"[1083] the Baths of Capito had implications for the appearance of the old city, combining familiar and unfamiliar architectural elements. Moreover, it is thought to be the earliest example of a complex that combined an exercise area with a Baths, and that it set a provincial precedent.[1084] Despite having known Italian baths with palaestrae, including the Stabian Baths at Pompeii,[1085] Vitruvius describes the palaestra as a Greek architectural feature:

> "Though not used by the people of Italy, it seems proper that I should explain the form of the palaestra and describe the mode in which it was constructed by the Greeks."[1086]

Vitruvius continues by describing how the palaestra fitted in to Greek hot and cold bathing practices. Vitruvius' differentiation between the Greek and Roman practices of constructing

[1083] Dawkins 1910, 361.

[1084] Mitchell 1993, 216.

[1085] Yegül 2013, 73.

[1086] Vitr. 5. 11. 1.

palaestrae associated with bathing complexes implies variations in cultural practices associated with the use of such monuments. Palaestrae were less familiar elements of Italian bathing complexes and the elaborate suites of rooms associated with Italian baths were less familiar in Greek contexts. In a traditional Greek gymnasium only the *loutron*, a room with basins for washing in cold water, had a specific bathing function.[1087] By the late Hellenistic period, more elaborate bathing facilities began to appear in Greek gymnasia. In Asia Minor particularly, where the gymnasium tradition never lost its importance under Rome, complexes which combined a palaestra with a suite of bathing rooms became what are now called bath-gymnasia.[1088]

The palaestra of the Baths of Capito measured 38 x 38 metres and was lined with colonnades 3.5 to 5 metres deep, with intercolumniations of 2.6 metres on the north, south and west sides and 2 metres on the east.[1089] It is thought that elements of the Hellenistic gymnasium, which was located on the same site, were retained it to form the bathing block's colonnaded palaestra.[1090] Its entablature was decorated with typical Hellenistic motifs including: egg-and-dart; dentils; cassettes; lion-head waterspouts; a balustrade adorned with plant imagery; and a frieze of plant scrolls.[1091] Many of these decorative features were also on the stage building. It was initially thought that there were two storeys of Corinthian columns on all four sides of the Palaestra, but Köster has argued that there were two storeys on the east side only, claiming that the initial reconstruction placed building components in places which they could not feasibly fit.[1092] The increased height of the east side of the Palaestra also supports von Gerkan and Krischen's suggestion that its purpose was aesthetic; to cover up the "unadorned mass of the thermal baths" which lay behind it.[1093] On the front of the palaestra was an upper gallery and central broken pediment; the latter feature also appeared as part of the theatre stage.[1094] Like on the theatre stage, a decorative arrangement of the aediculae also appeared on the upper

[1087] Vitr. 5. 11. 2; Yegül 2013, 83.

[1088] Yegül 2013, 83; 85.

[1089] von Gerkan and Krischen 1928, 23; Kleiner 1968, 93; Striewe 2003, 4-5; Thomas 2013, 152.

[1090] Ward-Perkins 1981, 295.

[1091] Kleiner 1968, 93; Köster 2004, 33.

[1092] For the initial interpretation see Kleiner 1968, 93; for the most recent interpretation see Köster 1993 434-435; 2004, 36-37.

[1093] von Gerkan and Krischen 1928, 23; "Es bildet sich also hier eine regelrechte Fassade, deren Aufgabe es ist, die schmucklose Masse der Thermenzu verdecken."

[1094] Thomas 2013, 152.

storey of the palaestra.[1095] The similarities in the architectural features of these two monuments imply that the same team of architects worked on both projects.

In his analysis of Greek gymnasia and palaestrae, Delorme suggests that the two buildings, although similar in function, should be considered as two separate institutions. He states that they held different legal statuses, they had different facilities, and the latter may have served to cultivate the physical, rather than the intellectual, development of the city's youths.[1096] Regardless of the supposed differences between gymnasia and palaestrae, Delorme states, regardless of who owned or managed them, palaestrae in the Greek world were not public spaces.[1097] The Baths of Capito's inclusion of a palaestra is innovative in a number of ways. The combination of the older palaestra, a Greek private space, with a new bath complex, a Roman public space indicates an evolution of spatial conception. A space that would normally have been reserved for private exercise now had to be open to the public, as access to the baths was not possible without crossing the palaestra. Furthermore, for what is thought to be the first time in the province of Asia, a space existed which would have allowed traditional Greek exercise regimes to occur alongside, and perhaps in conjunction with, Roman bathing practices. The Baths of Capito not only indicate changes in how spaces were used in cities in the East under Rome, but also how the practices of two cultures co-existed in a provincial setting.

A further innovation seen in the Baths of Capito that had its origins in Italian contexts is the use of lime-mortared rubble in its construction. In Ephesus and other cities, the use of Roman building techniques, such as lime-mortared rubble, as opposed to the Hellenistic technique of ashlar construction, had begun to be used from the early Augustan period onwards.[1098] However, at Miletus, it was not used to construct a public building until the time of Capito. The only earlier use of lime-mortared rubble at Miletus was to construct the Augustan Big Harbour Monument,[1099] most likely for its ability to set under water. Another of the characteristic architectural features of the Baths of Capito is the extensive use of cut stone and ashlar fitted together with metal clamps and used in conjunction with mortared rubble. This technique is found in the piers, corners, vaults and domes, and mortared rubble alone is used

[1095] Köster 1993, 436.

[1096] Delorme 1960, 260

[1097] Delorme 1960, 261.

[1098] Waelkens 1987, 94; 96.

[1099] Waelkens 1987, 97.

for some of the domes.[1100] Although the first, the Baths of Capito are not unique in the city in its usage of mortared rubble in buildings. The Domitianic Nymphaeum and aqueduct and the Baths of Faustina also use the same techniques, but these, nor any other buildings in Roman Miletus, were as architecturally innovative as the Baths of Capito, or indeed their contemporaries in the rest of the province.[1101]

Figure 72: The standing remains of the Big Harbour Monument, Miletus. (April 2011).

[1100] Waelkens 1987, 97.

[1101] Waelkens 1987, 97-98.

The new baths extended to the east of the Palaestra, screened by a curvilinear colonnade, which stood behind the open-air swimming pool. Whereas the porticoes formed the familiar architectural elements of the complex, the building that housed the pools was formed of architectural elements and construction techniques that were unfamiliar. The walls were constructed of rubble masonry, in the manner of Italian thermal structures, with limestone blocks used to fortify the corners. The internal walls of all but one of the rooms were faced with coloured marble.[1102] The exception was the round room containing the pool, which was plastered and painted red. The floors of all the rooms were paved in marble.[1103] The walls of all bar two of the rooms would have been strong enough to support a barrel-vaulted roof, which was plastered on the inside.[1104] The first room was interpreted as a Tepidarium by von Gerkan and Krischen as it was heated, and they suggested that the two rooms to the north and south of it were Apodyteria.[1105] However Stiewe rules out this first room's usage as a Tepidarium due to the niches in its walls, and suggests that this room was an Apodyterium.[1106] Lucian's description of the Baths of Hippias suggests that Apodyteria were not the first rooms that one would have entered at the Baths, adding credence to von Gerkan and Krischen's interpretation of the Baths' layout:

> "On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodations for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted retreats. Then, beside them a hall, larger than need be for the purposes of a bath, but necessary for the reception of the rich. Next, capacious locker-rooms to undress in, on each side…"[1107]

The next room, the second largest in the building would have been either the Caldarium or the Tepidarium.[1108] Following Gerhard Kleiner's initial interpretation, Michael Striewe interprets this first heated room as the Tepidarium and the next heated room, the largest at 12 x 20 metres,

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1102 Neither Kleiner, Striewe, nor Köster refer to the types of marble used to face the walls of the baths, nor do they mention the colours of the marbles, which would aid an identification of them.

1103 Striewe 2003, 8-9.

1104 Striewe 2003, 9.

1105 von Gerkan and Krischen 1928, 32.

1106 Striewe 2003, 7.

1107 Luc. *Hip.* 5.

1108 Kleiner 1968, 95 for the interpretation of this large, heated room as a Caldarium or Tepidarium; Striewe 2003, 7; for dimensions (12 x 15 metres) as the Caldarium, due to the presence of a round water basin near the entrance.[1109] The Caldarium is characterised by the square niches and rounded exedras which line all four walls of the room.[1110] Both of these features are characteristically Italian in nature. Another unfamiliar, Italian, architectural feature of the Baths of Capito is the domed rotunda, measuring nine metres in diameter, on the south side of the building. The walls and dome were plastered and painted red and blue respectively, and there would have been a pool six metres in diameter and between 1.1. and 1.4 metres deep in the centre of the room.[1111] This, the presence of hypocaust *pili* and the location of the boiler room just to the east, suggest that this was a Sudatorium, or steam room.[1112] This room would have resembled the round bathing halls that were constructed in Italy at this time.[1113] Domed rooms, usually *laconica,* or dry sweating rooms, had been present in baths in Campania, but this one mirrors near-contemporary developments in Italy, such as the Central Baths at Pompeii, built in the years immediately after the earthquake of A.D. 62.[1114] A further trait the Baths of Capito shares with its Pompeiian counterpart is that in both complexes the open-air *natatio* is located to the rear of the palaestra closest to the bathing block.[1115] On the south side of the Baths complex there are a series of smaller rooms containing boilers and water tanks, connected by corridors. One of the boilers was connected directly to the largest room of the complex, the Caldarium.[1116] There are at least three more rooms of the Capito baths, but these remained unexcavated in 2003 when Striewe's study was published.[1117]

The combination of a Greek palaestra with an Italian bath house at the Baths of Capito indicates the adoption, and adaptation, of non-local cultural practices in Miletus at this time. These developments and features have, alongside those seen in the theatre stage building, also been interpreted as architectural translation. Here, the model of a bathing complex centred around a

[1109] Striewe 2003, 8.

[1110] Kleiner 1968, 95.

[1111] von Gerkan and Krischen 1928, 32 claim the pool was 1.1 metres deep, Striewe 2003, 8 says 1.4 metres deep.

[1112] Kleiner 1968, 96-97; Striewe 2003, 8.

[1113] Thomas 2013, 147-148.

[1114] Ward-Perkins 1981, 295; Thomas 2013, 149.

[1115] Thomas 2013, 149-150.

[1116] Von Gerkan and Krischen 1928, 33.

[1117] Striewe 2003, 8; Of these unexcavated rooms one would have contained the necessary Frigidarium, others may have been further Tepidaria or Apodyteria.

laconicum associated with Campania is adapted to fit into the axis of the Greek city plan. These adjustments can also be a translation of Romano-Italic concepts into a Greek context in a manner that would be understood by the recipient Milesians.[1118] This interpretation, unlike so many other theories of 'Romanisation', takes into account the role of local people in the creation of monuments, such as the theatre stage and the Baths of Capito, which display elements from more than one architectural tradition. It would be particularly applicable to public buildings constructed by whole cities which featured a similar decree of hybridity. Arguably, Capito's buildings are less applicable to this approach, as his own life, career, and travels would have had an influence on his understanding of Romano-Italic building techniques and cultural practices. These monuments do not solely reflect how the Milesian population understood Roman practices of theatre stage building or bathing practices. They also indicate how their benefactor understood these concepts and how the influence of individual benefactors contributed to the variety of architectural features in provincial contexts at this time.

5.6: Capito as a benefactor.

Capito's theatre stage at Miletus shows how variations in representation of architectural benefactors through their buildings can be used to understand the impact of Rome on provincial architecture. Like its Roman-Milesian benefactor, the theatre shows a combination of characteristics and identities derived from both Romano-Italic and Greek buildings. The introduction of a stage building with elements that would have facilitated the staging of Roman plays, while retaining elements of a traditional Greek theatre stage, represented a gradual introduction of unfamiliar practices into a familiar context. The retention of the old and the introduction of the new is a continual theme throughout Capito's work and how he was represented as both an official of Rome and a resident of Miletus. The theatre of Miletus would have still looked familiar from the outside, blending into the older, Hellenistic cityscape. Once inside though a visitor would have been aware that they were viewing a different type of monument, as well as the potential space for a different type of performance. The monuments built in Miletus by Capito are an architectural representation of the benefactor himself, his place in the city and the Roman world, and the influence that both had had on him and his monuments. Capito must be considered as a Roman in Miletus, but Miletus must also be considered as part of Rome in its widest geographical sense.

[1118] Thomas 2013, 156.

The Baths of Capito also tell us much about Capito as a benefactor. Whilst the epigraphic evidence from the Baths of Capito gives no clues to his Roman and Milesian identity, the architectural details not only allude to this, but also how Rome had impacted on provincial public architecture. Roman, Greek, and arguably Alexandrian, in the case of the broken pediments, architectural features were used throughout the complex, some of which were retained from the old Hellenistic gymnasium. Capito would have seen all these features during his travels in Italy, Asia, the Aegean islands, and Egypt and if he had some say in the way that the monument looked, would have incorporated, and/or adapted them into his monument. The Ionic portico at its entrance, the palaestra, and its colonnades, decorated with typical Hellenistic motifs are elements that could be found in any gymnasium in any part of the Greek world, giving a Greek visitor a sense of familiarity. Once a visitor had passed across the palaestra, through the colonnades and into the main part of the baths, with its domes and concrete walls, they would have noticed something new. Its rooms of various temperatures and swimming pool are immediately indicative of Roman practices of bathing. The concrete from which it was constructed, and the domes which crowned several of its rooms, would have been unfamiliar in a Milesian context, and further indicate that this was building influenced by Roman, or at least Italic, culture. The Baths of Capito show that the inclusion of architectural elements from Italic cultural practices in the provinces does not have to be the result of direct Roman intervention. Instead, the personal experiences of the benefactor involved should be taken into account when discussing the adoption of practices in provincial settings.

By the time that Capito’s monuments were dedicated, he no longer held either of his Roman official positions, and did not appear to hold any local ones. Without local or Roman offices to give him the authority to build public monuments, Capito must have acted of his own accord and instigated the construction of the theatre stage building and the Baths. Yet, as at the theatre, he is not represented as such in the Baths’ dedicatory inscription. Rather, he was represented as an outsider, as someone whose life was shaped and defined by his roles as Procurator of Asia and Prefect of Egypt, rather than any role performed at Miletus. It is only by looking both at the Baths of Capito more widely and the other epigraphic evidence for his life and work in Miletus that his local associations become apparent. Capito was honoured as a great benefactor by the city of Miletus. He was named *soter* and *euergetes* of Miletus. While we do not know when or exactly why these titles were awarded to him, when compared to other benefactors who were given these honours at this time, Capito and his work must have been considered of great importance and worth to the city and his fellow citizens. However, the clearest indication of how Capito the benefactor was seen by the city of Miletus was the granting of the Capitoneia in his honour. This festival and its continuation at least until the reign of Commodus show the continued high regard which Capito was held in long after his death.

6

Conclusion

This thesis has shown, in an albeit small sample of cases, that in early Roman Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Miletus variations existed in the way that architectural benefactors were presented in their epigraphy and that these variations can be used to understand the impact of Rome on the people and the architecture of its provinces. These variations have been considered on their own terms rather than as deviations from a supposed norm. By focusing only on architectural benefactors this thesis has brought greater understanding to a form of euergetic activity whose discussion has been overlooked or under-developed in the great works on euergetism. It has shown that the representation of architectural benefactors was influenced by many factors including the benefactor's position in society, the location of the monument, and the wider socio-historical context in which the benefactor lived and worked. Building inscriptions have traditionally considered to be very formulaic, with little room for variation. This generalisation has risen because, realistically, such texts could only contain a limited number of elements. However, the exact information included in these texts, the precedence given to certain pieces of information, and the way that the inscription was presented on the building all contributed to the various ways that architectural benefactors were represented.

The way that architectural benefactors were represented through their public monuments can also be used to understand the influence of Rome on the provinces more generally. Roman rule in Asia was not heavy handed and monolithic and the effects of it became a part of wider culture. Roman practices of building monuments, inscribing texts, and representing and honouring benefactions did not usurp practices already established in Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Miletus, but were just another variation of practice available to provincial cities and their benefactors. Considering architectural benefactors and their buildings in this way has resulted in a framework for understanding the impact of Rome on its provinces in a more detailed and more nuanced manner. It has allowed for individuals' responses to Roman rule to be considered and has shown the variety of ways which individuals in the Roman provinces, regardless of their citizenship status, interacted with Rome, the Roman administration, and their locality, and how these interactions and responses were represented epigraphically and architecturally. This approach has moved away from the process-centred theories of understanding the impact of Roman rule which have attempted to contain these variations into defined, and often restrictive, frameworks. Through the study of a previously neglected form of benefaction and those involved in it, this thesis has shed light not only on architectural benefaction and benefactors but also on their socio-historical context and how provincial architectural benefactors were represented in relation to the changes that occurred around them.

It has also shown that the modern concept known as euergetism is a far more complex process than Veyne initially outlined in *Le pain et le cirque.* Particularly with regards to architectural benefaction, the definitions outlined by Veyne, Gauthier, and others are far too narrow and restrictive. Basing an analysis of a social practice primarily on the language used to describe it is problematic for all forms of gift exchange. But it is especially so for architectural benefaction as building dedications, in most cases, do not contain Veyne and Gauthier's diagnostic language. Honorific texts to known architectural benefactors do contain such language but it is often difficult to ascertain with any certainty that the honour resulted directly from their building project. Whilst Veyne was less specific with the required language, Gauthier required evidence that *euergetai* were registered as benefactors, or that the title benefactor had been bestowed upon them. The naming of Zoilus as εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος on the Temple of Aphrodite is an unusual example of this euergetic language appearing directly on a monument in the province of Asia in this period, but it would not have been diagnostic enough for Gauthier. It is also almost impossible to ascertain exactly what motivated architectural benefactors to give public buildings, a key aspect of Veyne's definition of the process. In some cases, the building inscriptions refer to why benefactors carried out their work; the involvement of younger generations of the family to continue their ancestors' work at the Sebasteion after earthquake damage is one example. But in Capito's case, he may have helped to rebuild Miletus after an earthquake damaged it, but this is conjecture. Taking a less literary and a more anthropological approach to euergetism has shown that architectural benefactors have been taking part in a process of reciprocal generosity from at least the Classical period. Most previous work on euergetism has focussed on how architectural benefaction fitted into a wider scheme of reciprocal generosity, rather than on the people involved in giving public monuments. However, by focusing upon architectural benefactors this thesis has shown that their buildings and the associated epigraphy, and what can be learned about both the benefactor and the wider socio-historical context in which the building was constructed from it, can be used as an indicator of the influence of Rome on provincial cities.

The variations in representation of architectural benefactors can be defined by four different categories: variations in relationship to the city where they built; variations in their relationship to Rome; variations in relationship between the monument and the text; and variations in how the buildings operated as monuments to the benefactor. The architectural benefactors discussed in this thesis all built monuments in their home towns. Across his three architectural benefactions in the city, Zoilus' relationship to Aphrodisias was represented differently in each dedication, placing emphasis on the different roles he fulfilled in society. At the Temple of Aphrodite, he was represented in his role as the priest of the city cult. At the theatre he was presented as having held the office of *stephanephorus* ten times in succession. The inscription from the North Stoa of the North Agora is very fragmentary but it presented Zoilus, at the very least, as priest of Eleutheria. The predominately local formulations of both the dedicatory inscriptions and the structural elements of Zoilus' monuments represented him as the great man and benefactor of late first century B.C. Aphrodisias. The study of how the later Julio-Claudian families' relationships to Aphrodisias and Rome were represented have been plagued by the patchy publication record of the relevant inscriptions. However, the accessible material shows that the families' relationship to Aphrodisias was represented differently from Zoilus'. Although some members of the families held priesthoods of Aphrodite, and they dedicated columns at her temple, away from the Temple of Aphrodite the focus of their dedications was not their local city. This shift from the 20s B.C. to the end of the Julio-Claudian period must be attributed to the influence of Roman rule on the people of Aphrodisias.

In Ephesus, the freedmen Mazaeus and Mithridates' relationship to their home town was represented very differently. The *demos* of Ephesus were honoured in the Greek dedication and it functioned as an entrance to the Agora and had local decorative and structural elements. Mazaeus and Mithridates were not represented as Roman freedmen by their nomenclature. They may have been born further east in Asia, or been the children of recent immigrants to Ephesus, but there is no indication of any roles or positions that they may have held within what became their home town. Mithridates was certainly buried in Ephesus, but his epitaph provides no further information about him. Pollio and Proculus probably originated from outside Ephesus but settled in the city. In their building projects Pollio and Proculus were represented as actively working and spending their own money on construction projects for the city. They dedicated the Marnas aqueduct bridge and the Basilica Stoa to Artemis and to the *demos* of Ephesus and were represented as generous benefactors of the city. The Pollio Monument, although constructed by Proculus not the city, was built on land granted by the city, and given its prominent location near to the Basilica Stoa, represented him as a favoured, prominent member of Ephesian society. Yet as his stepson erected the Pollio Monument it should be considered as a visual representation of how Proculus wanted to represent Pollio to the city rather than how Ephesus wanted to represent Pollio. The representation of Capito's relationship to Miletus through his architectural benefactions is different from all the other benefactors in the study. In his building dedications he was represented as a Roman official working on behalf of the Imperial administration, despite no longer holding the positions described in the texts. It is only from other epigraphic evidence, unrelated to his building projects, that his local connections to Miletus are known.

The architectural benefactors studied in this thesis all experienced different levels of interaction with Rome or the Roman administration prior to the construction of their public monuments. However, there was not always a correlation between the benefactor's previous interactions with Rome and the way that their relationship to Rome was represented through their monuments. Zoilus, through his enslavement by and relationship with Octavian, had the closest and most demonstrable connection with the highest power in Rome of all the benefactors in this study. In addition, his work to bring freedom to Aphrodisias after the war against Labienus would have brought him into contact with the Roman administrative system more generally. The inclusion of his priesthood of Eleutheria in an honorific inscription and a building dedication shows that the city recognised both Zoilus in his role as priest and the bringing about of freedom. However, despite his interactions with the Roman administration on both an official and a personal level, his new-found citizenship and place in the Roman world only partially affected how he was presented through his architectural benefactions Apart from his *tria nomina*, the only indication from the epigraphy associated with Zoilus' building projects that he had interacted with Rome is the inclusion in the dedication of the theatre stage building of his status as an imperial freedman, alongside his stephanephorates. While the inclusion of his freedman status here could be interpreted as a simple formality, it represented a bold statement about Zoilus. The theatre stage building contained the most Roman architectural elements of all his monuments and the theatre itself was the centre of the social and cultural life of Aphrodisias, for both Roman and non-Roman citizens. Zoilus himself, or whoever drafted this text, chose to include the details of his freedman status here rather than anywhere else in the city to represent him as a prominent member of both Aphrodisian and Roman society. Mazaeus and Mithridates were also provincial residents who had been Imperial freedmen. There is no evidence to suggest that they had the same personal relationship with their patrons as Zoilus had with Octavian, but their shared freedman status meant that they shared a similar level of involvement in, and interaction with, the Roman system. Despite the connections to their Roman patrons and freedman status, Mazaeus and Mithridates were not presented as Roman citizens; their Greek names, rather than their *tria nomina,* were inscribed. Despite this, the primary focus of their dedication was the Imperial family, with a cursory acknowledgement of their fellow citizens in the Greek text. This would have been considered a different practice from traditional Hellenistic ones. However, although carrying out an unfamiliar style of dedication, Mazaeus and Mithridates publicly identified as local citizens.

Unlike Zoilus and Mazaeus and Mithridates, Pollio and Proculus were in one case agents of an Imperial building project, and in another active instigators and financiers of building projects in honour of the emperors. To contrast the freedmen and the Imperial agents, the families in late Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias had the least demonstrable connection with Rome or the Roman administration, with only one member known to have held Roman citizenship. A *natatio* was included at the Gymnasium of Diogenes, and the surviving inscriptions suggest that the East Gate and some of the porticoes were dedicated to members of the Imperial family. While these features are clear indications of favourability to Rome and the introduction of non-local practices, they were presented as most favourable to both the Imperial family and Roman culture by their work at the Sebasteion. The construction of the Sebasteion by, primarily, non-Roman citizens testifies to the prestige that the Emperor and the Imperial cult had at Aphrodisias in the first half of the first century A.D. This was a very different representation of the relationship between benefactor and Rome from that of their fellow Aphrodisian Zoilus. Despite his very close connection to Rome, Zoilus placed little emphasis on representing that connection through his architectural benefactions to Aphrodisias. The variations in representation between the Aphrodisian architectural benefactors could be explained by the consequences of elapsed time. By the end of the Julio-Claudian period, Rome had had a greater influence in the city than it had in the 30s B.C. and this was represented accordingly. Alternatively, these variations resulted from differences in the social status of the benefactors. Zoilus was a prestigious member of society when his buildings were constructed, the Aphrodisian families less so. Such inscriptions are usually taken as formulaic and predictable, but the differences seen between those of Zoilus and the late Julio-Claudian families also suggest that architectural benefactors had a degree of choice and influence in how they were represented, and that there was no standard practice dictated either by local customs or Rome.

Capito's relationship to Rome was very clear throughout his dedicatory inscriptions as he was presented in the two most senior roles he had held within the Roman provincial administration, Procurator of Asia and Prefect of Egypt. Although Capito probably no longer held either of these Imperial posts by the time he dedicated his monuments, his relationship to Rome gained through these posts was still considered to be a part of his identity. Despite acting as a local benefactor in Miletus, he was represented as acting in a Roman capacity, as though the Milesian Capito who, judging by the posthumous statue dedication to his relative Epicrates, would have been a familiar name in the city, was inconceivable without the Roman official Capito. This is different from the representation of Pollio and Proculus, who, after working in an official capacity to complete building work on the Emperor's behalf, were later represented as working on their own initiative, pouring their own money into their buildings.

The epigraphic material associated with the monuments discussed in this thesis has been the most important source for variations in how architectural benefactors were represented. However, the picture is incomplete without considering both how the structural and decorative elements of the monument represented the benefactor and the variations in relationship between how the benefactor was represented in the monument and the text. Zoilus was represented differently in the epigraphic material associated with his monuments. At the Temple of Aphrodite and the North Stoa of the North Agora the epigraphic material represented him as a local benefactor and the architectural elements of both these monuments were familiar at Aphrodisias with very little evidence of Roman innovation. The inscription from the stage is the only one that mentioned Zoilus' status as an Imperial freedman, and it was this monument that displayed the very beginnings of Roman influence on Aphrodisian architecture. Mazaeus and Mithridates, also Imperial freedmen, were represented in the Latin text as dedicating a monument to their Imperial patrons, but the Greek text represented them as a pair of non-Romans dedicating a monument to their unnamed patrons and the *demos.* The statues on top of the gate would have aided the identification of their patrons, but only if the figures were recognisable to all the citizens. The different ways that Mazaeus and Mithridates were represented in their gate's dedicatory inscriptions was reflected in the variety of architectural features that formed the monument. The elevation of the gate resembled a triumphal arch, befitting its function as an honorific monument to Romans, whilst in plan it mimicked that of a Greek propylon, befitting its function as the entrance into the agora. From a local perspective, the monument's façade would have represented something different from the more familiar *propyla* seen in Greek cities. The relationship between monument and text at the Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate reflected how architectural benefactors could be presented in various ways to different audiences in their unique place within the Roman world.

The monuments of the free-born Roman citizens Pollio and Proculus, and Capito were accompanied by Roman-style dedications that honoured the ruling emperor alongside, and in Capito's case before, the local deity and the *demos.* Whilst the dedications had clear Roman elements and influences, local elements and dedicatees were not ignored. This mixture of local and non-local elements and influences were also present in the structures themselves. Pollio and Proculus' agency facilitated the development of Roman dedicatory practices and building techniques in Ephesus, begun in previous decades by overseers and builders such as Sextus Lartidius and Mazaeus and Mithridates. Using a combination of local and Roman techniques and, one can infer, architects and workforce, the Aqua Throessitica represented an introduction of new methods of water management to the Greek East. Like the rest of the Aqua Throessitica, the Marnas aqueduct bridge used local attempts at Roman building materials, again suggesting a clear influence of Rome in provincial architectural projects and the transfer of skills and knowledge between Roman and local architects. The Basilica Stoa could be contemporary with the Marnas aqueduct bridge, but it seems most likely that it was built shortly afterwards, once they were firmly established in Ephesus. It can be described as a composite monument, and like the dedicatory inscription, incorporated Roman and local building traditions throughout. The Marnas aqueduct bridge and the Basilica Stoa are testament to the fact that two Roman citizens were sent to Ephesus initially to undertake a Roman-instigated project interacted and worked with local builders and techniques before establishing themselves as permanent residents within Ephesus. Although Capito himself was represented as a Roman official, rather than a Milesian, in his monuments' dedicatory inscriptions, the structural remains of his monuments represented the Roman and Milesian dual identity that Capito is known, from other epigraphic evidence, to have possessed. The theatre stage building, like Zoilus' in Aphrodisias, was designed so that both Greek and Roman forms of drama could be staged there, and its structure combined local materials and coloured marbles from Euboea and elsewhere in the Roman empire, a practice almost unknown in Greek contexts. Similarly, the baths building combined elements of the Hellenistic gymnasium and an Italic bath house in structure, function, decoration, and architectural elements. It was a truly composite monument, dedicated by a composite citizen of Miletus and Rome. The representation of Capito through composite monuments with overtly Roman dedications is different from the representation of Pollio and Proculus, who through both monument and text were represented as outsiders who were attempting to become part of Ephesian society. The epigraphic formulations of architectural dedications, and the structural features of the monuments on which the text was inscribed did not have to have the same cultural origins. Local and Roman practices could, and did, co-exist with, and complement each other. The number of variations, and combinations, of local and Roman practices seen in the monuments of the case study benefactors represents the heterogeneity of responses to Roman influence on architectural benefaction. This heterogeneity of responses in architectural can be extrapolated and applied to other aspects of culture in Rome's provinces.

The final consideration in this discussion of the variations in how architectural benefactors were represented is the different ways in which these buildings operated as monuments to the benefactor. This is not to say that the benefactors put their buildings up primarily to celebrate themselves, or that they should be considered the primary honorands of these buildings. However, their buildings would have evoked the memory of the benefactor and the benefaction. It must be first stated though that honorific monuments for both Zoilus and Pollio are known to have existed. The location and structural design of the Zoilus Monument are now unknown, but the reliefs from it that catalogue his life show him honoured for his bravery, crowned for his dedication to civic duty and, most likely, his connection to the city of Rome. Little structural remains of the first phase of the Pollio Monument survive. However, both its location near to Pollio's own most prominent benefaction, and its inscription would have represented the honours bestowed upon a worthy citizen, primarily by his stepson, but also by the city of Ephesus.

Across early Roman Aphrodisias, Zoilus' architectural benefactions, located in three prime locations in the civic, cultural and religious life of the city, presented and memorialised their great benefactor. The scale of his monuments, the marble used to construct them, and the decoration particularly on the stage building were testament to him and his generosity in the city. When combined with the three different dedications, Zoilus' buildings acted as a city-wide celebration of what he had achieved and the roles that he had played in Rome, the Roman administration more generally and in Aphrodisias. Pollio and Proculus appear to have initially worked on behalf of Augustus and Tiberius on a water management project for the city of Ephesus but paid for one part of the water channel with their own money. The Marnas aqueduct bridge clearly acted as a monument to them. Its grand and imposing scale, its marble facing and gold letters, and its relative uniqueness in the context of the architecture of the province of Asia in the first century A.D. all suggest that it was designed to represent the new Roman elites in the area. The primary honorands of the Basilica Stoa were the Imperial family but the inclusion of statues of Pollio and Ofillia Bassa close to or within it shows that the Basilica Stoa was designed with honouring and memorialising them in mind. Elsewhere in Ephesus, the

Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate's resemblance to an honorific arch, gold letters, and statues of the Imperial family on the top of it made it clear who the primary honorands were. The Mazaeus and Mithridates Gate is the modern name for the structure; as they were not its primary honorands, it is unlikely it would have borne this name in antiquity. The gate was more likely to have been called The Emperor's Gate, The Imperial Gate, or even simply The Agora Gate, as befitting one of its functions. However, measures were taken to ensure that Mazaeus and Mithridates gained their share of recognition. Unlike the primary honorands, their names are inscribed in both languages, making it clear to both Latin- and Greek-speaking audiences that they were the ones responsible for constructing the gate. Without statues of Mazaeus and Mithridates associated with the gate, the monumentalising and memorialisation of them as benefactors is less obvious than with Pollio and Ofillia Bassa at the Basilica Stoa. However, the gate and all its splendour represented a celebration and recognition of Mazaeus and Mithridates as benefactors.

The Aphrodisian family's additions to the Temple of Aphrodite and their construction of the Sebasteion were designed to honour their city's deity and the growing influence and prestige of Rome and the Imperial family in Aphrodisias. At the Temple of Aphrodite, the inscriptions recognised their donations of columns and represented them as favourable to the patron goddess and as citizens able to contribute. Despite the, comparatively, small scale of the families' benefactions at the Temple of Aphrodite, the columns would have still been regarded as a monument to their benefactor. The inscribing of the texts inside *tabula ansata* to increase their visibility shows a progression in the representation of benefactors when compared to the Hellenistic column dedication inscribed upon a column base. The Sebasteion can be considered a monument to the families more overtly than the Temple of Aphrodite despite them being represented in very similar roles in both places. This is due to the placement of the texts in much more visible areas of the complex, on the inside and outside of the *propylon,* on the porticoes and on façade of the temple. Of all the families' building projects, the one that did function as a monument to some of them was the Gymnasium of Diogenes. In the same way that Hellenistic gymnasia, such as those of Eudemus at Miletus and Ptolemy at Athens, were named after their benefactors, the Gymnasium of Diogenes monumentalised the two Diogenai who built at least two elements of the complex. The existence of a text, unrelated to our benefactors and inscribed long after they had all died, that mentions a building known as the Gymnasium of Diogenes means that it is not unfounded to say that the monument and its benefactors remained in the consciousness of the people of Aphrodisias. By way of contrast to the Gymnasium of Diogenes, the Baths of Capito is a modern name, so it would not have acted as a memorial to Capito in the same way that the Gymnasium did for its eponymous benefactors. Capito's primary memorial would have been the Capitoneia, but both his baths and the theatre stage building would have acted as monuments to him. The composite structural elements of his monuments evoked his status in both the Roman administration and Milesian society, which was clarified further by the prominent dedicatory inscriptions. Public architecture in Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Miletus honoured its primary honorands in a variety of ways and the same variety exists in how the buildings monumentalised their benefactors.

This study of the representation of architectural benefactors has shown that those who gave public monuments in Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Miletus in the late first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. were varied in origin, background, and position within both their local cities and the Roman Empire. As a result of these variations, a normal, or standardised way of representing an architectural benefactor, textually or monumentally, did not exist and should not be sought. This is particularly true for these cities in this period, but these same variations would have been present empire wide. The variations seen in the epigraphic material associated with the five case studies has shown that inscriptions, particularly those found in honorific contexts and building inscriptions, are not formulaic, but contain subtle differences in structure and precedence of information. The notion that these texts corresponded to a set pattern or formula arises from the fact that, realistically, there were only a limited number of things that one could or needed to include in inscriptions of this type. A building inscription may have contained: the name of the benefactor; the name of the honorand; the roles played by the benefactor and/or honorand; what was built; the reasons behind the construction; and how the work was paid for. However, as seen from this small study, there was considerable variation in which of these things were used, and in which order they were used, between individual inscriptions, places, and people. This thesis has argued that these variations resulted from the unique socio-historical and geographical contexts of the benefaction and benefactors. This meant that those involved with the building, either the benefactor themselves or those who drafted and approved the inscription, had the opportunity to choose exactly what information they wanted to include. The coming of Rome did not result in an ousting of older practices in favour of new ones, but rather it gave provincial benefactors new ways of expressing their benefactions, their role in local society and their relationship with Rome.

Unlike other approaches to studying the influence of Rome on its provinces, this approach allows for the wide variety of responses to Roman rule. Here, the primary focus is the individuals who had experienced cultural changes that occurred under Roman rule and how their responses were represented through public monumental architecture, rather than the process of cultural change itself. It considers and explains the variations seen in provincial architectural benefaction, rather than trying to form a conceptual theory around them or discount outliers as so. Not focusing primarily on the rewards that architectural benefactors received for their work has allowed the variations in rewards that benefactors received from both their family and the *demos* to be utilised in understanding how they were represented. Architectural benefaction was as complex and heterogeneous as the people involved. This small sample of five case studies has shown that freedmen, Imperial overseers, family units of Roman and non-Roman citizens, and a provincial procurator were all involved in architectural benefaction. Finally, this thesis has shown that across the span of the Roman empire homogeneity in responses to Roman rule as displayed through architectural benefaction did not exist and should not be searched for. As a result, scholarship concerning both practices of benefaction, and wider cultural changes, requires a move away from models that aim to find a standardised process for examining the impact of Roman rule towards one that focuses more on how individuals and smaller groups of people were affected by, and responded to, Roman rule in the provinces.

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