

## Romans and Greeks in Early Imperial Lydia and Phrygia

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**Abstract:** This paper collects the evidence for corporate groups of “Romans and Greeks living at (village toponym)” in Lydia and western Phrygia in the early Roman imperial period. The author discusses seven honorific inscriptions and dedications, three of them very recently published; four derive from the near vicinity of Akmoneia in western Phrygia, reflecting the large number of resident Romans in the region. The author offers a detailed commentary on a newly published honorific inscription from Kastollos in Lydia, including various new readings and restorations (no. 1). The author discusses the precise meaning of the formula “Romans and Greeks” and the chronological and geographic distribution of the formula. Three of the seven inscriptions honour locals granted Roman citizenship by Mark Antony (no. 6) or Augustus (nos 1 and 3), and the author uses numismatic evidence to discuss the social standing of these newly enfranchised Roman citizens within their Lydian and Phrygian communities.

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In his recent corpus of Greek inscriptions in the Uşak Museum, Ender Varinlioğlu has published an important new honorific *stēlē* which must originally have stood in the ancient village of Kastollos (modern Karakuyu Mevkii, near Bebekli) in eastern Lydia:<sup>1</sup>

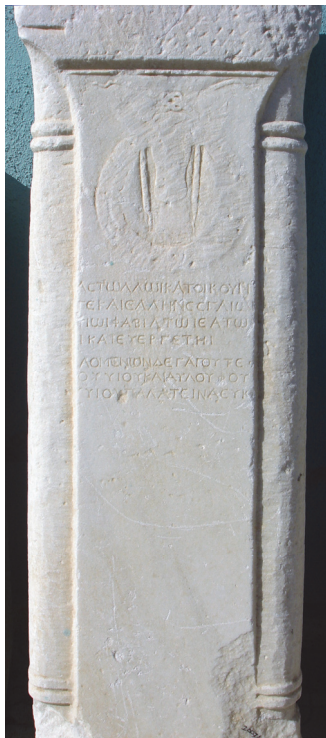



Fig. 1) Honorific inscription from Kastollos for C. Iulius C.f. Uşak Museum. Photo: author.

**Document 1:** White marble *stēlē*, substantially reworked for secondary usage (see further below). Mus. Inv. No.: 2007/80. Ht. 1.38; width 0.51; thickness 0.12; letters 0.013–0.015.

[οἱ ἐν Κ?]αστωλλῶι κατοικοῦν-  
 [τές] τε καὶ Ἑλληνες Γαῖωι  
 [τοῦ δεῖνα] υἱῶι Φαβία τῶι ἐατῶν  
 [- ]ι καὶ εὐεργέτη.  
 5 [Ἐπιμε]λομένων δὲ Γάγου τὲ Φ-  
 [- ]ου υἱοῦ καὶ Αὔλου Φου-  
 [- ]υ υἱοῦ Παλατένα εὐκο-  
 [σμίως.]

Varinlioğlu does not include a photograph of the stone, but offers the following description: “Inscription on shaft with flat top and columns standing on base on right and left side; on shaft above wreath with ribbons hanging on ox head; left side of inscription missing on the column”. This is rather misleading, since as will be clear from the photographs of the stone published here (figs. 1–2), the *stēlē* has in fact been substantially reworked for secondary use as a double half-column, a standard early Byzantine architectural feature typically

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<sup>1</sup> Varinlioğlu 2022, no. 16. For the location of Kastollos, see TAM V 3, 1415, with Petzl’s commentary.

employed as the central support of a twin-apertured window.<sup>2</sup> The reworking of imperial-period *stēlai* in this way is well-paralleled in inner Anatolia.<sup>3</sup> In the present case, the wreath with bucranium on the upper part of the shaft has been smoothed almost entirely flat, and the left- and right-hand parts of the shaft have been cut down to form half-columns with double hoops at both top and bottom. As a result, parts of the original inscribed text have been lost at both the beginning and end of each line (not just at the start of each line, as Varinlioğlu supposes). Varinlioğlu's proposed supplements at the start of lines 1 and 5 are both clearly correct, and show that around five letters should be restored at the start of each line; since the two half-columns are symmetrical, we should also be aiming to restore around five letters at the end of each line. I therefore propose the following revised text:

- [οἱ ἐν Κ]αστωλλῶι κατοικοῦν[τες Ῥω]-  
 [μαῖοι] τε καὶ Ἑλληνες Γαῖωι [Ιουλίωι]  
 [Γαῖου] υἱῶι Φαβία τῶι ἐατῶν [ἐν πᾶσι]  
 [σωτῆρ]ι καὶ εὐεργέτη. ὕ  
 5 [Ἐπιμ]ελομένων δὲ Γα(ῖ)ου τε Φ[ουλβί]-  
 [ου - c.3 -]ου υἱοῦ καὶ Αὔλου Φουλ[βίου]  
 [- c.4 -]υ υἱοῦ Παλατεῖνα Εὐκ[- c.5 -].

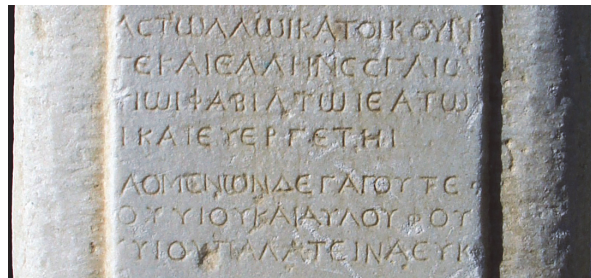


Fig. 2) The inscription on the *stēlē*

Line 5: ΓΑΓΟΥ *lapis*.

“[Those] living at Kastollos, both [Romans] and Greeks, for Gaius [Iulius], son of [Gaius], of the tribe Fabia, their [saviour] and benefactor [in all things]. Gaius F[ulvius], son of [- -], and Aulus Ful[vius] Euk[- -], son of [- -], of the tribe Palatina, were responsible (for the erection of the *stēlē*).”

**Lines 1–2:** For the formula οἱ ἐν (toponym) κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Ἑλληνες, see further below. The ancient village of Καστωλλός is securely located at modern Bebekli, in the Burçak Ovası 12km south-east of Kula and 22km north-east of Alaşehir (ancient Philadelphiea). The toponym “Kastol(l)os” goes back at least to the late fifth century BC, when Xenophon refers to Cyrus the Younger as general (*karanos* or *stratēgos*) of “those who muster at Kastolos/in the plain of Kastolos (Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον)”.<sup>4</sup>

The wording of the present document does not make it clear whether Kastollos was an independent political community at the point when C. [Iulius C.]f. was honoured, or if it belonged to the territory of a larger *polis*. By the high Roman imperial period, Kastollos certainly belonged to the territory of Philadelphiea, as we know from an inscription from Bebekli (late first or second century AD) which begins with the formula “At Kastollos, village of the Philadelphians, when an assembly was held by the *gerousia* and all the other villagers” (ἐν Καστωλλῶ κώμη Φιλαδελφῶν γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κωμητῶν πάντων).<sup>5</sup> However, we have no way of knowing whether Kastollos and the wider Burçak Ovası were already assigned to

<sup>2</sup> Niewöhner 2007, 177-179, with catalogue at 211-227.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *I.Mus.Denizli* 217, from the Tabai plateau (Robert and Robert 1954, 152, no.38); see further my note to *MAMA XI* 150 (Başkuyucak, Pentapolis).

<sup>4</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2, 1.9.7; *Hell.* 1.4.3. For the nature of Cyrus' office, see Rung 2015.

<sup>5</sup> *TAM V* 3, 1415 (*TAM V* 1, 222), with Schuler 1998, 29-31; Thonemann 2022, 338-339. The village still existed in the fourth century AD: *TAM V* 3, 1914 (Uşak Museum: unknown provenance), κώμης Ἀκροκαστωλοῖ[ο].

Philadelphieia at the time of the city's foundation under the Attalid monarch Attalos II (reigned 160–138 BC),<sup>6</sup> or if they only became part of Philadelphieian territory at some later date. Kastollos had demonstrably been an independent political community (though probably not organised as a *polis*) in the earlier Hellenistic period, as is clear from the use of the ethnic in a third-century BC funerary inscription from Athens commemorating a certain Μηνόδοτος Ἀ(ν)αχάρσιδος Καστωλεύς.<sup>7</sup> The settlement of Kastollos is referred to in passing in a letter of the mid-160s BC from the Attalid king Eumenes II to the military settlement of Apollonioucharax, in which he says that he had been intending to move the Mysians living at Kournoubeudos “to Kastollos, since fresh land certainly exists there in an uncultivated condition”; the phraseology leaves it unclear what the political status of Kastollos was at this point.<sup>8</sup>

**Lines 2–3:** The combination of the *praenomen* Gaius and the tribe Fabia, and the need to restore a very short gentilician at the end of line 2, strongly suggest (without strictly demonstrating) that the honorand's name was C. Iulius C.f. Fabia, without *cognomen*, and I have restored the text accordingly. My restoration [Ιουλίωι] at the end of line 2 is a little longer than one would have expected, but the presence of three *iotas* makes this a little easier to credit. If this restoration is correct, then the honorand's father would have received Roman citizenship by grant from Caesar, Augustus, or Caligula. As Ségolène Demougine has emphasized, it is usually impossible to tell whether a given family of C. Iulii received citizenship by grant from the patrician Iulii (rather than, e.g., through manumission), except in those few cases, as here, where the *tribus Fabia* also appears in the individual's nomenclature.<sup>9</sup> I know of around a dozen other instances of C. Iulii from Asia Minor for whom the *tribus Fabia* is explicitly signalled: C. Iulius Dionysii f. Fabia Antipatros from Kos (*IG XII 4 2*, 951: AD 48–54); C. Iulius Epigoni f. Fabia Kleon from Eumeneia (*I.Ephesos* 688, with *RPC I* 3149–3150: AD 54–59); C. Iulius Fabia Mithres from Smyrna (*I.Smyrna* 731: AD 80–83); C. Iulius C.f. Fabia [- -] from Aphrodisias (*I.Aphrodisias 2007* 12.25: under Trajan); C. Iulius Apollonii f. Fabia Demosthenes from Oinoanda (*SEG* 38, 1462: AD 124);<sup>10</sup> C. Iulius C.f. Fabia Pontianus from Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* 690: second century AD); C. Iulius C.f. Fabia Iulianus and C. Iulius C.f. Fabia Carus from Magnesia (*I.Magnesia* 150–151: date uncertain); C. Iulius Habri f. Fabia Hymnus from Sestos (*I.Sestos* 67: date uncertain); C. Iulius C.f. Fabia Asper from Attaleia (*SEG* 17, 581: first century AD); C. Iulius C.f. Fabia Lupus from Ephesos (*SEG* 39, 1195: date uncertain); C. Iulius Lucius Fabia Crescens from Hierapolis (*SEG* 41, 1201: date uncertain); C. Iulius Sosthenous f. Fabia Dionysios from Eibeos (see further below).

**Lines 3–4:** The description of the honorand's qualities (τῶι ἐατῶν [- c.10 -]ι καὶ εὐεργέτηι) cannot be restored with certainty. Various different honorific terms are found alongside εὐεργέτης in similar contexts (κτίστης, πατρῶν, προστάτης). However, the phrase σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης is

<sup>6</sup> Date of foundation: Cohen 1996, 227–230; Kaye 2022, 232. Fraser 2009, 374–375 is confused: his Philadelphieia 1. and 2. are identical.

<sup>7</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 9003, with Robert 1937, 159–160; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Καστωλοῦ πεδίων.

<sup>8</sup> *SEG* 57, 1150, with the corrections of Thonemann 2011b (*SEG* 61, 982), lines A2–5: τῶν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῶι τόπῳ κατοικοῦντας Μυσσοῦς [ἐπενού]ν εἰς Καστωλλοῦ μετὰγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ [νῆ γῆ (?) παν]τελῶς [ὑ]πάρχει ἐκεῖ περισσῆ; see now Kaye 2022, 44–51. For Mysians at Kastollos, cf. also *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 9977 (second or first century BC?), Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀσκληπιάδου Μυσὸς ἀπὸ Καστωλοῦ; Thonemann 2022, 9–24.

<sup>9</sup> Demougine 2017, 185–186. See further Holtheide 1983, 26–31, 40–55, with a catalogue (now rather out of date) of Iulii in the province of Asia at 248–74.

<sup>10</sup> Wörrle 1988, 57.



particularly widespread, and would fit well in the lacuna at the start of line 4 ([σωτήρ]ι καὶ εὐεργέτη);<sup>11</sup> at the end of line 3, I suggest restoring [ἐν πᾶσι], which would give a fairly standard phraseology: in the honorific inscription from Eibeos discussed below, C. Iulius Dionysios is described as τὸν ἑαυτῶν σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην διὰ παντός.

**Lines 5–7:** The orthography ἐπιμελομένων (for ἐπιμελουμένων) is well paralleled: cf. e.g. *I.Mylasa* 374; *TAM V* 2, 1316 (Hyrkanis); *I.Hadrianoi Hadrianeia* 28; ἐπιμεληθέντων is more usual in this context. The two individuals responsible for the erection of the *stēlē* appear to be brothers, or perhaps father and son (note the unusual use of τε in line 5, and the likelihood that the tribal affiliation Παλατεῖνα in line 7 applies to both men). In line 5, ΓΑΓΟΥ is clearly a mason's error for Γα(ῖ)ου. Both men carried a gentilician beginning with Φουλ- (the left diagonal of *lambda* is just visible at the end of line 6); this is overwhelmingly likely to be the common gentilician *Fulvius*. The first man, like the honorand C. Iulius C.f. Fabia, appears without a *cognomen* (C. F[ulvius - -] f.); the second man seems to have carried a Greek *cognomen* (A. Ful[vius - -] f. Palatina Euk[- -]), which cannot be restored with certainty (Εὐκλής, Εὐκράτης, Εὐκαρπος etc.: I can see no trace on the photo of the *omicron* which Varinlioglu claims to have read at the end of line 7).

The date of the new inscription from Kastollos cannot be determined with certainty. The lettering (no serifs; lunate epsilon and sigma; cursive omega; alpha with horizontal cross-bar) suggests a date in the first century BC or first century AD. The likelihood that the honorand is the son or grandson of a man granted citizenship by Caesar, Augustus, or Caligula would imply a *terminus post quem* around the turn of the era; comparison with other honorific inscriptions erected by corporate groups of “Romans and Greeks” (all of which date to the Julio-Claudian or Flavian periods) suggests that the inscription is unlikely to postdate the later first century AD.

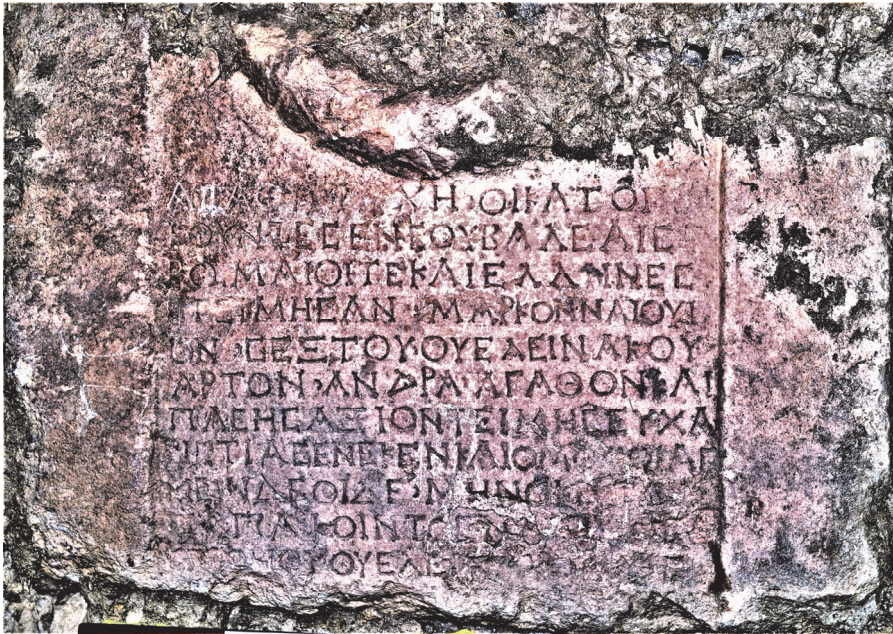


Fig. 3) Honorific *stēlē* from the modern village of Ulupınar. Photo courtesy of N. Eda Akyürek Şahin

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *SEG* 57, 1220 (honours for Ti. [Iulius/Claudius] Demetrii f. Fabia Damas at Silandos, first century AD), [τὸν ἐ]αυτῶν σωτήρα καὶ εὐε[ργέτη]ν; *IGR* IV 741 (honours for Epigonos at Eumeneia, under Augustus), σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην διὰ προγόνων; on Epigonos, see further below.

Serendipitously, two further inscriptions attesting corporate groups of “Romans and Greeks living at (village toponym)” have recently been published by N. Eda Akyürek Şahin and Hüseyin Uzunoğlu.<sup>12</sup> The first is an honorific *stēlē* from the modern village of Ulupınar, 5km to the south-east of the site of ancient Akmoneia in western Phrygia (Fig. 3):<sup>13</sup>

**Document 2:** Marble *stēlē* with plain pilasters at left and right; the lower part of a large wreath in relief above the inscription. H. 0.56, W. 0.36; letters 0.0015. In a house wall at Ulupınar.

	ἀγαθῆ τύχη· οἱ κατοι-	
	κοῦντες ἐν Σουβαλαεῖς	“With good fortune. Those
	Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες	living at Soubaleai, both
	ἑτεμίησαν Μάρκον Ναίουι-	Romans and Greeks,
5	ον Σέξτου Οὐελείνα Κού-	honoured Marcus Naevius
	αρτον ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ	Quartus, son of Sextus, of
	πάσης ἄξιον τιμῆς εὐχα-	the tribe Velina, a good man
	ριστίας ἔνεκεν καὶ ὁμογῳίας.	and worthy of all honour,
	[ε]ἰσὶν δὲ οἶδε· Μηνόκριτος	for the sake of gratitude and
10	Π[α]πα, Κοῖντος ΝΟ[. . .]Σ	concord. They are the
	[.]ΤΟΙΠΟΡΟΥ, Ἐλε[ύθε]ρο[ς .]ΟΣ	following: Menokritos son
	[ - - - - - ]Ρ[ - - - ]ΟΣ[ - - - - ]	of Papas, Quintus...
		Ele[uthe]ro[s]...”

The indigenous toponym Σουβαλαεῖς is not otherwise attested; one might compare the village of Σιβλοη in Lydia (precise location unknown, but evidently close to Apollonioucharax, at Taşkuyucak in the western Keçi Dağı, North of Sardis),<sup>14</sup> as well as the unlocated community of the Σ(ε)ιβλιανοί in Phrygia, who minted provincial bronze coins under Augustus and Tiberius, and then again under the Severans;<sup>15</sup> Pliny tells us (*NH* 5.106) that the “*Silbiani*” were located in the *conventus* of Apameia, a detail which is confirmed by the Flavian *conventus*-list from Ephesos, which lists the Σιβλιανοί between Eumeneia and Akmoneia.<sup>16</sup> The honorand, M. Naevius Quartus, is likely to be an Italian immigrant (his gentilician is not common in the Greek East).<sup>17</sup> No other Naevii are attested at Akmoneia, but the Naevianus Philosarapis who was buried at Akmoneia in the early third century AD is presumably a distant connection.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Akyürek Şahin – Uzunoğlu 2021, 340-341 no.1 and 356-357 no. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Akyürek Şahin – Uzunoğlu 2021, 356-357 no. 20. The inscription is mentioned by Drew-Bear 1978, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Thonemann 2011b, 23, 26.

<sup>15</sup> *RPC* I 3161-3163; von Aulock 1980, 87-89, 151-154.

<sup>16</sup> Plin. *HN* 5.106; *I.Ephesos* 11, col.II line 31, with Habicht 1975, 85. Note that Byzantine sources refer to this settlement as Σούβλαιον (Belke – Mersich 1990, 382); cf. Zgusta 1984, 561-562 §1209 for the orthography.

<sup>17</sup> If, as seems possible, Naevius Quartus comes from a family of *negotiatores*, it is conceivable that he is a descendant of the disreputable Sextus Naevius known from Cicero’s *pro Quinctio* to have been in business in Gallia Narbonensis in the late 80s BC (Lintott 2008, 43-59).

<sup>18</sup> *MAMA* VI 318 (AD 218/9).

The second new inscription published by Akyürek Şahin and Uzunoğlu was discovered in 1973 at Payamalani by Nezhir Firatlı, and is published by Akyürek Şahin and Uzunoğlu from Firatlı's original photographs and copy:<sup>19</sup>

**Document 3:** White marble *stēlē* with plain pilasters at left and right; broken above and below; no measurements. Discovered at Payamalani.

ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ  
κατοικοῦντες  
ἐν Εἰβηῶ Ῥωμαῖο-  
ί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐ-  
5 τείμησαν Γαῖον  
Ἰούλιον Σωσθένο-  
υς υἱὸν Φαβία Διονύσι-  
ον ἀρχιερέα τὸν ἐαυ-  
τῶν σωτήρα καὶ εὐ-  
10 εργέτην διὰ παντός.

“The *gerousia* and those living at Eibeos/-on, both Romans and Greeks, honoured Gaius Iulius Dionysios, son of Sosthenes, of the tribe Fabia, the high-priest, their continual saviour and benefactor.”



Fig. 4) Honorific inscription from Eibeos/-on for C. Iulius Dionysos. Uşak Museum. Photo: author.

This inscription is now on display in the Uşak archaeological museum, whence the photo published here (fig. 4). The ancient village of Eibeos/-on was situated on a hill above modern Payamalani, c.8km to the north of modern Sivaslı, ancient Sebaste, and around 12km southwest of Akmonia; the extensive remains at Payamalani have often been noted by scholars in the past.<sup>20</sup> The ancient village-name of Eibeos/-on is attested in two further inscriptions, one of which was published in 2011 as *MAMA XI 65* (honours for the decurion C. Septumius Carbo by ο[ί κ]ατοικοῦν[τες] ἐ[ν] Εἰβηῶ, c. AD 73–113), the second of which was published by Ender Varinlioğlu in his recent Uşak corpus (dedication of a shrine and statue to Helios Apollo Lairmenos by [ἡ τῶν] Εἰβειανῶν κατοικ[ι]α).<sup>21</sup> The ancient village of Eibeos/-on was clearly a

<sup>19</sup> Akyürek Şahin – Uzunoğlu 2021, 340–341 no. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Ramsay 1895–1897, II 584–585, 597–598, 609; Buresch 1898, 171–172; Firatlı 1970, 118–119; Waelkens 1986, 182; Belke – Mersich 1990, 246.

<sup>21</sup> Varinlioğlu 2022, no. 27, referred to in the commentary to *MAMA XI 65*. Not all of Varinlioğlu's restorations are persuasive: I would restore the text as follows: ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ, ἔτο[υς -] Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρ[μηνῶ] θεῶ ἐπιφανεστατ[ῶ ἢ τῶν] Εἰβειανῶν κατοικ[ι]α τ[οῦτον](5) τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπεσκευ[ασεν] ἐπὶ κωμάρχ[ω]ν Ἰππο[- c.5 -] Ἀντιφάνου καὶ Μενεστ[ράτου] Ἀπο[- -].



substantial community, as is reinforced by the existence of a *gerousia*; village *gerousiai* are also attested in two large villages of eastern Lydia in the early Roman imperial period.<sup>22</sup>

Of the honorand, C. Iulius Dionysios, son of Sosthenes, Akyürek Şahin and Uzunoğlu say only that he “was obviously a high-priest on the civic level”; they date the inscription to the first or second century AD. Numismatic evidence allows us to add more details. The earliest bronze coinage of the city of Sebaste, struck under Augustus, bears the name of the mint-magistrate ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΑΓΝΟΣ or ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ alone (fig. 5).<sup>23</sup> The city of Sebaste then did not strike coinage again until the beginning of Nero’s reign, c. AD 55, when two contemporary issues with portraits of Nero and Agrippina II were struck by a mint-magistrate named ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> The latter mint-magistrate is clearly identical to the honorand of the new inscription from Eibeos/-on, which we may therefore confidently date to the mid- first century AD; the inscription also renders it effectively certain that the two earliest mint-magistrates at Sebaste, Sosthenes *hagnos* under Augustus and (C.) Iulius Fabia Dionysios under Nero, were father and son. If Dionysios were an elderly man in AD 55, he could have received citizenship late in Augustus’ reign, after his father Sosthenes’ death; it is equally likely that he received the citizenship from Caligula (AD 37–41).



Fig. 5) Bronze issue of ΣΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΑΓΝΟΣ, Sebaste, under Augustus. RPC I 3153. CNG 78 (14/15/08) 1347. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Photo courtesy of cngcoins.com.



Fig. 6) Bronze issue of ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, Sebaste, c. AD 55. RPC I 3155. CNG Triton 24 (19/01/21) 138. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Photo courtesy of cngcoins.com.

<sup>22</sup> TAM V 3, 1430 (Kemaliye, near Philadelpheia, 12/11 BC); TAM V 3, 1415 (Kastollos, uncertain date), with a decision-formula which begins ἐν Καστωλλῶ κώμη Φιλαδελφῶν γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κωμητῶν πάντων; cf. Schuler 1998, 226-231, 264-265; Thonemann 2022, 338-339.

<sup>23</sup> RPC I 3153-3154. The honorific title ἀγνός (“pure”), although reasonably common in honorific epigraphy, is otherwise numismatically attested only on RPC I 2447 (Temnos, under Augustus), where it is applied to the proconsul C. Asinius Gallus (Heller – Suspène 2019); the example which they cite from Teos (Heller – Suspène 2019, 508, on RPC II 1038) is in fact an issue of Temnos, and Ἄγνος is a personal name (see the corrected entry for RPC II 980 in the online version of RPC, <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>).

<sup>24</sup> RPC I 3155-3156.

These three new inscriptions, from Kastollos, Soubaleai and Eibeos/-on, represent a very substantial addition to our dossier of evidence for corporate groups of “Romans and Greeks living at (village toponym)” in Lydia and western Phrygia around the turn of the era.<sup>25</sup> Before the emergence of these new documents, only three examples of this phraseology were known, from the villages of Na(e)is near Blaundos, Preiz(e)is near Akmoneia, and the [-]szeddioi near Hyrkanis. The relevant texts are as follows:

**Document 4:** Cylindrical statue-base, H. c.0.60, diameter c.1.04, letters 0.020–0.030. Copied in the village of İnay by W. M. Ramsay and J. R. S. Sterrett in 1883; photographed in 2002 by A. Filges (“İnay, 2002 in einer Gartenabgrenzung am Haus 114 b wiedergefunden”).<sup>26</sup>

<p>Αὐτοκράτορι [[Δομιτιανῶ]]          Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Γερμ-          ανικῶ τὸ δι', Λουκίῳ Μινουκίῳ          ἔτους ροβ', μη(νὸς) Πανήμου, Ῥούφῳ ὑπ(άτοις),          5 οἱ ἐν Ναιε κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἑλληνες</p>	<p>“When the emperor Domitianus          Caesar Augustus Germanicus, for          the fourteenth time, and Lucius          Minucius Rufus were consuls. Year          172, in the month Panemos, those          living at Na(e)is, both Romans and          (Greeks).”</p>
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This inscription dates to summer AD 88 (Year 172 of the Sullan era).<sup>27</sup> The text is in fact somewhat more curious than previous editors have recognised. Not only do we have to reckon with the fact that the text breaks off in line 5 after τε καί (was the final word perhaps painted, rather than inscribed?), but the name of Domitian’s consular colleague, L. Minucius Rufus, is split across two lines (lines 3–4), with his gentilician and cognomen bizarrely separated by the year–month dating formula; furthermore, the inscription does not actually make clear whose statue stood on the base (since Domitian’s name is strictly only included as part of the dating formula).<sup>28</sup> These final two peculiarities can easily be explained if we assume that the inscription was originally a statue-dedication of Domitian alone (Αὐτοκράτορι Δομιτιανῶ | Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Γερμ|ανικῶ *vac.* | ἔτους ροβ', μη(νὸς) Πανήμου, |(5) οἱ ἐν Ναιε κατοικοῦντες), and that after Domitian’s *damnatio memoriae* (note the erasure of Δομιτιανῶ in line 1, presumably accompanied by the removal of his statue), the inscription was reworked with the addition of the words...τὸ δι', Λουκίῳ Μινουκίῳ Ῥούφῳ ὑπ(άτοις), a change which ingeniously elides the honours for Domitian and turns his name into an innocent dating formula.<sup>29</sup> Two further dedications to Domitian are known from this region, in both of which the name Δομιτιανῶ has been erased: one derives from the village of the Pebaleis in eastern Lydia (Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι [[Δομιτιανῶ]] Σεβαστῶ ἢ Πηβαλέων κατοικία καθιέρωσαν διὰ ἱερέως Τ. Φλαουῖου Θρασυμάχου),<sup>30</sup> the other from the imperial estate of the

<sup>25</sup> For earlier discussion of this formula, see Thonemann 2010, 169-170; Thonemann 2013, 29-31; Mitchell 2023, 51.

<sup>26</sup> Ramsay 1883, 432 no. 42; Ramsay 1895-1897, I 610, no. 511; Herrmann 1991, 77-79; Filges 2006, 331, no. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Leschhorn 1993, 261.

<sup>28</sup> For the use of the dative in consular dating, Robert 1969, 326 n.5.

<sup>29</sup> For an analogous case from a nearby part of western Phrygia, see my commentary on *MAMA XI 157* (Diokleia), originally a statue-base for Commodus, but reworked after his *damnatio* as a statue-base for Septimius Severus.

<sup>30</sup> *SEG 67*, 830.



Choria Considiana near Dorylaion (ὁ δῆμος κατειέρωσε Αὐτοκράτορι [[Δομιτιανῶ]] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Γερμανικῶ] ὑπὲρ τῆς νείκης αὐτοῦ ηρ').<sup>31</sup>

**Document 5:** Cylindrical altar, with moulding above, concealed below; H. 0.63+, letters 0.020. In the village of Ahat (ancient Akmoneia), “utilisé comme base de soutien pour le montant d’une porte”.<sup>32</sup>

<p>Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβε- ρίωι Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν Πρεῖζι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἑλλη- 5 σιν Διονυσόδωρ[ο]ς Ξενί- ου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶ[ν] ιδίον.</p>	<p>“To the emperor Tiberius Caesar and those living at Preiz(e)is, both Romans and Greeks, Dionysodoros son of Xenios (set up) the altar from his own resources.”</p>
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This altar cannot be dated precisely within Tiberius’ reign. As the published photo makes clear, the inscription is neatly aligned at both left and right, with the exception of the words καὶ Ἑλλη|σιν in lines 4–5, which extend outwards to right and left, and must therefore be a later addition: the altar-dedication originally referred only to Tiberius and the Romans resident at Preiz(e)is.

**Document 6:** Grey-blue marble pedimental *stēlē*, with wreath above the text; H. 1.76, W. 0.58, Th. 0.13, letters 0.017–0.020. Broken into two parts; in the stairs of private houses in the village of Çullugörece, near Hyrkaniş.<sup>33</sup>

<p>ὁ δῆμος [. . .]σζεδδίων Ἑλληνέ[ς] τῆ καὶ [P]ωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Μάρκον Ἀγτώνιον [B]αγῶαν 5 τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην καὶ Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον Μ[ελίσ]- σου υἱὸν Βαγῶαν. ἐργεπιστατήσαντος Ζωῖ- λου τοῦ Βακχίου τοῦ καὶ [Ἀπολ]- 10 λωνίου Διαῶδος.</p>	<p>“The people of the [- ]szeddians, both Greeks and Romans, honoured Marcus Antonius Bagoas, their benefactor, and Marcus Antonius Bagoas, son of Melissos. Zoilos son of Bacchios, also known as Apollonios, grandson of Dias, took care of the works.”</p>
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The date of this inscription is uncertain, but the nomenclature of the elder M. Antonius Bagoas, son of Melissos, strongly suggests that he may have received citizenship through the triumvir Mark Antony; if this is correct, the text would necessarily date some time around the turn of the era.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> SEG 67, 1089, with Güney 2022.

<sup>32</sup> Drew-Bear 1978, 12–14 no. 6, with Pl.3 (SEG 28, 1080).

<sup>33</sup> TAM V 2, 1322; cf. BE 1970, 516 (ethnic).

<sup>34</sup> Robert 1969, 307–9; Robert, OMS V, 502; Holtheide 1983, 36.

To these six texts, we might append a closely related honorific inscription for Tatia, daughter of Menokritos, from the city of Akmoneia in central Phrygia, dated to AD 6/7, passed by a corporate body whose designation is clearly closely related to the examples discussed so far:

**Document 7:** White Dokimeian marble *stēlē* with pilasters at sides and tenon below. Broken above and at sides of base. H. 2.12+; W. 0.66; Th. 0.19–0.21; letters 0.018–0.025. Discovered in 1955 by Michael Ballance at Íslámköy, 10km north of Ahat (Akmoneia).<sup>35</sup>

	[- - - - - γυ]-		σαν αὐτῶν πάσ-
	ναῖκες Ἑλληνί-		ης ἀρετῆς ἔνε-
	δες τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖ-		κεν.
	αι ἐτείμησαν Τα-	15	τὴν ἐπιμέλησαν
	τίαν Μηνοκρίτου		ποιησαμένου Κρά-
5	τὴν καὶ Τρυφῶσαν		τητος Μηνοκρίτου
	γυναῖκα δὲ Μηνο-		τοῦ καὶ Μενελάου καὶ
	δότου Μενελάου		Ποπλίου Πετρω-
	τοῦ καὶ Σίλλωνος	20	νίου Ἐπιγένους
	τὴν ἀρχιέρησαν εὐ-		καὶ Μηνοκρίτου
10	εργέτιν ἐμ παν-		Ἀγαθοκλέως.
	τὶ καιρῶ γενηθεῖ-		ἔτους αῤ'.

“...the women, both Greek and Roman, honoured Tatia, also called Tryphosa, daughter of Menokritos, wife of Menodotos, also called Sillon, son of Menelaos, the high-priestess, having acted as their benefactor in all circumstances, for the sake of all her virtue. Krates, also known as Menelaos, son of Menokritos, Publius Petronius Epigenes, and Menokritos son of Agathokles were responsible (for the erection of the *stēlē*). Year 91.”

We therefore have a mini-corpus of seven documents erected by (or for) corporate groups of “Romans and Greeks” (or in the case of nos 6 and 7, “Greeks and Romans”). All seem to date to the Julio-Claudian or Flavian period (no. 7 dates to AD 6/7, no. 5 to the reign of Tiberius, no. 3 roughly to the reign of Nero, and no. 4 to AD 88). All but one (no. 7) derive from village communities with non-Greek names (Kastollos, Soubaleai, Eibeos/-on, Na(e)is, Preiz(e)is, the [-]szeddiol), and all but one (no. 6, an outlier from the vicinity of Hyrkanis in western Lydia) derive from a small part of eastern Lydia / western Phrygia, between the Katakekaumene in the west (Kastollos) and the Banaz ovası in the east. It is notable that no fewer than four of the seven monuments (2, 3, 5, 7) were discovered within a 12km radius of the city of Akmoneia; this perhaps ought not to surprise us, given the abundant evidence which we possess for a large community of resident Romans at and around Akmoneia in the late Republic and early principate.<sup>36</sup>

One obvious question about this mini-corpus is whether we should understand the phrase “Romans and Greeks” as a comprehensive designation for the entire (male, free, politically enfranchised) population of the relevant village (in effect, “both those with Roman citizenship and

<sup>35</sup> MAMA XI 99, with Thonemann 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Thonemann 2010, 169-174; Thonemann 2013, 29-31; Eberle – Le Queré 2017, 51, for the likelihood that many of these resident Romans had extensive landholdings in Phrygia.

those without”), or, alternatively, as a way of designating the Roman citizens and those who self-identified as “ethnically” Greek, as opposed to the indigenous Lydian, Mysian, and Phrygian population. The former seems considerably more likely to be correct, as indicated by the phrasing of no. 6, which seems fairly clearly to equate the *dēmos* of the [-]szeddiōi with the “Greeks and Romans”; likewise, as I have argued elsewhere, the corporate group of “women, both Greek and Roman” in no. 7 should be seen as the female counterpart to the male decision-making body of the city of Akmoneia, “the Council and People and the resident Romans” (ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι).<sup>37</sup> This interpretation is also supported by a civic decree from the city of Assos dating to AD 37, in which, we are told, “it was resolved by the Council and the Romans in business among us and the people of the Assians to arrange an embassy drawn from the foremost and best Romans and Greeks”;<sup>38</sup> clearly the two ethnic groups from whom the ambassadors are drawn, “Romans and Greeks”, are considered as the equivalent of the “Romans in business among us” and the Council and People of Assos respectively. “Greek”, then, should be understood in these texts as a catch-all term for the “non-Roman” population of Lydia and Phrygia; this usage would be entirely in line with the widespread official use of the term “Greeks” to refer to the provincial populations of Asia and Bithynia–Pontus in the early Roman imperial period.<sup>39</sup>

It is impossible to judge precisely where the line was drawn between the two groups, e.g. whether an individual of local origin who had received Roman citizenship would class himself as a “Roman” or a “Greek”; in general, the terminology used for corporate groups of “Romans” in the Greek world in the early imperial period (*Romani/Italici qui negotiantur*, etc.) implies that they were predominantly Italian immigrants rather than locals who had been granted Roman citizenship, but we do not have the evidence to say that this was always and exclusively the case.<sup>40</sup> It is worth noting in this context that of the honorands in these texts, one is a woman without Roman citizenship (7, Tatia daughter of Menokritos), one is apparently an Italian immigrant (2, M. Naevius Quartus), and the remaining four are all locals who had been granted Roman citizenship (3, C. Iulius Dionysios, son of Sosthenes; 6, M. Antonius Bagoas I, son of Melissos) and/or their sons (1, C. Iulius C.f.; 6 M. Antonius Bagoas II).

I have noted elsewhere “how many of the earliest Greek and Latin inscriptions to appear in Phrygia reflect, directly or indirectly, the activities of early Italian *negotiatores*”, and have suggested that extensive Italian settlement in Phrygia “might have directly led to the emergence of the ‘epigraphic habit’ in the region”.<sup>41</sup> Without rehearsing all the evidence again, the three new texts discussed in the present paper provide further support for this hypothesis; the honorific *stēlē* for C. Iulius C.f. (1) is certainly the earliest inscription from Kastollos, and the *stēlē* for C. Iulius Dionysios (3) is

<sup>37</sup> Thonemann 2010, 169.

<sup>38</sup> *I.Assos 26*: ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς πραγματευομένοις παρ’ ἡμῖν Ῥωμαῖοις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀσσίῳ κατασταθῆναι πρεσβείαν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων. Cf. also *IG XII 4 2*, 1142 (Kos, reign of Augustus), in which “the citizens, the Romans, and the metics” is clearly intended as a comprehensive list of those resident in the deme of Haleis (τοὶ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Ἀλεντίῳ... τῶν τε πολιτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων). I owe my knowledge of these two texts to Lina Girdvainyte.

<sup>39</sup> Discussed by Ferrary 2001 and Ferrary 2011.

<sup>40</sup> See Kirbihler 2007 and, for the terminology of *negotiatores*, the brilliant study of Eberle 2017. For the occasional inclusion of locals who had been granted citizenship among associations of “Romans” in the provinces, see Ramgopal 2017, 413.

<sup>41</sup> Thonemann 2013, 29–31.

the earliest inscription from Eibeos/-on (and one of the earliest inscriptions of any kind from the territory of Sebaste).

The new inscriptions, particularly the new text from Eibeos/-on, might prompt some further reflection on the character of the local elite in Phrygia in the Julio-Claudian period. As we have seen, the earliest coinage of Sebaste was struck under Augustus, by a mint-magistrate Sosthenes; the city next minted coinage under Nero, with a mint-magistrate Iulius Dionysios. We now know that these two men were father and son; that the son received Roman citizenship from either Augustus or Caligula; and that the son had close connections to the community of resident Romans around Sebaste.<sup>42</sup> This pattern of elite behaviour is, remarkably, precisely mirrored at the city immediately to the south of Sebaste, Eumeneia. One of the earliest coin-issues of Eumeneia is a small issue struck under Augustus by a mint-magistrate ΕΠΙΓΟΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ; the earliest extant inscription from Eumeneia is an honorific base for this man, “Epigonos son of Menekrates, *philopatris*”, who is honoured as civic priest of the goddess Roma.<sup>43</sup> Epigonos’ son, C. Iulius Epigoni f. Fabia Kleon, received Roman citizenship from either Augustus or Caligula, and after acting as military tribune of *legio VI Ferrata* in Syria he held the high-priesthood of Asia in the early years of Nero’s reign, and struck a further coin issue at Eumeneia, also under Nero (ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΛΕΩΝ Ο ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ).<sup>44</sup> Still more startlingly, a similar pattern can be seen at the city immediately to the *north* of Sebaste, Akmoneia: both the husband and brother of the woman honoured in no. 7 appear as mint-magistrates under Augustus; the earliest Roman citizens to act as mint-magistrates at Akmoneia appear, once again, under Nero (L. Servenius Capito and Iulia Severa — although there is no reason in this case to think that they belonged to the same family).<sup>45</sup>

The level of “match” between the numismatic and epigraphic evidence in this small region is truly startling, and would bear further investigation.<sup>46</sup> For the time being, we should merely note the remarkably prominent role played by this very small handful of wealthy pro-Roman families in the civic politics of west-Phrygian cities in the Julio-Claudian period—families who dominated civic bronze coin-production at their native cities; who received Roman citizenship late in Augustus’ reign or perhaps under Caligula; and who were honoured with public monuments by their fellow-citizens and by the region’s resident Roman *negotiatores*.

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<sup>42</sup> It is worth noting that at Sebaste in AD 98/99, of the seventy-one members of the civic gerousia listed on an inscription, eleven were Roman citizens (Paris 1883, 452-456; Ramsay 1895-1897, II 602-603, no. 475); no fewer than seven of those eleven (including three women) were members of a single family of C. Iulii, and it is obviously tempting to wonder if they were the descendants of C. Iulius Dionysios.

<sup>43</sup> *RPC* I 3142; Ramsay 1895-1897, II 377, no. 199 (*IGR* IV 741).

<sup>44</sup> *I.Ephesos* 688; *RPC* I 3149-3150. Of the other five mint-magistrates at Julio-Claudian Eumeneia, one was Epigonos’ wife (Kastoris *sōtira*, *RPC* I 3143), one was Iulius Kleon’s wife (Bassa daughter of Kleon, *RPC* I 3151-3152), and one was apparently Iulius Kleon’s father-in-law (Kleon *agapētos*, *RPC* I 3147-3148). For this family, see further Weiss 2000, 236-239; Thonemann 2010, 177-178; Thonemann 2011a, 210-211.

<sup>45</sup> Thonemann 2010, 168; for the coinage of Servenius Capito and Iulia Severa, see *RPC* I 3170-3177.

<sup>46</sup> Note also the remarkable numismatic career of Kallikles son of Kallistratos, from the town of S(e)iblia (location unknown, but probably near Apameia): mint-magistrate on coins of S(e)iblia c. 5 BC (*RPC* I 3162: ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ); mint-magistrate at S(e)iblia a second time, later in Augustus’ reign, after grant of citizenship (*RPC* I 3161: ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ); and then finally mint-magistrate on coins of Apameia under Tiberius (*RPC* I 3133-3134: ΓΑΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗΣ).



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## **Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi Lidya ve Frigya'sında Romalılar ve Yunanlar** Özet

Bu makale, erken Roma imparatorluk döneminde Lydia ve Batı Phrygia'da "(köy toponimi)'nde yaşayan Romalılar ve Yunanlardan" oluşan kolektif gruplara dair kanıtları bir araya getirmektedir. Yazar, üçü çok yakın zamanda yayınlanmış yedi onurlandırma yazıtı ve ithafını tartışmaktadır; diğer dördü ise batı Phrygia'daki Akmoneia'nın yakın çevresinden gelmektedir ve bölgedeki çok sayıda yerleşik Romalıyı yansıtmaktadır. Yazar, Lidya'daki Kastollos'tan yeni yayınlanmış bir onurlandırma yazıtı üzerine, çeşitli yeni okumalar ve tamamlamalar da dahil olmak üzere ayrıntılı bir yorum sunmaktadır (no. 1). Yazar, "Romalılar ve Yunanlar" formülünün kesin anlamını ve formülün kronolojik ve coğrafi dağılımını tartışmaktadır. Yedi yazıttan üçü Marcus Antonius (no. 6) ya da Augustus (no. 1 ve 3) tarafından Roma vatandaşlığı verilen yerlileri onurlandırmaktadır ve yazar nüvizmatik kanıtları kullanarak bu yeni Roma vatandaşlarının Lidya ve Frigya toplulukları içindeki sosyal konumlarını tartışmaktadır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Lidya; Frigya; onur yazıtları; Roma vatandaşlığı; Roma eyaleti Asya.