

Placing Power:  
Greek Cities and Roman Governors in Western Asia Minor, 69-235 CE

by

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To my parents

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## List of Abbreviations

For ancient texts and modern journals, I have used the abbreviations employed (respectively) by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* and *L'Année Épigraphique*. Papyri are cited in accordance with the *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. For epigraphic corpora, I have generally used the abbreviations employed by the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*; the exceptions (primarily from the *IGSK* series) are listed below, along with frequently-mentioned archaeological publications and reference works.

<i>A&amp;R</i>	J. Reynolds, <i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i> (London, 1982)
<i>Agora XIV</i>	H. A. Thompson & R. E. Wycherley, <i>Athenian Agora XIV. The Agora of Athens: The History, Shape, and Uses of an Ancient City Center</i> . (Princeton, 1972)
<i>AvP II</i>	R. Bohn, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon II. Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros</i> (Berlin, 1885)
<i>AvP IV</i>	R. Bohn, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon IV. Die Theater-Terrasse</i> (Berlin, 1896)
<i>AvP V.2</i>	H. Stiller, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon V.2. Das Traianeum</i> (Berlin, 1895)
<i>AvP VII</i>	F. Winter, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon VII. Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs</i> (Berlin, 1908)
<i>AvP VIII.3</i>	C. Habicht, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon VIII.3. Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> (Berlin, 1969)
<i>AvP XI.1</i>	O. Ziegenaus & G. de Luca, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon XI.1. Der südliche Temenosbezirk in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1968)
<i>AvP XI.2</i>	O. Ziegenaus & G. de Luca, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon XI.2. Der nördliche Temenosbezirk und angrenzende Anlagen in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1975)
<i>AvP XI.3</i>	O. Ziegenaus & G. de Luca, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon XI.3. Die Kulturbauten aus römischer Zeit an der Ostseite des heiligen Bezirks</i> (Berlin, 1981)
<i>AvP XI.4</i>	G. de Luca, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon XI.4. Via Tecta und Hallenstrasse. Die Funde</i> (Berlin, 1984)
<i>AvP XI.5</i>	A. Hoffmann, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon XI.5. Die Platzhallen und die zugehörigen Annexbauten in römischer Zeit</i> (Berlin, 2011)
<i>BMC Ionia</i>	B. V. Head, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek coins of Ionia</i> (London, 1892)
<i>BMC Mysia</i>	W. Wroth, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek coins of Mysia</i> (London, 1892)

<i>BMC Phrygia</i>	B. V. Head. <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phrygia</i> (London, 1906)
<i>CAH<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History. Second edition.</i> (Cambridge, 1970-2005)
<i>Corinth I.3</i>	R. L. Scranton, <i>Corinth. I.3. Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple</i> (Princeton, 1951)
<i>Corinth I.5</i>	S. S. Weinberg, <i>Corinth I.5. The Southeast Building, the Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House</i> (Princeton, 1960)
<i>Corinth II</i>	R. Stillwell, <i>Corinth II. The Theater</i> (Princeton, 1952)
<i>EAA</i>	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale</i> (1958-73)
<i>F. Delphes III.4</i>	R. Flacelière, <i>Fouilles de Delphes III.4. Inscriptions de la terrasse du Temple n° 87-275</i> (Paris, 1954)
<i>F. Xanthos VII</i>	A. Balland, <i>Fouilles de Xanthos. Tome 7: Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon</i> (Paris, 1981)
<i>FiE II</i>	R. Heberdey et al. (eds.), <i>Forschungen in Ephesos II. Das Theater von Ephesos</i> (Vienna, 1912)
<i>FiE III</i>	E. Reisch (ed.), <i>Forschungen in Ephesos III</i> (Vienna, 1923)
<i>FiE V.2</i>	W. Wilberg et al. (eds.), <i>Forschungen in Ephesos V.2. Die Bibliothek</i> (Vienna, 1953)
<i>FiE VII</i>	A. Bammer & W. Alzinger, <i>Forschungen in Ephesos VII. Das Monument des C. Memmius</i> (Vienna, 1971)
<i>FiE IX.5</i>	L. Bier, <i>Forschungen in Ephesos IX.5. The Bouleuterion at Ephesos</i> (Vienna, 2011)
<i>FiE X.1</i>	M. Aurenhammer. F. <i>Forschungen in Ephesos X.1. Die Skulpturen von Ephesos: Bildwerke aus Stein. Idealplastik I</i> (Vienna, 1990)
<i>FiE XI.1</i>	H. Thür, <i>Forschungen in Ephesos IX.1. Das Hadrianstor in Ephesos</i> (Vienna, 1989)
<i>FiE XI.2</i>	U. Quatember, <i>Forschungen in Ephesos XI.2. Das Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos</i> (Vienna, 2011)
<i>FiE XIII.2</i>	P. Scherrer & E. Trinkl, <i>Forschungen in Ephesos XIII.2. Die Tetragnon Agora in Ephesos</i> (Vienna, 2006)
<i>Hierapolis I</i>	F. D'Andria & M. P. Caggia, <i>Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scavo e restauro 2000-2003</i> (Istanbul, 2007)
<i>I. Milet</i>	Milet VI.1-2. <i>Inchriften von Milet</i> (Berlin, 1997-8)
<i>IvArykanda</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Arykanda (IGSK 48; Bonn 1994)</i>
<i>IvAssos</i>	R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Assos (IGSK 4; Bonn 1976)</i>
<i>IvE</i>	H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al., <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos, I-VII (IGSK 11-17; Bonn 1979-1981)</i>
<i>IvHadrianeia</i>	E. Schwertheim, <i>Die Inschriften von Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia (IGSK 33; Bonn 1987)</i>
<i>IvIasos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos (IGSK 28 1/2; Bonn 1985)</i>
<i>IvKibyra</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Kibyra I. Die Inschriften der Stadt und ihrer näheren Umgebung (IGSK 60; Bonn 2002)</i>



<i>IvKnidos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos, I (IGSK 41; Bonn 1992)</i>
<i>IvKyme</i>	H. Engelmann, <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme (IGSK 5; Bonn 1976)</i>
<i>IvLaodikeia</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos, I (IGSK 49; Bonn 1997)</i>
<i>IvMylasa</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa, I. Inschriften der Stadt (IGSK 34, Bonn 1987)</i>
<i>IvNikaia</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia). Teil 1. Nr. 1-633 (IGSK 9; Bonn, 1982)</i>
<i>IvP</i>	M. Fränkel, <i>Altertümer von Pergamon VIII.1-2. Die Inschriften von Pergamon (Berlin, 1890-5)</i>
<i>IvPerge</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Perge I-II (IGSK 54, 61; Bonn 1999, 2004)</i>
<i>IvPrusa</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olypium, I-II (IGSK 39-40; Bonn 1991-1993)</i>
<i>IvSelge</i>	J. Nollé, F.Schindler, <i>Die Inschriften von Selge (IGSK 37; Bonn 1991)</i>
<i>IvSide</i>	J. Nollé, <i>Side im Altertum. Geschichte und Zeugnisse, I. (IGSK 43; Bonn 1993)</i>
<i>IvSmyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna, I-II 1/2 (IGSK 23-24 1/2; Bonn 1982-1990)</i>
<i>IvStratonikeia</i>	M. Ç. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia, I-II 1/2 (IGSK 21-22 1/2; Bonn 1981-1990)</i>
<i>IvTralleis</i>	F. B. Poljakov, <i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis (IGSK 36.1; Bonn 1989)</i>
Jones, <i>CERP</i>	A. H. M. Jones, <i>The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces. Second edition (Oxford, 1971)</i>
Kaibel	G. Kaibel, <i>Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta (Berlin, 1878)</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (1981-2009)</i>
<i>LSAM</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure (Paris, 1955)</i>
<i>LTUR</i>	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (1993-2000)</i>
<i>Milet I.2</i>	H. Knackfuss, <i>Milet I.2. Das Rathaus von Milet (Berlin, 1908)</i>
<i>Milet I.3</i>	G. Kawerau, <i>Milet I.3. Das Delphinion in Milet (Berlin, 1914)</i>
<i>Milet I.5</i>	J. Hülsen. <i>Milet I.5. Das Nymphaeum von Milet (Berlin, 1910)</i>
<i>Milet I.6</i>	A. von Gerkan. <i>Milet I.6. Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht (Berlin, 1923)</i>
<i>Milet I.7</i>	H. Knackfuss. <i>Milet I.7. Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen (Berlin, 1924)</i>
<i>Milet I.9</i>	A. von Gerkan. <i>Milet I.9. Thermen und Palaestren (Berlin, 1928)</i>
<i>Milet V.2</i>	R. Bol, <i>Milet V.2. Marmorskulpturen der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Milet: Aufstellungskontext und programmatische Aussage (Berlin, 2011)</i>
Musurillo, <i>APM</i>	H. Musurillo, <i>The acts of the pagan martyrs. Acta Alexandrinorum (Oxford, 1954)</i>

<i>PG</i>	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> (Paris, 1857-66)
<i>PIR<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Second edition</i> (1933 - )
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (1950 - )
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1890-1978)
Robert, <i>OMS</i>	L. Robert, <i>Opera minora selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> (Amsterdam, 1969 - )
<i>Sardis II.1</i>	H. C. Butler, <i>Sardis II. Architecture. Part 1. The Temple of Artemis</i> (Leyden, 1925)
<i>Thera I</i>	F. H. von Gaertringen (ed.), <i>Thera: Untersuchungen, Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1895-1898</i> (Berlin, 1899)
<i>ThWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>

## **Abstract**

My dissertation situates public space at the heart of a city's efforts to negotiate its position in an Empire-wide network of status and privileges. I focus on the annual assize tours Roman governors conducted through the provinces of Asia and Lycia-Pamphylia, and show how, in the cities that hosted them, these tours provided local elites with opportunity to use the spaces in which a governor was welcomed and performed his duties as a means of winning his favor and modeling his conduct.

The exposition is divided into five parts. The first part reviews the imperial policies that environed the dialogue between governor and city. The second and third outline the strategies used, respectively, by Roman governors and local notables to project authority in and through civic space. The fourth and fifth trace the role of civic space in the actual course of a governor's visit.

The first part of my dissertation surveys how Roman imperial power both shaped and was shaped by the public spaces of provincial cities. Under the Principate's decentralized system of provincial administration, civic building was designed and executed primarily on the initiative of local elites. The goals of these elites were fundamentally oriented, however, to titles, ranks, and statuses granted by the emperor. Seeking to gain or claim possession of imperial favor, notables channeled their resources into building projects that couched their dominance of local politics as an extension of their engagement with Roman authority. In this atmosphere of civic competition, broadly standardized sets of architectural and sculptural conventions emerged across the Empire,

which provided cities with shared points of reference for articulating, discussing and negotiating authority. These conventions could be deployed to present rival communities with an image that readily communicated a city's significance in province and Empire. On the occasion of a visit from a Roman governor, the same symbols and methods served not only to depict a city as a loyal subject, but also to model its relationship with the visiting official.

The second part explores how mid-imperial governors – nearly all of whom originated in the Latin-speaking western provinces, and had received an elite Roman education – were conditioned to regard Greek cities as settings in which their authority had special conditions and implications. Trained from an early age to perceive the Greeks and their cities in the light of a moralizing discourse that contrasted Roman virtue with Greek decadence, men like Pliny the Younger came to associate “Greek” and “Roman” with different sets of activities, divergent modes of self-presentation, and distinct settings. In designated parts of the capital, in the cultured space of the villa, and even in select poleis like Athens and Sparta, Romans constructed visions of the Greek city adapted to this dichotomy. Although the prerogatives of office compelled governors serving in the eastern provinces to adopt a more practical perspective on the spaces in which they performed their duties, preconceptions about the Greeks and their cities continued to influence how they displayed their own authority and that of the Empire they represented.

The third part examines in detail the ideal of the stable, orderly, and cultivated polis promoted by imperial Greek notables. This ideal functioned primarily to enact and reinforce an established pattern of social relations between the civic elite and citizen body. It also served, however, to confront Roman officials and local rivals alike with a communal image founded on the qualities of the citizen body but articulated through the built environment. As expressed in rhetorical encomia, the ideal proposed buildings and populace as mutually reinforcing

expressions of order, achievement, and status. A similar ethos was manifested in contemporary building projects, which were presented as contributions to a cityscape unified by its dedication to the citizen body. The processions and public sacrifices associated with festal occasions, when the people were assembled in meaningful conjunction with ritually significant settings, conveyed a complementary message. On the occasion of an official visit, all three “modes” of spatial production – rhetorical description, ephemeral festival architecture, and ritual assembly of the citizen body – contributed to a deliberate presentation of elite values and ambitions.

The fourth part considers how a Greek city could, through the ceremonies surrounding a governor’s arrival, present its built environment as both an index of civic status and a template for the legitimate exercise of Roman authority. Three case studies, each intended to illustrate a different aspect of the civic presentation, orient the discussion. In the first, an Antonine proconsul’s reception at Ephesus is used to discuss how the settings of his ceremonial entry not only foregrounded the assembled citizen body, but also articulated it in an architectural frame that emphasized its constituent parts and essential unity. The second case study traces a proconsul’s arrival at Miletus, and explores how the visual prominence granted to certain elements of the urban fabric in the course of his welcome reception generated a narrative of the city’s past glories and present prominence. A newly-arrived proconsul’s experience of the Asclepieion at Pergamum, finally, illustrates how a city could use imperial statues, shrines, and architectural markers to manifest aspects of its loyalty to the Empire, and so suggest the terms on which its relationship with Rome was predicated.

The fifth and final part investigates the governor’s engagement with the sites in which he performed his duties. The first of the two constituent chapters, focused on the assizes, discusses how local elites used spaces of justice to communicate their values and expectations to the

governor. The second emphasizes how the physical settings of the civic festivals at which governors officiated visibly involved them in an ideal of the community with implications for both internal social relations and regional politics. Both when judging cases and when officiating at a festival, the governor's seat was visibly juxtaposed with both statues of the emperor – who represented the ideal of official benevolence and probity – and with the persons of leading local notables, who sought to publicly associate themselves with him. This arrangement reflected the civic elites' conception of the governor as a figure more influential than, but essentially no different from, themselves, who could be “constructed” and presented as a patron of the city after the Hellenistic model of the “heroic citizen.”

By asserting the centrality of civic space to the dialogue between Empire and polis, my dissertation significantly nuances our understanding of how Roman power worked in the provinces. Most immediately, it allows new appreciation of the degree to which the actions of travelling Roman officials could be “stage-managed” by their provincial hosts, and thus of the leverage civic elites possessed in their dealings with imperial representatives. More generally, by illustrating the extent to which local notables cooperated in both the creation and the presentation of their cities, it outlines a way of understanding the formal cityscapes of the imperial period as constructs and instruments of elite political goals. Most broadly, it reveals the intimacy of the connections between imperial policy, the ambitions of local notables, and the appearance of provincial cities.

## General Introduction

Let us begin with three passages on space and power in Roman Athens. The first, excerpted from Posidonius by Athenaeus, relates how the demagogue Athenion cited the topography of Athens when exhorting his fellow citizens to join Mithridates. The second, from Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaic Oration*, details how the buildings of Athens embody the city's glories. The third, from Pausanias, describes the precinct of Hadrian's Temple of Olympian Zeus as a reflection of Athens' prominence in a Greek world ruled by Rome.

Mounting the platform built in front of the Portico of Attalus by the Roman generals, [Athenion] took his stand upon this and glanced at the throng all about him; then looking upward, he spoke [...]: "What, now, am I to advise you? Tolerate no more the anarchical state of things which the Roman Senate has caused to be extended until such time as it shall decide what form of government we are to have. And let us not permit our holy places to be kept locked against us, our gymnasia in squalid decay, our theatre deserted by the Assembly, our courts voiceless, and the Pnyx, once consecrated to sacred uses by divine oracles, taken away from the people. Nor let us, men of Athens, permit the sacred voice of Iacchus to remain sealed in silence, the august temple of the two Divinities to remain closed, and the schools of the philosophers to stand voiceless."<sup>1</sup> (Ath. 212e-f, 213d)

For here temples are the largest and most beautiful of those anywhere. And as for statues, quite apart from those which dropped from heaven, there are the best works, both ancient and modern, of the best art. [...] And as there should be with today's opportunity and way of life, there are baths, athletic grounds, and gymnasia overpowering in their magnificence and luxury. Hence, if one were to deprive the city of her heroic figures of legend like Erichthonius and Cecrops, her myths, the stories about her part in the gift of crops, her trophies both on land and sea, her literature, her men, all that through which she has passed in the course of

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, translations of literary texts are taken from the Loeb editions. All translations of inscriptions and legal texts are (unless otherwise noted) my own.

endless time, and would look at her as at the cities of today which are so proud of themselves, she has enough to prevail [over all rival cities] on the basis of what meets the eye alone. [...] Among the cities of Asia there are those who pride themselves on the size of their temples, others on the architecture of their baths which are provided in excess of the need. This city has even these things to an unsurpassable degree, just as a recently founded city might. And best of all! It is you who possess the temples and the theaters for the display of distinction which the others particularly desire to show the world by means of statues. (Aristid., *Or.* 1.246, 250; trans. Oliver)

Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus – Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold with an artistic skill which is remarkable when the size is taken into account – before the entrance, I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call “colonies.” The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus. (Paus. 1.18.6)

Each of these excerpts bespeaks the profound implication of authority, both local and Roman, in Athenian civic space. In the first passage, Athenion pointedly declaims from a bema erected for the use of Roman officials, and fulminates about how Roman rule has stripped the Athenian people of control over the public spaces of their own city. In the second, Aristides first sets up the monuments of Athens as a source of prestige parallel and equal to the city’s storied place in the Greek myth and literature, and then proceeds to dismiss the possibility of separating the city’s buildings from its cultural identity, describing the temples and theaters as sites for performance of a living cultural tradition. Pausanias, finally, details how the “colonies” set up in the precinct of the greatest Athenian temple were arrayed in an order, overseen by the colossal statue of Hadrian, that instantiated an ideal of Athens’ cultural significance in the Roman Empire and Greek world.



These passages reveal several important aspects of the relationship between power and space in Roman Athens. First, they indicate consciousness of the fact that the Athenian cityscape, replete with symbols of imperial authority and shaped in accordance with the cultural ideals of elite Romans, was in many ways a product of imperial power.<sup>2</sup> The archaeological record provides abundant corroborating evidence. The Augustan reconstruction of the Agora, which involved the construction of the massive Odeon of Agrippa for cultural performance and the transferal and reconstruction of Classical temples from across Attica, famously transformed the city's ancient political heart into a stage for the reenactment of Classical culture (Figs. 1-2).<sup>3</sup> More than a century later, Hadrian's massive building program transformed an even larger portion of the urban fabric into a sort of cultural museum.<sup>4</sup> By the Antonine period, when our passages were composed or redacted, the identification of Athens' cultural heritage with Roman authority would have been visible throughout the city. From the Acropolis, adorned with whole series of Classical-era portraits rededicated to Roman officials,<sup>5</sup> to the sanctuary at Eleusis, rebuilt by Marcus Aurelius to incorporate a gate modelled after the Mnesiklan Propylaia, the monuments of Roman Athens and Attica advertised their incorporation into imperial time and space.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Shear 1981 provides a good summary of Athens' history under Rome. See Ferrary 1996 for an overview of the influence of philhellenism on Roman engagement of Athens.

<sup>3</sup> See Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008 for a recent summary of Republican and early Imperial building in Athens; the most comprehensive treatment of construction in the Augustan period is Baldassarri 1998. For a nuanced discussion of the effects of the Augustan cultural discourse on Greece, see Spawforth 2012.

<sup>4</sup> On Hadrian's building program in Athens, see Follett 1976: 107-35, Spawforth & Walker 1985: 92-8, Willers 1990, and Boatwright 2000: 144-57.

<sup>5</sup> Shear 2007

<sup>6</sup> Clinton 1997 provides an overview of Roman interventions at Eleusis; Clinton 1989, a list of known Roman benefactors (pp. 1530-33 for Marcus Aurelius; cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3606). Spawforth & Walker 1985: 102-3 supply references for the Antonine rebuilding. See Giraud 1989 and Palinkas 2008: 236-68 on the reconstructed gate. For a discussion of architectural copying with reference to these examples, see Felten 1997; cf. Mylonopoulos 2008: 60-6.

Our passages also suggest, however, that the Athenians themselves continued to play a critical role in shaping the appearance and significance of their city's public spaces, actively responding to and even modelling Roman enthusiasm for their cultural heritage. Corroborating evidence again abounds. The famous "Restoration Decree" (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1035*), which proclaims the Athenian council and assembly's decision to restore a vast number of ancient shrines and sanctuaries, seems to have been a deliberate attempt to apply Augustan rhetoric to the presentation of civic history.<sup>7</sup> The Athenians made still more effective use of Roman interest in their city's association with the Persian Wars, capitalizing on new conflicts with Parthia to honor Nero with an inscription on the Parthenon, and Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus with a monumental trophy modelled on the famous tripod at Delphi.<sup>8</sup> The city's first temple of the imperial cult, likewise, was a small monopteros dedicated to Augustus that quoted the decoration of the Erechtheion and stood immediately beside the Parthenon.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the most striking evidence that the Athenians consciously exploited the symbolic potency of their city's built environment is supplied by civic coinage. Throughout the second and into the third century, the reverses of local issues regularly depicted the Acropolis and the Theater of Dionysus (Figs. 3-4).<sup>10</sup> Though not wholly unique in conception,<sup>11</sup> the Athenian issues were unrivalled in detail, offering vivid testimony to the value contemporary notables assigned to the city's appearance.

The ethos behind both these coins and the city's building projects is epitomized by a speech read

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<sup>7</sup> Schmalz 2007-8; Spawforth 2012: 207-32

<sup>8</sup> Trophy: Paus. 1.18.8. Inscription for Nero: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 3277*. On evocations of the Persian Wars tradition in the Roman east, see Spawforth 1994.

<sup>9</sup> Hoff 1996; Baldassarri 1998: 45-55

<sup>10</sup> Second century issues showing the Acropolis: Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d' Athènes* 98.19-20, 98.21-9. Price & Trell 1977: 75-8 describe a more comprehensive third century series, one issue of which depicted the theater. Mosch 1996 discusses the uniquely rhetorical qualities of Athenian coinage under the Empire.

<sup>11</sup> Corinth and Ephesus, for example, also produced coins showing panoramic views of their cityscapes. Corinth: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 13705; see Imhoof-Blumer & Gardner 1885: 59-77 for a detailed survey of the monuments depicted on the coins of Roman Corinth. Ephesus: BMC Ionia no. 237 (pg. 79); Price & Trell 1977, fig. 520.

to the Athenian ephebes in the reign of Commodus, which compares Hadrian to Theseus as founder of Athens – but presents Theseus as the exemplar for young Athenians to emulate, implying that Hadrian is to be admired precisely because he has followed the example of Theseus.<sup>12</sup> This statement, which neatly incorporates the emperors and their buildings into the narrative of civic history, reflects the idea that, despite the intensity of Roman intervention, it was ultimately the Athenians themselves who determined the significance of their city's public spaces.

The identity of Roman Athens, in short, was articulated through public space, in a manner conditioned by constant dialogue with imperial power. The building projects that reshaped the city's landscape in the imperial era can be understood as a series of Roman assertions and local responses in a wide-ranging conversation about cultural and political authority. Each project was designed not only to convey an immediate sociopolitical message to a given intended audience, but also to contribute to a larger landscape in which the substance of both local identity and imperial power could be performed, negotiated, and defined. Perhaps the clearest evidence that the Athenian landscape was perceived as a setting for such performance is the degree to which new construction respected and complemented traditional processional routes. This concern for setting seems to have been a matter of civic policy: on two separate occasions in the early third century, the Athenian council issued decrees carefully delineating the route to be taken by the ephebes during celebrations of the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>13</sup> Archaeological evidence indicates that, over the course of the first and second centuries, the route of the Panathenaic Way was monumentalized in a manner apparently intended to

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<sup>12</sup> Follet & Peppas-Delmousou 2000. The orator directly evokes the inscriptions on Hadrian's Arch (IG II<sup>2</sup> 5185).

<sup>13</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1078-9

accentuate the traditional significance and continuing relevance of the processions it framed.<sup>14</sup> Colonnades were erected alongside the processional route between the Dipylon Gate and Agora and from the Agora to the massively reconstructed approach to the Propylaia of the Acropolis.<sup>15</sup> Within the agora, the processional route was marked by a series of new monuments, each evocative of the city's Classical past and Roman present: the Temple of Ares, a reconstructed Classical building moved from the Attic countryside; the bema, dominated by a quadriga of Tiberius; the massive Odeon; the nymphaeum, adorned with statues of Hadrian and his family; and the so-called Southeast Temple, another imported Classical building. During the annual Panathenaic procession, the ceremonies staged to welcome visiting dignitaries, and a host of lesser ceremonies, this route involved both participants and spectators of civic ceremony in a ritual enactment of local identity, Roman authority, and the relationship between them.<sup>16</sup>

At least on certain occasions, then, the cityscape of Roman Athens contributed significantly to the process of performing, and so defining, the local meanings of the Classical heritage and imperial power. The meaning of civic space itself, in fact, was central to the process of definition. Throughout the first and second centuries, for example, (elite) controversy raged over the new custom of holding gladiatorial combats in the Theater of Dionysus.<sup>17</sup> To many Greeks, it seemed disgraceful, or even sacrilegious, that such bloody spectacles were held in places sanctified by centuries of festivals and sacred assemblies. The comments of Dio Chrysostom are representative: "The Athenians watch [gladiatorial combats] in their theatre

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<sup>14</sup> Shear 2001: 896-945 summarizes construction along the Panathenaic way in the imperial period.

<sup>15</sup> On the reconstruction of the approach to the Propylaia, see Schmalz 1994: 134-52.

<sup>16</sup> See Ch. 9-10.

<sup>17</sup> Gladiatorial combats were long controversial in the Greek world. The first combats in Greece were held in the Roman colony of Corinth, and contributed to general perceptions of that city's foreignness; in a first-century letter preserved among the works of Julian (*Ep.* 198 [Bidez]), the Argives complain that the Corinthians have extorted money for the purpose of showing beast hunts and gladiators, all in defiance of ancestral custom. Later, both Lucian (*Dem.* 57) and Philostratus (*VA* 4.22) reference the theme, and Plutarch criticizes those who stage beast hunts or gladiatorial combats to gain popularity (*Mor.* 802D, 821F).

under the very walls of the Acropolis, in the place where they bring their Dionysus into the orchestra and set him up, so that often a fighter is slaughtered among the very seats in which the Hierophant and the other priests must sit” (*Or.* 31.121). The tension was built into the fabric of the theater: the scaenae frons, constructed in a deliberately conservative style and adorned with reliefs depicting scenes from the life of Dionysus, evoked the theater’s cultic and historical associations; in the eyes of at least some spectators, however, this message was belied by the high parapet around the orchestra, erected to protect spectators during gladiatorial combats and beast hunts.<sup>18</sup> At least some elite critics perceived the Theater of Dionysus and its surroundings as an implicit “script” for performance of, and proper respect for, the cultural heritage of Athens: Philostratus’ Apollonius of Tyana castigates the Athenians in the theater for their riotous celebration of the spring Dionysia, contrasting their behavior with the ancient virtue monumentalized by the Parthenon – visible from the stage – and other memorials of the Persian Wars.<sup>19</sup>

In the broadest sense, civic identity and imperial authority were performed in, and defined through, the built environment of Roman Athens on a daily basis, their multivalent and collectively-determined significances slowly shifting in response to the meanings collectively assigned them by various sociopolitical groups. The lineaments of the daily processes of use and interpretation, however, were determined by a more restricted set of occasions. Civic ceremonies and festivals, which entailed assembling and displaying a ritual community, were particularly important. Among the most critical of these occasions for defining perceptions of the Empire and Athens’ place in it were those associated with visits from the proconsul of Achaëa and his

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<sup>18</sup> In the reign of Nero, Tiberius Claudius Novius, a local notable of Italic origins, seems to have sponsored both the scaenae frons and the new barrier (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3182); Welch 1999 notes that this is the earliest permanent barrier attested in the Greek world. On the Hadrianic reliefs, see Sturgeon 1977.

<sup>19</sup> Philostr., *VA* 4.21; cf. Dio, *Or.* 31.160.

subordinates. The presence of a Roman official, and particularly of a governor, at once destabilized the ritual processes of communal definition and deepened their potential significance. Implicating the governor in an enactment of the local ideal of city and Empire could have a number of important consequences. If suitably impressed by the city's presentation, the official might actually exercise his influence to make realities better reflect local pretensions. Even if his visit did not materially alter the city's position in the Empire, the sanctioning effect of his presence could confirm its self-image – or could at least be presented as such an endorsement by the local elite. It was, in short, vitally important for the local elite to both impress a visiting governor and associate themselves with him; and for these purposes, the civic built environment was absolutely crucial.

Although Athens, as a “free” city, technically stood outside the provincial structure, the city's prominence and unique appeal for elite Romans ensured that proconsuls of Achaëa were prominent among a steady stream of official visitors.<sup>20</sup> During such visits, governors in Athens probably carried out the same duties they performed in other provincial cities. For the most important of these responsibilities, trying cases beyond the purview of local courts, two venues existed in the mid-imperial period. Both were located on the Agora:<sup>21</sup> a massive and lavishly decorated basilica constructed, probably with imperial funding, in the reign of Hadrian;<sup>22</sup> and the bema located in front of the Stoa of Attalus. The condition of the basilica's remains precludes

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<sup>20</sup> Haensch 1997: 322-5 assembles and discusses the evidence for Roman officials visiting Athens. Proconsuls of Achaëa visited at least intermittently (e.g. Philostr., *VA* 8.22; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11120), though perhaps not as frequently as correctors of the free cities of Achaëa.

<sup>21</sup> That the agora was the customary place for dispensing Roman justice is suggested by the fact that Marcus Aurelius advised one of his procurators not to use the tribunal in the Athenian Agora for a task that might incite popular unrest (*SEG* 29 127.85-7).

<sup>22</sup> On the basilica, which has only been partially excavated, see Shear 1971: 261-5 and Shear 1973: 134-8. Boatwright 1983 connects its construction with that of the nearby Library of Hadrian. It has been suggested that the remains hitherto identified with the basilica were actually part of a monumental colonnaded court; until further evidence emerges, however, the traditional interpretation seems safest.

any analysis. The environs of the bema, however, can be reconstructed in some detail. Itself a low and apparently nondescript platform, the bema was dominated by a tall pillar monument surmounted by a quadriga of Tiberius and ringed by a gallery of statues honoring emperors and Roman officials (Fig. 5).<sup>23</sup> In light of the governor's significance in the processes of defining local identity and imperial authority, the statues surrounding the bema should be interpreted as more than mere expressions of loyalty. Like the processions so central to the formation of civic identity, the governor's exercise of justice was a ritualized process that, performed before a large audience of citizens, served to confirm an ideal of the community with reference to a symbolically potent built environment. Leading local notables, called upon to advise the governor, shared his seat on the tribunal, visibly associating themselves both with his person and with the symbols of Roman power that surrounded the bema. By positioning themselves in relation to both the proconsul and statues of the emperor, these notables advertised not only their position in the community, but also a local definition of authority – a definition to which the visiting governor would be expected to conform.<sup>24</sup>

The contribution of the civic built environment to the strategies by which Roman governors could be incorporated into a provincial community's conception of its identity and place in the Empire will be discussed at length in the body of my dissertation. It suffices to note here that the public spaces of Roman Athens were the stage setting on which civic identity and local conceptions of Roman power were articulated, defined, and enacted, all under the direction of the local elite, and with constant reference to symbols of authority in the urban fabric. The visit of a Roman governor, whom local notables were eager to incorporate into their vision of the city and its place in the Empire, made these processes uniquely visible. The ceremonies that

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<sup>23</sup> Dickenson 2012: 398-401

<sup>24</sup> See Ch. 12.

welcomed a governor and the rituals that environed his performance of his duties were intended to accentuate elements of the built environment with special relevance to the local elite's conception of the Empire and their city's place in it. The ultimate goal of defining city and Empire in this way was to outline a role for the governor, presenting the urban fabric itself as a sort of "script" for the proper performance of his duties.

The example of Roman Athens illustrates the extent to which local identity and imperial authority were negotiated in and through the public spaces of provincial cities, and suggests the value of visits from Roman officials for explicating the process of negotiation. A city's efforts to stage-manage the impressions and self-presentation of a visiting Roman governor afford a unique lens for understanding provincial cities as the laboratories of imperial power. The ceremonies surrounding an official visit made visible and juxtaposed the parallel structures and assumptions of civic self-government and Roman power, of local identity and imperial cultures – of, in short, the realities of Roman power and their local interpretation. It was in civic space that these dynamics and tensions were articulated and, in some respects, resolved.

The purpose of my project is to employ the proconsul of Asia's annual visits to his assize centers as a framework for discussing how civic space articulated Roman power. I will use a series of case studies to explore how the spaces in which Roman governors were formally received and performed their duties served not only to advertise the values and expectations of local notables, but also to implicate visiting officials in a distinctive vision of community and Empire. I hope that, by thus illustrating the role played by urban space in defining the substance of local autonomy and conditioning the conduct of imperial rule, to significantly nuance our understanding of how Roman power worked in the provinces.



This introduction, which will outline the predicates and parameters of my study, is divided into three sections. The first introduces the assize tours that Roman governors conducted through the cities of their provinces, and explains their significance for interpreting the distinctive character of urbanism in the eastern Roman provinces during the mid-imperial era. The second surveys the theoretical bases of my approach to analysis of the built environment. The third section, finally, establishes the chronological and geographical boundaries of my study and discusses the nature of the evidence.

### **I. Setting the Stage**

My investigation of civic space is centered on the annual assize tours that governors conducted through their provinces. In each of his assize centers, a visiting governor was welcomed, feted, and guided by local notables in a manner that relied heavily on the built environment to communicate civic goals and values. This use of the urban fabric was facilitated by the fact that the public spaces of mid-imperial provincial cities were, to an unprecedented degree, equipped for the purpose of addressing external audiences. The governor's visits can thus be used as a frame for discussing the role of civic space in creating both local identity and imperial authority.

Virtually every Roman province was divided into multiple *conventus* (assize) districts, each centered on a city that served as seat of the governor's court.<sup>25</sup> The number of *conventus* centers and regularity of a governor's visits varied from province to province. In the mid-imperial period, the proconsul of Asia was supposed to hold assizes annually in no less than fourteen of his cities: Adramyttium, Alabanda, Apamea, Cibyra, Cyzicus, Ephesus,

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<sup>25</sup> Local (civic) courts were competent to hear most cases; but capital charges and several other types of cases were the prerogative of the governor (Bérenger 2014: 182-200). See Marshall 1966, Burton 1975, and Bérenger 2014: 200-4 on the general organization of the *conventus* system.

Halicarnassus, Miletus, Pergamum, Philadelphia, Philomelium, Sardis, Smyrna, and Synnada (Fig. 6).<sup>26</sup> This was an unusually demanding schedule, indicative of Asia's size, population, and dense urban network; in the same period, the province of Crete and Cyrenaica had only three *conventus* centers.<sup>27</sup> Individual cities seem to have been chosen as *conventus* centers for reasons both practical – relation to road networks, centrality, accessibility – and political, since assize status, coveted for the prestige and practical benefits it accorded, was occasionally granted as a token of imperial favor.<sup>28</sup>

A governor visiting one of his assize cities had many duties and prerogatives.<sup>29</sup> Though not empowered to change a city's status during his stay, he could sanction certain changes in civic government and grant such privileges as the right to hold markets.<sup>30</sup> He ensured that civic order was maintained, put civic finances in order, and managed public building projects.<sup>31</sup> He was regularly present at meetings of the city council, and sometimes presided over public sacrifices and games.<sup>32</sup> The most prominent, time-consuming, and significant of his roles, however, was his service as a judge, which required him to sit for hours on a tribunal in the agora, sometimes for weeks on end. Here, and at each of the settings in which he performed his other duties, he was constantly surrounded by local notables, who sought both to guide him and to associate themselves with his prestige.

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<sup>26</sup> Evidence collected in Burton 1975: 92-4, Habicht 1975: 67-71, Haensch 1997: 305-12, and Béranger 2014: 204-6.

<sup>27</sup> Béranger 2014: 209-10

<sup>28</sup> Practical reasons: Marshall 1966: 237-8. Perhaps the best example of *conventus* status conferred for reasons of imperial favor is Thyatira in the province of Asia (see Ch. 3). See Heller 2006: 125ff and Thonemann 2011: 109ff on the evidence for cities competing for *conventus* status.

<sup>29</sup> See Béranger 2014 on the duties and responsibilities of Roman provincial governors. Burton 1973 is still a useful supplement.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *IGRR* III.582; *ILS* 7190; *SEG* 44 977; cf. *SEG* 48 742

<sup>31</sup> The governor's maintenance of order: Béranger 2014: 257-8. Auditing of civic finances: *ibid.* 290-301. Building: *ibid.* 301-7. See Ch. 3 for a more detailed discussion of the governor's engagement with civic building.

<sup>32</sup> See Ch. 13.

Civic elites were not, of course, the only element of the citizen body interested in the governor's actions. They were, however, the element best placed to coordinate his reception and influence his actions. The fact that governors conducted their assizes on a tight and predetermined schedule allowed the elites of *conventus* centers to anticipate and carefully plan each stage of their visits, sometimes to the point of adjusting annual festivals to coincide with the governor's arrival.<sup>33</sup> The governor's formal entry (*adventus*) was typically marked by elaborate ceremonies, as, to a somewhat lesser extent, were all of his subsequent interactions with the populace. The care with which local elites scripted every aspect of the governor's stay reflected their consciousness of two factors. First, since gaining the governor's favor was potentially a means of obtaining benefits for both individual notables and the entire city, that it was imperative to communicate their goals and values as effectively as possible.<sup>34</sup> Second, that, since the governor's personal prestige could confer the sanction of Roman power on notables who effectively identified themselves with him, it was also crucial to visibly associate themselves with him. For the fulfillment of both these goals, careful presentation of the civic built environment was essential; and by the mid-imperial period, the public spaces of most Greek provincial cities were well-suited for the purpose.

The characteristic architectural forms of Greek provincial cities were indirect products of the policies and circumstances of Roman imperial rule. Imperial intervention in civic building was rare; but local elites, responding to growing opportunities for advancement in Empire-wide

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<sup>33</sup> In Smyrna, for example, the arrival of the proconsul of Asia seems to have usually coincided with the city's celebration of the spring Dionysia (Aristid., *Or.* 17.5, 21.16, 50.85).

<sup>34</sup> Although governors could not personally grant civic privileges or (after the age of Augustus) maintain extensive client networks in the provinces, their close relationship with the emperor and great personal prestige made them friends worth cultivating. Even if civic elites had no ambitions of winning special favors for themselves or their cities, gaining the governor's friendship might at least ensure competent performance of his duties. On the relationship between governors and civic elites, see in general Béranger 2014: 370-77.

networks of status and influence, spent more of their resources than ever before in advertising both their personal prestige and that of their cities to “external” (i.e. super-local) audiences.<sup>35</sup> In part, this was merely a consequence of the fact that, in the prosperous conditions of the Roman peace, unprecedented resources could be applied to the traditionally agonistic dynamic of civic and regional politics. It was also, however, an indication of the degree to which the Roman imperial system had reoriented the ambitions of local elites.

Cities in the Greek east were frequently characterized by features that, though prefigured in the Hellenistic era, only became prominent in the imperial period.<sup>36</sup> Their streets and plazas were frequently formalized by lines of colonnades, a circumstance that transformed the experience of public space by creating series of focal points and uniform backdrops. These newly dramatized spaces framed “programmatically” sculptural ensembles of unprecedented visibility and complexity, many of which juxtaposed the emperor with figures from local history in highly visible statements of civic loyalty and identity. The elite citizens who collaborated to create the new colonnades and sculptural ensembles had two basic goals for their projects: to bolster their individual and collective eminence within their cities, and to effectively advertise it to non-local visitors. At least in *conventus* centers, Roman governors were perhaps the most important of these visitors. No city rebuilt itself exclusively for the purpose of addressing imperial officials; even in *conventus* centers, they were only one of the audiences the new cityscapes were designed to impress. On the occasion of an official visit, however, the

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<sup>35</sup> See Ch. 1.

<sup>36</sup> On the motives and methods of elite building in the Roman east, see especially Quass 1993: 197-229, Zuiderhoek 2009: 70ff, and Pont 2010: 297-347. The classic overview of the forms of urban planning disseminated by the “great rebuilding” is MacDonald 1986. This has recently been complemented (for the western provinces) by Laurence et al. 2011. Pont 2010 provides a comprehensive overview of civic building in middle imperial Asia Minor; cf. Maupai 2003. For stimulating discussion of the ideas on architectural monumentality that evolved in tandem with the second-century building boom, see Thomas 2007.

governor's prestige and the value of the benefits he could confer encouraged local notables to present their cities in a manner carefully tailored to their understanding of his goals and their conception of his proper role.

The success of local notables in influencing a visiting official was predicated on the ability to convey their aims in an immediate and legible manner. When Roman officials communicated with representatives of a provincial city, both parties assumed identities created at least in part to ease the process of negotiation. The built environment was the backdrop with reference to which these identities were articulated and performed. If either side was to achieve its goals – if the governor, that is, was to win local clients and approval, and local elites were to gain official patronage and confirmation of their authority – both had to communicate through symbols familiar enough to convey meaning and lend nuance to interaction. The built environments of provincial cities contributed to communication between Roman officials and local notables principally by framing it.<sup>37</sup> This “framing” function operated on multiple registers. On the most fundamental level, the buildings and layout characteristic of Greco-Roman cities presented visiting governors with a basically familiar physical, and thus sociopolitical, landscape – the assumption on which all effective communication was in some sense founded. More specifically, particularly in the Greek east, where networks of colonnades created visual hierarchies and focal points, the public spaces of provincial cities presented governors and elites with a series of formal stages and symbolically-charged backdrops for displaying themselves and presenting their goals. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the public spaces of provincial cities served as a forum for displaying symbols like the imperial image that, on account of their

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<sup>37</sup> I borrow the “framing” metaphor from Goffman 1956, esp. 66-86. On the ways in which setting regiments communication, see the useful discussions of Edelmann 1964: 95-113 and Burke 1969: 3-20.

instant legibility and universally recognized validity, served as crucial points of reference for the definition and articulation of authority.<sup>38</sup>

In certain contexts, then, the conventions of civic architecture and urban design can be understood as a sort of “common language,” understood by Roman officials and local notables alike, which complemented, and indeed actively contributed to, the dialogue of governor and city.<sup>39</sup> The civic elite, seeking at every opportunity to maximize the efficacy of communication with the governor, staged the visiting official’s welcome, ceremonial functions, and even judicial duties as a series of ritualized meetings with the citizen body. Each of these occasions, by mandating distinctive roles for both the governor and the city’s representatives, contributed to the process of articulating a working definition of the city and its place in the Empire. In this sense, it is less useful to conceive of official visits as assertions of Roman authority than as definitive moments in a constant dialogue about the nature of Roman authority. The power of the Empire became tangible – and thus, within certain limits, negotiable – in the persons of its officials. This realization provided local notables with a clear set of “stage directions” for presenting themselves and their city to the governor. The civic built environment, with its symbols of authority, was a key part of the “script.”

Although no group of local notables could actually dictate the actions of a Roman governor, they might, by addressing him in spaces that couched their values and goals in an immediately intelligible and compelling visual language, enhance his understanding of local issues, and even adjust his conduct to their understanding of his role. Even if they failed to

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<sup>38</sup> See Ch. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Although I do not espouse the conceit of Actor-Network theory that objects (and in this case, spaces) have agency in the same sense as actors (e.g. Latour 2005: 63-86), I stress throughout this study that the spaces in which dialogue between city and governor took place, far from serving as mere ornamental backdrops, were repeatedly evoked, cited, and otherwise involved in the process of defining authority.

influence him, the mere act of engaging with the governor in symbolically-charged spaces could bolster their local prestige. Governors, for their part, seem to have also understood civic space as a significant venue for defining their authority and that of the Empire they represented.<sup>40</sup> The scope of their self-presentation was limited, however, by the fact that the contexts in which they performed their duties were designed for the use of local notables.<sup>41</sup>

Civic space was the crucible not only of the relationship between civic elites and Roman officials, but also of local perceptions – and, to some extent, the local realities – of Roman power. Authority, local and imperial, was defined in and through the public spaces of provincial cities. During a governor’s *conventus* visit, this occurred through the process of display and counter-display, deliberate interpretation and calculated reaction, that marked each of the formal occasions on which citizen body and governor met. For the duration of an official visit, in short, the use and interpretation of civic space was central to the process of communication between city and governor, and thus to the definitions of civic and imperial authority that eventuated from their dialogue.

Previous scholarship has appreciated neither the significance of the governor’s assize circuit nor the central role played by civic space in the processes by which a city defined its place in the Empire. The approach summarized here thus represents an original contribution in three senses. First, by identifying them as important opportunities for dialogue between governor and local notables, my study situates the governor’s assize tours in the larger context of the

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<sup>40</sup> During an official visit, a city foregrounded certain aspects of its appearance to please or impress the proconsul. These same aspects, however, might then be exploited by the proconsul as a backdrop against which his own authority might be displayed to best advantage (see Ch. 5).

<sup>41</sup> While it is true that, since both the governor and civic elites defined and performed their authority in relation to it, the significance of the built environment was ultimately determined in dialogue, civic control over the manner in which the built environment was presented virtually compelled governors to present themselves on its terms (see Ch. 12-13).

communicatory strategies on which the project of Roman imperialism was predicated.<sup>42</sup> Second, by interpreting the built environments of provincial cities as “stages” created both to articulate the authority of the local elite and to broadcast to it to non-local visitors, I suggest a new approach to the characteristic forms of Roman imperial urbanism.<sup>43</sup> Finally, by situating civic space at the heart of the processes by which provincial cities claimed and negotiated a place in the Empire, my research outlines a more nuanced understanding of how the Roman Empire reshaped the cities on which its power was founded – and how, in turn, the exercise of Roman authority could be modelled by provincial civic space.<sup>44</sup>

## **II. Interpreting Space**

My interpretive approach to the analysis of civic space can be summarized under four headings. I understand the public spaces of ancient cities as (a) products and crucibles of sociopolitical practice, (b) venues for concerted monumental statements of individual and/or corporate power, (c) stages for the presentation of personal authority and identity, and (d) “scripts” for the negotiation and definition of authority and identity. Although these aspects are obviously interdependent, presenting them in sequence is a useful means of clearly outlining both the elements of my approach and the bodies of modern theory to which it is indebted.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> See Ch. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Although several nuanced discussions of civic building have appeared in recent years (e.g. Ando 2012; Thomas 2007, 2013; Zuiderhoek 2014), cityscapes still tend to be analyzed exclusively or primarily as products of elite competition, directed at a basically local audience (e.g. Pont 2010).

<sup>44</sup> Though fundamentally correspondent with the various approaches to Roman rule that have stressed the importance of communication between emperor and subjects (e.g. Millar 1977, Ando 2000; cf. Ma 1999) and prefigured by some discussions of the relations between space and power (e.g. Revell 2009), my emphasis on space is unprecedented.

<sup>45</sup> Although my interpretation of civic space has clear affinities with certain bodies of theory, both my articulation of it here and my applications of it throughout this study are consciously independent of any single theoretical approach. The best general conspectus of theoretical approaches to the interactions of setting and human behavior is Giesecking and Mangold 2014. Lawrence & Low 1990 and Low 1996 provide good reviews of the literature on



### *Space as a Social Product*

I begin with the assumption that civic space was at once the mold and the expression of the social, political, and cultural practices that took place within it. Since first articulated in the work of Henri Lefebvre, the idea that built environments are both produced by and productive of sociopolitical practices and relations has been deployed in a number of premodern contexts, perhaps most notably in discussions of state formation.<sup>46</sup> Though broadly acknowledged in recent scholarship on premodern urbanism, the work of Lefebvre and his followers has had relatively little impact on the study of the Greco-Roman city. In the most general terms, it has been recognized that the public spaces of Greco-Roman cities were ultimately shaped by and for distinctive traditions of self-government and sociopolitical organization.<sup>47</sup> Specific analyses of how civic spaces generated and were generated by sociopolitical practices, however, have mostly been confined to case studies, notably of Pompeii.<sup>48</sup>

Although it is generally admitted that elite goals and ambitions fundamentally shaped Roman provincial cities,<sup>49</sup> the manner in which building projects manifested, or even constituted, power relations has not been extensively discussed. Monumental construction has sometimes been described in terms of elite-dominated practice, particularly in discussions over “Romanization” in the western provinces.<sup>50</sup> The fact that construction was only one species of practice by which the position and authority of elites was made implicit in civic space, however,

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spatial theory in anthropology; cf. Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003. Smith 2011 summarizes the applications of urban theory for premodern archaeology; compare Fogelin 2006: 66-79.

<sup>46</sup> The classical statement is Lefebvre 1991, esp. 73-4, 151-2; cf. Soja 1989: 43ff and Lawrence and Low 1990: 482-91. Applications of Lefebvre’s theories to ancient state formation include Smith 2003, esp. 69-73; Routledge 2013; and Smith 2015. Other interesting discussions of how built environments are produced by and productive of sociopolitical relationships include Markus 1993 and the contributions to Maran 2006.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Lewis 2015, a comparison of public space in Roman and Han Chinese cities.

<sup>48</sup> E.g. Laurence 2006: 102ff; Hartnett 2008

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Laurence et al. 2011: 4-6

<sup>50</sup> See especially Revell 2009: 40-79.

has yet to be widely acknowledged.<sup>51</sup> Rhetorical descriptions of cities, for example, tend to be regarded as fantasies or stylized versions of reality, rather than as expressions of an elite image with real implications for the conduct of local politics.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, though the significance of civic ritual for performing and/or adjusting the sociopolitical organization of a community has long been recognized, the implications of such ceremonies for the meaning of the physical settings in which they are performed are seldom discussed by classicists.<sup>53</sup>

Virtually all scholars of the Greco-Roman city, in short, at least tacitly assume that civic space is created in constant dialogue with citizen practices. On the level of individual practice, this insight has served – as we shall see in the discussion of “space as stage” – as a valuable tool for discussing domestic architecture and other contexts of self-presentation. Only a few studies, however, have explicitly applied it to the questions of how whole social groups and communities represented themselves,<sup>54</sup> and none have yet satisfactorily juxtaposed monumental construction with the practices of description, self-presentation, and motion that generated the meaning of ancient cityscapes.

### *Space as Political Message*

Space, of course, is never simply reproduced, just as tradition is never simply inherited. Although many of the practices that defined ancient cityscapes were formulaic and conservative, they were perpetuated not merely by the force of custom, but also by their consistent utility for

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<sup>51</sup> On the idea of genres or modes of practice, see Hanks 1987. See Ch. 6-8 for more extensive discussion.

<sup>52</sup> Although Schmitz 1997: 26-31 applies Bourdieu’s theory of practice to the reproduction of sociopolitical relations in Second Sophistic rhetoric, no scholar has analyzed the physical descriptions of cities in contemporary declamation on these terms. If mentioned at all, the cityscapes of imperial rhetoric tend to be regarded as akin to the anonymous Classicizing settings of contemporary declamation (Russell 1983: 21-39).

<sup>53</sup> General discussions on how motion is implicated in space include Latham 2007, Laurence 2011, and Newsome 2011; cf. (for a late antique perspective) Shepardson 2007 and Andrade 2010. Osborne 1987, Rogers 1990, and Maurizio 1998 are good case studies on the possibilities of communal performance (and modification) through processions. For additional literature, see Ch. 8.

<sup>54</sup> Notably Rogers 1991: 80-126

serving the goals of the individual and corporate elites who orchestrated them.<sup>55</sup> As a class, imperial Greek notables had two basic political goals: to maintain the social relations that upheld their local position, and to use these relations as a platform for aggrandizing both themselves and the city that served as the vehicle of their prestige.<sup>56</sup> Both these goals were articulated in and through civic space, increasingly, as integration into the structures of the Empire continued apace, for the benefit of “external” audiences.

There is no shortage of literature discussing civic architecture in the terms of elite goals.<sup>57</sup> For our purposes, the most interesting examples of this approach are those that describe whole cityscapes as reactions to shifting political constellations.<sup>58</sup> In the mass of scholarship on specific monuments and political agendas, a useful distinction may be made between discussions of “canonical” and “indexical” meaning. These labels, introduced by Richard Blanton to describe the design of residential architecture, distinguish design elements meant to signal participation in a broader cultural tradition (“canonical”) from those intended to assert prominence within that tradition (“lexical”).<sup>59</sup>

In the context of Greco-Roman architecture, where public building empire-wide was, by the second century CE, characterized by a remarkably unified “Classical” architectural language,

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<sup>55</sup> Perhaps the most famous articulation of the idea that cultural traditions are fundamentally shaped by political (or, in the Capitalist era, economic) power relations is Gramsci’s theory of hegemony. A good survey of scholarship on how and why traditions can be consciously deployed for political ends is Routledge 2013, esp. 49-66; cf. Zukin 1991).

<sup>56</sup> Pleket 1998 provides a useful survey of political relations in Roman Asia Minor. On the goals and values of local elites in the Roman east more generally, see Quass 1993 and Stephan 2002.

<sup>57</sup> See in general Smith 2011: 174-6. On the nature of monumentality in Greco-Roman architecture, see especially Thomas 2007: 53-69.

<sup>58</sup> Three of the most interesting examples (from very different contexts) are Shear 2011, Spawforth 2012, esp. 207-32 and Dey 2015; cf. Thomas 2007: 107-64. The gradual reconfiguration of the great panhellenic sanctuaries was an analogous process (Scott 2010).

<sup>59</sup> Blanton 1994

the significance of “canonical” meanings in a given city or region can be difficult to assess.<sup>60</sup> To a certain degree, differences of material, method, and design persisted between the eastern and western parts of the Empire (and, of course, on a regional scale). It is debatable, however, whether any set of conventions cohesive enough to comprise a distinctive “Greek” or “Roman” architecture existed in the mid-imperial period.<sup>61</sup> Despite the prevailing syncretism, imperial Greek elites, at least, remained aware of the symbolic possibilities of constructing new buildings in styles deliberately evocative of the Classical or Archaic past.<sup>62</sup>

The most basic “lexical” meaning of public architecture in provincial cities was, of course, its monumentality. Although the correlation of scale and decoration with power and wealth is hardly specific to the Greco-Roman context, it had distinctive forms under the Empire, perhaps most evident in the conspicuous use of imported marbles.<sup>63</sup> Scholarship on the “propagandistic” value of monumental architecture has focused largely on Rome itself, and particularly on the reigns of the few emperors (notably Augustus and Hadrian) whose building programs are extensive and well-attested enough to repay analysis.<sup>64</sup> Broader investigations of the phenomenon of *euergetism* and – most interesting for our purposes – a number of case

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<sup>60</sup> On Classical ornament as language, see Von Hesberg 2003 and Grüner 2014; cf. Bandmann 1951 and Hölscher 2004. Thomas 2007: 157-9 briefly discusses significant uses of architectural conventions. Forty 2000: 62-85 provides a survey and useful commentary on the senses in which vernacular architecture can be regarded as a language.

<sup>61</sup> Useful treatments of “Greek” and “Roman” architectural conventions in the imperial era include Alzinger 1974, Strocka 1988, Sherwood 2000, Hueber 2007, and Thomas 2013.

<sup>62</sup> Consider, for example, the deliberate archaism of building programs associated with Hadrian’s Panhellenion: Spawforth and Walker 1985: 92-103 (Athens and Eleusis), Spawforth and Walker 1986: 100-3 (Cyrene and Argos), and Walker 2002 (Cyrene).

<sup>63</sup> On the idea of monumental architecture as “conspicuous consumption” intended to demonstrate and perpetuate elite power, see Trigger 1990 and Demarrais et al. 1996. The palaces of Minoan Crete have generated a number of interesting discussions on the nature of monumental architecture (Schoep 2004 and Pantou 2014; cf. Regev 2011 and Osborne 2012). On the uses of imported marble under the Empire, see Fant 1993, Fischer 1996, and Paton & Schneider 1999.

<sup>64</sup> On the general topic of building as propaganda, see the contributions to Weber & Zimmerman 2003. On building in Augustan Rome, see especially Zanker 1988 and Favro 1996. Boatwright 1987 discusses Hadrian’s construction projects in the city of Rome; Boatwright 2000, his building throughout the Empire. Spawforth 2012 surveys the influence of the Augustan program in Greece.

studies have analyzed the impact of elite political agendas and ideology on construction in provincial cities.<sup>65</sup>

Civic architecture has, in summary, frequently been discussed in terms of the goals and values of the elites who sponsored it. As noted earlier, however, most of these discussions operate on the assumption that elites were almost exclusively interested in impressing their fellow citizens, and especially their social peers. My discussion nuances this received wisdom by asserting that local notables were always conscious of external audiences, and that, in cities regularly visited by Roman officials, they presented their projects as components of a dialogue with imperial power. I contend that civic elites positioned themselves, and thus their projects, in relation to multiple sociopolitical systems. The cityscapes they built manifested this complexity.

### *Space as Stage*

It is usually assumed that the message a building or monument was meant to convey was immediately obvious to contemporaries. This may well have been true of at least the local audience; but it should not be forgotten that every monumental message, however simple and straightforward, had to be interpreted.<sup>66</sup> The manner in which a viewer or user responded to a space or monument was conditioned not only by his comprehension of the designer's intent, but also by the manner in which he chose to position himself (literally or figuratively) in relation to it.<sup>67</sup> During a *conventus* visit, both the travelling governor and the notables who hosted him were

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<sup>65</sup> E.g. Halfmann 2001; cf. Zuiderhoek 2013

<sup>66</sup> An interesting introduction to this idea is De Certeau 1984: 91-110. Compare the reception of civic ritual, equally subject to tendentious interpretation (e.g. Darnton 1984) and, in a modern context, the culturally-conditioned reactions to products of globalization (Appadurai 1990).

<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the best illustrations of the many factors that guided individual reactions to monuments are the dozens of inscriptions that Greek and Roman tourists carved onto the Colossus of Memnon near Thebes, which indicate that individuals were responding not only to the statue's "song," but also to the graffiti of previous tourists, creating increasingly formal "genres" of response. The inscriptions are collected in Bernard & Bernard 1960. Compare the insights of Squire 2010 on ecphrastic epigrams.

constantly calculating how to use the built environment for their advantage. Far from being purveyors of single messages, civic buildings were repositories of possible interpretations.

As intimated in the section on space as a social product, I interpret individual reactions to civic architecture broadly under the aegis of practice theory.<sup>68</sup> Here, again, I am hardly breaking new ground. Ever since Bourdieu's analysis of the Berber house, theories of practice have been prominent in scholarship on domestic space.<sup>69</sup> To a somewhat less visible degree, they have also influenced research on public spaces.<sup>70</sup> In searching for a model to help me articulate how individuals engaged with civic architecture, however, I drew also on a number of sources related tangentially, if at all, to the work of Bourdieu and his followers.

My conception of the interrelation between structure and agent – or, more specifically, between actor and setting – is basically that of Giddens, whose concept of structuration definitively implicates actors in time and space.<sup>71</sup> Louise Revell's application of structuration to identity in the western Roman provinces, and particularly her suggestion that individuals performed their rank and status by using the built environment in socially-specific ways, has proved particularly useful.<sup>72</sup> The dramaturgical model of self-presentation associated with Goffman – a significant influence on Giddens – has also contributed to my understanding of the relationship between actor and setting, primarily in the sense of conceiving the civic built

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<sup>68</sup> Bell 1997: 76-83 provides a useful summary of practice theory.

<sup>69</sup> Bourdieu 1973; see the survey articles of Turnbull 2002 and Fisher 2009. Nevett 2010 is a representative testimonial to the influence of practice theory on the interpretation of Classical domestic architecture.

<sup>70</sup> Theories of practice have been central to a number of influential discussions of sacred spaces (e.g. Carmichael et al. 1994, Bradley 1998, Foeglin 2006). They have also been used to explicate the palaces of Minoan Crete (McEnroe 2010).

<sup>71</sup> Giddens 1984: 110-44, esp. 127 (on ritual). Although I have found Bourdieu's idea of *habitus* useful for conceptualizing the worldview of individuals, his theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977) is a less flexible way of understanding agency than Giddens'.

<sup>72</sup> Revell 2009, esp. 10-15; cf. Dornan 2002: 305-8. On the problems of deducing agency from the archaeological record, see in general Barrett 2001.

environment as a frame for certain types of sociopolitical communication.<sup>73</sup> However, with the exception of Rush Rehm's situation of Athenian drama in its spatial contexts, which usefully emphasizes the significance of setting to all performance in the urban fabric,<sup>74</sup> I have derived less benefit from performance studies proper than from the more general scholarship emphasizing the theatricality of premodern, and especially Greek, public life.<sup>75</sup>

Space syntax analysis, the prevalent model of extrapolating the uses of the built environment from archaeological evidence, has relatively limited application to my understanding of how viewers engaged with the built environment. Although calculations of accessibility and visibility are useful for considering how individuals were meant to engage with a given space, the highly formalized occasions on which governor and city met imposed on the urban fabric a template for use and interpretation that often bore little or no relation to the quotidian patterns for which it was designed.<sup>76</sup> Phenomenological approaches, likewise, have no place in my study.<sup>77</sup> The various models of spatial cognition are somewhat more helpful, particularly for their discussions of the visual cues that visitors use to assign meaning to their surroundings;<sup>78</sup> Diane Favro's reconstruction of Augustan Rome, which draws heavily on the Kevin Lynch's pioneering work on urban wayfinding, well illustrates the possibilities of this

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<sup>73</sup> Goffman 1956, esp. 66-86; cf. Burke 1969: 3-20

<sup>74</sup> Rehm 2002: 35-62, 273-96

<sup>75</sup> Geertz 1980 and 1983 vividly emphasize the centrality of ritual to public life in premodern polities. Inomata 2006 is an interesting analysis of the ritual needs shaped the plazas of Mayan cities. On the "theatricality" of life in ancient Greece, see (to provide a representative sample) Slater 1995, Chaniotis 1997, Goldhill & Osborne 1999, Wiles 2003, Melfi 2010.

<sup>76</sup> Hillier and Hanson 1984 summarizes the principles of space syntax analysis. Interesting applications of the theory to ancient built environments include Chatford-Clark 2007, Regev 2011, and McMahon 2013.

<sup>77</sup> Tilley 1994 is the most important work on phenomenology of the landscape; see Seamon 2000 for a survey of potential applications. While it is certainly useful, and indeed necessary, to emphasize sensory effect in certain situations (e.g. Witcher 1998, Letesson & Vansteenhuyse 2006), I employ this approach only in the sense that I intermittently emphasize certain of the experiential qualities of civic ritual.

<sup>78</sup> Kitchin and Blades 2002: 11-32 summarize the various models of cognitive mapping. On the decision-making process by which visitors orient themselves in unfamiliar settings, see Golledge and Stimson 1997, esp. 31-70. For a more recent treatment of landmark selection, see Ishikawa & Nakamura 2012; cf. Nothegger et al. 2004.

approach.<sup>79</sup> Comparable, and more directly pertinent to my topic, is the research of Amos Rapoport, who identifies “high,” “middle,” and “low” registers of architectural meaning in built environments.<sup>80</sup> The most relevant of these for the purpose of identifying how viewers engaged with built environments are “low-level” meanings, which supplied users with mnemonic cues for appropriate engagement with a space. In the premodern context, this insight has been applied with particular success to the design of ancient Mesoamerican cities.<sup>81</sup>

The mélange of theories concocted here reflects the unique nature of my project. While I am far from the first to observe that the manner in which individuals interpreted monuments and spaces was influenced by the public pose they wished to assume in relation to it, this insight has seldom been applied to Greco-Roman cities, and never to the phenomenon of imperial or official travel.<sup>82</sup> By interpreting the public spaces of provincial cities as landscapes designed to allow for certain types of elite performance and self-presentation, and thus as carefully-presented stages for the reception of Roman governors, I am breaking new ground.

### *Space in Dialogue*

The meanings assigned to a space or monument are always determined by interplay between the aims of the designer and the tendentious interpretation of the viewer or user. On a basic level, of course, designers always project the reactions of a given set of audiences when planning and realizing a building project. In spaces like the main plazas and thoroughfares of imperial Greek cities – which, I contend, were designed partially to accentuate certain forms of

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<sup>79</sup> Favro 1996; cf. ead. 1994, 2010. On urban wayfinding, see Lynch 1960, esp. 46-90.

<sup>80</sup> Rapoport 1982, esp. 137-62. Later restatements of these views may be found in id., 1990, 2006. Compare Kuper 1972: 420-22 for an anthropological discussion of the condensation of value in significant spaces.

<sup>81</sup> Smith 2008: 8-15, 136-50; compare Moore 1996.

<sup>82</sup> With a few exceptions (e.g. Bérenger 2009), the receptions of governors have been almost wholly neglected, and have only been discussed in empirical terms. The receptions of emperors have been discussed in more detail (Dufraigne 1994, Lehnen 1997), but again without reference to theory.



elite self-presentation – this entailed careful consideration of the response evoked not only by the architecture itself, but also of the manner in which the design complemented elite efforts to communicate their social position.<sup>83</sup> In this sense, elements of a provincial city’s built environment served to promote, and actively contribute to, dialogue.

The public cities of ancient cities had many functions. With the partial exception of sanctuaries, none were designed exclusively as a setting for ritual. Save perhaps in a few provincial capitals, likewise, there is no evidence that any buildings were constructed expressly for the use of Roman officials. Recent scholarship, however, has emphasized how elements of Greco-Roman cities – notably temple precincts and agoras – could be “activated” by certain patterns of interaction or ritual, assuming a set of potential significances distinct from their quotidian functions.<sup>84</sup> As noted earlier, the contribution of a cityscape to communication between governor and elites lay above all in its provision of formal spaces for self-presentation and potent symbols for the definition of authority. These were permanent features of the built environment; but only when presented in a distinctive manner – i.e., in the context of civic ritual – would they have any bearing on a governor’s experience of the urban fabric.

The best-studied ritual function of public architecture is its contribution to civic festivals and the other occasions on which the citizen body assembled in ritual order.<sup>85</sup> As articulated by cultural anthropologists, the basic purpose of such ceremonies to make a given model of the community seem at once visible, natural, and ideal. Geertz’s famous formulation of ritual as at

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<sup>83</sup> Perhaps the most interesting discussion of this idea in a premodern context is Trachtenberg 1997. Theaters are still designed expressly to model audience participation in this way (Payne 1993); compare Rehm 2002: 35-62 on the Theater of Dionysus at Athens.

<sup>84</sup> On communication in Greek sanctuaries, see Mylonopoulos 2008. On Agoras, see Dickenson 2011, 2013 (esp. 54-64), and Kenzler 2013. Shear 2011 provides an interesting analysis of how the revived democratic regime of late fifth-century Athens created physical settings in the agora that would visibly involve officials in symbols of regime’s legitimacy on symbolically significant occasions.

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, Yaeger 2000, a study of community formation in Mayan Belize.

once a model of and a model for reality aptly epitomizes the dynamic.<sup>86</sup> On a broadly analogous note, Clifford Ando's application of Habermas' theories of community and communication to the role played by ritual in provincial loyalty to the Roman Empire intimates the importance of seeing space as a forum for enacting communal consensus.<sup>87</sup> Of particular interest for the purposes of my project are studies of how the ritual mechanisms of communal formation functioned during ceremonies of reception, a topic discussed in some detail in scholarship on the cities of Renaissance Italy. The rich evidence for royal and papal visits to Florence, for example, enables remarkably detailed construction of how both the Florentine citizen body and potent (usually religious) symbols of local authority were arrayed along a processional route that served not only to emphasize and systematize the power and identity of the city, but also to set up a productive dialogue between the visiting dignitary and local elite.<sup>88</sup>

Like the other aspects of my interpretive approach, the idea that civic space was central to, and in some sense designed for, communication between the civic elite and other sociopolitical groups is not in itself original. As in the previous instances, however, my application of this insight to the Greco-Roman context, and particularly to the occasion of a governor's visit, is unprecedented. By interpreting the civic built environment as a richly ornamented stage for sociopolitical interaction, replete with visual "cues" for individual and collective self-presentation, I accord space new prominence in the dialog by which cities negotiated their position in the Empire, and thus in the very definition of civic and imperial

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<sup>86</sup> Geertz 1973; 1980, esp. 98ff; 1983.

<sup>87</sup> Ando 2000, esp. 206-72

<sup>88</sup> Mitchell 1986 summarizes the evidence for foreign dignitaries visiting Italy. Trexler 1980: 279-330 discusses their reception in Florence; Fagiolo 1980, the use of temporary architecture to create a certain image of the city on these occasions. Borsook 1961 and Shearman 1975 describe two particularly well-documented visits to Florence. Hölscher 1991 and Sznura 1991, treatments of public ritual in (respectively) Classical Athens and Renaissance Florence, illustrate the parallel influence of ceremonies on the appearance of both cities. The ceremonies surrounding the arrival of the Florentine bishop (Miller 2007) provide a particularly intriguing parallel with the annual arrival of the Roman governor.

identity. Symbols implicit in the urban fabric “scripted” a dialogue about the meaning of authority: during an assize visit, it was with reference to them that a governor sought to present his power, and that local notables sought to define, and so delimit, it.

### **III. Approach**

I have already outlined the model of city and Empire that I intend to nuance and my approach to the interpretation of civic space. It remains only to sketch the parameters of my evidence and the organization of my analysis.

Geographically, this study is focused on western Asia Minor – more specifically, on the provinces of Asia, Lycia-Pamphylia, and the western portion of Bithynia-Pontus (Fig. 6). In the mid-imperial period, this was the wealthiest and most urbanized part of the Greek world. Though not, of course, culturally or economically self-contained, the Greek (elite) culture and dense urban network of western Asia Minor allow the region to be discussed as an organic unity, particularly by contrast with the less urbanized and Hellenized Anatolian plateau. In most respects, civic life in western Asia Minor seems to have been quite similar to that in other parts of the Greek world, a circumstance that allows me to draw upon parallels from cities as far afield as Neapolis and Syrian Antioch. The model of interaction between city and governor that I extrapolate from the Asian evidence could be applied to any part of the Greek world, or even – with some caveats about the qualitatively different nature of urbanism in the western provinces – to any Roman province in the mid-imperial era. I chose to focus on western Asia Minor for the simple reason that, thanks to the region’s ancient wealth and a long tradition of well-published excavations, it affords a better perspective than any other part of the Roman world on the relationship between civic building and the imperial government.

My chronological purview is the “long second century” (69-235 CE). The events that delimit this period – the civil wars following the suicide of Nero and the unrest after the murder of Alexander Severus – only influenced the cities of Asia Minor indirectly. The “long second century” had, however, a certain basic coherence. Perhaps most importantly, it was unbroken by any serious political or economic crisis. Conditions on the local level, of course, varied, and a general decline in public building after the turn of the third century may indicate a weakening of the regional economy; but it can be reasonably asserted, with all the reservations hedging such a bald generalization, that western Asia Minor was more stable and prosperous in the “long second century” than at any other period in antiquity. A cause and effect of the general prosperity was a remarkably dense urban network, which flourished in this period as never before. Although Pliny’s letters indicate that some cities were experiencing financial difficulties by the early second century, these problems seem to have been caused rather by reckless spending than by persistent shortfalls in public funds. In most places, the local nobility, motivated by strong traditions of *euergetism* and civic governance, continued to devote a remarkable portion of their resources to promoting their cities’ welfare – a circumstance that benefitted the Empire as much as it did their fellow-citizens. In fact, western Asia Minor in the “long second century” presents perhaps the single best-documented example of a region fulfilling the imperial administration’s ideal of stability and prosperity with minimal administrative investment.

Mid-imperial Asia Minor affords an abundance of archaeological, epigraphic, and textual evidence. Seven *conventus* cities – Pergamum, Ephesus, Assos, and Miletus in the province of Asia; Patara, Side, and Perge in Lycia-Pamphylia – have been excavated thoroughly enough to provide a more or less complete picture of their public spaces, and four others (Smyrna, Sardis, Alabanda, and Cibyra, all in Asia) can supply substantial evidence. Well-excavated cities like

Aphrodisias and Sagalassus that lay off the *conventus* circuits provide an important “control” for this evidence – and, more generally, constitute a valuable source of information about the local diversity and regional patterns that shaped monumental construction in Roman Asia Minor. The incredible wealth of the epigraphic record, likewise, illuminates the aims of the imperial administration, trends in elite construction, and many other aspects of civic life relevant to our discussion. The speeches of orators like Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides and the letters of Pliny, finally, complement this evidence by providing unique insight into the goals and values of contemporary elites and Roman officials.

Yet despite the abundance of evidence for civic life and imperial governance in mid-imperial Asia Minor, the *conventus* tours of the governors, the occasions on which this study is centered, are poorly documented, for the simple reason that they were too commonplace to be commemorated. Scattered literary and epigraphic references allow the stages of an official visit to be sketched in outline, but the details of how a visiting governor interacted with the fabric of a given city must be inferred, with due caution, from the application of a synthetic model of the official visit to the physical remains. Even where a literary source allows us to definitively place a governor’s activities in an excavated urban context, only conjecture can illuminate exactly how the official positioned himself in relation to the built environment.

These shortcomings of the evidence, though serious, are far from fatal. My intention is not to recreate a governor’s visit to one of his assize centers, but to use the moments of contact between official and civic elite that marked every *conventus* visit as a lens for examining how civic space contributed to the larger processes of defining local identity and Roman power. This purpose allows me some latitude in discussing the evidence. Although I have made every effort to ensure the accuracy of my descriptions and the plausibility of the visits I simulate, my

intention is not to assert that governor and elite used the built environment in exactly the manner I describe, but to make the larger point that civic space was always central to the dialogue between provincial cities and Roman imperial power.

The organization of my study is intended to stress this point. My dissertation is divided into five parts, each composed of two or three constituent chapters. The first part situates the question of how civic built environments could facilitate communication with Roman officials in a broader discussion of how the need to define and convey authority in an imperial context shaped the cityscapes of the eastern provinces. The second and third parts set up the dialogue of city and governor by investigating how cultural preconceptions and political goals encouraged both Roman officials and civic elites to adopt distinctive strategies of framing their authority in civic space. The fourth and fifth parts, finally, use a series of cases studies to examine how the local notables of *conventus* cities in western Asia Minor used elements of the built environment to present an ideal of their community and its place in the Empire to visiting governors. My choice of evidence and manner of exposition are keyed to the various functions of these parts. In the first three, intended to outline a general model for understanding how the policies and circumstances of Roman rule encouraged both imperial officials and provincial elites to associate space and power in distinctive ways, I draw on a wide range of evidence. In the last two, designed to apply this model, I focus exclusively on western Asia Minor and the “long second century.”

## **Part One. Cities, Emperor, Officials**

The Roman Empire profoundly reshaped how Greek elites used civic space. By providing vast new theaters for individual and civic advancement, the imperial administration stimulated unprecedented competitive building between and within cities; by instituting new systems of ranks, statuses, and honors, it encouraged distinctive and uniform patterns of construction; and by promulgating the imperial image, it generated a new visual language for articulating authority. The characteristic features of the imperial polis – in particular, formal armatures of streets and plazas and the programmatic sculptural displays – were essentially products of the policies and circumstances of Roman imperial rule.

Direct Roman intervention in the fabric of provincial cities was extremely uncommon. The imperial administration was responsible for civic building programs only in the sense that it reconfigured elite ambitions in a manner that made public building increasingly attractive. The decentralized administrative system of the Principate was predicated on established but flexible relationships between individual cities and the state. This system generated complex urban hierarchies, culminating in and arbitrated by Rome, within which cities maneuvered for all-important imperial favors. Dependent on Rome for their privileges, eager to demonstrate their superiority to neighboring and rival cities, and conscious always of the need to maintain a working relationship with the increasingly disenfranchised masses of their own cities, local notables had greater motive and opportunity than ever before to communicate their values and ambitions. Public building proved an ideal medium for doing so.

The three component chapters of this part outline how Roman imperial policy transformed the communicatory functions of Greek civic spaces. The first chapter discusses how the urban networks through which Rome governed the provinces accorded new political significance and communicatory functions to certain elements of civic built environments. The second surveys how, in direct response to the demands and circumstances of participating in the new urban networks, local elites gradually reconstructed their cities in accordance with an aesthetic that emphasized formal public spaces and programmatic sculptural displays, which facilitated their attempts to associate themselves with an ideal of civic identity phrased in the terms of regional competition. The third chapter, finally, discusses the involvement of Roman governors in the creation of the new urban landscapes, and emphasizes the agency of local elites in determining the experience of civic space.



## Chapter 1. Networks and Nodes of Power

The power of the Roman Empire was founded on a network of cities. This network, configured for ease of administration and communication, plotted a series of interlocking hierarchies that culminated in Rome. The most important structuring principle was the province, which organized the titles and honors connected with the imperial cult. Of nearly equal significance, however, were the statuses and ranks that determined a city's tax burden and degree of engagement with the provincial administration. Claims of prestige originating outside the system – such as the cultural eminence of Athens – were usually acknowledged and appropriated by a place within it. In relations between subject populations and the Empire, accordingly, civic status was the most widely recognized language of power – and the monumental fabric of a city its most legible expression.

Throughout the Empire, Roman order was indelibly associated with civic space.<sup>1</sup> This was clearest in the largely undeveloped western provinces, where newly-founded cities were recognized instruments of pacification and assimilation.<sup>2</sup> Where they replaced oppida and hill-forts, centrally planned cities with fora and theaters were instantly recognizable as Roman

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<sup>1</sup> This is seldom stated explicitly by ancient authors, since the cultural importance of the city was in most instances simply assumed. If not deemed too familiar for discussion, cities in Roman literature (and particularly the capital) tend to be contrasted more or less superficially with an idealized rural existence (e.g. Varro, *Rust.* 2 pref., 3.1; concise discussion in Wallace-Hadrill 1998), or juxtaposed as broadly with the barbarism of peoples outside Roman control (Tac., *Dial.* 9; *Ger.* 16.1-3). The few abstract descriptions are indebted to Greek thought: e.g. Cic., *Rep.* 1.41, *Inv. Rhet.* 2.1-3 (cf. Plato, *Prot.* 320c-23a); Varro, *Rust.* 3.4.

<sup>2</sup> The locus classicus is Tac., *Agr.* 21 (see Kolb 1993). Strabo remarks the same process from a slightly different perspective (3.3.5-8, 4.1.11, 4.5.1); cf. Florus 2.33.59-60. Despite the relative infrequency of foundations in the east after the reign of Augustus, Greek authors of the first and second centuries continued to associate Roman emperors with the establishment of new cities (Dio Chrys., *Or.* 3.127; Aristid., *Or.* 26. 92ff).

artifacts, whatever the role played by local initiative in building them.<sup>3</sup> During the reign of Augustus, a few parts of the Greek east (e.g. central Anatolia) witnessed a comparable transformation, spearheaded by the plantation of veteran colonies. In response to local petitions, later emperors continued to sponsor the foundation of new poleis.<sup>4</sup> In the many parts of the Greek world that had long been urbanized, however, the institution of the new imperial order was manifested primarily in the gradual reorganization of existing civic hierarchies, which was in turn reflected by changes in the fabric of individual cities. Despite a few additions like baths and basilicas, Roman influence did not fundamentally change the architectural conventions used in Greek public building. Yet the advent of the Empire did encourage more systematic use of these conventions, and guided their employment in programs designed to articulate a city's place in the provincial landscape.

We have seen that, beyond an insistence on regular collection of revenue and the maintenance of general stability, the Principate was not interventionist. This does not mean, however, that the emperor and his officials were uninterested in the appearance of provincial cities. By instituting a series of hierarchies through which provincial cities might signalize their local prestige and proclaim their loyalty, Rome spurred the development of a coherent architectural vocabulary for advertising (or claiming) a place in the Empire. The extent to which

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<sup>3</sup> On the symbolic qualities of Roman cities in the west, see Zanker 2000. There are good overviews of urbanization in the western provinces in Woolf 1998:106-41, Revell 2009: 40-79, and Laurence et al. 2011: 64-90.

<sup>4</sup> See Winter 1996: 118-31 for a survey of where and why emperors founded cities; Ando 2012 considers the sociopolitical implications of this policy. Although the Augustan colonies in Asia Minor were characterized by Roman-style civic governments (Levick 1967: 68-91), a number of cities with Greek institutions were founded under imperial direction. A particularly well-attested example from our period is Caracalla's foundation (in response to a local petition) of Tymandus in Pisidia (*ILS* 6090). Another is Hadrian's foundation Antinoopolis, which was certainly organized as a traditional Greek city (Zahrnt 1988: 685ff); although we know regrettably little about Hadrian's three new cities in Mysia, these too seem to have possessed the usual institutions of the polis (*IvHadrianeia* 40-2, 126, 132). Other inscriptions attesting to the imperial interest in promoting urbanization in the Greek world include *MAMA* VII 305 = *ILS* 6091 (Orkistos); *AE* 2006, 1369 = *SEG* 51 641 (Naryka; commentary in Knoepfler & Pasquier 2006); and *AE* 2002, 1293 (Heraclea; see Mitrev 2003). Additional sources in Millar 1977: 395-6.

this was intentional is unclear. Although only Augustus and Hadrian can be said to have possessed something like a coherent policy on building in the provinces, imperial interventions in the fabric of provincial cities seem to have been consistently guided by a few basic principles. Of these, as we shall see, the most important was the idea that a city's appearance should reflect its relationship with Rome. This simple assumption was the basis of a revolution in the political meanings of public architecture in Greek cities.

Our discussion of the ways in which the policies of the Roman imperial government reshaped the political significance and communicatory functions of Greek civic space is divided into three sections. The first surveys how the provincial administration's dependence on a network of politically stable and economically viable cities encouraged not only rationalization of the existing urban network, but also the identification of monumental construction with the political project of empire. The second outlines the manner in which the built environment of provincial cities was conceptualized as an arena for imperial benefaction, and thus for monumental expression of the relationship between Empire and city. The third discusses the qualities that provincial cityscapes were expected to manifest, and the senses in which cities were encouraged to construct their own "models" of communication with the Empire.

## **I. Empire and Cities**

In the speech he gives Maecenas, Cassius Dio, surveying history with the eye of an experienced administrator, neatly summarizes high imperial policy on provincial cities.<sup>5</sup>

The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to

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<sup>5</sup> There are good surveys of Roman provincial administration in *CAH<sup>2</sup>* X, Ch. 10; *CAH<sup>2</sup>* XI, Ch. 7 & 10; and Garnsey & Saller 2014: 35-54. On the role of Greek cities in this system, see Jones 1940: 113-46; Nörr 1966: 12-66; and Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 51-73.

convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil...[3] In the second place, the cities should not indulge in public buildings unnecessarily numerous or large, nor waste their resources on expenditures for a large number and variety of public games, lest they exhaust themselves in futile exertions and be led by unreasonable rivalries to quarrel among themselves... [9] They should send no embassy to you, unless its business is one that involves a judicial decision; they should rather make what representations they will to their governor and through him bring to your attention such of their petitions as he shall approve. (52.30.2-9)

Had he actually been privy to this advice, Augustus would probably have found it congenial.

Although Dio's worries about civic expenditure on buildings and games reflect later developments, his assumption that provincial cities would effectively manage themselves had been a feature of Roman policy since the middle Republic. The degree and frequency of official intervention in civic affairs had gradually increased since the time of Augustus – most notably through the introduction of the *curatores rei publicae* – but cities were still expected to solve most of their own problems, for the simple reason that the imperial bureaucracy still lacked the resources to deal with them. So long as stability was maintained, official interference would be slight. Only *conventus* centers could expect to see imperial representatives on a semi-regular basis.<sup>6</sup> In Dio's advice, the provincial city appears as it does in Roman law: a discrete body of subjects, configured to administer the surrounding territories with maximal efficiency.

The imperial administration deemed it essential that provincial cities possess not only the infrastructure necessary for their administrative functions, but also an appearance suitable to their symbolic role as centers of Roman authority. From the early second century onward, public building projects had to be approved by the provincial governor.<sup>7</sup> Although the primary intent of

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<sup>6</sup> Roman officials expected the great majority of civic affairs to be handled locally, and the most pressing to be settled at the capital. On civic embassies to the emperor, see Millar 1977: 363-464.

<sup>7</sup> Winter 1996: 148-166; Barresi 2003: 35-51; and Pont 2010: 417-57 discuss the role of imperial officials in regulating and managing civic construction projects. See Ch. 3.3 for a more detailed discussion.

this legislation was to forestall extravagant expenditure of civic funds,<sup>8</sup> it had an aesthetic component. Menander Rhetor, writing in the late third century, instructs a civic embassy dispatched to the imperial court for disaster relief not only to mention “the things that contribute to utility and life, for which the emperors are accustomed to take thought,” but to also lament that “the form of the city is ruined” (II, 423.19-25) – the expectation being that the emperor would naturally desire to restore a provincial city’s appearance. Hadrian betrays such concern in a well-known letter to Mysian Stratonicea, where he urges a prominent citizen to either repair or sell his townhouse, lest it be ruined by neglect.<sup>9</sup> A dilapidated building in a city recently visited and reorganized by the emperor would constitute a virtual indictment of imperial efficacy – in addition, not incidentally, to being an eyesore. At least in a general sense, a city’s appearance was supposed to glorify the Empire: in his letters to Trajan, Pliny customarily endorses a civic building project as both a benefit to its city and an ornament of the state.<sup>10</sup> Thus, though not thought to be evocative of Roman power in the same direct sense as monuments in the capital,<sup>11</sup> public building in the provinces seems to have been encouraged as at least a potential means of advertising a city’s inclusion in the Empire, of demonstrating solidarity with Roman interests, and even of winning favor from the emperor or his officials.

On the most basic level, a city’s fabric communicated its fulfillment of the provincial administration’s expectations of good order and fiscal responsibility. Particularly in the parts of the west where urbanization meant Romanization, the buildings associated with the conventional

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<sup>8</sup> E.g. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.24; cf. 10.38, 71, 91, 99; *Dig.* 50.10.3.1.

<sup>9</sup> *IGR* IV.1156a = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 837. Compare Ulpian’s advice to governors on civic maintenance (*Dig.* 1.16.7, 18.7); cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.70.1. This topic is explored in more depth in the third section of this chapter.

<sup>10</sup> A new bath at Prusa, for example, “et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulat” (*Ep.* 10.23.2); cf. 10.37.3, 10.41.1.

<sup>11</sup> Cassius Dio has Maecenas advise Augustus τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμηι πάση πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ εἶδει πανηγύρεων: προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατάπληξιν (52.30.1). Cf. Pliny, *Pan.* 51.3; Cic., *II Verr.* 4.26; Vit. 1. Praef. 2; Suet., *Aug.* 28.3.

institutions and recreations of city life expressed participation in the Roman system.<sup>12</sup> A famous passage from Tacitus' *Agricola* indicates that the Romans were conscious of this effect:

In order that a population scattered and uncivilized...might be habituated by comfort to peace and quiet, [Agricola] would exhort individuals and encourage communities to build temples, forums, and houses. [...] The rude natives called these things "culture," although they formed a part of their subjugation. (21.1-2)<sup>13</sup>

Even in the densely urbanized core of the Greek east, where the implications of civic building were very different, construction could still be viewed as an expression of loyalty. Aristides famously claims in his Roman Oration that "all the Greek cities rise up under your [Roman] leadership, and the monuments which are dedicated in them and all their embellishments and comforts redound to your honor like beautiful suburbs" (*Or.* 26.94). More intriguingly, he goes on to claim that, since this construction is predicated on the Roman order, it can be understood as a direct manifestation of official benevolence:

Every city is full of gymnasia, fountains, propylons, temples, workshops, schools, and one can say that the civilized world, which had been sick from the beginning, as it were, has been brought by the right knowledge to a state of health. Gifts never cease from you [Romans] to the cities, and it is not possible to determine who the major beneficiaries have been, because your kindness is the same to all. (*Or.* 26.97-8)<sup>14</sup>

In this passage, Aristides emphasizes both the even-handedness of Roman generosity and the enthusiasm of the Greek cities' response to that generosity. He focuses in other speeches, however, on what most Greek cities, and indeed the Roman administration, probably regarded as the single most important communicatory quality of civic built environments: their capacity for making visible a city's unique relationship with Rome. For example, in his appeal to Marcus

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<sup>12</sup> See Carl et al. 2000 for a wide-ranging discussion of the idea of cities as political or cultural "images." Laurence et al. 2011: 4-6 describes how cities "produced" Romans.

<sup>13</sup> On this passage, see Kolb 1993; cf. Keay 1995 for stimulating case study of the influence and nature of Roman urbanization in Spain. Cf. SHA, *Prob.*, 9.3.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Philo, *Leg.* 149-50

Aurelius and Commodus for the restoration of Smyrna, Aristides begs the emperors to restore “all that lies within the walls: old and new memorials of honor accorded you and honor granted by you, [buildings] that were a source of pride to the city, in the eyes of both citizens and visiting strangers” (*Or.* 19.8).

Rome required politically stable and economically viable cities to run her empire with minimal oversight, and was directly concerned with the appearance of these cities only insofar as they reflected (or at least did not impair) this function. Yet public construction in general seems to have been regarded as an integral part, rather than mere manifestation, of a city’s participation in the Roman imperial system. Although Roman policy only promoted a physical model of the city in the sense that it endorsed forms of self-government associated with a distinctive set of buildings,<sup>15</sup> the cellular nature and hierarchical organization of the provincial urban networks created by Rome encouraged local notables to compete for favors – grants of status, provincial temples of the imperial cult, and special benefactions – that only the emperor could bestow, and so stimulated the development of urban landscapes designed to sustain a dialogue with Roman authority.

## **II. Constructing Dialogue**

Imperial building<sup>16</sup> provides the most direct way of exploring how the fabric of provincial cities served to facilitate communication with Rome. Although a few emperors – most notably Augustus and Hadrian – intervened widely and actively in the fabric of provincial cities, imperial building outside Rome was essentially opportunistic. Liberality was always a basic

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<sup>15</sup> E.g. Vitruvius 1.7, 5.1-3

<sup>16</sup> On imperial building in the eastern provinces, see Mitchell 1987; Winter 1996, esp. 67ff; and Pont 2010: 459-88, esp. 478-88.

component of the emperor's public image, but his generosity was a matter rather of occasion than policy.<sup>17</sup> Personal initiative was rare. Usually, the emperor's largesse had to be solicited by civic delegation, most often in response to a natural disaster or some other emergency. Even when aid was granted, direct imperial involvement in the particulars of a project tended to be minimal.<sup>18</sup> The most common form of assistance was remission or redirection of taxes for a set period, though grants of raw material and labor are also attested. Whatever the nature of the emperor's gift, all aspects of planning were carried out locally, with limited official oversight; civic elites tended to be heavily involved in the execution, often adding their own contributions to the imperial funds. Although some emperors favored utilitarian projects, no clear distinction can be drawn between their promotion of infrastructure like roads and aqueducts and their sponsorship of less practical buildings.<sup>19</sup> Certain patterns can be discerned in the projects sponsored by individual emperors, but none can be said to have pursued anything like a coherent "building policy."

The Theodosian Code is perhaps the clearest guide to the assumptions that governed the emperors' promotion of civic building. Though considerably more bureaucratic and interventionist than its Classical counterpart, the Eastern Empire of the fourth century was still comprised, at least legally, of self-governing cities. The urban legislation of the Theodosian

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<sup>17</sup> Kloft 1970 treats comprehensively the ideal of imperial generosity; cf. Noreña 2011: 82ff. For an equally thorough discussion of the occasions and products of imperial benefaction in Asia Minor, see Winter 1996: 35-42, 67-138. Horster 2001 provides an extensive catalogue of imperial building inscriptions from the western provinces.

<sup>18</sup> On the occasions for imperial largesse, see especially Winter 1996: 94-138; see esp. Millar 1977: 203-72 on the instrumentality of civic delegations in securing aid. It should be noted that even testimonia seeming to imply a more direct role for imperial patronage usually indicate little real involvement. Although, for example, Trajan is said to have "begun, finished, and dedicated" a pavement for the sacred way between Miletus and Didyma (*ILS* 4051 =*I. Milet* 402), he probably never saw the new road (cf. *I. Kourion* 111). Likewise, his apparently unsolicited repair of some buildings associated with the imperial cult in Aphrodisias (*A&R* 55) likely consisted of nothing more than timely remission of some duty; compare the same emperor's activities at the temple of Apollo Hylates in Cyprus (*I. Kourion* 108). Hadrian may have been more immediately engaged in building the temple of Zeus at Cyzicus (Malalas II.279.3, *Chron. Pasch.* A. 123), but can hardly have been so interested, despite the inscription's claim, in the aqueduct he ran to Nicaea (*IvNikaia* 1-2).

<sup>19</sup> Winter 1996: 167-87; Mitchell 1987.



Code represents, in fact, a sustained imperial effort to restore rapidly-changing cities to their “ancient” (i.e. high imperial) prosperity and appearance. As under the early Empire, a close connection is posited between prosperity and appearance; public spaces and buildings are still supposed to be “useful, ornamental, and advantageous to the city”<sup>20</sup> in terms recalling those of Pliny’s letters. Even the distinctively late antique aspects have roots in older attitudes. For example, the provisions forbidding municipalities from being stripped of their statues and architectural decorations – a common problem in the highly centralized Late Empire, when governors often embellished provincial capitals at the expense of outlying cities – are justified by the fact that “it was not considered right by the ancients that a municipality should lose its embellishments” (15.1.1).<sup>21</sup> The idea that a city’s architectural ornaments were somehow essential to its status and/or identity clearly had enduring resonance. Similarly, though the role governors are expected to play in restoration of the urban fabric<sup>22</sup> reflects both the changing nature of late antique city centers and the more active role of post-Diocletianic officials, it should be remembered that Pliny had engaged in the same activity,<sup>23</sup> and for a similar end. Yet it was only in the later empire, when new construction so often fell visibly short of the old, that “restoring to their former appearance and to their useful and suitable service the ornaments of cities and their marble embellishments” (15.1.16) could be so valued. Utility was always a concern,<sup>24</sup> but so was an ideal of civic beauty still associated with grand public spaces, open streets, and marble-clad buildings.<sup>25</sup> This was the imperial administration’s conception of the

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<sup>20</sup> *CTh.* 15.1.43: *usui vel ornatibus aut commodis civitatum* (from a law referring to private appropriation)

<sup>21</sup> *Fas si quidem non est acceptum a veteribus decus perdere civitatem*; see also 15.1.14, where civic embellishments are specified as “*signorum vel marmorum vel columnarum materiam*.” Cf. EJ 365.

<sup>22</sup> This duty is often enjoined: 15.1.2-3, 15-21, 29, 31, 37. See Coates-Stephens 2001 on the idea that *spolia* lent cities a properly “antique” appearance.

<sup>23</sup> *Ep.* 10.23, 70

<sup>24</sup> E.g. 15.1.39

<sup>25</sup> 1.15.45, 50, 53; cf. Procop., *Aed.* 5.2.1-5.

proper appearance of a Roman city: a clean, well-managed, monumental place, expressive at once of local prosperity and imperial splendor.

Though inherently exceptional, the few provincial building projects actuated by the emperors themselves can be interpreted as deliberate, even programmatic, statements on the proper appearance of provincial cities.<sup>26</sup> Most of these projects were located in cities of particular dynastic or personal significance for the emperor. Augustus, for example, sponsored construction in both Ilium, the putative ancestral home of the Julian line, and in Athens, paradigm of the Classical history and aesthetic that he sought to appropriate for Rome.<sup>27</sup> In a few cases, such as Lepcis Magna under Septimius Severus, the emperor's gifts constituted a whole new quarter of the city. Philip the Arab's benefactions to the town of his birth, renamed Philippopolis in his honor, seem to have represented a wholesale refoundation.<sup>28</sup> Such comprehensive rebuilding created monumental spaces that can, with some reservations, be understood as manifestations of an imperial "ideal" of the provincial city – and thus as epitomes of the messages emperors wanted provincial public spaces to communicate. The best-attested examples from our period are Antinoopolis and Italica, cities on opposite sides of the Roman Empire that were, respectively, founded and massively enlarged by Hadrian. After briefly summarizing Hadrian's building projects in each city, we will analyze the monumental presentation of imperial power in both.

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<sup>26</sup> See Winter 1996: 24-53 on the messages imperial building projects were intended to convey, and *ibid.* 131-8 on the immediate occasions of the emperor's personal involvement.

<sup>27</sup> On Augustus' construction program at Ilium, see Rose 2002: 38ff. Spawforth 2012: 59-86 summarizes the aims of Augustan building in Athens.

<sup>28</sup> Ward-Perkins 1948 surveys Severan building at Lepcis. On Philippopolis, see the recent survey of Oenbrink 2006.

Antinoopolis, one of the few Greek cities in Egypt,<sup>29</sup> was given all the political characteristics of a polis. Its citizens – who called themselves “the New Hellenes”<sup>30</sup> – were divided into tribes and demes in the traditional manner, and governed by a council and board of archons. Its laws and calendar were based on those of Naucratis, the oldest Greek settlement in Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Although some of the buildings and monuments associated with the cult of Antinous incorporated Egyptian motifs, most of the civic fabric followed contemporary Greek designs (Fig. 7).<sup>32</sup> The orthogonal street grid was centered on three magnificent colonnaded avenues, whose intersections were marked by tetrapyla. The north-south avenue, more than a mile in length, terminated in a portico fronting the theater; a cross street led to the stadium. Within this monumental framework was the agora, where the bouleuterion and logisterion stood alongside a praetorium and tribunal.<sup>33</sup> A large bath complex sprawled along one of the main avenues nearby. The great temple-tomb complex of Antinous, most prominent of the sanctuaries in the city center, was probably also located in the vicinity. The residential areas around the monumental center were organized by block, and designated with letters of the alphabet.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike Antinoopolis, the “Nova Urbs” of Italica was an expansion of an existing city (Fig. 8). The “Vetus Urbs,” established as a veteran settlement by Scipio Africanus, seems to

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<sup>29</sup> The others were Naucratis, Alexandria, and Ptolemais. It should be noted, however, that by our period many of the Nome capitals had begun to acquire the trappings of Greco-Roman urbanism (summary in Alston 1997: 154-9; more extended treatment in Jones, *CERP*, Ch. 11).

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *P. Würz.* 9, *P. Stasb.* 3.130, *IGR* I.1070. The citizens of Antinoopolis were recruited exclusively from the Greek populations of neighboring districts.

<sup>31</sup> Government and institutions summarized by Zahrnt 1988: 685ff. Cf. Braunert 1962

<sup>32</sup> Hadrian’s favorite was worshipped as Antionous-Osiris, as on the famous obelisk, now in Rome, which once stood before his temple in Antinoopolis. Baldassarre 1988 provides the best overview of the architectural evidence for the city’s streets and buildings.

<sup>33</sup> Most of these were presumably located along one of the monumental avenues; a description made before the site’s spoliation in the early nineteenth century describes the columns and pilasters of public buildings all along the N-S avenue (Jomard 1818, Ch. 15, 28ff; Pl. 53ff). Baldassarre 1988: 281-2, surveying the areas within the colonnades, notes that Late Antique construction obscures much of the plan of Hadrian’s city. The evidence of papyri, collected by Calderini 1966: 88-93, provides tantalizing witness for the now-vanished civic buildings.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. *P. Lond.* 1164; extensive discussion in Calderini 1966: 82-7.

have been an unremarkable Hispano-Roman city with a forum and capitolium.<sup>35</sup> Hadrian's extension, built on a hill overlooking the older center, was laid out on an orthogonal plan. The main streets were colonnaded, and at least one intersection was marked by a tetrapylon.<sup>36</sup> Three imposing buildings dominated the addition. A huge bath-gymnasium complex, on the scale and model of Trajan's baths in Rome, filled several blocks; an amphitheater capable of seating 25,000 spectators stood just outside the grid; and atop the highest hill, visible from every part of the city, rose a vast Temple of Trajan. Around the marble bulk of amphitheater, bath, and temple stood a number of lesser monuments – most notably an Odeon – and blocks of upper-class housing, all constructed with methods and materials characteristic of the capital.

Before discussing the representation of imperial power in these two cities, we should briefly review the factors that may account for their similarities and differences. Both were of course imperial showplaces, designed to reflect a special relationship with the ruling house. Although the exact nature of the emperor's involvement is obscure, it seems likely that he took a special interest in the details of their design and construction. In certain respects – whether because Hadrian really conceived of Greek and Roman cities differently, or simply because he employed craftsmen and architects from different regions – the public architecture of the two cities reflected disparate traditions; where Italica draws on contemporary building in Rome, Antinoopolis looks toward the Greek east, and especially the example of Alexandria. Divergent systems of civic government may also have contributed, though it is unclear to what extent the

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<sup>35</sup> On Republican and Early Imperial Italica, see Rodriguez-Hidalgo & Keay 1995: 397-404. Hadrian may have renovated the old civic center – he certainly remodeled the theater (ibid. 411-12) – but the modern village has prevented any extensive investigation.

<sup>36</sup> Boatwright 2000: 162-7 provides a useful overview of the project.

curia of Italica,<sup>37</sup> let alone the inchoate boule of Antinoopolis,<sup>38</sup> could have influenced or interpreted the emperor's largesse. Likewise, though differences in social organization might account for some idiosyncrasies of both sites, no patterns are readily discernable.<sup>39</sup> If Italica and Antinoopolis can be regarded as representative of how Hadrian imagined Greek and Roman cities, it would seem that he drew few categorical distinctions. Although there were certainly a few building types particular to one city or the other,<sup>40</sup> Italica and Antinoopolis undeniably shared many component parts. To mention only the most salient points of comparison, both cities were planned orthogonally, featured grandiose colonnades along the main avenues, and possessed exceptionally large and lavishly decorated buildings devoted to public entertainment (theater, baths, Odeon, etc.). More significantly, both were centered in some respect on structures associated with the imperial cult.

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<sup>37</sup> Until Hadrian upgraded it to a colony (evidence listed in Boatwright 2000: 40, n. 19), Italica was a traditional municipium, governed by duoviri and curia (on civic government in the west, see RE IV, s.v. "Coloniae," 578ff; RE XVI, s.v. "Municipium," 610ff; cf. Abbott & Johnson 1926: 56-68). Assuming that the basic strictures of the Flavian municipal law (or some analogous code) were followed in Italica, building projects were approved by the curia, executed under the supervision of the duoviri, and maintained by aediles. The *Lex Irnitana* (Gonzalez & Crawford 1986) stipulates the role of the aediles (§19), the majority needed in the curia to undertake a building project (§79, cf. §62), and the responsibility of the duoviri to supervise construction (§81). Cf. Liebenam 1900: 134ff, 417-30.

<sup>38</sup> At Antinoopolis, building projects approved by the boule were overseen by special committees of councilmen, and civic maintenance assigned to the astynomos. On the process of approving and managing a building project in Greek cities, see Martin 1956: 48ff and Pont 2010: 351ff. The best evidence for our period on the functions of an astynomos is a lengthy inscription from Pergamon, recently and comprehensively discussed by Saba 2012. In smaller cities, an agoranomos might fulfill these duties in addition to his usual oversight of weights and prices (RE I, s.v. "agoranomoi," 883-885).

<sup>39</sup> At least in the years immediately after the city's foundation, the ten tribes of Antinoopolis may have been organized geographically – which (in addition to the precedent of Alexandria) might explain the alphabetical labelling and rigid organization of city blocks. In Italica, where the fiction of voting tribes may have never even been introduced, the nova urbs was characterized by a looser system of streets and lots, partly on account of the local topography and absence of new settlers, but perhaps also in reflection of a more hierarchical social order. The *Lex Irnitana*, for example, stipulates a hierarchical seating order in the theater (§81). It should be noted, however, that in the same period at least some Greek cities enforced similar policies – consider the example of early imperial Ephesus (Kolb 1999). Cf. Small 1987.

<sup>40</sup> It is hard to imagine, for example, that the polis Antinoopolis possessed any analogue to Italica's capitolium. Aelia Capitolina, founded the year before Antinoopolis, indicated its status as a Roman colony with a capitolium on the main agora (Boatwright 2000: 198-202).

While it is unsurprising that the imperial cult would be woven into the urban fabric of two cities so closely associated with Hadrian, the degree to which representations of imperial power operated as an organizing principle in both is remarkable. The Trajaneum at Italica was undoubtedly the most prominent building in the city. Surrounded by an expansive precinct and built of the costliest materials, it appears to have been modelled on the provincial temple at Tarraco – a striking indication of its claims to regional importance. Within the precinct stood a series of over life-sized statues depicting prominent citizens of Italica (with a particular focus, it may be assumed, on ancestors of Trajan and Hadrian) in heroic poses.<sup>41</sup> The center of Antinoopolis, likewise, was dominated by the Temple of Osiris-Antinous.<sup>42</sup> Nothing is known of this sanctuary's design or appearance, but it seems to have made substantial use of Egyptian motifs (an obelisk was discovered on the grounds), and certainly stood in a prominent place along one of the main streets. The associations of this complex with imperial authority were reinforced annually, when the citizens were accustomed to meet the Prefect of Egypt and present their petitions to him in the precinct,<sup>43</sup> and still more during the games periodically held in honor of Antinous, when processions joined the temple with the gymnasium, stadium, and theater.<sup>44</sup> It is tempting to regard the grand colonnaded avenues as a deliberate stage setting for such ceremonies, a grandiose armature enameled with shrines and statues of the emperor's favorite. One might imagine a similar inspiration for the colonnaded streets around the Trajaneum at Italica.<sup>45</sup> The cityscapes of Antinoopolis and Hadrian's extension of Italica seem, in short, seem

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<sup>41</sup> For a detailed discussion of the temple and its relation to other monuments, see Boatwright 1997.

<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that, though no shrine of the imperial cult has yet been discovered at Antinoopolis, one surely existed, at least after Hadrian's death. The emperor's unique relationship with the city, written even into the names of its tribes (Bell 1940: 140-1), was very likely commemorated apart from the cult of his favorite.

<sup>43</sup> *POxy* XVII, 2131 (third century)

<sup>44</sup> On the games, see Decker 1973; cf. Origen's comments on the cult of Antinous (*C. Cels.* 3.36).

<sup>45</sup> Although the great colonnaded avenues of Syria are sometimes posited as the inspiration for Antinoopolis' monumental streets, it is possible that more local examples like the great avenues of Alexandria (Ballet 2008) or the

to have both been centered on a network of sites for imperial representation, which could, at least on certain occasions, visibly involve the entire city in celebrations of the emperor or his favorite.

Hadrian's building projects in Antinoopolis and Itatica reflected his exceptional relationships with both cities. Both cities were commemorative monuments on a grand scale, designed to enlist citizens and visitors alike in a demonstration of the emperor's largesse and (in the case of Antinoopolis) piety. In the sense that the appearance of their public spaces manifested the benefits of an intimate relationship with the emperor, however, Antinoopolis and Itatica were also exemplary cities, advertisements of the benefits to be gained by close cooperation with Rome. In most cities, gifts from the emperor were the products of hard-won negotiations by local notables, frequently keyed (as we shall see) to the hierarchies of ranks and status that were the most important markers of Roman favor. Despite the unconventional means by which they acquired their special position, the status of Antinoopolis and Itatica, embellished with buildings of imperial opulence and endowed with exceptional positions in the hierarchies of tax status and imperial cult, can be understood as the ideal of the civic elites vying for the emperor's attention and largesse. In the same sense, the appearance of these cities, dominated in every part by symbols and products of the emperor's power and generosity, can perhaps be regarded as the closest approximation of an imperial ideal of the provincial city.

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*dromos* of Hermes, the processional way in neighboring Hermopolis Magna, were equally influential (on H., see *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 147-50, s.v. "El-Ashmunein"); compare the *dromos* of Serapis, the colonnaded main avenue of Oxyrhynchus, which connected two temples (*POxy* I.43). Leon 1992: 89-91 notes that there are few western parallels for Itatica's colonnaded streets; cf. Bejor 1999: 87-9. Revell 2009: 137-42 discusses the evidence for ritual movement in Itatica and remarks (84-7) the prevalence of imperial statues in the cityscape.

### III. Hierarchies of Favor

To gain the gifts and privileges that afforded them both practical advantages and prestige, cities without any special connection to the emperor had to petition him formally. Civic buildings were sometimes the subject of these requests. After a natural disaster, it was customary to seek funds from the emperor for general rebuilding. Requests of aid for individual buildings were relatively uncommon, being virtually restricted, at least under the early Empire,<sup>46</sup> to provincial temples of the imperial cult. Yet even if a delegation was seeking a favor with no direct bearing on the fabric of their city, the built environment could serve as a sort of implicit backdrop to negotiations with the emperor. Once a benefaction was granted, moreover, it could be most effectively advertised through a city's monuments – which would in turn become part of the “virtual backdrop” for future negotiations with the imperial government. Both as a visible monument and as a rhetorical point of reference, a city's built environment not only manifested, but also in some sense constituted, its relationship with Rome.

An early imperial example will orient our discussion. After the cities of Asia vowed a temple for Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate, delegations from the eleven cities competing for the honor of building the temple came to Rome to present their claims. The eventual winners, the Smyrnaeans, adduced a variety of claims for the preeminence and loyalty of their city:

The deputies from Smyrna, on the other hand, after retracing the antiquity of their town — founded either by Tantalus, the seed of Jove; by Theseus, also of celestial stock; or by one of the Amazons — passed on to the arguments in which they rested most confidence: their good offices towards the Roman people, to whom they had sent their naval force to aid not merely in foreign wars, but in those with which we had to cope in Italy, while they had also been the first to erect a temple to the City of Rome, at a period (the consulate of Marcus Porcius) when the Roman fortunes stood high indeed, but had not yet mounted to their zenith, as the Punic capital was yet standing and the kings were still powerful in Asia. (Tac., *Ann.* 4.56)

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<sup>46</sup> By the Severan period, imperial permission was needed for all projects built with public funds (*Dig.* 50.10.3.1).



The longstanding relationship with Rome on which the Smyrnaeans founded their case for a provincial temple was implicit in the appearance of their city. Aristides, appealing for earthquake relief more than a century and a half later, reminds Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (who had visited the city some years before) of the “old and new memorials of honor accorded you and honor granted by you, [buildings] that were a source of pride to the city, in the eyes of both citizens and visiting strangers” (*Or.* 19.8). These memorials presumably included the ancient temple of Roma mentioned by the delegates to the Senate, monuments commemorating Smyrna’s involvement in Roman wars,<sup>47</sup> and the temple built for Tiberius and Livia, now another of the city’s visible claims to prominence in the Roman world.

The Temple for Tiberius and Livia, in short, was the most recent addition to an urban landscape shaped by, and in some sense for, the process of negotiating civic status and the other benefits conferred by Rome. Provincial temples of the imperial cult were merely one of honors and privileges manifested in the fabric of many provincial cities. In the Greek east, where the traditional statuses of *colonia* and *municipia* were rare, perhaps the most important grants were those of “freedom” from interference by the provincial governor and “immunity” from direct taxation.<sup>48</sup> Although these concessions do not seem to have been monumentalized in any single way, they allowed at least some cities to build more lavishly than their peregrine neighbors.<sup>49</sup>

Moreover, as we shall see in the third chapter, grants of *conventus* status,<sup>50</sup> and still more of the

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<sup>47</sup> Monuments to Smyrna’s support of Rome in the war against Aristonicus and other struggles are explicitly mentioned later in the speech (*Or.* 19.11).

<sup>48</sup> Jones 1940: 113-46, Nörr 1966: 48ff, and Reynolds 1988 provide useful surveys of the systems of civic rank and status; cf. Garnsey-Saller 2014: 41-54. On grants of “freedom,” see especially Bernhardt 1971. Millar 1977: 394-410 discusses petitions to the emperor for grants of privileges. See Heller 2007: 125 for the fierce civic competition for such grants.

<sup>49</sup> The Baths of Hadrian in Aphrodisias, for example, may have been constructed with funds that would normally have been dispatched as taxes (*SEG* 50 1096).

<sup>50</sup> *Conventus* status was eagerly sought: *IGR* IV. 1287 = *OGIS* 517; *SEG* 7 813; D. Chrys., *Or.* 35.15-17; *Dig.* 27.1.6.2. For additional references, see Heller 2006: 125ff and Thonemann 2011: 109ff.

rank of provincial capital, could have direct and wide-ranging effects on the urban fabric. For at least a few decades after the reign of Hadrian, membership in the Panhellenion served as another stimulus to construction, particularly in places like Athens and Eleusis closely connected with the league's promotion of a Classicizing Panhellenism.<sup>51</sup> Finally, besides the fiercely sought-after provincial temples, which had an immediate and profound impact on a city's appearance, the imperial cult generated multitudinous civic temples and shrines, which can be regarded, if in a less formal sense, as expressions of the relationship a city had, or desired, with Rome.

Yet provincial temples of the imperial cult remain the clearest examples of how civic building could manifest a carefully negotiated relationship with Rome. Provincial temples not only monumentalized an act of communication (the emperor and Senate's grant of the *neokorate*), but also established a setting for visible maintenance and performance of the relationship. Another example from Smyrna, the provincial sanctuary granted by Hadrian, will serve to illustrate the point. Philostratus records how Hadrian, travelling through the cities of Ionia in 123 CE,<sup>52</sup> was so impressed by the great sophist Polemon that he granted, among other things, "the temple visible from afar, set on the promontory that seems to challenge Mimas" (*VS* 531).<sup>53</sup> This was certainly Smyrna's second provincial temple, which now-vanished ruins confirm to have been a massive Corinthian structure.<sup>54</sup> Although Polemon's lobbying was probably instrumental in gaining Hadrian's favor, it is unlikely that Hadrian's decision to grant

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<sup>51</sup> A number of the buildings associated with the Panhellenion were characterized by deliberate archaism or reference to the definitive mythic/historical narratives of the Greek world; see, e.g. Spawforth and Walker 1985: 92-103 (Athens and Eleusis), Spawforth and Walker 1986: 100-3 (Cyrene and Argos), and Walker 2002 (Cyrene).

<sup>52</sup> Halfmann 1986: 200; cf. *IGR* IV.1398

<sup>53</sup> On Hadrian's buildings in Smyrna, see Boatwright 2000: 157-62; cf. Shorndorfer 1997: 173-5. On buildings granted by emperors while touring the provinces, see Winter 1996: 108-18, Lehnen 1997: 85-92, and Halfmann 2009.

<sup>54</sup> Our information on the remains derives from Prokesh 1834: 62ff and Walter 1922-4: 232. On temple architecture in Hadrianic Asia Minor, see Schorndorfer 1997: 31-68. A contemporary Smyrnaean coin series (*BMC Ionia* no. 330-2) depicts a hexastyle temple.

the temple was unpremeditated.<sup>55</sup> The great building, poised on a hill overlooking the city, conveyed a complex of messages about Roman authority. It reaffirmed imperial favor as the ultimate guarantor of civic status, and thus as final arbiter of struggles for regional preeminence; symbolized and rebranded Roman power, encouraging citizens to interpret Roman authority through the lens of imperial generosity; and, most importantly, monumentalized the possibilities of communication with the emperor.

The temple at Smyrna, in short, commemorated both a process and a moment of interaction.<sup>56</sup> Hadrian's grant stood last in a long series of reciprocal actions, precedents and testimonia of benefactions granted and services paid. Far from being a mere statement of Roman power, it redounded at least as much to the glory of the city as to that of the Empire: the emperor had provided funding and an opportunity for local elites to monumentalize their loyalty; but the building they constructed was, physically and symbolically, an integral part of the civic landscape. The new temple, then, not only celebrated and confirmed the ties between city, province, and Empire; it permanently impacted the local "image" of Roman authority, becoming emblematic at once of Smyrna and of her place in the Roman order. It was here that Smyrnaean elite performed and confirmed their relationship with the Empire, sacrificing for the emperor's health and staging celebrations of his virtues.<sup>57</sup> Deferring to a later chapter a discussion of how the design of temple and precinct modeled these ceremonies,<sup>58</sup> it suffices to observe here that the

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<sup>55</sup> Philostratus frequently stresses the power of the sophists' oratory to win imperial favors (e.g. *VS* 520, 533, 583, 588, cf. 512). It should be noted, however, that the temple was actually granted "by senatorial decree," albeit very close to the time of Hadrian's visit to Smyrna (Boatwright 2000: 159-60, citing *IvSmyrna* 594 and other epigraphic evidence); it is likely that the Smyrnaeans had been lobbying for the temple for years. On the cult and its political implications, see Burrell 2004: 42-8. Cf. Burrell 2002/3 on the temple's dedication.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Hölscher 2006.

<sup>57</sup> Sacrifices for the emperor's health were regularly conducted on his birthday and a few other anniversaries (e.g. *IvE* 211 (= *OGIS* 493), 1393; *IGR* IV.453).

<sup>58</sup> See Ch. 13.

sanctuary can be regarded as a template for the maintenance of successful relations between city and Empire.

Every system of civic rank and status patterned communication not only between the provinces and the emperor, but also between provincial cities. Imperial grants and favors set the parameters for the competitive building programs of neighboring and rival cities.<sup>59</sup> More directly, the hierarchies of the assize system, imperial cult, and other organizations centered on Rome created in every province nodes of special prominence and significance for communication both with the emperor and between cities. The statues dedicated by the member cities of the Panhellenion in the precinct of Hadrian's Olympieion at Athens provide a particularly vivid example:

Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus...stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars [of the precinct peristyle] stand bronze statues which the Athenians call "colonies." The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have surpassed them in dedicating, behind the temple, the remarkable colossus. (Paus. 1.18.6)

The arrangement of these statues, with the bronze "colonies" along the stoas of the precinct ringing the colossal chryselephantine image set up the Athenians, vividly articulated both the broad membership of the Panhellenion and the dominant place of the Athenians within it. The fact that all of the statues represented Hadrian emphasized the authority that sanctioned the status they commemorated. Comparable ensembles seem to have been erected in at least some provincial temples of the imperial cult; the Temple of the Flavians at Ephesus, for example, featured numerous statues of Domitian erected by the cities of Asia.<sup>60</sup> In part, these statues simply reflected the fact that provincial temples of the imperial cult and *conventus* centers were

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<sup>59</sup> Pont 2010: 269-96 is a good survey of this phenomenon.

<sup>60</sup> Friesen 1993: 29-49

the most prominent, and therefore the most prestigious, sites of display in a given province. The imperial decrees and honorific statues habitually set up in these spaces,<sup>61</sup> however, also seem to indicate some consciousness that they were nodes of provincial communication networks, and thus ideal places for making visible relationships between cities and with Rome.

Perhaps the clearest evidence that imperial Greeks were aware of the symbolic implications of “nodes” like provincial temples is Aelius Aristides’ encomium of the great Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus.<sup>62</sup> Aristides begins by describing the building as an expression of imperial virtue: “these men [Marcus Aurelius and Verus, under whom the temple was finished] have presented to all mankind examples of virtue, justice, and friendship...it is reasonable for such men to be regarded in every way as dear to the gods as they are to each other, and as benefactors of all humanity” (*Or.* 27.36).<sup>63</sup> Moreover, since the temple celebrates the emperors’ amity, it stands as an example to their subjects. Monumental evokes social harmony:

The ornaments of construction are beautiful and exert remarkable influence over the masses; but perfect, and truly the gift of some god, is the concordance of the ornaments of construction with those of the soul. For just as we praise harmony in a building, and the fact that each of its elements preserves a proper relationship with all others, so also should we recognize that life is well-lived whenever harmony and order prevail. This adornment truly befits cities. (*Or.* 27.40-1; trans. Behr)<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> E.g. Ando 2000: 80ff, esp. 101-2, 111-14; Burrell 2004: 305

<sup>62</sup> On this building, see Schorndorfer 1997: 146-53; Schulz & Winter 1990

<sup>63</sup> On Aristides’ vision of the emperor, see Stertz 1994: 1254-60. It is possible, particularly in view of his oft-repeated insistence that a city’s buildings should be both beautiful and useful (e.g. *Or.* 17.11, 33.24-32, 47.19), that Aristides was actually trying to justify the extravagance of the new building by insisting on its direct relation with imperial virtue.

<sup>64</sup> καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων οὗτοι κόσμοι καὶ θαυμαστῶς πιθανοὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἤδη τέλειον καὶ θεοῦ τιнос ὡς ἀληθῶς δωρεά, ὅταν ἀμφοτέροι συνάδωσιν οἱ κόσμοι, οἳ τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ τὸ σώζειν ἕκαστα τὴν γιγνομένην τάξιν πρὸς ἄλληλα, οὕτω καὶ ζῆν εἰς κάλλος τοῦτ’ εἶναι χρὴ δοκεῖν, ὅταν ἀρμονία καὶ τάξις διὰ πάντων κρατῆ. οὗτος ὁ τῶν πόλεων ὡς ἀληθῶς κόσμος οἰκείος [...].

Appropriately, Aristides closes with a plea for unity; the cities of Asia, having united to build a great temple for the emperors,<sup>65</sup> should translate this spirit to all their dealings with one another. Such acts will win the emperors' favor: "in no way could you please them more than by cooperating with one another, or more easily attain your desires from them than by behaving as they would most wish."<sup>66</sup> The various forms of harmony to which Aristides recurs throughout his speech – within cities, between cities, and with the emperors – all find expression in, and are in some sense modelled by, the building they enabled.

Provincial temples of the imperial cult and other "nodes" of the urban networks created by Rome were imagined to manifest a city's political relations with both its neighbors and the imperial center. At least insofar as it reflected and facilitated this function, the appearance of these spaces was a matter of concern to the imperial government. Yet while the expenditure on such projects was carefully monitored,<sup>67</sup> there is little evidence that the emperor or his agents actively interfered in their actual design. In effect, this meant that the appearance of the spaces most pivotal for the articulation and expression of Roman authority in the provinces was left to civic initiative. Imperial policy, as we have seen, interpreted the physical fabric of its cities as an index of the governance, prosperity, and perhaps the loyalty, of the local elite; so long as a city's appearance manifested the fulfillment of its basic administrative functions, the emperor and his officials were content. The exceptional nature of cities like Italica and Athens, which enjoyed personal connections with the emperor, proves the rule. The impulse for monumentalizing urban rule had always come from the cities. From the time of their first sustained engagement with the

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<sup>65</sup> The renovated temple had been built with contributions from throughout the province (*IGR* IV.140).

<sup>66</sup> ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χαρίζοισθε ἢ οὕτως δρῶντες, ἢ ὅπως ἂν μᾶλλον παρ' αὐτῶν ὑμῖν ἂ βούλεσθε γίγνοιτο ἢ εἰ παρέχοιτε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅποιους ἂν ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστα βούλοιντο (*Or.* 27.45).

<sup>67</sup> Construction of the Temple of Tiberius and Livia at Smyrna, for example, was overseen by a special legate (*Tac., Ann.* 4.56). For discussion and additional examples, see Winter 1996: 193-201.

Roman Republic, Greek cities had sought to “build,” and so define, a relationship with Rome. The process can be considered an analogue to the convention of regarding the emperor as a god: defined as a deity, the emperor was enrolled in a familiar, and controllable, category of ritual and reciprocity. Similarly, by constructing the spaces that symbolized its relationship with Rome (and thus with its neighbors), a city made that relationship visible, and (within certain bounds) controllable. The architectural and spatial language with which these relationships were articulated was not standardized by Rome – though it made extensive use of models and concepts borrowed from the capital – but by the elites of cities competing with and imitating one another within the framework of the provincial and urban networks created by Rome.

## **Chapter 2. Landscapes of Authority**

By creating stable hierarchies of privilege and favor, the Roman imperial administration simultaneously increased contact and heightened competition between provincial cities. In combination with the general peace and prosperity of mid-imperial period and Roman support for local aristocracies, this circumstance encouraged civic elites to build more, and to build more deliberately, than ever before. For all of their almost infinite variety, these construction projects were actuated by two basic motives: to establish or reaffirm a favorable pattern of relations with their fellow citizens; and to use their local preeminence as a platform for addressing, individually or collectively, the elites of neighboring cities or representatives of Rome. Both these purposes encouraged the development of a “standard” visual language for claiming and advertising authority.

This “language” represented a development of established forms. The late Hellenistic polis, dominated by an oligarchic council and distinguished by a well-defined set of public spaces and buildings, was already both fairly “standardized” and well-suited to advertise the interests of local notables. Although a few Roman buildings – notably baths – were added to the repertoire of standard civic buildings, the transformation of political space under the Empire is best understood as a systematization and intensification of existing conventions. Two innovations were vital. The first was the introduction of the imperial image, which soon became a sort of universal organizing principle for articulating authority in civic space. The second, the culmination of a long trend in Greek urbanism, was the widespread incorporation of formerly



discrete buildings and spaces into unitary “armatures” of colonnaded streets and plazas. Both, though immediately inspired by local circumstances, were ultimately responses to the Roman system of provincial governance.

This chapter explores how a series of spatial and visual strategies originally developed to articulate the sociopolitical relations of mass and elite in Hellenistic cities become, under the new opportunities opened to local notables by the Empire, an increasingly systematic platform for communication beyond the city. The discussion falls into three sections. The first outlines how Roman support for elite governance and euergetism stimulated the building boom of the early and middle imperial periods. The second connects the growing substance and increasingly systematic display of elite power with the development of monumental armatures embracing the primary streets and plazas. The third section, finally, discusses how imperial policy encouraged the development of a new visual language for articulating political relationships and spaces of authority in civic space.

### **I. Roman Policy and Elite Building**

Rome transformed the appearance of provincial cities in the same way she managed their affairs: by supplying local notables with the means and incentive for cooperation.<sup>1</sup> Members of the civic elite typically ensured the modicum of control demanded by Rome with little or no official interference. By the mid-imperial period, the government of virtually every Greek city was dominated by a non-elective council of wealthy citizens, which oversaw the tasks of local administration and the discharge of official obligations. Its efforts were complemented by those of wealthy individuals, usually council members themselves, who demonstrated their wealth and

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<sup>1</sup> On the social and political roles of elites in Hellenistic and imperial Greek cities, see especially Quass 1993 and Stephan 2002; cf. the contributions to Cébeillac-Gervasoni & Lamoine 2003.

performed their status with acts of euergetism.<sup>2</sup> For these men, councilors and benefactors alike, the primary goal of building, as of all activity in the public sphere, was to acquire symbolic capital in the local prestige economy. Rome provided this agonistic ethos and its monumental expressions with new scope and an expanded symbolic vocabulary.

Cities and their benefactors had of course long used monumental architecture to address rivals and neighbors; in this regard, the coming of Roman power merely contributed new means and symbols towards the realization of old goals. The new forms of cooperation, however, had unprecedented influence on the meaning of civic building. In the second and early third centuries, a number of factors made monumental construction more important than ever before. A period of sustained peace and prosperity had provided local notables with unprecedented wealth, and the Roman preference for strongly oligarchic civic governments accorded them great freedom in spending it. At the same time, the political framework of the provinces, reinforced by growing competition for regional primacy, opened broad arenas for competitive display and contributed to the burgeoning sense that a city's appearance, always indicative of its status, might actually support its ambitions. Across the Empire, cities and their benefactors responded to these stimuli with a rash of construction that transformed many urban centers into showplaces of great splendor, at once disseminating and complicating traditional conventions of public building.<sup>3</sup> Although some of these developments were only indirectly products of imperial policy, all were framed by Roman regulation of the provinces.

The imperial administration's promotion of elite euergetism was perhaps the most direct means by which Roman rule encouraged civic building. The gradual ascendancy of the

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<sup>2</sup> Zuiderhoek 2009: 71-149 provides the best recent treatment of euergetism in Roman Asia Minor. The older surveys of Veyne 1990 [1976] and Gauthier 1985 remain useful.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. Thomas 2007: 70-90, 107-49.

oligarchic city council over the democratic assembly in imperial Greek cities is only partially attributable to imperial policy.<sup>4</sup> Although Rome traditionally promoted elite governance,<sup>5</sup> the sociopolitical developments that underpinned the rise of the council were underway long before the establishment of the Empire. The relatively few direct interventions of Roman officials in favor of civic elites attested by our sources likely did nothing more than confirm an existing trend, though the assignment of responsibility for collecting local taxes to the city council certainly hastened the process. Roman policy on euergetism, likewise, only confirmed the significance of an already widespread and flourishing institution.<sup>6</sup> Like most aspects of Roman governance in the provinces, this policy was basically practical, intended to safeguard civic finances and avoid the risk of civil unrest, as is made abundantly clear by a passage in the

*Digest:*

A private individual may undertake a new project even without the permission of the emperor, unless it is designed to outdo another citizen or causes sedition or is a circus, theater, or amphitheater. (50.10.3.1)

The practical nature of Rome's promotion of euergetism is made still clearer by the entire chapter of the Digest devoted to how cities should enforce claims on promised benefactions.<sup>7</sup>

The commemorative strategies of benefactors were assured official protection for the same basic reasons.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The best recent survey of city government in Roman Asia Minor is Dmitriev 2005. Recent scholarship (notably Fernoux 2011) has tended to emphasize the enduring significance of the assembly.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Pliny, *Ep.* 9.5.2-3. Sources collected in de Ste. Croix 1981: 306ff; cf. Jones 1940: 170-2.

<sup>6</sup> On Roman policy on urban building, see Winter 1996: 197-208.

<sup>7</sup> 50.12.1-14; it is possible that Trajan was instrumental in the process of regularizing enforcement (14); cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.24.

<sup>8</sup> *Dig.* 50.10.2.2, 3.2; cf. 50.10.7.1

At least in certain cases, however, Roman intervention seems to have channeled euergetism toward projects that proclaimed civic loyalties or bolstered the position of the elite.<sup>9</sup> For example, when stymied by local jealousies from receiving assistance for his monumental program, the Ephesian benefactor P. Vedius Antoninus wrote to Antoninus Pius for aid. The emperor's reply, addressed to the city council, is worth quoting:

The munificence which Vedius Antoninus generously bestows on you I have discovered not from your letter, but from his. For wishing to gain assistance from me towards the embellishment of the public works he promised you, he showed how numerous and splendid the buildings are which he is adding to the city; but you do not appreciate him as you should. For my part, I have granted all his requests, and have recognized that he prefers to follow not the usual manner of civic politicians – who for reasons of immediate fame spend their largesse on shows, distributions, and competitions<sup>10</sup> – but to create something by which he hopes to make the city more dignified for the future. (*IvE* 1491.6-19)<sup>11</sup>

Another letter from Antoninus, written in response to an Ephesian missive recording the honors they had granted Vedius, commends their attentions to a man who “applied my largesse to the adornment of your city” (*IvE* 1492.13-15). In a third letter, too fragmentary to fully reconstruct, the emperor seems to have praised Vedius for making the appearance of Ephesus more beautiful and august (*IvE* 1493.7-14).<sup>12</sup> This degree of imperial support for a benefactor's projects, though unusual, is not unique.<sup>13</sup> More remarkable is the fact that Vedius seems to have had no special connection with the emperor; apparently, he ventured to petition Antoninus for funds simply

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<sup>9</sup> In a few places and periods, notably Augustan and Hadrianic Greece, emperors seem to have actively encouraged cities and their benefactors to pursue distinctively “cultural” projects (Spawforth 2012: 207-32). Building designed to promote loyalty to Rome may have received special encouragement (Thomas 2007: 138-9).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 802D, 811C, 819A

<sup>11</sup> For commentary on this letter and the rest of the dossier, see Kokkinia 2003.

<sup>12</sup> In a letter to Ephesus, Julia Domna cites the city's “grandeur and beauty” as a reason for granting it another neokorate (*IvE* 212); cf. Arist. *Or.* 19.1-4, 10-11; *IGR* IV.251 = *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 797 = *IvAssos* 26, ln. 15-17. Compare *IvE* 1381a.12-18 (a governor's letter).

<sup>13</sup> Other examples include: Plut., *Mor.* 802D, 811C, 819A; Dio, *Or.* 40.5, 47.13; Dig. 50.8.6; *IvE* 1491-2; AE 2000, 1441 (with Reynolds 2000).

because he thought his project was of a kind likely to find imperial favor.<sup>14</sup> It is easy to imagine how Vedius' prominent benefactions – a new bouleuterion and two substantial gymnasia – could have made him the subject of intense jealousy among fellow members of the benefactor class. If he had wished only to preserve civic harmony, Pius could have simply refused to support Vedius; instead, he granted the would-be benefactor a considerable sum and unqualified approval. An unattested friendship is possible, but no more intrinsically likely than an act of largesse calculated to advertise imperial support for building projects that conduced to civic stability. Particularly in light of the fact that one of Vedius' benefactions was a new bouleuterion, this can also be read as an endorsement of a certain model of elite governance.

The letters of Antoninus reveal the extent to which the imperial promotion of euergetism could reshape a city. The single most important way in which Rome encouraged elite building, however, was by creating the urban hierarchies discussed in the previous section. The fact that every city was now involved in multiple networks of rank and status, and thence in the broader power structures of a world-spanning Empire, afforded ambitious local notables and their building projects opportunities for vast new audiences beyond their native places, and vastly enhanced prestige within them.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the best example of how provincial networks affected the scale and goals of elite building is afforded by the many projects of the famous Opramoas of Rhodiapolis.<sup>16</sup> Over the thirty years preceding the construction of his mausoleum in 152 CE, Opramoas sponsored, among a variety of other benefactions, the repair or construction of

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<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that Pius had the same basic concerns about civic solvency as his predecessors; he is known, for example, to have issued a rescript stating that bequests of money for new building were first to be applied to the repair of existing structures (*Dig.* 50.10.7).

<sup>15</sup> Heller 2006a is the best survey of civic rivalries in early imperial Asia Minor.

<sup>16</sup> Kokkinia 2000 provides a detailed commentary on the inscription (*TAM* II 905 = *IGR* III.739) recording Opramoas' benefactions.

exedras, baths, gymnasia, temples, stoas, and theaters in cities throughout Lycia.<sup>17</sup> The cities that received his largesse were all members of the Lycian League, an organization in which Opramoas had served as provincial high priest of the imperial cult.<sup>18</sup> Although the League antedated Rome's organization of Lycia as a province, its incorporation into the structures of province and imperial cult had substantially enhanced its uses as a platform for benefactions.<sup>19</sup> It was at meetings of the League that Opramoas received honors and vows of thanks for his gifts; and since the League's proceedings were now regularly reported to the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia,<sup>20</sup> and thence to the emperor, his benefactions were assured an audience not only on the provincial level, but also at the highest echelons of the imperial administration. This engagement with emperor, governor, and provincial council was used to bolster Opramoas' dominance of his native Rhodiapolis, where he constructed a shrine in honor of his family directly beside the Sebasteion (Fig. 9). More strikingly still, the walls of his own mausoleum, built in the shape of a small temple on a terrace overlooking the agora, were inscribed with no less than 70 decrees from individual cities, the Lycian League, provincial governors, and Antoninus Pius himself, all honoring him for his benefactions.<sup>21</sup> Tellingly, the letters from the emperor were inscribed in the most prominent places on the front of the building.

Both Roman support for oligarchic governments, which encouraged unprecedented elite investment in public building; and the Roman institution of graded civic statues, which encouraged new levels of elite competition and display, profoundly influenced how and why

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<sup>17</sup> A convenient list of Opramoas' buildings may be found in Cavalier & Des Courtils 2010: 412. Remarkably, two other contemporary Lycian benefactors – Jason of Kyaneai and the anonymous benefactor attested at Xanthos (Coulton 1987) – are known to have sponsored building projects on a similar scale.

<sup>18</sup> Kokkinia 2000: 213ff

<sup>19</sup> See Jameson 1980 for a useful survey.

<sup>20</sup> Engelmann 2007b

<sup>21</sup> For a summary of recent work at Rhodiapolis, see Çevik et al. 2010. Berns 2013 discusses the placement of Opramoas' mausoleum; Cormack 2004: 274-7 describes its architecture. The shrine which Opramoas dedicated to his parents and brother was only excavated recently (Kızgut 2011: 95-6).

cities and their benefactors undertook building projects. We have seen that, as a class, imperial Greek notables had two basic political goals: to maintain the social relations that upheld their local position, and to use these relations as a platform for aggrandizing both themselves and the city that served as the vehicle of their prestige.<sup>22</sup> The cityscapes that these notables created were shaped accordingly.

## II. Standard Cityscapes

From the late first to the early third century CE, public building on a massive scale transformed the cities of the Roman Empire.<sup>23</sup> The spate of building was predicated on a long period of general peace and prosperity. Yet material circumstances alone could not justify such a sustained commitment of civic resources to construction, not infrequently carried to the point of bankruptcy. Nor can a mere taste for adornment be adduced to explain the similarities of the cityscapes created in this period. The newly rebuilt cities tended to be characterized not only by the same broadly classical architectural language and a basic set of public buildings, but also by careful attention to the visual effect of their primary plazas and thoroughfares. The driving force behind both the intensity and the uniformity of construction was Roman policy. Inspired by the structures and circumstances of Roman rule, the local notables who initiated, funded, and executed the great majority of building in our period were motivated to articulate parallel values and ambitions in their projects. As new opportunities for advancement opened and the rewards of civic competition became more lucrative, local elites had more incentive than ever before to

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<sup>22</sup> Pleket 1998 provides a useful survey of political relations in Roman Asia Minor. On the goals and values of local elites in the Roman east more generally, see Quass 1993 and Stephan 2002.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Aristid., Or. 26.97; cf. Tert., Anim. 30.3.

communicate their goals and advertise their position through the prestigious medium of public construction.

As noted earlier, the cityscapes they created were similar in many respects to their late Hellenistic predecessors. With the exception of a few additions – most notably bath complexes – the “standard set” of public buildings changed relatively little.<sup>24</sup> The cityscapes in which these buildings were embedded, however, were transformed by a new emphasis on monumental streets and plazas. Applying a Hellenistic trend toward the regularization and embellishment of civic space<sup>25</sup> on an unprecedented scale, benefactors collaborated to create remarkably uniform “armatures” of squares and thoroughfares.<sup>26</sup> Only occasionally were these armatures products of concerted planning. Most grew organically, their basic congruence a reflection of the convergent goals of the benefactors who had constructed them. The policies and circumstances of Roman rule, as we have seen, reoriented local elites on both the civic and the provincial levels. The fact that every member of the benefactor class, whatever his individual ambitions, was embedded in the same imperial structures encouraged the creation of remarkably uniform, and remarkably similar, cityscapes.

On a purely practical level, by stimulating simultaneous and competitive construction projects in virtually every major city, the convergence of elite goals greatly facilitated the development and dissemination of new and prestigious architectural conventions.<sup>27</sup> More

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<sup>24</sup> At least after the Augustan era, the incorporation of Roman architectural conventions, widespread in certain parts of the eastern provinces, seems to have been regarded primarily as a means for benefactors to associate themselves with a new, and correspondingly prestigious, architectural vocabulary. On the sociopolitical meanings of Roman architectural conventions in the Greek east, see especially Plattner 2007 and Thomas 2013.

<sup>25</sup> Fehr 1979 discusses the concern for regular public spaces evident in late Classical Priene. See Coulton 1976: 168-77, Lauter 1986: 113-31, and Emme 2013: 219ff on the use of stoas to unify agoras and temple courts in the Classical and Hellenistic periods; cf. Winter 2006: 50-70. More generally, see Zimmerman 2009 on the nature of Hellenistic urban space.

<sup>26</sup> MacDonald 1986.

<sup>27</sup> On the phenomenon of architectural copies, the most extreme example of such dissemination, see Felten 1997.



generally, by making benefactors more conscious than ever before of audiences beyond their cities, the policies and circumstances of imperial rule urged new attention to spaces of reception and monumental assertions of civic identity. Local elites still needed, of course, to carefully cultivate relations with fellow citizens; and in fact the new armatures served during civic ceremonies as settings for ritual recreation of the community, and thence of the local eminence of elite citizens.<sup>28</sup> Particularly in cities of regional importance, however, it was now at least equally important to consider a building project's effect on external audiences.<sup>29</sup> The monumental streets and plazas of imperial cities, in short, were direct responses to the political goals of elites working within the structures of Roman rule. Whether used to welcome visitors or stage civic ceremonies, they enabled an unprecedented degree of elite control over the experience of civic space. Reserving for later chapters a detailed discussion of their service in defining and maintaining the authority of local notables, it suffices to observe here that armatures guided sight and motion down carefully prepared paths, and so created monumental "focal points" of unprecedented immediacy.

Colonnaded streets, in particular, directed sight and channeled motion in a manner that accorded them a unique role in harmonizing cityscapes. By tying the centers of civic life into a uniform armature, they enabled a whole range of visual effects: the regular lines of columns could dramatically join and significantly separate public spaces, obscure uneven facades and focus on prominent landmarks, lend a sense of rhythm or the connotations of series to disparate or dispersed monuments, meter motion, even alter perceptions of time and distance.<sup>30</sup> In a well-

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<sup>28</sup> See Ch. 7.

<sup>29</sup> See Ch. 9.

<sup>30</sup> MacDonald 1986 discusses the visual effects of "thoroughfares" and "passage architecture." See Klinkott 2014 on the role played by colonnades in unifying and separating civic spaces, and Lehman & Rheidt 2014 on how they

known passage, the hero of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* recounts how colonnades shaped his first impressions of Alexandria:

From the Sun gate to the Moon gate...lead a straight double row of columns, about the middle of which lies the open part of town, and in it, so many streets that, walking about it, you might imagine yourself abroad, though at home. Going a few hundred yards further, I came to the quarter called after Alexander, where I saw, as it were, a second city, the splendor of which was cut up into squares, for there was a row of columns intersected by another, as long, at right angles. I tried to cast my gaze down every street, but my eyes were still unsatisfied, and I could not grasp all the beauty of the spot at once... (5.1)

Gaze and gait led by the rows of shining columns, he wanders until he succumbs of fatigue. For all its literary color, this passage neatly illustrates how profoundly the monumental armatures of imperial cities framed the impressions of those who experienced them.

The avenues of Side, a city on the Pamphylian coast, provide a representative example of how these effects worked in practice (Fig. 10).<sup>31</sup> From a monumental court just inside the main city gate – a grandiose structure revetted with marble and adorned with statues, which faced a three-story nymphaeum across the main road – two colonnaded avenues diverged. One, only partly excavated, ran south toward the peristyle of the so-called state agora, to which it was joined either directly or by two narrower, but still colonnaded, streets. The course of the other avenue, broken into two roughly equal portions by a dogleg around the theater, is better attested. The colonnades of the portion closer to the gate, though jogged by slight irregularities, ran more or less in parallel before broadening into a plaza in front of the theater. In the south colonnade of this space, a monumental propylon led into the peristyled commercial agora. To the north, a large public fountain, adorned with statues of the gods, stood beside the marble-faced arch that masked the avenue's sharp turn around the theater. West, against the bulk of the theater, another public

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created focal points. Carmona et al. 2010: 170-6 surveys the scholarship on how built environments affect perceptions of time and distance.

<sup>31</sup> On the colonnaded streets of Side, see Mansel 1963: 17-25; cf. Lanckoronski 1890: 130-1.

fountain spilled its excess water down an open channel cut into the pavement.<sup>32</sup> Beyond the theater, the avenue continued, apparently uninterrupted, until it broadened into a plaza bounded by temples of Athena, Apollo, and Men.

Side's avenues were designed to control how visitors moved through and viewed civic space. This is particularly apparent in the careful architectural treatment of the points where colonnades ended or changed direction, which had to be masked by gates or focused on monuments to avoid any impression of disorder. An observer moving into the city along the primary street<sup>33</sup> would be able to see the fountains in the theater plaza virtually from the moment he passed the main gate. From a point about halfway to the theater, he would also come into sight of the arch, surmounted by a gleaming bronze quadriga driven by an emperor, which masked the bend around the theater. Once beyond this monument, the gate that probably marked the avenue's unexcavated junction with the harbor plaza would have been almost immediately visible. This concern with closing ends and concealing bends was partially inspired by aesthetic considerations. It also reflected, however, an awareness of the ways colonnaded streets could influence the perceptions of those who moved through them. The arch on the theater plaza, for example, would have slowed the pace and focused the vision of those who passed under it, encouraging particular attention to both its own decoration and to the richly decorated plaza on which it was situated. A similar function can be ascribed to monuments like the fountain house

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<sup>32</sup> Propylon: Mansel 1963: 98-9. Public fountains: *ibid.* 64-70. Arch: *ibid.* 24. Mansel dates the fountain on the north side to the mid-late third century, but a monumental fountain of some sort had almost certainly occupied the same spot as long as the Hellenistic or early Roman cistern behind it. An earlier iteration of the fountain may have been the source of the present structure's second-century sculptures. In its present state, likewise, the fountain on the west side dates to the fourth century, when the Wall of Philippus Attius was built against the theater; in light of its prominent location and the high imperial elaboration of the rest of the theater plaza, however, it is reasonable to assume that an earlier structure existed on the site. A number of high imperial statues – notably including a representation of Hercules (*ibid.* 24) – seem to have stood among the colonnades of the theater plaza. Like the so-called Monument of Vespasian, however, these may have been moved here in late antiquity.

<sup>33</sup> The other colonnaded avenue, which led toward the state agora, likely terminated in an unexcavated gate.

and propylon in the theater plaza, which stood at the end of sight lines formed by the avenue's colonnades. Colonnaded avenues were designed for viewers in motion; but they anticipated moments of pause. The practice of building monuments at the foci of long sightlines and arches at points of juncture should thus be seen not only as a strategy of maintaining the visual integrity of a unified armature, but also as a means of lending that armature meaning: the monuments that tended to be concentrated around highly visible points of focus and transition were not merely decorative.<sup>34</sup> Although only a few of the many statue fragments discovered around the theater plaza at Side can be safely attributed, it is possible that at least some of these decorations were meant to be “read” like the grandiose complex formed by the main city gate and nymphaeum, adorned with their myriad statues of civic heroes and gods – as, that is, a statement of civic identity.

### **III. Systemized Images**

By bolstering the political dominance of civic elites, promoting the practice of euergetism, and creating new structures for the advancement of their goals and ambitions, Roman provincial policy encouraged local notables to make their growing prominence visible in civic space. A direct consequence was the proliferation of honorific statues, increasingly arranged in symbolically pregnant ensembles with images of the emperors and local heroes. Framed and accentuated by the newly formalized cityscapes, these sculptures made visible the bases of the local elite's authority, and significantly altered the experience of civic space.

Honorific statues – portraits voted and paid for by the council and assembly in recognition of signal service to the city – had been a prominent feature of agoras, temple precincts, and a few other civic spaces since the late Classical period, when eminent citizens

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<sup>34</sup> On the placement and collocation of statues at significant points, see Ma 2013: 67-151 and Griesbach 2014.

began to be so commemorated in Athens and a few other poleis.<sup>35</sup> The practice expanded vastly in the course of the Hellenistic period, when honorific statues, reflecting the general ascendancy of the elite citizens they depicted, became ubiquitous fixtures of Greek civic life.<sup>36</sup> As the numbers of statues grew, they increasingly came, through a combination of gradual accumulation and deliberate planning, to be presented in clusters and series that accorded new meaning to individual sculptures.<sup>37</sup> This trend continued under the Empire, when honorific statues were erected in unprecedented numbers.<sup>38</sup> Driven in part by the simple need to accommodate the space of sculpture, new venues of display were developed.<sup>39</sup> Though inspired by certain elements of Hellenistic architecture, the aedicular facades that graced nymphaea, the “marmorsäle” of gymnasia, and the scaenae frontes of theaters and bouleuteria were unprecedented in scale and effect.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, the colonnades constructed along the main thoroughfares of many eastern cities in the imperial era, though direct descendants of the Hellenistic porticated agora, stimulated the creation of newly extensive and regular sculptural displays.<sup>41</sup> The creation of such architectural settings reflected a growing interest in “programmatic” ensembles that can be directly connected with imperial policy. By strengthening the position of civic elites and encouraging regional competition, Roman rule motivated the development of sculptural displays

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<sup>35</sup> Hölscher 1998

<sup>36</sup> Ma 2013: 132-5 cautions against connecting the proliferation of honorific statues directly with the ascendancy of elite citizens, pointing to the fact that such statues were still essentially honors granted by the city. At the risk of crude oversimplification, however, the trends were clearly parallel.

<sup>37</sup> See Ma 2013: 118-30 on clusters and series of honorific statues.

<sup>38</sup> A particularly interesting development was the growing popularity of the practice of erecting multiple statues for individual benefactors (Pekáry 1995: 215-16).

<sup>39</sup> Oliver 2007, Krumeich & Witschel 2009, Griesbach 2014, and Sielhorst 2014 survey the spatial contexts of Hellenistic statues.

<sup>40</sup> On the origins and characteristics of columnar screens, see Von Hesberg 1981-2, Berns 2002, and Klar 2006; cf. *FiE* XII.2: 87-100.

<sup>41</sup> Trifiló 2008 discusses the new degree of hierarchization characteristic of the display of imperial honorific statues. Ancient observers remarked the new prominence of statues in imperial cityscapes: e.g. Jul. Asc., 54; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 79.1; [Ap. Ty.], *Ep.* 32.

that not only articulated the authority of local notables more visibly than ever before, but also identified this authority with a newly coherent conception of civic identity.

On the most basic level, a statue voted by council and assembly identified its honorand as a benefactor of his city. Both the appearance of the statue – men were represented in the traditional himation and tunic of the politically-engaged citizen – and the inscription on its base stressed adherence to, and promotion of, the traditional “communitarian” ideal of the polis.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, of course, the statue acknowledged the benefactor’s exceptional status in the community, and elevated him above the ranks of his fellow citizens. The dynamics of euergetism in the imperial polis have been well-studied, and need no reiteration here; for our purposes it suffices to observe that, while public honors remained the most important vehicle of elite prestige, the manner in which honorific statues were displayed under the Empire can be read as a visible assertion of the corporate dominance of the civic elite. Although statues continued to be coveted as individual honors, the increasingly regular architectural settings in which they were placed could accord them the effect of collective statements. In part, this reflected the fact that imperial notables collaborated with increasing frequency on large projects like baths, theaters, and colonnaded streets, which might involve a considerable portion of the civic elite.<sup>43</sup> The city council, responsible both for coordinating these projects and for voting honors to the benefactors,<sup>44</sup> seems sometimes to have made provision for honoring the participants in a manner indicative of their cooperation; probable examples include the statues arrayed along the main hall

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<sup>42</sup> See Smith 1998: 63-70 and Smith 2006: 35-9 on the significance of the appearance of imperial honorific statues. Gregory 1994 outlines the political implications of sculptural conventions; Eck 1999, the ethos that motivated such commemorative strategies. See Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2003 for a good summary of “citizen values” in the imperial polis.

<sup>43</sup> Representative examples include a major bath complex in Smyrna (*IvSmyrna* 697=*IGR* IV.1431) and the theaters of Ephesus (*IvE* 2033ff) and Nicaea (Plin., *Ep.* 10.39).

<sup>44</sup> See Ch. 7.

of the civil basilica at Aphrodisias and the colonnaded street at Perge.<sup>45</sup> Even where statues accumulated gradually, as among the colonnades of many city streets, the regularity of their placement indicates a new concern for cumulative visual effect.<sup>46</sup> The “galleries” of honorific statues erected along virtually every important street and plaza in many imperial Greek cities presented communities of benefactors past and present, unified by their patriotism – and, of course, by their elite status. A particularly striking indication of this systemization of displaying elite status is the creation of ensembles of old honorific statues relocated from other parts of the city.<sup>47</sup> In short, the prominence, individual and collective, of civic elites was more visible than ever before in poleis under the Empire. In keeping with the traditions of euergetism, however, this prominence was phrased in terms of commitment to the city and its traditions.<sup>48</sup>

Although Rome had expanded the potential scope of elite ambitions, the polis remained the primary vehicle of their prestige. Most benefactors, of course, had no designs on political advancement beyond their native place, and sought only to become eminent on the local stage; but even those, like Opramoas, who had ambitions on a regional scale began by embellishing their own cities. An interesting consequence of the need to advertise patriotism, particularly pronounced from the early second century onward, was the development of “programmatically” sculptural displays that associated benefactors with civic tradition.<sup>49</sup> Like the general

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<sup>45</sup> The niches for statuary built into the walls of the long hall of the Basilica at Aphrodisias (Stinson 2008: 101) likely framed statues of the building’s benefactors. Although none of the bases were found in situ, at least one of the many benefactors who contributed to the colonnaded street at Perge was commemorated with a statue along the colonnades (*IvPerge* 117-18, 122, 125).

<sup>46</sup> An excellent example is Termessus, where the lines of high imperial statue bases along the main colonnaded street remain in situ (Van Nijf 2011: 231-2). See Ma 2013: 70ff for a discussion of the factors involved in a city’s choice of site for an honorific statue.

<sup>47</sup> E.g., the statues in the logeion of the theater at Aphrodisias (Smith 2006: 54-6) and those along the diazoma of the theater at Cibyra (*IvKibyra* 40, 42 a-e, 44 a-e). On epigraphically attested restorations of statues, see Pekáry and Drexhage 1992.

<sup>48</sup> See Ch. 7.

<sup>49</sup> Chi 2002 provides a useful survey of the best-preserved programmatic ensembles from Asia Minor.

proliferation of honorific statues, these can be understood as indirect consequences of imperial policy. Civic history was potentially a crucial weapon in the perpetual battle for titles, rank, and status within the structures created by Rome.<sup>50</sup> Through monuments projecting a vision of civic history connected with the prestigious cultural myths or episodes from the Classical past that dominated imperial definitions of Greek identity, local elites might not only associate themselves with the very bases of civic tradition, but also to present that tradition (and thus their association with it) as an argument for regional, and even imperial, significance.<sup>51</sup> A complementary means for benefactors to connect themselves and their patronage with the greater Greek tradition was the erection of copies of famous Classical sculptures, usually as components of larger ensembles.<sup>52</sup> Like the new emphasis given to certain elements of local history, the installation of these copies at prominent points in the city center was partly inspired by the circumstances of Roman rule – in this case, the significance accorded to the Classical Greek tradition by elite Romans, of which Hadrian's Panhellenion was only the most prominent manifestation.<sup>53</sup>

The growing systemization of honorific statues and the evolution of sculptural ensembles stressing a city's local traditions and Greek culture represented new departures, or at least new emphases, in the decoration of public space. The most significant contemporary development in the representation of authority, however, was the introduction and proliferation of the imperial image. By the mid-imperial period, statues of the emperors and their families were features of

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<sup>50</sup> E.g., Tac., *Ann.* 4.55

<sup>51</sup> Ando 2010 discusses the construction of local identities in an imperial context. In the cities of Roman Asia Minor, foundation myths were commemorated with particular frequency. On this phenomenon, see Lindner 1994 and Heller 2006b; discussions of specific examples include Rathmayr 2010 (Ephesus) and Yildirim 2008 (Aphrodisias).

<sup>52</sup> On the general phenomenon of copying in the ancient world, see Grüner 2014. Vermeule 1977: 83-98 discusses the placement of copies in imperial Greek cities. On the public display of copies in Rome and the western provinces, see especially Zanker 1979, Boschung 1989, and Fuchs 1987: 185-90.

<sup>53</sup> Spawforth 2012 discusses the profound influence of Augustan taste on contemporary Greece; cf. Shear 2007 on the Roman taste for Classical honorific sculpture. A representative example from Asia Minor is the square fronting the bouleuterion in Miletus (see Ch. 10), where both copies of Classical masterpieces and a whole gallery of figures associated with local myth and history were on display.



virtually every public space in most Greek cities, arranged in collocations of varying deliberateness and significance with images of benefactors and figures from civic myth and history.<sup>54</sup> To a certain point, it is tempting to dismiss the practice of incorporating statues of the emperor into civic buildings as a convention, analogous to the habit of dedicating projects to the emperor. That the convention existed at all, however, is itself remarkable, and can only be explained as a reflection of that fact that, for centuries, cities and their elite benefactors regarded the imperial image as a significant component of the statements that they wanted to make about themselves and their projects. Textual and archaeological evidence illuminates the enduring nature of the imperial image's political significance. Most obviously, statues of the emperors manifested individual and communal loyalty to Rome, a message that, for all its familiarity, retained value in dealings with the imperial administration.<sup>55</sup> They could, accordingly, play a significant role in a community's advertisement of its relationship with Rome, particularly where an emperor had granted some special favor.<sup>56</sup> In the sculptural ensembles so characteristic of imperial poleis, where statues of the emperor were frequently juxtaposed with personifications of a city or representations of its founders and patron gods, imperial images might effectively associate the local past with Roman patronage – a claim, as we have seen, with potentially considerable political purport.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the single most important factor guiding the placement

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<sup>54</sup> Niemeyer 1968 and Pekáry 1985 remain fundamental on the placement and sociopolitical significance of statues of the emperor; cf. Revell 2009: 82-9. Von den Hoff 2011 surveys the communicatory functions of imperial images.

<sup>55</sup> Ando 2000: 228 -53 discusses the functions of the imperial image in generating provincial loyalty. Emperors consistently expressed concern for the visibility and prominence of their statues in the provinces (e.g. *ILS* 8792; *P. Lond.* 1912; Arr., *Peripl. M. Eux.* 1.3-4).

<sup>56</sup> The directness of the link with Rome represented by imperial statues was perhaps clearest during episodes of *damnatio memoriae* (e.g. Pekáry 1985: 134-42, Benoist & Daguët-Gagey 2008). At Ephesus, for example, dozens of statues connected with Domitian's grant of a neokorate temple had to be recut after his *damnatio* (Friesen 1993).

<sup>57</sup> Famous examples include the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (Smith 2013) and the Parthian Monument at Ephesus (Oberleitner 2009). Statues of emperors were almost invariably featured in the most prominent part of the scaenae frons of a city's theater (Niemeyer 1968: 33-4; cf. Fuchs 1987: 166-84), and very frequently in nymphaea (e.g. Rathmayr 2014).

of imperial statues, however, was the assumption that they manifested in some way the power of the emperor himself, and thus had a validating effect on rituals and political acts.<sup>58</sup> The polyvalence of the imperial image reflected its very centrality to the thought world of Greek elites: an instantiation of the power of a distant sovereign, it served as a symbol and source of prestige flexible enough to be adduced in support of any sociopolitical structure.<sup>59</sup> In short, like the galleries of benefactors and ensembles of figures from local myth and history that stood beside them, statues of the emperor made the sources of elite authority more visible than ever before in the cityscapes of the Roman east.<sup>60</sup>

It will be useful to conclude this portion of our discussion with a brief description of the sculptural ensembles erected along the main street of the Pamphylian city of Perge in the early second century.<sup>61</sup> Toward the beginning of Hadrian's reign, the eminent benefactress Plancia Magna sponsored a massive rebuilding of the south city gate, a Hellenistic structure at the south end of the main street (Fig. 11).<sup>62</sup> First, sometime between 120-22 CE, she funded the construction of a monumental triple arch just inside the old gate. The most notable components of its decoration were the statues of its arcade, where Hadrian, Trajan, Nerva, Augustus, and a coterie of imperial women stood alongside Artemis Pergaia and the Tyche of Perge. Each figure

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<sup>58</sup> This assumption is discussed in detail in Ch. 12. Edelmann 2008 discusses how the placement of imperial statues in theaters during civic rituals served to evoke the presence of the emperor. By the same logic, statues of the emperor were suitable for sanctioning social or political relationships. In Athens, for example, the statues of Hadrian installed by dozens of cities in the precinct of Zeus (Paus. 1.18.6; cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3289ff) manifested the emperor's confirmation of their relationship with the "mother city" of Greek culture. The 26 statues of Hadrian erected by the 13 tribes of Athens in the Theater of Dionysus (See Pekáry 1985: 48, n. 71), likewise, symbolized the emperor's oversight of the city's organization.

<sup>59</sup> Statues of the emperors evoked a figure whose omniscient charisma and prestige elided the ambiguities inherent in a city's actual relationship with Rome (Hopkins 1978: 197-242; cf. Geertz 1983).

<sup>60</sup> In this respect, imperial statues were analogous to imperial decrees, which were frequently displayed in an "emblematic" fashion designed to bolster the prestige of local notables (e.g. Haensch 2009, Kokkinia 2009).

<sup>61</sup> For a survey of these sculptures and their intent, see Bravi 2011.

<sup>62</sup> *IvPerge* 86-7, comprehensively discussed by Şahin 1999: 107-26. See also Boatwright 1991, ead. 1993, and Slavazzi 2010.

was identified in both Greek and Latin.<sup>63</sup> Sometime in the years immediately following her construction of the new arch, Plancia undertook to remodel the space which fronted it. Here, in the oval court between the Hellenistic city gate and new arch, Plancia constructed a grandiose monument to the founders of Perge.<sup>64</sup> Expanding a pre-existing system of decoration, she caused no less than twenty-eight statue niches to be arranged in two registers along the semicircular inner face of city gate. Gods occupied the upper rank; but the lower was reserved for men of Perge, past and present. Seven of these were the city's legendary founders, in a few cases so obscure as to require a brief explanatory tag after their names.<sup>65</sup> The other seven were contemporary "founders," citizens whose had remade the city with their benefactions. The only two of these bases to survive are dedicated to M. and C. Plancius Varus, Plancia's father and brother; a statue of Plancia herself likely stood beside them.<sup>66</sup>

Plancia's conception of civic identity was not exceptional. At the other end of the main avenue, within a few years of the completion of the gate complex, an unknown benefactor constructed the so-called North Nymphaeum, a two-story structure at the base of the acropolis decorated with statues of Hadrian, Artemis, Zeus, the river god Cestrus, and a founding hero of Perge (Fig. 12).<sup>67</sup> The similarity of this sculptural program was hardly coincidental. Even if the nymphaeum and gate were not constructed as part of a concerted program,<sup>68</sup> their benefactors were obviously motivated by a desire to express a basically similar conception of Perge's

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<sup>63</sup> *IvPerge* 89-99

<sup>64</sup> Although founder's monuments are widely attested in the Greek world, there is no evidence that the figures here assembled were so honored before the imperial period. Şahin 1999: 144-5 suggests a date shortly after Hadrian's institution of the Panhellenion in 124/5 for the monument, regarding that organization's emphasis on Greek origins as Plancia's primary motivation for constructing it.

<sup>65</sup> The bases on which the statues of the gods stood have been lost. The legendary founders (labelled in Greek only) are all local heroes connected in some way with the Ionian migration (*IvPerge* 101-7). Three of the seven – (Labos (102), Machaon (104), and Rhixos (107) – are given explanatory tags.

<sup>66</sup> *IvPerge* 108-9. Şahin 1999: 143 suggests that Plancia's own statue filled the center niche.

<sup>67</sup> See Chi 2002: 164-77 on these attributions.

<sup>68</sup> See Ch. 7.

(fictive) Hellenic heritage, articulated with reference to a newly-discovered founding hero, the patron goddess Artemis Pergaea, and the sanctioning figure of Hadrian. This complex of associations between civic identity, the figure of the emperor, and the cultural narratives that denoted “Greekness” is indicative of the expanded goals and worldview of Greek civic elites under the Principate. Claiming prominence within a city now entailed defining that city’s place in the Roman Empire.

The main avenue of Perge, lined with statue-studded colonnades, bisected by an ornamental water channel, and bounded on both ends by grand sculptural ensembles advertising the city’s place in the Greek world and Roman Empire, neatly illustrates the extent to which the policies and circumstances of Roman rule, by reorienting the goals of local notables, transformed the cityscapes of the eastern provinces. By providing elites with new prominence in their communities and a new visual language, centered on the imperial image, for articulating this prominence, Rome profoundly, if indirectly, altered the role played by civic space in the constitution of authority. Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the new civic spaces is the sheer visibility of power relations: statues of the ruling class lined every public space, dominated by ubiquitous images of the emperors and sculptural ensembles describing the city’s place in the Greek tradition. Though a product, as we have seen, of the new types and degree of elite competition predicated by imperial policy, the tangible nature of power in imperial cityscapes is best understood as a reflection of the unprecedented need for communication – with representatives of Roman authority, between cities, and among members of civic elites – in the new world order.

### Chapter 3. Provincial Governors and their Cities

The formal public spaces and sculptural displays characteristic of imperial Greek cities constituted a landscape designed to define and accentuate authority. Although the most basic function of this landscape was to regulate relations between civic mass and elite, it expressed the position of the local elite on the terms of an ideal of the city's place in the Roman Empire, not least since – as we have seen – Imperial benefactors had unprecedented motive for addressing audiences outside their cities. Notables of neighboring and rival cities comprised the most immediate and influential of these external audiences.<sup>1</sup> But in provincial capitals, *conventus* centers, and a few other favored cities, the single most important visitor was the Roman governor. Even if his presence could only be expected for a few weeks every year, he represented – unlike the emperor<sup>2</sup> – a regular, and thus potentially decisive, source of favor and patronage. It might be expected, accordingly, that civic elites would “address” at least some of their building projects to a man of such power and influence, particularly since governors were known to be interested in the appearance of their cities.

As we shall see, however, very few building projects seem to have been undertaken with the specific goal of impressing visiting governors. This circumstance, far from manifesting provincial indifference, is a reflection of the multivalent nature of the new cityscapes. The formalized public spaces and programmatic sculptural displays characteristic of imperial cities

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<sup>1</sup> See Ch. 8

<sup>2</sup> On the motivations and effects of imperial travel, see especially Koeppel 1969 and Halfmann 1986. The better-documented journeys of late antique emperors are discussed by Seeck 1919, Petersen 1930, MacCormack 1972, and MacCormack 1981. On the general topic of official travel and receptions, see McCormick 1986, Bradbury 2004, and Perrin-Saminadayar 2007.

can be likened to a stage set, adaptable to the performance of a wide range of sociopolitical relationships. It was the manner in which these spaces were presented by the civic elite, and the ritual choreography that governed the actions of visiting officials, that made them specifically applicable to a governor. The significance and communicatory function of the spaces in which governors were received and performed their duties were created in tandem by the governor and civic elites, both assuming for the occasion roles articulated with reference to the built environment.

This chapter investigates the respective roles of imperial and local initiative in defining the political significance of civic space. The first section, by outlining how governors enacted Roman urban policy, demonstrates the remarkable extent to which they were engaged in the creation of provincial cityscapes. The second, focused on the construction projects personally undertaken by governors, illustrates the limits of this engagement. The third, finally, suggests interpreting the governor's relationship with the fabric of provincial cities on the terms of his constant interaction with local elites, which profoundly molded how he experienced and interpreted the built environment.

### **I. Enacting Imperial Policy**

For all his power and prestige, a Roman governor was not an independent actor. He worked with limited resources towards narrowly-defined goals,<sup>3</sup> performing his duties in the context of constant interaction and negotiation with provincial authorities.<sup>4</sup> Whatever his personal prestige and ambitions, his aims in office were basically those of the imperial

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<sup>3</sup> A succinct summary for our period may be found in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> XI, Ch. 10 (344ff).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Lendon 1997: 194ff

administration: to maintain Roman prestige and revenue with maximum economy.<sup>5</sup> He might perform his duties with a greater or lesser degree of competence and probity; but he was unlikely to shirk them completely, since prestige and preferment might follow success.<sup>6</sup> Since, moreover, provincial governance had become the primary means for members of the Senatorial class to gain prestige, an emergent ideal of service – sometimes connected with Stoic principles<sup>7</sup> – seems to have motivated some officials.<sup>8</sup> Governors had, in short, good reason to publicly and conscientiously demonstrate their enactment of imperial policy. With respect to civic built environments, this entailed not only careful inspection and financial oversight of construction projects, but also active involvement in the planning of new buildings.

Pliny's letters to Trajan provide our best source for the extent to which governors involved themselves in civic building.<sup>9</sup> Though not a regularly appointed governor, Pliny carried the same basic responsibilities.<sup>10</sup> With regard to civic construction, his letters evince two basic goals: to ensure fiscal responsibility, and to actively promote projects conducive to the glorification of Rome and Trajan.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Provincials seem to have maintained a strong sense of the governor's subordination to the emperor (e.g. Aristid., *Or.* 26.31ff; cf. Nörr 1966: 85ff).

<sup>6</sup> While interference during an official's term of duty was rare, allegations of maladministration might swiftly follow his return to Rome; and these proceedings, if rarely fatal to a reputation, might stall a career. On *Reputendae* proceedings (e.g. Plin., *Ep.* 2.11, 3.9; cf. Philo, *In Flac.* 105-6), see especially Brunt 1961 and Bérenger-Badel 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Griffin 1976: 237f cautions against overstressing the significance of philosophic dogma. Despite the broadly philosophical policy assigned him in the anonymous *Octavia* (440ff), Seneca's most direct comment on provincial governance (*Cons. ad Poly.* 12.3) seems more indebted to Senatorial values than Stoic ethical principles. Cf. Annas 1989, Brunt 1975.

<sup>8</sup> Syme 1958: 26f posited that devotion to good governance would be especially attractive to senators from provincial families, who could not rely on ancestral prestige. The same, of course, could be said about equestrians in the imperial bureaucracy. Though foreshadowed by Cicero (*ad Q. F.* 1.1f), this idea of service to the state is particularly developed by Tacitus (*Agr.*, passim; cf. *Ann.* 13.53). In other words, while few governors can have been as deferential as Pliny or as conscientious as Agricola, all were aware that failure to respect their prerogatives and mandate could have serious repercussions. Cf. Meyer Zwiffelhofer 2002: 173-86, Bérenger 2014: 324f.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Bérenger 2014: 301-7

<sup>10</sup> As a special *Legatus Augusti*, Pliny essentially added the auditing duties of a *curator civitatum* to the regular tasks of a governor (Sherwin-White 1966: 525ff).

<sup>11</sup> See summary in Ch. 1. On the involvement of imperial officials in civic construction, good overviews include Winter 1996: 148-166 and Barresi 2003: 35-51. Cf. Mitchell 1987.

### *Maintenance*

Pliny's provision for basic civic maintenance and amenities was a significant, if rarely exercised, component of his duties. Provincial cities, as we have seen, generally managed themselves. Around the time of Pliny's governorship, for example, a large inscription detailing duties of the *astynomos* was set up in Pergamon.<sup>12</sup> Apparently copied from a law first made under the Attalid kings, it established the minimum width of streets and thoroughfares, the proper placement and cleaning of fountains, and a bevy of other regulations pertaining to construction and upkeep of the civic fabric.<sup>13</sup> The fact that Roman officials involved themselves in these matters only when some substantial repair or construction was necessary does not indicate a lack of interest in basic urban management.<sup>14</sup> Ulpian – writing in the early third century about an apparently long-standing practice – instructs a proconsul visiting “his capital or some other important city” to “go on a tour of inspection of its sacred buildings and public works and make arrangements for any necessary repairs” (*Dig.* 1.16.7).<sup>15</sup> Clearer still is his advice that a governor “ought to compel owners to repair buildings...[and] if they refuse, should by some suitable remedy improve their appearance” (1.18.7). Pliny, at least, counted civic upkeep among his duties as governor: when visiting the city of Amastris, he urged that the open sewer running

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<sup>12</sup> *OGIS* 483 (= *SEG* 13 521). Date: Klaffenbach 1954: 19-25; new commentary and discussion in Saba 2012. Parallels: *RE* II.2 (1896), s.v. ‘Astynomoi,’ 1870-2; *Dig.* 43.10. Cf. Saliou 1994: 10-13; Martin 1956: 57-66.

<sup>13</sup> The *Astynomos* inscription drew on a tradition of civic management stretching to the Hellenistic era and before; consider, for example, the early Classical law from Thasos on cleaning and repair of the city streets (*SEG* 42 785). Though generated much later, and in a different cultural milieu, the practical concerns of the Pergamene inscription find Latin parallels in sections of the nearly-contemporary Flavian municipal law (e.g. *Lex Irnitana*, 82-3).

<sup>14</sup> Trajan, for example, took considerable interest in maintenance: Cass. Dio 68.7.1; Plin., *Pan.* 51.1-3; cf. *I. Kourion*, 108-9, 111. There seems to have been some sense, in fact, that major public works projects had a special relationship with imperial munificence; Menander Rhetor advises orators serving on embassies to the emperor: μνημονεύσεις ἅ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν συμβάλλεσθαι πέφυκε, καὶ ὧν εἰώθασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς προνοεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅτι λουτρὰ συμπέτωκεν, ὕδατων ὀχετοὶ διεφθάρησαν, κόσμος ὁ τῆς πόλεως συγκέχρηται (II, 423.23-5).

<sup>15</sup> An early third-century building inscription from Carthage, which notes that the proconsul Julius Asper “exegit” the work, seems to attest the practice of inspection (*CIL* VIII.24585). Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 40.9.



alongside the main street be covered (*Ep.* 10.98).<sup>16</sup> On a rather more grandiose scale, he sought imperial permission for new aqueducts<sup>17</sup> at Nicomedia (10.37) and Sinope (10.90), claiming in both cases that such structures, “at once useful and beautiful,” were crucial for civic health.<sup>18</sup>

Besides their clear practical benefits, both sewer and aqueducts would contribute to the appearance of the cities they served.<sup>19</sup> The economic wisdom of this advice is patent; as we shall see in the following paragraphs, long-unfinished buildings like the theater and gymnasium at Nicaea (10.39) might become serious financial liabilities. The completion and dedication of a major project might, moreover, engender good relations with provincials and leave a lasting memorial to Roman munificence.<sup>20</sup> Yet aesthetics also played a role, and a more considerable one than might be imagined. Pliny often remarks how improvements “beautify” cities; Prusa, for example, will be “embellished” by the restoration of an unsightly dilapidated house.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, in an edict set up at Mysian Stratonicea a decade later, Hadrian urges a prominent citizen, Tiberius Claudius Socrates, to either restore or sell his house, “lest it be ruined by time and

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<sup>16</sup> He claims that this matter “non minus salubritatis quam decoris interest” (2); compare the channel running along the main street of Perge, which was lined with stone by local benefactors around this time (*IvPerge* 132). Likewise, during the reign of Domitian, the proconsul P. Calvisius Ruso directly oversaw the construction of two drainage canals in Ephesus (*IvE* 415-16). Such projects could assume an impressively monumental quality: in Pessinus, the canalized river Gallos, equipped with steps and a portico, served as a major thoroughfare during the dry season (Devreker & Waelkens 1984: 77-141).

<sup>17</sup> Aqueducts are among the civic amenities most associated with imperial aid, simply because they were too expensive for any but the very wealthiest local benefactors to build. In the following decade, Hadrian, who superintended the construction of several aqueducts (most notably one in Athens: *ILS* 337), issued a decree protecting the Nicaean water supply (*IvNikaia* 1) and recommended that the Aphrodisian elite construct a new aqueduct (*SEG* 50 1096.31-8). Cf. *IvE* 3217a-b.

<sup>18</sup> Pliny went so far as to examine the sources of the Nicomedian aqueduct (§2). Under Domitian, two proconsuls of Asia, C. Caecina Paetus (*IvE* 695) and P. Calvisius Ruso (*IvE* 419a), seem to have become similarly involved in the construction of a new aqueduct at Ephesus. M. Ulpius Traianus supervised the construction of an aqueduct under Titus (*IvSmyrna* 680), which was repaired by L. Baebius Tullus, proconsul of Asia around the time of Pliny’s tenure in Bithynia-Pontus (*IvSmyrna* 681). Cf. *ILS* 5795.

<sup>19</sup> On the idea of practical structures contributing to a city’s beauty, see Maupai 2003: 119-46 & Nollé 1995.

<sup>20</sup> On dedication, see the following section. A well-known example is Augustus’ order that all public and sacred property be returned to its rightful place in the wake of the civic wars (*EJ* 365); the proconsul of Asia charged with enacting this order encouraged a citizen of Cyme who had appropriated a shrine of Dionysus to rededicate it to the god, with the notice that Augustus had restored it.

<sup>21</sup> “Per hoc [remodeling the house] consequemur, ut foedissima facies civitatis ornetur, atque etiam ut ipsa civitas ampelitur...” (*Ep.* 10.70.1).

neglect.”<sup>22</sup> Since Hadrian is said to have applied the early imperial legislation forbidding demolition of civic buildings for construction material to the entire empire,<sup>23</sup> this concern for urban appearance seems to have been general. The basic reason is the connection –hardly specific to Roman rule –between the appearance of a city and the quality of its governance. Order and prosperity were to be visible. In the context of an official visit, when a city’s appearance could become its primary means of communication, the basic condition of its buildings might prove an important statement.<sup>24</sup> Since the council had to manage and approve all civic building projects, evidence of unfinished or slipshod work could be interpreted as a reflection on general mismanagement. Particularly splendid buildings, conversely, could plausibly be cited in support of petitions for higher status.<sup>25</sup> To the discriminating official, a city’s buildings could thus serve as a convenient index for the wealth, popularity, and sentiments of its aristocracy.

### *Oversight*

Management of civic projects features with particular prominence in the letters. As noted earlier, Pliny’s appointment was largely concerned with the condition of civic finances. The fact that new construction projects had needed proconsular approval since at least the early years of Trajan’s reign indicates the important role played by civic building in the province’s

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<sup>22</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 837 (=IGR IV.1156a = FIRA I.80)

<sup>23</sup> SHA, *Had.* 18.2; cf. *ILS* 6043. Similar provisions exist in most of the municipal charters: *Lex Mal.* 62; *Lex Urs.* 75; *Lex Tarent.* 33-6. Ulpian’s prescriptions represent the culmination of early imperial legislation on demolition: *Dig.* 30.1.41-3; cf. 1.16.7, 50.10.7. The extensive body of Late antique laws is collected in Janvier 1969: 83-295. Though practical in intent (Phillips 1973), such legislation also reflects a concern for basic urban aesthetics. Cf. Grüner 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Dio himself recognized this: εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς... πᾶσι τούτοις συναίρεσθαι πέφυκε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πόλεων καὶ μεῖζον ἀξίωμα γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πλέονος τυγχάνειν τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων (*Or.* 40.10).

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *ILS* 6091 (=MAMA VII.305), l. 24-6

insolvency.<sup>26</sup> The emperor wanted to prevent cities like Nicaea – with its half-built theater and collapsing gymnasium (*Ep.* 10.39) – from bankrupting themselves with extravagant projects.<sup>27</sup> His stance on civic building is clearly stated on several occasions, as in his reply concerning the construction of new baths at Prusa: “if the construction is not going to impose a burden on the resources of the Prusans, we can grant their request [to build], so long as no levy is imposed for this purpose, and they do not have fewer resources available for necessary expenditure in the future” (*Ep.* 10.24). Virtually identical considerations dictate his response to every building project Pliny proposes or refers.<sup>28</sup> Though the cities of Bithynia-Pontus seem to have been particularly prone to irresponsible construction, the problem was widespread. By the Severan period, no new project at public expense could be undertaken without the emperor’s permission in any part of the Empire.<sup>29</sup> This legislation, it should be stressed, was intended to control, not suppress, civic building; Pliny endorses a number of civic projects – such as aforementioned bath of Prusa – which he thinks feasible and beneficial.

The projects Pliny approves provide a fairly representative sample of contemporary civic construction. The bath<sup>30</sup> at Prusa obviously had widespread support – a number of private citizens volunteered themselves as sponsors, and the city contributed funds usually applied to an oil distribution (*Ep.* 10.23.2) – and Pliny took a correspondingly close interest in the matter, personally inspecting a number of possible sites and suggesting elements of the design. While the most notable of his suggested additions, a colonnade dedicated to Trajan, will be discussed

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<sup>26</sup> On the governor’s management of civic finances pertinent to building, see Bérenger 2014: 301-7.

<sup>27</sup> Though complaints scattered through Pliny’s letters indicate how considerably irresponsible building might drain civic resources (esp. *Ep.* 10.37-40, 49), there was never any set rule for official interference in a city’s affairs (*Dig.* 49.4.1-4; *Plin.*, *Ep.* 10.47.1).

<sup>28</sup> *Ep.* 10.37-8, 70-1, 90-1, 98-9

<sup>29</sup> *Dig.* 50.10.3.1 (it should be noted that this legislation did not apply to private euergetism)

<sup>30</sup> Trajan is known to have sponsored the construction of another bath around this time at Arykanda in Lycia (*IvArykanda* 24).

below, the fact that Pliny cooperated so closely with local elites in planning the bath-complex is itself significant. Equally remarkable, in light of his emphasis on fiscal responsibility, is the scale of the projects he (sometimes reluctantly) condones or abets: another bath-complex at Claudiopolis, an aqueduct and new agora at Nicomedia, the theater and gymnasium at Nicaea.<sup>31</sup> Some building, of course, was useless or worse. In response to Pliny's mention of the new gymnasium at Nicaea, Trajan fulminates on the love of gymnasia characteristic of "these wretched Greeks."<sup>32</sup> Neither Pliny nor Trajan, however, voiced objections to any project, however extravagant, that lay within the reach of a city's resources. Although a general pattern of support for specifically "monumental" projects cannot be extrapolated from his letters, Pliny seems to have consistently supported any fiscally responsible project that could be associated with the imperial administration's definitions of stability and prosperity.<sup>33</sup>

Since few members of the benefactor class were not involved in local politics, it is to some extent arbitrary to separate civic projects from private euergetism. There were, however, important differences with respect to Roman involvement. For all their close links with the local aristocracy, public projects drew directly on civic funds; however they affected or indicated local attitudes to Roman rule, it was their financial consequences which most concerned provincial officials. Though private undertakings might also (albeit indirectly) impact the local economy, the really dangerous ramifications were social. Around the time Pliny was selecting a site for the new bath at Prusa, a dispute arose in the city council concerning a library and colonnade built by

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<sup>31</sup> Claudiopolis: 10.39.5; Nicomedia: 10.37 (aqueduct), 10.49 (agora); Nicaea: 10.39.1-4

<sup>32</sup> "Gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi" (10.40.2); on the use of 'Graeculi,' cf. Petrochilos 1974:48-53. Gymnasia were stereotypically Greek structures (e.g. Juv. 3.114-15; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 40). They were not, however, categorically undesirable; a second-century governor of Macedonia thought it disgraceful that the city of Beroia lacked a working gymnasium (*I. Beroia* 7.6).

<sup>33</sup> A number of inscriptions, particularly in the province of Africa, attest to the proconsul's approval of building projects (list in Burton 1973: 345, n. 73).

local notable Dio Chrysostom (*Ep.* 10.81). This structure, though apparently distinct from the stoa Dio had begun in the previous decade,<sup>34</sup> seems to have roused a similar degree of resentment and opposition. Called upon to adjudicate charges of malfeasance and maiestas made by Dio's political enemies, Pliny and Trajan betray a deep awareness of the potentially devastating effects of political infighting. Though their sense owed much to the recent experience of Domitian's reign, it was generally recognized that private euergetism might be a destabilizing factor in local politics. Macer, writing under the Severans on proconsular duties, notes that a private project – unlike its civic counterpart – may be undertaken without imperial permission, “unless it is designed to outdo another citizen; causes sedition; or is a circus, theater, or amphitheater<sup>35</sup> (*Dig.* 50.10.3.1). Products of competitive euergetism, like political meeting places, might focus local tensions and thus cause considerable instability. As with civic construction, however, certain kinds of euergetism were deemed beneficial.

Although Pliny could not sponsor civic benefactors on his own initiative, he could direct their efforts to proper ends. No local notable, for example, will have dared gainsay his proposal of converting the colonnade alongside the new bath of Prusa into an imperial shrine. Pliny's potential importance in deciding the shape of elite giving is neatly epitomized by an incident which occurred late in his governorship. A certain Julius Largus of Pontus, a wealthy and prominent man, made Pliny executor of his estate, stipulating that the revenue therefrom be divided between the cities of Heraclea and Tium, and that it be used to either erect public buildings for the emperor or found games in his honor.<sup>36</sup> Pliny was to choose whether each city

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<sup>34</sup> The new building: *Ep.* 10.81.7; the stoa: Dio, *Or.* 40.5-11, 45.11-15, 47.10-23 (see discussion in Ch. 7).

<sup>35</sup> This is not to say that all places of assembly were regarded with suspicion – the proconsul M. Ulpianus dedicated an amphitheater (*IvLaodikeia* 15) – but that the construction of such buildings was carefully regulated.

<sup>36</sup> “[Julius Largus rogavit testamento] ut esset arbitrii mei utrum opera facienda, quae honori tuo consecrarentur, putarem an instituendos quinquennales agonas, qui Traiani appellarentur” (*Ep.* 10.75.2); cf. *SEG* 18 742 (= *I. Beroia*

would receive games or a shrine; and since Trajan deferred the decision, urging only that the circumstances of each place be considered, we do not know how this remarkable legacy was spent. Whatever the issue, Largus' bequest indicates a general awareness that building projects designed to catch Roman attention might reap immediate benefits for a benefactor and his city, particularly in the context of an official visit. Though Pliny was made executor primarily to evade the law forbidding communities from inheriting, he likely took his responsibility for overseeing the dedication of Largus' benefactions to the emperor quite seriously.<sup>37</sup> He always professes, as we shall see, to consider how a project will redound to the glory of Trajan and Rome – and if the identity of his addressee casts suspicion on his sincerity, he seems to have usually acted on this principle.

Another method by which a governor might simultaneously signal his authority and promote well-chosen acts of private euergetism was by formally dedicating newly completed buildings.<sup>38</sup> Although he makes no mention of it in his letters – an unsurprising omission, since he needed neither advice nor approval for the act – it is probable that Pliny was asked to dedicate the projects of several civic benefactors, and as likely that he agreed. Extensive epigraphic evidence attests to the popularity of this aspect of the proconsuls' duties.<sup>39</sup> Although regrettably little is known about the actual ceremony,<sup>40</sup> it was clearly thought worthy of commemoration.

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7.26-30). On the legal reasoning behind this bequest, see Sherwin-White 1966: 663-4. Mitchell 1990: 190 notes that building projects are much better attested than new festivals for this period.

<sup>37</sup> At the beginning of the letter, Pliny observes: "Julius Largus...has entrusted me, so to speak, with administering his loyal sentiments towards you (erga te pietatis suae ministeriumque mandavit)."

<sup>38</sup> On dedication, see *RE* IV (1901): 2356-9, s.v. "Dedicatio"; *RAC* III (1957): 643-7, s.v. "Dedicatio"; cf. Roueche 1984: 197-8. On the governor's involvement, see Eck 1993: 157-8; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 187ff; Barresi 2003: 39-45; and Bérenger 2014: 271-2.

<sup>39</sup> Burton 1973: 344-5, n. 72 provides a partial list. The tradition seems to have been especially strong in the province of Africa, where the most testimonia have been discovered (Kolendo 1982: 353-8; cf. Lepelley 1990-92).

<sup>40</sup> The few inscriptions which actually describe the act of dedication (e.g. *CIL* III.1933, VIII.11796, XII.4333) are tied to the religious practices of the capital (see *RE* IV, 2356-9, s.v. "dedicatio"). The rites differed in the Greek east

The benefactor, at least, had good reason to memorialize the occasion, since he might enhance his status considerably by associating his project with the sanctioning authority of proconsul and emperor. Beyond a general desire to maintain a working relationship with the local elite, a governor's motives for participating are less clear. In some cases, particularly if he enjoyed or hoped to cultivate a special relationship with a city, his involvement in dedication rituals may have stemmed from a desire for local visibility. The ceremony itself, however, was carried out in the emperor's name.<sup>41</sup> Only by imperial grant, in fact, did the proconsul have the power to dedicate anything.<sup>42</sup> In this sense, his dedication of any building was as much an assertion of the emperor's sovereignty as a performance of his own official role.

### *Planning*

We come now to the final aspect of Pliny's engagement with civic building: proposal or independent modification of new construction. The exact nature of a governor's involvement in a given building project is difficult to ascertain, particularly when (as so often) the evidence consists of nothing more than a single fragmentary inscription. Proconsular involvement in civic construction is fairly well-documented, particularly in major centers like Ephesus. Typically, however, governors did little more than dedicate a project or orchestrate its completion with civic funds. Pliny relied heavily on provincial initiative, directing elite energies into projects designed to keep the cities of Bithynia well-managed, solvent, and orderly. This does not mean that his aid had no ideological function. Pliny, we have seen, always presents himself as a perfect representative of the emperor, his work as a reflection of the emperor's will. When he dedicated

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(Plin., *Ep.* 10.50), and probably varied somewhat in accordance with the nature of the building being dedicated. For an overview of the evidence, see Eck 1993: 157-8.

<sup>41</sup> Legally, a governor was not supposed to even insert his name in a dedication (*Dig.* 50.10.3-4; cf. *CTh* 15.1.31= *CJ* 8.11.10).

<sup>42</sup> *Dig.* 1.8.9.1

the bath at Prusa to Trajan “as benefactor,” he referred not to any direct gift, but to the emperor as guarantor of all peace and prosperity.<sup>43</sup> In this larger sense, even civic building could be ascribed to the emperor; and Pliny, ever the faithful governor, ensured that projects in which he was personally involved explicitly glorified both Trajan and the power of Rome.

Pliny’s *Panegyric*, though written before the beginning of the great Trajanic building projects in Rome, clearly expresses the traditional association of the emperor with monumental construction, and of these projects with Roman power; the restored Circus Maximus, for example, is described as “worthy of a people which has conquered the world.”<sup>44</sup> The basic sentiment of such praise is perhaps best expressed by Cassius Dio’s Maecenas, who exhorts Augustus to adorn his capital because “brilliance of this sort tends to inspire respect in our allies, and terror among our enemies.”<sup>45</sup> The link between Roman power and the building projects of the emperor and his officials was familiar by the reign of Trajan. Despite the rarity of direct imperial or official involvement in building outside the capital and a few major provincial centers, ubiquitous dedications, shrines, and statues (like the one of Trajan in Dio’s library)<sup>46</sup> had the effect of associating the emperor even with projects executed wholly on civic initiative. This generally reflected only the ambitions of local elites; dedication<sup>47</sup> to the emperor cost a benefactor nothing, and might, for all its conventionality, earn him political credit. More immediately, however, these strategies of commemoration might be ascribed to the initiative of

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. *IvPrusa* 8. In the *Panegyricus* (80.3), Pliny compares Trajan’s universal blessings to those of Jupiter: “O vere principis, atque etiam dei curas, reconciliare aemulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis, quam ratione compescere; intercedere iniquitatibus magistratum, infectumque reddere, quidquid fieri non oportuerit: postremo, velocissimi sideris more, omnia invisere, omnia audire, et undecunque invocatum statim, velut numen, adesse et adsistere!” The sentiment is common in contemporary literature, Greek and Roman; cf. Dio, *Or.* 3.5.

<sup>44</sup> “digna populo victore gentium sedes” (*Pan.* 51.3)

<sup>45</sup> “τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμηι πάση πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ εἶδει πανηγύρεων: προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατάπληξιν.” (52.30.1) Cf. Cic., *II Verr.* 4.26; Vitruvius, *1. Praef.* 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Ep.* 10.81.7; compare the statue of Trajan in Pliny’s shrine at Tifernum (10.8).

<sup>47</sup> This is not to say that dedications were considered meaningless; see *Dig.* 50.10.3-4; *CTh.* 15.1



the governor.<sup>48</sup> Local elites stood to gain from such cooperation – we have already seen how one benefactor ensured his legacy by making Pliny its executor – and the governor had good reason to encourage it. We have already encountered Pliny’s idea that a city subject to Rome should in some capacity reflect the qualities of its rulers. On these terms, it was fitting to present a new building as both a benefit to its city and an ornament of the Empire.

When urging Trajan to grant the Prusans permission to build a new bath, Pliny calls the plan “worthy of both the city’s prestige and the glory of your reign.”<sup>49</sup> Likewise, the aqueduct at Nicomedia “will combine utility with beauty, and be wholly worthy of your reign.”<sup>50</sup> The same motives animated Pliny’s most ambitious project, a canal near Nicomedia. Having personally inspected the site and determined the potential economic benefits for both city and countryside, he assures Trajan that the project is “worthy of your immortal name and glory, and combines utility with magnificence.” Moreover, since a king of Bithynia had attempted the same scheme and failed, Trajan will “accomplish what kings could only attempt.”<sup>51</sup> As in his other endorsements, Pliny’s emphasis on utility is partly designed to appeal to the emperor’s practical bent.<sup>52</sup> A more subtle reminder of Roman authority was the shrine to Trajan which Pliny designed for the new bath at Prusa. This was to consist of a hall and colonnades dedicated to the

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<sup>48</sup> Perhaps the most dramatic examples of governors orchestrating local efforts in this manner occurred in anticipation of imperial visits; see, e.g., Dio Chrys.. *Or.* 32.95; Cass. Dio 62.18.1, 78.9.6.

<sup>49</sup> “et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulat” (*Ep.* 10.23.2)

<sup>50</sup> “et utilitatem operis et pulchritudinem saeculo tuo esse dignissimam” (*Ep.* 10.37.3)

<sup>51</sup> “non minus aeternitate tua quam gloria digna, quatumque puchritudinis tantum utilitatis” (*Ep.* 10.41.1); “peragi a te quae tantum coeperant reges” (5). Compare the persistent imperial ambition of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Corinth (e.g. Suet., *Iul.* 44.3; *Calig.* 21.1; *Ner.* 19.2), which was likewise perceived as a means of outdoing both one’s predecessors and Hellenistic monarchs (Plin., *HN* 4.10).

<sup>52</sup> Trajan’s preference for “practical” projects was well-known (Cass. Dio 68.7.1) and easily (if misleadingly) contrasted with his successors’ more universal giving. The idea that Roman monuments should not be idle extravagances, however, was hardly specific to Trajan (e.g. Pliny, *HN* 36.75, 123; Frontin., *Aq.* 16).

emperor, “an elegant structure, and one worthy of [his] name.”<sup>53</sup> Emperors and their officials often took an understandable interest in buildings associated with imperial cult; but it is striking to note that Pliny does not endorse his shrine to the emperor in terms different from the canal at Nicomedia. Here again is the sense that every project which benefited or conduced to the felicity of Trajan’s reign was a monument to that felicity, that a shrine dedicated to the emperor expressed overtly what every product of imperial largesse implied. The language and sentiment of dedication were conventional;<sup>54</sup> but the effects were real.

Pliny describes the cities he governed as stages for both the presentation of Roman power and performance of his official role. Although his basic concerns were practical, he clearly regarded the appearance of a city’s public spaces as something more than an index of its social and economic health. He seems, for example, to have understood shrines of the imperial cult and dedications to the emperor as significant indications of loyalty. More interesting, however, is the sense that such buildings – and in fact the general appearance of the city – in some way redounded to the glory of both the emperor and Pliny himself. By promoting or endorsing certain civic and private projects, Pliny could present both Trajan’s rule and his own tenure as governor in a distinctive light. In combination with his responsibilities for maintenance of the urban fabric, the possibility of monumentalizing his duties and relationship with the emperor in the terms of public architecture seems to have encouraged him to pay close attention to the symbolic potential of civic architecture.

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<sup>53</sup> “exedra et porticibus...tibi consecrare, cuius beneficio elegans opus dignumque nomine tuo fiet” (*Ep.* 10.70.3). Cf. *IvPrusa* 8.

<sup>54</sup> Compare, for example, dedications naming Trajan “σωτήρ τοῦ κοσμοῦ” (e.g. *IGR* III.756) or “τὸν εὐεργέταν καὶ σωτήρα τῶς οἰκημένας” (e.g. *IGR* IV.15).

## II. Building Places for Roman Power

The Roman governor's role mandated close attention to urban fabric, and could, as we have seen, exercise a potentially decisive influence on civic construction. There were, however, limits to his engagement. It was extremely uncommon for a governor to actively promote, let alone sponsor, building projects of his own design. The reasons were basically practical: unless a governor had personal connections to one of the cities he administered,<sup>55</sup> he had little incentive to memorialize his tenure. It was both cheaper and politically safer<sup>56</sup> to claim that he acted only on behalf of the emperor, and leave monumental construction to local initiative.<sup>57</sup> The vast majority of the spaces in which governors presented themselves and performed their duties were accordingly built by civic elites.

Three Flavian proconsuls of Asia will serve to illustrate the possible scope of a governor's involvement in civic construction. P. Calvisius Ruso, governor under Domitian, seems to have participated in, and may even have galvanized, the rash of construction in Ephesus that followed the emperor's grant of a second Neokorate temple.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps in anticipation of an imperial visit,<sup>59</sup> he oversaw the construction of two drainage canals and a nymphaeum – both probably financed by the city – and dedicated a number of local projects, including a statue along the Embolos.<sup>60</sup> Another proconsul under Domitian, Sextus Iulius Frontinus,<sup>61</sup> seems to have been

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<sup>55</sup> In the east, for the most part, such patronage died with the Republic (Eilers 2002: 161-81). M. Plancius Varus' construction of a monumental arch at Nicaea is a rare imperial example (*IGR* III.37).

<sup>56</sup> It was potentially dangerous for governors to show too much initiative in the provinces (e.g. Tac., *Ann.* 16.23; Cass. Dio 53.23.5-7); cf. Eck 1984.

<sup>57</sup> On construction projects undertaken personally by governors, see Winter 1996: 157-60.

<sup>58</sup> Halfmann 2001: 39-44. Compare the nearly-contemporary Hydrekdochion built at Ephesus by the proconsul C. Laecanius Bassus, (*IvE* 695; studies of sculpture in Chi 2002: 15-40 and Rathmayr 2011).

<sup>59</sup> *IvE* 661, 2034-5

<sup>60</sup> *IvE* 415-16 (canals), 419a (nymphaeum), 507 (statue). The statue, set prominently on a marble base at the intersection of the Curetes and Marble streets, depicted a satyr. Though this may have had symbolic implications (Engelmann 1985) – it could as easily have been purely decorative. Contemporary Ephesian benefactors seem to have been particularly fond of miniature Cupids (see Robert 1969: 254-61); compare Roueché 2002.

<sup>61</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 322

especially active on the other side of Asia, where the Phrygian cities of Hierapolis and Laodicea, devastated by earthquake two decades before, were engaged in extensive rebuilding programs. At Laodicea, Frontinus dedicated an ornamental gate built by Tryphon, a freedman of Domitian.<sup>62</sup> In neighboring Hierapolis, the proconsul seems to have personally contributed in some way to the construction of another gate, apparently to complement the work of local benefactors on the adjoining colonnaded street.<sup>63</sup> The activities of M. Ulpius Traianus,<sup>64</sup> proconsul under Titus, were more varied. Besides his dedication of a new stadium at Laodicea, Traianus restored the Augustan temenos wall at the Ephesian Artemision, constructed or closely managed a new aqueduct for Smyrna, and may have personally contributed to the construction of a magnificent nymphaeum in the center of Miletus.<sup>65</sup>

It is difficult to analyze these examples, not least because our documentation seldom clarifies the exact nature of the proconsul's involvement. Even so limited a sample, however, suffices to illustrate the *ad hoc* nature of the governor's role in civic construction. Whatever his prior knowledge and experience of the cities he administered, he was unlikely to have any substantial information about local projects, ongoing or planned, until he (or a representative) inspected them personally. Only once apprised of local needs and resources could he effectively manage local efforts or decide to contribute in some way towards the result. Accordingly, to an even greater extent than the emperor, he relied on civic initiative to execute projects he planned or supervised. Those testimonia that seem to indicate direct involvement – such as the inscription

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<sup>62</sup> *IvLaodicea* 24 (= *SEG* 46 1672 = *MAMA* VI.2).

<sup>63</sup> *AE* 1969/70, 593 (= *CIL* III.368 = *IGR* IV.811). On the gate and street, see Di Bernardi 1963-4: 403ff; on Flavian architecture in Hierapolis, Di Bernardi Ferrero 2002. In light of several contemporary local parallels (Blaundos, Eumeneia (*MAMA* IV.334), Akmoneia (*MAMA* VI.251)), it is almost certain that at least the design of Frontinus' arch was created locally. Despite the sole dedication, Frontinus certainly cooperated closely with a number of local notables in the process of construction and design.

<sup>64</sup> On his career and activities, see *RE Supp.* X, 1032-5. Cf. Dräger 1993: 87f

<sup>65</sup> Stadium: *IvLaodicea* 15 (= *IGR* IV.845); temenos: *IvE* 412 (= *ILS* 8797); aqueduct: *IvSmyrna* 680-1 (= *IGR* IV.1411-12); nymphaeum: *ILS* 8970 (*Milet* I.5:53-4, VI.1:3-4).

on Frontinus' gate – probably reflect nothing more than a special remission of taxes or particularly close management of local labor.

No governor had a “building program” in the cities of his province for the simple reason that none had the resources or motivation to do more than channel local euergetism toward projects conducive to civic health. Provincial capitals, remarkably, were only a partial exception to this rule.<sup>66</sup> From the mid-third century onward, the creation of a new provincial capital usually stimulated the construction or elaboration of spaces connected with the governor's public image,<sup>67</sup> a phenomenon Libanius connects with imperial policy: “those [governors] who formed a part of the group which surrounded the emperor were more enamored of spending money than of making it: they collected handsome stones from everywhere, and sprinkled beautiful buildings about in the city so that they shone forth like stars” (*Or.* 11.194).<sup>68</sup> The fundamentally different dynamic of civic and official responsibility under the high Empire, however, made no provision for such profound intervention in the urban fabric. The example of Patara, made capital of the new province of Lycia in 43 CE (and then of Lycia-Pamphylia thirty years later), is representative.

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<sup>66</sup> The extent to which early imperial provinces had true capitals has been debated (see esp. Haensch 1997); for the purposes of this study, I adopt the view that Ephesus and Patara can be regarded as *de facto* capitals.

<sup>67</sup> On the residences of late antique governors, see esp. Lavan 1999; see Lavan 2001 a-c, 2007 on the construction of political space in late antiquity. Relatively well-attested late antique provincial capitals in Asia Minor include Aphrodisias (Ratté 2001, De Staebler 2008), Sardis (Rautman 2011: 8ff) and Pisidian Antioch (Christol & Drew-Bear 1999; Ossi & Harrington 2011: 22-4; Mallampati & Demirel 2011: 78-82). On a grander scale, compare the building programmes of Caracalla (Dio Cass. 77.9.5-7) and Diocletian (Lib., *Or.* 61.7; Lactant., *de mort. pers.* 7.8ff) at Nicomedia.

<sup>68</sup> οἱ [ἄρχοντες] τῆς περι τὸν βασιλέα γεγόνασιν ἐταιρίας, πλείω τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἀναλώσεως ἢ τοῦ προσλαβεῖν ἔσχον ἔρωτα καὶ πανταχόθεν κάλλη λίθων ἀθροίσαντες ἐγκατέμιζαν οἰκοδομημάτων κάλλη τῷ ἄστει δίκην ἀστέρων ἐκλάμποντα. These projects, Libanius continues, encouraged local benefactors to embellish the city in imitation of the governors: γενόμενοι τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἠγεμόνες πολλοὺς ἔσχον τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας λαμπρότερα τῆς δυνάμεως Βεβουλευμένους (ibid). Cf. Procop., *Aed.* 5.2.1-5. On the strategies of self-representation employed by late antique governors, see esp. Robert 1948 and Horster 1998; on patronage of civic building in Late Antiquity, Krause 1987. Cf. Roueché 1998, Winter 1996: 159-60.

Patara was the headquarters of the legate of Lycia-Pamphylia, and site of many of his activities (Fig. 13).<sup>69</sup> From the reign of Claudius to that of Vespasian, a series of governors, presumably acting with imperial support, sponsored a series of projects in the city and its environs. Perhaps the earliest of these was the famous *Stadiusmus Patarensis*, a tall plinth, set up in a plaza near the main harbor, that recorded the road-building activities of Quintus Veranius, first legate of Lycia.<sup>70</sup> Regrettably, since the monument was not found in situ, we can only speculate on the connection between its erection and the roughly contemporary redevelopment of the main street leading to the harbor.<sup>71</sup> Other projects certainly associated with the first legates included an impressive aqueduct.<sup>72</sup> After a devastating earthquake early in the reign of Nero reduced the new aqueduct to rubble, it was completely rebuilt<sup>73</sup> by the long-serving legate Sextus Marcius Priscus, who complemented the project with a monumental arch<sup>74</sup> and a new bath.<sup>75</sup> These and other undertakings – he was also instrumental in constructing two lighthouses and improved harbor facilities – earned Priscus the citizens of Patara’s gratitude for “adorning the city with the finest buildings.”<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Haensch 1997: 290-97

<sup>70</sup> On the function of the *Stadiusmus*, see Şahin & Adak 2007: 11-20; inscription: ibid. 28-41; Veranius’ activities: ibid, 80-4. The plinth – actually dedicated by the Lycian people – originally bore an equestrian statue of the emperor Claudius.

<sup>71</sup> Şahin & Adak 2007: 10; Işık 2000: 98-9, cf. 67-8; Şahin 2008: 597-8.

<sup>72</sup> Şahin 2007. The project was begun by Vilius Flaccus, Q. Veranius’ immediate successor, but only finished by Eprius Marcellus, whose exactions for building may have incited the Lycians to open *Reputendae* proceedings against him (Tac., *Ann.* 13.33.3).

<sup>73</sup> On the reconstruction, see Şahin 2007: 102-4.

<sup>74</sup> According to Şahin 2007: 100-1, the arch was originally part of the Claudian/Neronian aqueduct, and perhaps even played a part in the *adventus* of Vespasian –if indeed that emperor stopped at Patara en route to Rome in 70 CE (Halfmann 1986: 180). During the reign of Hadrian, it was remodeled by the city and rededicated to Mettius Modestus, from whom it takes its familiar name (De Maria 2004: 191ff; cf. Bowersock 1985).

<sup>75</sup> This is the so-called “Bath of Vespasian,” named from the inscription (*TAM* II.2 396 = *IGR* III.659) which credits its construction to that emperor. The building was, however, almost certainly begun under Nero (Şahin 2008: 598-600). Cf. *IvArykanda* 24.

<sup>76</sup> On the lighthouses (*TAM* II.2 399 = *SEG* 57 1672), see esp. Işkan-Işık 2008, who postulates that the Patarans financed the actual construction. The inscription honoring Priscus for his building activities is cited in Engelman 2007: 138 (full text in Işkan-Işık 2008: 109).

This seems a fairly impressive series of Roman interventions. In the first thirty years of direct imperial rule, Patara had received highly visible benefactions, some of which – notably the proto-arch of Mettius Modestus – apparently redounded to the prestige of individual legates. It seems clear that the emperors and their representatives were interested in at least some aspects of the city’s development. Yet the buildings which can be definitely connected with imperial initiative are almost uniformly utilitarian.<sup>77</sup> Although aqueducts and lighthouses were certainly impressive statements of Roman power in their own right, they hardly marked spaces of communication, political or otherwise, between Romans and provincials. The Baths of Vespasian, situated in the city center, may have had more symbolic potency; but strikingly though this complex attests to Roman influence,<sup>78</sup> it cannot be identified with any specific political initiative. Even the arch of Mettius seems to have originally been designed to carry the aqueduct, and was likely situated well off the main road.

Since the legates conducted many of their duties in Patara,<sup>79</sup> we might expect spaces and monuments more directly connected with the exercise of imperial authority. It is possible that overbuilding has obscured much of what the legates commissioned, and in the current state of excavation no definitive conclusions can be made. But the simplest explanation for the lack of “representational building” at Patara is that the governors were content to use structures inherited from the Hellenistic city. This was of course a practical expedient, but one with intriguing symbolic implications. In Patara, as elsewhere, it was the city’s historical centers of self-representation that environed the proconsul’s more public duties – in this case, the theater,

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<sup>77</sup> Especially in the early years of the province, military considerations may have paramount; aside from its strategic position in Lycia, Patara’s excellent port made a convenient stopping place for fleets heading to or from the Levant. Compare Hadrian’s concern for the harbor of Ephesus (*IvE* 23).

<sup>78</sup> This structure seems to have been the first Roman-style bath in Lycia (Farrington 1995, cat. no. 38). On the baths of Patara more generally, see Korkut 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Haensch 1997: 610ff

bouleuterion, and temple of Apollo,<sup>80</sup> all built well before Lycia's absorption into the Empire. The theater – likely, as in most places, the usual meeting place of the city assembly – was probably first constructed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. During the reign of Tiberius, it was remodeled by the local benefactor Polyperchon.<sup>81</sup> Afterward, however, no major additions are attested until the Antonine period.<sup>82</sup> By contrast, the bouleuterion, principally used for meetings of the Lycian League, was massively remodeled soon after the creation of the Roman province.<sup>83</sup> It is possible that this work was undertaken partly to provide the legate with a covered space for his judicial activities;<sup>84</sup> but since the project seems to have been carried out entirely on the initiative of the Lycian League itself, a more likely explanation is the League's expansion after the establishment of the province.<sup>85</sup> The legates certainly exercised a degree of oversight over the monuments and colonnades constructed over the next century in the city center. But the resultant urban landscape seems to have differed little from that of any other prosperous Lycian city. The basic similarity of mid-imperial Patara to the neighboring city of Xanthus (to take but one example) indicates the primacy of local initiative in constructing both cities.<sup>86</sup>

For all the depth of their involvement in the processes of civic building, Roman governors had neither motive nor opportunity to fundamentally reshape the public spaces of the cities in which they performed their duties. On the most basic level, they had no need to.

Virtually all of the cities they visited already possessed a series of formal settings for assembly

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<sup>80</sup> Although Patara was “twice neochoros” (*TAM* II 879), neither the temple of Apollo nor any sanctuary of the imperial cult has yet been conclusively identified.

<sup>81</sup> *TAM* II.2 420. On contemporary developments in Perge, see Şahin 1994.

<sup>82</sup> Engelmann 2004; Piesker 2009: 46ff.

<sup>83</sup> Korkut & Grosche 2007: 66-72

<sup>84</sup> It has been suggested, for example, that the bouleuterion/Odeon of Cibyra served as a courtroom for the proconsul of Asia (Özüdgru & Dökü 2010: 39-42; cf. Balty 1991: 519-21).

<sup>85</sup> Korkut & Grosche 2007: 79-81. Like the provincial *Koinon* in Asia, the Lycian League and its officials came to associate themselves with the imperial cult, apparently organically (on the process, see esp. Deininger 1965).

<sup>86</sup> On Roman Xanthus, see Des Courtils 2003.



and display that – like the theater, bouleuterion, and colonnaded avenues of Patara – were sufficient for their needs. These settings, as discussed in the previous section, were not designed specifically for the governor’s use. But they could be, and were, adapted for the purpose.

### III. Communicating through Civic Space

Governors, as we have seen, could exercise considerable influence over building in cities they visited regularly. Even in provincial capitals, however, the basic initiative for construction always rested with local notables. Whether resident in their capitals or conducting their *conventus* tours, the spaces governors used to present themselves and represent the emperor were ultimately designed and constructed by local notables. Reserving detailed discussion for a later chapter, we will briefly outline here how the characteristic features of imperial Greek urbanism – namely, the formal armatures and programmatic sculptural displays described in the previous chapter – had special application to the task of receiving, and influencing, a Roman official.

While passing through Phrygia on his way to Syria, Caracalla raised the city of Thyatira to the status of *conventus* center.<sup>87</sup> *Conventus* status was coveted for the practical benefits and prestige it conferred;<sup>88</sup> and though we do not know the circumstances of Caracalla’s grant, it is probable that the leading citizens of Thyatira had long solicited the honor.<sup>89</sup> The emperor’s activities during his short stay may have been connected in some way with the city’s new

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<sup>87</sup> TAM V.2 943 = OGIS 2.517 = IGR IV.1287; cf. Halfmann 1986: 224

<sup>88</sup> Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 35.14-17), addressing the citizens of another Phrygian city, Celaenae/Apameia (Ramsay 1897: 424ff), describes the benefits of *conventus* status. Plutarch, speaking in a more philosophical vein at another Asian *conventus* center, laments the popularity of the assizes (*Mor.* 501E-F). Cf. D. Chrys., *Or.* 8.9, 40.10; *Dig.* 27.1.6.2.

<sup>89</sup> This would only have been successful, however, if the emperor was already well-disposed to the creation of a new *conventus* district. Compare the unsuccessful petition of Cyrene to Antoninus Pius (Reynolds 1978, Williams 1982). Although the part played by the proconsul of Asia Marius Maximus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 233) in the elevation of Thyatira is unknown, it is probable that the city’s most effective advocate was Licinius Rufinus, an eminent jurist in the emperor’s service who hailed from Thyatira (Millar 1999).

position.<sup>90</sup> All subsequent building, however, was left to local initiative. To judge by the epigraphic evidence, Caracalla's visit and grant roughly coincided with – and may well have sparked – a number of construction projects.<sup>91</sup> The most substantial of these were focused on the agora, which two benefactors, possibly working together, transformed by the construction of two propylons and new stoas.<sup>92</sup> On a more modest scale, statues of the emperor and his mother were set up throughout the city.<sup>93</sup> At about the same time, and possibly in association with these undertakings, a private benefactor installed statues of various mythological subjects in the city's gymnasia.<sup>94</sup> One of these, the “imperial baths,” may have been dedicated to Caracalla, or associated in some way with new games for the ruling house.<sup>95</sup>

It may be wistful thinking to connect all of these benefactions with Caracalla's grant of *conventus* status. But even if (as is likely) the period of construction was more protracted and its motivations more diverse, it seems clear that the elite citizens of Thyatira sought, like their counterparts throughout the eastern provinces, to rebuild their city's center in accordance with the prevailing aesthetic of monumental and statue-studded public spaces. Such armatures, as we

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<sup>90</sup> While in Thyatira, Caracalla arbitrated a land dispute with a neighboring town (*TAM* V.2 859); it is possible to view this act as part of an attempt to bolster the city's status (cf. Hadrian's activities at Aezani (*CIL* III.355 = *OGIS* 502). The only other piece of evidence – a coin showing him greeting Apollo Tyrimnaeos, the city's patron (*BMC Lydia* no. 94 (pg. 309)) – probably commemorates nothing more than the fact of his visit. On Severan “urban policy,” see *CAH*<sup>2</sup> XII, Ch. 9 (271ff); cf. Cass. Dio 52.30.2-9. The creation of Thracian Pizos as an emporium offers an especially close parallel (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 880 = *IGR* I.766 = *IGBulg* III.1690).

<sup>91</sup> In Asia Minor, the only real parallels for construction following a city's acquisition of higher status are afforded by the new provincial capitals of the later third century. It is significant, however, that the inscription attesting the elevation of Pizos to emporium status (*IGBulg* III.1690) indicates apparent concern for the new center's appearance: *περὶ δὲ τῶν οἰκοδομη[μά]των, ὅπως ἐπιμελείας τ<ν>νχάνοντα εἰς αἰεὶ διαμένοι, κελεύω τοῦ<ς> τοπάρχου καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάθμους στρατιώτας [παρ]ὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν παραλαμβάνε[ι]ν τὰ πραιτώρια καὶ τὰ βαλανεῖα πανταχόθεν ὀλόκληρα τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς οἰκοδομικοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λεπτοουργικοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρηστικοῖς, παραδώ[σ]οντας τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐνγράφ[ως] ὥσπερ παραλαμβάνουσιν (IV, l. 66-78).*

<sup>92</sup> *TAM* V.2 861-2 = *IGR* IV.1189, 1209. The simultaneous construction of propylons and stoas suggests the complete reconstruction of the agora. Cf. Pont 2010: 85.

<sup>93</sup> Statue bases: *TAM* V.2 904-6 (probably Julia Domna), 913-14 (Caracalla)

<sup>94</sup> *TAM* V.2 926

<sup>95</sup> It is unclear why the “imperial baths” (*TAM* V.2 1020) were so called; the only other imperial visit attested at Thyateira is that of Hadrian (*SEG* 58 1536 = *AE* 2008, 1349).

have seen, had many potential functions, and were directed at an audience much larger than the proconsuls of Asia. Acknowledging the service of these spaces in structuring a wide variety of sociopolitical relationships, however, should not obscure the fact that the notables of Thyatira presumably did expect the proconsuls to use the new agora for their assizes, and must have at least considered the effect of its design and décor on this most distinguished of their visitors.<sup>96</sup> A governor's assize visits, as noted in the introduction, are best interpreted as a series of ritualized meetings with the local elite. The agora of Thyatira may not have been remodeled specifically for this purpose, but its colonnades and new array of imperial statues would certainly facilitate communication with the governor.

The urban armatures so characteristic of imperial Greek cities served, as we have seen, to impose a distinctive way of viewing and moving through civic space. On the occasion of an official visit, this allowed local notables to stage their own authority and model the governor's. The basic strategy was to present the governor with a model of the community in which both the governor and the corporate civic elite had clearly defined places. The roles thus modelled predicated communication between elites and official on established bases. The newly formalized built environments contributed to the process of modelling roles and facilitating communication in a number of ways. During a governor's adventus, for example, colonnaded streets not only framed and organized presentations of the assembled citizen body as an ideal community, but also focused the new official's first impressions on sculptural ensembles that epitomized the city's claims to regional prominence.<sup>97</sup> The porticated agoras in which governors tried cases, likewise, both emphasized the presence of the elite citizens who surrounded their tribunals and amplified the visual effect of the imperial statues that marked every place of

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<sup>96</sup> Governors usually conducted their assizes in the agora. See Ch. 12.

<sup>97</sup> Ch. 9-10

justice.<sup>98</sup> Processional avenues and courtrooms alike forced governor and elites into close proximity, and enveloped them in a monumental landscape that foregrounded symbols – particularly the imperial image – with reference to which they could define their relative statuses, and so communicate.

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<sup>98</sup> Ch. 11

## Conclusion

The public spaces of provincial cities were not created for the benefit of visiting governors. The circumstances of Roman rule, as we have seen, had had the effect of encouraging local elites to associate themselves with an ideal of their city and its place in the Empire that was potentially applicable to a wide range of sociopolitical relationships. The armatures of *conventus* centers, accordingly, do not seem to have differed fundamentally from those of cities seldom visited by governors, for the simple reason that all poleis of a certain size and regional importance were motivated to construct such stages. This is not to say that the regular presence of the governor had no effect on the urban fabric. Though very few *conventus* cities featured buildings designed explicitly for the governors' use, all seem, as the example of Thyatira illustrates, to have featured at least the "standard" monuments and amenities of regionally important urban centers. While the extent to which their *conventus* status contributed to this circumstance is unclear, it suffices our present purposes to observe that virtually all of the cities discussed in this study were characterized by impressively articulated urban armatures, and that these seem to have played a significant role in the series of ritualized occasions on which governor and local elites met publicly. In a sense, the most distinctive features of *conventus* cities were their elites, who were accustomed to the task of receiving and negotiating with visiting governors. Every year, these men staged the governor's adventus ceremonies, sat beside him as he judged cases, and even hosted him in their homes. They knew how to impress and influence visiting officials, and how to utilize the fabric of their cities in pursuit of their aims. The public spaces of a *conventus* city are thus best understood in context of the exceptional uses made of their familiar architectural conventions on the occasion of a governor's visit.

The goals of elites in *conventus* centers did not differ essentially from those of their counterparts in less favored cities. Like notables throughout the eastern provinces, they had two basic political goals: to maintain the social relations that upheld their local position, and to use these relations as a platform for aggrandizing both themselves and the city that served as the vehicle of their prestige. Unlike the vast majority of their counterparts, however, they could periodically enlist visiting governors in the service of these goals. On the occasion of an official visit, they accordingly sought to influence the governor's behavior, win his behavior, and publicly associate themselves with him. The civic built environment was central to these efforts, framing elite attempts to articulate an ideal community in which both their own power and the governor's prestige had a definite role. In most cases, the governor seems to have been a willing participant in the city's attempts to "construct" him. The nature of his office and his desire for personal prestige made him amenable to close cooperation with local notables, and even to a degree of participation in their goals and worldview. Yet despite the intimacy of this involvement in the agendas of civic elites, a governor's use of civic space was never passive.

## **Part Two. Roman Power in Greek Space**

The duties of a Roman governor, as we saw in the previous chapter, required careful attention to both the processes of public building and the general condition of the urban fabric. The single most important influence, however, on how a governor perceived and interpreted a city's appearance (or rather, responded to the local elite's presentation of their city's appearance) was his conception of how Greek civic space could serve as a platform for the advertisement of his official duties and personal prestige. Though obviously dependent on individual temperament and experience, this conception was strongly conditioned by a governor's cultural background and education. Since the vast majority of mid-imperial governors hailed from the western provinces<sup>1</sup> and had been beneficiaries of an elite Roman education, any assessment of how officials presented themselves in Greek civic space needs to take account of the cultural assumptions that animated their behavior.

There is nothing in the extant body of Roman law to suggest that governors had a distinctive set of duties in culturally Greek cities, or that they were expected to engage in a distinctive way with the built environment of a polis. Particularly in the wake of the Augustan cultural synthesis, however, most members of the Roman elite identified carefully selected aspects of the Classical polis with an ideal of citizen engagement, almost invariably contrasted with the decadent and depoliticized character of contemporary Greek cities. In their villas and in a few favored cities like Athens and Sparta, many of these men undertook to revive and

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<sup>1</sup> On Greek senators and officials in the early Empire, see Halfmann 1979, 1982. On the general education and competences of governors, see Bérenger-Badel 2004.

memorialize their idea of the Classical Greek city, creating stylized stages for display of their cultural acumen and moral/political identity. These architectural fantasies, extensions and complements of the stylized landscape of political power in Rome itself, were both crucibles and precipitates of a distinctive set of practices for enacting authority in public space.

This part is divided into two chapters. The fourth explores the cultural, and thus political, implications of the “Greek” spaces that elite Romans built in Rome and Italy, and connects these constructs with the idea that “Greek” space was a distinctive stage for Roman action. The fifth examines the mechanisms by which elite Romans serving as officials in the provinces projected their authority onto the settings in which they performed their duties, and considers the extent to which the discourse surrounding “Greek” space in Italy influenced their perception and experience of actual Greek cities.



## Chapter 4. Definitions of Greek Space

The topic of Roman attitudes toward the Greeks is much too vast to summarize here.<sup>2</sup> For our purposes, it suffices to observe that, particularly from the Augustan period onward, a strict distinction was drawn in elite discourse between the “masculine” and “virtuous” Greeks of the Classical era and their “effete” and “decadent” descendants. The ancient Greeks, comparable to the Romans themselves in their remarkable achievements, were deemed worthy of respect and admiration. Since the modern Greeks were thought to have lost these qualities, the Romans considered themselves the true heirs of all the best Classical Greece had to offer, the only men capable of embodying its virtues. Consequently, it was assumed that only Romans could build spaces that instantiated the political engagement and/or cultural accomplishment of the greatest era in Hellenic history. By the same token, the built environments of contemporary Greek cities were described as empty stages that could only be enlivened by Roman action.

Most elite Romans’ experience of Greece began in the classroom, and persisted largely in the medium of elite cultural activities. Although other influences surely acted upon them – we may name the Greek settings so characteristic of the Roman stage,<sup>3</sup> the increasingly popular

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<sup>2</sup> For a general overview of (late Republican) Roman aristocratic attitudes towards Greek culture, see Rawson 1985: 38-53, 320-25. Though again focused on the late Republic, Petrochilos 1974 is the most comprehensive general overview of attitudes towards the Greeks. On ideas current in the crucial years of the middle Republic, Gruen (1984:250-72; 1992 *passim*) is authoritative. No comparable survey exists for the early Empire, though the discussion of the intellectual milieu of Pliny the Younger in Büttler 1970 provides a useful conspectus.

<sup>3</sup> Though we know little about Roman tragedy before Seneca, Cicero’s well-documented habit of using dramatic language and techniques in his speeches raises the possibility that his descriptions of both Verres and Syracuse are indebted to the Republican stage. See, e.g., Ribbeck *TLR*, Acc. F 217, 270; Pac. F 140.

practice of touring,<sup>4</sup> the vast stocks of plundered Greek art displayed in capital and villa<sup>5</sup> – their Hellenism tended to be literary and Classicizing.<sup>6</sup> Roman enthusiasm for the cultural productions of the Classical period was closely tied to the assumption that political independence predicated literary greatness, and subjection decline. Some Greeks agreed with this assessment.<sup>7</sup> Specifically Roman, however, was the idea that such decline was as much moral as artistic. From childhood, members of the Roman elite learned to associate political engagement with virtue. The literary and artistic productions of modern Hellenism were not worth reading or possessing: servility had eroded the self-control of their creators, and thence their power of expression.<sup>8</sup> The Athens of Demosthenes had been, like Rome, self-governing and militarized, and thus admirable; the contemporary polis, having lost this ethos, could at best only shadow the glories of the Classical past.<sup>9</sup> The history and literature of “Free Greece,” in other words, were deemed uniquely comparable to the Roman past, and thus uniquely worthy of Roman imitation. Elite Romans, trained on the purest Classical models to govern themselves and others, could be better “Greeks” than the modern Achaeans or Ionians; it is no coincidence that a man Pliny the younger praises for writing Greek “purer than that of Athens” is praised also for his “virtue, prestige, and seniority” (*Ep.* 4.3). By the same token, the only modern Greeks deemed worthy of praise were those who approximated the virtue of their ancestors: Pliny hails the orator Isaeus, commendable

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<sup>4</sup> A “grand tour” of Greece and western Asia Minor was common among sons of the elite from at least the early first century BCE (e.g. Livy 45.27; Cic., *II Verr.* 4.135. See André & Baslez 1993: 300ff).

<sup>5</sup> Bergmann 1995 provides a good summary of Roman attitudes toward, and display of, Greek art.

<sup>6</sup> Bonner 1977: 212ff; Clarke 1971: 14ff. Roman reading lists: Quint., *Inst.* 1.8.4-8; Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.146-58. On the Roman conception of the “Classical” style in visual art, see Elsner 2006. Schwerdtner 2015 presents a useful conspectus of the texts read by Pliny the Younger.

<sup>7</sup> [Long.] 44.2ff; cf. Tac., *Dial.* 36ff. Quintilian calls Demetrius of Phalerum “memoria dignum, quod ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator” (10.1.80). Cf. Pliny, *HN* 34.52 (referring to sculpture in the early and mid-Hellenistic period): “cessavit deinde ars ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit.”

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Plin., *Ep.* 4.9.14, 5.20.5; see Petrochilos 1974: 35-9

<sup>9</sup> It is worth noting here that, according to Rawson (1985:46), few elite Romans in the Late Republic and Early Empire read any work of Greek political theory, with the possible exception of Xenophon’s *Cyropaideia*. Cicero, though exceptionally well-read in Greek philosophy, mentions only the *Cyropaideia* as a manual for good government (*ad Fam.* 9.25.1, *QFr.* 1.1.23, 1.3.7).

for his Attic style, directness of argument, and dignity of person, as a virtual reincarnation of the Classical orators so admired at Rome.<sup>10</sup>

Elite Romans like Pliny seem to have generally conceived of Greek culture as ancillary, rather than complementary, to the concerns of the Roman elite. Greece had produced great cultural and – to a somewhat lesser degree – military/political heroes<sup>11</sup> worthy of qualified respect and emulation. Her great literature supplied models for every exigency of business or pleasure. Yet Latin remained the language of power, inextricably associated with the political aspects of elite Roman identity.<sup>12</sup> The works composed in Greek by members of Pliny's circle are deliberately trifling, self-consciously separated from the public sphere.<sup>13</sup> Greek was not spoken in the Senate.<sup>14</sup> Elite Romans of the mid-imperial era, in short, often used and expected one another to recognize allusions to Greek culture and history, but never assigned Greece a value independent of Rome. Thus, though it was perfectly permissible to Hellenize in the proper setting – especially, as we shall see, in one's villa – public reputations were won and defended in Latin: a man conscious of his rank and status could safely claim adherence to Greek ideas only insofar as those ideas approximated Roman tradition.

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<sup>10</sup> *Ep.* 2.3.9-10 (urging a friend to come hear Isaeus speak): "Dices: 'Habeo hic quos legam non minus disertos.' Etiam; sed legendi semper occasio est, audiendi non semper;" cf. *Ep.* 1.10, 3.11.5-7. Dionysius of Halicarnassus' much-discussed statements (*De Vet. Orat.*, Praef. 1-3) on the importance of Roman taste for the Greek Classical revival seem pertinent here.

<sup>11</sup> Consider, for example, Roman perceptions of Pericles. Though his public achievements and high reputation are cited with approval, he is chiefly commended for his rhetorical ability: Plin., *Ep.* 1.20.17-20; Quint., *Inst.* 2.16.18; cf. Cic., *Brut.* 28, 44, 290.

<sup>12</sup> The best example in the letters is Pliny's description of the exile Valerius Licinianus who, at the beginning of a speech delivered in Sicily, used Latin as a mark of his Roman identity: *Idem cum Graeco pallio amictus intrasset - carent enim togae iure, quibus aqua et igni interdictum est -, postquam se composuit circumspexitque habitum suum, 'Latine' inquit 'declamaturus sum.'* (*Ep.* 4.11.3)

<sup>13</sup> *Ep.* 4.3.3, 4.18, 7.4.2, 8.4.3-4

<sup>14</sup> This is not to say that Greek was never spoken in the Curia – from the early first century BCE, Greek envoys spoke their own language (Val. Max. 2.2.3) –but rather that no Roman would venture to do so (see, e.g., Suet., *Tib.* 71). The same rules apparently applied, at least within limits, for Roman officials abroad: Cicero was censured for addressing the Council of Syracuse in Greek (*II Verr.* 4.147).

This chapter will outline how elite Romans were conditioned to present themselves in, and with reference to, public settings in Rome and Italy. These settings can be assigned, broadly speaking, to two “cultural” categories with distinctive valences. One category, which included not only the spaces in which elite Romans argued cases and discharged official responsibilities, but also the reception rooms of their houses, is characterized an association with politically-engaged, and thus “Roman,” activities. The other, incorporating many elite villas, a few cities like Naples, and carefully delineated parts of the capital itself, can be identified with the apolitical, usually cultural, pursuits that were labelled “Greek.” The dichotomy between these categories of spaces was not always absolute, or even clearly marked; but it exercised considerable influence on how elite Romans viewed, interpreted, and engaged with built environments.

## **I. Cultured Settings**

The Roman conceit that the Greek world, now subject to Roman power, had been depoliticized underlay the ideal visions of Greece that began to appear in elite villas during the Late Republic. These ideals of Greece, however, were not defined in direct opposition to the politically engaged world of Rome. They seem to have been regarded, rather, as a necessary complement to the capital, where elites might enact certain ancillary, but still critical, aspects of their ranks and status.

### *A. Defining Greek Space*

Assessment of a Greek city began by assigning it a place somewhere on the strongly polarized continuum separating the free, virtuous Classical polis from its subject and degraded modern successor. A well-known example from Tacitus’ *Annals* neatly illustrates the point. In

18 CE, the cultivated prince Germanicus and the intemperate senator Gn. Piso, travelling to separate appointments in the eastern provinces, passed through Athens within a few days of one another. Germanicus, in keeping with Tacitus' generally laudatory portrait of him, shows the Athenians every mark of respect:

[Germanicus] next arrived at Athens; where, in deference to our treaty with an allied and time-honored city, he made use of one lictor alone. The Greeks received him with most elaborate compliments, and, in order to temper adulation with dignity, paraded the ancient doings and sayings of their countrymen. (*Ann.* 2.53)

Germanicus thus shows himself the latest in a long line of elite Romans to reverence Athens for its storied past – an attitude that the Athenians, as their behavior indicates, had come to expect.<sup>15</sup>

A few days later, Piso, motivated by some combination of resentment of Germanicus, professional frustration, and native arrogance, adopts a very different approach:

[Piso] first alarmed the community of Athens by a tempestuous entry, then assailed them in a virulent speech, which included an indirect attack on Germanicus for compromising the dignity of the Roman name by his exaggerated civilities, not to the Athenians (whose repeated disasters had extinguished the breed) but to the present cosmopolitan rabble. For these were the men who had leagued themselves with Mithridates against Sulla, with Antony against the deified Augustus!" He upbraided them even with their ancient history; their ill-starred outbreaks against Macedon and their violence towards their own countrymen. (2.55)

These very divergent reactions were both based on the perceived relationship of modern Athens to her Classical past: Germanicus treats the city as a direct descendant of the ancient polis so admired by Rome; Piso, as a degradation of the same. Athens was of course something of a special case. Yet we may say, broadly speaking, that Roman authors assessed all Greek cities in

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Koestermann 1963 *ad loc.*

a manner conditioned by comparable assumptions about their political, and thus moral, condition.<sup>16</sup>

In these assessments, the central distinction between the admirable ancient polis and its degraded modern successor was one of political agency.<sup>17</sup> Conquest or alliance with Rome is treated as the definitive point in a Greek city's history. Modern poleis, depoliticized subjects of Rome, are represented, at best, as passive transmitters of culture and responsible subjects. At worst, they become centers of moral depravity and social unrest. The cities of Classical, "free," Greece, by contrast, tend to be linked in good Roman tradition with the great men they produced.<sup>18</sup> For our purposes, the most interesting consequence of this dichotomy is the "moralized" manner in which Romans described the physical fabric of Greek cities.

Relatively few Roman descriptions of Greek cities are extant. In part this is simply a consequence of the fact that, since civic encomium was less developed in Latin than in Greek literature,<sup>19</sup> cities were almost never described or praised for their own merits in works of the mid-imperial period. Greek cityscapes are frequently referenced, however, as a distinctive type of setting for Roman action.<sup>20</sup> The general effect is best exemplified by the use of Greek settings in the *controversiae* of imperial schools of rhetoric. One of the stock figures of these fictitious

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<sup>16</sup> Since the few theoretical discussions of urbanism produced by Romans (Varro, *Rust.* 3.4; Cic., *Rep.* 1.41) are heavily indebted to Greek models (e.g. Plato, *Prot.* 320c-23a), it is difficult to say whether Romans evaluated the basic functions of their own cities on different terms.

<sup>17</sup> Cicero, for example, derides the social and political disarray of modern Greek cities (*Flac.* 16-17, 64-5). Political virtues were generally considered a Roman prerogative (e.g. *Sen., Ep.* 59.7, 98.13).

<sup>18</sup> Famous Republic examples include Cato the Elder's guarded praise of Leonidas (Gellius, *NA* 3.7.29); Nepos 1.5.5, 2.53; Sall., *Cat.* 8; Cic., *Fin.* 5.4-6. Cf. Petrochilos 1974: 93-104.

<sup>19</sup> Quintilian provides some brief guidelines for praising a city (*Inst.* 3.7.25), but obviously thinks little of the exercise. Compare Cicero's dismissive comment on the many Greek descriptions of a pair of temple doors in Syracuse (*II Verr.* 124).

<sup>20</sup> One might compare the Athenian habit of setting tragedies in Thebes (Zeitlin 1990) or, more immediately, the Greek stage of Terrence and Plautus.

and often lurid exercises was the Tyrant,<sup>21</sup> a character always associated with a city that, though frequently schematic and nameless, was always Greek and independent.<sup>22</sup> The Tyrant invariably dwells in a castle on the acropolis, which is frequently contrasted with the democratic city below in a manner that affords us opportunity to explore how and why Roman authors might “moralize” a Greek cityscape.

One of the minor declamations ascribed to Quintilian<sup>23</sup> provides a typical example. The topic is characteristically contrived: a tyrant who had lain down his power, caught weeping at the sight of his former palace on the acropolis, is charged with aspiring to retake the tyranny. The arguments which follow concern us only for their frequent reference to the physical landscape of the city, and especially to the *arx*, stronghold and symbol of tyrannical authority.<sup>24</sup> Contrasted with the democratic city below,<sup>25</sup> the tyrant’s castle is set in opposition to civic space, and especially to its courts of law. Visibly contrasted with the frowning citadel, the city’s appearance suggests the normal, democratic order: citizen assembly is opposed to tyrant’s castle, public to appropriated space, order to chaos.<sup>26</sup> Declamations featuring tyrants often map the physical

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<sup>21</sup> The tyrant was a stock character in both Greek and Roman declamation, though obviously a more familiar figure in the Greek world. He always represents an inversion of the natural political and moral order (Bonner 1949: 34, 104; Russell 1983: 32-3; Tabacco 1985: 14-27, 87ff; Schwartz 2015).

<sup>22</sup> On these imaginary cities, see Russell 1983: 21-39; cf. Swain 1996: 101ff on the parallel world of the Greek novel.

<sup>23</sup> *Decl. Min.* 267: Winterbottom 1984: 57-9 (text), 354-8 (commentary). Though almost certainly not composed by Quintilian himself, the declamations in this collection are likely connected in some way with his school (op. cit. xi-xix).

<sup>24</sup> “Arx” translates ἀκρόπολις, the inevitable haunt of tyrants (extensive references in Mayor 1888: 159-61). Although individual buildings tend not to be mentioned in these exercises, declaimers occasionally reference other characteristic components of the Greek city (e.g. Sen., *Controv.* 9.4.22).

<sup>25</sup> The former tyrant can appeal to no authority greater than “the good faith of citizens” (2, 12). It should be noted that the cities of Greek and Roman declamation are always democracies, ideally governed (as here) by “the people and the laws” (1). Assemblies of the people are sometimes mentioned (Sen., *Cont.* 3.8), though the usual setting of *controversiae* was of course the law courts. Tyrannicides, accordingly, are routinely hailed as saviors of the state (Tabacco 1985: 51-65; see, e.g., Sen., *Controv.* 1.7.1, 2.5.4, 5.8; cf. *Suas.* 5.4).

<sup>26</sup> On this sort of (very rhetorical) opposition, see, e.g., [Quint.], *Decl. Min.* 274.5: “Expugnare domum fas non est: arcem expugnabit optimus quisque.”

landscape onto the moral in this manner. Another example from the same corpus<sup>27</sup> imagines a conflict of two laws – one stipulating that the body of a tyrant be cast outside the walls, another that anyone killed by lightning be buried on the spot – after a tyrant is struck in the forum. Our orator laments: “Is it not enough that the tyrant is to be buried at all – must he be buried in the forum itself...must even the fairest and most celebrated part of our city be taken from us?”<sup>28</sup> He goes on to liken the forum, where laws are enacted and upheld, to a veritable “temple of Peace.”<sup>29</sup>

It is perhaps a moot point to ask how genuinely “Greek” this rhetorical setting was. Its core elements – the tyrant’s actions and characteristics, his association with the acropolis, the democratic leanings of his city – were all drawn directly from Greek rhetorical exercises.<sup>30</sup> More ambiguity attaches to the physical elements of the setting. It is difficult, for example, to say whether the declaimer who called the forum “fairest and most celebrated part of our city” was describing it in particularly Greek or Roman terms.<sup>31</sup> Such description, after all, was not undertaken for its own sake, but to showcase a budding orator’s ready command of commonplaces and tropes. The tyrant and his “Greek city” were, at a basic level, just two more components of the conventional repertoire. Yet the very fact that Roman declaimers saw special use in a Greek setting, however contrived, is itself significant. The tyrant and his city, as we have seen, presented orators with a neat dichotomy for explorations of order and disorder, right and

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<sup>27</sup> [Quint.], *Decl. Min.* 274

<sup>28</sup> The full passage (*Decl. Min.* 274.8) reads: “Parum erat sepeliri tyrannum nisi in foro etiam sepeliretur? Quonam fato ego nostram civitatem, iudices, laborasse in illo homine crediderim si, praeter ea quae adversus nos singulos universosque fecit partem speciosissimam civitatis et celeberrimam nobis ablaturus est?” Another declamation on a similar topic sarcastically remarks “ad exemplum posteritatis ostendatur in foro sepulcrum [tyranni]...ut omnes homines monumentis huius sciant quibus praemiis adversus tyrannos tyrannidae armentur?” (*Decl. Min.* 329.6)

<sup>29</sup> “Forum, quod mihi templum quoddam Pacis videtur, in quo iura exercentur, propter quod leges valent, bustis [tyranni] occupabimus?” (*Decl. Min.* 274.9)

<sup>30</sup> Bonner 1949: 1-26

<sup>31</sup> For comparisons of forum and agora, see esp. Martin 1972; Saliou 2009: 100ff



wrong, etc. In broad outline, then, their continued appearance in the declamations can be said to reflect the moralizing impulse so pervasive in Roman discussions of the Greek world. Moreover, the remarkable fact that the tyrant and his castle found their way into other literary genres seems to indicate that mapping the physical onto a moral landscape had widespread appeal.

The Tyrant's castle motif was adapted on several occasions to more formal genres.<sup>32</sup> In each case, the tyrant – and by extension his palace – is presented as an essentially foreign figure, antithetical to all things right and Roman. He is Greek, but rather an elastic stereotype than a deliberate evocation of any historical figure. His castle, likewise, is presented principally in contrast with its surroundings, more moral aberration than architectural type. Though each of our examples introduces the trope for different reasons, the “un-Romanness” of tyrant and castle tends to be phrased as “Greekness” of a certain kind. For our purposes, the most interesting adaptation of the Tyrant's castle motif occurs in Pliny's Panegyric, which describes Trajan's conversion of Domitian's palace from a “tyrant's citadel” into an accessible “public place.”<sup>33</sup> Pliny uses the rhetoric of the “new age and reign” to good effect, contrasting the secret and suspicious Domitian with the affable and accessible Trajan. Although Pliny's several references to Domitian's palace as a “tyrant's citadel” describe the forbidding and isolated aspect it assumed in the terms of physical construction<sup>34</sup> – the social distance between autocrat and subject, for example is articulated as “a thousand doors to be opened”<sup>35</sup> – these details are figurative. As Pliny admits, the palace itself was not remodeled under Trajan; it simply assumed the character of its new master. The audience hall where senators once trembled under the gaze

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<sup>32</sup> E.g. Cic., *II Verr.* 4.123; Sen., *Thy.* 641-82 (see Tarrant 1985 ad loc.)

<sup>33</sup> *Pan.* 47.4. The transformation had been begun by Nerva: “Magno quidem animo parens tuus hanc ante vos principes arcem PUBLICARUM AEDIUM nomine inscripserat” (confirmed by ILS 9358).

<sup>34</sup> *Pan.* 48.3: “illa immanissima belua [Domitian] plurimo terrore munierat;” 49.1: “ille tamen, quibus sibi parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur”

<sup>35</sup> *Pan.* 47.5: “mille liminibus ultra semper aliqua dura et obstantia”

of Domitian is now filled with the peace and reverence of Trajan's personality.<sup>36</sup> Trajan, in short, has made Domitian's palace "Roman" simply by restoring it to its proper use.

Pliny's use of the Tyrant's castle motif illustrates the two keys to understanding how Romans described Greek cityscapes: the intimate connection of moral and political assessment, and the definitive role of "Roman" (i.e. politically engaged and disciplined) behavior. Romans began, as we have seen, by assuming that modern Greek cities, as subjects of the Empire, were essentially depoliticized, and that their inhabitants were correspondingly servile and degraded. An interesting example of the stereotype is Tacitus' description of Seleucia on the Tigris. This city, deep in the Parthian Empire, was deemed a "Greek city" on rumor alone, which assigned her a council, assembly, and "Macedonian customs."<sup>37</sup> Her citizens, by the same token, are described as inconstant and factious; more lavish than their ancestors, they shamelessly flatter the Parthian kings. While this description may well reflect something of the actual situation of Seleucia, it has likely been at least colored by the general characterization of Greeks as "fickle."<sup>38</sup> Seleucia, under the power of the Parthian kings, has been assimilated to Rome's Greek subjects.<sup>39</sup> Within the Empire, however, not all Greek cities were equally servile and degraded. The cities of Achaea, for example, were sometimes described as more virile than their counterparts in Asia.<sup>40</sup> Poleis like Athens or Sparta, signalized by a special connection with the Classical tradition valued by Romans, might even be accorded special privileges. Yet even these

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<sup>36</sup> Same palace: 47.4-6, 48.3-4; peace and reverence: 48.5

<sup>37</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 6.42; cf. Pliny, *HN* 6.122

<sup>38</sup> See Petrochilos 1974: 35-45 on these stereotypically Greek traits. Cf. Cic., *Flac.* 16-17, *TD* 1.86; Tac., *Ann.* 2.53

<sup>39</sup> It should be noted that archaeological work done at Seleucia seems to indicate that the first-century city was much less Greek than Tacitus might lead us to believe. The apparent absence of Greek public buildings in the Roman occupation levels is especially interesting. For a summary of recent work, see the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, s. v. "Seleucia on the Tigris" (IV: 513-14).

<sup>40</sup> This reflects the Roman practice, especially prevalent in the Augustan era, of associating European Greece with the Classical tradition/virtue/courage, and everything from Ionia eastward with Asian effeminacy and decadence (sources collected in Hutchinson 2013: 113-14). By the mid-imperial period, however, the distinction had become much less clear; see Spawforth 2011.

avored “museum cities” were viewed as faint echoes of the Classical past, resurrected by Roman sufferance – and indeed, ultimately for the benefit of elite Romans, for only Romans were still capable of applying the lessons of that heritage to the forum of public life.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the best illustration of this view begins the fifth book of Cicero’s *De Finibus*.<sup>42</sup> A group of Roman students, walking the secluded groves of the Academy, remark the profound associations evoked by the Attic landscape: one points to where Plato and his disciples taught; another remarks that they have just passed the Colonus of Sophocles; a third mentions the garden of Epicurus; a fourth indicates the tomb of Pericles.<sup>43</sup> When one of the youths, mentioning that he has just come from the beach on which Demosthenes once declaimed, remarks that all Attica is historical ground, another reminds him: “[your] enthusiasms befit a young man of parts, if they lead him to copy the example of the great; if they only stimulate antiquarian curiosity, they are mere dilettantism” (5.2.6). Elite Romans were not expected merely to admire the relics of the Classical era, but to engage with them, to show themselves the equals or superiors of the ancient Greeks. As a place for demonstrating this aspect of an elite Roman’s status and identity, Attica was the counterpart – and indeed, as we shall see, the inspiration – of the villas in which most of Cicero’s philosophical dialogues are set: a landscape of learned allusion and backdrop for a distinctive mode of self-presentation.

The complex of Greek artifacts and activities sanctioned for Roman use by their association with the Classical period had a significant but strictly delimited place in the public lives of elite men. It was fashionable, and on some level socially necessary, to display at least a

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<sup>41</sup> Classical Athens was frequently regarded as a political cautionary tale (e.g. Cic. *Flac.* 26, *Rep.* 3.44; cf. Tac., *Dial.* 40.3).

<sup>42</sup> Hutchinson 2013: 81-5 collects the sources on Roman visitors to Athens; see *ibid.* 86-90 on descriptions of Athens in Roman literature.

<sup>43</sup> 5.1.1-2.5

certain degree of familiarity with Greek culture. When in Italy, however, and especially in the capital, such display was only appropriate in specially-designed settings, designed to evoke – or rather, appropriate – Greece. Usually decorated with Greek artworks, they were sometimes actually designed to recall famous Greek buildings, or simply the public spaces of a generic polis. Here, elite Romans fully instantiated their ideal of Greece as a “cultural space” ancillary to, but fully distinct from, the “political space” of the forum and courts. Although the townhouses of at least some Roman senators seem to have featured “Greek” spaces of this sort,<sup>44</sup> engagement with the Greek tradition was most closely associated with the villa.

### *B. Villa as Stage*

It is hardly revolutionary to claim that the design and decor of elite Roman villas evoked Greek culture.<sup>45</sup> For our purposes, this familiar ground is worth traversing for two reasons. First, the fact that some villas were designed to evoke the appearance of contemporary Greek cities suggests that elite Romans associated Hellenic culture with a distinctive set of architectural conventions. Second, the fact that these specially-designed spaces were decorated to advertise the exact nature of the owner’s engagement with Greece illustrates the extent to which elite cultural/political self-presentation might rely on the physical referents provided by Greek relics or copies of famous masterpieces.

“Greek” architecture was adapted to the dichotomy of city and villa less as a third hypostasis than as a collection of symbols adaptable to either pole.<sup>46</sup> Greek and Roman models were no more consistently separated in Roman architecture than they were in Roman literature;

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<sup>44</sup> See Eck 1997, esp. 183-5 on the evidence for senatorial palaces in Rome; cf. Vit. 6.5.2.

<sup>45</sup> Basic treatments include Neudecker 1988 and Zarmakoupi 2014; cf. Hutchinson 2013: 65-70. Bergmann 2001 discusses the senses in which villas can be regarded as “spaces of allusion.” Compare the careful architectural framing of power and culture in late antique villas (e.g. Ellis 1994).

<sup>46</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1998 provides a good survey of the place of villa in Roman elite culture.

they co-existed, with varying degrees of self-consciousness. The association of “Greek” pursuits and “Greek” architectural conventions accordingly operated at a very general level. For example, the “hippodrome” in Pliny the Younger’s Tuscan villa,<sup>47</sup> a garden with walking paths for learned discussion, represented an attempt to recreate the “feel,” as opposed to the actual forms, of Greek public space (Fig. 14).<sup>48</sup> In the villa setting, elite Romans tended to construct allusions to a select body of familiar cultural institutions (e.g., the gymnasium) and monuments that marked the site as “Greek” – i.e., as a context to present leisure activities as something distinct from, but not antithetical to, the political life of the capital.<sup>49</sup>

Although he consistently emphasizes the rural setting of his villas in his letters,<sup>50</sup> Pliny the younger remarks several times the “urban” quality of their architecture in terms evocative of Varro’s description of the *villa urbana*.<sup>51</sup> A colonnade on Pliny’s Laurentian estate is described as “nearly a public building;” the nearby villas “have the appearance of cities.”<sup>52</sup> The basic architectural forms of the villa, borrowed from the Hellenistic world, were particularly evocative of Greek civic architecture.<sup>53</sup> At least some elite Romans seem to have regarded their villas as recreations of an idealized Greek city, where, surrounded by statues and other mementoes of the east,<sup>54</sup> they might indulge cultural pursuits<sup>55</sup> in an appropriate setting.<sup>56</sup> Many villa owners further clarified these cultural associations by naming rooms or structures after Greek building

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<sup>47</sup> Plin., *Ep.* 5.6.32-4, cf. Cic., *QFr.* 3.1.3. See Förtsch 1993:69ff.

<sup>48</sup> See Newby 2005: 88-140 and Zarmakoupi 2010, with ref. to earlier literature.

<sup>49</sup> Compare Cic., *Orat.* 2.20

<sup>50</sup> The view, light, and breezes recur incessantly in Pliny’s descriptions: e.g. *Ep.* 2.17.3, 11-13, 21; 5.6.7-14, 37-9.

<sup>51</sup> *Rust.* 1.2.10, 13.6-7; 2.1-3; cf. Col., *Rust.* 1.6.1

<sup>52</sup> Colonnade: 2.17.16: “hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur.” Villas: 27: “tecta villarum, quae praestant multarum urbium faciem”

<sup>53</sup> Swoboda 1969: 29ff; Wallace-Hadrill 1988: 64ff; idem 2008: 196-208. Pliny compares parts of his villas to urban architecture on several occasions: *Ep.* 2.17.16, 27; 5.6.38; cf. Stat., *Silv.* 2.2.31; Vitruv. 6.5.2; Strabo 5.4.7-8.

<sup>54</sup> Zanker 1995: 196-266; Neudecker 1988.

<sup>55</sup> Philosophical discussion is a prime example (Cic., *Tusc.* 1.7, 2.9); Statius assures one of his clients that Epicurus would prefer his villa to Greece (*Silv.* 1.3.93-8). Hoffer (1999: 29-44) observes that, for Pliny, the villa is essentially a site of literary production (see esp. *Ep.* 9.36.5ff).

<sup>56</sup> E.g. Stat., *Silv.* 2.2.31-5, where the design of a villa colonnade reminds the poet of Corinth.

types or locales. Cicero had a gymnasium, palaestra, and “Academy” at Tusculum; the grounds of his brother Quintus featured a “Lyceum,” and those of his friend Atticus an “Amatheion.”<sup>57</sup> Though sometimes nothing more than vacant pretension,<sup>58</sup> the practice was capable of nuance: Brutus, for example, expressed his admiration for Sparta by building a “Eurotas river” and “Persian portico,” and his love of Athens with a “Parthenon.”<sup>59</sup> Augustus himself named a secluded room in his Palatine house “Syracuse.”<sup>60</sup> The room’s alternate name – the *technyphion* – suggests its purpose: here, the princeps could think and write in peace, retiring, in effect, to the world of the villa – and thence to an ideal of Greece. Various parts of Hadrian’s villa, finally, were named Lyceum, Academy, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poikile and Tempe – an eclectic and highly personal selection.<sup>61</sup> It is perhaps telling that, despite extensive excavation, identification of these parts has proved elusive; all these allusions to the Greek world consisted less in direct architectural imitation than in devoting parts of one’s villa to a specific set of cultural activities.

The “Greek” settings of elite villas were designed to complement the display and performance of their owner’s cultural predilections. Pliny frequently contrasts villa life with the hectic routine of the capital. Yet for him – and apparently for many of his contemporaries – villa and capital were less opposites than complements, the cultural production of the former mirroring the political activity of the latter. Life at the villa, says Pliny, “is good and genuine, leisure sweet and pure, more appealing than almost any official business.”<sup>62</sup> Ideally, this leisure was spent in writing, an activity sometimes as calculated to gain prestige as any political

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<sup>57</sup> Tusculum: Cic., *Att.* 1.6-10; Lyceum (Q.’s name for his “upper gymnasium”): *de Div.* 1.8, 2.8; Amatheion (apparently a shrine-cum-library): *Att.* 1.16.18. Compare tableaux of Greek myths (Zanker 1979: 285-6).

<sup>58</sup> Cic., *Leg.* 2.2; Varro, *Rust.* 2.1.1, 3.5.9. Some terms were so common as to become naturalized (e.g. Pharos, Euripus, Mausoleum).

<sup>59</sup> Sparta: Cic., *Att.* 15.9.1; Parthenon: *Att.* 13.40.1

<sup>60</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 72.2; cf. Claudius’ “Hermaeum” (Suet., *Claud.* 10.1). We should not imagine that these Greek names were given without irony (e.g. Suet., *Aug.* 98.4; Plin., *Ep.* 9.7.3).

<sup>61</sup> SHA, *Had.* 26.5-6; cf. Aur. Vict. 14.4

<sup>62</sup> *Ep.* 1.9.6: “O rectam sinceramque vitam! O dulce otium honestumque ac paene omni negotio pulchrius!”

maneuvering at Rome. Pliny advises a friend to retire with his books to his estate, where composition “should be at once business and pleasure, labor and rest,” urging him to “create and finish some work, which will bear your name forever.”<sup>63</sup> The villa itself amplified such behavior, counterpointing lapses into luxury,<sup>64</sup> and even coming to manifest how its owner used it.<sup>65</sup> A well-known letter of Cicero articulates the expectation that the sculptures of his villa would both stimulate and symbolize his cultural activities there:

To begin with, I should never have considered [the statues of] the Muses worth all that money...still, it would have been appropriate to a library, and in harmony with my pursuits. But Bacchae! What place is there in my house for them?...The sort of statues that I am accustomed to buy are such as may adorn a place in a palaestra after the fashion of gymnasia. What, again, have I, the promoter of peace, to do with a statue of Mars?” (*Fam.* 7.23)<sup>66</sup>

Cicero obviously took pains to ensure that his villa would serve, and would be seen to serve, as an appropriate setting for his cultural pursuits. Archaeological evidence suggests that the sculptural ensembles of a number of other villas were arrayed for the same purpose.<sup>67</sup>

Villas, then, were designed to allow Roman elites to act out their cultural predilections in a setting that advertised at once the extent and the boundedness of their acquaintance with Greek world. In the late republican and early imperial periods, a number of Greek cities were remodeled to serve the same basic function. Athens is the best-known example, but Naples, perhaps the most self-consciously Greek city in the Empire, was connected more closely with the ethos of villa society, and has a fair claim to best represent the Roman ideal of Greek cities as

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<sup>63</sup> *Ep.* 1.3.3-4: “Hoc sit negotium tuum hoc otium; hic labor haec quies...effinge aliquid et excude, quod sit perpetuo tuum.” Cf. 1.6, 4.6.2.

<sup>64</sup> Extravagance in the villa setting, for example, earned Pliny’s disapproval; see, e.g., *Ep.* 4.2.5: “...in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam status suis occupavit, ut est in summa avaritia sumptuosus, in summa infimia gloriosus.”

<sup>65</sup> A villa devoted to philosophy could be distinguished on sight (Cic., *QFr.*3.1.5).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *Att.* 1.9.2

<sup>67</sup> See Neudecker 1988, esp. 123-9 and Dillon 2000.

cultured space. Naples – “otiosa Neapolis” – was a city of villas.<sup>68</sup> Resort of the Roman elite, a “graeca urbs” readily accessible in more ways than one, Naples exemplified the luxury and culture popularly associated with Greece. According to Statius, there are no politics in Naples, where citizen virtue maintains a native peace (*Silv.* 3.5.83-8). Temples, colonnades, and theaters form a backdrop for Greek games and the plays of Menander (89-93); and throughout, “Roman virtue and Greek license are blended.”<sup>69</sup> Such was the general assessment of the Roman elite. Alone among the cities of Magna Graecia, Naples had stayed true to her Greek origins;<sup>70</sup> and though her inhabitants were occasionally derided for typically Greek extravagance,<sup>71</sup> their customs enjoyed centuries of Roman patronage. Here, elite Romans had less need to physically construct a vision of Greece than to encourage and “purify” the traditions of an extant polis. Like a villa – and unlike neighboring Baiae<sup>72</sup> – Naples was to be a place of refinement, of learned and cultured pursuits.<sup>73</sup> A suitable ambience had to be maintained. The city, accordingly, was allowed to maintain its traditional offices (Demarch, gymnasiarch, etc.), and encouraged to preserve its Greek social institutions.<sup>74</sup> Although the archaeological record is scanty, Roman construction in the city center seems to have been intended to reinforce the prevailing cultural image.<sup>75</sup> During or shortly after the reign of Augustus, for example, the appearance of the agora

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<sup>68</sup> On late republican and early imperial Naples, see D’Arms 1970 *passim*, Lomas 1997-8, and Hutchinson 2013: 71-2; cf. *RE* XVI.2, 2111-22, s.v. ‘Neapolis.’ The epithet ‘Otiosa’: Hor., *Epod.* 5.43; Ovid, *Met.* 15.712.

<sup>69</sup> “Romanus honos et Graia licentia miscent” (3.5.94)

<sup>70</sup> Stat., *Silv.* 3.5.12, 5.3.109-11; Tac., *Ann.* 15.33; Livy 35.16.3

<sup>71</sup> Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.86) calls the grandiose reception given by the Neapolitans for Pompey a “negotium...Graeculum.”

<sup>72</sup> Baiae was associated with pure luxury: Sen., *Ep.* 51.3; Mart. 1.62.1-6.

<sup>73</sup> Another poetic epithet for Naples was ‘docta’: Mart. 5.78.4; Coll. 10.134; cf. Stat., *Silv.* 5.3.146ff. Though Naples had been a considerable military power through the Second Punic War, she had since been demilitarized; now her atmosphere was peaceful, even enervating: Sil. Ital. 12.27-8; Cic., *Sull.* 17; Sen., *Tran.* 2.13-14.

<sup>74</sup> Claudius, for example, patronized the city’s phratries (*IG* XIV.728).

<sup>75</sup> Napoli 1959: 183-98; Arthur (2002:2-10) summarizes recent findings. Titus is known to have restored an unidentified public building after an earthquake (*IG* XIV.729 = *CIL* X 1481).



was substantially altered by the addition of a large theater.<sup>76</sup> An Odeon was built nearby in the same period, along with a gymnasium called the *Caesareum*. Since, with the exception of the theater, these structures have not been excavated, we know little about the circumstances of their construction; but their use – displaying Greek spectacles for a largely Roman audience – is well attested.<sup>77</sup>

The significance of this cultural-cum-architectural backdrop is perhaps best exemplified by a famous incident recorded in Suetonius' Life of Augustus. Like nearly every emperor for centuries after him, Augustus spent considerable time on the bay of Naples, particularly in his villas on the island of Capri. In the weeks immediately preceding his death, he immersed himself in the region's cultural ambience, watching the exercises of the local ephebes and attending Greek games.<sup>78</sup> One evening, having gathered a number of friends at his villa, "he distributed togas and *pallia*, stipulating that Romans should use the Greek dress and language and the Greeks the Roman."<sup>79</sup> While we cannot know how seriously to take this gesture, the important point is that, in and around Naples, as in elite villas, "Greek" and "Roman" could be regarded as codes of self-expression. Naples – a deliberately, even stereotypically, Greek city – was virtually designed to serve as a suitable place for this sort of "code-switching." Elite Romans visited for the same basic reason they sojourned in their villas: a naturalized "Greek" setting afforded opportunities for forms of self-presentation impossible in the capital. This applied equally, perhaps especially, to emperors. In the Augustan theater on the agora, Claudius produced a

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<sup>76</sup> Built on a flat site, and apparently of Roman type, this theater is dated to the Augustan era by Johannowsky 1985. Plan and measurements in Sear 2006: 126-7; cf. Napoli 1959: 183-90; fig. 38-9 in *Archeologia urbana e centro antico di Napoli documenti* (1984).

<sup>77</sup> E.g. Stat., *Silv.* 3.5.89-93; Phil. *VS* 2.1.9; Sen., *Ep.* 76.3

<sup>78</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 98.5; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.123.1; Cass. Dio 56.29.2.

<sup>79</sup> "togas insuper ac pallia distribuit, lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur. Spectavit assidue exercentes ephebos, quorum aliqua adhuc copia ex vetere instituto Capreis erat; isdem etiam epulum in conspectu suo praebuit permissa" (Suet., *Aug.* 98.3). Perhaps Augustus meant to imitate Alexander by his gesture of having Greeks and Romans switch dress. Cf. Suet. *Caes.* 48.1.

Greek tragedy written by his brother Germanicus.<sup>80</sup> Some years later, likely in the same theater, Nero made his own theatrical debut.<sup>81</sup> We are told that he, like Augustus' guests, changed his Roman clothes for Greek while in the city, spoke only Greek, and indulged in various Hellenic pursuits.

Like the villas to which it was a virtual annex, Naples was deemed a suitable setting for "Greek" behavior unthinkable at Rome, or indeed elsewhere in the western provinces.<sup>82</sup> Its long history as an independent polis had scant place in the elite Roman conception of its significance, which assimilated the city to a generalized "Greekness" that rendered it appropriate for cultural pursuits.<sup>83</sup> Yet Naples and the other depoliticized settings in which elite Romans performed their cultural allegiances constituted only one class of the "Greek" spaces in Italy. Both the emperors and members of the aristocracy also incorporated Greek sculpture and artifacts into the public spaces of Rome and the culturally Roman cities of Italy. Though motivated, as we shall see, by the same basic concerns that created the villas, these "politicized" Greek spaces represented a significantly different application of the discourse on Greek culture.

## II. Politicized Settings

We have seen that an elite Roman's engagement with Greek culture was conditioned by acute consciousness of setting. While it would be misleading to call a senator's townhouse, or even his villa, "private" in any but the most notional sense, the Greek spaces they contained were

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<sup>80</sup> The tragedy won first prize in the Augustan games (Suet., *Claud.* 11.2). Compare Caligula's display before the Parthian ambassadors at Baiae some twenty years before (Dio Cass. 59.17.11), which neatly reversed some of the long-used Persian War tropes.

<sup>81</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 15.33.2; cf. Suet., *Nero* 20.1-2, 25.1; Dio Cass. 60.6.1-2

<sup>82</sup> Pliny the younger applauds the removal of Greek contests "qui mores Viennensium infecerat" (*Ep.* 4.22.7; see Woolf 2006).

<sup>83</sup> In this sense, Naples was reminiscent of Petronius' Greek city - which was in fact apparently located in the vicinity (*Satyr.* 81ff).

intended to be viewed by a restricted audience of the owner's social peers. Roman aristocrats were expected to at least dabble in Greek pursuits, but only on certain occasions and in strictly delimited settings. The public spaces of Rome – and, to a lesser extent, the cities of Italy – were filled with Greek statues and relics, mementos of past campaigns and testimonies to the enduring prestige of owning and displaying such objects. The manner in which they were displayed, however, generally identified them as spoils, foreign ornaments that served to beautify basically Roman public spaces.<sup>84</sup>

Both in Rome and throughout Italy, however, some displays of Greek cultural artifacts were integrated into the political sphere they adorned. Many of these displays were ultimately inspired by the Augustan Cultural Revolution, which instituted new means and modes of incorporating certain elements of the Greek tradition into public discourse and public space. Unlike the villas, intended to evoke or recreate an ideal Greece, these public settings were designed to translate Greece into the Roman political sphere.

#### *A. Official Interpretations*

For Augustus, Rome was the setting where a newly coherent image of the Classical past could be realized most fully, and the great achievements of ancient Greece best presented as part of the Roman heritage.<sup>85</sup> To bolster his claims of reviving Roman tradition, Augustus drew upon the visual language of Classical and Archaic art, long admired for aesthetic reasons by Roman aristocrats, and associated it with an ideal of political engagement and civic virtue.<sup>86</sup> In this context, Classical Greece was a potent source of allusion; Rome, paradoxically, could become

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<sup>84</sup> For a useful discussion of Greek art in the public spaces of Republican Rome, see Russell 2015: 127-52.

<sup>85</sup> Greek sculpture had been a feature of Roman public space since the days of Marcellus and Flaminius; only now, however, were displays coordinated into a coherent program. See Galinsky 1995: 335ff on the history of using Greek sculpture programmatically, and Pollitt 1974: 66-84 on the general criteria of Roman art criticism. Roller 2013 discusses the “intersignification” of monuments in Augustan Rome.

<sup>86</sup> See especially Bowersock 1965: 73-84, Zanker 1988: 239-63, Galinsky 1996: 332-63, and Spawforth 2012: 59-102.

more Roman through displays of Greek art, now presented as exempla for illustrating Roman virtue and achievement. The Sanctuary of Apollo Palatinus, one of Augustus' first building projects in the capital, provides perhaps the best illustration of the newly public role played by Greek artifacts.

The Persian Wars, interpreted as displays of Greek patriotism and civic virtue, were an important paradigm in Augustan Rome, not least because they could easily be assimilated to the recent war with Antony and Cleopatra.<sup>87</sup> The possibilities of this parallel were explored most thoroughly in the temple complex of Apollo Palatinus,<sup>88</sup> dedicated *ex voto* with the spoils of Actium. The decoration of the sanctuary, dedicated to Augustus' patron god and located immediately adjacent to his house,<sup>89</sup> was accorded exceptional care. The marble of its walls came from the new imperial quarries at Luna, its columns from Numidia; sculptures of Parian marble stood on its façade.<sup>90</sup> The famous cows of Myron ringed the altar. As befit a temple dedicated to the god of Actium, the sculpted doors depicted scenes of Apollo's vengeance. Three cult statues, all Classical originals, dominated the interior; the Sibylline Books were stored at their feet.<sup>91</sup> A public library (Greek and Latin) faced the temple across a portico decorated with still more Classical sculpture. In the center of its reading room, ringed by portraits of poets and

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<sup>87</sup> Behind this well-known element of Augustan propaganda (e.g. Hor., *Carm.* 1.37; Verg., *Aen.* 8.675ff) stood a particular idea of citizen virtue and its (potentially ambiguous) relationship with prowess in battle. Beranger 1953: 218-52 discusses the ideal of citizen unity; Fears 1981: 805ff, the theme of victory in Augustan Rome. André 1982 outlines the enduring influence of Augustan ideology.

<sup>88</sup> *LTUR*, s. v. Apollo Palatinus (I: 54-7); Zanker 1982. cf. Gros 1976: 43-4; Gagé 1981: 566-9.

<sup>89</sup> Zanker 1982: 24-7 connects the basic design of the whole complex with the layout of the Pergamene citadel, where the palace adjoined a temple of Athena erected in thanksgiving for victory over the Gauls. The architectural connection between a private dwelling and temple was unprecedented in Rome (Suet., *Aug.* 29.3; cf. *Cal.* 22.4).

<sup>90</sup> Marble: Verg., *Aen.* 6.69, 8.720 (with Servius *ad loc.*); Columns: Prop. 2.31.3; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 3.1.61; Sculptures: Pliny, *HN* 36.13; cf. Verg., *Georg.* 3.34.

<sup>91</sup> Cows: Prop. 2.3.7-8; Doors: Prop. 2.31.12-14, 4.6; cf. Verg., *Geor.* 3.26-36; Cult statues: Pliny, *HN* 36.24-5, 32; Sibylline books: Suet., *Aug.* 31.1; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.72.

orators ancient and modern, stood a statue of Augustus himself with the classicizing attributes of Actian Apollo.<sup>92</sup>

The whole temple complex of Apollo Palatinus can be read as a commentary on the place of Greek culture in Augustan Rome – or rather, on how and why Augustus evoked the Classical polis. An implicit<sup>93</sup> comparison between the victory over Antony and the victory over the Persians animated and organized its design: Salamis had been replayed at Actium, and virtue had prevailed.<sup>94</sup> On Augustan terms, the masterpieces of Archaic and Classical Greek art built into the sanctuary had been returned to their native moral setting.<sup>95</sup> Rome had paralleled and outdone the greatest and most admirable Hellenic achievement. Thus, despite a real effort to evoke the Greece of Marathon and Salamis – as evidenced by the late Archaic and early Classical sculpture and its marble setting<sup>96</sup> – the design of the Temple complex was definitively and explicitly Italian. Although the scanty physical remains preclude any definite description, the temple itself certainly employed Italic forms.<sup>97</sup> More impressively still, it stood as a virtual annex to the very traditional house of Augustus.<sup>98</sup> The terracotta plaques that comprise our only physical evidence

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<sup>92</sup> Portico and ornament: Prop. 2.31.1-4; Ovid, *Trist.* 3.1.61, *Am.* 2.11.3-4. Library: Suet., *Aug.* 29.3; Cass. Dio 53.1.3; Statue: Schol. ad Hor., *Ep.* 2.1.214-18; Serv. ad *Georg.* 4.10. Zanker 1982: 24 notes that the palace complex on the Pergamene acropolis also included a library, which was dominated by a colossal statue of Athena; on these grounds, he suspects that the statue of “Augustus with the attributes of Apollo” actually depicted the god himself.

<sup>93</sup> Since Actium was a battle won against Roman opponents, references had to be oblique (Zanker 1982: 28-31).

<sup>94</sup> Hölscher 1984; Zanker 1988: 82-5; Spawforth 2012: 103-41. Salamis was even reenacted in Augustan Rome: Cass. Dio 55.10.7. On the Persian wars tradition at Rome, see Spawforth 1994: 237ff.

<sup>95</sup> Compare how the Caryatids of the Erechtheum were copied in the Forum Augustum (Wesenberg 1984) or Agrippa’s Pantheon (Pliny, *HN* 36.11).

<sup>96</sup> Marble was still a relatively uncommon building stone in early Augustan Rome, the quarries at Luna having just been opened (Gros 1976: 70ff). Despite the approbation obvious in Suetonius’ famous tag (*Aug.* 28.3; cf. Vitruvius 7.praef.17), authors writing in a moralizing or satirical vein continued to represent it as an essentially foreign extravagance, a folly imported from Greece (see esp. Pliny, *HN* 36.1-3; Juv. 14.86-95, 307) sometimes directly opposed to the native tufa (e.g. Juv. 3.20: “nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum”). A century later, however, Pliny the younger had no reservations about cladding an ancient shrine in marble (*Ep.* 9.39.4).

<sup>97</sup> The height of the podium seems to indicate adherence to Italic tradition. Gros (*LTUR* I: 56) speculates that this temple shared the (Italic) diastyle design (Vitruvius 3.3.4) of the Augustan temple of Apollo *in circo*.

<sup>98</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 72.1; despite the Hellenistic-inspired layout of the whole complex, it was the traditional “romanitas” of the princeps’ home, combined with the nearby hut of Romulus, which probably most struck Roman observers.

for the temple's decoration neatly epitomize the ethos of the entire complex. Formally Etruscan-Italic, their designs (all evocative of Apollo's victory) are executed in the "severe" style of early fifth-century Athens; like the rest of the temple complex, they represented an importation of carefully selected Greek conventions into an expressly Roman setting.<sup>99</sup> The cumulative effect was consciously eclectic, at once distinguishing and assimilating the symbols of two comparable victories and settings. Actium was likened to Salamis, Augustan Rome to Classical Athens.

The care with which Augustus decorated the temple complex of Apollo Palatinus reflected its special place in his cultural program. The sanctuary's proximity to the princeps' house accorded it an important role in state ceremonial. It was here that certain ceremonies associated with the Secular Games were held, here that emperors routinely sacrificed, and here that imperial letters were periodically read to the assembled Senate.<sup>100</sup> The "Greek" artifacts incorporated so prominently into the temple and porticoes are best understood in context of the sanctuary's function as a place of imperial representation. Like the expensive marbles that framed them, of course, they also communicated Augustus' wealth and taste, and advertised his victories over Sextus Pompeius and Marcus Antonius in the most prestigious visual language available. Yet they were more than ornaments or spoils. Like the Greek sculptures displayed in so many Late Republican villas, the artifacts in the Temple of Apollo articulated a personal vision of the Hellenic tradition. In fact, considering the intimacy of the temple's relationship with Augustus' house, it might not be misleading to consider it a sort of grandiose transposition of the reception rooms of an aristocratic house into the public sphere. As in the "Greek" spaces of elite houses, the Classical artifacts on display in the Temple of Apollo were carefully chosen

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<sup>99</sup> Hölscher 2004: 86-102 concisely summarizes the principles of Roman "eclecticism."

<sup>100</sup> Secular Games: *CIL* VI.32323, 32, 139 (17 BCE); 32327, 7, 23 (203 CE). Sacrifices: Tac., *Hist.* 1.27. Letters: SHA, *Claud.* 4).

advertisements of personal tastes and cultural acumen. Unlike those private ensembles, however, Augustus' sculptures explicitly assimilated their owner's cultural choices to his conception of public virtue – a conception that his position in Roman society rendered programmatic and definitive.

In the city of Rome, the Augustan synthesis guided how emperors oriented themselves with respect to the Greek tradition through late antiquity. More importantly for our purposes, it also exercised a profound influence on the public building projects of the Roman aristocracy and Italian civic elites. The idea that cultural taste could be displayed as a close complement to, and even variant of, the political engagement that defined one as an elite Roman proved especially enduring.

#### *B. The Exemplary City of Comum*

The example of Pliny, our best-documented early imperial senator, is instructive. Despite an active career in Rome and the provinces as an advocate and imperial official, Pliny never forgot his native city of Comum, which he repeatedly favored with new buildings and other gifts. In apparent imitation of Trajan – and thus of Augustus – he presented his benefactions as means of stimulating public virtue. His decision to set up an antique Greek statuette in the porch of Comum's main temple, a seeming deviation from this policy, illustrates the extent to which his conception of the appropriate appearance of public space was indebted to the example of complexes like the Sanctuary of Apollo Palatinus.

Pliny's building projects in Italy were fairly typical for a man of his wealth and status.<sup>101</sup> To his native Comum he gave a library and bath; to Tifernum, where he had inherited an estate, a

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<sup>101</sup> See Duncan-Jones 1974: 29ff. Thomas 2007: 21-2 provides a concise overview of the considerations which may have influenced an elite Roman's architectural benefactions.

temple dedicated to Trajan.<sup>102</sup> In both towns, located in a part of Italy known for its “ancient simplicity,”<sup>103</sup> Pliny’s projects were explicitly designed to uphold or inculcate traditional values. Upon the completion of his library, for example, he gave a speech of dedication promising additional funds for the support and education of local children, and contrasting his benefactions with frivolities like public games.<sup>104</sup> The category of frivolities, it would appear, did not include Greek statuary. Pliny was determined that his only recorded purchase of a work of art – a small Corinthian bronze, depicting an old man – should be displayed “in some public part of our native city, preferably the temple of Jupiter, since it seems a gift worthy of a temple and a god.” He proceeded to arrange for its display on a marble pedestal inscribed with his name and official titles.<sup>105</sup> Display of artwork in temples was of course a long-established practice; but it is worth considering whether this donation of a statue can be reconciled with Pliny’s other benefactions – whether, that is, the value of this Greek artifact was as much didactic as it was aesthetic.<sup>106</sup>

To this end, we turn to Vitruvius, who provides our best sense of cultural value elite Romans assigned to the fabric of Italian towns in the wake of the Augustan synthesis. The basic aim of the *De architectura* – dedicated to Augustus, and explicitly tied to his building program (1.Praef.1-3) – is to present Roman architecture as a discrete system wholly equivalent and comparable to its Greek counterpart.<sup>107</sup> The author’s purpose and intended audience have been variously interpreted; but it seems clear that he meant to connect the newly defined Roman

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<sup>102</sup> Comum: *ILS* 2927; *Ep.* 1.8. Tifernum: *Ep.* 3.4.2, 10.8; cf. 9.39.4 (renovation of a nearby shrine)

<sup>103</sup> *Ep.* 1.16.4 (talking to a fellow native of Comum about a man from Brixia): “ex illa nostra Italia quae multum adhuc verecundiae frugalitatis, atque etiam rusticitatis antiquae, retinet ac servat.”

<sup>104</sup> *Ep.* 1.8.10; the speech seems generally to have emphasized that Pliny was motivated “communibus magis commodis quam privatae iactantiae” (13). It is perhaps worth noting that the immediate audience of this speech – the city’s magistrates, grouped together in the curia – may account for its disavowal of popular entertainments.

<sup>105</sup> *Ep.* 3.6.4-5: “Emi [signum] non ut haberem domi...verum ut in patria nostra celebri loci ponerem, ac potissimum in Iovis templo; videtur enim dignum templo dignum deo donum.”

<sup>106</sup> Perhaps Pliny’s primary motive, as Sherwin-White 1966: 225-6 observes, was simply to find an occasion for displaying his official titles.

<sup>107</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 144-212.



architecture to its function in an Italian community. Greek architecture, by contrast, is treated as familiar but foreign, a tradition only suitable for strictly limited uses and settings.<sup>108</sup> Before considering the place of Greek architecture in Vitruvius' ideal Italian community, it will be useful to remark a few of his assumptions about public buildings. Certain building types, particularly those associated with local government, are particularly associated with civic dignity.<sup>109</sup> Others, almost exclusively "cultural," are deemed suitable only for a Greek setting.<sup>110</sup> In the chapter on public buildings, as throughout the work, Greek and Roman architectural conventions are carefully and deliberately contrasted. Every aspect of Vitruvius' Italian city is defined in opposition (only sometimes explicit) to Greek models. These differences of form, where discussed, are ascribed to national custom, apparently without value judgment: each tradition has its appropriate place.<sup>111</sup> Yet the contrast between Italian cities and their Greek counterparts, based in culture and urban function, is at least implicitly moral. Vitruvius' Italian city is designed as a setting in which the *mos maiorum* can flourish; Greek cities, by contrast, are presented as instantiations of a value system of limited applicability to Roman public life.

Let us briefly examine Vitruvius' Italian city. The basic plan is Hippodamian, as mediated by the Hellenistic traditions of orthogonal planning. The city is imagined as a new foundation, perhaps one of the Augustan military colonies.<sup>112</sup> Its spaces are to be organized by function – without, of course, neglecting tradition: in his brief discussion on how public spaces

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<sup>108</sup> The digression on caryatids (1.1.5-6) is sometimes claimed as evidence of the influence of the Augustan moral programme. Cf. 5.3.1. Late Republican Italian cities were of course much more eclectic than Vitruvius describes them: see, e.g., Boëthius 1960: 26-93.

<sup>109</sup> "Maxime quidem curia in primis est facienda ad dignitatem municipii sive civitatis." (5.2.1; cf. 1.7.1-2, 6.5.2)

<sup>110</sup> "non sint italicae consuetudinis palastrarum aedificationes" (5.11.1; cf. 6.3.10).

<sup>111</sup> E.g. "Quibus consuetudinibus aedificia italico more et Graecorum institutis conformantur, exposui" (6.7.7). See Saliou 2009: lii-lxxi.

<sup>112</sup> The provisions for siting a new city (1.4-7) indicate that Vitruvius is seeking to cover every eventuality and/or that he thinks his comments on urban construction will be most useful in the context of a new foundation. Cf. 2.praef.3.

should be allocated, Vitruvius combines a series of precepts derived from Greek theory with detailed advice on situating temples in accordance with Etruscan usages.<sup>113</sup> Italian custom, in fact, is to be fundamental to the whole design. The forum, for example, must be able to accommodate the traditional gladiatorial contests (Fig. 15).<sup>114</sup> The theater – which, as in Augustan Rome, will have special places for Senators – is to be used, in time-honored fashion, primarily “on the feast days of the gods;” its stage will be broader than customary among the Greeks, to accommodate the requirements of Roman plays.<sup>115</sup> The only categorically Greek building type discussed is the palaestra.<sup>116</sup> Although such structures “are not an Italian custom,” Vitruvius gives detailed directions for their construction, connecting them with the cultural functions of a Greek gymnasium.<sup>117</sup> While it is possible that Vitruvius intended nothing more than to provide instructions for building the sort of bath-gymnasium complex already popular in south Italy during his lifetime,<sup>118</sup> it seems at least equally likely that he meant his lengthy discussion of palaestras to serve as a sort of adjustable template for any building associated with cultural/Greek practices. For our purposes, it matters only that Vitruvius admits the possibility of constructing a “Greek” building in the center of his Italian city. The public spaces of this ideal city were to convey its inhabitants’, and especially its elites’, adherence to the principles of the Augustan cultural and political revival. As such, it was designed as a setting for the performance and display of legitimate authority; the forum, for example, is identified as the place where

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<sup>113</sup> 1.7.1-2. Compare Arist., *Pol.* 2.5.1-4 (1267b-68a).

<sup>114</sup> 5.1.1-2; for commentary, see Saliou 2009: 100-21. As Martin 1972: 915 notes, Vitruvius clearly envisions a formal civic space, where only the more decorous sort of financial transactions will take place. Cf. Appian, *B. Civ.* II.102. On the principles governing the design of Fora, see Gros 1996: 207-34. The Greek agora which Vitruvius describes is typical of the Late Hellenistic east (Martin 1951: 508-41, Coulton 1976: 168-83).

<sup>115</sup> Seating for Senators: 5.6.2. Feast days: 5.3.1. Broader stage: 5.6.2.

<sup>116</sup> The section on palaestras is discussed at length in Saliou 2009: 337ff; cf. *RE* XVIII.2, 2482-3.

<sup>117</sup> 5.11.2, cf. 6.praef.1.

<sup>118</sup> Saliou 2009: 338-9

magistrates regulate both private and public affairs.<sup>119</sup> If not purely academic, then, Vitruvius' inclusion of palaestras among the public buildings of his Italian city can be understood as an indication that he understood certain Greek building types as suitable settings for at least some varieties of civic activity and elite display.

Pliny never read Vitruvius. He was, however, steeped in Roman traditions of propriety, which mandated close attention to the messages of monumental form.<sup>120</sup> Perhaps more importantly, he was intimately familiar with the uses made of Greek artifacts at Rome – not least in the new and spectacular Forum of Trajan. The “Greek” elements of his building program should be understood accordingly. We know nothing about the design of Pliny’s library in Comum. The details of the design are, however, less significant than the very fact that Pliny thought a library a suitable benefaction for his native city.<sup>121</sup> Like its contemporary in Trajan’s Forum, Pliny’s library doubtless had a substantial Greek section, its contents selected by the donor himself; and although the presence of these works did not necessarily mark the building itself as “Greek”, they – and the very existence of a public building devoted to cultural pursuits – created a space for distinctive types of elite performance. The Corinthian bronze that Pliny set up in the temple of Jupiter can be associated with a similar purpose. Pliny clearly admired the piece for its age and aesthetic qualities, and thought that it would serve as an ornament of the city’s most prestigious public space.<sup>122</sup> Yet his decision to display it on a pedestal inscribed with his name and titles also indicates a close interest in identifying himself with it. If not identical with the Greek sculpture in his villas, the statue, like the library, can thus be identified with an

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<sup>119</sup> 5.pref. 5: “in eo [foro] et publicarum et privatarum rerum rationes per magistratus gubernantur.”

<sup>120</sup> E.g. Cic., *Off.* 2.56; Cato, *Agr.*, Pref. 14-17; Varro, *Rust.* 1.11.1

<sup>121</sup> See Roberti 1974: 34-5 on (possible) archaeological traces of this complex.

<sup>122</sup> Pliny disclaims any “collector’s interest” in Greek artifacts (*Ep.* 3.6.4-5, cf. 3.1.9). He may have been following a local tradition; an Archaic Greek sculpture found in Comum was presumably the object of a similar dedication (Albizzati 1924-5).

analogous purpose: to create a visual referent for his status and authority, and for that of his social peers.

Villas, in short, were far from the only spaces in which elite Romans demonstrated their cultural (and thus moral/political) acumen. In this, perhaps as a simple consequence of the rhetorical nature of elite education throughout the Mediterranean, they resembled their contemporaries in the Greek east. Aristides, for example, describes the whole city of Corinth as a treasury of cultural and historical allusions: “While travelling about the city, you would find wisdom and you would learn and hear from its inanimate objects; so numerous are the treasures or paintings all about it...the gymnasiums and schools themselves are instruction and stories” (*Or.* 46.28). This perspective allowed for allusive readings of the décor of individual buildings – in *The Hall*, Lucian launches into disquisitions on the subjects of the wall paintings (22-31)<sup>123</sup> – and of architectural elements themselves; Vitruvius famously claims that an architect unacquainted with history would find himself “unable to explain the use of many ornaments” (1.1.5), illustrating the point with a fantastic aetiology of caryatids.<sup>124</sup> Learned men might even make part of a building a topic of discussion: Aulus Gellius records a conversation between the sophist Favorinus and several friends over the meaning of an inscription on the colonnade of Trajan’s Forum.<sup>125</sup> In both the Greek and the Latin worlds, such learned (and public) interpretation of one’s surroundings was a means of demonstrating rank and status; but in Rome and Italy, where references to Greece were potentially charged with moral and political meaning, it was a particularly significant method of positioning oneself with respect to the community.

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<sup>123</sup> The ultimate exercises in this domain are of course the *Imagines* composed by the Philostrati and Callistratus; while these tell us little about how educated men expounded theories of architecture, they do illustrate the rhetorical habit of presenting images as narrative. See Conan 1987 for a succinct treatment.

<sup>124</sup> 1.1.5-6; cf. 4.1.8-10. On Vitruvius and the caryatids, see Plommer 1979 and Lesk 2007.

<sup>125</sup> Gell., *NA* 13.25.1ff

In this context, Pliny's decision to construct a library and set up an ancient Greek statuette at Comum can be understood as something more than an attempt to improve the culture and virtue of his townsmen. By introducing "Greek" spaces into the center of Comum, his projects created points of reference for the performance of his own status (he planned to retire to his hometown) and that of other local notables. Pliny's ideas about the proper display of Greek artifacts in civic space reflect habits of performance formed in the Greek rooms of his villas. These habits were animated by the idea that rank and status were best displayed in settings that facilitated expression of elite qualities – in the case of Pliny's statuette, appreciation of both the artistic and the moral value of a Greek artifact. We shall see that the same habits, somewhat altered by the demands of office, guided how elite Romans engaged with, and sought to transform, the public spaces of provincial cities.

## Chapter 5. The Governor in his Province

The settings created by the Roman elite to showcase their engagement with Greek culture both shaped and were shaped by a distinctive set of practices for relating authority to space. In complex interaction with their duties, these practices guided how elite Romans presented themselves in Greek civic space when serving as officials in the eastern provinces. In some respects, of course, different rules obtained in the provinces. Most immediately, contrary to the conceit that Greek cities were essentially depoliticized stages for Roman action, the imperial policy of managing the provinces through cities ensured that local and regional politics were alive and well, even in “museum cities” like Athens and Sparta. More generally, though governors, as elite Romans, were still concerned to demonstrate the rank and status that animated their behavior at Rome and in Italy, they were now charged with performing a set of duties that mandated close attention to provincial interests, and had a correspondingly broader array of audiences to please. The benefits of comporting themselves as Roman gentlemen in a manner intended to impress their social peers in Rome now had to be weighed against the advantages of assimilating to the manners of their Greek hosts.

Individual governors chose divergent strategies of self-presentation. We shall see, however, that all responded to the Roman discourse on “Greek” space in at least two ways. First, at least some governors in the eastern provinces understood their office as a platform not only for conveying their rank and status as Roman Senators and officials, but also for advertising their cultural sympathies. Second, all governors, regardless of the visibility of their cultural

affiliations, seem to have regarded Greek civic space as a distinctive stage for the performance of their duties, distinguished by a unique set of physical referents for their authority.

We have seen that the Greek sculptures and artifacts in elite villas and selected parts of public space could serve as points of reference for the articulation of a Roman aristocrat's engagement with the Greek tradition. These comprised, however, only one aspect of the settings and symbols that articulated his power and influence. Even in Rome, political office and service as a jurist, the typical pursuits of men of senatorial rank, required engagement with a set of built environments distinct from the "private" stages of villa and townhome.<sup>1</sup> Both official and personal display can, however, be understood as single category of practice, whereby personal cultural/political authority was claimed through a distinctive set of strategies for moving through, and positioning oneself with reference to, public space.

This chapter is organized into two sections. The first surveys the factors that conditioned how, where, and why Roman governors performed their personal status and official role when serving in the provinces. The second collects the evidence for how governors viewed, interpreted, and engaged with Greek civic spaces, and considers the extent to which the elite Roman discourse on Greek culture influenced this behavior.

### **I. Audiences, Props, Scripts**

Before discussing the complex of audiences, insignia, and standards of behavior that patterned a Roman governor's self-presentation, it will be useful to briefly outline the nature of his role. Since the formal responsibilities and personal motivations of this official have already

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<sup>1</sup> Talbert 1984: 113-28 discusses the meeting places of the imperial Senate. On spaces of justice in Rome, see De Angelis 2010: 19ff. The various spaces associated with elite self-representation are perhaps best understood through the settings in which individual senators were commemorated; the multiple statues erected under Nero for Volusius Saturninus (see Eck 1972 = *AE* 1972, 174) are particularly informative.

been discussed,<sup>2</sup> we need review here only those aspects of his role that were carried out before a sizeable civic audience.

We will take as our example the proconsul of Asia, most prominent of the Roman governors in Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> When visiting one of his fourteen *conventus* cities, the proconsul appeared first and foremost as a judge.<sup>4</sup> His staff could assist him in the arduous process of reviewing petitions, and some trials could be entrusted to his legates;<sup>5</sup> but he presided personally over hearings for the most important cases, a task that often lasted weeks. Although the most sensitive cases could be tried in a closed courtroom, the majority were heard publicly in the basilica or agora. There the proconsul, resplendent in his senatorial toga, would sit with his legal advisors on a tribunal raised above the litigants and their advocates, often before a considerable crowd. This large and rotating audience ensuring that the proconsul's appearance on the tribunal would be as fundamental to popular conceptions of his personality and authority.

A few of the proconsul's other duties provided additional opportunities for public performance. The inaugural sacrifice to the city's patron god was such an occasion, as were the sacrifices customarily offered on the emperor's birthday and the anniversary of his accession.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, when his visit coincided with an important local festival or the provincial games, a proconsul was expected to preside over the proceedings, as he would as the more occasional ceremonies surrounding the dedication of new buildings. Particularly in times of unrest, he might

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<sup>2</sup> See the general introduction and Ch. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Despite the formal differences in their roles, proconsuls of Asia carried out virtually the same tasks as the imperial legates in Bithynia-Pontus and Lycia-Pamphylia, and can thus be taken as representative of the Roman governors in Asia Minor.

<sup>4</sup> See Ch. 12. On the proconsul's role as judge, see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 143-70 and Bérenger 2014: 171-236, esp. 218-24. Burton 1973: 130-216 provides a thorough treatment of the judicial process.

<sup>5</sup> Dig. 1.16.6, pref., 1-2. The sheer number of petitions for trial – a prefect of Egypt was famously deluged with 1804 in two days (*P. Yale* 61, 3-7) – precluded anything more than cursory perusal of all but the most important cases. The rest were delegated or denied with a short comment (*scriptio*) written below the petition.

<sup>6</sup> See Ch. 9, 13.



also officiate at meetings of the city council or assembly. In a less formal capacity, he would appear as guest of honor at a series of semi-public banquets and receptions thrown by members of the local elite, or in a special seat at the theater during popular performances.<sup>7</sup>

The proconsul of Asia's role, in short, entailed frequent appearances in public space and constant interaction with local notables. These factors encouraged highly conscious performance of his rank and office, and correspondingly close attention to the priorities of the audiences he hoped to impress, the visibility of his insignia and subordinates, and the mannerisms popularly associated with authority.

#### *A. Audiences*

Perhaps the most immediate influence on a governor's self-presentation was his consciousness of the audiences he intended to impress. For the sake of convenience, these can be divided into three groups: the emperor, sociopolitical peers, and the provincial elite. All three audiences wanted the proconsul to perform his stipulated duties carefully and conscientiously, but for different reasons. The emperor wanted to maintain the stability and revenue flows of his province; the senatorial elite, to uphold the dignity of their rank and order; and the leading provincials, to win favors for themselves and their cities. Although their relative importance varied with the circumstances, no proconsul could afford to ignore any of these groups or their goals: the emperor could withdraw his favor, his peers could ostracize him, and the provincial elite could initiate maladministration proceedings against him. Whatever his personal feelings on the legitimacy of the emperor, dignity of his peers, and importance of the leading provincials, basic self-interest obligated him to acknowledge this complex of audiences in his public actions

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<sup>7</sup> See Bérenger 2014: 277-83 for proconsuls officiating at ceremonies of the imperial cult, *ibid.* 356-8 on their appearances at civic and provincial festivals, 271-2 on dedications, and 358-65 on private meetings with elite provincials. Presiding at meetings of the assembly: Dio Chrys., *Or.* 48.2; cf. *Dig.* 42.4.1.4. The governor at banquet: e.g. Plut., *Mor.* 707b-708b; cf. Cic. *II Verr.* 1. 65. At the theater: e. g. Philostr., *VA* 7.5.

and pronouncements, as the preamble to the famous decree of P. Fabius Persicus, proconsul of Asia under Claudius, neatly illustrates:

It is certainly my view that a magistrate in charge of provinces must before all else perform the offices entrusted to him with all steadfastness and good faith, and in such a way that he gives thought to the permanent good of the individual, of the whole province, and of each city – and not merely to that of his year in office; [but although this is my view], I freely acknowledge that I have been influenced by the example of the greatest and most truly just emperor [Claudius], who has taken the whole human race into his personal care and has, among other welcome benefactions, conferred this favor: he has restored to each person that which is his own. (*IvE* 18a.5-5-17)<sup>8</sup>

In a single long sentence, Persicus professes concern for provincial well-being, claims to follow the emperor's example, and announces his adherence to an ethic of service that his fellow senators would have applauded. Although the decree is addressed to the citizens of Ephesus, the fact that Greek and Latin copies were set up both in the theater and the lower agora indicates that Persicus' declaration of his motives may have anticipated – and indeed courted – a broader audience.

### *The Emperor*

Proconsuls of Asia cultivated close, if not necessarily friendly, relationships with the emperor.<sup>9</sup> The princeps, who had a hand in their appointment and issued the instructions (*mandata*) by which they conducted their administration,<sup>10</sup> represented the ultimate source of

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<sup>8</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ διὰ παντὸς τῆ ὑπολήψει ὑπάρχων [πρὸ πάντων] τοὺς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν προεστῶτας ἄρχοντα[ς μετὰ πάσης] εὐσταθείας καὶ πίστεως δεῖν ἐπιμέλεσθα[ι τῆς ἐγκεχει]-ρισμένης αὐτοῖς ἀρχῆς, ὥστε τοῦ διηνεκῶς κ[αὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ] τὸν βίον χρησίμου τοῦ τε καθ' ὅλην τὴν ἐπαρχεί[αν τοῦ τε] κατὰ πόλιν προνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐνιαυτοῦ μό[νον,] ἥδειον ὁμῶς ὁμολογῶ {ι} πρὸς ταύτην ἐπιτετάσθα[ι τὴν] γνώμην τῷ ὑποδείγματι τοῦ κρατίστου καὶ ἀλ[η]θῶς δικαιοτάτου ἡγεμόνος, ὃς πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνα<δε>δε {ι} γμένος {ἀναδεγεμένος} κηδεμονίαν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἡδίστοις φιλανθρώποις καὶ τοῦτο κεχάρισ<τ>αι τὸ τὰ ἴδια ἐκάστω ἀποκατασταθῆναι. For a similar profession of goodwill, see I. Beroia 7.1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Hurler 2006 is the most comprehensive account of the relationship between proconsul and emperor. See Millar 1977: 328-41 for a more concise summary.

<sup>10</sup> For the emperor's influence on proconsular appointments, see Hurler 2006: 66-79. Bérenger 2014: 45-8, 87-100 and Millar 1977: 313-28 discuss the content and significance of imperial *mandata*; cf. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 338-42 for a list of testimonia.

their authority. Formally, of course, they were emissaries of the senate; but it was the emperor to whom they wrote for advice,<sup>11</sup> the emperor's name by which they sanctioned their actions, and the emperor's divinity for which they sacrificed. Trajan summarizes the dynamic in a letter acknowledging Pliny's arrival in Bithynia: "I believe the provincials will understand that I have taken thought for their interests, for you will make clear to them that you were chosen to be sent to them in my place" (*Ep.* 10.18.2). And indeed, as we shall see in the following section, proconsuls often evoked the emperor in official contexts as a sort of "virtual audience" that lent prestige and legitimacy to their actions.

Yet the emperor was also a genuine, if distant, spectator. Most emperors took at least a passive interest in the activities of their officials, and expected to be consulted by letter on particularly controversial or important matters; governors who showed signs of excessive independence were liable to be regarded with disfavor or suspicion.<sup>12</sup> However, as long as they did not indulge in particularly flagrant malfeasance – in behavior, that is, which was likely to undermine provincial stability or tax revenue – governors would be left largely to their own devices.<sup>13</sup> Their behavior, however, was constantly monitored by imperial functionaries and travelling Romans, who would keep the court informed of any irregularities.<sup>14</sup> Distance imposed strict limits on imperial intervention in the provinces, but corrupt or incompetent officials were

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<sup>11</sup> See Hurler 2006: 202-301 on correspondence with the emperors.

<sup>12</sup> One well-known example is Barea Soranus, whose energetic and independent administration of Asia earned him the distrust of Nero (*Tac., Ann.* 16.23). Cornelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt under Augustus, was supposedly condemned for touting his accomplishments too brashly (*Cass. Dio* 53.23.5).

<sup>13</sup> Governors were allowed to accept moderate gifts (*Dig.* 1.16.3, 1.16.6.3, 1.18.18), but solicitation of bribes for judgment was not tolerated (Brunt 1961:190ff). See the comments of Levick 1994 on Tactius' famous assertion (*Ann.* 1.2.2) that the establishment of the Principate brought responsible governance to the provinces. As Tiberius said of the Egyptians, emperors wanted their subjects "sheared, not shaved" (*Suet., Tib.* 32) – an attitude comparable to Cicero's argument that responsible governance sustained the state (*Off.* 2.26-7), but presumably applied with more consistency.

<sup>14</sup> Reports of the governor's conduct: *Cic., Fam.* 10.3.1, 12.23.1; *QFr.* 1.1.37, 2.4.7; *Fronto, Ep. ad Am.* 1.6, 2.7.1

liable to the full force of the emperor's displeasure on their return to Rome.<sup>15</sup> Those who showed themselves effective and trustworthy servants, by contrast, could hope for imperial favor and further preferment.<sup>16</sup> Most proconsuls, accordingly, seem to have presented themselves like Pliny in his letters to Trajan: sedulously loyal, at least overtly attentive to their duties, and eager to assimilate their achievements to the glory of the imperial house.<sup>17</sup>

### *Peers and Rivals*

Selected by his fellow senators from a list of candidates approved by the emperor, a proconsul remained theoretically responsible to them for the duration of his office.<sup>18</sup> Although individual senators might call upon friends serving in the provinces for favors – Cicero, for example, was asked to escort a number of panthers through Cilicia for the games of M. Caelius Rufus – the total lack of evidence for correspondence with an incumbent official suggests that the senate's oversight was purely formal. As a body, however, the senate was deeply invested in the conduct of its members. Legally, this found expression in its frequent handling of accusations of maladministration.<sup>19</sup> Far more important, however, were the social pressures it focused. The senate was cynosure and epicenter of the prestige economy that regulated the public life of every Roman elite male. A proconsul of Asia, holder of one of the most coveted offices that the senate could grant, was inevitably an object of intense admiration and envy, and could expect his

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<sup>15</sup> See Bérenger 2014: 424-5 on the risks of displeasing the emperor.

<sup>16</sup> Note the qualities Pliny commends in his recommendations of friends to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.4.4, 10.26.2).

<sup>17</sup> Pliny's attitudes are particularly obvious in his comments on civic building projects; he endorses a canal at Nicomedia, for example, on the grounds that it will redound to the emperor's glory: "Intuenti mihi et fortunae tuae et animi magnitudinem conuenientissimum uidetur demonstrari opera non minus aeternitate tua quam gloria digna, quantumque pulchritudinis tantum utilitatis habitura" (*Ep.* 10.41.1).

<sup>18</sup> Hurlet 2006: 21-82 examines the method of selection in great detail.

<sup>19</sup> Bérenger 2014: 405-8 collects the evidence for Cicero's handling of the panthers. On the Senate's management of *Repetundae* proceedings, see esp. *SEG* 9 8, l. 85-145.

conduct to be scrutinized with corresponding closeness.<sup>20</sup> However far he was from Rome, his actions would find an echo in the curia; in a letter congratulating his brother Quintus on a third term as proconsul of Asia, Cicero compares the province to a theater audience vast and loud enough to be heard in Rome.<sup>21</sup> If a proconsul was to maintain the status and prestige that defined him as a member of the Roman elite, he had to ensure that his official conduct did not offend the sensibilities of his peers. The idea that the greatest measure of individual glory was to be won in service to the state was at least as old as the Republic. Despite the limited opportunities for gaining prestige as functionaries of the Principate, the ethos retained much of its potency: at the beginning of the second century, Pliny could still claim that his friend Silius Italicus “attained to glory from his proconsulship of Asia” (*Ep.* 3.7.3).<sup>22</sup>

As Cicero observed to Quintus, the duties of a proconsul left little space for brilliant achievement, especially in a time of general peace and prosperity.<sup>23</sup> Instead, glory was to be gained by demonstrating the virtues of one’s rank and class: “what can be imagined so striking or desirable as the circumstance that sets such virtue, such command over the passions, such self-control as yours not in obscurity, but in the brilliant light of Asia?” (*ad Q. F.* 1.1.9).<sup>24</sup> Though ostensibly adopted to benefit the provincials, this code of conduct was directed at the ruling elite in the capital, as Pliny’s advice to a newly-appointed corrector of Achaëa makes clear:

The outstanding reputation that you brought back from your service as a quaestor in Bithynia lies heavily on you [as an incentive]...you must strive not to appear to have been more civilized, efficient, and expert an official in that distant province

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<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Cicero’s comment to Quintus on the importance of good conduct in his proconsulship of Asia: “nunc vero propter earum rerum, in quibus versati sumus, splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam laudem ex ista provincia assequimur, vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare” (*QFr.* 1.1.41).

<sup>21</sup> “quoniam eiusmodi theatrum totius Asiae virtutibus tuis est datum, celebritate refertissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, iudicio eruditissimum, natura autem ita resonans, ut usque Romam significationes vocesque referantur” (Cic., *QFr.* 1.1.42; cf. *II Verr.* 5.35)

<sup>22</sup> See Lendon 1997: 191-201 for the influence of the Roman prestige economy on officeholders.

<sup>23</sup> Cic., *QFr.* 1.1.4-5

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *QFr.* 1.1.18, 37, 45; *Fam.* 2.18.1

than in this one closer to Rome...for in general, as we have often heard and read, it is much more humiliating to lose a reputation than to fail to win one (*Ep.* 8.24.8-9)

Cultivation, integrity, and prudence were considered hallmarks of proper senatorial conduct in the provinces.<sup>25</sup> Agricola, Tacitus' ideal senator, governs Britain with moderation and firmness, righting all abuses and holding his entire household to his own high standard of austerity.<sup>26</sup>

Cultivated self-control was also to characterize relations between the governor and his subjects;

Pliny advised his friend to "take nothing away from the dignity, from the liberty, or even from the pretensions of any man" (*Ep.* 8.24.3), both on general principle and in recognition of

Achaea's storied past. By the same token, according to another letter of Pliny, a governor who

failed to act equitably – that is, to treat the local elite with special respect – opened himself to

accusations of ill-breeding and conduct unbecoming his station.<sup>27</sup> In some cases, the proconsul's

discipline may have been stiffened by a professed dedication to the tenets of Stoicism; the basic

principles by which he conducted himself, however, were always tied to the aristocratic system

of honor upheld by his senatorial peers. This was a competitive ethos, partly animated by

personal rivalries – Cicero, for example, constantly contrasted his conduct in office with that of

his predecessor – but it outlined an objective standard of service, and a distinctive style of

performance, to which any governor who hoped to gain his peers' regard would have to adhere.<sup>28</sup>

Only thus, as Cicero reminded his brother, could a proconsul win glory for himself and his

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<sup>25</sup> Tacitus' famous comment on new austerity in the senate under the Flavians (*Ann.* 3.55) led Syme (1958: 26f) to posit that devotion to good governance would be especially attractive to new senators from provincial families, who could not rely on ancestral prestige. Though foreshadowed by Cicero (*QFr.* 1.1f), this idea of service to the state is particularly developed by Tacitus (*Agr.*, passim; cf. *Ann.* 13.53), and may represent an idiosyncratic view..

<sup>26</sup> Tac., *Agr.* 19-20; cf. Cic., *QFr.* 1.1.18

<sup>27</sup> Plin., *Ep.* 9.5

<sup>28</sup> Cicero contrasts himself with his predecessor: e.g. *QFr.* 1.2.7; *Att.* 6.1.2; cf. *QFr.* 1.1.41 for the significance of political rivalries on how a governor would be assessed.

family;<sup>29</sup> for however the provincials assessed his behavior, it was on the judgment of his countrymen that his reputation would be founded.<sup>30</sup>

### *Provincial Elites*

The civic audience before which a governor performed his duties can be roughly divided into two groups: the local elite with whom he interacted personally and the elements of the citizen body he encountered in various public settings.<sup>31</sup> Although both groups were interested in those of the governor's actions that affected the entire city,<sup>32</sup> they perceived and interpreted them from very different perspectives. To most of the citizens who watched him sacrifice for the emperor or dispense judgment from the tribunal, the proconsul was as much symbol as functionary, an impressive emissary of the awesome and impossibly distant emperor. Some governors, as we shall see in the following section, were careful to address popular perceptions in the public performance of his duties. As Pliny observes in a letter to a friend serving in the provinces, however, the governor who failed to prioritize the interests of the local elite would be perceived as both imprudent and impractical:

You are acting admirably – for I have been inquiring [into your conduct] – and I urge you to keep commending your love of justice to the provincials with merciful consideration; [but remember that] the greatest part [of such consideration] consists in cultivating the most respectable men, [a gesture] for which you will be loved by the humbler classes and approved by the eminent. Many [governors], apprehensive of seeming to accede too much to the interests of

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<sup>29</sup> “Denique etiam illud debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere; quod si esset, tamen non negligeres, praesertim cum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui; sed ea est tibi communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris” (*QFr.* 1.1.44)

<sup>30</sup> During a debate over the provincial custom of voting formal declarations of thanks for a governor's good service, Thrasea Paetus scorns the idea that a Roman's reputation could rest anywhere but in the judgment of other Romans (*Tac., Ann.* 15.20).

<sup>31</sup> For a collection of sources on a Roman governor's engagement with local elites, see Béranger 2014: 367-77; on his interaction with the lower orders, see *ibid.*, 380-6. There were of course other groups with distinctive methods and goals for interacting with the proconsul, such as the organizations of Roman merchants so prominent in the eastern provinces during the late Republic and early Empire (e.g. Cic., *QFr.* 1.1.7).

<sup>32</sup> A governor could, for example, uphold a city's status (e.g. *OGIS* 669 II, 1-3), make provision for relief in times of distress, or arbitrate disputes with neighboring cities (Béranger 2014: 307-11, 377-80).

the powerful, obtain a reputation for uncouthness or even malice. I know that you keep yourself from this error, but find myself unable to refrain from praise – couched as advice – for holding to a moderate course, so as to maintain the distinctions of rank and dignity; for if these are confused, disordered, and confounded, nothing can be more unequal than such equality. (*Ep.* 9.5.2-3)<sup>33</sup>

Besides a characteristically Roman emphasis on hierarchy and stability, this letter reflects Pliny's consciousness of the need for a close working relationship between Roman officials in the provinces and the local elites who hosted him. Although a governor would benefit in many ways from affording civic notables the respect they were due as brokers of local authority and influence, the manner in which he performed his duties in their presence was chiefly influenced by two specific concerns: to avoid a trial for maladministration (*repetundae*), and to gain the favor of leading provincials who might serve as useful clients. How a governor interacted in bouleuterion or banquet hall with the collective elite of a given city depended largely on its importance and status; he would have to consider his actions with special care when facing the council of a metropolis like Antioch, or when contemplating a visit to a free city like Aphrodisias.<sup>34</sup> His manner of engaging with individual notables, likewise, was predicated on considerations of their status and connections; special attention had to be accorded magnates like Claudius Timarchus, who – wealthy, influential, and deeply involved in the council of Crete and Cyrenaica – boasted that the province's votes of thanks, and thus the governor's reputation, were his to control.<sup>35</sup> But since charges of extortion could be initiated by any provincial community,

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<sup>33</sup> "Egregie facis — inquiri enim — et persevera, quod iustitiam tuam provincialibus multa humanitate commendas; cuius praecipua pars est honestissimum quemque complecti, atque ita a minoribus amari, ut simul a principibus diligere. Plerique autem dum verentur, ne gratiae potentium nimium impertire videantur, sinisteritatis atque etiam malignitatis famam consequuntur. A quo vitio tu longe recessisti, scio, sed temperare mihi non possum quominus laudem similis monenti, quod eum modum tenes ut discrimina ordinum dignitatumque custodias; quae si confusa turbata permixta sunt, nihil est ipsa aequalitate inaequalius."

<sup>34</sup> Antioch: see, e.g., Lib., *Or.* 49 (on the rights of the council). Governor reluctant to visit Aphrodisias: *A&R* 48.

<sup>35</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 15.20



and since valuable friends and clients might be found even in insignificant cities, a proconsul was motivated to maintain certain standards of decorum wherever he travelled.

Charges of malfeasance could be brought against a proconsul by individuals, cities, and even provincial councils. If an inquiry found evidence of wrongdoing, the case would be tried by the Senate. Although maladministration was not a capital crime, conviction carried considerable penalties; unless he happened to be an intimate of the emperor, a senator found guilty of extorting provincials could never expect to hold public office again, would lose considerable face among his peers, and might even be banished from Italy.<sup>36</sup> Governors, in short, were motivated to avoid abuses of their authority sensational enough to provide material for an indictment, or at least to maintain cordial relations with the provincials influential enough to orchestrate an accusation. Under certain emperors, conversely, provincial praise might bring preferment: Pliny urges Trajan to reinstate the old custom of allowing provincial delegations to bring before the senate formal votes of thanks for an official's good service.<sup>37</sup>

Second and third-century senators could not support client networks on the scale of their republican and early imperial predecessors.<sup>38</sup> In the eastern provinces, the practice of serving as a patron to entire cities fell into abeyance during the Julio-Claudian period,<sup>39</sup> and proconsuls of Asia seem to have relied primarily on less formal relationships with individual provincials to

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<sup>36</sup> On *repetundae* proceedings, see esp. Brunt 1961 and Béranger-Badel 2000. Two of Pliny's letters (2.11, 3.9) provide good accounts of the process from a senatorial perspective.

<sup>37</sup> Plin., *Pan.* 70.8-9. The custom had been banned in the reign of Nero on account of widespread abuses (Tac., *Ann.* 15.20-2).

<sup>38</sup> Tacitus describes the extensive client networks of the aristocracy under the first Julio-Claudians: "dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabeantur. nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur" (*Ann.* 3.55).

<sup>39</sup> See Eilers 2002: 161-5, 172-81 on the gradual decline of civic patronage after the accession of Augustus.

secure local support for their actions.<sup>40</sup> Yet even as the spread of imperial power gradually sapped governors' incentives to establish long-term relationships with local notables, the increasing incidence of imperial intervention made the friendship of officials more appealing than ever. In a well-known passage of his *Political Precepts*, Plutarch urged men ambitious to succeed in local politics to cultivate Roman favor:

The statesman should not only show himself and his native state blameless towards our [Roman] rulers, but he should also have always a friend among the men of high station who have the greatest power as a firm bulwark, so to speak, of his administration; for the Romans themselves are most eager to promote the political interests of their friends. (*Mor.* 814C)

The governor could grant ambitious provincials priority in his court, exemptions from onerous local responsibilities, advantage in personal rivalries, and access to the patronage networks of court and capital.<sup>41</sup> In return, he might ask for a bribe – and would expect unwavering support for all his actions and decisions, particularly in the event of a maladministration trial. Less urgently, he could hope for a commemorative statue in the agora or even, in the case of truly exceptional service, a monument to broadcast his glory in Rome itself.<sup>42</sup>

The select members of the local elite who were received into the proconsul's friendship might adopt a disingenuous attitude toward his conduct. Yet even these clients, if not necessarily as civic-minded as Plutarch's ideal statesman, were unlikely to wholly subordinate their city's interests to personal advantage. They had no more intention than their fellow citizens of allowing the governor to encroach on local autonomy and privileges, and few would have disagreed with

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<sup>40</sup> Only a few provincials – e.g. M. Aurelius Faustus and M. Aurelius Alopforus, hymnodes of Ephesus and clients of the proconsul L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (*IvE* 3088) – described themselves as clients of governors in our period. At least at Ephesus, formal patron-client relationships seem to have been formed more frequently with imperial procurators (e.g. *IvE* 616, 628), perhaps simply because these officials were more accessible.

<sup>41</sup> See Saller 1982: 149-59 on the incentives that led provincials to seek official friendship; cf. Bérenger 2014: 370-7.

<sup>42</sup> See Alföldy 2001 on monuments set up for governors at Rome.

Plutarch's observation that "those who invite the sovereign's decision on every decree, meeting of a council, granting of a privilege, or administrative measure force their sovereign to be more of a master than he desires" (*Mor.* 814F). All members of the local elite had a stake in the governor's approach to his duties insofar as it impinged on their privileges. In the close-knit world of civic politics, this translated into social pressure intense enough to force even the most ambitious notables to consider the interests of their peers. A proconsul who showed himself just and moderate only toward personal clients would earn resentment. To win the approval of the entire civic elite, he had to gain the respect all of its members. Apuleius summarizes the prevailing attitude when praising a proconsul of Africa:

I confess that I admire you; although no private tie of interest binds me to you, you have won my admiration in your public capacity. I have never received any favor from your hands, for I have never asked for you. But Philosophy has taught me...to attach greater importance to justice than to my private interests, and to prefer the furtherance of public welfare to the service of my own. Thus, while most admire you for the actual benefits conferred on them by your generosity, I admire you for the zeal by which that generosity is inspired. (*Flor.* 9.33-4)

This zeal, Apuleius elaborates, stems from the proconsul's sense of duty, which leads him to treat provincials with wisdom and moderation. A local notable had no need of personal connections – or, for that matter, a philosophical education – to admire such qualities in the man who controlled his city's fortunes. Another of Apuleius' epideictic orations suggests why a governor might want to hear himself praised in these terms: after describing the mercy and temperance of the proconsul Scipio Orfitus, the orator turned called upon the crowd assembled in the theater of Carthage to signal its recognition of these virtues with applause.<sup>43</sup> There was, in short, no better way for a governor to win the support of the civic elite than by professing his

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<sup>43</sup> Apul., *Flor.* 17.23

respect for their prerogatives, and no better way to achieve general popularity than by winning the civic elite.

In his *conventus* cities, then, a proconsul was at once imperial servant, Roman senator, and local patron. The relative importance of these distinct but interdependent roles would of course vary. Under most circumstances, they probably impinged on his actions as little more than a general consciousness of being always in the public eye. Moreover, since all three demanded careful and conscientious performance of a set list of duties, gratifying one audience frequently meant pleasing the others; most Roman governors, as we shall see, accordingly advertised their prestige and performed their duties in a more or less consistent manner. In this sense, a proconsul's audiences were formed less by their relation to the sources of his prestige than by their comprehension or interpretation of a distinctive language of authority.

### *B. Insignia and Retinue*

We have seen that a governor serving in the provinces sought to convince the emperor of his fidelity and good service, demonstrate his possession of the traditional attributes and service ethic of a Roman senator, and win sufficient provincial support to avoid accusations of malfeasance. In practice, since emperor, senatorial peers, and local elites alike urged the same basic model of behavior – a conscientious and capable administrator, conscious of both his own dignity and provincial interests – fulfilling all these goals entailed nothing more or less than careful and consistent performance of his status and role. With the aid of a distinctive set of insignia and their bands of friends and dependents, he moved and acted in a manner stylized to assert at once his personal authority, the prestige of his office, and the glory of Rome.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> On the self-representation of early imperial senators, see esp. Eck 1984, 2005, 2010; Kokkinia 2004; cf. David 2006.

The basic props of a governor's self-representation were the insignia of his office.<sup>45</sup> Of these, the *fascēs*, symbols of his authority to inflict capital punishment, were the most important. The twelve lictors to which a proconsul was entitled carried their fascēs before him as he moved through a city, upheld them when he delivered a speech, and propped them near his tribunal when he judged cases.<sup>46</sup> The *fascēs* identified him as a representative of the Roman government, and had accordingly to be visible wherever he exercised his authority: Ulpian declared it illegal for a blind man to sue in court, since "he would be unable to see and respect the magistrates and their insignia" (*Dig.* 3.1.1.5).<sup>47</sup> It is telling that Germanicus could think of no higher mark of respect for Athens than to enter the city with only one lictor.<sup>48</sup> The *fascēs* were complemented by other symbols of authority, most notably the *sella curulis*, the collapsible stool a Roman officials used when trying cases.<sup>49</sup> Carried behind a governor as he walked to his court, the *sella* made manifest his special authority to dispense justice, and identified the setting as a Roman court of law. That many former magistrates had a *sella curulis* depicted on their tombs is some indication of its intimate associations with authority and status.<sup>50</sup> Besides the *fascēs* and *sella curulis*, the most important indication of a governor's rank was his *toga praetexta*, emblazoned with the broad purple stripe (*latus clavus*) that marked its wearer as a Roman senator.<sup>51</sup> Few officials would have ever considered affecting the Greek *pallia* under any circumstances, and certainly never when performing their duties. Members of the imperial family could afford such

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<sup>45</sup> The most comprehensive discussion of the insignia of Roman magistrates is still Mommsen 1887: 372-435.

<sup>46</sup> On fascēs and lictors, see Mommsen 1887: 373-93 and Schäfer 1989: 196-232; cf. Bérenger 2014: 112-16. The fascēs never lost their association with capital punishment: e.g. Cic. *II Verr.* 5. 22; cf. Philostr., *VA* 3. 25. In the proconsul's court, lictors escorted litigants before the tribunal (Aristid., *Or.* 50.90-3).

<sup>47</sup> "insignia magistrates videre et revereri non possit." Cf. *Dig.* 1.16.1

<sup>48</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 2.53; cf. *ibid.* 2.59

<sup>49</sup> On the *sella curulis*, see Mommsen 1887: 399-405, Schäfer 1989: 24-142, and Wanscher 1980: 120-91. Governors were sometimes even personified as "the throne of justice" (Himer., *Or.* 48.31; cf. Livy 31.29.9).

<sup>50</sup> Schäfer 1989: 143-95

<sup>51</sup> On the *toga praetexta*, see Mommsen 1887: 418-23; *ibid.* 432, 435 on the proconsul's toga. Proconsuls were forbidden to wear military dress (Cass. Dio 53.13.3).

gestures;<sup>52</sup> but senators were aware that provincials regarded even their red patrician boots as distinctive symbols of authority.<sup>53</sup>

A governor's self-presentation was also predicated on the subordinates who accompanied him in public appearances.<sup>54</sup> An inscription attesting the initiation of P. Anteius Orestes, proconsul of Macedonia, into the Mysteries of the Great Gods at Samothrace lists the substantial band of friends (*amici*), slaves, and soldiers that joined him even in this intimate affair.<sup>55</sup> An even larger group would accompany him on formal occasions during his *conventus* visits, perhaps most visibly in the *adventus* procession, when a crowd of his friends, subordinates, and slaves would march behind his lictors and honor guard. The contributions of these men to his self-presentation were various. Some of his friends, chosen for their legal expertise, might accompany him on the tribunal. Well-trained slaves would attend him with practiced decorum at private receptions. The small detachment of soldiers that made up his honor guard could be posed at the doors of his lodging or inside his court. Whatever their specific duties in a given situation, each of these groups was supposed to project at all times the legitimacy and extent of the governor's authority; Cicero reminded Quintus to be sure that his staff showed proper regard for his reputation.<sup>56</sup> Some of a governor's attendants might be expressly intended to draw attention to his power, like the exotic Dacian guards who attended a second-century prefect of

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<sup>52</sup> Germanicus walked about Alexandria "pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu" (Tac., *Ann.* 2.59) – doubtless a bid for popularity, but not a gesture most Roman officials would have been willing to attempt. cf. Suet., *Aug.* 98.3

<sup>53</sup> Consider Plutarch's famous advice to any local notable with delusions of grandeur: βλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ μὴ πολὺ φρονεῖν μηδὲ πιστεῦειν, ὀρῶντα τοὺς καλτίους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς (Mor. 813e). Although τοὺς καλτίους (the generic Greek transliteration of *calcei*) have been interpreted as the boots of soldiers, it makes more sense to imagine a governor standing in his senatorial shoes (*calcei mullei*) on the βῆμα.

<sup>54</sup> On the composition of a governor's entourage, see Mommsen 1887: 320-71, Burton 1973: 13-25, and Bérenger 2014: 18-33; cf. Braund 2004.

<sup>55</sup> *SEG* 42 780, discussed by Oliver 1966 and Harris 1992. Another governor was initiated alongside his legates and lictors (*I. Samothrace* 53; cf. 28, 31, 50).

<sup>56</sup> Cic., *QFr.* 1.1.12; cf. Tac., *Agr.* 19

Egypt.<sup>57</sup> Others, like the heralds who proclaimed his judicial decisions, merely facilitated its expression.<sup>58</sup> All were responsible for ensuring that their master maintained a composure and dignity befitting his position; the lictors who allowed a young Septimius Severus, legate of the proconsul of Africa, to be embraced by an old friend while walking in public had failed in their prime directive.<sup>59</sup>

### *C. Pace, Voice, and Gesture*

A governor's insignia and retinue identified him as a representative of Roman power. Neither, however, was the most important means available to him for demonstrating his authority and rank. For all the symbolic potency of his fasces and senatorial toga, it was above all the manner in which he moved and acted, the superiority implicit in his every word and gesture, which identified him as the most powerful man in the province. Appearances were of course important; Pliny rhetorically queried of a friend: "is any man who wields supreme power and its insignia despised, unless he is degraded and shabby, and despises himself first?" (*Ep.* 8.24.6).<sup>60</sup> But the impression a governor made depended at least equally on his conduct and deportment. Apuleius contrasts a proconsul on his tribunal with the herald who proclaimed his judgments:

The herald ascends the tribunal with the proconsul, and wears a toga like his master. But then the herald stands on his feet for hours on end, or paces back and forth, or bawls the news with all the power of his lungs. The proconsul, by contrast, speaks quietly and with frequent pauses, sits while he speaks, and often reads from a document. The difference is only natural. For the garrulous voice of the herald is that of a hired servant, while the words read by the proconsul constitute a judgment. (*Flor.* 9.10-12)

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<sup>57</sup> *Ostraca de Krokodilô*, no. 98

<sup>58</sup> E.g. "Praeco proconsulis et ipse tribunal ascendit, et ipse togatus illic videtur, et quidem per diu stat aut ambulat aut plerumque contentissime clamitat" (*Apul.*, *Flor.* 9.10). On heralds, see Bérénger 2014: 110-11

<sup>59</sup> *SHA*, *Sev.* 2.6; cf. *Dig.* 1.18.19, pr.

<sup>60</sup> "An contemnitur qui imperium qui fasces habet, nisi humilis et sordidus, et qui se primus ipse contemnit?" This judgment applies, of course, as much to character as to clothes.

The proconsul's behavior on the tribunal, in short, manifests the "pleasing gravity, temperate severity, unruffled resolution, and kindly enthusiasm"<sup>61</sup> which Apuleius identifies as the hallmarks of his conduct in office. It is likely that the effect was calculated. Governors might embrace or kiss provincials they deemed worthy of special esteem,<sup>62</sup> but the persona they projected set them apart from even the most eminent local notables. Although excessive pomp was discouraged on the grounds that it impoverished the province,<sup>63</sup> careful and dignified performance of official duties could advertise the governor's authority more effectively than any amount of ostentation. Such behavior asserted possession of the qualities that enabled a man to govern himself and others, invited trust in his justice and moderation, and implied his faithful execution of the emperor's will. Like the sophists who toured the cities of his province,<sup>64</sup> a travelling proconsul sought constantly to demonstrate his superiority, and to claim thereby the appropriateness of the relationship he assumed with the citizen body.<sup>65</sup>

The Severan jurist Callistratus advised all Roman judges – and particularly those of high rank, like proconsuls of Asia – to consider carefully how they presented themselves in their courts:

An administrator of justice ought to ensure that he makes himself easily approachable, but that he does not tolerate any contempt of his court; thus is it stipulated in warrants of appointment that provincial governors should not become too familiar with provincials, for conversation on equal terms breeds contempt. When trying cases, likewise, [the administrator of justice] should not lose his temper at those whom he regards as wicked, nor should he be moved to tears by the pleas of those in distress. For it is not in the character of a firm and resolute judge to reveal his emotions in his expression. [The administrator of

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<sup>61</sup> "ista gravitas iucunda, mitis austeritas, placida constantia blandusque vigor" (*Flor.* 9.35)

<sup>62</sup> Embrace: Aristid., *Or.* 50.107. Kiss: Philostr., *VS* 1. 25 (537). Cf. Cic., *Fam.* 13.6a.4.

<sup>63</sup> *Dig.* 1.16.4, pref., 1-2; 50.4.3, 18; Plin., *Pan.* 20; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 2.34-43; cf. Cic., *QFr.* 1.1.9; Tac., *Ann.* 3.33-4

<sup>64</sup> Gleason 1995, Korenjak 2000

<sup>65</sup> There seems to have been some expectation that his behavior would be paradigmatic; Trajan, for example, reminds Pliny that he was chosen "ut formandis istius provinciae moribus ipse moderareris et ea constitueres, quae ad perpetuam eius provinciae quietem essent profutura" (*Ep.* 10.117.2). Cf. Philo, *In Flacc.* 4; Arr., *Disc.* 3.7.34.



justice], in sum, ought to conduct his court to enhance by personal excellence the authority of his high rank. (*Dig.* 1.19.19)<sup>66</sup>

For a governor, such advice had implications well beyond the confines of his assize court.

Although he was, in theory, accessible at all times to all petitioners,<sup>67</sup> the nature of his duties and position restricted interaction with provincials to a select few occasions and settings. The most prestigious members of the local elite, his hosts and advisors, could expect to encounter him regularly at exclusive social gatherings. For the great majority of the populace, however, he remained a distant figure, glimpsed only at infrequent public appearances or in the performance of his duties. The manner in which he stood, sat, or gestured on these occasions virtually defined the man and his office for all but those with special access to his person. For their part, as Callistratus' advice indicates, Roman officials were well aware that demonstrating their authority required close attention to appearances. At every public appearance, they proclaimed themselves representatives of Rome and emperor in their dress and insignia, in their speech and movement, and – most importantly for our purposes – in the settings they used for official functions.

Although the extent to which visiting officials consciously staged the performance of their duties in relation to symbols of authority in the built environment is uncertain, there can be little doubt that they sought to exploit all available resources, including those available in the urban fabric, to win prestige and gain local support.<sup>68</sup>

A visiting governor's rank and authority were implicit in his pace, gestures, and speech, all of which reflected social habits and political conceptions profoundly influenced by

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. 1.16.9.2; Plin., *Ep.* 8.24.6

<sup>67</sup> E.g. "...facillimos esse aditus ad te, patere aures tuas querelis omnium, nullius inopiam ac solitudinem non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam tuo" (*QFr.* 1.1.25). Béranger 2014: 323-7 discusses the ideal of the accessible governor; see *ibid.* 380-6 on his interaction with non-elites.

<sup>68</sup> On the manner in which Roman officials comported themselves in the provinces, see especially Lendon 1997: 191ff.

conventions in the capital.<sup>69</sup> Although the mannerisms of individual officials reflected their unique origins, experiences, and predilections, all had spent years as senators in Rome, and owed their positions to mastery of standards of self-presentation there.<sup>70</sup> It may be safely assumed that all governors applied this training, the basis of their public identities, to the performance of their duties in the provinces. Thus, although we possess no contemporary descriptions of a proconsul's actions in a provincial city, the manner in which Roman officials were likely to comport themselves can be plausibly outlined. The following discussion is organized thematically. We will consider in turn the types of motion and posture, the manner of speaking, and relation with the symbols of imperial power deemed appropriate to the office and dignity of a Roman governor.

If they arrived by land, governors seem to have usually entered cities on horseback or in a carriage, dismounting at predetermined points to take part in the customary rituals of *adventus*.<sup>71</sup> Although there is some evidence that Roman officials also travelled by carriage to and from the scenes of their duties,<sup>72</sup> they seem to have often walked through their cities.<sup>73</sup> In addition to its practical advantages as the quickest means of transportation for short trips through crowded cities, walking (as opposed to riding) was at a potential means of advertising modesty and approachability – qualities useful and politic to demonstrate. The pace and manner of an

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. Flaig 1993, Sumi 2005: 220-62

<sup>70</sup> See, e.g., Jenkyns 2013: 143ff on the meanings of pace and gait in Rome.

<sup>71</sup> See Mommsen 1887: 393-6 on the sources for Roman officials on horseback and in carriages. Emperors traditionally entered Rome on horseback (Lehnen 1997: 159-62), and seem to have done the same in provincial cities, to judge from the series of Pergamene coins depicting the arrival of Caracalla (Nollé 2003). In the triumphal processions of Byzantine Constantinople, it was customary for an emperor to ride up to the Forum of Constantine, where he would change his vestments and continue by foot (Const. Porph., *Cer.* 438.11ff; cf. 501.9ff).

<sup>72</sup> From the late second century onward, legates of the proconsul of Africa travelled by carriage: “*ex quo factum ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent, qui ante pedibus ambulabant*” (SHA, *Sev.*, 2.7). This may imply that their master the proconsul had always travelled by carriage.

<sup>73</sup> Such, at least, was the usual practice at Rome, where a wide array of passages attest to the marks of respect traditionally accorded to consuls passing on foot. Pedestrians, for example, were to stand up and make way for an approaching consul (Plin., *Ep.* 1. 23. 2; Suet., *Tib.* 31.2), and riders were to dismount at his approach (Livy 24.44.10; Plut., *Fab.* 24.2).

aristocratic Roman's walk was closely tied to his public self-presentation. While he might stroll carelessly along the porticoes of his villa, his stride in the public sphere was carefully regulated: firm and measured, neither indolently slow nor brusquely hasty.<sup>74</sup> In keeping with the dignity of his office, moreover, he never walked alone. The lictors who preceded and the honor guard that followed him matched his pace, replicating the decorum and restraint of the official in their midst. Walking, sitting, or standing, a governor's actions were always framed by elements of this retinue; but the effect must have been particularly impressive on crowded city streets, when it must have seemed a visible intrusion of Roman order into the turmoil of everyday civic life. Without mentioning Roman officials explicitly, Polemon's early second-century work on physiognomy – which can be understood partly as a compendium of contemporary opinion on elite self-presentation – characterizes men who walk with upright carriage and measured movement of their arms as wise in counsel.<sup>75</sup> Although walking in the Greek world was not assigned the same values it was at Rome,<sup>76</sup> the message of authority implicit in a Roman governor's measured gait probably needed no cultural translation.

How, where, and with whom a governor sat could serve as an important demonstration of his power. The distinctive nature of his authority was particularly apparent when he used his *sella curulis*. Before the judicial hearings that occupied the bulk of his time in the public eye, his seat would be ceremoniously carried into the courtroom, and placed atop a purpose-built platform, allowing a clear view of its gleaming ivory legs.<sup>77</sup> A governor's posture and expression when thus seated were carefully controlled. Callistratus' comments on the firmness of the ideal

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<sup>74</sup> General treatments of the values assigned to walking at Rome include Corbeill 2004: 107-39; O'Sullivan 2011, esp. 16-22; and Jenkyns 2013: 143-91. Compare the discussion of pace and stride in the Arabic translation of Polemon's *Physiognomy* (Hoyland 2007: 439-43).

<sup>75</sup> See the translation in Swain 2007: 439-41.

<sup>76</sup> Bremmer 1992

<sup>77</sup> See Ch. 12.

judge and Apuleius' contrast between the poise of a proconsul and the rude energy of his crier indicate the expectation that a proconsul seated in his court would always be fully conscious of the decorum befitting a man of his position and rank. His pose was to convey authority: officials sculpted or painted in their curule seats are almost always shown with widely spread knees and arms on the wings of their chairs – doubtless the domineering posture they sought to project in public life.<sup>78</sup> While listening to a speech, his expression was to indicate (or imitate) close attention to the proceedings, particularly when hearing cases, when he was to display courteous attention to the litigants and refrain from any display of emotion.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, when attending some public entertainment, he was expected to remain attentive but detached, neither totally aloof nor subject to the passions of the crowd.<sup>80</sup> It was further expected that, whether at his court or in the theater, a governor would be seated beside men of honor and distinction.<sup>81</sup> Even at banquet, an official who allowed persons of lower status to sit or recline near him risked compromising his reputation.<sup>82</sup>

The manner in which a governor spoke was an important indication both of his personal cultivation and of his general attitude toward the conduct of his duties. The Romans and their Greek subjects agreed that a governor should be eloquent.<sup>83</sup> Besides being a sign of acuity and intelligence, rhetorical skill bespoke education, and thus self-control.<sup>84</sup> Although some officials

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<sup>78</sup> Davies 2005, esp. 216-20

<sup>79</sup> Ulpian, it will be recalled, urged proconsuls to at least affect interest in provincial declamations (*Dig.* 1.16.7). Cicero reminds his brother Quintus that displays of emotion “cum abhorrent a litteris atque ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati” (*QFr.* 1.1.39). Cf. Sen., *Ira* 2.5.5.

<sup>80</sup> In perhaps the most explicit statement of this position, Philo (drawing on more general Stoic principles) has the praetorian prefect Macro instruct Caligula to avoid public displays of emotion – advice which would have registered with any Roman official (*Leg.* VII (41-51)). Cf. Philostr., *VS* 489.

<sup>81</sup> See Ch. 12-13.

<sup>82</sup> In the so-called *Acta Maximi* (*POxy* 471), a prefect of Egypt is criticized for being seen publicly with his young favorite.

<sup>83</sup> Salomies 2005

<sup>84</sup> E.g., Philo, *In Flacc.* 2-4. Cf. Cass. Dio. 52.8.6-7; Plut., *Mor.* 817a; Philostr., *VA* 5.36; [Aristid.], *Or.* 35.17-20.

seem to have conducted their judicial business in Latin, it was expected that the governor would be able to speak Greek.<sup>85</sup> When speaking, his gestures were expected to be restrained,<sup>86</sup> his voice pleasant and even; the proconsul described by Apuleius, it will be recalled, “speaks quietly and with frequent pauses” (*Flor.* 9.11), giving his every pronouncement the force of law. Particularly when addressing a large audience, Roman officials seem to have taken considerable care to position themselves for dramatic effect, ideally against a backdrop of their insignia or a statue of the emperor.<sup>87</sup>

Images of the emperor, in fact, seem to have played a significant role in how and where Roman governors presented themselves. As at Rome, where statues of the reigning emperor and his worthy predecessors adorned the curia, basilicas, and every other center of Senatorial self-representation,<sup>88</sup> the imperial image was ubiquitous in the cities of the Roman east. Statues of the emperors were particularly dense in the spaces governors regularly used to perform their duties. For local elites, as we shall see in later chapters, the juxtaposition of governor and imperial image was an important means of constructing Roman power.<sup>89</sup> From the governors’ perspective, however, the imperial image was a necessary “prop” for the display of his authority, the fixed point around which his self-presentation revolved. Carefully as they emphasized their personal qualities, governors were always aware – as, significantly, were provincials – that their power ultimately derived from the emperor; when Epictetus asks the Roman corrector of Achaëa whence he has the right to judge the Greeks, the official proudly replies “the emperor wrote my

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<sup>85</sup> Apollonius of Tyana admonishes Vespasian to ensure that his governors speak Greek (Philostr., *VA* 5.36), and some at least were quite fluent (Quint., *Inst.* 11.2.50). The proconsul who condemned the martyr Pionius to death, however, did so in Latin (*Mart. Pion.* 20); and Fronto, when assembling his consilium for his service as proconsul of Africa, enlisted the aid of learned friends for his Greek correspondence (*Ep. ad Ant. Pium* 8.1). On the question of language, see especially Bérenger 2004: 46-53 and Bérenger 2014: 133-5, 327-32.

<sup>86</sup> On proper gesture when speaking, see especially Sittl 1890: 199-210; Davies 2010; cf. Aldrete 1999, Hall 2004.

<sup>87</sup> See, for example, the scenes of *adlocutio* on the Column of Trajan (Baumer et al. 1991: 278-87).

<sup>88</sup> Pekáry 1985: 45f, Neudecker 1988: 84-90

<sup>89</sup> See Ch. 12-13.

credentials” (Arr., *Disc.* 3.7.30). A governor’s duties brought him into repeated and public juxtaposition with the imperial image. When he administered oaths of loyalty, offered sacrifice at civic festivals, sat in the theater, or tried cases, he was always positioned near a statue of the emperor. Since civic elites placed these images, the degree to which this constant proximity reflected the governor’s initiative is unclear. Yet in view of the nature of their role, and still more of their consciousness of provincial ideas about that role, it seems likely that governors actively sought some connection with the all-validating image of the emperor when performing his duties. Perhaps the most dramatic evidence comes from Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius*, in which a governor, threatened with death by the starving citizens of Aspendus, clings for safety to a statue of the emperor in the agora.<sup>90</sup>

In performing his duties, a Roman governor had a distinctive group of audiences to please, a restricted complement of insignia and subordinates to frame his authority, and a limited set of strategies for self-presentation. Each of these circumstances molded how he used the urban fabric of the cities he visited. His audiences, collectively urging highly public performances of his duties, encouraged him to make himself as visible as possible, particularly when trying cases. The proper display of his insignia, retinue, and personal mannerisms, likewise, necessitated the use of an elevated and fairly spacious area, again particularly when transacting his legal responsibilities. The symbolic significance of the imperial image, finally, seems to have prompted governors to consistently juxtapose themselves with statues of the emperors. These are very general points; but they outline a distinctive approach to displaying the authority of official and Empire in provincial civic space, and illuminate our limited evidence for how Roman governors engaged with Greek cities.

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<sup>90</sup> Philostr., *VA* 1.15

## II. Performance

There were two parallel, and sometimes competing, sets of “stage directions” guiding a governor’s public conduct in the Greek east. The first set, keyed to the requirements of his office, was constituted by the standard guidelines, imbibed over a long career of service in senatorial offices, for displaying rank, status, and loyalty to the emperor. The second was framed by the complex of assumptions about Greek culture implicit in elite Roman education and discourse. Together, they encouraged Roman officials to pay exceptionally close attention to the Greek civic spaces in which they performed their duties.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Roman law made no special provision for official engagement with culturally Greek cities. In some senses governors seem to have regarded all provincial cities as more or less equivalent platforms for the display of their status and duties; their insignia could be suitably displayed, and the requirements of their office adequately performed, in virtually any urban space. There is considerable evidence to suggest, however, that elite Romans serving in the provinces regarded Greek civic space as a distinctive stage for the presentation of their status and office. This conception, far from being restricted to the “Greek” spaces of the villas or to “museum cities” like Athens and Sparta, was potentially applicable to any polis. Perhaps the clearest indication that the whole Greek east was regarded in a distinctive light is the prominence accorded to mementos of the Classical and mythological past in Roman cultural handbooks and works of padoxography. For example, in the *Liber Memorialis* of L. Ampelius, an encyclopedic handbook synthesized from earlier material in the fourth-century, the section on “miracula mundi” is devoted almost entirely to Greece and Ionia.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> 8.1-19. On the handbook of Ampelius, see Arnaud-Lindet 1997.

Likewise, the literary fragments associated with Licinius Mucianus,<sup>92</sup> a general and politician who spent considerable time in the eastern provinces as an exile, expatriate, and (finally) a governor of Lycia-Pamphylia in the mid-first century, attest a series of paradoxographic works dealing exclusively or primarily with the Greek east; prominent among the preserved excerpts are descriptions of the Artemision at Ephesus and of various temple-offerings in other Greek cities.<sup>93</sup> Like Ampelius' handbook, Mucianus' works reflect a Roman conception of the Greek world (and particularly its Aegean core) as somehow distinctive. This idea seems to have had significant political implications.

Although the Roman conception of Greece was epitomized by a few famous poleis and sanctuaries in Achaea, cities in other parts of Greece and western Asia Minor were clearly regarded as representatives of the same cultural tradition.<sup>94</sup> Our literary sources provide, however, little explicit information on the attitudes of Roman officials to the culture of these cities. Pliny never comments on the Greek culture of Bithynia's cities, and Tacitus, who served as proconsul of Asia under Trajan, is similarly unforthcoming.<sup>95</sup> Epigraphic evidence is somewhat more helpful. In a letter to the council and assembly of Ephesus, Julia Domna claims to have supported the city's bid for a third neokorate from respect for its cultural achievements.<sup>96</sup> Likewise, a letter from Hadrian confirming Boeotian Naryka's status as a polis mentions the

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<sup>92</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 216

<sup>93</sup> On the works of Mucianus, see Traina 1987, Baldwin 1995, and Williamson 2005. Temple of Artemis: Pliny, *HN* XVI, 213; temple offerings: XIX, 12; XXXIV, 36.

<sup>94</sup> Consider, for example, the many Asian cities included in Hadrian's Panhellenion. On Roman cultural tourists in Asia Minor, see Hutchinson 2013: 113-19.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *Ann.* 4.55. Syme speculates that Tacitus' time in Asia led to him to contempt of the Greeks (1958: 504-19); Gasco 1991 and Malissard 2007 sketch a more balanced view.

<sup>96</sup> *IvE* 212; Engelmann 1983: 125-6 suggests that the empress alluded to Xenophon in her letter of support. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* 4.55-6.



city's cultural achievements alongside its other credentials.<sup>97</sup> Governors seem to have adopted a similar attitude toward the Greek cities of their provinces. In a fragmentary letter, a second-century proconsul of Macedonia professes his respect for the city of Beroia, and accordingly undertakes to help maintain its gymnasium.<sup>98</sup> An edict issued by a Neronian proconsul of Asia praises the age and fame of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus.<sup>99</sup> A letter from a Trajanic proconsul of Asia, finally, praises Aezani for its “lineage and antiquity” – for, that is, its unimpeachable Hellenic heritage.<sup>100</sup>

Governors in the eastern provinces, in short, identified even cities without any claim to historical or cultural eminence with the Roman discourse on Greek culture. On the basis of the limited evidence available to us, they seem to have presented themselves accordingly. A few elite Romans, mostly emperors or members of the imperial family, actually adopted Greek mores during their visits. When visiting Alexandria, for example, Germanicus assumed Greek dress and favored the citizen assembly with a long Greek oration proclaiming his admiration of Alexander and the city's beauty.<sup>101</sup> Very few governors, however, seem to have taken this approach. Most seem, in fact, to have responded to Greek cities by consciously emphasizing their identity as elite Romans. This strategy seems to have been motivated largely by the idea that cultivated Romans, politically engaged and morally upright, better exemplified the ideals of Classical Greece than the degenerate modern Hellenes.<sup>102</sup> The best example from our period is Pliny's farewell<sup>103</sup> to

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<sup>97</sup> ἐμνήσθησαν δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ ποιηταὶ τινες τῶν ἐνλογιμωτάτων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνας ὡς Ναυρκείων ὀνομάζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τινὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀρμηθέντας (*AE* 2006, 1369 = *SEG* 51 641.16-20). See the discussion of Knoepfler & Pasquier 2006. Compare *SEG* 30 89 (Synnada), 29 127.

<sup>98</sup> *I. Beroia* 7.1-6 = *SEG* 48 742.

<sup>99</sup> *IvE* 18b.1-6

<sup>100</sup> *IGR* IV.572.4-5.

<sup>101</sup> Tac., *Ann.* 2.59. Speech: *POxy* 2435 recto.

<sup>102</sup> See Ch. 4.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Stat., *Silv.* 3.2; Juv. 8.87ff

Maximus, a *Curator Liberarum Civitatum* on his way to Achaëa. The letter is worth quoting at some length:

Remember that you have been sent to the province of Achaëa, to the true and pure Greece, whence culture, literature, and even agriculture are believed to have arisen...respect the gods, their founders, and reverence...their ancient glory and very age, which makes men venerable, but cities sacred. Honor their antiquity, their great deeds, and even their myths. Do not detract from anyone's dignity, liberty, or pride. Always bear in mind...that it is Athens you go to and Sparta you rule...remember what each city was once, but without looking down on it for being so no longer...it is disgraceful if authority can only test itself by insulting others. (*Ep.* 8.24.2)<sup>104</sup>

Pliny's comments are predicated on the assumption that the virtues of ancient Greece are only maintained in modern Achaëa through Roman influence and policy. The purport is clarified by reference to Pliny's model, the famous letter of Cicero advising his brother Quintus on how best to regulate his conduct as proconsul of Asia.<sup>105</sup> Conceding, like Cicero, the ancient cultural primacy of Greece,<sup>106</sup> Pliny stresses that the poleis' present subjection has robbed them of any capacity for independent action –and has, in so doing, degraded their moral character.<sup>107</sup> Cities like Athens and Sparta, worthy of the highest respect for their noble past, should thus be

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<sup>104</sup> “Cogita te missum in provinciam Achaïam, illam veram et meram Graeciam, in qua primum humanitas litterae etiam fruges inventae esse creduntur...[3] Reverere conditores deos et...reverere gloriam veterem et hanc ipsam senectutem, quae in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. Nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil etiam ex iactatione decerpseris. [4] Habe ante oculos...Athenas esse quas adeas Lacedaemonem esse quam regas...[5]...Recordare quid quaeque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias quod esse desierit...[6]...Male vim suam potestas aliorum contumeliis experitur.” On *humanitas*, see esp. Shadewaldt 1973: 58-61; cf. Woolf 1998: 54ff

<sup>105</sup> See Sherwin-White 1966: 477-8 on Pliny's imitation of Cicero. In his letter (*QFr.* 1.1), Cicero repeatedly stresses the province of Asia's Greek identity, identifying its cities with old Hellas (19), and contrasting their inhabitants with less Hellenized peoples (27); for all the symptoms of their present degradation, the Greeks' classical heritage elevates them above the peoples of Asia; cf. Cic., *Flac.* 61ff, 100; Livy 38.17.

<sup>106</sup> Cicero presents the Asian Greeks as scions of the race which invented culture itself (27-8; cf. *Flac.* 26). Among the Greeks, the Athenians were particularly fond of claiming responsibility for the rudiments of civilization and culture; Oliver (1968: 17-19) provides a number of references.

<sup>107</sup> Cicero explicitly states that, while Asian Greeks are the most cultivated of men (6), few are worthy of their forbearers (16). He accordingly urges Quintus to trust only those who are “vetere Graecia digni.” But such men are hard to find: “vero fallacessunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eruditi” (16). Roman control is necessary to save such degenerates from themselves: “Asia cogitet, nullam ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem futuram fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur” (34).

governed by men who understand that both the value of culture and the meaning of duty rely on personal example.<sup>108</sup> The governorship of Greek cities should be particularly marked by clemency and restraint (8.24.6-8) – that is, by sufferance. According to Cicero, Asia prospered under Quintus only after he applied the lessons of ancient Greece<sup>109</sup> and, so showing himself more “Hellenic” than his Asian subjects, learned to maintain and uphold culture in its native land.<sup>110</sup> The “true and pure Greece” of Pliny’s *Achaea*, likewise, is simultaneously an ennobling ideal and faded reality; by embodying the former, Maximus will maintain the latter.

How this worked in practice is unclear. The manner in which Roman aristocrats interpreted, moved through, and positioned themselves in a given setting was governed by spatial practices formed over a lifetime of presenting themselves in a series of carefully designed and symbolically charged public settings. These habits, only partly conscious, have left no literary trace. If nothing else, however, it seems fair to assume that cultural and political qualities associated with Greek cities made officials serving in the eastern provinces exceptionally conscious of the settings in which they performed their duties. Roman officials in the Greek east may thus have been particularly receptive to the manner in which the elites of their cities presented public space. Perhaps the best evidence for the potential efficacy of such pressure is Philo’s *In Flaccum*, where we see a prefect of Egypt assenting to the demands of Alexandria’s Greek population for a redefinition of civic space.<sup>111</sup> After the Greeks of Alexandria staged a

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<sup>108</sup> Cf. Plin., *Ep.* 10.117.2.

<sup>109</sup> “non enim me hoc iam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque iis rebus gestis, in quibus non potest residere inertiae aut levitatis ulla suspicio, nos ea, quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos, quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque tradita. Quare praeter communem fidem, quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere videmur, ut, quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi, apud eos ipsos, quod ab iis didicerimus, velimus expromere.” (*QFr.* 1.1.28)

<sup>110</sup> Cicero emphasizes that Quintus’ governorship has already been a cause of revival: under his guidance, ancient cities have been rebuilt and public order restored (25). If he continues to so comport himself, Cicero exclaims, the Greeks will praise him like “one of their ancient heroes” (7: *ut quondam ex annalium memoria*).

<sup>111</sup> Compare the still more heated debates over the significance of Alexandrian topography in Haas 1997.

demonstration in the city's main gymnasium (37-9), occupied the theater in imitation of an assembly, and urged statues of the emperors to be set up in every synagogue (41),<sup>112</sup> The prefect quickly identified himself with their definition of the city (and thus of its public spaces), revoking the Jews' civic rights, condoning their confinement in a single neighborhood (55), and forcing members of the Jewish council of elders to march through the agora and into the theater, where they were publicly punished (74-5, 84-5). While this example is hardly representative of what most governors experienced, it illustrates the extent to which close engagement with local elites could influence their use of civic space.

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<sup>112</sup> Alston 1997b connects the mob's actions with Roman policy in Egypt, which privileged the Greek "gymnasial" class over all others.

## Conclusion

A Roman aristocrat was conditioned to articulate his rank, status, and loyalty to the emperor with reference to a distinctive set of symbols and spaces. In Rome and Italy, the class of these symbols and spaces associated with a Classicizing ideal of Greece environed spatial practices that articulated aspects of elite identity ancillary to those on display in the political and judicial centers of the capital. Though primarily connected with “cultural” activities, these spaces and symbols are best regarded as extensions of practices developed for elite performance in Rome. Particularly in the wake of the Augustan synthesis, which identified Classical Greece as a paradigm of political engagement and civic virtue, not only Greek artifacts on display in public space, but even the “Greek” spaces of villas, had at least implicit political associations. For the Roman elites who created and used them, perhaps the most important quality of these physical mementoes of Greece was their familiarity: the stylistic markers of Classical and classicizing sculpture, for example, were instantly recognizable, and associated with a clear set of cultural – and so moral/political – qualities. Greek artifacts and/or “Greek” settings thus provided convenient points of reference for staging important aspects of elite identity

The practices of self-display that evolved in the “Greek” settings of Rome and Italy, created to showcase aspects of elite rank and status, significantly influenced how Roman aristocrats performed their rank and office when serving as governors in the provinces. They had special implications in the core of the Greek world, where governors treated even minor poleis as representatives of the Hellenic cultural tradition. An almost total lack of direct evidence makes the concrete consequences of this circumstance for the behavior of individual officials difficult to define. It can plausibly be asserted, however, that it encouraged governors to carefully consider

the cultural, and thus political, implications of the spaces in which they performed their duties. For our purposes, it suffices to observe that Roman governors, trained to define themselves and the authority of their office in relation to elements of the built environment, and compelled by their duties to be acutely aware of the political implications of civic space, were sensitive to the design and décor of their surroundings. This had the effect of according local elites a potentially considerable degree of influence over how visiting governors experienced, interpreted, and responded to a city.

### **Part Three. An Image of the Polis**

We have seen that Roman officials were conditioned to define their status and authority in relation to the built environments in which they performed their duties. It will now be demonstrated that the cityscapes in which they staged their personas and position were products of the concerted initiative of local elites, and were ultimately designed to communicate a distinctive sociopolitical ideal. As noted in the first chapter, imperial Greek notables had two basic political goals: to maintain the social relations that upheld their local position, and to use these relations as a platform for aggrandizing both themselves and the city that served as the vehicle of their prestige. Roman rule guided these goals down parallel tracks, urging civic governments and individual benefactors alike to commit themselves to a distinctive urban aesthetic, characterized by monumental public spaces and programmatic sculptural displays, that facilitated political communication between and within cities. This aesthetic was connected with a sociopolitical ideal, originating in traditional conceptions of the polis but profoundly reshaped by the political circumstances of the imperial period, that identified the visible order of a city's appearance with the social harmony of its citizen body.

The ideal of the socially unified and visually harmonious polis guided how Greek local notables described, built, and ritually assembled their cities. Rhetorical description, public construction, and ritual assembly can in fact be regarded as three intersecting “modes” or “genres” of producing civic space,<sup>1</sup> all of which facilitated elite efforts to both model the

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<sup>1</sup> See Hanks 1987 on genres of discourse.

sociopolitical integrity of the cities they dominated and advertise this integrity to external audiences. This part is divided into three chapters, each focused on a single “mode” of producing civic space. The first chapter uses the encomium of Smyrna that Aelius Aristides declaimed for a visiting proconsul to explore how the rhetorical conventions for praising cities served to advance the goals of local notables. The second employs the collaborative reconstruction of the city gate and main avenue of Perge in the reign of Hadrian as a lens for examining how the city council and individual elites coordinated building projects to produce cityscapes of unprecedented visual and thematic unity. The third, finally, proposes the procession of the Ephesian ephebes founded by C. Vibius Salutaris as a representative example of the way local elites staged civic ceremonies to advertise the same ideal of sociopolitical unity that animated rhetorical description and building projects.



## Chapter 6. Describing Order

One early spring day around 160 CE, on a hill overlooking the city of Smyrna, Aelius Aristides delivered a short speech of welcome for a visiting governor.<sup>1</sup> He may have begun with the customary flattery for a new official; but the speech preserved from the occasion is almost entirely devoted to praise of Smyrna, with particular emphasis on the beauty and harmony of the city's appearance.<sup>2</sup> Indicating landmarks, the city resplendent on the bay behind him as he declaimed,<sup>3</sup> Aristides described Smyrna as a unified and balanced whole, characterized by impressive public buildings and broad avenues. This stylized presentation was guided by a recently formulated set of rhetorical conventions, which, for all their Classicizing flavor, had evolved in direct response to the goals and values of local elites under Roman imperial rule. On the terms of these conventions, a city's appearance was a direct reflection of the history, characteristics, and social harmony of its inhabitants – a conceit implicit in traditional

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<sup>1</sup> Useful notes on Aristides' encomium of Smyrna (Σμυρναϊκὸς πολιτικός, *Or.* 17 K) may be found in Behr 1981: 356-8. Burton 1992 definitively identifies the speech's addressee as a proconsul of Asia. Pont 2009: 195-6 briefly discusses the speech as evidence for the relationship between cities and travelling Roman officials. For an overview of extant orations addressed to governors, see Bérenger 2009: 134-5.

<sup>2</sup> It should not be imagined that the governor was truly snubbed: fulsome acclamations had doubtless preceded the speech, and a panegyric very likely followed. Aristides' address should probably not be classified as a formal speech of welcome (ἐπιβατήριος), which – if Menander Rhetor's prescriptions are any guide – was usually a more substantial production, characterized by extensive flattery of the governor (*Men. Rh.* II 377.31ff; see Lehnen 1997: 145-9). Aristides' oration, shorter and less formal, may have been a sort of preliminary, akin to Menander's speech of invitation (see *Men. Rh.* II. 454.21ff).

<sup>3</sup> Aristides never specifies the setting of his speech. It seems, however, to have been delivered from a point outside the city walls, since Aristides' listeners are urged to "fact-check" his description of the city with their own eyes (*Or.* 17.8). The organization of his description – to say nothing of the fact that a proconsul of Asia beginning his spring *conventus* circuit would come from Ephesus – suggests a location on an eminence outside the city, most likely along the Ephesus road just beyond the south city gate.

conceptions of the polis, but accorded new prominence by the significance of civic building in the Roman era.

Our investigation of civic encomia falls into three sections. The first section connects the new prominence of physical descriptions of cities in imperial Greek rhetoric with the growing need for concrete articulations of civic identity in regional politics. The second associates the rhetorical convention of describing cities as visually unified with the new ability and desire of local elites to associate themselves with an ideal of the stable and unified community. The third section, finally, considers whether the need to impress Roman officials influenced the rhetorical ideal of the Greek city.

### **I. Citizen Virtues, Civic Buildings**

Descending from the Acropolis, you come to the east side of the city and an avenue named for its shrines, where another temple is located, it too most fair, of the goddess who has been allotted the city....Everything as far as the seacoast is resplendent with gymnasia, agoras, theaters, precincts, harbors – natural and artificial beauties competing with each other. Nothing is without adornment or use. (*Or.* 17.10-11)<sup>4</sup>

Thus Aristides describes a central district of Smyrna. The formulaic nature of his description is immediately apparent. No individual buildings are mentioned, and even the three temples given as landmarks are not named. Instead, we are given a sweeping overview of a unified and harmonious cityscape, characterized by a conventional set of public buildings and organized by broad avenues (Fig. 16). This stylization can be attributed to a number of factors.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The translations of Aristides used in this chapter are adapted from Behr 1981.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the most immediate factor was the setting in which Aristides delivered his speech (see fn. 4 above); from a promontory south of the city, the temples on the highest hills and the main colonnaded boulevards in the city below would have been virtually the only visible landmarks visible amid a sea of tile roofs and checkerboard streets. It may be imagined, moreover, that both the proconsul and the citizens waiting to receive him would expect such a famously beautiful city (e.g. Strabo 14.1.37 [646]; *Martyr. Pion.* 4; Philostr., *VA* 4.7; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 38.47) to be described as harmonious and uniform. Pont 2009: 195-6 suggests that Aristides' description was aimed primarily at

Its ultimate source, however, was an ideal that proposed the corporate citizen body as the essence of a city, and interpreted the general appearance of the urban fabric as a manifestation not only of the populace's characteristic virtues, but also of its political unity and vitality.

Although cities had been formally eulogized since at least the Classical period, civic encomium emerged as a distinct part of the rhetorical repertoire only in the late first century,<sup>6</sup> apparently in response to both the growing prestige of epideictic rhetoric and a burgeoning interest in expressions of civic identity. In keeping with traditional conceptions of the polis as an integral community, the focus of the new genre was the corporate identity of the citizen body. Its favorite themes, accordingly, centered on the emergence and expression of the citizen body's characteristics: a city's foundation, the virtues manifested by its inhabitants, and the excellence of the site and buildings in and through which citizen virtues were expressed. These emphases – ultimately adapted from the rhetorical conventions for praising the lineage, achievements, and appearance of great men<sup>7</sup> – allowed a city to be assessed in terms of the collective characteristics of its populace,<sup>8</sup> and ultimately determined the part assigned to the built environment in encomia. Imperial orators assumed that the definitive characteristics<sup>9</sup> of a city's inhabitants would be

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the Smyrnaeans in the audience; Bérenger 2009: 134-5 speculates that Aristides, knowing nothing about the proconsul, simply trotted out a familiar subject.

<sup>6</sup> Basic treatments of civic encomium include Pernot 1993: 178-216 and Classen 1980: 4-37; cf. Pont 2010: 212-20. Pernot 1993: 178-88 surveys the precursors and development of civic encomium; cf. Loraux 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Quint., *Inst.* 3.7.26; Hermog., *Prog.* 18.9-14

<sup>8</sup> To praise a city was to praise its aggregate populace: see, e.g., Ps.-Dion. 275.21; Men. Rh. I, 363.10; II, 394.9; 431.11-12. Even if not explicitly personified, cities were often assigned traits like honor or courage (Pernot 1993: 191-5).

<sup>9</sup> In the first treatise ascribed to Menander Rhetor, perhaps the most systematic discussion of their significance, the collective qualities of a citizen body are identified not only as indicators of a common heritage, but also as the predicates of effective government (I, 359.23-60.16), cultural achievement (360.17-61.3), and social order (361.4-10). Menander organizes these qualities by the canonical four virtues. Justice he identifies with piety toward the gods, fair dealing with men, and reverence for the deceased (361.17-63.26). Temperance he equates with the maintenance of social relations and decorum in both public and private (363.28-64.19). To prudence he assigns local law and customs (364.10-16). Courage, finally, he associates with both martial valor and fortitude in the face of natural disaster (364.17-65.8). Pernot 1993: 210-14 provides an extensive list of the attributes and achievements for which cities were praised.

manifest in its appearance. In a description of Corinth, for example, Aristides claimed that the refined character and cultural accomplishments of the Corinthians were instinct in the sculptures and paintings that line their streets, and even in the appearance of their schools and gymnasia.<sup>10</sup> Dio Chrysostom, likewise, criticized the Rhodians for failing to live up to the past greatness implicit in the appearance of their ancient buildings.<sup>11</sup>

The place of individual buildings in encomia, however, was disputed. Deploring the financial and social problems exacerbated by rampant building, many orators connected an excessive interest in construction with insolvency, empty competition, and disorder.<sup>12</sup> These complaints seem to have been informed by a general sense that unregulated building could somehow obscure the citizen qualities that comprised a city's true essence. Aristides urged representatives of the leading cities of Asia to "believe that the old saying is true: that neither walls, nor odeons, nor stoas, nor [any other] adornments of inanimate objects are cities, but that cities are men who know to trust in themselves" (*Or.* 23.68).<sup>13</sup> In keeping with civic encomium's origins in personal eulogy, the relationship between citizens and buildings was frequently compared to that of body and soul: external beauty was desirable, but no substitute for inner virtue.<sup>14</sup> At least in theory, then, the only civic buildings worth describing were those that mirrored or complemented the characteristic qualities of citizen body. Some orators included in

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<sup>10</sup> *Or.* 46.28. Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 1.246-7 (as cited in Oliver 1968); 25.2, 4-5, 33; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 31.146-7, 40.8, 47.16-17; Lib., *Or.* 11.270.

<sup>11</sup> *Or.* 31.160; Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 24.59; Plu., *Per.* 12.1

<sup>12</sup> Passages asserting the primacy of civic harmony over ostentatious buildings: Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.18, 87; 33.17, 36.13, 48.9, 79.1; [Ap. Ty.], *Ep.* 32; Aristid. 21.9; 23.31, 69, 76; 25.48ff; Luc., *Anach.* 20, *Dom.* 7; Philostr., *VA* 4.7. It should be noted that these are criticisms of the excesses, rather than the practice, of civic building. A remarkable number of sophists – most notably Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 40, 45, and 47) – were prominent builders in their communities; see, e.g., Philostr., *VS* 511, 548-51, 568, 605; Aristid., *Or.* 32.17.

<sup>13</sup> Compare Aristid., *Or.* 3.298, 25.64. Aristides is referring to a much-quoted dictum of Alcaeus: "ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος πύργος ἀρεβίος" (Lobel-Page, fr. 112.10). See Pernot 1993: 196-7 on the extensive discourse surrounding this apothegm in imperial Greek rhetoric.

<sup>14</sup> Comparison to body and soul: Luc., *Anach.* 20; Dio, *Or.* 39.5. Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 23.31, Philostr., *VA* 5.22, 8.18; Dio, *Or.* 33.17-18.

their encomia only the buildings they identified as direct expressions of civic virtue; the author of the first treatise ascribed to Menander Rhetor, for example, suggests mentioning only a city's temples, the manifestations of its piety.<sup>15</sup> Most encomiasts, however, adopted a more generous definition. In his description of Smyrna, as we have seen, Aristides mentions the city's three most prominent temples, its grand boulevards, and an undifferentiated conspectus of public buildings and spaces: gymnasia, agoras, theaters, precincts, harbors, baths and fountains (*Or.* 17.11).<sup>16</sup> Other encomia provide broadly comparable lists.<sup>17</sup> These buildings met a basic standard of relevance to the citizen body's essential functions and activities – Aristides, for example, insisted that the edifices he described in Smyrna were both useful and beautiful<sup>18</sup> – and were apparently thought to embody a city's qualities in at least the general sense of commemorating its history and accomplishments.

On a more basic level, the buildings listed in encomia also advertised a city's political identity. The generic emphasis on the corporate citizen body was, as we have seen, based in a time-honored ideal of the polis as an integral community, which posited a distinctive set of social and political institutions, and thus a civic built environment dominated by a corresponding array of public buildings. The equation is epitomized by Pausanias' famous dismissal of Panopeus:

From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theater, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbors, and even send delegates to the Phocian assembly. (10.4.1)

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<sup>15</sup> I, 362.27, 365.18-24; cf. Aristid., *Or.* 1.143; 23.80; 27.14, 40-1; Quint., *Inst.* III.7.26-7.

<sup>16</sup> Aristides recycles the same basic list in each of his descriptions of Smyrna (*Or.* 18.6, 21.5, 23.20; cf. 26.97).

<sup>17</sup> Lists of buildings: Men. Rh. II, 382.15-16, 383.7-9, 386.22-9; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 6.5, 33.18; Aristid., *Or.* 1.246, 26.8; Ps.-Dion. 257.14; Poll., *Onom.* 9.35ff; *Orac. Sib.* 13.64-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Or.* 17.11; cf. 1.250, 23.20; cf. Luc., *Dom.* 8. It is noteworthy that Aristides praises the use of marble – but only, it seems, for temples and shrines (*Or.* 1.21, 23.20; cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 33.28).

This passage, often quoted to illustrate the new prominence accorded to civic buildings in the imperial period, attests the continued importance of the institutions, and above all of the corporate community, which such buildings were supposed to shelter and advertise; Pausanias is disappointed in Panopeus' appearance precisely because the city possesses the characteristic institutions of a polis but lacks the representative buildings.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Smyrna – whose civic status was never in doubt – reference to buildings traditionally associated with the polis was, in part, purely conventional. It also served, however, to advertise the citizen body's possession of the corresponding “political virtues” –and thus its embodiment of a social ideal.

These associations, founded on the model of a community unified by history, manners, and social organization, urged orators to pay particular attention to the general appearance and harmony of cityscapes. This did not entail close attention to individual buildings,<sup>20</sup> which were seen as significant only, or at least primarily, as components of a larger cityscape unified by its association with the indwelling citizen body. When, for example, Aristides claimed that the history and culture of Corinth are instinct in her appearance, he cited as evidence not isolated landmarks, but the general aspect and cumulative effect of the city's public spaces.<sup>21</sup> He seems to have imagined a comparably organic relationship between the definitive qualities of the Smyrnaeans and the appearance of their city. At the beginning of his encomium, he compared Smyrna to a phoenix, repeatedly resurrected after disasters by the efforts of a unified and unchanging citizen body.<sup>22</sup> He was more explicit in a letter written a few years later to solicit

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<sup>19</sup> On the implications of this passage, see the discussion in Pretzler 2007: 91-104. Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 7.38-9.

<sup>20</sup> Very few encomia of individual buildings have survived. Lucian's *Hippias*, perhaps the best extant example, describes a small bath rather as a reflection of its builder's qualities than as an instantiation of civic virtue.

<sup>21</sup> In a similar vein, a number of encomiasts associated the appearance of a city's walls –a traditional synecdoche – with the qualities of its citizens (e.g. Aristid., *Or.* 25.8, 26.79; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 36.6, 45.12; cf. Him., *Or.* 39.6). A city's streets were sometimes accorded comparable significance (e.g. Aristid., *Or.* 17.10-11, 23.13-14; cf. 25.6-8).

<sup>22</sup> *Or.* 17.2, 5-7, 13

earthquake relief from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, whom he encouraged to remember how, in the course of a visit some years before, Smyrna's appearance had confirmed her status as "the most cultivated of your possessions" (*Or.* 19.2).<sup>23</sup> Toward the end of his letter, Aristides begs the emperors to restore not only the city's imperial cult sanctuary and trophies of victory in alliance with Rome, but the city's whole form (σχῆμα), in recognition of Smyrnaean fidelity (19.10-11). Even if Aristides did not mean by this that Smyrna's loyalty was somehow implicit in every part of the urban fabric, his description clearly indicates that he understood both the beauty and the ultimate significance of the city's appearance to be something more than the sum of its monuments.

In his encomium, however, Aristides makes no apparent effort to connect the civic qualities of the Smyrnaeans – of which he singles out martial prowess and cultivated tastes (*Or.* 17.5-7) – with the city's appearance. While it is possible that, in so short a speech, such elaboration was undesirable, Aristides may have made no comment on Smyrna's government or internal organization for the simple reason that he had no need to: for a Greek orator and educated audience in the era of the Second Sophistic, Smyrna, a city celebrated for its Hellenic culture, was automatically associated invested with the traditional qualities of a polis. The entire description, in fact, can be read as an assimilation of Smyrna's physical characteristics to time-honored ideals of political and social organization.

## **II. Social Harmony, Constructed Unity**

[Smyrna] lies spread above the sea, ever displaying the flower of its beauty, as if it had not been settled gradually, but arose all at once from the earth with a magnitude unforced and unhurried. Everywhere it possesses greatness and harmony, and its magnitude adds to its beauty. You would not say that it [had the

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 23.22; 25.7; Lib., *Or.* 11.237

appearance of] many cities scattered in small pieces, but of a single [city] equal to many, a city consistent in appearance, harmonious, its parts compatible with the whole as in the human body. (*Or.* 17.9)

The order and unity that Aristides described as the bases of Smyrna's beauty were well-established criteria of architectural assessment.<sup>24</sup> When applied to a cityscape, however, these attributes had distinctive social and political connotations. For Aristides, the harmonious appearance of Smyrna reflected a community defined by the shared history and essential qualities of its citizen body, characterized by its social unity and order, and signaled by its loyalty and service to Rome – a perfect representation, in short, of the qualities local elites wanted to have associated with their cities. Sociopolitical harmony was the definitive quality of this ideal, for reasons connected with both the political circumstances and the Classicizing tastes of the era.

The definition of the polis espoused by Aristides and his elite contemporaries was couched in traditional terms but founded on acceptance of the position of Greek cities under Roman rule.<sup>25</sup> Most imperial Greek cities continued to style themselves democracies, a claim bolstered by the fact that many still convened citizen assemblies on a fairly regular basis.<sup>26</sup> Virtually all, however, were actually governed by a small oligarchic council, whose members filled every prestigious civic office and monopolized the social capital accrued by euergetism. As a class, these notables had two basic goals: to maintain the social relations that upheld their local position, and to use these relations as a platform for aggrandizing both themselves and the city

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<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., Lucian's description of a lecture hall, where harmony is cited as one of the qualities that lends the building a refined, "Hellenic" appearance (*Dom.* 5-7). On the meanings and significance harmony in Greek culture, see *ThWNT* III (1938): 868-79, s.v. "kosmos" and *RAC* XXI (2006): 614-761, s.v. "kosmos"; cf. Knell 1986.

<sup>25</sup> For a general discussion of elite Greek thought on the polis and its place in the Empire, see Nörr 1966: 76ff.

<sup>26</sup> Dmitriev 2005 surveys city government in imperial Asia Minor. Traditionally, it has been held that the citizen assembly was virtually obsolescent by the imperial period (e.g. Jones 1940: 170-91); recent scholarship, however, has tended to suggest a more important and enduring role for the demos (see especially Fernoux 2011).



that was the vehicle of their prestige.<sup>27</sup> Since these were the men who paid orators to praise their cities – and since almost all orators were local notables themselves – it is hardly surprising that encomiasts defined the “democratic” cities they described in decidedly unclassical terms.<sup>28</sup> Aristides’ Panathenaic oration, the sole extant encomium from our period to make more than cursory mention of civic government,<sup>29</sup> provides a consciously anachronistic (and historically selective) survey in which Athenian democracy is described as a sort of ideal mixed constitution dominated by a series of great leaders who consistently encouraged “concord and mutual trust throughout the city” (*Or.* 1.270).<sup>30</sup> If not explicitly oligarchic, Aristides’ emphasis on eminent men was wholly in accord with the contemporary political landscape.

Aristides’ presentation of Classical Athens as a stable and internally unified polity reflected the special value contemporary local notables set on sociopolitical order. Civic order (εὐνομία) and harmony (ὁμόνοια)<sup>31</sup> had always been regarded as intrinsically desirable by virtually every segment of polis society; few of Dio Chrysostom’s contemporaries would have objected to his claim that a unified and well-ordered city was “dearer to its people, more honored by the stranger, more useful to its friends, more formidable to its foes” (*Or.* 39.3). Imperial orators, responding to endemic social unrest and apparently widespread elite anxiety, adverted to

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<sup>27</sup> See Quass 1993 and Stephan 2002 on the goals and values of local elites in the Roman east.

<sup>28</sup> Menander Rhetor goes so far as to claim that the coming of Rome made all civic governments obsolete (I, 360.13-15; cf. 364.13-14).

<sup>29</sup> The low profile of politics in civic encomia, far from indicating general indifference, reflected the assumption that there was no need to describe the government of a city which, as a polis, was automatically a “democracy;” see Nörr 1966: 77-82.

<sup>30</sup> Aristid., *Or.* 1.262-70; cf. *Or.* 24.35, 43; 26.90; [Plu.], *Mor.* 826e-27c; Phil., *VA* 5.27-36. Without endorsing any particular political model, Dio provides a good deal of Stoic-themed advice on the practical necessity of civic unity and concord (e.g. *Or.* 32.25-9; 34.16, 29-31; 50.1-4; 79.1; cf. Aristid., *Or.* 24 *passim*; Plu., *Mor.* 824d-25b).

<sup>31</sup> On these closely related concepts, see *RAC* XVI (1994): 176-289, s.v. “homonoia.”

the benefits of harmonious social relations with particular frequency.<sup>32</sup> This emphasis was encouraged by a general consciousness that elite-sponsored construction programs, games, and campaigns for titles and status were now a city's primary means of interacting and competing with her neighbors, and that these new means of display made demonstrations of civic harmony both more visible and more desirable on practical terms than ever before.<sup>33</sup>

The rhetorical emphasis on civic harmony was further bolstered by the cultural revival associated with the Second Sophistic, which made the Greek heritage a newly prominent factor in civic competition. Even if encomiasts did not endorse the traditional egalitarian model of political relations in the polis, they had motive to claim that cities were still “democratic,” in keeping with a prestigious and Classical ideal. As we have seen, the encomiasts' conception of democracy – exemplified by Aristides' description of Athenian politics – deemphasized political participation in favor of a more general sense of civic identity. The hallmark of this model was social order, guaranteed by stable (i.e. elite) governance, but ultimately arising from the common origins and history of the citizen body.<sup>34</sup> On these terms, “democracy” could be identified with the organic unity stemming from the shared heritage (and thus, common qualities) of a city's populace;<sup>35</sup> in an address delivered after an outbreak of civil unrest, Aristides reminded the Rhodians that, while concord was important for all peoples, “it requires little argument to show

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<sup>32</sup> This concern with stability was a primary source of the many rhetorical criticisms of rampant construction; building that unsettled, or even failed to contribute to, the harmony of the city was a cancer on the community (see fn. 19-21 above).

<sup>33</sup> E.g., Dio Chrys., *Or.* 40.10. Festivals, in particular, multiplied to an unprecedented degree in the imperial period, and were recognized as important occasions for civic display; orators were accordingly trained to invite Roman officials to festivals (*Men. Rh.* II, 424.4f). See Chaniotis 2008 and Van Nijf 2012 on the political implications of these occasions.

<sup>34</sup> An illuminating illustration of both the value assigned to citizen unity and the association of this unity with common ethnic/historical origins is the list of adjectives for criticizing large cities in Pollux's *Onomasticon* (9.21).

<sup>35</sup> This equation was made particularly appealing by the continued prominence of myth and history in relations between imperial Greek cities. Aristides, for example, refers on a number of occasions to the kinship of cities settled by Athenians (*Or.* 1.233; 23.26) – a kinship with real political significance in the era of the Panhellenion and Second Sophistic. See Jones 1999: 94-121 for a general treatment of kinship diplomacy in the Roman east.

how worthwhile it is for you above all other others, since you are originally Dorians from the Peloponnesus, and alone to this day have remained purely Greek, and have had as your founders and kings descendants of Heracles and Asclepius” (*Or.* 24.45).<sup>36</sup> The harmony of the citizen body, in other words, predicated continued display of Rhodian history and culture, and even in some sense constituted it. Similar value is attached to harmony in the Panathenaic oration, where Aristides claims both the political and the cultural achievements of Athens as expressions of essential “moral” qualities, rooted in the common origins of the citizen body and consistently expressed throughout the city’s history.<sup>37</sup> Athens was admittedly something of a special case; but Aristides’ “cultural” definition of the city’s identity, founded on the ideal of a citizen body unified by the harmony and social order arising spontaneously from its common heritage, epitomized an ideal applicable to all poleis.

The “democratic” city of Second Sophistic rhetoric, then, simultaneously reflected the traditional identification of a polis with its corporate citizen body and the values of the contemporary elites who used this definition as a platform for their ambitions. This complex of associations had profound consequences for the rhetorical presentation of civic built environments. In the most basic sense, it encouraged orators to mention in their descriptions both the traditional set of public buildings and prestigious new amenities donated by benefactors.<sup>38</sup> More significantly, the order and harmony of the cityscape in which these buildings were arranged assumed real political value.

The only explicit connection of social harmony with architecture in contemporary rhetoric occurs in a speech on amity between cities that Aristides delivered at Cyzicus upon the

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Or.* 24.5, 37, 57.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *Or.* 1.7. A city’s past and present were generally presented as a unified whole in encomia (e.g. Aristid., *Or.* 22.4-5; cf. Ps.-Dion., 276.7-8).

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Aristid., *Or.* 1.246-7

rededication of the great Temple of Hadrian; pointing to the temple as evidence for the power of cooperation – the building had been constructed with contributions from the entire province – he observed: “these built ornaments are beautiful, and exercise remarkable persuasive force over the people; but truly perfect and heaven-sent is the coincidence of harmony in men’s souls and in their buildings” (*Or.* 27.40).<sup>39</sup> A number of other passages, without setting up a direct analogy between a city’s social harmony and the unity of its appearance, suggest that orators habitually made the connection. Perhaps the most striking example occurs in an oration preserved among the works of Aristides, apparently delivered in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake that devastated Rhodes early in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The orator begins with a lengthy description of the city as it appeared before the disaster, dwelling upon the remarkable harmony of its buildings:

[There could be seen] the acropolis, full of fields and groves; and the rest of the city, in which no building was higher than any other, but ample and equal in construction, so that it seemed to belong not to a city, but to a single house. [There were also] avenues, uninterrupted from beginning to end, scarcely deserving the [mere] name of “lanes”; and the whole city, glorious and gloriously extending in every direction. [Visible, too, was] a wonder, the circuit of the walls in front of and behind these buildings...most remarkable of all was the fact that this circuit was not separated from the rest of the city, leaving no empty space between it [and the houses], but rather clinging to the city, encircling it like a crown. Of Rhodes alone could it be said that the city had been fortified house by house, and all in common. ([Aristid.], *Or.* 25.6-8)<sup>40</sup>

Rhodes is likened to a single house, a metaphor for social unity used repeatedly in imperial rhetoric.<sup>41</sup> The connection is made explicit later in the speech, when the orator compares the collective determination of the surviving citizens to the former harmony of the city walls: “just

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<sup>39</sup> “καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων οὗτοι κόσμοι καὶ θαυμαστῶς πιθανοὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἤδη τέλειον καὶ θεοῦ τινοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς δωρεὰ, ὅταν ἀμφοτέρωθεν οἱ κόσμοι, οἳ τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων.” Cf. Plutarch’s discussion of Pericles’ building program (*Per.* 12-14), a passage heavily influenced by contemporary ideas on civic building (Ameling 1985).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Lib.*, *Or.* 11.195.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. *Aristid.*, *Or.* 23.31; cf. *Lib.*, *Or.* 61.7.

as sailors...once viewed the city and its circuit from afar...those who wish to do so may now behold the city's pride standing firm" (25.48). The analogy is expanded in the following section: "If [the citizens' determination] stands firm, Rhodes stands firm for those who see properly, since the very walls, docks, and other adornments were possessions of men who had pride and who could reason properly about practical affairs" (49). The city's appearance, in short, manifests the common resolve of its populace; thus united, the Rhodians will rebuild their city in its own image and in that of the citizen body (53). Although Rhodes was famous for the stability of her government, the orator – in keeping with the general trends outlined earlier – makes the harmony of the Rhodians a social or moral (as opposed to political) quality, whose unaffected expression has shaped and will shape an architecturally unified city.

The political implications of connecting social with architectural harmony in this way are clearest in the orations of Dio Chrysostom, who regarded the harmony symbolized by unified civic architecture not only as the definitive characteristic of effective citizen action, but even as the predicate of a community's claim to represent a city. In his Borysthenitic Discourse, Dio, travelling among the half-barbarized Greeks of the Crimea, many of whom "are no longer united to form cities" (Or. 36.5), visits a half-barbarized polis that retains only the barest essentials of its political and cultural identity. Apparently from a desire to bolster the resolve of these rude Greeks and remind them of the benefits of communal organization, Dio assembles the citizen body and expatiates at length on the necessity of order and harmony, concluding that only a settlement characterized by the unity of its inhabitants deserves to be called a city.<sup>42</sup> The setting in which he dispenses this advice pointedly illustrates the dangers of disunity: the city walls are ruinous, every statue has been mutilated, and the inhabitants dwell in a huddled cluster of

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<sup>42</sup> Or. 36.13, 18-26. On Dio's description of Borysthenes, see Billault 2013.

houses.<sup>43</sup> Dio’s juxtaposition of the physical disintegration and sociopolitical dissolution of Borysthenes becomes even more pointed in the context of his efforts to promote the vitality and unity of his native Prusa; criticized for building a stoa along one of the main streets, he compares opponents of his project to men who “preferred being scattered in villages like barbarians to having the form and name of a city” (47.10).<sup>44</sup>

Although Aristides did not describe every city as orderly or symmetrical, he and his contemporaries agreed that Smyrna’s harmonious appearance represented the ideal.<sup>45</sup> In part, to be sure, this was a purely aesthetic assessment; but the discourse on built and social order that we have traced here suggests that Aristides meant his praises of the built environment to be applied to the indwelling citizen body. In the first section of his encomium, he outlines Smyrna’s civic identity in typically Second Sophistic terms, emphasizing the citizen body’s shared characteristics and long history of cultural achievement.<sup>46</sup> This portrait of a community united by manners and tradition is juxtaposed –but not explicitly connected – with a description of an orderly and harmonious built environment, repeatedly recreated by concerted citizen action. In this context, it is reasonable to posit that Aristides meant his listeners to connect Smyrna’s architectural unity with a familiar ideal of social harmony and political stability. The elite definition of public space implicit in his description was advanced implicitly, perhaps even unconsciously. In the sense that it presented the status quo as a natural product of civic history,

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<sup>43</sup> *Or.* 36.6; cf. *Or.* 7.38-9

<sup>44</sup> “ἤροῦντο διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ κώμας τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοίως ἢ σχῆμα πόλεως καὶ ὄνομα ἔχειν”; cf. *Or.* 40.5

<sup>45</sup> Aristides portrays the lower city of Pergamum, for example, as a blend of many towns (*Or.* 23.14), apparently a conventional method of describing cities on mountainous sites (Men. Rh. I, 350.24-51.17). Corinth, however, he eulogizes in terms broadly comparable to those applied to Smyrna (*Or.* 46.26-7). While Libanius’ facile praise of both the grid-planned old city and radially-planned new city of Antioch (*Or.* 11.209) illustrates the basically pragmatic approach that most orators took to praising cityscapes, the sort of harmony that characterized Smyrna seems to have been particularly valued, even in non-rhetorical sources (e.g. Strabo 14.1.37 [646]; cf. 12.4.7 [565]).

<sup>46</sup> Aristides dwells on both Smyrna’s general cultural ambience (*Or.* 17.13) and her status as the birthplace of Homer (17.8, 15); cf. *Or.* 18.8, 10; 19.12; 20.18-19.

Aristides' speech can be regarded as an attempt to model local social relations, directed toward the Smyrnaeans who formed the bulk of his audience.<sup>47</sup> But this was an incidental effect of his main purpose. Although Aristides strove to please, and perhaps to edify, his Smyranean hearers, it was the visiting governor that his speech was designed to impress.

### III. Polis and Proconsul

I could speak of many conflicts in which [Smyrna] was involved; it would require considerable time to describe even the most recent of these, which were fought on the behalf of you [Romans] and in alliance with you. Yet what need is there to linger over these matters? It is reasonable for cities whose glory lies only in myth and history to refer to such subjects. But why should I honor from the past a city that overawes at first sight...instead of guiding my spectator around it, as though holding him by the hand and making him a witness to my words? (*Or.* 17.7)

This passage makes it clear that Aristides expected the proconsul to be impressed by Smyrna's appearance, and suggests that he meant the official to connect the city's beauty with the qualities –and particularly the loyalty – of its citizens. It is uncertain, however, whether his description of Smyrna was designed to serve this purpose. The degree to which encomia could be influenced by occasion or civic interest groups is unknown; in most cases, the orator probably did nothing more than adapt a familiar set of conventions and commonplaces to his understanding of local circumstances.<sup>48</sup> It may be assumed that the content of an oration welcoming the Roman governor was of particular interest to the Smyranean notables who commissioned Aristides' speech; and although Aristides seems to have personally selected the

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<sup>47</sup> The adventus of a proconsul would be attended by both members of the local elite and a substantial crowd of less eminent citizens (e.g. Men. Rh. II 381.8-10; cf. *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3606).

<sup>48</sup> On orator and audience in the era of the second sophistic, see Schmitz 1997: 160-231 and Korenjak 2000: 20ff.

themes of his encomium,<sup>49</sup> his emphasis on the unity of the cityscape – and thus, perhaps, on the harmony of the citizen body – was well-suited to the primary aim of the civic elite on the occasion of a proconsul’s arrival: to communicate their city’s encapsulation of Roman expectations for Greek provincials.

As we have seen, the Roman imperial administration, interested above all in maintaining tax revenues and basic stability, tended to evaluate the appearance of a provincial city as an index of its probity and internal order.<sup>50</sup> During the protracted building boom of the early imperial period, particular attention was given to ensuring that civic finances were not depleted by irresponsible construction.<sup>51</sup> By the Severan period, no building project at public expense could be undertaken without the emperor’s permission;<sup>52</sup> and though most private projects – which accounted for the bulk of construction in our period –were exempt from this legislation, they remained subject to the governor’s inspection. Ulpian instructs a proconsul visiting his capital or “some other important city” to “go on a tour of inspection of its sacred buildings and public works and make arrangements for any necessary repairs” (*Dig.* 1.16.7.1).<sup>53</sup> Although this practice had the obvious practical benefit of ensuring good maintenance, it grew from real concern for the appearance of provincial cities. Ulpian further advises governors “to compel owners to repair buildings...[and] if they refuse, should by some suitable remedy improve their appearance” (1.18.7).<sup>54</sup> This sort of micromanagement reflected the idea that a city’s upkeep and

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<sup>49</sup> Orators seems to have usually exercised nearly complete control over their themes, and the fact that Aristides recycled certain elements of his description of Smyrna (see fn. 76 below) suggests that he had full editorial control over the content of his speech.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Pliny, *Ep.* 9.5; Dio Chrys. 52.8.6-7; *Dig.* 50.4.3.15; 50.10.3

<sup>51</sup> Pliny’s letters to Trajan report a whole series of cities whose finances were destabilized by construction programs (e.g. *Ep.* 10.24, 39).

<sup>52</sup> *Dig.* 50.10.3.1

<sup>53</sup> An early third-century building inscription from Carthage seems to attest the practice of inspection (*CIL* VIII.24585). Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 40.9.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *Ep.* 10.70.1; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 837 (= *IGR* IV.1156a = *FIRA* I.80)); *CTh.* 15.1.2-3, 15-21, 29, 31, 37.



general appearance manifested the efficacy of its government – and thus, not incidentally, the loyalty of its citizens to Rome. The ideas of a well-ordered city center, sociopolitical stability, and loyalty to Rome seem to have been inextricably intertwined: in their famous petition to Constantine, the inhabitants of Orcistus cite “a forum adorned with the statues of ancient emperors” (*MAMA* VII.305, 26-7) alongside a history of government by officials and other testimonials to their worthiness of civic status.<sup>55</sup> It was more than mere convention that urged Pliny to advocate provincial building projects not only as ornaments and amenities to their cities, but also accessions to the glory of emperor and Rome – a claim echoed by hundreds of contemporary dedicatory inscriptions.<sup>56</sup> At least in certain parts of the Greek east, moreover, Roman officials, trained from childhood to associate Hellenic culture with the a distinctive set of stylized settings, seem to have expected the appearance of provincial cities to reflect cultural achievement, not least on account of the value assigned to this criterion in civic competition.<sup>57</sup>

Greek notables were conscious of these Roman priorities. It was widely recognized that civic harmony, in addition to its intrinsic advantages, was a useful quality to emphasize in a provincial system that privileged stability above all else.<sup>58</sup> First, as Dio reminds the Rhodians, harmony was one of the few qualities by which a city could distinguish itself under Roman hegemony: “Your ancestors had many ways to display their virtue – assuming leadership over others, aiding the victims of injustice, gaining allies, founding cities, winning wars – which are no longer possible for you; but you are still able to assume leadership over yourselves, to

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<sup>55</sup> Compare the *loci classici* for Roman urbanization in the western provinces (Tac., *Agr.* 21; Strabo 3.3.5-8, 4.1.11, 4.5.1; Florus 2.33.59-60).

<sup>56</sup> *Ep.* 10.23.2, 37.3, 41.1; cf. Aristid., *Or.* 26.94

<sup>57</sup> Pliny’s letter to a newly-appointed corrector of Achaëa (*Ep.* 8.24, cf. Cic., *ad Q. F.* 1.1) is the most famous early imperial commendation of the history and culture of Greek cities. Other testimonia indicate the respect accorded by Roman emperors and officials to Hellenic history and culture, not only in exceptional cities like Athens (e.g. Tac., *Ann.* 2.53; *SEG* 29 127.57-8, cf. Cic., *Fin.* 5.1-5) or Ephesus (*IvE.* 18b.1-6; 212; cf. Philostr., *VA* 8.7), but also in relatively insignificant poleis like Aezani (*IGR* IV.572.4-5) and Beroia (*I. Beroia* 7.1-6).

<sup>58</sup> See esp. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 38.36f, 39.4; Philostr., *VA* 6.38; Aristid., *Or.* 26.94; Plu., *Mor.* 813e-f, 825d.

administer your city, to honor and support your distinguished men...and in such matters, you may still show yourselves better than the rest of the world” (Or. 31.161-2).<sup>59</sup> Secondly, and consequently, harmony was the civic quality which could be displayed or claimed to best advantage both in struggles for local primacy and relations with Rome. Dio advises the turbulent assemblymen of his native Prusa to conduct themselves with amity and concord in the presence of a visiting governor, for any sign of dissent or unrest could disqualify them for official favor: “in discord, I venture to say, there is found not only contempt and misfortune, but also utter impotence both among the citizenry and in their dealings with the proconsuls” (Or. 48.7). In another speech, he details how conflict between and within cities encourages the abuses of unscrupulous Roman officials.<sup>60</sup> Aristides, likewise, warns the Rhodians that failing to maintain the standard of order and stability mandated by Rome will cause them to be stripped of their ancestral privileges.<sup>61</sup> Although consciousness of the value elite Romans attached to Greek culture is less apparent in contemporary rhetoric – Second Sophistic orators simply assumed that any listener able to understand their classicizing Greek already knew and appreciated the values of Hellenic civilization – it seems to have been generally thought, or at least hoped, that officials would be cultivated men, sympathetic to a city’s claims of cultural prestige.<sup>62</sup>

Among the Greek elite, there seems to have been a certain degree of consciousness that the civic qualities pivotal to Roman impressions of provincial cities should be made visible in the urban fabric. Dio, for example, mentions the discomfiture of the Prusans when visiting governors inspected the ramshackle buildings eventually replaced by his stoa, and – in a later speech – claims that the emperor himself supports building projects that aggrandize the city’s reputation

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 44.10-11.

<sup>60</sup> Dio Chrys., *Or.* 38.33-8; cf. Plu., *Mor.* 814f-15c

<sup>61</sup> Aristid., *Or.* 24.22; cf. 23.64, 79.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Philostr., *VA* 5.36; Men. Rh. II, 426.4-5, 427.6-10.

by improving its appearance.<sup>63</sup> Aristides, who gave considerable thought to the relationship between Rome and her subjects,<sup>64</sup> certainly imagined a close connection between a city's appearance and the political relationships it cultivated with the imperial center. Toward the end of his Roman Oration, he associates the unprecedented size and embellishment of cities under Roman rule with imperial policy and largesse: "all Greek cities flourish under your hegemony, so that the monuments dedicated in them, their adornments, and their luxuries redound to your honor like beautiful suburbs" (*Or.* 26.94). He goes on to specify the benefits of Roman governance, which, by quelling disputes between cities and ensuring external peace, have made civic building not only a sign of participation in the general felicity, but also a healthy means of competing for local preeminence;<sup>65</sup> far from being mere signs of peace and prosperity, the "gymnasia, fountains, propylons, temples, workshops, and schools" (97) that now adorn so many cities bear witness to participation in – and contribution to – the Roman political system. It may be significant that Aristides follows his description of the newly embellished cities with praise of Rome's service in taming wastelands and imposing universal laws; the juxtaposition suggests that civic buildings, like those other indices of civilization, commemorate and confirm the imperial world order.

Aristides, at least, seems have also understood the political potential of describing cities in a manner keyed to Roman expectations. His letter seeking earthquake relief from Marcus Aurelius and Commodus urges the emperors to recall their visit of a few years earlier, when they "rested in the most civilized of [their] possessions" (*Or.* 19.2), and everything they saw pleased

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<sup>63</sup> Dio Chrys., *Or.* 40.9, 47.13; cf. 32.95-6.

<sup>64</sup> Stertz 1994 and Pernot 2008 discuss Aristides' political ideas; cf. Swain 1996: 254-97.

<sup>65</sup> *Or.* 26.96-9

or heartened them. He goes on to claim the city's appearance as both a statement of loyalty and an instantiation of civic virtue:

Gladly would I see rebuilt all that lies within the circuit of the walls: the memorials, old and new, of honor conferred on you and honor granted by you; and [the other buildings] which were a source of pride to the city, both for citizens and visitors – and which indeed provided visitors with an impulse for every achievement and consolation for every fortune. (19.8)<sup>66</sup>

This lost beauty merits restoration, not only for its own sake, but also as a reward for Smyrnaean loyalty and services to Rome. Although Aristides specifically cites Smyrna's provincial sanctuary of the imperial cult and trophies from the war against Aristonicus as visible signs of loyalty to Rome, he begs the emperors to restore not only these tokens, but the city's whole form (σχήμα) in recognition of Smyrnaean fidelity.<sup>67</sup> In addition, he hints, a rebuilt Smyrna might substantially advance Roman interests in Asia, serving as a source of regional stability, or even as a monument to imperial control.<sup>68</sup>

It is reasonable to assume, in short, that Aristides was fully aware that the Roman governor he addressed was potentially interested in his presentation of Smyrna's appearance. He does not seem, however, to have modified his description accordingly.<sup>69</sup> He had no need to. We have seen that, by the conventions of civic encomium, and on the terms of a discourse rooted in the bases of Greek culture, a polis was its citizen body. A city's appearance was thus automatically an artifact of the history and characteristics of its inhabitants, and an instantiation of a distinctive cultural and sociopolitical ideal. Aristides had no reason to articulate these

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 23.22; 25.7; Lib., *Or.* 11.237

<sup>67</sup> *Or.* 19.8, 10-11, 13. It should be noted that many of the meanings associated with "σχήμα" were specifically concerned with civic order (e.g. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 39.3, 47.10).

<sup>68</sup> *Or.* 19.7, 12; cf. 20.15-16, 21.12.

<sup>69</sup> Although his description of the city's appearance was fully in accord with Roman ideas on provincial, and particularly Greek, cities, it did not differ substantially from the other portraits of Smyrna scattered through his corpus. These other descriptions are quite similar, whether directed at Roman (*Or.* 17.9-11, 19.3, 21.5) or Greek (*Or.* 18.3-6, 23.19-22) audiences.

connections; from the perspective of a man trained to regard the language and literature of Classical Greece as omniscient, they were self-evident, familiar and applicable to every audience. It is probable that Aristides did not intend the proconsul to “read” anything into his description but Smyrna’s encapsulation of an elite urban model and its familiar sociopolitical implications. To Smyrnaeans and Roman officials alike, Aristides’ description presented nothing more or less than an attractive idealization of the status quo: a prosperous and stable community, animated by the best elements of the Greek tradition, conscious of the benefits of Rome rule, and – implicitly – governed by those most capable of advancing local interests.

Aristides did not intend his description of Smyrna to be understood as a subtle commendation of social stability and elite rule. In fact, though conscious of the significance of its occasion, he probably regarded the speech as a fairly conventional rhetorical exercise. The Smyrnaean notables who commissioned the speech expected nothing more or less. Civic encomium was formulaic by nature, designed to assimilate every subject to a model at once physical, moral, and sociopolitical. The conventions Aristides followed constituted a template for identifying all poleis with a cultural standard and model of political conduct familiar to every educated man.<sup>70</sup> The formulaic nature of these associations allowed them to be adapted to, and pointed by, virtually any public occasion; their homogeneity bore witness to the fact that local elites across the Empire were pursuing comparable goals and seeking to impress similar audiences. In this sense, the creation of rhetorical cityscapes entailed a performance of elite

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<sup>70</sup> The degree to which such implications would be understood by listeners without the benefit of a Greek rhetorical education is unclear, though Schmitz 1997: 160-96 and Korenjak 2000:41-65 suggest that a fairly broad audience could grasp at least the basic premises of Second Sophistic declamation. It should be remembered, moreover, that virtually all proconsuls of Asia were elite Romans, not only versed in Greek language and literature, but also trained to pay particular attention to the construction (physical and literary) of Greek space (see, e.g., Hutchinson 2013: 77-132); even if Aristides meant to provide nothing more than a strictly conventional encomium, the listening official may have interpreted his description of Smyrna as something more politically significant.

authority analogous to the building boom that swept the eastern provinces in the high imperial period. Just as the construction of each public building served – beyond the immediate purpose of glorifying its benefactor – to confirm and adjust definitions of local identity and civic space, so did every rhetorical description of a city assert and subtly transform the significance of its subject. Both construction and rhetorical description allowed notables to reproduce their ideas of city and Empire in a manner that invited the participation and sanction of the entire citizen body. Under most circumstances, the process of presentation and approval in both modes seems to have been largely unconscious, motivated by elite habitus and guided by a basically static set of sociopolitical goals. Occasions like visits from the Roman governor, however, may have encouraged more deliberate performance.

Aristides did not depart from the standard canons of civic encomium when addressing the proconsul. Yet, in the sense that it assumed the visiting official's participation in a Greek elite worldview, his speech constituted an attempt to influence the official's conduct, and can even be understood as a model for the appropriate exercise of Roman authority.<sup>71</sup> Orators were trained to praise governors and cities in terms of the same virtues,<sup>72</sup> asserting a universal standard of behavior and assessment; and although Aristides never holds out the cityscape of Smyrna as a repository of moral exempla, he clearly regarded it as an instantiation of the history and achievements of a citizen body whose qualities deserved recognition. The conclusion of his speech, directly addressed to the proconsul, is telling in this regard: “what need is there to speak about the people [of Smyrna]? For you yourself will judge them, and will make them better still

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<sup>71</sup> The physical landscapes of provincial cities can be understood in the same terms: during visits from Roman dignitaries, spaces designed to advertise and maintain the position of local elites served as templates for the definition and performance of imperial authority.

<sup>72</sup> Menander Rhetor classifies the attributes of both governors (II, 378.19-80.9, 415.24-17.4) and the inhabitants of a city (II, 385.8-86.10) in terms of the canonical four virtues. Cf. Noreña 2009: 274-6.

by prescribing for them in the best way” (*Or.* 17.23). The apparently casual reference to the proconsul’s assize court airs assumptions animating the entire encomium: that the visiting official will harbor an educated man’s respect for Smyrnaean history and culture, and that this respect will manifest itself in his fair treatment of the city’s current inhabitants.<sup>73</sup> Roman officials were known to be susceptible to such blandishments. More generally, Aristides’ assimilation of Smyrna to a traditional ideal of the polis made the city’s appearance a reminder of the expectations that predicated the relationship between Greek cities and the imperial administration. Like the formal language of inscribed civic decrees,<sup>74</sup> the standardized rhetorical image of the imperial polis was potentially an instrument of diplomacy and a means to power.

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<sup>73</sup> Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 26.31-2

<sup>74</sup> See especially Ma 1999: 179-242.

## Chapter 7. Building Order

Early in the summer of 131 CE, the fleet escorting Hadrian on his return from Egypt put in at the Pamphylian city of Perge. Disembarking, the emperor was met at the docks by a coterie of local notables, who escorted him past lines of cheering citizens and through the south city gate.<sup>1</sup> The vista that opened before them as they entered was a sight to impress even the princeps. On either side, the concave inner face of the gate broadened to reveal no less than 28 statues in two registers – gods in the upper rank, founders and benefactors of Perge in the lower – behind an elaborate screen of Corinthian columns (Fig. 11). Ahead, on the other side of a small oval court, statues of Augustus, members of the imperial family, and Hadrian himself adorned the attic of a monumental triple arch. Beyond this gate, a grand colonnaded avenue, bisected by an ornamental water channel, ran unbroken for more than 400 meters to a nymphaeum at the foot of the acropolis (Figs. 17-19).<sup>2</sup>

At the moment of Hadrian's arrival, the main street of Perge must have appeared a virtual instantiation of the rhetorical ideal outlined in the previous section. The orderly lines of colonnades proclaimed the unity of civic space; the gate and nymphaeum, both adorned with

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo (14.4.2) reports that visitors reached Perge by sailing 60 stades up the Cestrus, a river now well over a mile east of the city. Although the east city gate was thus closest to the presumed site of the port (Martini et al. 2008), the concentration of monumental building and the placement of the commercial agora point to the south gate's status as the main entrance.

<sup>2</sup> The transformation of the inner face of the Hellenistic south gate into the so-called "Founders' Monument" was carried out by the great benefactress Plancia Magna (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 444), who was also responsible for the monumental arch across the courtyard. A good discussion of the dating and purpose of the Founders' Monument and the monumental arch opposite may be found in Şahin 1999: 107-26; cf. Boatwright 1991, 1993; Slavazzi 2010. Chi 2002: 123-63 provides a systematic description of the sculptural program. See Mansel 1975, Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001: 228, and Longfellow 2011: 156-62 on the North Nymphaeum. Bravi 2011 discusses the cumulative effect of the sculpture on display in Hadrianic Perge.



symbols of Pergean identity, advertised the common heritage of the inhabitants; and the ranks of citizens serried before street and monuments asserted the equivalence of built and social harmony. Remarkably, virtually the whole ensemble – the Founders’ Monument and triple arch at the avenue’s beginning, the colonnades along its sides, the water channel down its center, and the nymphaeum at its end – had been constructed within a decade of Hadrian’s arrival by the collaborative action of several dozen benefactors.<sup>3</sup> Although the degree to which these projects were planned or coordinated by the city council is unclear, the avenue was clearly created by benefactors with convergent goals and basically complementary ideas about the proper appearance of their city. The emperor, as we shall see, was only one of the audiences these benefactors sought to impress.

The first section of this chapter discusses how the ethos of elite euergetism encouraged individual benefactors to cooperate with the city council in the creation of “programmatic” building projects designed to advertise a vision of civic identity adapted to the demands of regional politics under the Empire. The second section surveys how multiple benefactors, working under the aegis of the council, could collaborate to create visually unified built environments symbolic of citizen unity and harmony. The third investigates the extent to which the newly harmonious histories and cityscapes were addressed to external audiences.

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<sup>3</sup> Heinzelmann 2003: 215ff discusses the collaborative construction of the colonnade at Perge.

## I. Programmatic Projects

Plancia Magna's gate was not the first monument in the civic center of Perge to feature sculpture advertising a vision of local identity.<sup>4</sup> It was the first, however, whose sculptural program explicitly juxtaposed statues of the city's founding heroes with those of contemporary citizens.<sup>5</sup> More exceptionally still, it was integrated into a monumental armature that accorded it a sort of programmatic effect. Visibly linked with the city center by the colonnades, gleaming water channel, and statues of Hadrian along the main street, the new gate reframed how visitors viewed Perge, at once presenting a sculptural epitome of the citizen body's history and loyalties and intimating the application of this heritage to the whole monumental unity of the city center. The effect must have been most impressive during festival processions and ceremonies to welcome distinguished visitors, when those passing through the gate would see its motifs juxtaposed with the crowds lining the colonnades within. On these occasions, at least, Plancia's Gate would have functioned in much the same manner as Aristides' description of Smyrna: as a means of assimilating a cityscape to the ideal of a citizen body unified by its heritage and loyalties.

The "programmatic" character of Plancia's gate manifests the ethos of elite euergetism that animated so much building in imperial Greek cities. Since this topic has been thoroughly and recently discussed,<sup>6</sup> we need remark only how the social dynamic inherent in euergetism encouraged benefactors to present their projects as manifestations of the popular will. Dio Chrysostom's discourses on the stoa he built in Prusa are representative. From the outset of his

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<sup>4</sup> For example, an arch erected in the reign of Domitian by the brothers Apollonius and Demetrius at the intersection of the two main streets was surmounted by statues representing the Flavian imperial family, Apollo and Artemis, the province of Pamphylia, and the city of Perge (Inan 1989; Şahin 1999: 72-80).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the prominence of the founding hero Androklos in Ephesus during the same period (Rathmayr 2010).

<sup>6</sup> Systematic treatments of elite building in the Roman east include Quass 1993: 197-229, Pont 2010: 297-347, and Zuiderhoek 2009: 70ff, 2013, 2014.

project and through all the ensuing controversies, Dio claimed strictly patriotic motives for the construction of his stoa, describing the building not only as a civic amenity, but also as an expression of Prusa's present vitality and future growth: "there is advantage when a city becomes beautiful, when it gets more air, open space, summer shade and winter sun beneath the shelter of a roof; and when, in place of cheap and ruinous houses, it gains stately edifices worthy of a great metropolis" (*Or.* 47.15). He professed to hope, moreover, that his stoa would encourage other members of the elite to undertake a program of urban renewal grand enough to elevate Prusa to regional preeminence.<sup>7</sup> Dio contended that the building he personally proposed and funded was a communal monument; and some of his peers lent truth to this claim by pledging funds toward its completion. Others, skeptical of his motives or unsettled by his methods, fiercely opposed it.<sup>8</sup> In response to such criticism, Dio repeatedly insisted that his project had been approved by both the council and assembly, and thus reflected the will of the city rather than the ambitions of an individual.<sup>9</sup>

There was considerable validity to this claim. The projects of individual benefactors remained wholly subject to the authority of the civic government, which approved and supervised every aspect of their projects.<sup>10</sup> To a certain extent, in fact, the distinctions between public and private projects were unclear: some public positions carried the expectation of additional "private" benefaction, and civic projects were often complemented or partially financed by individual citizens.<sup>11</sup> Private benefactors had to present their projects to the assembly

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<sup>7</sup> Grand design: *Or.* 45.12. Necessity of cooperation: *Or.* 44.8.

<sup>8</sup> Pledges of subscriptions: *Or.* 40.5-6, 45.16. Objections of citizens: esp. 40.8-9; 46.9; 47.11, 17-18

<sup>9</sup> Approval by assembly and council: *Or.* 40.6, 45.16. On the civic government's involvement in private construction projects, see Martin 1956: 48-72 (esp. 66ff) and Pont 2010: 351-78.

<sup>10</sup> On the processes surrounding the civic government's involvement in construction, see Martin 1956: 48-72 (esp. 66ff) and Pont 2010: 351-78.

<sup>11</sup> Pont 2010: 357-61, 372-7, 396-8; Quass 1993: 202-20.

and council in turn; having gained the former's support, it was subjected to detailed review and final approval by the latter. An architect was often hired for larger public projects, and might even be called upon to present a scale model;<sup>12</sup> but we have little sense of how the details – sculptural decoration, ornament, material – were chosen. In the case of a private benefaction, the design proposed by the donor may have usually been accepted without serious alteration. There is some evidence, however, that the council regularly exercised considerable influence over the appearance and effect of private building projects.

Let us take the example of Tiberius Claudius Aristion, a second-century Ephesian benefactor. Toward the end of his life, he undertook the relatively modest project of completing the Library of Celsus with civic funds. Of itself, this action was unremarkable. It was carried out, however, within a few years of both a public initiative to repave the Triodos square that the library fronted and another benefactor's construction of the so-called Arch of Hadrian over the adjacent street (Fig. 20).<sup>13</sup> Shortly after the Library's completion, the council funded construction of a monumental arch over a side street to complement (and literally connect) another cluster of private benefactions centered on Aristion's magnificent Nymphaeum of Trajan.<sup>14</sup> These were not the first collaborative enterprises in which Aristion had been involved; earlier in his career, he had been one of the many private benefactors to participate in the spate of construction under Domitian, when the city council coordinated the contributions of dozens of

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<sup>12</sup> On the role of civic architects in our period, see esp. Thomas 2007: 91-103. Donderer 1996 collects the references.

<sup>13</sup> After the death of the original benefactor, Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus, the library was completed by a foundation managed by the community and presided over by Aristion (*IvE* 5113). The tribes of the city financed repavement of the Triodos square (*SEG* 34 1092; cf. *IvE* 422a, 3009). The dedicatory inscription of the Arch of Hadrian – originally dedicated to Trajan – is extremely fragmentary (*IvE* 329); it is conceivable that Aristion himself had some hand in its construction.

<sup>14</sup> The propylon (*IvE* 422; *RE Supp.* XII, 1598) was located between Aristion's Nymphaeum of Trajan and the Temple of Hadrian finished a few years later by P. Quintilius Valens Varius, another benefactor. Scherrer 2008 postulates that Aristion and Varius coordinated their efforts to build (with the council's cooperation) what amounted to a whole new quarter of the city. See Halfmann 2001: 63-73 for a survey of Trajanic construction in Ephesus.

benefactors to rebuild the theater and construct the vast Harbor Bath complex.<sup>15</sup> Although relations between Aristion and other members of the Ephesian aristocracy were not always amicable, he was honored multiple times for “embellishing the city.”<sup>16</sup> Upon his death, appropriately, the council voted him a tomb near the nymphaeum on the Embolos, immediately adjacent to the arch it had financed a few years before.<sup>17</sup> All of these examples point to close cooperation between Aristion, other elite benefactors, and the city council in redeveloping whole sections of the urban fabric.

Plancia, too, was honored after her death with a public monument built directly adjacent to her gate,<sup>18</sup> which had the effect of simultaneously honoring a great benefactress and appropriating her legacy for the city (Fig. 21). Like Aristion, Plancia had doubtless worked closely with the city council in the design and execution of her project. It is unclear whether the colonnaded street that joined her gate with the newly-built North Nymphaeum was planned at the same time; but the impressive visual unity of the finished project is a testimony to the council’s success in making Plancia’s project seem an integral, even programmatic, part of a larger cityscape. In part, of course, the rash of construction stimulated by the new gate reflected the agonistic nature of Greek civic politics and elite building: one benefactor’s project would naturally stimulate others. Yet the fact that this competition was channeled into a project that actually advertised the unity and harmony of the citizen body attests the collective commitment of Perge’s benefactor class to an urban aesthetic at once prestigious and politically meaningful.

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<sup>15</sup> Aristion’s benefactions in the reign of Domitian included a cornice in the theater (*IvE* 471), a statue group in the new Harbor Gymnasium (*IvE* 518), and (later) setting up a foundation for the Ephesian Olympics (*IvE* 1114-18, 1120-21). Perhaps the best evidence for the civic government’s coordination of building in this period is the decree calling for restoration of the urban fabric: ἐπεὶ τοῖς νέοις τῶν Σεβαστείων ἔγων μεγέθεισιν καὶ ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν κτισμῶν ἀννέωσις ἔπρεπεν (*IvE* 449.11-14).

<sup>16</sup> Poor relations: Pliny, *Ep.* 6.31.3. Honored for “embellishing the city”: *IvE* 425, 638; see Pont 2010: 273-4 for other uses of the phrase.

<sup>17</sup> On the location of Aristion’s tomb, see Thür 1997: 151-5.

<sup>18</sup> *IvPerge* 117-25

## II. Unified Cityscapes

The monumental elaboration of the main avenue of Perge began in the Flavian period, when, in tandem with the construction of the Arch of Demetrius and Apollonius, part of the northern end was lined with columns. Virtually all of the remaining colonnades, however, seem to have been erected during the early second century, in the same years that witnessed the completion of Plancia's gate, the ornamental water channel, and the North Nymphaeum.<sup>19</sup> The transformation of a wide but basically utilitarian street into a remarkably unified monumental complex was effected, as mentioned earlier, in little more than a decade by the cooperative efforts of several dozen benefactors.<sup>20</sup> Although the project seems to have been coordinated by the city council, individual notables were responsible for the component parts. The particularity of their benefactions was clearly marked: Plancia and the builder of the North Nymphaeum incorporated statues of themselves into their monuments, and the humbler donors of individual sections of the colonnade deliberately emphasized their contributions by using different types of stone, capitals, and mosaic pavements.<sup>21</sup> These nuances, however, were subordinated to a unity conferred not only by the lines of the colonnades and water channel, which lent the street the appearance of a vast ornamental courtyard, but also by the imposing and strikingly similar sculptural ensembles of Plancia's Gate and the North Nymphaeum that dominated its ends, both of which featured Hadrian and his family, the city's founding heroes, and Artemis Pergaia.

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<sup>19</sup> On the development of the main colonnaded avenue, see Heinzelmann 2003. Şahin 1999: 28-30 posits a much earlier date for the northeastern segment, which probably adjoined the agora.

<sup>20</sup> Colonnades were especially attractive candidates for this sort of collaboration, since even donors of relatively modest means could contribute a few columns (e.g. *IvE.* 465, 3851-2; *I. Magnesia* 118, *IvMylasa* 511, *IvSide* 146, *IvTralleis* 150).

<sup>21</sup> On this variety, see Heinzelmann 2003: 206-15. It is of course possible, as Heinzelmann himself notes (*ibid.* 216), that a benefactor's choice of stone and column type was largely conditioned by the supplies available from local workshops at a time of great demand.

The centers of many mid-imperial poleis were subjected to projects apparently intended to introduce a degree of harmony into built environments created by centuries of loosely coordinated construction. Methods varied: streets and plazas were sheathed with uniform pavements of fine stone, series of identical statues were erected in public places, and fountains and nymphaea were constructed at intersections and other focal points.<sup>22</sup> On a grander scale, the peristyles that had begun to enclose the agoras of many cities in the Hellenistic period were now completed, embellished, or even totally rebuilt to visually unify agoras and temple precincts.<sup>23</sup> An inscription honoring the Severan benefactress Publia Aurelia Motoxaris, who rebuilt the entire upper agora of her native Selge, is indicative of the growing tendency to treat public spaces as architectural unities:

She caused many practical and excellent buildings –the office of the agoranomoi, the temple of Tyche, and the Odeion –to be erected from the foundations in her native city, each adorned with statues and all suitable ornament. She also restored all the adjoining civic offices, the diagonal stoa leading to them, and the rest of the agora, complete with its exhedra.” (*IvSelge* 17.13-18)

An archaeological survey has confirmed the extent of this renovation. Without changing the basic layout of the agora, Aurelia rebuilt it on a harmonious plan, matching the décor of Odeon and stoa to that of the colonnaded avenue which joined the agora to the rest of the city (Fig. 22).<sup>24</sup> Analogous, on a still more impressive scale, is the second-century reconstruction of the Asclepieion at Pergamum as a vast peristyle dominated by a spectacular circular temple.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Pavements: *MAMA* VI, 371; *IvE.* 3004, 3008; *IvStratonikeia* 229a. Statue series: *IvTralleis* 164; *IvE.* 504-5, 521-6, 3015; *TAM* V.2 991. Fountains: e.g. *I. Sardis* 17; cf. Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001:123-30.

<sup>23</sup> New agoras: *SEG* 38 1462.9-10 (Oinoanda), 40 1057 (village near Philadelphia); for a comprehensive list, see Pont 2010: 78-80. Particularly interesting are the agoras rebuilt by the collaboration of numerous benefactors, as this implies that unity of design was a communal goal (e.g. *IvTralleis* 145-6, 150, 164; *SEG* 35 343 (Messene)). Compare the useful –if antiquated – discussion of planned additions in *RE* IIIA, 2098-9, s.v. “städtebau.”

<sup>24</sup> Machatscheck & Schwarz 1981: 49-54

<sup>25</sup> See Ch. 4.3. Compare the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidaurus, rebuilt on a unitary plan by a wealthy benefactor in the second century (Paus. 2.27.7).

The single most prominent means employed to visually unify the centers of imperial Greek cities, however, was the colonnaded street.<sup>26</sup> A number of factors contributed to the sudden popularity of colonnades in the mid-imperial east: they were prestigious, highly visible, and useful; and in cities whose agoras were often already fully monumentalized and choked with dedications, they represented an attractive outlet for elite energies. More significant still was the fact that local elites, more motivated and able than ever before to signal their preeminence by building, saw in them not only a prestigious new outlet for their euergetism, but also a way of instantiating an ideal of the stable, ordered “democratic” community. Like the peristyle squares from which they evolved,<sup>27</sup> colonnaded streets provided a particularly effective means of transforming public space, since they embellished the traditional centers of social and political life in a manner that, while highly visible, did no obvious violence to their democratic connotations. In this sense, they represented the final development of a long trend in Greek urbanism.

For our purposes, the architectural evolution of the colonnaded street<sup>28</sup> is less interesting than the broader trends of urban planning that stimulated its popularity. The prestige of the new form was rooted in both Classical conceptions of the street and Hellenistic uses of the peristyle, and ultimately arose from its elaboration of the “Hippodamian” grid planning that had been the standard of Greek city planning for centuries. In the Classical era, regular streets had epitomized

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<sup>26</sup> Bejor 1999 is the most comprehensive treatment of Roman colonnaded avenues; cf. Coulton 1976: 168-83. Gros 1996: 103-7 provides a good summary of the characteristic architectural forms. Pont 2010: 177-87 catalogues the epigraphic testimonia for monumental streets in Roman Asia Minor. A list of textual references may be found in *RE* XX, 2340-1, s.v. Plateia (II). On the visual unity conferred by colonnades, see MacDonald 1986: 33-51 and Klinkott 2014.

<sup>27</sup> See Coulton 1976: 168-77 on the use of stoas to unify agoras and temple courts in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. On the origins and architectural predecessors of colonnaded streets, see esp. Martin 1974: 176-85, 217-20; Coulton 1976: 177-80; and Bejor 1999: 15-21.

<sup>28</sup> On the origins and architectural predecessors of colonnaded streets, see esp. Martin 1974: 176-85, 217-20; Coulton 1976: 177-80; and Bejor 1999: 15-21.



the ideal of political unity – or rather, of egalitarian property division – implicit in a comprehensive city plan.<sup>29</sup> Although the extent to which Hippodamus’ vision was meant to instantiate a distinctive sociopolitical theory is disputed, orthogonal planning clearly had a symbolic value beyond its convenience for apportioning lots. The theory that gridded planning in Classical foundations like Priene mirrored blocks of identical “standard houses” for a democratic citizen body is unfounded, or at least overstated;<sup>30</sup> but the streets themselves – rectilinear or not – seem to have been considered emblematic of the city’s control of public space. In a practical sense, this simply reflected the fact that civic officials (usually *astynomoi* or *agoranomoi*)<sup>31</sup> were charged with their maintenance, which allowed the condition of a city’s streets to be regarded as a practical index of its governmental efficacy. Streets could also, however, be interpreted as significant expressions of a city’s social composition, or even as a commentary on the citizen body.<sup>32</sup> This is perhaps unsurprising in light of the cooperative nature of their maintenance: the Hellenistic inscription from Pergamum that provides our most comprehensive overview of the duties of the *astynomoi* emphasizes the role of these officials in enforcing citizen liability for the width, condition, and appearance of all city streets.<sup>33</sup> Strabo’s anecdote about the Cumaeans, who were ridiculed for mortgaging and then losing control of the porticoes along one of their main thoroughfares, is indicative of the general association of streets with both the governance

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<sup>29</sup> Martin 1974: 48-72, 97-126, 203-15

<sup>30</sup> This theory was expounded in Hoepfner-Schwander 1986. See Shipley 2005 for a summary of the recent scholarship.

<sup>31</sup> Martin 1974: 66-72 surveys the officials charged with maintenance of the urban fabric in Greek cities. Saba 2012: 87-113 discusses the responsibilities of *astynomoi*. On the duties of *agoranomoi*, see Migeotte 2005.

<sup>32</sup> The gridded streets that divided the Panhellenic foundation of Thurii, apparently named after the patron gods of the new colony, can be understood as an attempt to assert commonality among a diverse group of settlers (Diod. Sic. 12.10.7). It is implied, likewise, that the twelve sections of Plato’s Cretan city will be separated and defined by radial roads (*Leg.* V 745e, VI 763c). Aristotle observes that level sites – and thus the orthogonal plans they enabled – are particularly well-suited to democratic cities (*Pol.*, 1330b.17-20).

<sup>33</sup> *OGIS* 483.29-35; cf. Meritt 1935, no. 1.25-7. See Saliou 2003 for sources on the maintenance of streets.

and essential character of a city.<sup>34</sup> In short, though never as central to social and political life as the agora, the streets of Classical Greek cities were definitively public space, and could thus be understood as manifestations of the sovereignty and concerted will of the inhabitants.<sup>35</sup>

The rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the concomitant emergence of civic oligarchies and elite euergetism set the stage for the transformation of streets into monuments. With only a few exceptions – notably the Street of Tripods and portions of the Panthenaic Way at Athens – the streets of Classical cities had been utilitarian and unadorned. Although the orthogonal grids of most early Hellenistic foundations were little different,<sup>36</sup> a few of the new cities, particularly those closely associated with royal power, featured exceptionally broad and monumental avenues. The famous boulevards of Alexandria, laid out by the conqueror himself under the influence of native Egyptian processional ways, were the first and most famous examples (Fig. 23).<sup>37</sup> Grand central avenues soon became integral components not only of capitals like Syrian Antioch (Fig. 24), but even of such humble royal foundations as Dura-Europus (Fig. 25).<sup>38</sup> A corresponding awareness of the dramatic possibilities inherent in street design played an important role in encouraging the development of hilltop sites like Pergamum.<sup>39</sup>

Equally important for the development of the colonnaded street was the practice of converting agoras into peristyle courts.<sup>40</sup> Partly in response to the spate of royal building – the

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<sup>34</sup> Strabo 13.3.6 (622); cf. Polyæn., *Strat.* 3.9.30.

<sup>35</sup> Sebillotte 1997 discusses the significance of streets in Classical Athenian political life. Cf. Millett 1998.

<sup>36</sup> See Martin 1974: 163-76, Lauter 1986: 64-91, and Heinle 2009 on Hellenistic urban planning.

<sup>37</sup> Strabo describes the avenues of Alexandria (17.1.8 [793]). On their Egyptian inspiration, see Tomlinson 1995 and Ballet 2008.

<sup>38</sup> Lassus 1972 discusses the main artery of Antioch. See Leriche 2000 for a comparative analysis of the plans of Dura Europus and other Seleucid foundations in Syria.

<sup>39</sup> See Wulf 1994: 136-51 on the development of Hellenistic Pergamum's street network. Cf. Gros 1996: 97-8, Radt 1999: 83-94.

<sup>40</sup> For the influence of peristyle courts on agora design, see Martin 1951: 503-41, Lauter 1986: 132-54, and Gros 1996: 103-11. Cavalier 2012 discusses porticoes around agoras of Asia Minor; Kenzler 2013, changes to agoras in the early imperial era.

stoas which kings bestowed on a number of important cities and sanctuaries seem to have been particularly influential – the Hellenistic period witnessed the consummation of a long trend towards the regularization of public space.<sup>41</sup> This trend was tied to the rise of elite euergetism, as local notables, often in more or less overt imitation of the kings, sought to assert through building their patronage and implicit leadership of professedly democratic cities.<sup>42</sup> Erecting stoas along the ragged edges of an agora or sanctuary court may have seemed a particularly effective means for civic benefactors to claim a special position in their communities, since such projects embellished the traditional centers of social and political life in a manner that, while highly visible, did no obvious violence to the democratic connotations of those spaces (Figs. 26-9). Although stoas had many functions, and did not necessarily mark a space as prestigious, the peristyle form had close associations with spaces of public concourse.<sup>43</sup> The regular colonnades of peristyle courts, moreover, provided the notables who built them with new opportunities for commemoration and self-presentation. As settings for honorific statues,<sup>44</sup> and still more as backdrops for elite speech and motion, they originated trends that would reach full fruition in the colonnaded street.

It was, in short, a shared elite conception of the city that underpinned the popularity of the colonnaded street, and that, more generally, promoted the organic unity so characteristic of imperial Greek cities. Colonnaded streets were ideally suited to the political claims inherent in

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<sup>41</sup> Fehr 1979 discusses the concern for regular public spaces evident in late Classical Priene. See Coulton 1976: 168-77 and Lauter 1986: 113-31 on the use of stoas to unify agoras and temple courts in the Classical and Hellenistic periods; cf. Winter 2006: 50-70. See Zimmerman 2009 on the changing nature of monumentality in this period. On Classical and Hellenistic peristyles, see Emme 2013: 219ff.

<sup>42</sup> For a brief survey of the social and political conditions that encouraged the rise of euergetism, see CAH<sup>2</sup> VII.1, 304-15. Gauthier 1985 is a comprehensive study of Hellenistic euergetism; see Quass 1993: 196-210 on the building programs of Hellenistic elites. See Shear 2011 for the interesting parallel of construction in the Athenian agora during and after the oligarchic regimes of the late fifth century BCE.

<sup>43</sup> Coulton 1977: 8-13 surveys the uses of stoas. In his description of Antioch, Libanius praises stoas as places of social interaction (Or. 11.202, 204-5).

<sup>44</sup> See Ma 2013: 75-9 and Sielhorst 2014 on statue displays in Hellenistic agoras.

the ethos of elite euergetism for two principal reasons. First, they were almost always undertaken by multiple benefactors. This was of course a customary means of completing large projects,<sup>45</sup> and all elite euergetism was at least nominally intended to benefit or beautify the city as a whole;<sup>46</sup> but colonnades, which straddled property lines and connected buildings of disparate form and function, necessitated and memorialized collaboration in a particularly distinctive manner. Second, and more importantly, colonnaded avenues were the beneficiaries of a historically potent complex of relationships between streets, the regularization of public space, and the ideal of a socio-politically unified community.

To a certain extent, the harmonious appearance of spaces like Perge's main avenue was the natural consequence of a great deal of building in a short amount of time, and merely reflected notions of what was prestigious in civic architecture. Yet the dozens of benefactors who contributed to the avenue at Perge were motivated not only by the prominence of the new colonnades, but also by an opportunity to display their joint identification with the civic community in a uniquely visible way. The colonnades and channel of Perge's main street had various practical functions; but they are best understood, in tandem with the gate and nymphaeum, as elements of a ceremonial landscape created by the cooperative efforts and for the collective aims of the civic elite. The main avenue of Perge probably formed the head of the

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<sup>45</sup> To mention only one well-known example, an inscription found in Smyrna records the construction of a bath complex financed with contributions from more than 20 individual benefactors (*IvSmyrna* 697 = *IGR* IV.1431). The practice was common enough to elicit a series of imperial rescripts (*Dig.* 50.12.1-14; cf. Plin., *Ep.* 10.40.1). Colonnades were especially attractive candidates for this sort of collaboration, since even donors of relatively modest means could contribute a few columns (e.g. *IvE* 3851-2, *I. Magnesia* 118, *IvMylasa* 511, *IvSide* 146, *IvTralleis* 150).

<sup>46</sup> A benefactor's completion of his project was regarded as an occasion for communal festivities (e.g. Plin., *Ep.* 10.116; *Aristid.*, *Or.* 53. Cf. Pont 2010: 269-71).

processional way to the Temple of Artemis Pergaia.<sup>47</sup> During every major civic festival, it was almost certainly on the avenue that the citizen body assembled before processing to the sanctuary, in a setting that advertised the individual and collective commitment of the city's benefactors to the image of a community unified by its shared history and devotion to the goddess.<sup>48</sup> On these occasions, the monumental armature of the avenue served to emphasize not only the common heritage of the citizen body, but also its social harmony. The colonnades, elevated above street level, made provision for spectators to watch – and tacitly condone – the ritual re-creation of the community implicit in the festival processional order.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, by providing a regular architectural frame, they lent both participants and spectators of a procession a new degree of visual coherence.<sup>50</sup> Serried along the regular lines of columns beneath statues of εὐνομία<sup>51</sup> and the emperors, symbols of order, the citizens of Perge instantiated the ideal of the stable and harmonious city. The place of the civic elite in this ideal was neatly illustrated by the statues of benefactors erected along the colonnades, which, poised on their tall bases, inserted into this landscape of communal assembly and definition a reminder that some citizens were more equal than others.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Although no trace of the temple has yet been found, the main street's status as a processional way is the best explanation for the fact that it was (by the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.) certainly lined with colonnades at least up to a point where a side street connected it with stadium and theater, and apparently continued farther south (Şahin 1999: 27-8).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Quass 1993: 56-76

<sup>49</sup> Permanent seating was sometimes built along portions of a processional way (Cavalier and Des Courtils 2008).

<sup>50</sup> The most explicit ancient testimonia to the visual effects of colonnaded avenues appear in Achilles Tatius' description of the streets of Alexandria (5.1.1-5) and Libanius' oration in praise of Antioch (*Or.* 11.196-218). Their special association with processions is perhaps made clearest by John Chrysostom, who contrasts the beauty of the colonnades along a processional route with the holy relics brought up it (*PG* 50, 699).

<sup>51</sup> A statue dedicated to Σεβαστῆ Ὁμοιοῖα stood atop the Arch of Demetrius and Apollonius (*IvPerge* 56). This personification was sometimes assimilated to the reigning empress (e.g. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 819.3-4) or paraded in the company of imperial statues (*IvE* 27.470-1). Cf. *LIMC* 4.1: 62-5, s.v. "Eunomia."

<sup>52</sup> Plancia Magna, for example, received multiple statues along the colonnades (*IvPerge* 117-18, 122, 125).

### III. External Audiences

The creation of monumental ensembles like the main street of Perge not only allowed civic elites to make collective statements about their role in a city, but also made provision for them to advertise this role to distinguished visitors. As noted earlier, it is probable that the construction of Plancia Magna's gate complex and the colonnades, channel, and nymphaeum along the main street was at least stimulated, if not necessarily inspired, by anticipation of a visit from Hadrian.<sup>53</sup> The emperor was known to be both closely interested in the management of provincial cities and generous in bestowing gifts on poleis with an established cultural pedigree<sup>54</sup> – excellent motivations for the construction of a monumental ensemble that not only advertised the cooperation of Perge's benefactors and unity of the citizen body, but also made visible the city's loyalty to Rome and identification with an impeccably Greek past. Yet the emperor was only one of the "external" audiences that the new gate and street were intended to impress. The whole reconstructed avenue can be understood, as we have seen, as a stage for enacting an elite image of the city. This image was performed for the benefit of a variety of important visitors, of whom the emperor, as the most infrequent, was in a sense the least important.

Anticipation of a visit from the emperor is known to have spurred construction in many Greek cities.<sup>55</sup> In an illuminating passage, Dio Chrysostom criticizes the citizens for Alexandria

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<sup>53</sup> See Şahin 1999: 119f for the theory that Plancia's gate complex was constructed in anticipation of a visit from Hadrian. A series of statues representing Hadrian (*IvPerge* 111-16), all apparently once located along the colonnades of the main street, reinforces the supposition. An illuminating parallel to the gate and street at Perge is provided by the neighboring city of Phaselis, where a gate built to welcome Hadrian (*TAM* II.1187 = *SEG* 31 1299) was complemented by the reconstruction of the adjoining street and gate and the decoration of both with statues of the emperor (Shäfer 1981: 91-8, 169ff). On the arches for Hadrian in Asia Minor, see Schorndorfer 1997: 103-4.

<sup>54</sup> Boatwright 2000.

<sup>55</sup> Perrin-Samindayar 2009 surveys the extensive preparations that Greek cities undertook in preparation for royal and imperial visits. On civic building in anticipation of an imperial visit, see Halfmann 1986: 129-33, Winter 1996: 108-18, Schorndorfer 1997: 121-3, and Pont 2010: 484-5; cf. Lehnen 1997: 120-4; *RE* XVIII.4:1670-84, s.v. "Parochus."

for undertaking an extravagant building program to welcome Trajan but failing to regulate their own behavior.

In heaven's name, do you not see how great is the consideration that your emperor has displayed toward your city? Well then, you also must match the zeal he shows and make your country better, not, by Zeus, through constructing fountains or stately portals [...],<sup>56</sup> but rather by means of good behavior, by decorum, by showing yourselves to be sane and steady. For in that case not only would [the emperor] not regret his generosity because of what has happened, but he might even confer on you still further benefactions. And perhaps you might even make him long to visit you. For it is not so much the beauty of your buildings that might attract him [...], but he may be attracted when he hears that the people to receive him are worthy of his favor and his trust, and when each of his emissaries and ministers speaks highly of you. For you must not imagine, that...the emperor's agents are not curious to learn what kind of people the Alexandrians are. (*Or.* 32.95-6)

Dio's comments belong to the extensive tradition in imperial Greek rhetoric, mentioned in the previous chapter, of criticizing building projects that did not contribute to the practical needs or underlying stability of the community. For Dio, the most important aspect of the Alexandrians' reception of Trajan would be their demonstration of communal stability and loyalty. Though partially made in service of a larger argument for the necessity of self-control in the public sphere, this assertion reflects a central concern of contemporary local notables. Dio, trying to make a didactic point, contrasts the Alexandrians' inconstant conduct with the magnificence of the buildings they erected for Trajan. This is perhaps best understood as a criticism not of the practice of building for the emperor per se, but of conduct inconsistent with the basic meaning of such building. As Dio says, the emperor and his agents (the prefect and subordinate officials) were deeply interested in civic order and order; and buildings like the arches and nymphaea that

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<sup>56</sup> The coins of Alexandria attest an arch probably built for a visit of Trajan (Handler 1971: 70-1).

the Alexandrians constructed to welcome the emperor, as Dio himself admits in other orations,<sup>57</sup> were potentially significant markers of these very qualities.

Construction programs undertaken in preparation for an imperial visit seem to have been intended to stage communal stability and loyalty. Like Plancia's gate and the avenue at Perge, many of these projects focused on the route by which the emperor entered a city. In anticipation of a visit from Hadrian, for example, the city council and a number of private benefactors in the Lycian city of Phaselis collaborated to construct a monumental gate decorated with statues of the emperor and his family, rebuild the adjoining colonnaded street and agora, and adorn both with statues of the emperor (Fig. 30).<sup>58</sup> As at Perge, the key component of this ensemble was the gate constructed at the emperor's point of entry. Throughout the eastern provinces, cities expecting a visit from the emperor constructed monumental arches, frequently decorated with statues of the emperor, his family, and figures from local myth.<sup>59</sup> The "programmatic" decoration of these arches played an important role in *adventus* ceremonial.<sup>60</sup> More enduringly, it also served not only to commemorate a visit, but also to recreate some of its sociopolitical effects. In many cities, imperial visits were commemorated with annual festivals,<sup>61</sup> some of which apparently

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<sup>57</sup> E.g., *Or.* 36.5, 40.5, 47.10

<sup>58</sup> The arch was constructed by the city (dedication: *TAM* II.1187 = *SEG* 31 1299; statues: *TAM* II 1191-3). On the new "tetragonos agora" (*TAM* II.1194), see Schäfer 1981: 91-8. It has been suggested the main street and harbor were rebuilt at the same time, doubtless on the initiative of other local benefactors (*ibid.* 169ff). Compare the review camp built for a visit of Hadrian at the legionary camp/city of Lambaesis (Le Bohec 1977).

<sup>59</sup> On the arches built for Hadrian in Asia Minor, see Schorndorfer 1997: 103-4. The arches at Phaselis (Önen 2013; Schäfer 1981: 88-9), Attaleia (Moretti 1923; Lanckoronski 1890: 20-4), and Patara (De Maria 2004: 291ff; Şahin 2008: 603-5; Bowersock 1985) are almost certainly connected with a visit of Hadrian. Cf. the Market Gate at Miletus (Strocka 1981: 45ff). Other arches are attested at Nicaea (*IGR* III.37=*IvNikaia* 29-30 (originally dedicated to Vespasian)); Gerasa (Welles, *Gerasa* no. 58; Watts & Watts 1992); and Quiza (*CIL* VIII 9697 = 21514). The cities along Trajan's line of advance to the Parthian frontier seem also to have built arches (*SEG* 32 1550 (Petra), *SEG* 7 844 (Gerasa), *AE* 1933, 225 (Dura Europos)). Cities never visited by an emperor imitated the practice; in Isaura Vetus, for example, an arch constructed to honor Hadrian was the first of three commemorating imperial victories (Schorndorfer 1997: 200-1; *CIG* 4382).

<sup>60</sup> Lehnen 1997: 167-9; cf. MacDonald 1986: 74-86.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. *F. Delphes* III.4.3 307; *I. Didyma* 254; *IGR* IV.1542 = *IvErythrae* 60. A visit of Commodus was commemorated annually at Miletus (Ehrhardt 1984). Additional references in Millar 1977: 36, n. 60-1. Some of



featured processions retracing the emperor's path through the city.<sup>62</sup> Such reenactments are perhaps best understood as attempts to revive the image of the community staged for the emperor's benefit, which represented the ideal that the civic elite wanted to project to all visitors: an orderly and harmonious citizen body, implicitly dominated by local notables. This image, as we have seen, not only played a significant role in the relationship of civic mass and elite, but also underpinned the relations that civic elites sought to establish with neighboring cities and Roman officials. The arches and colonnades erected to frame an ideal community for the emperor's approval could thus perform the same function for the various other external audiences local notables were motivated to impress.

Dio Chrysostom anticipated a number of external audiences for the stoa he built in Prusa, observing that "buildings [and other marks of distinction]...naturally enhance the pride of cities, cause communal dignity to grow, and make it possible for them to receive greater honor, both from visiting strangers and from the proconsuls" (*Or.* 40.10).<sup>63</sup> He assured his townsmen that the new stoa would impress these audiences not merely on account of its beauty,<sup>64</sup> but also because of the civic solidarity it manifested. Monumental construction projects, Dio reminds his critics, evince the character of the cities that undertake them: "one must never curtail a city or reduce it to one's own dimensions or measure it with regard to a mean or servile soul, particularly in the light of existing precedents — I mean the activities of the men of Smyrna and Ephesus, of those in Tarsus and the men of Antioch" (40.11).

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these festivals persisted for centuries; Hadrian, for example, was still being offered cult honors in third-century Miletus (*I. Milet* 1102). This festival may have been connected with the practice of erecting a new statue of Hadrian every year (Pekáry 1965); cf. *I. Cret.* II XVIII 15-50.

<sup>62</sup> Malalas 272-3; *F. Delphes* III.4.3 307; cf. Robert, *Hell.* II: 59.

<sup>63</sup> εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομίμασι...συναίρεσθαι πέφυκε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν πόλεων καὶ μείζον ἀξίωμα γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ πλέονος τυγχάνειν τιμῆς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

<sup>64</sup> Dio admired and envied the buildings of neighboring cities for their beauty (*Or.* 38.47, 40.11, 22; 47.13, 16) and hoped to redress Prusa's deficiencies in this regard with his project (e.g. 40.5).

Visiting Roman officials and the elites of neighboring cities probably loomed equally large in the perspective of Plancia Magna and her fellow benefactors. The gate and street at Perge may well have been inspired by anticipation of a visit from Hadrian. Yet even if Hadrian's visit was an additional fillip to construction, the external "audience" that exercised the most influence on the reconstructed road's design was likely the Roman governor. Besides its function as the staging-point for processions to the extramural temple of Artemis, the main avenue of Perge, as the primary entrance from the city's harbor, was central to the annual *adventus* of the legate of Lycia-Pamphylia.<sup>65</sup> The processions that welcomed governors, like those in traditional civic festivals, entailed arraying the citizen body in a manner that displayed its good order and essential unity.<sup>66</sup> From the elite perspective, these processions filled two crucial functions. First, they presented the governor with an image that satisfied his expectations of stability, and thus assured him of the competence of their governance. Second, and as importantly, they allowed individual notables, walking with the governor as his guides and hosts, to advertise their association with the power of Rome, and so validate their individual and collective prestige, in the eyes of their fellow-citizens.

By creating, in effect, a permanent stage for ritual creation of the community, the elite citizens of Perge who built the avenue and its monumental annexes might address not only the local audiences that upheld their authority, but also the neighboring elites and Roman officials who could confirm it. The ambitious scale and cooperative nature of their project, far from being a simple reflection of the fact that they were collectively richer and more influential than ever before, represented a remarkably concerted attempt to recreate public space in the image of their values and ambitions. Projects to rationalize and hierarchize public space have been a hallmark

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<sup>65</sup> Haensch 1997: 290-2

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Men. Rh. II, 381.8-10; *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3606

of oligarchic regimes in many periods and cultures, perhaps most analogously in the city-states of late Renaissance Italy.<sup>67</sup> The democratic roots of both the architectural and the rhetorical forms through which imperial Greek notables “ordered” their cities, however, lent their projects a distinctive flavor. Despite the possibilities it afforded for elite self-display within the civic order, the image of the city monumentalized by both Aristides and the benefactors of Perge emphasized inclusion above all else. Partly because the ethos of euergetism kept potent certain elements of the traditionally egalitarian definition of the polis, and partly because Roman assessments of their cities privileged consensus and good management, Greek notables had to visibly implicate the community in their projects of reconstruction. It is fitting that Aristides closes his description of Smyrna with a reference to the citizen body (*Or.* 17.23), perhaps gesturing toward the crowd assembled along the proconsul’s route of entry. The presence of the people, arrayed by tribe or profession along the colonnades, visibly confirmed the connection between built and social order, and as visibly validated the local elite’s dominance and management. In rhetoric as in reality, assembling the citizen body remained the most effective means of evoking an ideal of the city.

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<sup>67</sup> See, for example, Lotz 1977 and Gorse 1997; cf. Trachtenberg 1997. More general studies include Tafuri 2006 (esp. 59-97) and Nevola 2007. A series of case studies may be found in *Annali di architettura* 4-5 (1993): 113ff.

## Chapter 8. Enacting Order

Early in the reign of Trajan, C. Vibius Salutaris, an Italian of Equestrian rank resident in Asia, made provision for the ephebes of Ephesus to regularly process, bearing a dazzling array of gold and silver statues, from the Temple of Artemis outside the city to the great theater in its heart (Fig. 31).<sup>1</sup> The most thorough analysis of this procession, emphasizing the role of the ephebes, postulates that it was meant primarily to initiate the Ephesian youth in an idealized model of the sociopolitical order. Although this interpretation has been criticized on the grounds that a man of Salutaris' origins would be unlikely to promote such a model of his adoptive city, his avowed interest in civic harmony lends it considerable plausibility – as does the fact that his procession was probably devised in concert with the city council.<sup>2</sup> The procession was staged when the Ephesian asiarch took office, before regular meetings of the assembly, and in conjunction with a number of major festivals and contests. These were occasions of central importance to the citizen body, and opportune moments for confirming civic solidarity. They were also, however, the occasions most likely to draw the attention of the proconsul of Asia and his subordinate officials. Although the civic ideal performed in Salutaris' procession was probably not directed at a specifically Roman audience, or even significantly influenced by his background in the imperial administration, it reflected a body of concerns and priorities fundamentally linked with the fact of Roman rule. For our purposes, it can thus serve as a

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<sup>1</sup> The Salutaris inscription (*IvE* 27) is discussed extensively in Rogers 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers 1991: 80-126 presents Salutaris' procession as a means of educating the ephebes, an interpretation criticized in the lengthy review of C. Schulte (*Klio* 76 (1994): 518ff). Salutaris' concern for civic harmony is attested by several inscriptions (*IvE* 27.341-2, 376-7; 3027); Rogers 1991: 16-19 discusses his origins.

convenient point of departure for discussing how communal ceremonies, by simultaneously complementing and explicating the settings in which they were performed, put the citizen body and its attributes on display for visitors from neighboring cities and Roman officials alike.

The first section of this chapter surveys how the organization of the participants in a procession and the images they carried articulated the ideal of a unified and harmonious community. The second investigates how this living image of the citizen body complemented and “activated” the parallel ideal of civic order implicit in the built environment. The third and final section discusses the sense in which the communal image of civic processions was, like the ideal city of the orators and newly harmonious built environments, not only a product of civic and provincial power structures ultimately generated by Roman rule, but also a means of communicating with imperial officials.

### **I. Festival Presentation**

The visual highlights of Salutaris’ benefaction were the thirty-one statues which the epebes bore from Artemision to theater. The figures represented were remarkably diverse. Statuettes of Artemis and the portraits of Trajan and Plotina were joined by Androklos, Lysimachus, Augustus, and other figures from Ephesian myth and history; personifications of the gerousia, council, and people; the six civic tribes; the Senate, Roman people, and equestrian order; Athena of the Muses, and Imperial Concord. Taken as a group, these statues outlined the composition, values, and loyalties of an idealized civic order. Despite the evident influence of Salutaris’ own background – the statue of the equestrian order is particularly telling – the blend

of local and imperial iconography is fairly conventional.<sup>3</sup> More interesting for our purposes are the ritualized occasion and settings in which these figures were presented. As occasions for the performance of an “ideal” or “original” civic order, festivals represented superb opportunities to impress rival cities – or Roman officials.

The principal sociopolitical function of communal ceremonies was to enact and demonstrate unity, often – as in *Salutaris*’ procession – by performing an idealized social model.<sup>4</sup> Although this could serve as a means for one of the participating elements of the citizen body to challenge the existing order, it usually had a legitimizing effect, at once demonstrating the basic unity of the citizen body and displaying its integral parts.<sup>5</sup> The festivals of Plato’s Cretan city, for example, were expressly intended to encourage citizens to harmonize themselves with their gods and neighbors through communal song and dance.<sup>6</sup> Yet the audience of a major civic festival was seldom composed exclusively of citizens. Important though the performance of an ideal social order was for the maintenance of internal harmony, it could be equally instrumental when presented to an external audience. Civic delegations presented themselves – and were received – as representatives of this ritual community; a delegation from Ephesus to Caracalla approached the emperor as in a miniature procession, led by an image of Artemis.<sup>7</sup> At celebrations of *Homonoia*, the representatives of the participant cities likewise appeared in sacrificial garb, led

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<sup>3</sup> A comparable iconographic blend of emperors, gods, and virtues is attested (e.g.) on the arch of Demetrius and Apollonius at Perge (*IvPerge* 56). The same juxtaposition of civic and imperial loyalties was familiar at Ephesus; consider, for example, the sculptural program of the Nymphaeum of Trajan, erected around the time *Salutaris* founded his procession.

<sup>4</sup> Chaniotis 2008; cf. Chaniotis 2009a: 24-8.

<sup>5</sup> The community-centered nature of Greek religion is well discussed by Sourvinou-Inwood 1990 and Cole 1995; see Burkert 1985: 99-103 on processions. Zuiderhoek 2009: 86-97 links the creation of festivals in the imperial period with an elite desire to promote civic stability. Maurizio 1998 shows how the Classical Panathenaic procession, by juxtaposing religious and political definitions of the community, encouraged debates on the nature of Athens’ participatory democracy. Goldhill 1987 and Connor 1987 discuss the intersection of political order and change with other Athenian festivals.

<sup>6</sup> *Leg.* 8.828Aff; cf. Kowalzig 2007 on the sociopolitical implications of communal hymns.

<sup>7</sup> *IvE* 2026; for more examples, see Nollé & Nollé 1994: 253, n. 40.

by likenesses of their patron gods.<sup>8</sup> Similar conventions governed the ceremonies associated with agonistic contests: in the opening procession of the games founded by Demosthenes of Oenoanda, the whole civic government filed in white robes behind the agonothele.<sup>9</sup>

The emperor was always part of the civic presentation. It is fitting that the gold crown worn by Demosthenes' agonothele depicted not only Apollo, the patron god of Oenoanda, but also Hadrian. Although the emperor's portrait was primarily intended to signify that the festival had been approved by the emperor, it also implied official sanction for the processional order itself; a third-century rhetorical treatise urges orators to end encomia of festivals with praise of the emperor, since "he who presides over peace is really the organizer of all festivals" (Ps.-Dion. 259). Although a minor festival in a remote city was unlikely to attract the attention of any Roman official, the identification of civic with imperial authority might significantly bolster a city's standing in the arena of local competition. As in processions associated directly with the imperial cult, the basic idea was to evoke the emperor's presence at – and thus virtual participation in – civic ritual.<sup>10</sup>

The actual presence of a Roman dignitary was still more instrumental. The emperor himself could of course almost never be expected to attend a local festival, even in the most prominent cities. His officials, on the other hand, could sometimes be persuaded. The governor's presence, in particular, was sought almost as a matter of form.<sup>11</sup> To a certain extent, this was simply another indication of the desire for local notoriety, since the presence of a governor

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<sup>8</sup> Nollé & Nollé 1994 and Kienast 1995 discuss *Homonoia* festivities. A survey of the extensive numismatic evidence is provided by Franke & Nollé 1997. *IvMylasa* 502 attests a monument built jointly by two (unnamed) cities as a witness to their harmony and alliance.

<sup>9</sup> *SEG* 38 1462.68ff

<sup>10</sup> Price 1984: 102-7 and Herz 1995: 69f summarize the civic rituals associated with imperial cult; cf. Herz 1997. Edelmann 2008 suggests that likenesses of the emperors had the effect of evoking his participation in civic ritual; cf. Price 1984: 188-91. Burrell 2004: 335-41 surveys the games associated the imperial cult.

<sup>11</sup> See Ch. 13.

attested the prominence of both festival and host city. Yet it also represented an opportunity for the host city to impress the visiting official while arrayed to best advantage. As we shall see in the next chapter, a visiting governor was customarily received by the citizen body in processional order, dressed in the white robes and crowns worn to sacrifice. Advancing into the city in the company of the chief magistrates, the official was thus integrated into an idealized model of the sociopolitical order.<sup>12</sup> If the governor's visit coincided with other occasions for public ceremonial, the impressions formed during his initial entrance might be deepened and complicated by his viewing of other rituals. In his oration welcoming the proconsul to Smyrna, for example, Aristides assures the visiting official that he will see symbols of civic history in the next days' Dionysiac festivities (*Or.* 17.5).

Menander's prescriptions for inviting a governor to a festival provide some sense of what the city hoped to communicate on such occasions. The features which the speech of invitation was to emphasize are unsurprising in themselves: the festival's antiquity and prominence, the size of the audience, and the fame of the presiding deity (II 424.4-25.21). The host city itself was then to be praised; Alexandria Troas –the author's example –was lauded for “ancient myths and beautiful buildings” (426.11-13), where “one would find nothing lacking for a governor's welcome: not a pleasant climate, nor well-mannered people, nor moderate behavior, nor dignity in general” (426.24-7). Such accolades were to be combined with an encomium of the governor, with the implication that a man of his qualities was well-suited to appreciate both city and festival: “the governor should be proud of these greatest of his cities, and make haste to visit those that have the greatest attribute, literary culture, and everything else that conduces to virtue”

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<sup>12</sup> See Ch. 9.



(427.6-10). Any official capable of appreciating the civic envoy's "Athenian eloquence" (426.4-5) would surely value a display of such cultural import.<sup>13</sup>

Yet Roman officials could only be expected to visit the most prominent festivals. It is interesting in this context to note that the claims on Greek culture and local prominence implicit in contests like those organized by Demosthenes – which featured competitions in prose encomia, comic and tragic poetry, and singing to the cithara – were very similar to those which Menander's governor was supposed to appreciate. It was assumed that a Roman official would respond to the piety, antiquity, and good order made evident by communal ritual in much the same way as any educated Greek. This may reflect the expectation that the Roman's education, or even the nature of the ceremony itself, would enable easy comprehension. A more straightforward explanation, however, is that cities simply presented the same basic qualities to every external audience. Suitably presented, the symbols of civic identity were fully congruent with those of loyalty to Rome. The statues carried in Salutaris' procession, for example, not only bespoke the history and characteristics of the citizen body, but also asserted their participation in a greater imperial order.<sup>14</sup> Processions like Salutaris' were neither intended solely for citizens nor performed exclusively for visitors; they were designed to present an image of city and Empire equally applicable to both. This purpose required a ritual to be immediately comprehensible to a wide array of audiences – and so encouraged a mutual relationship with the most convenient repository of legible symbols: the civic built environment.

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<sup>13</sup> A city's cultural achievement might imply its political effectiveness; see Lib., *Or.* 11.132ff.

<sup>14</sup> The last statue in the procession was an εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Σεβαστῆς Ὁμονοίας (*InE* 27.440, 470-1). It was particularly expedient to advertise this quality in the presence of a Roman dignitary; Halicarnassus celebrated a visit of Gaius Caesar with the acclamation "εἰρηνεὺς[υ][σ]ι μὲν γὰρ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, πόλεις δὲ ἀνθοῦσιν εὐνομία[ι] ὁμονοίαι τε καὶ εὐετηρίαί" (GIBM 894.8-10).

## II. Meaningful Contexts

Salutaris' procession began in the precinct of Artemis and entered the city at the Magnesian gate; passed through the Upper Agora, the center of civic government; filed down the Embolos, the city's primary thoroughfare; turned at the ancient crossroads of the Triodos, where the proconsuls held court; and was finally marshalled in theater (Fig. 31).<sup>15</sup> Its path, following the ancient sacred way to the Aretmision, connected the city's most important social and political spaces with its religious center. Particularly on the Embolos,<sup>16</sup> the monuments and sculptural ensembles along the route complemented the emphases of the procession to a remarkable degree.

The most obvious affinities were those between the images that the ephebes bore and the sculptural programs of the monuments erected by wealthy Ephesians along the Embolos in the same period (Fig. 32).<sup>17</sup> By the reign of Hadrian, the first monument the ephebes would pass after the colonnades on the upper Embolos was the grandiose Nymphaeum of Trajan, at least two of whose sculptures – the colossal statue of its namesake and an over life-sized representation of the city founder Androklos – mirrored the gold and silver statues they carried.<sup>18</sup> A little further down the street, Androklos appeared again on the prominent reliefs of a tomb or fountain interrupting the south colonnade.<sup>19</sup> Just past this structure stood the Gate of Hadrian, an imposing monumental arch whose upper story almost certainly featured the emperor alongside Artemis,

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<sup>15</sup> *IvE* 27.202ff

<sup>16</sup> Thür 1999 and 2009 survey recent research on the Embolos and adjoining buildings; cf. Rogers 1991: 95f, Fildhuth 2010. It is unclear when the colonnades of this section were first erected; Thür (1999: 425-6) reasonably sets them in conjunction with the pavement of the Embolos in marble under Domitian (*IvE* 3008.12).

<sup>17</sup> On construction in Ephesus during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, see Halfmann 2001: 63-75.

<sup>18</sup> See Quatember's discussion of the nymphaeum's sculptural program in *FiE* XI.2: 65-72. The adjoining Propylon of Trajan (*IvE* 422; *RE Supp.* XII, 1598) was probably also topped by a representation of Trajan. Androklos appeared on the reliefs of the neighboring "Temple of Hadrian," but these were probably too small to be readily visible (Rathmayr 2010: 34-6).

<sup>19</sup> Thür 1995 identifies this structure as the Heroon of Androklos.

Androklos, and/or some other symbol of Ephesian identity.<sup>20</sup> At the base of the Embolos, finally, as the ephebes turned onto the colonnaded avenue known as the Marble Street, they could see a statue of Augustus –another figure whose image they carried – atop the south gate of the Lower Agora.<sup>21</sup> In light of the ubiquity of both the imperial image and representations of Androklos in second-century Ephesus, the ephemeral ensembles that Salutaris’ procession formed with the sculptures of the Embolos may seem unremarkable. Yet while there is no evidence that the procession and monumental backdrop were actually designed to complement one another,<sup>22</sup> they clearly represented analogous ideals of the community. Their juxtaposition, moreover, may have emphasized the thematic elements of both monuments and procession: the colonnades of the Embolos, for example, always emphasized the street’s monumental foci; but it was perhaps only on occasions like Salutaris’ procession that such points of emphasis would be seen primarily in the light of their associations with Ephesian history and identity. As the procession advanced, the buildings along its route were temporarily incorporated into the definition of the citizen body it advertised. Setting and ritual were seen and interpreted together, transforming – and elucidating – the meaning of both.<sup>23</sup>

The public spaces of many Greek cities were designed to accommodate communal ceremonies. The statues from Salutaris’ procession, for example, were set on specially-built bases in the theater during every meeting of the assembly. Altars for sacrifices to the imperial

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<sup>20</sup> Although none of the arch’s freestanding sculptures have survived, comparisons of similar structures suggest the possibility of an elaborate program. See Thür’s analysis of architectural parallels in *FiE* XI.1: 77-86.

<sup>21</sup> See Mackowski 1994 for a brief description of the gate’s association with the cult of the Gens Julia.

<sup>22</sup> This is not to say that streets were never designed to accommodate specific ceremonial occasions. A marked concentration of Dionysiac sculpture along the lower Embolos, for example, has been interpreted as evidence for the avenue’s regular use in processions for the wine god (Engelmann 1985). In late antiquity, likewise, a series of acclamations were inscribed on the colonnades of the Marble Street, apparently at the places where they would be regularly chanted (Roueché 1999). On a more general note, a number of avenues in Asia Minor seem to have made provision for spectators to sit or stand during processions (Cavalier & Des Courtils 2012).

<sup>23</sup> See Lohmann & Wienholz 2014 on how multiple patterns of use –i.e., both ceremonial presentation and a host of more mundane functions – could be built into a monumental avenue. Cf. Revell 2009: 150ff.

cult appeared in the public buildings of many cities.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, even if not constructed expressly for the purpose, the grand colonnaded avenues built throughout the eastern provinces in our period had the effect of providing an impressive counterpoint to the processions that marched between them – as, to a lesser extent, did all the strategies for introducing visual unity discussed in the previous section.<sup>25</sup> By “activating” various elements of the built environment in this way, public ceremonies encouraged both viewers and participants to identify ritual with setting. A decree passed by the Athenian council in the early third century, reaffirming the traditional route of the procession to Eleusis in the face of widespread banditry, demonstrates the potential strength of this connection.<sup>26</sup> It is telling that Philostratus’ Apollonius of Tyana defines a festival as “not merely a meeting of human beings, but also the place itself in which they have to meet” (VA 8.18). The setting of a public ritual was thought to retain special significance long after the festivities had ended: Tertullian tells the story of a demon who possessed a woman at the theater; on being exorcised, it complained that it had merely “found her in its own domain” (*de Spec.* 26.2) – spirits raised by the “pompa diaboli,” in other words, never left the site.<sup>27</sup>

The effect of reading ceremony and setting in tandem was to suggest congruities of meaning. On the most straightforward level, the fact that the statues of Salutaris’ procession were carried past analogous representations of Trajan, Artemis, the Demos, etc. simply added to the

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<sup>24</sup> A number of the bases for Salutaris’ statues survive: *IvE* 28-36. Among the most visible alterations of a civic space for festivities of the imperial cult were the pedestals for statues and altar set up in the theater of Gytheion (*SEG* 11 922.1-7); see Price 1984: 109-10 for further examples. Oaths of loyalty to the imperial house seem to have typically been administered in the agora, presumably at a purpose-built altar (e.g. *OGIS* 532=*IGR* III 137; cf. Gonzalez 1988). Compare Vitruvius’ observation that the shape of a forum differed from that of an agora to meet the demands of showing gladiators (5.1.1-2; cf. Saliou 2009: 108-13); such spectacles, often associated with imperial cult in the eastern provinces, might significantly influence the shape and meaning of civic space.

<sup>25</sup> See Ch. 9. In a few cases, colonnaded streets were built with the express purpose of sheltering regular processions. The most famous examples connected the Asclepeion to Pergamum (*AvP* XI.4, esp. 44-53; Habicht 1969: 154ff) and Ephesus to the Artemision (Knibbe & Langmann 1993).

<sup>26</sup> *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 885 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1078

<sup>27</sup> For further references, see Binder 1998; *RE* 21.2, 1990-94, s.v. “pompa.” Sotinel 2010 discusses the idea of “secular space” in late antique cities.

force of their appearance in both contexts, implying that the citizen body and its buildings were animated by the same basic principles. Yet regular processions had a comparable, if subtler, effect on every part of the city through which they passed. Besides affirming the significance of the routes they used – and thus promoting certain types of monumental construction – they served to suggest both the unity and civic qualities of the built environment as a whole. Though not necessarily directed at external audiences, this demonstration had special implications for those unfamiliar with the city, and particularly for visiting Roman officials.

In his speech welcoming the governor, Aristides describes Smyrna as a city literally and figuratively at festival. The proconsul's arrival was timed to coincide with the spring festival of Dionysus, and it was clearly expected that he would attend at least the procession through the agora (*Or.* 17.5). Later in the address, Aristides refers to the city's public and private structures more generally as the ornaments which make it “always beautiful, as though adorned for an annual festival” (17.12). Further evidence for his idea that festivities comprised an important part of the city's effect appears in his letter to the emperors after the great earthquake of 178, where he reminds Marcus Aurelius and Commodus of the ceremonies they had witnessed during their last visit:

You saw the city. You know the loss. Remember what you said when you viewed it on approaching, what you said when you entered, how you were affected, what you did. The Theoxenia was being celebrated while you rested, so to speak, in the most civilized of your possessions. (19.2)

Implicit in this passage is the idea that Smyrna's celebration of the Theoxenia was presented for the emperors' benefit, intended – like the ceremonial surrounding their *adventus* – to advertise a certain image of the city, and thus encourage visitors to identify themselves with its interests.

The benefits of associating citizen body and civic setting in this manner are best summarized by the orator who described Constantine's entry into Augustudum:

We decorated the streets which lead to the palace – with mean enough ornament no doubt – and brought out the banners of all our associations and the images of all our gods, and produced our paltry number of musical instruments, which by means of shortcuts were able to greet you several times over. (*Pan. Lat.* 5.8.4)

Here, the festival presentation of the whole cityscape – garlands, images, and music – is clearly designed to both assert the loyalty and suggest the needs of the citizen body. Drawn up in ritual order, the people of Autun reinforced the message of the decorated route: seeking, and deserving of, the emperor's attention. As Constantine passed from city gate to palace, the setting facilitated his integration into the ritual community, suggesting his complicity in its values and investment in its needs.

### **III. A Model for the Roman World**

Salutaris' procession was not designed to welcome a Roman official, or even to be viewed by a specifically Roman audience. It employed, however, the same basic visual strategies as *adventus* ceremonial, showing Empire and city, citizen body and urban fabric, in significant conjunction. Though conspicuously associated with local history and tradition, the sociopolitical model on display was a thoroughly modern construct, developed in response to the stimulus of Roman rule. This model represented a framework for incorporating symbols of imperial power into statements of civic authority, and thus a system for articulating local significance in the terms of Empire. Buildings, as we have seen, were an important component of this presentation by virtue of their visibility, which – particularly when juxtaposed with the assembled citizen body – made them potential advertisements for a city's successful participation in the imperial

system. In this sense, it matters relatively little whether Salutaris anticipated the presence of the governor or any other dignitary, since the ideal of Ephesus which he presented was fully in accord with Roman policy.

Festivals, as we have seen, could serve as important occasions for advertising an idealized vision of the social order to external audiences, and thus for imputing political significance to the built environment. Particularly on the occasion of a governor's visit, communal ritual allowed citizen body and setting to be presented in tandem, potentially to impressive effect. In their essentials, such presentations were as old as the polis; the sociopolitical model and civic qualities they advertised, however, were significantly influenced by the realities of a world dominated by Rome. In his Roman Oration, Aristides identified the new vitality of the Greek cities as an accomplishment and vindication of Roman rule: "now all the Greek cities rise up under your leadership, and the monuments which are dedicated in them and all their embellishments and comforts redound to your honor like beautiful suburbs" (*Or.* 26.94). The appearance of these cities reflects their participation in the new world order.

Aristides uses the metaphor of a universal festival to describe the effect:

As on holiday the whole civilized world...has turned to adornment and all glad thoughts with power to realize them. All the other rivalries have departed, and this one contention holds them all, how each city may appear most beautiful and attractive. All places are full of gymnasia, fountains, monumental approaches, temples, workshops, schools...cities gleam with radiance and charm, and the whole earth has been beautified like a garden. (*Or.* 26.97-9)

Despite obvious idealization, this portrait shows how the Greek notables who embellished their cities could—at least in certain contexts—present their projects as displays of loyalty to Rome. Perhaps the clearest epigraphic notice of this motive is an inscription from Augustan Messene proclaiming a restoration program undertaken by a group of local notables to “preserve the

public buildings bequeathed us by our ancestors and observe our obligations to the Roman people and Augustus Caesar” (*SEG* 35 343.1-3).<sup>28</sup> Although construction was seldom connected so explicitly with service to the imperial house, virtually any public building (as the habit of dedicating projects to the emperor attests) could be advertised as a sign of general participation in the Roman order.

As we saw in the previous section, the most effective method of presenting the urban fabric as a diffused declaration of loyalty was to display it in tandem with a citizen body organized as Roman subjects. This was often achieved – as in *Salutaris*’ procession – by incorporating imagery or functionaries of the imperial cult; we have seen, for example, that the agonothete who led the sacrificial processions of the *Demostheneia* at Oenoanda wore an elaborate gold crown decorated with a bust of Hadrian. On a more fundamental level, the organization of citizen body itself might reflect Roman priorities. Although the official hierarchy of imperial Greek cities had changed little since the late Hellenistic era, the prominent place granted to members of the council and provincial functionaries had the effect of affirming a Roman conception of sociopolitical stability.<sup>29</sup> Even the emphasis on cultural achievement and mythic origins associated with the era of the second sophistic could be addressed to Roman concerns. It was presumably in sympathy with Hadrian’s transformation of the parade route, for example, that Herodes Atticus donated a massive trireme to the Panathenaic procession.<sup>30</sup> It seems clear, in short, that the way Greek cities presented themselves was profoundly influenced

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<sup>28</sup> On the Messene inscription, see Migeotte 1985; Spawforth 2012: 211-18. Compare *IvKyme* 15; *SEG* 41 971.

<sup>29</sup> See Chankowski 2005 on the image of the citizen body displayed in Late Hellenistic ceremonies, and Perrin-Saminadayar 2004-5 on official receptions in the Hellenistic era. Chaniotis 2005 discusses how Hellenistic festivals mirrored changing social and political circumstances.

<sup>30</sup> Philostr., *VS* 550; the new Panathenaic stadium which Herodes donated can be interpreted as a similar type of response. On the history of the Panathenaia in the Roman imperial period, see Shear 2001: 633-60 and *ibid.* 896-961 on changes to the processional route. Graindor 1934: 115ff discusses Hadrian’s engagement with the religious life of Athens.



by the Roman world they occupied. Less obvious is the extent to which these presentations were calculated to impress a given audience.

Greek notables in many parts of the Empire were aware of the Roman fascination with certain aspects of Hellenic culture, not least because of monumental construction projects like Hadrian's transformation of Athens. Plutarch repeatedly – and perhaps pointedly – cites examples of elite Romans awed by the great Greek metropoleis.<sup>31</sup> Any city visited by a Roman dignitary was obviously motivated to present itself in a flattering light; but those places most associated with the Greek culture and identity had motive and opportunity to adapt themselves more substantially to the terms of a Roman definition. Naples, situated in the heart of the villa district, is perhaps the best example. Although the city seems to have received considerable benefactions from emperors and wealthy Romans throughout our period, its monumental development ultimately reflected local ambitions. The early imperial transformation of the area around the agora into a “cultural center” – described in the fourth chapter – may well have been largely a response to elite Roman demand. This strategy of self-presentation, however, was calculated for civic benefit. Dio reports that Augustus granted Naples the right to celebrate sacred games in his honor “nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants, alone of the Campanians, tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks” (55.10.9). These contests soon gained the city's cultural credentials recognition throughout the Greek world, and eventually had the effect of reinforcing them. Strabo mentions the games in the same breath as the “gymnasia, ephebeia, phratries, and Greek names of things” which bespoke Naples' maintenance of Hellenic culture,

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<sup>31</sup> He takes pains to show, for example, that the protagonists of his Roman Lives appreciated and honored the beauty and/or culture of the great Greek cities: *Marc.* 19.1; *Sull.* 14.5; *Luc.* 19.4-5; *Pomp.* 42.5-6; *Cato Min.* 14.4; *Cic.* 4.3; *Ant.* 23.2-3, 57.1-2, 80.1. Cf. *Lys.* 15.3. He also notes a few instances of Romans appropriating Greek architecture: *Pomp.* 42.4, cf. *Cic.* 4.6.

and claims that they could “vie with the most famous of those celebrated in Greece” (5.4.7). Two centuries later, Philostratus sets his *Imagines* during a celebration of the games, describing the host city as a place “settled by men of the Greek race and people of culture” (K295.16-19).<sup>32</sup> A speech preserved among the orations of Dio, likely delivered at a first- or second-century celebration of the *Sebasta*, vaunts the ancient connection of Naples and Athens.<sup>33</sup> By associating themselves with the cultural activities showcased at their famous festival, in short, the Neapolitans not only embraced a Roman conception of the Greek city, but also succeeded in making this definition their own.

The Neapolitan games opened with a grand sacrifice. In a procession culminating at the Sebasteion, civic officials and epebes advanced through the city center in ritual order, attended by athletes and representatives from every part of the Greek world. For the Roman dignitaries watching the spectacle – the emperor himself was sometimes in attendance – this must have seemed an impressive demonstration of loyalty.<sup>34</sup> Every aspect of procession and setting was in accord with the Roman ideal of a Greek (subject) city, and was certainly intended to display this role. The spectacle was also designed, however, to impress the representatives of the participant cities, and even to confirm the cultural heritage of the host city itself. It is unlikely that these aims seemed contradictory to the organizers of the procession, or indeed to the Romans in the audience. Impressing imperial officials consisted less in the assumption of foreign qualities or construction of new buildings than in properly presenting the time-honored essentials of civic identity. It was in this sense that local competition provided a template for receiving the

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<sup>32</sup> It is worth noting in this context that Plotinus planned to found his city of philosophers in Campania, presumably in the vicinity of Naples (Por., *Vit. Plot.* 12).

<sup>33</sup> [Dio], *Or.* 64.12ff. Barigazzi 1951 identifies the city described with Naples.

<sup>34</sup> A fragmentary inscription preserves a description of the sacrificial procession (*IvO* 56.47-52). Both the prominence of the festival and Naples’ location in the heart of the villa district ensured an audience of elite Romans; the emperors, who owned extensive estates in the region, were no exception (e.g. Suet., *Aug.* 98.5).

governor: cities were accustomed to impress their rivals and neighbors by displaying the qualities most indicative of provincial status – which were, of course, those reflective of, or designed to win, Roman favor. The essential continuity between impressing neighbors and imperial officials is well expressed by a panegyric of Corinth which Aristides delivered at the Isthmian Games. Without overlooking the city’s position as provincial capital – “this is still a starting point of good order, and even now administers justice to the Greeks”<sup>35</sup> – he particularly emphasizes its connection with the Greek past, a point of special sensitivity for many Corinthians.<sup>36</sup> To the proconsul of Achaëa, almost certainly in the audience, none of this would have seemed incongruous.

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<sup>35</sup> Or. 46.27: καὶ μὴν εὐνομίας γε ὀρμητήριον ἢ πόλις ἔτι καὶ νῦν βραβεύει τὰ δίκαια τοῖς Ἑλλησι. In the first clause, Aristides is referring to Corinth’s ancient role as a colonizer. Compare the language used earlier in the speech (20) to describe the city: καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρχεῖα Ποσειδῶνος καλῶ καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ αὐλήν, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος τὴν Διὸς αὐλήν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ὀρμητήριον.

<sup>36</sup> From our period, see especially the speech of Favorinus ([Dio], *Or.* 37.26), who famously compares himself to Corinth: [...] ὅτι Ῥωμαῖος ὢν ἀφηλληνίσθη, ὥσπερ ἡ πατρις ἢ ὑμετέρα. Good discussions in Goeken 2005 and König 2001.

## Conclusion

In sociopolitical terms, the ideal of the polis endorsed by imperial Greek notables was a natural evolution of Classical and Hellenistic conceptions of the proper relationship between civic mass and elite. Its connection of social unity and harmony with the shared history and origins of the citizen body, likewise, represented little more than a formalization of existing ideas. Even its most distinctive feature, close association of the qualities of the citizen body with the characteristics of the civic built environment, was rooted in the longstanding tradition of describing a city in the terms of its citizens. For all the distinctiveness of the building programs it generated, the ideal of the polis discussed in this chapter was clearly not an original product of the imperial period. I hope to have shown, however, that it represented an original synthesis of its constituent traditions, and that this synthesis was intimately connected with the values and ambitions of local elites. The values it assigned to citizen body and built environment, though ultimately traditional, were emphasized in accordance with their significance for a city's claims to primacy in new arenas of regional competition.

Local notables, as we have seen, had two basic political goals: to maintain their dominance of their native cities, and to use this dominance as a platform for winning prestige on a regional or even provincial scale. Whatever their ambitions for engaging with the emperor and his officials, the attention and energies of civic elites were addressed primarily to their fellow citizens and (to a somewhat lesser extent) to the notables of neighboring and rival cities. In a sense, however, even the most parochial initiatives of local elites were ultimately directed at the imperial administration, for the simple reason that the qualities they advertised to their neighbors, having evolved in the context of a competitive system centered on Rome, were

always articulated in terms of loyalty to and participation in the Empire. Even when not talking to Rome, local notables were constantly talking with Rome. Thus, while the ideal of the polis endorsed by Greek notables in the mid-imperial period was not designed for communication with Roman officials, it was admirably suited to the purpose. As we shall see in the next part, the ceremonies of *adventus* that welcomed governors to their *conventus* centers employed the three “modes” of spatial production discussed here to present an image of the community, unified by its common heritage and harmonious under the leadership of local elites, that was addressed at once to the visiting official, to the elites of neighboring cities, and to the citizen body itself.

## Part Four. Adventus

This part will investigate the role played by civic space in the ceremonies surrounding a governor's arrival in one of his *conventus* centers.<sup>1</sup> The local notables who orchestrated a governor's *adventus* needed to impress upon the newly-arrived official their city's worthiness and need of his services; and the governor, if only to avoid alienating the citizens through whom his duties would be transacted, was motivated to pay attention. Beyond the basic aim of impressing a visitor with his hosts' wealth and loyalty, the ceremonial of *adventus* was intended to demonstrate the loyalty and attributes on which the city's place and standing in the Empire were predicated. These bases of a city's claim on the governor's attention were largely articulated through, or with reference to, the built environment. Although practical considerations determined the settings in which a governor was received, the manner in which these spaces were presented was guided by a desire to showcase the citizen body, advertise visible markers of the host city's rank and significance, and intimate the governor's proper relation to both. Local notables could not dictate the governor's actions, but they could confront him with an ideal civic community, reflective of local tradition but consonant with Roman expectations, in which the power he represented had a fixed relationship with both the citizen body and the civic built environment.

The civic image which animated *adventus* ceremonial had multiple audiences. Besides an occasion to impress the newly-arrived governor, ceremonies of reception afforded local notables

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<sup>1</sup> Pont 2009 and Bérenger 2009 discuss the Roman governor's *adventus*; cf. Lehnen 1997 (*adventus* of emperors); Perrin-Samindayar 2004-5, 2009 (Hellenistic kings).

a rare opportunity to directly associate themselves with the legitimating power of Rome, and thus to confirm their status before both fellow citizens and the elites of neighboring cities. The city was presented to the governor, and the governor to the city, on the terms of a class heavily invested in official approval. Yet the complex of messages conveyed by the civic presentation – stability and unity, preeminence in the cultural criteria by which Rome assessed her Greek subjects, and a history of service to the Empire – was intended not only to bolster the prestige of leading citizens, but also to establish the framework for a working relationship with the visiting official. Despite its significance for the position of the local elite, the community assembled for ceremonies of welcome was ultimately arranged for the governor's benefit, to make visible both the power relations that sustained civic politics and the ties that bound them to Rome. Our exploration of *adventus* will focus on how the built environment that framed and explicated this community provided visible points of reference for the ideals – of polis, governor, and Empire – through which city and official would communicate.

The chapters of this part are organized around three case studies, each examining one aspect of a notional Severan-era proconsul's *adventus*. The first chapter, set in Ephesus, will outline a discussion of how the citizen body could lend meaning to the built environments in which it was assembled and articulated. In the second, the settings of official receptions in Miletus will be used to explore the visual prominence given to selected aspects of a city's history and culture in ceremonies of welcome. The third, focused on the Asclepieion at Pergamum, will investigate the model of authority implicit in the setting of a proconsul's customary sacrifice. Together, these examples illustrate how civic elites could present the built environments of their cities as landscapes in which the exercise of Roman authority had a clearly defined place – and implicit limitations.

## Chapter 9. Ephesus: Framing the Presentation

Every proconsul of Asia entered his province at Ephesus, and formally assumed his office in the context of a carefully-planned civic presentation. In an excerpt taken from his work on the duties of a proconsul, Ulpian remarks some of the formalities surrounding a governor's entry into this province:

Uncertainties and unexpected events are upsetting to provincials, and interfere with business. [The proconsul], then, must enter his province where such entries are customarily made, and must use the stipulated place of embarkation or point of entry...in the city he lands at or encounters first. The provincials set great importance on this custom and prerogatives of the sort. Some provinces even require that the proconsul arrive by sea; in accordance with a rescript issued by our emperor Antoninus Augustus at the request of the Asians, in fact, [the proconsul of Asia] must travel to his province by sea and land at Ephesus. (*Dig.* 1.16.4.4-5)

As other excerpts from Ulpian's discussion make clear, designating the time and place of a governor's entry was both a practical necessity and a courtesy to the notables who would greet him.<sup>1</sup> However, for the leading provincials of Asia – and particularly for the citizens of Ephesus – knowing when and where the proconsul would disembark was not only a convenience, but also an important means of influencing the new magistrate's impressions of city and province.

Although the usual ceremonies of reception offered relatively little scope for innovation, they allowed a city to stage its loyalties, identity, and concerns in a uniquely direct and visible manner. The goal of the presentation was less to communicate specific priorities or needs than to

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<sup>1</sup> The proconsul is advised, for example, to spare his province the expense of frequent formal receptions (*Dig.* 1.16.4.1, 3; cf. Millar 1977: 28-9) and to designate the date of his arrival well in advance (*Dig.* 1.16.4.3). The practical aspects of official travel are treated in Bérenger-Badel 2003; cf. Andre & Baslez 192-204. Bérenger 2014: 55-61 discusses the legal and ritual significance of a proconsul's arrival in his province.



establish a basis for effective communication in the future. It was in a city's interests to illustrate, as clearly and immediately as possible, the aspects of its status and identity which entitled it to a favorable relationship with Rome. On the most basic level, this entailed showing itself a political unit effective enough to discharge the functions which Rome expected of subject communities and an architectural complex appropriate for the conduct of the visiting proconsul's duties.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the city would advertise other attributes – such as its regional importance, wealth and prestige, loyalty, or history of service to Rome – which seemed likely to qualify it for official favor. These qualities, evoked in speeches of welcome and implicit in the appeals of local notables, comprised a constant theme of a governor's visit. They were expressed most clearly, however, in the few hours after his arrival, when his path through the urban fabric became a frame for articulating and reaffirming the relationship between city and Empire. On these occasions, citizen body and civic setting were presented as twin expressions of good order and prosperity, interdependent and reciprocal in meaning.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter will explore how the juxtaposition of citizens and built environment framed the impressions of an Antonine proconsul newly arrived in Ephesus. Following our visitor from the gate by which he entered the city to the theater in which he was formally welcomed (Figs. 33-4), we will consider the ideal community evoked by the buildings and crowds defining his route, and outline how the built environment served as frame for emphasizing at once the internal hierarchies and underlying unity of citizen body.

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<sup>2</sup> See Ch. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fleming 2006.

## I. Gate

A proconsul approaching Ephesus saw the harbor gate long before he reached it (Fig. 35). Bright against the bulk of the Harbor Baths, hovering on the gleam where shimmering port reflected marble quays, it broke a vista of stalls and warehouses, its three tall doors outlined by knots of white-robed dignitaries.<sup>4</sup> This gate, the central and most important of the three monumental entrances leading from port to city, would be the site of his formal entry. As the point of his first encounter with the citizen body, it was a setting of considerable importance. Here the governor would receive acclamations from the waiting crowd, might be briefly addressed by a civic dignitary, and probably sacrificed at a purpose-built altar, all in the company and scrutiny of local notables.<sup>5</sup> The harbor gate would be both the backdrop against which he was introduced to the Ephesian populace and the passage through which he was invited to assume his duties. Though a relatively simple structure itself, it provided a critical complement to the ceremonies of the governor's introduction, and intimated the framing role civic architecture would play in all of his interactions with the Ephesians. By virtue of its location, the gate emphasized the distinctness, and thus the special qualities, of the civic space within – a quality emphasized by its design, which melded elements of a traditional Greek propylon with the high attic of a Roman triumphal arch and incorporated a gallery of sculpture

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<sup>4</sup> Cicero mentions the crowds who thronged the site of his arrival in Ephesus (*Att.* 5.3.1). Although only the middle Harbor gate antedates the Antonine period in its present form – the south and north gates are usually dated to the early- and mid-third century, respectively (*FiE* III: 172-88, 214-17) – it is likely all three of the main boulevards leading into the city were marked by monumental entrances from at least the time of the area's redevelopment in the late first and early second centuries.

<sup>5</sup> Acclamations on arrival in harbor: *Him.*, *Or.* 36.16. Brief address on arrival: e.g. *Aristid.*, *Or.* 17 (see Ch. 6). Sacrifice in thanksgiving for safe arrival: *POxy* 2725; cf. *Suet.*, *Aug.* 98.1-2. Further references and discussion of the ceremonies following a dignitary's arrival by sea may be found in Haensch 2009. It is possible that proconsuls offered their inaugural sacrifices at the famous Parthian Altar, which seems to have originally been located near the harbor (Oberleitner 2009: 408).

associating city and Empire. During ceremonies of *adventus*, these “programmatically” qualities were given particular emphasis by groups of citizens assembled around the monument’s base.

The harbor gate’s most basic function – marking the boundary of civic space – was conditioned by its location. As points of entry and transition, ports were always convenient places to communicate a city’s wealth and prominence.<sup>6</sup> at Ephesus, as noted earlier, the quay fronting the harbor gates was paved with marble.<sup>7</sup> Ports might also be used to advertise local loyalties: in the harbor fronting the “Bay of Lions” at Miletus, two large monuments, both apparently celebrating Roman victories, stood on the quay immediately adjacent to the primary entrance into the city.<sup>8</sup> As integral parts of the urban fabric, harbors were monumentalized for the same basic reasons as so many other public spaces in our period.<sup>9</sup> Their setting at the edges of civic space, however, lent special prominence to the monuments they contained, and particularly to gates which communicated with the city center. Although wall circuits – whatever their relation to the harbor – retained a certain significance as the boundaries of civic space,<sup>10</sup> their symbolic functions were often filled in our period by monumental arches.<sup>11</sup> Always the

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<sup>6</sup> A first-century inscription from Smyrna, for example, lists the citizens who contributed to a project for “embellishing the harbor” (*IvSmyrna* 696; cf. *SEG* 48 1849). Pont 2010: 195-200 reviews the many building projects undertaken in and around the harbors of imperial Asia Minor.

<sup>7</sup> Zabehlicky 1995 & 1999 summarize the results of the regrettably limited excavations hitherto carried out in the harbor of Ephesus. For an overview of the history and appearance of the Ephesian port and harbor channel, see Scherrer 2007. Intriguingly, only the part of the quay near the gates leading into the city seems to have been revetted with marble (*FiE* III, 170).

<sup>8</sup> *Milet* I.6: 45ff; Kleiner 1968: 54-60.

<sup>9</sup> The second treatise ascribed to Menander Rhetor, for example, includes harbors in lists of civic buildings (II 382.15, 386.23; cf. Aristid., *Or.* 17.11).

<sup>10</sup> Gros 1992 describes some of their symbolic implications of city walls; cf. Thomas 2007: 108-13; *Dig.* 1.8.1, 11. Despite a focus on the western provinces, Gros 1996: 26-55 provides a good summary of trends and developments in wall construction throughout the Empire. On the construction and maintenance of civic defenses in Roman Asia Minor, see Pont 2010: 189-95. In Late Antiquity, spurred by a renewed need for protection, walls again became important civic monuments (Jacobs 2009; Deckers 1988; *LCI* IV, 198-205, s.v. “Stadt”).

<sup>11</sup> When, for example, a first-century earthquake levelled the Hellenistic walls of Phrygian Hierapolis, the citizens decided to rebuild only the gates at either end of the main street, and these in an ornamental style designed to complement the new colonnaded avenue within. On the gates of Hierapolis, see De Bernardi 1963-4 and De Bernardi Ferrero 2002; cf. *IvLaodikeia* 25; *IvStratonikeia* 1029.

most prominent elements of a wall circuit, gates like those fronting the harbor of Ephesus were increasingly treated as independent architectural units.<sup>12</sup> The appearance of the Ephesian examples and comparable monuments throughout the Greek east was, despite considerable formal influence from the Roman victory arch, inspired chiefly by the propylons traditionally built at the entrances of sanctuaries.<sup>13</sup> This heritage was as much symbolic as architectural. Like the now-vanished propylon at the entrance to the Artemision, the middle harbor gate at Ephesus emphasized above all the distinctness and special qualities of the space it contained – a message complemented by its design and decor.<sup>14</sup>

On disembarking at Ephesus, a newly-arrived proconsul would be detained on the quay in front of the harbor gate for some time. Alternately accosted by a delegation of local notables, subjected to a brief address of welcome, and encircled by a crowd shouting acclamations, he would have ample opportunity to see – if not leisure to admire – the stable backdrop of his tumultuous introduction.<sup>15</sup> While this enforced pause likely accentuated his sense of transition when he passed beneath the gate, the structure itself may have seemed relatively unremarkable. The harbor gate of Ephesus was in certain respects a strikingly conservative structure. Though built in the early second century as part of a general reconstruction of the harbor area, the Ionic columns flanking its three openings – the central door squared with a lintel, the other two arched

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<sup>12</sup> On the design of monumental gates and arches, see Gros 1996: 56-92, esp. 83ff (on the Greek provinces). Hesberg 1992b and Kähler 1942 discuss Roman monumental gates, though primarily on the basis of western evidence; cf. Kähler, *RE* VII A (1939), 373–493, s.v. “Triumphbogen (Ehrenbogen)”. Hagn 2006 outlines the differences between Greek and Roman uses of the freestanding arch.

<sup>13</sup> See Carpenter 1970: 185-201 on the functions of Classical and Hellenistic propylons; Ortaç 2001: 132-69 classifies the examples from Roman Asia Minor. MacDonald 1986: 74-86 discusses the qualities of arches as “passage architecture;” Fähndrich 2005: 211f, the importance of city gates as points of departure in processions.

<sup>14</sup> The primary gate of the Artemision precinct, embellished or rebuilt by the great sophist and benefactor Damianus in the late second century (Philostr., *VS* 605), may have resembled the harbor gate (cf. Alzinger 1974: 60-1).

<sup>15</sup> On the custom of receiving distinguished visitors outside the city gate, see the references collected in Robert 1984: 482-6 and Lehnen 1997: 135-45, 167-9. Late antique governors customarily received acclamations just inside the city gates (e.g. Lib. *Or.* 56.15, 20.17; additional references in Lavan 2001c: 329-31).

– hearkened back to a regional Hellenistic tradition.<sup>16</sup> The attic that crowned these gateways and columns, however, was indebted to the Roman triumphal arch, probably via the Augustan-era gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates on the Lower Agora.<sup>17</sup> Since no statues or reliefs can be associated with the gate, it is difficult to determine the intended effect of its décor. By analogy with the arch of Mazaeus and Mithridates and the arches which a number of Asian cities erected to welcome Hadrian around the time of its construction,<sup>18</sup> however, it seems likely that the harbor gate featured statues of both Artemis Ephesia and the emperor (probably Hadrian) reigning at the time of its completion. These figures, the twin guarantors of Ephesian felicity, would have provided an appropriate centerpiece for the opening ceremonies of *adventus*.<sup>19</sup>

Whatever the nature of its lost statuary, the basic elements of the harbor gate's décor reinforced its transitional function. Through the triple portals, the proconsul could see the simple motifs of the gate's architecture echoed in the colonnades of a grand processional way, and mirrored at the far end by another arch. In this context, the gate's importance lay less in the particulars of its design than in its basic support of a distinct civic image. The architectural conventions of the Ionic harbor gate were not matched to the Corinthian colonnade within, but

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<sup>16</sup> The fullest treatment of the middle Harbor Gate remains that of W. Wilberg in *FiE* III: 189-213 (summarized in Alzinger, *RE Supp.* XII: 1597). Since the dedicatory inscription has not survived, the arch's conservative architecture has engendered a long-standing dating dispute on stylistic grounds; modern opinion inclines toward the reign of Hadrian or slightly earlier (Zabehlicky 1995: 203; Schneider 1999: 474). The adjacent Harbor Baths were begun in the reign of Domitian.

<sup>17</sup> On the design of the Gate of Mazaeus and Mithridates, see Alzinger 1974: 9-16 and Mackowski 1994.

<sup>18</sup> See Ch.7 on the gates built for Hadrian. Although there is no evidence to support the assumption that the harbor gate itself was built in anticipation of one of Hadrian's visits, it is conceivable that construction was at least stimulated by the imperial presence (Halfmann 1986: 129-33).

<sup>19</sup> It is worth noting that the prominent Ephesian L. Aufidius Euphemus erected a statue group depicting the Severan imperial family beside the roughly contemporary south Harbor Gate (*IvE* 3087), and that two statues of the mid-third century proconsul L. Victor Lollianus may also have been located in the same area (*IvE* 3088-9). The middle harbor gate may also have featured symbols of civic identity. Although the statue of a boar – an animal associated with the founding myth of Ephesus – which a late antique inscription locates nearby probably belonged to a different structure (*IvE* 557; Rathmayr 2010: 33), our gate may have featured a similar representation. In any case, it was almost certainly not left unadorned; the Magnesian Gate, Ephesus' main landward entrance, was flanked by stone lions and dressed with reliefs (Seiterle 1982: 147-9; cf. Sokolicek 2010: 377-80).

gate and colonnade together comprised an armature which could be animated by the assembled citizen body. Although there is no evidence that a visiting governor was welcomed with the sort of ephemeral architecture characteristic of official receptions in early modern Europe, it is possible that at least parts of this processional route were decorated in a manner that emphasized their temporary unity.<sup>20</sup> From the proconsul's perspective, however, it was the crowd of spectators that dominated and embraced the scene, a crowd contained and shaped by the harbor gate and adjacent colonnade.

## II. Plataea

After a proconsul passed beneath the Harbor Gate and emerged on the Arcadiane, the grand avenue within (Fig. 36), he processed towards the theater. Accompanied by his retinue and a band of local notables, he walked slowly between colonnades packed with onlookers, proceeded through another arch, and finally entered the theater, where he would be formally welcomed with a speech and acclamations.<sup>21</sup> Throughout, his impressions were dominated by the assembled citizen body. Although the processional route adjoined some of the most imposing buildings in Ephesus, the arches and colonnades that bounded his perspective effectively focused his attention on the procession and its spectators. The local notables in whose company he processed and the citizens massed along the way were both elements of a presentation which, in tandem with the setting, was designed to present the city as a sovereign but loyal part of the Roman world.

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<sup>20</sup> Cities were certainly decorated in anticipation of imperial visits (Lehnen 1997: 120-3). Perhaps the most tantalizing description of artificial scenery in the ancient world is Kallixeinos' description of the great procession of Ptolemy II (*Ath.* 197C-203B = *FGrH* 627 F2). Cf. *Pan. Lat.* 5.8.4; *Proc., Or.* 9.1.

<sup>21</sup> See Bérenger 2009: 131-2 for the evidence on governors' *adventus* processions. A fragmentary inscription from Ephesus seems to describe a procession involving the proconsul (*IvE* 1391; cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 798; *OGIS* 332).

The avenue later known as the Arcadiane appears to have been laid out in its present form early in the second century. With the adjacent Harbor Bath complex, it formed the centerpiece of a district built on land recently reclaimed from the harbor.<sup>22</sup> Paved with marble and flanked by colonnades, it served as a sort of monumental vestibule to the city, screened by arches from the harbor and the theater square which it connected. Although it had a number of mundane functions –the shops behind the colonnades must have made it an important commercial center – the Arcadiane was principally an architectural showpiece. At Ephesus and throughout the Greek east, the appeal of colonnaded avenues<sup>23</sup> for the members of the local elite who financed them lay largely in the visual effects they enabled. By the late second century, the measured and stately rhythm which colonnades lent to movement through a city was a ubiquitous component of urban life. Lines of columns were used to emphasize landmarks or vistas, signify the importance of thoroughfares, and unify disparate urban landscapes.<sup>24</sup> In a city as wealthy and prominent as Ephesus, such refinements were to be expected; during the *adventus* of a proconsul, however, when the Arcadiane framed and articulated the assembled citizen body, the familiar template of the colonnaded avenue assumed more substantial meaning.

The grandest avenues in a city often followed traditional processional routes. The Embolos of Ephesus, by our period a broad colonnaded street connecting the city's political and religious centers, still followed the course of an ancient sacred road to the Artemision. Miletus, Pergamum, and a host of lesser cities – notably Aezani – integrated ancient processional routes

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<sup>22</sup> On the development of the Arcadiane, see Schneider 1999 and Halfmann 2001: 77; Bauer 1996: 271-5 discusses its Late Antique incarnation. The layout of streets and buildings in the reclaimed land around the Arcadiane is detailed in Groh 2006: 80-8 and analyzed in Hoffmann 2008: 49-55; cf. Scherrer 2007: 335-7. In its original incarnation, the street was probably built with contributions from a number of wealthy citizens; an inscription records one benefactor's gift of columns (*IvE* 465).

<sup>23</sup> On the visual unity conferred by colonnades, see MacDonald 1986: 33-51 and Klinkott 2014. See Ch. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Martin 1956: 217-20 briefly discusses some of the practical uses afforded by colonnaded streets. Tabaczek 2001: 250-61 gives more space to the symbolic dimension. On the visual effects of colonnades, see MacDonald 1986: 43-51 and Thomas 2007: 114-17.

into their layouts, reflecting the continued importance of the religious ceremonies they set. The Panathenaic way at Athens, respected and adorned for more than a millennium, is perhaps the best-known example.<sup>25</sup> In the Roman era, many of these sacred roads were paved, broadened, straightened, and embellished in accordance with the prevailing urban aesthetic. This process often entailed the erection of colonnades. Although they had no essential connection with processions, colonnaded streets were eminently suitable for setting or viewing spectacles. Elevated above street level and sometimes provided with broad steps that could double as seating, colonnades allowed spectators to view a procession without impeding its progress.<sup>26</sup> Equally importantly, by providing a regular architectural frame to which viewers could be relegated, colonnaded streets lent both route and audience new visual significance.<sup>27</sup> The processional route, bounded on both sides by serried lines of columns and spectators, was neatly marked off from the surrounding spaces. Given definite shape and visual rhythm by the colonnades, the audience became a virtual component of the route itself. From the perspective of viewers and participants alike, the white-clad audience and marble architecture on both sides of

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<sup>25</sup> On the development of the Embolos, see Hueber 1984 and Thür 1999. The processional routes of Miletus and Pergamum will be described later in this chapter. Rheidt 1993: 497-9 discusses the layout of Roman Aezani, oriented towards a pre-Roman sanctuary and associated sacred way. A comprehensive discussion of the route of the Roman Panathenaic procession may be found in Shear 2001: 896-954. Cf. Bekker-Nielsen 2009 on the association of processions with “sacred ways” and Favro 1994 on how triumphal routes were marked in Rome.

<sup>26</sup> At Cadyanda and Phaselis in Lycia, actual seating was built along portions of the processional way (Cavalier & Des Courtils 2008). On the parallel uses of colonnades in and leading to sanctuaries, see Mylonopoulos 2008: 52-3.

<sup>27</sup> The most explicit ancient testimonia to the visual effects of colonnaded avenues appear in Libanius’ Oration in praise of Antioch. In the course of a lengthy description of the city streets (*Or.* 11.196-218), Libanius compares the visual continuity of stoas to that of converging streams (§201), notes how the adjoining colonnades throw the glittering marbles and water of a nymphaeum into higher relief (§202), and finally observes that covered streets are good for communal unity: *καὶ τό γε μηκῶναι τὸν περὶ τῶν στοῶν ὄλως λόγον εἰς τί ποτε αὐτὸ φέρει; δοκεῖ μοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ χαριέστατον εἶναι, προσθείη δ’ ἂν ὅτι καὶ χρησιμώτατον, αἱ σύνοδοι καὶ τὸ ἀναμιχθῆναι* (§213); later, he compares stoas to theaters and baths as sites of public meeting and discourse (§218). See Lassus 1972: 127-39 on the archaeological evidence for the avenues Libanius describes. The connection between colonnaded streets and processions is perhaps made clearest by John Chrysostom, who contrasts the beauty of the colonnades along a processional route with the holy relics brought up it: *Λαμπρὰ γέγονεν ἡμῖν χθὲς ἡ πόλις, λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανής, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ κίονας εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρα πομπεύοντα ἀπὸ Πόντου πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενόμενον* (*PG* 50, 699).



the route must have been an impressively monolithic unity.<sup>28</sup> For a proconsul entering the city, this “monumental” audience, representative of the civic will, might seem as important as the dignitaries in whose company he processed.

Unlike the Embolos, the Arcadiane does not seem to have been a regular setting for religious processions.<sup>29</sup> Though important in its quotidian service as commercial center and conveyor of traffic to and from the harbor, its ritual functions seem to have been largely restricted to *adventus*. Entries of proconsuls were infrequent and imperial visits rarer still, but a relatively steady stream of civic delegations, athletes, and Roman functionaries probably made ceremonies of welcome – if not full-scale processions – relatively common. In light of the Arcadiane’s close relationship with the Harbor Baths, it has been posited that the new avenue was initially designed specifically to welcome the influx of visitors attracted by the new Olympic games, or even in anticipation of a visit from Domitian.<sup>30</sup> Though these motivating factors proved short-lived, the need for a suitably monumental connection between port and city center was constant.<sup>31</sup> The Ephesians had to present visitors with a civic image that matched their claims of significance in the Greek world and Roman Empire. The sculpture atop the middle Harbor Gate probably commemorated figures central to these claims – as, perhaps, did the statues along the Arcadiane itself.<sup>32</sup> During the ceremonies of *adventus*, however, the

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<sup>28</sup> Consider, for example, Pliny’s description of Trajan’s arrival in Rome: “Videres...oppletas undique vias, angustumque tramitem relictum tibi; alacrem hinc atque inde populum, ubique par gaudium paremque clamorem” (*Pan.* 22.4).

<sup>29</sup> The evidence for processions in Ephesus is collected by Knibbe & Langmann 1993: 28-32; cf. Groh 2006: 107f. Feldman-Weiss 2012 is a more general treatment of civic ritual in Ephesus.

<sup>30</sup> Scherrer 2008 discusses the motivations of the Domitianic building program; cf. Thür 2004. See Burrell 2004: 335-41 on the games associated with the provincial cult of Asia.

<sup>31</sup> Feuser 2014

<sup>32</sup> The statue bases that once lined the colonnades have not survived in situ, but the concentration of bases for mid-imperial proconsuls discovered in the vicinity suggests that some of the city’s most eminent visitors were memorialized near the site of their ceremonial entry (*IvE* 3088-91, 713a (one of pair), 741).

“ornament” most crucial for the display of Ephesian pretensions was the assembled citizen body, serried in densely-packed ranks among and before the colonnades.

Both the delegation that met the proconsul and the citizen body assembled along the colonnades were arrayed in a significant order.<sup>33</sup> The men who comprised the welcoming delegation typically represented a cross-section of the local and provincial elite, chosen to project a specific image of authority.<sup>34</sup> The audience of citizens, organized to express a distinct series of social and political relations, complemented this image with a visible summary of the community and its values. When, for example, the Pergmenes were preparing to receive king Attalus III in grand style outside their city, the order of the civic procession was designed to emphasize both the participation of the entire citizen body and its component parts:

[On entering, the king] will be met by the aforementioned priests and priestesses [who would sacrifice on his behalf]; the generals; the archons; victors in the sacred games, wearing the laurels of their victory; the gymnasiarch with the ephebes and young men; the trainer of the youth with his charges; every citizen; every woman and maiden; and the [other] inhabitants of the city, all dressed in white robes and crowned with laurel. (*OGIS* 332.33-8)<sup>35</sup>

Although few proconsuls could expect to receive so grandiose a welcome, the ideal community with which the late Hellenistic citizens of Pergamum greeted their king – inclusive, but arranged to articulate political and social distinctions – was basically similar to the one assembled for an Antonine proconsul’s benefit. Menander Rhetor, for example, urges orators welcoming a

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<sup>33</sup> On the civic communities evoked by processions in the Late Hellenistic and imperial Greek world, see Chankowski 2005 and Chaniotis 1995 (esp. 156-60).

<sup>34</sup> The composition of this band of notables probably resembled that of a civic embassy to Rome, Menander’s “voice of the city” (II, 423.28-9). Some men were chosen for their rhetorical skill, others for their connections with the government or important Romans, and others still simply on account of their political position or local importance (on Greek embassies to Rome, see Ferrary 2007). It is worth noting that the entire city council was expected to be present at *adventus* ceremonies in Libanius’ Antioch (*Or.* 27.42), and presumably processed with the emperor (see Liebeschuetz 1972: 208-19). Though we have no exact evidence for the delegations that met the proconsul at Ephesus, cities are known to have sent delegations of welcome to newly-arrived governors (e.g. Pliny, Ep. 10.43.3), whose members were presumably present on these occasions. See Maurizio 1998 and Viviers 2010 on the broader question of elite representation in civic processions.

<sup>35</sup> This inscription is discussed extensively in Robert 1984: 472-99.

governor to describe the entire citizen body coming to greet its visitor: “all of us have come to meet you, in whole families: children, old men, adults, priestly clans, public associations, and the common people” (II 381.8-10).<sup>36</sup>

Although the scattered nature of our evidence for ceremonies of welcome in the early Empire precludes any detailed analysis, the attested examples seem to share a number of significant characteristics.<sup>37</sup> Partly on account of the sacrifice which comprised a traditional part of the *adventus* ceremonial, but still more due to the lack of any real distinction between religious and political civic ritual, the processions that welcomed and escorted newly-arrived proconsuls bore a number of affinities to those associated with public sacrifices to the traditional gods or on behalf of the emperor. In particular, the white robes customarily worn by all participants had sacral overtones, which must have been reinforced by images of the city’s patron deity.<sup>38</sup> In addition, though direct evidence is lacking, it seems likely that the statues of the emperor often featured prominently both in the procession and along its route on these occasions.<sup>39</sup> Aside from the inclusion of the proconsul and his retinue, however, processions of

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<sup>36</sup> προαπηγήκαμεν δέ σοι ἅπαντες ὀλοκλήροις τοῖς γένεσι, παῖδες, πρεσβῦται, ἄνδρες, ἱερέων γένη, πολιτευομένων συστήματα, δῆμος περιχαρῶς δεξιούμενοι. Likewise, in a poem celebrating his triumphant return to Athens, Herodes Atticus is received by the entire populace of Athens, processing by social and age groups (*IG II/III*<sup>2</sup> 3606; commentary in Skenteri 2005: 84-110).

<sup>37</sup> For a collection of the literary and epigraphic evidence for reception ceremonies, see Robert 1984: 482-6. Lehen 1997: 129-35 discusses the arrangement of citizens during the *adventus* of an emperor.

<sup>38</sup> The reception of an emperor had clear sacral overtones (Halfmann 1986: 111-17), but it should be remembered that virtually all civic processions, “sacred” and “profane” alike, used the same basic visual vocabulary (for a collection of references to non-religious processions, see *RE XXI.2*, 1883-6, s.v. “pompa”; Connor 1987 is an excellent discussion of the interconnections between civic politics and civic religion). Jones 1999b discusses the predominance of white in processional garb; Lehen 1997: 124 explores the same issue in relation to imperial *adventus*. For a more comprehensive discussion of the significances of color, see Mills 1984 and *RAC VII*, 358-447, s.v. “Farbe” (esp. 403-9). Images of a city’s patron god were incorporated into both political and religious processions; a coin depicting the *adventus* of Caracalla at Pergamum shows the citizens carrying an image of Asclepius (Nollé 2003a: 411-12; Abb. 7.2); cf. the statue of Zeus carried out to meet the prefect of Egypt at Arsinoe (*BGU II*, 362 = *Sel. Pap.* II, 404.17-18).

<sup>39</sup> On the role played by images of the emperor in processions of the imperial cult, see Edelmann 2008 and Herz 1995: 70-1. If nothing else, the functionaries of the Ephesian imperial cult who were present at the proconsul’s *adventus* probably wore crowns decorated with the emperor’s bust (cf. *SEG 38* 1462: 52-3).

welcome probably differed most visibly from more mundane civic ceremonies in their choice of route. The Arcadiane, as noted earlier, seems to have seldom been used for any ceremonies besides those associated with formal entries; though not designed exclusively to environ the *adventus* of proconsuls and other distinguished guests, it was certainly intended to accommodate such occasions.

At first glance, the regular and unadorned colonnades of the Arcadiane would seem to afford relatively few opportunities for meaningful juxtaposition of citizen body and civic architecture during a procession. Yet we have seen that colonnades, by separating spectators from participants with a regular monumental screen, could lend considerable visual emphasis to both groups. The effect must have been especially striking at Ephesus, where a lack of space on the harbor quays compelled elements of the citizen body that would normally have assembled outside the gates to confine themselves within the monumental frame of the Arcadiane. At least in its late antique iteration, when the monumental entrance of the Harbor Baths and a nymphaeum directly opposite marked the only real interruption of the colonnades, this frame was strikingly regular,<sup>40</sup> presenting visitors like our proconsul with lines of columns and citizens that stretched uninterrupted to the gate leading into the theater square. This gate, now poorly preserved, very likely resembled its counterpart on the harbor: triple-arched, modestly decorated, and sited to impose a sense of transition. In Late Antiquity, however, and probably in our period as well, it was surmounted by the Boar of Androklos, and perhaps by a representation of the founder himself.<sup>41</sup> This distinctive image, located where the lines of colonnade, spectators and

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<sup>40</sup> On the late antique entrance to the baths and the nymphaeum opposite, see Foss 1979: 59-60. Although a statue of the demos set up near the entrance in the fourth century is described by its donor as “rediscovered and restored” (*IvE* 519), it is not necessary to suppose that its original location was nearby. The four massive columns set up around the midpoint of the Arcadinae in the reign of Justinian likely had no early imperial predecessors (*FiE* 132-42).

<sup>41</sup> On the location of this sculpture, discussed earlier in context of the Harbor Gate, see Schneider 1999: 476.

procession converged, will certainly have caught the proconsul's gaze, less, perhaps, as a meaningful symbol – unless indicated as such by one of the local notables with whom he walked – than as a convenient point of reference for the movement of the procession and articulation of its frame.

The manner in which the visual effects of the Arcadiane articulated the Ephesian citizen body is perhaps illustrated most succinctly by the famous Sebasteion of Aphrodisias (Fig. 37). The long porticos of this complex, bracketed by a monumental gate and small temple of the imperial cult, were designed to accommodate processions, and indeed functioned in much the same way as a colonnaded avenue.<sup>42</sup> Once a visitor passed through the propylon, the repetitive rhythm of the porticoes' engaged columns urged his attention forward to temple at which their lines converged. The same "colonnades," however, also organized and expedited his viewing of the reliefs on the upper stories of the porticoes, at once framing the individual images and suggesting a narrative flow across them.<sup>43</sup> For a participant in a procession through the sanctuary, the imperial temple itself, set axially between the porticoes and elevated on a podium, would remain the visual focus; but particularly at the slow and even pace of a procession, there would be plenty of time to glance up at the reliefs on both sides. In this scenario, the imperial temple might best be understood as a sort of thematic cynosure – a symbol of the imperial order which unified the sculpture of the porticoes, located at the point to which a viewer's eyes would naturally return.

There was relatively little to distract the eye along the early imperial Arcadiane, particularly when the statues along the colonnades were obscured by onlookers. Besides the Boar

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<sup>42</sup> On the architecture of the Sebasteion, see Smith 2013: 24-37. The avenue-like form of the building is discussed in *ibid.*, 11-13.

<sup>43</sup> See Smith 1990 on the significance of juxtaposed images in the Sebasteion, and Smith 2013: 32-5 on the reliefs' function as a gallery of "framed pictures."

of Androklos on the theater gate, the only images clearly visible during a proconsul's *adventus* would have been those carried in the procession: Artemis, perhaps joined by Androklos and an image of the reigning emperor.<sup>44</sup> These were foci of the scene that presented itself to the visitor's eyes; but they did little more than punctuate the long lines of white-cloaked citizens, marking points of orientation in a crowded visual environment. It was, perhaps, the civic audience lining the route, framed and articulated by the avenue's colonnades, that was expected to occupy most of the newly arrived governor's attention. Processing with the civic elite past the demos in its constituent groups, the proconsul was presented with an impressive image of the city's political importance, social stability, and effective governance. Advancing in the company of the governing class through a living definition of social and political consensus, he was immersed in this image and carried forward, as the crowds along the colonnades joined the rear of his procession, into the social and political heart of Ephesus.

### III. Theater

After passing the east gate of the Arcadiane, the proconsul crossed a small plaza and entered the theater (Fig. 38),<sup>45</sup> where a considerable crowd was probably already seated. As he was escorted to his seat of honor in the first row, the citizens who had processed with him down the Arcadiane filed in and took their places, arranging themselves by civic tribe and social rank. Once the theater was filled, a prominent orator delivered the formal speech of welcome. This

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<sup>44</sup> Ephesian delegations to the emperor customarily carried a representation of Artemis (e.g. *SEG* 31 955).

<sup>45</sup> On the theater of Ephesus, see esp. *RE Supp.* XII: 1625-9; De Bernardi Ferrero 1970: 47-66; and Sear 2006: 334-6. Styhler-Aydin 2010 summarizes the most recent research on its design and development. On the decoration of the stage building, see *FiE* II: 53-94 (Niemann, "Die römische Bühnenwand") and Hörmann 1923-4. Öztürk 2005 summarizes more recent research on the *scaenae frons*; cf. Hartswick 1986. Özren 1996 (esp. 107-8, 124-7) is a more extensive discussion of the theater's decoration. More general discussions of theater architecture in high imperial Asia Minor may be found in Pont 2010: 111-26 and Gros 1996: 299-304.

speech completed, the governor himself may have taken the stage to briefly address the assembled citizens before departing, civic dignitaries in tow, for a sacrifice or feast.<sup>46</sup>

The ceremonies in the theater represented both the consummation of the procession down the Arcadiane and the official beginning of the proconsul's stay in a city. The centerpiece was the speech of welcome. Although such speeches were often tediously long and laden with commonplaces,<sup>47</sup> they represented the civic elite's best opportunity to influence the governor's perception of their city and suggest his proper place in it. In keeping with the emphasis accorded to the corporate citizen body at every stage of a governor's *adventus*, civic orators stressed the accomplishments and virtues of a city's inhabitants and suggested that the governor's successful performance of his duties would depend on his demonstration of the same attributes. This message was powerfully reinforced by the setting. Like the colonnades of the Arcadiane, the high *scaenae frons* and marked seating divisions of a theater combined to envelop the visiting proconsul in an image of the community at once socially inclusive and politically potent. More impressively still, both the integrity of the community and themes of the civic orator's speech were illustrated by statues placed at prominent points throughout the theater. Beginning, accordingly, with the standard themes of the speech of welcome, we will investigate how these motifs may have been nuanced or complicated by the design and décor of the Ephesian theater, and finally consider how they combined with both built environment and assembled citizen body to set the tone for the proconsul's stay.

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<sup>46</sup> On the activities of proconsuls in theaters, see Burton 1975: 35-8 and Bérenger 2014: 356-8. Cf. Ch. 13.

<sup>47</sup> Ulpian advises governors to listen patiently to speeches of praise: "Si in aliam quam celebrem civitatem vel provinciae caput advenerit, pati debet commendari sibi civitatem laudesque suas non gravate audire, cum honori suo provinciales id vindicent" (*Dig.* 1.16.7.1).

The ἐπιβατήριος, or speech of arrival, is one of the four rhetorical forms Menander Rhetor outlines for addressing a governor.<sup>48</sup> Our knowledge of its conventions derives almost entirely from his work; besides the Smyrnaean orations of Aelius Aristides, two short pieces in the oeuvre of Apuleius represent the entire extant corpus of mid-imperial speeches delivered before a governor, none of which can be classified as formal speeches of welcome.<sup>49</sup> Despite useful parallels afforded by the more extensive evidence of the fourth and fifth centuries,<sup>50</sup> we thus have little sense of how Menander's prescriptions were applied in practice. They will suffice, however, to indicate the probable themes and organization of the address our proconsul heard at Ephesus. The orator delivering an ἐπιβατήριος for a governor typically began by expressing his joy at the official's arrival. This would be followed by a summary of the previous governor's misdeeds or benefactions – which, it was implied, the new incumbent would amend or excel – and a brief encomium of the emperor. The orator would then praise the new governor's previous deeds, family, and native country. If these details were unimpressive or simply unknown – as must have frequently been the case<sup>51</sup> – the official could be compared with paragons of virtue historical or mythic.<sup>52</sup> The following section would detail the governor's possession of the four cardinal virtues, each of which he would be sure to employ in the

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<sup>48</sup>ἐπιβατήριος (speech of arrival/welcome): II, 377.31-88.15; λαλιά (informal talk): II, 388.16-93.30; προσφωνητικός (speech of praise): II, 414.31-18.4; κλητικός (invitation to a festival): II, 424.4-30.8.

<sup>49</sup> Aristid., *Or.* 17, 21; Apul., *Flor.* 9, 17. As noted in Ch. 3.1, both of Aristides' Smyrnaean orations might best be understood as preliminaries to the formal ἐπιβατήριος, delivered before the proconsul entered the city. If Menander's directions are any guide, one would expect formal speeches of welcome to be considerably longer and – more importantly – to devote some space to praise of the governor. Although Apuleius' pieces at least acknowledge the governor to whom they were delivered, neither is a speech of welcome.

<sup>50</sup> Sloopjes 2006: 105-22 summarizes the late antique evidence. For useful commentary on the speeches which the fourth-century orator Himerius delivered in praise of Roman officials, see Penella 2007: 207-71.

<sup>51</sup> Menander encourages orators to enquire into a governor's opinions in advance (II, 389.4-9).

<sup>52</sup> This was particularly useful when discussing delicate subjects (e.g. II, 389.9-91.18).



performance of his duties.<sup>53</sup> In the epilogue, the orator would return to the theme of joyous greeting, this time emphasizing the welcome of the whole citizen body.<sup>54</sup>

Menander's recommendations reflected the usual emphases of Second Sophistic-era rhetoric. The host city was to be presented on the terms of its corporate citizen body, the source and repository of its historical accomplishments and present eminence.<sup>55</sup> The visiting governor, in turn, was expected to both appreciate the qualities of his hosts and to regulate his actions by the traditional standards of virtue. The actions of proconsul and citizen body were to be assessed on the terms of the same cardinal virtues, and with reference to the same historical or mythological *topoi*.<sup>56</sup> Although many of the speeches built around these formulas were doubtless stilted or banal, Menander's schema contained all the ingredients a skilled orator needed to effectively communicate the goals and priorities of his city. In the charged atmosphere of an *ἐπιβατήριος*, even well-worn references to paragons of justice like Minos or Phocion could assume real meaning.<sup>57</sup> Specific requests for the governor's aid would be deferred to later occasions. During the speech of welcome, it was imperative that a governor be made to understand the role he would be expected to fill; and familiar allusions – immediately comprehensible without being importunately explicit – might serve this purpose well. The efficacy of this strategy depended on the governor's attention to, and comprehension of, the

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<sup>53</sup> Menander's treatment of the *προσφωνητικός* (speech of praise) outlines in detail how an official's actions could be assessed in terms of the cardinal virtues (II, 415.24-17.4).

<sup>54</sup> Joyous welcome: II, 378.4-16; comparison with previous governor: 378.16-79.2; encomium of emperor: 378.2-4; deeds, family, and country of governor: 378.5-10; comparison to famous figures: 378.11-19, 380.9-81.5; cardinal virtues: 378.19-80.9; assembled citizen body welcoming governor: 381.6-23.

<sup>55</sup> See Ch. 6 on the central place of the citizen body in civic encomia.

<sup>56</sup> The four cardinal virtues (Justice, Temperance, Wisdom, Courage) had been canonical since the time of Plato (Russell & Wilson 1981: xiv-xv) and by our period had long been a staple of popular ethics. They appear frequently in Menander's second treatise, notably as criteria for assessing a governor (as noted above: 378.19-80.9, 415.24-17.4) and the citizen body (385.8-86.10). On the many uses of allusions to the (especially Classical) past in Second Sophistic rhetoric, see esp. Schmitz 1997: 160-96, Swain 1996: 65-100, and Pernot 1993: 726ff.

<sup>57</sup> Minos: II, 379.17; Phocion: 380.15

orator's aims and allusions. Although there was no way of ensuring that the governor would listen and understand, the architectural setting in which the speech of welcome was delivered, which served to reiterate and amplify its themes, could be exploited to make its impact more immediate.

Throughout our period, the theater of Ephesus was a center of civic life. In addition to performances of drama, rhetoric, and pantomime, it was a regular venue for the “cultural” contests associated with the Ephesian Olympics and other games.<sup>58</sup> On a more regular basis, it was also the meeting place of the Assembly<sup>59</sup> and a site of civic ritual.<sup>60</sup> Its design and décor reflected and complemented each of these functions. Figures associated with Dionysus, patron and emblem of drama, featured significantly in the decoration of the *scaenae frons*. Statues of the emperors and their families, however, were at least as visible, and –as we shall see – symbols of the citizen body and its tribes may have been most prominent of all.<sup>61</sup> To an observer like our proconsul, entering the theater of Ephesus for the first time, the associations of this ensemble would defy ready comprehension, particularly when presented in the company of thousands of

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<sup>58</sup> On the Ephesian Olympics, see Friesen 1993: 114-41; Van Nijf 2012 remarks the political importance of such games in the imperial era –a circumstance that doubtless invested the settings in which they were held with added significance. The construction of a new stage building at Ephesus, dedicated to Domitian (*IvE* 2034), was almost certainly inspired by hope of holding contests for the new imperial games there. On a more general note, Korenjak 2000: 27-33 and Pernot 1993: 439-44 discuss the importance of the theater as a site of rhetorical performance in the era of the Second Sophistic.

<sup>59</sup> Despite the gradual decline of the Assembly with respect to the Council in our period (see Jones 1940: 170-91), the theater continued to be used and understood as a place of political assembly. For example, during the famous riot of the silversmiths at Ephesus (*Acts* 19.23-40), the citizens automatically gather in the theater to make their discontent known, and are only dispersed by the promise that any unresolved issues can be discussed at the next regular meeting of the assembly (cf. *Mart. Pion.* 7). Even dramatic performances in theater were not free of political implications. Philostratus reports that Apollonius of Tyana used a performance of Euripides' *Ion* in the theater of Ephesus as an opportunity to criticize the proconsul (*VA* 7.5). For general discussion of the political significance of assembly in the theater in imperial period, see Fernoux 2011: 81-110.

<sup>60</sup> The place of the Ephesian theater in Gaius Salutaris' procession (see below) reflects the building's prominence in civic ceremonies. Likely a usual staging point for processions to the Artemision, the theater itself contained a shrine of Nemesis (*IvE* 2042), and played an important role in celebrations associated with the imperial cult. On festivities associated with the imperial cult in theaters, see Price 1984: 109; cf. Gros 1990. Gebhard 1996 and Chaniotis 2007 are more general treatments of theater rituals.

<sup>61</sup> Dionysiac sculpture: *FtE* X.1: 53-82 (cat. no. 31-60); Imperial statues: *IvE* 2047-51. On the symbols of the citizen body and its tribes, see below.

milling spectators. Menander's prescriptions, however, allow us some sense of how his hosts meant him to understand theater and audience.

Menander's model of the ἐπιβατήριος begins and ends with the welcome of the citizen body.<sup>62</sup> His model epilogue – in which he represents the assembled citizens hailing the governor as “our savior and fortress, our bright star, foster-father to our children, and savior to their fathers” (381.11-13) – probably mirrors the acclamations that would have both preceded and followed a speech of welcome.<sup>63</sup> This message would have been powerfully reinforced by the proconsul's position in the theater. The *cavea* of the Ephesian theater displayed the citizen body and its traditional social divisions more effectively even than the Arcadiane, and did so in a setting that emphasized the political implications of its organization. During meetings of the assembly, citizens arranged themselves by tribe,<sup>64</sup> age, position, and status. From the inscription recording the benefaction of Gaius Salutaris, it would seem that, at least during meetings of the assembly, each of the eleven *cunei* in the lowest tier of seats was reserved for a particular group: councilmen, members of the *gerousia*, *paides*, *ephebes*, priests and victors in the sacred games, and representatives from each of the six civic tribes.<sup>65</sup> The proconsul was situated in the center of

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<sup>62</sup> II, 378.4-6; 381.6-23

<sup>63</sup> Compare, for example, the lengthy acclamations chanted for a governor arriving in Syrian Edessa in the mid-fifth century (Flemming 1917: 15-21). On acclamations in general – which, it should be noted, were only one system of conveying mass praise or blame (Korenjak 2000: 68-95) – see *RAC* I: 216-33, s.v. “Akklamation” and the useful discussion in Roueche 1984. Pont 2009 (esp. 196ff) and Pont 2014 stress the increasing formalization of acclamations in the later part of our period. Although the bulk of our evidence is late antique, high imperial acclamations are attested by documentary evidence (e.g. *OGIS* 515.56ff; *POxy* 41; *IvLaodikeia* 38; *SEG* 50 1160).

<sup>64</sup> On the persistence and meaning of the *φυλή* in imperial cities, see Kunnert 2012, esp. 217ff.

<sup>65</sup> On these seating arrangements, see the discussion of Kolb 1999. Council, *gerousia*, *ephebes*, tribes: *IvE* 27.202-7 (cf. 157); priests and sacred victors: ln. 439-41; *paides*: ln. 468-9. Although the inscription states only that sections of seating were reserved for each of these groups during meetings of the assembly, the fact that the statue bases which were to be placed above the seats of the nine groups in the original benefaction (l. 202-7) seem to have originally been located along the *diazoma* (Kolb 1999: 103) lends credence to the idea that each group was assigned a wedge in the lowest register (*IvE* 28-35). It should be noted, however, that the arrangement described in the Salutaris inscription probably only obtained for a few years; the addition of a new tribe named after Hadrian, for example, must have compelled readjustment of the original scheme (*IvE* 33).

this array, probably in a special box opposite the middle of the stage.<sup>66</sup> Assuming that the usual rules were in effect, this seat will have afforded him an excellent vantage point for viewing the citizen body in its political divisions.<sup>67</sup> As on the Arcadiane, however, these distinctions were subsumed into an overwhelming demonstration of unity. Crowded on all sides by the serried civic elite, eyes focused on the stage, the governor probably perceived the citizen body – clad uniformly in white and shouting the same acclamations – as an undifferentiated mass. This impression may have been reinforced by the decoration of the *scaenae frons*: in one of the central niches of the second story, directly across from the proconsul’s seat, stood a statue of the Demos of Ephesus.<sup>68</sup>

Menander’s instructions hint at other ways the theater’s decoration may have given more definite shape to a visitor’s experience. As we saw earlier, the body of the ἐπιβατήριος was largely devoted to praising the governor. Partly because little was known about most newly-arrived officials, this typically entailed the extensive use of allusions to well-known exemplars of good governance, a strategy that allowed orators to adduce a concrete (if banal) model for responsible governance without presuming to offer direct advice. Properly presented, the sculpture of the *scaenae frons* and stage of the theater at Ephesus could serve as an impressive visual complement to this rhetorical strategy (Fig. 39). We may imagine our orator, like Aristides

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<sup>66</sup> That a special seat was reserved for the governor is attested by a late antique life of St. John (Wright 1871: 31). Although late antique renovations have obscured the original arrangement of the first rows of seating, parallel evidence from Aphrodisias (Roueché 1991: 99-102) and other cities (Sear 2006: 5-6; Bérenger 2014: 357) suggests that the governor’s seat was located toward the middle of the lowest row (see Ch. 13).

<sup>67</sup> On the sociopolitical image generated by seating arrangements in imperial theaters, see Kolendo 1981 and André 1990; cf. Roselli 2011: 63-86. The proconsul may well have been reminded of the *discrimina ordinum* current at Rome (Gros 1987, Rawson 1987).

<sup>68</sup> *FiE* X.1: 165-7, cat. no. 146. An inscription records that this statue was a gift from the council to the people of Ephesus and dates it to the mid-late second century (*IvE* 2052). It may have replaced an earlier representation of the same subject, which appeared with some frequency in places of public meeting (e.g., the theater (*SEG* 41 921) and bouleuterion of Aphrodisias; cf. Coulton, Milner, & Reyes 1988: 137). On the artistic conventions for representing the citizen body in this way, see *LIMC* III.1: 375-82, s.v. “Demos.” The Salutaris inscription mentions a statue of Homonoia in the first sector of seats (l. 440).

on the hill overlooking Smyrna, evoking the setting to illustrate his message.<sup>69</sup> When, for example, he delivered the customary encomium of the reigning emperor, he could stand directly beneath the colossal imperial image in the center of the *scaenae frons*.<sup>70</sup> The same statue might serve as a point of departure for reflection on the cardinal virtues so prominent in Menander's treatise.<sup>71</sup> Statues of the gods could serve a similar function, particularly when the proconsul's visit coincided with the celebration of a religious festival.<sup>72</sup> Even a figure like the amazon that adorned one of the columns of the *proscenium* could conceivably have served as an illustration or point of departure for discussing local history.<sup>73</sup> Although we can only speculate on the role played by individual sculptures in the speech of welcome, it is tempting to imagine that the orator made each of his points with at least implicit reference to his surroundings.<sup>74</sup>

Of course, even in the context of the ἐπιβατήριος, many elements of the theater's décor would remain purely ornamental, or at least more meaningful to a local audience than to a visiting proconsul. But if much passed unnoticed, the governor might at least be expected to see significance in the images of his illustrious predecessors, scattered among the honorific statues lining the parodoi and first diazoma. While we have little sense of how visually prominent these statues of past officials were – they seem to have placed wherever there was room, in the same

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<sup>69</sup> Besides Aristides' Smyrnaean orations, ephrases of buildings (e.g. Lucian, *de Domo*) offer the best examples of this strategy in Greek oratory of our period. Far better studied, however, is the use made by Roman orators, and especially Cicero, of the settings in which they declaimed (Vasaly 1993; Hall 2004; Aldrete 1999: 3-43). For a broader treatment of gesture (i.e., pointing) in ancient rhetoric, see *RAC X* (1978): 73-80, s.v. "Geste und Gebärde."

<sup>70</sup> Apollonius of Tyana, for example, directly addressed a statue of Domitian when fulminating against that emperor in Smyrna (Philostr., *VA* 7.9). Near the stage of the theater at Ephesus were discovered the remains of a colossal cuirassed torso, designed with a hollow neck to accommodate the portrait busts of successive emperors (BM Cat. *Sculpt.* II: 186, no. 1243 = Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen* 179, no. 536). On imperial statues in theaters, see Niemeyer 1968: 33-4, Pekáry 1985: 47-9; cf. Fuchs 1987: 166-80. Edelmann 2008 connects the ubiquity of statues of the emperor in theaters with the role played by the imperial image in the rituals enacted on the stage.

<sup>71</sup> Noreña 2009: 274-6 collects instances of the canonical four virtues being applied to Roman emperors by Greek orators in our period.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Apollo at Alexandria Troas: Men. *Rhet.* II, 427.21f.

<sup>73</sup> On the figures attached to the columns of the proscenium, see Hartswick 1986.

<sup>74</sup> To give but one example, the shrine of Nemesis, located prominently on the upper rim of the cavea, could have been used to illustrate the theme of justice (*IvE* 2042).

basic positions and attitudes as local benefactors<sup>75</sup> – they may have been the most meaningful referents of a speech of welcome. Although the theater was not a primary locus of proconsular statues – at Ephesus, officials seem to have owed their representation in the theater primarily to benefactions related to the building itself<sup>76</sup> – even the relatively few statues it housed might usefully color the ideal of service sketched by the civic orator. Unless the previous year’s governor happened to be represented in the theater, no sculpture of a past official was likely to be explicitly referenced in the ἐπιβατήριος. Such statues might, however, serve to illustrate the oration’s themes in a more general way. A basic goal of the speech of welcome was to outline for a new governor the terms on which his service would be assessed. If nothing else, the proconsular statues in the theater, placed side-by-side with great Ephesians of the past and juxtaposed with the present citizen body, stressed the importance of cooperation for successful governance.<sup>77</sup>

At the Harbor Gate, along the Arcadiane, and finally in the theater, a proconsul was confronted by a citizen body articulated into its constituent parts but displayed in its unity. By constantly foregrounding the civic audience, the local notables who orchestrated *adventus* ceremonial not only presented the newly-arrived official with an image of a well-ordered community, but also suggested his proper relation to it. Walking, standing, and sitting, he was surrounded by local notables, who moved with him through a landscape defined by the assembled citizen body. Though partially inspired by the ruling elite’s desire to associate and

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<sup>75</sup> On the appearance of statues dedicated to Roman officials, see Erkelenz 2003: 90-114 and Tuchelt 1979: 68-104. Strategies of commemoration will be discussed at length in Ch. 7.

<sup>76</sup> E.g. *IvE* 2040 (a statue of the Severan proconsul Tineius Sacerdos, honored for repairing the theater’s awning); cf. 2043-5 (two late antique proconsuls honored with statues for restoring the theater); 2059 (the first century quaestor Gn. Domitius Corbulo honored for his benefactions).

<sup>77</sup> The most striking example is a double statue base from the early second century, which once supported images of the great civic benefactor T. Flavius Montanus and his collaborator, L. Vibius Lentulus, a *procurator Augusti* (*IvE* 2061).

ingratiate itself with a prominent guest, this was ultimately a strategy intended to influence the governor's impressions and actions by indicating his place in the civic order. In the course of his *adventus*, a proconsul was not only reminded of local expectations through acclamations and the speech of welcome; he was enlisted in a recreation of the community itself, a ritual reenactment of its place in the Roman world.<sup>78</sup> Both aspects were at play in the theater, where the visiting governor was confronted with the audience and collective judge of his actions, whose support was contingent on his understanding and respect of the community's traditional sovereignty and rights.

The ceremonies of *adventus* afforded a city unique opportunity to define and communicate a conception of Roman authority tailored to local priorities and needs. The basic component of this presentation was the citizen body, arranged in a built environment that lent it shape and coherence. In the theater, as at every stage of the governor's *adventus*, audience and architectural backdrop were virtually merged, the few visible design elements serving to frame or explicate the preponderant mass of the citizen body. Some of the details foregrounded by this arrangement, like the Boar of Androklos poised above the Arcadiane, evoked connections unfamiliar to the new governor; others, like the ubiquitous imperial statues, may have seemed so familiar as to lack local meaning. In the context of *adventus* ceremonial, however, local and imperial symbols alike were contextualized by the assembled citizen body. Together, the civic audience and grand public spaces of Ephesus comprised the frame within which all details could be interpreted. Far from rendering details unimportant, the assumption of a unified interpretive frame invested the settings of *adventus* with new significance. If, for example, the statues from Salutaris' benefaction were on display in the theater during the reception ceremonies, the gold

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<sup>78</sup> Cf. Trexler 1980: 290-330

and silver figurines, poised on tall bases above the sections reserved for various tribes and civic organizations, may have seemed emblematic of the image of the articulated but fundamentally unified citizen body that environed every stage of *adventus*.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> See Ch. 8. The 31 statues of Salutaris' gift were customarily displayed during meetings of the assembly and important festivals (*IvE* 27.52f). Although no mention is made in the inscription of a proconsul's *adventus*, it should be noted that several lines are missing from the list of occasions, and the statues could be displayed on any occasion deemed fit by the council and assembly (l. 214-15). It is reasonable to assume that the governor's arrival, one of the most important events in the entire year, would seem an appropriate occasion. Even if Salutaris' statues were not in place during the *adventus* ceremonies, the governor would have seen the six permanent statues of Antoninus Pius that marked the seating wedges of the Ephesian tribes (*IvE* 2050).



## Chapter 10. Miletus: Claims of Legitimacy

Despite the orientation provided by processional route and local guides,<sup>1</sup> the barrage of sights, sounds, and smells that assaulted a governor newly arrived in one of his *conventus* cities would have been somewhat overwhelming. The effect is summarized by Achilles Tatius' Clitophon, exhausted by his first impressions of Alexandria: "I tried to cast my gaze down every street, but my eyes were still unsatisfied, and I could not grasp all the beauty of the spot at once: some parts I saw, some I was on the point of seeing, others I desperately wanted to see."<sup>2</sup> Even at the stately pace of a procession, sheer perfusion of detail would relegate all but a few sights to the fringes of a visitor's consciousness. Yet since the local notables who orchestrated *adventus* ceremonial had, as we have seen, strong interest in presenting a distinct image of their city, it is reasonable to assume that a proconsul's processional route was chosen with careful consideration of how the buildings and monuments along it would contribute to this goal. The civic elite were concerned above all to communicate the efficacy of their governance and their city's fitness to serve as a platform for the proconsul's authority. Both these aims could be furthered by connecting the community manifest in the assembled citizen body with the history immanent in

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<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the local notables escorting the proconsul pointed out and explained the significance of the more salient monuments along his route. Compare Plutarch's account of the guides at Delphi (*Mor.* 394ff.; cf. Jones 2001 on Pausanias' guides). These men seem (unsurprisingly) to have focused on landmarks connected with famous mythological figures and historical events. Pseudo-Aristides, lamenting the ruin of Rhodes after an earthquake, comments on the practice: *παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις λόγους ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ τροπαίου τι λοιπὸν ἰδεῖν καὶ μνῆμα καὶ κρήνην, καὶ δεῖκνυσιν ὁ περιάγων ἐν ἀμυδροῖς τοῖς γνωρίσμασιν, οὐτοσὶ μὲν Σεμέλης θάλαμος, οὐτοσὶ δὲ Ἀρμονίας, ἢ Λήδας, ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων* ([Aristid.], *Or.* 25.2).

<sup>2</sup> *ἐγὼ δὲ μερίζων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς πάσας τὰς ἀγνιάς θεατῆς ἀκόρεστος ἤμην καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὅλον οὐκ ἐξήρκουν ἰδεῖν. τὰ μὲν ἐβλεπον, τὰ δὲ ἐμελλον, τὰ δὲ ἠπειγόμεν ἰδεῖν [...]* (5.1.4-5). Although the language of this passage reflects Clitophon's obsession with sight (Morales 2005: 100-5) –itself indicative of the primacy accorded vision in ancient theories of the senses – a proconsul would likely have been equally aware of the sounds (acclamations, hymns) and smells (incense, blood) associated with his visit.

the fabric of a processional route. Especially if presented in a manner that stressed figures and narratives familiar to a non-local audience, buildings and monuments could be obtruded upon the attention of a visiting official, ensuring that his first impressions of the city and its inhabitants were consonant with elite priorities. Using the example of Miletus, this chapter will explore how and why a Greek city might emphasize select aspects of its fabric and history to visitors, and consider what these points of emphasis contributed to the image it wished to present to a Roman official.

Before proceeding to the main argument, we will briefly consider the evidence for how individual components of the civic built environment could be foregrounded on the occasion of a proconsular visit. On the most basic level, assigning meaning to selected elements of the urban fabric entailed directing the visitor's motion and sight down chosen paths and perspectives. During *adventus*, the best opportunities for such nuancing occurred along the processional route to the theater, where a governor's progress could be slowed, and his attention correspondingly focused, at significant points. The simplest means were physical. The slope of a hill, a bend in the road, or the constricted passages of an arch all retarded motion, and thus afforded opportunity for closer inspection of the urban landscape. Similar devices might be employed to emphasize perspectives: the Smyrnaeans, for example, met incoming governors on a hilltop from which their city's finest monuments were visible.<sup>3</sup> Beyond exploiting physical characteristics of the processional route, the most effective method of calling select buildings and monuments to a visitor's attention was assembling elements of the citizen body around or in front of them. Coins struck in Pergamum to commemorate successive visits of Caracalla, for example, show the newly-arrived emperor meeting representatives of the populace in a series of stylized but

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<sup>3</sup> See Ch. 6.

obviously significant settings.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, late antique graffiti from Ephesus and Aphrodisias indicate that acclamations for officials and benefactors were regularly chanted by crowds gathered at strategic points in the urban fabric.<sup>5</sup> The custom persisted into the Byzantine period: in the tenth century, emperors entering Constantinople after a long absence encountered groups of officials and citizens at a preordained series of churches, squares, and intersections, each relevant in some way to popular conceptions of his authority;<sup>6</sup> the fact that different occasions called for different arrangements of citizens along the same fixed route neatly illustrates how the placement of spectators could generate different images of the urban landscape.<sup>7</sup> Finally, as noted earlier, one or more of the notables walking with the proconsul probably provided brief descriptions of noteworthy buildings and monuments as they passed.

Archaeological evidence provides our only clues for how these strategies were applied in a given *conventus* city. Let us take as our example the square fronting the so-called Market Gate in Miletus, a space discussed at length later in this section (Fig. 40). To a proconsul entering from the north, the square presented three grand but heterogeneous facades: on his left stood a three-story nymphaeum, richly ornamented with sculpture; on his right, the lower and relatively modest propylon of the bouleterion; ahead, the imposing mass of the Market Gate, adorned with statues of the emperors. Assuming that lines of spectators directed the proconsul directly across the square, a few inferences about his perceptions can be drawn from the remains. Knowing, for example, that his procession would slow or stop as it encountered the flight of stairs beneath the

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<sup>4</sup> See Ch. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Roueché 1999

<sup>6</sup> Berger 2001 provides a brief summary of processions in Byzantine Constantinople. The route of imperial *adventus* is discussed in Guillard 1961 and Mango 2000. For more general treatments of the city's processional ways, see Bauer 1996: 379-87 and Müller-Wiener 1977: 248-70.

<sup>7</sup> Some of the most interesting studies on how shifting crowds could shape perceptions of a landscape's meaning deal with early Christian liturgical ceremonies. Chatford-Clark 2007, for example, considers how audiences of worshippers altered lines of sight and motion in a late antique church.

Market Gate, we can reasonably postulate that the pause accorded special prominence to the décor of the surrounding monuments, and particularly to that of the Gate itself. The fact that the monuments of the square stood at the end and focal point of the colonnaded way from the harbor, likewise, lends credence to the assumption that visitors were meant to give special attention to the monuments it contained. On grounds of sheer visibility,<sup>8</sup> moreover, we might expect our visitor's gaze to be drawn toward the flashing water of the nymphaeum, and to register the two colossal statues of Hadrian in niches of the Market Gate.<sup>9</sup> Visual isolation foregrounded some of the neighboring monuments, just as crowding diminished the effect of others;<sup>10</sup> the statue of Neileus that stood alone beside the nymphaeum was correspondingly more likely to attract notice than any of the massed sculptures above the fountain, particularly since it stood prominently among a crowds of citizens on the occasion of a governor's *adventus*.

Beyond such elementary observations, we can only interpret the intended effect of this space in light of the qualities which the local elite were motivated to communicate to the proconsul and other non-local visitors. The Milesian elite – chiefly concerned, as we have seen, to justify both their own prominence and that of their city – found the most effective means of bolstering their position in the civic past. By emphasizing their city's antiquity, past achievements, and historic constancy, they could articulate their claims with reference to figures and events familiar to neighboring elites and Roman officials alike. We shall see that the square fronting the Market Gate was replete with such references, as indeed were many of the spaces through which a newly-arrived proconsul would pass.

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<sup>8</sup> For a formal approach to the visibility of individual components of a monumental space, see McMahon 2013.

<sup>9</sup> *Milet V.2*: 72-4

<sup>10</sup> See Ma 2013: 113-18 on the effects of visual isolation.

The route of a governor's *adventus* procession through Miletus can be readily conjectured (Fig. 41). As at Ephesus, he arrived by sea, disembarking at the port on the so-called Bay of Lions.<sup>11</sup> Immediately after being greeted by the usual coterie of local dignitaries, he offered sacrifice in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphineus, located beside the gate leading into the city. He then followed a colonnaded avenue<sup>12</sup> that terminated in the aforementioned square before the Market Gate.<sup>13</sup> From here, he probably advanced through the Market Gate and across the square of the South Agora, proceeding thence to the theater through the palaestra of the Baths of Faustina or by a side street.<sup>14</sup> Most of the buildings and monuments along this route had been constructed or rebuilt in the first or second centuries, and they collectively exhibited neither thematic unity nor any apparent intent to address external audiences. They were punctuated, however, with references to a civic past connected with figures and events immediately recognizable to non-local visitors, and directly relevant to the communal image evoked in the ceremonies of *adventus*. Three groups of references were particularly prominent: those concerned with the founding myths of Miletus, and thence with Apollo Didymeus; those alluding to the city's great achievements in the Archaic Period and the Persian sack that ended them; and those intended to demonstrate the constancy of Milesian service to the Romans and the Hellenistic kings who preceded them.

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<sup>11</sup> Although a Milesian coin once assumed to depict the arrival of a proconsul by sea has been reinterpreted as an issue commemorating the return of a civic delegation (Balduis 1985), the lack of any major road linking Miletus with Ephesus (or any other *conventus* city) must have made coasting the only practical option. The architectural elaboration of the harbor on the Bay of Lions, moreover, suggests that it was often used to receive important visitors.

<sup>12</sup> Parts of this avenue were lined with colonnades for aesthetic effect; opposite the so-called Ionic Hall (*Milet* I.9: 36-49), a colonnade was appended to the wall of the North Agora (Emme 2011, contra *Milet* I.6: 54-5).

<sup>13</sup> Cain & Pfanner 2009 discuss recent work on this area. On the Agora Gate, see Maischberger 2009, 2010; Pfanner et al. 2005; and Strocka 1981.

<sup>14</sup> On the palaestra of the Baths, see *Milet* I.9: 51-4). Weber 2004 is the most recent treatment of the city's Roman-era street network.

## I. Patron God and Founding Heroes

Most of the history visible in imperial Greek cities was a product of simple unconscious accumulation. Nearly all poleis were many centuries old; and unless a natural disaster or unusually extensive series of building campaigns wholly reshaped the urban fabric, their centers typically reflected a long and gradual process of development. Deliberate references to certain aspects of the civic past became, however, increasingly prominent in our period, spurred by the burgeoning Second Sophistic movement.<sup>15</sup> The past – both consciously and unconsciously displayed – was particularly prominent in Roman Miletus. Although the city center was a welter of old and new, blended and juxtaposed to fit a bewildering variety of plans and purposes, it was characterized by a series of highly visible references to a few pivotal periods of the civic past. The most significant of these references stood where they would be seen by citizens and travelers alike, and – by chance or design – adjoined the route followed by newly-arrived proconsuls from harbor to theater.

Let us begin with a particularly prominent historical reference, a statue depicting Neileus, founder of Miletus, which stood on a tall pedestal in the square fronting the Market Gate (Fig. 42). Like many other cities in the Greek world, Miletus continued to adapt and advertise its founding myths in the Imperial period.<sup>16</sup> Among a modest host of founders, two figures stand out: Neileus, a leader of the Ionian migration; and the eponymous hero Miletus, companion of Sarpedon and son of Apollo. As a son of Codrus, king of Athens; brother of Androclus, founder

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<sup>15</sup> For good summaries of the uses imperial Greek cities made of their pasts, see Förtsch 1995 and Gehrke 2001. A series of useful case studies from the Roman Peloponnese is provided by Lafond 2006, esp. 178-99. Berman 2015: 141-59 discusses how the mythical heritage of Thebes influenced the interpretation and development of the city's public spaces from the Classical period onward.

<sup>16</sup> Leschhorn 1984 and Weiss 1984 are good treatments of the continuing significance of foundation myths and founders in the Greek world under Roman rule; cf. *RAC* XII (1983): 1107-71, s.v. "Gründer." On the connections between these narratives and historical fact, see Strubbe 1984-86. Lindner 1994 develops the case studies of Ilion and Nysa in detail. Rathmayr 2014 surveys the many depictions of the founder Androclus at Ephesus.

of Ephesus; and father of Aepytyus, founder of Priene, Neileus<sup>17</sup> was a useful figure for kinship politics. Although there was less incentive to claim such connections in the settled conditions under Roman rule than there had been in the more fluid political situations of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, they retained considerable potency; the Milesians could still refer to themselves as the “mother city of Ionia” in the dedicatory inscription of a statue of Hadrian they set up at Athens.<sup>18</sup> For this reason, or simply on account of his status as a traditional symbol of civic identity, the image of Neileus was prominent in Roman Miletus.<sup>19</sup> The manner in which his image was displayed, moreover, suggests that the connections he represented were supposed to be noticed even by visitors unfamiliar with his local significance.

The aforementioned statue of Neileus in the square fronting the Market Gate was located at a place where the proconsul’s procession, filing into the South Agora, would have moved especially slowly.<sup>20</sup> There was plenty for the official to see in the moment of pause. The square, as noted earlier, was bounded on three sides by monuments. On the proconsul’s left, past the Ionic colonnade fronting a large bath-gymnasium complex, stood the massed sculptures and flashing water of the nymphaeum; on his right, past a wall dressed with engaged columns, was the Hellenistic propylon of the bouleuterion; the imposing façade of the Agora Gate and its imperial statues rose directly ahead. The square defined by these impressive structures was

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<sup>17</sup> *RE* XVI:2280, s.v. “Neleus”

<sup>18</sup> ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰωνίας Μιλησίων πόλις (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3300.4-5). It is worth noting that, at least in certain periods, Miletus seems to have cultivated a special relationship with Athens (see, e.g., Milesian ephebes in Republican Athens (*RE* XV: 1612)). Such bonds were especially prominent in the era of Hadrian’s Panhellenion, which required its member cities to establish their descent from old Greece (Romeo 2002). See Jones 1999: 94-121 for a more general overview of kinship diplomacy in the Roman Empire, and Curty 1995 for a catalogue of inscriptions dealing with the theme of συγγένεια.

<sup>19</sup> See Herda 1998 on the cult of Neileus. Compare the prominence of Androclus at Ephesus (Rathmayr 2010).

<sup>20</sup> On the statue base, see *Milet* V.2: 67-8. The dedicatory inscription (*I. Milet* 269), which dates to the mid-third century CE, records the demos of Miletus’ restoration of an older statue on the same site, probably in concert with Gordian’s reconstruction of the nymphaeum. The restored statue was placed off the axis of the adjacent nymphaeum, apparently from a desire to preserve its original location.

punctuated only by two small monuments: an altar, situated a short distance in front of the Agora Gate; and the statue of Neileus near a corner of the nymphaeum.<sup>21</sup> Unless aided by his guide, the newly-arrived proconsul was unlikely to know anything about Neileus; he would probably gather, however, that this statue, the only freestanding sculpture in the square, represented a figure central to Milesian civic identity. Like the Boar of Androclus on the Ephesian Arcadiane, it helped focus a landscape defined as much by assembled crowds as by the actual built environment. Unlike the Boar, however, it stood against a rich sculptural backdrop. For a viewer approaching from the direction of the harbor, the statue of Neileus first appeared against – indeed, as a virtual part of – the ensemble decorating the Agora Gate; as he drew closer and finally passed, it appeared in juxtaposition with the façade of the nymphaeum.<sup>22</sup>

Although a newly-arrived governor is unlikely to have had motive or opportunity to ponder the complex iconography of gate and nymphaeum, he could easily recognize the emperors and Olympian gods central to their programs. He would, moreover, have been familiar with the basic visual strategy; at Ephesus – whence he had just departed – statues of the founder Androclus appeared in concert with more familiar mythological figures in two centrally-located nymphaea.<sup>23</sup> The intended effect may have been comparable to that of Plancia Magna's gate at Perge, where a gallery of founders faced representations of the city's patron gods and members of the imperial family: although the founders themselves would have unfamiliar to non-locals, the fact of their juxtaposition with instantly recognizable figures like Artemis and Hadrian

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<sup>21</sup> On the placement of the altar and statue, see Cain & Pfanner 2009: 91-2; cf. Herda 2013: 93. Although only its foundations survive, the altar, like the statue, was not oriented to the axis of the Roman agora, a circumstance which may lend credence to the suggestion that it too was dedicated to Neileus.

<sup>22</sup> See *Milet V.2*: 25-74 (and below) for the sculpture of the nymphaeum and Agora Gate.

<sup>23</sup> Statues of Androclus (Rathmayr 2010: 27-33) appeared in the Nymphaeum of C. Laecanius Bassus (Rathmayr 2011: 141-2) and the Nymphaeum of Trajan (*FiE* XI.2: 65-78).



allowed all viewers to contextualize, if not understand, their significance.<sup>24</sup> The statue of Neileus, likewise, can be seen as a civic symbol located at a visual and interpretive focal point, reminding locals and visitors alike of the association between the people and the square fronting the bouleuterion.

The eponymous hero Miletus<sup>25</sup> seems to have been a more nebulous figure than Neileus. As a son of Apollo, he was important primarily by virtue of his association with the city's patron god and the sanctuary at Didyma. Accordingly, despite occasional appearances on civic coinage<sup>26</sup> and reliefs,<sup>27</sup> his myths tended to be assimilated to those of Apollo. It is possible, however, that he too had some presence along the proconsul's route. In light of the fact that his foster father Cleochus was the subject of a hero cult at Didyma, it seems reasonable to assume that Miletus was accorded similar honors; and since there is no evidence for his cult at Didyma, this may well have been located in the city proper,<sup>28</sup> perhaps even at the ancient altar in front of the Market Gate.<sup>29</sup> If the altar's decoration made its dedication clearly visible, it might, like the statue of Neileus a few yards away, have been "contextualized" in a similar manner.

Yet it was Apollo Didymeus, not obscure local heroes, whom most visitors likely associated with the city's foundation and early history;<sup>30</sup> even if he was unaware of the myths surrounding the sanctuary of Apollo, a visiting governor was sure to be familiar with the famous

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<sup>24</sup> See Ch. 3.

<sup>25</sup> *RE* XV: 1656-9, s.v. "Miletos"

<sup>26</sup> E.g. *BMC Ionia* no. 157 (pg. 199)

<sup>27</sup> He seems to have been depicted on the altar in the forecourt of the bouleuterion (*Milet* V.2: 18-24).

<sup>28</sup> On the cult of Cleochus, see Fontenrose 1988: 165-6.

<sup>29</sup> In addition to neatly complementing the statue of Neileus a few yards away, this would have lent greater significance to the statue of Apollo which stood opposite it in the nymphaeum. Since the altar was dismantled in late antiquity, however, no positive identification is possible. If it was dedicated Neileus (the only other likely candidate), one might expect that hero's statue to be closer.

<sup>30</sup> When the Milesians enrolled a large group of Cretans as citizens in the third century BCE, it was Apollo's connection with the island – not that of Sarpedon or the hero Miletus – which was cited in support of the union (e.g. *I. Milet* 37).

oracle. The Milesians accordingly foregrounded their relationship with the god throughout the civic fabric, and particularly along the route of the annual New Year's Procession to Didyma<sup>31</sup> – the first section of which happened to be identical to the path followed by the proconsul from Delphinion to theater. The goal of these displays is neatly summarized by the altar reliefs in the forecourt of the bouleuterion, which associated the conception of Apollo and Artemis at Didyma with the foundation of Miletus by Neileus. The temple at Didyma, famous throughout the Greek world, was at once a unique source of prestige, constant generator of income, and effective means of gaining patronage: it was imperative to impress on visitors the close and ancient relationships between city, god, and sanctuary. Trajan's impressive reconstruction of the sacred way between Didyma and Miletus, commemorated by numerous statues along the processional route within the city,<sup>32</sup> was only the most recent affirmation of this policy's success.

Representations of Apollo were correspondingly prominent along the proconsul's route. Tripods dedicated to the god stood by the harbor, in the bouleuterion, and elsewhere in the city.<sup>33</sup> Apollo, Artemis, and Zeus appeared together in the second story of the nymphaeum (Fig. 43). Apollo was featured again in the *scaenae frons* of the theater, accompanied by Leto and at least five of the muses (Fig. 44). Another statue of Apollo stood on a terrace attached to the back of the stage building, crowning a frieze whose reliefs depicted a famous statue of the god at Didyma.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> On the route of the New Year's Procession, which ran from the sanctuary of Apollo Delphineus to the temple of Apollo at Didyma, see Schneider 1987: 101-5; Dally et al. 2011; and Herda 2006: 260-1.

<sup>32</sup> As noted earlier, Trajan was commemorated both at the nymphaeum and in the South Agora.

<sup>33</sup> The Great Harbor Monument, which took the form of a massive tripod, seems to have imitated the traditional shape of a dedication to Apollo (*Milet V.2*: 4-5). Its immediate antecedents were tripods like the one that stood in the bouleuterion (*Milet I.2*: 90ff). At least one other tripod stood elsewhere in the city (*Milet V.2*: 189-90).

<sup>34</sup> See *Milet V.2*: 31-5 on the program and arrangement of statues in the nymphaeum; cf. Alföldy 1998. On the sculptures from the *scaenae frons* of the theater, *ibid.* 128 (Apollo), 130 (Leto), and 124-7 (muses); *ibid.* 131-4 on the Apollo which stood on the terrace behind stage building and 184-5 on the frieze showing Canachus' famous sculpture of Apollo Philesius.

Although the theater relief showed a statue of Apollo directly associated with Didyma, the representations of the god in theater and nymphaeum seem to have been modelled on standard types. With the exception of the statue of Neileus (and possible altar of Miletus), in fact, the sculptural decoration of both the theater and the square fronting the bouleuterion was dominated by the central figures of Greek myth. These were, of course, far from the only subjects depicted – the imperial image was ubiquitous, and the theater housed a considerable number of honorific statues – but they were certainly the most prominent. Local myths and cult certainly influenced the way they were arranged, but not to the extent of obscuring their familiarity for non-local viewers. Certain aspects of the nymphaeum’s sculptural ensemble, for example, seem to have been connected with specifically Milesian concerns: the figures of Apollo, Artemis, and Zeus on the second story were likely, as noted earlier, intended to evoke the city’s foundation myths, and a group of nymphs from the first story<sup>35</sup> should probably be connected with a well-attested civic cult. Viewed together, however, the statues of the nymphaeum had no coherent program. Apollo and the nymphs shared the façade with representations of the other Olympians, members of the Dionysiac circle, figures from the myths of Hercules and the Trojan War, and a modest host of other gods and heroes – none of whom had any special connection with Miletus. As rebuilt in the late second century, likewise, the *scaenae frons* of the theater could only be partially understood in the terms of local myths and cults.<sup>36</sup> If their purpose was more than merely decorative, accordingly, the statues of the nymphaeum and theater should perhaps be understood as an assertion of involvement in the basic narratives of

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<sup>35</sup> *Milet V.2*: 35-9

<sup>36</sup> Although statues of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto – central figures of the myth that associated the conception of Apollo and Artemis with Didyma – probably shared with Marcus Aurelius and Commodus the honor of occupying the most prominent niches in the *scaenae frons*, the association with Didyma can hardly explain the inclusion of Hermes, Nike, and at least two Tritons. On the sculptural program of the theater, see *Milet V.2*: 123-4.

Panhellenic history and culture. This function was underscored by the fact that many individual sculptures were modelled on famous Classical antecedents.<sup>37</sup> Such copies, immediately recognizable to Greeks and educated Romans alike, communicated in the most accessible visual language available a basic statement of civic identity: the origins and history of Miletus were intertwined with those of Greek culture itself.<sup>38</sup>

## II. Archaic Glory and the Persian Wars

A Roman governor approaching Miletus was likely to associate the city with a select set of historical figures and events. Although he would certainly be familiar with Apollo Didymeus, if only through the god's famous oracle, it was Miletus' Archaic period – that brilliant era of wealth and achievement epitomized by the figures of Thales and Anaximander and ended by the city's dramatic destruction by the Persians – that likely dominated his conception of local history. Archaic Miletus figured prominently in Roman histories and geographies. Pomponius Mela, for example, hailed the city as “formerly the leader of all Ionia in the peaceful arts, birthplace of the astronomer Thales, the musician Timotheus, and the physicist Anaximander and renowned for the great and famous talents of other citizens.”<sup>39</sup> The city's ancient eminence and achievements were familiar to educated Romans through an array of sources ranging from Herodotus to the infamous Milesian tales: Thales and Anaximander appeared among the galleries

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<sup>37</sup> The nymphaeum featured two statues modelled on an Aphrodite by Praxiteles (*Milet* V.2: 42-7), and others imitating the Colonna Artemis (48-9), Farnese Hercules (50-2), and Athens Asclepeius (52-3). The representation of Leto in the theater seems to have also imitated a Classical predecessor (130-1), and a representation of Hadrian at the Market Gate seems to have been modelled on a fifth-century depiction of Diomedes (72-4).

<sup>38</sup> On the nature and function of sculptural copies, see the survey in *EAA* II, 804-10, s.v. “Copie e Copisti.”

<sup>39</sup> “Miletum, urbem quondam Ioniae totius belli pacisque artibus principem, patriam Thaletis astrologi et Timothei musici et Anaximandri physici, aliorumque civium inclutis ingeniis merito inclutam” (1.76). Pliny the Elder calls Miletus “Ioniae caput,” and remarks the city's fame as “super LXXXX urbium per cuncta maria genetrix” (HN 5.31; cf. Sol. 40.12). Pomponius and Pliny both probably derived their accounts from the Hellenistic tradition summarized by Strabo (14.1.6-7 [635]).

of great men assembled in Roman villas, and the city itself was a byword for luxury and decadence in Latin literature.<sup>40</sup> If not necessarily familiar to every visiting governor, the great men of Archaic Miletus and the city's Persian sack were of particular interest to educated Romans, and it can be plausibly assumed that artifacts associated with them would gain special attention.

Since Roman Miletus preserved no trace of its Archaic predecessor, the period was represented by relics salvaged from their original contexts and displayed at prominent points in the urban fabric. Some of these artifacts – like the Archaic lion that served as a fountainhead in the Roman Baths of Faustina (Fig. 45) – were apparently preserved as nothing more than curiosities or antiques, remarkable principally for their distinctive appearance.<sup>41</sup> Others, such as the sixth-century kore dedicated by Anaximander that stood in the bouleterion throughout our period, seem to have been intimately linked with the bases of civic identity. Motivations can be difficult to read from such displays. To take one well-known example, the so-called Nannas-Bakivalis monument (Fig. 46), an assemblage of Archaic Lydian sculpture gathered and redisplayed near the Temple of Athena in Roman Sardis, has been interpreted as a specific evocation of the city's royal Lydian past. It is equally possible, however, to imagine that the oddly stylized sculptures and Lydian inscriptions incorporated into monument were intended to recall only a general sense of tradition and antiquity.<sup>42</sup> Interpretation of the Milesian displays is further complicated by the paucity of contemporary parallels for the display of Archaic relics.

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<sup>40</sup> Miletus as a byword for luxury and decadence: e.g. Juv. 6.296; Liv. 38.39.9. Representations of Milesians: see, e.g., the relief portrait of Anaximander discovered at Rome (*IG XIV 1231=IGUR 1500*); for a general discussion of *imagines illustrium*, see Neudecker 1988: 64-74.

<sup>41</sup> *Milet V.2*: 110-13

<sup>42</sup> On interpretation of the Nannas-Bakivalis monument, see Rojas 2013: 182-4. Similar ambiguity attaches to the presentation of local history in cities like Xanthus, where monumental tombs bearing long Lycian inscriptions were incorporated into the fabric of the Roman-era agora.

Although a number of Greek sanctuaries – notably including the Heraion at Samos, visited by many proconsuls of Asia – preserved considerable collections of Archaic sculpture into the Roman era, pre-Classical statues were rare or nonexistent in most city centers. The prominence of Archaic material in the public spaces of Miletus, though partially explicable by local factors, seems to represent the Roman city’s special investment in a definitive period of its history, a strategy analogous to the widespread reuse of Classical sculpture and ornament in Roman Athens or to the reconstruction of two Hellenistic exedras bearing statues of the Attalids on the grounds of the Trajaneum at Pergamum. The period between the early sixth century and the Persian sack of 494 BCE, when Miletus was arguably the most important city in the Greek world, produced figures and witnessed events considered fundamental to civic identity by Milesians and non-locals alike.<sup>43</sup> Thus, while it cannot be proven that each of the Archaic artifacts encountered by a visiting proconsul were intended to evoke the most famous era of local history, it is reasonable to posit such a connection.

Relics from the Archaic period were highly visible at the beginning and end of a newly-arrived proconsul’s journey through Miletus. Immediately after disembarking, as he entered the precinct of Apollo Delphineus to offer sacrifice, he passed a series of round altars salvaged from the sanctuary destroyed by Persians in 494 BCE (Figs. 47-8). An early sixth-century altar or statue base bearing a boustrophedon inscription, likewise, stood immediately beside the altar at which he sacrificed;<sup>44</sup> and the main altar itself, ornamented with strikingly stylized acroteria, also predated the Persian Sack (Fig. 49).<sup>45</sup> Remarkably, most or all of these relics may have been

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<sup>43</sup> On this period in Milesian history, see *RE* XV:1590-8, s.v. “Miletos.”

<sup>44</sup> *Milet* I.3: 29-32. The antiquity of these altars must have been particularly striking by contrast with the newly-rebuilt colonnades and monopteros they were set against (*Milet* I.3: 17-22). If nothing else, the boustrophedon inscription will have struck a Roman-era observer as a clear sign of antiquity (cf. Paus. 5.17.16).

<sup>45</sup> *Milet* I.3: 27-9.

gathered from other parts of the city: a sixth-century inscription displayed in the porticos of the Hellenistic and Roman Delphinion can be traced to a Milesian sanctuary of Hercules destroyed by the Persians,<sup>46</sup> and the altars clustered around sanctuary entrance may have had similarly diverse origins. The Archaic reliefs and statues which a proconsul encountered in and around the theater were collected from even further afield. During a late second-century renovation, the stage building of the Milesian theater was richly embellished with material salvaged from an ancient temple of Apollo in the neighboring city of Myus. Much of this ornament seems to have been incorporated into a single ensemble, focused on a one-story terrace abutting the exterior of the stage building (Figs. 50-1).<sup>47</sup> Here, just above a cornice of sixth-century moldings,<sup>48</sup> stood the cult statue from Myus, a massive late Archaic statue of Apollo.<sup>49</sup> A similar decorative ethos seems to have characterized part of the *scaenae frons* itself, which featured Caryatids in an archaizing style.<sup>50</sup> Other Archaic statues, notably a marble kouros, seem to have been set up inside the theater.<sup>51</sup>

Whatever the exact placement of the spolia in the Delphineion and theater of Miletus, their size and obvious antiquity must have made them highly visible for any visitor. They were

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<sup>46</sup> *I. Milet* 132

<sup>47</sup> The Temple of Apollo at Myus seems to have been partially dismantled in the late second century to provide sculptural decoration for a renovation of the theater's stage building. For a concise history of the Milesian theater, see Kleiner 1968: 69-76.

<sup>48</sup> These kymai were complemented with Roman reproductions; they seem to have been placed directly above the newly-sculpted band of "hunting cupid" reliefs which crowned a one-story annex of the Antonine stage building. They would have been very clearly visible to anyone on the road behind the stage building or in the area of the "Theater Harbor" beyond (Koenigs 1981; Altenhoefer & Bol 1989).

<sup>49</sup> On this statue, see Bol 2005 and 2008, and *Milet* V.2: 131-7. Bol (2005: 63) speculates that this work –almost certainly the cult statue from the Myus temple –was set up on the outside of the theater, perhaps in the center of the terrace crowned by archaic moldings. Although her suggestion is not implausible (and neatly explains why such care was taken with an exterior wall), it is also possible that the statue was displayed inside the theater, perhaps in the newly-built third story of the stage building, which would have allowed it to be displayed in concert with the muses/caryatids.

<sup>50</sup> These caryatids –originally set up in a first-century rebuilding of the stage building, and later reused in the Antonine renovation – were probably meant to represent the muses (Bol 2005: 48; Heres 1982).

<sup>51</sup> The kouros (Bayburtluoğlu 1971) was probably set up as a dedication at Myus (Bol 2005: 58.)

clearly significant to the community for reasons beyond their age, since antiquity alone – to judge from the Classical and Hellenistic-era inscriptions used as flooring in the Roman porticos of the Delphineion – did not guarantee preservation, let alone display in expensive new contexts. Explanations for the survival of individual pieces can be readily adduced: the altars in the Sanctuary of Apollo may have been too central to the god’s cult to be replaced, and the sculptures in the theater probably both reflected the city’s dedication to Apollo and signified its political domination of Myus.<sup>52</sup> In light of the other antiquities scattered through the city center,<sup>53</sup> however, it is tempting to see such prominent displays of sixth- and early fifth-century artifacts also as references to the period before the Persian sack, when Miletus was the richest and most powerful city in Ionia. The continuing significance of this era in the civic imagination is neatly evidenced by the aforementioned mid-sixth century kore, apparently dedicated by the famous Milesian philosopher Anaximander, which was displayed in a niche in the bouleuterion throughout our period.<sup>54</sup>

The Persian Wars seem to have occupied an equally prominent place in the civic imagination, particularly in periods when Rome was at war with Parthia. Lucian mentions a Milesian notable who wrote an archaizing history of Lucius Verus’ campaigns against the Parthians, in which (to Lucian’s amusement) he made constant references to his native place.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps the most striking physical witness to this interest is the massive tripod upheld by

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<sup>52</sup> Bol 2008 postulates religious and political reasons for the incorporation of sculpture from Myus into the Milesian stage building. It is worth noting that only the temple of Apollo at Myus was disassembled; another Archaic temple dedicated to Dionysus was left at its original site (Paus. 7.2.11).

<sup>53</sup> On other archaic sculpture discovered in Miletus, see Dally & Scholl 2009: 146-52.

<sup>54</sup> Anaximander Kore: *Milet I.3*: 88; cf. Kriegenherdt 1995. Compare the Archaic seated female statues set up along the Sacred Way just outside the city, which seem to have periodically been given new heads (Bumke 2009), and may have been moved into the city at some point before being built into the late Roman wall.

<sup>55</sup> Luc., *Hist. conscr.* 14



kneeling marble barbarians which stood near one of the main entrances to the theater (Fig. 52).<sup>56</sup> Erected in the mid- or late second century, around the same time as the new stage building and Apollo statue from Myus, this monument derived its form from the great trophy which Augustus set up at Rome to commemorate his victory over the Parthians. Its ultimate inspiration, however, was the trophy set up by the allied Greeks at Plataea to commemorate their victory over the Persians.<sup>57</sup> If erected to commemorate Lucius Verus' defeat of the Parthians<sup>58</sup> – as seems plausible, given its date and the “West over East” triumphalism implicit in its Augustan model – it may have been intended not only to advertise local loyalties, but also to evoke Miletus' role in the Persian Wars.<sup>59</sup> In this context, the early-fifth century sculpture displayed on the adjoining wall might be seen as part of a concerted attempt to evoke the glory of Archaic Miletus and the Persian sack that ended it. It is perhaps not coincidental that a corner plaque added to the moldings from Myus when they were installed along the wall of the stage building depicted a statue of Apollo Philesius which the Persians had famously stolen from Didyma (Fig. 53).<sup>60</sup>

Regardless of the immediate motivations which encouraged second century Milesians to install a series of Archaic and archaizing elements in some of their most prominent public places, visitors unfamiliar with local politics would naturally associate them with more familiar uses of Archaic form. On seeing the tripod and sculpture from Myus at the theater, for example, a visiting official would probably be reminded of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus at Rome, where

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<sup>56</sup> *Milet V.2*: 145-6

<sup>57</sup> Schneider 1986: 50-97

<sup>58</sup> Compare the famous “Parthian Monument” of Ephesus, comprehensively studied in Oberleitner 2009, which was probably constructed in anticipation of Verus' victorious return.

<sup>59</sup> On commemoration of the Persian Wars in the Roman era, see Spawforth 1994 and Spawforth 2012: 103-43.

<sup>60</sup> This relief was a corner panel of the “Hunting Cupid” frieze set just below the reliefs from Myus (Altenhofer & Bol 1989). The statue depicted was a famous work of Canachus (Strocka 2002). Stolen by the Persians after the Ionian Revolt, it was returned to Miletus centuries later by Seleucus I (Paus. 8.46.3).

a similar tripod stood amid a gallery of Classical and Archaic statues.<sup>61</sup> This ensemble, designed to associate Augustus' victories over Antony and the Parthians with those of the Greeks over the Persians, may have already been evoked by the Great Harbor Monument, a colossal tripod in the Harbor of the Lions that may have commemorated the Battle of Actium (Fig. 54).<sup>62</sup> If, like many Romans travelling to the eastern provinces, he had visited Athens on his way to Asia,<sup>63</sup> these associations would have been complemented by his viewing of the precinct of Olympian Zeus, where yet another tripod (probably set up by Hadrian) stood alongside a series of Archaic statues at a site of special poignancy for commemoration of the Persian Wars.<sup>64</sup> Although monumental tripods were fairly common in Greek cities and sanctuaries – one need think only of the Street of the Tripods at Athens<sup>65</sup> – it can thus be reasonably assumed the size and prominence of the Milesian examples would have seemed distinctive. Moreover, even if our visitor did not connect these specific monuments with the sculpture of the Milesian theater, long experience of Archaic and Archaistic sculpture in the public spaces of Rome may have led him to associate the style with a distinct period and image of the Greek past.<sup>66</sup> Although the “ethical” associations of Archaic sculpture in Augustan Rome had long since been obscured, obviously ancient Greek

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<sup>61</sup> On the Sanctuary of Apollo Palatinus, see *LTUR* I: 54-7, s. v. Apollo Palatinus and Zanker 1982; cf. Schneider 1986: 67-82. The monumental tripod set up there to commemorate Augustus' Parthian victories had a very wide reception (Schneider 1986: 92-3), as evidenced by the fact that the kneeling barbarians which upheld the tripod were probably the models for those which flanked the imperial statues of the Agora Gate (Strocka 1981: 14f).

<sup>62</sup> *Milet* V.2: 13-18; cf. Schneider 1986: 62-3

<sup>63</sup> The proconsul likely passed through the Athens on his journey from Rome. Cicero stopped in Athens on his way to Ephesus (*Att.* 5.3.1), and even if other eastbound officials followed Pliny's route and rounded the Peloponnese instead (*Ep.* 10.15), virtually all will have visited Athens at some point.

<sup>64</sup> Paus. 1.18.7-8; Schneider 1986: 82-90. Another witness to the potency of the idea that Roman victories over the Parthians mirrored past defeats of the East/barbarism is the monument to Augustus' success against the Parthians which the citizens of Pergamum erected beside the famous altar of Zeus commemorating the Attalids' defeat of the Galatians (*InvP* 301 = *IGR* IV.310).

<sup>65</sup> On this monumental ensemble, see Wilson 2000: 209-35.

<sup>66</sup> See Hallett 2012: 84-100 on the significance of Archaistic sculpture in Augustan Rome. Pliny (*HN* 36.4) provides a conspectus of the Archaic and Classical sculptures on display in the public spaces of Rome. A general level of familiarity with the distinctive features of Archaic statuary was assumed in private displays like those in Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, where replicas of Archaic and Classical works were juxtaposed for effect (Neudecker 1998: 88).

artworks seem to have retained a special ambience for Roman viewers; Pliny the Younger, it will be recalled, records his purchase of a small Corinthian bronze which he thought suitable for display in the most important temple of his native Comum.<sup>67</sup>

To judge from the testimony of Pausanias, educated Greeks in our period also recognized the distinctiveness and respected the antiquity of Archaic statues.<sup>68</sup> The aforementioned relief from the Milesian theater depicting the statue of Apollo Phileus, for example, reveals an obvious appreciation for the formal qualities of pre-Classical sculpture. The rhetoric, at least, of the Persian Wars seems to have also retained special potency; in the second century BCE, the Milesians and other Ionians could still honor Eumenes II for defending the Greek cities against the barbarians.<sup>69</sup> While we cannot know whether any other individual work from Roman Miletus was designed to serve as an explicit memento of the city's sixth-century prominence and role in the Persian Wars, or even as a more general evocation of the panhellenic past, it thus seems likely that the Archaic relics displayed so visibly in some of the city's most important public spaces were addressed to an audience broader than the circle of citizens familiar with the local circumstances behind their installation. Like the statue of Neileus, they reflected a distinctively local history, but were displayed in a manner that contextualized their significance for non-local viewers.

The distinctive nature of artifacts from sixth and early fifth centuries BCE was underscored by the virtual absence of material from the Classical era along the proconsul's route.

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<sup>67</sup> *Ep.* 3.6.4-5: "Emi [signum] non ut haberem domi...verum ut in patria nostra celebri loci ponerem, ac potissimum in Iovis templo; videtur enim dignum templo dignum deo donum."

<sup>68</sup> Paus. 2.2.6, 8.40.1; cf. Arafat 1996: 45-50. If nothing else, Archaic statues stood out visually from the ubiquitous Classical and classicizing sculpture; when praising the bath of Hippias, Lucian casually mentions εἰκόνες ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου λευκοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐργασίας (*Hipp.* 5) – apparently something of a standard feature.

<sup>69</sup> *OGIS* 763 = *I. Milet* 306. The Attalids themselves had of course taken great pains to assimilate their struggles against the Galatians to those of the Greek cities against the Persians, most visibly in the Temple of Athena Polias and Altar of Zeus at Pergamum. Like Hadrian, moreover, Attalus II set up a memorial to the Persian Wars at Athens (Paus. 1.25.1).

In part, this reflected the simple fact that Miletus, dominated in turn by the Athenian and the Persian Empires, was a relatively insignificant player in regional politics of the fifth and fourth centuries, and had correspondingly little to commemorate.<sup>70</sup> Unlike some of their neighbors, moreover, the citizens of Roman Miletus saw no reason to reinvent or embellish their lackluster Classical past. Their city's accomplishments in the Archaic period constituted a unique and unalienable claim on panhellenic prestige. Lacking useful associations with any Classical figure or event, the fifth and fourth centuries were witnessed by little more than the lists of officials and new citizens periodically set up in the Sanctuary of Apollo. Thereafter, the city had entered upon a new epoch of its history, marked rather by survival and constancy than by brilliance – but no less important in its way than the brilliant efflorescence of the Archaic period.

### III. The Subject Polis

The final category of references, those dealing with Milesian service to kings and emperors, was at once the most ubiquitous and the least conspicuous. The great majority of the buildings and monuments visible in second century Miletus dated to the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Much of the urban fabric, in fact, was relatively new: virtually every structure along a newly-arrived proconsul's route from harbor to theater had been constructed or rebuilt since the mid-first century. The power of Rome, as might be imagined, was highly visible in this landscape. To a remarkable degree, however, the images and decrees of emperors coexisted with those of the Hellenistic kings who preceded them.<sup>71</sup> From the late fourth century BCE onward,

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<sup>70</sup> Virtually the only Classical-era memorial still extant in the Roman period was the stele in the North Agora that bore the so-called "Blood Inscription," a decree from the mid-fifth century recording the banishment of several aristocratic families for attempting to set up an oligarchy (Milet 187; discussion in Slawisch 2011).

<sup>71</sup> Roman emperors were often honored alongside earlier rulers in contexts where they were represented as benefactors (e.g. *Ath. Agora* III: 207-17). This was certainly the case at Didyma, where statues of Roman emperors

Miletus had continuously been allied with, dependent on, or otherwise integrated into a series of larger polities. The Principate was only the most recent state with which the Milesian elite had negotiated a relationship; and although Miletus had a different place in the Roman Empire than in the Seleucid or Attalid kingdoms, a basically similar dynamic governed the interaction of city and ruler throughout. It is telling that when Milesian envoys appeared before the Senate in the reign of Tiberius to defend the privileges of Apollo Didymeus, they could claim a proclamation of the Persian king Darius as the basis for the sanctuary's rights.<sup>72</sup> Miletus' "modern" history was one of constant engagement with external rulers, and the visible record of the Hellenistic and the Roman periods can accordingly be summarized under the three headings of royal gifts, imperial narratives, and service to the ruling power.

#### *Royal Gifts*

Royal gifts were occasions for direct communication with the sovereign, and were commemorated accordingly. As a city of only regional significance in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, Miletus attracted royal attention primarily by virtue of its association with the famous Sanctuary of Apollo Didymeus.<sup>73</sup> From relatively early in his royal career, Seleucus I claimed a special relationship with Apollo, and particularly with the god's sanctuary at Didyma on his sensitive western frontier. A close relationship between king and city, brokered by Seleucid general and local notable Demodamas, elicited a series of royal gifts, many of which were still visible in the Roman city.<sup>74</sup> The Roman-era basilica in the South Agora, for example, seems to

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stood alongside those of Seleucid kings and other benefactors (*I. Didyma* 146-56; cf. Fontenrose 1988: 15-22, 168-71).

<sup>72</sup> Tac., Ann. 3.63

<sup>73</sup> On the place of euergetism in relationships between cities and Hellenistic sovereigns, see the excellent discussion in Ma 1999: 179-242.

<sup>74</sup> A series of inscriptions preserved at Didyma (*OGIS* 213-14, 227), attest to the enduring significance of the sanctuary's relationship with the Seleucids. On the role of Deodamas, see Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 25-8.

have been built into a massive stoa commissioned by – and still visibly dedicated to – Seleucus’ son Antiochus.<sup>75</sup> A statue of Seleucus bestowed in thanks for his benefactions stood in the Delphinion; and unlike a nearby stele bearing a letter of thanks from Ptolemy II, this monument survived the sanctuary’s second-century restoration.<sup>76</sup> Another enduring reminder of the Seleucids’ benefactions was the relief on the exterior of the theater depicting Canachus’ Apollo Philesius, a masterwork famously stolen by the Persians and returned by Seleucus (Fig. 53).<sup>77</sup> Remarkably, the most prominent Seleucid monument at Miletus was constructed decades after the political relationship between city and kingdom had ended when, apparently from a desire to advertise his participation in a long dynastic tradition, Antiochus IV funded the construction of a new bouleuterion – a fact advertised as long as the building stood by inscriptions over the main door and propylon.<sup>78</sup> The gymnasium and stadium of Eumenes II,<sup>79</sup> the most impressive gifts made by a Hellenistic ruler to Miletus, may have been built to compete with this last gesture of Seleucid goodwill. The Milesians, for their part, seem to have had no qualms about accepting Attalid aid, and indeed preserved the original dedicatory inscription of the stadium through a series of Roman-era restorations. The palaestra of Eumenes’ gymnasium, likewise, continued by

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<sup>75</sup> The negotiations leading to the stoa’s construction by prince Antiochus and his mother are recorded in two inscriptions found at Didyma (*OGIS* 213 = *I. Didyma* 479; *SEG* 4 442 = *I. Didyma* 480). A fragmentary inscription discovered in the South Agora of Miletus records the stoa’s dedication by Antiochus to Apollo Didymeus (*I. Milet* 193a). The Roman basilica later built adjacent to Antiochus’ stoa is known only through geophysical survey (Stümpel et al. 2005).

<sup>76</sup> The base for Seleucus’ statue (*I. Milet* 158) was not found in situ, but does not seem to have been reused in antiquity. Ptolemy’s letter (*I. Milet* 139), by contrast, was used as fill when the sanctuary’s floor was raised.

<sup>77</sup> Paus. 1.16.3, 8.46.3

<sup>78</sup> *I. Milet* 1-2 (discussion in *Milet* I.2: 71-5)

<sup>79</sup> Summary in Kleiner 1968: 89-91

dominated by an equestrian statue of its donor, the text of a royal letter still emblazoned on its base.<sup>80</sup>

Roman imperial benefactions fit organically into this monumental landscape. Although a visit from Augustus may have stimulated local construction, the only possible instance of Roman intervention before the turn of the second century is the nymphaeum, which seems to have received an unusual degree of attention from M. Ulpius Traianus, proconsul of Asia under Titus. Not until some twenty years later, however, soon after the accession of Traianus' like-named son to the imperial throne, did Miletus receive direct imperial attention. Whether on account of a prophecy he received at Didyma while serving as father's legate, from a desire to identify himself with a prominent sanctuary in the manner of the Seleucids, or for some other reason, Trajan financed a reconstruction of the Sacred Way between Miletus and Didyma.<sup>81</sup> In the city center, this benefaction was commemorated with matching statues of Trajan and his father on the wings of the nymphaeum, just above the statue of Neileus.<sup>82</sup> In the following decades, a visit from Hadrian may have been the occasion for the construction of the Market Gate.<sup>83</sup> The only building that can be directly associated with imperial largesse, however, was the massive Baths of Faustina, financed by the titular empress after a brief stay in Miletus.<sup>84</sup> Although this benefaction was presumably commemorated by the building's (lost) dedicatory inscription, it

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<sup>80</sup> Dedicatory inscription: *I. Milet* 307; Equestrian statue of Eumenes: *I. Milet* 306 (= *OGIS* 763). On the circumstances of Eumenes' gift, see Herrmann 1965. Compare the statues of Attalus II and his brother that the people of Miletus set up in front of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (*I. Didyma* 143-4).

<sup>81</sup> On Trajan's relationship with Miletus and Didyma, see Ehrhardt & Weiss 1995, esp. 331ff.

<sup>82</sup> *Milet* V.2: 66-7

<sup>83</sup> It has been conjectured that the Gate of Hadrian and Nymphaeum of Trajan should both be regarded as civic complements to Trajan's reconstruction of the Sacred Way (Emme 2011: 228, fn. 29).

<sup>84</sup> Faustina the Younger probably passed through Miletus en route to Antioch, where her daughter resided during Verus' direction of the Parthian War. Her sponsorship of the baths is attested by several late antique inscriptions (*I. Milet* 339-40, 343).

was most effectively advertised inside, where statues of Faustina and Marcus Aurelius stood side by side in the so-called Hall of the Muses.<sup>85</sup>

In the public spaces of Miletus, then, Roman emperors and Hellenistic kings could be represented on broadly similar terms, united by their patronage of the city and its god. In the context of *adventus*, displaying the gifts of such eminent figures could prove an effective means of gaining a new benefactor, or at least of assuring a visitor's respect of civic privileges. On such occasions, however, it was at least equally important to advertise the means by which Miletus had maintained its relationships with kings and emperors. As we saw in Aristides' descriptions of Smyrna, service to Rome was a crucial component of the image cities presented to visitors.<sup>86</sup> By emphasizing their unwavering support of imperial rule, the Milesians could present much of their past as a virtual aspect of Roman history.

#### *Imperial Narratives*

The only Milesian contributions to the establishment of Roman rule in Asia occurred in the late Republican era, when the city's small fleet took part in the Third Mithridatic War and in Pompey's campaign against the pirates.<sup>87</sup> Although a few statues honoring Roman officials of the era – including, remarkably, a statue of Pompey – survived into the Empire,<sup>88</sup> the most important memorial to this period in civic history was the so-called Great Harbor Monument, probably set up to commemorate Octavian's victory at Actium (Fig. 54). Although there is no

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<sup>85</sup> Hall: *Milet* I.9: 60-1; Statues: *Milet* V.2: 89-93

<sup>86</sup> See Ch. 6.

<sup>87</sup> See the summary in *RE* XV: 1613-14, s.v. "Miletos;" cf. Tuchelt 1979: 113-14. These actions took place in the shadow of the First Mithridatic War, during which Miletus seems to have defected to the king and was consequently deprived of her freedom. After this lapse, the Milesians – like their neighbors in Pergamum (*IvP* 455) and Ephesus (*CIL* I.588, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 742) – were doubtless especially eager to regain Roman favor.

<sup>88</sup> The base for Pompey's statue (*I. Milet* 253) was found in the South Agora, near the Agora Gate. Statue bases honoring other Roman officials from the era of Miletus' involvement in the Third Mithridatic War and Pompey's campaign against the pirates were discovered around the Delphinion (*I. Milet* 173), theater (*I. Milet* 1121) and elsewhere (*I. Milet* 1122-3). See Jones 2001 on memories of the Roman Republic in the Greek east.



evidence that the Milesians were involved in any way with the actual battle, the harbor monument, resplendent with marine imagery, may have used the occasion to present a general evocation of the city's naval service in Roman wars.<sup>89</sup> At least in retrospect, however, it was also a celebration of the new regime. A similar attitude animated the monumental altar constructed a few decades later in the forecourt of the bouleuterion (Figs. 55-6). The sculptural decoration of this structure, dedicated to the city's "political gods" (Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Boulaia, and Zeus Boulaios) as assimilated to Augustus and Livia, depicted the foundation myth of Miletus – deemed an appropriate theme, perhaps, for a monument to the political order that had brought peace and stability to Asia Minor.<sup>90</sup>

Particularly towards the beginning of his reign, Augustus must have seemed little different from the Hellenistic kings and Republican generals whom the Milesians had honored in the past. As the system he established gradually became the only conceivable frame of civic life, however, monuments erected in his reign seem to have gradually assumed greater significance; in the Flavian period, for example, a monument was erected to the otherwise unknown C. Grattius – perhaps a Roman official – immediately beside the Great Harbor Monument, and in a similar style (Fig. 57).<sup>91</sup> Here as elsewhere, Miletus' relationship with Rome was presented not as a sequence of historical moments, but as a process. In this sense, the donated buildings and imperial visits which comprised Miletus' few points of direct contact with Roman authority in

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<sup>89</sup> Miletus lay well within Antony's sphere of influence before Actium; and since Antony himself had restored the city's freedom in 36 BCE, Milesian sympathies were probably against Octavian until after his victory. The date of the monument's construction is unknown; it is conceivable that Augustus' tour of western Asia Minor in 20 BCE (Cass. Dio 54.7.4) provided the occasion. For a recent discussion of its significance, see *Milet* V.2: 15-16; cf. Kleiner 1968: 56, Schneider 1986: 62-3.

<sup>90</sup> On the altar and its reliefs, see *Milet* V.2: 18-24; on their interpretation, *ibid.* 20-22; Hermann 1994: 230; and Herda 2013: 77-80. It is worth noting that Augustus was listed as *stephanophoros* (chief magistrate) in 17/16 and 7/6 BCE; equally significantly, his heir-presumptive Tiberius was chosen in 8/9 CE. The only statue of Augustus that can be associated with a definite locale stood in the Baths of Capito (*I. Milet* 335).

<sup>91</sup> *I. Milet* 190; *Milet* I.6: 73-80

the first and second centuries could become nodes for commemorating the relationship between city and Empire.<sup>92</sup> Two examples will serve to illustrate the point. As noted earlier, the nymphaeum was garnished with statues of Trajan and his father, likely in commemoration of the reconstruction of the processional way to Didyma. More than a century later, the nymphaeum was restored at the behest of Gordian III, apparently on account of its close connection with Trajan. The proconsul who oversaw the restoration, finally, was commemorated with a statue in or near the fountain.<sup>93</sup> Still more striking was the gallery of imperial statues which developed in the South Agora, where multiple statue bases for every emperor from Trajan to Commodus have been discovered.<sup>94</sup> Trajan's benefactions may have provided the initial impetus for erecting multiple statues of the same emperor in close proximity to one another; at least in the case of Hadrian, the remarkable number of duplicates can be explained by the custom of annually dedicating a new statue.<sup>95</sup> Since the bases were not found in situ, we have little sense of how these statues were displayed. Whatever the exact nature of their arrangement, however, the many imperial images in the South Agora were clearly intended to express the constancy of Milesian loyalties. Similar displays (albeit on a small scale) could be found in the theater, bouleuterion, and Delphinion.<sup>96</sup> While these imperial statues and decrees were probably not grouped in any

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<sup>92</sup> The effects of "collocating" and "layering" honorific monuments are well discussed in Ma 2013: 111-51.

<sup>93</sup> On the dedicatory inscriptions of the Nymphaeum, see *Milet* I.5: 53-4. On the statue bases for Trajan and his father, see *Milet* V.2: 66-7; *ibid.* 65-6 for the statue base of L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus. Cf. *I. Milet* 1125 (a probable dedication to an early second-century proconsul of Asia, found in the vicinity of the Nymphaeum).

<sup>94</sup> See Pekáry 1985: 90-6 on the practice of grouping imperial statues.

<sup>95</sup> On the custom of annually dedicating imperial statues, see Pekáry 1965: 119-120; compare the statues of Trajan erected every year at Lyttos (*I. Cret.* II XVIII 15-50), and the resolution from Sardis that a statue of Gaius Caesar was to be dedicated annually in the temple of Augustus (*I. Sardis* 8). Bases that can be associated with the series in the South Agora include *I. Milet* 20, 230-2, 1098. Other imperial statue bases from the South Agora: *I. Milet* 226-9 (Trajan); 233-4, 1104 (Antoninus Pius); 235-8, 1106 (Marcus Aurelius); and 239 (Commodus). Cf. 273-4, 1074-5 (imperial letters discovered nearby).

<sup>96</sup> Theater: statues of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in *scaenae frons* (*Milet* V.2: 144-5); statues elsewhere in theater: Iulia Drusilla (*I. Milet* 1095), Trajan (1096), Septimius Severus (1111), and a number of Roman officials (1121, 1126-7). Bouleuterion: statues of Marcus Aurelius (1109) and a procurator (1128) along with at least one

coherent manner, let alone arranged into “archives” of Miletus’ relationship with Rome, the fact that they were consistently placed in the same spaces seems to indicate at least a basic consciousness of their cumulative effect.<sup>97</sup>

### *Service to the Ruling Power*

In an era of peace and prosperity, Miletus could most effectively advertise its loyalty to Rome by emphasizing the longevity and consistency of its role in the provincial administration. Although there may have been some effort to commemorate the city’s function as a *conventus* center – this status was explicitly referenced in an inscription carved beside the propylon of the bouleuterion<sup>98</sup> – it was the basic signs of internal stability, pervasively and unobtrusively present in the urban fabric, that set the tone for exposition of its quotidian relationship with Rome. There was nothing distinctive about, and few ways to monumentalize, the qualities that made cities good subjects. Yet Roman governors were trained to look for signs of stability and prosperity in provincial built environments;<sup>99</sup> and in an era that witnessed increasing imperial interference in civic finances, cities were clearly motivated to foreground these mundane aspects of their service to the Empire. If Miletus was to advertise its fitness to serve as a platform for the governor’s authority, the claims to Panhellenic significance implicit in its ancient history had to be complemented by assurances of administrative efficacy in the more recent past. Special prominence, as we shall see, was given to the vitality of its institutions and its management of the surrounding territory.

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imperial letter (1073). Fragments of two imperial decrees (respectively from Claudius and Caracalla) were found in the Delphinion (156, 1076).

<sup>97</sup> Compare the layout of the well-known sebasteion at Bubon, which incorporated a whole series of imperial statues (Kokkinia 2008: 6-12; no. 6-22).

<sup>98</sup> *I. Milet* 3 (for discussion, see *Milet* I.2: 78-9). The remarkable displays of imperial statues and decrees described in the preceding paragraphs were, however, probably more effective advertisements of Miletus’ place in the provincial administration than this epigraphic notice.

<sup>99</sup> See Ch. 3.

The well-ordered citizen body and public spaces displayed in the course of *adventus* ceremonial comprised Miletus' best argument for the efficacy of its government. For the ruling elite to properly advertise their authority, however, it was necessary to connect this image of present prosperity with the validating power of antiquity. This aim was realized with particular force in the Delphinion, where, along the inner wall of the colonnade surrounding the sacred precinct, centuries of political records were inscribed.<sup>100</sup> The most impressive component of this history of Milesian democracy were the stephanophoroi lists, which recorded holders of the city's annual eponymous magistracy for a period beginning in 525/4 BCE and extending to at least 31/2 CE.<sup>101</sup> This display was calculated to express both the durability and the integrity of the city's government: one of the few editorial comments beside the parade of names, carved proudly at the head of a panel, proclaims the year in which Miletus regained its independence by the gift of king Antigonus.<sup>102</sup> Another section of wall supported dozens of inscriptions reporting grants of citizenship and guest-friendship.<sup>103</sup> The sanctuary courtyard, filled with statues of benefactors, served in some capacity to illustrate the inscriptions in the encircling colonnade – many of the men honored with images had served as stephanophoroi – but a visiting proconsul would likely have been more impressed by the walls of text, many carved in a visibly antique style,<sup>104</sup> that surrounded him as he moved toward the altar. Even if, as seems likely, he had no

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<sup>100</sup> It has been posted that the civic records on display in the Delphinion indicate that the south hall of the sanctuary was occupied by Miletus' prytaneion (Herda 2005; Herda 2011: 65-74).

<sup>101</sup> *I. Milet* 122-8. Most of the names seem to have been inscribed during the terms of the officials they record. Those listed in no. 124, however, were engraved at least a century later.

<sup>102</sup> *I. Milet* 123.2-4; cf. ln. 38-9. A similar concern for democratic civic government is evident in the preservation of a fifth-century decree (the so-called "Blood Inscription") commemorating the expulsion of would-be oligarchs (*I. Milet* 187).

<sup>103</sup> New citizens: *I. Milet* 34, 38, 40-93; Proxenois: 94-119; see Günther 2009 for more recent discoveries.

<sup>104</sup> Statues of stephanophoroi: *I. Milet* 157, 159-60, 163, 174. A few Archaic inscriptions salvaged from the original sanctuary were set up in the Hellenistic/Roman colonnades, most notably *I. Milet* 132 (= *LSAM* 42). The famous "Molpoi Decree" (*I. Milet* 133 = *LSAM* 50), a Hellenistic redaction of a Classical sacred law, was probably set up nearby (on its location, see Herda 2006: 21-30).

time to actually read any of the inscriptions in the Delphinion, their cumulative visual effect must have complemented that of the Archaic altars in evoking the continuity and stability of Miletus' religious and political institutions.<sup>105</sup> That this was a deliberate endeavor on the part of the Milesian elite is suggested by a late first century decree inscribed beside the propylon of the sanctuary, which prescribed penalties for cult officials who deviated from ancestral custom in the performance of their duties.<sup>106</sup>

The civic institutions memorialized in the Delphinion drew much of their authority from antiquity. Their efficacy, however, also depended upon association with Miletus' primary source of revenue and prestige – with, that is, the city's territory, and particularly the temple of Apollo at Didyma. A provincial city's territory was at once the legacy that defined it as a political entity and the tax district it managed on Rome's behalf.<sup>107</sup> The continuing significance of the chora for citizens of Roman Miletus is neatly illustrated by the Archaic sculptures from Myus discussed earlier in this section, which were likely set up at least partially to commemorate Milesian control of a neighboring city's territory. A desire to make visible Miletus' connection with the sanctuary at Didyma, however, dominated all other concerns. The aforementioned decree upholding ancestral custom, for example, ended with the proviso that it be inscribed on two stele: one in the Delphinion, the other at Didyma.<sup>108</sup> Likewise, as we have seen, representations of Apollo Didymeus were ubiquitous to the point of virtually superseding those of his civic counterpart Apollo Delphineus. Visual references to the sanctuary – such as the representation in

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<sup>105</sup> On the “monumental” aspect of inscriptions, see the examples discussed in Von Hesberg 2009. Perhaps the most striking parallel is the famous Gortyn Law Code, a lengthy fifth-century inscription in boustrophedon moved block by block in the first century CE for display at the bouleuterion.

<sup>106</sup> *I. Milet* 134 = *LSAM* 53

<sup>107</sup> On the relationship between cities and their subordinate villages in our period, see esp. Nollé 1999. The example of Oenoanda (*SEG* 38 1462.72ff) is instructive.

<sup>108</sup> *I. Milet* 134.36-40

the Milesian theater of Canachus' statue of Apollo Philesius at Didyma – made still more explicit the connection between city and cult. Unless apprised by his guide, a proconsul would probably not be aware that his route through Miletus traced the course of the annual procession to Didyma, or that the many statues of Trajan beside the road commemorated a reconstruction of the Sacred Way which that procession followed. He could scarcely miss, however, the pervasive image of Apollo, or fail to identify the god with his famous temple and oracle; and in this sense, at least, was constantly reminded of the integral bond between city and territory.

It is possible that neither the inscriptions in the Delphinion nor the representations of Apollo Didymeus struck a visiting proconsul as particularly noteworthy. Lists of officials and statues of a patron god were after all familiar components of the urban fabric, intrinsically no more remarkable than the presence of a bouleuterion or agora. Yet as characteristics of a standard political model, rooted in Greek tradition and sanctioned by Roman practice, they were crucial framing elements for Miletus' presentation of its history. The familiar institutions of the polis underlay the city's presentation of its various claims to distinction, just as it did the organization of the citizen body past which the proconsul processed. By supplying a narrative into which every civic achievement could be incorporated, the institutions and territory that defined Miletus as a polis connected the present with an illustrious past. Though not so visually distinctive as the statue of Neileus or relics of the Archaic era, these markers can be interpreted in light of a similar function: connecting local history and institutions to a widely-recognized standard of value – in this case, the time-honored sociopolitical model of the polis itself, presented as relevant to the realities of Roman rule.

The three groups of references discussed in this section were intimately connected with the self-presentation of the Milesian elite, and thence with the civic image that elite wished to

advertise to visiting dignitaries. Allusions to the city's foundation myths served not only to establish the city's high antiquity and deep involvement in some of the foundational narratives of Greek culture, but also to sanction its control of the famous sanctuary at Didyma. References to the Archaic glory and Persian Wars, likewise, asserted the preeminence and uniqueness of the city's accomplishments in the most famous period of Panhellenic history, considerations of real political significance in the period of the Second Sophistic and Hadrian's Panhellenion. Finally, the humbler memorials of service to Rome and the Hellenistic kings who preceded her together constituted an effective advertisement of Milesian constancy and loyalty, past, present, and future.

The civic image evoked by the buildings and monuments along the proconsul's route through Miletus reflected the characteristic concerns of Greek cities in the Imperial era. Designed to advertise the traditional marks of distinction in peer-polity competition, it was addressed at least as much to the elites of neighboring cities as it was to visiting Roman officials. We have no way of knowing how the ceremonies of *adventus* nuanced it for a visiting proconsul's benefit. While it is unlikely that most of the civic elites who orchestrated a proconsul's *adventus* had anything more than a general notion of the elite Roman discourse on Greek culture,<sup>109</sup> they fully understood the importance of emphasizing their city's involvement in the grand narratives of Panhellenic history and culture. Underlying this consciousness was the realization that external visitors, whether Roman officials or dignitaries from neighboring poleis, could only understand the significance of Miletus in the context of familiar histories and standards of value. Although more visible in our period – on account of both the new agency

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<sup>109</sup> It should be noted, however, that a few Milesians had very close links with the imperial administration; the great benefactor Gn. Vergilius Capito (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 276; *RE* VIII A: 2419-20, s.v. "Vergilius (6a)") served as both prefect of Egypt and prefect of Rome in the course of a distinguished career. Another first-century Milesian, Claudius Chionis, was chief secretary of L. Publicola Messalla, proconsul of Asia under Claudius (*I. Didyma* 272).

given to aspects of the civic past in the era of the Second Sophistic and the more general emphasis on elaborating public space – this sort of contextualization was a traditional aspect of a Greek city’s relations with peers and overlords alike. It may have assumed unique importance when addressed to visitors who, like our governor, were more familiar with an ideal than with the realities of the polis.<sup>110</sup> No visitor, however, could mistake the leading themes of the civic presentation: the ancient prominence of Miletus, the continued vitality of her institutions, and the depth of her loyalty to Rome.

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<sup>110</sup> See Ch. 4.



## Chapter 11. Pergamum: A Model of Authority

The sacrifice a newly-arrived proconsul offered to the patron deity of his host city was a crucial component of *adventus*.<sup>1</sup> Although its place in the order of ceremonies varied with the proximity of the deity's temple to the city gate and theater,<sup>2</sup> it was always an important occasion for the visiting official to both demonstrate his authority and show respect for local custom. For the elite citizens who orchestrated his reception, the sacrifice represented a correspondingly significant opportunity to present a distinct image of their city.<sup>3</sup> In the Asclepieion of Pergamum (Figs. 58-9),<sup>4</sup> the focus of this chapter, a governor sacrificed in a setting calculated not only to instill a sense of reverence for the god, but also to model his interaction with the civic community. The local notables who collectively undertook to rebuild the sanctuary in the early second century intended their contributions to be seen and admired by the health tourists – wealthy men from every part of the Greek world – who comprised the bulk of its clientele.<sup>5</sup>

Anticipating an educated audience with values much like their own, they built to advertise their

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<sup>1</sup> On the significance of the governor's sacrifice, see Eck 1993: 156-7 and Bérenger 2014: 269-71. Compare the sacrifices offered by emperors during their visits to provincial cities (Halfmann 1986: 111-17; cf. Lehnen 1997: 335-6, Haensch 2006). The spatial contexts of such ceremonies are further discussed in Ch. 13.

<sup>2</sup> At Ephesus, if the proconsul did not sacrifice immediately after disembarking at a quayside altar, he probably waited until after his reception in the theater, perhaps even until another day, to make the long walk to the Artemision. At Miletus, by contrast, the proconsul would sacrifice before his reception, since the Delphinion stood only a few yards from the harbor.

<sup>3</sup> The care with which temples were cleaned and decorated for official visits is well illustrated by an early third-century temple account from Arsinoe, which records the many expenses incurred in preparation for the arrival of the prefect of Egypt (*BGU* 362, col. 7 = Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* II, 404.17-23).

<sup>4</sup> Radt 1999: 220-42 provides a good description of the Asclepieion. The Sanctuary's reconstruction in the Roman era is discussed in detail by Strocka 2012, who concludes that its buildings were constructed gradually, albeit in accordance with a broadly unified plan, over the first half of the second century (*contra* Hoffmann 1998; cf. *AvP* XI.5 (2011): 216-22).

<sup>5</sup> A number of second-century textual references attest to Pergamene Asclepieion's popularity among the Greek elite of the Empire (e.g. Fronto, *Ep.* 3.10; Paus. 2.26.8-9; Philostr., *VA* 4.32; Aristid., *Or.* 23.14-18). See *AvP* VIII.3: 6-11 for a concise discussion of the sanctuary's social significance in this era.

city's prestige and place in the Empire in terms expressive of both *paideia* and close ties to Rome. The correspondingly sophisticated use of Roman building techniques and architectural models in the execution of their program made the rebuilt Asclepieion a strikingly modern-looking instantiation of traditional values. Although, as usual, no special provision was made in this design for visiting Roman officials (who, as educated men, were expected to admire it for the same reasons as elite Greeks), the sanctuary's innovative architecture and subsequent elaboration generated a landscape of potentially pivotal significance for a newly-arrived governor's understanding of his relationship with the citizens – and especially the elite – of Pergamum. This chapter, accordingly, will investigate a proconsul's sacrifice in the Asclepieion in light of the civic elite's efforts to communicate their idea of his proper relation to community.

The Asclepieion was only the most spectacular of a whole series of building projects stressing the wealth and Roman connections of the Pergamene elite. In the course of the second century, stimulated by imperial favor and buoyed by the renown of their city's patron god, these notables sponsored massive construction programs characterized by techniques and designs from the newest models at Rome.<sup>6</sup> The scale of their patronage would have dazzlingly apparent to a visiting proconsul, whose route of entry can be extrapolated from the extant remains (Fig. 60). As he approached on the road from Elaia, his first view of the city was dominated the Trajaneum, an imposing Roman-style temple gleaming atop the acropolis. As he drew nearer and the lower city came into view, he could see the bulk of several bath-gymnasium complexes looming over the residential and commercial buildings around them.<sup>7</sup> He entered the city by a

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<sup>6</sup> A good summary of second-century building in Pergamum may be found in Halfmann 2001: 45-62.

<sup>7</sup> The layout of the Roman lower city, now obscured by overbuilding, is reconstructed from the extant remains by Wulf 1994: 156-66; cf. Nohlen 2004. The appearance of the acropolis and lower city from a distance is concisely (if rather vaguely) summarized by Aristides: εὐθὺς εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔρχεται ἀκρόπολις μὲν αὕτη τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος,

colonnaded avenue aligned with the Trajaneum, which led him into a large agora.<sup>8</sup> The west side of this square was occupied by the exotic facade – a high wall punctuated by engaged Corinthian columns and tall window-like openings – of the precinct surrounding the so-called “Red Hall,” a sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods built with the aid of Hadrian (Fig. 61).<sup>9</sup> To the east, the agora square gave onto the Sacred Way, a broad street which ran directly past the entrance to the lower city’s theater, the centerpiece of an extensive “entertainment district” that also included baths, a stadium, and (remarkably) an amphitheater.<sup>10</sup> After hearing the usual speech of welcome in the theater, he continued down the Sacred Way until he reached the propylon of the Asclepieion.<sup>11</sup> From his first sight of the Trajaneum, virtually every building along or visible from his route dated to the early or mid-second century, and accordingly reflected the ambitions of the same close-knit elite that rebuilt the Asclepieion. The wealth and political connections of the leading notables were as apparent outside the sanctuary as they were within; but the unified architectural ensemble of the sacred precinct concentrated and elaborated this basic display of power into a virtual statement of elite principles, directed not least at visiting Roman officials.

A proconsul approached the Asclepieion along the Sacred Way, an ancient processional route rebuilt in tandem with the sanctuary itself in the early second century (Fig. 62).<sup>12</sup> Covered

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πόρρωθεν ἀστράπτουσα ἀπὸ πάσης εἰσόδου... ὑπὸ δ’ αὐτὴν ἡ λοιπὴ πόλις ἄλλη κατ’ ἄλλους τόπους παντοίας εἴληφε θέσεις τε καὶ μορφάς... κόσμοι δὲ καὶ παλαιοὶ καὶ νέοι διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως διήκοντες (*Or.* 23.13).

<sup>8</sup> The street network of the lower city, laid out about the time of the Trajaneum’s construction, was oriented to the axis of the new temple. The main N-S avenue, by which the proconsul presumably entered the city, would have commanded a fine view of the acropolis for much of its length (Wulf 1994: 156-8). The Corinthian columns along the precinct wall of the Red Hall are thought to have represented a continuation of the now-vanished colonnade along this main avenue (Kunze 1995: 181-3). A schematic representation of a colonnaded courtyard on a Roman-era ceramic relief found on the citadel could conceivably depict this part of the lower city (Japp 2008).

<sup>9</sup> On the Red Hall, see Radt 1999: 200-8. The sanctuary’s unique design is often interpreted as a sign of Hadrian’s direct involvement in, or at least of his provision of craftsmen for, its construction; it has even been conjectured that the emperor was worshipped alongside Isis and other Egyptian divinities in the temple (Brückener et al. 2008: 183-8; cf. Mania 2011: 96-111).

<sup>10</sup> Radt 1999: 262-6

<sup>11</sup> The so-called “via tecta” led directly from the theater to the sanctuary (Radt 1999: 226; cf. *AvP* VIII.3: 154-5).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Petsalis-Diomidis 2010: 151ff on how pilgrims would have experienced the sanctuary.

by a roof vaulted on Ionic columns from the theater – with which it communicated by a purpose-built arch – this street broadened into a grand colonnaded avenue for the final approach to the sanctuary. Processing in the company of his retinue and local guides, a visiting proconsul might notice in passing the rich collections of sculpture in and among the colonnades on both sides, where honorific statues and votive offerings stood in dense profusion.<sup>13</sup> Most of his attention, however, would probably be captured by the grand pediment of the propylon, visible above the low Corinthian colonnade of its forecourt. Turning at an oblique angle to enter the forecourt, he passed another array of dedicatory and votive sculpture as he approached the grand facade of the propylon proper, its four tall columns and pediment screening the three doors that led into the precinct.<sup>14</sup> As he emerged into the light beyond the columns of the west porch, the first building to come into sight was his goal, the temple of Asclepius Soter, a modest Hellenistic structure on a low outcropping some hundred yards away. Several other buildings – notably a shrine dedicated to the healing divinities Hygeia and Telesphorus and a structure used for incubation – stood just south of the temple, shaded by the trees of a sacred grove.<sup>15</sup> The vast courtyard of the precinct, bounded on three sides by an Ionic colonnade, opened before the proconsul as he descended a flight of steps to the level of the sanctuary. Proceeding along the north colonnade, he passed among dedicatory statues on tall pedestals, which grew thicker as he approached the temple of Asclepius. The *scaenae frons* and *cavea* of the sanctuary's theater, briefly visible above the colonnade, disappeared as he neared his goal. The sacrificial altar stood a short

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<sup>13</sup> These sculptures are cataloged in *AvP* XI.4: 78-147.

<sup>14</sup> Forecourt: *AvP* XI.3: 5-14; Propylon: *ibid.*, 15-29; Sculpture in forecourt: *ibid.*, 103-22.

<sup>15</sup> The scanty archaeological evidence for the Temple of Asclepius and nearby shrines is summarized in *AvP* XI.2: 5-15. The existence of a grove is conjectured from numismatic evidence depicting sacred trees (e.g. *BMC Mysia* no. 326 (pg. 156)).

distance in front of the temple, beside the basin of a sacred spring (Fig. 63).<sup>16</sup> Here the proconsul stood for the duration of the rite, facing the porch of Asclepius' temple and the dedications surrounding it. Only after the sacrifice<sup>17</sup> was concluded could he turn from the altar to regard the circular temple of Zeus Asclepius, easily the most impressive building in the sanctuary. In this remarkable structure, a smaller replica of Hadrian's Pantheon in Rome, Asclepius was worshipped in tandem with the major Olympians, and perhaps with Hadrian as assimilated to Zeus.<sup>18</sup> Although the proconsul may not have entered the temple at this time, its imposing façade, looming over the honorary statues around the temple of Asclepius Soter, surely held his attention, and would have dominated his perspective until the moment he passed back through the propylon and out of the sanctuary.

Like every aspect of his *adventus*, a proconsul's experience of the Asclepieion was strictly delimited by both custom and the civic presentation. Guided by lines of spectators and his escort of notables from propylon to altar, and then back from altar to propylon,<sup>19</sup> he saw what the

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<sup>16</sup> Colonnades: *AvP* XI.5: 13-110. Theater: *AvP* XI.5: 140-200. Spring: *AvP* XI.4: 16-17.

<sup>17</sup> Although we know nothing about the details of how and what the governor sacrificed, it seems most likely that he offered a bull to Asclepius with prayers for the emperor's well-being. These details are suggested by parallel evidence. A series of coins depicting Caracalla's visit to the Asclepieion (see below) shows the emperor offering incense in hopes of finding a cure, and then sacrificing a bull in gratitude for receiving one. Of these alternatives, the bull – more expensive and prestigious – is the more likely candidate for the proconsul's inaugural sacrifice. When surveying Pontus, Arrian was offered a bull for sacrifice by the citizens of Trapezus (*Peripl. M. Eux.* 2.3); it is unclear, however, whether this was the customary animal; compare Aristides' dream of Marcus Aurelius sacrificing a cock to Asclepius (*Or.* 51.44). Whatever he offered to Asclepius, the proconsul certainly made prayers for the emperor's health, a practice attested by multiple sources (*Men. Rhet.* II, 381.22; *A&R* 48.14-18).

<sup>18</sup> The temple's remains are described in *AvP* XI.3: 30-75. Its function as a sanctuary of all the gods is extrapolated from the niches for multiple cult statues in its walls (*AvP* XI.3: 45; cf. *Aristid., Or.* 50.28, discussed in *AvP* VIII.3: 11-12). The decoration of the interior was lavish: the walls and floor were encrusted with many varieties of marble, and the ceiling and cult niches ornamented with mosaic (*AvP* XI.3: 65-6). The only sculptures recovered from the temple are two under life-size statues of Hercules and Athena, which probably stood in a niche in the temple vestibule (*AvP* XI.3: 107-10). Dedications to Hadrian as "the new Asclepius" have been discovered at Pergamum (e.g. *IvP* 365-6), and it is conceivable that the god was so honored in the Temple of Zeus Asclepius (cf. *Aristid., Or.* 47.29).

<sup>19</sup> The so-called Sacred Law of Pergamum (*AvP* VIII.3: no. 161), a Hellenistic decree later set up near the entrance of the Roman sanctuary, outlines the circuitous tour that pilgrims made of the sanctuary's shrines (*loc. cit.*, l. 25; cf. *Aristid., Or.* 48.75, 50.104). A visiting proconsul, however, would probably be shunted more or less directly to and from the temple of Asclepius.

civic elite most wanted him to see. The goals of this elite were basically those of their counterparts in Miletus; but the Pergamene notables, wealthy and well-connected, had less need to use the past to validate their position. The men who built the Asclepieion were senators and provincial officials, full participants in the Roman political system, ready and able to use the symbols of the ruling power. Visitors like the proconsul – educated, influential, of Senatorial rank like themselves – comprised the audience they best understood and most wanted to impress. In a certain sense, then, the layout and design of the Asclepieion were addressed directly to the governor. As such, they merit careful examination. Our investigation of the elite presentation they instantiated falls into three sections. The first considers how Asclepius was systematically associated with Pergamum and her leading citizens. The second explores the “moral exemplars” – of whom the most notable was the emperor himself – set up as models at strategic points throughout the sanctuary. The third, finally, interprets the design and appearance of the Asclepieion in light of the Pergamene elite’s conception of legitimate authority.

### **I. Objects of Devotion**

The fabric of the Asclepieion was, like that of any Greek sanctuary, charged with religious significance, its design in some sense addressed to, or intended to create, an audience of citizen-worshippers. Unlike the great majority of Greek sanctuaries, however, it was also designed largely to appeal to a non-local audience. The need to advertise the link between city and sanctuary –or rather, between citizen body and patron god – was correspondingly heightened. Although the means by which the Pergamenes made their city and its notables visible in the Asclepieion were not in themselves unusual, they were employed with remarkable consistency and expressiveness. The fact that a proconsul naturally expected to see Asclepius

honored alongside civic benefactors in the sanctuary would not necessarily diminish his appreciation for the manner in which this association was made visible.

Although the Asclepieion ultimately belonged to the god, it was administered and embellished by citizens of Pergamum. Sacred and civic space, never distinct in a Greek city, were organically unified in the sanctuary, reflecting the familiar equation of local identity with divine patronage. The connection between city and god would have been made apparent from the moment of a proconsul's arrival, as a remarkable series of coins commemorating Caracalla's visit to the Asclepieion attests.<sup>20</sup> One coin, probably the "first" in the series, depicts the emperor raising his arm in greeting to a statue of Asclepius on a tall pedestal, apparently a monument located near his point of entry (Fig. 64). Another shows Caracalla greeting a group of leading citizens, who bear another statue of their patron god (Fig. 65). The likeness of Asclepius appears again on another reverse in the series, upheld before the emperor by the Tyche of Pergamum (Fig. 66).<sup>21</sup> Images of Asclepius were probably equally ubiquitous in a proconsul's reception, particularly in the Asclepieion, which would dramatically confirm these first impressions of the god's primacy. The propylon dramatized the moment of entry, slowing the motion and directing the gaze of every new visitor. As a proconsul turned sharply from the Sacred Way into the forecourt, his perspective was dominated by the tall pediment of the propylon, deliberately mismatched with the low colonnades on three sides.<sup>22</sup> Advancing further, he was swallowed by the gloom of a short covered passage, which briefly restricted his view to the three glowing

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<sup>20</sup> On Caracalla's visit (discussed in more detail below), see Nollé 2003a and Sonne 2003; cf. Müller 1987.

<sup>21</sup> *BMC Mysia* no. 321, 319, 318 (pg. 153-4). See Nollé 2003: 411-14 for the sequencing and an interpretation of the commemorative coins.

<sup>22</sup> See *AvP* XI.3: 15 on the juxtaposition of forecourt and propylon. The visual emphasis accorded the propylon can be explained by both the eminence of its donor Claudius Charax (see below) and by the fact that reception ceremonies were regularly held there (Aristid., *Or.* 48.31). This may have been where the Late Republican decree confirming the Asclepieion's right of sanctuary (*AvP* VIII.3, no. 1) was set up.

portals that led into the sanctuary. Since these were aligned with the Temple of Asclepius,<sup>23</sup> the small temple building dominated his perspective –and was indeed the only structure wholly visible to him – as he slowly descended the stairs to the courtyard. The congeries of votive altars and other dedications arrayed in and along the colonnade by which he walked can only have heightened the effect.<sup>24</sup> By the time he finally reached the altar in front of Asclepius' temple, the building had been visible for several minutes, Pyromachus' famous cult statue gleaming within.<sup>25</sup> Sacrificing there, surrounded by the testimonials of famous patients and patrons, a proconsul could have little doubt that he stood at the sanctuary's heart.

Equally unmistakable was an integral connection with Pergamene identity. Along at least parts of the processional route to the Asclepieion, and finally in the sanctuary itself, the proconsul would presumably encounter groups of citizens at strategic or significant locations, enacting civic control of the landscape. Such control was already legible, however, in the built environment. The roofed and colonnaded sacred way visibly connected the Asclepieion with the theater and agora of the lower city; and the sanctuary itself, though situated some distance from the main area of settlement, was assimilated into the urban fabric well enough for Aristides to describe it as an integral part of the city.<sup>26</sup> The visual strategy would have been readily comprehensible to the visiting proconsul, familiar with the Stoa of Damianus between Ephesus and the Artemision.<sup>27</sup> A still more striking sign of the connection between city and sanctuary was the circular tomb that obtruded from the colonnade of the sacred way a short distance from the

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<sup>23</sup> Hoffmann 1998: 48 observes the direct alignment between propylon and temple, and further notes (*ibid.* 57-9; cf. *AvP* XI.3: 28-9) that the west face of the propylon actually quoted the temple's Hellenistic architecture.

<sup>24</sup> A considerable number of these have survived: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 63-144

<sup>25</sup> This statue was frequently copied, quoted, and evoked in Pergamum (Kranz 2004); an incoming proconsul probably passed a number of versions on his way through the lower city.

<sup>26</sup> *Or.* 23.14

<sup>27</sup> Knibbe & Langmann 1993: 16-27



propylon. A tumulus dressed with a stone wall, this structure seems to have functioned as a heroon for Telephus, legendary founder of Pergamum. An altar for the same figure may have been located within the sanctuary.<sup>28</sup> It is possible that an equally prominent memento of civic history awaited the proconsul within the open doors of the temple of Asclepius, where a colossal statue of Attalus III apparently still stood in the naos.<sup>29</sup> On both the sacred way and in the Asclepieion proper, however, perhaps the most prominent markers of civic control were commemorations of elite benefactions to god and sanctuary.

A proconsul first encountered monuments commemorating the Pergamene elite well outside the city, as he passed their tombs along the highway from Elaia. Some of these were certainly impressive enough to give him pause; an example still extant, a massive tumulus formerly crowned by a mortuary temple, was likely built for one of the second-century notables commemorated in the Asclepieion, as was an elegant monopteros discovered near the agora of the lower city.<sup>30</sup> As he entered the sanctuary itself, the proconsul could hardly miss the imposing dedicatory inscriptions of the new buildings, particularly since some of the men they named were well-known figures: A. Claudius Charax, builder of the propylon; L. Cuspius Pactumeius

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<sup>28</sup> The design and building history of the Heroon are discussed in *AvP* XI.2: 45-50. On Telephus, an obscure figure rehabilitated by the Attalids for dynastic purposes, see *LIMC* 7.1: 856-870 and *RE* A 5.1: 362-9, s.v. "Telephos." Pausanias mentions that hymns were regularly sung for, and sacrifices made to, Telephus at the Asclepieion (3.26.10, 5.13.3). If there was an altar dedicated to Telpheus inside the sanctuary, it likely stood with the other minor shrines near the temple of Asclepius. A fragmentary epistyle bearing a dedication to the eponymous hero Pergamos (*IvP* 289) may have come from another heroon along the proconsul's route.

<sup>29</sup> *OGIS* 332.7-9. It is quite possible that the statue remained in its original position well into the Roman period, as the Attalids continued to be potent symbols of local identity. The "Pergamum Chronicle" (*OGIS* 264 = *IvP* 613) a brief account of the city's mythological origins and Hellenistic history, was inscribed (and presumably set up in some public place) in the early second century CE. A few decades later, Aristides began a brief encomium of Pergamum with a reference to the Attalid kingdom: [Πιέργαμον] ἤρξε ποτε τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον" (*Or.* 23.13). A statue base for the Attalid prince Athenaeus (*AvP* VIII.3, no. 3) was discovered in the ruins of the temple of Zeus-Asclepius, though it unclear when or why the block was moved there.

<sup>30</sup> Remarkably, this tumulus, the so-called "Maltepe," seems to have been aligned with the axis of the temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis, either for aesthetic/symbolic reasons or (perhaps more likely) because the road beside which it stood was so oriented (Radt 1999: 268-70). On the monopteros, see Koenigs & Radt 1979. Kohl 1994: 151-3 presents some of the funerary inscriptions discovered in the area.

Rufinus, builder of the temple of Zeus Asclepius; and Cn. Otacilius Pollio, builder of the north colonnade, were all Roman senators, and probably familiar to governors of their era.<sup>31</sup> Rufinus, the greatest of these benefactors, may have been further represented by a special memorial on or near the sanctuary grounds.<sup>32</sup> The proconsul would probably also notice that several of the statues close to the temple of Asclepius represented locals in the toga of Senatorial rank.<sup>33</sup> Honorific statues were of course typical components of a Greek sanctuary, and indeed of Greek public space in general; but it was unusual to see provincials of such exceptional status represented in such density. The juxtaposition of these statues with those of emperors and Roman officials along the north colonnade and around the temple of Asclepius can only have enhanced the effect. A number of less eminent men were honored in the same area,<sup>34</sup> and the clustering of so many politically distinguished figures may, of course, have reflected nothing more than repeated decisions of the city council to honor particularly important benefactors in a particularly prominent place.<sup>35</sup> The concentration of these statues near the altar, however, suggests that they should be interpreted in the same terms as the representations of emperors and

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<sup>31</sup> The inscription recording Charax's benefaction was inscribed in a medallion on the east pediment of his propylon (*AvP* XI.3: 26-7). Pollio's inscription stretched in a long band on the architrave of the north stoa (*AvP* VIII.3, no. 64). It is worth noting that, in the mid-second century, these same men would be among a proconsul's guides; Aristides mentions a proconsul walking through the Asclepieion in the company of Rufinus (*Or.* 50.107).

<sup>32</sup> An inscription (*AvP* VIII.3, no. 2) records the city's appeal to the oracle at Didyma over where Rufinus should be buried. Although the oracle's answer is not recorded, it is likely that Rufinus was laid to rest in an impressive mortuary temple on a hill east of the acropolis (Radt 1999: 273-4). The decision to monumentalize the oracle, however, may point to a special memorial for the great benefactor on the sanctuary grounds.

<sup>33</sup> Pergamene citizens of senatorial rank: *AvP* VIII.3: no. 20 (A. Iulius Quadratus), 21 (C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus), and 23 (Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus – poss. not Pergamene citizen). Although the proconsul could hardly stop to read the inscriptions on the bases of these statues, it would be impossible to mistake the status of a figure like C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus, a provincial governor and legion commander, who may (like his counterpart and contemporary Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus in Ephesus) have been represented in military garb. If he was so depicted, in fact, it may have been difficult to distinguish him from the non-local imperial officials commemorated in the same area – unless, of course, he were pointed out by the proconsul's guide.

<sup>34</sup> Although many (apparently less distinguished) locals were relegated to the interior of the north stoa (e.g., *AvP* VIII.3, no. 27-9, 38, 48-9, 53), a number of foreign sophists (no. 31, 33-4) and locals not of senatorial or equestrian rank (no. 36-7, 39, 55) were granted statues in the same area as the emperors and Pergamene senators.

<sup>35</sup> Ma 2013: 79-85 discusses the logic(s) behind statue placement in and around temples in the Hellenistic period.

officials that stood beside them – as, that is, not only benefactors of sanctuary, but also representatives of the civic community whose traditions and values the Asclepieion embodied.

## II. Exemplars of Piety

Not all the worshippers of Asclepius represented around the altar were citizens of Pergamum. Statues of emperors and imperial officials stood at every point of a proconsul's route through the Asclepieion, but were especially dense along the north colonnade and in the vicinity of the temple of Asclepius. As might be expected in light of the sanctuary's history, the majority date to the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, with a brief second peak attributable to Caracalla's visit. The disposition of the extant bases can be briefly described. A statue of Hadrian stood in the colonnades of the sacred way, and a statue of Antoninus Pius in the forecourt of the propylon.<sup>36</sup> Another Hadrian was situated in front of the north colonnade near twinned bases supporting images of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.<sup>37</sup> Two statues of Antoninus Pius stood in the immediate vicinity of the temple of Asclepius, where they were joined by two statues of Caracalla and two more of Julia Domna.<sup>38</sup> Most of the relatively few statues of Roman officials were found in the vicinity: the proconsul of Asia L. Vedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus was honored beside the temple steps, and the legate Flavius Pollio Flavianus on the plaza in front of the north colonnade.<sup>39</sup> In combination with the dozen or so statues of

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<sup>36</sup> Hadrian on sacred way: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 5. Antoninus Pius in propylon forecourt: *AvP* XI.3: 111.

<sup>37</sup> Hadrian by north colonnade: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 7. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: no. 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> Statues of Antoninus Pius: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 8-9. Caracalla: no. 12-13; Julia Domna: no. 14-15.

<sup>39</sup> Proconsul: *AvP* VIII.3, no. 22; legate: no. 25. A statue of Tertia Lollia, wife of an early second-century proconsul, stood inside the north colonnade a short distance away (no. 18). The statue of provincial questor M. Iulius Hermogenes (no. 24) was probably also located in the vicinity. The procurator Saturninus, an imperial freedman, was honored with a statue in front of the opposite end of the north colonnade (no. 44). Statues of Roman officials were erected in sanctuaries with some frequency (e.g. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 31.87; cf. Cic., *II Verr.* 2.160); on the placement of these statues, see Erkelenz 2003: 148-51 and Tuchelt 1979: 66-7.

eminent Pergamenes and sophists attested in the same area,<sup>40</sup> these comprised a dense and impressive ensemble, centered on the temple of Asclepius.<sup>41</sup>

The concentration of statues representing emperors, governors, and eminent citizens around the altar of the Asclepieion reflected a common practice in the great sanctuaries of the Roman east. A few salient examples will illustrate the point. Statues of Attalus II, P. Vedius Pollio, and a number of other dignitaries stood near the altar of Apollo's temple at Didyma.<sup>42</sup> An impressive series of Roman officials lined the sacred way at Claros in the immediate vicinity of the main altar (Fig. 67).<sup>43</sup> Dozens of statues depicting Emperors, governors, and other Roman officials were arrayed around the front of the Heraion at Samos,<sup>44</sup> and an equally imposing crowd of emperors and imperial functionaries was honored in the ceremonial centers of the Letoon near Xanthos.<sup>45</sup> All of these ensembles can be interpreted on multiple registers. As noted earlier, the most obvious explanation for the concentration of statues honoring emperors and Roman officials near the main altar of important sanctuaries is sheer visibility: eager to advertise their connections, bolster their prestige, and solicit future patronage, local notables commemorated their most important friends and benefactors in places sure to be seen by every visitor. Though basically correct, this explanation lacks nuance. It is true that there was no essential distinction between political and sacred space, and probable that the rules and

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<sup>40</sup> *AvP* VIII.2, no. 20-3, 31, 33-4, 36-7, 39, 55

<sup>41</sup> Mathys 2014a: 81-4 discusses the honorific statuary in the Asclepieion; cf. Mack 1996, esp. 133ff. More generally, on the arrangement of statues in sanctuaries, see Ma 2013: 79-85, 94-8.

<sup>42</sup> Attalus II and brother (*I. Didyma* 143-4); P. Vedius Pollio (146); Gn. Vergilius Capito (149) is notable among the other men honored in this prestigious part of the temple precinct.

<sup>43</sup> Ferrary 2000 catalogues and discusses the extant bases and sculpture fragments. On their arrangement along the Sacred Way, see Étienne & Varène 2004: 91-145.

<sup>44</sup> See Hermann 1960 on statues of Romans at Samos. Although virtually no bases were found in situ, the statues of emperors and governors seem to have been concentrated along the end of the sacred way and around the main altar: *IG* XII.6, no. 387-9, 391, 393-6, 398, 400, 402, 406, 408, 410-2, 414-15, 417-18, 421-2, 424-6 (emperors and members of the imperial family); 351-5, 358, 362, 364, 367-9, 372, 382, 384 (Roman officials); cf. 497-526 (miniature altars for emperors).

<sup>45</sup> *F. Xanthos* VII, no. 23-35 (imperial family); 37-54 (legates of Lycia-Pamphilia and relatives)

conventions governing the placement of honorific statues in other parts of a city obtained equally in a sanctuary. The dedication of statues in a sanctuary, however, had special connotations, particularly in the ritually charged area near the altar. Even if not explicitly honored for their piety, those commemorated in a sanctuary could be presented as a community of worshippers, joined in service to the presiding god.<sup>46</sup> In Pergamum, this manner of presentation was perhaps clearest in the precinct of Athena Polias, where numerous priestesses of Athena were honored for their service.<sup>47</sup> In this sense, the emperors, governors, and eminent citizens represented around the altar were meant to be perceived not only as the sanctuary's greatest individual patrons, but as leading lights of a community united by devotion to Asclepius. The statues around the altar can thus be understood as a gallery of exemplars, models of proper behavior<sup>48</sup> towards the god – and thence, by association, towards the Pergamene citizen body that figured so prominently in the god's community of worshippers. The juxtaposition of eminent citizens with the governors and emperors honored in the Asclepieion may have been intended to imply that the Romans owed their commemoration to display of the same qualities embodied by the Pergamenes. If so, the arrangement of honorific statues around the altar of Asclepius' temple served to advertise and sanction a certain model of social and political behavior by associating veneration of the god with respect for his prominent worshippers.

For a visiting proconsul, the most important “models” among the statues surrounding the altar of the Asclepieion were surely the reigning emperor and his eminent predecessors. His

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<sup>46</sup> On the power of “ritual communities” in the ancient world, see esp. Chaniotis 1995, 2011.

<sup>47</sup> Priestesses of Athena: *IvP* 489-92, 494-5, 497-8, 503, 505, 507, 510, 515, 524; discussion in Mathys 2014a: 25-6, 28-30 and Mathys 2014b: 48-9, 51-4. Compare the statues commemorating various female benefactors of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore for their possession of qualities associated with the goddess (see Thomas 1998 on the worship of Demeter at Pergamum).

<sup>48</sup> At least in certain periods and contexts, it was illegal to erect images of lowly or unseemly characters near those of the emperors (*CTh* 15.7.12 = *CJ* 11.41.4; cf. Pekáry 1985: 93-4).

perception of these familiar figures, however, would be strongly colored by their location. The dream journals of Aristides, which allow us some insight into the relationship between the Asclepieion and one man’s view of the emperors, provide a point of departure for considering this effect. The Asclepieion appeared in Aristides’ dreams as a setting imbued with the divine.<sup>49</sup> Although the physical fabric of the sanctuary receives occasional mention – in one dream, Aristides encounters Rufinus, “the man responsible for great benefactions and the marble-decorated temple of Zeus” (*Or.* 50.28) – it typically functions as little more than a frame for the interaction of worshipper and god.<sup>50</sup> In this context, even the appearance of an emperor could only be interpreted as a sign from Asclepius; upon dreaming of meeting Hadrian at the propylon of the Asclepieion, Aristides immediately hastens to the spot, convinced that the god meant to bestow some favor on him there.<sup>51</sup> Hadrian’s appearance in the sanctuary may not have been fortuitous, since Aristides twice dreamt of emperors as fellow worshippers of Asclepius.<sup>52</sup> Although the Asclepieion is not explicitly mentioned in either case, it is possible to interpret these dreams in light of Aristides’ idea that all devotees of the god formed a community in his care: “neither membership in a chorus, nor companionship on a voyage, nor sharing the same teachers confers such gain and profit as the fellowship of pilgrims at the sanctuary of Asclepius” (*Or.* 23.16).<sup>53</sup> Aristides frames his only mention of a Roman governor in the sanctuary as a testimonial to this fellowship: after rushing to the Asclepieion in the wake of his dream about Hadrian, he encounters the proconsul Julianus (whom he had long sought for a verdict) in the

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<sup>49</sup> Jones 1998; Flinterman 2008: 369- 73

<sup>50</sup> The depth of Aristides’ identification with Asclepius is neatly illustrated by his description of a dream in which one of his statues transforms into a likeness of the god (*Or.* 47.17).

<sup>51</sup> *Or.* 50.106-7

<sup>52</sup> *Or.* 47.23, 51.44

<sup>53</sup> καὶ οὔτε χοροῦ σύλλογος πρᾶγμα τοσοῦτον οὔτε πλοῦ κοινωνία οὔτε διδασκάλων τῶν αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, ὅσον χρῆμα καὶ κέρδος εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ τε συμφοιτῆσαι [...].

propylon, where the official, influenced by Asclepius, encourages the orator to “take courage and attend to the god” (*Or.* 50.107) while he looks after his affairs. For Aristides, then, it would seem that imperial authority had special implications in the Asclepieion, where emperor, official, and subject were united as worshippers of the god. A proconsul approaching the sanctuary altar, surrounded by both the virtual community of worshippers represented in the nearby statues and its living counterpart in the assembled citizen body, might well be led to a similar opinion.

That the city of Pergamum intended visitors to understand imperial authority in this sense is made abundantly clear by the series of coins struck to commemorate Caracalla’s visit to the Asclepieion. From the moment of his entry into the city to his final gift of a new imperial sanctuary, the emperor is shown in constant juxtaposition with, and ultimate indebtedness to, Asclepius. The god, as noted earlier, is featured on the first reverses in the series, which show Caracalla greeting and addressing the citizens of Pergamum. He appears still more prominently on the coins depicting the emperor’s cure. Three different reverses show the imperial patient hailing, offering incense to, and finally bringing a sacrificial cow before an image of Asclepius (Figs. 68-70).<sup>54</sup> A snake coiled around a tree and a stylized representation of the temple in the Asclepieion replace the statue as symbols of the god on two further reverses, both of which show the emperor, now cured, giving thanks to his divine patron (Figs. 71-2).<sup>55</sup> The final coin in the series celebrates Caracalla’s elevation of the temple of Asclepius to neokorate rank by depicting the building alongside the provincial sanctuaries of Augustus and Trajan, its newfound status and enduring dedication marked by the imperial initials above its door and the image of Asclepius

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<sup>54</sup> See Nollé 2003a, Abb. 7.4, 5, 7

<sup>55</sup> Nollé 2003a, Abb. 7.6, 8

visible within (Fig. 73).<sup>56</sup> This reverse neatly concludes the narrative arc of the entire series: the semi-divine emperor, presented throughout as a suppliant and devotee of Asclepius, has been healed by the power of a greater deity; his acts of thanksgiving reflect his recognition of this power, and his elevation of the god's temple a desire to associate himself with it. The city's placement of a colossal marble statue depicting Caracalla as a priest in the immediate vicinity of the main altar was surely not coincidental.<sup>57</sup> The Pergamene elite commemorated Caracalla's visit in such exceptional detail not merely to claim the prestige of being so favored by the emperor,<sup>58</sup> but because his actions in the Asclepieion confirmed the power of their patron deity – and thus, by proxy, the authority of their city. Caracalla is depicted as a uniquely wealthy and powerful patron, but appears throughout as a worshipper of Asclepius, subservient and obedient to the god. Since the god's authority, as we have seen, was intimately linked with that of the city, this manner of representing the emperor advertised his identification with civic interests. The reverses implied that Caracalla had enrolled himself in the community of Asclepius' worshippers; and though this community was not coterminous with the citizen body of Pergamum, it had a special relationship with it.

The Asclepieion was designed to advertise Pergamum's most potent and recognizable source of prestige as compellingly as possible. By confronting a newly-arrived proconsul with sources of prestige he was bound to recognize – in this case, the unique power of the god and the virtual community of emperors, past officials, and eminent Pergamenes assembled in its honor –

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<sup>56</sup> Nollé 2003a, Abb. 9 (= *BMC Mysia*, no 327 (pg. 156)). It is likely that a statue of Caracalla was set up alongside that of Asclepius in the naos.

<sup>57</sup> *AvP* VIII.3, no. 12. It should be noted that this statue was actually donated by an official in Caracalla's retinue, but would have been sited and erected by civic officials.

<sup>58</sup> The prestige of hosting an emperor remained of course very substantial; an honorific inscription set up years after Caracalla's death for a Pergamene priestess of Athena proudly recorded that she had thrice been received by the emperor (*IvP* 525.14-15 (= *IGR* IV.451 = *OGIS* 513)).



a city could expect to press its claims on his favor more successfully. The sanctuary of Athena Polias on the acropolis, probable site of the proconsul's inaugural sacrifice through the end of the first century CE, attests the same basic strategy (Figs. 74-5). This complex, long the most prestigious sacred site in Pergamum, presented visiting officials with a sculptural ensemble that associated Roman authority with Hellenistic traditions of royal munificence and cultural patronage. Used by the Attalids to commemorate military victories and advertise their house's protection of the Greeks in Asia, the sanctuary was bounded by the royal palaces, the Hellenistic theater, and the famous Altar of Zeus, standing in close visual and symbolic juxtaposition with other sources of royal – and later, civic – authority. In the course of the third and second centuries BCE, the precinct, surrounded by a two-story portico, gradually filled with honorific statues of the kings and victory monuments. The single most imposing sculpture, a replica of Athena Promachos, stood in the center of the temple courtyard as a witness to Pergamum's status as the new Athens;<sup>59</sup> and though this was replaced by a colossal statue of Augustus in the first years of the Principate, the victory monuments and royal statues in the precinct, complemented by a gallery of Classicizing sculpture in the north stoa and adjoining library, continued to broadcast Attalid power and patronage of Hellenic culture throughout the Roman period.<sup>60</sup>

Shortly after Rome's acquisition of Pergamum, local notables began to honor Roman officials in this space of royal display, and from the early first century BCE to the late first century CE (when the Asclepieion became the primary context of such honors), many proconsuls

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<sup>59</sup> On the Sanctuary of Athena Polias, see Radt 159-68 and Kästner 2011. Mathys 2014b discusses the honorific statues discovered in the precinct. On the replica of Athena Promachos and other evocations of the Athenian Acropolis, see Hurwit 1999: 264-6.

<sup>60</sup> The statue of Athena's replacement by a statue of Augustus is attested by an inscription (*IvP* 383 = *IGR* IV.315). Attalid victory monuments: *IvP* 20, 21-8, 51-8, 60. Statues of kings: *IvP* 15, 19, 29, 59, 62, 64; cf. 13 (royal decree). Winkler-Horacek 2011 discusses the placement and appearance of the victory monuments. On the classicizing sculpture in and near the library, see Niemeier 2011. Schalles 1985 provides a general treatment of the cultural politics of the Attalids.

of Asia received statues in the precinct.<sup>61</sup> After the accession of Augustus, they were joined by images of the imperial family, several on an over life-size scale.<sup>62</sup> Although few of these bases were discovered in situ, it is reasonable to assume that the basic arrangement was much like that of the second-century Asclepieion, with the most prominent imperial images clustered around the altar and colossal statue of Augustus. Whatever their exact placement, they would have been viewed in context of the Attalids' identification of their authority and capital city with Greek culture; a proconsul entering through the propylon, for example, would walk between the great monument of Eumenes I and the central statue of Augustus on his way to the altar. Before the ascendancy of the Asclepieion, the Sanctuary of Athena Polias was Pergamum's most effective setting for advertising the sources of civic prestige. The victories and patronage it commemorated constituted a unique claim on regional prominence, to which the statues of emperors and officials bore distinguished witness. Juxtaposed with the monuments of royal power in the precinct, these statues also attested the civic elite's conception of legitimate authority, ensuring that the early imperial proconsuls who performed their inaugural sacrifice there would be confronted with a gallery of precedents for honoring the goddess and aiding her city.

In both the Sanctuary of Athena Polias and the Asclepieion, then, the statues surrounding the altar at which a newly-arrived proconsul offered sacrifice proposed a "model of authority" in the same sense as the other ceremonies of *adventus* – by, that is, intimating the appropriate relation of visiting official to host city, expressed here through the medium of piety to a patron

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<sup>61</sup> Statues honoring proconsuls or their family members: *IvP* 407, 414, 416-17, 419-20, 422, 424-5, 428, 430, 433, 435-6, 439. Discussion in Mathys 2014a: 26-8.

<sup>62</sup> Statues of imperial family: Julius Caesar (*IvP* 377, 380); Augustus: (381, 383-4 (both colossal statues)); Livia (385); Tiberius (386 (equestrian statue)); Drusus (389). Other monuments included a small monopteros dedicated to Hadrian (293), a governor's decree (268 = *OGIS* 437), and several imperial letters (275, 278, 283). Augustus himself dedicated an over life-size statue of Athena in the precinct (301-2).

deity. As we saw earlier, this strategy operated largely by assimilating civic authority to other, more generally recognized sources. Presenting the emperors as benefactors, or even compeers,<sup>63</sup> of the city's gods served not only to bolster the prestige of local cults, but also to present visitors with the most prestigious possible "model worshippers." As the emperor's representative, a visiting proconsul might feel particular pressure to conform to these exemplars, particularly since a number of his predecessors were commemorated in the same place. The emperor, first worshipper of Asclepius and ultimate patron of civic felicity, was being proposed to him as a model; and standing before the statues of great benefactors, surrounded by a crowd of citizens, he could scarcely forget that properly honoring the god entailed suitable conduct toward his fellow-worshippers.<sup>64</sup>

### III. Sacred Landscapes

The statues ringing the altar at which a proconsul offered his inaugural sacrifice likely exercised considerable influence over his impressions of the Asclepieion. It was doubtless the imposing new temple of Zeus Asclepius, however, that he would have found the sanctuary's single most impressive component (Fig. 76). Even if his civic guides did not lead him inside this building, he was sure to notice its size and radical design. Hadrian's Pantheon was one of the most famous landmarks of Rome;<sup>65</sup> a replica of that great temple in a provincial city was sure to catch the attention of any visitor, particularly one who based his authority on an association with emperor and capital. Nor was it was the only such monument. Although the temple of Zeus-

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<sup>63</sup> Augustus was worshipped alongside Athena Polias, Caracalla with Asclepius, and Hadrian in the guise of Zeus-Asclepius. As Price 1984 argues, such assimilation was a means of understanding and formalizing imperial authority; it was also, however, a potential means of appropriating imperial authority.

<sup>64</sup> See Kokkinia 2012 for an interesting discussion of how provincials connected the benefactions of governor and emperor.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. Amm. Marc. 16.10.14

Asclepius was particularly distinctive, many of the other buildings constructed during Pergamum's second-century boom were characterized by designs or construction techniques originating in Rome.<sup>66</sup> The ultimate sources of these western influences were the remarkable power and ambition of the Pergamene elite. Wealthy enough to sponsor projects on a massive scale and in the most prestigious manner, acquainted with developments in the capital well enough to imitate them, and – in a few cases – well-connected enough to enlist imperial resources, the notables of Pergamum were capable of using western architectural models in a more impressive and sophisticated manner than virtually any of their contemporaries. Like their poorer and less influential neighbors, they sought to impress fellow citizens and local rivals; their wealth and prominence provided them with the means, however, of ensuring their projects' relevance to a provincial, or even imperial, audience.

The Romanizing architecture of second-century Pergamum can be interpreted as relatively unreflective use of the most prestigious available architectural models, as an indication of extensive imperial intervention or aid, or as a series of conscious attempts by elite builders to statements about their communities and themselves. The possibilities are well illustrated by the so-called "Red Basilica" in the lower city of Pergamum (Figs. 77-8).<sup>67</sup> This immense sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, constructed by an unknown benefactor or benefactors in the reign of Hadrian, was distinctively western in its choice of building techniques and architectural models: the walls of the temple building, constructed entirely of brick, followed Italian convention; and the design of the precinct was clearly inspired by the Imperial Fora.<sup>68</sup> Although these

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<sup>66</sup> Felten 1980 surveys Romanizing architecture at Pergamum. See Hueber 2007 for a more general survey of Roman influence on the architecture of early imperial Asia Minor, and Sherwood 2000: 54-170 for a discussion of the motivations behind such construction.

<sup>67</sup> For description and general discussion of the Red Basilica, see Radt 1999: 200-8 and Nohlen 1998.

<sup>68</sup> Brückener et al. 2008: 181-4; Felten 1980: 211-3

peculiarities can be explained, respectively, by the circumstances of construction and the unique needs of its cult community – the donors had access to imperial workmen conversant with Italian techniques, and the closed courtyards of the Imperial Fora were suitable models for the celebration of mysteries – it is unlikely that they were inspired solely by practical considerations. Nor, as sometimes suggested, were they necessarily a consequence of imperial intervention.<sup>69</sup> The date of the sanctuary's construction and the affinities of certain elements of its design to known imperial projects have urged some scholars to posit the direct involvement of Hadrian in the design. It seems clear that workmen from Italy, probably members of the imperial building corps, were involved in construction; this need not imply, however, that the emperor did anything more than detach skilled laborers for the use of a favored Pergamene notable. Hadrian's presence probably served to expedite an ongoing project, but the decision to model the sanctuary court after Vespasian's Temple of Peace or the Library of Hadrian at Athens was most likely made by the donor himself. The highest echelons of the provincial elite were acutely aware of the prestige conferred by imitating the latest Roman models. Besides proclaiming a benefactor's awareness of developments in the capital and (in this case) his privileged access to imperial resources, such imitation could give point and shape to conceptions of the relationship between city and Empire.

The Trajaneum on the acropolis,<sup>70</sup> another product of Pergamum's second-century building boom, was still more demonstrative (Figs. 79-80). Its high Roman-style podium and

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<sup>69</sup> Mania 2011, noting correlations between the Egyptianizing caryatids of the Red Basilica and those of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, suggests that the Emperor personally intervened in the Basilica's construction while visiting Pergamum after his excursion to Egypt. Brückener et al. (2008: 186-8) suggest that Hadrian was worshipped alongside the Egyptian gods in the Red Basilica.

<sup>70</sup> Radt 1999: 209-20 provides a good summary of the temple's design and significance; cf. Nohlen 2004. Auinger & Fendt 2011 describe the colossal statues of Trajan and Hadrian which were set up in portico surrounding the precinct.

Corinthian columns, far from being mere imitations of prestigious western models or – in view of its function as a provincial temple of the imperial cult – straightforward assertions of Roman primacy, were advertisements of a native son’s intimacy with emperor and capital. A. Iulius Quadratus, the Pergamene noble who almost certainly served as the temple’s primary sponsor,<sup>71</sup> was a Roman senator with a distinguished record of service in the imperial administration and close connections with Trajan. Whether or not he was directly involved in the design, it was his act of winning for Pergamum the unparalleled honor of a second provincial temple that the Trajaneum was intended to celebrate. The Romanizing features of its design, far from being imposed by imperial initiative, advertised the Pergamene elite’s ability to engage with Imperial authority on its own architectural terms. The Temple of Trajan looked Roman; but its precinct, which featured numerous statues of Quadratus and – more strikingly still – two Hellenistic exedras bearing statues of the Attalids, proclaimed its status as a civic monument.<sup>72</sup>

Like the “Red Basilica” and Trajaneum, the temple of Zeus-Asclepius has been described as a product of Hadrianic intervention.<sup>73</sup> Recent research on the reconstruction of the Asclepieion, however, indicates that building continued well into the reign of Antoninus Pius, and assigns the temple of Zeus Asclepius to a period well after Hadrian’s visits.<sup>74</sup> Nor is there any need to posit a connection with the emperor. L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus, the eminent citizen of Pergamum who donated (and presumably designed) the temple, was doubtless familiar with the Pantheon from his service as consul at Rome. Like Quadratus and the unknown benefactor of the Red Basilica, he was certainly also aware of the special prestige to be gained by

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<sup>71</sup> Epigraphic evidence closely associating Qadratus with the imperial games held at the temple (*IvP* 269 = *IGR* IV.336; cf. Müller 2009) makes it virtually certain that the city gained the honor of a second Neokorate through his good offices. Cf. Aristid., *Or.* 30.9.

<sup>72</sup> Statues of Quadratus: *IvP* 438, 443, 445-9. Exedras: *AvP* V.2: 57-65; Neumann 2011.

<sup>73</sup> See esp. *AvP* VIII.3: 11-14

<sup>74</sup> Strocka 2012: 246-59 dates the temple of Zeus-Asclepius to 135-50 CE.

appropriating Roman architectural models. On a basic level, the choice of the Pantheon as a model ensured Rufinus immediate recognition as a man acquainted with the latest developments at Rome and guaranteed that his building would make a memorable impression on visitors. Imitating so famous an imperial project, however, constituted something more than the familiar elite search for prestige. By laying claim to a building so closely associated with Hadrian and Rome, Rufinus asserted not only his personal familiarity with these sources of authority, but also the suitability of the Asclepieion as a place for evoking them. Although Hadrian may have been worshipped alongside the Olympians in the temple of Zeus-Asclepius, Asclepius – admittedly as assimilated to a broader conception of divinity – remained the chief dedicatee. It was for Asclepius, and for Pergamum, that Rufinus built his temple; honoring local god and city in a building so distinctively Roman and imperial had the effect not only of making their significance instantly recognizable for visitors, but also of associating the foci of civic prestige with a famous symbol of imperial authority.

The temple of Zeus-Asclepius, backdrop to a proconsul's inaugural sacrifice, set the seal on his impressions of the sanctuary. Like the statues of governors and emperors clustered around the temple of Asclepius Soter, this imitation of a famous imperial project legitimated the prestige of god and city. By thus urging respect for Asclepius, for Pergamum, and (not least) for the local elite, the temple of Zeus-Asclepius presented visiting Roman officials with an outline for responsible exercise of their authority. Though hardly amounting to a model of conduct in the prescriptive sense, the landscape of the sanctuary encouraged a distinct understanding of city and citizen body. The civic image implicit in the buildings and statuary was fairly basic, and could convey little more than the preeminence and wealth of the local elite; animated by the assembled citizen body, however, it may have exercised considerable persuasive effect – particularly during

the early and mid-second century, when visiting proconsuls were likely escorted through the sanctuary by the men responsible for building it.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Even the proconsuls respected men as wealthy and well-connected as the leading notables of Pergamum. Aristides mentions an occasion on which Rufinus, builder of the Temple of Zeus Asclepius, wrote a strongly-worded letter on his behalf to the proconsul of Asia, which the governor apparently heeded (*Or.* 50.84-7).



## Conclusion

This part has explored three important aspects of the civic image implicit in ceremonies of *adventus*, and considered the role of the built environment in articulating each. We have seen that the assembled citizen body, always the most basic expression of civic will and solidarity, stood in a symbiotic relationship with the urban armature along the proconsul's path of entry; that a selective record of civic achievement, associated with widely familiar mythic or historical narratives for ready comprehension by non-locals, was made explicit in the buildings and monuments along the same route; and that the local notables' conception of their own authority and of their city's place in the Empire was forcefully presented in the spaces where officials customarily performed their inaugural sacrifices. Although we have discussed citizen body, local history, and elite pretensions separately, as discrete sources of authority a visiting proconsul would have to acknowledge and accommodate to win local approval, it should be remembered that they were experienced in tandem. If the extent to which members of the civic elite could manipulate an incoming governor's route for the sake of influencing his first impressions is unclear, the basic intent of the presentation they orchestrated was not. Like all visitors, but to a degree magnified by his importance, a newly-arrived proconsul was presented with the image of a community that was stable, unified, and worthy of respect. This image was not intended to impress a visitor with signs of a city's independence from imperial structures of authority, but to advertise its prominence within these structures: the proconsul and the power he represented had an important place in the community, but a place defined by civic institutions and delimited by the urban fabric itself. The manner in which a city presented itself to a visiting official reflected its worldview, its sense of power and place in province and Empire. It was to be hoped that a

governor, confronted with the claims and pretensions that constituted a city's identity, would come to understand, or even sympathize with, these needs and goals.

On entering one of his *conventus* cities, then, a governor was introduced to a landscape in which his personal authority and that of the Empire he represented had a definite (and thus delimited) place. The nature of this landscape was of course contingent on the city's particular history and claims; but the leading themes of its presentation – the unity of the citizen body, the immanence of civic history, and the validity of elite goals – were applicable to virtually every polis. Together, these themes outlined an ideal of the community, which, though expressed with particular clarity during *adventus*, would animate each of the formal occasions on which proconsul and city interacted. In the settings at which a proconsul performed his duties, as we shall see in the next part, he was presented as a participant in this ideal, a circumstance with important consequences for both the conduct of his office and local perceptions of the power he represented.

## Part Five. Roles and Definitions

A governor visiting one of his *conventus* cities would spend considerable time in the public eye. Although he typically lodged and dined in the houses of eminent citizens,<sup>1</sup> the bulk of his duties were performed, and much of his leisure occupied, in the centers of civic life: governors attended meetings of the assembly, saw plays in the theater, and ate at public banquets.<sup>2</sup> A governor's judicial duties were transacted day after day in the agora or civil basilica, and civic festivals – which he was expected to attend – brought him regularly to the theater or stadium. In all these public settings, he interacted with (mostly elite) provincials and engaged with the urban fabric in a manner qualitatively different from that demanded by the ceremonial of *adventus*. In place of the elaborately orchestrated rituals that had welcomed him to a city, a governor performing his duties was provided only with a single basic “script” for engaging with the citizen body and effectively projecting his own authority: the civic built environment itself, as animated by the small group of local notables who attended him. Using spaces designed for the definition and advertisement of the power of civic elites, and guided by men with a vested interest in gaining his patronage and appropriating his prestige, a governor might not only be implicated in the values of the local nobility, but even be presented as a virtual member of it.

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<sup>1</sup> On the governor's habit of lodging with elite provincials, see Bérenger 2014: 338-43; cf. Quass 1993: 157, n. 443. A number of ancient testimonia refer to the practice: e.g. Apul., *Met.* 10.28.1-4; Philostr., *VS* I.25 (534); Plut., *Mor.* 620c, 679c; *IGR* III.449; cf. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 92, n. 2. See Bérenger 2014: 358-65 on private meetings with elite provincials; cf. Liebeschuetz 1972: 188.

<sup>2</sup> A governor was expected to always be in the public eye (e.g. *CTh.* 1.16.6). Governors at meetings of the assembly: Dio Chrys., *Or.* 48.2; Philostr., *VS* 559; cf. *Dig.* 42.4.1.4. At the theater: e. g. Philostr., *VA* 7.5; Lib., *Or.* 33.8. At banquet: e.g. Plut., *Mor.* 707b-708b; cf. Cic. *II Verr.* 1. 65.

Although very few Greek cities possessed buildings designed expressly for Roman officials, every *conventus* center presumably had public spaces customarily used for the purpose. Some of these spaces accumulated commemorative statues and or other markers of their special function, but most were simply the buildings used for civic justice and administration, adapted, if at all, by the addition of a wooden platform or barriers. In this sense, and in the sense that their whole significance was dependent on the presence of a local audience, the urban landscapes in which a governor's authority was expressed and defined were ephemeral. Yet they were consistently distinguished by two basic characteristics: proximity to representations of the emperors, and provision for the seating of local notables. In view of the ubiquity of the imperial image and the practical need for seating in any place of assembly, these features might not seem particularly distinctive. Both were, however, absolutely central to provincial definitions of the governor and his duties. The prevalence of the imperial image reflects the fact that, in contemporary rhetoric and the popular imagination, the emperor was the source of all justice and virtue. Governors tended to be regarded, at best, as faithful agents of his munificence; at their all-too-frequent worst, they were tyrannical and rapacious. The seating provided for local notables, likewise, manifests the value elites set on accompanying the governor at all times, both to encourage probity and – equally importantly – to be seen by their fellow citizens in the confidence of so eminent a figure. Surrounded by notables and dominated by images of the emperor, a governor was constantly compared, and in some sense assimilated, to a local model of his authority. The constant proximity of imperial images and local notables would of course be very familiar to most governors, and may have had little direct impact on their activities. Yet there can be little doubt that this circumstance significantly influenced how they presented themselves in certain situations, and profoundly influenced how they were perceived locally.

Local notables, as we have seen, concerned themselves with the settings of a governor's duties for two primary reasons: to ensure that he performed his duties in a manner conducive to their own interests and their city's, and to visibly associate themselves with the power he represented. Thus, while it may reasonably be doubted whether any *conventus* city intended complex messages about Empire or sovereignty to be read into the appearance of its public spaces, the civic presentations of the settings in which a proconsul staged his authority can be read as an attempt to influence both the content and the significance of his performance. Our investigation is divided into two chapters. The first, focused on the assizes, discusses how local elites used spaces of justice to communicate their values and expectations to the governor. The second emphasizes how the physical settings of the civic festivals at which governors officiated visibly involved them in an ideal of the community with implications for both internal social relations and regional politics. The two chapters are linked by the case study of Ephesus.

## Chapter 12. Judge

In his Hymn to Serapis, Aelius Aristides observes that a god is best understood through the benefits he grants; for the suppliant, a deity's function is his essence.<sup>1</sup> The authority of Roman governors seems to have been conceptualized in much the same way. Under normal circumstances, a proconsul visiting his *conventus* cities served first and foremost as a judge;<sup>2</sup> and it was as a judge that he was most often supplicated and idealized.<sup>3</sup> Most of his judicial duties were transacted in the nerve centers of civic space, where they were exposed to the scrutiny of an audience far broader than that actively concerned with the cases he tried. The sight of the governor on his high tribunal, flanked by attendants and ringed by a crowd of suppliants, would have been familiar to the inhabitants of every *conventus* city.<sup>4</sup> As we saw in the fifth chapter, Roman officials set great importance on careful self-presentation when trying cases, well aware that this most prominent and protracted of their duties was potentially the most effective vehicle of their prestige. Local notables were equally conscious of the significance of the proconsul's court, and sought to adapt the proceedings to their own ends.

A governor's judicial duties were of particular interest for civic elites. First, even notables uninvolved in any suit were intensely concerned with the official's conduct; trials afforded a spectacular means of publicly holding a governor to a standard of justice and probity.

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<sup>1</sup> Aristid., *Or.* 45.15

<sup>2</sup> On the proconsul's judicial duties, see Burton 1973: 130-216, Bérenger 2014: 171-235, and Färber 2014: 144-61; cf. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 143-71. Fournier 2010 discusses the limits of civil and imperial justice.

<sup>3</sup> On provincial perceptions of the governor's judicial role, see especially Nörr 1966: 85ff, Panciera 2006 (on the western provinces), and Sloopjies 2006: 46-76 (late antiquity).

<sup>4</sup> See Bérenger 2014: 354-6 for a collection of sources describing the governor on his tribunal.

The customary organization of the assizes, moreover, made provision for elites to actively participate in the proceedings as advisors or judges, associating themselves with the all-validating power of Rome before a large and shifting crowd of fellow citizens and local rivals. Both aims were served by modelling the governor's role as a "just judge" in the urban fabric. Our discussion of how this role was made implicit in spaces of judgment falls into three sections. The first explores how an elite ideal of justice, and more generally of benevolent rule, was built into civic space. The second investigates how the spatial arrangement of the governor's court served both to advertise this ideal of justice and to visibly associate it with the authority of local notables. The third, finally, uses spaces of justice at Ephesus to illustrate points made in the first two sections.

### **I. Symbols of Justice**

Justice, never a monolithic concept in Greek thought,<sup>5</sup> was variously represented in visual media. Although personifications of δίκη, θέμις, and δικαιοσύνη were occasionally set up in the public spaces of imperial Greek cities, justice seems to have been most commonly "visualized" in terms of a series of exemplars, of whom the emperor (himself sometimes assimilated to the Zeus) was the most important. The significance of these representations for Greek perceptions of the governor's justice is best understood through contemporary oratory, in which several strands of thought are evident: a desire to remind officials of the practical benefits of effective service, insistence on the ethical ideal personified by emperor, and the intimation that justice is a natural manifestation of an educated and refined character.

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<sup>5</sup> Useful surveys include *RE* V.1: 564-5, s.v. "Dikaiosyne", 574-80, s.v. "Dike"; *RAC* X: 234-89, s.v. "Gerechtigkeit;" cf. Garner 1987: 1-18.

### A. Rhetorical Definitions

In imperial Greek oratory, the ideal of the governor's justice was typically defined in terms of a formulaic list of qualities and described with reference with to a stereotyped set of famously just figures. Menander Rhetor's advice is typical:

Under the heading of [a governor's] justice, you should mention humanity toward subjects, gentleness of character and approachability, integrity and incorruptibility in judicial matters, freedom from partiality and prejudice in handing down decisions, equal treatment of rich and poor, and general promotion of the city's welfare. Aristides, Phocion, and those Roman heroes celebrated for their justice should all be mentioned. (II, 416.5-12; trans. Russell & Wilson)

The discussion from which this passage was taken, centered on how a governor's qualities and actions can be described in terms of the canonical four virtues, presents justice as a general category of assessment, crucial for the proper transaction of a governor's duties, but intrinsically no more important than any other ethical touchstone. Less formalized descriptions and assessments of governors, however, accord a special role to justice, which is emphasized not only in petitions (as might be expected),<sup>6</sup> but also in an array of other contexts.<sup>7</sup>

In these sources, the emperor, idealized as the font and exemplar of all public virtue,<sup>8</sup> is often described as the ultimate source of Roman justice. Imperial officials were accordingly urged to model themselves on their master:

The governors sent out to the city-states and ethnic groups are each rulers of those under them, but in what concerns themselves and their relations to each other they are all equally among the ruled, and in particular they differ from those under their rule in that it is they – one might assert – who first show how to be the right

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<sup>6</sup> *POxy* 2131.7; *P. Ry.* II, 114.3; *IGR* III.173 = *OGIS* 544; cf. *IGR* IV.1410.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. *Aristid.*, *Or.* 50.82; *Philostr.*, *VA* 3.25, cf. 6.21

<sup>8</sup> This conceptualization of the emperor was founded on the (originally Hellenistic) ideal of the benevolent sovereign (e.g. *Aristid.*, *Or.* 9; *Dio Chrys.*, *Or.* 1-4); in philosophical endorsements of monarchy (e.g. *Plut.*, *Mor.* 827B; *Dio Chrys.*, *Or.* 36.31, 3.45; *Cass. Dio.*, 52.14ff; cf. *Philostr.*, *VA* 5.33-6), it frequently assumed Stoic overtones. On such terms, justice was merely one expression of the sovereign's virtue and benevolence (*Dio Chrys.*, *Or.* 1.22, 3.43, 49.3). See Noreña 2009: 273f on centrality of justice as an imperial virtue; cf. *RAC* X: 280-9, s.v. "Gerechtigkeit." On imperial virtues in general, see Wallace-Hadrill 1981.



kind of subject. So much respect has been instilled in all men for him who is the great governor, who obtains for them their all. (Aristid., *Or.* 26.31; trans. Oliver)

So described, a governor's judicial functions were a direct manifestation of the imperial will. This interpretation had the effect of simultaneously sanctioning an official's judgments and undermining his personal authority; as Aristides noted, provincials dissatisfied with a proconsular verdict could appeal directly to the emperor: "one might say that the men of today are ruled by the governors who are sent out only insofar as they are content to be ruled" (*Or.* 26.37). The radical dichotomy Aristides saw between the emperor's justice and the judgment of his officials was rooted in the political ideals of his class. For Greek notables, a city's relationship with the emperor was distant enough to be idealized; but the physical presence of a governor, an irrefutable mark of subjugation, had to be qualified and explained. Prepared to admit inclusion in a world-spanning empire, civic elites were uncertain how to acknowledge the authority of often insensitive and unscrupulous imperial functionaries. Notables like Aristides had accordingly to represent the governor's justice on terms that did not threaten the last vestiges of their cities' independence.<sup>9</sup>

In orations addressed to a governor, the convention of conceptualizing a governor's judicial powers as a direct extension of the emperor's also served to present officials with an exemplar for the conduct of their office. The references to the emperor habitually made in speeches to governors can be interpreted – and were probably partially intended – as reminders of imperial oversight to potentially negligent or avaricious Roman functionaries. They also functioned, however, as a vehicle for couching the governor's duties in the terms of an ethical ideal. Menander Rhetor suggested using praise of the emperor as a sort of thematic introduction

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<sup>9</sup> On the relationship between emperor and governor, see Dio Chrys., *Or.* 1.33; 2.66ff; 3.51, 72 ff., 106; 4.44; Men. Rhet. II, 375.18-21. Cf. Nörr 1966: 85ff.

to discussion of a governor's qualities in encomia,<sup>10</sup> and further recommended that the virtues of the emperor and governor be described in much the same way; with regard to justice, for example, both were to be commended for mildness toward their subjects, humanity toward petitioners, and accessibility.<sup>11</sup> Both governor and emperor were thus assimilated to an ideal consonant with Roman conceptions of imperial rule, but ultimately inspired by traditional civic values. Though partly an accident of the Classicizing vocabulary and tone of imperial Greek rhetoric, describing Roman authority in this manner constituted an attempt to win sympathy for a specific mode of conduct, whereby a governor's justice and probity would be expressions of native generosity and cultivated sympathy.<sup>12</sup> On these terms, a governor's service as a just judge would mark him not only as a dutiful official, but also as a gentleman who comported himself in accordance with the rules regulating the behavior educated civic notables.<sup>13</sup> A governor was urged in this sense to model himself not only on the distant exemplar of the emperor, but also on the elite citizens who received him into their cities – and who, significantly, would aid him in judging cases.

It is clear that Greek notables had a fairly well-defined set of expectations for a governor's conduct of his judicial duties, and real motivation to enforce them. The question remains, however, whether, or to what extent, these expectations were made built into the urban fabric. In a notional sense, justice, as a component of the social order that defined the polis, was

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<sup>10</sup> Men. Rhet. II, 415.5f; cf. Ps.-Dion. 275

<sup>11</sup> Men. Rhet. II, 375.8-10, 416.5-7. In light of the formulaic nature of imperial declamation, such correspondence is hardly surprising; both emperor and governor were to be praised in terms of the four canonical virtues, which virtually ensured that they would be attributed similar sets of ideal qualities. When juxtaposed in an encomium, however, these formulae might assume real significance.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. [Aristid.] *Or.* 35.17-20; cf. Philostr., *VA* 5.36; Philo, *Leg.* XLVI (368).

<sup>13</sup> On the virtues expected of Greek elites in civic life, see, e.g., Plut., *Mor.* 791C. An uneducated ruler would naturally lack control of his passions, in judgment and other affairs (e.g. Plut., *Mor.* 779Dff).

thought to be implicit in every city.<sup>14</sup> Although specific textual references to the place of justice in the built environment are lacking, the encomia referenced above provide important clues. Greek elites, as we have seen, conceptualized the governor's role as judge largely in terms of exemplars. In imperial rhetoric, a whole stereotyped set of characters mythic and historical was adduced to illustrate the virtue of justice.<sup>15</sup> The emperor was another paragon; and even the collective populace of a city could be commended as a model of virtue.<sup>16</sup> In this light, it can be posited that physical representations of the figures identified as exemplars of justice may have served to evoke the rhetorical ideal. Imperial Greek elites were sensitive to the power of images in shaping popular conceptions of authority – Dio Chrysostom, for example, describes at length how Phidias' famous statue at Olympia instantiated, and indeed transformed, Homer's depiction of Zeus<sup>17</sup> – and it is reasonable to assume that, particularly in the charged atmosphere of an official visit, some of the statues that adorned the nerve centers of civic life assumed didactic qualities.

### *B. Visualizing Justice*

Statues of Roman governors would seem the most obvious visual means of advertising the Greek civic ideal of the governor's justice. This was certainly the case in Late Antiquity, when the bases of statues set up for governors frequently bore epigrams praising official justice, and the honorific statues themselves were sometimes apparently stylized to emphasize probity.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The rule of law and its characteristic virtues of *taxis* and *eunomia* were inextricably associated with the city (e.g. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.87ff; 36.20, 30; [Luc.], *Enc. Patr.* 7). The polis was, by this definition, a model of ethical behavior (see Dio Chrys., *Or.* 43.4).

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Men. *Rhet.* II, 416.10-12; [Aristid.], *Or.* 35.17

<sup>16</sup> References collected in Pernot 1993: 189-202.

<sup>17</sup> *Or.* 12, esp. 49ff; cf. Max. Tyr., *Diss.* 38. The fact that Herod modelled a statue of Augustus in Caesarea on this sculpture (Jos., *AJ* 15.331, 16.137f; *BJ* 1.414) is indicative of the regal qualities it was thought to represent.

<sup>18</sup> Smith 1999: 175 discusses the development of the late antique emphasis on abstract virtues. On the epigrams by which late antique governors were honored for their justice, see Robert 1948 and Slootjes 2006: 129-53;

Statue bases dedicated to high imperial proconsuls, however, tended to emphasize specific benefactions rather than abstract virtues like justice.<sup>19</sup> There were a few exceptions, primarily in the mid-third century – when, for example, the proconsul L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus was honored throughout the province of Asia for his probity<sup>20</sup> – but throughout the high imperial period, Roman officials were usually described in the same language of euergetism used to praise local notables. Their statues seem to have been similarly generic. Although a few governors appeared in the Greek himation or the cuirass of military command, the great majority were represented in the bulky toga and senatorial sandals of their class and rank – a distinctive costume, but one with no visible connection to their duties or virtues (Figs. 81-4).<sup>21</sup> Likewise, although a few statues representing provincial governors on their seats of judgment are known from other parts of the Empire, no example has yet been recovered from the Greek east.<sup>22</sup>

Abstract depictions of official justice are equally elusive. Although representations of both Law (δίκη, θέμις) and Justice (δικαιοσύνη) had appeared in Greek art since the Classical

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Kantorowicz 1953 interprets the conceit of Justice sharing the governor's seat of judgment as evidence that statues of late antique governors were sometimes paired with physical representations of Justice and other virtues. See Foss 1983 and Smith 2002 on the appearance of honorific statues for late antique governors, and Smith 1999: 185-8 on the stylization of these portraits to emphasize the honorand's justice.

<sup>19</sup> Erkelenz 2003: 80-5; cf. Panicera 2006

<sup>20</sup> See esp. Christol, Drew-Bear, & Talalan 2003; additional literature cited in Bérenger 2014: 173, n. 9-10. Compare *SEG* 4 467 (also from the mid-third century). It should be noted, however, that a number of lesser Roman officials were honored explicitly for their justice in the early Empire (e.g. *IvE* 703).

<sup>21</sup> On the appearance of honorific statues for Roman governors, see Tuchelt 1979: 68-118 (esp. 86-104) and Erkelenz 2003: 90-114. Most palliate statues date to the Republican period, and can be attributed to the hurried repurposing of older statues (Tuchelt 1979: 94-5); although, as Boschung 2002: 135-8 notes, this sort of adaptation slowed in the imperial period, a number of eminent Romans were represented by reused statues of local notables at Athens under the Empire (Shear 2007), and the practice of repurposing old sculpture in the way seems to have always been widespread (e.g., Dio Chrys., *Or.* 31). The rarity of cuirassed statues for Roman officials in Asia – the statue of “Celsus” from the Library at Ephesus is the only extant example – reflects the civilian nature of the proconsul's office; governors of Senatorial provinces were forbidden to wear armor during their term of office (Cass. Dio 53.13).

<sup>22</sup> On seated representations of governors see Schäfer 1989: 134-5, 149-50 and Erkelenz 2003: 93, fn. 334. At Rome, this pose was reserved for emperors (Schäfer 1989: 130-4); in the Greek world, philosophers were usually the only figures shown seated. (Smith 1998: 64).

period,<sup>23</sup> relatively few sculptures depicting these qualities are attested for the high imperial period. A base from Gerasa belonging to a statue of Δικαιοσύνη set up by a second-century agoranomos to commemorate his probity in office is one of the few extant representatives of what seems to have been a fairly widespread custom; an epigram in the Palatine Anthology mocks the pretensions of a dishonest man who erected a statue of Justice.<sup>24</sup> The base for a statue of Justice preserved in the Lower Agora of Ephesus may represent an analogue to the fourth-century statue of Δίκη set up in front of the basilica at Gortyn to commemorate a just governor;<sup>25</sup> but even if the Ephesian image can be located in the vicinity of the proconsul's auditorium – as will be suggested later – it is unlikely to have had any special significance when the assizes were not in session.<sup>26</sup> Other abstractions closely allied to Justice may have been somewhat more prominent in imperial Greek cities; Good Order (εὐνομία), for example, was represented by a statue atop a monumental arch in the center of Perge.<sup>27</sup>

In most cases, however, it seems that Roman justice was symbolized not by statues of governors or the abstract quality of Justice, but by the image of the emperor. Statues of the reigning emperor and his predecessors thronged the public spaces of virtually every Roman city; and although the familiarity of these portraits may have lessened their individual effect – Fronton

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<sup>23</sup> *LIMC* III.1: 386-8, s.v. “Dikaiosyne”; III.1: 388-91, s.v. “Dike”; VIII.1: 1199-1205, s.v. “Themis”; cf. *ibid.* V.1: 661-3, s.v. “Iustitia.” Although shrines to Justice were scattered across the Greek east, the cult seems to have never been important. Justice was, however, depicted with some frequency on the reverses of civic coinage (*LIMC* III.1: 387-8). On the general phenomenon of personification in Greek art, see Shapiro 1993 and Messerschmidt 2003.

<sup>24</sup> The inscription from Gerasa (*SEG* 7 847) is discussed in Robert, *OMS* I, 603-5; cf. *IvP* 333 = *IGR* IV.504b; *IvLasos* 228. On the practice of setting up statues to commemorate honest service to the city, see *IvE* 504-5, 520-6 (statues of victory set up Ephesian agoranomoi); Robert 1969: 254-9 (statues of Eros filling the same function). Epigram: *Pal. Anth.* IX.164.

<sup>25</sup> Ephesus: *IvE* 503. Gortyn: *I. Cret.* IV 313.

<sup>26</sup> In a few cities, representations of justice figured prominently in the local pantheon; Δικαιοσύνη was apparently the chief deity of Prynnessus in Phrygia (Robert 1980: 244-56). There seems to have also been a major cult of Δικαιοσύνη at Carian Olymos (e.g. *IvMylasa* 801).

<sup>27</sup> *IvPerge* 56; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1035, 1102, 3738. Perge even had a “ἱερέα Σεβα[σ]τῆς Ὁμονοίας” (*IvPerge* 57). On representations of Harmony, see *LIMC* IV.1: 62-5, s.v. “Eunomia”; Hampe 1955: 112ff.

famously complained of the ubiquity of vulgar likenesses of Marcus Aurelius<sup>28</sup> – the imperial image retained unique significance as a symbol, and in some cases an instantiation, of Roman power. This significance was predicated on the idea that, under certain circumstances, a statue of the emperor was a proxy for the sovereign himself; far from being mere symbols of the emperor’s justice, imperial images actively sanctioned it. Imperial images could thus grant asylum, receive oaths of loyalty, and even perform miracles.<sup>29</sup> The fourth-century homilist Severian of Gabala describes the imperial image as a necessary source of both authority and oversight for those transacting the emperor’s laws:

Consider how many officials there are in the world. Since the emperor cannot be everywhere himself, an image of the emperor must be present in courthouses, agoras, places of assembly, and theaters. At every place in which an official performs his duties, [an image of the emperor] must be present to sanction the proceedings. For the emperor, as a man, cannot be in all places at once. (*de Mund. Creat. Or.* 6.5 (PG 56.489))

Severian’s is of course a late antique perspective;<sup>30</sup> but a passage in the *Apology* of Apuleius suggests that similar functions were attributed to the imperial image much earlier; addressing the proconsul Claudius Maximus in his assize court at Sabratha, Apuleius laments his opponent’s impropriety in reading aloud a scandalous personal letter “before a man of such lofty character as Claudius Maximus...and in the presence of the statues of the emperor Pius” (85).<sup>31</sup> The

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<sup>28</sup> Fronto, *Ep. ad M. Caes.* 4.12.6

<sup>29</sup> On the attribution of imperial powers to images, see Niemeyer 1968: 20-2 and Ando 2000: 228-53. Gamauf 1999 discusses the right of asylum associated with imperial images; cf. Price 1984: 192-3 and Pekáry 1985: 130-1. Both military and civilian oaths of loyalty seem to have been sworn in the presence of imperial images (see section II). On miracles performed by imperial images, see Pekáry 1985: 132-3.

<sup>30</sup> In late antiquity, officials bore images of the emperor as insignia (Kruse 1934: 89-106). See, for example, the imperial portraits displayed among the insignia of various officials in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berger 1981: figs. 1, 23, 24, 46, 48).

<sup>31</sup> See Kruse 1934: 79ff and Rollin 1979 (esp. 134ff) on the uses of the imperial image in Roman courts. A fourth-century sarcophagus from Trier decorated with a scene from the Book of Daniel shows an elevated image of Nebuchadnezzar apparently inspired by the imperial statues that decorated contemporary courtrooms (Kruse 1934-5).

prominent part played by the imperial image in trials of the Christians can thus be regarded as an extension of its role in conventional civil process.<sup>32</sup>

The judicial functions of the imperial image were not made visually explicit. The emperor seems never to have been depicted in a magistrate's seat outside Rome, and though scattered sculptural representations of the emperor's virtues are attested in the provinces, no personification of imperial justice has ever been recovered.<sup>33</sup> In the Greek east, as throughout the Empire, emperors were depicted in their senatorial togas, in a general's cuirass, or heroically nude. None of these representations had any special connection with justice.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, although a few statues were set up to commemorate acts of imperial justice, no extant dedicatory inscription makes explicit mention of the emperor's probity or judgement.<sup>35</sup> The physical contexts in which some imperial images were erected, however, may have served to advertise their connection with justice. Statues of the emperors were ubiquitous; but the largest and most impressive tended (unsurprisingly) to be concentrated in sanctuaries of the imperial cult and centers of public assembly.<sup>36</sup> Although many of these spaces – as we shall see – were customarily used by governors during their assizes, the multiplicity of other functions they fulfilled complicates any interpretation of their sculptural programs. Imperial statues set up in the apses of basilicas, however, seem to have had a close connection with judicial functions.

Basilicas were not of course used exclusively to try cases – in his directions for designing a basilica, Vitruvius suggests constructing an apse for trials along the rear wall, so as not to

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<sup>32</sup> A number of examples are discussed in Kruse 1934: 82-9.

<sup>33</sup> Seated emperor: Schäfer 1989: 134-5. Statues of the emperor's virtues: Pekáry 1985: 99.

<sup>34</sup> On the iconography of imperial portraits, see Niemeyer 1968: 38-64; cf. Price 1984: 179-85, Boschung 2002, and Fejfer 2008: 393-404

<sup>35</sup> Pekáry 1985: 22-8 surveys the occasions for erecting imperial images and cites (27-8) examples of statues commemorating the emperor's justice. See Price 1984b on the titles ascribed to the emperor in dedicatory inscriptions.

<sup>36</sup> On the placement of imperial statues, see especially Niemeyer 1968: 28-37 and Pekáry 1985: 42-65.

interfere with mercantile business (Fig. 85)<sup>37</sup> – but they were, despite their versatility, the civic buildings most associated with justice. Sculpture decorating the exterior of basilicas seem to have seldom borne any thematic relation to judgment or law.<sup>38</sup> Yet imperial images were frequently erected in the apse where civic cases were judged, and where (in *conventus* cities) the proconsul’s tribunal would be erected during the assizes.<sup>39</sup> To mention only the best-preserved ensemble, the east aisle and apses of the Julian Basilica at Corinth – which probably served as an important judicial venue for the proconsul of Achaëa – were decorated with a virtual gallery of imperial statuary (Fig. 86).<sup>40</sup> Similar collections of imperial images seem to have ornamented the interiors of basilicas in Asia Minor.<sup>41</sup> Although the evidence is less clear, even the ensembles of honorific statuary surrounding basilicas may have been intended to evoke the emperor’s justice. The series of imperial statues arrayed beside an image of Δίκη in front of the late antique basilica at Gortyn<sup>42</sup> may have been exceptional, but imperial statues seem to have collected in the vicinity of basilicas at several other sites.<sup>43</sup>

Particularly in and around spaces used to try cases, then, the imperial image was potentially the most important symbol of justice. Equally significant in their way, however, were

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<sup>37</sup> *Vitr.* 5.1.8

<sup>38</sup> De Angelis 2010: 13-14 observes that, at least with regard to architectural sculpture, basilicas do not seem to have been decorated in a manner designed to emphasize their judicial functions. The relief panels of the basilica at Aphrodisias, the best-preserved examples from Asia Minor, are focused on episodes from civic history, and exhibit no obvious connection with justice (Yildirim 2008, Stinson 2012).

<sup>39</sup> A second-century inscription from Aezani honors a benefactor who “dedicated the sacred objects [presumably statues of the emperors] in the exedra of the basilica” (*IGR* IV.580.13-15). See Niemeyer 1968: 32-3 for a (dated) survey of the evidence for imperial statues in basilicas; cf. Nünnerich-Asmus 1994: 103-4. The placement and arrangement of these sculptures is discussed in more detail below.

<sup>40</sup> On the sculpture in the Julian Basilica, see *Corinth* I.5: 53-4 and IX: cat. no. 134-58; cf. Rose 1997, cat. No. 69. See Scotton 1997: 255-61 on the probable arrangement of the sculpture, and *ibid.* 264-7 for the suggestion that it was connected with the governor’s tribunal. Compare the extensive collection of statuary discovered in the basilica of Ascalon (Fischer 1995).

<sup>41</sup> See the discussion in the following section.

<sup>42</sup> See the references in Färber 2014: 167-8.

<sup>43</sup> Remarkable numbers of imperial statue bases were found, for example, around the basilicas of Miletus (see Ch. 10) and Smyrna (Keil 1950: 57ff).



the statues of local notables that thronged the public spaces of virtually every Greek city. The cityscapes of imperial poleis, as we have seen, were configured above all for the exercise and negotiation of local authority.<sup>44</sup> While it is probable that the notables of *conventus* cities paid particular attention to the appearance of spaces regularly used by visiting governors, they were always principally concerned with the exposition of their own position and prestige. The conceptions of justice represented by statues of officials, virtues, and emperors were products of a moral landscape created by, and largely for, local notables; and it was ultimately to an ideal of the elite citizen that these ideals were assimilated. To a certain extent, the process of assimilation was visual: emperors and particularly eminent (i.e. senatorial) locals could be depicted in the same garb and pose, and might even – thanks to the phenomenon of the “period face” – be virtually indistinguishable at a glance.<sup>45</sup> The creation of such close correlations, however, was relatively rare, since emperors were almost never represented in the Greek himation, the garment of choice for the vast majority of elite male portraits.<sup>46</sup> It was, rather, the dedications of these statues, couched in the standard language of service and honors and animated by the spirit of euergetism, that identified statues of both emperors and local notables as exemplars of service to the city.<sup>47</sup> Although justice *per se* is not mentioned with exceptional frequency,<sup>48</sup> abundant reference is made to the philanthropy and munificence so closely associated with that quality in

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<sup>44</sup> See Ch. 7-8.

<sup>45</sup> On the striking similarity of imperial images to those of senatorial notables, see Rose 1997: 115-16. Zanker 1982 concisely describes the phenomenon of the “period face.” In the same period, widespread use of the “Large Herculaneum type” made imperial women look very similar to their elite provincial counterparts (Trimble 2011).

<sup>46</sup> See Smith 1998 and Smith 2006: 35-8 on the conventions governing portraits of local notables. Fejfer 2008: 395-7 remarks the virtual absence of imperial portraits wearing the himation.

<sup>47</sup> Quass 1993: 19-79 discusses the language of honors and munificence used by Hellenistic and Roman elites; cf. Smith 2006: 21-7. Stephan 2002: 59-113 discusses the significance of this ethical code for elite self-identification.

<sup>48</sup> On officials described as “δικαιοτάτος,” see the sources collected in Christol & Demougin 1990: 176 and Reynolds 1994: 677, n. 14.

ancient thought.<sup>49</sup> Contemporary rhetoric, as we have seen, presented justice as an expression of cultivated virtue, epitomized, perhaps, by the emperor, but characteristic to some degree of every educated gentleman. Although notables were not represented as judges, they stood as exemplars of the virtues that were supposed to guide a governor's conduct on his tribunal.

## II. Places of Judgment

Although local elites were clearly interested in communicating a distinctive ideal of justice to visiting Roman officials, there is little evidence connecting this ideal with the appearance of the spaces set aside for the governor's judgement. Provincial capitals like Ephesus, where the proconsul would spend a considerable portion of his term, seem to have featured buildings customarily used, if not necessarily built, for the enactment of Roman justice. In other *conventus* cities, however, and frequently even in the capitals, governors usually conducted trials in spaces designed for other purposes. Legally, the setting in which a Roman magistrate passed judgment was irrelevant; it was his physical presence, and the tribunal and insignia of his office, that defined a space as a court.<sup>50</sup> Roman officials were encouraged, in fact, to try cases in the open, where crowds could gather and their judgements would be open to public scrutiny; if a trial were to be held inside, it was deemed needful only that the space chosen be large enough to handle the proceedings and decorated in a suitably impressive style.<sup>51</sup> This emphasis on the person and insignia of the judge, however, had definite, if implicit, implications for the settings of trials in the provinces.

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<sup>49</sup> *RAC* X: 269-77, s.v. "Gerechtigkeit"

<sup>50</sup> De Angelis 2010: 1-3

<sup>51</sup> See De Angelis 2010: 6-9 on the idea that trials should be held in the open, and *ibid.* 13-16 on spaces of justice inside public and private buildings. A governor was supposed to be accessible at all times: *Dig.* 1.18.9, pr; cf. Bérenger 2014: 323-7.

First, the governor's tribunal, the single most important symbol of his power to administer justice,<sup>52</sup> had to be placed in a prominent and symbolically charged location. Although the size and shape of tribunals varied considerably, all were oblong platforms with space for the presiding magistrate, his council, and the functionaries who accompanied him to trials (Figs. 87-8).<sup>53</sup> The primary apse of a civil basilica – if a city happened to possess such a building – often featured a low platform designed to serve as a tribunal.<sup>54</sup> Analogous structures seem to have existed in the *praetoria* of provincial capitals. At least in basilicas, as we have seen, these apses frequently featured statues of the emperor and his family, which would stand around and behind governors as they performed their judicial duties. The juxtaposition was deliberate: the apsidal tribunal in Vitruvius' basilica at Fanum was designed to be within sight of a shrine of Augustus (Fig. 85),<sup>55</sup> and it may be assumed that the architects who designed basilicas in the Greek east were motivated by a comparable blend of practical and symbolic concerns. Even when a tribunal was constructed in the agora – in many Greek cities, it probably doubled as the *bema* – it seems to have been customary to position it in a location that would not only accommodate a large audience, but also create a visual relationship with significant components of the urban fabric, and particularly with statues of the emperor.

The provisions made for accommodating the functionaries and audience around a proconsul's tribunal were equally important. In a basic sense, of course, the size of the audience that could gather to watch judicial proceedings was limited by the extent and nature of the area

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<sup>52</sup> On the significance of the tribunal, see David 2006, Färber 2014: 175-234, and *RE* VIA: 2480-2, s.v. "Tribunal"; cf. *RE* III: 264-5, s.v. "βῆμα"; *RAC* II: 129-30, s.v. "Bema." See Bérenger 2014: 354-6 for a collection of sources mentioning the governor's tribunal. Tribunals appear frequently in Roman art: see Gabelmann 1984: 106ff and Bablitz 2008.

<sup>53</sup> On the shape and size of tribunals, see Johnson 1927: 32-5 and Färber 2014: 187-95.

<sup>54</sup> The best-preserved example from an Asian *conventus* city is the tribunal in the basilica of Smyrna (Naumann & Kantar 1950: 86-7).

<sup>55</sup> *Vitr.* 5.1.7-8; cf. David 1983: 229-35, Nünnerich-Asmus 1994: 99-106.

surrounding the governor's tribunal, which was sometimes controlled by special barriers.<sup>56</sup> More important, however, for how a governor was perceived by this audience, and indeed for how he understood his duties, was the disposition of local notables around his tribunal. The tribunal was a stage on and by which governors could array all the insignia and attendants that symbolized their authority. Yet it was also a place for displaying the local notables who would serve as legal advisors or even sit on the governor's council during the assizes. This circumstance, as we shall see, could significantly influence local perceptions of the governor's justice.

#### A. Creating a Courtroom

An imperial Greek statute stipulating that all municipal cases be held in the δικαστήριον seems to indicate the existence of spaces set aside for local justice.<sup>57</sup> The lack of any clear archaeological evidence for such buildings, however, suggests that “δικαστήριον” was simply the title accorded to multipurpose buildings like basilica or bouleuterion, which could accommodate trials but were not designed exclusively for the purpose. Governors, likewise, are known to have used a wide variety of spaces for their assizes. Trials are attested in theaters, gymnasia, and baths – apparently for the simple reason that these structures could handle large crowds.<sup>58</sup> Such venues seem, however, to have only been employed under special circumstances. Although relatively few cities possessed buildings explicitly designed for Roman justice,<sup>59</sup> the

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<sup>56</sup> Färber 2014: 284-8

<sup>57</sup> *Dig.* 50.9.6. On Greek local procedure in the Roman period, see Nörr 1966: 12-34. Cf. *Agora XXVIII*: 192ff for a comprehensive collection of Classical testimonia pertaining to courtrooms and judicial process.

<sup>58</sup> The “trial” of Lucius in the *Golden Ass* is moved from the agora to the theater to accommodate a larger crowd (*Apul., Met.* 3.2; cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 7.21). On governors trying cases in theaters, stadiums, and amphitheaters, see the sources collected in Färber 2014: 201-2, n. 124. On trials in baths and gymnasiums, see *ibid.* 202-3; gymnasiums seem to have particularly popular for this purpose in Roman Egypt (Capponi 2010: 257-61). Bouleuterions could also serve as places of judgement; it has been suggested, for example, that the Odeon of Cibyra served this purpose (Özüdgru & Dökü: 40-2).

<sup>59</sup> Haensch 1997: 374-7

particular spatial requirements of the governor's assizes encouraged the use of settings largely discrete from those of local justice and frequent assembly. Thus, while governors could hold courts in almost any public space, they routinely used the same few places.

In provincial capitals and some *conventus* cities of the more militarized provinces, governors tried cases in a *praetorium*, a residential and administrative complex designed for the use of Roman officials.<sup>60</sup> Archaeological evidence for these structures has proved elusive, largely because most seem to have differed relatively little in plan from contemporary elite houses. The well-excavated examples at Caesarea and Gortyn, however, feature large rooms apparently designed for audiences and judicial proceedings (Figs. 89-90).<sup>61</sup> That at least some praetoria were used for public trials is confirmed by the literary evidence – most famously, the Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus<sup>62</sup> – which attest crowds attending hearings at the governor's residence. Yet, under most circumstances, the judicial functions of praetoria seem to have been largely restricted to private hearings and interrogations. It was perhaps not until late antiquity that praetoria routinely featured a *secretarium*, the closed courtroom in which a governor tried sensitive cases.<sup>63</sup>

Even in the relatively few mid-imperial cities that boasted a *praetorium*, the majority of judicial business was transacted in public.<sup>64</sup> Some cases were judged under the cover of a stoa or – if the city possessed one – in the basilica. The more spectacular criminal proceedings and high-profile civil suits, however, seem to have usually been tried in the agora square itself. Both

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<sup>60</sup> On *praetoria*, see especially Egger 1966, Archer 1989, and Färber 2014: 209-12. On the layout of late antique *praetoria*, see Lavan 1999 and Lavan 2001. Capponi 2010: 265-9 discusses *praetoria* in Egypt.

<sup>61</sup> Caesarea: Gleason 1998. Gortyn: evidence epitomized in Färber 2014: 165-70

<sup>62</sup> On the setting of the trial of Jesus, see Aubert 2010: 304-7. Compare *Acta Cyp.* 3.1-2.

<sup>63</sup> Private hearings in the *praetorium*: e.g. E.g. *Acta Mart. Scilit.* 1; *Acta Cyp.* 1.1. Färber 2014: 235-82 discusses the shape and uses of the *secretarium* at length; cf. *RE* II.A.3: 979-81, s.v. "secretarium."

<sup>64</sup> For general surveys of the architectural settings in which governors judged cases, see Pont 2010: 203-4; Bérenger 2014: 354-6; and Färber 2014: 144-61, 195-221. Cf. Lavan 2007: 120-1 and Dareggi 1996 on the spaces used by late antique governors.

basilicas and agoras were practical choices: the former were eminently suitable for small to mid-size trials, while the latter provided an excellent (and highly visible) venue for public proceedings on a grand scale. Yet both spaces also served, when juxtaposed with a governor's tribunal, to invest with real significance a governor's display of his power, and still more his engagement with local notables and symbols of authority.

### *Basilica*

Despite its probable origins in the Hellenistic east, the basilica was a distinctively Roman building type.<sup>65</sup> It was never popular in the Greek world.<sup>66</sup> The Basilica Stoa in the Upper Agora of Ephesus, the earliest example from Asia Minor, was constructed during the reign of Augustus. No basilicas seem to have been constructed in Asia for at least another half-century; and despite a modest surge of construction in the late first and second centuries, they remained somewhat anomalous.<sup>67</sup> Since their basic function – of providing an indoor space for public business – was already filled by stoas in most Greek cities, prestige seems to have been the primary motive for their construction; like the agoras they invariably adjoined,<sup>68</sup> basilicas were centers of elite display, where the statues and persons of local notables could be displayed in a suitably grandiose setting. The design of a basilica, however, was ultimately determined by the functions it was designed to accommodate. The basic plan was simple: an oblong space arrayed in parallel aisles, the central usually broader than those flanking it, complemented by apses or annexes on the long and/or short walls. Under most circumstances, the aisles were used primarily for commercial purposes. The apses and annexes, however, usually had more specialized functions.

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<sup>65</sup> For an overview of the design and functions of basilicas, see Gros 1996: 235-60; cf. *RE* III: 83-96, s.v. "Basilica;" *RAC* I: 1225-49, s.v. "Basilika."

<sup>66</sup> On basilicas in Asia Minor, see especially Stinson 2007, Pont 2010: 87-91, and Gros 2012.

<sup>67</sup> For (partial) lists of basilicas in Asia Minor, see Stinson 2008: 79, fn. 3; Pont 2010: 87-91

<sup>68</sup> Basilicas were almost always positioned with a long side facing the agora; the few exceptions were mostly products of unusual topography (e.g. the basilica at Aphrodisias: Stinson 2012: 121).

Particularly when they assumed the shape of a “chalcidicum” – that is, of a semi-independent structure attached to one or both of a basilica’s short ends<sup>69</sup> – they seem to have sometimes had some connection with the imperial cult. More generally, these recessed spaces served as focal points for the basilica’s judicial functions.<sup>70</sup>

A number of factors determined the placement and presentation of the tribunal in a basilica.<sup>71</sup> Although a temporary platform may have been erected in the nave or one of the aisles during large trials, tribunals were usually located in an apse or some other recessed space.<sup>72</sup> The few examples on which any analysis of tribunals in Asian basilicas must rely suggest that most were waist-high platforms large enough for a small group of seated men (Figs. 91-4).<sup>73</sup> Several factors influenced their placement. In “Vitruvian” basilicas, where the primary apse was located on the long wall, it seems to have been customary to place the tribunal directly across from, or at least in clear sight of, a sanctuary of the imperial cult (Fig. 85).<sup>74</sup> Since the primary apse of most Asian basilicas was located on one of the short walls, however, sculptural displays were the favorite method of indicating the significance of the place of judgement. Apses were not of course the only parts of the building adorned with sculpture – in the nave of the basilica at Aphrodisias, for example, statues of local notables stood in specially designed niches along the

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<sup>69</sup> The term is taken from Vitr. 5.1.4. See *RE* VI, 2039-42, s.v. “chalcidicum”

<sup>70</sup> These spaces may have had other uses as well, but in view of Vitruvius’ description of the apse in his basilica at Fanum (5.1.7-8), it can be assumed that administration of justice was among their primary functions.

<sup>71</sup> David 1983 and Färber 2014: 203-9 discuss tribunals in basilicas.

<sup>72</sup> As Vitruvius observes (5.1.8), recessing tribunals into the walls of a basilica allowed commerce to proceed unhindered in the aisles.

<sup>73</sup> The tribunal in the basilica at Smyrna stood one meter above the level of the floor, and was built into an apse 5.75 m deep (Naumann & Kantar 1950: 86-7). The tribunal in the basilica at Magnesia ad Maeandrum, also roughly one meter tall, was built into an apse 9.35 m in diameter (Öztaner 2012: 171). Although no permanent tribunal was found in the basilica at Xanthos, the elaborately decorated chamber at the north end of the building very likely housed a wooden platform; its dimensions (18 x 10 m) were more than ample for the purpose (Cavalier 2012: 191); compare the “vestibule” of the basilica at Aspendos, another probable place of judgement, which measured c. 26 x 20 m (Lanckoronski 1890: 96).

<sup>74</sup> Vitr. 5.1.7; David 1983: 229-35

aisles and vestibule (Fig. 95) – but they tended to be the most splendidly decorated.<sup>75</sup> Images of the emperor and his family were, as we have seen, central to these displays, but they were far from the only elements. As in other parts of the city, imperial portraits were juxtaposed with those of benefactors and tutelary deities; the Basilica Stoa at Thera, for example, was rebuilt in the Antonine period to include a semi-enclosed room dominated by a statue group in which the imperial family and the family of the building's benefactor flanked a statue of the city's Tyche (Fig. 96).<sup>76</sup>

### *Agora*

By the late second century, most *conventus* cities probably possessed a basilica,<sup>77</sup> which the visiting governor or legate would probably use for hearings and small civic suits. Trials expected to draw a crowd, however, were customarily held in the agora. The publicity of these occasions made the agora the single most important site of the governor's justice. Plutarch describes the crowds that gathered in the agora during the assizes:

Do you see this vast and promiscuous crowd which jostles and surges in confusion here about the tribunal and the agora? These persons have come together...[because] a mighty pestilence drives them together here with yearly visitations stirring up Asia, which must come for law-suits and litigation at certain stated times; and the overwhelming multitude, like streams flowing together, has inundated this one agora (*Mor.*, 501e-2a)<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Although the degree and type of architectural ornament varied considerably, the whole interiors of eastern basilicas tended to be richly decorated. On the statues in the basilica of Aphrodisias, see Stinson 2012: 117.

<sup>76</sup> On the sculpture discovered in the Basilica Stoa, see *Thera* I: 223-8; Balty 1991: 393 mentions a bust of Tyche found in the vicinity (Balty, *Curia* 393), which Thomas 2007: 138 suggests was arranged with the statues of the imperial family and benefactors. It is possible that a tribunal was set up just in front of this sculpture group; there was certainly room for one (the room measured 7.38x10.10 m; the bathron (base for sculpture group), 3.51x2.07 m (*Thera* I: 231)).

<sup>77</sup> In the province of Asia, a basilica has been found or can be reasonably conjectured in the following *conventus* cities: Ephesus (see below), Smyrna (e.g. Thomas 2007: 142), Miletus (Stümpel et al. 2005), and Cibyra (e.g. Ekinci et al. 2007).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 35.15-17



Plutarch was not the only ancient observer to be struck by the spectacle of vast crowds converging on the tall platform that served as the governor's tribunal.<sup>79</sup> Seldom in the normal course of his duties was a governor so visible, or so visibly dependent on the built environment. For the relatively contained proceedings in basilicas, a waist-high stage sufficed; to stand out amid the litigants, vendors, and spectators who thronged an agora, however, a more substantial structure was needed, capable of projecting authority at a distance.

Although some cities may have constructed wooden stages for the assizes, governors seem to have usually used preexisting bemas, the multipurpose platforms that stood in the agoras of many Greek cities.<sup>80</sup> Under normal circumstances, these structures served as platforms for political speeches and – significantly – as venues for local justice; Plutarch urges a man aspiring to a career in local politics to think of the bema in the agora as a “sanctuary common to Zeus the Counsellor and the Protector of Cities, to Themis and to Justice” (*Mor.* 819e).<sup>81</sup> During the assizes, however, they were regarded above all as symbols of Roman authority.<sup>82</sup> Plutarch famously bids the would-be politician to gaze from his office on the agora towards the bema:

[If tempted to excessive ambition] you should arrange your cloak more carefully, and from the office of the generals keep your eyes upon the bema, and not have great pride or confidence in your crown, since you see the sandals of Roman governors just above your head.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Tertullian (*Apol.*, 1.1) refers to the forum in a governor judged cases as the “nerve center of the city” (in ipso fere vertice civitatis). Dionisotti 1982: 104-5 describes a scene of judgment in the forum preserved in a fourth-century schoolbook. Additional references are collected in Färber 2014: 195-9; cf. Capponi 2010: 263-5 for examples from Roman Egypt.

<sup>80</sup> *RE* III: 264-5, s.v. “βῆμα”; *RAC* II: 129-30, s.v. “Bema.”

<sup>81</sup> Literary references to the agora as a place of rhetorical performance are collected in Korenjak 2000: 33. In at least some cases, bemas were used by agoranomoi for their commercial courts (Dickenson 2012: 390-1).

<sup>82</sup> A bema could be associated when Roman authority even in the governor's absence; a second-century inscription from Corinth records a proconsular rescript being read out at the bema (Broneer 1939).

<sup>83</sup> εὐσταλεστέραν δεῖ τὴν χλαμύδα ποιεῖν, καὶ βλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ μὴ πολὺ φρονεῖν μηδὲ πιστεύειν, ὀρῶντα τοὺς καλτίους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς (*Mor.* 813f). Although “τοὺς καλτίους” (the generic Greek transliteration of *calcei*) have been interpreted as the boots of soldiers, it makes more sense to imagine a governor standing in his senatorial sandals (*calcei mullei*) on the βῆμα.

A well-known passage from Poseidonius, likewise, records how the demagogue Athenaios delivered a speech urging the Athenians to abandon their allegiance to Rome from a tribunal “built in front of the portico of Attalus by the Roman generals” – likely a symbolic gesture.<sup>84</sup> Nearly three centuries later, apparently recalling its historical associations, Marcus Aurelius advised one of his procurators not to use the tribunal in the Athenian Agora for a task that might incite popular unrest.<sup>85</sup> Bemas, in short, were capable of accruing a wide range of associations with the conduct of both local and Roman authority. Their placement and decoration reflected these associations.

Although Roman governors occasionally tried cases in the peristyle surrounding an agora,<sup>86</sup> the platforms that served as their tribunals seem to have usually been located in a prominent place on the square itself. The best-preserved example, the bema in the agora of Corinth, indicates that at least some of these structures were impressive monuments (Figs. 97-8).<sup>87</sup> The Corinthian bema was a large platform (16 x 7.5 m) almost three meters tall. Situated nearly in the center of the row of shops that marked the transition between the upper and lower terraces of the agora, the bema was sheathed in marble, flanked by monumental exedras, and topped by a canopy with Corinthian columns. Its alignment with the Lechaion road made it one of the first structures visible on entering the agora, and its height and gleaming revetment would have drawn the eye from virtually any part of the lower terrace. This visual prominence would have been particularly marked during the assizes, when the governor was seated far above the

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<sup>84</sup> Athen. 5.212 (=Poseid. *FGrHist.* 87 F 36 (50))

<sup>85</sup> *SEG* 29 127.85-7

<sup>86</sup> Färber 2014: 199-201 surveys the evidence for trials in porticoes. Perhaps the most striking physical evidence for governors judging cases in the periphery of an agora is the space apparently reserved for a tribunal in a stoa adjoining the agora of Megalopolis (Lauter 1997).

<sup>87</sup> On the Bema, see *Corinth* I.3: 91-111; cf. Färber 2014: 197-8

milling crowds on the terrace.<sup>88</sup> Although the bema at Corinth was doubly exceptional as the product of a provincial capital and Roman colony – it has been suggested that it was modelled directly on the Rostra in the Roman Forum – its size and prominence were mirrored by analogous structures in several Greek *conventus* cities. For example, the bema in the Athenian Agora – which may have served as a place of Roman justice before the construction of a basilica in the early second century – was a substantial platform (8.35 x 5.6 m), prominently placed beside the Panathenaic Way (Fig. 5).<sup>89</sup> The bema in the Asian *conventus* city of Assos was smaller than the example at Athens, but located with similar attention to visual effect; set on the long axis of the agora, just in front of the bouleuterion, the platform made ample provision for both the sightlines and the visibility of anyone standing upon it (Figs. 99-100).<sup>90</sup>

The Corinthian bema, the only example whose superstructure can be reconstructed, was faced with finely carved marble revetment, and its canopy may have even featured caryatids on the model of the Erechtheum.<sup>91</sup> Although most bemas, like the relatively modest platform at Assos, were probably much simpler, virtually all would have been surrounded by the rich sculptural ensembles characteristic of imperial agoras. In at least some cases, these ensembles were apparently juxtaposed deliberately with the bema. The platform in the Athenian Agora, for example, seems to have been the cynosure of a constellation of statues dedicated to Roman emperors and officials, the most impressive of which, a quadriga group of Tiberius, stood on a tall base directly behind it.<sup>92</sup> The bema at Assos, likewise, stood amid a virtual gallery of statues;

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<sup>88</sup> A well-known passage from the Acts of the Apostles records how Paul was brought before the bema at Corinth by a crowd of enraged Jews; the proconsul Gallio, seated far above the mob, casually dismissed its demands (*Acts* 18.12-17).

<sup>89</sup> *Agora* XIV: 51-2

<sup>90</sup> Bacon 1902: 74. The bema of Argos seems also to have been located directly in front of the bouleuterion (Bommelaer & Des Courtils 1994: 45, 51).

<sup>91</sup> *Corinth* I.3: 98-109

<sup>92</sup> Dickenson 2012: 398-401

a particularly large base, obviously designed for a sculpture group, was built immediately beside it, and others crowded behind.<sup>93</sup> A similar array of dedicatory monuments probably stood on either side of the bema at Corinth, and at least one large statue was erected directly beneath it.<sup>94</sup>

Both basilicas and agoras were symbolically charged places, where placement of the governor's tribunal set him in juxtaposition not only with images of the emperor who represented the source and local ideal of his power, but also with statues of local notables and the of the living citizen body. This arrangement can be regarded as a manifestation of the civic ideal of Roman justice, whereby a governor was strictly subordinated to the emperor, and respected the rights of the communities he visited. It also served to surround a governor with local notables.

### *B. Creating an Audience*

The scattered sources<sup>95</sup> for the arrangement of spectators, litigants, and attendants around the tribunal sketch a dynamic social landscape, in which the proconsul's insignia and subordinates were environed and confronted by the mass and elite of the host city.<sup>96</sup> It may be useful to begin with Aristides' account of a speech he delivered before the proconsul of Asia during the assizes at Pergamum.<sup>97</sup>

When [the proconsul Severus] saw me drawing near [to his tribunal], he immediately sent his lictors to ease my approach...And when I came forward I received all due respect from [Severus] and his assessors, as well as from the pleaders who stood by, and indeed from all the others who were present, and there

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<sup>93</sup> Bacon 1902: 74 (Base no. 7)

<sup>94</sup> *Corinth* I.3: 110, 118-20

<sup>95</sup> Perhaps the best descriptions of trials come from acts of the martyrs (Aubert 2010). There are also a few instances of local judges trying a case (notably Apul., *Met.* 3.2). The visual evidence for scenes of Roman justice and reception is collected in Gabelmann 1984: 126ff.

<sup>96</sup> On the arrangement of spectators, litigants, and attendants around tribunal, see Färber 2014: 212-21. Bablitz 2007: 51-70 discusses the spatial dynamics of law courts at Rome.

<sup>97</sup> The occasion was mundane: the Council of Smyrna had elected Aristides as a prytanis; and the orator, claiming exemption as a philosopher and teacher from such an onerous responsibility, had decided to appeal to the proconsul Severus, then holding his assizes in Pergamum (Aristid., *Or.* 50.88-9).

was more the air of a rhetorical display than of a lawsuit. For their goodwill was wonderful, and then they signified their eagerness for my speech [of defense] both by their hands and their voices, and they behaved entirely like an audience at a lecture. Five measures of the water clock were used up, and I spoke rather freely, insinuating as one might while making such a speech in the presence of the emperor. Then, after one of the attorneys from the city appeared briefly and deferentially against us, Severus...sent me again to the Council with an honorable letter [of exemption]. (*Or.* 50.90-2; trans. Behr)<sup>98</sup>

Besides bearing witness to Aristides' remarkable self-regard, this passage sheds light on how one elite provincial experienced the proconsul's court. The governor and his attendants dominate the scene –Aristides was obviously flattered to be escorted into court by the lictors –but they comprise only part of the audience Aristides wants to impress with his speech. In part, of course, this merely reflects the orator's conceit that any educated person would appreciate his speech; but it is interesting that Aristides considered the proconsul's court a forum for impressing his social peers. Still more interesting is his comment that he spoke “as in the presence of the emperor;” if not merely a reference to his Roman Oration or to his general freedom of expression, this might indicate how Aristides conceived of the proconsul's authority to judge –or even that a statue of the emperor stood in the courtroom. For Aristides, in short, it would seem that the proconsul was not the only source of authority in his court. We shall see that, at least to a certain extent, the arrangement of assessors, litigants, and crowd in the proconsul's court suggested a similar conclusion.

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<sup>98</sup> και μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδε προσιόντα, ῥαβδούχους τε εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπει μοι ῥαστώνης ἕνεκα τῆς προσόδου·[...] και ἐπειδὴ παρήλθον, ἄπασαν αἰδῶ και παρ' αὐτοῦ και παρὰ τῶν συνέδρων, ὡσαύτως δὲ ῥητόρων τῶν προσεσθηκότων και τῶν ἄλλων ὅποσοι παρήσαν, και σχῆμα ἐπιδείξεως μᾶλλον ἢν ἡ δίκης· ἦ τε γὰρ εὖνοια θαυμαστή και τὸ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὠρμηκὸς ἐπεσήμαινον τότε και χειρὶ και φωνῇ, και πάντ' ἦν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἀκροωμένων. πέντε δὲ μέτρων ἐκπερανθέντων και παρησιᾶ μου χρησαμένου πλείονι και παραδηλώσαντος ὁποῖός τις ἂν εἶην παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τούτους ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους, τελευτῶν ὁ Σεβῆρος ἐνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως συνδίκων μικρὰ και μετ' εὐφημίας ἀπαντήσαντος ἡμῖν [...]πέμπει με αὐθις εἰς τὴν βουλὴν μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐντίμων.

The insignia and attendants that were the basic props of a governor's self-representation were arrayed on and around the tribunal from which he dispensed justice.<sup>99</sup> His lictors – the proconsul of Asia had twelve; the legates of Bithynia-Pontus and Lycia-Pamphilia, six – stood at set places around the courtroom, bearing the fasces that signified the governor's authority; for effective security and display, it seems to have been customary to post some around the perimeters of the place of judgement (whence they could escort litigants through the crowd) and others around the base of the tribunal. In some provinces, a small troop of soldiers might also be present to keep order.<sup>100</sup> Atop the tribunal, probably towards the center of the platform, the governor himself was seated on his *curule* chair, perhaps behind a table. Just behind him on the platform (or beside him, if a table was present), a small group of advisors sat on stools or a low bench (Fig. 101). This group included the governor's *adessor* (legal consultant)<sup>101</sup> and members of his *consilium*, which frequently included a number of local notables.<sup>102</sup> Behind or beside these men sat the governor's scribe, who took down an abbreviated version of the proceedings. A herald sat or stood nearby, ready to call litigants or announce decisions.<sup>103</sup> On a few occasions – such as formal manumissions of slaves – the governor was apparently joined by a panel of judges;<sup>104</sup> he seems in most cases, however, to have dispensed judgement alone.

From below, the prospect of the tribunal was doubtless impressive. With the possible exception of the local notables, everyone on the platform wore a toga, the governor's resplendent

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<sup>99</sup> On the governor's insignia and attendants, see Ch. 5.

<sup>100</sup> Bérenger 2014: 112-16 discusses the duties of lictors; see *ibid.* 116-28 on the governor's honor guard.

<sup>101</sup> On *adessores*, see Behrends 1969; cf. *RE* I: 423-6, s.v. "adessor."

<sup>102</sup> Bérenger 2014: 146-51 surveys the composition and role of the governor's *consilium*; cf. Mommsen 1887: 307ff. Martyrdom accounts are particularly informative in this regard (e.g. *Mart. Con.* 6; Euseb., *HE* 6.41.23; *Act. Cyp.* 3.4; *Mart. Apoll.* 11; cf. *Acta Maximi* I, 132-5 (Musurillo, *APM* 37)).

<sup>103</sup> On the governor's scribes and heralds, see Bérenger 2014: 107-11. Scribes in action: *Mart. Pion.* 19; *AE* 1921, 39 = *ILA* 591-2. Herald at tribunal: Apul, *Flor.* 9.10-12; cf. *Act. Mart. Scil.* 16.

<sup>104</sup> A few passages (notably Philostr., *VS* 524; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 35.15) suggest the existence of panels of judges in Asia, but the interpretation of this evidence is disputed.

with the broad purple stripe of his senatorial rank.<sup>105</sup> Seated in the most prominent part of the platform, the governor was in a perfect position to present himself as an exemplar of probity and decorum – which was, as we have seen, critical to the conduct of his office. In this context, we may return to a passage quoted in the fifth chapter, in which Apuleius contrasts a proconsul on his tribunal with the herald who proclaimed his judgments:

The herald ascends the tribunal with the proconsul, and wears a toga like his master. But then the herald stands on his feet for hours on end, or paces back and forth, or bawls the news with all the power of his lungs. The proconsul, by contrast, speaks quietly and with frequent pauses, sits while he speaks, and often reads from a document. The difference is only natural. For the garrulous voice of the herald is that of a hired servant, while the words read by the proconsul constitute a judgment. (*Flor.* 9.10-12)

The tribunal, in short, was an ideal stage for a governor to exhibit not only the insignia, but also the ethical qualities that – according to both his official ethos and the values of his Greek audience – identified him as a just judge. Seated amid his subordinates and eminent local notables, hedged about by the gleaming axes of his lictors, the governor must have presented a striking contrast with the crowd below his tribunal. The litigants and their advocates usually stood immediately in front of the tribunal, sometimes – at least during criminal processes – on a low masonry platform.<sup>106</sup> Friends, family, and supporters of the litigants were probably seated on rows of wooden benches in the immediate vicinity. Behind them, in a semicircle enforced by the lictors, stood the crowd of spectators,<sup>107</sup> larger or smaller in accordance with the interest of the

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<sup>105</sup> David 2006: 190-2 remarks the visual effect of the massed togas atop the tribunal. The fact that the governor's decisions were at least occasionally announced in Latin (e.g. *Mart. Pion.* 20.7) can only have added to the Roman flavor of the display.

<sup>106</sup> A low masonry platform stood directly in front of the tribunal at Corinth (*Corinth* I.3: 111); analogous structures are mentioned frequently in acts of the martyrs (Färber 2014: 215). Uniquely, the Corinth tribunal was flanked by richly-decorated exedrae, apparently designed for the use of litigants waiting to be called for judgment (*Corinth* I.3: 93-8).

<sup>107</sup> On the governor's interaction with crowds, see in general Béranger 2014: 319-23.

case and size of the venue;<sup>108</sup> in a large city, the most sensational trials in the agora may well have drawn hundreds. Seldom would a governor be so visible to a large portion of the citizen body. The same visibility that allowed him to so effectively advertise his authority, however, subjected him to the scrutiny, and in some degree to the influence, of the civic audience.

The governor's position on his tribunal – elevated, surrounded by subordinates, advisors, and guards – projected his authority (Figs. 102-3).<sup>109</sup> It also served, however, to emphasize the sources of that authority, and thus invited comparison with an ideal of official justice; we have seen that the statues of the emperor so frequently erected behind or beside the governor's tribunal made visible not only the authority that sanctioned his judgments, but also a local conception of the proper forms of Roman power. In a few cases, pressure to conform to local expectations came from the crowd of spectators; on his tribunal, as in any other public setting, a governor could be the recipient of acclamations, cheers, or derision.<sup>110</sup> Concerted popular pressure, however, seems to have been relatively rare. The local notables who sat beside the governor at every hearing and trial were a more consistent influence.<sup>111</sup> The service of civic elites as legal and social advisors to travelling governors is well attested, and must have been highly visible; a first-century papyrus records a trial at Alexandria in which at least three of the

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<sup>108</sup> It is unclear whether any provision was made for spectators to sit in the vicinity of trials. In at least agoras, the broad steps of public buildings functioned as seating; the steps of the basilica at Hierapolis, for example, are thought to have served this purpose when chariot races were held in the vast agora fronting the building (D' Andria 2001: 104-8; cf. Des Courtils & Cavalier 2008).

<sup>109</sup> Perhaps the best evocations of the visual effect are the representations of the emperor and his courtiers on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople (Kiilerich 1998). Compare the frescoes from the shrine of the imperial cult built into Luxor Temple (Jones & McFadden 2015).

<sup>110</sup> The most famous example is the trial of Jesus by Pontius Pilate (e.g. *Matt.* 27.15-26).

<sup>111</sup> Locals were always attending, advising, and directing governors at judgment: a prominent Smyrnaean of the early third century, M. Aristicus Telmocrates, was honored for serving as adviser at tribunals of governors; cf. Kaibel 919.1 (Sidyma). On the evidence for local notables assisting the prefect in Egypt, see Capponi 2010: 262, n. 52. Despite the notice in the Digest that *adssesores* could not be natives of province (1.22.3; cf. SHA, *Pesc.* 7.5), it seems that locals could serve in this capacity if deputized by local election (*CTh* 1.35.1), provided that they drew no public salary (*Dig.* 1.22.6). On a more modest level, *agoraioi* (locals who served as notaries, advocates, and other court functionaries) seem to have been heavily involved in the proceedings of the governor's court (e.g. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 35.15; *Acts* 19.38; Aristid., *Or.* 50.77; *Mart. Mar.* & *Jas.* 6.5-10).



prefect's ten advisors were prominent locals.<sup>112</sup> Such men, instantly recognizable to their fellow-citizens, were doubtless of real practical assistance to the governor, and benefitted personally from the prestige of their service. The symbolic implications of their presence on the tribunal, however, can be interpreted in diametrically different ways. Seen as an example of Roman initiative, the governor's invitation of local notables onto his tribunal can be understood as a means of associating his judgment with the authority of respected local notables. Viewed as a civic strategy, it becomes a method of presenting the governor with models for his conduct in the city and – equally importantly – of demonstrating the authority of the local elite. The two interpretations are not mutually exclusive; governor and local notables likely both profited from the arrangement.<sup>113</sup> Yet by the middle imperial period, when some notables in cities like Ephesus and Pergamum possessed rank equal to, and local prestige far greater than, any governor, it may be assumed that visiting officials understood the social and political value of at least appearing to respect the values and advice of such advisors.<sup>114</sup>

The role played by local notables in defining the spatial component of Roman justice is perhaps best illustrated by the *Martyrdom of Pionius*, a text of the mid-third century that recounts an episode of the Decian persecution in Smyrna.<sup>115</sup> Throughout this remarkable work – which

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<sup>112</sup> *P. Fouad 21*. For discussion, see Balogh & Pflaum 1952; cf. Bérenger 2014: 149-51.

<sup>113</sup> Two statue bases recently discovered at Smyrna (Herrmann & Malay 2003, no. 1-2) record the mutual favors a local notable Quintilius Eumenes and the proconsul of Asia L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus bestowed on one another; after the proconsul served personally as an advocate for Eumenes, the notable reciprocated by serving jointly with Lollianus as agonothete for the Koinon of Asia.

<sup>114</sup> In fourth-century Antioch, governors regularly seated themselves at the same level as local *honorati* when dispensing judgment, and sometimes publicly heeded their advice (see Liebeschuetz 1972: 190-1). In part, such behavior reflects the fact that local notables could be of higher rank than provincial governors in late antiquity. Although high imperial governors nominally outranked even the most eminent provincials, their lack of practical power vis-à-vis a really powerful local magnate encouraged similar forms of deference – a well-known case is that of the second-century benefactor Opramoas, who secured shows of deference from several governors of Lycia (Kokkinia 2000: 245).

<sup>115</sup> The best commentary on this text is Robert 1994; cf. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 143-71 and Aubert 2010: 301-3.

may be an actual eyewitness account<sup>116</sup> – close attention is paid to the relationship of setting and authority (Fig. 104). A short summary will be useful. The presbyter Pionius and his companions are arrested by Polemon, a priest of the imperial cult, who leads them to the agora to sacrifice to the gods. The author describes the martyrs' entry in detail: "as they came into the agora by the eastern stoa and double gate, the whole plaza and the upper stories of the porticoes were crowded with Greeks, Jews, and women<sup>117</sup> [...] they drew near [to the altar before the Temple of the Nemeses], looking towards the tribunal steps and market booths" (3.6-7).<sup>118</sup> After refusing to sacrifice, Pionius and his companions are brought into the basilica,<sup>119</sup> where Polemon, his assistants, and a large crowd hear the presbyter's speech of defense. Afterward, the Christians are led back out to the agora square, where they are surrounded by curious citizens. Eager to hear more, the crowd begins to demand an assembly in the theater; Polemon forbids this, fearing a riot (7.1),<sup>120</sup> and again addresses Pionius, urging him to "at least enter the Temple of the Nemeses" (7.2).<sup>121</sup> When Pionius refuses, the imperial priest, seeking a compromise, asks that he sacrifice to the emperor (8.4) – apparently at an altar and image of the emperor beside the temple. Again, Pionius demurs. Frustrated, Polemon leads the Christians back into the basilica, where they are formally interrogated, and orders them imprisoned until the proconsul can hear their case.<sup>122</sup> Another crowd gathers in the agora to mock Pionius and his companions as they are taken away

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<sup>116</sup> The possibility is defended staunchly by Lane Fox 1987: 460ff, and exhaustively by Robert 1994.

<sup>117</sup> Lane Fox 1987: 486-7 suggests that the crowds were convened for Smyrna's Dionysia, which may have coincided on this occasion with a major Jewish festival.

<sup>118</sup> On the details of this passage, see Robert 1994: 54-5.

<sup>119</sup> The site of interrogation is not made explicit in the text, but since Pionius and his companions are "brought outside" (5.2) after his speech, the temple warden must have heard them in the basilica, the only interior space that could have accommodated the crowd of onlookers who had "listened attentively" (5.1) to the proceedings. On the tribunal that stood at the west end of the main floor, see Naumann & Kantar 1950: 86, 112

<sup>120</sup> Pionius and his companions were tried in February (23), when grain shortages may well have been a problem. More interesting for our purposes is the association of the theater with civic unrest.

<sup>121</sup> As noted above, this building likely stood either on the south side of the agora or just beyond it.

<sup>122</sup> As Polemon himself observes (10.4), only proconsuls could judge capital cases (*Dig.* 1.16.6).

(10.1). Some days later, yet another mob, headed by Polemon and a company of Roman soldiers, lures Pionius from prison on the pretext that the proconsul has called him to Ephesus for judgment before dragging him to the altar of the Nemesion. He again refuses to cooperate. When the proconsul finally arrives, Pionius is duly brought before his tribunal (19.2). The proconsul bids Pionius to sacrifice, and apparently orders him to be publicly tortured. On repeating his refusal to sacrifice, he is condemned, haled to the stadium, and burned at the stake.

Besides providing a vivid account of criminal process in a third-century Asian city, the *Martyrdom of Pionius* neatly illustrates one Smyrnaean citizen's conception of the interdependence of imperial and civic justice. Though not a leading notable, Pionius is presented as a respected figure in his native city, known to members of the local elite and familiar with their values.<sup>123</sup> He was, or is portrayed as, a man for whom Christianity was not antithetical to the traditional structures of city and state. At every stage of the (often chaotic) proceedings, Pionius insists that his trial follow all the proper forms, repeatedly reminding the imperial priest Polemon that his case (as a capital charge) falls under the governor's jurisdiction. Beyond a desire for maximum publicity,<sup>124</sup> his determination to repeat the same objections to pagan sacrifice first before a group of local notables and then before the governor reflects a conception of these entities as distinct but intimately interrelated sources of authority. The priest Polemon and his cronies are presented as active supporters of the imperial justice represented by the proconsul. This sense can only have been bolstered by the fact that both Polemon and the proconsul interrogated Pionius from the same tribunal in the basilica, beneath the same statue of

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<sup>123</sup> On a number of occasions (17.1, 18.1), Pionius is addressed as a peer by eminent Smyrnaeans, and he shows himself at least generally conversant with the pagan classics (4.4, 17.2-3).

<sup>124</sup> For other examples of martyrs exploiting the governor's presence in this way, see Lane Fox 1987: 487-9.

the emperor.<sup>125</sup> It was probably again from the same place, this time a platform on the agora itself, that first the priest and then the proconsul urged Pionius to offer sacrifice at an altar dedicated to the Nemeses – Smyrna’s patron goddesses – or at an adjacent altar dedicated to the emperor.<sup>126</sup> Pionius was aware, in short, that his refusal to sacrifice was an act of defiance not only toward the Roman governor, but also toward the local notables who supported and abetted the emperor’s representatives. It is likely, though our account makes no mention of it, that Polemon joined the proconsul on his tribunal, confirming the spatial coordination of local and imperial authority evident at each stage of Pionius’ interrogation and trial.

The interplay of local and imperial authority in Smyrna’s spaces of justice was likely characteristic of every *conventus* center. Provided they allowed room for two or three notables to sit with the consilium, even the makeshift tribunals governors were forced to use in many of these cities would suffice to associate them with the local elite. The effect was still more pronounced in places where some monumental provision was made for the governor’s duties, as in our case study Ephesus.

### III. The Assizes at Ephesus

Most proconsuls of Asia probably spent a third or more of their terms in Ephesus.<sup>127</sup> Despite the length of these stays, and despite the city’s status as provincial capital, there is surprisingly little evidence for the spaces in which mid-imperial proconsuls performed their judicial duties. Repeated earthquake damage and extensive late antique overbuilding have left us

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<sup>125</sup> When delivering his speech of defense before Polemon, Pionius references “this golden idol,” presumably a statue of the emperor set up in the basilica (4.24).

<sup>126</sup> It is possible that one or both of these sacrifices were to be performed on the large altar decorated with reliefs of the Olympians discovered in the agora of Smyrna (Naumann & Kantar 1950: 91-101). The altar for the imperial cult may have become a favorite spot for statues honoring emperors and governors (e.g. *IvSmyrna* 629 (Julia Domna), 633 (M. Vinicius, proconsul). See Keil 1950 on the inscriptions found in the agora.

<sup>127</sup> Haensch 1997: 305-12, 705-7

with only a general sense of the form and décor of the governor's courtrooms. Enough survives, however, to confirm the existence of a monumental landscape with distinctive implications for the definition and conduct of Roman justice. We will discuss three spaces almost certainly used by the proconsul to try cases: the Auditorium on the Triodos, the Basilica Stoa on the Upper Agora, and the square of the Upper Agora itself. Our investigation falls into two parts. The first considers how the sculptural decoration of the Triodos, the small plaza that served as a sort of vestibule for the Auditorium, both emphasized the significance of the governor's court and presented an ideal of official justice. The second situates the governor's tribunal in relation to the symbolically pregnant statuary of the Basilica Stoa and adjacent agora

#### A. *The Triodos: An Ideal of Justice*

Although a considerable portion of the sculpture that adorned the public spaces of high imperial Ephesus has survived, very few pieces were discovered *in situ*. The ensembles of freestanding statues that thronged each square and lined the major streets were dispersed in late antiquity, leaving only scattered and reused bases; and although the late antique ensembles that replaced them – which were discovered *in situ* – preserve some clues about their predecessors, any analysis of how the ideal of official justice was visually represented in Ephesian public space must rely to a considerable degree on parallels and conjecture. Mindful of this caveat, we will consider the evidence for sculpture relevant to civic perceptions of a governor's duties in the Triodos, a small plaza beside the Lower (Tetragonos) Agora.

A brief description of the plaza as it appeared in the early third century will orient our discussion (Figs. 105-7). As its name suggests, the Triodos was located at the intersection of

three thoroughfares.<sup>128</sup> Its west side was bounded by the Library of Celsus, a richly-decorated heroon built in the early second century for an adoptive Ephesian who had served as proconsul of Asia. To the north stood the monumental South Gate of the agora, constructed in the early first century by the freedmen Mazaesus and Mithridates and topped by sculptures representing the family of Augustus. The so-called Altar Building, a loggia apparently designed for official or ceremonial purposes, formed the south edge of the plaza. From the east side, a broad staircase led up past a circular monument of unknown significance to the south doors of the so-called Hall of Nero, the second story of the stoa along the eastern edge of the Lower Agora. Beside this staircase, a low flight of steps led onto the Embolos, the thoroughfare that ran uphill towards the Upper Agora. The section of this street directly adjacent to the Triodos was flanked on the north by a colonnade filled with statuary, and to the south by the three-story Gate of Hadrian.

The buildings and monuments surrounding and immediately adjacent to the Triodos were disparate in form and function, and the sculptures that surrounded and adorned them were correspondingly varied in theme and intent. Yet in light of the fact that many components of this built environment were constructed in the early second century on the apparently concerted initiative of a small group of local notables,<sup>129</sup> one might expect a degree of uniformity in at least the presentation of Roman power. Moreover, and more relevantly for our purposes, the Triodos seems to have been closely connected with the proconsul of Asia's assizes. An early third-century inscription from the South Gate records the pavement of the area "in front of the Auditorium and the Library of Celsus" (*IvE* 3009.3-5). This Auditorium – the term is extremely

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<sup>128</sup> See Thür 2009 on the urban development of this part of Ephesus. The most detailed description of the ruins is Hueber 1984; cf. Hoffmann 2008: 50-1.

<sup>129</sup> Scherrer 2008 postulates that a number of wealthy benefactors coordinated their efforts to build (with the city's blessing) what amounted to a whole new quarter of the city. See Halfmann 2001: 63-73 for a survey of Trajanic construction in Ephesus.

rare in Greek epigraphy – can plausibly be identified as a space in which the governor or his legates heard cases.<sup>130</sup> Its location is disputed. Some scholars identify the Altar Building as the Auditorium;<sup>131</sup> others prefer the Hall of Nero.<sup>132</sup> For our purposes, it matters only that one of these buildings can be associated with the governor’s justice; regardless of whether hearings were held in the Altar Building, the Hall of Nero, or the plaza itself, the Triodos will have been immediately adjacent to the proceedings, and may indeed have functioned as a sort of “waiting room” for litigants preparing to enter the court or a gallery for spectators overspilling its confines. This is not to say, of course, that the sculptural decoration of the Triodos was necessarily designed to project an ideal of justice; but that, while the proconsul’s court was in session, it was likely to be read in this context.

The discovery of a fragmentary inscription from a statue base for L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus,<sup>133</sup> a proconsul frequently honored for his justice, suggests that the Triodos may, like the adjacent Lower Agora and Embolos,<sup>134</sup> have been a popular locale for honoring emperors

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<sup>130</sup> Engelmann 1993 makes the case for this identification. See *RE* II, 2278-9, s.v. “Auditorium” and *RAC* I: 917-19, s.v. “Auditorium;” cf. Tamm 1963: 15-17.

<sup>131</sup> On the “Altarbau,” see *RE Supp.* XII: 1633-4 and Thür 1999: 426-7. The structure derives its name from the first excavators’ assumption that it was the original location of the Parthian Altar; although this theory has since been found implausible (Oberleitner 2009: 407-9), it is possible that an intramural altar for Artemis was located here (Knibbe 1991: 9ff). Hueber 1997: 83-5 identifies the Altar Building as the auditorium on the grounds that it would have afforded more room for hearings than the narrow confines of the Hall of Nero, and that the low broad steps surrounding the Triodos could easily have doubled as seating for spectators (cf. Cavalier & Des Courtils 2008).

<sup>132</sup> On the so-called Hall of Nero, see *RE Supp.* XII: 1603 and Scherrer in *FiE* XIII.2: 36-42. Scherrer (ibid.) takes issue with Hueber’s reconstruction of the steps that led from the Triodos to the Hall of Nero, and points to the relatively closed architecture of the Hall itself as more appropriate for a hearing room than the open loggia of the Altar Building. The identification of this area with the governor’s court is made more plausible by the fact that a considerable number of late antique inscriptions announcing judicial decisions were found on the Lower Agora beneath the Hall of Nero (Feissel 1999: 131). Neither these nor the late antique platform found at the northern end of the Hall (*FiE* XIII.2: 52), however, can be cited as direct evidence for the building’s functions in the middle Empire – though it has been claimed that a tribunal existed in the northern end of the Hall under the middle Empire as well (Vetters et al. 1986: 80f).

<sup>133</sup> *IvE* 664a

<sup>134</sup> On the lower agora, see Aurenhammer & Sokolicek 2011. Although no high imperial bases were found in situ along the Embolos, quite a few seem to have been reused in the immediate vicinity of their original locations. Roueché 2009 describes the imperial statues set up along the Embolos in late antiquity.

and Roman officials. The sculpture adorning the façade of the Library of Celsus,<sup>135</sup> at least, articulated with remarkable clarity the qualities of an ideal Roman official (Fig. 108). Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, a native of Sardis, enjoyed a remarkable military and administrative career that culminated in his proconsulship of Asia under Trajan.<sup>136</sup> Late in life, he seems to have settled in Ephesus, where his son Tiberius Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus<sup>137</sup> oversaw the construction of the Library that would serve as his tomb. The building's décor – which Celsus himself presumably planned with the oversight of the city council – represented a complex statement of official ethics and cultural allegiances. Two equestrian statues of Celsus flanked the elaborate aedicular façade, which featured eight statues in two registers. The four lower niches bore personifications of the virtues of Celsus; the upper four featured three images of the man himself – each, perhaps, in different dress – and a cuirassed statue of his son Aquila. Even the scrolled decoration of the Library's doors incorporated the fasces and axes of Celsus' proconsular office (Fig. 109).<sup>138</sup> The sculptural ensembles of the buildings flanking the Library of Celsus may have been nearly as impressive. The South Gate was surmounted by statues of the family of Augustus, perhaps in the company of the donors Mazaeus and Mithridates.<sup>139</sup> The Altar Building, whatever its exact function, likely featured a colossal statue of a god or emperor in its

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<sup>135</sup> The Library of Celsus was first published in *FiE* V.1. More recent general treatments of the building's architecture and meaning include Chi 2002: 63-83 and Sauron 2010.

<sup>136</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 260; *RE* X: 544-50, s.v. "Iulius," no. 183.

<sup>137</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 168

<sup>138</sup> See *FiE* V.1: 47-60 on the sculpture of the library facade. Smith 1998: 73-5 remarks the culturally charged juxtaposition of Greek and Roman elements in the building's décor. The statues of Celsus' virtues (which will be discussed in greater detail below) were replaced in late antiquity. Of the statues in the upper register, only that of Aquila (Strocka 2013) has survived; the supposition that depicted Celsus in different garments – perhaps in a cuirass, a toga, and a himation – is made on analogy with the funerary monument of Philopappus at Athens (see Smith 1998: 70-3). On the fasces frieze, see Schäfer 1989: 374; compare the fasces flanking the entrance to a monumental tomb at Antalya probably built for another proconsul of Asia (Schäfer 1989: 373-4; Stupperich 1991) and those decorating the tomb of P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus at Rome (Schäfer 364-5).

<sup>139</sup> For a description of the gate, see Alzinger 1974: 9-16. Rose 1997: 172-4 outlines the probable sculptural program. Mackowski 1994 discusses the association with the gate and its sculpture with the cult of the Gens Julia.



central arcade.<sup>140</sup> Just beyond the east edge of the Triodos, the Arch of Hadrian bore statues of its eponymous emperor, Artemis, and (in all probability) its donor.<sup>141</sup> Another monumental imperial statue rose from the attic of the Arch of Trajan across the street, flanked by a colonnade that featured a statue of Androclus, the satyr figurine<sup>142</sup> – and, perhaps, a statue of Δικαιοσύνη.<sup>143</sup>

The sculptures around the Triodos, set up at different times and by different benefactors, never constituted a program. Nor did they differ much thematically from those in other parts of the city; as elsewhere, images of the emperors and elite benefactors predominated. The Triodos sculptures were, however, exceptionally dense. Monumental figures of Augustus, Hadrian, and Trajan were visible atop monuments from every part of the Triodos; and it has conjectured that the central niche of the Altar Building housed another, colossal statue of an emperor. Other imperial statues may have stood in the plaza itself.<sup>144</sup> Elite benefactors, likewise, were probably represented alongside the emperors on the South Gate of the Agora and Arches of Trajan and Hadrian. The density of these statues seems to have been inspired largely by the prestige and ritual significance of the adjacent Embolos, which probably guided the placement of the statue of Androclus and the figurine of the satyr opposite the Triodos.<sup>145</sup> For all its magnificence, finally, the Library of Celsus was only the latest representative of a time-honored tradition of honorific burials along the lower Embolos. In short, despite the suggestive presence of the statue of

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<sup>140</sup> In keeping with his theory that the Altar Building was the Auditorium, Hueber 1997: 84 speculates that a statue of the emperor would have been placed in the center of the building.

<sup>141</sup> A late antique inscription refers to the statue of Artemis (see *FiE* XI.1: 129f).

<sup>142</sup> Androclus: *IvE* 501. Satyr: *IvE* 507.

<sup>143</sup> *IvE* 503. The base was found in a secondary context in the Lower Agora, and so could conceivably have come from any part of the city; in view of the location of the Auditorium on or adjacent to the Triodos, however, it is perhaps most likely to have originated there.

<sup>144</sup> A statue of Tiberus, found built into the late antique wall that incorporated the Library of Celsus (Museum Selçuk Inv. No. 59/30/77 and 12/54/88), probably originated in the Triodos. A relief portrait, probably of Germanicus, was found reused in front of the Altar Building (Museum Selçuk Inv. No. 59/27/84).

<sup>145</sup> Englemann 1985 suggests that the placement of the satyr was determined by the relation of its subject to the Dionysiac processions that regularly coursed along the Embolos. The statue of Androclus was erected by the paraphylakes of Ephesus, apparently sometime in the early imperial period (*IvE* 501).

Lollianus and (perhaps) the statue of Δικαιοσύνη, no part of the sculptural ensemble of the Triodos had any necessary connection with official virtue or justice. A number of factors, however, suggest that such an association was intended.

As mentioned earlier, many of the buildings on and adjacent to the Triodos were built at the same time, apparently on the concerted initiative of the city of Ephesus and several benefactors; the Library itself was finished by the Ephesian notable Tiberius Claudius Aristion, and the Triodos square paved with public funds. The Library, located at the focal point of a section of the Embolos almost entirely reconstructed in the early second century, can be understood as a sort of programmatic statement of the values Ephesian notables wished to advertise in their projects. The virtues personified on the Library's facade – Wisdom (σοφία), Excellence (ἀρετή), Thoughtfulness (ἔννοια) and Knowledge (ἐπιστήμη)<sup>146</sup> – were attributable to any cultivated man in public service, whether to his city or to Rome. They may have had, however, special application to popular perceptions of justice.<sup>147</sup> Assuming that the Auditorium was already serving its judicial function in the early second century, Celsus would have regularly tried cases in the immediate vicinity of his future tomb; it is even conceivable that this circumstance was a factor in the city's decision to place his Heroon on the Triodos. It is possible that the Library's juxtaposition with an important site of Roman justice was purely coincidental; but it is perhaps more likely that the city council acted deliberately, sponsoring the construction of a memorial for an ideal cultivated gentleman and official in a place guaranteed to be seen by

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<sup>146</sup> *IvE* 5108-11. The base for ἔννοια was replaced in late antiquity, so it is possible that Celsus was honored for a different virtue. It is possible that precursors for the virtues of Celsus may have appeared in the reliefs of the Monument of Memmius, a Heroon for an Augustan consular located on the upper Embolos. On these personifications, see *FiE* VII: 106-7.

<sup>147</sup> Some combination of these qualities frequently appears in inscriptions honoring judges from neighboring cities (e.g. *IvSmyrna* 579I, *I. Magn.* 101, *IvKnidos* 231, *IvTralleis* 23). For a summary of the values popularly associated with justice in imperial Greek thought, see *RAC* X: 263-79, s.v. "Gerechtigkeit." Relevant ancient sources include Dio Chrys., *Or.* 1.74-5; Max. Tyr., *Diss.* 21; Mus. Ruf., *Lect.* 8; Alcın., *Intr. ad Plat.* 1.3-4; and *Dig.* 1.18.19.1. Cf. Brunt 1974: 7-8 and Centrone 2000: 570-5.

every proconsul.<sup>148</sup> In this context, the statue base praising the justice of Lollianus – which may have been originally located beside the Library – can be seen as a claim of affiliation with an exemplary past governor. If originally located in or immediately adjacent to the Triodos, likewise, the statue of Δικαιοσύνη may have been a dedication made to similar effect.

The Triodos neatly illustrates how a complex elite ideal of Roman justice could be made visible in the urban fabric. On entering the plaza, a proconsul would, perhaps, pass the statue of Δικαιοσύνη. Within, he would walk between tall facades glittering with marble sculpture. Emperors loomed over the buildings on every side, literally overshadowing the statues of previous governors honored for their justice. Most striking of all, the façade of the Library of Celsus provided a virtual conspectus of the qualities locals expected of a governor, with particular stress on the hope that his judgements would manifest a Greek gentleman's cultivated sense of virtue. If the Auditorium was located in the so-called Altar Building, the sculpture on the Triodos would have been a constant backdrop to the governor's judicial duties, the context in which he viewed and was viewed by the city.

### *B. The Upper Agora: Spaces of Justice*

When at Ephesus, the proconsul of Asia used a number of settings beside the basilica and agora to try cases. The most important of these was probably the Auditorium, located, as we have seen, on or near the Triodos; since neither the Altar Building nor the Hall of Nero afforded much space for an audience, however, the proceedings held here may have been largely restricted to hearings. A still more restricted courtroom were likely located in his private

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<sup>148</sup> Governors may have even been called upon to participate in festivities honoring Celsus. Three times a year – on his birthday and two unknown occasions – Celsus' statues were crowned (*IvE* 5113.14-16); if, as is likely, at least one of these occasions was a major festival of the imperial cult, the governor himself (who was, with the provincial high priest, the most important officiant at such ceremonies) may have been expected to play a part.

quarters; it is tempting to identify the “audience hall” in the so-called Palace on Mt. Pion with this purpose (Fig. 110).<sup>149</sup> On the other end of the scale, exceptionally large trials may have been held in the theater, or perhaps even in the palaestra of the Harbor Bath-Gymnasium complex. The basilica and agora, however, were almost certainly the venues most associated with and best equipped for the assizes.

By the early third century, Ephesus possessed at least two basilicas. One, located at the southern edge of the precinct surrounding the colossal temple of Hadrian/Zeus Olympius, seems to have been constructed in the Severan period, perhaps in connection with the grant of a Neokorate from Caracalla and Geta; the apsidal exedras at its short ends may have housed cult statues of the two emperors, and it is unclear whether this structure was ever used for judicial purposes.<sup>150</sup> The other, older and more prominent, was the Basilica Stoa on the north side of the Upper Agora (Fig. 111).<sup>151</sup> Long and narrow, its nave only slightly broader than those the aisles, this structure was perhaps more formally akin to the monumental stoas of the Hellenistic period than to the Italian basilica.<sup>152</sup> As the first basilica in Asia Minor, however, it must have seemed radically innovative at the time of its construction. In fact, since it was built in the reign of Augustus, at a time when the Upper Agora was being remodeled to incorporate a sanctuary of the imperial cult, the Basilica Stoa has been interpreted as a calculated advertisement of the new imperial order.<sup>153</sup> This theory seems to find support in the decoration of the hall attached to the

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<sup>149</sup> On the “Palace” at Ephesus, see Baier 2013; cf. Haensch 1997: 299, n. 7; Aristid., *Or.* 50.64.

<sup>150</sup> Karwiese 1989: 9-27; 1995: 314-15.

<sup>151</sup> On the design and significance of the Basilica Stoa, see Alzinger 1974: 26-37, Fossel-Peschl 1982, and Von Hesberg 2002; cf. *RE Supp.* XII: 1634-6.

<sup>152</sup> C. Sextilius Pollio, the benefactor, was of Italian origins; but both the site and local architectural traditions ensured that the basilica’s form was translated into a Greek idiom.

<sup>153</sup> On the Augustan transformation of the Upper Agora, see Kenzler 2006. Scherrer 1990: 90ff (controversially) suggests that the Basilica Stoa was closely associated with the imperial cult.

east end of the basilica, which featured colossal seated statues of Augustus and Livia.<sup>154</sup> The Basilica Stoa, in short, was undoubtedly a center for the display of imperial authority; but it was also a place in which that authority was defined on local terms: statues of the benefactor C. Sextilius Pollio and other local notables were incorporated into the interior decoration, and a monumental statue of Artemis Ephesia stood atop the western façade.

Any traces of a permanent tribunal in the Basilica Stoa were effaced in late antiquity, when the east hall, the likeliest place,<sup>155</sup> was converted into a peristyle courtyard, and the imperial statues it had contained were buried.<sup>156</sup> The dense network of symbols of authority that would have surrounded a tribunal located in this space, however, merits a brief – if hypothetical – description. The east hall was a sizeable room (20 x 14.5 m) connected with the basilica by a broad central arch and two flanking doors, which afforded a clear view of all three aisles. A tribunal set up in the center of the room would have been visible from virtually every part of the nave, dramatically juxtaposing the person of the judge with the colossal imperial images. The effect would have been particularly striking from within the east hall itself; however they were arranged, at least one of the colossal images would have stood directly behind the tribunal, ringed by smaller statues of emperors and benefactors.

The proconsul probably also tried cases in the Upper Agora itself, though no trace of a permanent tribunal has yet been discovered there (Fig. 112).<sup>157</sup> During late antiquity, a platform

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<sup>154</sup> On the east chalcidicum, see Fossil-Peschel 1982: 42-5 and Stinson 2007: 93-4. On the colossal statues of Augustus and Livia, see Inan & Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, cat. no. 3, 5 and Rose 1997, cat. no. 115. Aurenhammer & Sokolicek 2011: 46-50 surveys the other sculpture discovered inside the Basilica Stoa.

<sup>155</sup> Besides the collection of imperial statues typically associated with the apse or recess in which judgement took place, the east hall seems to have also been characterized by a close relationship with the tribunal on the Upper Agora itself (see below).

<sup>156</sup> See Foss 1979: 82 on the late antique building.

<sup>157</sup> Possible evidence for the Upper Agora as the site of a tribunal is provided by a fifth-century Syriac life of St. John (Wright 1871: 26-8). In this account, the “procurator” (almost certainly the governor), speaking through a herald, addresses the assembled populace from some eminent place (he is visible to the whole crowd) in “the great

was erected in the northeast corner of the plaza.<sup>158</sup> While this is not necessarily an indication that an earlier structure stood in the same place, good grounds exist for locating a high imperial bema in the vicinity. Each of the bemas surveyed in the first section was in the political heart of its city, as befit structures connected with popular rhetoric; and although it would be misleading to characterize the Upper Agora as a strictly political/ceremonial space, it clearly served as the nerve center of the civic government. On a more practical note, the Upper Agora afforded both space and amenities for spectators. The four broad steps along the south face of the basilica stoa, for example, could double as seating, and the marble benches around the perimeter of the agora would be of use to litigants waiting their turn during the assizes. Finally, in light of the paradigmatic importance of the emperor for provincial conceptions of Roman justice, it might reasonably be assumed that a space so closely connected with the imperial cult would seem particularly appropriate for the proconsul's assizes. A tribunal placed virtually anywhere in the Upper Agora would either overlook or be overlooked by both the neokorate Temple of Domitian and the small peripteral temple – perhaps also associated with the imperial cult<sup>159</sup> – that stood in the center of the agora; near the western end, it might even have been dominated, like its counterpart in Athens, by colossal imperial statues – at least two of which stood in or near the Temple of Domitian on a terrace over the agora, and may have been visible above the colonnades.<sup>160</sup> One might imagine a setup like that depicted on the reverse of a coin

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square in the midst of the city.” Since the author of this *Life*, as Foss 1979: 35 observes, was evidently quite familiar with the city's topography, it is reasonable to assume that he is referring to the Upper Agora (the largest and most impressive plaza in Ephesus) and to a tribunal in that space.

<sup>158</sup> *RE Supp.* XII: 1601

<sup>159</sup> The dedication of this structure is disputed; on the theory that it housed the cult of Julius Caesar and Dea Roma, see Sherrer 1990: 99.

<sup>160</sup> See the description of the Temple of Domitian at the end of this section.

commemorating Caracalla's visit to Laodicea ad Lycum, which shows the emperor on a bema in the agora, directly in front of what appears to be a temple of the imperial cult (Fig. 113).<sup>161</sup>

The Basilica Stoa and Upper Agora provide regrettably little in the way of concrete detail about the settings in which proconsuls tried cases. They serve to illustrate, however, that the spaces of justice at Ephesus differed in scale rather than type from their humbler counterparts in many *conventus* cities. So long as a space contained statues of the emperors and a raised platform large enough for the governor, his council, and a few local notables, it could serve both to model the governor's conduct and to advertise his reliance on members of the civic elite. Virtually any plaza or large room could adequately house an assize court, for the simple reason that the really critical "decorative elements" of such spaces were the governor, his attendants, and the local notables around them. Although certain buildings and plazas could function more effectively than others to create an image of emperor and Empire consonant with elite values and ambitions, and more visibly incorporate the proconsul into the fiction, the definition of spaces of justice basically consisted in distinctive presentation of the standard ornamental themes of public space.

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<sup>161</sup> *BMC Phrygia* no. 227 (pg. 316) = *Coll. Wadd.* 7072; the best example of the type is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (*Acc. No.* 1971.45). On the iconography of this coin, see Burrell 2004: 122.

### Chapter 13. Officiant and Spectator

After his judicial duties, a governor's involvement in civic ritual, and particularly in local festivals, was arguably his most visible public role. Although his appearances at such ceremonies may have had little, if any, direct effect on civic life, they constituted a unique set of opportunities for local notables to associate themselves with the authority he represented. Sacrifices, processions, and sacred contests all functioned to expose the ritual order, and thus the power relations, that structured a community and/or region. As we saw in the previous part, this made civic ritual an effective means of presenting visiting officials with a model of authority, by presenting an ideal of the city into which they could "fit." Our focus here, however, is not on how sacrifices and festivals may have impressed the governor, but on how the governor was presented, both to civic and to regional audiences, as an integral part of the host community. Merely by the fact of his participation in a sacrifice or his presence at a contest, a governor could be "used" as a guarantor of the existing social order, or even as a means of enacting, and in some sense affirming, a city's relationships with its neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

The ritual responsibilities of a civilian governor may be divided into two general categories: those connected with the sacrificial calendar of the city of Rome, and those native to his province and the cities he visited.<sup>2</sup> The former category included both the traditional *feriae publicae* and celebrations connected with the imperial cult; Pliny mentions publicly celebrating

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<sup>1</sup> Although civic rituals were not strictly or even primarily "political" phenomena in the modern sense (e.g. Price 1984, esp. 239-48), many had considerable political content, and can be analyzed accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> Eck 1993 is the best survey of the religious duties of Roman governors.



the customary *vota sollemnia* for the New Year and Trajan's *dies imperii*.<sup>3</sup> The latter category incorporated the mass of ceremonies particular to the province. In a few places, most notably Egypt, governors inherited the religious duties of the kings they replaced.<sup>4</sup> Other provinces organized special sacrifices connected with the imperial cult; Asia, for example, celebrated the New Year on Augustus' birthday.<sup>5</sup> On the local level, a governor's round of his assize circuit was marked by regular series of ceremonies. His arrival in the province, as we have seen, took place at a fixed time and place, and was marked by a sacrifice. Similar, if smaller, rituals solemnized his arrival at every *conventus* center.<sup>6</sup> His visits, moreover, were frequently timed to coincide with traditional civic festivals, at which he would offer sacrifice and preside over the proceedings.<sup>7</sup> He would also take a prominent part in games and sacrifices associated with the imperial cult, of which the most prominent were the annual meetings and festivals organized by the provincial *koinon*.<sup>8</sup> Cities outside the governor's regular *conventus* circuit, finally, sometimes invited him to dedicate new buildings, officiate at civic festivals, or simply offer sacrifice at the sanctuary of their patron deity.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Eck 1993: 151-6 and Bérenger 2014: 265-8, 277-80 on provincial officials celebrating festivals from the Roman ritual calendar. Pliny is known to have publicly celebrated the customary *vota sollemnia* for the New Year (*Ep.* 10.35, 100), Trajan's *Dies Imperii* (*Ep.* 10.52, 102), and (probably) Trajan's birthday (*Ep.* 10.17A, 88). The fact that several governors are known to have had a *haruspex* in their retinue is additional evidence for the observation of traditional Roman rites in the provinces (Bérenger 2014: 128-32).

<sup>4</sup> On the religious duties of the prefect of Egypt, see, e.g., Sen., *QNat.* 4.2.7; Plin., *HN* 5.57.

<sup>5</sup> *OGIS* 458 = *SEG* 4 490

<sup>6</sup> See Ch. 11 on these sacrifices. Bérenger 2014: 269-71 collects the references.

<sup>7</sup> Governors at festival in *conventus* cities: e.g. Aristid., *Or.* 17.5, 21.16, 50.85; *Mart. Poly.* 9ff; cf. Apul., *Flor.* 9; *IvE* 213.

<sup>8</sup> Price 1984: 69-71 and Burrell 2004: 370-1 discuss the governor's involvement in ceremonies of the imperial cult. Although the exact nature of the governor's involvement in the annual celebrations of the *koinon* is uncertain (see below), a number of textual references suggest an active role (*Mart. Poly.* 9-11; Euseb., *HE* 5.1.47).

<sup>9</sup> See Eck 1993: 157-8 on dedication ceremonies. The custom of inviting governors to festivals was prevalent enough for Menander Rhetor to provide detailed instructions for speeches of invitation (II, 424.4-25.22).

A governor's actual duties on these occasions seem to have been relatively light. Before arriving in a city, he might be expected to set a festival's date,<sup>10</sup> confirm its financial underpinnings,<sup>11</sup> or to sanction the involvement and privileges of the officials and associations that managed it.<sup>12</sup> During his stay, he might officiate at sacrifices on behalf of the emperor on anniversaries of the imperial cult and during a variety of other occasions. Under special circumstances, he might even serve as *agonothete* of the associated contests – albeit probably in a strictly honorary capacity.<sup>13</sup> Scattered literary evidence seems to indicate that governors, even if not serving as *agonothetes*, presided over at least some contests at the festivals they attended.<sup>14</sup> By the reign of Hadrian, governors or their subordinates were also expected to personally confirm that prizes were publicly displayed and fairly disbursed;<sup>15</sup> in some cases, they seem to have personally distributed awards.<sup>16</sup>

From the perspective of the local elite, however, it was the mere presence of the governor that mattered. A proconsul of Asia's answer to the citizens of Aphrodisias, who had asked him to offer sacrifice at their temple of Aphrodite, illustrates this perception:

I will gladly come to you and make a stay in your most splendid city and sacrifice to your native goddess for the safety and eternal continuance of our lord Emperor [Alexander Severus] and our lady Augusta [Julia Mamaea], mother of our lord and of the camps, if no law of your city or decree of the Senate or instruction or letter from the emperor prevents the proconsul from making a stay

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<sup>10</sup> A procurator in early third-century Aphrodisias set the dates of a newly-established pentateric festival (*A&R* 57 = *OGIS* 509).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *SEG* 38 1462.113-15

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *IvE* 212

<sup>13</sup> A mid-third century statue base from Smyrna (Herrmann & Malay 2003, no. 1) records a proconsul of Asia's service as *agonothete* for games of the provincial *koinon*; since he shared this office with a local notable, however, and since it is unlikely in any case that he was actually asked to contribute money for the festival, his role should probably be viewed as strictly ceremonial. However, the editors of *AE* (2003, 1670) suggest the proconsul was honored for contributing materially to the contests.

<sup>14</sup> *Mart. Poly.* 9-11; Euseb. *HE* 5.1.47; Soc., *HE* 7.13.

<sup>15</sup> *SEG* 56 1359.21-5

<sup>16</sup> A Proconsul of Africa personally crowned the young Augustine for his victory in a poetry contest at Carthage (*Conf.* 4.3).

in [your] city. But if there is any impediment in the documents I have mentioned, when I sacrifice as is my custom to the [other gods] for the good fortune and [safety] and eternal continuance of [our] lord Emperor [Alexander and] his mother [Mammaea] Augusta, our [lady], I will call upon your native [goddess with them]. (*A&R* 48 = *I. Aph.* 2007 12.34.11-30)

The proconsul's reservations reflect his awareness that it might be illicit for him to set foot in Aphrodisias, which, as a free city, technically lay outside his jurisdiction. More interesting for our purposes is the fact that he was invited at all; it is surprising that the Aphrodisians, jealous of their privileges, would wish to subject their city to the subjugation implicit in the visit of a Roman governor. As noted earlier, however, the practice was widespread; the assizes were regularly timed to coincide with civic festivals, and governors were frequently invited to sacrifice or officiate by cities like Aphrodisias that lay outside their normal circuit. The presence of a governor at such ceremonies seems to have been solicited primarily in the interests of prestige; he was, after all, the most important man in the province, and his attendance could only redound to the glory of the host city. The symbolic significance of his participation, however, may have supplied an additional, more politically charged, motive – as the Aphrodisians themselves believed, to judge from the fact that the proconsul's reply to their request was inscribed with other proofs of their city's independence and privileges on the "Archive Wall" in their theater.<sup>17</sup> Their invitation, presumably occasioned by the celebration of some local festival, can in fact be understood as an attempt to enlist the proconsul's participation in a performance of civic and regional power relations.

That Greek festivals and sacrifices enacted and confirmed sociopolitical relations between and within cities is well known, as is the service of sacred landscapes in shaping these

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<sup>17</sup> It is conceivable that the Aphrodisians never intended the governor to visit at all, hoping by their missive merely to secure another recognition of their city's status.

relations and making them visible.<sup>18</sup> Temple precincts and sanctuaries of the Greek world under Roman rule, however, have largely escaped such analysis, despite the fact that their contributions to the political significance of civic ritual were arguably more prominent than ever before. Although Roman-era temples and sanctuaries were remarkably similar in some ways to their Hellenistic and even Classical predecessors, the advent of the imperial cult – and, more generally, of a stable provincial system – introduced unprecedented possibilities for political communication in and through ritual spaces.<sup>19</sup> This was particularly obvious in provincial sanctuaries of the imperial cult, which were built with contributions from many cities and played a prominent role in the pentatelic contests managed by the provincial assembly. The precincts of these temples, used to display decrees of the *koinon* and statues of dignitaries from around the province,<sup>20</sup> reflected their function; and the temple buildings themselves, usually large and prominently situated, could be regarded as symbols of provincial cooperation. Aristides, for example, describes the colossal Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus as a monument and exhortation to unity:

The ornaments of construction are beautiful and exert remarkable influence over the masses; but perfect, and truly the gift of some god, is the concordance of the ornaments of construction with those of the soul. For just as we praise harmony in a building, and the fact that each of its elements preserves a proper relationship with all others, so also should we recognize that life is well-lived whenever harmony and order prevail. This adornment truly befits cities. (*Or.* 27.40-1)<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Good surveys of the communicative functions of ritual in ancient Greece include Mylonopoulos 2006, 2008 and Shear 2011. Scott 2010 describes how the physical landscapes of the sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia manifested and reinforced sociopolitical relationships between and within cities; cf. Weiler 1997. Chaniotis 1995 and 2008 survey the political significance of Hellenistic festivals.

<sup>19</sup> This point should not, however, be overstated; particularly in the Greek east, the imperial cult operated within a system of well-established ritual conventions that delimited what its ceremonies could communicate (see Chaniotis 2003); in this sense, at least, its political implications should be regarded as an intensification, as opposed to a true departure from, those of traditional cults.

<sup>20</sup> See Ch. 1 on the decrees posted in provincial temples of the imperial cult.

<sup>21</sup> καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων οὗτοι κόσμοι καὶ θαυμαστῶς πιθανοὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἤδη τέλειον καὶ θεοῦ τιнос ὡς ἀληθῶς δωρεὰ, ὅταν ἀμφοτέρωι συνάδωσιν οἱ κόσμοι, οἳ τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ οἱ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ τὸ σώζειν ἕκαστα τὴν γιγνομένην τάξιν πρὸς

Provincial temples, designed to showcase cooperation, were of course exceptional. Yet both civic temples of the imperial cult and temples of traditional gods (which sometimes themselves housed shrines of emperor) reflected a local conception of city and Empire, and were also in some sense designed to articulate sociopolitical relationships.<sup>22</sup>

This chapter will focus, accordingly, on how the physical contexts of sacrifices and festivals made governors visibly complicit in the performance of sociopolitical structures. It falls into three sections. The first section situates the governor's sacrifices on behalf of the emperor in relation to the design and décor of sanctuaries of the imperial cult. The second considers how his ceremonial oversight of festivals and games was molded and advertised by the gymnasia and theaters in which they were held. The third section, a case study focused on the pentatelic celebration of the *Koina Asias* at Ephesus, illustrates the potential significance of a governor's presence at a civic festival for the management of both local and regional power relations.

## I. Sacrificing for the Emperor

Several times a year, governors led public ceremonies on behalf of the emperor in whatever *conventus* city they happened to be staying.<sup>23</sup> On Trajan's *Dies Imperii*, for example, Pliny presided over public vows for the emperor's well-being, administered an oath of loyalty to

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ἄλληλα, οὕτω καὶ ζῆν εἰς κάλλος τοῦτ' εἶναι χρὴ δοκεῖν, ὅταν ἀρμονία καὶ τάξις διὰ πάντων κρατῆ. οὗτος ὁ τῶν πόλεων ὡς ἀληθῶς κόσμος οἰκεῖος. Other passages seem to indicate similar attitudes. For example, near the denouement of an address urging the cities of Asia to cease their struggles for precedence, Aristides claims that his speech will stand as a monument for harmony greater than any civic building –with the exception of temples: τοὺς λόγους τούτους εἰρησθαί μοι δεξαίμην ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα ὧν οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνεστακῶς ὑμῖν εἶναι, πλὴν ἱερῶν λέγω (*Or.* 23.80). Cf. *Or.* 25.5; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 32.41.; Men. Rhet. I, 362.27.

<sup>22</sup> The contributions to Galli 2013 provide a good survey of the communicative functions of ritual in Greek sanctuaries under Roman rule.

<sup>23</sup> Eck 1993: 153-5 and Bérenger 2014: 277-80 collect the evidence. See Chaniotis 2003: 6-7 on antecedents for such rituals. Price 1984: 69-71 and Burrell 2004: 370-1 survey the involvement of provincial officials in imperial cult.

both local civilians and the cohort of soldiers under his command, and conducted a sacrifice for the safety and health of state and sovereign.<sup>24</sup> Scattered testimonia bear witness to analogous ceremonies throughout the Empire.<sup>25</sup> Papyri reveal the extent to which the prefect of Egypt was responsible for orchestrating such celebrations in his province, particularly when news of a new emperor's accession necessitated the improvisation of unforeseen festivities; a particularly interesting fragment preserves dialogue from a drama specially commissioned for performance at a festival commemorating Hadrian's accession.<sup>26</sup> At least on special occasions, governors in other provinces could play a similarly central role in arranging honors for members of the imperial family.<sup>27</sup> Under normal circumstances, however, most preparations were probably carried out on provincial initiative. Although it is unclear whether the governor's celebration of the imperial anniversaries and other official festivals was timed to coincide with residence in a given city, it may reasonably be assumed that the local notables of *conventus* centers made some provision to anticipate his personal involvement in their festivities. Before considering, however, the influence of civic setting on a governor's engagement with the imperial cult, it will be useful to briefly review the evidence for the conduct of his ritual duties.

Nothing but the scraps of information provided by a few inscriptions is known of the public vows that governors led.<sup>28</sup> More substantial evidence exists for the oaths of loyalty

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<sup>24</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* 10.52, 102; cf. *Ep.* 10.35, 100 (the New Year), *Ep.* 10.17A, 88 (Trajan's birthday)

<sup>25</sup> Vows: for references, see Eck 1993: 154, fn. 23. Oath: Tert., *De Cor.* 12.3. Sacrifice: *POxy* 3781; *I. Khargeh* 4; cf. Philo, *Leg.* 8-13.

<sup>26</sup> See Bérenger 2014: 279 for the evidence from Egypt. The papyrus recording the drama staged for Hadrian's accession (*P. Giss.* 3 = Wilcken, *Chr.* 491) derives from Apollinopolis Heptakomia. See Dunand 1983 on the organization of the imperial cult in Roman Egypt.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., *SEG* 23 206, which records the special sacrifices arranged by a governor of Achaëa for the safety of Gaius Caesar.

<sup>28</sup> Epigraphic evidence for vows has been discovered at Cyrene (Reynolds 1962) and Sarmizegetusa (Märghitan & Petolescu 1976).

governors administered to both soldiers and civilians.<sup>29</sup> Although oaths of loyalty seem to have been more prominent in the early than in the middle Empire, they were clearly still customary in Pliny's Bithynia, and are attested, if only intermittently, into late antiquity.<sup>30</sup> The two examples discovered in Asia Minor – an oath to Augustus from the Paphlagonian city of Phazimon-Neapolis, and an oath to Caligula from Assos – make no reference to the governor.<sup>31</sup> They are likely representative, however, of the oaths governors administered. For our purposes, two characteristics of these texts are particularly interesting. First, they indicate a keen awareness of the political landscape; the preamble of the oath from Assos, for example, specifically mentions the expectation that Caligula, having visited the city as a child, would take special notice of it as emperor.<sup>32</sup> Second, and more apropos to the aim of this study, both oaths specify the places in which they were administered: a postscript to the example from Assos notes that the sacrifice associated with the oath was carried out the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and a similar addendum to the Phazimon oath states that it was administered at the altar of the city's Sebasteion.<sup>33</sup>

The sacrifices governors conducted are relatively well-attested.<sup>34</sup> The fullest description, which records a sacrifice Arrian made on behalf of Hadrian in the city of Trapezus, is worth quoting at length:

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<sup>29</sup> On oaths of loyalty to the emperor, see especially Herrmann 1968; a list of the extant examples may be found in *ibid.*, 122-7. cf. Gonzalez 1988

<sup>30</sup> See Herrmann 1968: 114-15 on the evidence for oaths of loyalty after the first century.

<sup>31</sup> Oath of Phazimon: *OGIS* 532=*IGR* III 137 = *ILS* 8781. Oath of Assos: *IvAssos* 26 = *IGR* IV.251 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 797.

<sup>32</sup> *IvAssos* 26.15-17. It may be assumed that a copy of the oath and preamble were dispatched to Rome.

<sup>33</sup> *IvAssos* 26.31-2; *OGIS* 532.41-2, cf. 36-8. The sanctuary of Jupiter Capitolinus at Assos was probably located on the agora (cf. Arslan & Rheidt 2013: 217). Tertullian (*De Cor.* 12.3) mentions that loyalty oaths were administered in the capitolium of Carthage. A Hellenistic inscription mentions an oath of loyalty in a theater (*SEG* 12 511.26-7).

<sup>34</sup> Eck 1993 outlines the occasions on which Roman governors were expected to offer sacrifice. Compare the sacrifices made by emperors upon their arrival in a city (Halfmann 1986: 111-17; Lehnen 1997: 335-6). Governors offering sacrifice: e.g. *POxy* 1416; Suet., *Galb.* 8.2; cf. Plut., *Pomp.* 57.2. For the sources on emperors sacrificing,

Two altars of rough stone are standing [on a promontory overlooking the Black Sea]; but the letters inscribed upon them are indistinctly engraved on account of the coarseness of the stone, and the inscription itself – as is common among barbarous people – is incorrectly written. I decided, accordingly, to erect altars of marble, and to engrave the inscription in well-marked and distinct characters. Your statue, which stands there, has merit in the idea of the figure and design, as it represents you pointing towards the sea; but it bears no resemblance to the original, and the execution is in other respects uncouth. Send therefore a statue worthy to be called yours, and of a similar design to the one which is there at present, as the situation is well calculated for perpetuating, by these means, the memory of any illustrious person. [...] I sacrificed an ox... which was furnished by the citizens of Trapezus. We examined the entrails of the sacrificed animals, and performed our libations upon them. I need not mention to you in whose behalf we first offered our prayers, as you are well acquainted with our custom on such occasions, and as you must be conscious that you deserve the prayers of all [...]. (*Peripl. M. Eux.*, 1.1-2.4)

This account preserves a number of significant details. First, like most sacrifices associated with the imperial cult in the eastern provinces, Arrian's sacrifice for Hadrian seems to have followed the traditional Greek rite.<sup>35</sup> Also in accordance with usual practice, he was accompanied by assistants and attendants, roles probably filled by a combination of civic officials and his own subordinates.<sup>36</sup> More interesting for our purposes is Arrian's obvious concern with the physical setting of his sacrifice; his commission of the new altars and a better likeness of Hadrian attests his expectation that a sanctuary in which sacrifices for the emperor were made would be appropriately decorated.<sup>37</sup> Arrian, born and educated in the cultivated core of the Greek world, doubtless regarded the rough altars and clumsy imperial statue of the sanctuary at Trapezus as

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see Lehnen 1997: 181-3, 335-6. Compare the coin series from Pergamum that shows Caligula offering sacrifice (see Ch. 11).

<sup>35</sup> See Chaniotis 2003 on the many connections between the ceremonies of the imperial cult and those connected with the traditional gods. On the rituals associated with sacrifices for the emperor, see Price 1984: 208-9 and Herz 1995: 71-2. Cf. Fishwick 2003: 268-73 on sacrifices for the imperial cult in western provinces and Chaniotis 1995: 156-60 on Hellenistic precedents.

<sup>36</sup> Extensive retinues accompanied governors of Macedonia on their excursions to offer sacrifice at Samothrace (*SEG* 42 780; *I. Samothrace* 53; cf. 28, 31, 50).

<sup>37</sup> Arrian also urged Hadrian to send new cult statues of Hermes and Zeus Philesius to the shrine that stood beside the altars (2.1-2), presumably because the shrine was connected in some way with local celebrations of the imperial cult.



signs of backwardness and barbarism. For all the uncouthness of these efforts, however, the fact remains that the citizens of Trapezus had – motivated, perhaps, by the visit of Hadrian a few years earlier<sup>38</sup> – undertaken to build a monumental setting for sacrifices to the emperor.

Cities throughout the eastern provinces gave close attention to the settings in which sacrifices for the emperor were made, particularly when those settings were used by governors. An early third-century temple account recording the painstaking preparations for a prefect's visit to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe neatly illustrates this concern with appearances.

[On the] 20<sup>th</sup> [of the month], on the occasion of a visit from the most illustrious prefect Septimius Heraclitus, for crowning all the monuments in the temple as aforesaid: 24 drachmae [were spent]. For oil for lighting lamps in the shrine: 6 drachmae. For pine cones and spices and other things: 12 drachmae. Charge for two donkeys carrying trees and palm branches: 8 drachmae. For polishing all the statues in the temple with oil: 20 drachmae. Wage of a coppersmith for polishing the statues: 4 drachmae. To porters who carried the image of the god in procession to meet the prefect: 32 drachmae. For crowns for the said image: 4 drachmae. To an orator who made a speech in the presence of the most illustrious prefect Septimius Heraclitus in acknowledgement of the [statue of] Victory which he contributed to the possessions of the god and of other gifts: 60 drachmae. (*BGU* II, 362 = *Sel. Pap.* II, 404)

Other testimonia bear witness to comparable preparations.<sup>39</sup> The manner in which the design and appearance of sanctuaries environed the sacrifices of governors, however, is elusive, for the simple reason that few temple precincts retain more than the barest traces of their original decoration. In the following paragraphs, accordingly, we will our inquiry to three relatively well-preserved sanctuaries: the Temple of Artemis at Sardis,<sup>40</sup> Temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan at Pergamum,<sup>41</sup> and Temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassus (Figs. 79-80, 114-15).<sup>42</sup> Although

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<sup>38</sup> Halfmann 1986: 190

<sup>39</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 798 = *IGR* IV.145.18-21; *IvE* 814; cf. Poly. 22.20. For Hellenistic precedents, see Chaniotis 1995: 155-6.

<sup>40</sup> Sardis II.1; Burrell 2004: 103-8

<sup>41</sup> *AvP* V.2; Radt 1999: 209-20; Nohlen 2011

<sup>42</sup> Vandepuit 1997: 64-82; Waelkens 2002: 351; Talleon & Waelkens 2004: 177-81, 193-4

these examples have little beyond an association with the imperial cult in common, they will serve to illustrate the general features of the sanctuaries in which governors offered sacrifice.

Two of our examples – the Temples of Trajan and Antoninus Pius – were built in the second century, and designed to serve as local and regional centers of the imperial cult. The third, the Temple of Artemis, was a Hellenistic structure partially repurposed to accommodate a cult of Antoninus Pius.<sup>43</sup> As might be expected, the architecture and ornament of the second-century buildings differed considerably from that of the older temple: the former were Corinthian and – particularly in the Temple of Trajan’s case – showed clear signs of Roman influence;<sup>44</sup> the latter stood firmly in the Ionic tradition of western Asia Minor. Yet the precincts that surrounded these temples, where the ritual of sacrifice took place, were broadly analogous in appearance, consisting of substantial courtyards, punctuated with honorific statues and (in the case of the imperial cult temples) ringed by stoas.<sup>45</sup> Although the sacrificial altars in all three sanctuaries are attested only by foundations, it is likely that, like their better-preserved counterparts at Ephesus and Miletus,<sup>46</sup> they were richly decorated (Fig. 115). All three altars were located in the usual position, a short distance in front of the temple façade. This situation afforded a clear view of the cult statue(s); at Sardis, in fact, colossal statues of Lucius Verus and his wife Lucilla may have

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<sup>43</sup> The Temple of Trajan at Pergamum was a provincial sanctuary of the imperial cult. Although the Temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassus seems to have been a center of imperial cult for the region of Pisidia, it does not seem to have become an official provincial temple until the Tetrarchic period (Burrell 2004: 267-9). The cella of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis was divided, probably during the Roman era, into western and eastern halves. The cult of goddess was housed in the western portion; that of Antoninus Pius, in the eastern. See Price 1984: 146-56 and Burrell 2004: 326-8 for other examples of imperial cults housed in sanctuaries of the traditional gods.

<sup>44</sup> Gros 1996: 182 emphasizes the Roman elements of the Temple of Trajan’s design, while Waelkens 1989: 84 stresses its indebtedness to local tradition.

<sup>45</sup> In general, despite the western-influenced appearance of a few imperial temples in the Greek world, most followed local architectural conventions. On the design of temples of the imperial cult in the eastern provinces, see Price 1984: 133-69; Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, esp. 57-63; Süß 2003; Heller 2007; cf. Pohl 2002: 163-93.

<sup>46</sup> See Tuchelt 1975 on the altar of Augustus in the forecourt of the bouleterion at Miletus. The Ephesian example, which stood in front of the Temple of Domitian, will be discussed in the following section.

stood in the temple porch, almost immediately behind the altar.<sup>47</sup> Near the altars were found scattered statue bases, which hint at the dense concentrations of honorific sculpture that must have originally surrounded them. Statues of the emperors and their families seem, unsurprisingly, to have been particularly prominent. They stood alongside, however, a considerable number of statues honoring priests of the imperial cult and other eminent locals.<sup>48</sup>

Temple precincts were also a favorite place for honoring governors. At Pergamum, as we have seen, first the Temple of Athena and then the Asclepieion were marked by multiple statues of proconsuls. Similar concentrations seem to have existed at Temple of Apollo at Didyma, the Artemision at Ephesus, and a considerable number of other sanctuaries.<sup>49</sup> In part, as noted in the eleventh chapter, statues of governors were placed in sanctuaries on account of their sacral associations, which identified Roman officials as worshippers of the god and faithful friends of the city.<sup>50</sup> These honors may have had an additional political significance. Since the sacrificial community of a major civic temple was at least theoretically identical with the citizen body, a governor's inclusion in the "virtual community" of worshippers and benefactors honored in the

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<sup>47</sup> See Niemeyer 1968: 29-30, Price 1984: 180-8, Pekáry 1985: 116-29, and Burrell 2004: 317-23 on cult statues of the imperial cult, and Pekáry 1985: 81-3 more generally on colossal statues of the emperor. On the colossal images of Trajan and Hadrian in the Temple at Pergamum, see Inan & Rosenbaum 1966, no. 28, 30; Auinger & Fendt 2011; it is uncertain how these statues and the equally immense representation of Zeus Philios were arranged in the cella (Burrell 2004: 27). The placement of six colossal statues (Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and their wives) in and around the eastern cella of the Temple of Artemis is equally perplexing; weathering on the head of Lucius Verus suggests that at least this statue may have been set up in an exposed position (Burrell 2004: 104-8).

<sup>48</sup> The precinct of the Temple of Artemis featured a diverse array of honorific sculpture (*I. Sardis* 4, 6, 8, 9, 22-4, 50-4, 85-95 can be reasonably associated with it); since the center of imperial cult was located elsewhere in the city before the conversion of the eastern cella, however, only one base for a member of the imperial family – I. Sardis 37, for Antonina, mother of the emperor Claudius – was found in the vicinity of the temple. It is possible that the great monument erected in honor of Tiberius by Sardis and twelve other Asian cities (*I. Sardis* 9) originally stood in the precinct. The sanctuary at Sagalassus, built as a regional center for the imperial cult in Pisidia, featured statues of emperors (Lanckoronksi 1892, no. 189-91), priests of the imperial cult (*ibid.* no. 188), and eminent citizens (*ibid.* no. 192, 194).

<sup>49</sup> See Erkelenz 2003: 148-51 and Tuchelt 1979: 66-7 on statues of Roman governors in Greek sanctuaries. Artemision: e.g. *IvE* 628, 630a, 678, 1539-40. Didyma: e.g. *I. Did.* 146, 149.

<sup>50</sup> Ch. 4.3. On the prestige and sacral associations of statues in temple precincts, see Dio Chrys., *Or.* 31.87; cf. Cic., *II Verr.* 2.160. Governors themselves recognized that sacred spaces were uniquely effective venues for advertising loyalties; the account papyrus from Arsinoe mentions a statue of victory that the prefect dedicated in his own name and set up in the precinct, doubtless hoping to garner the emperor's favor.

precinct was a means not merely of presenting officials with exemplars for the role they were to fill in the community, but also, on a more basic level, of asserting that governors *were* members of the community.<sup>51</sup> This assertion directly implicated the power of Rome in the organization of a community, in a place where that community regularly arrayed and renewed itself under the auspices of the gods and emperor. In this sense, statues of governors in temple precincts were addressed at least as much to citizens and to the elites of neighboring cities as they were to newly-arrived officials, and served, in the governor's absence, to perpetuate the sanctioning effect of his participation in civic rituals.

A governor's inclusion in the ritual and political community must have been particularly visible when he offered sacrifice. Let us imagine, for example, a sacrifice for the emperor at Pergamum's Temple of Trajan and Zeus Philius. A winged victory, poised on a globe atop the temple, hovers over the scene.<sup>52</sup> Flanked by his lictors and other attendants, the governor stands at the altar, his toga-clad figure outlined against the open door of the temple. Within, the marble heads and hands of colossal emperors catch the light.<sup>53</sup> Out of the crowd on both sides of the altar loom bronze honorific statues on tall bases, several depicting the same man, A. Iulius Quadratus, the local notable who had served as proconsul of Asia and won from Trajan permission to build the temple.<sup>54</sup> To the distinguished spectators around the altar, particularly while Quadratus remained in living memory, the sacrifice may well have seemed less a demonstration of Roman power than an affirmation of their city's special connection with that

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. Ma 2013: 79-85, esp. 82f

<sup>52</sup> On the victories atop the acroteria, see *AvP* V.2: 33-4.

<sup>53</sup> The officiant and celebrants usually stood with their backs to the temple. Sacrifices were typically held in the morning, when sunlight would illuminate the interior of the cella (Burkert 1988: 36-7).

<sup>54</sup> At least seven statues of Quadratus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 507) stood in the precinct of the Trajaneum (*IvP* 438, 443, 445-9). Although the original placement of these dedications is uncertain, it is likely that at least one was located in the prestigious vicinity of the altar.

power – a connection that validated not only Pergamum’s regional preeminence, but also their own position in the city. From this perspective, the governor, by honoring the emperor with a sacrifice, was not claiming a special relationship with the sovereign, but identifying himself as a peer of Quadratus and the other Pergamenes of senatorial rank who regularly participated in such ceremonies.<sup>55</sup> For the local notables involved in the ritual, in short, the governor’s sacrifice may have seemed to confirm his status as nothing more or less than an elite servant of the emperor – and thus his basic parity with themselves. In addition to thus validating their influence, the setting of the sacrifice would have visibly reinforced the local primacy of the elite. The area in front of and immediately around the altar at the Temple of Trajan was limited, and would only have allowed room for the governor’s attendants and eminent members of the civic elite. If less distinguished citizens wished to watch the proceedings, they would have had to do so from the theater terrace below the temple, at a distance that would have blurred the governor and surrounding notables into an indistinguishable mass of white-robed figures. It would be difficult to imagine a clearer visual demonstration of the way notables assimilated the governor’s authority and prestige to their own, and presented his presence as a confirmation of their local position.

## **II. The Governor at Festival**

Like civic sacrifices, regional festivals served to visibly implicate governors in the sociopolitical structures of their host cities. They were staged, however, for a larger and qualitatively different audience, in which the delegations from other cities figured prominently.

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<sup>55</sup> Many members of the Pergamene elite would have served as *asiarchs* or other officials of the imperial cult on the civic or provincial level. Even those not involved in the cult may have offered sacrifice at the temple; in at least some cities, it was customary for magistrates to begin their term of office with a sacrifice for the emperor (e.g. *HSCP* Supp. 1 (1940): 528-9, ln. 15-18). On the idea that Greek notables with Roman citizenship were in some sense equivalent to Roman officials as common servants of the emperor, see, e.g., Aristid., *Or.* 26.64.

Festivals provided opportunity for a host city to present its relationship with the governor as a confirmation of its regional status, and even as an argument for supremacy.<sup>56</sup> The design and decoration of the theaters, stadia, and gymnasia in which the rituals and contests associated with festivals took place accordingly made provision not only for associating the governor and the imperial authority he embodied with the notables of the host city, but also for advertising this association to neighboring and rival cities.

Governors routinely officiated at civic festivals.<sup>57</sup> In some *conventus* cities, as noted earlier, their annual visits coincided with traditional festivities; the Dionysia of Smyrna, for example, was regularly held during the assizes.<sup>58</sup> Cities off the usual circuits, moreover, frequently sent delegations to request the governor's attendance at their festivals. Menander Rhetor provides detailed instructions for the speech of invitation:

After you have praised the governor, introduce the festival: "It is solemn and worthy of much admiration. You will see regions and cities gathered together, the best athletes from everywhere, lyre players, flute players, and many other professional musicians; all these await you and summon you now to their festival, hoping to hold it in your presence, because they realize that they will have no enjoyment of their skills without a visit from you. Who will not marvel that you have answered the call? Who would not see in you a spectacle perhaps more awe-inspiring than the festival itself?" Then you should say: "You must also respect the god in whose honor the festival is held, and do him a favor; for so you will be thought both pious and obedient." (II, 424.24-25.10; trans. Russell & Wilson)

Menander's prescriptions illustrate what a city hoped to communicate to – and through – a governor visiting one of its festivals. The features which the speech of invitation was to emphasize are unsurprising: the festival's prominence, the size of the audience, and the fame of

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<sup>56</sup> Heller 2006a: 163-236; cf. Chaniotis 1995: 161ff

<sup>57</sup> On governors at civic festivals, see Aristid., *Or.* 17, 21.16; cf. 50.85ff; *Mart. Poly.* 9-11; Euseb. *HE* 5.1.47; cf. Apul., *Flor.* 9; Philostr., *VA* 7.5. See Bérenger 2014: 356-8 for additional examples.

<sup>58</sup> Aristid., *Or.* 17.5, 21.16, 50.85. The fact the festivals frequently coincided with the assizes is reflected in inscriptions praising gymnasiarchs and prytaneis for supplying additional oil during the assizes (sources collected in Jones 1978: 68, n. 23).

the presiding deity. More interesting is the suggestion that the governor's attendance will enhance his local standing, both by making him more visible and by advertising his veneration for local cults. Governors had much to gain from such publicity, and local elites still more. A statue base recently discovered in Smyrna records a proconsul of Asia's joint service with a local notable as agonothete for the *Koinon* of Asia; even if the governor's role was largely ceremonial, this position likely required him to preside over a major festival in a capacity visibly coordinate with that of an eminent provincial.<sup>59</sup> Although such close cooperation was probably exceptional, every civic festival at which a governor officiated, or even attended, offered opportunities for comparable demonstrations of sympathy with local notables.

In mid-imperial Asia Minor, festivals and contests were celebrated more frequently and more lavishly than ever before.<sup>60</sup> The basic motivation of this explosion, like that of the contemporaneous building boom, was the desire of increasingly wealthy and well-connected notables to demonstrate (and improve) their local and regional standing. Donors and agonothetes, hoping to accrue social capital, expended escalating sums to provide spectacular entertainments. Their fellow citizens, and particularly their social peers, encouraged such munificence, ready for a show and eager to impress neighboring cities. For citizens who participated in the contests, moreover, festivals afforded unique opportunity for the performance of status and skill.<sup>61</sup> Still more important, at least for our purposes, were the implications festivals could have for regional

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<sup>59</sup> Herrmann & Malay 2003, no. 1

<sup>60</sup> See Leschhorn 1998 on the expansion of festivals in Roman Asia Minor. Mitchell 1993: 217-25 provides a good survey of festival development in the mid-imperial period. Ehrhardt 1984 discusses the dense festival calendar of Severan Miletus.

<sup>61</sup> Pleket 2001 is a wide-ranging exploration of the meaning of athletic contests for Greek men, and particularly local notables. See Van Nijf 2001, 2005 on the perceived connections between athletic prowess and civic virtue.

political relations.<sup>62</sup> Although a few contests were reserved for citizens of a single city,<sup>63</sup> the great majority welcomed all comers, and the most prominent drew athletes and spectators from throughout the province and beyond. Even small festivals made provision for the performance of political relations; the Demostheneia of Oinoanda, for example, included a sacrifice to which delegations from the villages of the chora each brought a single bull.<sup>64</sup> Larger festivals typically featured delegations from a number of neighboring cities, whose treatment during the festival reflected their prestige and relations with the host city; in the stadium of Aphrodisias, permanent blocks of seating were assigned to the poleis who regularly attended civic festivals, closer to or farther from the judges' tribunal (the most desirable spot) in accordance with their proximity and historical friendship.<sup>65</sup> Rivalries were particularly evident during the annual games staged by provincial councils, where civic delegations regularly quarreled over precedence.<sup>66</sup>

Before considering how the politically charged atmosphere of civic festivals influenced the architectural settings governors used, it will be useful to briefly review the usual organization and components of Greek festivals in the Roman period.<sup>67</sup> In theory, festivals were either ἀγῶνες θεματικοί, (usually local) competitions that offered cash prizes; or ἀγῶνες ἱεροὶ καὶ στεφανῖται, the more prestigious contests that awarded sacred wreaths to victors. In reality, since many “crown” games also offered cash prizes, the categories seem to have been relatively fluid.

Despite almost infinite variety in detail, the festivals associated with both “prize” and “crown”

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<sup>62</sup> See Van Nijf 2012 on the regional political implications of civic games; cf. Price 1984: 128-30. Sometimes – particularly in the case of “crown” games, whose foundation had to be approved by the emperor – festivals played an important role in a city's relationship with the emperor (Langenfeld 1975, Pleket 2010).

<sup>63</sup> Mitchell 1993: 217-18, n. 130

<sup>64</sup> *SEG* 38 1462.72-80; cf. Wörrle 1988: 135-50

<sup>65</sup> Welch 1998a: 562

<sup>66</sup> E.g. *IvE* 217

<sup>67</sup> Slater 2007 emphasizes the variety evident in the organization of Greek festivals. See Chaniotis 1995 for a detailed examination of the structure and social dynamics of Hellenistic festivals. Wörrle 1988: 227-58 examines the well-known festival founded by Demosthenes of Oinoanda in the context of contemporary practice.



games were characterized by the same basic elements. The festivities opened with a procession, which usually terminated in the sanctuary of the deity to whom the games were dedicated. Here, and sometimes at several other points along the processional route, sacrifices were offered. In the succeeding feast, the meat of the victims was shared out among the more distinguished participants. The contests, usually spread over several days or more, followed. The events could be athletic, artistic, or both. Athletic competitions – most characterized by some combination of footraces, wrestling and boxing, and equestrian events – predominated; but artistic contests are well-attested. A fragmentary inscription from Aphrodisias recording the awards dispensed at an anonymous civic festival mentions contests for: trumpeters, heralds, Pythic and cyclic flautists, comedians, and tragedians; adult and youth stadium runners, pentathletes, wrestlers, boxers, pancratists, and hoplite runners; and various equestrian events involving both colts and horses, with and without chariots.<sup>68</sup> Many large festivals probably featured comparable variety. Festivals associated with the imperial cult, and particularly the annual provincial games staged by the provincial councils, sometimes combined the traditional Greek contests with a more Roman program of gladiatorial combats and beast hunts; over the second and third centuries, a number of civic festivals seem to have followed suit, apparently in response to local demand.<sup>69</sup> In most respects, however, festivals and games of the imperial cult seem to have differed little from those dedicated to the traditional gods.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Roueché 1993, no. 52 = *I. Aph. 2007* 11.305, III

<sup>69</sup> On the Roman-style contests associated with the imperial cult, see, e.g., the gladiatorial combats staged by a series of provincial priests at Ankara (Mitchell 1993: 108-12). The taste for gladiatorial combats and beast hunts spread quickly; it is telling that a late second-century decree regulating gladiatorial combats was found at Sardis (*I. Sardis* 16; cf. 82). The number of theaters and stadia adapted for blood sports in the second and third centuries is equally telling (see below). On gladiators in the Roman east, see in general Robert 1940.

<sup>70</sup> On festivals of the imperial cult, see Price 1984: 102-21 and Herz 1995: 69ff. Chaniotis 2003 discusses the imperial cult's profound implication in contemporary ritual practice.

The ceremonies and events associated with Greek festivals were usually concentrated in three buildings: the gymnasium, the theater, and the stadium.<sup>71</sup> These structures developed piecemeal in many cities, becoming gradually more monumental in response to changing architectural trends and various sociopolitical stimuli. In a few cases, however, their construction can be associated with the need to accommodate a newly founded festival. It has been conjectured, for example, that the massive Harbor Bath complex at Ephesus was designed to accommodate games connected with the new neokorate Temple of the Flavians.<sup>72</sup> The theater, amphitheater, stadium, and large gymnasium constructed during the early second century in the lower city of Pergamum may likewise have been partially inspired by the foundation of contests for the new provincial temple of Trajan.<sup>73</sup> On a still more dramatic scale, the whole monumental development of the chief cities of Galatia was molded by the ceremonial requirements of imperial cult; the Temple of Augustus and Rome that dominated the center of Ancyra, for example, seems to have been built in tandem with a theater and gymnasium.<sup>74</sup> Although such extensive building programs were unusual, virtually every sizeable city made at least some monumental provision for the pullulating festivals of the Roman period, as the many theaters and

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<sup>71</sup> Rhetorical contests were sometimes held in the odeion/bouleuterion instead of theater, at least sometimes in the presence of the governor (e.g. Lib., *Or.* 1.37-42, 61, 65-74; cf. Him., *Or.* 38).

<sup>72</sup> See Friesen 1993: 121-36 on the connection between the Temple of Domitian and the Harbor Baths; Brunet 1997 suggests that the construction of the Harbor Baths may also have been motivated by the nearly contemporary foundation of the *Balbilleia*. Scherrer 2008 speculates that much of the monumental center of Ephesus was shaped by the desire to accommodate the temples and festivals associated with the neokorates granted under Domitian and Hadrian.

<sup>73</sup> On the athletic complex in the lower city of Pergamon, see Wulf 1994: 156-68 and Radt 1999: 262-6. The unique stadium/theater complex at Aezani may have also been inspired by the need to house festivals in a setting both convenient and suitably monumental. Compare the theater and stadium constructed in tandem with the imperial cult temple at Sardis (Ratté, Howe, & Foss 1986).

<sup>74</sup> See Mitchell 1993: 103-7 on the transformative role of the imperial cult on Galatian urbanism. Bennett 2006: 208-9 suggests that the city's theater (which was located very close to the Temple of Rome and Augustus) was built around the same time. An inscription records a festival apparently held on the temple grounds (*OGIS* 533); this would make more sense if a gymnasium or stadium were in the immediate vicinity.

stadia remodeled to accommodate gladiatorial contests and beast hunts attest.<sup>75</sup> Theaters might even be redecorated to suit their role in civic festivities; to welcome Caracalla, who had a known proclivity for beast hunts, the citizens of Corinth redesigned the stage and orchestra of their theater, painting the new barrier at the base of the *cavea* with hunting scenes.<sup>76</sup> The erection of honorific statues was a less dramatic mode of redecoration. The six statues of neighboring cities that Aphrodisian officials erected to honor participants in a third-century festival, for example, probably stood in the vicinity of the stadium or theater.<sup>77</sup> The monumental contexts of festivals, in short, changed in tandem with the events they housed. To gain a better sense of how such settings could serve as stages for the definition and presentation of official authority, we will briefly consider how festivals engaged the spatial dynamics and sculptural elaboration of gymnasia, theaters, and stadia in Roman Asia Minor.

Gymnasia, the traditional centers of athletic activity in a Greek city, seem to have played a significant role in at least some civic festivals. Since textual and epigraphic references supply little information about the settings of these contests, the most telling evidence is archaeological. By the mid-imperial period, most large gymnasia in Asia Minor were connected in a more or less organic fashion with a Roman-style bath.<sup>78</sup> Many of these structures were remarkably opulent; an inscription from Smyrna, for example, records Hadrian's gift of nearly 100 marble columns for a new bath-gymnasium.<sup>79</sup> Despite the addition of a bathing block, most imperial gymnasia consisted, like the Hellenistic predecessors, of a basically square peristyle ringed by small rooms

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<sup>75</sup> See Golvin 1988: 239-40, 319-20 on the conversion of theaters, and Welch 1998b, 1999) on the adaptation of stadia.

<sup>76</sup> *Corinth II*: 84-97

<sup>77</sup> Roueché 1981: 118-19 discusses the bases.

<sup>78</sup> On bath-gymnasium complexes, see Delorme 1960: 243-50 and Gros 1996: 413-15.

<sup>79</sup> *IvSmyrna 697 = IGR IV.1431*

for training, lectures, and cult.<sup>80</sup> Under normal circumstances, the functions of imperial-era gymnasia may have also followed Hellenistic precedents – i.e. the physical and intellectual training of a city’s inhabitants, and especially of the youth. The gradual shrinkage of the gymnasium palaestra in relation to the attached bathing block, however, has led some scholars to conclude that imperial gymnasia were used primarily for intellectual pursuits.<sup>81</sup> In some cities, the athletic contests of civic festivals were likely relegated to the stadium or some other venue by sheer lack of space. Yet at least a few bath-gymnasium complexes seem to have been designed specifically to accommodate such events.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps the best example is the aforementioned Harbor Bath complex at Ephesus, which featured not only a large and richly decorated palaestra, but also a massive *xystos* (Fig. 116).<sup>83</sup> During civic festivals, this and other large gymnasia may well have housed boxing and wrestling matches, track events, and perhaps even artistic contests. The often lavish sculptural decoration of the palaestra – where the contests presumably took place – may have assumed special meaning on these occasions.

Neither gymnasia nor the baths to which they were attached were typically characterized by detailed sculptural programs. Basic thematic continuity was not uncommon – gymnasia were frequently decorated with statues of Hercules, Hermes, and a few other deities; and baths often featured a general aquatic, or still more general “mythological” theme – but it would difficult to

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<sup>80</sup> See Wacker 2004 on the architecture of Hellenistic gymnasia.

<sup>81</sup> Steskal 2003a, 2003b, 2007

<sup>82</sup> E.g. *SEG* XV 330 (cf. Robert, *OMS* I: 283-5); *IG* VII 2712

<sup>83</sup> As noted earlier, the Harbor Baths were likely designed to accommodate the games associated with a provincial temple. Friesen 1993: 121-37 connects them specifically with the “Olympic” games held intermittently at Ephesus in the imperial period, and speculates that the *xystos* was actually modelled on an analogous structure at Olympia. This conjecture may be dubious; but it seems clear that the Harbor Baths –called “the Baths of the Emperors” in antiquity –were in fact designed to be used for provincial games. The opulent Smyrnaean gymnasium mentioned earlier (*IvSmyrna* 697) can also be plausibly connected with the games of the Asian *Koinon*; cf. *AvP* VIII.3: 164-5.

read any social or political message into such ensembles.<sup>84</sup> Parts of some gymnasia seem, however, to have been decorated more deliberately. The palaestras of a number of large Asian bath-gymnasium complexes featured recessed rooms with elaborate marble paneling and aedicular facades. The German excavators of the first known examples termed these rooms “marmorsäle” or (more tendentiously) “kaisersäle,” and identified them as shrines of the imperial cult. The assumption that all such rooms were dedicated to the emperor has since been disproved, and recent scholarship has tended to stress their multi-functionality and the flexibility of their décor.<sup>85</sup> Yet at least some of these rooms almost certainly did feature statues of the emperor; and even if they had no necessary connection with the imperial cult, it is probable that, during civic festivals, these richly-decorated spaces had an important ceremonial function.<sup>86</sup> Regrettably, however, evidence for the sculptural decoration of the *marmorsäle* in the palaestras that most likely hosted civic games has proved elusive; the example in the Harbor Baths, for instance, seems to have been remodeled in late antiquity, leaving only a few fragments of the original program (Fig. 117).<sup>87</sup> The bases for dedicatory statues of the emperors found in some of the palaestras that boasted *marmorsäle* may have originally been grouped near them – but again,

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<sup>84</sup> On the sculptural decoration of (Hellenistic) gymnasia, see von den Hoff 2004 and Ma 2013: 85-90.

Manderscheid 1981: 29-34 discusses the thematic elements of bath sculpture. It is worth noting that the epigrams on sculpture in bath buildings preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* (IX.606-40) are mostly devoted to mythological subjects, with particular focus on the three Graces (e.g. 607, 609-10, 616, 625, 634, 638-9).

<sup>85</sup> On *marmorsäle/kaisersäle*, see Yegül 1982, whose association of all such spaces with the imperial cult was challenged by Burrell 2006, and definitively refuted by the discovery that the *kaisersaal* in the Baths of Vedius at Ephesus was dominated by statues of the donor and his family (Auinger 2011). Support still lingers, however, for the idea that at least some *kaisersäle* were connected with the imperial cult (e.g. Steskal 2003a: 234).

<sup>86</sup> Sacrifices of the imperial cult are attested in gymnasia (e.g. *SEG* XV 330; *IG* VII 2712), and probably evolved from Hellenistic predecessors (see Aneziri & Damaskos 2004 on Hellenistic cult in gymnasia; cf. Price 1984: 143, n. 29). Some imperial images in gymnasia certainly had a cultic significance (Price 1984: 143-4).

<sup>87</sup> The extremely heterogeneous collection of sculpture found in the *kaisersaal* of the Harbor Baths (Manderscheid 1981, cat. no. 159, 162, 169-71) was probably assembled in late antiquity, possibly to replace imperial portraits smashed in an earthquake or unacceptable to Christian sensibilities. The famous statue of the boy with the goose, for example, almost certainly originated in a different part of the city (*FiE* X.1: 150). The two sphinx groups (Manderscheid 1981: cat. 169-70), however, may be original, and may even have been intended to flank a colossal statue of the emperor (*FiE* X.1: 178-81).

the patchy evidence precludes any analysis.<sup>88</sup> In any case, the elaborate decoration of these rooms, which usually opened onto the peristyle of a palaestra, must have lent them particular prominence when civic games were staged just beyond the colonnade. It might be imagined that awards for the various contests were dispensed in front of the richly decorated façade, which may even have served as the backdrop for the wooden benches on which dignitaries sat.

Theaters were a crucial part of any festival that featured artistic contests – and, later, for those involving blood sports and other spectacles best staged in a sunken *cavea*. The theater of Oenoanda, for example, seems to have been the venue for the music festival founded by Demosthenes, which included contests for trumpeters and heralds, writers of prose encomia, poets, choral flautists, comic poets, tragic poets, citharodes, and mimes;<sup>89</sup> the theater of Corinth, as we have seen, was redecorated to serve as the site of Caracalla’s beast hunts. The *scaenae frons*, which often featured representations of Apollo, the muses, and other patrons of artistic production, doubtless seemed an appropriate backdrop at least for traditionally “theatrical” activities.<sup>90</sup> In a few cases, the sculptural program was directly influenced by the festival activities staged before it. The *scaenae frons* of the theater at Hierapolis, rebuilt in the Severan period, is perhaps the best example (Fig. 118). On the podium of the stage building, a band of reliefs depicted the birth and exploits of Apollo and Artemis, with a marked emphasis on their role in local cult; two panels appended to the cycle represented the divinities who presided over athletic competition, connecting the myths of Apollo and Artemis with the civic festival cycle. The message was still clearer in the decoration of the first story, where, over the *porta regia*, a

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<sup>88</sup> See, for example, the bases found in and around the “marble court” of the bath-gymnasium at Sardis (*SEG* 36 1092-3, 95-6; Yegül 1986: 169-72). Manderscheid 1981: 35-8 discusses statues of emperors in bath buildings.

<sup>89</sup> *SEG* 38 1462.64-5

<sup>90</sup> Though focused on the western provinces, the best survey of sculptural decoration in Roman theaters is Fuchs 1987: 128ff. Schwingenstein 1977 reviews the dominant decorative themes of theaters in the Greek world. The unusually well-preserved sculptural decoration of the theater at Aphrodisias is surveyed in Erim & Smith 1991.

broad band of reliefs showed the Severan imperial family sacrificing at a stylized civic festival (Fig. 119).<sup>91</sup> Most theaters advertised their ritual functions by subtler means. A few featured bases for statues carried on festival days, such as those built above each of the lower *cunei* in the theater of Ephesus for images borne in the procession of C. Vibius Salutaris.<sup>92</sup> Permanent statues of emperors and their families displayed in the *scaenae frons* and scattered through the *cavea* may also have played a special role during festivals.<sup>93</sup> Under normal circumstances, for example, the 26 statues of Hadrian arrayed around the *cavea* of the Theater of Dionysus at Athens – one in each of the 13 *cunei*, and a group of 13 in the middle of the of the *cavea* – must have seemed nothing more or less than an affirmation of the city's tribal structure; when the seats were filled, however, with delegations from other cities (as, for example, during meetings and contests of the Panhellenion), they must have seemed to sanction a very different order.<sup>94</sup>

Some theaters preserve permanent seating assignments for the civic delegations that visited during festivals. At Pisidian Antioch, for example, the names of several neighboring cities were incised into sections of the theater seats.<sup>95</sup> It is tempting to imagine, likewise, that a series of statues found in the theater of Ephesus representing cities that sent delegations to a festival celebrating the dedication of a new provincial temple was set up near the seats actually used by the visitors.<sup>96</sup> A more definite festival role can be assigned to the seats of honor built on the

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<sup>91</sup> See *Hierapolis* I: 59-77 on the festival reliefs. It has been speculated that these reliefs reflected Hierapolis' special relationship with Severan imperial family – a local son, the sophist Antipater, was tutor of Caracalla and Geta – but they were surely also intended as a general statement of the emperor's respect for, and virtual participation in, local cults and festival. See Chuvin 1987 on the intended effect of the reliefs; cf. Ng 2007: 114-43.

<sup>92</sup> *IvE* 28-36

<sup>93</sup> On imperial statues in theaters, see Niemeyer 1968: 33-4 and Pekáry 1985: 47- 9; cf. Fuchs 1987: 166-80.

<sup>94</sup> See Pekáry 1985: 48, n. 71 on the statues. Le Guen 2010 emphasizes the significance of Athens' role as a center for the new festivals established under the auspices of Hadrian.

<sup>95</sup> *SEG* 50 1290; cf. *SEG* 34 1168 (Ephesus)

<sup>96</sup> *IvE* 2053-6: Carthage, Knidos, Kos, Lydian Nicaea

central axis of the lowest rows in many Greek theaters.<sup>97</sup> These special sections could take the form of a raised platform, an exedra, a loggia, or simply a covered section of seating (Figs. 120-1). At least in some cases, they can plausibly be associated with the presence of a Roman governor;<sup>98</sup> at most times, however, they were probably used by the same elite citizens who built them.<sup>99</sup> Even when a governor was present – as, for example, when he presided over a festival – he would certainly share his section with the *agonothete* and a select group of notables.<sup>100</sup> Elite citizens not quite eminent enough to sit in the seats of honor thronged the immediate vicinity, some using seats reserved by order of the city council. These could be monumental in their own right: a particularly eminent citizen of Laodicea ad Lycum was granted a section of seating nearly three meters long.<sup>101</sup>

Stadia were the single most important setting of the athletic contests associated with civic festivals.<sup>102</sup> As the customary venue for track and field events, horse and chariot races, and a variety of other competitions, they represented agonistic activity in a way that theaters, with their wider range of social and political associations, could not. Festival seating arrangements, accordingly, may have been marked explicitly in stadia than in theaters. In the stadium of Aphrodisias, the best-preserved building of its kind in Asia Minor, the sections of seating closest to the middle of the long sides were the most prestigious (Fig. 122). The lower rows of the two

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<sup>97</sup> On seats of honor in eastern theaters, see Roueché 1991: 99-101; Sear 2006: 5-6; and Bérenger 2014: 357.

<sup>98</sup> Roueché 1991 connects the installation of a seat of honor in the theater of Aphrodisias with the city's rise to the rank of provincial capital in the mid-third century.

<sup>99</sup> An inscription from Side (*IvSide* 142) records a notable's donation of a marble railing for the "loggia" in the theater.

<sup>100</sup> The platform inserted into the Hellenistic theater of Pergamum in the Roman period measured 2.5x5 m – large enough for a small group of spectators (*AvP* IV: 16). At Miletus, a baldachin about 5 m wide was erected over six rows of seats (Kleiner 1968: 70).

<sup>101</sup> *MAMA* VI.7 = *AE* 1940, 179. Kolendo 1981 provides a useful survey of the evidence for seating arrangements in Greek theaters.

<sup>102</sup> On the design and appearance of stadia in the Roman period, see Gros 1996: 357-61. Very few Greek cities built amphitheaters, preferring (as we have seen) to remodel theaters or stadia as venues in which gladiatorial combats or beast hunts could be staged. Gros 1996: 342-3 surveys the few eastern examples.



centermost banks featured “tribunal seats” comparable to the seats of the honor in contemporary theaters, one or both of which surely served the contest judges and agonothete during games. Civic officials, and particularly those involved the finance and organization of festivals, were seated nearby, as were the epebes. In the adjacent wedges, rows and sections were marked out for the use of delegations from a number of (mostly neighboring) cities.<sup>103</sup> A few stadia, like the example at Ephesus, may even have featured an elaborate “ceremonial entrance” for dignitaries and officials. Perhaps because they were only filled during (relatively infrequent) festivals, however, stadia seem to have seldom acquired extensive collections of dedicatory sculpture.<sup>104</sup> Such statuary as there was seems to have generally been concentrated around a shrine – such as the temple of Tyche in Herodes Atticus’ Panathenaic Stadium – or, less certainly, in the vicinity of the tribunal seats.<sup>105</sup>

How, then, could the design and décor of gymnasia, theaters, and stadia advertise or nuance the effect of a Roman governor’s appearance at a civic festival? Each of the building types surveyed featured spaces at least potentially designed to facilitate elite self-representation: the *marmorsäle* in bath-gymnasia and seats of honor in theaters and stadia. Like tribunals, these spaces served both to visibly differentiate their occupants from the mass of spectators and to juxtapose them with significant elements of their surroundings – particularly the imperial image and local notables. But during a festival, when it was less important to model a governor’s

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<sup>103</sup> Welch 1998a: 562. Compare the Federal Amphitheater at Lyon, where places were permanently reserved for various cities of the Three Gauls (*CIL* XIII.1667 a-c); cf. *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 14.2.1196-8 (Tarraco). Although there is no evidence that spaces were reserved for individual civic tribes in the Aphrodisias stadium, sections of seating were marked for this purpose in the stadium at the Lydian city of Saittai (Kolb 1990).

<sup>104</sup> On the evidence for statues of the emperors in stadia, see Niemeyer 1968: 35.

<sup>105</sup> See Price 1984: 110, n. 60 on cult statues and shrines in stadia. On Herodes’ Panathenaic stadium, see Tobin 1993 and Welch 1998b. The Panhellenic sanctuaries show no particular concentration of statues for Roman officials around stadia; see, e.g., Zoumbaki 2001: 180 on governors honored at Olympia. Although a number of emperors were honored with statues at various points in Delphi (Weir 2004: 98-9), the only governor known to be so honored, a republican proconsul of Macedon, received a statue on temple terrace (*F. Delphes* III.4.254). Since these were not urban contexts, however, the parallel is inexact; cf. Ma 2013: 94-8.

conduct toward a city than to display an ideal of his relationship with it, the visual emphases may have been different. Telling, if indirect, support for this view is supplied by the portable imperial images positioned in theaters during festivals.<sup>106</sup> The practice –most famously attested by the statues carried in the procession of C. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus and the panel portraits borne in the festival at Gytheion – seems to have been fairly widespread. Oiled bronze or gleaming precious metal, placed on the stage or at prominent points around the *cavea*, these images were designed to be seen from every part of the theater. Their apparent purpose was to assert the emperor’s participation in, and approval of, the proceedings.<sup>107</sup> From the mid-third century onward, in fact, such images were sometimes even received with the ceremonial of an imperial adventus.<sup>108</sup> It is unclear whether, or to what degree, the permanent statues of emperors and the families displayed in every Roman theater received special treatment during festivals; some, at least, were probably crowned with wreaths.<sup>109</sup> Although there is no direct evidence for similar arrangements in stadia and gymnasia, it is reasonable to assume that the mobile statues followed the contests, and that the imperial images at these sites were crowned as in the theater. The statues of past governors and other civic benefactors that stood in many of the same places, by contrast, probably remained uncrowned.<sup>110</sup> This differentiation may be regarded as indicative of how governors were presented during festivals.

The seats of honor in which governors were installed were closely juxtaposed with a veritable network of imperial images; in some settings, such as the theaters of Ephesus or

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<sup>106</sup> On the practice of carrying statues of the emperors and procession and placing them in some significant location during festivals, see Price 1984: 189-90 and Pekáry 1985: 119-22; cf. Mommsen 1887: 452-3.

<sup>107</sup> Edelmann 2008; cf. Gebhard 1996

<sup>108</sup> Price 1984: 175-6 collects a number of examples.

<sup>109</sup> Pekáry 1985: 118-19

<sup>110</sup> There is, however, some evidence that exceptional benefactors/governors were so honored; the statues of Celsus in the façade of his eponymous library at Ephesus, for example, seem to have been crowned during certain ceremonies of the imperial cult (IvE 5113.14-16).

Athens, they would have been ringed on all sides by statues of the emperors arranged and decorated for festival. They themselves would be appear rather less distinctive, sharing their grandstands or loggias with a small but tightly packed group of local and provincial notables. Though distinguished by their crimson-fringed togas and honor guard of lictors, their position does not seem to have been visibly differentiated from that of the elite Greeks around them. To a certain extent, in fact, governors seem to have been deliberately assimilated to the local nobility. A series of honorific statues in the theater of Cibyra neatly illustrates the intended effect. When the theater's first diazoma was rebuilt in the late second century, a number of older honorific statues were placed atop the new retaining wall, their original inscriptions being carved into the wall below them (Fig. 123). An Augustan Proconsul of Asia stood toward the middle of the line of sculptures.<sup>111</sup> The statues of several first-century benefactors, however, were restored to positions of equal eminence on both sides.<sup>112</sup> On either side of the proconsul, in fact, two series of five identical statues depicting great local benefactors were erected.<sup>113</sup> From below, the governor must have seemed indistinguishable from, or even overshadowed by, local dignitaries – a circumstance made still more striking by the fact that Cibyra, as a *conventus* city, would have hosted proconsuls in the *cavea* just below this line of statues every year. In part, this simply reflects the fact that governors, like local notables, were remembered above all as benefactors of the city, and were consequently commemorated in the same honorific language.<sup>114</sup> Yet the display at Cibyra also indicates the potential implications of presenting a governor as a sort of local – or at least as a dedicated patron.

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<sup>111</sup> *IvKibyra* 37 = *IGR* IV.901

<sup>112</sup> E.g. *IvKibyra* 40

<sup>113</sup> *IvKibyra* 42 a-e, 44 a-e

<sup>114</sup> This point will be addressed in more detail in the conclusion.

By bringing the representatives of multiple cities into close proximity, festival settings could potentially make visible, or even alter, the pattern of regional power relations. Seating assignments in theaters and stadia seem to have been viewed as particularly significant; the Ephesians, for example, repeatedly lobbied Roman officials to confirm their delegates' right to front-row seats during meetings and festivals of the *Koinon* of Asia.<sup>115</sup> It was particularly important for host cities to advertise their status and regional influence as effectively as possible, since conduct of a festival afforded *agonothetes* and other elite citizens unique opportunity to impress neighbors and rivals. In this regard, the presence and prestige of a visiting governor could be invaluable. It was in a host city's best interests to claim a close association with imperial officials: a double statue base once displayed prominently in the theater of Ephesus, for example, commemorates the intimate cooperation of the procurator L. Vibius Lentulus and the *asiarch* T. Flavius Montanus.<sup>116</sup> More striking still is a base discovered at Smyrna, which records a mid-third century proconsul's service as joint *agonothete* of the Asian *Koinon* with a local notable.<sup>117</sup> Although the original context is unknown, it seems likely that the statue of the governor erected on this base stood in the theater or stadium, where it might perpetuate the memory of such close cooperation. In all probability, a statue of the notable was erected beside it.

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<sup>115</sup> *IvE* 217, 802

<sup>116</sup> *IvE* 2061

<sup>117</sup> Herrmann & Malay 2003, no. 1. One might compare the impressive list of *agonothetes* for the *Sebasteia* at Naples, which was apparently inscribed on the walls of a portico adjacent to a sanctuary of the imperial cult (Miranda de Martino 2007).

### III. The Ephesian Koina Asias

The festivals of Ephesus were among the best-known and most prestigious in Asia.<sup>118</sup> The oldest were the *Ephesia* and the *Artemisia*, two annual festivals associated with famous contests. The *Artemisia*, at least, continued to be central to the city's ritual life through the Roman period; a mid-second century inscription records a proconsul's endorsement of the Ephesian council's decision to formally dedicate the entire month of Artemision to sacrifices and festivals for the goddess.<sup>119</sup> The *Olympia*, another well-attested annual festival with a long history, was dedicated to Zeus, and seems to have featured the same contests as its famous namesake.<sup>120</sup> Of more recent vintage were the annual *Hadrianeia*, established in concert with Ephesus' second neokorate temple, and the pentateric *Balbillea*, founded in the late first century by a well-connected local benefactor.<sup>121</sup> Both festivals were characterized by wide-ranging programs of athletic and artistic contests.<sup>122</sup> The public sacrifices performed annually for the emperor's well-being,<sup>123</sup> perhaps on his birthday, may have also been associated with games; the best-known of these celebrations, held in honor of Antoninus Pius, is known to have lasted five

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<sup>118</sup> On the festivals of Ephesus, see Arnold 1972 and Englemann 1998a. Brunet 1998 and 2003 discuss the Ephesian athletes who competed in these contests. Haensch 2006 reflects that mid-imperial provincial capitals were not necessarily the "religious centers" of their provinces; the well-known decree of Valens instructing *asiarchs* and *alytarchs* to give their festivals at Ephesus reflects late antique centralization (*IvE* 42).

<sup>119</sup> *IvE* 24b = *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 867. It is possible that the council's decree was prompted by the proconsul's conduct of official business on a festival day. The grand procession to the Temple of Artemis with which the Ephesian Artemisia opened is described at opening of the *Ephesian Tale* (Xen. Eph. 1.2).

<sup>120</sup> Friesen 1993: 117-40 connects the Ephesian Olympics with the provincial games of Ephesus' first neokorate temple. Although this argument is plausible, Englemann 1998b: 305-9 points out that the festival existed long before the reign of Domitian, that Ephesus had a long history of revering Zeus, and that no direct evidence for an association with the provincial games can be adduced. Most of the events at the Ephesian Olympics were apparently athletic, though a contest for heralds is also attested (Athletic victors: Moretti 1953, no. 66, 77, 79; heralds: *ibid.* 70, 90).

<sup>121</sup> On the many festivals founded for Hadrian, see Boatwright 2000: 99-104. Although the "great" *Balbillea* occurred every four years, lesser versions of the festival were sometimes celebrated annually. See Brunet 1997 on the date of the *Balbillea*'s foundation.

<sup>122</sup> The *Hadrianeia* is known to have included both gymnastic and musical events, as well as a contest for heralds. See Magie 1950: 1475, n. 17 for a convenient list of victors in these games. On the contests of the *Balbillea*, which also included both athletic and artistic events, see Arnold 1972: 19, n. 27-30.

<sup>123</sup> *IvE* 26, 677a, 1393, 3245; Englemann 2000: 85, no. 18 = *SEG* 50 1152.

days, and apparently involved the entire citizen body.<sup>124</sup> Substantial festivals were also proclaimed in advance of imperial visits<sup>125</sup> and to commemorate great imperial victories. Although regrettably little is known about the triumphal celebration in honor of L. Verus' defeat of the Parthians, which involved the emperor himself and was apparently combined with his marriage to Lucilla, inscriptions confirm that the festivities included athletic contests.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps the most prestigious of all the festivals held at Roman Ephesus, however, were the *Koina Asias*, the pentateric provincial games.

The recent discovery of a letter from Hadrian to the universal synod of athletes has revealed that the "great" *Koina Asias* consisted of three festivals held consecutively at Smyrna, Pergamum, and Ephesus.<sup>127</sup> The provincial council of Asia performed joint sacrifices and probably held festivals at its annual meetings,<sup>128</sup> and is known to have sponsored "koina" games in a number of other cities; but the pentateric festivals in Smyrna, Pergamum, and Ephesus were always more prestigious than the others. Like most of the affairs managed by the provincial councils, the *Koina Asias* were dedicated to the emperor.<sup>129</sup> The festivals were managed by the

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<sup>124</sup> *IvE* 21 = *OGIS* 493

<sup>125</sup> P. Vedius Antoninus was honored for acting as gymnasiarch during a visit of L. Verus (*IvE* 728).

<sup>126</sup> Verus' marriage in Ephesus: *SHA, Ver. 7.7; Marc. 9.4*; cf. *Vita Aberci* 45. Barnes 1967: 72 discusses the evidence. The contests associated with the triumphal celebration are attested by *IvE* 1130; cf. Herz 1998.

<sup>127</sup> *SEG* 56 1359.66-70, discussed by Petzl & Schwertheim 2006: 77-9. It was formerly thought the *Koina* were held annually, their venue shifting on a four year cycle through Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, and in one of five lesser cities (Moretti 1954).

<sup>128</sup> The joint sacrifices are attested by epigraphic evidence (*IvE* 1489 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 849). Although the meetings of the provincial council may have been timed to coincide with the pentateric games, they seem under normal circumstances to have been entirely separate occasions, rotated through all the Neokorate cities; Aristides, for example, is known to have addressed the council in Pergamum (*Or.* 23.13), but also mentions it meeting in Laodicea ad Lycum (50.103). On the organization of these meetings and the matters discussed at them, see Burrell 2004: 349-50.

<sup>129</sup> For a thorough, if somewhat dated, survey of the history and activities of the provincial council of Asia, see Deininger 1965: 36-60; cf. Magie 1950: 1294-5, n. 54. Burrell 2004: 335-41 supplies a useful survey of the festivals managed by the provincial councils.

*asiarchs* (provincial high priests of the imperial cult)<sup>130</sup> of the cities in which they were held, and funded with contributions from throughout the province.<sup>131</sup> Scattered testimonia allow the basic features of the *Koina* to be outlined.<sup>132</sup> They began with a grand procession that culminated in a temple of the imperial cult.<sup>133</sup> After the sacrifice (presumably a hecatomb) and ensuing feast,<sup>134</sup> the contests began, probably spread over a period of two weeks or more.<sup>135</sup> The athletic contests, which included the full complement of traditional gymnastic events, seem to have been the most prestigious.<sup>136</sup> They were complemented, however, by competitions for heralds, tragedy, and comedy.<sup>137</sup> It is probable that, in keeping with the festival's dedication, the program also included contests for encomia, and perhaps even hymns, for the emperor.<sup>138</sup> Beast hunts and gladiatorial combats were provided by the *asiarch* in tandem with the traditional contests.<sup>139</sup> The festival may have closed, finally, with another banquet for the competitors and distinguished spectators.<sup>140</sup>

The proconsul of Asia was very likely involved in the celebration of the *Koina* at Ephesus. The *Koina* took place in early winter, after the governor had returned to Ephesus from

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<sup>130</sup> By the late second century, five *asiarchs* served at a time – one each presiding over the imperial temples of Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, and Cyzicus (Burrell 2004: 347-8).

<sup>131</sup> Price 1984: 122, fn. 128 collects a number of useful references to high priests of the imperial cult presiding over festivals. On the officials of the provincial councils, see especially Burrell 2004: 346-9.

<sup>132</sup> The well-attested Olympics of Antioch, which should probably be identified with the provincial games of Syria (Downey 1939: 434), provide a useful comparandum. See Liebeschuetz 1972: 136-44 for the evidence from Libanius, and Schenk 1931: 412-43 for the evidence from Malalas.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. *IvO* 56.48-9

<sup>134</sup> On post-Classical sacrificial feasts, see Schmitt Pantel 1997.

<sup>135</sup> Hadrian's decree (*SEG* 56 1359.68-70) allotted 40 days for the *Koina* at Ephesus, but since it set aside the same amount of time for all major festivals, this should not be regarded as an indication of the *Koina*'s actual duration.

<sup>136</sup> Moretti 1953: 66, 69, 73

<sup>137</sup> Moretti 1953: 74

<sup>138</sup> Encomia for emperors are widely attested; in Greece alone, for example, Hadrian was honored by a number of such contests (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2024, 2087, 2115, 2119; *IG* VII 1773; *SEG* 3 334). See Arnold 1972: 20-1 on the possibility that the program of the *Koina* Asias included hymns for the emperor; it is perhaps telling that a man could be honored as a "rhapsode" of Hadrian (*IvE* 22).

<sup>139</sup> E.g. *Mart. Poly.* 9-11; Euseb. *HE* 5.1.47; cf. *Mart. Pion.* 18.8. A few *asiarchs* may even have sponsored contests or shows for pantomimes (*IvE* 2070-1).

<sup>140</sup> The Olympics of Antioch closed with such a banquet (Liebeschuetz 1972: 139).

his first assize circuit;<sup>141</sup> and it is virtually certain that he would be expected to preside over, or at least attend, so significant a festival, particularly since it was dedicated to the imperial cult. As such, we can confidently associate him with the settings and audiences of the *Koina*, and conjecture his interaction with them on the basis of our understanding of imperial Greek festivals. Moreover, although not every proconsul could experience the pentatelic *Koina Asias*, the festival's contests and basic structure were very similar to those of the annual *Olympia* and (lesser) *Balbillea*, which virtually all governors would have a chance to attend.<sup>142</sup> Our reconstruction will, necessarily, be partial; the literary sources for governors at festivals of the provincial councils provide little information about the nature of their involvement.<sup>143</sup> The archaeological and epigraphic evidence, however, supplies considerable detail about the social and monumental landscape in which the *Koina* were held, and allows a degree of insight into how festival settings shaped the experience and presentation of the proconsul.

#### A. Procession and Sacrifice

Although a fragmentary inscription from Ephesus that mentions the participation of both the proconsul and an *asiarch* in a civic procession<sup>144</sup> probably refers to the opening ceremonies of a festival, we possess no description of the procession that inaugurated the *Koina Asias*.

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<sup>141</sup> See Haensch 1997: 705-7 for sources on the usual pattern of *conventus* circuits. In Asia, the proconsul seems to have usually arrived at Ephesus in mid-summer; after a short time in the capital, he probably made a circuit of the south and southeast portions of his province, returning to Ephesus before the winter rains began. He remained in the capital until early spring, when he travelled north to Smyrna, Pergamum, and the northeastern assize districts.

<sup>142</sup> The *Olympia* seems to have usually been held in late February or early March, and the *Balbilleia* a short time after, in late March or early April (*SEG* 56 1359.72-3). Since proconsuls usually left Ephesus for Smyrna around the beginning of March (e.g. *Mart. Pion.* 19.1), they would probably have had a chance to participate in the *Olympia*, and perhaps also in the *Balbilleia* if they were detained in the capital by judicial business.

<sup>143</sup> *Mart. Poly.* 9-11; Euseb. *HE* 5.1.47; cf. *Soc.*, *HE* 7.13. Liebeschuetz 1972: 141-3 provides a useful discussion of the governor of Syria's involvement in the late antique Olympics of Antioch.

<sup>144</sup> *IvE* 1391



Parallel evidence, however, allows us to outline the probable processional order.<sup>145</sup> At the head strode *mastigophoroi* bearing shields and whips to clear the way.<sup>146</sup> Immediately behind came the *agonothete* – probably the *asiarch* of the imperial temples at Ephesus<sup>147</sup> – resplendent in his purple robe and gilded bust-crown.<sup>148</sup> The proconsul, it may be conjectured, walked alongside, flanked by some or all of his lictors. Representatives of the cities of Asia followed. Due to constant squabbles over precedence, the delegations of the Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum led together, each (save perhaps Ephesus) probably headed by a purple-robed *asiarch*. The size and composition of the delegations is unclear; but each almost certainly included *sebastophoroi* bearing images of the emperors and their city’s patron god.<sup>149</sup> Behind the leading cities came more delegations, each probably headed by a priest of the imperial cult, following in an order determined by the provincial assembly. The representatives of Sardis and Cyzicus, presumably fourth and fifth, were followed – as we know from numismatic evidence<sup>150</sup> – by the delegations of Nysa and Magnesia. An unknown number of other delegations followed, pursued by a herd of sacrificial bulls.

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<sup>145</sup> The opening procession of the games founded by Demosthenes of Oenoanda (*SEG* 38 1462.55-79) and the procession of Salutris –which was actually held before all gymnastic contests (*IvE* 27.213-14, 558-9), and thus presumably before the Ephesian *Koina*, albeit probably on a different day from the inaugural procession – provide particularly useful analogues. See Herz 1997: 247-9 on the order of processions for the imperial cult.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. *SEG* 38 1462.62-3. On *mastigophoroi*, see Wörrle 1988: 219-20.

<sup>147</sup> The *asiarch* of the host city seems to have frequently been *agonothete* of the provincial games (e.g. *IvE* 671; cf. *SEG* 42 1186b; Herrmann & Malay 2003, no.1 = *SEG* 53 1327).

<sup>148</sup> E.g. *IvE* 1391, 3070. Price 1984: 129, n. 155-6 collects additional testimonia on the purple robes and bust-crowns of imperial priests. On the duties and prestige of *agonothetes*, see Wörrle 1988: 183-209.

<sup>149</sup> Price 1984: 189 and Wörrle 1988: 216-19 collect testimonia on *sebastophoroi*; in Ephesus, an apparently substantial collection of imperial images for use in processions was managed by the *gerousia* (*IvE* 25). Statues of a city’s patron god were frequently borne in procession, often alongside statues of the emperors. The procession of C. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus featured no less than ten statues of Artemis, which were paired with representations of the emperors and personifications of the city’s tribes and various sociopolitical organs (*IvE* 27.148-97, 465-73). A delegation from Ephesus to Caracalla, likewise, is known to have approached the emperor as in a miniature procession, led by an image of Artemis (*IvE* 2026); for more examples, see Nollé & Nollé 1994: 253, n. 40. At celebrations of *Homonoia*, the representatives of the participant cities similarly appeared in sacrificial garb, led by likenesses of their patron gods (on *Homonoia* festivities, see Nollé & Nollé 1994 and Kienast 1995).

<sup>150</sup> Price 1984: 129, n. 155-6

The route can be plausibly conjectured from a few assumptions about the procession (Fig. 124). First, it probably involved multiple sacrifices<sup>151</sup> – including, at the very least, the city’s two (and later three) neokorate temples: the Temple of Domitian above the Upper Agora, the Olympeion or Temple of Hadrian near the harbor, and (later) the cult of Caracalla apparently installed in the south portico of the Olympeion. The procession was presumably staged in a spacious area, such as one of the agoras or entertainment buildings, and followed major streets. In all likelihood, finally, it ended at the great Temple of Artemis, the symbol and greatest temple of Ephesus.<sup>152</sup> Perhaps the most likely itinerary would begin in the stadium; proceed to the great temple of Hadrian; pass through the palaestra of the Harbor Gymnasium (or around the Harbor Baths) and thence up the Arcadiane, Marble Street, and Embolos to the Temple of Domitian; pause, perhaps, again at the shrine of Divus Julius and Dea Roma on the Upper Agora; and finally proceed down the covered sacred way to the Artemision. Any number of permutations are conceivable. For our purposes, the exact route is irrelevant. It matters only that the proconsul, embedded in a procession designed to confirm the power structure of city and province, was displayed against a gallery of notables and imperial images in a series of symbolically pregnant settings.

Of the potential sites for sacrifice listed above, only the Temple of Domitian can be reconstructed in any detail (Fig. 125). This was Ephesus’ first neokorate temple, originally dedicated to Domitian; after that emperor’s *damnatio*, it seems to have been rededicated to the Flavian imperial family. The building itself – octostyle, pseudodipteral, Ionic – was medium-

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<sup>151</sup> In the procession at Gytheion, for example, sacrifices were carried out both at the imperial temple and in the agora (*SEG* 11 921). Cf. *OGIS* 456 = *IGR* IV.39.15-18.

<sup>152</sup> Sacrifices were frequently offered both to civic gods and on behalf of emperor (e.g. *IvO* 56.49; further sources collected in Price 1984: 214-15); and while it is possible that the Ephesians would have sacrificed to Artemis at one of the goddess’ intramural altars, the Artemision (which contained a shrine of the imperial cult), seems like the most reasonable venue.

sized, and conservatively designed in the tradition of Hermogenes.<sup>153</sup> It was located, however, on a massive artificial terrace that allowed it to dominate both the upper Embolos and the Upper Agora. Three edges of this terrace were lined with stoas, but the long northern side was left open to allow an unobstructed view of the precinct from below. Here, where a monumental flight of steps led down to a small plaza, the wall of the terrace was screened by a monumental façade, whose second story was decorated with barbarian caryatids. The altar, aligned with both the temple and the steps from the plaza, stood on a substantial U-shaped platform facing the temple; it seems to have been decorated with reliefs of weapons and sacrificial implements. At least two, and probably three, colossal cuirassed statues representing Vespasian, Titus, and (before his *damnatio*) Domitian stood in the cella and/or porch of the temple, likely in a configuration easily visible from the altar (Fig. 126). Along the surrounding porticos and throughout the precinct stood an extensive series of statues dedicated to Domitian by Asian cities.<sup>154</sup> Before Domitian's *damnatio*, each statue probably represented the emperor himself; after, they were probably reworked in the likeness of Titus or Vespasian. The cumulative effect must have been similar, albeit on a smaller scale, to that of the precinct of Athens' Temple of Olympian Zeus, which

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<sup>153</sup> The initial excavation report (Keil 1932) and subsequent campaigns are concisely summarized in *RE* Supp. XII, 1698-9. More recent treatments include Friesen 1993: 59-75, Burrell 2004: 63-4, and Berns 2006: 285-8. The combination of conservative design and impressive podium is reminiscent of the (probably Flavian) Temple of Zeus at Aezani (Weber 1969, Naumann 1979, Posamentir & Wörrle 2006). Although it has been argued that the Ephesian temple employed the Corinthian order (Plattner 2002), a coin series depicts the temple as Ionic (*BMC Ionia*, no. 305 (pg. 91)), which is the most likely in view of its proportions. A number of features – most notably the caryatid façade along the north edge of the terrace – were almost certainly added after the initial construction period, a testimony to the building's continued importance (cf. *IvE* 305).

<sup>154</sup> *IvE* 232-5, 237-42, 1498, 2048. Although it is most likely that the statues dedicated by various cities of Asia after the establishment of the new cult were located in the precinct (as in the Olympeion at Athens), only two of the thirteen known bases were found near the temple site. The rest were probably dispersed after the temple was dismantled in late antiquity, though one (*IvE* 2048), discovered in the theater, could conceivably have been *in situ* (Friesen 1993: 29-49). If this was the case, the civic delegations may have been accorded more freedom in the placement of their statues.

featured a vast crowd of bronze likenesses of Hadrian dedicated by member cities of the Panhellenion.<sup>155</sup>

In a speech delivered at the rededication ceremonies of the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus, Aristides praised the building as a monument to the greatness of Cyzicus, an emblem of the emperor's virtues, and – most importantly of all – a testimonial to the cooperation of the cities of Asia.<sup>156</sup> In a passage quoted earlier (*Or.* 27.40-1), he directly compares the unity of the temple's appearance with the harmony of its appearance – without, unfortunately, elucidating the sense in which he understood the analogy. It seems clear, however, that Aristides considered the new provincial temple a particularly appropriate place for the representatives of Asia to reinforce their mutual relationships. The precinct of the Temple of Domitian at Ephesus, lined with dedications from the cities that had contributed to its construction, seems to have filled, and was perhaps designed to fill, a comparable role.<sup>157</sup> This would have been particularly clear during the inaugural sacrifices of the *Koina Asias*, when the delegations from the cities of Asia, bearing statues of their patron gods, surrounded the altar in a prearranged order, ringed by the imperial statues their ancestors had dedicated. During the approach to the temple or just before the sacrifice, the visual impression of past and present provincial harmony may have been counterpointed by a hymn for the emperor. Members of the provincial college of *hymnodes*, perhaps accompanied by Ephesian singers recruited for the festival, are known to have attended

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<sup>155</sup> χαλκαῖ δὲ ἐστάσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκοις πόλεις. ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς περίβολος σταδίων μάλιστα τεσσάρων ἐστίν, ἀνδριάντων δὲ πλήρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ πόλεως ἐκάστης εἰκὼν Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνάκειται, καὶ σφᾶς ὑπερεβάλλοντο Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κολοσσὸν ἀναθέντες ὀπισθε τοῦ ναοῦ θεᾶς ἄξιον (Paus. 1.18.6). A number of bases for these statues have been recovered (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3289ff); cf. Willers 1990: 48-53.

<sup>156</sup> Aristid., *Or.* 27.17ff

<sup>157</sup> Although Ephesian officials may have overseen the temple's construction, it was funded by the cities of Asia and managed by an imperial commissioner (*IvE* 853), though the exact nature of his involvement is unclear. Dräger 1993: 158-9 postulates that the Ephesian *neopoioi* managed construction (Pont 2010: 379-80 discusses the duties of *neopoioi*). On funding, see Burrell 2004: 312-14. On Roman involvement in the construction of provincial sanctuaries: see Burrell 2004: 359-71.

the festivals of the *Koina*, and were almost certainly involved in the inaugural sacrifices.<sup>158</sup> So far as their content can be inferred from the scattered testimonia,<sup>159</sup> Greek hymns for the emperor closely resembled those for the traditional gods, and were likewise intended both to capture a deity's attention and secure his blessings. In the context of the *Koina*, the *hymnodes* presumably invoked the emperor's blessings on the cities of Asia – a common purpose already manifest in the sculptural decoration and assembled delegations on the temple precinct. Although it is unlikely that the proconsul had anything more than a ceremonial role in the sacrifice, his presence with the *asiarchs* on the altar podium must have seemed a visible confirmation of the *Koinon*'s power structure. His placement at the contests of the ensuing days would only reinforce this impression.

### B. Games and Shows

As noted earlier, the Ephesian *Koina* featured not only traditional athletic and artistic contests, but also Roman-style gladiatorial combats and beast hunts. These events were presumably concentrated in the theater, stadium, and Harbor Gymnasium,<sup>160</sup> though it is conceivable that a few rhetorical contests were held in smaller venues like the bouleuterion. Since we are interested primarily in how the proconsul was juxtaposed with the human and physical topography of these buildings, we will focus on the design and decoration of the “seats of honor” governors would occupy.

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<sup>158</sup> Herz 1995: 76 collects references to the imperial choir. The imperial choir at Pergamum (see esp. *IvP* 374 = *IGR* IV.353) was the only permanent body of *hymnodes* dedicated to praising the emperor in Asia. At Ephesus, hymns for the emperors were usually sung by the *ephebes* (*IvE* 18d.4-24), who may have filled this function during festivals as well; an inscription records the Ephesian *ephebes* singing for Hadrian during one of his visits (*IvE* 1145). Cf. Harland 2003: 93-5.

<sup>159</sup> We possess two hymns for Antinous (*I.Kourion* 104, *POxy* 4352.1-17) and one for Diocletian (*POxy* 4325.18-39; cf. Agosti 2002). A second-century hymn to Zeus from Pergamum probably provides a close analogue (*IvP* 324).

<sup>160</sup> Brunet 1998: 295 notes that most of the statues honoring Ephesian athletes seem to have originally been set up at these sites or one of a few others, notably the precinct of the Artemision.

When the theater of Ephesus was remodeled to accommodate hunts and combats in late antiquity, the lowest rows were cut away, leaving no trace of the seat of honor that would have been used by the proconsul. A few surviving inscriptions, however, provide interesting details about seating arrangements in the vicinity. A seat apparently reserved for an *agonothete*, found reused in the Baths of Scholastica, probably originated in one of the vanished lower rows.<sup>161</sup> Distinguished spectators seem, predictably, to have filled the seats in this area; another seat reused in late antiquity is inscribed with the names of guests from Carian Keramos that an *asiarch* from that city invited to his celebration of the *Hadrianeia* at Ephesus.<sup>162</sup> With the exception of the few seats at the *agonothete*'s disposal, places for the city delegations in the Ephesian theater seem to have been determined in advance by the provincial council. The three leading Asian cities were of course granted the best (i.e. lowest) seats, though they seem to have jostled for position; a proconsul's reply to a third-century letter from the Ephesians confirms their rights of *proedria* at provincial festivals.<sup>163</sup> As noted in the ninth chapter, the theater of Ephesus was richly decorated with sculpture, some of which reflected the building's uses as a festival venue; many bases honoring athletes were set up along the corridors and *diazomata*, and the statue of a pantomime which an *asiarch* erected somewhere in the *cavea* may well have commemorated a performance given at a *Koina* festival.<sup>164</sup> However, relatively few bases, and even fewer statues, were actually found in situ. In combination with the loss of the first rows of seating, this circumstance complicates any analysis of the original configuration of honorific

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<sup>161</sup> *IvE* 618. This may have been effectively reserved for one of the city's great benefactor dynasties. Members of same Ephesian families routinely served as *agonothete* for certain festivals; the Vedii, for example, had a longstanding monopoly on the *Hadrianeia* (*IvE* 730).

<sup>162</sup> *SEG* 34 1168

<sup>163</sup> *IvE* 217; cf. 802. Kolendo 1981: 311-12 discusses the epigraphic evidence for the seating arrangements of civic delegations in provincial assemblies.

<sup>164</sup> *IvE* 2071

statuary around the seats of honor. A few statues, however, can be confidently placed in the vicinity. Probably the most visually striking were the three imperial groups set up on or near the stage and lower *cavea* in late second and early third centuries.<sup>165</sup> It is tempting to imagine that the double base depicting the *asiarch* T. Flavius Montanus alongside the *procurator augusti* L. Vibius Lentulus also originally stood in this area, perhaps in the *logeion*.<sup>166</sup> The position of the statues the Ephesians set up in honor of the cities that participated in the dedicatory festival of their third neokorate temple is also tantalizingly unclear; as noted earlier, one might imagine that statues being placed on the *diazoma* above the blocks of seating customarily used by guests during festivals.<sup>167</sup> Governors themselves were presumably honored in the highly visible areas immediately around or in front of the seats of honor they used; but the sole statue base for a proconsul discovered in the Ephesian theater was unfortunately not found *in situ*.<sup>168</sup>

Seating arrangements in the stadium, where the seats of honor were covered by a marble loggia,<sup>169</sup> seem to have largely resembled those of the theater. Unfortunately, because the marble benches were stripped in late antiquity, we have little sense of where the loggia was located; like the tribunal seats in the stadium of Aphrodisias, it was presumably around the middle of one of the long sides, perhaps in some significant alignment with the “honorific” entrance on the

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<sup>165</sup> *IvE* 2049 (four statues of the Antonine imperial family, set up near the north side of the orchestra), 2050 (six statues of Antoninus Pius, probably erected at the base of the *cavea*), and 2051 (four statues depicting the Severan imperial family, which stood in the *logeion* before the stage); cf. 2052 (a statue of Demos in the *logeion*)

<sup>166</sup> *IvE* 2061. Montanus was honored with at least two more statues in the theater (*IvE* 2062-3).

<sup>167</sup> *IvE* 2053-6

<sup>168</sup> A statue base was found for C. Antius Quadratus, proconsul of Asia (*IvE* 1538). Statues honoring lesser Roman officials seem to have been scattered throughout the theater: Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt (*IvE* 677a); C. Iulius Agrippa, *quaestor pro praet. Asiae* (1537); C. Iulius Lupus T. Vibius Varus Levillus, *quest. pro praet.* (1541); A. Iunius Pastor L. Caesennius Sospes, *legatus pro praet.* (1543). Statues of Roman officials in other Asian theaters: Q. Aemilius Lepidus, proconsul (*IvKibyra* 37); Aurelius Euphrates, *procurator aug.* (*I. Miletos* 1126). For additional references, see Tuchelt 1979: 67, n. 13.

<sup>169</sup> *IvE* 661. This loggia was probably built in the reign of Nero, when the stadium was remodeled (*IvE* 411).

northeast.<sup>170</sup> Still less can be said about the sculptural decoration of the stadium, though the fact that an *asiarch* dedicated one of the entrance gates suggests that the building served as a center of self-representation for officials giving games.<sup>171</sup>

In the Harbor Gymnasium, distinguished spectators probably sat on a purpose-built wooden grandstand somewhere in the palaestra or adjacent running track. It is possible that this platform was placed in front of the *marmorsaal* or one of the other lavishly decorated parts of the gymnasium, but there is no direct evidence to support this supposition. The palaestra and running track of the Harbor Gymnasium seem to have been adorned with both mythological sculpture and statues honoring successful athletes.<sup>172</sup> The ornament of the peristyle around the palaestra was particularly rich. At least five statue groups, some built into elaborate niches, were arrayed behind the colonnade; one, which apparently represented a wrestling match, was overtly agonistic, and the others have been associated with a gymnastic or educational theme.<sup>173</sup> Although the original sculptural decoration of the two rooms with aedicular screens that opened off the peristyle remains uncertain, the larger of these, the so-called *marmorsaal*, probably originally featured at least one colossal imperial statue.<sup>174</sup> Most interesting for our purposes, however, is a statue base dedicated to the late first-century proconsul P. Calvisius Ruso, which

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<sup>170</sup> On the general design and history of the stadium, see *RE Supp.* XII, 1637-9. On the “honorific” entrance, see Karwiese et al. 1997: 20 and Karwiese et al. 1998: 2.

<sup>171</sup> *IvE* 626

<sup>172</sup> Even the backdrop was impressive; the *asiarch* Verulanus revetted the walls of the running track with marble (*IvE* 430). Only one statue of an athlete has survived (Manderscheid 1981, no. 163; cf. 168).

<sup>173</sup> The sculpture groups: Manderscheid 1981, no. 164-8; no. 168 probably represents wrestlers or boxers. On the placement and interpretation of these statues, see Keil 1952 and Picard 1955; cf. Kearsley 1999.

<sup>174</sup> As noted earlier, most of the sculptures found in the *Marmorsaal* seem to have been placed there in late antiquity. The two sphinx groups (Manderscheid 1981: cat. 169-70), however, may be original, and may even have been intended to flank a colossal statue of the emperor (*FiE* X.1: 178-81). The benefactor of the *marmorsaal* was Tiberius Claudius Ariston (*IvE* 427), builder of the Nymphaeum of Trajan; if the sculptural program of the *marmorsaal* was anything like that of the nymphaeum, it can safely be assumed to have featured at least one statue of the emperor. On Ariston’s benefactions, see Quatember 2007.



was moved to the frigidarium of the bathing block in late antiquity.<sup>175</sup> If this base originated in the palaestra – as seems likely – it is possible that it stood near the imperial statues of the *marmorsaal*, or perhaps even beside the usual place of the festival grandstand. A fragment of another monument found in the area of the palaestra, probably a statue base, honored the son of a serving proconsul.<sup>176</sup> It is unclear whether these statues of a proconsul and a proconsul's son were placed in the Harbor Gymnasium under exceptional circumstances, or if they are the only surviving evidence for a larger gallery of sculpture honoring Roman officials.<sup>177</sup> In either case, however, the statues testify to the palaestra's prestige as a place of display, and suggest that, during festivals, it may have served to present the governor in a manner analogous to the theater and stadium.

The festival architecture of Ephesus did not make special provision for the proconsul. In accordance with the needs of local and regional politics, the grandstands and seats of honor allotted to distinguished guests were designed to showcase small groups, not a single official. Though partly a reflection of the transience of the proconsul's presence, this circumstance may also be understood as an indication of how civic elites understood, or at least wished to present, the authority of the Roman governor. Just as a governor's sacrifice for the emperor could be staged to visibly confirm the power of the civic elite, so could his participation in a festival

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<sup>175</sup> Manderscheid 1981, no. 161. Ruso's statue stood beside the statue groups moved from the palaestra, in a room completely rebuilt in the fourth century. See Auinger & Rathmayr 2007: 239-40 on the sculpture of the late antique Harbor Gymnasium.

<sup>176</sup> *IvE* 695b. The honorand, Taurus Catullus Messalinus Astiaticus, seems to have died as a young man during his father's tenure as proconsul. He was honored (in an unknown location) by at least one other statue with an identical inscription (*IvE* 695a).

<sup>177</sup> It is possible that Ruso, at least, was honored primarily for his aid in the gymnasium's construction; see Manderscheid 1981: 34-5 on sculptural representations of donors in baths. His son may have been commemorated in the tradition of honoring deceased young men and/or benefactors in gymnasia (Ma 2013: 88). There are, however, parallels for Roman officials honored in similar contexts; see, e.g., Tuchelt 1979: 67-8, n. 15-17 (Pergamum) and Manderscheid 1981, no. 223 (Miletus).

become a means of validating the sociopolitical structure of the whole province – or at least of his host city’s relationships with its neighbors.

## Conclusion

The gods provided a useful model for understanding and communicating with a distant and correspondingly transcendent emperor. Governors, immanent instantiations of the emperor's power, had to be conceptualized differently. One method was to define them as lesser embodiments of the emperor's qualities. Another was to liken them to local notables. The first method, as we have seen, had particular application for the governor's role as judge; the second proved useful when he offered sacrifice or officiated at festivals. These strategies for defining a governor's authority and place in the community were not mutually exclusive. Exact definition, in fact, would have been counterproductive. The governor's basic function, after all, was that of an intermediary between emperor and local notables. His authority and personal prestige, poised somewhere between those of the sovereign and civic elites, could be assimilated to one or the other as the need arose. In this sense, the most relevant conceptual precedent available to Greek cities was perhaps that of the Hellenistic "friend of the king," a citizen who, by serving or being personally connected with a royal court, served as a local broker of the king's power.<sup>1</sup> The best analogues for these "heroic citizens" were governors like Celsus and Quadratus, Greeks who rose to the highest echelons of imperial service and used their eminence to benefit their native cities.<sup>2</sup> Yet all governors could be assimilated to the ideal, which allowed their actions to be described in terms of the familiar honorific language of civic euergetism. Whether serving as judges or merely participating in civic ceremonies, governors were ultimately portrayed and

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<sup>1</sup> Note, for example, use of the title *κρίστης* to describe governors who were especially active as benefactors (Erkelenz 2002, 2005; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002:172ff). Idealization of governors in truly Hellenistic terms was particularly prominent in the Late Republic, when festivals were sometimes held in their honor (Erkelenz 1999). Such celebrations, predictably, faded away after the institution of the Principate.

<sup>2</sup> Republican governors sometimes served as direct patrons of communities (Eilers 2002); although this practice died out in the reign of Augustus, it may have provided another model for honoring later governors.

idealized as benefactors.<sup>3</sup> Sponsorship of a city's welfare implied respect for and engagement with the values and ambitions of its governing class<sup>4</sup> – and this is the basic message that the design and décor of both courtrooms and seats of honor served to project.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Erkelenz 2003: 198-203

<sup>4</sup> Ma 1999: 179-242

## **General Conclusion**

Let us briefly review the argument. The authority of imperial governors, civic elites, and the Roman Empire itself were defined in and with reference to civic space. Roman governors were conditioned to perform every aspect of their official responsibilities and public personalities in settings designed to complement and project authority, and were accordingly disposed to pay close attention to the local elite's presentation of the built environment when visiting Greek provincial cities. The elite's presentation, intended to model at once how a visitor viewed the city and was viewed by the city, used elements of the urban fabric as a "script" for expressing the authority of both governor and notables. The extent to which individual governors responded to the prescribed role is irrelevant to the larger point: the urban fabric played a crucial role in the civic elite's performance of its power, and thus in its interactions with Rome.

A combination of general prosperity and the policies and circumstances of Roman rule afforded mid-imperial Greek notables unprecedented motive and opportunity to undertake, singly and collectively, building projects that identified their authority with communal stability and the bases of local identity. These projects, which had the dual function of bolstering their influence within a city and projecting it to audiences beyond, accorded the urban fabric new significance in the definition of the community and the corporate elite's place in it. Many of the buildings and monuments they constructed visibly associated imperial authority with civic power structures and tradition. It was with reference to such tangible "definitions" of Roman power that local notables performed their own authority and that, on the occasion of an assize visit, they

orchestrated both the civic ideal presented to the governor and the model of authority to which he was assimilated.

My project, then, can be summarized in three propositions. First, that, by significantly altering the political horizons and strategies of Greek notables, the policies and circumstances of Roman imperial rule effected a transformation in the construction, perception, and use of provincial civic space. Second, that this transformation made the sociopolitical claims of local notables, and particularly their conception of Roman authority, newly visible in provincial civic space, and newly central to the performance of both communal identity and elite authority. Third, that, during the visit of a Roman governor, the unprecedented immanence or tangibility of authority in imperial Greek cityscapes made public spaces crucial components in the negotiation of a city's place in the Roman Empire.

The validity of this third proposition may seem in doubt, for the simple reason that I have not produced a verifiable reconstruction of the role played by the built environment in a governor's experience of any *conventus* center. As indicated in the general introduction, however, I never intended to do so. Even had the evidence allowed a true reconstruction, my aim was always to use the relationship of city and governor as a lens for exploring the larger dynamics of how Roman imperial power was articulated, negotiated, and defined in Greek civic space. If my first two propositions are accepted, in other words, the third is self-evident.

The era in which my propositions obtained represented a relatively brief episode in the history of Greco-Roman urbanism. The presentation of civic space as a manifestation of elite goals and citizen consensus made sense only as long as local notables had the capacity and motivation to negotiate both their position with respect to their fellow citizens and their city's status in an imperial context. The monumental public spaces of mid-imperial Greek cities were

created by men whose position was predicated on a distinctive pattern of carefully-managed relations with their townsmen, a network of neighbors and rivals, and Roman officials. The built environment, which could frame the authority of the local elite and the essentials of civic identity for ready communication, was at once a product and a crucial component of these relationships. The civic oligarchies and formalized cityscapes of the Roman east emerged in tandem from the sociopolitical circumstances of the Hellenistic period, found definitive shape together in the mid-imperial era, and decayed as one in the increasingly centralized and bureaucratic later Empire. The centrally-sponsored grand avenues and fora of late antique capitals like Constantinople were nothing more or less than conscious attempts to evoke the grandeur of a bygone era (Figs. 127-8). That the dominant aesthetic of cities in the mid-imperial Roman east, initially inspired by the capitals of Hellenistic monarchs, should find its last expression in the provincial and imperial capitals of the late Roman state is indicative of its underlying purpose: to express and articulate power.

This study has, I hope, shed new light on a period in which a small imperial administration cooperated with local elites to rule an Empire of cities. In the Greek world, where poleis continued to behave like peer-polities overseen but not dominated by Rome, local notables used building projects to instantiate and affirm the intricate network of power relations on which their claims to regional primacy were based. The image of the city that served as the vehicle of these claims was a sort of diplomatic language, in which statements about their own authority and the power of Rome could be vividly and persuasively couched. The rituals surrounding the visits of Roman governors made such statements visible and negotiable, involving officials – wittingly or not – in the process of redefining community, Empire, and the bonds between them.

## Figures

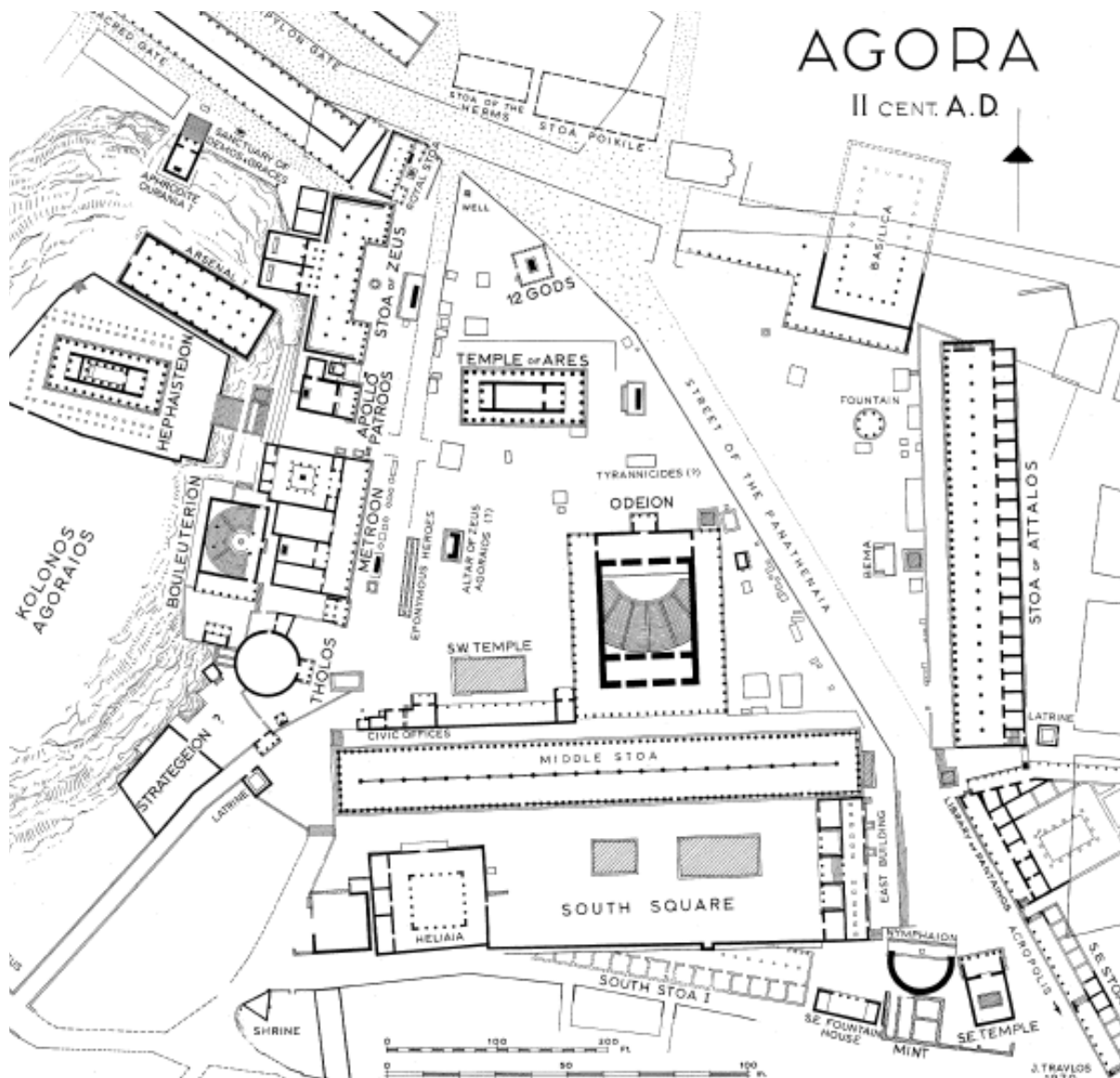


Fig. 1. Plan of the Athenian Agora in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE. The Odeion of Agrippa occupies the south-central portion of the Agora square. The Temple of Ares, Southwest Temple, and Southeast Temple were all Classical buildings moved from elsewhere in Attica and reerected in the Agora in the reign of Augustus. After *Agora XIV*, Plate 8.



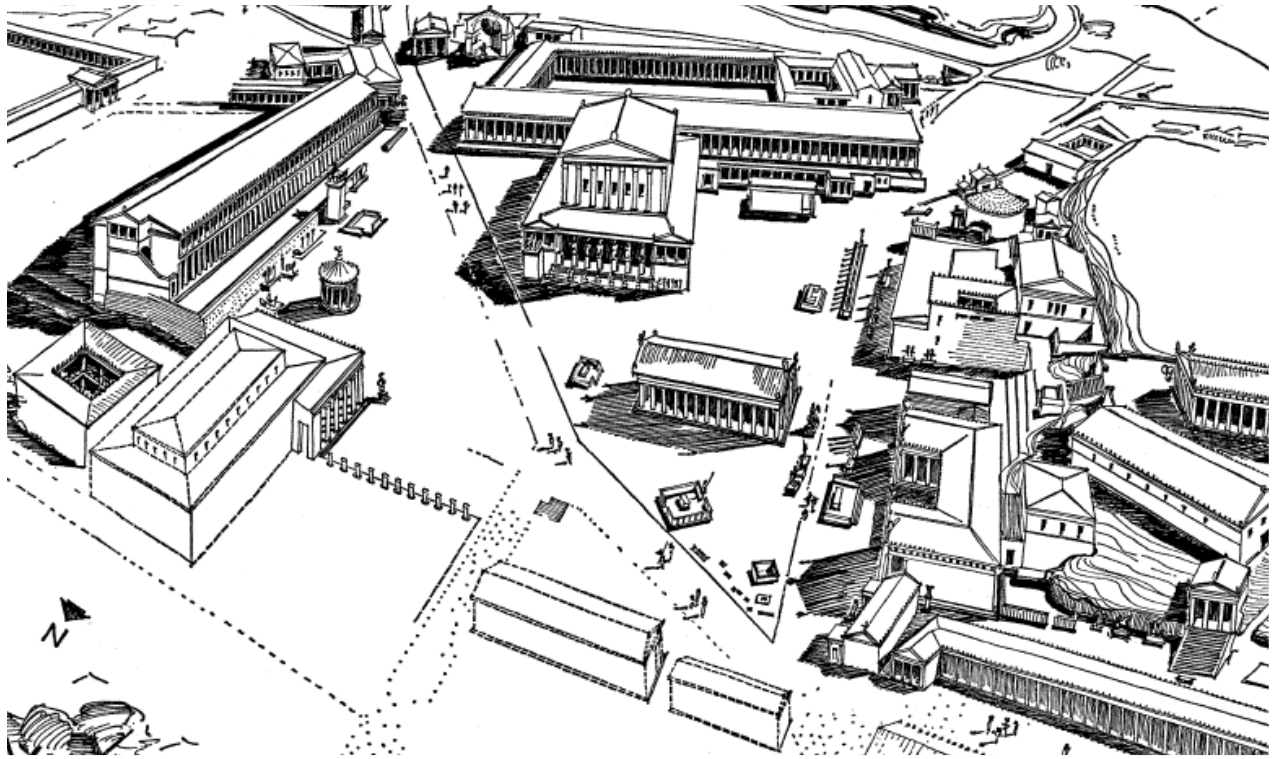


Fig. 2. Overview of the Athenian Agora in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE, looking from the north. After *Agora XIV*, Fig. 1.



Figs. 3-4. The reverses of Athenian coins struck in the second century. Fig. 3 (left) shows a stylized overview of the Acropolis from the north; Fig. 4 (right), the Theater of Dionysus. After Price & Trelle 1977, Figs. 130 & 133.



Fig. 5. A reconstruction of the east side of the Athenian Agora in the second century. The Bema is the low platform on the right, with the pillar monument and quadriga of Tiberius just behind. The many honorific statues clustered around the Bema are not shown. From [ancientathens3d.com](http://www.ancientathens3d.com).

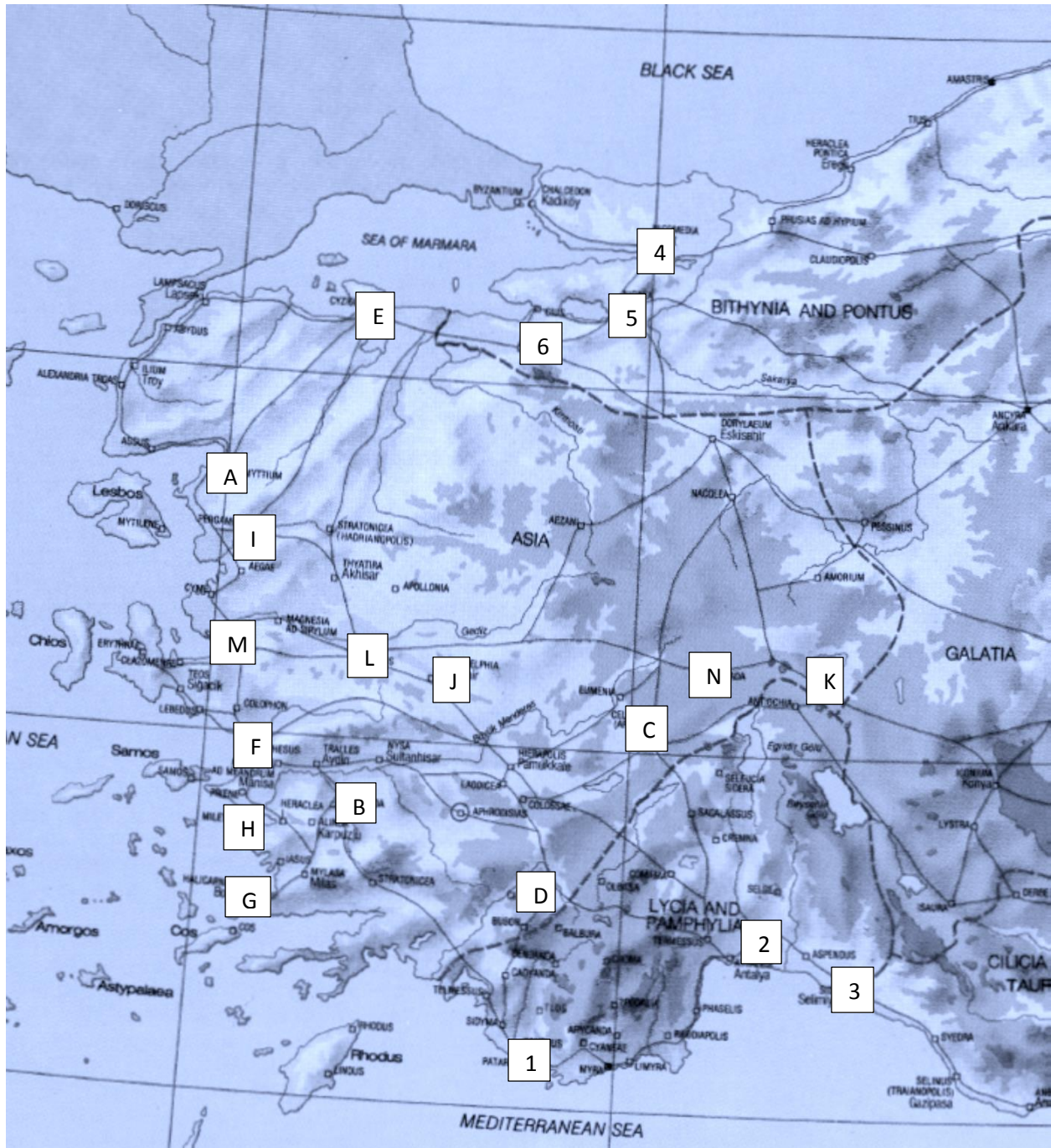


Fig. 6. Western Asia Minor in the mid-imperial period. The conventus cities of Asia: Adramyttium (A), Alabanda (B), Apamea (C), Cibyra (D), Cyzicus (E), Ephesus (F), Halicarnassus (G), Miletus (H), Pergamum (I), Philadelphia (J), Philomelium (K), Sardis (L), Smyrna (M), and Synnada (N). The conventus cities of Lycia-Pamphylia certainly included Patara (1), Perge (2), and Side (3). In Bithynia-Pontus, Nicomedia (4), Nicaea (5), and Prusa (6) were certainly conventus cities. After Cornell & Matthews 1991: 150.

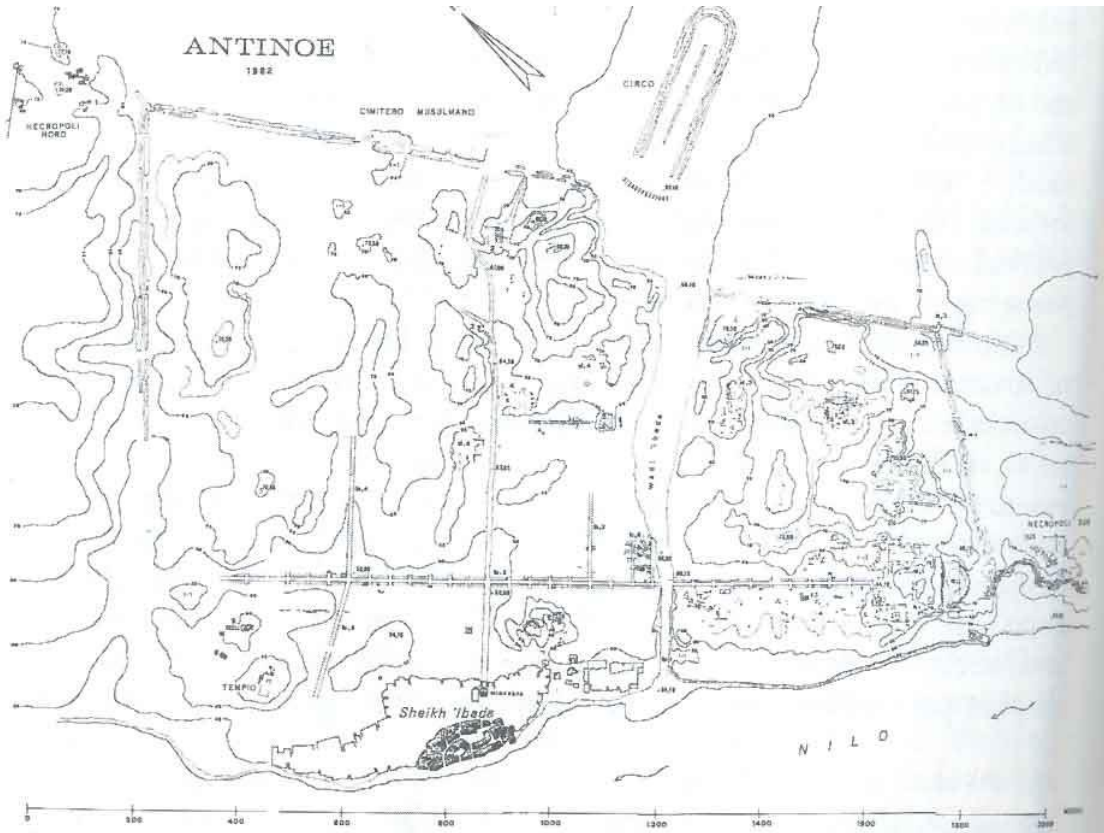


Fig. 7. Plan of Antinoopolis. The main colonnaded street is visible near the Nile bank, terminating at the theater. One of the two main cross-streets led to the Hippodrome, visible at the upper edge of the plan. After Mitchell 1982.



Fig. 8. Plan of Italica. Notice the broad streets (many colonnaded) of the “Nova Urbs.” Source: [www.spanisharts.com](http://www.spanisharts.com).

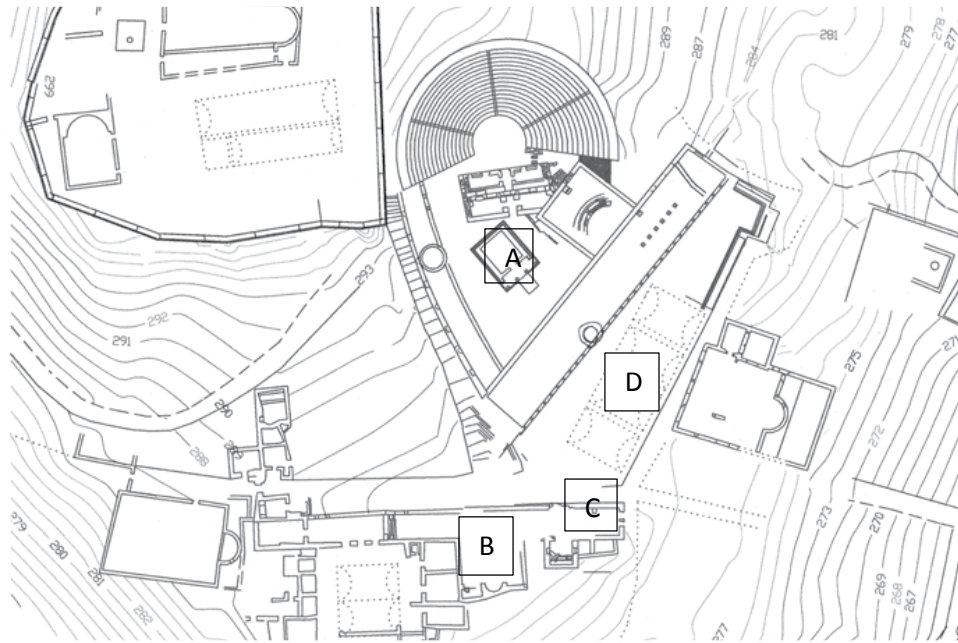


Fig. 9. Plan of central Rhodiapolis. Opramoas' mausoleum (A) is the structure directly south of the stage building. The Sebasteion (B) and shrine of Opramoas' ancestors (C) were located on the terrace below the mausoleum, off the agora (D). After Çevik et al. 2010, Fig. 2.

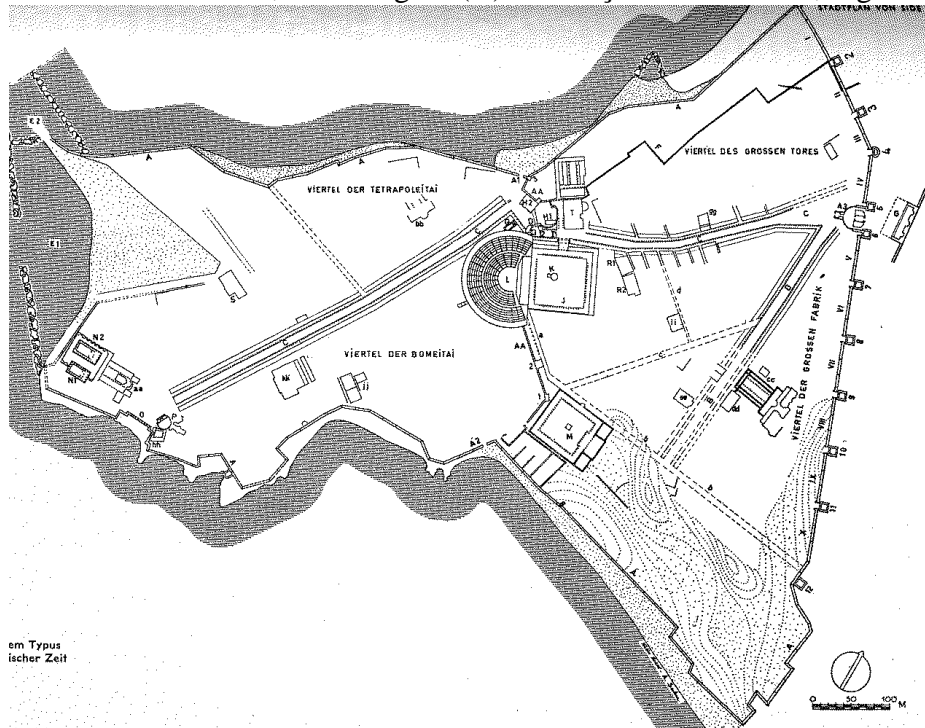


Fig. 10. Plan of Side. The network of colonnaded avenues is clearly visible. After *RE* Supp. X: 901-2, s.v. "Side."

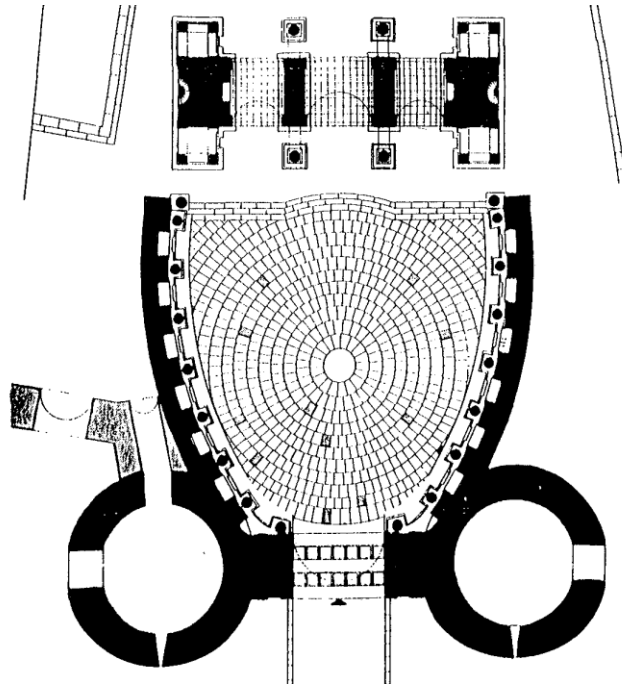


Fig. 11. Plan of Plancia Magna's gate complex at Perge. The niches evident on the inner face of the forecourt wall bore statues of the founders and benefactors of Perge. The Arch of Hadrian at the north (here, upper) side of the forecourt bore a gallery of imperial statues. After Abbasoğlu 2001, fig. 7-2.

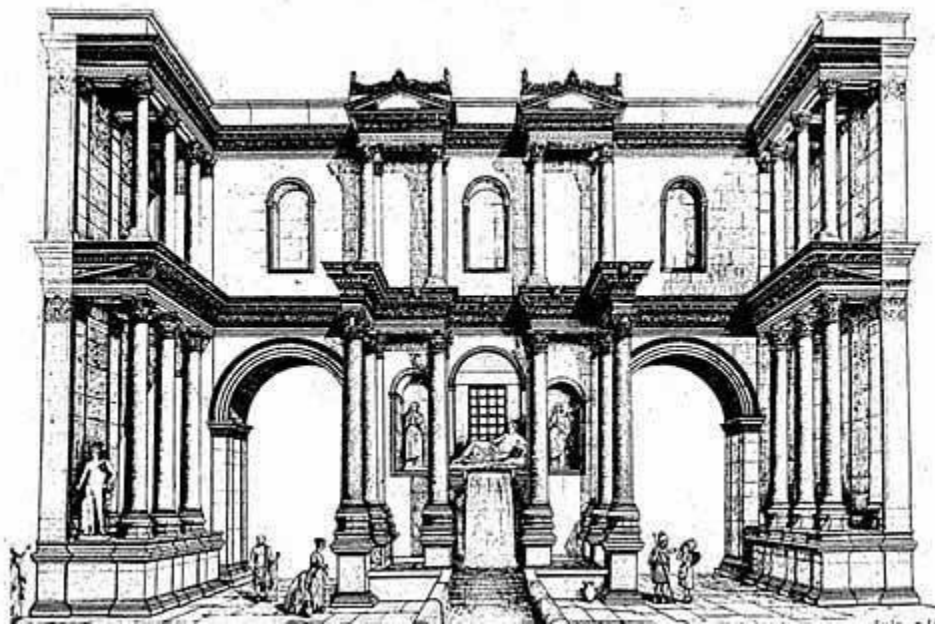


Fig. 12. Reconstruction of Perge's North Nymphaeum. The two female statues on either side of the river god probably represented the fountain's benefactors. After Mansel 1975, Abb. 56.

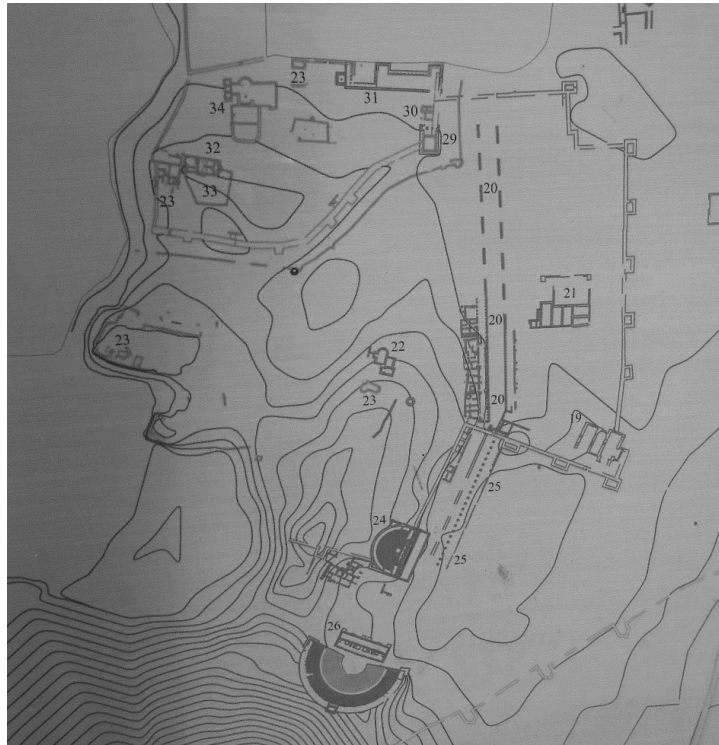


Fig. 13. Plan of central Patara. The Stadiasmus Monument probably originally stood in the vicinity of no. 31. The bath constructed by Marcus Priscus is no. 21. The assembly of the Lycian League met in the bouleuterion, no. 24. Author's photo.

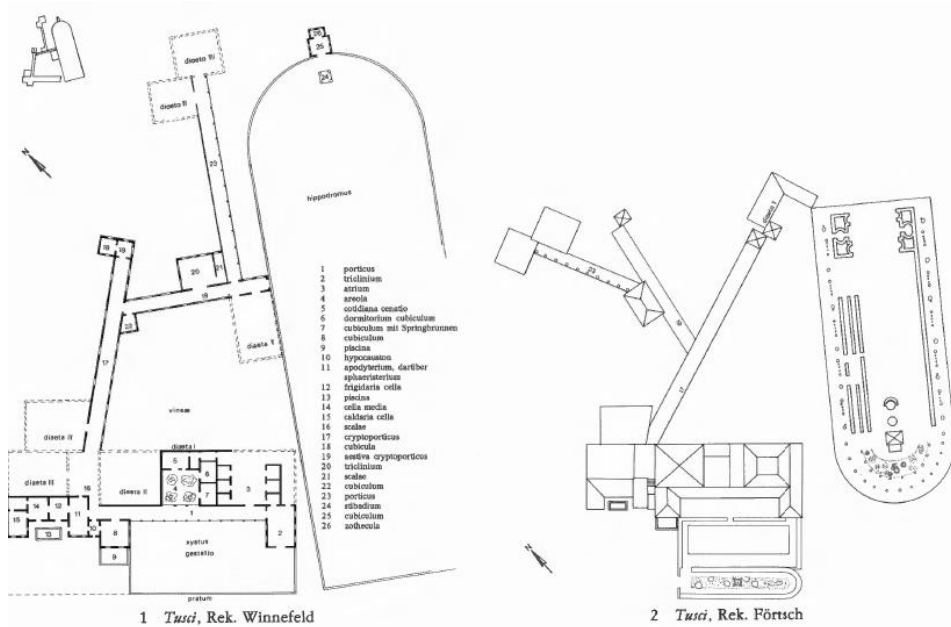


Fig. 14. Two tentative reconstructions of Pliny's Tuscan Villa. Note the prominent "hippodrome" garden in both plans. After Förtsch 1993, Taf. 43.1-2.

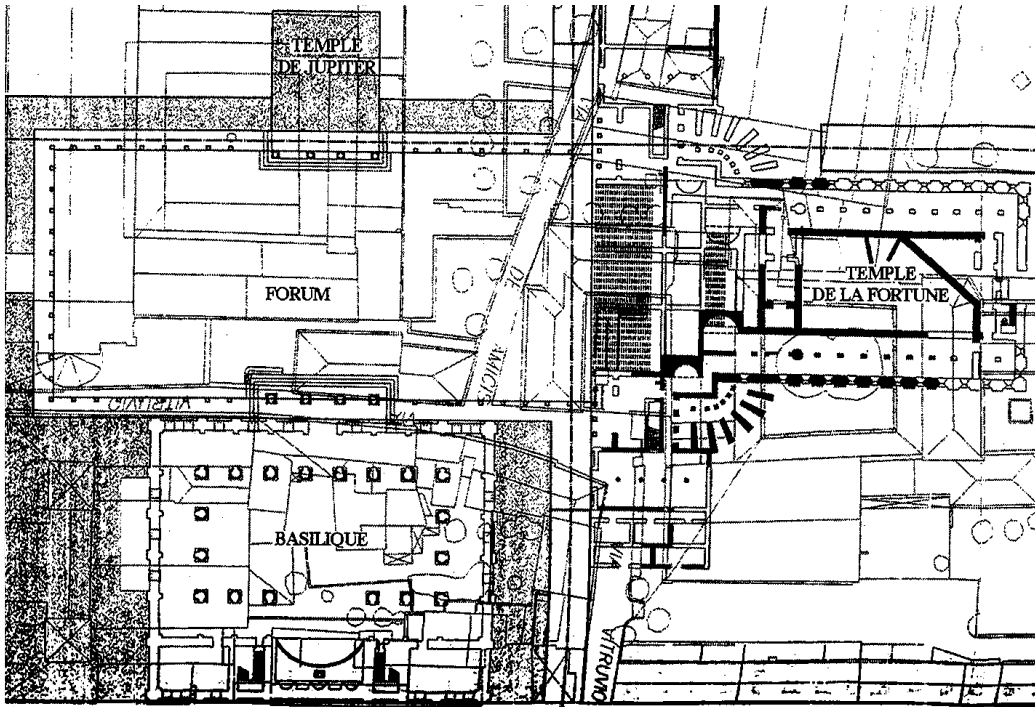


Fig. 15. Plan of the forum of Fanum. Vitruvius' description of the ideal forum maps closely onto the assemblage at Fanum, which he may have designed. After Saliou 2009, Fig. 16.

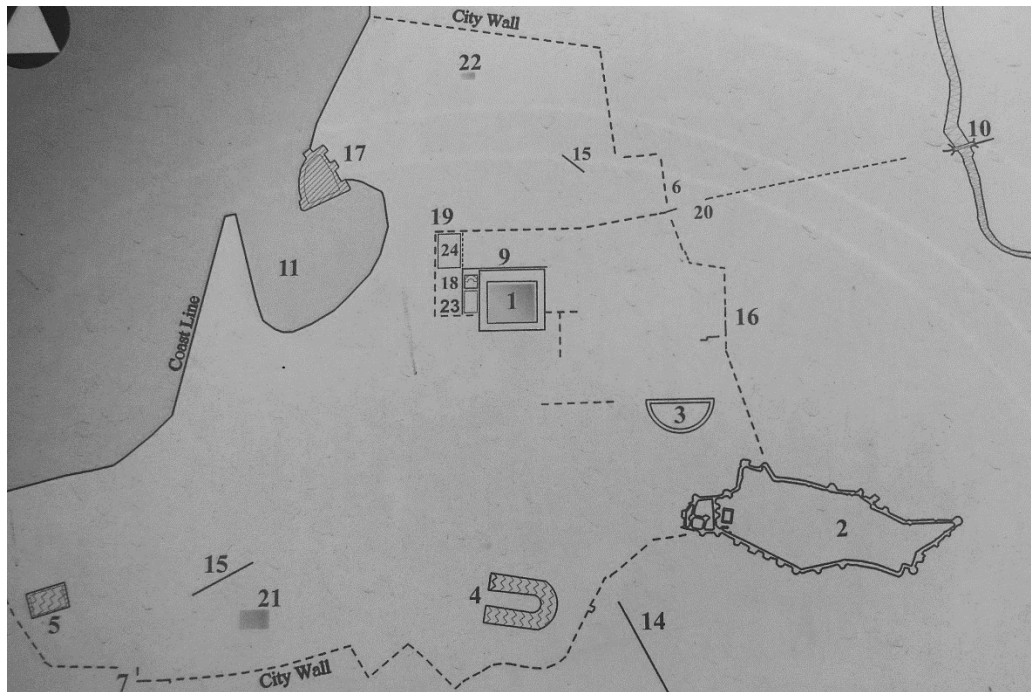


Fig. 16. Plan of Smyrna. Aristides probably stood on a hill south of the city, looking toward the broad streets and peristyles of the area between the agora (no. 1) and the harbor. Author's photo.



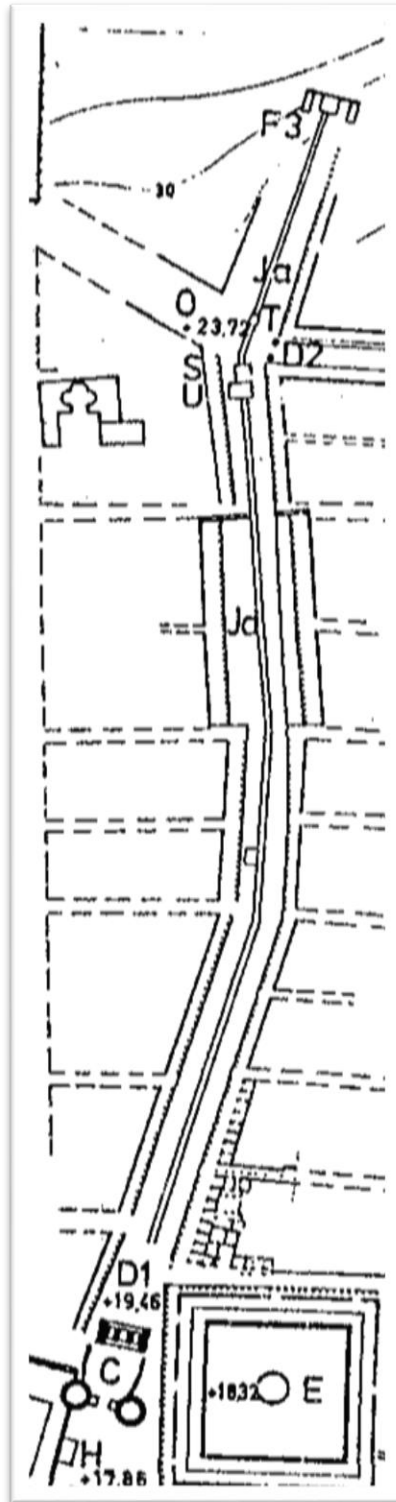


Fig. 17. Plan of the main street of Perge. Beginning at the Gate of Plancia Magna (C) and Arch of Hadrian (D1), the street and medial water channel ran to the North Nymphaeum (F3) on the slopes of the acropolis. The Arch of Apollonius and Demetrius (D2) is visible on the east side of the intersection with the main E-W street. After Abbasoğlu 2001, Fig. 7-3.



Fig. 18. The main street of Perge: overview from the north. Author's photo.



Fig. 19. The main street of Perge: looking north from Plancia's gate complex. Note the remains of the monumental water channel in foreground. Author's photo.

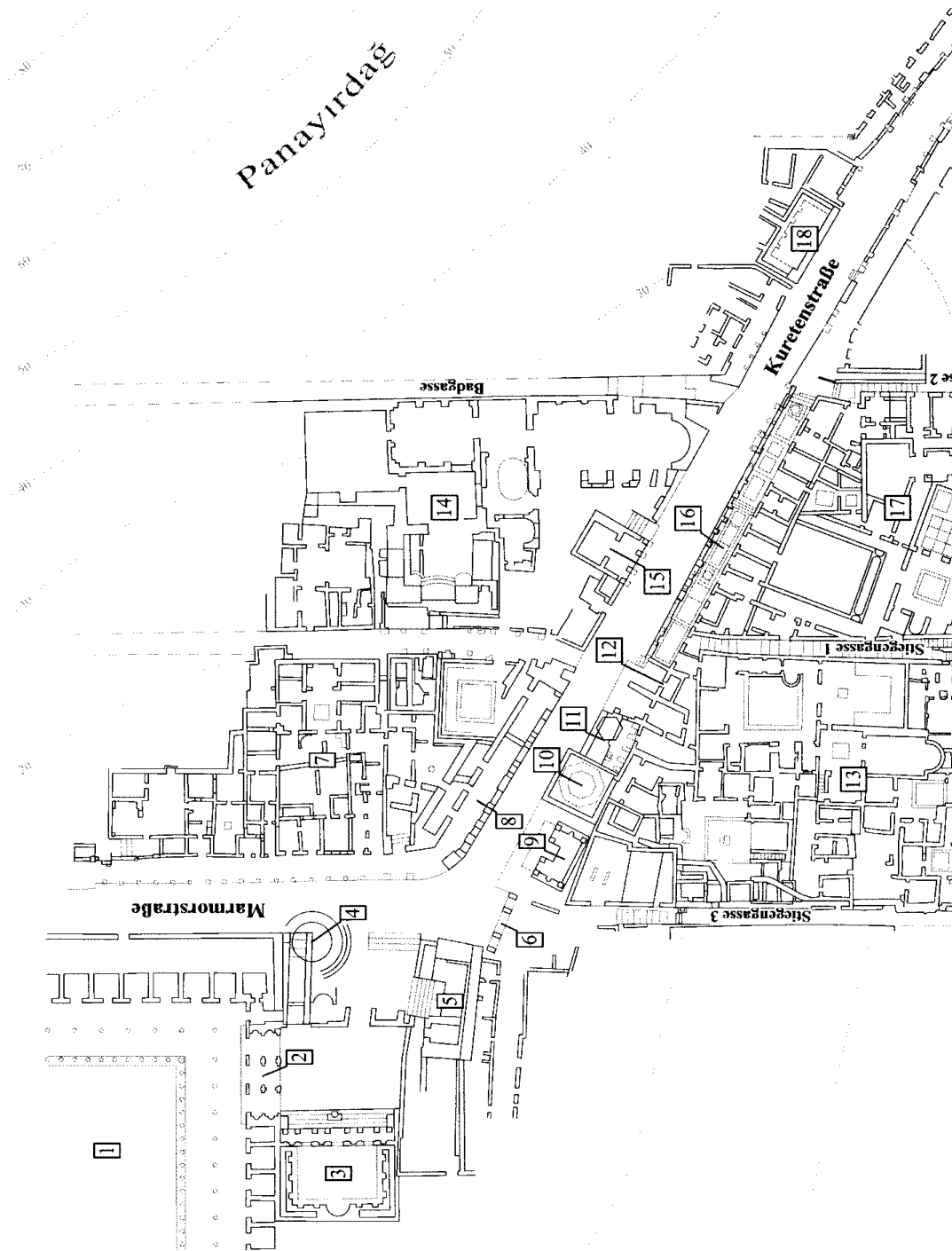


Fig. 20. Plan of the Triodos and lower Embolos of Ephesus. On this plan, the Library of Celsus is no. 3; the Triodos is the square in front of it. Along the Embolos itself (here labelled the Kuretenstraße), note the Arch of Hadrian (no. 6) and the Nymphaeum of Trajan (no. 18). A monumental arch dedicated to Trajan stood across the side street that branches off the Embolos just before the Nymphaeum. After Thür 2009, Abb. 1.

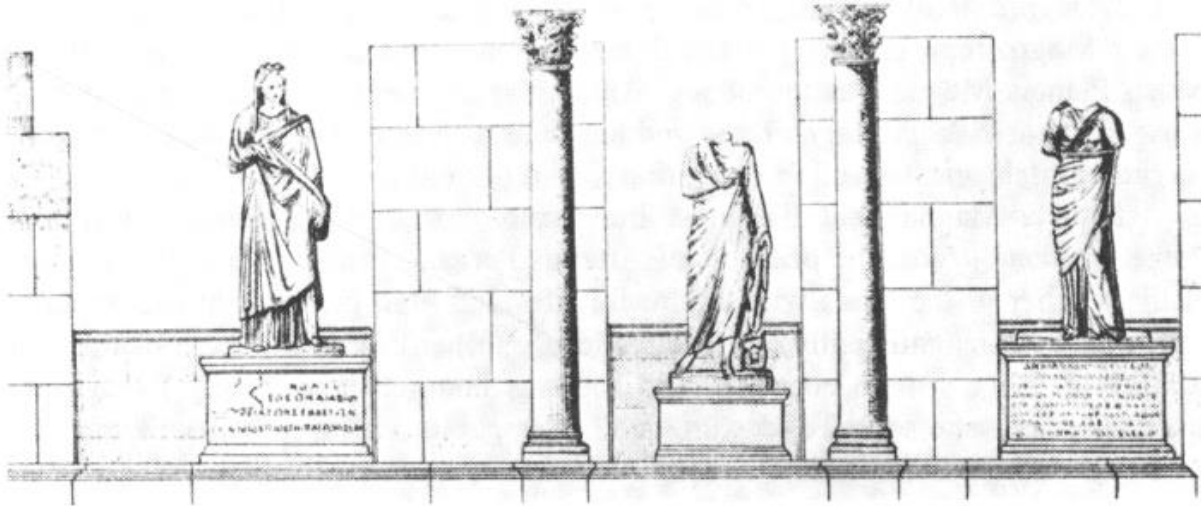


Fig. 21. The tomb of Plancia Magna. The monument was located immediately southwest of her gate complex; all three statues (sponsored by different civic groups) depicted Plancia. After Mansel 1975, Abb. 35.

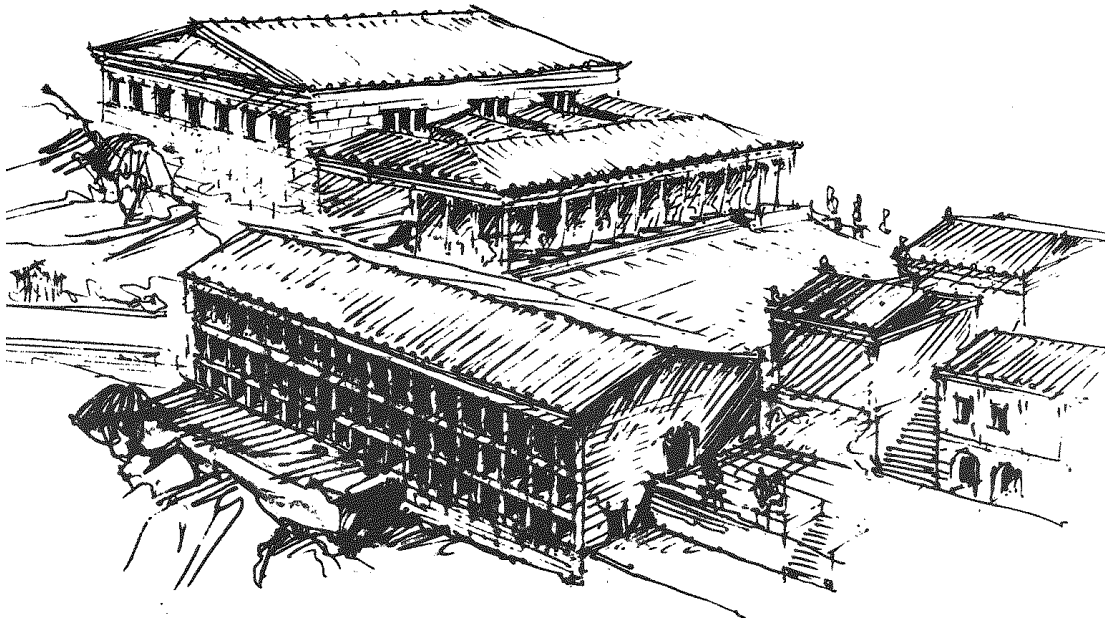


Fig. 22. Reconstruction of the Upper Agora of Selge. The large building in the background, called the Odeon in Aurelia's inscription, seems to have also served as bouleuterion. After Machatscheck & Schwarz 1981, Taf. 5.

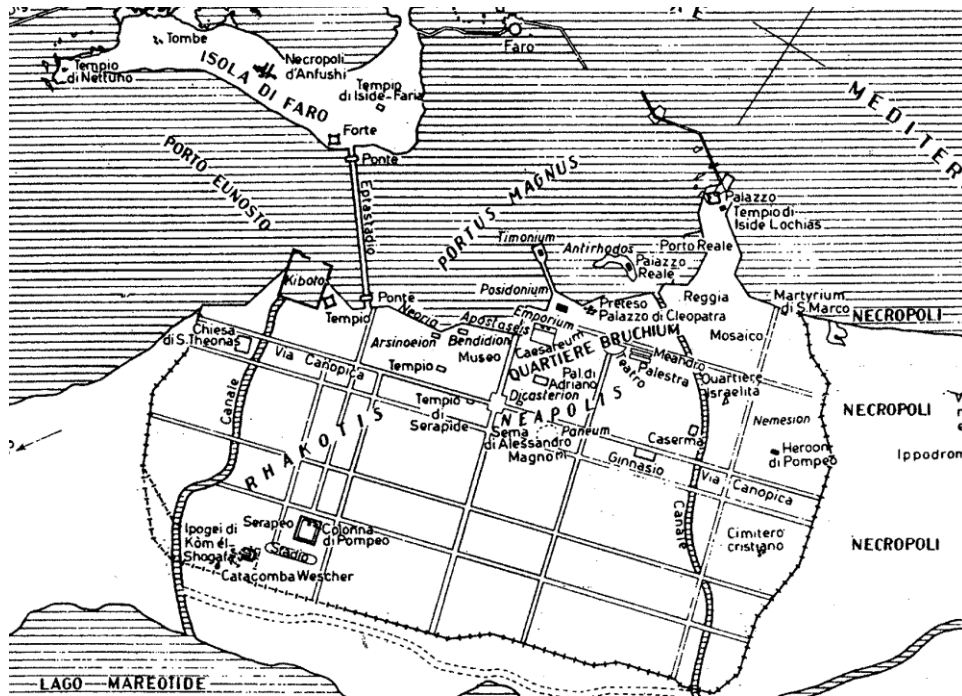


Fig. 23. Plan of Alexandria. The main avenues (especially the Canopic way) were famously broad; by the Roman period, they seem to have been colonnaded for much of their length. After Bejor 1999, Fig. 65.

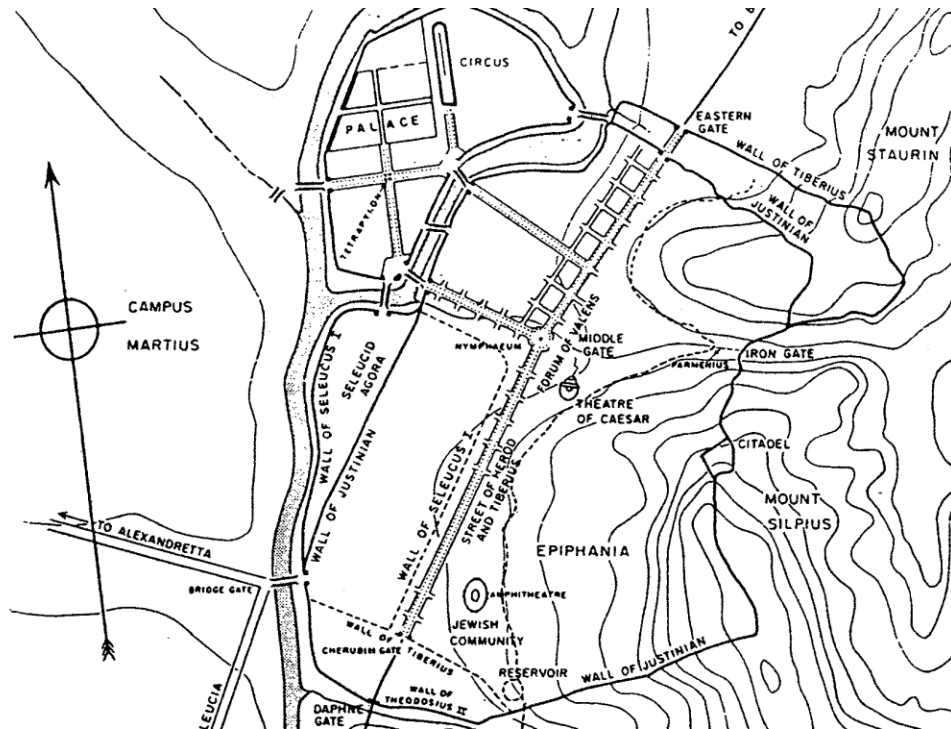


Fig. 24. Plan of Syrian Antioch. The main N-S street may have been the first colonnaded avenue. After Bejor 1999, Fig. 1.

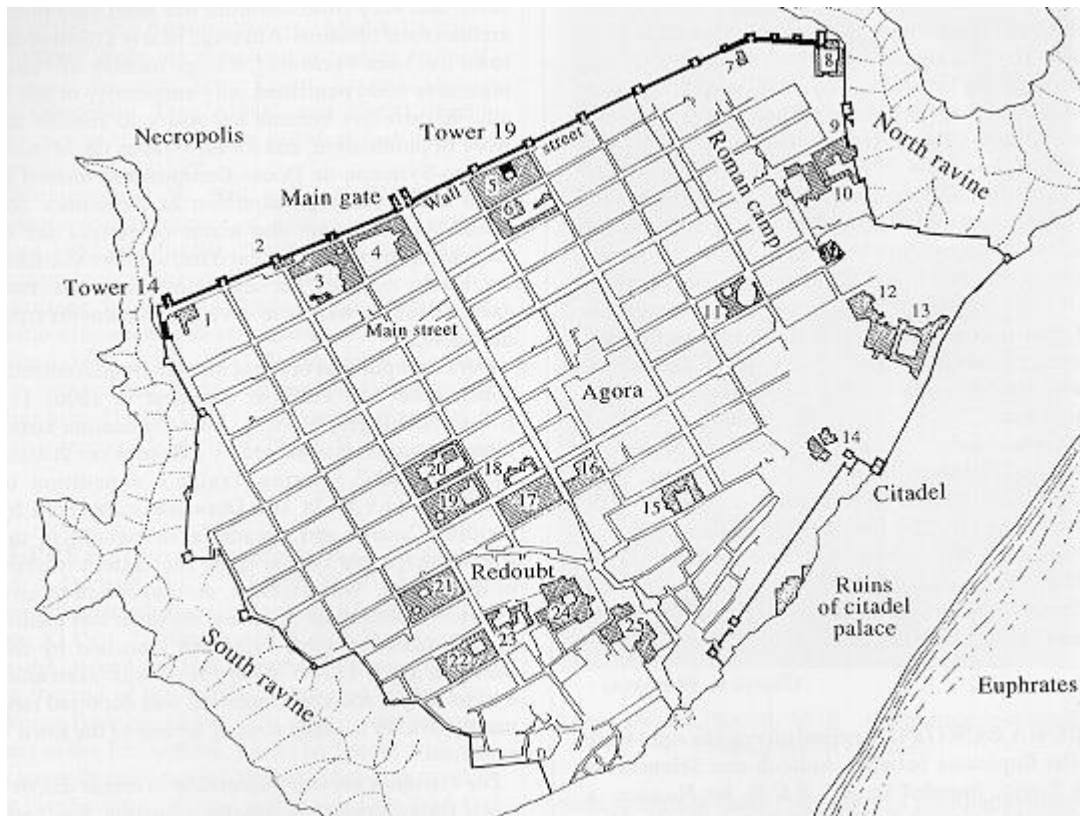
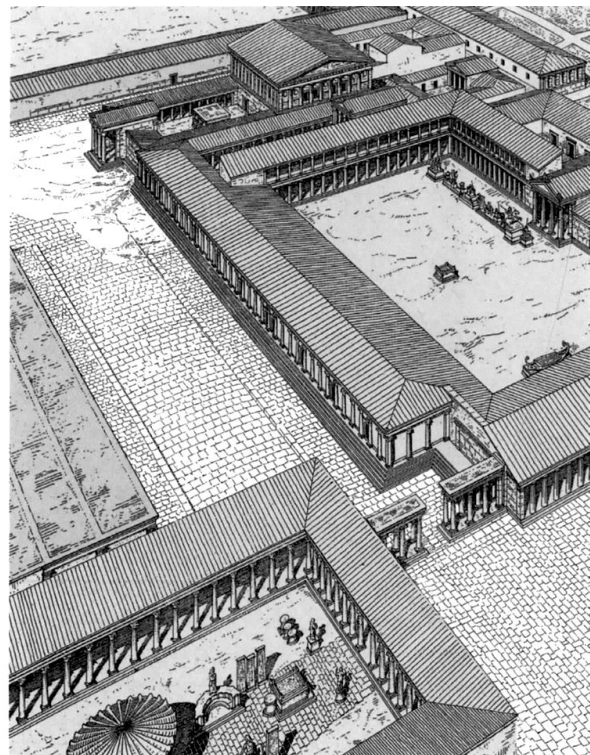
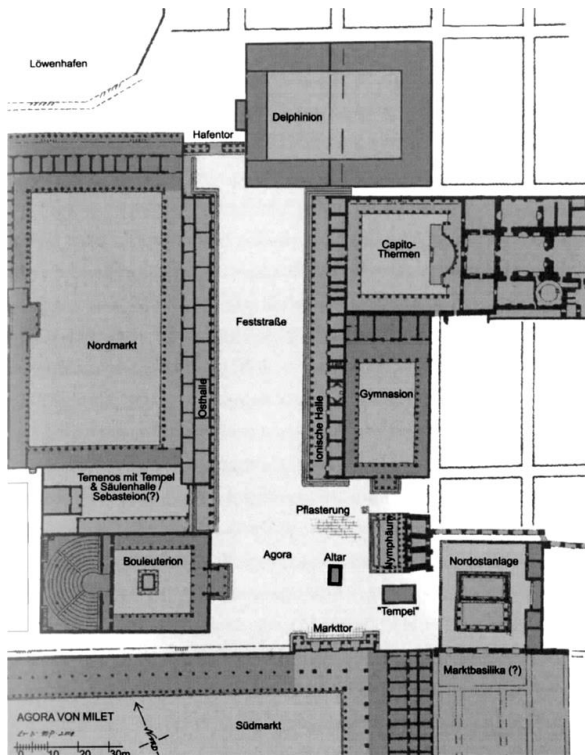
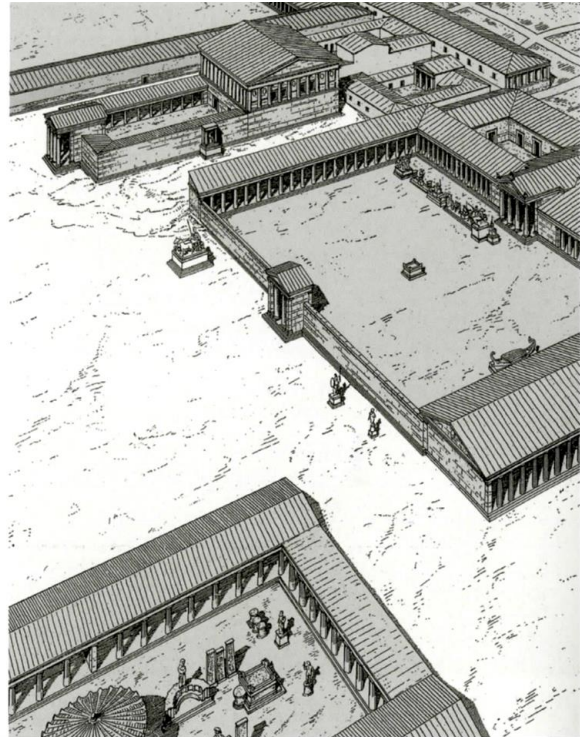
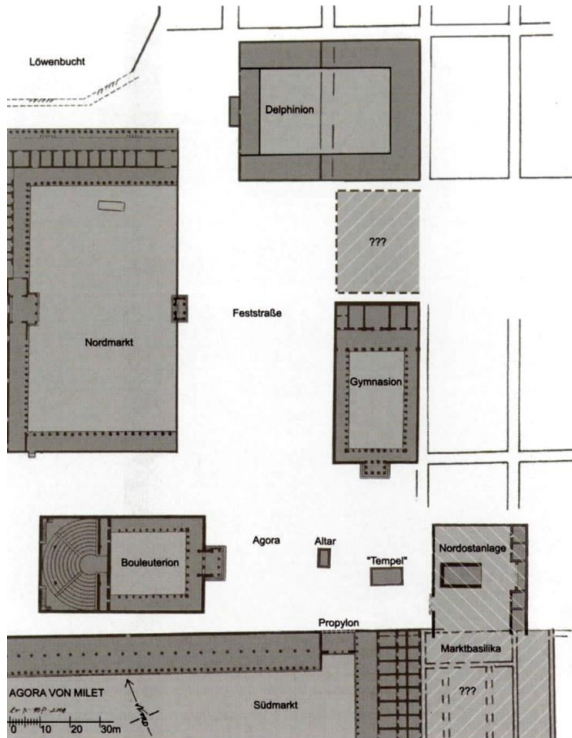


Fig. 25. Plan of Dura Europus in the Roman period. Note the broad main avenue, which maintained its Hellenistic configuration. After Matheson 1982: 18.



Figs. 26-9. Plans and reconstructions of Miletus in the Hellenistic (top) and mid-imperial (bottom) periods, illustrating the formalization of a basically consistent plan. After Cain & Pfanner 2009, Abb. 4-7.

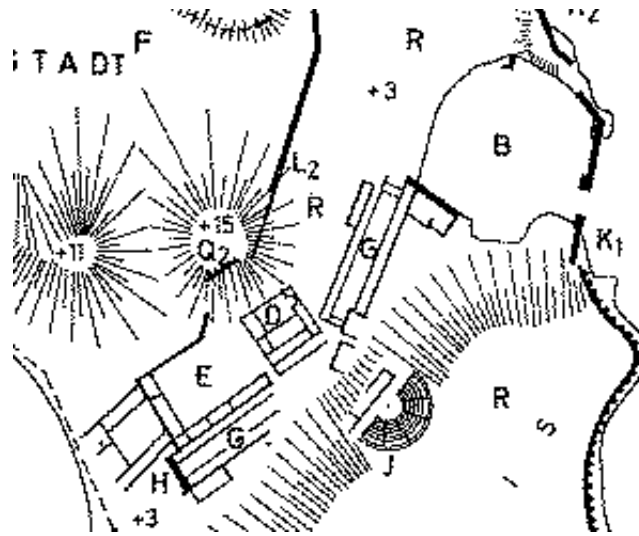
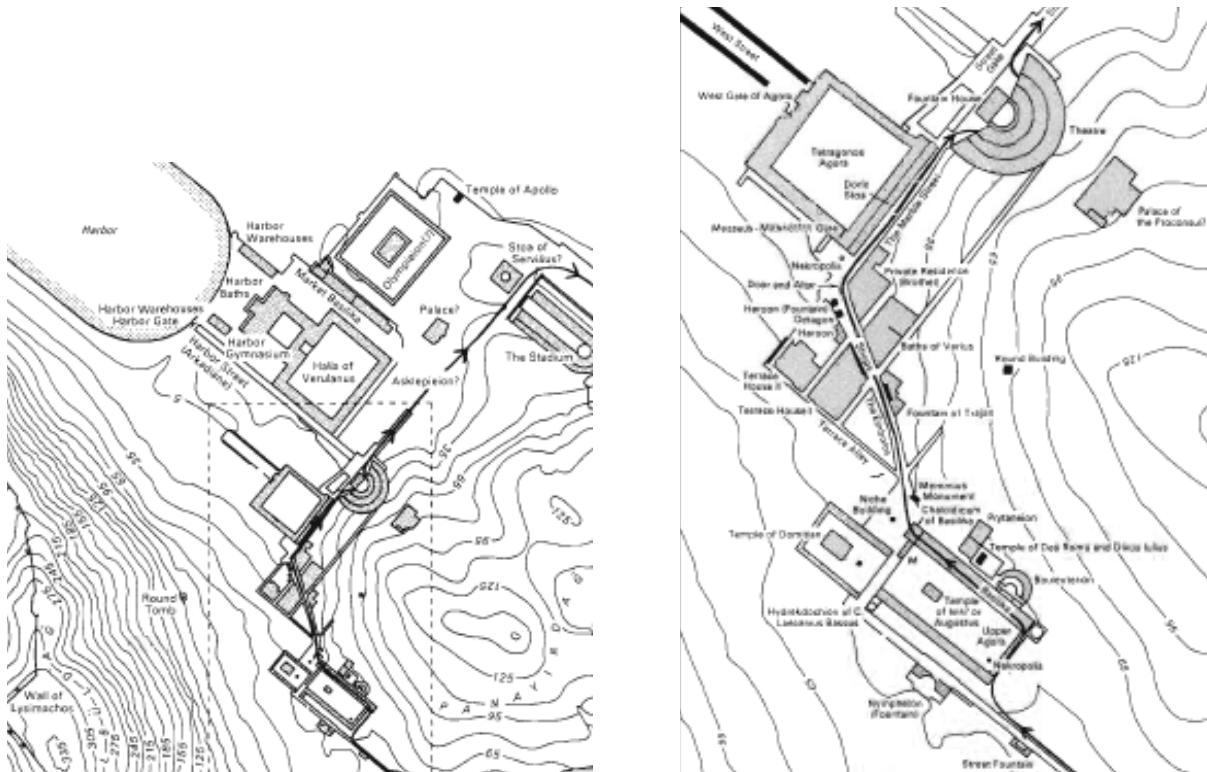


Fig. 30. Plan of central Phaselis. The gate constructed for Hadrian is marked "H." The adjoining colonnaded avenue is "G," and the reconstructed agora is "E." After Schäfer 1981, Taf. 4.



Figs. 31-2. The route of Salutaris' procession through Ephesus. In the more detailed map on the right (Fig. 32), note the concentration of monuments between the Nymphaeum of Trajan and Theater. After Rogers 1991, Figs. 2-3.



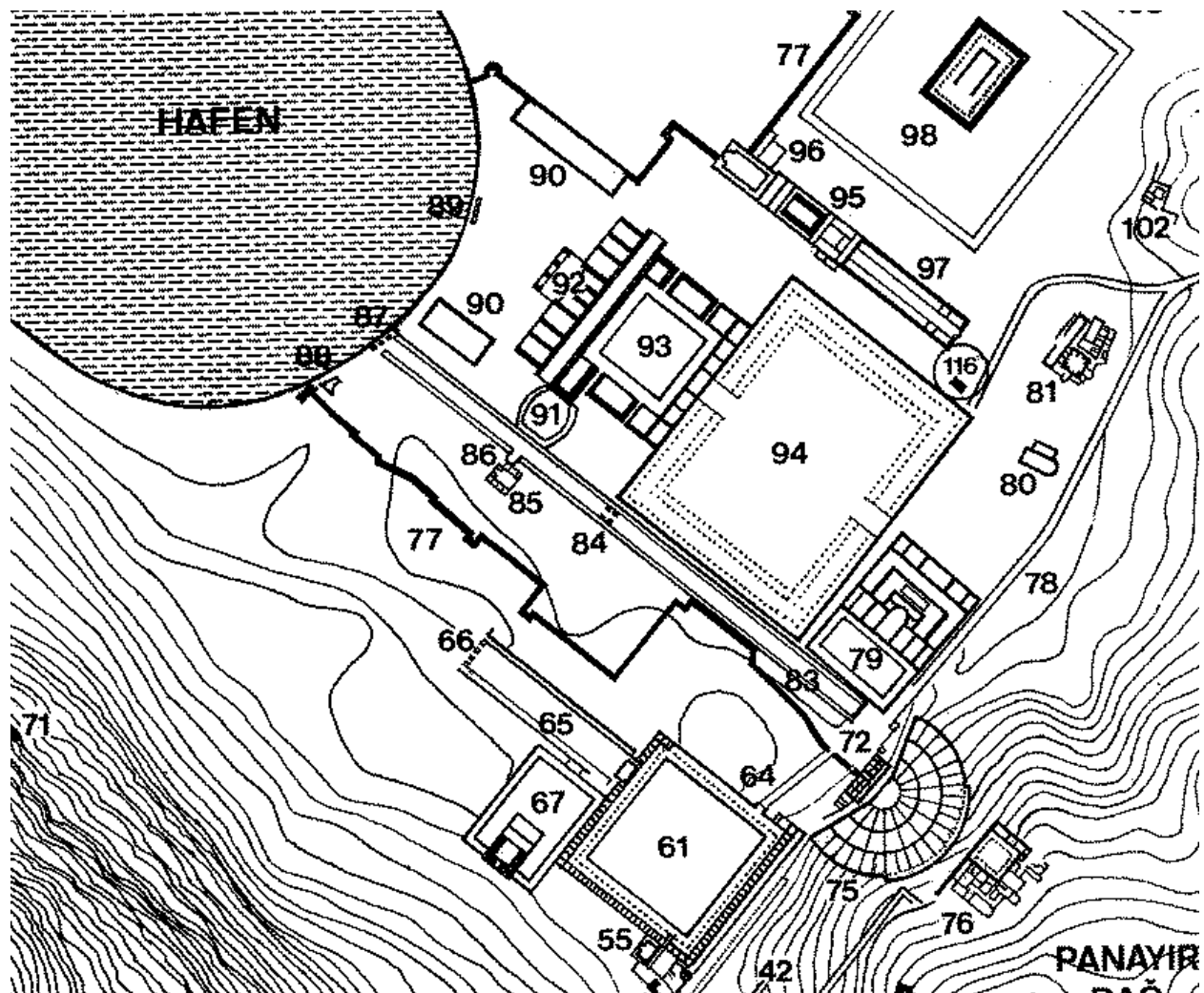


Fig. 33. Overview of the harbor area of Ephesus. On this plan, the middle harbor gate is no. 87, the Arcadiane is no. 83, and the theater is no. 72. Other buildings relevant to our discussion include the south (88) and north (89) harbor gates, the harbor bath-gymnasium complex (92-4), and the theater gymnasium (79). After Scherrer 1995, endplate.

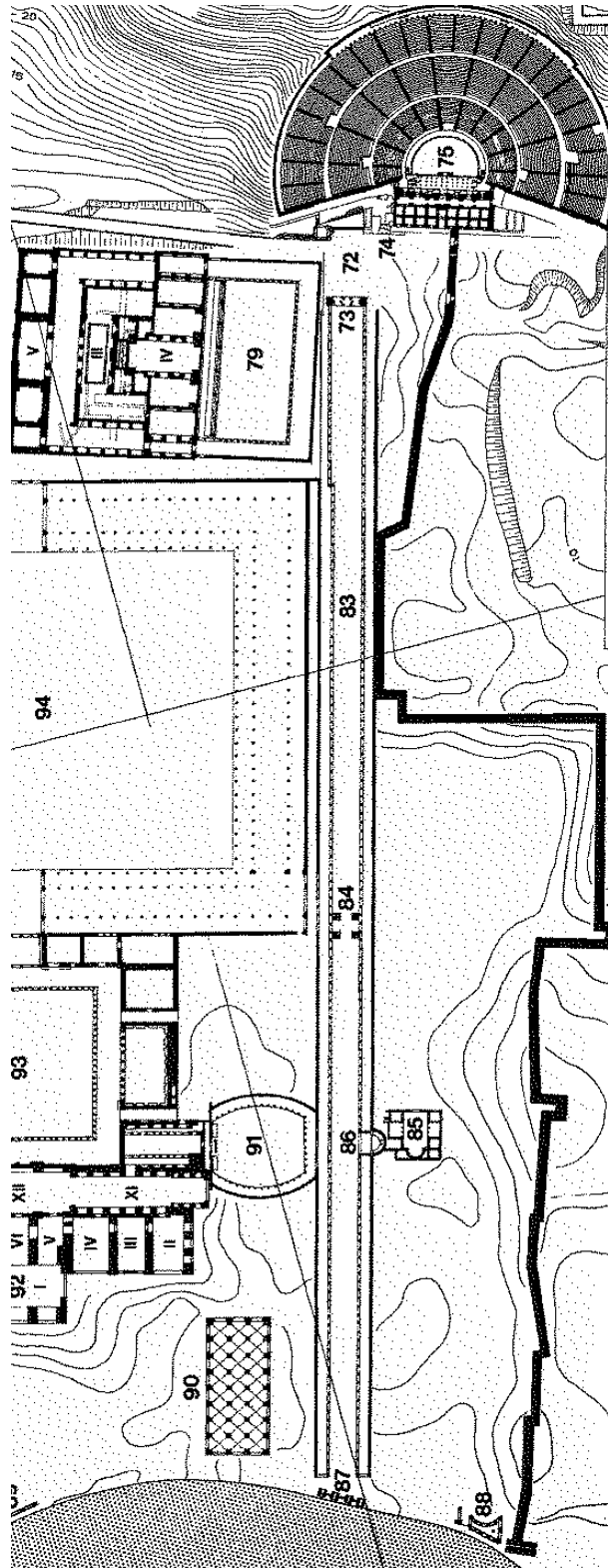


Fig. 34. Detail of the harbor area of Ephesus, showing the proconsul's route from harbor gate (87) down the Arcadiane (83) to the theater (75). After Scherrer 1995: 165.

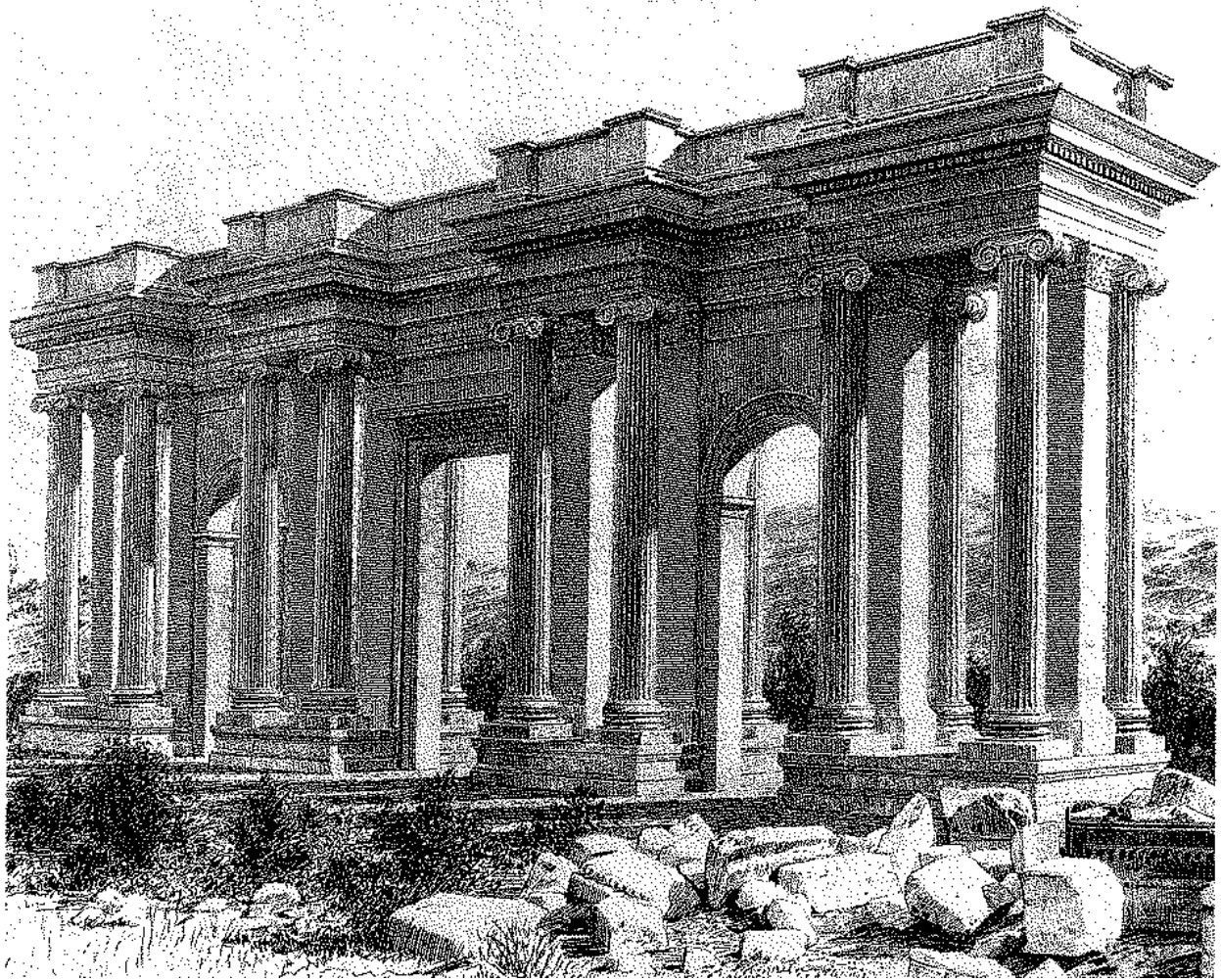


Fig. 35. Reconstruction of the middle harbor gate of Ephesus, here depicted without the columns of the Arcadiane behind. After *FiE* III, Taf. IV.

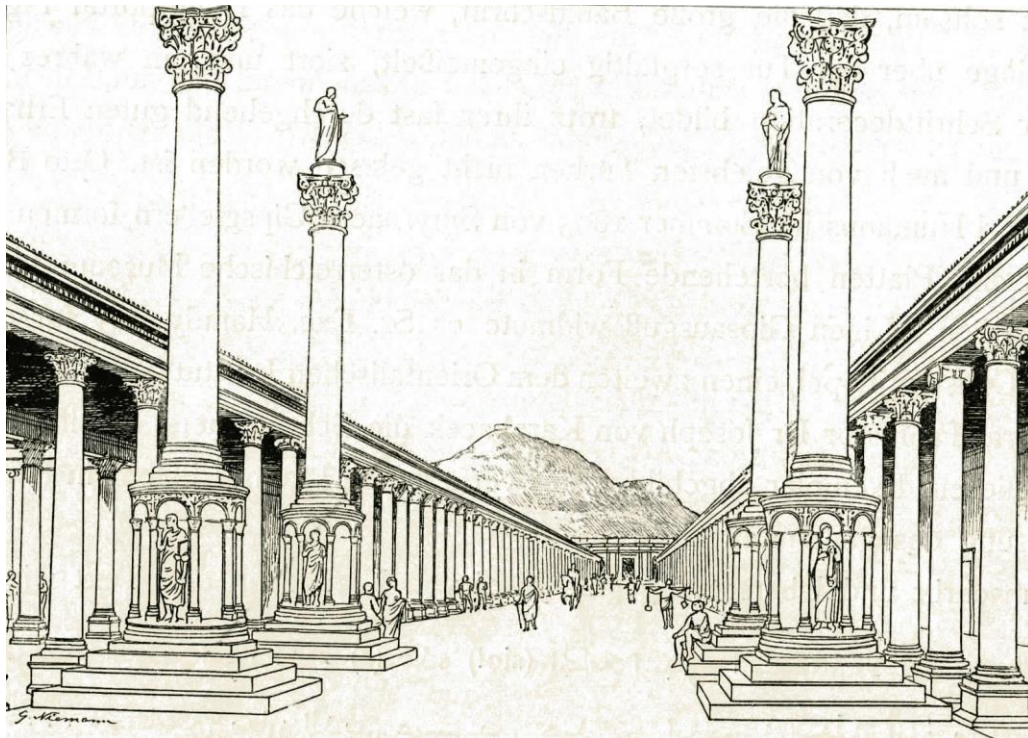


Fig. 36. Reconstruction of the Arcadiane at Ephesus, shown here in its Late Antique iteration. The four large columns were erected in the sixth century. After *FiE* I: 132.

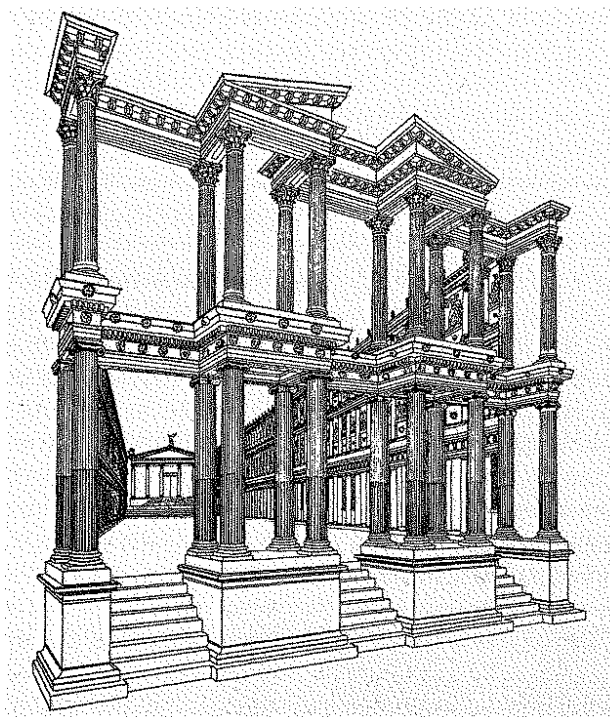


Fig. 37. Reconstruction of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, looking toward the shrine of the imperial cult. After Ratté 2002, fig. 11.

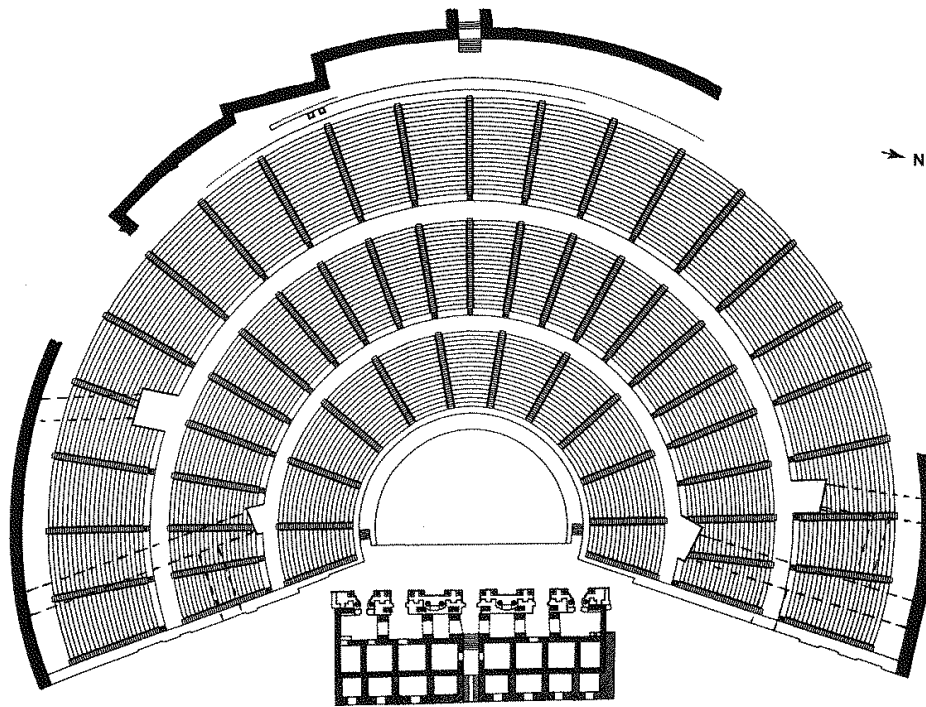


Fig. 38. Plan of the theater at Ephesus in the Roman period. After Sear 2006: 335.

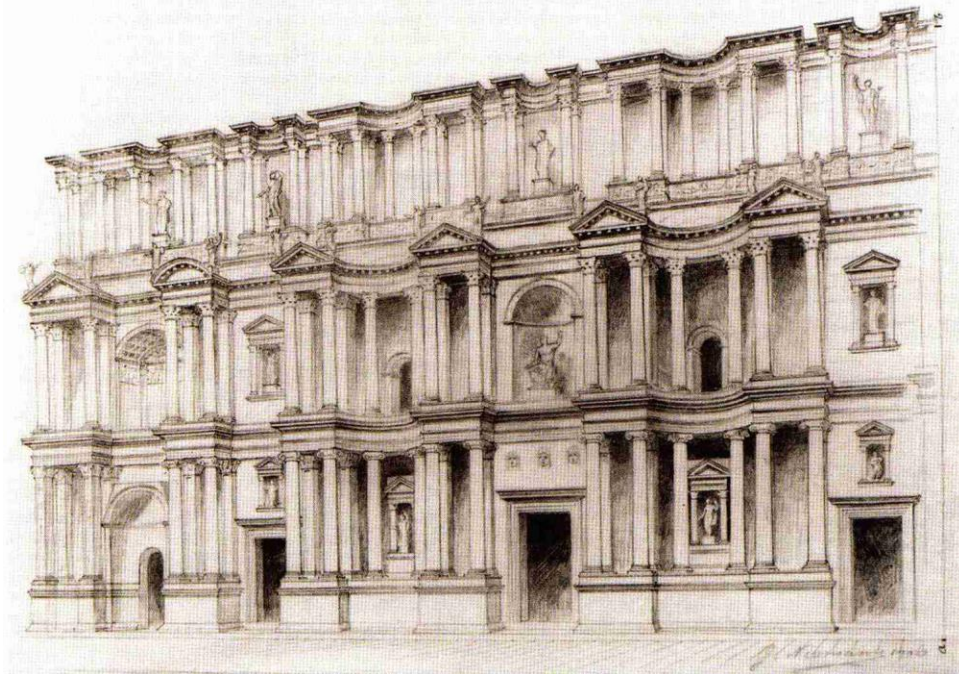


Fig. 39. Partial reconstruction of the scenae frons of the theater at Ephesus. After *FiE* II, Taf. IX.



Fig. 40. Model of the square fronting the Market Gate in Miletus. The Nymphaeum of Trajan is visible in the center of the image. The Market Gate is on the upper right; the bouleterion, on the lower right. After Maischberger 2009, Abb. 2.

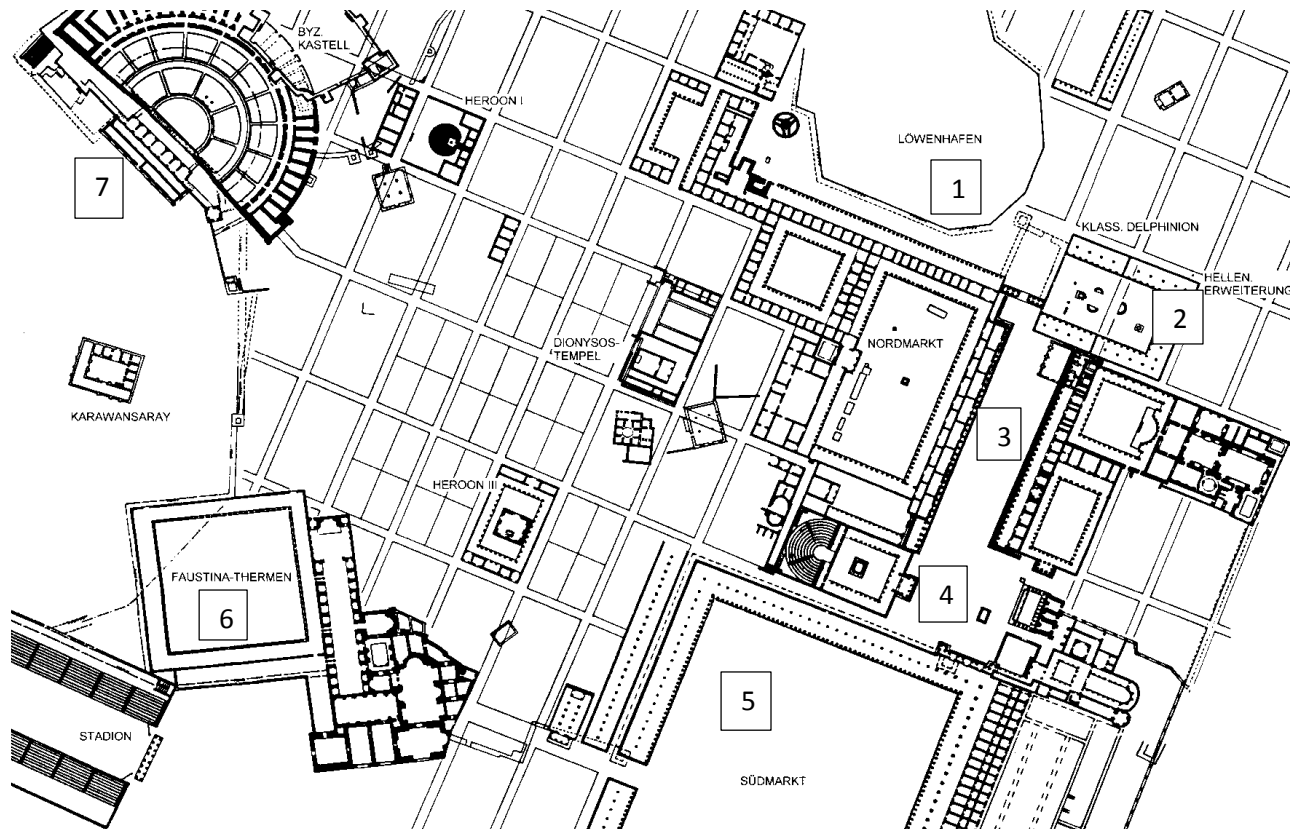


Fig. 41. Plan of central Miletus. The proconsul probably landed in the harbor at the Bay of Lions (1), sacrificed in the Delphinion (2), proceeded down the processional way (3), passed through the square fronted by the Nymphaeum, Market Gate, and bouleterion (4), and proceeded, probably through the South Agora (5) and the palaestra of the Baths of Faustina (6), to the theater (7). After Weber 2004, Abb. 2.

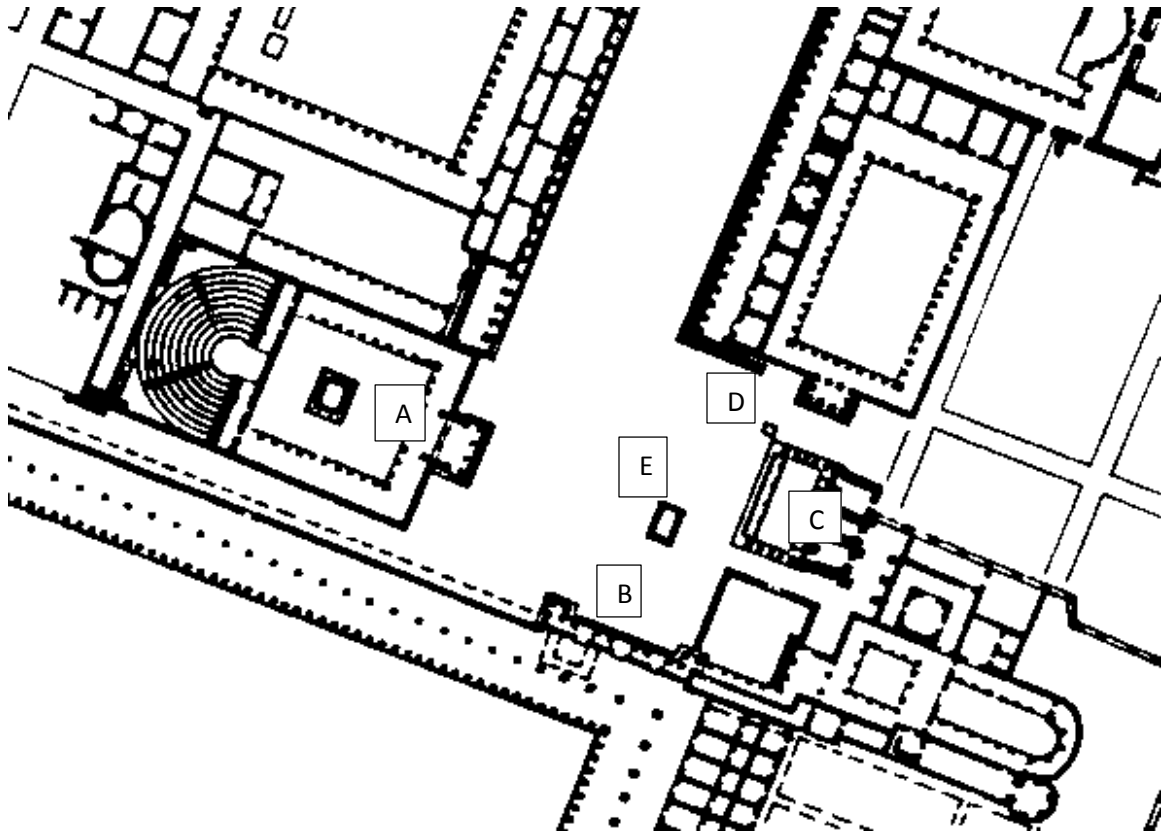


Fig. 42. Detail of the plan of central Miletus. The central plaza was ringed by the bouleterion (A), Market Gate (B), and Nymphaeum of Trajan (C). The statue of Neileus stood on the base (D) near the Nymphaeum. The altar in the center of the square (E) may have been dedicated to the eponymous hero Miletus. After Weber 2004, Abb. 2.

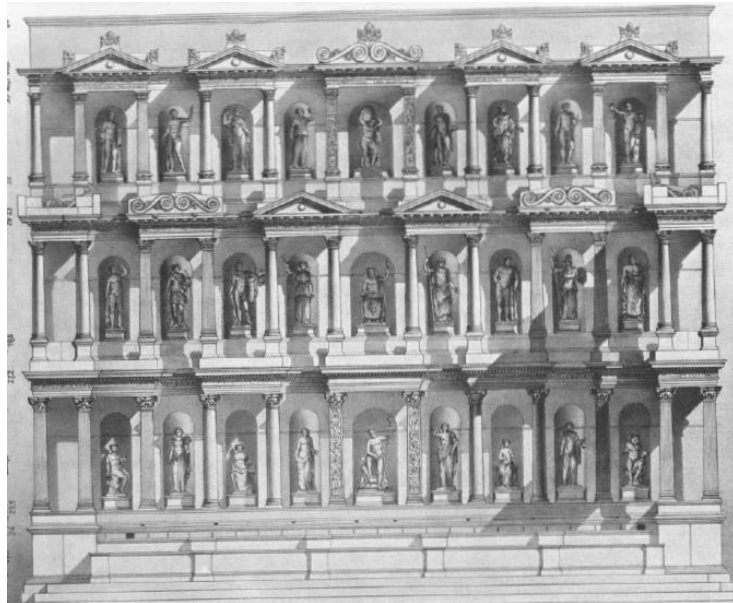


Fig. 43. Reconstruction of the sculptural program of the Nymphaeum of Trajan. The figures of Apollo, Artemis, and Zeus are visible in the center of the second story. After *Milet V.2*, Abb. 9.

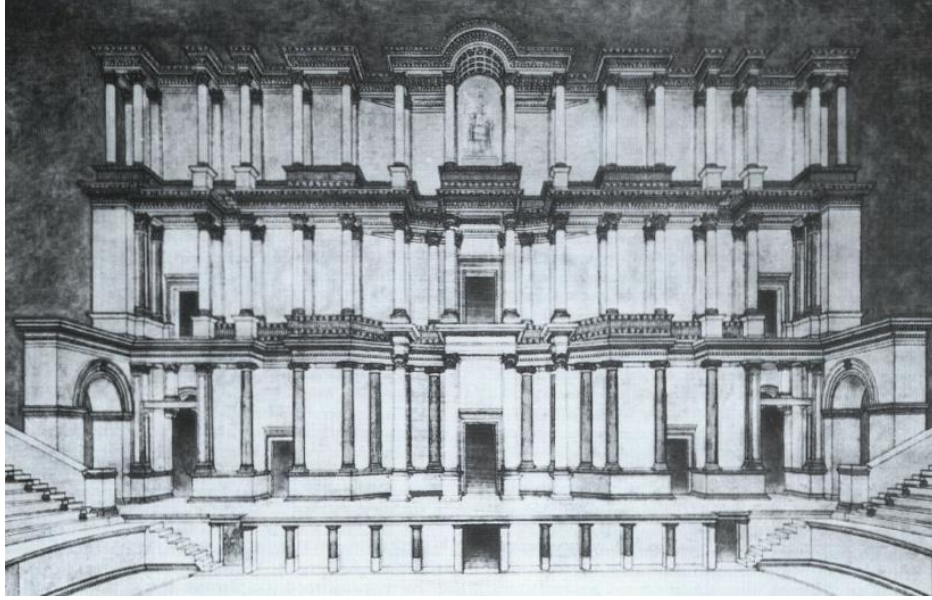


Fig. 44. Reconstruction of the mid-imperial scaenae frons of the Miletian theater. It is probable that a statue of Apollo occupied the central aedicule of the third story. After *Milet V.2*, Abb. 47.

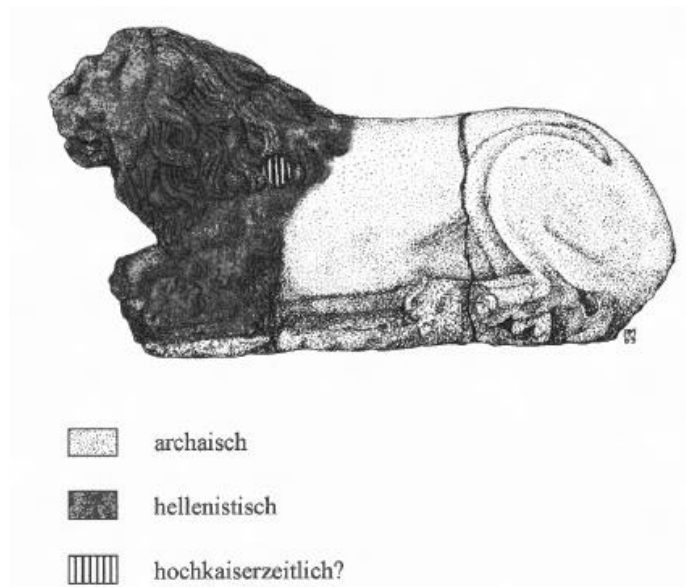


Fig. 45. Archaic lion from the Baths of Faustina. As the figure indicates, the sculpture seems to have been repaired and reused at least twice. After *Milet V.2*, Abb. 45.





Fig. 46. Reconstruction of the so-called Nannas-Bakivalis Monument at Sardis. The three sculptures, all Archaic and Lydian, were taken from different locations and erected on their current base near the Temple of Artemis in the second century CE. After Rojas 2013, Fig. 3.

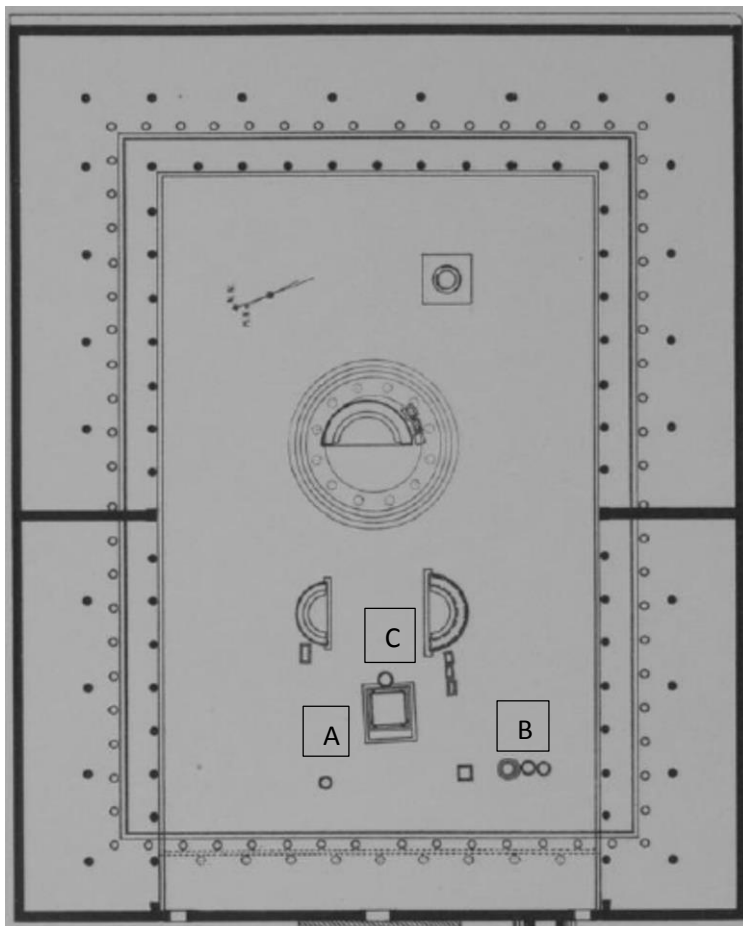


Fig. 47. Plan of the Delphinion in the Roman period. The proconsul would sacrifice at the square altar a short distance in front of the entrance (A). The round Archaic altars (B) stood immediately to his right. The boustrophedon altar (C) was found immediately in front of the main altar. After *Milet* I.3, Taf. VII.



Fig. 48. Reconstruction of the Delphinion in the Roman period. Only one of the round Archaic altars is shown here, on the far right. From [www.fhr.gr](http://www.fhr.gr).



Fig. 49. Acroterion from the Archaic main altar of the Delphinion. After *Milet* I.3, Abb. 39.



Fig. 50. The torso of the Archaic statue of Apollo found in the theater of Miletus. After *Milet* V.2, Abb. 52a.

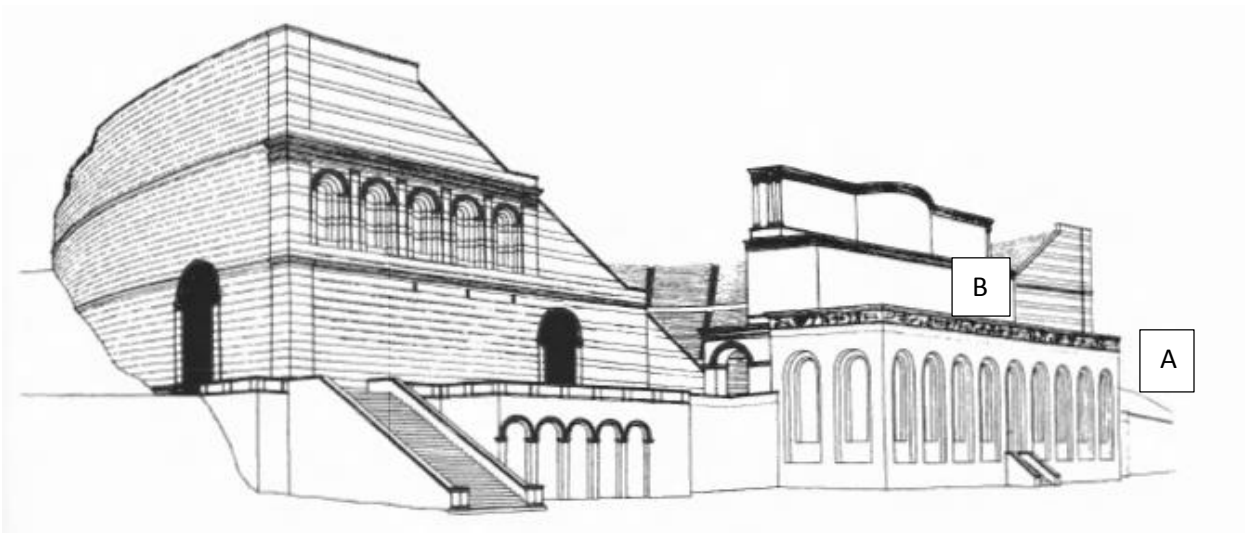


Fig. 51. Reconstruction of the rear of the Milesian theater's stage building in the second century. The band of moldings marked (A) came from the temple at Myus. It is probable that the statue of Apollo was set up on the terrace above, near the spot marked (B). After *Milet* V.2, Abb. 49.

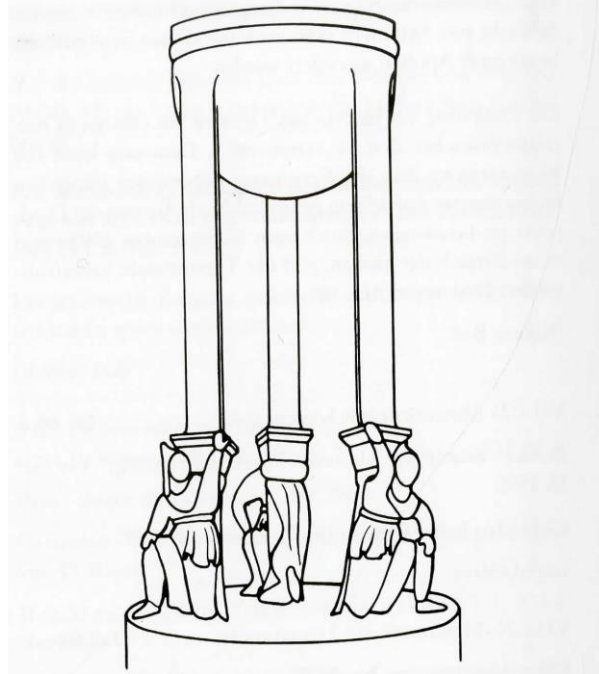


Fig. 52. Reconstruction of the monumental tripod in front of the theater. After *Milet* V.2, Abb. 61. Similar monuments stood in the precincts of Apollo Palatinus at Rome and Zeus Olympios at Athens.



Fig. 53. Relief from the theater depicting the Archaic statue of Apollo Philesius. After Dally & Scholl 2009, Abb. 7.

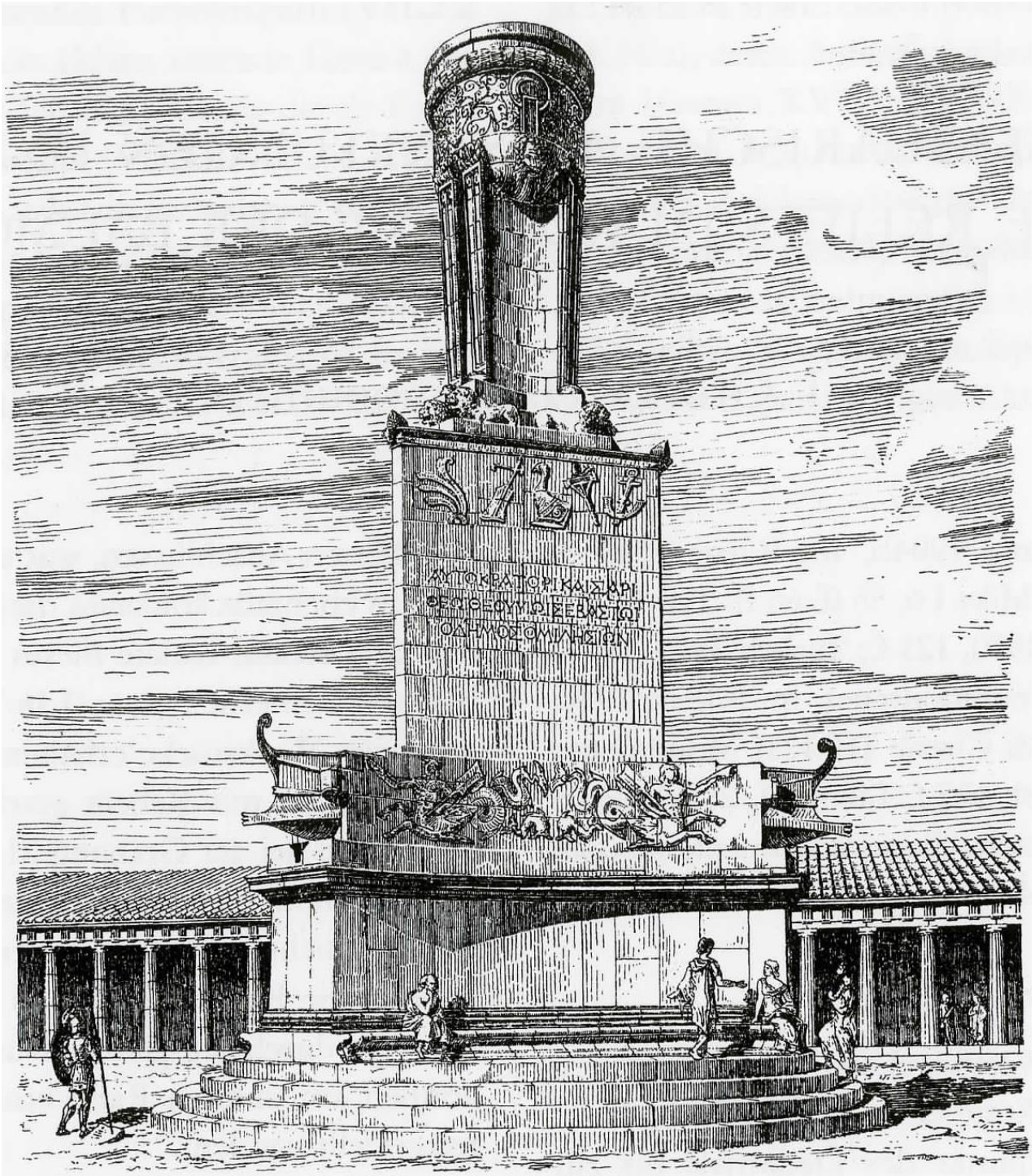


Fig. 54. Reconstruction of the Great Harbor Monument. After *Milet V.2*, Abb. 2.

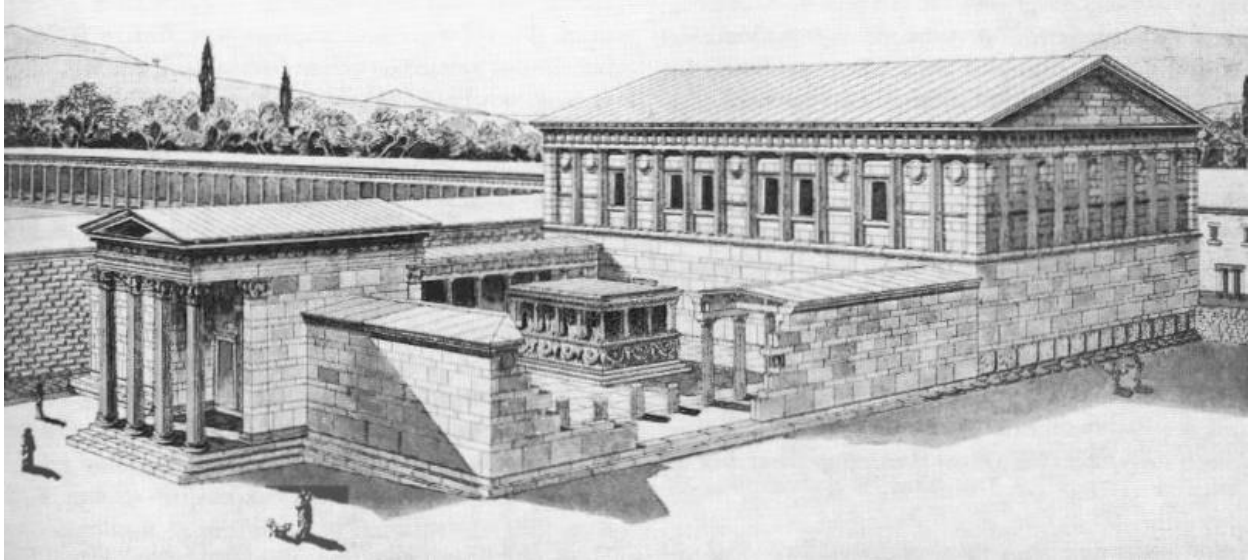


Fig. 55. Reconstruction of the bouleuterion at Miletus, with altar visible in forecourt. After *Milet V.2*, Abb. 4.

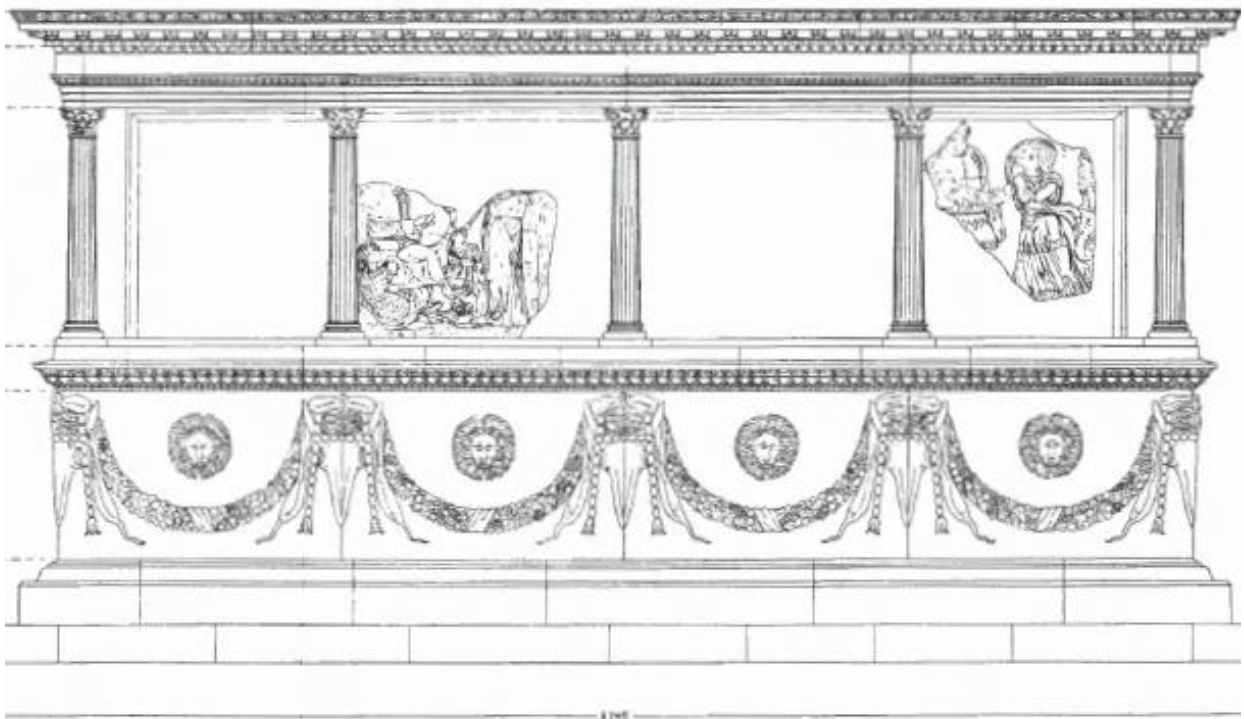


Fig. 56. Reconstruction of the altar in the forecourt of the bouleuterion. After *Milet V.2*, Abb. 5.

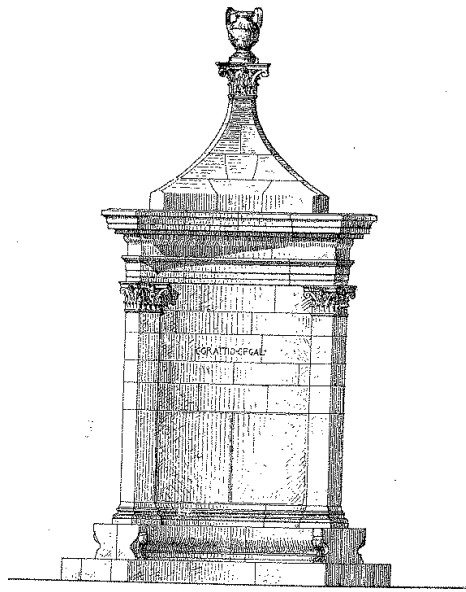


Fig. 57. Reconstruction of the Small Harbor Monument. After Kleiner 1968, Abb. 36.

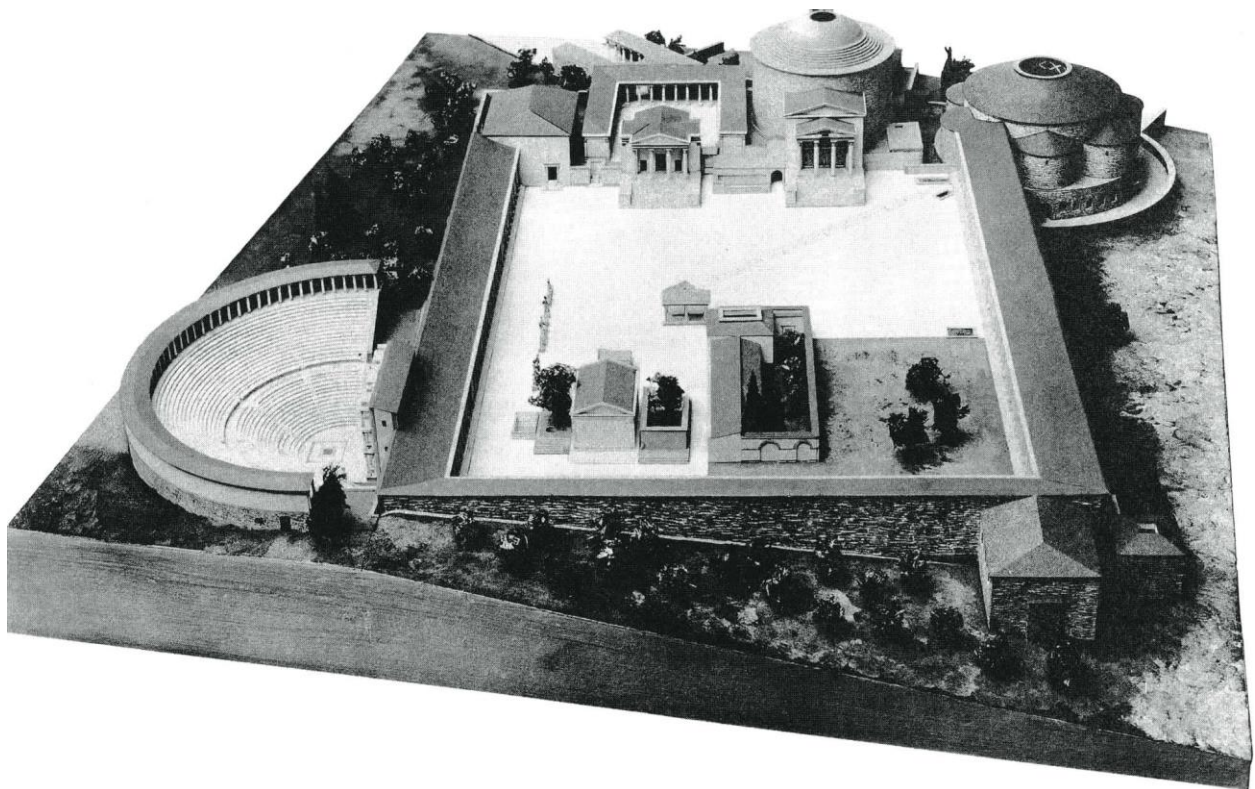


Fig. 58. Model of the Asclepieion in Pergamum, looking from the west. After Radt 1999, Abb. 176.

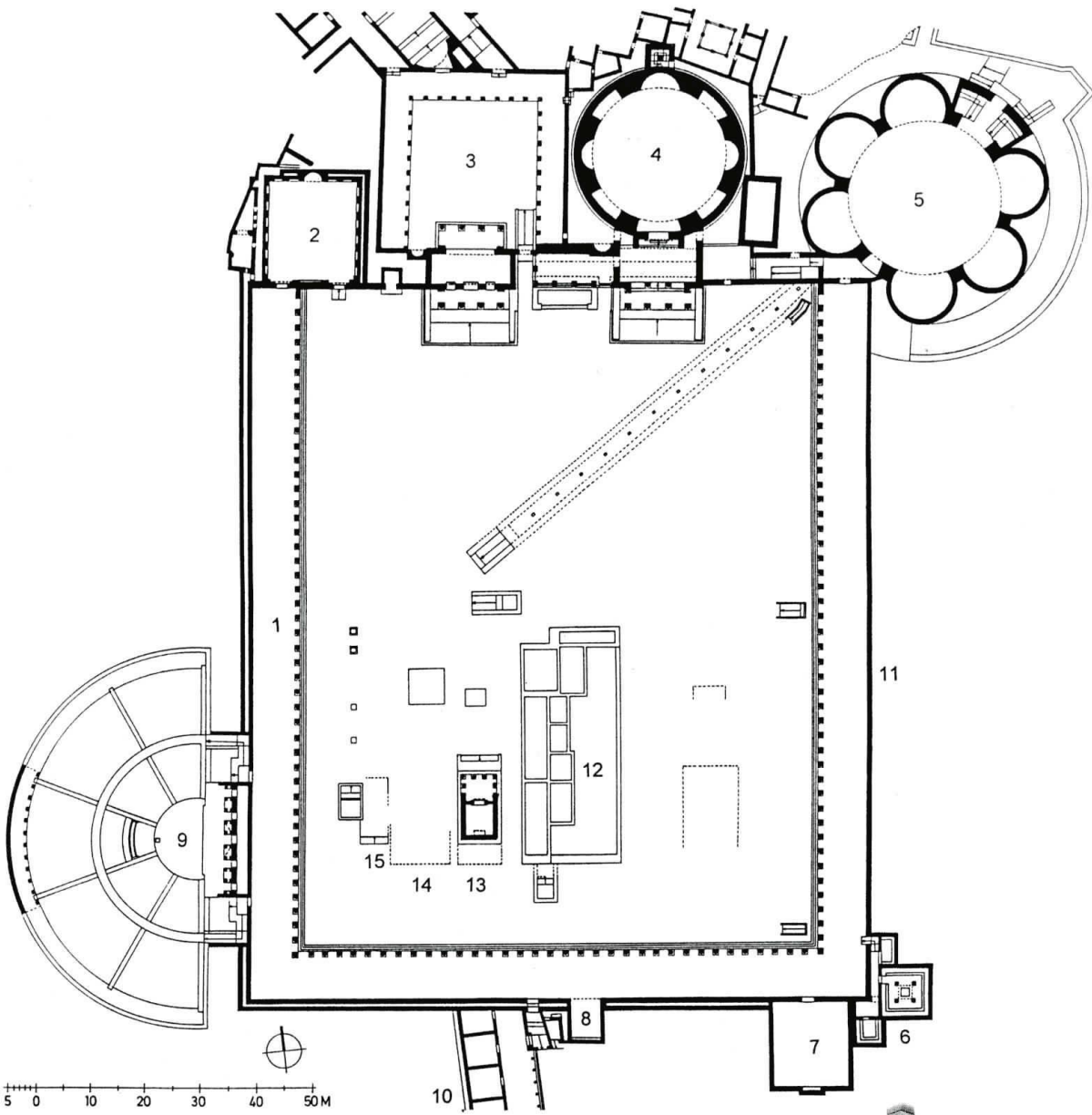


Fig. 59. Plan of the Asclepieion at Pergamum. After Radt 1999, Abb. 175. The components of the complex that will most concern us are the propylon (3), the Temple of Zeus Asclepius (4) and the Temple of Asclepius (13).



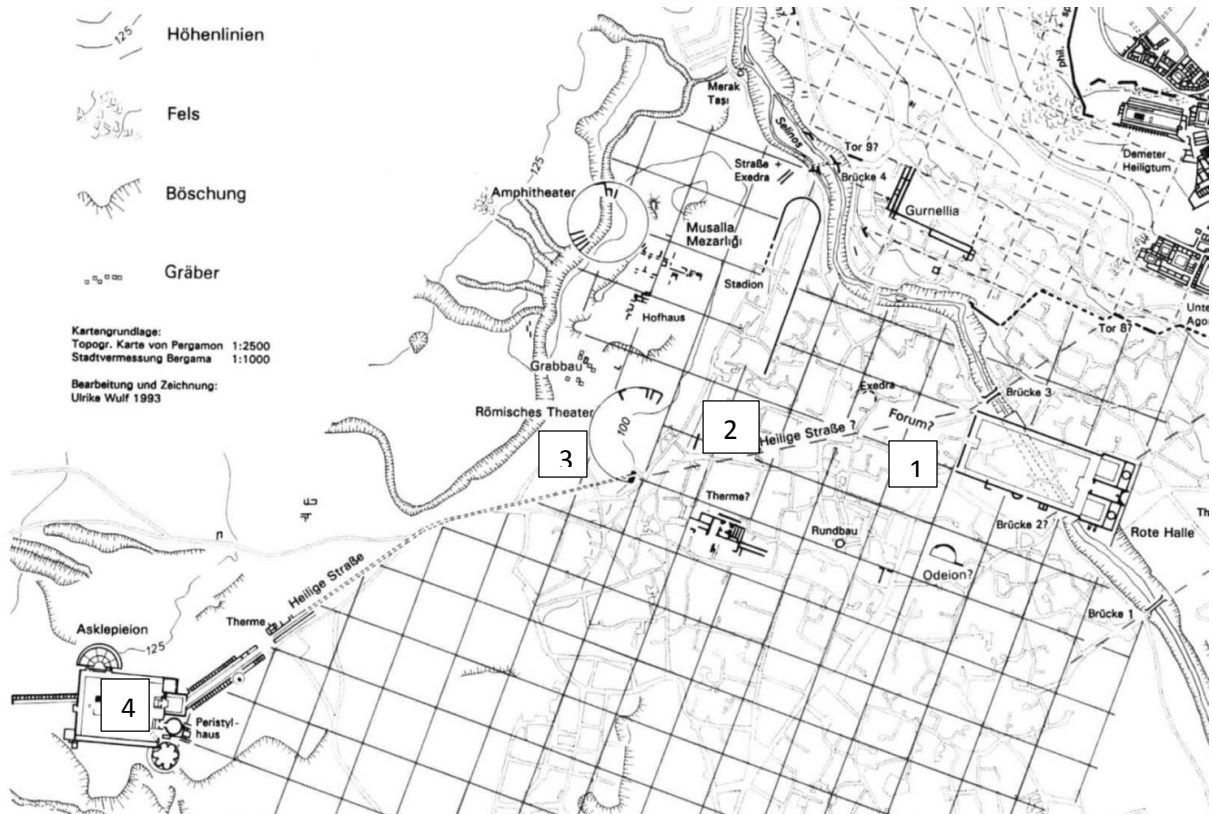


Fig. 60. Plan of the Lower City of Pergamum. A proconsul entering from Elaia would probably have processed up one of the N-S streets, probably the main avenue aligned with the Lower City's Agora (1). He would then have followed the Sacred Way (2) to the theater (3), and proceeded thence to the Asclepieion (4). After Radt 1999, Abb. 12.

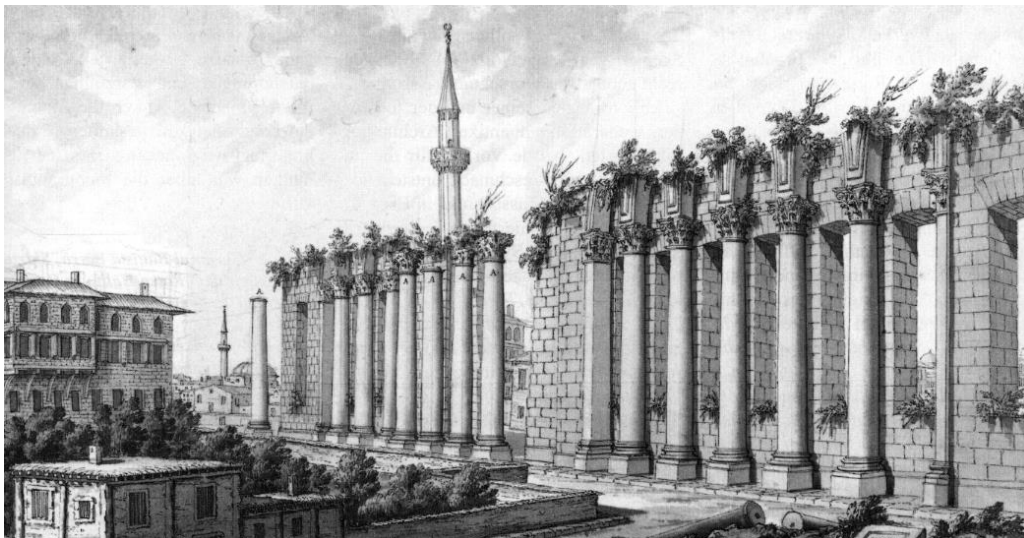


Fig. 61. Eighteenth-century drawing of the colonnades that bounded the Roman agora of Pergamum, one of the few documented traces of the civic landscape that a newly-arrived proconsul would have seen on his way to the theater and Asclepieion. After Kunze 1995, Abb. 1.

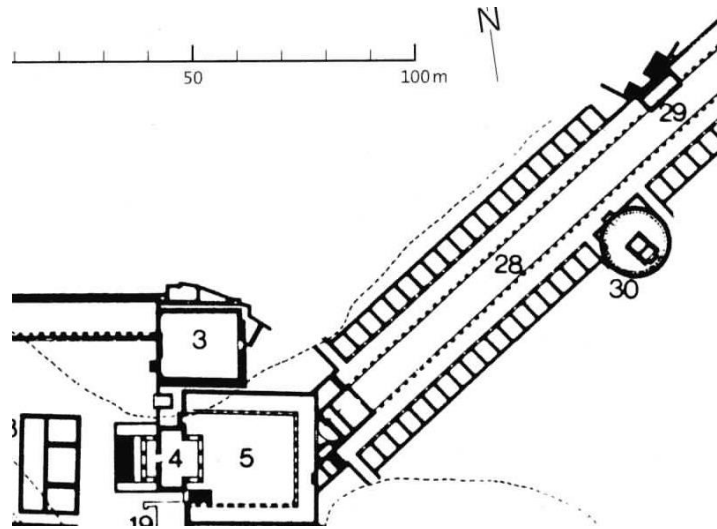


Fig. 62. Plan of the Sacred Way and propylon. The lower Sacred Way is marked 28; the forecourt, 5; and the propylon of the Asclepieion, 4. After Radt 1999, Abb. 167.

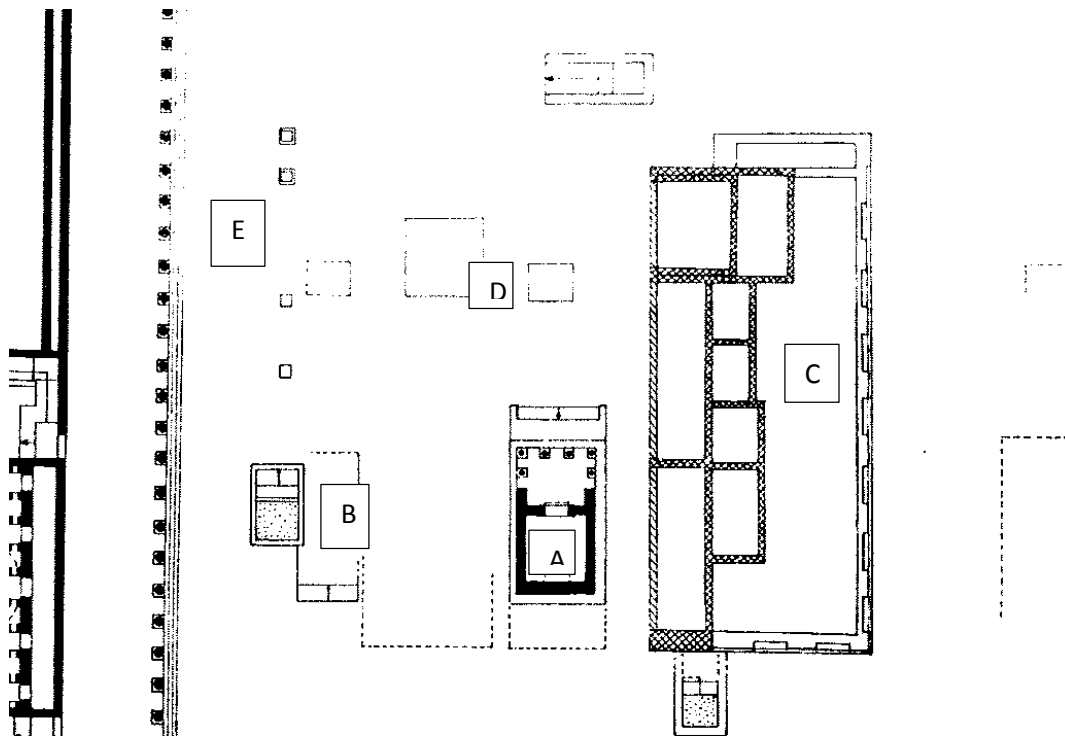


Fig. 63. Plan of the environs of the Temple of Asclepius. The building (B) to the left of the Temple of Asclepius (A) was a small immersion bath built over a sacred spring. The larger complex to the right (C) contained rooms for incubation. The altar (D) stood directly in front of the temple (the outlines marked beside it are the imprints of buildings demolished in the early imperial period). Statues were lined in front of the peristyle colonnade (E) and elsewhere in the vicinity of temple and altar. After *AvP* XI.5, Abb. 240.



1



2

Figs. 64-5. The reverses of coins struck to commemorate Caracalla's visit. The coin on the left shows the emperor hailing a statue of Asclepius. The coin on the right shows him greeting the citizens of Pergamum, who bear another statue of Asclepius. After Nollé 2003, Abb. 1-2.



3

Fig. 66. Coin reverse showing Caracalla addressing the citizens of Pergamum. A soldier bearing a figurine of Victory stands behind the emperor; before him stands the Tyche of Pergamum, bearing a statue of Asclepius. After Nollé 2003, Abb. 3.

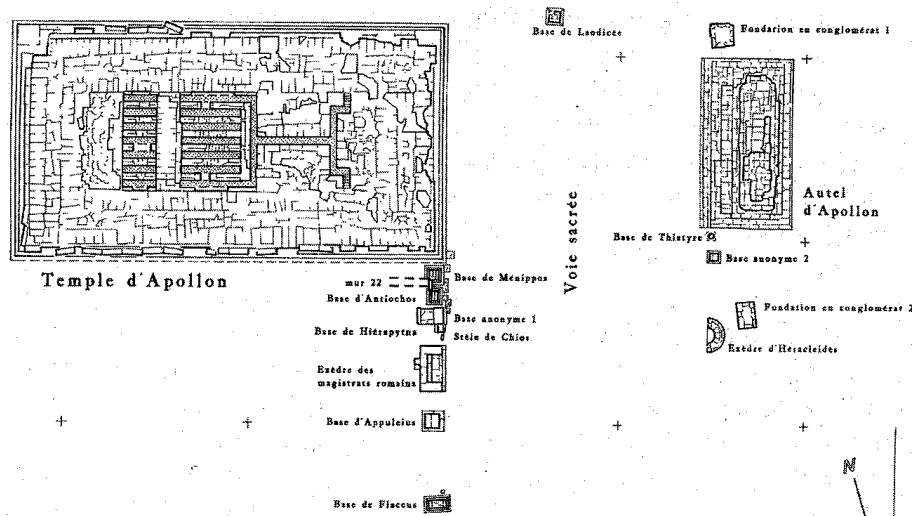


Fig. 67. Plan showing the profusion of bases for commemorative statues around the temple and altar of Apollo at Claros. After Étienne & Varène 2004: 164.



Figs. 68-70 Coin reverses showing Caracalla in the Asclepieion. From left to right, the emperor hails (68), offers incense to (69), and brings a sacrificial cow before the cult image of Asclepius. After Nollé 2003, Abb. 4, 5, 7.



Figs. 71-3 Coin reverses depicting Caracalla's gratitude for his cure. In the left and center reverses, he thanks Asclepius by making offerings to him; the god is represented by a sacred snake (71) and a stylized depiction of his temple (72). The coin on the right (73) commemorates Caracalla's grant of Neokorate status to the Temple of Asclepius. After Nollé 2003, Abb. 6, 8, 9.

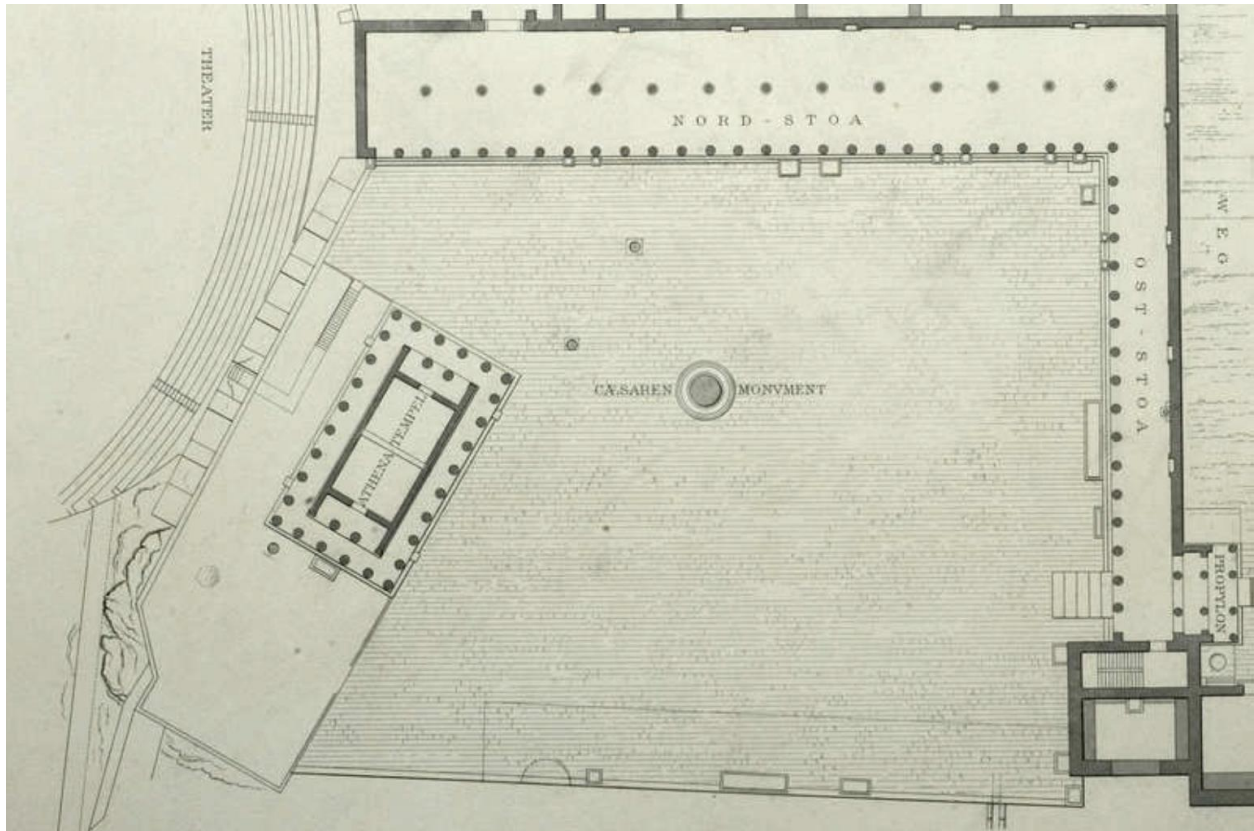


Fig. 74. Plan of the temple and precinct of Athena Polias. The large circular base in the center of the court bore a colossal statue of Augustus. The bases along the stoas supported the Attalid victory monuments and statues of Roman proconsuls. After *AvP* II.2, Taf. XL.



Fig. 75. Reconstruction of the temple and precinct of Athena Polias in the Roman period. After *AvP* II.2, Taf. XLI.

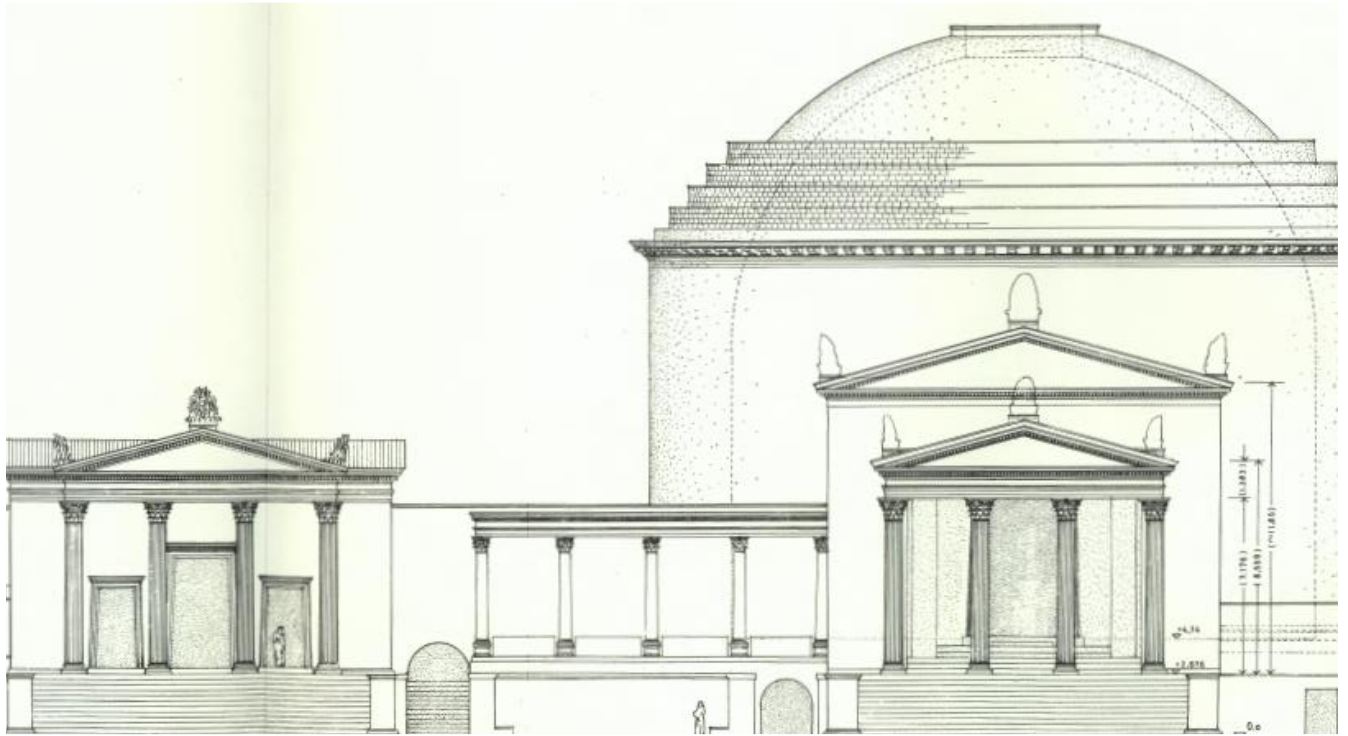


Fig. 76. Reconstruction of the east side of the Asclepieion. The propylon is on the left, the Temple of Zeus Asclepius on the right. After *AvP* XI.3, Taf. 85.

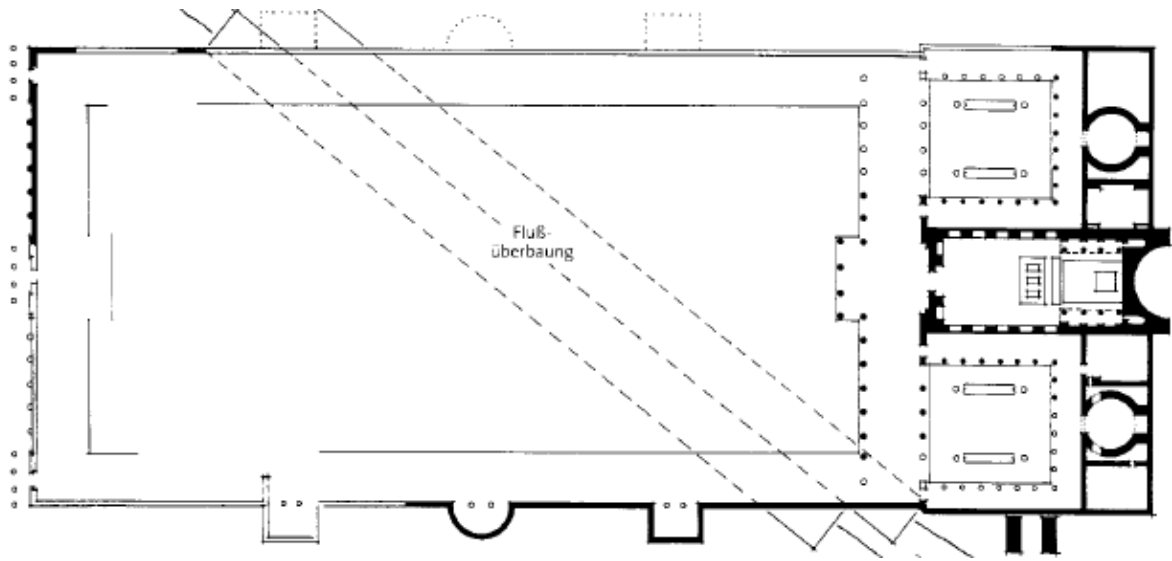


Fig. 77. Plan of the “Red Basilica.” The vast precinct seems to have taken design elements from the Imperial Fora at Rome. After Radt 1999, Abb. 144.



Fig. 78. Remains of the “Red Basilica,” showing the distinctively Italian brick construction of the walls. Author’s photo.

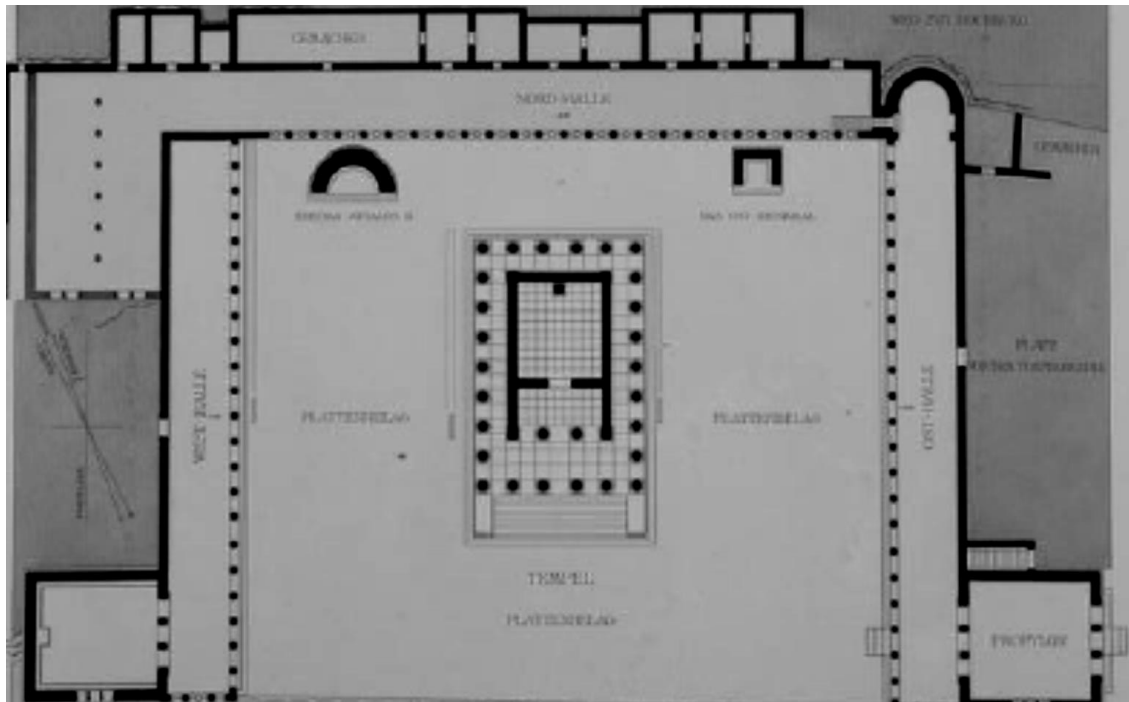


Fig. 79. Plan of the Trajaneum. The two exedras were Hellenistic structures moved to the precinct from another part of the city. After *AvP* V.2, Taf. XXXI.

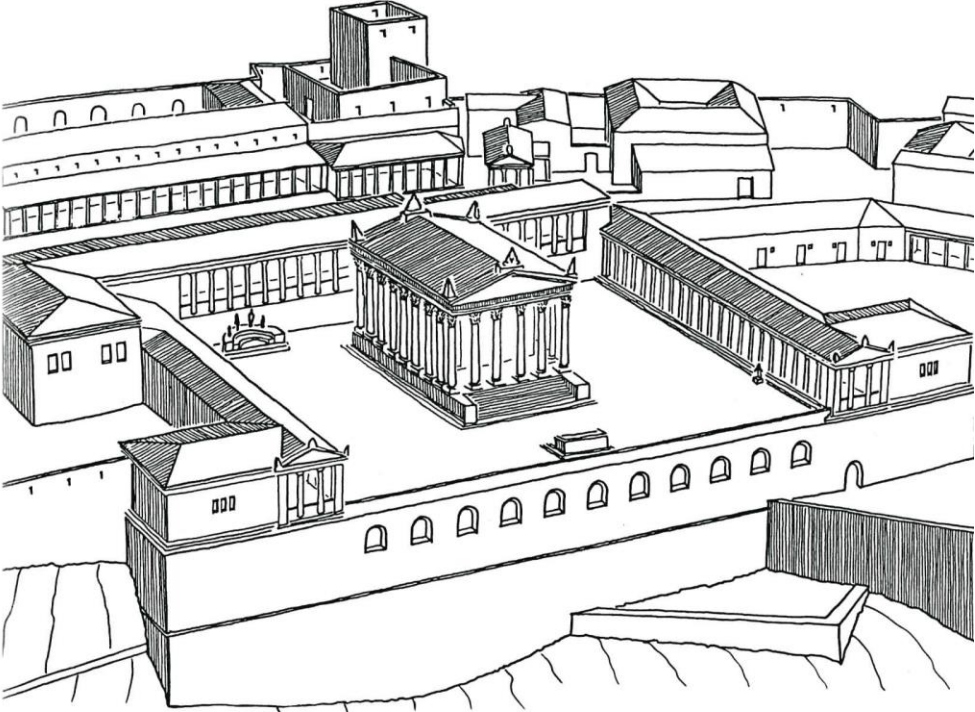


Fig. 80. Reconstruction of the Trajaneum. After Radt 1999, Abb. 157.





Figs. 81-4. Four representations of Roman officials from the Greek east. Fig. 81 (top left) is reconstruction of a statue set up for C. Billienus, proconsul of Asia around 100 BCE in the Agora of the Italians at Delos. Fig. 82 (top right) shows a first-century CE togate statue of a Roman found at Magnesia ad Meandrum; it may not represent a governor, but it is representative of the statue type most often awarded to mid-imperial proconsuls. Fig. 83 (bottom left) depicts a relief of a togate figure (presumably Memmius himself) from the Memmius Monument at Ephesus. Fig. 84 (bottom right) shows the cuirassed statue of Celsus (or, perhaps more plausibly, Aquila) from the Library of Celsus at Ephesus. After (respectively) Trümper 2014, Fig. 2; Humann 1904, Abb. 214; *FiE* VII, Abb. 90; *FiE* V.1, Abb. 101.

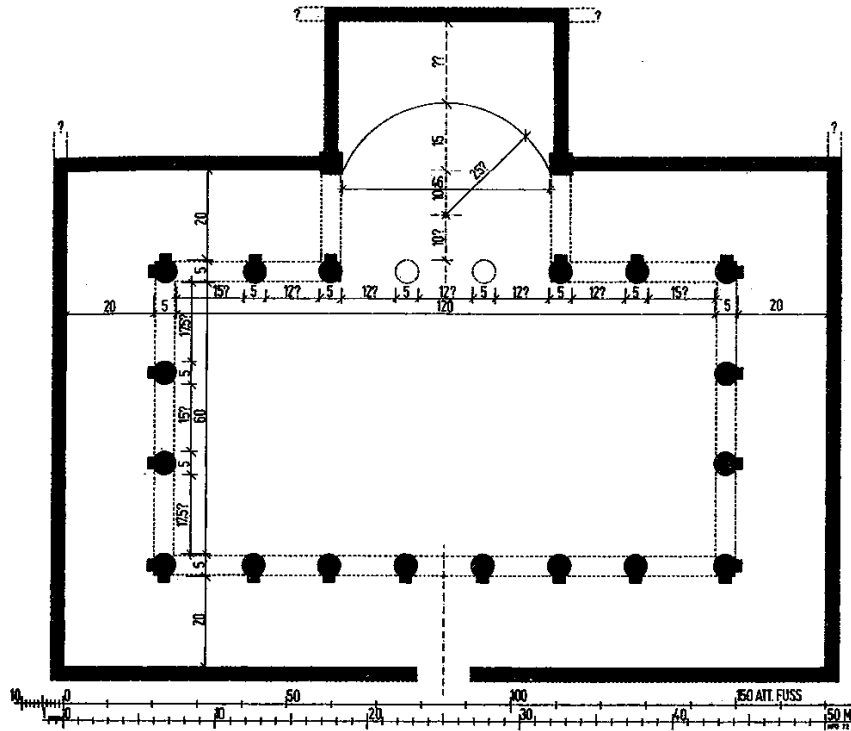


Fig. 85. Plan of Vitruvius' basilica in Fanum. The large exedra on the long wall was apparently set aside for legal business. After Saliou 2009, Fig. 17.

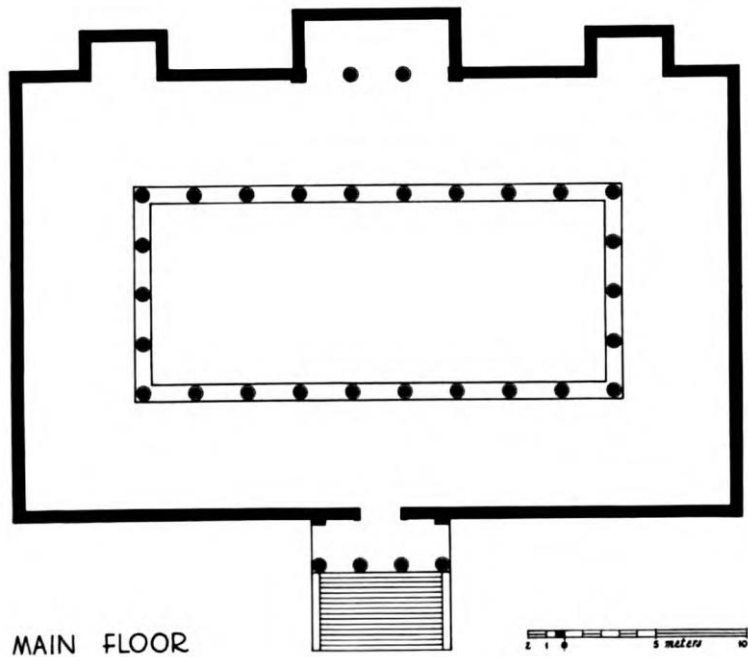


Fig. 86. Plan of the Julian Basilica at Corinth. The statues of the imperial family seem to have been concentrated around the apses in the rear wall. After *Corinth* I.5, Plan VII.



Fig. 87. Silver goblet from Roman Egypt, depicting an emperor or magistrate on a tribunal. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Acc. No. 24.971. From [www.mfa.org](http://www.mfa.org).

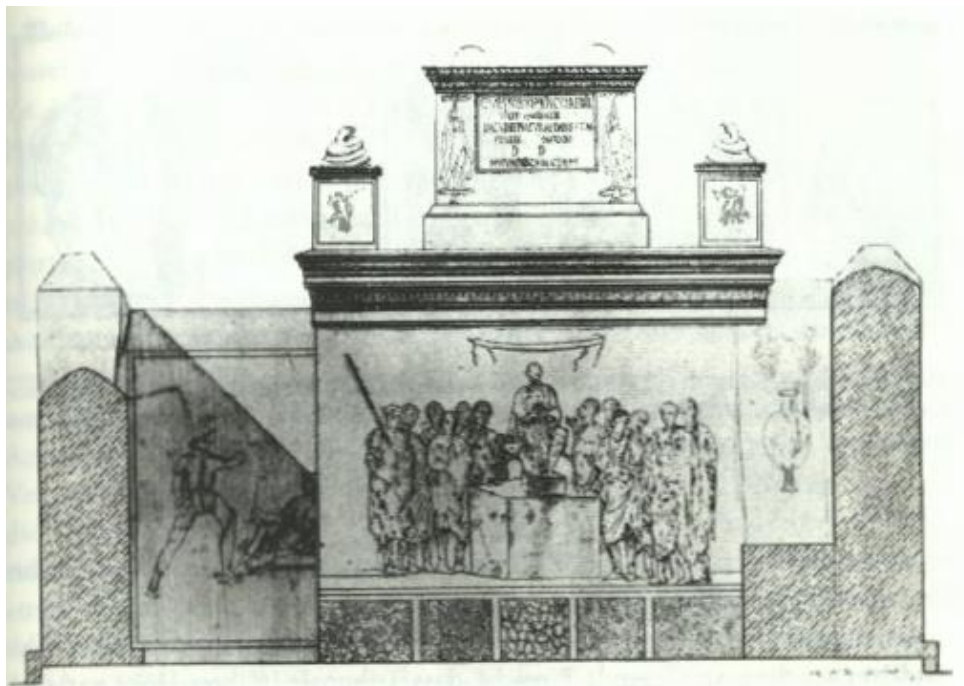


Fig. 88. Reconstruction of the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus at Pompeii, with fresco of a magistrate on his tribunal. After Färber 2014, Abb. 16.

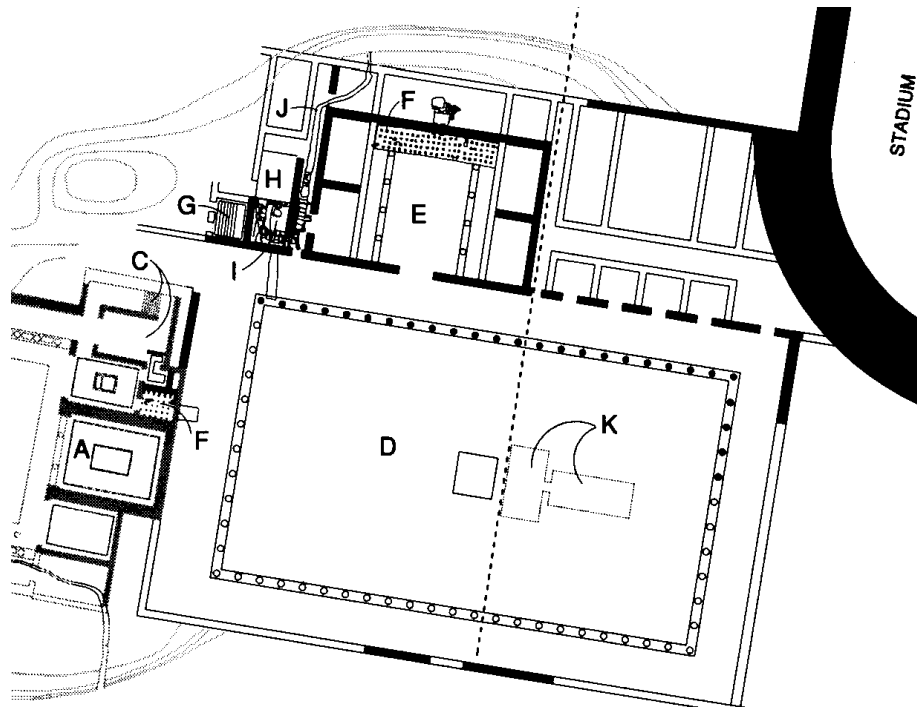


Fig. 89. Plan of the “Lower Palace” in the Praetorium of Herod at Caesarea Maritima during the early Roman period. The audience chamber is marked “E.” After Gleason 1998, Fig. 4c.

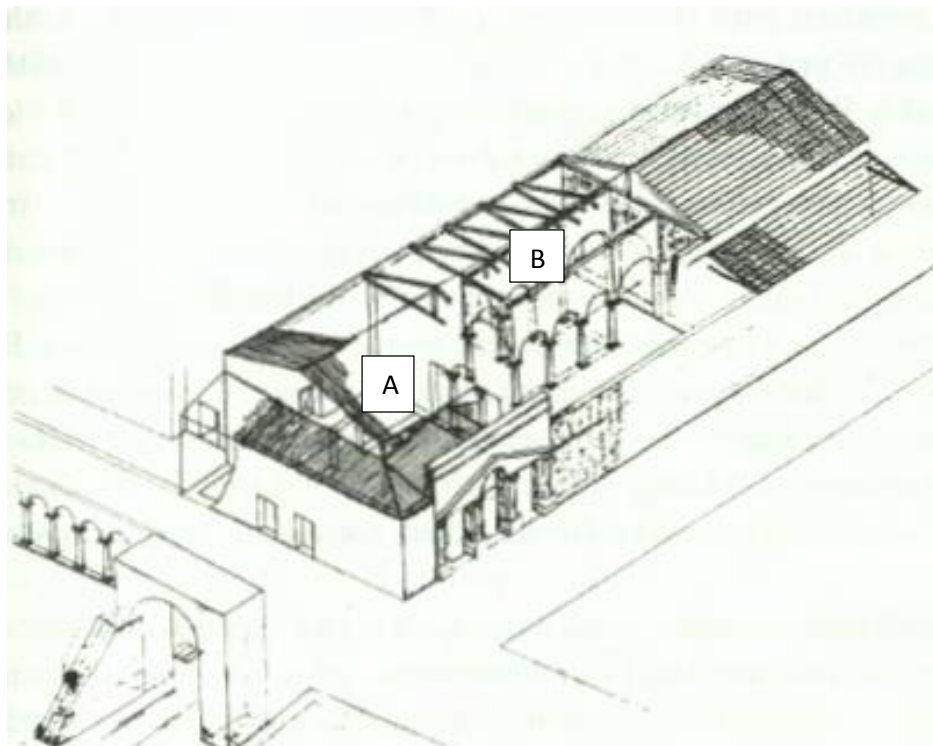
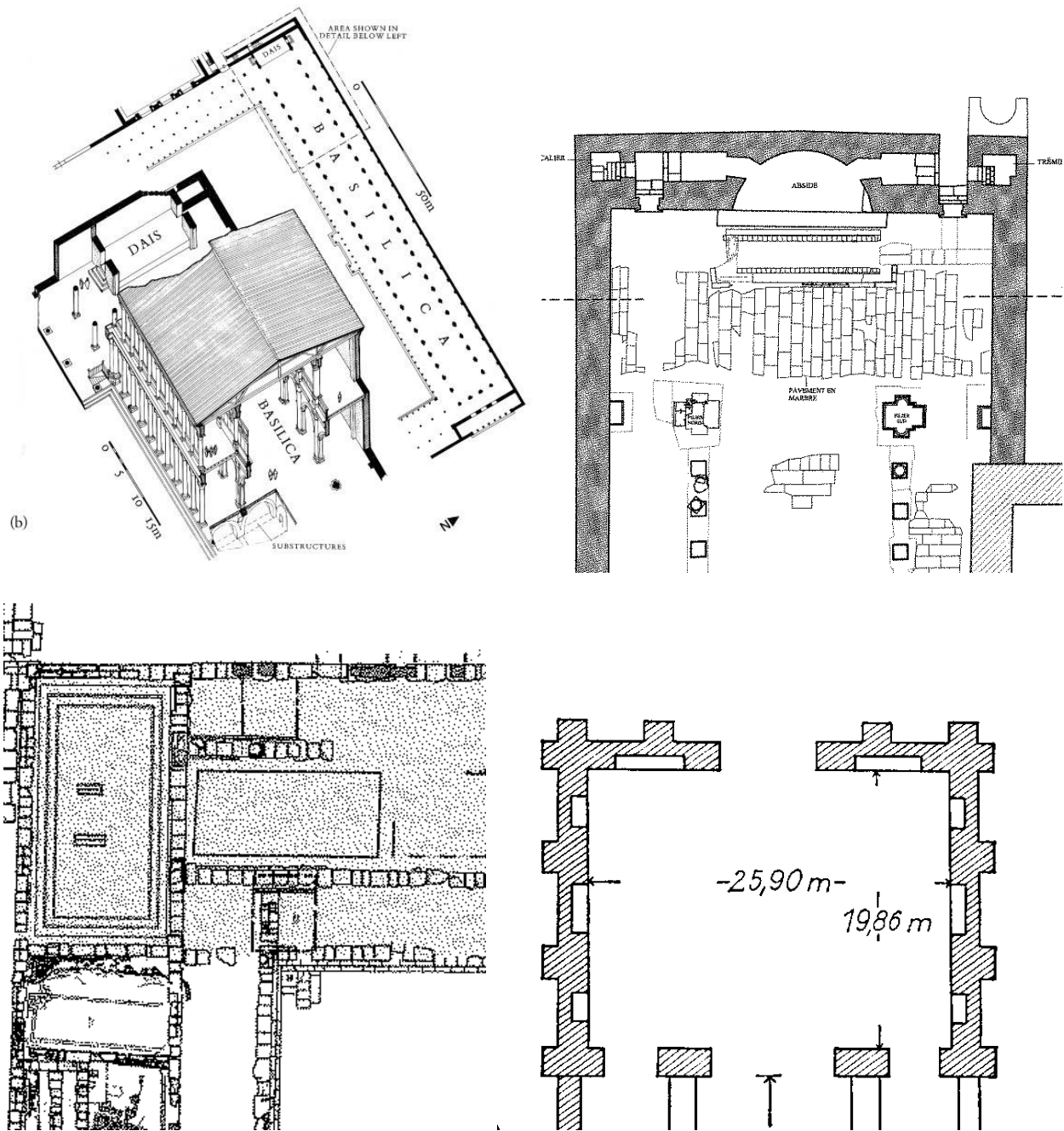


Fig. 90. Reconstruction of the fourth-century basilica in the praetorium at Gortyn. The antechamber and basilica are marked “A” and “B.” After Färber 2014, Abb. 10.



Figs. 91-4. Apses and tribunals in the basilicas of Asia Minor. Fig. 91 (top left) is a plan and partial reconstruction of the basilica at Smyrna; note the tribunal (marked “Dais”). Fig. 92 (top right) is a partial plan of the basilica at Magnesia ad Meandrum; the floor of the apse is raised for service as a tribunal. Fig. 93 (bottom left) is a partial plan of the basilica at Xanthos; the rectangular room in the upper left corner seems to have served some judicial function. Fig. 94 (bottom right) is a plan of the “vestibule” of the basilica at Aspendos. After (respectively) Ward-Perkins 1981, Fig. 186; Öztaner 2012, Fig. 2; Cavalier 2012, Fig. 2; and Lanckoronski 1890, Fig. 76.

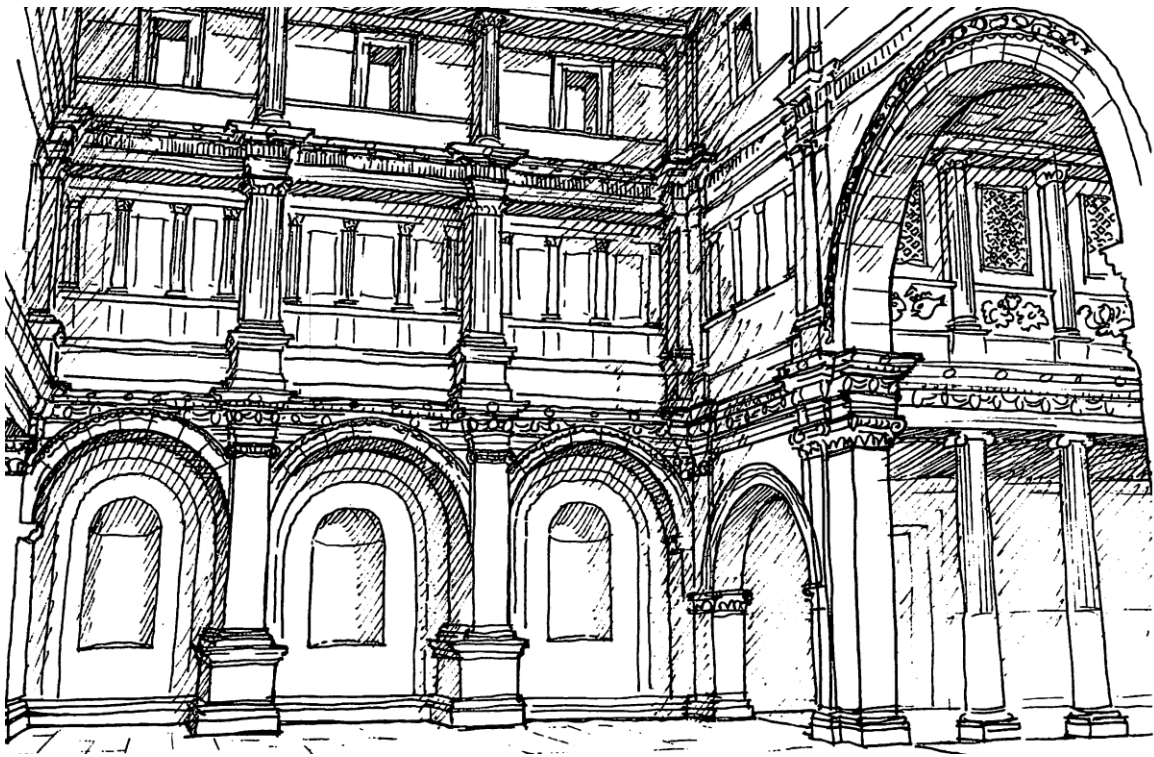


Fig. 95. Reconstruction of the South Hall of the Basilica at Aphrodisias. The niches along the first story were apparently designed for honorific statuary. We may imagine comparable architectural frames in the apses of many basilicas. After Stinson 2012, Fig. 11.

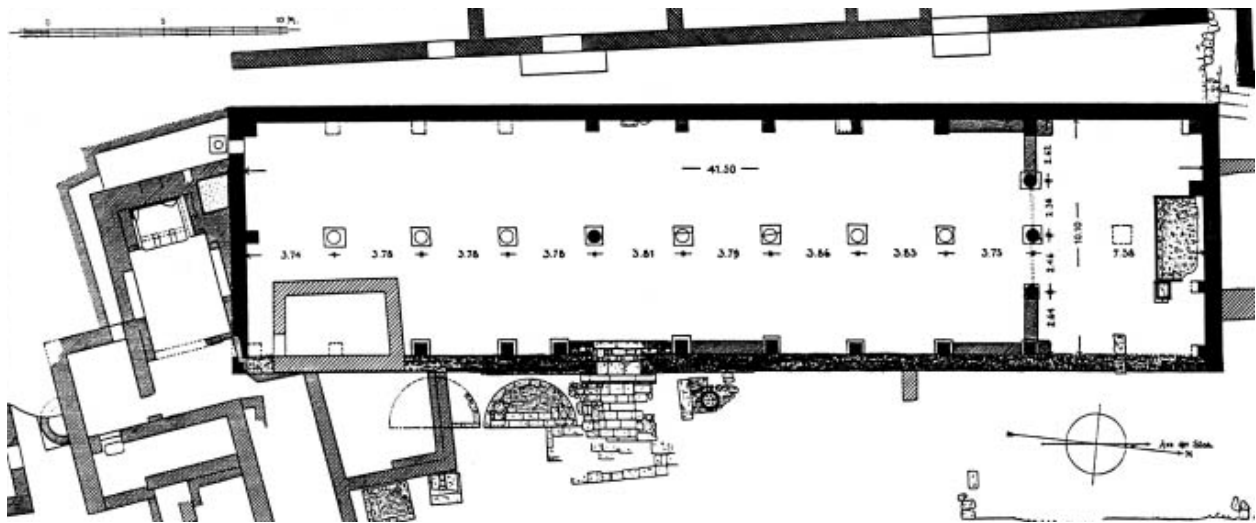


Fig. 96. Plan of the Basilica Stoa at Thera, as rebuilt in the mid-second century CE. The chamber on the right side of the building contained the statues of the imperial family and benefactors, all of which seem to have stood upon the large base against the back wall. After Thomas 2007, Fig. 124d.

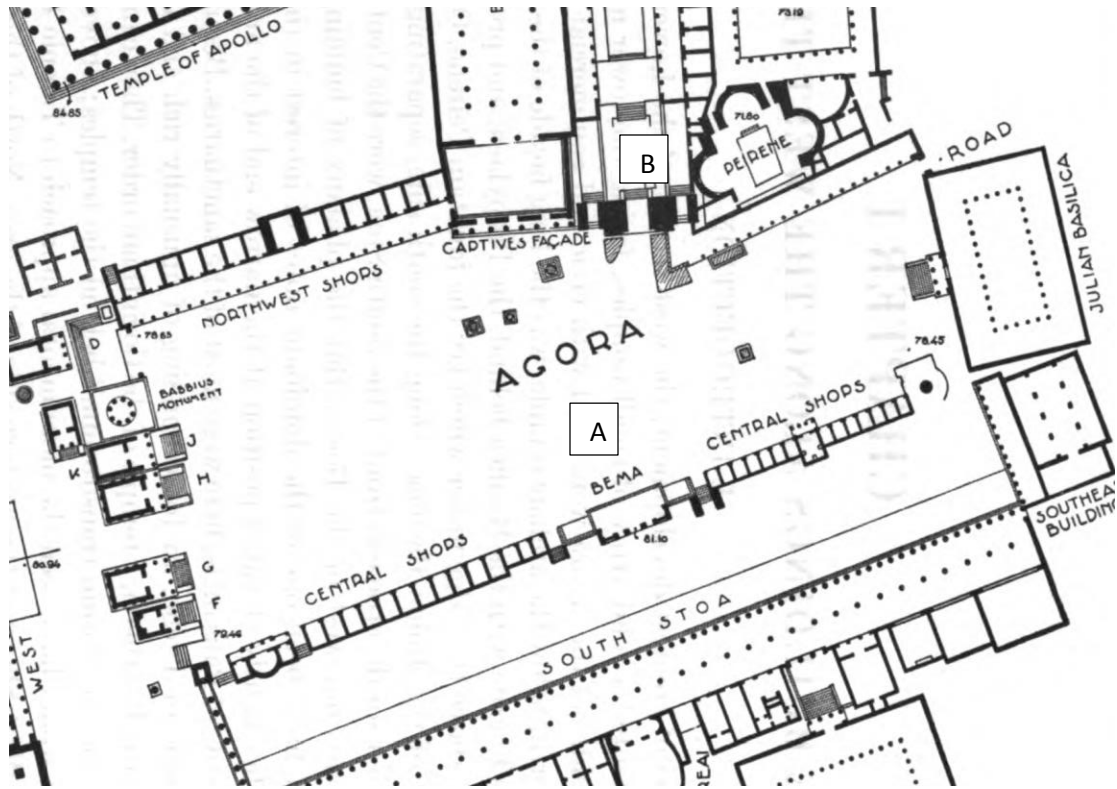


Fig. 97. Plan of the Agora of Corinth. Note the central location of the Bema (A), just opposite the propylon (B) of the road leading to the Lechaion harbor. After *Corinth* I.3, Fig. 1.

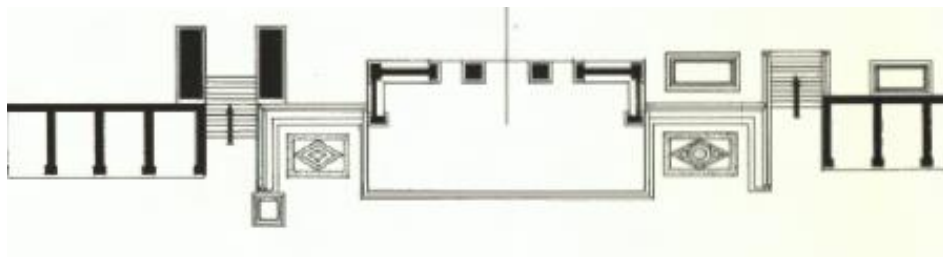
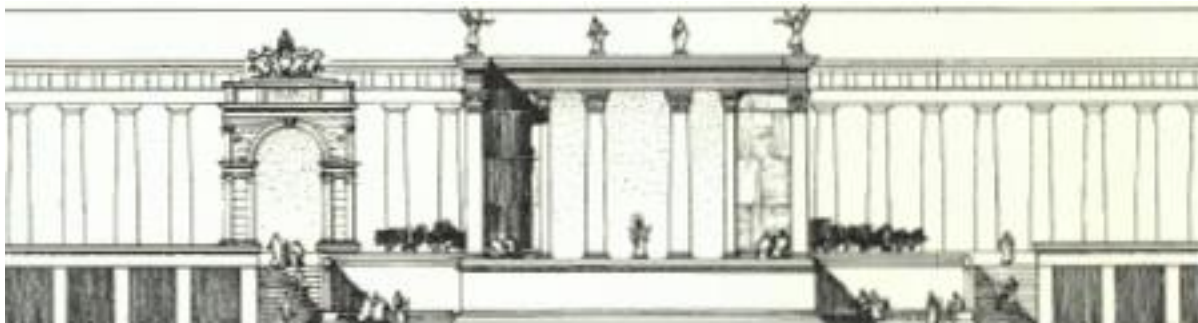


Fig. 98. Profile and plan of the bema at Corinth. After *Corinth* I.3, Plan E.

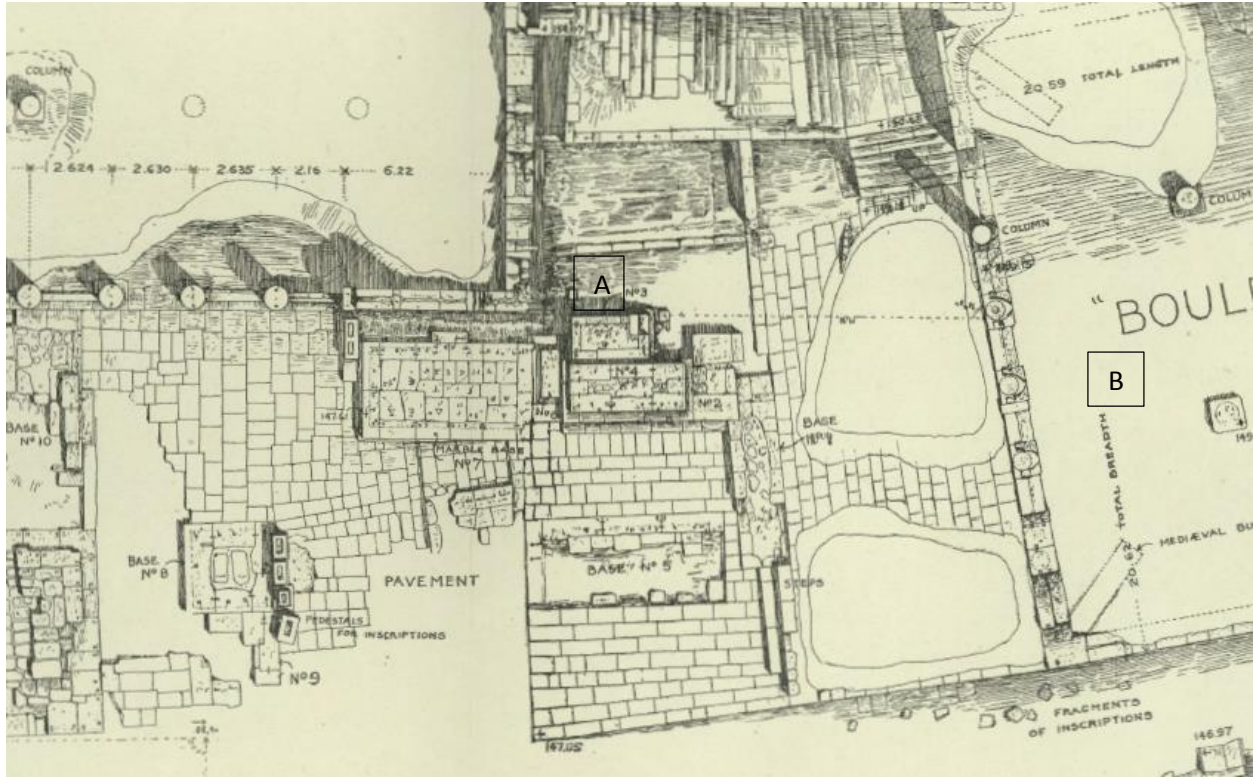


Fig. 99. Plan of the eastern end of the Agora of Assos. The Bema (A), stood amid a number of large statue bases just in front of the bouleterion (B). After Bacon 1902: 21.

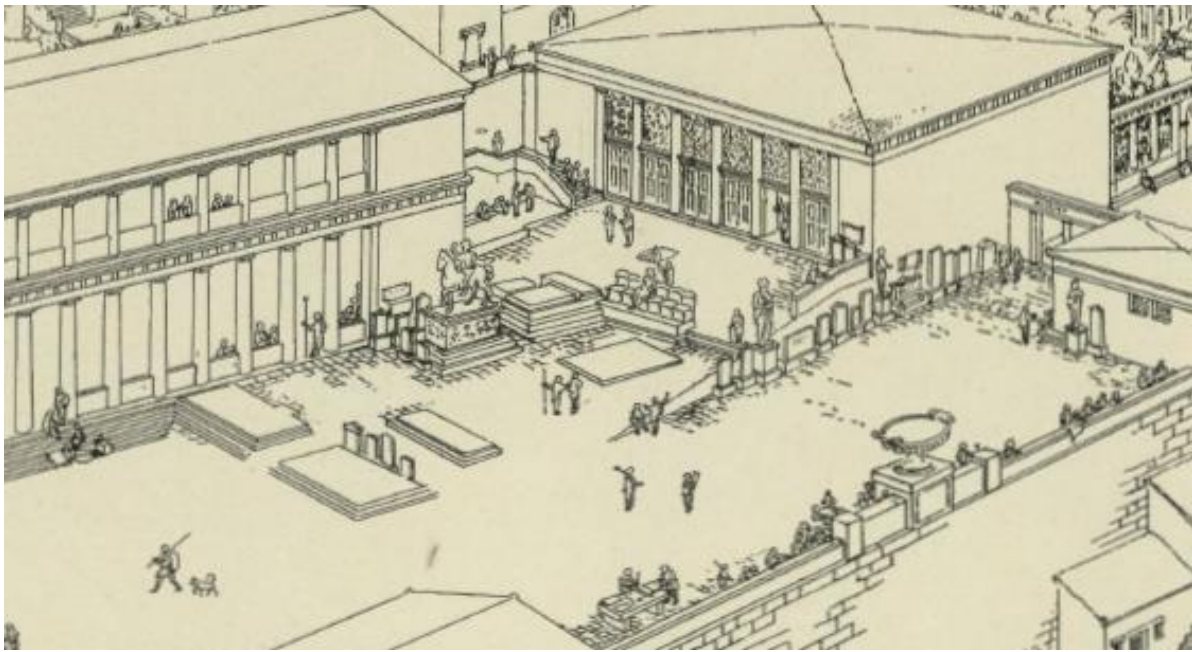


Fig. 100. Reconstruction of the eastern end of the Agora of Assos. After Bacon 1902: 27.





Fig. 101. Late antique terracotta plaque showing Jesus and his disciples at a tribunal, on the model of a governor and his advisors. After Färber 2014, Abb. 34.



Fig. 102. Reconstruction of a mural from Luxor Temple, showing Diocletian and Maximian enthroned among a crowd of soldiers and courtiers. After Deckers 1979, Abb. 34.

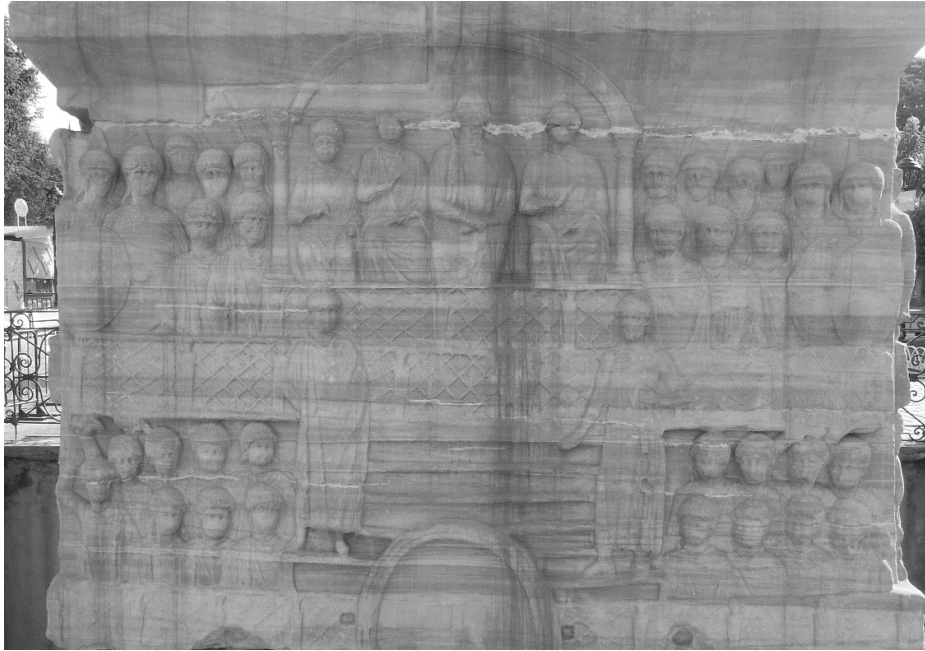


Fig. 103. South face of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople, showing the emperor and his court in an elaborate architectural setting. Author's photo.

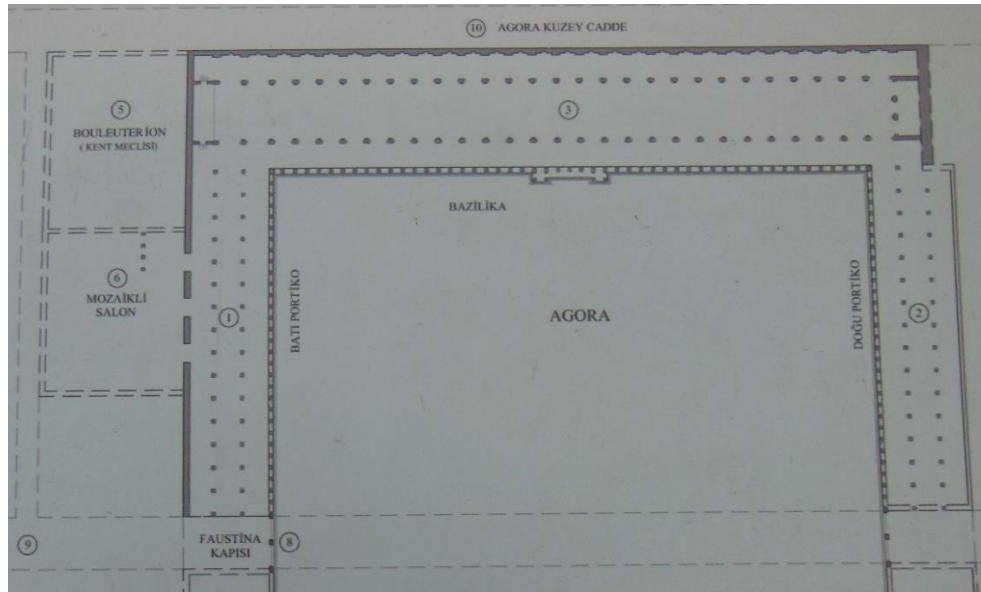


Fig. 104. Plan of the excavated (north) half of the agora of Smyrna. Pionius was presumably led in through one of the two main gates, brought before the Temple of the Nemeses (which probably stood in the unexcavated south half of the Agora), and then brought before a tribunal – either the one still extant inside the basilica, or a now-vanished platform in the agora square itself. Author's photo.

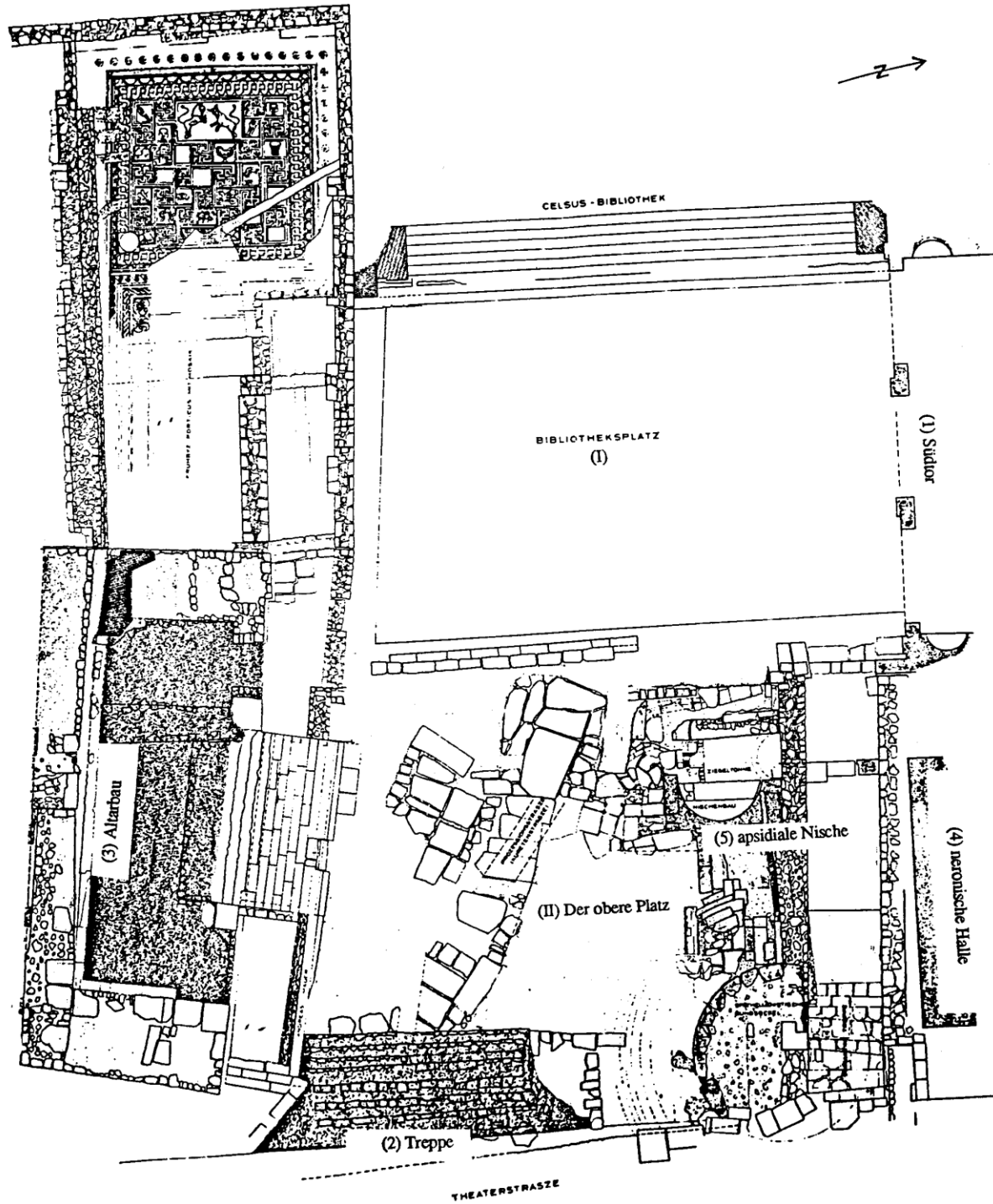


Abb. 1: Grabungsareal vor der Celsusbibliothek (sog. Auditorium)

Fig. 105. Plan of the Triodos. After Engelmann 1993, Abb. 1. The “Altar Building” (lower left) is marked (3). The Hall of Nero (lower right) is marked (4).

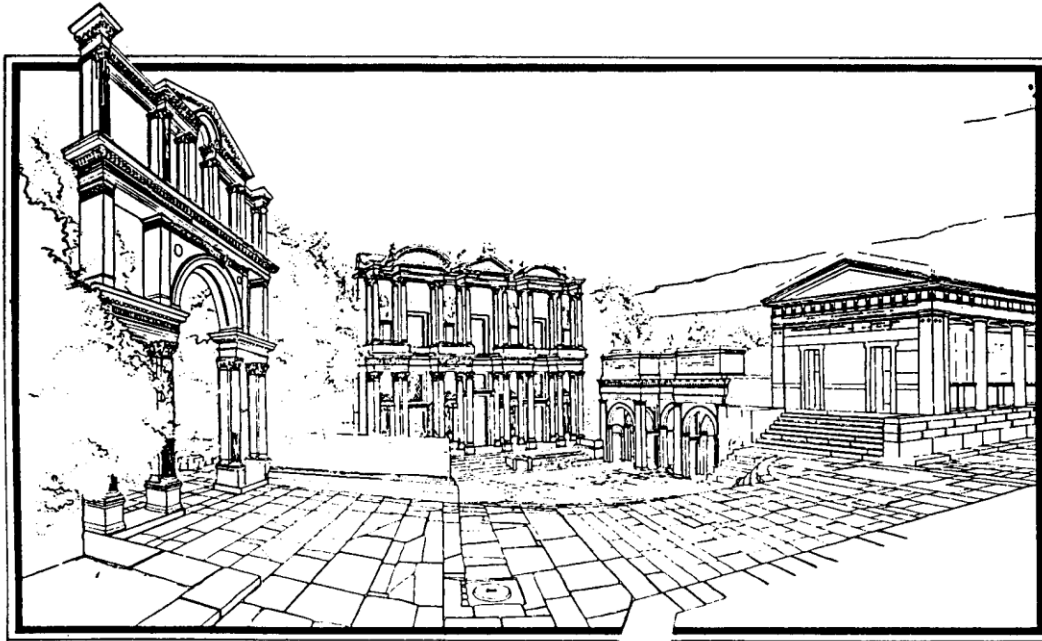


Fig. 106. Reconstruction of the Triodos from the east. From left to right, the structures depicted are the Arch of Hadrian, the Library of Celsus, the South Gate of the Agora, and the Hall of Nero. In this view, the auditorium is (unrealistically) obscured by trees. After Engelmann 1993, Abb. 2.

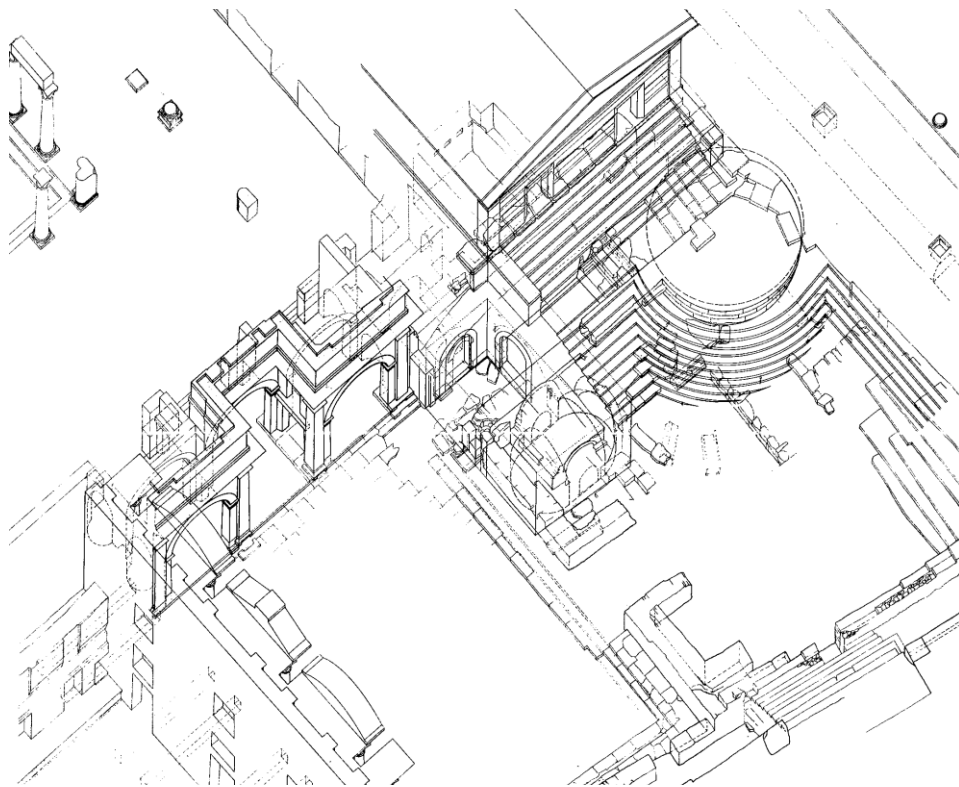


Fig. 107. Reconstruction of the Triodos from above. After Heuber 1984, Abb. 14.

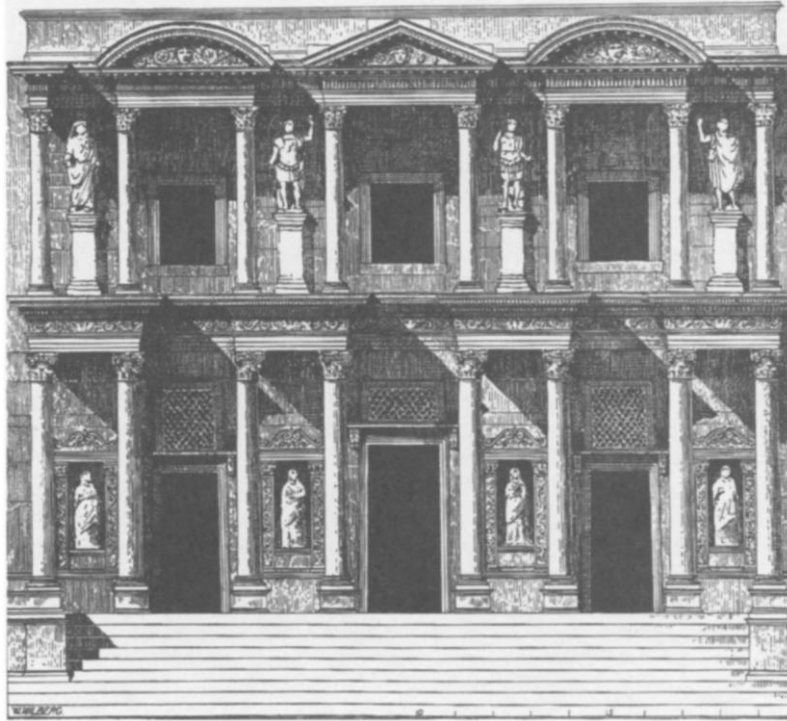


Fig. 108. Reconstruction of the façade of the Library of Celsus. The virtues of Celsus stand in the niches of the first story, representations of the man himself on the second. After *FiE* V.1, Taf. 1.



Fig. 109. Detail of pilaster framing the entrance to the Library of the Celsus, showing the border of fasces and axes. After *FiE* V.1, Abb. 18.

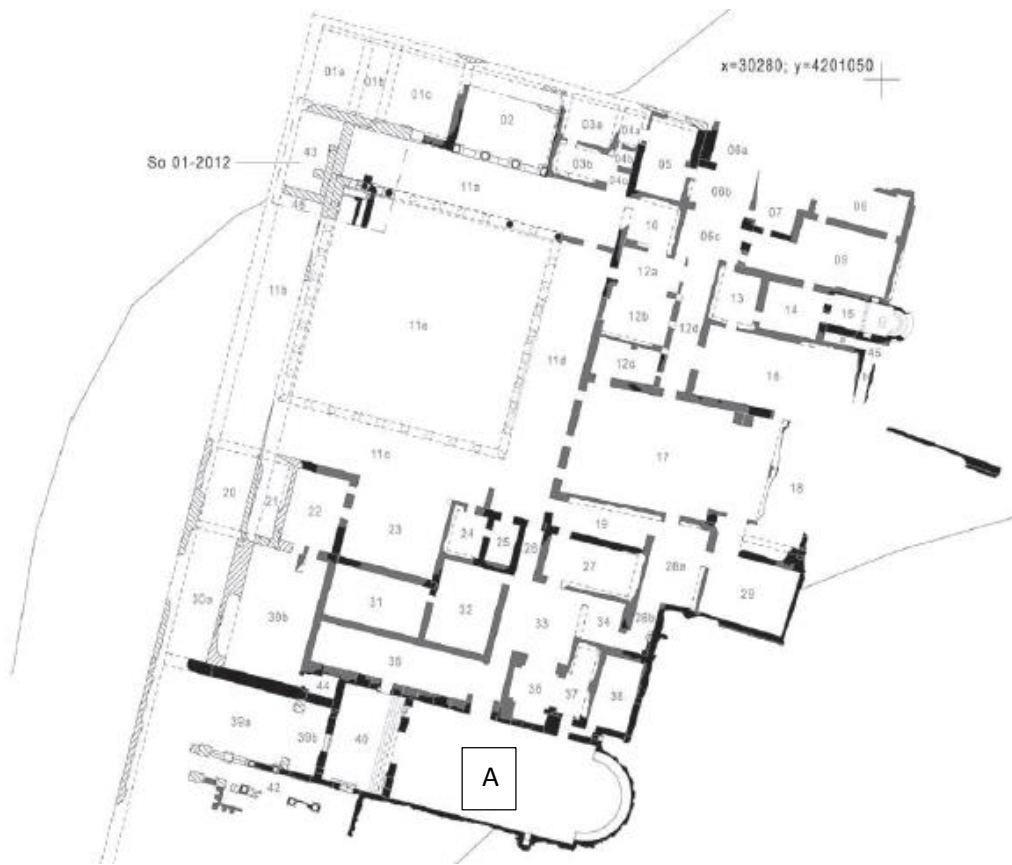


Fig. 110. Plan of the so-called palace overlooking the theater at Ephesus. The apsidal hall, plausibly identified as a reception chamber, is marked “A.” After Baier 2013, Abb. 2.

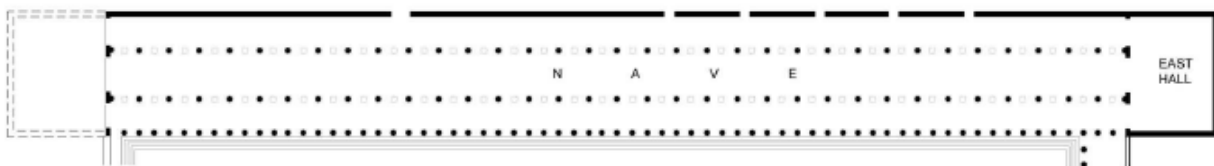


Fig. 111. Plan of the Basilica Stoa at Ephesus. The East Hall is the probable location of the colossal statues of Augustus and Livia. After Stinson 2007, Abb. 3.

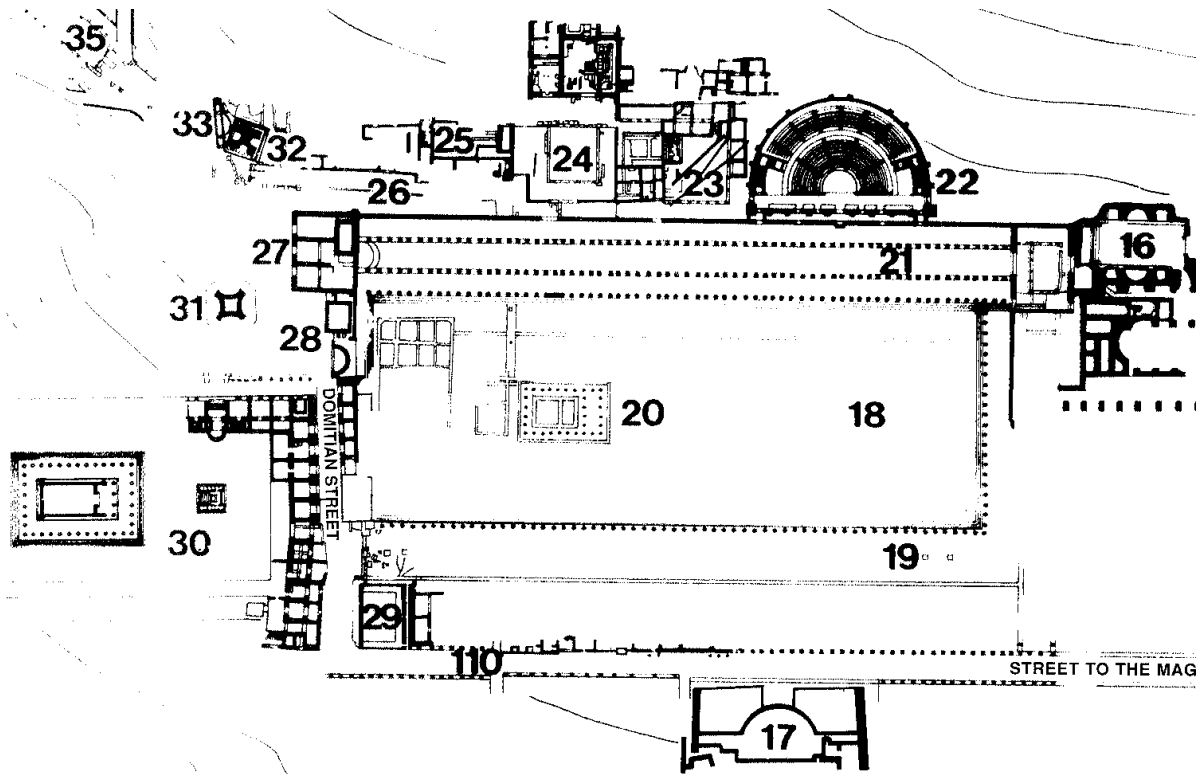


Fig. 112. Plan of the Upper Agora of Ephesus. The Basilica Stoa is no. 21; the bouleuterion, no. 22; the probable imperial temple in the plaza, no. 20; and the Temple of Domitian, no. 30. After Scherrer 1995: 75.



Fig. 113. Coin reverse from Laodicea ad Lycum, showing Caracalla on a bema in the agora. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Acc. No. 1971.45. From [www.mfa.org](http://www.mfa.org).

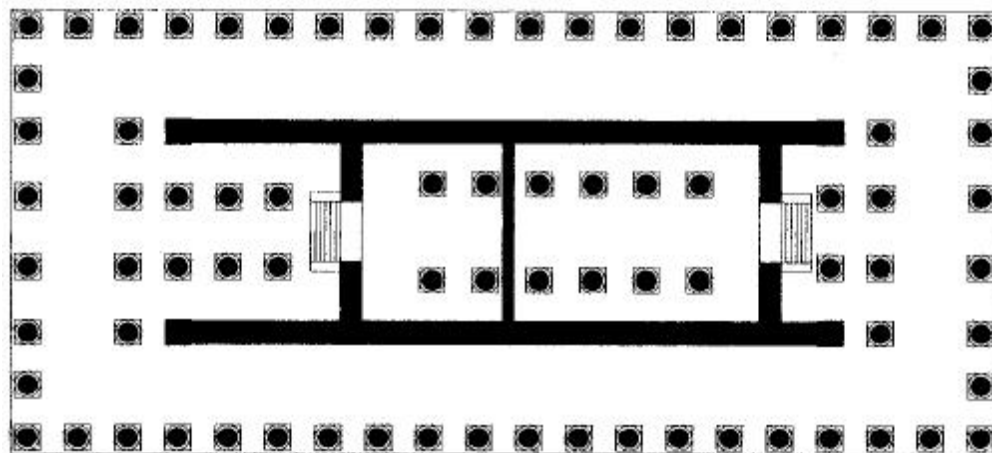


Fig. 114. Plan of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis. The cult of the emperors occupied the eastern (here, right) cella. After Burrell 2004, Fig. 9.

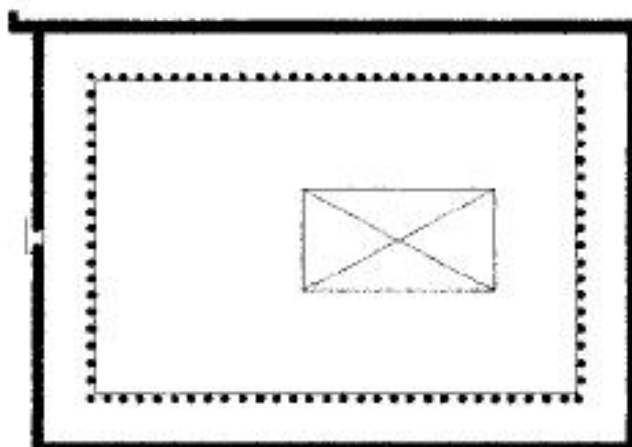


Fig. 115. Plan of the temenos and temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassus. After Burrell 2004, Fig. 20.



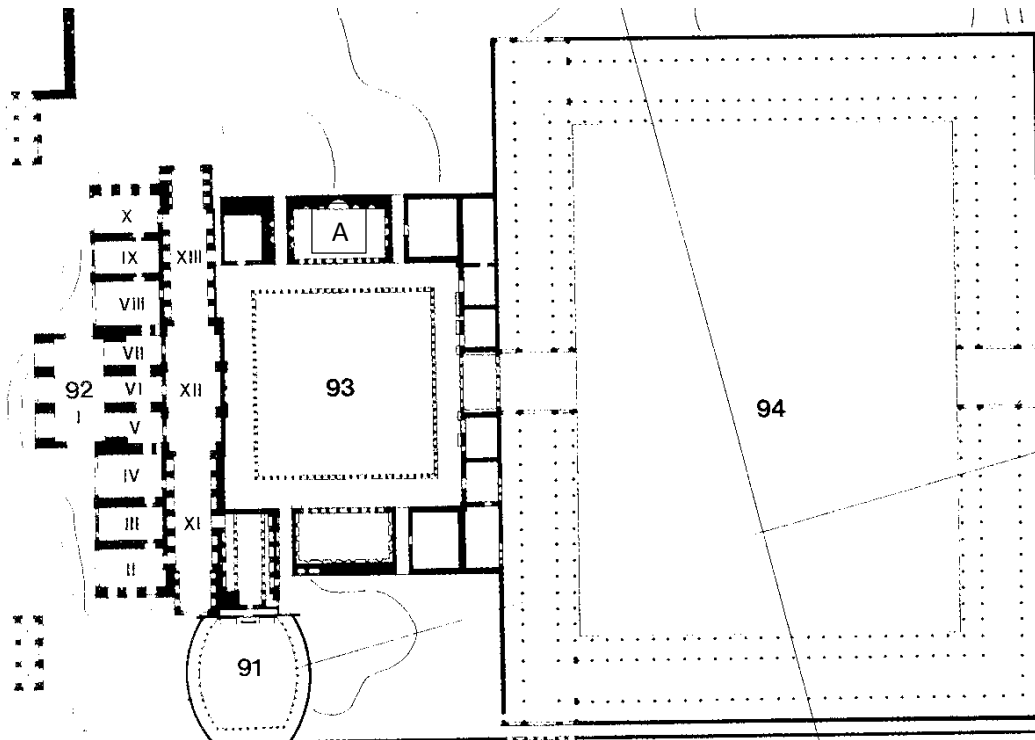


Fig. 116. Plan of Harbor Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Ephesus. Here the bath block is 92; the gymnasium, 93; the so-called “Halls of Verulanus” (a xystos, or running track), 94. The “Kaisersaal” adjoining the gymnasium is marked “A.” After Scherrer 1995: 163.

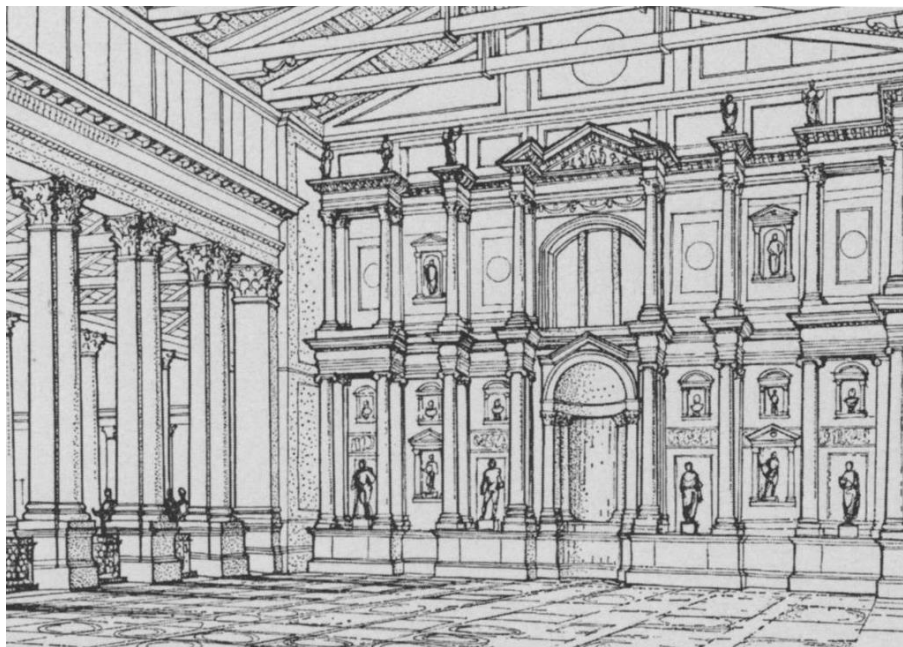


Fig. 117. Restoration of the “Kaisersaal” in the Harbor Gymnasium at Ephesus. After Ward-Perkins 1981, Fig. 191.

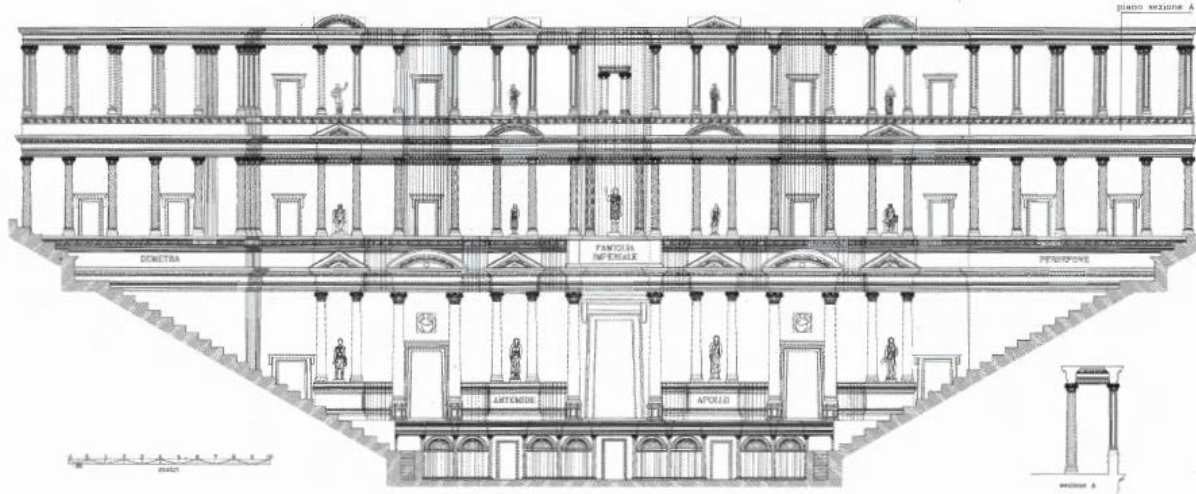


Fig. 118. Reconstruction of the scaenae frons of the theater at Hierapolis. The reliefs depicting the emperor and his family were located above the porta regia. After Di Bernardi Ferrero, Tav. XX.



Fig. 119. Section of the porta regia relief from the Hierapolis theater, showing a winged victory crowning Septimius Severus. Author's photo.



Fig. 120. The seat of honor in the theater of Aphrodisias. The seat stood on the raised platform visible in the center of the cavea. Author's photo.



Fig. 121. The seats of honor in the theater of Miletus. The columns in the center sustained a canopy over the section reserved for dignitaries. Author's photo.

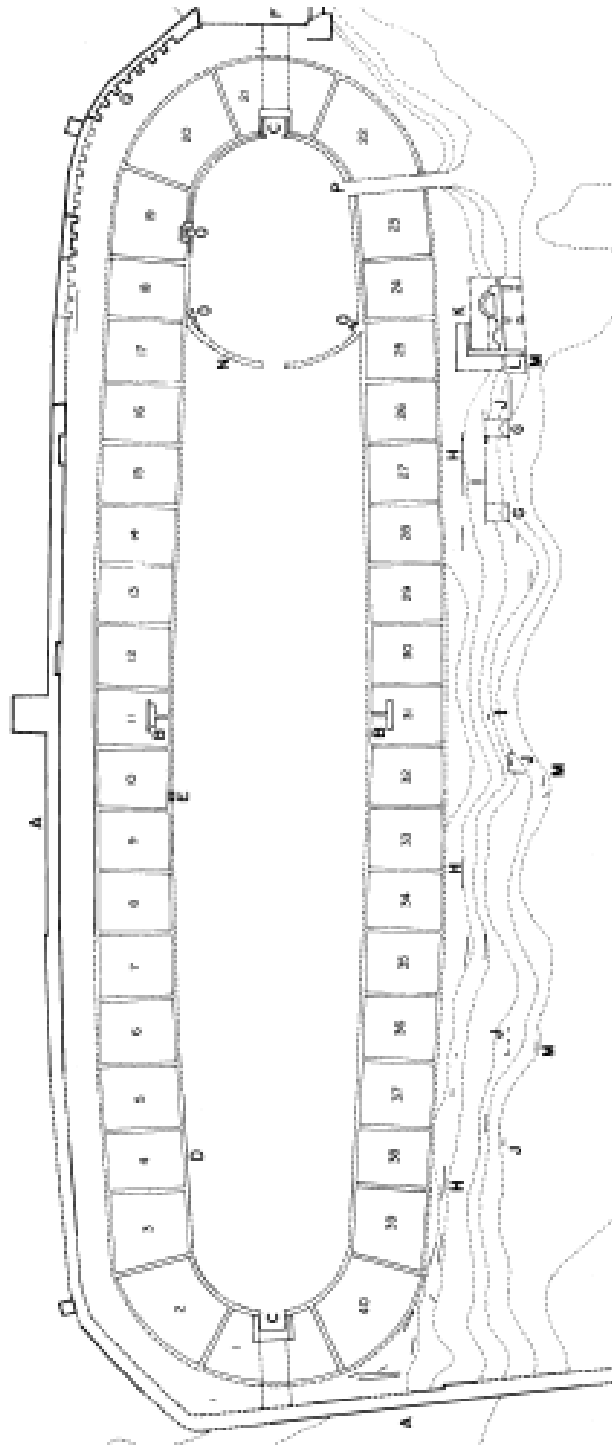


Fig. 122. Plan of the stadium at Aphrodisias. Note the tribunal seats at the midpoints of both long sides. After Welch 1998, Fig. 2.

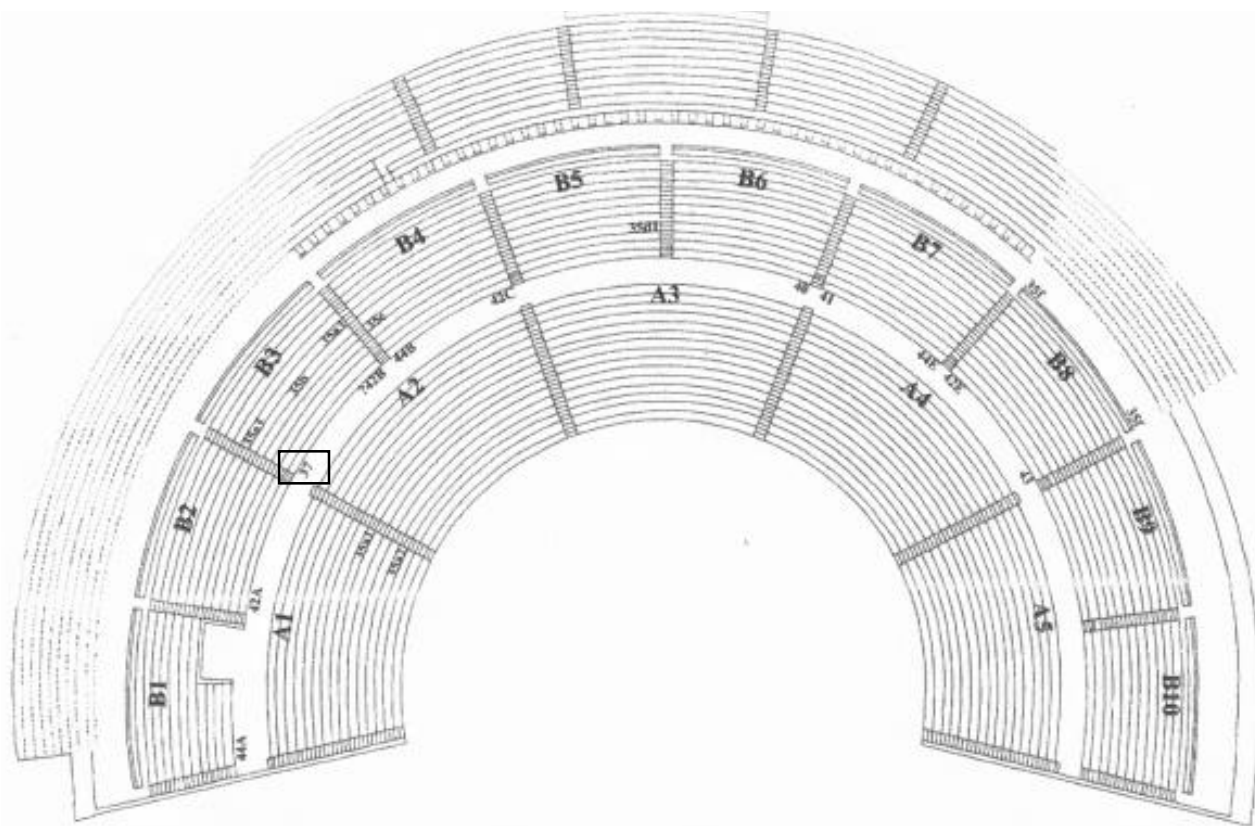


Fig. 123. Plan of the theater at Cibyra. The proconsul's statue (no. 37) is outlined. The small numbers along the first diazoma and in the cunei above indicate the locations of other honorific sculptures. After *IvKibyra*, Plan 3.

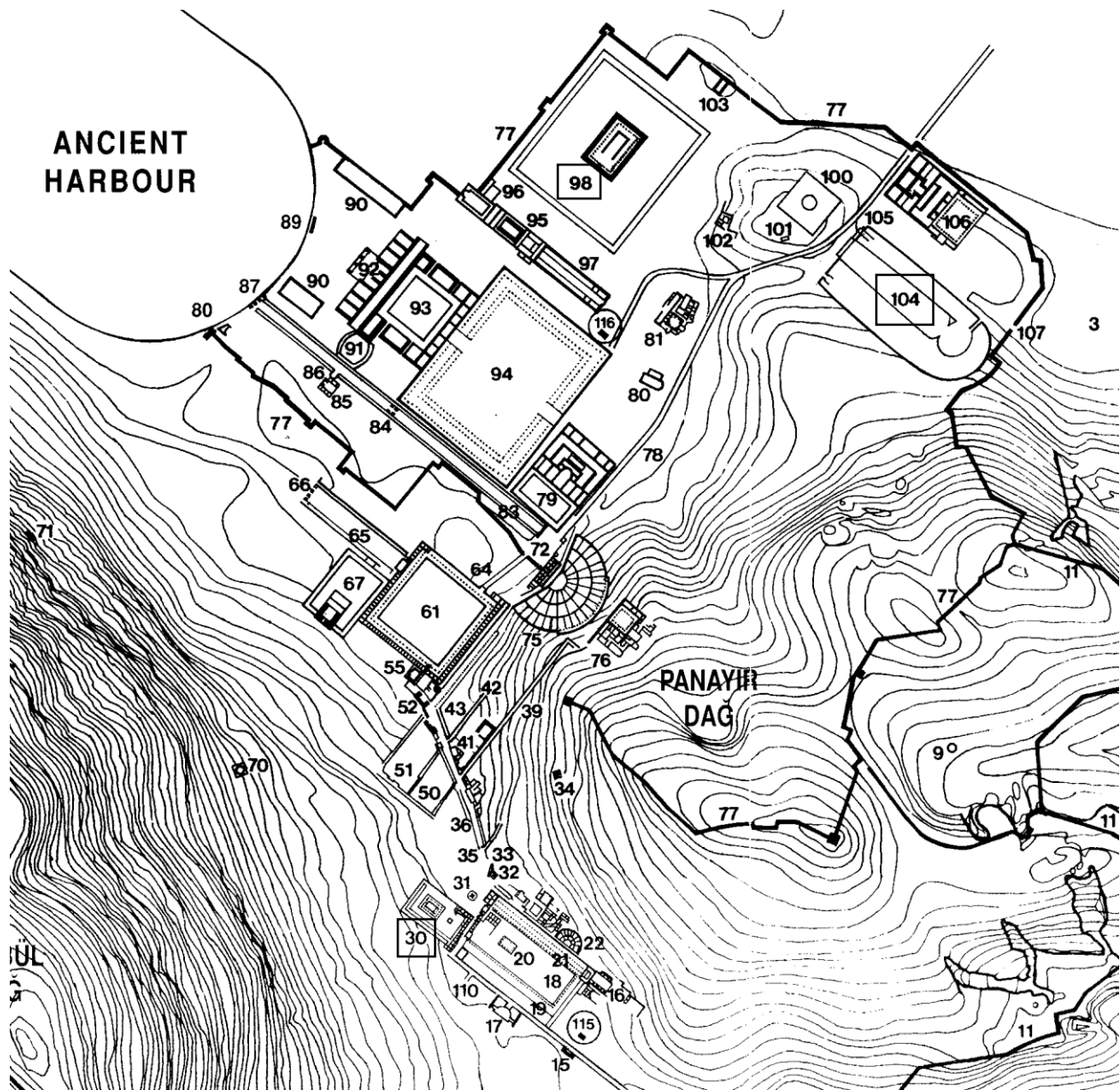


Fig. 124. Possible route of the *Koina Asias* procession. Beginning in the stadium (104), the conjectural route would proceed to the Olympeion (98), pass on the north side of the Harbor Baths, continue up the Arcadiane (83) and Embolos to the Temple of Domitian (30), and finish at the Artemision (not pictured.) After Scherrer 1995: 251.

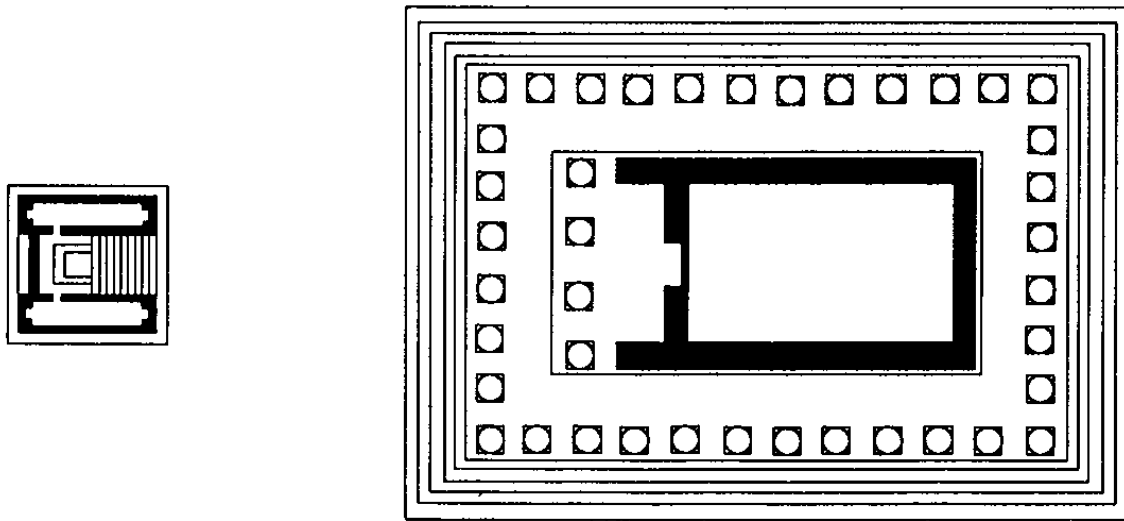


Fig. 125. Plan of the temple and altar of Domitian at Ephesus. After Friesen 1993, Fig. 4.



Fig. 126. Reconstruction of the colossal statue of Titus in the precinct of the Temple of Domitian. After Burrell 2004, Fig. 27.

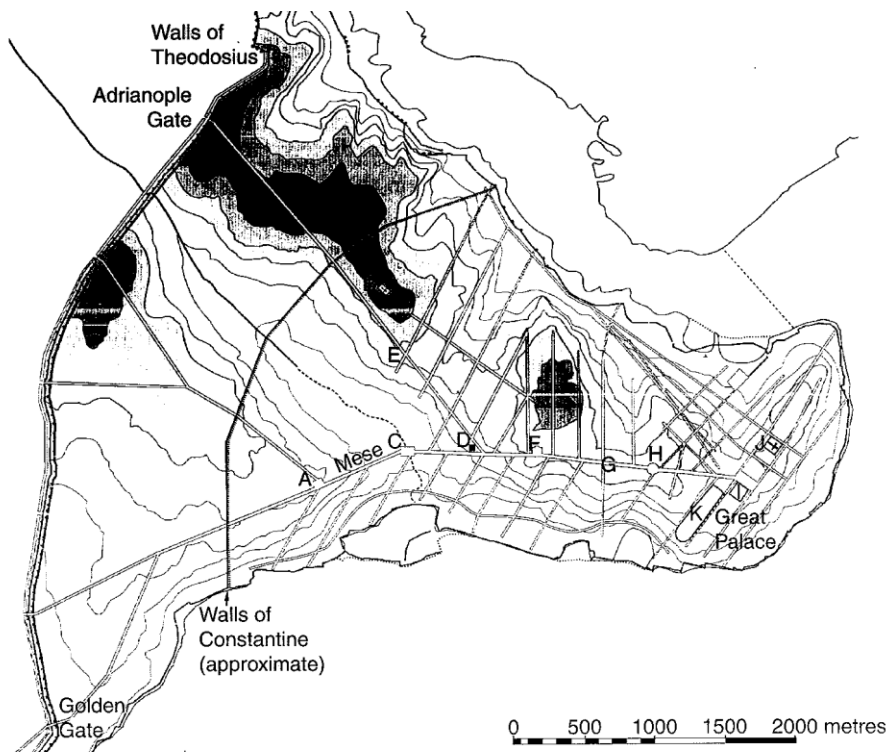


Fig. 127. Plan of Constantinople in the sixth century, showing the string of agoras (A, C, F, H) along the *Mese*, the colonnaded main avenue. After Dey 2015, Fig. 3.3.

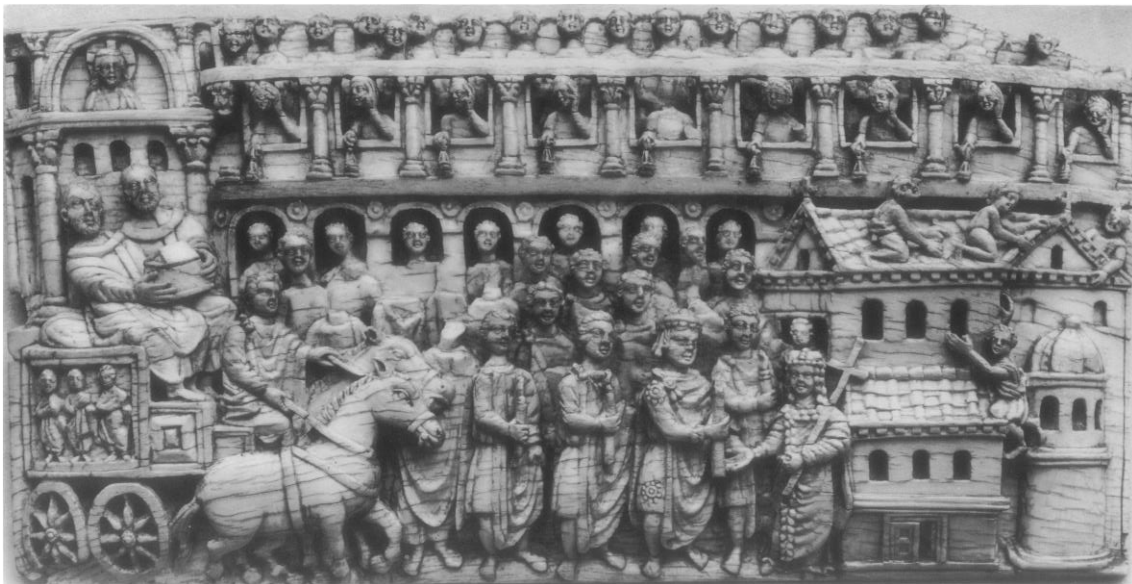


Fig. 128. The Trier Ivory, a panel from a late antique reliquary showing the relics of St. Stephen being brought along the *Mese* in Constantinople. After Holum & Vikan 1979, Fig. 1.



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