

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 11, 1996

1996

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H O L Z H A U S E N

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Tafeln 1–10

R . A . KEARSLEY

The Asiarchs of Cibyra Again

The Roman Presence in Southern Asia Minor 1st cent. B.C. –
1st cent. A.D. and its Impact on the Epigraphic Record*

The importance of military activity in Asia Minor in relation to Roman politics during the civil war period and the early Principate is clear in Greek and Roman literary sources, but the effect of it on local populations usually occasions little more than a passing comment¹. Only by piecing together scattered details from epigraphic evidence is it possible to surmise the effect on the local inhabitants of the Romans' use of Asia Minor as an extensive recruiting ground; as a corridor for armies moving eastwards, and back again; as the location, in the longer term, for forces whose task it was to subdue the rugged mountain areas of the south; or as a source of land for veterans².

*I have benefited greatly from advice by B. Levick, J. Lea Beness, E. A. Judge, A. Nobbs and P. R. C. Weaver during the preparation of this article and acknowledge their assistance with thanks. Nevertheless, responsibility for the final form of the text must be mine alone.

Abbreviations:

- Balland, *Xanthos* = A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII. Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létoon*, 1981.
Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* = S. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros, Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, 1993.
Halfmann, *Senatoren* = H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, 1979.
Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* = B. Holtheide, *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia*, 1983.
IPergamon = C. Habicht, M. Wörrle, *Die Altertümer von Pergamon VIII, 3: Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, 1969.
Keppie, *Colonisation* = L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 B.C.*, 1983.
Levick, *Roman Colonies* = B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, 1967.
Magie = D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor I–II*, 1950.
Mitchell, *Anatolia*: Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor I–II*, 1993.
MRR = T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic I–III*, 1951–52, 1986.
Rives, *Carthage* = J. B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*, 1995.

¹See, e.g. App., *B.C.* V 75; Dio XLVII 32.4–34.6, XIL 31.3–4; Velleius II 51.1, 69.1–6; Plut., *Ant.*, 24.

²For the importance of the army in the Romanisation of the East: J. F. Gilliam, *The Role of the Army*, *BASP* 2 (1965) 67–73; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 118–142. Mitchell's *Anatolia* in two volumes, 1993, and Levick's, *Roman Colonies*, 1967, are fundamental studies

An Ephesian inscription, long known in Greek and recently identified in a Latin version, provides a fair example of the type of evidence which may emerge from time to time³:

1	Q. Pinari[us L. f.]	1	Κοῖντος Πινάριος
2	Aem. trib. mil. [leg. VI]	2	Λευκίου υἱὸς Αἰμιλία
3	Macedoni[cae sibi]	3	χιλίαρχος λεγιῶνος
4	et Pinariae [Doxae]	4	ἔκτης Μακεδονικῆς
5	uxori suae.	5	ἑαυτῶι καὶ Πειναρί-
		6	α Δόξει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
		7	γυναικί.

„Quintus Pinarius, son of Lucius, Aemilia (tribe), tribune of *legio VI Macedonica* (erected this) for himself and for Pinaria Doxa his wife“.

This brief text bears upon the issues of nomenclature, manumission, intermarriage and language-choice, all of which have wide-ranging importance for the social and economic history of Asia Minor⁴. Yet it is the military background of the man erecting the inscription which is most striking initially.

The second half of the 1st cent. B.C.–early 1st cent. A.D. was a time of especially intense Roman military activity due to the series of Roman leaders who sought to raise armies and money from among the local inhabitants. In the years immediately following the wars, southern Asia Minor, in particular, experienced an even more intense and long-term Roman military presence⁵. Yet, paradoxically, the civil wars

for the Romanisation of southern Asia Minor. A perspective from outside Asia Minor but with many instructive parallels nevertheless, is provided by Keppie's *Colonisation and Rives, Carthage*.

³*IEph 705A*; ed. pr. A. von Domaszewski, *ÖJh* 2 (1899) Beibl. 82–83 with photograph of a squeeze — Greek version; C. İçten, H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 91 (1992) 289, no. 14 and pl. 12 — Latin version. The physical relationship of the two marble blocks bearing the text is uncertain. Neither was found *in situ* and, although the block bearing the Latin is described as being the left side of a block, there is a 5 cm difference in the height of the blocks which suggests that the two were not juxtaposed originally. There are also differences in the setting out of the text and the size and style of the lettering which militate against their forming a visual pair on the monument. It is true, however, that both versions include some tall letters, either initially or in the middle of a word, e.g. *ll.* 2, 4 - I (Latin); *l.* 1 - K, T (Greek), with the initial letters of each of the next four lines less emphatically tall.

⁴A coherent study of all Latin and Greek bilingual inscriptions as evidence for Romanisation in Asia Minor will complement detailed individual study, cf. R. A. Kearsley, in: *Proc. Int. Symposium, 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos*, Vienna 13–18. Nov. 1995, forthcoming.

⁵By this is included Lycia, Pamphylia, the Cibyratis, Milyas, Pisidia, and the western part of Cilicia. Roman provincial boundaries in this area were altered from time to time during the late 1st cent. B.C. and early 1st cent. A.D. (Mitchell, *Anatolia* 5) but it may be described roughly as the area covered by the kingdom of the Galatian king Amyntas as defined by Antonius and annexed to the Roman empire by Augustus as the province of Galatia (Levick, *Roman Colonies* 29–32). Included also are Lycia and the city of Cibyra, which from 84 B.C. lay just within the border of Asia but was geographically, economi-

(43–31 B.C.) and their aftermath, represented by the early Augustan period, are frequently passed over as unimportant in studies of Asia Minor because of their transitional character⁶. The purpose of this article is to show how an appreciation of this background is necessary for interpreting epigraphic evidence from the region⁷.

Roman Legions and other troops

Although the origin of the *legio* VI in which Pinarius of Ephesos served is unclear, the Legion is thought to be among those which stayed with Antonius after the battle of Philippi⁸. Pinarius may have been from Ephesos since his epitaph was erected there by his wife. The many other men of certain Eastern origin who appear as Roman soldiers or veterans in other inscriptions have both assisted in identifying other Legions which served with Antonius between 42–31 B.C.⁹, and at the same time revealed the impact of his presence in the East¹⁰. The existence of Roman recruiting in southern Asia Minor may be traced back beyond the triumviral and the Augustan periods in the literary sources. For example, in 51 B.C. when a Parthian invasion was imminent, Cicero not only recalled to service discharged veterans among the Roman settlers in his *provincia*, he enrolled civilians as well¹¹. Local recruiting in Asia Minor is also recorded in 43 under Dolabella and, soon afterwards, under the assassins of Caesar¹². During 43–42 under Brutus and Cassius, and again in the build-up for the battle between Antonius and Octavian in 31 large-scale recruitment took place in Asia Minor¹³. In the need for increased manpower, the legal requirement that only citizens serve in the Roman army was ignored and citizenship, together with

cally and ethnically linked with the districts to the south and east (Magie, 241; Halfmann, *Senatoren* 59; Balland, *Xanthos* 232).

⁶Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 32.

⁷In his study of Roman officials and Roman citizenship, O. Salomies (in: *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte, Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie*, ed. W. Eck, 1993, 126) excludes from consideration soldiers and Italian colonists and their descendants. However, apart from the difficulty of making a clear identification of such people, the soldiers and colonists of the civil wars and early imperial period and their descendants became an essential element in the composition of the elite in the Greek cities and hence cannot be ignored even when considering evidence from the more settled times of the principate.

⁸It is uncertain whether or not VI *Macedonica* is the same as VI *Ferrata*. The earliest evidence for use of the title *Ferrata* appears soon after 40 B.C. (L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, 1984, 138; hence, if VI *Macedonica* is the same legion, then its name could reflect a short-lived commemoration of the success at Philippi [*ibid.*, 207]). Certainly *Legio* VI *Ferrata* was with Antonius in the East between 41–31 and at Actium in 30. From 25 onwards it was in Syria (*ibid.*, 157).

⁹Keppie, (n. 8) 202.

¹⁰Plut., *Ant.* 37; colonists from Antioch had been in *legio* V and VII and many of them are conceivably Antonian (Keppie, [n. 8] 157, 202).

¹¹Cic., *Fam.* 15.4.3. Later on Brutus, too, used native peoples when necessary, raising two Legions in Macedonia in 43 and drilling them according to Roman techniques (App., *B.C.* III 79).

¹²Cic., *Fam.* 12.13.4; *ibid.*, 12.15.7.

¹³Keppie, (n. 8) 140–144.

filiation and tribe, was granted to aliens at the time of their enlistment¹⁴. Inscriptions indicate that many of these took as their new names those of the officers who recruited them on behalf of Roman commanders¹⁵.

Natives of Anatolia also became soldiers of Rome by enrolment in local forces such as that trained by the Galatian king, Deiotaros¹⁶. Both he and his successor, Amyntas, put the Galatian army at Rome's disposal on many occasions during the 1st cent. B.C.¹⁷. Finally, after Amyntas' death in 25 B.C., that force was formally incorporated into the Roman army and sent to serve in Egypt as *legio XXII*¹⁸.

When the region became a Roman province c. 25 B.C. the Roman military presence increased markedly in size and permanence. During the Augustan period colonies of veterans were established in strategic positions within the southern part of the former Galatian kingdom¹⁹. Groups of Roman soldiers were also planted by Augustus within Greek cities, a phenomenon which is observable epigraphically at Attaleia, for example, in the description of the Romans as *συμπολιτευόμενοι*²⁰. It is now known that Augustus founded at least twelve settlements in southern Asia Minor, either as independent veteran colonies or as groups of soldiers within Greek cities²¹. It has been estimated that some 50–100,000 Roman men and their families would have been involved²².

Forces on active service were also to be found in southern Asia Minor during the Augustan period. After the formation of the province until it was transferred to Pannonia in A.D. 7 *legio VII* (with the exception of a brief period of two years during which time it fought in Macedonia), already containing many Anatolian recruits of the triumviral period, was stationed at Pisidian Antioch. Over the years it was replenished locally by recruits from the same area²³. The names of at least two auxiliary units which may date back to the Augustan period have also been identified among the

¹⁴F. Millar, *Triumvirate and Principate*, JRS 63 (1973) 53, 55.

¹⁵O. Cuntz, *Legionare des Antonius und Augustus aus dem Orient*, ÖJh 25 (1929) 70. At other periods too the choice of *nomen* might reflect that of the agent rather than the person actually granting citizenship (cf. A. O'Brien-Moore, *M. Tullius Cratippus, Priest of Rome*. CIL III, 399, YCS 8 (1942) 40–48; G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, 1965, 114; Balland, *Xanthos* 162–165; Salomies, [n. 7] 121).

¹⁶Cic., *Att.* 6.1.14.

¹⁷Keppie, (n. 8) 136; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 31–37; Bowersock, (n. 15) 51–52.

¹⁸Mitchell, *Legio VII and the Garrison of Augustan Galatia*, CQ 26 (1976) 299; Keppie, (n. 8) 141.

¹⁹Foundation of Galatia in 25 B.C.: Levick, *Roman Colonies* 32; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 76–77; 23 or 22 B.C.: H. Halfmann, *Zur Datierung und Deutung der Priestliste am Augustus-Roma-Tempel in Ankara*, Chiron 16 (1986) 38. Whether the colonies were founded soon after the province was formed (Levick, *Roman Colonies* 38; Mitchell, *ibid.* 76) or over a longer period (Bowie, *review of Barbara Levick, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, JRS 60 [1970] 204), all are agreed to belong to the period before 6 B.C..

²⁰T. R. S. Broughton, *Some Non-colonial Coloni of Augustus*, TAPA 66 (1935) 22–24; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary*, 1966, 355; S. Mitchell, *Proc. Xth Int. Congr. Cl. Arch., Ankara-Izmir 1973, 1978*, 313–314.

²¹Mitchell, *Anatolia* 77.

²²M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain*, 1991, 268.

²³Mitchell, *Anatolia* 137–138.

troops stationed near Antioch²⁴, and it is estimated that the combined Roman forces would have approached the strength of two Legions²⁵. In addition, there were many soldiers in smaller units throughout the countryside exercising a supervisory role on the road system of the province and maintaining order on a smaller scale²⁶.

The dissemination of Roman nomenclature

a) The army: The extensive recruiting and long-term presence of Roman troops during the triumviral and the Augustan periods had a wide impact in terms of sheer numbers and in the variety of *nomina* in the epigraphic record²⁷.

b) Viritane grants: Individual grants of citizenship might be made by governors or commanders to the wealthy and powerful in the Greek cities and to the dynasts of local kingdoms, who provided support and funds in difficult times²⁸, while others of lesser status might receive the same prize in the case of exceptional services rendered²⁹. Gifts of Roman citizenship were not necessarily restricted to the honorand. They sometimes included wife and children and in some cases parents or brothers³⁰. Where veteran colonies were founded members of leading local families might gain Roman citizenship by the power of the colonial magistrates³¹.

c) Inter-marriage: New citizens frequently resulted from inter-marriage between resident Romans, whether veterans or, another important component of the Roman presence³², Italian businessmen and wealthy local inhabitants who had gained Roman

²⁴R. K. Sherck, *The inermes provinciae of Asia Minor*, *AJPh* 76 (1955) 408; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 74 lists other units also.

²⁵Mitchell, *ibid.* The additional presence of *legio V Macedonica* has also been considered a possibility in the past (Mitchell, [n. 18] 307–308).

²⁶Sherck, (n. 24) 407–410; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 141.

²⁷Gilliam, (n. 2) 67–69; R. Syme, in: *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines*, ed. E. Frézouls, 1990, 141; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 77–78. Mitchell, (n. 18) 303 estimates that members of *legio VII* served in southern Galatia for between 25 and 30 years during the early principate.

²⁸*Cic.*, *Pro Arch.* 24; Strabo XIII (C 618); Plut., *Ant.* 37; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* V, 1989, 563–566; L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos*, 1969, 307; Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 32–39; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 34–41. The Roman citizenship of most local dynasts under the early principate usually appears only in later generations (D. C. Braund, in: *The Administration of the Roman Empire 241 B.C.–A.D. 193*, ed. D. Braund, 1988, 82).

²⁹*Cf.*, e.g., J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, 1982, 156–158 and R. R. R. Smith, *The Monument of C. Iulius Zoilos*, 1993, 4–10; M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, 1988, 58 and N. P. Milner, S. Mitchell, *An Exedra for Demosthenes of Oenoanda and his Relatives*, *AS* 45 (1995) 101.

³⁰*Cf.* P. Roussel, *Un Syrien au service de Rome et d'Octave*, *Syria* 15 (1934) 34–35, ll. 19–26; O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 29–30.

³¹O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 39; Levick, *Roman Colonies* 75–76.

³²On Italian *negotiatores* in the East, see J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique*, 1919 (repr. 1975), and A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, 1966. Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 20, points out that many of the 283 non-imperial *nomina* in the province of Asia are due to *negotiatores* and their descendants. Although the businessmen are not frequently attested in Lycia (S. Jameson, *RE Suppl.* 13 [1973] 285), they were active in other parts of southern Asia Minor (see at nn. 120–121 below).

citizenship³³. These latter were sometimes themselves ex-soldiers who had returned to their native city after their term of service. And Roman citizens clearly did not confine themselves to marriage with wealthy provincials only. As the Pinarius inscription from Ephesos shows, a Roman soldier might marry a local woman whom he had manumitted from among his own slaves.

d) Manumission: The marriage of Pinarius and his freedwoman is a reminder that, accompanying the direct Romanisation of Anatolian society through the gift of Roman citizenship to free inhabitants, was the spread of the Roman familial system with its concomitant transfer of a *nomen* through the manumission of slaves. Soldiers brought slaves with them or purchased local people for domestic purposes³⁴. Veterans who worked the land with which they had been provided, or businessmen who took up opportunities to acquire property locally, despite having come to Asia Minor primarily for commercial gain³⁵, needed assistance. Local people provided this resource in the form of slaves and, subsequently, *liberti*. Thus Roman nomenclature spread by virtue of economic as well as military and political circumstances.

A stone found near Pisidian Antioch and bearing the name of one of the colony's earliest leading families eight times over illustrates how quickly manumission could lead to the proliferation of a *nomen*³⁶. Marriage between members of the same or neighbouring *familiae* is also documented³⁷, and would have led to further generations of provincials bearing the *tria nomina*. Peregrine households became Romanised not only in nomenclature. They also adopted Roman practices of manumission and of shared burial rights, as a couple from Perge shows³⁸.

Because the landholdings of Italian colonists and businessmen were often at some distance from the cities the Roman *tria nomina* spread far afield into the countryside³⁹. Over several generations, then, a Roman *nomen* might be transferred in a va-

³³Cf. M. Boatwright, in: *Women's History and Ancient History*, ed. S. B. Pomeroy, 1991, 253–254. For the status conditions necessary for *iustae nuptiae* which produced new Roman citizens see J. A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome*, 1967, 36–44.

³⁴Keppie, *Colonisation* 101; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age*, JRS 6 (1916) 90–91 (from Antioch); the epitaph of M. Caesius Verus (Mitchell, *Anatolia* 136) and IGRR III 102 (both from Pontus).

³⁵Mitchell, *R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 5. A Roman Family in Phrygia*, AS 29 (1979) 18–21; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 154–156.

³⁶CIL III. 6852 = Mitchell, *Anatolia* 75, Fig. 12. On the Caristanii: Levick, *Roman Colonies* 62–63. See, too, Salomies, (n. 7) 136 n. 50.

³⁷G. F. Hill, *Inscriptions from Lycia and Pisidia copied by Daniell and Fellows*, JHS 15 (1895) 125 no. 17; B. Levick, *Two Pisidian Families*, JRS 48 (1958) 76.

³⁸R. Merkelbach, S. Şahin, *Die publizierten Inschriften von Perge*, EA 11 (1988) 155. It has been suggested that an awareness of Roman law on inheritance and property lies behind epitaphs containing the name of the commemorator and, more particularly, the phrase *ex testamento* (E. A. Meyer, *The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire*, JRS 80 [1990] 75–79). Cf. B. Levick, in: *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini, Helsingiae 3–6 Sept. 1991*, edd. H. Solin, O. Salomies, U.-M. Liertz, 1995, 401 and G. E. Bean, *Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia I*, AS 9 (1959) 97 no. 48 (Greek), *ibid.*, 98 no. 51 = M. P. Speidel, in: *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell, 1983, 15 (Latin).

³⁹Mitchell, *Anatolia* 150–152; Levick, *Roman Colonies* 44, 96.

riety of ways and to a variety of places only to reappear in the epigraphic record apparently unrelated to the person who was its originator in the region⁴⁰.

In the same way as nomenclature, a person's social status might belie his or her origin. The high social status which could be achieved by Roman freedmen as agents of absentee businessmen or land-owners in Asia Minor is clear from Cicero's correspondence during his governorship of Cilicia in mid 1st cent. B.C.⁴¹. Later in the same century, freedmen can be found who wielded power which far outstripped their rank owing to the support they commanded from certain Roman leaders⁴². The status and wealth of freedmen might also be increased in less spectacular ways by generous patrons who provided opportunities for independent work or a testamentary gift⁴³. In time, such freedmen and their descendants joined the hereditary elite as the leaders of civic life⁴⁴. Thus, social standing in the local communities measured in terms of wealth and participation in public life may not be an accurate indication of the family's origins or source of its Roman citizenship. Nor even, given the survival of a *nomen* over many generations, of the time when the first family member received Roman citizenship or Latin status⁴⁵.

Using onomastic evidence to establish chronology

The *nomen* borne by Q. Pinarius of *IEph* 705A occurs in several different chronological contexts within literary and epigraphic sources covering the period mid 1st cent. B.C. to mid 1st cent. A.D.⁴⁶, but nothing in the Ephesian inscription establishes a direct connection with these other attestations. Only the fact that Pinarius'

⁴⁰Levick, *Roman Colonies* 76; Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 20; W. Eck, *Prokonsuln von Asia in der Flavisch-Traianischen Zeit*, ZPE 45 (1982) 153 n. 63; Salomies, (n. 7) 129; N. P. Milner, M. F. Smith, *New Votive Reliefs from Oinoanda*, AS 44 (1994) 73.

⁴¹Cic., *Fam.*, 13.16.1–2; *ibid.*, 13.69.1.

⁴²Strabo XII 8.9 (C 574); Plut., *Ant.* 67.

⁴³Freedmen as heirs of their master: T. B. Mitford, *Further Inscriptions from the Cappadocian limes*, ZPE 71 (1988) 176–178 no. 12 with K. Strobel, *Ein neues Zeugnis für die Truppengeschichte der Partherkriege Trajans*, EA 12 (1989) 39–42.

⁴⁴Members of the *familia* of the Caristanii carried out a decree of the decurions at Antioch and had a son who rose to be a procurator of Claudius (G. I. Cheesman, *The Family of the Caristanii at Antioch in Pisidia*, JRS 3 [1913] 258–259 no. 3).

⁴⁵The family of Q. Gallius Pulcher *archiereus* in Pessinus in A.D. 35/36 appears to owe its name to Q. Gallius who was active in Cilicia as early as 47/46 B.C. (Mitchell, *Anatolia* 109) and the ancestors of the imperial Sestullii of Phrygia may belong c. 59 B.C. (Mitchell, [n. 35, 1979] 13). The legal status of peregrines from whose nomenclature filiation and/or tribe are absent is frequently unclear. Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 17 believes that those bearing a *nomen* and *cognomen* must be regarded as Roman citizens. More recently, P. R. C. Weaver, *Where have all the Junian Latins gone? Nomenclature and Status in the Early Empire*, Chiron 20 (1990) 275–305, has argued that many such may have been manumitted informally only and therefore have been of Latin status.

⁴⁶E.g. Suet., *Aug.* 27; Mitchell, (n. 18) 306 (C. Pinarius Scarpus, *legio* VII); S. Demougin, *Prosopographie de chevaliers romains Julio-Claudiens (43 av. J.C.–70 ap. J.C.)*, 1992, 41–42 no. 27, 73–75 no. 63. Undated: *IEph* 2265A, 4330.

Legion, *legio VI Macedonica*, is believed to have been with Antonius after Philippi enables his epitaph to be dated between 43–31 B.C.⁴⁷.

The date of an inscription without supplementary evidence of this kind may be far harder to determine. There usually exist a variety of periods when a particular *nomen* might have been acquired by a provincial⁴⁸. Yet, despite the complex interaction between Rome and the East which was outlined above, Anatolians who appear in inscriptions bearing Roman *nomina* which are the same as that of, for example, a senatorial governor or an imperial legate, are frequently assumed to have been beneficiaries of his patronage and the inscription dated accordingly⁴⁹. Similarly, where it is a question of an imperial *nomen* there is sometimes an automatic tendency to assume an imperial date. In either case there exists the danger of passing over the true historical context⁵⁰. The select lists which follow aim to illustrate with respect to three Roman *nomina* that are commonly found in southern Asia Minor, Marcius, Licinius and Flavius, how pervasive and multi-faceted Roman nomenclature, and therefore its dissemination among local inhabitants, was⁵¹:

Romans of Senatorial and Equestrian Rank:

1) *Marcius*:

- a) Q. Marcius Rex, gov. Cilicia, 67–66⁵².
- b) Marcius Censorinus, with Quintus Cicero in Asia, 59⁵³.
- c) (Marcius) Censorinus, with M. Crassus on the Parthian campaign, 55–53⁵⁴.
- d) Q. Marcius Philippus, gov. Cilicia, 47/46⁵⁵.
- e) Q. Marcius Crispus, gov. Bithynia/Pontus, 45/44; gov. Cilicia, 44⁵⁶?
- f) C. Marcius Censorinus, legate with Agrippa in Asia Minor, 14/13 B.C.; legate Galatia/Pamphylia, A.D. 2? or gov. Asia, A.D. 2/3⁵⁷.

⁴⁷Keppie, *Colonisation* 33 n. 49; n. 11 above.

⁴⁸See, e.g., Mitchell, (n. 18) 304, 307 on the names of legionaries in *legio VII*; Balland, *Xanthos* 165–167.

⁴⁹J. A. O. Larsen, *Tituli Asiae Minoris II, 522 and the Dating of Greek Inscriptions by Roman Names*, JNES 5 (1946) 58; S. Jameson, *Two Lycian Families*, AS 16 (1966) 125. Cf. Eck, (n. 40) 153 n. 63 and, especially, Salomies, (n. 7) 127–129 who defines five criteria by which the reliability of such a connection may be tested while pointing out, nevertheless, that optimum conditions are rarely, if at all, fulfilled by the epigraphic evidence.

⁵⁰Cf. Salomies, (n. 7) 136–137.

⁵¹The three *nomina* selected are among those identified as particularly frequent in Lycia (Jameson, [n. 32] 285–286).

⁵²RE XIV, 2, 1583–1586, no. 92; Magie, 1595; *MRR* II 146.

⁵³RE XIV, 2, 1550 no. 41.

⁵⁴RE XIV, 2, 1550, no. 42; *MRR* II 231.

⁵⁵RE XIV, 2, 1579, no. 83; *MRR* II 289; III 139; Magie, 1270; R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, 28 n. 111.

⁵⁶RE XIV, 2, 1555, no. 52; *MRR* III 137–138; Magie, 1270; 1595.

⁵⁷RE XIV, 2, 1551 no. 44; Magie, 1581; Syme, (n. 55) 405; G. W. Bowersock, *C. Marcius Censorinus, Legatus Caesaris*, HSCP 68 (1964) 207–210. Cf. B. Rémy, *Les fastes sénatoriaux des provinces romaines d'Anatolie au haut-empire (31 av. J.-C.–284 ap. J.-C.). Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie*, 1988, 23 who lists Censorinus as governor of Bithynia while *πρεσβευτῆς Καίσαρος* c. 14/13 B.C.

g) S. Marcius Priscus, legate, Lycia, c. A.D. 68–70⁵⁸.

2) *Licinius*⁵⁹:

- a) L. Licinius Murena, gov. Asia, 84–81⁶⁰.
- b) L. Licinius Lucullus, gov. Cilicia, 74–67, Asia, 71–68 and Bithynia/Pontus, 70–67. In Galatia when Pompeius arrived to take over the war against Mithridates, 66⁶¹.
- c) L. Licinius Murena, legate in Asia, 74–67⁶².
- d) M. Licinius Crassus, commander against the Parthians, 55–53⁶³.
- e) P. Licinius Crassus with d) in the Parthian campaign, 55–53⁶⁴.
- f) M. Licinius Crassus, quaestor with Antonius, between 36–31 B.C.⁶⁵.
- g) L. Licinius C[assus], gov. Bithynia/Pontus, c. A.D. 11/12; comes of Gaius Caesar in the East between 1 B.C.–A.D. 4⁶⁶.
- h) C. Licinius Mucianus, legate in Lycia/Pamphylia, c. A.D. 57⁶⁷.

3) *Flavius*:

- a) C. Flavius Fimbria, commander against Mithridates, 86–85⁶⁸.
- b) L. Flavius, equestrian, friend of Pompey and Caesar, brother of Gaius⁶⁹, heir to an estate at Lydian Apollonis, c. 59⁷⁰.
- c) C. Flavius, equestrian, friend of Cicero and Brutus; with Brutus at Philippi, 42⁷¹.
- d) Flavius Gallus, tribune with Antonius on the Parthian campaign, 36⁷².
- e) L. Flavius, made consul by Antonius, 33 B.C.⁷³.

⁵⁸RE XIV, 2, 1580, no. 84; Rémy, (n. 57) 168: 68/69; Magie, 1598: „78“.

⁵⁹Licinius spelt with one „n“ is documented as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. in Greek inscriptions; however, from the 1st cent. B.C. until the 4th cent. A.D. it is also sometimes spelt with two „n“s (Th. Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften*, 1892, 112–113); cf. below. Although there isn't complete consistency, use of double „nn“ appears to be favoured by provincials and is sometimes also used in local inscriptions referring to Italian-born Licinii.

⁶⁰RE XIII, 1, 444–445, no. 122; *MRR* III 123; Magie, 1579. His two sons may have been there with him (R. Bernhardt, *Zwei Ehrenstatuen in Kaunos für L. Licinius Murena und seinen Sohn Gaius*, *Anadolu* 16 [1972] 121).

⁶¹RE XIII, 1, 376–414, no. 104; *MRR* III 122; Magie, 1595, 1580, 1590; Plut., *Pomp.* 31.

⁶²RE XIII, 1, 446–449, no. 123.

⁶³RE XIII, 1, 295–331, no. 68; *MRR* II 231; Plut., *Crass.* 15–17.

⁶⁴RE XIII, 1, 291–294, no. 63; *MRR* II 231.

⁶⁵RE XIII, 1, 270–285, no. 58.

⁶⁶RE XIII, 1, 219–220, no. 19; Rémy, (n. 57) 23. Magie, 1591: gov. Bith./Pontus, before 14/15 (?).

⁶⁷RE XIII, 1, 436–443, no. 116a; Magie, 1386 n. 48, 1598. Rémy, (n. 57) 168: in the 60s, before 64.

⁶⁸RE VI, 2599–2601, no. 88. On the title of Fimbria: A. W. Lintott, *The Offices of C. Flavius Fimbria in 86–5 BC*, *Historia* 29 (1971) 696–701.

⁶⁹RE VI, 2528, no. 12; C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine*, vol. 2, 1974, 881 no. 149b.

⁷⁰Cic., *QFr.* 1.2.10–11.

⁷¹VI, 2526, no. 11; *MRR* II 367 (cf. *MRR* II 566); Nicolet, (n. 69) 880, no. 148; J. Suolahti, *The Junior Officers of the Roman Army in the Republican Period. A Study of Social Structure*, 1955, 258; Plut., *Brut.* 51 with Demougin, (n. 46) 24–25, no. 4.

⁷²RE VI, 2601, no. 94; Suolahti, (n. 71) 94, 131.

⁷³RE VI 2528, no. 18; *MRR* II 414; Dio XII 44.3, cf. J. Bodel, *Chronology and Succession 2: Notes on Some Consular Lists on Stone*, *ZPE* 105 (1995) 287–288. No

f) T. Flavius Sabinus, *promagister* in Asia, early 1st cent. A.D.⁷⁴.

	85 B.C.	80	60	40	20	A.D. 20	40	60	70
Marcus									
Licinius									
Flavius									

Fig. 1: Approximate chronological range of three Roman *nomina* in Asia Minor

The occurrence of the Marcian, Licinian and Flavian *nomina* among senatorial and equestrian Romans connected with Asia Minor extends over approximately the full century between mid 1st cent. B.C. to mid 1st cent. A.D., and even beyond. In some cases, details of their activities and interests in literary sources illustrate where the opportunities for dissemination of the *nomina* might have occurred in contexts other than official duties or military commands⁷⁵. Inscriptions, too, can reveal the onomastic effect of these Romans' presence⁷⁶.

Romans and Provincials of Non-Senatorial Rank

Among the non-senatorial Marcii, Licinii and Flavii attested in Asia Minor during the late Republican and early imperial periods, some appear to be Italian by birth while others, particularly where their *cognomen* is not Latin, are most likely to have been born in the East⁷⁷. Some of these latter will have been enfranchised themselves, others will have been born into citizenship. All the examples are useful, nevertheless, for illustrating how the three *nomina* under discussion penetrated into those areas of society discussed above in the general context of the impact of Roman control.

Legionaries

legio VII

- a) Q. Marcius Q. f. Corn. Bassus⁷⁹
 b) C. Licinnius, C. f., Fab.⁸⁰

*legio XXII Deiotariana*⁷⁸

- c) C. Marcius, Pollia
 d) L. Licinnius, Pollia
 e) P. Flavius, P. f.

provincial appointments are attested for him either (R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 266 n. 3) but it is possible he lasted into the principate of Augustus (Bowersock, [n. 15] 27).

⁷⁴RE VI, 2610, no. 165; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 1. The father of Vespasian: G. Townend, *Some Flavian Connections*, JRS 51 (1961) 62, *stemma*.

⁷⁵For example, the existence and activity of their freedmen in Asia, either accompanying them or as agents acting for them in their absence (App., *Mith.* IX.60); patronage of and popularity with local populations (Plut., *Pomp.* 38; Suet., *Vesp.* 1); private connections and business interests (Cic., *QFr.* 1.2.1-4). See, too, Salomies, (n. 7) 120 and the discussion of R. P. Saller (*Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, 1982, 155-159).

⁷⁶TAM II 2, 461; Salomies, (n. 7), 127 n. 28 with references.

⁷⁷The absence of a *cognomen*, a frequent occurrence among legionaries of Late Republican date (Keppie, *Colonisation* 44; Levick, *Roman Colonies* 61), means that origin is sometimes concealed.

⁷⁸CIL III 6627 = ILS 2483. While the name of *legio XXII* is not preserved on the inscription no other legion has been considered more likely (cf. Th. Mommsen, *EphemEpiq.* V, 1884, 5-16; Cuntz, [n. 15] 78-79; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 136).

⁷⁹Mitchell, (n. 18) 306.

⁸⁰Mitchell, (n. 18) 305.

As both *legio* VII and *legio* XXII were stationed in southern Asia Minor during some part of the late 1st cent. B.C.–early 1st cent. A.D. and were in part recruited there, the occurrence among their ranks of the three *nomina* under scrutiny is of particular relevance to the present enquiry⁸¹.

Both Q. Marcius Bassus from Italy and C. Licinnius, recruited in Bithynia/Pontus, are among the early soldiers and veterans of *legio* VII documented in Dalmatia where the Legion was stationed in or soon after A.D. 9. Prior to that the Legion had been stationed in Pisidia since c. 25 B.C.⁸². Hence, both Marcius and Licinnius, veterans of 17 and 27 years respectively, are possible sources of these *nomina* in the region.

Although it is uncertain how soon after the formation of Roman Galatia *legio* XXII was moved to Egypt⁸³, it was certainly stationed there during the Augustan period when the three names above were recorded⁸⁴. At that time the Legion still reflected its history of service in the civil wars in the names of recruits or of their sons born *in castris* as well as more recent recruiting under Augustan commanders⁸⁵.

The Antonian partisan, M. Licinius Crassus, has already been proposed as the enfranchiser of L. Licinius⁸⁶, but Licinius' tribe, Pollia, indicates he was actually a second-generation member of the Legion at least⁸⁷. To date no patron has been nominated for either C. Marcius or P. Flavius⁸⁸. It might be argued, however, that the latter was recruited during the triumviral period since, so far as we know, it is under Antonius rather than in the Augustan period that Flavii were active as commanders in the East. Moreover, as Cyprus was among the Roman possessions given to Cleopatra by Antonius⁸⁹, it is not unlikely that Antonian deputies would include Paphos (given as the native city of P. Flavius)⁹⁰ among their recruiting districts⁹¹. As for C.

⁸¹In the face of the meagreness of the epigraphic evidence it is salutary to recall that out of all the veterans settled in Italy under the Caesarian, Triumviral and Augustan schemes less than 0.1 per cent can be identified epigraphically (Keppie, *Colonisation* 48).

⁸²Mitchell, (n. 18) 302–306.

⁸³L. Keppie, *The History and Disappearance of the Legio XXII Deiotariana*, in: *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel*, ed., A. Kasher et al., 1990, 55. So far as is known it did not return to southern Asia Minor but remained in Egypt until A.D. 119 after which it may have moved to Judaea (*ibid.* 59).

⁸⁴Mitchell, *Anatolia* 136–137.

⁸⁵Cuntz, (n. 15) 78–81, with Augustan recruits represented as well. Cf. also O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 45 and Keppie, (n. 8) 136; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 73–74, 136–139.

⁸⁶O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 1942, 46.

⁸⁷Pollia was the tribe of those born *in castris* (Mommsen, [n. 78] 14). Sebastopolis, given as the *origo* of Licinius, was the *patria* of his mother presumably (cf. Mitchell, *Anatolia* 137).

⁸⁸Although cf. O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 47 n. 99.

⁸⁹Plut., *Ant.* 36.

⁹⁰The omission of any tribe against Flavius' name leaves open the possibility that he, too, was born *in castris*. Recruitment from the camp became increasingly common and many sons and grandsons were enlisted from this source (Gilliam, [n. 2] 68–69).

⁹¹Although it is not known whether his *praenomen* was Publius, the Antonian tribune Flavius Gallus might be considered as a likely candidate as the patron of this soldier. Plutarch (*Ant.* 42) indicates Gallus' importance as an officer, and the appearance of other Antonian tribunes' names among the recruited has been identified already (O'Brien-Moore, [n. 15] 47). Another P. Flavius, P. Flavius Verus, is also found in Egypt. He is firmly dated

Marcus, he could equally have been enlisted during the triumviral or Augustan period according to his name, but his tribal affiliation, like that of Licinius, indicates that it was his father who was first enlisted rather than himself and, therefore, that his own service is more likely to have been predominantly within the Augustan period⁹².

Colonists

f) Marcia, possibly the wife of Anchareus, Antioch, late 1st cent. B.C.—early 1st cent. A.D.⁹³.

g) L. Flavius Paulus, Antioch, late 1st cent. B.C.—early 1st cent. A.D.⁹⁴.

For both the above some doubt exists as to the date of their *floruit*, but their epigraphic context suggests that they may well have been connected with the early years of the Roman colony at Antioch. For example, Marcia's *nomen* is represented among those who served in *legio* VII in Pisidia — *cf.* a) above — and the *nomen* of the male in the same inscription is also documented among colonial families at Iconium and Lystra as well as at Antioch⁹⁵.

L. Flavius Paulus is known to have been the eldest of at least three generations of residents at Antioch⁹⁶. Paulus himself held important public positions in the colony, as did his son, L. Flavius Longus, and his grandson, L. Flavius Crispinus⁹⁷. All three were decurions, and Paulus and Longus each also bore the title *curator arcae sanctuarii*⁹⁸. This office most likely resulted from the Romans' transference of control of Antioch's sanctuary of Men from a traditional priestly group to the colonists under

to the Augustan period but his post is unknown (S. Demougin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, 1988, 224).

⁹²Another legionary of possible Augustan date is Marcus Vitalis, centurion in *legio* XIII *Gemina* (*Ieph* VI 2550). This legion was created by Octavian in 41–40, served with him at Actium and was afterwards stationed in the Balkans until A.D. 9 (Keppie, [n. 8] 210).

⁹³W. M. Calder, *Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia*, *JRS* 2 (1912) 102 no. 35.

⁹⁴*CIL* III 6839.

⁹⁵Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 66 n. 8; Mitchell, (n. 18) 307. The presence of other Marcii at Antioch, probably freedmen, is attested by a fragmentary dedication in the sanctuary of Men (E. Lane, *CMRDM* IV, 1978, 14 no. 6).

⁹⁶All belonged to *Sergia*. This was the original tribe of the colony (Levick, *Roman Colonies* 78). No military service is attested for any member of this family to indicate that he was a veteran. But neither was it included for veterans honoured for public service in other colonies (*cf.* Keppie, *Colonisation* 104–105).

⁹⁷*CIL* III 6838–6840; W. M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Roman Province Galatia*, *JRS* 14 (1924) 190 nos. 11, 11a; D. M. Robinson, *Notes on Inscriptions from Antioch in Pisidia*, *JRS* 15 (1925) 259, pl. 36.1, 37.

⁹⁸The colonial office of *curator templi* is documented elsewhere for the early 1st cent. A.D. as a *munus* whose incumbent was liable for the maintenance of a temple. A precedent set by Augustus himself may have meant that this task became hereditary (Rives, *Carthage*, 36–37). Such a situation would explain the duplication of office by father and son at Antioch.

Augustus⁹⁹. Whether or not the L. Flavii were among the office-bearers, an Augustan date for the earliest *curatores* is to be expected¹⁰⁰.

L. Flavius Crispinus, the third generation of the family, was priest of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*. As part of the Capitoline triad, the cult of *I. O. M.* had defined the collective religious identity of the Romans since Republican times. The cult's transference to a new colony was fundamental to its success in Roman eyes and colonial charters included it among the *publica sacra* which were to be instituted immediately at the time of a colony's foundation¹⁰¹.

The prominence of colonial control of the sanctuary of Men and of the cult of *I.O.M.* are both aspects of colonial life which are likely to have been commemorated early in the life of the colony, before the cultural assimilation typified by an increasing use of Greek language took place¹⁰². The association of the L. Flavii with these two apparently early features, taken together with the fact that the *nomen* is found elsewhere among Augustan soldiers and veterans¹⁰³, means that Flavius Paulus and his immediate descendants might be considered as inhabitants of Antioch during the period late 1st cent. B.C.–early 1st cent. A.D.¹⁰⁴. Certainly, the lettering of the family's inscriptions, which are both entirely in Latin, does appear to accord closely with another inscription of the mid 1st cent. A.D. in its well-formed and relatively plain outlines¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁹Strabo XII 8.14 (C 577); Levick, *Roman Colonies* 86, 222.

¹⁰⁰So far there has not been any detailed discussion of the inscriptions relating to the L. Flavii as *curatores* (cf. Levick, *Roman Colonies* 101, 130–137; H. D. Saffrey, *Un nouveau duovir à Antioche de Pisidie*, AS 38 [1988] 68).

¹⁰¹Rives, *Carthage* 28–42. *Capitolia* are the most frequently attested single building in the colonies under Augustus (Keppie, *Colonisation* 118–119, 133).

¹⁰²For the strictly Roman character of the cult at Antioch: Levick, *Roman Colonies* 88. *IGRR* III 415 from the Roman colony at Olbasa illustrates a similar cult which has, apparently, become Hellenised: Γ(αίας) Λικιννίας Πρισκί[λ]λης ἱερείας Διὸς Καπε[τω]λίου καὶ Καπετωλί[ας] "Ἦρας τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἢ βο[υλῆ] παρ' ἑαυτῆς.

¹⁰³At least two Augustan Flavii are known: T. Flavius Titulus at Beneventum (Keppie, *Colonisation* 160 n. 45); P. Flavius (at n. 78 above). For a possible third, see *CIL* XI 3254 with Keppie, *ibid.* 104–105 n. 25: Q. Flavius of *Colonia Coniuncta Iulia Sutrina*. The lack of a filiation for L. Flavius Paulus is anomalous in the honorific inscription engraved on the authority of the decurions. A filiation was included for his grandson in the accompanying text, and also for his son when that man was honoured separately. The omission might simply have been due to a stone-cutter's error but the possibility exists that knowledge of the family's history was vague due to Paulus' relocation in Pisidia after military service. (The possibility that the absence of a filiation was due to his being the first citizen in his family [cf. B. Rawson, *Family Life among the Lower Classes at Rome in the First Two Centuries of the Empire*, CP 61 (1966) 74–77] seems less likely in view of his prestigious position in the colony but can't be entirely discounted.)

¹⁰⁴Crispinus apparently died young as he is commemorated by his father at the same time as his grandfather. With him the male line of the family may have died out and female descendants absorbed by intermarriage into other colonial families.

¹⁰⁵Cf. B. Levick, S. Jameson, *C. Crepereius Gallus and his Gens*, JRS 54 (1964) 99, pl. IX; however lettering rarely provides a precise guide to date (R. P. Oliver, *review of A. E. & J. S. Gordon, Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions and J. S. & A. E. Gordon, Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*, AJPh 81 [1960] 189ff., at 197). As for language choice, although Greek did displace Latin at Antioch for privately erected dedi-

Liberti

- h) Licinius Apollonius, Cilicia, mid 1st cent. B.C.¹⁰⁶.
 i) Marcius Prothumus and Marcia Gorgonis, Tyriaion, mid 1st cent. A.D. (?)¹⁰⁷.
 j) Marcia Liberalis and Marcia Egloge, Patara, c. A.D. 68–70¹⁰⁸.
 k) Marcia Grate and Marcius Gratus, Tyriaion, early 2nd cent. A.D. (?)¹⁰⁹.
 l) Licinnius Eutyches and Licinnius Hyacinthos, Oinoanda, 2nd/3rd cent. A.D.¹¹⁰.

Licinius Apollonius, a freedman of P. Crassus, belongs in the period of Cicero's governorship of Cilicia¹¹¹. Marcius Prothumus and his wife lived around a century later, if the identification of their patron as Marcius Thoas of Oinoanda is correct. This Marcius Thoas, in turn, flourished up to some seventy years before the T. Marcius Deiotarianus, who has been identified as the patron of Marcia Grate and possibly also of her son, Gratus¹¹². Belonging in between these extremes are Marcia Liberalis and her daughter Marcia Egloge; the former, at least, from the *familia* of the imperial legate, Sextus Marcius Priscus.

The epigraphic record of these families is particularly instructive with regard to onomastics and prosopography. For example, the names of the husband and wife Marcius Prothumus and Marcia Gorgonis, illustrate that freed status may be a possible explanation when identical Roman *tria nomina* are borne by peregrine couples. And when indications of wealth and status might seem to weigh against this and in favour of a viritane grant, the monumental base and the statue erected in honour of Marcius Gratus at the behest of a woman who describes herself as a cousin of lyciarchs should be a cautionary reminder of the impact of social mobility¹¹³. The identical nomenclature of both Marcius Gratus and Marcia Egloge with their mother but not their father is another case in point and recalls the fact that when children were born to a freedwoman, even if (as is likely so in both cases here) her husband remained a slave, the children were born free and took the *nomen* of their mother. This appears to be the most probable interpretation of the status of Egloge because of her extreme youth. In the case of Marcius Gratus, however, because he has already reached adulthood he may have been born while both his parents were still slaves. In that case he would have been individually freed, perhaps at the same time as his mother¹¹⁴.

Italian Businessman and their Local Associates

The greatest activity of Italian businessmen in Asia Minor was during the late Republican and Augustan periods. However, Cicero's speeches reveal their presence in

cations and epitaphs after the 1st cent. A.D., Latin continued in use longer for official inscriptions (Levick, *Roman Colonies* 134–136).

¹⁰⁶Cic., *Fam.* 13.16.1–2.

¹⁰⁷Hill, (n. 37) 125 no. 17 = C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide*, 1980, 75–77 no. 33.

¹⁰⁸TAM II 2.461.

¹⁰⁹C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide*, ZPE 29 (1978) 111–112 no. 12.

¹¹⁰Milner, Smith, (n. 40) 66–73, dated by the lettering.

¹¹¹Cic., *Fam.* 13.16.1–2.

¹¹²IGRR III 500, III 1.5; IGRR III 472; Naour, (nn. 107, 109).

¹¹³On Gratus' statue and base: Naour, (n. 107) 66–67; *ibid.* (n. 109) pl. V.

¹¹⁴B. Rawson, (n. 103) 74–75. Whether or not these Marcii were Roman citizens or Junian Latins depends on the nature of their manumission (see Weaver, [n. 45] above).

Asia Minor as an important group already from 66, and during his governorship of Cilicia in 51/50 there is frequent reference to such men and their agents as residents in a range of cities in Asia Minor¹¹⁵. Such Italian emigrés were accompanied by their wives and children, and their freedmen and slaves are traceable as well¹¹⁶. Some of the freedmen became both wealthy and well respected in their own right¹¹⁷. But after mid 1st cent. A.D., the distinctive profile of the Italian businessmen gradually disappears from the record as they merge with provincial society¹¹⁸.

Although it was in the Augustan period that Roman businessmen penetrated in any numbers beyond the coastal fringe to the inland cities of Asia Minor¹¹⁹, a *conventus civium Romanorum* appears to be documented epigraphically before that at Cibyra¹²⁰. And Cicero's correspondence indicates that Cibyra was an important location of Roman commercial activity as early as mid 1st cent. B.C.¹²¹.

One Roman at Cibyra discussed by Cicero illustrates a tendency of such businessmen to extend their interests beyond a single city and to encompass other commercial centres within their spheres of activity¹²². For this reason, the select list below includes individuals from major cities of the province of Asia¹²³.

m) C. Lic[inius], Ephesos, 1st cent. B.C.¹²⁴.

n) C. Licinnius Bassus, Licinnius Theodoros, Rhodes, early 1st cent. B.C.¹²⁵.

o) L. Licinius, Smyrna, c. 60 B.C.¹²⁶.

p) L. Flavius Capito, Mytilene, late 1st cent. B.C.¹²⁷.

q) C. Marcus Crassus, Kos, 2 B.C.¹²⁸.

r) M. Flavius, Ephesos, early 1st cent. A.D.¹²⁹.

s) Licinnius Naukleros, Ephesos, mid 1st cent. A.D.¹³⁰.

¹¹⁵E.g., Cic., *Flacc.* 31–64; *ibid.*, *Fam.* 8.4.5; see, too, Wilson (n. 32) 127–139.

¹¹⁶Wilson, (n. 32) 107.

¹¹⁷Cic., *Fam.* 13.23.1–2; cf. S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic*, 1969, 160.

¹¹⁸Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus den Kleinasiatischen Provinzen*, *Tituli* 5 (1982) 608.

¹¹⁹Wilson, (n. 32) 139.

¹²⁰Magie, 1123 n. 33, 1615.

¹²¹A community of Roman businessmen also existed in the Milyas to the east by 5/4 B.C. (A. S. Hall, *R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 9. The Milyadeis and their Territory*, AS 36 (1986) 137–140 no. 1, 152).

¹²²E.g. Cic., *Fam.* 8.9.3; *ibid.*, *Fam.* 13.21.1–2; cf. Wilson, (n. 32) 197. Of 158 *nomina* on Delos in the Late Republic and early Imperial period, 86 are also found in the province of Asia (Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 141 n. 81).

¹²³Italian businessmen named Licinius and Marcus were also resident on the island of Delos (Wilson, [n. 32] 152–153; Holtheide, *Bürgerrechtspolitik* 141 n. 85).

¹²⁴*IEph* III 975 B6, restoring Lic[innius] although the double *nu* is more common among enfranchised Greeks than Romans — see n. 59 above.

¹²⁵Hatzfeld, (n. 32) 157 n. 1.

¹²⁶Hatzfeld, (n. 32) 109–10.

¹²⁷Hatzfeld, (n. 32) 92–93.

¹²⁸Hatzfeld, (n. 32) 100 n. 1.

¹²⁹*IEph.* 1687, col. II (12), l. 4; for the Tiberian date: D. Knibbe et al., *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XI*, *ÖJh* 59 (1989) 207 partly restored: M. Φλόο[υτοϲ].

¹³⁰*IEph* 20, B24.

The C. Lic[inius] at Ephesos appears in a fragmentary list of the Republican period. The frequent inclusion of tribal names and the lack of *cognomina* in the list indicates that those associated with him and, therefore, probably C. Lic[inius] also were Italians. Licinnius Naukleros is among a list of donors for the fish customs-house of the Neronic period. He is clearly of Greek origin according to his *cognomen* and this also suggests he was the agent of an Italian sea trader, something which would make him a very appropriate donor to the cost of the building¹³¹. M. Flavius' name is included in a subscription list engraved during the time of Tiberius. In the list there is a mixture of Italians, Greeks with Roman names and Greeks without them. No argument regarding the origin of M. Flavius is possible on the basis of probability, therefore, and, in addition, his *cognomen*, if he had one, is not preserved.

Little can be gained by discussion of the other names in the list above but the occurrence of each at different points in the Aegean and coastal Asia Minor is sufficient to underline the fact that the *nomina* Marcius, Licinius and Flavius were in circulation in the East in circumstances which were commercial as well as political or military in nature. Not unexpectedly, these businessmen and the other non-senatorial men and women in the lists above cannot be dated as closely as the senatorial and equestrian Romans. However, they do contribute force to the argument that, during the period in question, even if two peregrines happen to bear the same *nomen*, it should not be assumed that they acquired it from the same person, or at the same time, or in the same way — unless there is corroborative evidence. Roman governors might confer viritane grants of Roman citizenship or, in the triumviral and early Augustan years, they (or their junior officers) might create citizens by recruitment; new *cives* could be created by manumission by Romans of all ranks and professions, and intermarriage, too, could produce Romans under certain conditions. In sum, a range of possibilities exist by which provincials might have acquired a *tria nomina* and this must be allowed for in assessing the date, status and relationships of enfranchised provincials throughout the empire, including southern Asia Minor during the late 1st cent. B.C.—early 1st cent. A.D.

The Date of Flavius Craterus and the asiarchs of Cibyra

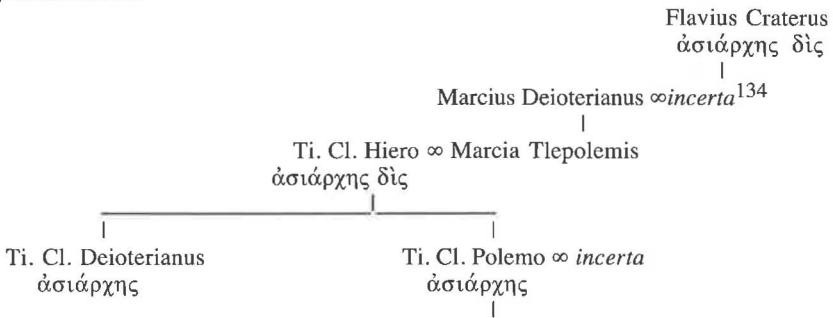
Some fifty years ago J. A. O. Larsen considered the implications of dating local inscriptions according to Roman nomenclature from a methodological point of view and, despite the years which have elapsed since then, his arguments are still pertinent for historians of southern Asia Minor. Larsen pointed out the inadequacy of using Roman imperial *nomina* for chronology without regard to context, emphasising that *nomina* of early imperial character, such as Iulius or Claudius, continued to be found considerably later than their first appearance and that therefore they did not constitute a reliable *terminus ante quem*¹³². Although Larsen did not himself say so, it is a corol-

¹³¹On this inscription, see G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 5 (1989) 95–114.

¹³²Larsen, (n. 49) 55, also pointing out that rare exceptions may occur in the case of a long list of names. Salomies (n. 7) 119–145 is a more recent study which also puts a strong case against using *nomina* in isolation. The corroborative criteria he proposes

lary of his cautious approach that Roman *nomina* do not automatically provide a *terminus post quem* either. That is to say, the occurrence of a Roman *nomen* which may at first sight appear to imply an imperial date because of the prominence of an individual bearer, cannot be taken as a reliable *tpq* if there has been opportunity for its dissemination at an earlier date as well.

In the same article Larsen also dealt with another issue, one which primarily concerns prosopography rather than chronology. He raised the question of whether identity of name is able to be considered sufficient evidence for identity of person given that the families in southern Asia Minor did not refrain from repeatedly using the same *tria nomina*¹³³. The extent to which this practice is taken into account by epigraphers is important for the reconstruction of family relationships. However, its significance sometimes assumes an even broader historical importance as, for example, in the case of the Cibyrans family to which Flavius Craterus belonged. The date of his *floruit* and that of his immediate descendants has implications for the study of Roman provincial government in Asia Minor because four members of the family are designated asiarch.



(*ibid.* 127) have relevance here even though the chief focus of his study is the *nomina* of Roman office-bearers rather than imperial *nomina*.

¹³³Larsen, (n. 49) 60–61. The repetition of names within a family is a deeply-embedded local phenomenon. Within the *stemma* of King Deiotaros, for example, the name Deiotaros appears both in successive generations and also more than once in the same generation (cf. Mitchell, *Anatolia* 28). Neither was it unusual for names to be repeated in successive generations among the Romans themselves. This practice would have become familiar to provincials from the nomenclature of Roman governors and their families (cf. Bernhardt, [n. 60] 121; C. F. Eilers, N. P. Milner, *Q. Mucius Scaevola and Oenoanda: A New Inscription*, AS 45 [1995] 77–81) and may well have been deliberately imitated by families which were enfranchised.

¹³⁴P. Herz, *Asiarchen und Archiereiai. Zum Provinzialkult der Provinz Asia*, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 96, following Groag (*PIR*² III, *stemma* at C 947) believes Flavia should be inserted as the name of Flavius Craterus' daughter. However, local inscriptions show that the transmission of nomenclature is not entirely predictable without full information, cf. n. 114 above; Balland, *Xanthos* 282, *stemma*: a daughter who does not bear her father's *nomen*; *IGRR* IV 910 (with *PIR*² III, C 947, *stemma*): a son bearing a different *nomen* from either of his parents. Even were it possible to assume that Roman practice was strictly followed in southern Asia Minor it would be necessary to take account of the fact that the father's name was not automatically taken by Romans in the imperial period (B. Rawson, *The Roman Family*, in: *The Family in Ancient Rome. New Perspectives*, ed. B. Rawson, 1986, 49 n. 52).

Ti. Cl. Celsus Orestianus ∞ Flavia Lycia

Fig. 2: The Cibyran family of asiarchs¹³⁵

For many years a date in the third quarter of the 2nd cent. A.D. has been assigned to the most frequently attested member of this Cibyran family, Ti. Claudius Polemo¹³⁶. This has been supported in a variety of ways which cannot remain entirely unchallenged:

a) There is an assumption that Polemo's ancestor, Flavius Craterus, belonged in the period of the Flavian emperors because of his *nomen*.¹³⁷ Although not intended to be an exhaustive list, the Flavian names collected in the lists above show that men bearing this *nomen* were present in Asia Minor for well over a century before late 1st cent. A.D. and that there is, consequently, no compelling necessity to assign an imperial date to Flavius Craterus¹³⁸. On the contrary, the list means that a large margin for chronological error exists unless individual provincial Flavii can be dated by additional information.

Given this free-play regarding the *nomen*, can other parts of the *tria nomina* provide greater precision for dating Flavius Craterus? Unfortunately, any usefulness *praenomina* might have for distinguishing individuals in southern Asia Minor is outweighed by the local habit of either omitting or simply transferring *praenomina* across the generations together with the *nomen*¹³⁹. Flavius Craterus never bears a *praenomen*, nor is there any known Flavian relative available for comparison with him. But, in any case, there is no reason to think that knowledge of his *praenomen* would be of assistance for dating Craterus. As the above lists show, a range of *praenomina* is represented in Asia Minor during the 1st cent. B.C.–early 1st cent. A.D. including

¹³⁵The *stemma* is based on *IGRR* IV 906, 907, 908, 912. The alternative spelling, Deiotarianus/Deoterianus has generally been accepted as an orthographic variation without significance (*cf.* *RE* XIV, II, 1557); however, so far as I have been able to check the epigraphic and literary sources Deioterianus is distinctive of Cibyra and is used consistently there (*cf.* *IGRR* IV 906–907, 912). Whether or not this is in itself significant is unclear at present.

¹³⁶*Cf.* Halfmann, *Senatoren* 149; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 217. *Contra*, M. Rossner, *Asiarchen und Archiereis Asias*, *StClas* 16 (1974) 124.

¹³⁷*Cf.* Herz, (n. 134) 96.

¹³⁸Claudius is another imperial *nomen* which is well attested in the East long before any *princeps* bore it: C. Claudius Nero, gov. Asia, 80–79 (Magie, 1579); C. Appius Claudius Pulcher, gov. Asia, 55–53 (Magie, 1580); M. Claudius Marcellus, in retirement at Mytilene, 48–46 (*RE* III, 2760–2764, no. 229); Appius Claudius Pulcher, gov. Cilicia 53–51 (Magie, 1595); Ti. Claudius Nero, father of the *princeps* Tiberius, visited Cicero in Cilicia in 51 and had private interests in the province of Asia (*Cic.*, *Fam.* 13.64.1–2). Of non-senatorial rank and belonging to the late 1st cent. B.C.–early 1st cent. A.D. is M. Claudius Rutilius Varus who served in *Ala I Augusta Colonorum*, stationed in the region of Pisidian Antioch (Mitchell, *Anatolia* 74) and M. Claudius Philokles Casianus of Cibyra (*IGRR* IV 901; date: Eilers, Milner, [n. 133] 81 n. 36).

¹³⁹Larsen, (n. 49) 58; O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 35 n. 46. B. Salway, *What's in a Name? A Survey of the Roman Onomastic Process c. 700 BC–AD 700*, *JRS* 84 (1994) 130 points out that the *praenomen* declined in importance even in Roman aristocratic circles after the beginning of the 1st cent. A.D.

Gaius, Lucius, Marcus, Publius and Titus. Even Titus, the *praenomen* which might be thought to provide a firm chronological indicator if found together with Flavius because of its association with the Flavian emperors and its use by many whom they enfranchised, is not restricted to the late 1st cent. A.D. in the East¹⁴⁰.

Among the *cognomina* of the family, Craterus (= Krateros) may be classified as a name widely used in the Cibyratis and Lycia which is unlikely to be of assistance in locating Flavius Craterus chronologically¹⁴¹. Deioterianus the *cognomen* borne by two of Craterus' descendants, however, has been thought of possible chronological significance in pointing to a connection with *legio XXII Deiotariana*¹⁴². Yet no military service is attested for either Claudius Deioterianus or the Marcius Deioterianus attested at Cibyra¹⁴³, and the earliest attestation of the Legion's name is long after its transfer from Asia Minor to Egypt¹⁴⁴. Any particular connection between the Legion and the Cibyrans seems unlikely; however it is possible that the *cognomen* preserves a distant family tradition of service under King Deiotaros before his death in 40 B.C., or under Deiotarus Philadelphus who did not die until 6 B.C.¹⁴⁵. Alternatively, as the name Deiotarianus and its cognates are used as *cognomina* for others elsewhere as well¹⁴⁶, they simply may have denoted Celtic origin in a broad sense¹⁴⁷. In that case, it is unlikely that there were well defined chronological limits for usage of the name.

A defining feature of the Cibyrans family is the equestrian status of the brothers, Ti. Claudii Deioterianus and Polemo (*IGRR* IV 906). The career of others from neighbouring cities shows that there was no bar to swift elevation to the highest Roman rank for inhabitants of the region during the 1st cent. A.D. The Caristanii of An-

¹⁴⁰Cf. *Flavius* f), above. The same is true in Italy as pointed out by Keppie, *Colonisation* 160 n. 45.

¹⁴¹Cf. Bean, *Notes and Inscriptions from the Cibyratis and Caralitis*, BSA 56 (1956) 148 no. 40; *TAM* II.2, 629, 690; II.3, 866, 869–870, 884, 1007, 1162.

¹⁴²Herz, (n. 134) 99.

¹⁴³*IGRR* IV 907, 912. Military service is often attributed to Marcius Deioterianus of Cibyra, however, by those who identify him with T. Marcius Deiotarianus of Balbura who was a soldier. That man served in Germany with *legio XXII Primigenia*, not *XXII Deiotariana* (*IGRR* III 472; cf. *PIR*² V.2, 180, M 229; H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militarium equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* I–II, 1976/7, 562, M 27) and his father, Marcius Titianus, may have served there before him (H. Devijver, in: *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy, 1986, 170).

¹⁴⁴Keppie, (n. 83) 56. The date at which *Deiotariana* was adopted as a title by *legio XXII* is uncertain (cf. R. K. Sherk, *Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 BC–AD 114*, in: *ANRW* II 7.2, 1980, 963; Keppie, [n. 8] 141 and Mitchell, *Anatolia* 136).

¹⁴⁵Bowersock, (n. 15) 52. Laudatory or descriptive *cognomina* to commemorate military service appear in inscriptions among Augustan veterans in Italy (Keppie, *Colonisation* 111).

¹⁴⁶At Ancyra there is both a Ti. Claudius Deiotarianus (E. Bosch, *Quellen zu Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum*, 1967, 54 no. 57) and a simple Deiotaros (S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of North Galatia*, 1982, 359–360, no. 498); as well there is a Ti. Claudius Deiotarus at Pessinus (J. Devreker, M. Waelkens, *Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte 1967–76*, I, no. 18).

¹⁴⁷Cf. Mitchell, (n. 146) 360 who points out that the name Deiotaros is found among families of differing status socially.

tiach, a family of Italian origin, had produced a consul by c. 90 and other families of that city attained equestrian and senatorial rank also¹⁴⁸. At Perge, the Plancii, who were of mixed Italian and peregrine stock, reached praetorian rank during the second half of the 1st cent. A.D.¹⁴⁹. Enfranchised alien families were not excluded from the possibility of advancement either. Lycians seem to have been entering the senate from late 1st–early 2nd cent. A.D.¹⁵⁰. From further north, the sons of Theophanes of Mytilene were promoted to procuratorial office and to senatorial rank under Augustus and Tiberius¹⁵¹.

While the elevation of men like the descendants of Pompeius Theophanes might be considered predictable, it should not be overlooked that many whose names remain unknown also had opportunities to advance through military service. Because of pressure for extra troops during the triumviral and early Augustan periods accelerated advancement to equestrian standing was awarded¹⁵². Recruitment of peregrines, then, was not only into the ranks but sometimes direct to a military tribunate or prefecture of an auxiliary unit¹⁵³. These junior officer positions were recognised by commanders as a key to maintaining order among the ranking soldiers¹⁵⁴, hence great store was placed not only on the appointment of officers loyal to their Roman commander but also on men who could command the respect and commitment of the men they led¹⁵⁵.

Unless more information becomes available about the generations of Claudius Polemo's ancestors who lived during the late 1st cent. B.C.–early 1st cent. A.D. it will not be possible to discover the source of the family's Roman citizenship¹⁵⁶, nor can

¹⁴⁸Halfmann, *Senatoren* 109; Levick, Jameson, (n. 105) 100.

¹⁴⁹Boatwright, (n. 33) 253.

¹⁵⁰Jameson, (n. 49) 136.

¹⁵¹Halfmann, (n. 118) 624.

¹⁵²Mitchell, *Anatolia* 136. Such social changes were also noticed in Rome itself during the same years (cf. Horace, *Ep.*, 4; S. Demougin, in: *Les „Bourgeoisies“ municipales italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.*, 1983, 279–298).

¹⁵³Mitchell, *Anatolia* 136; D. B. Saddington, *Prefects and Lesser Officers in the Auxilia at the Beginning of the Roman Empire*, *Proc.Afr.Cl.Assoc.* 15 (1980) 22–25.

¹⁵⁴L. de Blois, *Roman officers and politics. The manipulation of the military cadre in the period 44–36 BC*, *Laverna* 3 (1992) 127–128 on the importance of centurions and tribunes for maintaining discipline and loyalty within a legion.

¹⁵⁵Saddington, (n. 153) 25 points out that „tribal“ prefectures were an important contribution to the Romanisation of prominent local families. According to Strabo XIII, (C 631) Cibyra was sufficiently populous to field an army of 30,000 foot-soldiers and 2,000 cavalry just before or in early 1st cent. B.C. (for the date, see Eilers, Milner, [n. 133] 84–88). If the city still possessed such man-power during the civil war period, service in such a force would have presented an avenue both for the attainment of Roman citizenship and further advancement by the family.

¹⁵⁶Ti. Claudius Polemo has an uncle who, according to his name, does not appear to have Roman citizenship (*IGRR* IV 883). Uncertainties remain regarding the source of enfranchisement of other leading families as well. For example, the two brothers of Oinoanda who bear different *nomina* (*IGRR* III 500, II II. 2–7) and are said to have received their names from two different Roman governors (Dittenberger, *OGIS* 495 n. 8, followed by Jameson, [n. 49] 125). Although this has been explained by the reluctance of Roman authorities to enfranchise brothers at the same time (Salomies, [n. 7] 136 n. 50), such was

there be clarity on why Polemo and his brother were, apparently, the first of their family to attain equestrian rank. It is clear, however, that a date in the third quarter of the 1st cent. A.D. for the equestrians among the Cibyrans family is in no way vitiated by broader patterns of Romanisation in southern Asia Minor. Similarly, Polemo's inscription honouring his mother, Marcia Tlepolemis as μάμμη of senators¹⁵⁷, might reasonably have been erected by him in the second quarter of the 2nd cent. A.D.¹⁵⁸.

b) A second aspect of the chronological framework surrounding the family of Ti. Claudius Polemo of Cibyra is the proposed marriage link between his family and a prominent family of Licinnii at Oinoanda, for whom a long genealogy has been preserved within a single inscription¹⁵⁹. It has been maintained that the date of Polemo is fixed by this connection and that his grandfather, Marcius Deiotarianus, is the same man as T. Marcius Deiotarianus of Balbura, the son of Marcius Titianus and the brother of Marcia Lycia who, in turn, married Licinnius Longus of the Oinoandan family¹⁶⁰.

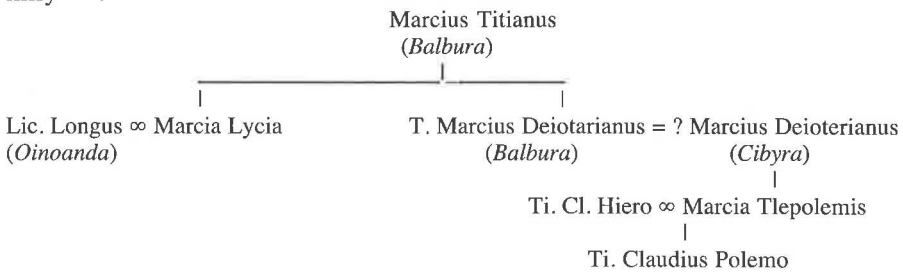


Fig. 3: The families of Oinoanda, Balbura and Cibyra

not always the case (cf. O'Brien-Moore, [n. 15] 29–30) and, moreover, the assumption that their citizenship must have resulted from the action of a governor in both cases results in a large chronological gap between members of a single generation. Perhaps, rather, the different *nomina* of the two brothers, the first of their family to receive citizenship, were obtained by different avenues. Marcius Thoas, for example, married a woman with the same *nomen* as himself (*IGRR* III 500, III.14–16). It is not impossible, therefore, that he was a freedman whose wife belonged to the same *familia* (cf. Milner, Mitchell, [n. 29] 98 n. 26 for the probability that the *nomen* accorded Marcia Ge's father in *IGRR* III 500 was a retrospective creation). A marriage between relatives of the kind which also produced spouses with the same *nomina* (cf. Balland, *Xanthos* 156–157), is excluded by the genealogy supplied in *IGRR* III 500. Salomies, (n. 7) 136 n. 50 prefers separate enfranchisements by Sextus Marcius Priscus as the reason for the three separate families of Marcii documented in *IGRR* III 500. However it is not Sextus that is used on the occasions when any *praenomen* is included in the genealogy but Titus. Thus, in this way too some doubt is thrown on the involvement of Marcius Priscus as the enfranchiser of these families (cf. n. 176 below).

¹⁵⁷Cf. *IGRR* IV 912.

¹⁵⁸Cf. Jameson, (n. 32) 286–287. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 78–79 illustrates that men from southern Asia Minor are more frequently represented among those attaining senatorial rank between Vespasian's and Trajan's reigns than later.

¹⁵⁹*IGRR* III 500. On this inscription and the wider family, see most recently Milner, Mitchell, (n. 29) 97–104.

¹⁶⁰A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand*, 1927, 223 expresses some reservation but not so S. Jameson, *RE Suppl.* 14, 1974, 7; Halfmann, *Senatoren* 149; Naour, (n. 109) 112; Devijver, (n. 143: 1986) 170; Herz, (n. 134) 98; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 215–216.

While the link between T. Marcius Deiotarianus and his father with the Licinnii is firmly established, as is the chronology of Licinnius Longus¹⁶¹, any connection with the Cibyran family is a different matter. A logical leap is involved in the assumption that T. Marcius Deiotarianus of Balbura and Marcius Deiotarianus are one and the same. When Marcius Deiotarianus is documented at Cibyra as ἔκγονος his name is not qualified by any other descriptor which might help identify him. There is no mention, for example, of either the father or the sister who are crucial to establishing his identity with T. Marcius Deiotarianus nor does he bear the *praenomen* of that man¹⁶². Nevertheless, given the identity of their *nomen* and *cognomen*, questioning the identity of the two men may appear to be excessively cautious when taken in isolation¹⁶³. It is only when the question of identity or otherwise is placed in a broader context of the onomastic practices of the inhabitants of southern Asia Minor that it is clear that there exists considerable potential for error in such an assumption. It comes down to a question of methodology: how much weight can be placed on a date which has been established only on the basis of a similarity of names between a member of one family and another?

Stated in even more general terms, at issue is whether or not in the epigraphy of southern Asia Minor it is possible for there to be more than one person with the same name, either within the same family or in a different one; at the same time or a different time; in the same place or in a different place. The answer to each of these questions must be an emphatic „yes“¹⁶⁴. Even with the fragmentary state of our epigraphic evidence it is possible to affirm that such situations can be documented several times over.

For example, within the *stemma* of the Licinnii from Oinoanda several names are duplicated or even re-used a third time. Licinnius Musaeus and Licinnius Longus both

¹⁶¹Iulius Antoninus, a contemporary of Longus and also relative by marriage was the son of Iulius Demosthenes, a procurator under Trajan (Stein, [n. 160] 182). Hence, Licinnius Longus and T. Marcius Deiotarianus should be placed in the later first - second quarter of the 2nd cent. A.D.

¹⁶²IGRR IV 906, 912 (Cibyra) with IGRR III 472 (Balbura). Whether or not Sextus Marcius Priscus, the legate of Vespasian in Lycia, was the source of the Roman citizenship of T. Marcius Deiotarianus of Balbura (*cf.* n. 156 above) is irrelevant for Marcius Deiotarianus of Cibyra — that is, unless the identity of the two men is first assumed. Marcius Deiotarianus of Cibyra cannot be independently linked to the Vespasianic legate as he does not fulfil criteria nos. 1, 3, 4 or 5 (which is dependent on no. 4) developed by Salomies for tracing the source of a peregrine's Roman citizenship ([n. 7] 127), but it is nos. 3 and 4 which particularly illustrate how unreliable such an equation would be: Marcius is a common rather than a rare *nomen*. It appears in the region in a variety of guises over a long period; and the date of Marcius Deiotarianus of Cibyra, in contrast to T. Marcius Deiotarianus of Balbura, has been the subject of considerable debate. See the discussion at n. 182ff. below.

¹⁶³Although Friesen's view (*Twice Neokoros* 216) that lack of identity is not proved by the different titles by which each man is designated is certainly correct (*cf.* Kearsley, *Asiarchs, Archiereis and Archiereiai of Asia: New Evidence from Amorium in Phrygia*, EA 16 [1990] 79 n. 54), an argument for identity cannot be supported when no title for either man is the same.

¹⁶⁴Larsen, (n. 49) 55.

occur three times and Licinnia Maxima and Licinnius Fronto are each found twice¹⁶⁵. Such repetition is not restricted to this single inscription. At Cibyra there are at least two men called Ti. Claudius Polemo and two Claudii Orestes¹⁶⁶. At Xanthos three men called Veranius Eudemos are recorded in successive generations of the same family and there are another two men both named Veranius Priscianus¹⁶⁷; in a related family, there are two men called Ti. Claudius Telemachus¹⁶⁸. Ti. Claudius Agrippinus is yet another name which is used more than once, this time at Oinoanda and at Patara, while Ti. Claudius Deiotarianus is found at Cibyra and at Ancyra¹⁶⁹. Licinnius Fronto is not restricted to the two occurrences in the family at Oinoanda. It also appears at Patara with a patronymic which makes it clear that this man could not be the same as either of the two at Oinoanda¹⁷⁰. The existence of an M. Claudius Flavianus at Cibyra, another M. Claudius Flavianus at Oinoanda, and a Claudius Flavianus at Patara¹⁷¹, as well as multiple Claudii Iuliani¹⁷², also demonstrates the extreme difficulty of certainty about the identity or otherwise of individuals when a scholar is confronted by repetitive nomenclature. Licinnia Maxima is not the only female name duplicated either, as the occurrence of one Marcia Tlepolemis at Cibyra and another at Xanthos shows¹⁷³. Examples might be multiplied¹⁷⁴. Consequently, as a general principle when dealing with the prosopography of southern Asia Minor, it cannot be assumed that identity of two or even three elements of a name necessarily indicates identity of person.

In discussions of certain leading families in the region hypotheses as to the identity of individuals with similar or the same names have been expressed with some reserve¹⁷⁵. Even the occurrence of families of Licinnii unrelated to those of that name at Oinoanda, though living in the same region, has been given due credence¹⁷⁶. Yet, strangely, similar caution has not generally been adopted with respect to the family of asiarchs of Cibyra and its possible relationship to the Marcii of Balbura¹⁷⁷.

¹⁶⁵Jameson, (n. 49) *stemma* I nos. 3, 6, 32; nos. 11, 36, 53; nos. 12, 3; nos. 13, 54.

¹⁶⁶*IGRR* IV 909–910, cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 150, *stemma*.

¹⁶⁷Balland, *Xanthos* 282.

¹⁶⁸Magie, 1395 n. 68; Balland, *Xanthos* 282, 283 n. 35.

¹⁶⁹Magie, 1395 n. 68; *IGRR* IV 906, 907; Bosch, (n. 146) 54 no. 57.

¹⁷⁰Magie, 1394 n. 66.

¹⁷¹Jameson, (n. 49) 135.

¹⁷²Halfmann, *Senatoren* 147 no. 57.

¹⁷³*IGRR* IV 912 (cf. Fig. 2 above); Balland, *Xanthos* 279–280 no. 5.

¹⁷⁴E.g., among the Villii of Lycia (Jameson, [n. 49] 133–135). The frequency with which repetition occurs is underlined by the description of „Claudius Marcianus“ as *banale* (Balland, *Xanthos* 60 n. 135).

¹⁷⁵Larsen, (n. 49) 61 n. 13; O'Brien-Moore, (n. 15) 36.

¹⁷⁶*IGRR* III 683; Larsen, (n. 49) 60. Salomies, [n. 7] 127 n. 29 believes the *praenomen* of the enfranchising patron was kept — and is inclined to include it as a sixth criterion for establishing reliable links between patron and beneficiary (*ibid.* 127). He identifies (*ibid.* 135 n. 49) two different Licinii as bestowers of citizenship on this basis.

¹⁷⁷See n. 160 above. An ancestral relationship between Marcius Deioterianus of Cibyra and T. Marcus Deioterianus of Balbura is by no means entirely excluded by the author (cf. Kearsley, *A Leading Family of Cibyra and Some Asiarchs of the First Century*, *AS* 38 [1988] 50 n. 42), however it is true to say that the evidence as it stands does not indicate either this or the identity of the two men.

c) The Cibyran family forms part of a second prosopographical network with a character as hypothetical as the marriage link with the Licinnii. In this case, the hypothesis involves a family of Claudii: Claudius Orestes, his son Claudius Iulianus and his granddaughter, Claudia Tlepolemis.

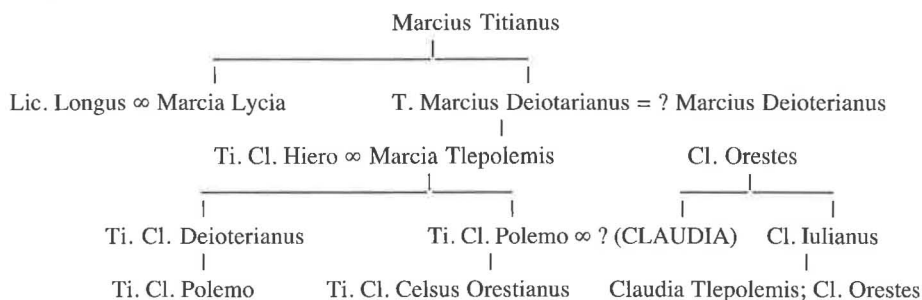


Fig. 4: Claudian relatives of the Cibyran family of asiarchs¹⁷⁸

The chronology and prosopographical context of this family is established only by the identification of Claudia Tlepolemis' uncle as Claudius Polemo, the great-grandson of Flavius Craterus at Cibyra. The evidence consists of an inscription naming a Claudius Polemo as the uncle¹⁷⁹. While the possibility of some connection between the two families certainly exists it may be queried whether there are sufficient grounds in the traditional manner (see Fig. 4). Can the family of Claudius Orestes be reliably dated on the basis of a hypothesis which, on the one hand, depends on postulating one woman who is a purely modern creation¹⁸⁰, and, on the other, does not take any account of the repetition of the names Ti. Claudius Polemo within the Cibyran family¹⁸¹?

The degree of uncertainty in the whole construction becomes even more apparent when it is realised that the chronology of Orestes' family rests only on an assumption that the hypothetical chronology of Claudius Polemo's family is correct, i.e. the chronology based on the proposed marriage link with the Licinnii which was outlined above. Although the connection with Claudius Orestes' family does not have any bearing on the date of Flavius Craterus since the direction of chronological proof is flowing in the opposite direction, it demonstrates the domino effect inherent in proso-

¹⁷⁸The *stemma* is based on Halfmann (*Senatoren* 149–151 no. 61) who amends that proposed by Groag (*PIR*² C 947 with *stemma*). The relationships proposed by Stein, (n. 160) 223, are based on a different translation of ἀνεψιός, but see Balland, *Xanthos* 152–153, 283 on the local confusion over degrees of relationship.

¹⁷⁹*IGRR* IV 910; Halfmann, *Senatoren* 149.

¹⁸⁰*Cf.* Halfmann, *Senatoren* 150, *stemma*: (Claudia).

¹⁸¹*IGRR* IV 909. The weakness of the proposed link is acknowledged by Halfmann (*Senatoren* 149) and the supplementary argument based on the *cognomen*, Orestianus, at Cibyra (Herz, [n. 134] 98) does not necessarily assist since the *cognomen* of the grandson in the direct line of descent preserves Orestes in its original form (*cf.* *IGRR* IV 910), showing that the adjectival form, Orestianus, does not necessarily have any significance for the relationship between Claudius Orestes I and Claudius Celsus Orestianus.

pographical constructions and serves, once again, as a reminder of the need for caution in prosopographical studies of southern Asia Minor.

Conclusions

The chronology of the Cibyan family of asiarchs cannot be unequivocally established either by Roman nomenclature and rank or by prosopography. In the absence of other information specifically linking Flavius Craterus' name to the period of the Flavian emperors there can be no reason to assume that he dates after A.D. 69¹⁸². There exists a variety of possibilities for the dissemination of the Roman *nomen* Flavius in the pervasive and persistent Roman presence in Asia Minor in the late 1st cent. B.C.–mid 1st cent. A.D. The identity of Marcius Deioterianus of Cibyra and T. Marcius Deiotarianus of Balbura, similarly, remains unverified chronologically.

Given the frequent duplication of names in southern Asia Minor, identity or similarity of name cannot be accepted as sufficient reason alone to assume identity of

¹⁸²Herz argues against a pre-Flavian date for Flavius Craterus on the basis that he was high-priest of Asia ([n. 134] 96). By contrast, the author (*M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles of Aezani: Panhellenic, Asiarch and Archiereus of Asia*, *Antichthon* 21 [1987] 49–56) as, formerly, Magie, 449 and, more recently, Friesen (*Twice Neokoros* 113) and A. Zambrini (*L'Orazione 35 di Dione di Prusa*, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 34 [1994] 63 n. 32), believes that there is evidence indicating that the title asiarch does not refer to the highpriesthood of Asia. If the asiarch is not considered part of the imperial cult the force of Herz's comments is lost. Craterus' title *archiereus* refers to a municipal cult of the emperor, as is indicated by the absence of the qualification „Asia“ (cf. *IGRR* IV 908). The existence of such a cult in Cibyra at the turn of the era is in line with evidence from other cities in the region and with the sanctuary at Pessinus in Galatia (cf. M. Waelkens, *The Imperial Sanctuary at Pessinus. Archaeological, Epigraphical and Numismatic evidence for its Date and Identification*, *EA* 7 [1986] 37–72). — Herz's observations on aspects of the imperial cult, such as the number of cities in Asia with provincial temples (*ibid.* 112) and the role of women as *archiereiai* (*ibid.* 100–102), are issues outside the scope of this article but it may be noted that the views he contests are not without some measure of support. On the former topic, cf. Magie, 637; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 116; Rossner, (n. 136) 111 including n. 64, expressing uncertainty as to whether provincial or municipal temples are indicated for cities such as Tralles and Philadelphia by the title *neokoros*. Nor is Herz's view of the role of females in the imperial cult of the province universally endorsed (cf. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 89). Without doubt many questions remain to be answered about these and about other aspects of the cult. See, now, Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 89–92 (against the *archiereus* of Asia as the highest official of the *koinon*) and also 114–15 (against any connection between the κοινὸν Ἀσίου festival and the imperial cult) and Kearsley's review of Friesen (*Review, Steven J. Friesen, Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, *CR* 45 [1995] 304–305). In seeking to substantiate his point of view by western *comparanda*, Herz (*ibid.* 101) simply revives earlier views (cf. J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 1965, 154) and, once again, the Greek character of the imperial cult of Asia (cf. S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power*, 1984, 77, 88–89) is underrated. Similarly, the use of inter-provincial comparisons to explain the function of asiarchs once again (Herz, 102; cf. Deininger 46–47) ignores the fact that the function of the various -arch officials in other provinces are, like the asiarchs, themselves still the subject of debate (cf. Kearsley, [this note: 1987] 51 n. 14).

person¹⁸³. Hypothetical connections forged on the basis of identity of names and aimed at establishing a date for the family of asiarchs must give way to external evidence for chronology¹⁸⁴. Such a source of external dating is available for the Cibyran family in the reference to the city of Pergamon in *IGRR IV 908* honouring the grandson of Ti. Claudius Polemo, Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus and his wife, Flavia Lycia. Changes in Pergamon's titulature during the imperial period have been clearly delineated by scholars and the successive alterations can be dated with considerable precision¹⁸⁵. As a result *IGRR IV 908* may be dated by a comparison of this with the formula in the Cibyran inscription.

The description of the provincial highpriesthoods of Flavia Lycia and Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus as being τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ δις νεωκόρῳ Περγάμῳ ναῶν parallels the manner in which the Pergamenes described themselves as ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῶν πρώτων καὶ δις νεωκόρων Περγαμηνῶν¹⁸⁶. The titulature refers specifically to the city's neokorates of the provincial imperial cult and was intended to make clear to the reader both that Pergamon was the first city in Asia to be awarded a neokorate and that the city had also received permission for a second one¹⁸⁷. The existence of the second neokorate gives a *terminus post quem* of 114¹⁸⁸.

But what is the upper limit for *IGRR IV 908*? It has been argued that this is 215, the date at which Pergamon received a third neokorate¹⁸⁹. However, the formula in the Cibyran inscription was not in use as long as that. It was current only until Pergamon became *metropolis* of Asia *c.* 120 and then this, too, was included among the city's official titles¹⁹⁰. Since Pergamon's titulature in the Cibyran inscription does not contain the designation *metropolis*¹⁹¹, it is possible to narrow its upper range considerably, to *c.* 120¹⁹². To argue for a higher date would be to argue *e silentio*.

When a date between 114–*c.* 120 is assigned *IGRR IV 908* on the basis of its reference to Pergamon, the *floruit* of Flavius Craterus, the earliest Cibyran asiarch known so far, would be around the turn of the era if the *stemma* of the family is built

¹⁸³Although the comments of P. R. C. Weaver, *Epaphroditus, Josephus, and Epictetus*, CQ 44 (1994) 478; id. *Confusing Names: Abascantus and Staius, Silvae 5.1*, EMC n.s. 13 (1994) 333–334, 364 were made with respect to Roman imperial freedmen only, his methodological approach is surely that which should be adopted for southern Asia Minor also because of the same frequency with which names are duplicated.

¹⁸⁴This is the principle applied by Balland, *Xanthos* 282.

¹⁸⁵*IPergamon* 159–161.

¹⁸⁶*IPergamon* 159.

¹⁸⁷Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 215.

¹⁸⁸*IPergamon* 159.

¹⁸⁹Herz, (n. 134) 97; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 216.

¹⁹⁰*IPergamon* 160; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros* 58. Together with the inclusion of *metropolis* there is a shift in the position of πρώτῃ to after, rather than before, νεωκόρος with the result that the titulature becomes: ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεωκόρος πρώτῃ Περγαμηνῶν πόλις.

¹⁹¹*Cf.* already R. A. Kearsley, in: *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*, Vol. 2, D. W. J. Gill, C. Gempf ed., 1994, 365–367.

¹⁹²Thus, Friesen's translation (*Twice Neokoros* 215) of ἀρχιερατεύσαντας τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ δις νεωκόρῳ Περγάμῳ ναῶν in *IGRR IV 908* does not thereby also produce the date of *c.* 170 for Claudius Polemo which he proposes (*ibid.* 217).

on the basis of a thirty-year generational gap¹⁹³. Or if, since thirty years represents only the upper limit of a feasible range for the population of the Roman empire, twenty-five years is used instead as a workable average¹⁹⁴, Flavius Craterus would have been active c. A.D. 20:

(All dates approximate only)

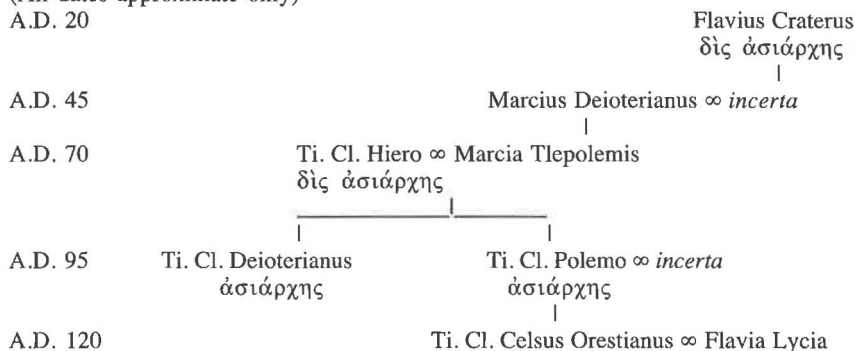


Fig. 5: A revised chronology for the Cibyan asiarchs¹⁹⁵

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¹⁹³A working figure utilized also by Jameson, (n. 49) 134; P. R. C. Weaver, in: *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, ed. B. Rawson, 1991, 176; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 217; *cf.*, in addition, Kearsley, (n. 177), 50 n. 43. *Contra* Herz, (n. 134) 96 whose reasons, however, do not take account of the restricted application of the Julian marriage laws even within Rome itself (*cf.* Rawson, [n. 134] 6, 45 n. 8) or of the co-existence of local and Roman law in the Eastern provinces (R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, 1969, 302–307).

¹⁹⁴Recently, T. G. Parkin's, *Demography and Roman Society*, 1992, has underlined the many aspects in which ancient demographic evidence is unreliable (see, *e.g.* 4–66, 134). In his view, a range of 20–30 years is the greatest degree of accuracy possible with respect to the average life expectancy of the population of the Roman empire and twenty-five years is a workable average (*ibid.* 84–89, 92).

¹⁹⁵The above is a revision of the *stemma* in Kearsley, (n. 177) 50.