

The Lives of Ancient Villages

Our conception of the culture and values of the ancient Greco-Roman world is largely based on texts and material evidence left behind by a small and atypical group of city dwellers. The people of the deep Mediterranean countryside seldom appear in the historical record from antiquity, and almost never as historical actors. This book is the first extended historical ethnography of an ancient village society, based on an extraordinarily rich body of funerary and propitiatory inscriptions from a remote upland region of Roman Asia Minor. Rural kinship structures and household forms are analysed in detail, as are the region's demography, religious life, gender relations, class structure, normative standards, and values. Roman Hieradoumia is perhaps the only non-urban society in the Greco-Roman world whose culture can be described at so fine-grained a level of detail: a world of tight-knit families, egalitarian values, hard agricultural labour, village solidarity, honour, piety, and love.

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The Lives of Ancient Villages

Rural Society in Roman Anatolia

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University of Oxford



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Preface

This book is a historical ethnography of the rural communities of the middle Hermos valley in inland western Asia Minor during the first three centuries AD. Kinship and household structure are central concerns throughout, for reasons which will I hope become clear; I have also said something about the region's demography, land-tenure patterns, village politics, rural cults, and – more tentatively – the relationship between kin-groups and wider social organization. I hope that the book may be of use for the comparative study of non-urban societies in the ancient world, a field where a good deal remains to be done.

Much of this book is founded on other people's grief. Its primary raw materials are thousands of tombstones, set up by grieving parents for their children; by young husbands for their beloved wives; by women for their brothers, sisters, and friends. For the purposes of the present study, this ocean of personal sorrow has been reduced to a set of cold demographic data-points: a female who dies aged 16; a death on Day 20 of the month Apellaios; a tombstone erected by members of the nuclear family. I have tried always to remember that behind these data-points lie real people – people like Assklepiades and Glykeia, the father and mother of a much-loved daughter Ammias, who died aged sixteen on the twentieth day of Apellaios, autumn AD 210; father and mother, too, of a son named Assklepiades, who died aged sixteen on the thirteenth day of Apellaios, autumn AD 216. Assklepiades and Glykeia were sober and undemonstrative people, and the tombstone that they set up for their children strictly says nothing to prove that Ammias and her brother were 'much loved'. But I am sure they were.

Much of the research for this book was undertaken in 2013–2015, when I was the holder of a Philip Leverhulme Prize. I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for their support and for their patience. Alain Bresson, Richard Duncan-Jones, and Kyle Harper commented helpfully on an early draft of Chapter 3, and Sally Humphreys and Karl Praust sharpened my thinking in Chapter 4. I am indebted to an anonymous external reader and to the Series Editors (particularly Jaś Elsner), for their acute and constructive comments

on a first draft of the whole. Charles Crowther and Andrew Meadows were good-humoured travelling companions. Every author, I take it, writes with an ideal reader in mind; I hope that John Davis (1938–2017) would have approved. My greatest debt is to my own beloved *syngeneia*: my wife Sarah, and my children Alex and Sam.

Abbreviations

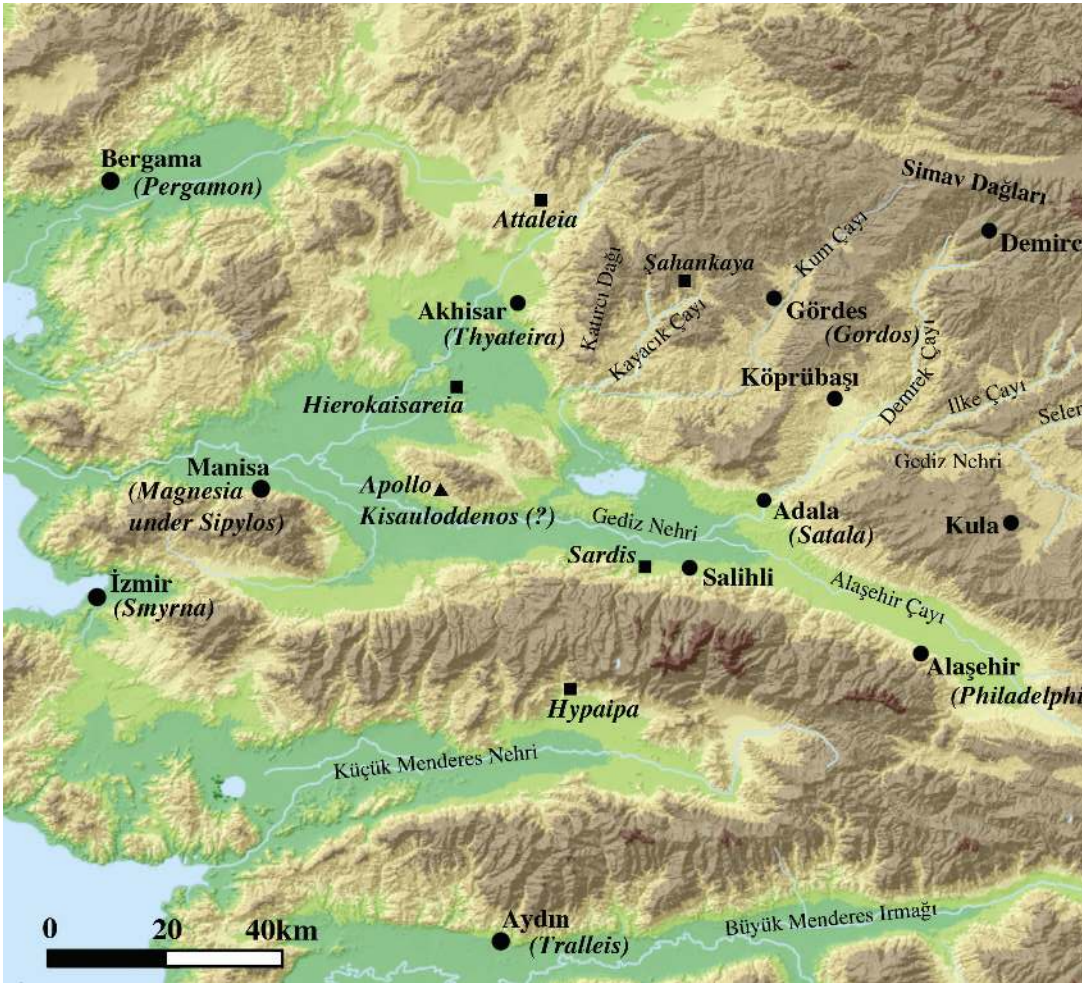
<i>AD</i>	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , annually in <i>REG</i> .
<i>BMC Lydia</i>	B. V. Head, <i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia</i> . London, 1902.
<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>BNJ</i>	I. Worthington (ed.), <i>Brill's New Jacoby Online</i> , Second Edition https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby-2
<i>CGRN</i>	<i>Collection of Greek Ritual Norms</i> . http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (4 vols). Berlin, 1828–1877.
<i>CIRB</i>	V. V. Struve, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani</i> . Moscow and Leningrad, 1965.
<i>CNG</i>	<i>Classical Numismatic Group</i> (auction catalogues)
<i>Coll. Wadd.</i>	E. Babelon, <i>Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington</i> . Paris, 1898.
<i>DGE</i>	<i>Diccionario Griego-Español</i> . Madrid, 1980–.
<i>DPRR</i>	<i>Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic</i> . www.romanrepublic.ac.uk
<i>EBGR</i>	<i>Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion</i> , annually in <i>Kernos</i> .
<i>GM Winterthur</i>	H. Bloesch, <i>Griechische Münzen in Winterthur</i> (2 vols in 4). Winterthur, 1987–1997.
<i>HED</i>	J. Puhvel, <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin and New York, 1984–.

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- I.Arykanda* S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Arykanda*. IGSK 48. Bonn, 1994.
- IBurdurMus* G. H. R. Horsley, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor V: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum*. Ankara, 2007.
- I.Byzantion* A. Lařtar, *Die Inschriften von Byzantion I. Die Inschriften*. IGSK 58. Bonn, 2000.
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- I.Ephesos* H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (7 vols). IGSK 11–17. Bonn, 1979–1981.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGBulg* G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* (5 vols in 6). Sofia, 1958–1997.
- IGR* R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (3 vols). Paris, 1906–1927.
- IGUR* L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (4 vols). Rome, 1968–1990.
- I.Iasos* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (2 vols). IGSK 28. Bonn, 1985.

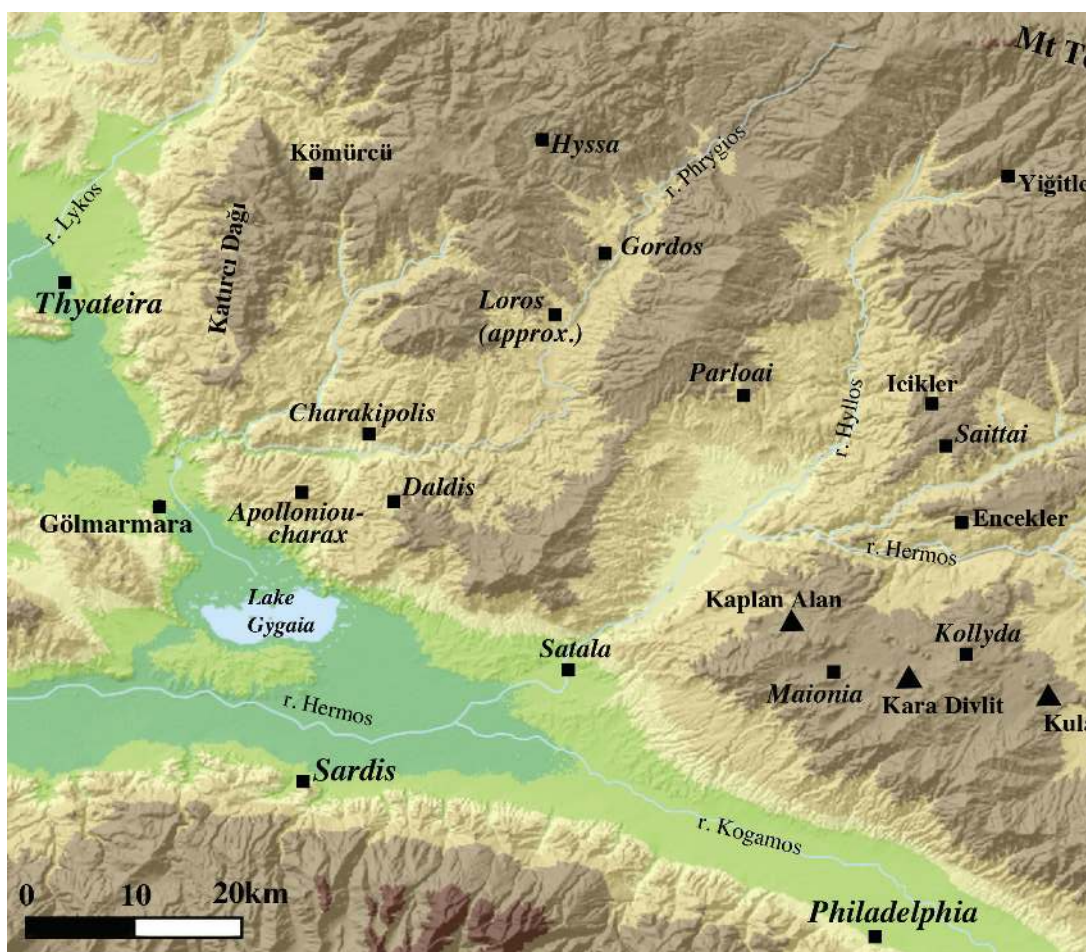
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- I.Kaunos* Chr. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*. Munich, 2006.
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- I.Mylasa* W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* (2 vols). IGSK 34–35. Bonn, 1987–1988.
- I.Nordkarien* W. Blümel, *Inschriften aus Nordkarien*. IGSK 71. Bonn, 2018.

<i>I.Oropos</i>	B. Petrakos, <i>Oi'Επιγραφές του Ίρωποῦ</i> . Athens, 1997.
<i>I.Priene</i> ²	W. Blümel and R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> . IGSK 69. Bonn, 2014.
<i>I.Prusa ad Olympum</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum</i> (2 vols). IGSK 39–40. Bonn, 1991–1993.
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> (2 vols in 3). IGSK 23–24. Bonn, 1982–1990.
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i>	M. Ç. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> (2 vols in 3). IGSK 21–22. Bonn, 1981–1990.
<i>I.Sultan Dağı</i>	L. Jonnes, <i>The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı I</i> . IGSK 62. Bonn, 2002.
<i>IvP</i>	M. Fränkel, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> (2 vols). Berlin, 1890–1895.
<i>KILyk</i>	G. Laminger-Pascher, <i>Die kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens I</i> . Vienna, 1992.
LBW	P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure</i> (2 vols). Paris, 1870.
<i>Leu</i>	<i>Leu Numismatik</i> (auction catalogues)
<i>LfgrE</i>	<i>Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos</i>
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
<i>Lindos II</i>	C. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914</i> . Vol. II, <i>Inscriptions</i> (2 vols). Copenhagen and Berlin, 1941.
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris, 1969.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , revised by H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie.
LSS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> . Paris, 1962.
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
Michel, <i>Recueil</i>	C. Michel, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques</i> . Brussels, 1900.
<i>Naumann</i>	<i>Numismatik Naumann</i> (auction catalogues)
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (2 vols). Leipzig, 1903–1905.

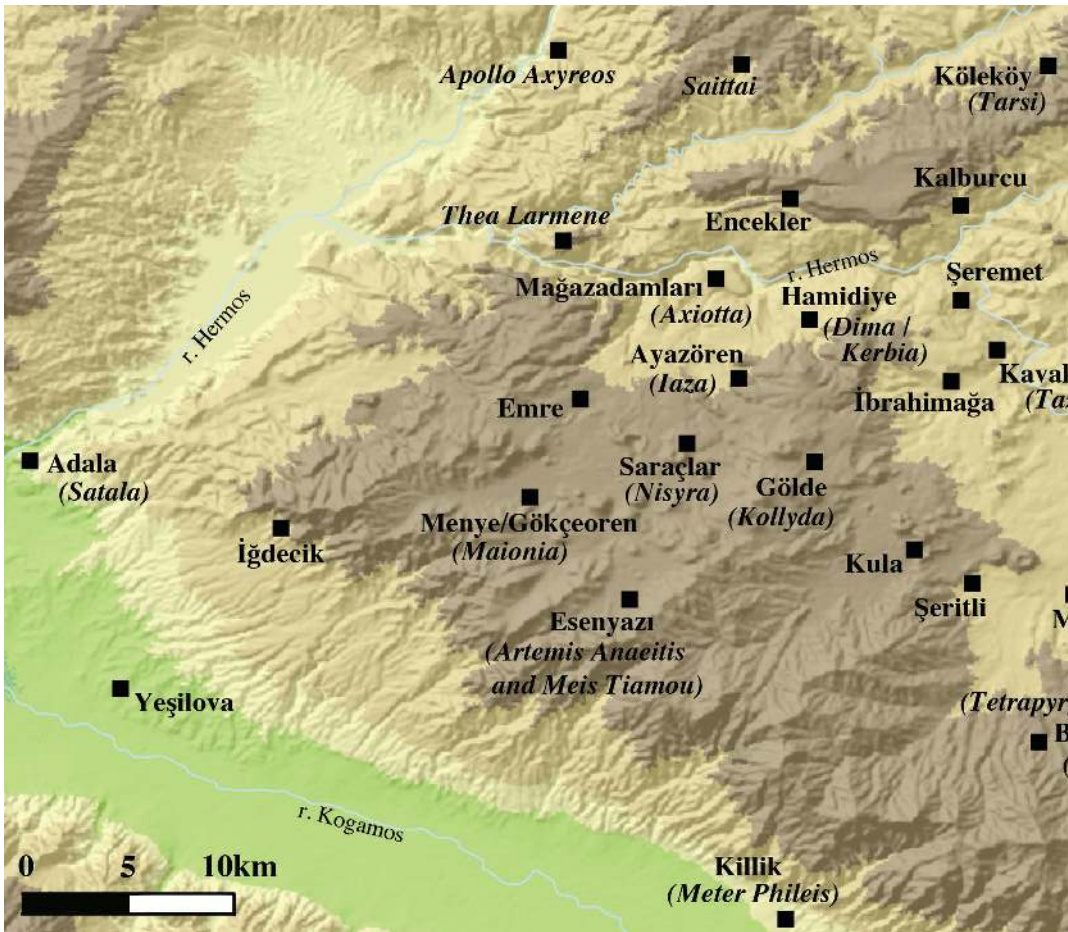
Pfuhl and Möbius	E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, H. <i>Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs</i> (2 vols in 4). Mainz am Rhein, 1977–1979.
PIR2	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , second edition.
<i>P.Mich.</i>	<i>Michigan Papyri</i> , 1931–.
Ramsay, <i>Phrygia</i>	W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia. Vol. I. Part I: The Lycus Valley and South-Western Phrygia. Vol. I. Part II: West and West-Central Phrygia.</i> Oxford, 1895–1897.
RECAM II	S. Mitchell, <i>Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 2: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia.</i> Oxford, 1982.
Robert, <i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> (13 vols in 12). Paris, 1940–1965.
Robert, OMS	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> (7 vols). Amsterdam, 1969–1990.
RPC	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk)
<i>Sammlung Tatiş</i>	E. Schwertheim and N. G. Schwertheim, <i>Epigraphica der Sammlung Yavuz Tatiş: Lydien, Mysien, Türkei.</i> İzmir, 2018.
<i>Sardis</i> II	G. Petzl, <i>Sardis: Greek and Latin Inscriptions Part II: Finds from 1958 to 2017.</i> Cambridge, MA.
<i>Sardis</i> VII 1	W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, <i>Sardis Vol. VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part 1.</i> Leiden, 1932.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGO	R. Merkelbach and F. Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> (5 vols). Munich and Leipzig, 1998–2004.
SNG Von Aulock	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock</i> (4 vols). Berlin, 1957–1968.
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
TL	E. Kalinka, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris I: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti.</i> Vienna, 1901.
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>



Map 1 Western Turkey.



Map 2 Hieradoumia.



Map 3 The Katakakekaumene.