

## Roman Phrygia

The bleak steppe and rolling highlands of inner Anatolia were one of the most remote and underdeveloped parts of the Roman Empire. Still today, for most historians of the Roman world, ancient Phrygia largely remains terra incognita. Yet thanks to a startling abundance of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone, the cultural history of the villages and small towns of Roman Phrygia is known to us in vivid and unexpected detail. Few parts of the Mediterranean world offer so rich a body of evidence for rural society in the Roman Imperial and late antique periods, and for the flourishing of ancient Christianity within this landscape. The eleven essays in this book offer new perspectives on the remarkable culture, lifestyles, art and institutions of the Anatolian uplands in antiquity.

PETER THONEMANN is Forrest-Derow Fellow and Tutor in Ancient History, Wadham College, Oxford. He is the author of *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (2011), the winner of the Anglo-Hellenic League's prestigious Runciman Prize 2012, and co-author (with Simon Price) of *The Birth of Classical Europe: A History from Troy to Augustine* (2010). His most recent book is an edited collection of essays on *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations and the State* (2013).

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# Roman Phrygia

Culture and Society

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*Edited by* PETER THONEMANN



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## Preface

Inner Anatolia is divided into two parts. To the east lies the steppe, the vast, monotonous upland plains of eastern Phrygia, Galatia, Lykaonia and Kapadokia. Through most of its history, this harsh country has been given over to large-scale semi-nomadic stock rearing; the central part of the plateau, along the shores of the great salt lake Tatta, was known in antiquity simply as the *Axylon*, the ‘treeless country’. To the west, between the steppe and the Aegean valleys, rise the rolling highlands of western Phrygia, Mysia and eastern Lydia, supporting a mixed economy of agriculture and animal husbandry. Urbanism never made much headway in either district; remote, underdeveloped, with hard winters and pitiless summers, inner Anatolia was always primarily a land of villages.

Yet the people of inner Anatolia are not quite a ‘people without history’. The inhabitants of the villages and small towns of Roman Phrygia are known to us thanks to an astonishing abundance of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stone, mostly votive and funerary monuments, and almost all dating to the later Roman Imperial and late antique periods. Indeed, we are perhaps better informed about rural and small-town life in inner Anatolia than for any other part of the Roman world outside Egypt. Entire classes of ancient society, all but silent elsewhere, here speak with their own voice: shepherds with their flocks, bailiffs of the great Imperial estates and ranches, vine-growers and wool-merchants. The religious life of these Phrygian villagers is known to us in extraordinary detail. The church struck deep roots here at an early date; in the rich early Christian epigraphy of inner Anatolia, we can watch a single, unitary orthodox church gradually emerging out of a forest of local ecclesiastical communities between the third and fifth centuries AD. Few other parts of the Mediterranean world offer anything near so rich a body of documentary evidence for rural society in the Roman Imperial and late antique periods, and for the flourishing of ancient Christianity within this landscape.

In recent years, Phrygia has hardly been at the centre – one might say, has hardly even been on the periphery – of Roman and late antique studies. The study of the epigraphy, historical geography and social history of the region has scarcely progressed since the 1950s. With the notable exception

of Stephen Mitchell (see especially *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 1993), no scholar has seriously attempted to grapple with the related problems of Romanization and Christianization in the inner-Anatolian countryside. It is not hard to see why this should be so. The published inscriptions of the region are dispersed across hundreds of obscure journals and intractable corpora; very little archaeological work has been undertaken in the region, and the barren Phrygian Highlands lack an Ephesos or a Petra to attract visitors' interest. For most historians of the Roman world, Phrygia remains essentially terra incognita.

This book, which originates in a highly convivial one-day conference held at Wadham College (Oxford) in July 2011, aims to offer a historical conspectus of the remarkable cultural history of the Phrygian Highlands. Chapter 1 sets the scene with an overview of the geography and historical sociology of Phrygia, from the early Iron Age to the early Roman Imperial period. I suggest that persistent Phrygian 'underdevelopment' in the Hellenistic and Roman periods should be understood in neo-Darwinian terms, as a highly successful adaptation to the experience of Achaemenid, Macedonian and Roman imperialism: Phrygian social institutions evolved as they did specifically in order to keep the state at arm's length. Barbara Levick (Chapter 2) considers the stereotypical views of Phrygia and Phrygians found in Greek and Roman literature, and the ways in which these 'negative' stereotypes could be usurped and co-opted by Phrygians as an element of their own cultural identity. In Chapter 3, Claude Brixhe charts the development of Phrygian naming practices from the Iron Age to Late Antiquity: he shows that changes in Phrygian onomastics over time and space are closely linked to the wider historical trajectories of the region.

In Chapter 4, Ute Kelp is concerned with Phrygian 'culture' in the broadest sense; drawing on grave monuments and local mythologies of the Roman Imperial period, she offers a compelling account of changing local identities and communal self-definition. One of our chief sources for Phrygian social history is the rich figurative iconography with which Phrygians decorated their tombstones; this complex visual language of hair styles, clothing and tools is subjected to a ground-breaking analysis by Jane Masségliá (Chapter 5). In Chapter 6, I attempt to do something similar for the structure of the Phrygian household of the later Roman Imperial period, as represented in the funerary epigraphy of the Upper Tembris valley. Georgy Kantor (Chapter 7) provides a definitive survey of the impact of the Roman Imperial state on the institutions of the region (law, government and administration) through the Late Republican and early Imperial periods.



In Chapter 8, Stephen Mitchell takes us to Temenouthyrai (modern Uşak) in western Phrygia, and a remarkable group of early Christian tombstones, dated by Mitchell to the late second or very early third century AD. These monuments show us a wealthy and confident Christian community of the Severan era, thoroughly integrated with their non-Christian neighbours, and prepared to make ‘a strong and lasting investment in their secular environment’. Early Christian funerary monuments are also the theme of Édouard Chiricat’s contribution (Chapter 9); his chief interest is the so-called ‘crypto-Christian’ epitaphs of second- and third-century Phrygia. In Chapter 10, Philipp Niewöhner uses the evidence of fourth- to sixth-century secular and ecclesiastical stonemasonry, the work above all of the famous quarries at Dokimeion, to make a strong case for the persistence of Phrygian regional distinctiveness deep into Late Antiquity. Charlotte Roueché rounds off the volume (Chapter 11) with an account of the early history of British and American exploration in Phrygia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The conference out of which this book developed was held under the aegis of the research project *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI: Monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia* (2009–13), generously funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. The chief aim of this project was to make available some 387 inscriptions and other ancient monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia recorded by William Calder (1881–1960) and Michael Ballance (†27 July 2006) in the course of annual expeditions to inner Anatolia between 1954 and 1957. The corpus of monuments is already fully available online (<http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk>), and is due to be published shortly in book form (as a JRS Supplementary Volume, published by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies). My thanks go to the other members of the MAMA project, Édouard Chiricat, Charles Crowther, Maggy Sasanow, Henriette Roued-Cunliffe and Joe Talbot; to Wadham College, for hosting the conference out of which this volume developed; and to my editor at Cambridge University Press, Michael Sharp, for his enthusiasm and support.

## Abbreviations

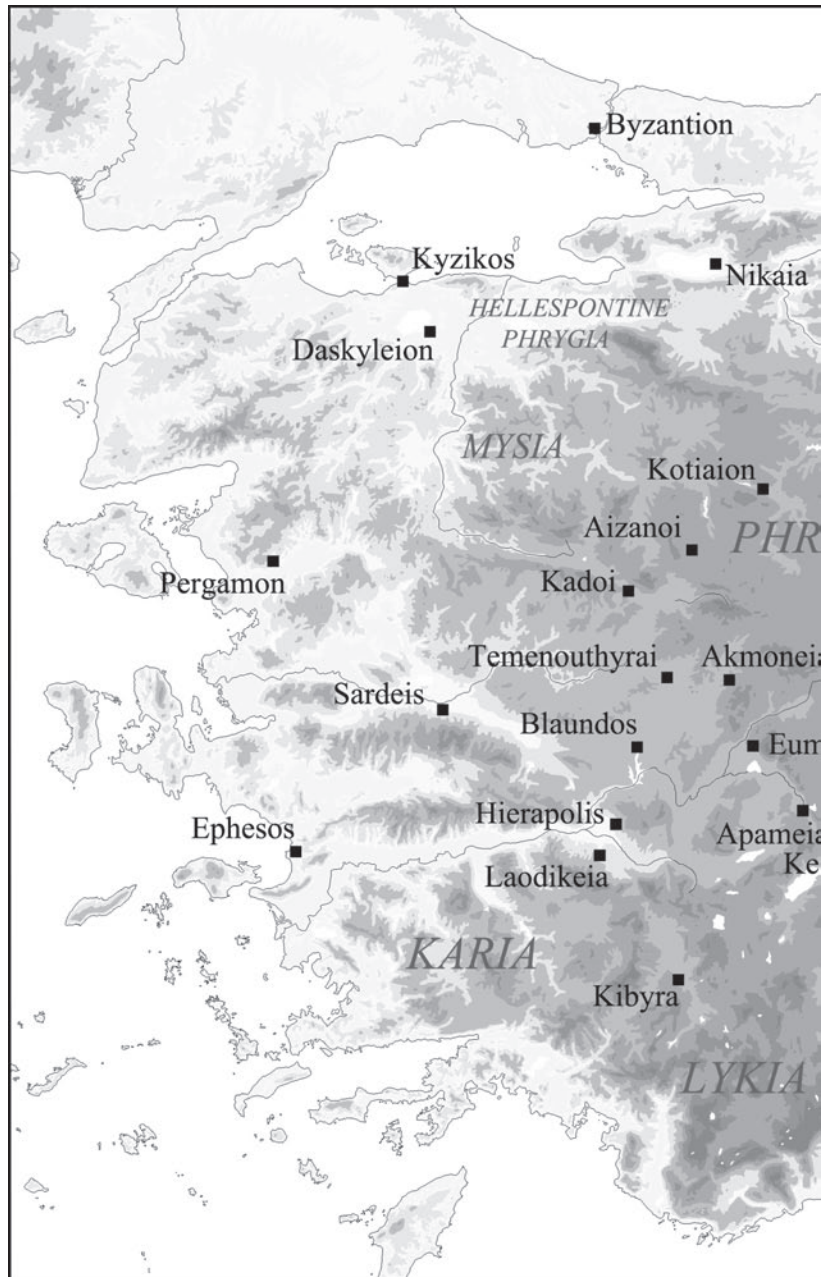
Abbreviations follow those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* for references to ancient literary sources and those of *Année philologique* for titles of journals, with the following additions and variations:

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique.</i>
<i>AvH</i>	C. Humann, C. Cichorius, W. Judeich and F. Winter, <i>Altertümer von Hierapolis.</i> Berlin, 1898.
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , annually in <i>REG.</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.</i> Berlin, 1895–.
<i>BMC Phrygia</i>	B. V. Head, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia.</i> London, 1906.
<i>BMCRE III</i>	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum III: Nerva to Hadrian.</i> London, 1936.
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>Coll. Wadd.</i>	E. Babelon, <i>Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington.</i> Paris, 1898.
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly.</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.</i> Berlin and Leiden: 1923–.
<i>FIRA</i>	S. Riccobono, G. Furlani, G. Arangio-Ruiz, C. Ferrini and G. Baviera, <i>Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani.</i> 3 vols. Second edition. Florence, 1940–43.
<i>I.Anazarbos</i>	M. H. Sayar, <i>Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung.</i> IGSK 56. Bonn, 2000.
<i>I.Antioche de Pisidie</i>	M. A. Byrne and G. Labarre, <i>Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie d'après les Note-books de W.M. Ramsay.</i> IGSK 67. Bonn, 2006.
<i>I.BurdurMus</i>	G. H. R. Horsley, <i>RECAM V: The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum.</i> Ankara, 2007.

<i>I.Denizli</i>	E. Miranda and F. Guizzi, <i>Museo Archaeologico di Denizli-Hierapolis. Catalogo delle iscrizioni greche e latine: Distretto di Denizli</i> . Naples, 2008.
<i>I.Didyma</i>	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma II. Die Inschriften</i> . Berlin, 1958.
<i>I.Ephesos</i>	H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al., <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> . 7 vols. IGSK 11–17. Bonn, 1979–81.
<i>I.Ilion</i>	P. Frisch, <i>Die Inschriften von Ilion</i> . IGSK 3. Bonn, 1975.
<i>I.Iznik</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von İznik (Nikaia)</i> . 2 vols. in 4. IGSK 9–10. Bonn, 1979–87.
<i>I.Kios</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Kios</i> . IGSK 29. Bonn, 1985.
<i>I.Klaudiu Polis</i>	F. Becker-Bertau, <i>Die Inschriften von Klaudiu Polis</i> . IGSK 31. Bonn, 1986.
<i>I.Laodikeia</i>	T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos. I</i> . IGSK 49. Bonn, 1997.
<i>I.Pergamon</i>	M. Fränkel, E. Fabricius and K. Schuhhardt, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> . 2 vols. Berlin, 1890–5.
<i>I.Pessinous</i>	J. Strubbe, <i>The Inscriptions of Pessinous</i> . IGSK 66. Bonn, 2005.
<i>I.Pis.Cent.</i>	G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell, <i>The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia</i> . IGSK 57. Bonn, 2000.
<i>I.Priene</i>	F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> . Berlin, 1906.
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	G. Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> . 2 vols. in 3. IGSK 23–4. Bonn, 1982–90.
<i>I.Sultan Dağ</i>	L. Jonnes, <i>The Inscriptions of the Sultan Dağı. I</i> . IGSK 62. Bonn, 2002.
<i>IAPH2007</i>	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché and G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias (2007)</i> : <a href="http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007">http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007</a> .
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> .
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> . 3 vols. Paris, 1906–27.
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . 3 vols. in 5. Berlin, 1892–1916.
<i>ISE</i>	<i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> .
<i>LBW</i>	P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure</i> . 2 vols. Paris, 1870.
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> .
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . 8 vols. Zürich, Munich and Düsseldorf, 1981–99.
<i>MAMA I</i>	W. M. Calder, <i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I</i> . Manchester, 1928.

- MAMA IV W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*. Manchester, 1933.
- MAMA V C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua V: Monuments from Dorylaeum and Nacolea*. Manchester, 1937.
- MAMA VI W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VI: Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*. Manchester, 1939.
- MAMA VII W. M. Calder, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua VII: Eastern Phrygia*. Manchester, 1956.
- MAMA VIII W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IV: Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*. Manchester, 1962.
- MAMA IX B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX: Inscriptions from Aezani and the Aezanitis*. London, 1988.
- MAMA X B. Levick, S. Mitchell, J. Potter and M. Waelkens, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua X: Monuments of Cotiaeaum, the Upper Tembris Valley, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra Sidera and Tiberiopolis*. London, 1993.
- MAMA XI P. Thonemann, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua XI: Monuments from Phrygia and Lycaonia*. <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/>
- OGIS W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5. *P.Ross.Georg. Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*.
- PIR<sup>2</sup> *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd edn. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–.
- PMG D. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford, 1962.
- Ramsay, *Phrygia* W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*. Oxford, 1895–7. Vol. I. Part I: *The Lycus Valley and South-Western Phrygia*. Vol. I. Part II: *West and West-Central Phrygia*. Vol. II (on Northern Phrygia) never appeared; the two published volumes are referred to throughout as I and II.
- RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- RECAM II S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor 2: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia*. Oxford, 1982.

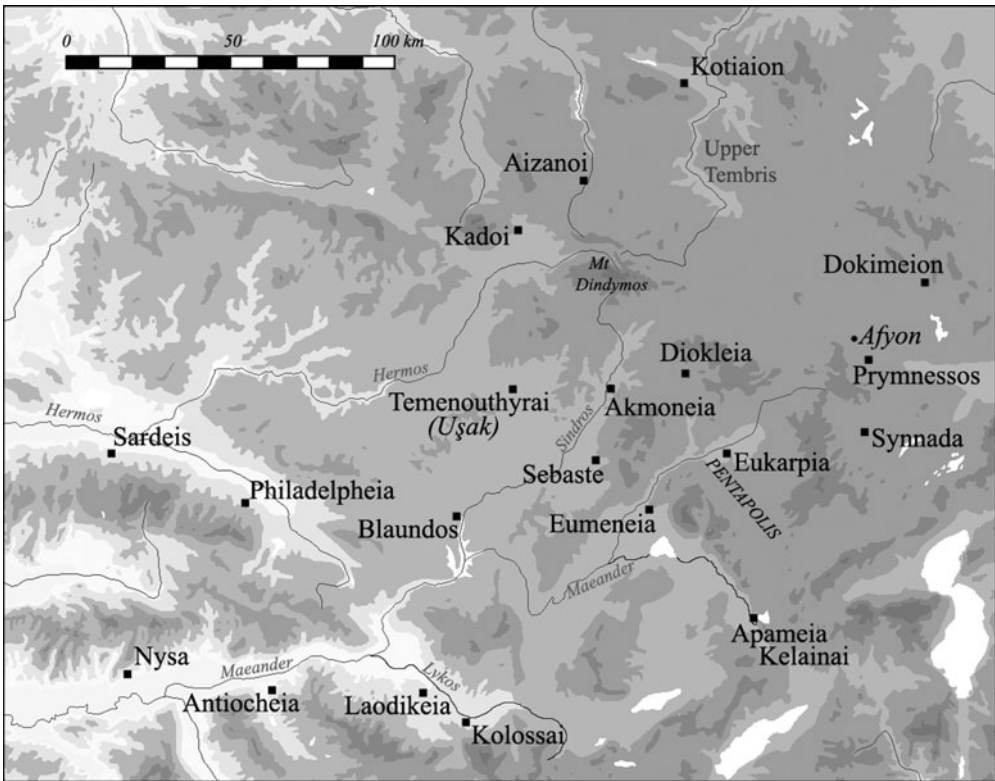
<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage.</i>
Robert, <i>Hellenica</i>	L. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques</i> . 13 vols. Paris, 1940–65.
Robert, <i>OMS</i>	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> . 7 vols. Amsterdam, 1969–90.
<i>RPC</i>	A. Burnett and M. Amandry (eds.), <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> . London and Paris, 1992–. I. <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)</i> . II. <i>From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)</i> . VII. <i>De Gordien Ier à Gordien III (238–244 après J.-C.) 1. Province d'Asie</i> .
<i>Sardis VII 1</i>	W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, <i>Sardis VII, Part 1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> . Leiden, 1932.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> .
<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1915–24.
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> .
<i>TIB Galatien</i>	K. Belke, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 4. Galatien und Lykaonien</i> . Vienna, 1984.
<i>TIB Phrygien</i>	K. Belke and N. Mersich, <i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini 7. Phrygien und Pisidien</i> . Vienna, 1990.
<i>TrGF</i>	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> .



Map 1. Ancient Phrygia.







Map 2. Western and southern Phrygia.