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# Beyond Local Munificence: Some Remarks on Imperial and Communal Funding for Building in the Cities of Roman Asia, from Augustus to the Tetrarchic Era

Anne-Valérie Pont

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a cura di Giuliano Volpe*

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# ANCIENT QUARRIES AND BUILDING SITES IN ASIA MINOR

Research on Hierapolis in Phrygia  
and other cities in south-western Anatolia:  
archaeology, archaeometry, conservation

*edited by  
Tommaso Ismaelli and Giuseppe Scardozzi*

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*E S T R A T T O*

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# BEYOND LOCAL MUNIFICENCE: SOME REMARKS ON IMPERIAL AND COMMUNAL FUNDING FOR BUILDING IN THE CITIES OF ROMAN ASIA FROM AUGUSTUS TO THE TETRARCHIC ERA

Anne-Valérie Pont

**ABSTRACT** - The aim of this article is to review evidence of Imperial benefactions and civic funding in the area of local public building in Asia from Augustus to the Tetrarchic era. Discussion of the results of previous studies shows that what is called Imperial building in the cities was a practice which was both rare and complying with restricted ideological and practical rules. At the same time, cities of all sizes funded many building or restoration operations in the High Empire. The data from the Tetrarchic era will then be compared to those from the High Empire and to *Code of Justinian* 11.42. Finally, it appears that after the end of the habitus of local munificence for building operations, what predominates is a sense of administrative routine, directly rooted in the rules known from the correspondence between Trajan and Plinius or from the *de officio proconsulis*.

**KEYWORD:** Imperial benefactions, civic funding, governors, local munificence, Asia Minor.

<sup>1</sup> In Asia during the High Empire see mainly, with previous bibliography, ZUIDERHOEK 2009; PONT 2010b (*SEG* 60, 1906), particularly 297-416; on Africa, JACQUES 1984, 687-787, with Appendix no. 6 *La législation et la jurisprudence à propos de l'évergétisme* is not superseded but is only rarely used (for example, it is not cited in NG 2015, in spite of her aim to analyse legal texts in order to understand the perpetuation of the gifts in the cities). VEYNE 1976 must evidently be mentioned, as well as ANDREAU, SCHNAPP, PANTEL 1978. The comparatist perspective may reveal interesting aspects of local *habitus* (e.g. F. Jacques states that in Africa many theatres and temples were built thanks to posthumous gifts, which was not the case in Asia, cf. PONT 2010b, 364; one can also note the propensity to state the sums involved in Africa, PONT 2010b, 378). It is also the case concerning the relationship of the cities to the central power and its norms, as it is the case for the *summa honoraria* in Africa, which proceeded directly from Roman norms or was imitated from them, but which is rarely found in its strict definition in the Greek cities of Asia (PONT 2010b, 357-358).

<sup>2</sup> MITCHELL 1987, 363.

<sup>3</sup> MITCHELL 1987, 348, according to whom "Imperial funding may be well disguised", an idea which merits discussion.

<sup>4</sup> MILLAR 1977; *IG Bulg* 1<sup>2</sup>, 57 (but note a different reading by MITCHELL 1987, 340, who supposes private and Imperial contributions). For the title *ktistês* conferred on Emperors, see PONT 2007.

Local munificence in its multiple forms, and particularly in the domain of building activities, has attracted much scholarly attention, as is normal for a phenomenon so greatly commemorated in the honorific inscriptions from the Roman period. The provinces of Africa Proconsularis and of Asia appear at the forefront of such studies. Comparatist perspectives between these two prestigious provinces, which contained the greatest number of cities, may prove interesting in order to best delineate the main features of each regional culture and their adaptation to the Roman central power<sup>1</sup>. Besides, in my view, there is not really much to add to the study by François Jacques of the duties of the benefactors once they had promised a gift: *Le privilège de liberté*, in spite of a somewhat misleading title, contains some of the most illuminating pages on the subject. But two other very different sources might also fund public building in the cities: communal resources and Imperial benefactions. Much has been written on these subjects too, though less on the former than on the latter; a reassessment of the most recent evidence on these subjects may prove useful. The questions of communal and Imperial funding, and of legal and ethical norms at both levels, are important not only for urban history, but also to shed light on the way the central power conceived of its relationship with what were mainly *ciuitates peregrinae* of Hellenic tradition and culture. At the same time, these subjects may also say something about the internal evolutions of the Greek cities up to the end of Tetrarchic era.

## Imperial building: a "blurred and indistinct" picture?<sup>2</sup>

To account for the reality of Imperial building activity, one should consider several contexts in which it is not implied, unless explicit proof is given. The Imperial figure is often credited with much more than what he actually did, and this may come to obfuscate the reality of the relationships between cities and Empire<sup>3</sup>. This is the reason why I shall begin by reviewing several contexts behind which Imperial funding or initiatives do not lie.

a. The designation of the Emperor as *ktistês* did not normally mean that he funded any building; it can be linked to the granting of an authorization to build something or to the gift of a "privilege". It is interesting to note that in Odessos, to leave Asia for a moment, Tiberius was hailed as *ktistês tou kainou peribolou*, but significantly, the inscription mentioning this title for the Emperor only commemorates the munificence of a local citizen named Apollonios<sup>4</sup>. The letter of Caracalla to Philadelphia in Lydia

<sup>5</sup> IGR IV, 1619; same interpretation in MITCHELL 1987, 343-344.

<sup>6</sup> BOULAY, PONT 2014, 81-113. About the eponymous magistrates in Colophon, see also FERRARY 2014, 76, on the eponymy of Hadrian dating from 136/7.

<sup>7</sup> On this, a good example is the father of Apuleius (*Ap.*, 24.9: *in qua colonia patrem habui loco principis Huiralem cunctis honoribus perfunctum*). I would like to thank Christopher Jones to whom I owe this example.

<sup>8</sup> BOULAY, PONT 2014, 109, with references and bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> See notes 16 and 41 for Ephesus under Domitian, and Smyrna under Hadrian.

<sup>10</sup> For a presumption of Imperial funding in Pisidian Antioch, see MITCHELL 1987, 348-349; WINTER 1996, no. 96a on the temple of Hadrian in Cyzicus, but a different view in PONT 2008. About *koinon* funding, PONT 2010b, 278-296.

<sup>11</sup> For example, the temple of the street of the Curetes in Ephesus was certainly not such a temple: cf. PONT 2010b; PONT 2011 on this temple and about the Serapieion (cf. previously PRICE 1984, no. 35 and HALFMANN 2004, 60-61); QUATEMBER 2010a for its building history. Generally, see PRICE 1984 and, for the references listed which are not related to temples of local Imperial cult, PONT 2010b, 522, no. 261.

<sup>12</sup> MITCHELL 1987, 357, on *HA Hadr.* 19.1, which does not deal with that subject.

<sup>13</sup> MÜLLER 2009 (*AE* 2009, 1381).

<sup>14</sup> PONT 2010b, 265-266; for the methodological difficulties using Byzantine sources for that subject, PONT 2010b, 463; PONT 2008 and PONT 2010a. Imperial legislation on the name given to buildings: MACER, *dig.*, 50.10.3.2; ULP., *dig.*, 50.10.2.pr and 2; CALL., *dig.*, 50.10.7.1.

<sup>15</sup> Name of the gymnasium: *IK*, 13-Ephesos, 633, 661, 621 (from ca. 100, 140-150 and the third century).

<sup>16</sup> *RPC Consolidated Supplement*, S-3-II-1073A; the reverse bears the legend ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΙΑ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΗ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ, ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ and shows an epebe.

provides another good example: *Antōninos s'ektize* only means that Caracalla granted an Imperial *neokoria* (but no temple and no funding)<sup>5</sup>.

b. The designation of the Emperor as eponymous magistrate cannot be linked to financial expectation. It seems to have corresponded mainly to local institutional modes, as suggested by the fact that the geographical expansion of the designation of the Emperor was limited. Most frequently it aimed at little more than filling the local calendar with a great name, as can be observed in Iasus<sup>6</sup>. In the West (or in the Roman colonies), the purpose was different, as substitutes for the Emperor are known and the designation of the Emperor as magistrate appears above all as a means of illustration for his “prefect”<sup>7</sup>. It is but very logical: an eponymous magistracy and a duumvirate, though both at the topmost levels of local office, did not cover the same functions. In the cities of western Asia Minor on the other hand, Imperial benefactions might occur when the Emperor accepted (rarely) to be a magistrate or a liturgist, i.e. for functions different to eponymy, though these benefactions were rarely directed to building operations for the known cases<sup>8</sup>.

c. The grant of an Imperial neocory could be accompanied by gifts<sup>9</sup>, but a temple, when one was built, was subsidized by the cities of the *koinon*<sup>10</sup>. The temples of the local Imperial cult, when aptly identified<sup>11</sup>, were funded either privately or communally<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, the Emperor, from Hadrian on, refused to grant the right to build neocorate temples. In the last months of his reign (December 137), Hadrian denied the Pergamenes such a right, because of the cost for the cities of Asia, or for the Pergamenes themselves in case they proposed building a temple using their own means. The letter from Hadrian was engraved only because it granted the right to erect a statue of the prince in the temple of Trajan<sup>13</sup>.

d. The name of a building can be misleading: when a building is named after a private citizen, this means that he actually provided gifts for it, but no such conclusion can be drawn from an Imperial name<sup>14</sup>. Actually, buildings funded communally were likely to bear an Imperial name: the aqueduct of Trajan at Smyrna (*IK*, 24.1-Smyrna, 681) being a good example, as well as Apamea in Bithynia which *balineum Hadrianum pecunia publica dedicauit* (*CIL* III, 6992). Nothing indicates that the building of the ‘Augustan gymnasium’ in Ephesus was funded by means other than communal and private<sup>15</sup>, whereas it was in fact endowed with a perpetual gymnasiarchy by Domitian<sup>16</sup>. This last case leads to considerations about “Faustian baths”, of which two examples seem to be known, in Miletus (the bath or gymnasium of Faustina), and in the *Life of Abercius*, which takes place in Hierapolis of the Pentapolis. As a matter of fact, if an Empress had funded these baths (and if they were public and not private, which is uncertain), this fact would change the picture drawn here. First, Miletus: a gymnasium in the town bore that name, but no preserved inscription hints at Imperial funding. On the other hand, an inscription commemorates the benefactions of a priest of Apollo of Didyma named Menandros, who ornated “the third room of the Faustian gymnasium” with marble. An oracle of Apollo about the building of the monument was also discovered in a fragmentary state in the great room of the thermal part of the building; the lettering is qualified by Albert Rehm as “*Schöne Schrift um 100 n. Chr.*”, which indicates strongly against the possibility of an Imperial Faustina having funded it<sup>17</sup>. Furthermore, a Domitia Faustina is known as having been a member of a pow-

<sup>17</sup> *Didyma*, 84 (του Φαυστινείου γυμνασίου); also in *Milet* I.9, 339, 340 and 343 (Φαυστινής λοετρών). Oracle: *Milet* I.9, 345.

erful Milesian family, a group of *Lucii Domitii*; she was also an agonothete<sup>18</sup>. At this point, there are two possible ways to understand the denomination of the “Faustian baths”: this Milesian lady was, perhaps, the main benefactor for the baths; or, an Imperial name was given to this building *a posteriori*, without any Imperial funding being connected to it. In both cases, a difficulty is raised by the scarcity of buildings named after women, either local citizens or Empresses, but this should not constitute a major obstacle, since, in the first case, several women, when liturgists, priestesses, or simply out of any civic function, are known to have greatly contributed to the monumental buildings in their cities<sup>19</sup>. Then, Hierapolis of the Pentapolis: in the *Life of Abercius* it is claimed that Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, provided funding for the foundation of the baths located in *Agros Thermôn*, on the territory of the city, 4 km from the urban centre. Yet, P. Thonemann’s study of the *Life of Abercius* shows that it was composed incorporating local epigraphical material<sup>20</sup>. The subsidizing of such a building by a member of the Imperial family on the territory of the city, but not located in a great sanctuary, looks doubtful, though it must be taken into account that baths may well have been erected in *Agros Thermôn*, bearing the name of Faustina. The baths in Miletus can be used as a parallel, only in the alternative possibilities that I have proposed (local benefactress or Imperial naming)<sup>21</sup>. It may also be noted that baths outside urban centres may have been located on private estates<sup>22</sup>.

e. The case of Alexandria Troas merits further reflection. According to Philostratus, Herodes Atticus used the argument of the antiquity of the city in order to ask the Emperor to fund the building of an aqueduct and of a fountain in the town centre (they were ultimately designed to supply the baths with water). Hadrian agreed and bestowed the three million drachmae requested, to be used under the *curatela* of Herodes; but, after complaints by the procurators of Asia about the spending of the tribute of 500 cities for the benefit of one when the budget surpassed 7 million, Atticus and his father decided to pay for what had been spent over and above the first three million<sup>23</sup>. As *Trôas* refers to Alexandria Troas, and not to Ilium, one must note that it was not the free city of Ilium which benefited from the generosity of the prince, but the Roman colony, endowed with *ius Italicum*, a Roman city from a legal point of view<sup>24</sup>. F. Millar notes that this story illustrates the disbalance between public and private wealth; it also reveals a disbalance in the relationship between, on the one hand, Roman cities and the central power, and on the other hand, *ciuitates peregrinae* and the central power<sup>25</sup>. So, to sum up Hadrian’s architectural benefactions which are known towards the cities of Asia, the balance is as such: Smyrna (a sum of money for the completion of a grain market and of a temple of Zeus, and the gift of columns for a gymnasium); Ephesus, for harbour works; Claros and Teos for the renovation of their temple – an Ionian tropism of which the Ionians were aware, as Hadrian was hailed *Panionios*<sup>26</sup> (Table 1). One may add Cyzicus, as the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* reports that Hadrian had the sacred way between the town and the neocorate temple paved (p. 475). It is interesting to note that he rebuilt the tomb of Ajax and gave a statue or wrote an epigram for Hector in Ilium, Alcibiades in Melissa, and Archilochus in Paros – but these are not “architectural gifts”<sup>27</sup>.

f. If one were to enlarge the focus to include the question of Imperial incentive, it might be an *a priori* when it comes to the subject of Imperial politics, to suppose that after the time of Augustus, the process of building in the cities of Asia was a genuine Imperial concern<sup>28</sup>. Even at the time of Augustus, what can be observed after the invasion of Labienus and the disorders of the civil wars, are above all actions aimed at

<sup>18</sup> *Didyma*, 154, 173, 183, 184. Cf. VAN BREMEN 1996, 325 and 390.

<sup>19</sup> PONT 2010b, 334-344. Note, in Didyma, a female hydrophoros who gave the bronze doors of the temple of Artemis (*Didyma*, 381).

<sup>20</sup> *Vita Abercii*, 66 (ed. Th. Nissen). Cf. BELKE, MERSICH 1990, 172-173, s.v. *Agros Thermôn*.

<sup>21</sup> The interpretation of the name as sign of Imperial funding is favoured, in both cases, by THONEMANN 2011, 86 and note 83, and THONEMANN 2012, 273.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the baths built by Curtia Iulia Valentilla and her daughter Curtia Flauia Archelais Valentilla, both *hypatikai*, in Katakakaumenê Lydia: TAM V, 1, 73, 273, 279 and PETZL 1996 (*SEG* 46, 1496).

<sup>23</sup> PHILOSTR., *VS*, 2.1 [548].

<sup>24</sup> *Dig.* 50.15.7. A summary of the history of Alexandria, known afterwards as *Colonia Augusta Troas* and finally as *Colonia Augusta Alexandria Troas* after the visit of Caracalla in 214 is given by HOSTEIN, MAIRAT 2015, 223-224.

<sup>25</sup> MILLAR 1977, 199.

<sup>26</sup> On Metropolis and Apollonia on the Rhyndakos, diverging views in MITCHELL 1987, 358 and PONT 2010b, 462. This is, nevertheless, to be compared with the treatment of Athens and Achaëa by Hadrian: MITCHELL 1987, 357-360.

<sup>27</sup> BOATWRIGHT 2000, 140-142. References: Ilium: PHILOSTR., *Her.*, 8.1; Melissa (Phrygia): ATH., 13.574F; Paros: *AG* 7.674.

<sup>28</sup> WINTER 1996 and BARRESI 2003 are of much interest on different aspects of the building operations, but regularly overestimate the financing of buildings by the Emperors (e.g. BARRESI 2003, 30, 34, 212-214; on WINTER 1996, see the following note).

<sup>29</sup> It is all well known: cf. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 24; STR. 13.1.30; *IK*, 5-Kyme, 17; the Ephesian dossier, *IK*, 15-Ephesos, 1522 and 1523. Cf. PONT 2010b, 466–467 on several documents used by WINTER 1996 to adduce a monumental action, which they do not prove in any way.

<sup>30</sup> *IK*, 15-Ephesos, 1491; KOKKINIA 2003.

<sup>31</sup> REYNOLDS 2000 (*SEG* 50, 1096).

<sup>32</sup> *IK*, 12-Ephesos, 212.

<sup>33</sup> NG 2015, 103 (but corrections necessary to note 9).

<sup>34</sup> Hadrian in Letter I, 2 from Alexandria Troas, see translation by JONES 2007, 153; *Dig.* 50.8.4.

<sup>35</sup> A similar hierarchy between games and restoration in Lepcis Magna: cf. *IRT2009*, 396 and JACQUES 1984, 768.

<sup>36</sup> Transl. JONES 2007, 153. See PETZL, SCHWERTHEIM 2006; JONES 2007; STRASSER 2010. About Letter I, l. 17, cf. the diverging views of JONES 2007, 147 and STRASSER 2010, 593, note 29 (after PETZL, SCHWERTHEIM 2006), on *to ergon prassein*.

<sup>37</sup> On these themes, and for further bibliography, see PONT 2010b, 481–484, and PONT 2011.

<sup>38</sup> CEDRENUS, 1.565.7; *Didyma*, 55–57 to be completed by EHRHARDT, WEISS 2011; D. CHR., 40.14.

<sup>39</sup> MITCHELL 1987.

<sup>40</sup> For example, consider also ULP., *frag.*, 22.6, according to whom some sanctuaries of the Empire had the right to inherit; eight are mentioned, half of which are in Asia (Apollo of Didyma, Minerva in Ilion, Artemis Ephesia, the mother of the gods on the Sipylus).

<sup>41</sup> A gymnasium completed in Smyrna and a grain-market built (PHILOSTR., 1.25 [531]) and, in Ephesus, aqueducts and the harbour (*IK*, 12-Ephesos, 401, 402; KNIBBE, İPLİKÇİOĞLU 1984, 121; harbour: *IK*, 12-Ephesos, 274 – other sponsors are known for other interventions in this part of the city and it was not conceived that the strategic importance of the harbour should have justified only Imperial funding). Aqueduct in Sardis, *Sardis*, 10 (perhaps linked to the aftermath of the earthquake in 17).

the recovery of public and sacred properties by their legal owners<sup>29</sup>. Only a few Imperial letters intervened in the realm of promoting the process of building: it was not exactly what Antoninus Pius did when he congratulated the Ephesians for having a citizen such as P. Vedius Antoninus (and he did not oppose them: the interpretation by C. Kokkinia must be accepted, in my opinion, considering the dossier which she presents<sup>30</sup>). The authorization given by Hadrian to the city of Aphrodisias to use the funds of the high priests to repair an aqueduct instead of organizing gladiatorial games does not originate from an incentive of the Emperor<sup>31</sup>. Julia Domna also expressed appreciation of the [*megethos*] *kai kallos* of Ephesus<sup>32</sup>. Consequently, the Emperor does not look “contradictory”<sup>33</sup> when it comes to this subject, which does not appear, under normal circumstances, as being at the core of Imperial preoccupations; he was only being pragmatic, with a prioritization of local funding which emerges as following: 1) maintaining or increasing funds for grain<sup>34</sup>; 2) depending on circumstances, buildings or *agônes* were considered favourably; 3) the gladiatorial games come last, as well as distributions: this was explicit in the letter of Antoninus to the Ephesians<sup>35</sup>. In the dossier from Alexandria Troas relating to the Dionysiac artists, Hadrian ordered “all contests to be held, and that it not be permitted for a city to divert funds (destined for) a contest held according to law, decree or will to other expenses, nor do I permit to be used on the construction of a building money from which prizes are offered to contestants or (from which) contributions are given to victors”<sup>36</sup>. The question of an incentive coming from above to direct local ambitions towards the building of monuments during the two first centuries of the Principate seems, most often, to require a negative answer<sup>37</sup>: the *kosmos tês poleôs* was elaborated as a local or regional ideal, conveying communal and Greek values.

From this review of subjects, it can be concluded that, whereas a financially euergetic conduct was expected from local elites, the case of the Emperor was different. It is true that the honorific inscriptions for the Emperor provide the feeling that he was frequently a funding benefactor, because of formulas or titles (such as *euergetês* or *ktistês*), which are imprecise for the reader of the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, but which were certainly perfectly clear during the Principate. It may have been common knowledge that the Emperor, under normal circumstances – which means when there were no natural catastrophes – might rarely fund any building, and almost never in small or medium-sized cities (the reason for the exception of Claros, the well-known sanctuary of Colophon, being obvious).

It is now time to proceed to the real funding of local public buildings by the Emperor. The *habitus* of Imperial building in the province of Asia can be delineated in readable categories, contrary to previous opinion. The euergetic action of the Emperors towards great sanctuaries in western Asia Minor should be mentioned first, because of its consistency. The cases of Augustus or Hadrian are obvious, but Trajan should also be taken into consideration: he gave the bronze doors of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, repaired the sacred way in Didyma, and presented Smyrna with the cult statues of the Nemeseis and a sum of money<sup>38</sup>. These are not “civilian buildings”, the first category itemized by S. Mitchell<sup>39</sup>. In this category, which is only second to the first, if one considers the ideological reach of the respect shown to the gods of the Greek cities<sup>40</sup>, only the main cities of Asia are known to have been given funding for buildings by the Emperor, i.e. Ephesus, Sardis and Smyrna<sup>41</sup>. Ephesus and Smyrna also benefited from the gift of marble from Imperial quarries: an inscription from Smyrna makes

EMPEROR	CITY	MONUMENT	REFERENCE
Augustus	Ilium	Temple	IK, 3-Ilium, 84
Claudius	Samos	Temple	IG, XII, 6, 1, 483
Trajan	Miletus	Sacred way	Didyma, 55-57
Trajan	Smyrna	Statues of the Nemeseis	D.CHR. 40.14
Trajan	Ephesus	Gift of the bronze doors of the Artemision	CEDRENIUS 1.565.7
Hadrian	Smyrna	Temple on the Mimas (gift of money)	PHILOSTR., VS, 1.25 [531]
Hadrian	Cyzicus	Sacred way	Chronicon Paschale p. 475
Hadrian	Claros	Temple of Apollo	FERRARY 2000, 370-376
Hadrian	Teos	Temple of Dionysus	FERRARY 2000, 370-376
Hadrian	Smyrna	Gymnasium (columns and money)	IK, 24.1-Smyrna, 697; PHILOSTR., VS, 1.25 [531]
Augustus	Ephesus	<i>aqua Iulia</i>	IK, 12-Ephesus, 401
Augustus and Tiberius	Ephesus	<i>aqua Throessitica</i>	IK, 12-Ephesus, 402
Claudius	Sardis	Aqueduct	Sardis 10
Nero	Ephesus	Aqueduct repaired in the Cayster valley	KNIBBE, İPLİKÇİOĞLU 1984, 121
Hadrian	Smyrna	Corn-market (gift of money)	PHILOSTR., VS, 1.25 [531]
Hadrian	Ephesus	Harbour	IK, 12-Ephesus, 274

**Table 1. The funding of civic public buildings by the Emperors (by type of building).**

The funding directly linked to earthquakes is not included. Only direct contributions are included (for example, honorific crediting is excluded, as in the case of the restoration of a wall in the Artemision thanks to the recovery of sacred revenues, IK, 15-Ephesus, 1522).

<sup>42</sup> IK, 24.1-Smyrna, 697.

<sup>43</sup> IK, 15-Ephesus, 1591; on this meaning of *kosmos* in epigraphical data, cf. PONT 2010b, 240-241.

<sup>44</sup> AELIUS ARISTIDES, *Or.*, 27.17.

<sup>45</sup> PONT 2010b, 460-477; JONES 2014.

<sup>46</sup> TAC., *Ann.*, 14.27.

<sup>47</sup> Different methodology in WINTER 1996 or BARRESI 2003. The case of a *basileios aulê* in Cyzicus under Vespasian merits discussion, although one is at pains to understand it (*Schol. in Aristidem*, 1.391.7). This expression finds a parallel in EUS., *HE*, 5.20.4 (Εἶδον γὰρ σε, παῖς ἔτι ὄν, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσία παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πρᾶσσοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ καὶ πευρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ). In the second case, it is probable that this phrase is related to Polycarpus and his frequent presence in the basilica on the agora of Smyrna. The author of the scholia states that it was built by the Emperor; the reason for such an attribution could be the name of the monument or, most probably, the phrasing of the dedication with the name of the Emperor, a kind of error which is frequent in Byzantine authors.

<sup>48</sup> MITCHELL 1987, 364-365.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. MIGEOTTE 2014, 297 note 140, 346-349, 372-381 (but the assimilation of the behavior of Hellenistic kings and Roman Emperors is too mechanical on 380-381: the phrase “(les cités) obtenaient fréquemment l'aide d'un évergète ou de plusieurs, notamment celle des rois à la période hellénistique et des empereurs romains à l'époque impériale”, does not describe what can be understood of the data from Roman times). Cf. BRINGMANN, VON STEUBEN 1995-2000.

known the gifts of several citizens to the city, and of Hadrian, who in particular gave marble columns from Synnada, Numidia and Egypt<sup>42</sup>. Furthermore, Antoninus Pius mentions some “help for the ornament of the buildings”, *boètheia eis ton kosmon tôn ergôn* (ll. 10-11)<sup>43</sup> provided to Vedius Antoninus in Ephesus. The white Proconnesian marble used, as we know from Aelius Aristides, for the temple of Hadrian in Cyzicus was not, as far as we know, sponsored: the orator elaborated on the great volume of the marble transported and on its beauty, but does not mention it as an Imperial gift<sup>44</sup>.

Finally, there is the case of catastrophes, for which Imperial action, both euergetic and pragmatic, proved necessary. Besides tribute exemption bestowed by the Senate at the Emperor's invitation, some direct funding by the Emperor is also known. This money was often supplemented by the cities<sup>45</sup>; in the third century, C. Jones describes the “impression of a diminished response” from the Emperor, after having argued that in many cases, including the Early Principate, the Emperors did not provide assistance, or focused their help only on major cities. As a matter of fact, Tacitus wrote that Laodicea had recovered from an earthquake in 60, *nullo a nobis remedio, propriis opibus*<sup>46</sup>.

To sum up: once the figure of the benevolent Emperor became more circumscribed insofar as the building process was concerned, local and regional cultural and ideological purposes appear more clearly. From a methodological point of view, the inventory of the sources and their presentation in a table (above) aim at showing cases which are certain, in order to avoid a description which would resemble more the idea of what the Imperial action may have been, than the mere reality. The data presented are thus more homogeneous and lead to considerably different appreciations to previous ones<sup>47</sup>. Moreover, the observation of S. Mitchell, according to whom no new construction project funded by the Emperor can be found after the time of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius<sup>48</sup>, remains accurate, whereas the amount of epigraphical discoveries from Asia Minor has greatly increased over the past thirty years. During this first period of time, I would emphasize the fact that the financial contribution to the beauty of the great temples of Asia was of foremost importance in relation to the total number of the Imperial building gifts. Lastly, whereas the financial benefactions of Hellenistic kings would concern various cities<sup>49</sup>, it is noticeable that Imperial building in the *ciuitates peregrinae* of Asia appears more selective. This concerned the greatest sanctuaries and cities, and is typical of the constitution, from the Augustan age on, of Imperial geography and hierarchy.

To turn to the time of Diocletian and the Tetrarchic era, no architectural funding is known except in Nicomedia: but this was by then a new Imperial capital<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> For the operations in Nicomedia, see PONT 2009. In Pisidian Antioch, where restoration and building operations were carried out in about 311 under the direction of the governor Diogenes, a building inscription, on an architrave, bears the formula: *propitia maiestate d(ominorum) n(ostrorum)*, which led M. Christol and T. Drew-Bear to suppose that the Emperors helped in some way in the building of the monument (CHRISTOL, DREW BEAR 1999, 55-59).



### The use of communal funds (Table 2)

From the number of concrete instances of governors directing building operations, it can be said that in a way the governor was more liable to appear as an active figure in the building processes than the Emperor. The treatment of urban walls was kept for this section. As a matter of fact, although Imperial authorization was required<sup>51</sup>, the funding of these operations appears to have been local, whether communal or from private citizens, and the governors appear in authoritative roles<sup>52</sup>. The case of Nicea under Claudius Gothicus looks ambiguous, as one inscription mentions the Emperor in the nominative case, while the other designates the city as the subject of the dedication. Considering the previous observations, it is most likely that the walls were financed by communal funds, the presence of a *logistes* providing a clue for the restitution of some revenues to the city<sup>53</sup>. There is no doubt over the local, civic funding of other types of operations directed by the governors: for example, in Ephesus, for the harbour in 61/2, under the direction of Barea Soranus (*quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat*), or for the collection of the water of the Marnas and of the Klaseas in 92/3<sup>54</sup>. It is interesting to note that quite often, as for the walls, the intervention of the governor may be explained by his judicial authority: T. Ismaelli suggests that in Hierapolis Sex. Iulius Frontinus may have controlled the expulsion of property or occupation necessary for the organization of the *plateia* in the urban centre<sup>55</sup>. Lastly, public funds recovered from private individuals may be mentioned in the dedications of the buildings, the construction of which was directed by a governor, although examples are few<sup>56</sup>.

Most often in Asia, when the *polis* appears in the nominative case in the dedications, restorations were involved<sup>57</sup>. Moreover, dedications and honorific inscriptions make individual munificence known; only dedications and mentions, in a career, of the function of *ergepistates*, can provide us with elements about communal funding. When several individuals were involved in a project – it happened quite often for baths, such as the “Hadrianic baths” in Aphrodisias, or theatres, as in Ephesus – many references to the actions of individuals can be found, but there are fewer chances of finding proof of civic funding, although such an association between communal and private resources was frequent<sup>58</sup>. Besides, for reasons briefly summarized by A. Zuiderhoek, one can call into question the presumed constitutional financial weakness of the cities<sup>59</sup>. But as a chapter of the Irnitana law recalls, cities had many other sources of expenditure than the building of monuments<sup>60</sup>. The same source indicates that in the cities organized according to Roman principles, when the *decuriones* wanted to take decisions about buildings, at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of them had to be present in the *curia*, and two-thirds of these had to be in agreement (that means half of all the *decuriones* inscribed in the *album*)<sup>61</sup>. Although this norm was foreign to the Greek cities, it can be supposed that when a conflict arose over a building programme – such as the one encountered by Dio in Prusa, or by Aristio in Ephesus under Trajan – and that there was a risk of someone appealing to a Roman authority, such a qualified majority of the *boulê* would be sought after (the opinion of the *ekklêsia* being certainly indifferent to the Roman judge, as long as contestation was not to turn to a *stasis*).

At the end of the third century, the name of the governor appeared prominently in the operations subsidized by the cities. For the type of operations concerned, they can easily be compared to programmes previously subsidized by the cities: fountains, temples, and walls, this last item being linked to the historical context. As such, all this

<sup>51</sup> *Dig.*, 50.10.6.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the listing of the data in PONT 2010b, 191, and MITCHELL 1987, 339-342.

<sup>53</sup> *IK*, 9-Nikaia, 11 and 12 (to be compared with the case of Caesarea of Cappadocia: FRENCH 2007, 96-97, no. 39). On the crediting of the Emperor for operations subsidized locally, see MITCHELL 1987, 347-348.

<sup>54</sup> *IK*, 12-Ephesos, 414 and 415 + ENGELMANN 1977, 203 no. 3, and *IK*, 15-Ephesos, 1530; TAC., *Ann.*, 16.23.

<sup>55</sup> ISMAELLI 2010, 392-393.

<sup>56</sup> *IK*, 12-Ephesos, 459, from the revenues restored to Artemis.

<sup>57</sup> PONT 2010b, 363-368, for analysis of the material.

<sup>58</sup> See also the ambiguity of the dedication under Nero of a bath in Metropolis (*AE* 2010, 1558, and commentary by S. Follet).

<sup>59</sup> ZUIDERHOEK 2009, 40-49; see also MIGEOTTE 2014, 298.

<sup>60</sup> *Lex Irnitana*, c. 79 (*AE* 1986 333 for French translation). Another list in ZUIDERHOEK 2009, 38-39, but perhaps one must prioritize the spending on religious rituals and buildings, some of the gods having their own important revenues, but not necessarily all of them.

<sup>61</sup> *Lex Irnitana*, c. 83.

<sup>62</sup> Dig. 1.16.7.1: *Aedes sacras et opera publica circumire inspiciendi gratia, an sarta tectaque sint vel an aliqua refectione indigeant, et si qua coepta sunt ut consummentur, prout vires eius rei publicae permittunt, curare debet curatoresque operum diligentes sollempniter praepone, ministeria quoque militaria, si opus fuerit, ad curatores adiuvandos dare.*

<sup>63</sup> Phrygia and Caria were separated from Asia in 249; it is possible that the Diocletianic reforms of the provinces began only at the end of the reign, at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. (see MITCHELL 1993, II, 158-163; CHRISTOL, DREW-BEAR 1999, 39-40).

<sup>64</sup> *Cum praesidem provinciae impensas, quae in certaminis editione erogabantur, ad refectionem murorum transtulisse dicas, et quod salubriter deriuatum est non reuocabitur et sollempne certaminis spectaculum post restitutum murorum fabricam iuxta ueteris consuetudinis legem celebrabitur. I. Ita enim et tutelae ciuitatis instructae murorum praesidio prouidebitur et instaurandi agonis uoluptas, confirmatis his quae ad securitatis cautionem spectant, insecuti temporis circuitione repraesentabitur.* See LEPALLEY 1999 for a French translation.

<sup>65</sup> PLIN., *ep.* 10.23-24.

<sup>66</sup> MEN.RH., *Treatise* 2, 423.

<sup>67</sup> MIRANDA DE MARTINO, RITTI, SCARDOZZI 2012, 699-703, no. 9; MIRANDA DE MARTINO 2014.

<sup>68</sup> The urban renewal supervised by the governor M. Valerius Diogenes in Pisidian Antioch shortly before 311 is known through several inscriptions, none of which cites the role of a local man (CHRISTOL, DREW BEAR 1999).

<sup>69</sup> By contrast with EUS., *HE*, 8.11.1 and 9.1.6-7, sometimes understood as implying a universal institution. It is different in Africa: cf. JACQUES 1982, 71.

<sup>70</sup> A different view in MIRANDA DE MARTINO 2012, 703.

<sup>71</sup> ZUIDERHOEK 2009, 37.

conforms to a well known chapter of the *de officio proconsulis*<sup>62</sup>, while the governor could by then more easily control the cities under his jurisdiction thanks to the new provincial scheme, making the provinces more numerous<sup>63</sup>. On that theme, an Imperial constitution found in the *Code of Justinian* merits some observations (*CJ*, 11.42.pr and 1, to Marcellus<sup>64</sup>). This rescript, which validated a decision made by a governor about the change in the use of funds initially designated for an *agôn* (*certaminis editione* and *agonis uoluptas* in the Latin text are clearly not related to Roman *ludi*), echoes the will of Trajan to focus on *necessariae erogationes* in Prusa if money was to lack<sup>65</sup>. As Ulpianus also implied (*prout uires eius rei publicae permittunt*), building (or restoration) operations had to be selected since the financial capacities of each community were limited. Moreover, as previously seen, the governor played a leading role in deciding the works to be carried out on the walls of the cities, which were at stake in the answer given to Marcellus. This control exercised over an unknown eastern city (*agônes* are involved) seems to be directly similar, for the matter concerned and the decision taken, to what we know of previous administrative practices. The concern of Imperial and administrative authorities about the *refectio* of decaying monuments was deeply felt by such a contemporary as Menander Rhetor, from Laodicea<sup>66</sup>.

The discovery of the dedication of works in a sanctuary of the Motaleis, dating from 313, provides new elements for this discussion<sup>67</sup>. If considering the wording of this inscription, which is not comparable to any similar in western Asia Minor<sup>68</sup>, the role of the governor is strictly delineated as the entity having controlled the engraving of the titles of the Emperors – his own name being used too as a dating formula. One may also notice the absence of any *curator ciuitatis*, a fact which corresponds to the coeval epigraphical evidence from the small provinces of the former province of Asia<sup>69</sup>. The role of Aebutius Flaccus Apphianus, *bouleitês*, as supervisor of the works, corresponded to a traditional scheme in the cases when civic funds were involved. As this sanctuary was a traditional one on the territory of the city of Hierapolis, a local impetus may well account for this operation<sup>70</sup>.

On the other hand, an inscription was set up by the Ephesians to honour L. Artorius Pius Maximus, especially for the renovation of the *Sebaston gymnasium*; and a series of epigrams commemorated the action of the proconsul T. Flavius Festus in Didyma. In these inscriptions the governor was openly credited with having taken the initiative for the works. It is possible to carefully explain all this evidence from the Tetrarchic era, via two converging evolutions: the governors being responsible for a smaller number of cities than before, they were able to control them more easily as well, but with substantially the same powers; the cities did not guard their autonomy as jealously as in the old days of the Second Sophistic and would readily display the attention that the governors paid them, when they set about initiating local works.

### Conclusion: what remained when local building munificence disappeared?

A question asked by A. Zuiderhoek is: “What if there were no benefactions?”<sup>71</sup>. The answer given is this: the euergetical benefactions can be considered as a surplus (“the icing on the cake”), and such a thought is stimulating. But when one comes to the specific topic of euergetism related to buildings, this answer needs to be qualified. The evidence presented above shows that the role of the benefactions in the High Empire was foremost for the monumental state of the cities. The Emperor only rarely showed concrete (i.e. financial) “*Baufürsorgung*”, and presumably never past the age of the An-

CITY	DATE	BUILDING	REFERENCE
Ephesus	23/2 BC	Paving of a street	<i>IK</i> , 12-Ephesos, 459
Mylasa	12-2 BC	Temple of Augustus and Rome	<i>IK</i> , 34-Mylasa, 31
Pente Chōria (village)	12/1 BC	Waterworks	ROBERT 1950, 28-34
Priene	beginning of the 1 <sup>st</sup> cent.	Temple of Athena Polias (C)	<i>IPriene</i> , 157
Kaisareia Troketta	under Claudius	Water system	<i>CIG</i> , 3454
Eumeneia	under Nero	Door (?) of the basilica	<i>MAMA IV</i> , 334
Aphrodisias	1 <sup>st</sup> cent.	Palm grove	<i>Lph2007</i> , 12.204
Aezani	under Domitian	Temple of Zeus	<i>SEG</i> 58, 1492
Smyrna	79/80	Aqueduct	<i>IK</i> , 24.1-Smyrna, 680
Miletus	79/80	Fountain	<i>Milet VI.1</i> , pp. 3-4 and 196
Ephesus	80/81	Fountain	<i>IK</i> , 13-Ephesos, 695
Hierapolis	85/86	City gates	<i>IK</i> , 59, 169 (a fragment from the theatre also relates to its construction under Domitian: RITTI 1983, 174-175, no. 1)
Ephesus	85/86	Theatre (P)	<i>IK</i> , 16-Ephesos, 2034
Ephesus	92/93?	Conveyance of the Marnas and fountain	<i>IK</i> , 12-Ephesos 414-415 + ENGELMANN 1977, 203 no. 3; <i>IK</i> , 15-Ephesos, 1530
Ephesus	92	Theatre (P)	<i>IK</i> , 16-Ephesos, 2035
Ephesus	under Domitian	Paving of the Embolos (R)	<i>IK</i> , 17.1-Ephesos, 3008
Smyrna	110/111	Aqueduct (R)	<i>IK</i> , 24.1-Smyrna, 681
Pergamon	under Trajan	Monumental arch on the sacred way	<i>IAsklepieion</i> , 157
Ephesus	under Trajan?	Paving of a street	<i>IK</i> , 12-Ephesos, 422A
Ephesus	under Trajan	Propylaion in the street of the Curetes	<i>IK</i> , 12-Ephesos, 422
Ephesus	beginning of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent.	Aqueduct	<i>IK</i> , 17.2-Ephesos, 4105 + <i>IK</i> , 17.1-Ephesos, 3217a and b
Ephesus	104	Works in the Artemision	<i>IK</i> , 14-Ephesos, 1384
Ephesus	120	Theatre (P)	<i>IK</i> , 16-Ephesos, 2038
Ephesus	ca. 120	Harbour (P)	KNIBBE <i>ET ALII</i> 1993, 122-123
Ephesus	after 130	Theatre (P)	<i>IK</i> , 16-Ephesos, 2039
Larissa (territory of Ephesus)	under Hadrian	<i>Macellum</i>	<i>IK</i> , 17.1-Ephesos, 3271
Aezani	under Antoninus Pius	Aqueduct (R, P)	<i>MAMA IX</i> , 10
Ephesus	mid-2 <sup>nd</sup> cent.	Harbour gymnasium (R)?	<i>IK</i> , 13-Ephesos, 674
Pente Choria	166/7	Portico (P)	ROBERT 1950, 28-34
Thyateira	ca. 170	Magistrates' offices	<i>TAM V</i> , 2, 982 and 991
Eumeneia	173	Aqueduct	<i>MAMA IV</i> , 333
Pergamum	176	Temple of Faustina?	<i>IPergamon</i> , 298
Smyrna	after 177	Western portico in the agora	<i>IK</i> , 24.1-Smyrna, 628
Aphrodisias	second half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent.	Aqueduct	REYNOLDS 2000
Palaiopolis	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent.	<i>Apotheke</i>	<i>SEG</i> 2007, 1130
Stratonicea (Lagina)	2 <sup>nd</sup> cent.	Doors for the Hekateion	<i>IK</i> , 22.1-Stratonikeia, 658
Hadrianoi	end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> -beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent.	Aqueduct	<i>IK</i> , 33-Hadrianoi, 44
Village (territory of Philadelphia)	beginning of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent.	Agora	PETZL 1990, 70 n. 34
Ephesus	206/207 or after	Theatre (R)	<i>IK</i> , 16-Ephesos, 2040
Hierapolis	206/207	Theatre (P)	RITTI 1985, 108
Sardis	211	<i>Alepteron</i> in the great baths	HERRMANN 1993, 233
Thyateira	under the Severans	Works on the sacred way	<i>TAM V</i> , 2, 970
Miletus	under Gordian III	Fountain (R)	<i>Milet I.5</i> , 54 no. 2 ( <i>Milet VI.1</i> , p. 4)
Thyateira	High Empire	Works on the agora	<i>TAM V</i> , 2, 862
Nysa	High Empire	Theatre (R)	BLÜMEL 1995, 60-61, no. 31
<i>Katoikia</i> of the Kapolmeans (Lydia)	High Empire	Baths (R)	PETZL 1996, 3, no. 2
Sebaste (Phrygia)	High Empire	Water tank	RAMSAY 1897, no. 483
Thyateira	High Empire	Waterworks	<i>TAM V</i> , 2, 991
Tempsianoï (?), Lydia	High Empire	Fountain and waterworks	<i>IManisa</i> , 16
Magnesia	High Empire	Fountain	<i>IMagnesia</i> , 251
Abydos? Alexandria Troas?	end of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent.	City walls (P)	HELLMANN 1994, no. 46
Ephesus	end of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent.	City walls (R)	<i>IK</i> , 12-Ephesos, 452
Didyma	between 286 and 293	Fountain in the Didymaion (R)	<i>Didyma</i> , 159
Ephesus	between 286 and 305	"Augustan gymnasium" (R)	<i>IK</i> , 13-Ephesos, 621
Samos	between 307 and 311	Heraion (P)	<i>IG XII</i> , 6, 2, 584
Hierapolis	313	Temple (?)	MIRANDA DE MARTINO, RITTI, SCARDOZZI 2012, 699-703, no. 9

**Table 2. The building operations subsidized by civic funds up to the Tetrarchic era, in chronological order (R: restoration; C: completion; P: partial).**

Some indirect evidence is included when *ergepistatai* are known for a specific work. Many co-funded operations do not appear, as private contributions are more likely to be known; see especially the case of the civic sanctuaries of the Imperial cult, PONT 2010b, 61-63 (to which can be added the *Kaisareion* of Bargasa, DEBORD, VARINLIOĞLU 2010, no. 12). Finally, one may mention as a particular category the operations initiated and directed by the city, but funded either by a subscription, or by a bequest (see PONT 2010b, 331-332 and 373-376).

<sup>72</sup> As written in MIGEOTTE 2014, 381, the cities with their own funds could only but proceed “*avec lenteur et prudence, en étalant leurs efforts sur de longues périodes et en subordonnant ainsi leurs dépenses à leurs moyens*”.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the tables in PONT 2010b.

<sup>74</sup> At this point, a brief survey of the African evidence collected by LEPELLEY 1979, 304-306 and 314-318 proves illuminating: the expression of local *mores* and ideals towards local public monuments did not follow the same evolution in Africa from a formal point of view – epigrams obscure to most non-educated persons were not used – as well as for the content of the dedications, which still mentioned the role of civic institutions.

tonines. The cities themselves had means but what changed everything – even for theatres, stadia, baths, i.e. the biggest buildings in the towns – was the action of the local benefactors<sup>72</sup>. But, about the financing of monuments, these *euergetai* almost totally vanished from the scene in Asia as soon as the 230s-240s<sup>73</sup>, well before the “crisis” of the mid-third century, which was then to last until the 270s, for reasons seemingly more cultural than economic: they no longer felt the need to become famous on the local scene. Finally, what remained was an administrative routine, the efficiency of which Diocletian sought to increase through his provincial reforms, without, as I have tried to prove, noticeably modifying the content of the powers of the governors in the domain of public building. Consequently, concerning the subtle balance of the relationships between the Roman power and the cities of Asia, the *habitus* of building operations reveals that what had changed more clearly by the beginning of the fourth century are the local values of the local élites as well as – the two being intertwined – the ancient civic ideal of Greek autonomy versus Roman interference<sup>74</sup>.

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