

*Neokoroi*  
Greek Cities and Roman Emperors



---

*Barbara Burrell*

CINCINNATI CLASSICAL STUDIES • BRILL

---

*NEOKOROI*  
GREEK CITIES AND ROMAN EMPERORS

---

# CINCINNATI CLASSICAL STUDIES

NEW SERIES

VOLUME IX



---

*NEOKOROI*  
GREEK CITIES AND  
ROMAN EMPERORS

BY

BARBARA BURRELL



BRILL  
LEIDEN · BOSTON  
2004

---

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Burrell, Barbara.

Neokoroi : Greek cities and Roman emperors / by Barbara Burrell.

p. cm. — (Cincinnati classical studies ; new ser., v. 9)

Originally presented as the author's thesis (doctoral—Harvard, 1980).

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-12578-7

1. Cities and towns, Ancient—Turkey.
2. Greeks—Turkey—History—To 1500.
3. Emperor workshop—Rome. I. Title. II. Series.

DS155.B87 2003

939'.2—dc22

2003065214

ISSN 0169-7692

ISBN 90 04 12578 7

© Copyright 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.*

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

---

*In memory of*

*Florry and Harry Burrell*

*Bluma Trell*

*George Hanfmann*

---

This page intentionally left blank

---

## CONTENTS

Illustrations and Credits.....	XI
Acknowledgements.....	XVII
Map of the Neokoroi Cities.....	XIX
Introduction: Methodology	
i. General Introduction.....	1
ii. The Word ‘Neokoros’.....	3
iii. Forms of Evidence	
1. Literary Evidence.....	6
2. Numismatic Evidence.....	7
3. Epigraphic Evidence.....	11
4. Archaeological Evidence.....	11
iv. How to Use This Book.....	12
PART I: CITY-BY-CITY SECTION	
i. Koinon of Asia	
Chapter 1. Pergamon in Mysia (Augustus).....	17
Chapter 2. Smyrna in Ionia (Tiberius).....	38
Chapter 3. Miletos in Ionia (Gaius).....	55
Chapter 4. Ephesos in Ionia (Nero).....	59
Chapter 5. Kyzikos in Mysia (Hadrian).....	86
Chapter 6. Sardis in Lydia (Antoninus Pius).....	100
Chapter 7. Aizanoi in Phrygia (Commodus).....	116
Chapter 8. Laodikeia in Phrygia (Commodus).....	119
Chapter 9. Philadelphia in Lydia (Caracalla).....	126
Chapter 10. Tralles in Lydia (Caracalla).....	130
Chapter 11. Antandros in the Troad (Caracalla).....	133
Chapter 12. Hierapolis in Phrygia (Elagabalus).....	135
Chapter 13. Magnesia in Ionia (Severus Alexander).....	142
Chapter 14. Synnada in Phrygia (Tetrarchy).....	145
ii. Koinon of Bithynia	
Chapter 15. Nikomedia (Augustus).....	147
Chapter 16. Nikaia (Hadrian).....	163
iii. Koinon of Galatia	
Chapter 17. Ankyra (Augustus).....	166
iv. Cities of Pamphylia	
Chapter 18. Perge (Vespasian).....	175
Chapter 19. Side (Valerian).....	181
Chapter 20. Aspendos (Gallienus).....	189
v. Koinon of Macedonia	
Chapter 21. Beroia (Nerva).....	191



	Chapter 22. Thessalonike (Gordian III) . . . . .	198
vi.	Koinon of Pontus	
	Chapter 23. Neokaisareia, Pontus Polemoniacus (Trajan) . . . . .	205
	Chapter 24. Amaseia, Pontus Galaticus (Marcus Aurelius) . . . . .	210
vii.	Koinon of Cilicia	
	Chapter 25. Tarsos (Hadrian) . . . . .	212
	Chapter 26. Anazarbos (Septimius Severus) . . . . .	220
	Chapter 27. Aigeai (Severus Alexander) . . . . .	230
viii.	Koinon of Armenia	
	Chapter 28. Nikopolis (Hadrian?) . . . . .	234
ix.	Koinon of Thrace	
	Chapter 29. Perinthos (Septimius Severus) . . . . .	236
	Chapter 30. Philippopolis (Elagabalus) . . . . .	243
x.	Koinon of Cappadocia	
	Chapter 31. Kaisareia (Septimius Severus) . . . . .	246
xi.	Koinon of Phoenicia	
	Chapter 32. Tripolis? (Elagabalus) . . . . .	252
xii.	Koinon/Ethnos of Lycia	
	Chapter 33. Patara (third century?) . . . . .	253
	Chapter 34. Akalissos (third century?) . . . . .	256
xiii.	Koinon of the Cities of (West-Central) Pontus	
	Chapter 35. Herakleia (Philip) (with a note on the synod of theatrical artists) . . . . .	257
xiv.	Syria Palaestina /Samaria	
	Chapter 36. Neapolis (Philip) . . . . .	260
xv.	Pisidia	
	Chapter 37. Sagalassos (Tetrarchy) . . . . .	266

## PART II: SUMMARY CHAPTERS

	Introduction . . . . .	273
	Chapter 38. Historical Analysis: The Development of Neokoria . . . . .	275
	Chapter 39. The Temples . . . . .	305
	Temples Known Archaeologically . . . . .	306
	Temples Shown on Coins . . . . .	309
	Funding . . . . .	312
	Construction Times . . . . .	314
	Temples in Urban Space . . . . .	316
	Cult Statues . . . . .	317
	Cult Statues on Coins . . . . .	321
	Emperors and their Cult Partners . . . . .	324
	Emperors in Other Gods' Temples . . . . .	326
	Temples of Gods that Gave Neokoria . . . . .	328
	Summary . . . . .	330
	Chapter 40. The Cities . . . . .	331
	Structure . . . . .	331
	Elites: Greek Culture, Roman Status . . . . .	331
	Brokers of Beneficence . . . . .	333
	Agonistic Festivals . . . . .	335
	Neokoria: City versus Koinon . . . . .	341

Chapter 41. The Koina and their Officials.....	343
Koinon Structure .....	344
Officials of the Koinon and of its Temples .....	346
Koinon and Neokoria .....	349
Koinon Politics .....	350
Competition and Concord .....	351
Rivalry and the Orators .....	354
Roman Views of Rivalry .....	355
Rival Cities, Rival Emperors .....	356
Later Developments .....	357
Summary .....	357
Chapter 42. The Roman Powers .....	359
The Emperors .....	361
The Augusti .....	366
The Senate .....	367
Provincial Officials .....	370
Chapter 43. Conclusion .....	372
References .....	375
Charts .....	395
The Emperors of Rome and Some Members of their Families	
Synoptic chart of Neokoroi Cities	
Indices	
Index of Literary Sources .....	401
Index of Inscriptional Corpora .....	407
General Index .....	413
Plates .....	423

---

This page intentionally left blank

---

## ILLUSTRATIONS AND CREDITS

On page xix: *Map of the Neokoroi cities*: by John Wallrodt and Marcie Handler.

*Temple and Temenos Plans*: by Maroun Kassab and Irina Verkhovskaya.

- Fig. 1. Ankyra: Temple of Augustus and Rome.
- Fig. 2. Ephesos: Temple of the Augusti.
- Fig. 3. Miletos: Temple of Apollo at Didyma.
- Fig. 4. Pergamon: Temple of Zeus *Philios* and Trajan.
- Fig. 5. Ephesos: Temple (of Hadrian?) (hypothetical).
- Fig. 6. Pergamon: Round temple in Asklepieion.
- Fig. 7. Kyzikos: Temple of Hadrian.
- Fig. 8. Sagalassos: Temple of Antoninus Pius.
- Fig. 9. Sardis: Temple of Artemis.
- Fig. 10. Sardis: Pseudodipteros.
- Fig. 11. Tarsos: temple at Donuktaş.
- Fig. 12. Neapolis: temple on Tell er-Ras.
- Fig. 13. Aizanoi: Temple of Zeus.
- Fig. 14. Ephesos: Temple of Artemis.
- Fig. 15. Magnesia: Temple of Artemis *Leukophryene*.
- Fig. 16. Miletos: temenos, Temple of Apollo at Didyma.
- Fig. 17. Ephesos: temenos, Temple of the Augusti.
- Fig. 18. Pergamon: temenos, Temple of Zeus *Philios* and Trajan.
- Fig. 19. Ephesos: temenos, Temple (of Hadrian?).
- Fig. 20. Sagalassos: temenos, Temple of Antoninus Pius.
- Fig. 21. Aizanoi: temenos, Temple of Zeus.
- Fig. 22. Magnesia: temenos, Temple of Artemis *Leukophryene*.

### *Sculpture*

- Fig. 23. Pergamon: fragments of colossi of Trajan or Hadrian, Berlin, *AvP* 7.2 no.281/282. Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 24. Pergamon: colossal head of Trajan, Berlin, *AvP* 7.2 no. 281. Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 25. Pergamon: colossal head of Hadrian, Berlin, *AvP* 7.2 no. 282. Photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 26. Ephesos: colossal head of Titus, Izmir Arkeoloji Müzesi Inv. 670. Photo: Brian Rose.
- Fig. 27. Ephesos: reconstruction, colossus of Titus. Drawing: Robert Hagerty.
- Fig. 28. Ephesos: statue of 'great Artemis,' Selçuk Museum inv. 712, front with headdress. Photo: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Fig. 29. Ephesos: statue of 'great Artemis,' Selçuk Museum inv. 712, headdress left side. Photo: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.

- Fig. 30. Ephesos: statue of 'great Artemis,' Selçuk Museum inv. 712, headdress left side/rear. Photo: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Fig. 31. Ephesos: statue of 'great Artemis,' Selçuk Museum inv. 712, headdress right side/rear. Photo: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Fig. 32. Sardis: colossal head of Antoninus Pius, S61.27:15, front. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 33. Sardis: colossal head of Antoninus Pius, S61.27:15, left profile. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 34. Sardis: colossal head of Faustina the Elder, British Museum no.1936.3-10-1, front. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 35. Sardis: colossal head of Faustina the Elder, British Museum no. 1936.3-10-1, front from below. Photo: Brian Rose.
- Fig. 36. Sardis: colossal head of Faustina the Elder, British Museum no. 1936.3-10-1, side view. Photo: Brian Rose.
- Fig. 37. Sardis: colossal head of Marcus Aurelius, S61.27:14, back. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 38. Sardis: colossal head of Marcus Aurelius, S61.27:14, front. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 39. Sardis: colossal head of Marcus Aurelius, S61.27:14, left profile. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 40. Sardis: colossal head of Lucius Verus, S96.008:110484, front. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 41. Sardis: colossal head of Lucilla, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri 4038T. Photo: Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.
- Fig. 42. Sardis: colossal head of Lucilla, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri 4038T, front. Photo: Brian Rose.
- Fig. 43. Sardis: colossal head of Lucilla, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri 4038T, left side. Photo: Brian Rose.
- Fig. 44. Sardis: fragment of colossal head of Faustina the Younger? S61.027:2. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.
- Fig. 45. Sardis: colossal fragment with diadem, S61.27:1. Photo: copyright Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.

### *Coins*

All coins are reproduced at actual size; obverse is at left/top, reverse at right/bottom.

- Fig. 46. Pergamon coin type 2 a) *BMCRE* 228. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 47. Pergamon coin type 4 e) London 1979-1-1-1590. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 48. Pergamon coin type 6 b) *BMC* 254. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 49. Pergamon coin type 10 a) London 1894.7-6-38. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 50. Pergamon coin type 13 d) *BMC* 266. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 51. Pergamon coin type 14 a) *BMC* 262. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 52. Pergamon coin type 17 a) *BMC* 267. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 53. Pergamon coin type 18 a) London 1901.6-1-41. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 54. Pergamon coin type 19 a) *BMC* 308. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 55. Pergamon coin type 21 a) *SNGParis* 2209. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 56. Pergamon coin type 22 b) New York, ANS 1944.100.43356. Photo: copyright 2002, American Numismatic Society.

- Fig. 57. Pergamon coin type 23 k) New York, ANS 1944.100.43357. Photo: copyright 2002, American Numismatic Society.
- Fig. 58. Pergamon coin type 24 f) Munich. Photo: Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich.
- Fig. 59. Smyrna coin type 1 a) Vienna 17731. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 60. Smyrna coin type 2 a) *BMC* 110. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 61. Smyrna coin type 7 a) *BMC* 403. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 62. Smyrna coin type 11 f) *BMC* 389. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 63. Smyrna coin type 12 a) Paris 2689. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 64. Smyrna coin type 24 b) Paris 2779. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 65. Miletos coin type 1 a) Paris 1912. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 66. Ephesos coin type 1 a) London 1972.8-7-12. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 67. Ephesos coin type 2 a) London 1973.5-1-4. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 68. Ephesos coin type 5 a) Paris 684. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 69. Ephesos coin type 7 d) London 1961.3-1-234. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 70. Ephesos coin type 13 a) *BMC* 292. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 71. Ephesos coin type 16 a) *BMC* 269. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 72. Ephesos coin type 17 a) Vienna 32385. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 73. Ephesos coin type 18 f) Berlin, Fox. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 74. Ephesos coin type 21 a) Paris 899. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 75. Ephesos coin type 23 a) *BMC* 305. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 76. Ephesos coin type 24 a) *BMC* 306. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 77. Ephesos coin type 26 a) Berlin, Fox. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 78. Kyzikos coin type 1 b) London 1961.3-1-172. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 79. Kyzikos coin type 2 a) London 1893.4-5-2. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 80. Kyzikos coin type 4 a) Berlin 955/1904. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 81. Kyzikos coin type 6 a) *SNGParis* 780. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 82. Kyzikos coin type 8 a) London 1919.4-17-147. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 83. Kyzikos coin type 10 a) Paris 498. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 84. Kyzikos coin type 11 c) Vienna 16188. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 85. Kyzikos coin type 13 a) Vienna 16137. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 86. Kyzikos coin type 14 c) New York, ANS 1944.100.42792. Photo: copyright 2002, American Numismatic Society.
- Fig. 87. Kyzikos coin type 15 a) *BMC* 199. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 88. Kyzikos coin type 16 c) Vienna 30574. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 89. Sardis coin type 2 a) Paris 1248A. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 90. Sardis coin type 5 b) Oxford. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Fig. 91. Sardis coin type 6 a) *BMC* 171. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 92. Sardis coin type 7 a) Oxford 17.57. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Fig. 93. Sardis coin type 8 a) Vienna 19587. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 94. Aizanoi coin type 2 a) Paris 241. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 95. Laodikeia coin type 2 a) Paris 1611. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

- Fig. 96. Laodikeia coin type 3 a) Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 97. Laodikeia coin type 5 a) Paris 1617. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 98. Laodikeia coin type 11 a) Berlin Löbbecke. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 99. Laodikeia coin type 8 a) Berlin 664/1914. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 100. Laodikeia coin type 9 a) Boston MFA 1971.45, Theodora Wilbour Fund in Memory of Zoë Wilbour. Photo: copyright 2002 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- Fig. 101. Philadelphia coin type 1 e) New York, ANS 1971.279.56. Photo: copyright 2002, American Numismatic Society.
- Fig. 102. Philadelphia coin type 2 a) *BMC* 94. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 103. Tralles coin type 1 c) Paris 1698. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 104. Antandros coin type 1 a) Athens, Numismatic Museum. Photo: Kenneth Sheedy.
- Fig. 105. Hierapolis coin type 1 a) Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 106. Hierapolis coin type 2 a) Berlin, Löbbecke. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 107. Hierapolis coin type 4 h) Berlin, Löbbecke. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 108. Magnesia coin type 1 a) Vienna 34601. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 109. Nikomedia coin type 2 y) London 1928.5-5-1. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 110. Nikomedia coin type 3 b) *BMCRE* 1097. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 111. Nikomedia coin type 4 a) *BMC* 9. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 112. Nikomedia coin type 5 a) Vienna 39125. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 113. Nikomedia coin type 7 a) *BMC* 32. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 114. Nikomedia coin type 8 b) Paris 1342. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 115. Nikomedia coin type 9 b) London 1920.1-11-2. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 116. Nikomedia coin type 11 a) Berlin, Fox. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 117. Nikomedia coin type 12 a) Paris 1347. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 118. Nikomedia coin type 16 a) London 1961.3-1-123. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 119. Nikomedia coin type 17 a) Berlin 5206 JF. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 120. Nikomedia coin type 21 a) Berlin 703/1878. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 121. Nikomedia coin type 22 a) Paris 1357. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 122. Nikomedia coin type 24 a) Berlin, von Rauch. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 123. Nikomedia coin type 26 a) Paris 1401. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 124. Nikomedia coin type 27 b) New York, ANS 1944.100.42315. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 125. Nikomedia coin type 28 c) Berlin, Bonnet. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 126. Nikomedia coin type 29 a) Vienna 15815. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 127. Nikomedia coin type 31 a) London 1970.9-9-46. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 128. Nikomedia coin type 32 a) Paris 1418. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.



- Fig. 129. Nikomedia coin type 37 a) New York, ANS 71.279. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 130. Nikomedia coin type 50 n) Vienna 34453. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 131. Nikomedia coin type 51 a) Oxford 11-7-1938. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Fig. 132. Nikomedia coin type 56 a) London 1961.3-1-131. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 133. Nikaia coin type 1 a) New York, ANS 73.191. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 134. Ankyra coin type 2 a) *SNGParis* 2407. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 135. Ankyra coin type 3 a) London 1975.4-11-188. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 136. Ankyra coin type 7 a) *SNGParis* 2484. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 137. Ankyra coin type 8 a) *SNGParis* 2530. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 138. Ankyra coin type 10 c) New York 58.44.14. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 139. Perge coin type 1 b) Berlin 974/1901. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 140. Perge coin type 2 e) *SNGParis* 554. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 141. Perge coin type 3 k) Vienna 28792. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 142. Perge coin type 5 a) *SNGParis* 617. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 143. Side coin type 1 a) *BMC* 111. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 144. Side coin type 5 a) London 1970.9-9-167. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 145. Side coin type 8 a) London 1969.10-21-7. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 146. Side coin type 10 a) Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 147. Side coin type 11 b) New York, ANS 1944.100.50964. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 148. Side coin type 13 b) *SNGParis* 882. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 149. Aspendos coin type 1 a) London 1921.4-12-117. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 150. Beroia coin type 1 b) Berlin, Fox. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 151. Beroia coin type 2 e) Berlin 698/1929. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 152. Beroia coin type 6 a) Paris 160. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 153. Beroia coin type 7 b) Paris 161. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 154. Beroia coin type 8 a) Berlin, Löbbecke. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 155. Beroia coin type 10 a) Paris 164. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 156. Beroia coin type 11 a) Paris 193. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 157. Thessalonike coin type 4 a) London 1972.8-7-5. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 158. Thessalonike coin type 8 b) Paris 1507. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 159. Thessalonike coin type 9 a) Paris 1508. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 160. Thessalonike coin type 10 a) Vienna 10084. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 161. Neokaisareia coin type 1 a) Paris 1277. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 162. Neokaisareia coin type 3 a) Berlin 7909. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 163. Neokaisareia coin type 6 a) London 1973.1-12-2. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 164. Neokaisareia coin type 11 b) Paris 1972.922. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 165. Amaseia coin type 1 f, obv.) New York, ANS 1944.100.41180. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 166. Amaseia coin type 1 g, rev.) New York, ANS 1944.100.41179. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 167. Amaseia coin type 2 c) New York, ANS 1944.100.41218. Photo: Sean O'Neill.



- Fig. 168. Tarsos coin type 1 a) *BMC* 159. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 169. Tarsos coin type 3 b) *BMC* 138. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 170. Tarsos coin type 5 a) *SNGParis* 1462. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 171. Tarsos coin type 5 c) *SNGParis* 1463. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 172. Tarsos coin type 8 a) *SNGParis* 1473. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 173. Tarsos coin type 9 a) *SNGParis* 1514. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 174. Tarsos coin type 12 a) London 1919.8-22-10. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 175. Anazarbos coin type 1 a) London 1962.11-15-2. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 176. Anazarbos coin type 2 a) London 1970.9-9-206. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 177. Anazarbos coin type 8 b) London 1970.9-9-208. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 178. Aigeai coin type 4 b) London 1962.11-15-1. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 179. Aigeai coin type 6 a) London 1975.4-11-296. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 180. Aigeai coin type 7 c) New York, ANS 1944.100.53037. Photo: Sean O'Neill.
- Fig. 181. Perinthos coin type 1 a) *BMC* 33. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 182. Perinthos coin type 4 f) Vienna 8892. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 183. Perinthos coin type 10 a) *BMC* 41. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.
- Fig. 184. Perinthos coin type 11 a) Munich. Photo: Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich.
- Fig. 185. Perinthos coin type 12 d) New York, ANS 1967.152.225. Photo: copyright 2002, American Numismatic Society.
- Fig. 186. Perinthos coin type 16 a) Paris 1201. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 187. Perinthos coin type 19 a) Paris 1191. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 188. Perinthos coin type 21 a) Paris 1216. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 189. Philippopolis coin type 1 a) Berlin, Dressel. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 190. Philippopolis coin type 2 a) Vienna 32498. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 191. Philippopolis coin type 3 a) Vienna 9047. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
- Fig. 192. Philippopolis coin type 5 b) Paris 1355. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 193. Kaisareia coin type 1 a) Berlin 709/1914. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 194. Kaisareia coin type 2 b) Berlin, Löbbecke. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 195. Kaisareia coin type 4 b) Paris 602. Photo: Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 196. Kaisareia coin type 7 a) Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer. Photo: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.
- Fig. 197. Neapolis coin type 1 a) *BMC* 138. Photo: copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

### Charts

The Emperors of Rome and Some Members of their Families  
 Synoptic chart of Neokoroi Cities

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If this book is the body of my work on the neokoria, the skeleton was my dissertation for the Ph.D. in classical archaeology, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities of the Roman East* (Harvard 1980, unpublished). That contained lists of coins and inscriptions as well as a brief chronological analysis of each neokoros city, and still lives a sort of *samizdat* afterlife, in copies made by scholars for their own or their libraries' use. Despite its bulk, it never attempted to give a unified historical picture of the origins, development or even the meaning of the title, which is why I have chosen to leave it on the shelves of the archive where it belongs. The book you now hold is very different, as I hope anything would be if given the benefit of twenty years of new finds, reinterpretations, and the author's more mature understanding of the subject.

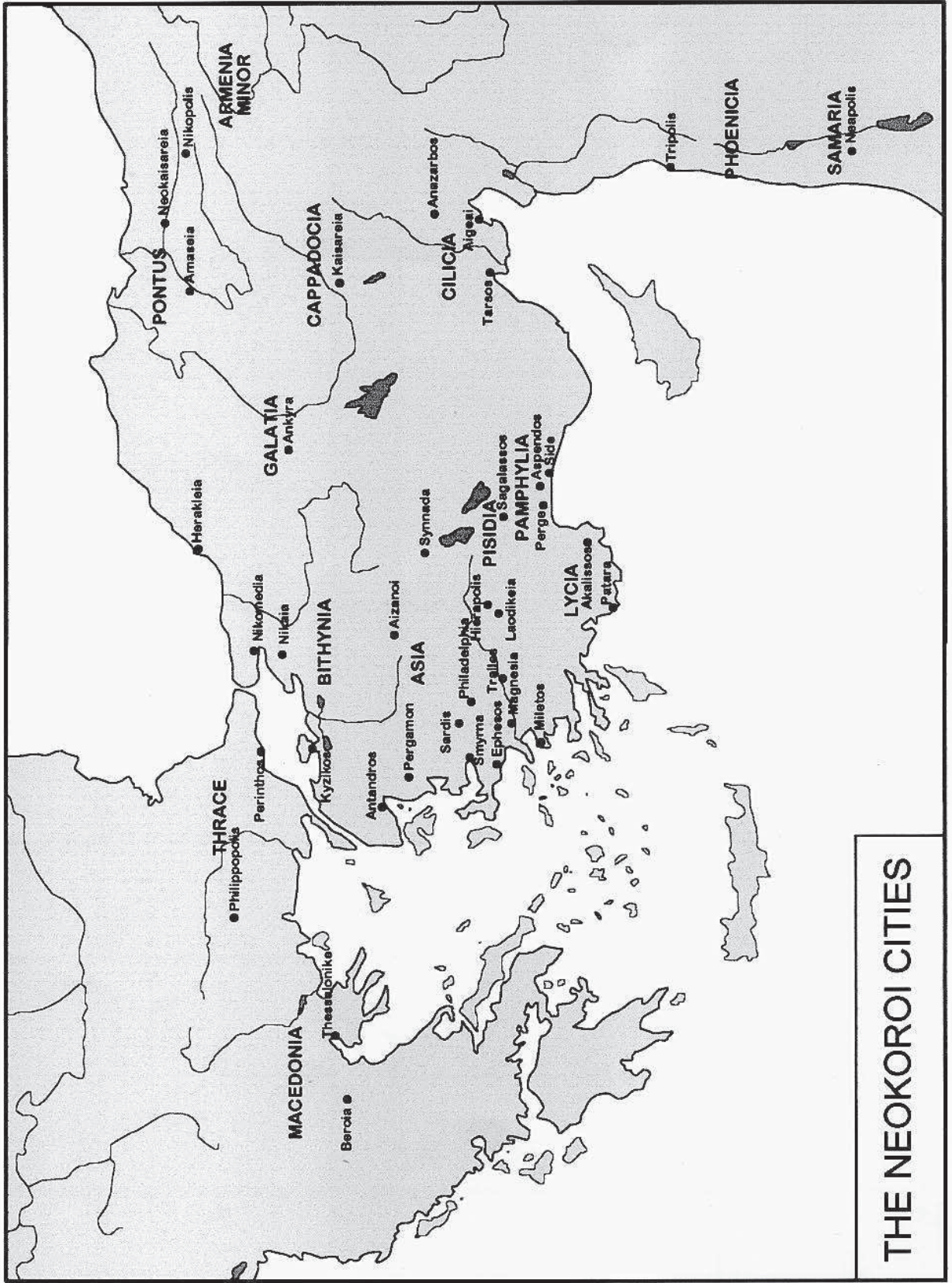
From the beginning, my intention has been to bring together the most diverse forms of evidence and to give each form its proper weight and interpretation. If my expertise has faltered, it is my own responsibility, as my advisors have been irreproachable. They include the late George Hanfmann, my principal advisor, as well as the late Emily Vermeule and David Mitten at Harvard University. I also received advice and support from the late Martin Price both at the American Numismatic Society and at the British Museum, from Holt Parker both at home and abroad, from Kent Rigsby again and again, and most of all from Brian Rose, *sine quo non*. The late Bluma Trell of New York University provided the initial inspiration; her interest and enthusiasm never flagged while she lived, and I doubt that they do even now. I have also benefited from the conversation and correspondence of Simon Price, Werner Eck, Kenneth Harl, Ann Johnston, Dietrich Klose, Michael Peachin, Glen Bowersock, and Thomas Howe, and from the gentle chiding of all the press' anonymous readers. I would like to thank Michiel Klein-Swornink and Gera van Bedaf for shepherding the book through the press, Shirley Werner for wearing out her erudite eye in its copyediting, and Susan Stites for the indices.

Thanks to the generosity, patience and trust of the following librarians, curators, and keepers of coin collections, I have been allowed to call for the most recondite books with wild abandon, and to examine and catalogue as many coins as I wished, though I rivaled even the indomitable Professor Trell in my demands for more trays. My deepest gratitude goes to: Jean Susorney Wellington, Michael Braunlin, and the entire staff of the Classics Library, University of Cincinnati; William Metcalf, Frank Campbell, and the late Nancy Waggoner of the American Numismatic Society, New York; Cornelius Vermeule and Mary Comstock of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the entire erudite and courteous staff of the Department of Coins and Medals, the British Museum, London; the late Colin Kraay of the Heberden Coin room, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Mmes. H. Nicolet and S. de Turckheim of the Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Dr. G. Dembski of the Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Mmes. A. Krzyzanowska and Ewa Duszczyk of the Narodowe Museum, Warsaw; and Drs. H. D. and S. Schultz of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. I am grateful to John Wallrodt and Marcie Handler for help with computing issues and to Maroun Kassab and Irina Verkhovskaya for producing the temple plans.

Thanks for illustrations are due to: Brian Rose; Kenneth Sheedy; Sean O'Neill; the late Robert Hagerty; Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen von Berlin/Preussischer Kulturbesitz (courtesy Beate Salje and Ilona Trabert); the Athens Numismatic Museum (courtesy Eos Tsourti); the American Numismatic Society (courtesy Sebastian Heath and Elena Stolyarik); the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University (courtesy Elizabeth Gombosi); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (courtesy Michel Amandry); the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (courtesy Lizabeth Dion); the British Museum (courtesy Janet Larkin, Department of Coins and Medals, and Keith Lowe, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities); the Heberden Coin

Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University (courtesy Roslyn Britton-Strong); Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri (courtesy Halil Özek); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien (courtesy Gunther Dembski); Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut (courtesy Gudrun Wlach); Staatliche Münzsammlung, München (courtesy Dietrich Klose); and Staatliche Museen von Berlin/Preussischer Kulturbesitz (courtesy Iona Trabert, Antikensammlung, and Bernhard Weisser, Münzkabinett).

I would also like to thank the American Numismatic Society, in whose summer seminar I started this project; the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa, whose grant of the Mary Isabel Sibley Fellowship originally enabled me to travel and study in the European collections; and finally, the University of Cincinnati Department of Classics and Louise Taft Semple Fund, whose patience and generosity allowed me to bring this project to completion.



# THE NEOKOROI CITIES

---

This page intentionally left blank



---

## INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY

### i. *General Introduction*

This book tracks a singular phenomenon: that cities of Hellenic culture in some eastern provinces of the Roman empire (map p. xix) called themselves ‘neokoroi,’ usually translated ‘temple wardens,’ to signify that they possessed a provincial temple to the cult of the Roman emperor. Though the phenomenon is confined only to a certain place and time, a full pursuit of the circumstances and history of the neokoroi can, I believe, illumine many misunderstood issues regarding the imperial cult in the larger sense, as well as relations between the provincial cities and their Roman rulers, and among the cities themselves.

Any theoretical approach to such a study is pulled in different directions by polarities of generalization and particularization. One may tend to generalize because individuals of our species have certain tendencies in common, and these tendencies make human history repetitious. Moreover, the current prestige of the hard sciences privileges the search for general laws, as in physics, in the behavior of human beings. On the other hand, each human is formed by particular circumstances of the history that came before, and that human also contributes to the formation of a particular present and future. This study tends toward the particular, making the canonical bows toward Clifford Geertz’ technique of ‘thick description,’ where close observation of certain institutions can illumine an entire culture, and toward Marc Bloch and the *annalistes*, who showed the importance of scales of inquiry, and how such inquiry could be done despite the lack of precise sources and the inability to interrogate living informants.<sup>1</sup> This particular inquiry also traces developments over time, from the end of the

first century B.C.E. to the end of the third century C.E., a period for which sources exist but are varied and intermittent. Writing about it, then, is like surveying at night; there is a general darkness, though occasional moonlight allows some understanding of the terrain, and once in a while a fortunate flash of lightning illuminates some crucial detail fully.

The neokoroi were cities Greek in structure, though not necessarily in genealogy, and neokoros is a Greek title. The word originally designated an official whose basic responsibility was the care, upkeep or practical daily functioning of a sacred building, and whose duties could include the control of entry, safekeeping of valuable items, and the enactment of ritual or sacrifice; a more detailed discussion will follow below. In the first century C.E. we begin to find this role attributed to entire peoples or cities, and then more specifically to cities that maintained a provincial temple to the Roman emperor. This book will examine the title neokoros as it was applied to those cities, and what it meant to them politically, socially, and in practical terms.

Understanding those cities’ governmental system is vital to understanding how neokoria (the state or institution of being neokoros) can be studied. Structurally the cities were Greek poleis, and their inscriptions document independent decisions made by a council (boule) and the body of adult male citizens (demos, sometimes meeting as an ekklesia), plus variously named magistrates.<sup>2</sup> The actualities behind this structure are more complex. Though legalities varied depending on the precise status of each city, the power to decide foreign, and increasingly internal, policy was vested in Roman hands, ultimately in the emperor himself. More immediately the provincial governor and various imperial officials were on the spot making decisions, adjudicating disputes, and seeing that taxes were paid. In this they generally had the cooperation of

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent history of recent interactions between theories of history and the social sciences, see McDonald 1996. I have been guided by the examples of Geertz 1973; Bloch 1973; and S. Price 1984b; the latter’s observations inform my work everywhere.

<sup>2</sup> Lewin 1995.

each city's own elite, who competed among themselves to take on offices and services, and often laid out their personal fortunes, in order to be preeminent among their fellow citizens, to stand in the esteem of the Romans, and to rise in power and status, sometimes to the ranks of Roman authority itself.<sup>3</sup>

A city's relationships with other cities could be conducted on good terms or in jealous rivalry, but only within the narrow confines that Rome allowed to each city's nominal autonomy. Attempts to go beyond those limits could be met by some reassertion of control by the imperial government, and the very presence of an overarching power beyond the city and the province assured that one party or the other in any dispute could appeal to that power, further eroding any independence that the cities tried to assert.

In discussing the neokoroi I have often found it necessary to refer to these cities as if they were people, who thought, weighed possibilities, and even had emotions like jealousy and pride. This is primarily an outgrowth of contemporary speeches and histories that exhorted, blamed, or categorized cities for such human traits; neokoros was after all a person's title applied to a city.<sup>4</sup> But it also masks a lack of specific knowledge of such matters as who initiated the quest for an imperial temple and when, whether there was debate on where to put it, down to who decided what order the columns should be. Generally, we know that the cities of the Roman empire were run on the lines of urban oligarchies, and that an elite often made decisions without much consultation of the rest of the city's male voting population, still less of nonvoters. They felt little need to inscribe their day-to-day accounts on stone for public reference, so we know little of the details of their operation, but much of magniloquent decrees and votes of thanks.

Provincial cities often banded together in an organization known in the East as a koinon.<sup>5</sup> Though the name translates as 'league' or 'commonality,' it was not a subset of official imperial administration, nor did its geographic lines have to correspond exactly to the borders of a Roman province. Instead a koinon was an organization of cities of similar

ethnic background and interests within a region, bound together by the practice of a particular cult. Under the Empire the central cult of most koina was that of a living human being, the emperor of Rome. By the end of the first century C.E., some (but not all) of the cities that had a temple for this provincial imperial cult were called neokoroi. It is worth noting that the very title denoted a caretaker, not an 'owner' of a temple: ownership, at least in the beginning, was in the hands of the koinon, which assigned its chief priests to preside over the temples in neokoroi cities, often an increasing number of temples as emperor succeeded emperor. Koina also represented the cities in other aspects of their relationship with Rome, e.g. embassies and legal proceedings.

Simon Price's seminal book, *Rituals and Power*, altered the landscape of inquiry concerning the worship of rulers in the Roman East. We have gone beyond former attitudes: the Judeo-Christian concern for what was believed rather than what was done, and its accompanying disdain for flatterers who would call a man a god; and beyond a simple faith in *Realpolitik*, which can only ask who profits, whether politically or economically. We have come to a more anthropological approach, which seeks to understand how the Hellenes handled their Roman world. Price, however, chose to be cautious, to privilege the balancing act between seeing the emperor as man or god in rituals private and public, great and small.

But in this study, which is at the level of the koinon and the province, we shall see less contradiction: the living emperor was addressed as a god, sometimes second only to the chief and patron gods of the cities in which he was worshipped. He had his own temple, which was referred to as his. His successors, perhaps his predecessors, and other members of his family, often including his consort, joined him in that temple; this was recognized by calling it a temple of the Augusti, or of the Greek equivalent, the Sebastoi. Thus the city where that temple was established could be called neokoros of the Augusti. Despite this fact, the individual emperor who was the prime object of cult was not forgotten: for example, what was at first called the temple of the Augusti in Flavian times at Ephesos was later referred to as that of the god Vespasian. What is more, where another god shared the temple, (s)he was often a personification or a placeholder, whose name could drop from common ref-

<sup>3</sup> Quass 1993.

<sup>4</sup> For anthropomorphic cities, Lendon 1997, 31, 73-89.

<sup>5</sup> The basic work is still Deininger 1965.

erence, as the name of the goddess Rome slipped away from mentions of the temples of Augustus at Pergamon and Ankyra, and Tiberius and Trajan could stand alone in depictions of their temples at Smyrna and Pergamon, with no sign of their cult partners Livia and the Senate or Zeus *Philios*. The reverse is never true: the provincial temples initially dedicated to Rome and Augustus are never called simply temples of Rome.

Looking at the neokoroi is important in itself, but doubly important in the light it sheds upon what modern scholarship calls ‘the imperial cult.’ Under that rubric have been lumped all aspects of the worship of emperors, living and dead, in East and West, by Romans and non-Romans of all sorts, organized by province, by city, and down to individuals. Often the practice, and even the vocabulary, of one of the above differs widely from that of another. Despite a common thread of Hellenic speech and culture, a Sebasteion built by decree of the Athenians may well have been different, and served different functions, from one built by Ephesians, Alexandrians, Aphrodisians, or Palmyrenes. Towns and individuals may have set up altars or statues to the emperor without even bothering to seek permission of a governor, much less the nod of authorities at Rome.

In narrowing our focus to the neokoroi, however, we study a less mixed phenomenon, composed of events that are internally comparable, though subject to development over time. Honors proposed for an emperor passed through the sieve of each koinon and reached some sort of consensus among its cities small and large, rich and poor, cosmopolitan and isolated. Even after this was achieved, the conduct of the provincial imperial cult was too large in scope, too important to the image of the Roman authorities at which it was aimed, to pass unexamined by them. What few sources we have emphasize ceremonious deliberation by the Roman Senate and careful consideration by the ultimate recipient, the emperor. Thus applications for provincial imperial temples, and subsequent neokoriai, were subject to review on at least three levels: emanating from a city that offered a home for the cult, they had to also be acceptable to the other cities of the province as grouped in their koinon, to the emperor, and to the Senate. This is as close to a homogeneous group of events as the modern term ‘imperial cult’ covers. In fact, a study of the neokoroi can serve as a laboratory to examine this dialogue among cities, koi-

non, Roman emperor, and Senate, and how they arrived at results satisfactory to, or at least accepted by, all.

As will be seen, there were mechanisms that encouraged the establishment and the spread of neokoria. Rivalries among cities in the same koinon might make each one strive to be neokoros, or if disappointed at first, to become the next one. At the same time, province-to-province comparisons could be made when provincial embassies met one another. This was frequently the case at a succession, for example, where ambassadors from all over the Empire brought an initial tribute of crown gold and declared their first honors to a new emperor. But it was well into Tiberius’ reign that his acceptance of Asia’s offer of a temple to his cult prompted the province of Hispania Ulterior to offer him another one. He refused, not necessarily because he was a difficult man to please, though Tacitus portrays him as such, but because he could make that refusal a symbol of his modesty before the Senate.<sup>6</sup> This refusal would have then informed other aspirant provinces how not to approach this particular emperor, and the dialogue could go on.

Still, only certain koina of the Greek-speaking East are known to have named their cities neokoroi.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that this circle of organizations was influenced by events in the koinon of Asia, where the earliest uses of ‘neokoros’ as a city title are known. In other areas, most notably mainland Greece, no neokoroi have yet been found. But it is vital to note that our pools of evidence only represent a fraction of what once existed, and may yet be increased: a previously unknown inscription or coin could add new names and historical circumstances to our knowledge of the neokoroi at any time.

## ii. *The Word ‘Neokoros’*

Before going further, it is essential to examine the word ‘neokoros,’ both etymologically and in the context in which it was adopted as a title for cities. The 1888 thesis of Buechner assembled the ancient sources, though it must be supplemented by recent discoveries.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Tacitus, *Annals* 4.37-38; Charlesworth 1939, discussed below.

<sup>7</sup> See also Lendon 1997, 160-172.

<sup>8</sup> Buechner 1888, 2-21.



- [Black Widow \(Elemental Assassin, Book 12\) book](#)
- [download Robert Ludlum's The Bourne Dominion \(Jason Bourne, Book 9\) pdf](#)
- [Practicing: A Musician's Return to Music for free](#)
- [click Probability: A Very Short Introduction \(Very Short Introductions\)](#)
- **[read online Trick Photography and Special Effects](#)**
  
- <http://diy-chirol.com/lib/Rachel-Carson--Witness-for-Nature.pdf>
- <http://kamallubana.com/?library/A-Companion-to-Shakespeare-and-Performance.pdf>
- <http://studystategically.com/freebooks/Practicing--A-Musician-s-Return-to-Music.pdf>
- <http://www.uverp.it/library/The-Ripple-Effect--The-Fate-of-Fresh-Water-in-the-Twenty-First-Century.pdf>
- <http://www.gateaerospaceforum.com/?library/Trick-Photography-and-Special-Effects.pdf>