

NEW RESEARCH ON GREEK EPIGRAPHY IN LYCIA

Proceedings of the Symposium at Antalya, Türkiye
28-30 March 2022

Edited by

Fatih ONUR & Christof SCHULER



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PREFACE

The present volume contains the proceedings of the international conference “New Research in Greek Epigraphy in Lycia” held at the Suna & İnan Kıraç Research Center for Mediterranean Civilizations (AKMED: Suna & İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi) of Koç University, Antalya, from 28 to 30 March, 2022. The conference was organised by the editors of this volume together with Oğuz Tekin, director of AKMED, and was jointly funded by Koç University and the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy of the German Archaeological Institute.

In the course of organising the conference and editing the proceedings, we have accumulated a huge debt of gratitude, which we are happy to acknowledge. First and foremost, we are grateful to Koç University and especially to Oğuz Tekin, without whom the conference would not have been possible and who was extremely helpful, even at short notice, in all conceptual and practical matters. We would also like to thank Ms Burcu Topkaya Şeneren, Coordinator of AKMED, who handled all administrative matters with admirable efficiency, and the entire AKMED team who welcomed the participants with wonderful hospitality and ensured that the conference ran smoothly in a very pleasant atmosphere.

We are also grateful to the five members of our advisory board who helped us plan the programme: Kaja Harter-Uibopuu (Hamburg), Bülent İplikçioğlu (Ankara), Denis Rousset (Paris), Peter Thonemann (Oxford) and Martin Zimmermann (Munich). We are particularly grateful to the speakers who accepted our invitation and contributed excellent papers, enabling us to put together an attractive programme and a substantial volume of proceedings.

We would also like to single out the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for granting Fatih Onur a 15-month fellowship at the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy in Munich and at the Research Centre for Asia Minor at the University of Münster. It was in this context that the first ideas for this conference were born.

In the spring of 2022, the conference could only take place within the framework of the Covid-19 protection measures and was held on a hybrid basis: Several talks – by Michael Wörrle, Denis Rousset, Nicholas Milner, Ezgi Demirhan-Öztürk and Klaus Zimmermann – were delivered online, and a large group of colleagues and students followed the programme in the same way. Looking back, we are very grateful for the patience and discipline of all the participants, but also for the good fortune that the event did not cause any health problems for those present. For AKMED, the organisers and most of the participants, the symposium was the first face-to-face event since March 2020, which made the meetings and discussions a memorable experience.

Many others have contributed to the preparation and publication of this book. We would like to thank Fatma Avcu and Hüseyin Uzunoglu (Antalya), Selen Kılıç-Aslan, Elias Müller and Luisa Bergt (Munich), who assisted us in the process of editing, proofreading and indexing the volume; Arif Yacı (AKMED) and Tarkan Kahya (AKMED), who helped with the preliminary preparations for the printing process;

Hülya Tokmak (İstanbul), who prepared the book for printing; and Nicholas Milner (London), T. Michael P. Duggan (Muğla) and Maggy Sasanow (Oxford) for editing the English.

The fact that the symposium was held in Antalya was important in several respects. The modern province of Antalya covers large parts of ancient Lycia, and two institutions which are dedicated to classical studies and which, among other research interests, have a strong focus on the history of the region, are located at Antalya. Founded in 1996 under the Vehbi Koç Foundation, AKMED has since the beginning of 2016 been restructured as a research centre of Koç University. AKMED has become an important institution that has made a name for itself with the support it provides to the studies of the ancient period of the Mediterranean World and through its publications. Akdeniz University, the other important academic institution in Antalya, is a major centre of classical scholarship, which continues to make significant contributions to the archaeology, epigraphy, history, geography, and numismatics of Lycia through its various departments in the field of ancient studies.

Exchange and cooperation, both interdisciplinary and international, are fundamentally important in ancient studies. Ancient societies around the Mediterranean were interconnected in so many ways that no region can be understood only from within itself. Still, a regional approach as prioritised here remains legitimate and essential, not only for practical reasons for those conducting research in a region, but also for conceptual considerations. Lycia is characterised by an exceptionally strong cultural identity and a relatively homogeneous historical development. The Lycian League is an obvious product of the Lycians' sense of cohesion, becoming in turn a powerful unifying factor in Lycian history, strengthening regional integration of elite families and the parallel development of polis institutions in most Lycian cities. All this means that in any Lycian site at any time new information can emerge that is equally relevant to other Lycian cities. The exchange of information among regional specialists is therefore particularly vital in the case of Lycia. If this event has helped to promote contacts and cooperation within the international circle of those active within this field of research, a modern κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων, it will have served its purpose. We also hope that the present volume will attract the interest of many scholars who are not specialists on the region in the rich results of epigraphic research in Lycia, making it easier for them to integrate these results into their own research and, in turn, contributing new insights and perspectives to inspire future fieldwork in the region.

Antalya and Munich, 2024

Fatih ONUR & Christof SCHULER

INTRODUCTION

The papers assembled in the present volume proceed from an international conference on “New Research in Greek Epigraphy in Lycia” held at Antalya in March 2022. They cover almost all oral communications presented¹ and are arranged in the same sequence as delivered during the conference.² The symposium aimed at bringing together all epigraphers who are currently active in fieldwork in Lycia in the context of excavations or surveys. This purpose was largely achieved: The majority of relevant sites³ and projects are represented in the papers collected here, and further colleagues were present in the audience at Antalya, making the symposium a fruitful platform for the exchange of information, presentations of new texts, debates on historical problems as well as future tasks. A similar conference specifically devoted to Greek epigraphy in Lycia was held at Munich in 2005, with the proceedings published in 2007.⁴ Many of the colleagues who took part at the time were again present at Antalya, a clear sign of the persistent fascination with Lycia and of the great research potential that this region continues to offer. One name, however, is missing: Sencer Şahin who was among the participants of the Munich conference, passed away in 2014. It was partly a tribute to him that the symposium was held at Antalya, where he successfully established an epigraphic school at Akdeniz University – to date still the only academic centre of this kind in Turkey. It is largely due to his passionate teaching and research, that the number of participants at the Antalya conference was significantly higher than in Munich and that many younger epigraphers contributed to the programme. This is a very welcome development, not only because there is a large and even growing amount of work to do in the region, but also because it is generally important to attract young researchers to the discipline of epigraphy. On the whole, the research landscape of Lycia has changed very much in recent years, and the conference should not least offer an opportunity to get to know each other and to exchange ideas across different generations of scholars.

¹ Two papers are not included since their contents will be integrated elsewhere: J. Hammerstaedt’s contribution on “The philosophical Inscription of Oinoanda and the Archaeological Investigation of the Site” summarised results to be presented in a collective volume on Oinoanda which will be published in the near future (see the bibliography of the paper by N. Milner and J. Hammerstaedt in this volume). E. Demirhan-Öztürk gave a paper on “New Epigraphical Research in Olympos”, an ongoing doctoral research project the results of which will form part of her dissertation. D. Rousset had kindly agreed to deliver a closing statement for the conference; some of his ideas are taken up in this introduction.

² There is one exception: The paper of Christian Marek was delivered extra ordinem as keynote lecture followed by a reception on the evening of the first day of the conference.

³ Currently, major long-term excavation projects are being conducted at (from west to east) Tlos, Xanthos and Letoon, Patara, Myra and Andriake, Arykanda, Limyra, Rhodiapolis, Olympos, and Phaselis, as well as at Kaunos and Kibyra, two cities closely connected with Lycia (see further below). There are also excavations at Kadyanda, Kalynda and the castle of Fethiye directed by the Museum of Fethiye.

⁴ Schuler 2007a.

1. About this volume

The only common denominator of the conference programme was to provide an insight into ongoing epigraphical fieldwork, otherwise the participants were free to choose their topics. By happy coincidence, the proposals turned out to be interrelated in many respects and added up to a certainly not complete, but multifaceted and representative panorama of current epigraphical research in Lycia and related historical problems. The papers in this volume are arranged according to a combination of chronological and geographical criteria and cover a timeframe from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD, while most of them unsurprisingly concentrate in the period between 200 BC and AD 200.

A fitting start is made by Michael Wörrle who discusses the δαίμων of Perikles mentioned in a new *Lex sacra* – in Lycia a rare type of document – from Limyra, a further indication that the memory of the great dynast of the fourth century BC was still influential in Hellenistic Limyra.⁵ Incidentally, Wörrle gives valuable insight into the early days of contemporary archaeological and epigraphical research in Lycia which he himself has shaped so strongly in the course of five decades. In the following three papers, three new Hellenistic decrees are published, a welcome addition to the still small number of such documents from Lycian cities. The fragmentary decree of Xanthos presented by Denis Rousset contains an unusual set of μέγιστα τιμαί for a great benefactor, among them the [σίτησις ἐ]γ̅ ἱεροθυτείωι, and raises complicated questions on the distribution of sacrificial meat. The next two chapters originate from the great survey project on the ancient road system in Lycia (see further below): Hüseyin Uzunoğlu and Fatma Avcu publish two new late Hellenistic decrees which illuminate the still very inadequately understood historical geography of Western Lycia. As surface finds, both texts are particularly difficult to read and to reconstruct. The decree treated by Uzunoğlu illustrates a phenomenon very typical of Lycia: “international” relations between two probably very small and neighbouring poleis, Lyrnai and Hippou Kome, on a microregional level. Avcu presents a decree found at Çukurasar, recently identified as Hippou Kome, which records honours for Mithradates VI Eupator and strikingly echoes the king’s propaganda as described in literary sources – in recent years one of the most interesting new finds from Lycia. Fatih Onur examines the historical background of three regions mentioned in the *Stadiasmus* of Patara, which were located on the provincial borders and each associated with a city. Taking up the results of Uzunoğlu and Avcu, he starts with Oktapolis and Lyrnai in the west and then moves to Milyas and Kodopa in the north and finally to Mnarike and Kosara in the east.

A series of seven papers covers the relationship of the Lycians to early imperial Rome, from the reign of Augustus, when Lycia was still notionally independent but already closely aligned with Rome, through the first decades of the new province of Lycia to the times of Trajan. Nicholas Milner and Jürgen Hammerstaedt elucidate the efforts of the Oinoandean who had sided with Brutus during the civil wars to make Rome forget their previous choice and to demonstrate their loyalty to Augustus. Şenkal Kileci and Nihal Tüner-Önen publish exciting new texts from Kibyra which finally enable us to better understand the much-discussed activities of the first governor of Lycia, Quintus Veranius, and which prove that the city was part of the province from the start and remained so until the reign of Vespasian. That another border city in the west, Kaunos, was integrated into the new province from the start, too, is corroborated by new texts published by Christian Marek. In the second part of his paper, Marek discusses Gaius Calestrius Tiro, governor of Lycia-Pamphylia under Trajan, whose family and career can now be better reconstructed thanks to a new honorary inscription. Christof Schuler looks upon the Neronian lighthouse at Patara and its monumental inscription in the context of Roman imperial policy and propaganda

⁵ The full text of the *Lex sacra* is published in Wörrle 2022.

as well as the activities of the long-serving governor Sextus Marcius Priscus. The honorary monument which Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault reconstruct from several fragments found at Xanthos belongs to the same period of Nero and Vespasian and features the governors Marcius Priscus, again, and Gaius Licinius Mucianus. Inscriptions from the theatre at Tlos provide remarkable new evidence for the prominent local family of the Marcii who reached equestrian status in the Flavian period, as Taner Korkut, Recai Tekoğlu and M. Ertan Yıldız show in their exposition.⁶ Selen Kılıç-Aslan analyses chronological problems of another family which formed part of the provincial élite, the Licinnii of Oinoanda. The prosopographical approach of the latter two papers connects them with the contributions on Oinoanda and Kaunos mentioned above. Taken together they significantly add to our knowledge of those families of local and regional prominence who played a key role in shaping the Lycians' relationship with Rome and in turn advanced their own political and social power.

The papers by Christoph Samitz and Thomas Corsten are important, because they are devoted to the largest subset of Greek inscriptions in Lycia: texts on sarcophagi which name the owner of the tomb and other persons with burial rights, combined with sanctions against their illicit use or their robbery. Samitz is one of the best experts for the Lycian material of the former *Kleinasiatische Kommission* which is kept in the archive of the Austrian Academy at Vienna. His 'field research' in the archive is a striking example for the richness and importance of that documentation especially, but not exclusively for inscriptions which are lost today.⁷ Corsten's study of fragments of sarcophagus inscriptions found at the church of St. Nicholas at Myra – a type of material everyone working in Lycia is familiar with – demonstrates that it is worthwhile and rewarding to pay due attention to these mutilated texts. Digital documentation is becoming more and more important in epigraphy, and Aykan Akçay explains how advanced technical equipment can be effectively deployed even under the difficult conditions of the Lycian mountains. In his case study, he presents provisional results of a survey of an interesting open-air sanctuary of Ares in the mountainous hinterland of Phaselis.⁸ Klaus Zimmermann rounds off the volume with a text of the fourth century AD. The funeral epigram on Eudemos, a bishop of Patara, is not only a very valuable addition to the relatively small number of Christian inscriptions from Lycia, but is also of more general interest for the role of bishops in the early Church.

2. Recent research on Greek epigraphy in Lycia: some observations

If the studies assembled in this volume are to be situated in a more general framework, we refer to the outline of the state of research on Greek epigraphy in Lycia which was given in the introduction to the proceedings of the 2005 conference.⁹ The main observations of that earlier account are still valid, and the following thoughts are merely intended as a supplement and update. The extraordinary dynamics of epigraphical research in the region which was highlighted then has continued or even accelerated, constantly fuelled by substantial new finds as the texts published in the present volume again demonstrate. The persistent stream of new publications has added to our knowledge in so many different aspects and details that it is impossible to give a summary here. Instead, we pick out a few developments and publications which seem to be of particular interest.

⁶ Further new texts from Tlos are published by Korkut, Yıldız and Tekoğlu 2023.

⁷ Dobesch 1993, 30 rightly calls this archive "a kind of treasury of epigraphy" ("eine Art Schatzhaus der Epigraphik").

⁸ Rural sanctuaries of this type may have been more frequent in Lycia than hitherto suspected: Marksteiner et al. 2007 describe an open-air sanctuary of the indigenous god Somendis in the hinterland of Limyra with comparable dedications.

⁹ Schuler 2007b, 10-17.

The “Stadiasmus of Patara”, the spectacular monument erected by the Lycians in AD 45 to thank the emperor Claudius for pacifying the region and turning it into a Roman province continues to inspire important studies. Apart from the dedication to Claudius, the monument carries a long list of the lengths of the connecting roads allegedly “constructed” between the Lycian cities, indicated in stadia. The monument and preliminary texts of the two inscriptions were published in 2001 from an archaeological perspective by Fahri Işık, Havva İşkan, and Nevzat Çevik. An epigraphical publication with ample historical commentary by the late Sencer Şahin and Mustafa Adak followed in 2007. Based on results of field surveys, Şahin produced an enhanced and revised Turkish version of this book and published it in 2014. These books are now the point of reference for all subsequent research on the monument. Within a lively scholarly debate, the field surveys initiated by Şahin in 2005 stand out as a long-term project with very substantial results. The aim of the yearly survey campaigns conducted between 2005 and 2021 throughout Lycia¹⁰ was to document any remains of ancient roads and related settlements, including inscriptions, and interpret them in the light of the catalogue of roads of the Stadiasmus. The surveys produced rich results illuminating the historical geography and administrative history of the region which were presented in numerous publications.¹¹ What is more, the project was a seminary for young epigraphers at Akdeniz University who continue to draw on the material collected during the surveys.¹²

Another major survey project which highlights the importance of the close interlocking of archaeological, geographical, and epigraphical studies was the detailed survey of the complete territory of Kyaneai in central Lycia directed by Frank Kolb from 1989 to 2001. In an opus magnum of 2008, Kolb has synthesised the dense results of the survey into a *longue-durée* history of the Kyaneai *Siedlungskammer* which makes intensive use of inscriptions especially for the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹³ In Eastern Lycia, surveys conducted in the Beydağları mountains under the direction of Nevzat Çevik (2002-2006) and İsa Kızıgüt (2007-2011) produced rich archaeological data on the settlements of the region. Bülent İplikçioğlu published most of the epigraphic finds from these surveys and from his own research in Eastern Lycia in various contributions, the most recent of which is his corpus of Korydalla edited in 2021 as a fascicle of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (see further below). Smaller projects and isolated discoveries also continue to increase our understanding of the complex settlement structure of ancient Lycia which is characterised by a large number of small and medium-sized communities and corresponding institutions. A recent example is the identification of the ruins at Muskar/Belören in the hinterland of Myra, long-since known and in earlier scholarship variously assumed to be Trebendai or Tragalassos, as Sybena (δημος Συβενέων). This community had the status of a περιπόλιον, a territorial and political subdivision of the polis of Myra.¹⁴ Parallel discoveries at Asarönü, a περιπόλιον of Limyra, now confirm earlier theories that this characteristic term was used for communities who usually had a past as seats of minor Lycian dynasts in the classical period and who had become independent, even if very small, poleis in the early Hellenistic period, but later merged with a more powerful neighbour and were integrated into the territory of that polis. This consolidation of the extremely fragmented political geography seems to have been implemented by the

¹⁰ The project was directed by Sencer Şahin until 2014, by Nala Eda Akyürek Şahin from 2015 to 2017, and by Fatih Onur from 2018 until completion. See <http://adkam.akdeniz.edu.tr/sp-introduction> (accessed 2023/08/23).

¹¹ A list can be found at <http://adkam.akdeniz.edu.tr/sp-publications> (accessed 2023/08/23).

¹² Some of the new inscriptions found during the surveys are published by Hüseyin Uzunoğlu and Fatma Avcu in this volume and by Wörrle and Onur 2023.

¹³ See also Kolb 2014 for a general history of archaic and classical Lycia.

¹⁴ Schuler and Öztürk 2020 (*BE* 2021, 416); Schuler 2023.

Rhodians during their rule over Lycia between 188 and 167 BC and had a lasting impact.¹⁵ Further important news on ancient villages comes from the territory of Xanthos: Patrick Baker and Gaétan Thériault recently published extensive yearly lists of benefactors who had donated money for local festivals which must have been the apogee of the religious and social life of that – still anonymous – community. The leading magistrates of the *κώμη*, as it is called, were *δήμαρχοι*, one more indication that this was the usual designation of the principal office in dependent communities of Lycian poleis.¹⁶

Many aspects of the institutional structure of Lycian poleis are still poorly documented and understood, which is especially true for the Hellenistic period. Undoubtedly, new finds similar to those mentioned above will fill in some of these lacunae, and at the same time the new texts are a reminder and an encouragement to investigate more of the numerous small settlements in the Lycian countryside with survey projects. Compared to the cities they may seem insignificant, but they always offer ample opportunities for new archaeological data and epigraphical finds the relevance of which goes far beyond the local context. There are still parts of the landscape and countless well-preserved ancient settlements about which we know very little, and at the same time the intensity of modern agriculture and building activities is increasing everywhere at an ever faster pace. It is therefore also a matter of new urgency to document ancient remains before they disappear, including inscriptions. Thus, we deliberately emphasise the value of surveys here, since the focus of archaeological research in Lycia and the bulk of relevant resources has clearly shifted to excavations in recent years. This is of course perfectly understandable because the central public areas of Lycian poleis are highly attractive for archaeological research. Still, surveys have specific methodological advantages especially in a region with many architectural remains which are well-preserved on the surface. Ideally, surveys and excavations go hand in hand and complement each other.

However, the great potential of excavations to give direct access to new inscriptions is obvious and confirmed by the majority of papers in this volume. More generally, too, some outstanding publications of recent years stem from excavations. The following few examples are selected because they concern documents the interest of which goes far beyond the context of Lycia. Our selection is inevitably subjective, and we apologise for not mentioning here a host of other publications of great quality and importance which may present less spectacular texts, but which are equally indispensable for anybody dealing with Lycian history. In 2010, Denis Rousset published a long treaty (111 lines of text) between the Lycian League and Termessos at Oinoanda found at the Letoon in 1993 and dated to ca. 160-150 BC. The convention settled a border dispute of the contracting parties and is highly interesting from various perspectives: the history and institutions of the Lycian League and Oinoanda, regional geography, and Greek “international” law.¹⁷ Even more spectacular is the discovery of a bilingual version of the treaty (*foedus*) between Kibyra and Rome which was published by Ludwig Meier in 2019.¹⁸ The treaty was already known from a Greek fragment which belongs, as it turned out, to a second copy. The more extensive fragments of the primary version, prestigiously inscribed on the base of a monument in honour of the goddess Roma, show that the treaty was concluded earlier in the second century BC than hitherto thought and shed new light on Roman policy in the region in the wake of Apameia as well as on *foedera* of this kind in general. The Latin part of the bilingual text carries archaic features and seems to be the oldest Latin inscription discovered in

¹⁵ Wörrle and Onur 2023.

¹⁶ Baker and Thériault 2023.

¹⁷ The text (*SEG* 60, 1569; *AE* 2010, 1644; *BE* 2011, 554) is now included in *Staatsverträge* IV, 675. The topography and location of Mount Masa, the focus of the border dispute, has recently been established, see Onur 2022.

¹⁸ Meier 2019, no. 1 (*AE* 2019, 1598-1599; *BE* 2020, 423; *Staatsverträge* IV, 632).

Asia Minor to date. Limyra continues to yield remarkable documents especially from the Hellenistic period. Michael Wörrle has published two important texts which elucidate Ptolemaic rule in third-century Lycia and the administration of the Ptolemaic empire outside Egypt in general.¹⁹ Much later, in the early imperial period, a prominent Limyrean politician called Ornimythos was honoured in his hometown with a monumental arch, in the context of early imperial Asia Minor a most unusual type of monument related to Italian models. The publication by Ursula Quatember, Andrew K. Y. Leung and Michael Wörrle combines architectural history and epigraphy in an exemplary manner.²⁰ A Roman document of eminent importance was made known in 2007 by Burak Takmer: the Neronian customs law for the province of Lycia found in 1999 at Andriake, the harbour of Myra. Takmer published a useful preliminary report which included substantial portions of this long Greek translation of a Latin original and which allowed the document to be integrated in subsequent research.²¹ The law is all the more important because, together with two other relevant inscriptions from Kaunos and Myra,²² it forms a dense cluster which gives unique insight in the customs organisation of an individual Roman province. It is to be hoped that a full publication of this document will be available in the near future. For the later imperial period, a find from Hacimusalar Höyük, the site of Choma, stands out: A letter of Septimius Severus to the Lycian League, published by Gary Reger in 2020, deals in unusual detail with the involvement of Roman soldiers in judicial procedures in Lycian cities and related abuses.²³

Beyond these epigraphical publications, it is appropriate to pay tribute to a landmark handbook which is based on a complete collection of relevant inscriptions and which constitutes an invaluable asset for all who publish, or work with, inscriptions from Lycia: In 2014, volume VB of *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* was edited by Jean-Sébastien Balzat, Richard Catling, Édouard Chiricat and Fabienne Marchand, covering *Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. The volume contains a very substantial introduction (pp. IX-XXXVIII) which provides an important analysis of the composition of the epigraphical material from the region.

3. Regional corpora and future tasks

The contributions cited above are only a small segment of the totality of recent epigraphical publications, but they may suffice to give at least an idea of the volume and diversity of current scholarly production on inscriptions from Lycia, among them many important documents for the historical geography, the political institutions of the cities and the Lycian League, administrative structures, and all sorts of social, religious, and cultural aspects. This dynamics is of course most welcome in the first place, but it does have a downside: It has become increasingly difficult even for specialists to control the epigraphical material relevant for a specific city or research question. The intensity of archaeological research and the consequential frequency of new discoveries keep researchers occupied and lead to a publishing activity dominated by dispersed first editions and subsequent papers on individual texts or aspects. In contrast, the publication of corpora which collect all inscriptions from a given city or region and provide an analytical summary of earlier editions and commentaries has lately been a rare event in Lycian scholarship, as the following survey of available corpora shows.

¹⁹ Wörrle 2010 (*SEG* 60, 1536), 2021a (*BE* 2021, 504); see also the historical synthesis in Wörrle 2021b.

²⁰ Quatember, Leung and Wörrle 2020 (*BE* 2021, 118).

²¹ Takmer 2007 (published 2008; *SEG* 57, 1666); cf. e.g. Maiuro 2016; Arnaud 2018.

²² *I.Kaunos* 35, with the fundamental commentary of C. Marek; Myra: Wörrle 1975, 286-300, cf. Marek, *I.Kaunos* p. 201-215.

²³ Reger 2020 (*BE* 2021, 418).

Epigraphical research in Lycia has been thriving since the nineteenth century. The epigraphical harvest from *voyageurs* and researchers was systematically collected in the corpus *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (*TAM*) initiated by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and based on a series of expeditions which, under extremely difficult conditions, aimed at covering the whole of the Lycian peninsula.²⁴ The first volume containing the inscriptions in Lycian language and a few bilingual and Greek texts appeared in 1901 (*TAM I: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, ed. E. Kalinka),²⁵ and three fascicles of the second volume covering the Greek and Latin inscriptions followed in 1920, 1930, and 1944 (*TAM II: Tituli Lyciae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*, ed. E. Kalinka), while *TAM III* published in 1941 collected the inscriptions of the Greater Termessos. Thus, the first regional corpus of Asia Minor was dedicated to Lycia, and incidentally an innovative step was taken by the inclusion of inscriptions in three languages, transcending the rather strict separation of material in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. After the pioneering volumes *TAM I* and *II/1*, the series *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, which concentrated on central Anatolia, followed suit: *MAMA I* was published in 1928, and the series was continued with an impressive number of further volumes within a decade (*MAMA II*, 1930 – VI, 1939). However, the *MAMA* series did not aim at a systematic collection of all inscriptions from a region, but rather presented the – albeit extensive – results of regional surveys, often including archaeological material. Parallel to these regional projects, high standards were set in a different format, corpora of single cities, which were based on the respective excavations, with *Die Inschriften von Pergamon I-II* (ed. Max Fränkel, 1890. 1895), *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (ed. Otto Kern, 1900) and *Inschriften von Priene* (ed. Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, 1906) setting the stage.

After the Second World War, Austrian epigraphical research in Lycia regained some of its momentum, but despite ongoing efforts in Vienna and important survey work by George Ewart Bean, the missing fourth fascicle of *TAM II* which was to cover central Lycia including the prominent cities of Myra and Limyra, was never completed. The focus of work on *TAM* shifted to Bithynia (*TAM IV*) and Lydia (*TAM V*).²⁶ One reason for the relatively slow development of epigraphical and archaeological research in Lycia may have been that even after the Second World War the region remained an underdeveloped part of Turkey difficult to access. As a result modern archaeological research in the region began comparatively late and markedly intensified only since the 1980s.²⁷ The pioneering step was taken with the commencement of the French excavations at Xanthos in 1950 and at the Letoon in 1962. Archaeological surveys started by Jürgen Borchhardt at Myra and in its surroundings in 1965 led to the discovery of the ‘heroon of Perikles’ at Limyra in 1966 and to the initiation of excavations there in 1969. The beginning of excavations at Arykanda under the direction of the late Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu followed in 1970. Another significant step was the opening of excavations at Patara, one of the largest ancient cities in Lycia, by Fahri Işık in 1988. Unsurprisingly, these projects soon resulted in a rich harvest of epigraphical finds, and the main thrust of epigraphical research gradually shifted to the excavation sites. New discoveries were published in diverse form. Numerous articles aside, several volumes of pivotal importance appeared in

²⁴ See the detailed account of Dobesch 1993 and, on the division of work between the *Inscriptiones Graecae* and the *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Hallof 1993.

²⁵ A supplement was published by Neumann 1979.

²⁶ On the development of the project after 1945 see Dobesch 1993, 23-30. Still, numerous substantial contributions on Lycia appeared in other publications of the Austrian Academy, among them several volumes in the series *Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris* (*ETAM*) – Bean 1971, Neumann 1979, Borchhardt and Dobesch 1993, Schuler 2007, Meier 2019 – and many new finds published by Bülent İplikçioğlu who for many years conducted epigraphical surveys in northern and eastern Lycia by way of preparation of future corpora in the framework of *TAM*.

²⁷ On the following, see Metzger 1987, 7-9, Borchhardt 1993, 25-30 and the paper of Michael Wörrle in this volume.

the series *Fouilles de Xanthos*, with the bulk of the material stemming from the Letoon: volume VI on the famous trilingual stele, volume VII with a large sub-corpus of Roman imperial texts, and volume X on the treaty already highlighted above.²⁸ Michael Wörrle who had been introduced to Lycia through the survey at Myra directed by Borchhardt, joined the excavation team of Limyra from the start and has since then published a long series of articles on inscriptions from the city, among them many documents of outstanding importance especially for the Hellenistic period; some recent additions were cited above. At Arykanda, too, many new inscriptions came to light and were edited by Sencer Şahin: *Die Inschriften von Arykanda* appeared in 1994 as volume 48 of *Inschriften griechischer Städte in Kleinasien (I.K.)*.²⁹ This series had been initiated in 1972 by Reinhold Merkelbach at Cologne as a joint project of the Austrian Academy and the North Rhine-Westphalian Academy.³⁰ The effect on Lycian epigraphy, however, was limited, since only two of the 69 volumes of the series published to date³¹ concern the region: Apart from the Arykanda corpus, Thomas Corsten edited *Die Inschriften von Kibyra. Teil I: Die Inschriften der Stadt und ihrer näheren Umgebung* in 2002 as *I.K.* 60. In 2006, Christian Marek published *Die Inschriften von Kaunos (Vestigia 55)* with a collection of testimonia, an introduction on the history of the city and the geography of its territory, and substantial historical commentaries. This major corpus, which contains 228 Greek inscriptions,³² is a landmark not only because it is the first comprehensive collection of inscriptions for Kaunos, but also because of the now authoritative edition of the famous ‘customs inscription’ and the new results concerning the relationship between Kaunos and the province of Lycia which Marek reached. Two years later, Christina Kokkinia re-edited the inscriptions of Boubon, a corpus of 102 inscriptions including a number of new texts discovered in the course of a survey of the city and its territory.³³ The most recent continuation of this sequence is Bülent İplikçioğlu’s corpus *Die Inschriften von Korydalla* which appeared in 2021 as the first volume of a second edition of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris (TAM II²,1)*. This slim fascicle presents 46 inscriptions, but nonetheless marks a significant and welcome step since it continues the commitment of the Austrian Academy of Sciences to epigraphical research in Lycia and to the *TAM* corpus.³⁴

The corpora mentioned above, regardless of their year of publication, are major achievements and fundamental working tools. Nonetheless it is evident that most of the more recent volumes are dedicated to cities which are situated on the margins of Lycia whereas for the core parts of the region, despite the undisputed quality of the *TAM II* fascicles, an update is highly desirable. This applies especially to the great centres of the Xanthos valley. For the cities of central Lycia, and most importantly for Myra, there is as yet no corpus at all. With a view to this situation, Denis Rousset, in his closing address to the symposium, rightly stated that the most urgent task of epigraphical research in Lycia is the production of up-to-date corpora. With this he gave voice to a vital concern shared by most of the participants, and it is indeed to be hoped that more corpus projects will be initiated and successfully completed in the near future. However, Rousset also pointed out that the extraordinary dynamics of epigraphy in Lycia – as a direct consequence of the relatively late start of archaeological excavations on many sites – could be described as a catch-up

²⁸ Metzger et al. 1979, Balland 1981, Rousset 2010.

²⁹ Compared to the texts collected in *TAM II* 784-823, the new corpus is much enlarged.

³⁰ On this cooperation, see Dobesch 1993, 29.

³¹ The volumes 45 and 46 were skipped; many of the other volumes are split into several fascicles.

³² In addition, there are ten Karian inscriptions (K 6 is in fact a litra weight with Greek inscription, see *SEG* 56, 1193).

³³ Kokkinia 2008. Coulton 2012 is the result of another survey in the same region: a useful register of all known inscriptions from Balboura and its territory. The texts proper are not reprinted, but the editions are listed, and there is an onomastic index and a concordance of editions.

³⁴ Cf. the remarks of D. Rousset in *BE* 2021, 2.

process in comparison to other regions of Asia Minor. At some Lycian sites, ongoing excavations bring to light so many new finds that it may be too early to produce a corpus of inscriptions and a longer phase of preparatory editions and studies may be preferable. But even in such cases it is important to set the goal of a future corpus at an early stage and to pursue it systematically – be it in printed or in digital form. We should also not forget the inscriptions found both by museum staff and by local people in the fields or on building sites which are collected and kept safe in the regional museums at Fethiye, Elmalı, Antalya, and most recently Demre.

Archaeologists are the most important partners of field epigraphers, and this is an opportunity to thank the excavation directors and other colleagues in archaeology for various forms of collaboration and the opportunities which arise from participation in archaeological projects. Within an interdisciplinary dialogue, inscriptions often contribute to explaining archaeological findings. However, scholarship in recent decades has also stressed how important it is to view inscriptions not only as texts, but as monuments in their own right, and to pay due attention to their materiality. In this respect, the dialogue with archaeology runs both ways, and it is to be welcomed if it continues to intensify.

As members of archaeological projects, epigraphers collect new data and make it accessible for further research in ancient studies. Epigraphic field research is thus an important part of what is called *Grundlagenforschung* in German, and contributes significantly to the expansion of the material base of ancient studies. This important function entails a special responsibility: Epigraphic publications are the laboratories in which colleagues and students continue to work with the inscriptions and analyse them for their own individual interests. The responsibility of epigraphers lies not only in the speed of publication, but also in the quality of documentation and interpretation which need to be continuously reviewed and developed. To achieve this, exchange on methods and new finds is essential, and it is to be hoped that the Antalya conference was not just an ephemeral platform but helped to form new contacts as a sustainable basis for dialogue and cooperation – not least in order to support the corpus projects which are the most prominent desideratum of epigraphy in Lycia. If so, epigraphical research in Lycia will be sure to continue to make significant contributions to international classical scholarship.

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The Marcii, A Leading Family from Tlos

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Abstract: This paper presents 17 inscriptions unearthed during the theatre excavations of the ancient city of Tlos. Among these inscriptions, 14 inscriptions identified with the *nomen gentile* Marcius were recovered. They consist of honorary inscriptions erected by Titus Marcus Titianus Deiotarianus himself and by the *demos* and *boule* of Tlos. The most important of these inscriptions is the one in honour of Titus Marcus Titianus Deiotarianus, who built the stage building with all its decorations and dedicated it to the ancestor god Kronos, to Emperor Antoninus Pius and his children, and to the people of Tlos. This inscription provides both dating and a three-generation sequence of the family tree. The inscriptions in this group suggest that the construction of the theatre's stage building was completed sometime between AD 147-161. This date range can also be seen as the continuation of the construction activities after the earthquake of AD 141, which affected the whole of Lycia. According to the panel inscription, Titus Marcus Titianus Deiotarianus was the father and Titus Marcus Titianus was the grandfather of Titus Marcus Titianus Deiotarianus of the Quirina tribus, who built the stage building during the reign of Antoninus Pius. The father and grandfather were respectively identical with Marcus Titianus (*PME* M33), mentioned in an inscription from Balbura (*IGR* III 472), and his son T. Mar. Deiotarianus (*PIR*² M 229; *PME* M 27). It has been assumed that this family was originally from Balbura, but in the light of the Tlos inscriptions it is possible to learn that they had dual citizenship and that their ancestors were originally from Tlos. In the light of the inscriptions presented here, the paper analyses the military, religious, political, and religious affiliations of the family members, their contributions to the architecture of the city, and the family tree. The other group of inscriptions in this article are six inscriptions dedicated to athletes who won prizes in *pankration* and wrestling competitions at festivals held in honour of Kronos. The palaeographic characteristics of the inscriptions suggest that they may be dated after the reign of Antoninus Pius.

The origin of wealthy families in Lycia during the Roman Imperial period and their kinship ties and their influence on social, political, religious and economic activities in the region, as in the city itself, have always been of particular interest for studies of the ancient history of Asia Minor. An analysis of epigraphic documentation may reveal the possibility of learning how kinship ties were intertwined amongst the various ruling families and the nature of the role of aristocratic class privileged throughout Lycia. Members of this social group stand out not only for their philanthropic activities for the development and

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construction of the city, but also for their political services and their contributions to both cultural and religious life.

When Lycia became a Roman province in AD 43, members of leading local families, who reached the equestrian rank after Roman citizenship gained by serving in army and then obtained *ordo senatorius* in the next generations according to the process of their *cursus honorum*, participated among the families of equestrian rank living already in Asia Minor as Roman citizens.¹ The local *Marcii* family among the new Roman elites in Lycia is the most striking example. They were originally from Tlos and later acquired citizenship from Balboursa too. They adapted quickly to the Roman provincial system and increased both their wealth and political strength. Some members of this family are already known from inscriptions found during the surveys conducted in the cities of Oinoanda, Balboursa and Kibyra and published in 1878 and 1897. The inscription of the well-known mausoleum built by Licinnia Flavilla from Oinoanda in northern Lycia speaks of a certain Marcus Titianus who became *primipilarius* and lyciarch. His daughter was Marcia Lycia, who married Licinnius Longus, son of Licinnius Musaeus II.² Another inscription found at Balboursa (today Çölkayığı) records that Marcus Titianus (*PME* M33; *RE Marcus* 105; *EO* 17) had a son named T. Marcus Deiotarianus (*PIR*² M 229; *PME* M 27; *EO* 16; *RE Marcus* 55) who became *tribunus militum* in *legio XXII Primigenia*.³ This T. Marcus Deiotarianus became lyciarch like his father. Additional information about his career and kinship ties are recorded in two inscriptions found at Kibyra. The first relates him to Tib. Claudius Polemon (*PIR*² C 963), asiarch and *eques*, who was honored by the most sacred guild of leather-workers according to the degree issued by the council and the people of the Caesarean Kibyrans.⁴ He was defined as a descendant of Marcus Deiotarianus, lyciarch, and Fl. Krateros, twice asiarch and high-priest. He was also the son of Tib. Cl. Hiero, twice asiarch and twice high-priest, and brother of Tib. Cl. Deiotarianus, asiarch. The first inscription does not mention Tib. Cl. Polemon's mother's name. We learn it from another inscription where Tib. Cl. Polemon honored his mother Marcia Tlepolemis (*PIR*² M 229; C 947), thrice high-priestess, defining her as grandmother of senators (μάμμη συγκλητικῶν).⁵ The same Tib. Cl. Polemon honored also his brother Tib. Cl. Deiotarianus.⁶ Other members of this family are attested in a series of inscriptions also found at Kibyra. He, i.e. Tib. Cl. Polemon, was father of Tib. Cl. Celsius Orestianus who married Fl. Lycia, daughter of

¹ Halfmann 1979, 100-213; see also Rémy 1989, 279-334; Rémy 1991; Herz 1992, 95; Milner 2016, 119.

² Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 60 (= *IGR* III 500 iii ll. 24-31): ὁ Λι[κί]ν|νιος Λόνγος, ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου | Λικιννίου Μουσαίου υἱ[ός], γα[μ]εῖ Μαρκίαν Λυκί[α]ν Μαρκίου Τιτιανοῦ θυ[γατέρα], τοῦ γενομένου || πρεμποπειλαρίου καὶ με|τὰ τοῦτο Λυκιάρχου. See also *TAM* II 532 (*IGR* III 576, Pinara): Λικίννιον Μουσαῖον | Λικιννίου Λόνγου | καὶ Μαρκίας (Λ)κυκίας υἱόν, | ἔγγονον Μαρκίου Ττι|ανοῦ χειλιάρχου καὶ δις | πρεμποπειλαρίου, | Ζώσιμος Ἐπ[ι]τυγχά|νοντος ἐκφοριαστῆς | τὸν κτήτορα τῶν χω|ρίων μνήμ[η]ς | χάριν ἤρωα.

³ Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 53 (= *AE* 1899, 176 = *IGR* III 472 = *SEG* 62, 1375). see also Dobson 1978, 234 no. 116; Naour 1978, 112 n 51. See now the new and latest edition by Milner 2012, 85-88 no. 2, where he corrects the number of primipilarship to twice: [B]αλβουρέων | ἡ βουλή κα[ι] | ὁ δῆμος ἐ[τε]ί||μ[η]σεν T. M[άρ]||κίον Κοιρ[ε]ί||να Δημοταρι|ανὸν χειλι[ρ]|χον λεγιών[ος] | [κ]β' πρεμιγενε[ί]||ας, υἱὸν Μαρκί|ου Τιτιανοῦ ἐ|πάρχου σπειρῶν, | χειλιάρχου λε|γιώνων β', πρε||μπεῖλου β', κτίστου | τῆς πόλεως.

⁴ *IGR* IV 907 (= *OGIS* 495 = *I.Kibyra* 63); see also Harper 1979, 521-522 no. 8; McLean 2002, 243; Harland 2014, 164: [ἀγαθῆ] τύχη. | κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῆ βουλή | καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς λαμπρο|τάτης Καισαρέων Κιβυρα|τῶν πόλεως ἡ σεμνοτάτη | συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβυρσέ|ων Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον | Πολέμωνα, Ἀσιάρχην, ἱπ|πικόν, Τιβέριον Κλαυδίου || Ἰέρωνος, Ἀσιάρχου δις καὶ ἀρ|χιερέως δις ὑόν, Τιβερίου | Κλαυδίου Δημοστηριανοῦ | Ἀσιάρχου ἀδελφόν, Μαρκί|ου Δημοστηριανοῦ Λυκιάρ|χου καὶ Φλαβίου Κρατεροῦ | Ἀσιάρχου δις καὶ ἀρ|χιερέως ἔκγονον, ἀνθ' ὧν | τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων | μετὰ ἐπιμελείας || προενοήσατο.

⁵ Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 9 (= *AE* 1899, 165 = *IGR* IV 912 = *I.Kibyra* 69). See also Milner – Hall, *Kibyra Olbasa* 48 and Puech 2002 no. 215: Μαρκίαν Τλη[π]ολεμίδα, | μάμμη συγκλητικῶν, ἀρ|χιερείαν τρίς, ἐκγόνην Φλ·| Κρατέρου Ἀσιάρχου δις καὶ || ἀρχιερέως, θυγατέρα Μα[ρ]||κίου Δημοστηριανοῦ Λυκιάρχου, Τιβ· Κλ· Πολέμων | τὴν μητέρα.

⁶ Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 10 (= *IGR* IV 906 = *I.Kibyra* 70): Τιβ· Κλ· Δ[η]ιοστ[η]ριανόν, Ἀσι[ά]ρχην, | ἱππικόν, Τιβ· Κλ· | Πολέμων, Ἀσιάρχης, || ἱππικός, τὸν γλυκύ|τατον ἀδελφόν.

Fl. Hiero⁷, and uncle of Tib. Cl. Polemon.⁸ The nephew honored his uncle as the best rhetor. He seems likely to be a son of Tib. Cl. Deïoterianus.

The family tree of the Marcii included Marcius Titianus as father, Ti. Marcius Deïoterianus as son, Marcia Lycia as daughter, Marcia Tlepolemis, daughter of Ti. Marcius Deïoterianus, as granddaughter and Tib. Cl. Polemon and Tib. Cl. Deïoterianus, sons of Marcia Tlepolemis, as great-grandsons.⁹ In the light of the new archaeological and epigraphic finds obtained through the archaeological excavations at Tlos¹⁰, it has become possible to add new members to the family, to follow their origin, and to be informed about the prosopography of some family members.

17 inscriptions associated with the *nomen gentile* Marcius/Marcia were found during excavations in the theatre in Tlos.¹¹ An important part of these inscriptions was recorded on the blocks of the stage building wall. The others were placed freely in different parts of the stage building. These were dedicated to emperor Antoninus Pius and his family, to some family members of the Marcii and to the winners of *pankration* and wrestling by T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus or by the council and people of the city of Tlos. The starting point of these inscriptions is a panel placed above the *valva regia*, which includes names of three generations and also establishes a dating criterion.

1. T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus sets up the stage building

An inscription (fig. 1) was recorded on the blocks forming a semicircular panel with egg-and-dart ornament (ionic *kymation*) which crowned the area just above the *valva regia* leading to the stage building from the *scaena frons* (fig. 2). The inscription in the panel was carved on 6 blocks in total, of which only 10 inscribed fragmentary pieces were recovered. Most of them are almost complete and join to each other. These blocks are worn and cracked at the edges and on the surfaces. The blocks of the inscription in the panel were found fallen down parallel to their original positions, and reconstructed in combination with the grid system in the excavations of the stage building. The semicircular panel has a width of 284 cm and a height of 145 cm. The inscription is incomplete and should have at least 1 or 2 lines more outside the semicircular panel, but no block or fragment has been found to date to enable the restoration of the complete text. The inscription was recovered in 10 fragmentary pieces.

⁷ Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 8 (= IGR IV 908 = I.Kibyra 62); see also Puech 2002 no. 218; Campanile 1994 no. 62; Milner – Hall, *Kibyra Olbasa* 15.12: οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλληνας | ἐτείμησαν | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Κλαυδίου Πολέμωνος υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Κέλσον Ὀρεστιανόν, || φιλόπατρι, κοσμόπολι, καὶ Φλαουίαν | Φλαουίου Ἰέρωνος θυγατέρα Λυκίαν, θυγατέρα πόλεως, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἀρχιερατεύσαντας τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ | καὶ δις νεωκόρω Περγάμω ναῶν ἐπιφανῶς || καὶ φιλοτείμως | προνοήσαντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν τειμῶν τοῦ Καισαρέων Κιβυρατῶν δήμου τῶν | ἰδίων πολιτῶν τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκεν.

⁸ Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 10 (= IGR IV 909 = I.Kibyra 67): Τιβ. Κλ. Πολέμων[α] | ἱππικόν, ῥήτορα | ἄριστον, | Τιβ. Κλ. Πολέμων τὸ[v] || θεῖον.

⁹ Halfmann 1979, 150; see also Kearsley 1988, 49; Herz 1992, 95, 100; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 226, 236; Wörrle 1988, 63-64; Corsten 2007, 178.

¹⁰ Korkut 2016, 35-41.

¹¹ Korkut and Özdemir 2019.



FIG. 1 Panel Inscription

Fragment 1: H.: 67 cm; W.: 72 cm; D.: 48 cm; Fragment 2: H.: 21cm; W.: 18cm; D.: 16 cm; Fragments 3+4+5: H.: 99 cm; W.: 80 cm; D.: 43 cm; Fragment 6: H.: 73 cm; W.: 67 cm; D.: 42 cm; Fragment 7: H.: 27 cm; W.: 38 cm; D.: 41 cm; Fragment 8: H.: 48 cm; W.: 113 cm; D.: 51 cm; Fragment 9: H.: 45 cm; W.: 60 cm; D.: 27 cm; Fragment 10: H.: 47 cm; W.: 108 cm; D.: 47.5 cm. Dimensions of the letters are variable in height, from 9 cm to 11 cm.

1	ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Κρόνῳ πατρίῳ θεῷ καὶ Αὐτ[ο]κράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβ(αστῷ)
5	Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τῇ Τλωέων πόλει τῇ μητροπό- λει τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους Τι. Μαρ. Τι. Μα[ρ.] Τ[ι]τιανοῦ Δ[η]ϊοτηριανοῦ] υῖος Κυρεῖνα Τιτ[ι]αν[ο]ῦ Δ[η]ϊοτηρι[α]γός Τλωεὺς καὶ Βαλβουρεὺς ἀνέθηκεν [κ]αὶ τὸ προσκήνιον
10	ἐκ θεμελίων σὺν παντὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὸ κόσμῳ ἐξ ὑ- ποσχέσεως τοῦ πά[π]που αὐ[τ]οῦ Τι. Μαρ. Τιτιανοῦ πρει- [μοπειλαρίου -----]

With good fortune. To the ancestral god Kronos and to Emperor Caesar Augustus Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius and to his children and to the sweetest home country, the city of Tlos, the metropolis of the Lycian nation, T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, from the Quirina tribus, citizen of Tlos and Balboura, son of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, set up also the proskenion together with all the decorative features around it as it was promised by his grandfather T. Marcius Titianus, pri[m]ipilarius

The visual reconstruction of the inscription in fig. 1 may vary in dimensions and positions, as the photographs of the blocks were taken with various lenses and cameras in different campaigns of excavation.

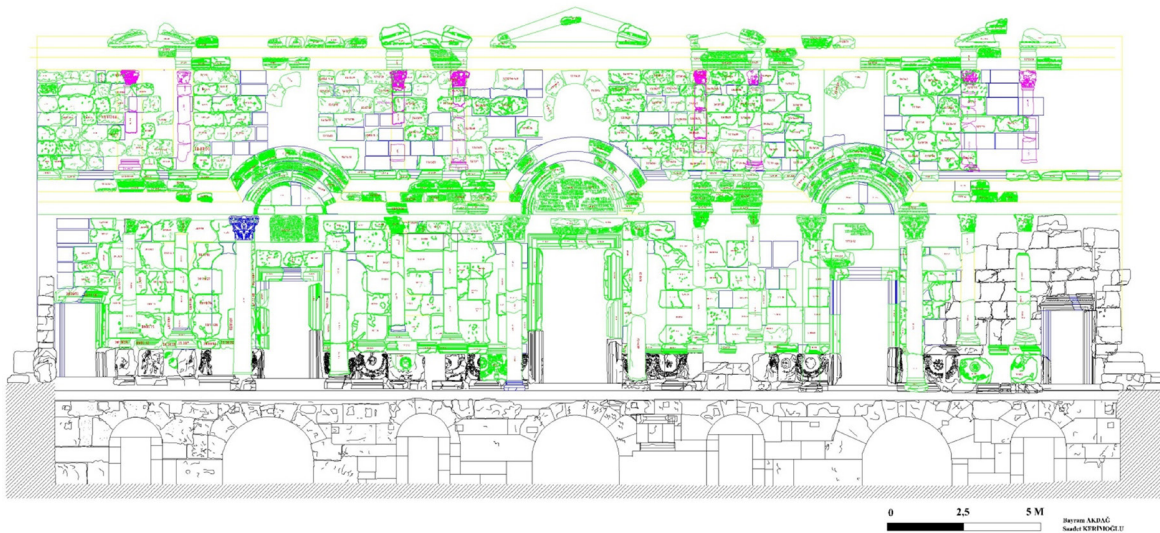


FIG. 2 Stage Building

The inscription was recorded in a semicircle panel, the inner margin of which is followed by the beginning of the lines. Any punctuation was not used after abbreviations. In line 4 *σεβαστός* is abbreviated to ΣΕΒ. In line 6 *eta, mu* and *eta* in τῆ μητρο- are ligatured. In line 7 the *praenomen* Τίτος is abbreviated in TI but *iota* is small and centered between *tau* and next *mu*. It is repeated twice in the same line and once in line 11. The *nomen* Μάρκιος was abbreviated in MAP but -AP was written below the line. It is repeated twice in the same line but in the second *alpha* is still traceable, but *rho* is lost. It seems likely that the scribe of the text forgot the true orthography of the abbreviation of Marcius and then added below *mu* as in line 11 it is written beside *mu* with smaller letters. In line 7 the second *iota* of the *cognomen* Τιτιανός was missed but a smaller *iota* was later added lightly between *tau* and *alpha*. From the honorific agnomen only the first letter is survived in line 7 and it is legible as Δ, which is the first letter of Δῆϊοτηριανός. The final line, or lines, of the inscription in panel, which must include the prosopography of the grandfather, is, or are, lost.

Commentary

The panel inscription begins with a standard formula, ἀγαθῆ τύχη, introducing a dedication to the ancestral god Kronos, to the Emperor Caesar Augustus T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius and his children, and to the city of Tlos by T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus II. His nomenclature and filiation are formed according to Roman name conventions. He was son of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus I. He was assigned to the tribe Quirina and had dual citizenship with Tlos and Balboura. It is also stated that he fulfilled his grandfather T. Marcius Titianus' promise to build a stage building in the theatre of Tlos. No honorary title was mentioned for him and for his father, but an initial part of the grandfather's honorary title survived at the end of the final line of the inscription as πρει- which should undoubtedly be completed to *primopilarius* as seen in no. 5 here. The identification of the father and the grandfather will be treated in the next pages. It will now be more useful to continue with the identification of grandson T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus II., as his activities can be dated more accurately. The construction of the stage building was dedicated to Antoninus Pius and to his children in the inscription in panel. It seems therefore likely to date the construction of the stage building to between AD 138 and 161, as Antoninus Pius was defined with whole imperial titles¹², but archaeological and epigraphic materials found in the theatre

¹² Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017, 128-129.

of Tlos help to narrow the time range. The names of his children are not mentioned in the inscription, but these should be his daughter Faustina and his adoptive son and son-in-law Marcus Aurelius. The fact that they were meant is confirmed by the discovery of five statues and three inscribed blocks unearthed during excavation works in the theatre of Tlos.

A remarkable part of the architectural decoration in the stage building of the theatre of Tlos is observed for the group of free-standing sculptures, which represent rich examples of Roman sculpture. They were unearthed in pieces among the ruins of the stage building during excavations in 2011 and subsequently restored. The statues were originally positioned in six niches created on the façade of the *scaena frons* (fig. 2). Five statues, representing three males and two females, were discovered. They were identified with the Roman emperors and their wives. The male statues, each of which is 2.10 m high, represented in military armor, reflect the characteristics of Roman emperors like Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius as seen from their general iconography and portraits. The height of the female statues varies from 1.82 m to 1.85 m. The female statue with a height of 1.85 m, emphasized as if a bare breast, depicts Faustina the Elder (*Faustina maior*), Antoninus Pius' wife. The clothed female statue, which is 1.82 m high, represents Sabina, emperor Hadrianus' wife, identified from her portrayal features. Although the statues were recovered in pieces, it is possible to determine their original positions on the stage building according to the grid system. It showed that the margins of *valva regia* in the center of *scaena frons* were devoted to the statues of Antoninus Pius and his wife Faustina, and the statues of Hadrianus and his wife Sabina¹³ were placed to the niches which limit *hospitalia* in the north of the *valva regia*, and the niches surrounding *hospitalia* to the south of *valva regia* contained the statues of Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina the Younger. It must be pointed out that any statue depicting Faustina the Younger has not been discovered to date. It seems probable that this statue was removed from its place and taken to some other location at a date prior to the collapse of the stage building.¹⁴

The following three inscriptions on the wall blocks of the stage building honor Diva Faustina, Faustina Augusta and Caesar Marcus Aurelius, which helps to determine the date when the construction of the stage building was completed and when T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus was active.

2. T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus sets up a statue of Diva Faustina

An inscribed block of local limestone found in two pieces among the ruins of the theatre includes an inscription of three lines (fig. 3). A certain part of the right corner in the first block piece is lost, otherwise the two parts of the broken block join each other. Some small fractures can be seen on the face of the block. It is very probable that the block was used in the upper wall above the side door to the north of the *valva regia* in the center of the *scaena frons* according to the grid system and enumeration (12/15/63-64). Fragment 1+Fragment 2: H.: 26 cm; W.: max. 67.5 cm. Letters: variable from 3.5 to 4.5 cm. A 4 cm E 4.5 cm, O 3.5 cm.

The left and bottom curves of a *theta* have partly survived in line 1. The *praenomen* Τίτοϛ is abbreviated as TI in line 2. *Tau* is lost and the size of the *iota* is identical to other letters. The *nomen* Μάρκιος is not abbreviated. The third line seems to be centered in comparison with the previous lines. Letters are stylistically identical to those of the panel inscription.

¹³ The statue of Sabina was inadvertently defined as Faustina *minor* by Korkut 2016, 40-41.

¹⁴ The great bath in Tlos was repaired and continued to be used during the Constantine period. At the same date, the north of *frigidarium* was rearranged and a monumental *propylon* was added to it. The supporting bases of the *propylon* were made of inscribed statue bases brought from different places. The statues unearthed here represent females (İşkan Işık 2008, plates 12, 15) and they are dated to the time of Antoninus Pius. It seems very likely that the missing statue of Faustina *minor* from the theatre at Tlos was brought there. The height and dimensions of the female statues found in the great bath favor of this assumption.

[θ]εὰν Φαυστεῖναν
 [Τ]ι. Μάρκιος Τίτιανός
 Δηϊοτηριανός.

*T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus (set up)
 Diva Faustina.*



FIG. 3

3. T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus sets up a statue of Augusta Faustina

An inscribed block of local limestone found intact among the ruins of the theatre carries an inscription of 4 lines (fig. 4). The upper and lower parts of the block are partly worn. The first and third lines are centered in the inscription. It seems to have been used on the wall around the *hospitalia*, to the south of the *valva regia* in the center of the *scaena frons* according to the grid system and enumeration (12/12/13).

H.: 28 cm; W.: 58 cm; D.: 56cm. Letters: A 4.2 cm, O 3.8 cm.

Ed. pr.: Reitzenstein 2014, 586- 587 no. 11; see also *SEG* 64, 1425; *AE* 2014, 1357; *BE* 2015, 11-15.

Φαυστεῖναν
 Σεβαστήν
 Τίτος Μάρκιος
 Τίτιανός Δηϊοτηριανός.

*T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus (set up)
 Faustina Augusta.*



FIG. 4

Letters are identical with those in the panel inscription. The *praenomen* Τίτος is not abbreviated. No interval was given between Τίτιανός and Δηϊοτηριανός in line 4, while a gap of the size of one letter was left between Τίτος and Μάρκιος in line 3.

4. T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus sets up a statue of Caesar Marcus Aurelius

An inscribed block of local limestone found intact among the ruins of the theatre carries an inscription of 4 lines (fig. 5). The size of the block is visibly larger than the previous blocks on the wall of *scaena frons*. The left side of the block was left blank for the margin indent of the lines. The right upper and lower corners of the block are broken. The second and the fourth lines are centered in line order. More than half of the block was left blank in the remaining part. It seems to have been used in the wall around the *valva regia* according to the grid system and enumeration (11/13/13).

H.: 85 cm; W.: 130 cm; D.: 42 cm. Letters: 8–10 cm. The letters of line 3 are smaller than those of the other lines.

Μάρκον Αὐρή[λιον]
 Καίσαρα
 Τίτος Μάρκιος Τίτιαν[ός]
 Δηϊοτηριανός.

T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus (set up)
Marcus Aurelius Caesar.



FIG. 5

Τίτος and Μάρκιος are attached together but they are slightly separated from Τίτιανός. Letters are stylistically identical to those in the inscription in panel.

Commentary on nos. 2-4

The three inscriptions on the blocks used in the wall of the stage building honor Faustina as *thea*, Faustina as *sebaste* and Marcus Aurelius as *caesar*. Faustina *thea* is Faustina *maior* (PIR² A 715), who died sometime between the twenty first and twenty third of October AD 140. Antoninus Pius ordered the minting of coins with her portrait struck and commemorated her as Faustina *thea* in AD 141.¹⁵ Faustina *sebaste* in no. 3 is Faustina *minor* (PIR² A 716), daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina *maior*, and wife of Marcus Aurelius. In AD 145 Faustina *minor* and Marcus Aurelius were married and she was given the title of *sebaste* on the first of December AD 147.¹⁶ This date is the *terminus post quem* for the inauguration of the stage building of the theatre of Tlos. Marcus Aurelius was not honored with any imperial title in no. 4 but only with the rank of *caesar*. He was adopted by Antoninus Pius in AD 138 and raised to the rank of *caesar* in AD 139.¹⁷ Then he was named *Marcus Aurelius caesar augusti Pii filius* or *princeps iuventutis* on coins and inscriptions until his accession to the throne in AD 161 as *imp. caes. M. Aurelius Antoninus aug. pont. max.*¹⁸ This date is the *terminus ante quem* for the inauguration of the stage building. Today we do not have any material that will allow us to determine when the construction process started and how long it took, but it seems likely that the date of inauguration in Tlos could have coincided with the date of inauguration of the theatre at Patara in AD 147.¹⁹ This is an approximate date when T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus was active in his philanthropy at Tlos.

The inauguration of the stage building was dedicated to the ancestral god Kronos (Κρόνῳ πατρίῳ θεῷ) and to Antoninus Pius himself and his wife, and their children (τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ) in the inscription in panel. It is obvious that their children implied were Faustina *minor* and Marcus Aurelius, as seen from the sculptures and the inscriptions. No archaeological and epigraphic material referring to Lucius Verus or other children was discovered in the excavations of Tlos, nor has any honorary inscription to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius by T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus been found to date at Tlos even though their statues have been unearthed.

¹⁵ Beckmann 2012, 22. See also Levick 2014, 123.

¹⁶ Levick 2014, 63.

¹⁷ Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017, 131.

¹⁸ Mattingly and Sydenham 1968, 77-92.

¹⁹ TAM II 408. See also Engelmann 2004; 2007, 136.

The dedication of the stage building to Kronos as the ancestral God shows a deep and dominant belief in the cult of Kronos at Tlos. It seems to be a cult particular to the city in the light of the actual archaeological and epigraphic documentation. A series of inscriptions²⁰ and a temple dedicated to the cult of Kronos, of which archaeological excavations were carried out between 2010 and 2014²¹, are clear pieces of evidence for the presence of this cult at Tlos.²² The origin and the cultural past of the cult in Lycia are unknown and forms a matter of varied suggestions.²³ It is generally accepted that the cult of Kronos was revived in Tlos on the remnants of a cult celebrated by Lycians and Solymian people in the classical and archaic periods which was identified with Kronos by Plutarch²⁴. The divinity was defined as the founder of the city.²⁵ The cult of Kronos in Tlos was not attested with any archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic documents dating from the Hellenistic period. It is attested in an honorary inscription for an unknown priest of Kronos and an hipparch, dated from AD 14 to 43. in the early Roman imperial period.²⁶ The agon for the great Kroneia seems to have been celebrated until the first half of the third century AD as seen from the inscriptions.²⁷ It is taken into consideration that the figures carrying double-edged axes on the reverse of some coins minted in the reign of Gordian III may represent Kronos. Similar double-edged axe representations were depicted also on the sides of the inscribed statue bases dedicated to the winners of the Kroneia festivals, uncovered in the theatre excavations in Tlos and dated to the second half of the second century AD. The temple risen on the southern corner of the southern side of the agora's flat area with a terrace wall in the east-west direction which borders the southern side of the building was accepted as being dedicated to Kronos. The podium of the temple is dated to the early Roman imperial period. The remains of a temenos of another monumental temple, whose first construction phase dates back to the classical period, were found in the same place where the temple of the Roman imperial period was located. It is accepted that the temple of the classical period was dedicated to *Trqqas*, Lycian god of sky. The bull relief found in the same area is dated to the classical period and must belong to the temple of *Trqqas*. It seems that the cult of *Trqqas* was replaced by the cult of Kronos in the imperial period at Tlos.²⁸

T. Marcus Titianus Deioterianus, who inaugurated the stage building of the theatre at Tlos, was not honored with any title in the inscriptions on the wall of the stage building. It is recorded that he was assigned to the tribe Quirina²⁹ and had dual citizenship of Tlos and Balboursa (Τλωεύς και Βαλβουρεύς). The civil rights of a member of this family were documented here for the first time. This is also confirmed in no. 11 in this study. The origin of the family has been supposed to have been Balboursa³⁰, but with some doubts.³¹ The connection of Marcii with Balboursa was already known from an honorary inscription

²⁰ A part of the newly discovered inscriptions was published in Reitzenstein 2014, 552-582; 2016, 151-152.

²¹ Korkut 2016, 48-52. See also Uygun 2018.

²² The existence of the cult has been already documented in TAM II 554, where the people of Tlos presented a dedication to Great God Kronos: [Κρό]νῳ μ[ε]γάλῳ θεῷ | [Τ]λωέων | [ὁ] δῆμος. See also Robert 1978, 43.

²³ Bryce 1986, 190. See also Özdemir 2016, 66.

²⁴ Plut., *de def. or.* 21.14, which records και Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον.

²⁵ TAM II 581. See also Robert 1978, 43.

²⁶ Reitzenstein 2014, 553 no. 1.

²⁷ TAM II 585. See also Takmer and Oktan 2013, 53, 83; Reitzenstein 2014, 576-579, no. 7.

²⁸ Korkut 2016, 48-49.

²⁹ It is always recorded as Κουρέβα in Lycia. The single exception is attested at Balboursa as Κουιρέβα in IGR III 472. It is assigned to new oriental citizens during the period of Flavii. See Camia 2010, 370-371.

³⁰ Dessau 1910, 18. See also Devijver 1977, 562 *PME* M 27 and 564 *PME* M 33; Wörrle 1988, 63; Kearsley 1996, 149; Corsten 2007, 177 and 178 stemma; Reitzenstein 2011, 208 no. 61; Frija 2012 no. 409 and stemma; Coulton 2012, 140; Milner 2012, 87; Adak 2013, 466; Reitzenstein 2014, 590.

³¹ Dobson 1978, 45 no. 116 "somewhere in Lycia".

found at Balboursa, where T. Marcius Deiotarianus, from the tribe Quirina, *trib. mil. leg. XXII Primigeniae* (PIR² M 229; PME M 27; EO 16; RE Marcius 55), son of Marcius Titianus, *praef. coh., trib. leg., p. p.* (PME M 33, Dobson 1978, 116 and RE 105), was honored with a statue by the people and council of Balboursa.³² T. Marcius Deiotarianus of the Balbouran inscription is undoubtedly the father of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus who inaugurated the stage building of the theatre at Tlos. It is quite odd, incomprehensible that no specific inscription honoring his father with his *cursus honorum* has been found among all the inscriptions unearthed in the theatre of Tlos to date. His father's name was recorded sometimes with the *praenomen* Titus or sometimes without it in the inscriptions found outside of Tlos.³³ In two honorary inscriptions from Kibyra it was recorded that Tib. Cl. Polemo was his grandson³⁴ and Marcia Tlepolemis was his daughter.³⁵ He was also a lyciarch during the reign of Hadrian³⁶. The lyciarch Marcius Deïoterianus' father was defined as the founder of the city (κτίστης τῆς πόλεως) in the Balbouran inscription. It is not known why Marcius Deïoterianus was honored with a statue at Balboursa, but it seems likely that he was honored either for his own benevolence, or for fulfilling a promise of his father. The members of the Marcii family had economic relations with the region extending east of Balboursa because of their estates. An inscription from (Teke) Kozağaç, east of Balboursa, mentions a *pragmateutes* of Marcius Deïoterianus.³⁷ Another from Kızılaliler, east of (Teke) Kozağaç, records an *oikonomos* of Marcius Titianus.³⁸ Both inscriptions were found around the ancient city of Tyriaion which was a *pentakomia* of Balboursa.³⁹ From the epigraphic documentation it seems that the economic relations of the Marcii family with Balboursa and its territory began at the time of (T.) Marcius Titianus. But the origin of the family must be Tlos⁴⁰ as the ancestors of (T.) Marcius Titianus as seen in no. 7 here were residents of Tlos and he was a descendant of the nauarch Iulius Hybristus, whose daughter Iulia Procla was honored by the Lycian League at Tlos. It is therefore obvious that the family were originally residents of Tlos, and in any case, Tlos became the main center of their political, religious and philanthropic activities.

The epigraphic documentation from Tlos does not give any specific account to distinguish *trib. mil. leg. XXII Primigeniae* and lyciarch T. Marcius Deiotarianus, or Deïoterianus among others. Only his name was recorded once as the father of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus in the inscription in the panel. He seems disregarded according to the present documentation. The author of the inscription in the panel, i.e. T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, honored his grandfather and his mother on the wall of the stage building, but not his father. The next two inscriptions honor his grandfather and mother.

5. T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus honors his grandfather

The inscription was carved on three blocks of local limestone in the wall just below the small panel above the door 2 of the stage building (fig. 6). It was found scattered in 7 pieces. It consists of 14 lines. The first

³² IGR III 472.

³³ Μαρκίου Δηϊοτηριανοῦ in *I.Kibyra* 63 (= IGR IV 907) and *I.Kibyra* 69 (= IGR IV 912), T. Μάρκιον Δειοταριανόν in IGR III 472 and in SEG 48, 1563. See also Hall et al. 1996, 135.

³⁴ *I.Kibyra* 63 (= IGR IV 907).

³⁵ *I.Kibyra* 69 (= IGR IV 912).

³⁶ Devijver 1986, 163 no. 16. See also Wörrle 1988, 63 "unbekanntes Jahr". Cf. Reitzenstein 2011, 208 no. 61.

³⁷ Ναουρ, *Tyriaion* 26: Μάρ(κιον) Γράτον υἱόν | Μαρ(κίας) Γράτης καὶ | Φλέγοντος πραγματευτοῦ Μαρ(κίου) ||⁵ Δηϊοτηριανοῦ | Ἀριστενέτη Περ|πενδυβερῖος Ἀρυ|κανδῖς ἀνεψιὰ | Λυκιάρχων μνή||¹⁰μης καὶ τεμῆς εἴ|νεκεν τὸ ἀγαλ|μα ἀνέστησεν. See also Robert and Robert 1978, 478, no. 465 where they suggest Aristenete must be a relative of the Marcii.

³⁸ Milner – Hall, *Kibyra Olbasa* 6: [Σ]ἔξ|τον Μάρκιον Δα|[μ]ανόν καὶ Μαρκίαν | [M]νήμην *vacat* | [Φ]ιλόστρατος οἰκο||⁵νόμος Μαρκίου | [Tι]τιανοῦ τοῦς | [ι]δίους γονεῖς | μνήμης χάριν. Πύθι.

³⁹ Ναουρ, *Tyriaion* 6: Τοραιοιτῶν ἡ [[πεντ]]|ακωμία τῆς Βαλ||¹⁰[β]ουρέων πόλε|ως.

⁴⁰ Cf. Reitzenstein 2014, 590.

line is slightly worn but still legible. The right entries of the lines are not aligned straight. The first line is carved in relatively larger letters and is indented ca. 4 letters when compared to the second line. The kerning of the letters is kept wider. While the beginnings of the lines from 2 to 4 are aligned, the lines from 5 to 11 are indented from both left and right, gradually shortening the lines to the end in the shape of a vase. Frg.5: H.: max. 87 cm, min. 86.5 cm; W.: max. 118 cm, min. 71 cm.

Letters: L.1 A 6.5 cm, O 6.2 cm; L.2 A 6 cm, O 5.5 cm.



FIG. 6

- 1 Τίτον [Μ]άρκιον [Τιτ]ιανὸν ἔ[πι]αρχ[ον] σπ[ειρ]ῶν
καὶ χειλ[ί]αρχον λεγεώνων β' καὶ πρεμοπειλ[ί]αριον ἡγησά-
μενον δὲ [κα]ὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀντώνιον ἐν Γερμανία καὶ κατὰ
5 γέτας καὶ κατὰ Φρεισίων πολέμοις ἀνδρῶν ἰππέων, συγγε-
νῆ ναυάρχων στρατηγῶν ἰππάρχων, ἀπόγονον Ἰουλίου Ὑβρίσ-
του τοῦ ναυάρχου, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶ[ν] καὶ γραμματέ[α]
τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους, ὑποσχόμενον τῇ γλυκυτάτ[ῃ]
πατρίδι τῇ Τλωέων πόλει τὸ προσκήνι[ο]ν καὶ τὴν ἐ[ν]
τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐξέδραν καὶ σειτομετροῦντα δι' ἐῶ-
10 [ν]ος, πρεσβεύσαντα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ [τ]οῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀποκατασ[τάσ]εως καὶ ἐπι-
τυχόντα, ^{vac.} τὸν κτίστην, Τίτ[ος Μάρ]κιος Τίτια-
νὸς Δηϊοτηριανὸς τὸν [αὐτο]ῦ πάππον.

-ει- for -i- in σπειρῶν, χειλῖαρχον, πρεμοπειλῖαριον, Φρεισίων and σειτομετροῦντα

-ε- for initial -αι- in δι' εἰῶνος; -νγ- for -γγ- in συγγενῆ.

Tit[us Mar]cius Titianus Deïoterianus (honored) his grandfather Titus [M]arcius [Tit]ianus, praefectus cohortium, tribunus legionum duarum, primipilarius, who led cavalrymen in the wars against Antonius in Germania and against Getai and against Phreisoioi, cognate with nauarchs, strategs and hipparchs, descendant of the nauarch Iulius Hybristus; the head priest of the Augusti and the grammateus of the Lycian nation, who promised a proskenion and an exedra in the gymnasium to the sweetest country, the city of Tlos, financed the sitometria perpetually (i.e. through a foundation), served as an ambassador on behalf of the Lycian nation for the re-establishment of laws and became successful, the founder.

Commentary

T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus honors now his grandfather T. Marcius Titianus on the wall of the *scanae frons* after he celebrated the inauguration of the *proskenion*. The identification of the grandfather T. Marcius Titianus with Marcius Titianus (*PME M 33*; *RE Marcius 105*), father of Marcia Lycia and Marcius Deïoterianus, is obvious, as they share the same family lineage and the same *cursus honorum*. His *praenomen* has not been attested in previous documentation. He was recorded as Marcius Titianus without *praenomen* in inscriptions from Oinoanda, Balboursa and Pinara.⁴¹ Only his son Marcius Deïoterianus is named with the *praenomen* Titus in the Balbouran inscriptions⁴², but also without the *praenomen* in the Kibyran inscriptions.⁴³ Although Marcius Titianus' *praenomen* was not documented in the sources other than Tlos, it has been suggested that his *praenomen* might be Titus⁴⁴ or Sextus assuming that the family gained Roman citizenship from Sex. Marcius Priscus, the governor of Lycia.⁴⁵ No Marcius Titianus having the *praenomen* Sextus has been identified so far in the light of the epigraphic materials found in the theatre of Tlos and in the city.⁴⁶ It is still a question when the Marcii family gained Roman citizenship. He is the first person in the family to bear Roman *tria nomina*. All his ancestors have Greek names as is shown in inscription no. 7.

T. Marcius Titianus' *cursus honorum* has already been documented in *IGR III 472, 500 and 576*. It goes as following: ἑπαρχος σπειρῶν⁴⁷, χειλιάρχος λεγεῶνων β', πραιμοπειλάριος β' and lyciarch. His military carrier is now confirmed by the present honorary inscription which differs in some details from the previous inscriptions. The inscription from Tlos does not give any number for his *primipilarius* title. The inscriptions from Balboursa (Milner 2012; *IGR III 472*) and Pinara (*TAM II 532*; *IGR III 576*) record that he was *primus pilus bis*. He was a true *vir militaris*.⁴⁸ A *primus pilus* should have served for his *stipendia* in the army more than at least 30, or 40 years.⁴⁹ The names of *cohors* and *legio* where he served are not recorded, but it is mentioned for the first time that he had participated in the wars against Antonius in Germania, against Getae and against Frisii.

The inscription explains T. Marcius Titianus' role in these wars with the verb ἡγοῦμαι "to lead, to be leader in, conduct, rule" in the aorist participle ἡγησάμενον. The text gives ἀνδρῶν ἱππέων in genitive plural as the object of the verb. Ἀνήρ ἱππέυς is not a possessive construction frequently used.⁵⁰ It was enough to write ἱππέυς here, but with the addition of ἀνήρ the meaning has a reinforcing value.⁵¹

The inscription lined up the events of war in a diachronic order, like the ascending order of his *cursus honorum*. The first war, in which T. Marcius Titianus took place, was against Antonius in Germania (κατὰ Ἀντώνιον ἐν Γερμανίᾳ). The identification of Antonius, whom the Roman army organized a military

⁴¹ *IGR III 472, 500, 576*.

⁴² *IGR III 472 and SEG 48, 1563*.

⁴³ *L.Kibyra 63 (= IGR IV 907) and L.Kibyra 69 (=IGR IV 912)*.

⁴⁴ *PME M 33 + Suppl. 1, 1643 + 2, 21 70*. See also Demougin 1999, 603 n. 99; 2000, 128 n. 31; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 226.

⁴⁵ Hall et al. 1996, 135. See also Milner – Hall, *Kibyra Olbasa*, 6, where he suggests that the *praenomen* of Marcius Damianus, who was honored by Marcius Titianus' *oikonomos*, was Sextus (for *SEG 48, 1562*: [Σ]ἑξήτων Μάρκιον Δα[μ]ιανὸν καὶ Μαρκίαν | [M]νήμην *vacat* | [Φ]ιλδοστρατος οἰκο|νόμος Μαρκίου | [Τι]τιανοῦ τοῦς | [ι]δίους γονεῖς | μνήμης χάριν) as he was awarded with citizenship by Sex. Marcius Priscus.

⁴⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein 2011, 173 and 2014, 585-586. Cf. also Adak 2013, 466 and Dönmez Öztürk 2011, 351.

⁴⁷ Cf. Milner 2012, 86 where he suggests T. Marcius Titianus was *praefectus bis*.

⁴⁸ Devijver 1989, 334.

⁴⁹ Dobson 2000, 139.

⁵⁰ Hdt. 3.88.3 for ἀνήρ ἱππέων.

⁵¹ Cf. ἀνδρῶν ναυκλήρων in Cousin and Deschamp 1894, 21 no. 11 (= *LBW 311*). See also Perpillou 1990, 671; Feuser 2020, 50. It seems to be used even for ἀνήρ ἱππικός in Strab. 3.4.20.

campaign in Germania against, with L. Antonius Saturninus, the governor of Germania Superior, who rose in revolt at Moguntiacum involved the legions XIV Gemina and XXI Rapax in AD 89, offers the best interpretation. The Roman army moved to attack from four sides to suppress the rebellion. The legion VII Gemina led by Trajan moved from Hispania Terraconensis. T. Flavius Norbanus, equestrian *procurator* of Raetia, moved to participate to Aulus Bucius Lappius Maximus, *legatus* of Germania Inferior, who had headquarters in Cologne and gathered the closest legions I Minervia stationed in Bonn and VI Victrix encamped at Novaesium, marched towards Antunnacum. Domitian himself at the head of *cohortes praetoriae* moved from Rome. Lappius Maximus fought Antonius near Antunnacum and defeated him decisively before the arrival of Domitian and Trajan. Antonius died in the war and was beheaded. His head was sent to Rome as a will of Domitian, who arrived later, in order to be exhibited on the *rostra* in the Forum.⁵² It is accepted that the other two legions XXII Primigenia stationed at Vetera and X Gemina stationed at Noviomagus in Germania Inferior also participated in this war.⁵³ T. Marcus Titianus led the horsemen of one of these legions. Other wars, in which he participated, may help to identify the legion, where he served.

The inscription records that the second war he participated in was fought against the Getae, whom Romans called Dacians.⁵⁴ It seems unlikely that he participated in Domitian's Dacian campaigns in AD 86-87, because none of the Roman legions involved in the Dacian war and campaign moved then to Germania Superior to suppress Antonius' revolt. T. Marcus Titianus' war against the Getae must be the Dacian wars that happened in the reign of Trajan in AD 101-102 and 105-106. Some of the legions which fought in Antonius' revolt also took part in the Dacian wars. The legion X Gemina was transferred to Aquincum and then Vindobona just after a short participation in the first Dacian war.⁵⁵ The legion I Minervia returned to the city of Bonna after fighting during the Dacia wars and established a base with XXX Ulpia Victrix at Castra Vetera II in Xanten.⁵⁶ Some units of the legion VI Victrix participated in the Dacian wars, and after the war served along the Rhine river in Germania Inferior between 110 and 119, and then were transferred to Eboracum in Britannia in 119.⁵⁷ The third war, in which T. Marcus Titianus participated, may help estimate the legion he served. His third war was against the Phreisiioi, whom the Romans referred to as the Frisii. The Greek variants of their name can be seen as Φρίσιοι, Φρίσσιοι, and Φρίσσονες.⁵⁸ The text gives the genitive plural of Phreisiioi after the preposition κατά, while it gives accusative case for the wars against Antonius and Getas. The Frisians were a West Germanic people living on the coastline of the region between the Rhine and Ems rivers.⁵⁹ Frisians settled in the unoccupied lands

⁵² Taylor 2016, 55-56.

⁵³ Granino Cecere 2000, 211.

⁵⁴ RE 13 s.v. "Getae". Plin., *nat.* 4.12.80 (Loeb edition: "ab eo in plenum quidem omnes Scythorum sunt gentes, varie tamen litori adposita tenuere, alias Getae, Daci Romanis dicti, alias Sarmatae, Graecis Sauromatae,."), App. *Ῥωμαϊκά*, προοίμιον. 4 (Loeb edition "πέρασαντες δὲ πη καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον ἄρχουσιν ἐνίων, καὶ Γετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον, οὓς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν...") and Cass. Dio. 67.6.2 (Loeb edition "Δακοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύω, ὡσπερ που καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοί σφας ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄγνοῶν ὅτι Ἑλλήνων τινὲς Γέτας αὐτοὺς λέγουσιν, εἴτ' ὀρθῶς εἶτε καὶ μὴ λέγοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα Γέτας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αἰμοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον οἰκοῦντας.") recorded that peoples living in eastern parts of the Danube river are called Daci by Romans and Γέται by Greeks.

⁵⁵ Ritterling 1925, 1683.

⁵⁶ Ritterling 1925, 1426-1427.

⁵⁷ Ritterling 1925, 1603-1606.

⁵⁸ Ihm 1910.

⁵⁹ Tac., *germ.* 34 (Loeb edition): "maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. utraque nationes usque as oceanum Rheno praetextuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos." and Cass. Dio 54.32 (Loeb edition): "Ἐξ τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν διὰ τοῦ Ῥῆνου καταπλεύσας τοὺς τε Φρισίους ὠκειώσαστο καὶ ἐς τὴν Χακίδα διὰ τῆς λίμνης ἐμβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσε, τῶν πλοίων ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλινροίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ γενομένων, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων περὶ συνστρατευκότων αὐτῶ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε."

around the Rhine River under Roman control, established villages and engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry in AD 54. Nero asked them to vacate the lands, but the Frisians refused, then Nero ordered his soldiers to kill anyone who resisted. In AD 69, or 70 the Frisians appear to have participated in the revolt of Batavi under Civilis.⁶⁰ The Roman army under the command of Cerialis forced the Batavi to make a treaty under the conditions they determined, and also placed a legion in the region. No conflicts with the Frisians are attested after the revolt of the Batavi and they disappear until AD 186, when Clodius Albinus fought against them. It seems likely that Frisians began to engage in a revolt, as major part of the Roman legions stationed in Germania inferior were absent for the Dacian Wars. The best option to identify the legion which can easily intervene to suppress the Frisians' uprising may be the legion I Minervia, a part of which was stationed at Castra Vetera II in Xanten. It seems likely that T. Marcius Titianus had many years of his military service with this legion.

The inscription informs us that T. Marcius Titianus' ancestors and various relatives belonged to the local ruling class like nauarchs, strategs and hipparchs even before the establishment of the Roman provincial system.⁶¹ In lines 4 and 5 it is recorded that he was cognate (συγγενής) with the nauarchs, strategs and hipparchs, and that he was a descendant (ἀπόγονος) of the nauarch Iulius Hybristus, who has already been attested as Gaius Iulius Hybristus in an inscription from Tlos.⁶² He was father of Iulia Procla, who was praised by the Lycian koinon with the foremost honors. We have not any information about his hometown in Lycia, but it seems likely that he was a citizen of Tlos and his ancestors gained Roman citizenship at the time of C. Iulius Caesar in 48 BC or later. The family tie of C. Iulius Hybristus with T. Marcius Titianus may be explained through Iulia Procla. It is highly possible that she married T. Marcius Titianus' grandfather, or great-grandfather.

T. Marcius Titianus' title of *lykiarches* after his *primuspilus* title has been already documented.⁶³ The present inscription does not mention the title *lykiarches* but *archiereus* of the *Augusti* and *grammateus* of the Lycian nation.⁶⁴ It is obvious that the inscription from Tlos does not need to emphasize that he was also a lyciarch after the mention of the titles *archiereus* of the *Augusti* and *grammateus* of the Lycian nation. He held these offices during Trajan's reign⁶⁵ and after the Frisian war which broke out after the Dacian wars in AD 101/102-105/106. The members of the Marcii family never honored Trajan with an inscription or with a statue among archaeological and epigraphic documents found to date at Tlos, but Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in the construction of the stage building. It is likely that they had the money to cover the cost of their philanthropic activities during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

He became an ambassador on behalf of the Lycian nation for the re-establishment of laws (ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀποκαταστάσεως) and fulfilled his mission successfully.⁶⁶ He served also as a *sitometres* throughout his life.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ Tac., *Hist.* 4.16.

⁶¹ Zimmermann 2007, 112.

⁶² TAM II 576 col. I: Λυκίων τὸ κοινὸν ἔτε[ι]μ[ησ]εν ταῖς πρώταις | [τεμ]αί(ς)Ἰουλίαν Γά|[ου]Ἰο]υλίου Ὑβρίστου || [θυγ]ατέρα Πρόκλαν.

⁶³ IGR III 500.

⁶⁴ For a detailed discussion on these offices see Şahin 2014; cf. Engelmann 2006.

⁶⁵ Halfmann 1979, 150 stemma.

⁶⁶ It remembers πρεσβεύσαντα ἐπιτυχῶς | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ | τῶν νόμων in TAM II 583, ll. 6-8.

⁶⁷ The inscription gives δι' ἐῶ[νος] for δι' αἰῶνος in line 9 and 10. Cf. MAMA VI 158.

He is mentioned as a *ktistes* in the present inscription, but he had been already regarded as κτίστης τῆς πόλεως in the Balbouran inscription.⁶⁸ The term *ktistes* was often employed to denote local elite benefactors during and after Hadrian's reign.⁶⁹ The people and council of Tlos honored a group of citizens for their benefactions and restorations of various buildings with the title of *ktistes*. One of these benefactors is Ktesikles⁷⁰ and the other is T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus beside T. Marcius Titianus. The last person whom T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus honored on the wall of stage building is his mother.

6. T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus honors his mother

The inscription includes three lines and is carved on three separate blocks of local limestone (fig. 7). It was found among the ruins of the theatre. The fragments are chipped away on all sides. It is supposed that it was placed somewhere at the upper level of the wall between the fourth and fifth doors opening to the scene.

Frg.1: H.: 65 cm, W.: 83 cm; Frg.2: H.: 88 cm, W.: 48 cm; Frg.3: H.: 89 cm, W.: 62 cm.

Letters are identical with those in the previous inscriptions, and variable from 4.2 cm to 4.5 cm in height.

Μαρκίαν Αἰλία[ν Βα]σίλισσαν
τὴν γλυκυτάτην μητ[έρ]α Τίτος
Μάρκιος Τίτιανός Δηϊοτηριανός.
T. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus (honored)
the sweetest mother Marcia Aelia Basilissa.



FIG. 7

Commentary

T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus honored also his mother with an inscription carved on the wall of the stage building beside his grandfather. She is called Marcia Aelia Basilissa. She must be the wife of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus I., son of T. Marcius Titianus, according to the genealogy of the inscription in the panel. She must be also have been the mother of Marcia Tlepolem⁷¹ (*FOS* 253) who was the grandmother of senators (μάμμη συγκλητικῶν) and *archiereia* thrice, and was told to be ἐγκόνη of Fl. Craterus⁷² asiarch twice and *archiereus* and θυγάτηρ of Marcius Deïoterianus lyciarch in an inscription from Kibyra.⁷³ Marcia Tlepolem⁷¹ is the wife of Ti. Cl. Hiero asiarch twice and *archiereus* twice and mother of Ti. Cl. Polemon asiarch and Ti. Cl. Deïoterianus asiarch.⁷⁴ Marcia Aelia Basilissa has not

⁶⁸ *IGR* III 472.

⁶⁹ Boatwright 2000, 31.

⁷⁰ Adak and Şahin 2004, 92 no. 3. Cf. also Reitzenstein 2014, 564.

⁷¹ Devijver 1986, 168 and 208; Raepsaet-Chalier 1987, stemma XV and 1999, 226; Campanile 1994, 75 and 181; Kearsley 1994, 368; Hall et al. 1996, 135 no. 82; Frija 2012, 45.

⁷² Frija 2012, n. 409.

⁷³ Heberdey and Kalinka, *Südwestliches Kleinasien* no. 9 (= *I.Kibyra* 69). See also *IGR* IV 912; *AE* 1899, 165; Milner and Hall, *Kibyra Olbasa* 48; Puech 2002, 408 no. 215; Lewartowski 2003, 220.

⁷⁴ *IGR* IV 907 (= *I.Kibyra* 63). See also *OGIS* 495; Harper 1979, 521-522 no. 8A.

been attested in any inscription to date. Her *nomen gentile* seems very surprising as it was expected to be a Flavia.⁷⁵ Her *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* combination seems exceptional. No Marcia Aelia is known in Lycia and even the reverse combination, i.e. Aelia Marcia, is extremely rare in Asia Minor. This is valid also for the *cognomen* Basilissa, which seems unfamiliar to Lycia.

Her family ties with Fl. Craterus from Kibyra seems uncertain, as Fl. Craterus' family members were poorly documented. A certain Craterus as Fl. Craterus' son⁷⁶ and Flavia Tata as Fl. Craterus' wife and daughter of Cl. Nearchos⁷⁷ are not enough proof to connect her with the Flavii family. It is a question in the present documentation as to why her *nomen gentile* changed from Flavia to Aelia.

One may suppose that Marcia Aelia Basilissa may be the wife of T. Marcius Titianus, but the following observations do not favor this assumption. The stage building of the theatre was inaugurated by T. Marcius Titianus' grandson to fulfil his promise. Why then father (T.) Marcius (Titianus) Deïoterianus, lyciarch and *trib. mil. leg. XXII Primigeniae*, decided suddenly to honor his own mother on the wall of the stage building? All the inscriptions on the wall of the stage building were carved in the same lettering probably by the same *scriptor*. This assumption implies that he was still alive at the inauguration of the theatre. This is probable. One of the oddities of the inscriptions found in the theatre and the city of Tlos is that three generations bear the same names. None of them was mentioned with a *cursus honorum*. It is therefore difficult to identify father and lyciarch Deïoterianus. It is still unknown why T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus II. honored his mother but not his father. The fate of the lyciarch Deïoterianus is rather uncertain at Tlos, as he is not identifiable among the persons respected by T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus II., who honored his grandfather and mother, and the People and the Council of Tlos, which honored a great-grandfather, a wife and a son.

The following three inscriptions, which were dedicated by the council and people of Tlos, make the group of *ktistes*.

7. Council and People of Tlos honor *ktistes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus' great-grandfather

The inscribed block of local limestone unearthed in two fragments among the ruins of the scene contains 9 lines (fig. 8). In the original position, it was placed just below the semicircular panel at the upper level of the fourth door opening to the stage building according to the grid system. The first fragment, which includes only the initials of 6 lines, is joined to the second line and onward of the second fragment. The exact dimension of the block is unknown as the edges of the block are broken off, but it can be supposed that the beginning of line 5 must be near to the original width. Lines are not aligned to right. Each line is written either inside or outside of the other.

Frg.1: H.: 64 cm, W.: 60 cm, D.: 41 cm; Frg.2: H.: 94 cm, W.: 82 cm; D.: 42 cm. Letters: 5.5–6 cm.

⁷⁵ *PIR*² III stemma at C 947; see also Halfmann 1979, 150; Herz 1992, 96 and 100; Campanile 1994, 181; Corsten 2007, 178 fig. 1.

⁷⁶ *I.Kibyra* 40.

⁷⁷ Alten Güler 2019, 336-338 no. 1.

- 1 [Τληπόλ]εμον [ΤΛ]ηπολέμ[ου]
 του Ἰ[ά]σονος τὸν κατασκ[ευ-]
 άσαν[τ]α τὸ καθαίρεθὲν
 προσ[κ]ήνιον πρόπαππον
 5 Τίτου Μαρκίου Τιτιανοῦ Δηϊο-
 τηριανοῦ τοῦ κτίστου
 Τλωέων τῆς μητροπόλε-
 [ως τ]οῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους
 [ἡ βο]υλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος.



FIG. 8

The Council and the People of Tlos, metropolis of the Lycian nation, (honored) [Tlepol]emos, (who) constructed the demolished proskenion, (and is) son of Tlepolemos, grandson of Iason and great-grandfather of T. Marius Titianus Deïoterianus, the founder.

Letters are identical to those on the wall of the stage building. Π and Π are ligatured in πρόπαππος in line 4.

Commentary

The honorary inscriptions on the wall of the stage building were dedicated either by T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus himself, who honored his grandfather and mother, or by the council and people of Tlos, which honored *ktistes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus' great grandfather and *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïoterianus' wife and son. The inscriptions dedicated by the council and people of Tlos mention a *ktistes* with the names T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus and T. Marcius Deïoterianus. The person who was indicated with the title of *ktistes* can be identified with T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus II., who inaugurated the construction of the stage building at Tlos.⁷⁸ He must be honored with the title of *ktistes* by the council and people of Tlos as he fulfilled his grandfather's promise. It seems likely that both grandfather T. Marcius Titianus and grandson T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus were honored with the title of *ktistes* in the same session and decision by the council and people of Tlos.

The inscription contributes moreover to the early branch of the family. The great-grandfather's name has not fully survived. Only the final four letters ending in -εμον is recovered, but from the rest of the inscription it is informed that he was the son of Tlepolemos and grandson of Iason. It seems that he was given his father's full name. Otherwise, there may be alternative names like Eupolemos or Neoptolemos according to the onomastic repertory of Lycia, but Tlepolemos is a widely attested and popular personal name because of its reminiscence of the heroic history of the country.⁷⁹ This line of kinship, i.e. [Tlepol]emos, son of Tlepolemos and grandson of Iason, is unknown not only in Tlos but from the whole of Lycia. No official or honorific title is mentioned for them. It is known from the inscription presented in no. 5 that the grandfather of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus was descendent from nauarchs, strategs and hipparchs. They were members of the local elite class. They do not bear any Roman name. This means that they had not as yet gained Roman citizenship.

⁷⁸ The identification with lyciarch T. Marcius Deïoterianus (*PIR*² M 229), who was honored by the council and people of Balboura seems to be unlikely as a grandfather, i.e. the father of T. Marcius Titianus, will disappear in the family lineage.

⁷⁹ Wörrle 1988, 69.

It seems that the Marcii family had an interesting story with the construction of the stage building at Tlos. *Ktistes* T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus' great-grandfather was honored by the council and people of Tlos as he built the demolished *proskenion*. It is known from a newly found and unpublished inscription that the theatre of Tlos witnessed a phase of reconstruction and renovation activities during the time of Q. Veranius under Claudius in AD 47. It is likely that a replacement for the old *proskenion* with a new one by T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus' great-grandfather represents a second stage of the constructional activities in the theatre of Tlos from the epigraphic documentation. The first one is recorded in TAM II 550 and 551 where the names of 53 donors are written for the construction of the theatre (εις τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ θεάτρου) at the end of the first century BC or at the beginning of the first century AD.⁸⁰ The third one is no. 1 here, where T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus inaugurates the construction of the *proskenion* in the reign of Antoninus Pius between AD 147-161 as it was promised by his grandfather. It seems very likely that the Roman theatre including *proskenion* at Tlos experienced major damage from the earthquake in 141 AD. Any archaeological material from the previous *proskenion* before the last one at Tlos has not to date been identified from the excavations. The latest *proskenion*, inaugurated between 147-161 must have completely removed remains of the previous one.

The next two inscriptions belonging to the group of *ktistes* record a *ktistes* T. Marcus Deïoterianus.

8. Council and People of Tlos honor *ktistes* T. Marcus Deïoterianus' wife

Inscribed block of local limestone (fig. 9) was used as spolia material in the wall built in the front side of the orchestra in the late antiquity, when it was placed overturned. It is estimated that it was inscribed on the block of the wall of the stage building. The lines are aligned to right and left. The letters are identical with those in other inscriptions in the wall of the stage building. The only abbreviation is TI for Titus with punctuation in line 2.

H.: 54.3 cm; W.: 62 cm; D.: 50 cm. Letters: 3.8 – 4.2 cm.

Ed. pr.: Reitzenstein 2014, 583-586 no. 10. See also SEG 64, 1424; AE 2014, 1356; BE 2015, 10.

- 1 [Μα]ρκίαν Τληπολεμίδα
 γυναικὰ Τι. Μαρκίου
 Δηϊοτηριανοῦ τοῦ κτίστου
 Τλωέων τῆς μητροπό-
 5 λεως τοῦ Λυκίαν ἔθνους
 ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

*The Council and the People of Tlos,
 metropolis of the Lycian nation, (honored)
 [Mar]cia Tlepolemis, the wife of T. Mar.
 Deïoterianus, the founder.*

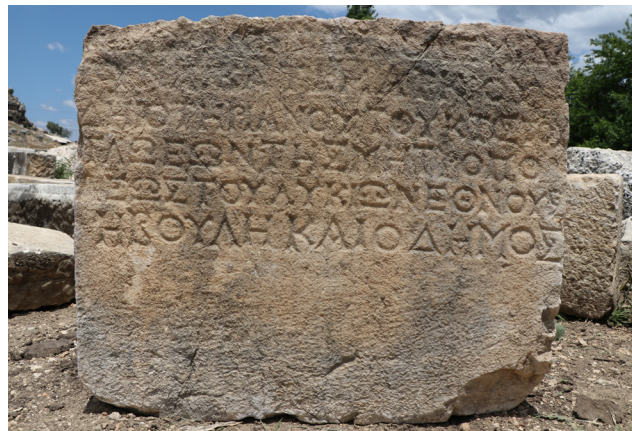


FIG. 9

⁸⁰ Tekoğlu and Korkut 2020, 97-98.

Commentary

The inscription is dedicated in honor of the wife of *ktistes* T. Marcus Deïoterianus by the council and people of Tlos. The name of his wife seems to be Marcia Tlepolemis.⁸¹ Our reading depends on the squeeze where the remnants of the preserved signs are legible as -ρκίαν, which is likely to complete to Μαρκία.

The inscription raises again the question who was meant by the title of *ktistes*. Two possibilities can be advanced to identify the *ktistes* as was the case for the previous inscription. It can mean either the lyciarch T. Marcus Deïoterianus I., or T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus II, who inaugurated the stage building. If she was the wife of lyciarch T. Marcus Deïoterianus, she would then become the mother of T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus, who built the stage building. This hypothesis seems to be very unlikely, because in one of the inscriptions on the wall of the stage building (no. 6 here) a certain Marcia Aelia Basilissa is honored as the mother of T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus. Therefore, Marcia Tlepolemis cannot be the wife of the lyciarch T. Marcus Deïoterianus according to the epigraphic documentation from Tlos.⁸² The family lineage can change only on condition that it is accepted that lyciarch T. Marcus Deïoterianus honored his mother Marcia Aelia Basilissa on the wall of the stage building and the council and people of Tlos honored his wife, Marcia Tlepolemis. This initiative of lyciarch T. Marcus Deïoterianus is quite an unknown behavior to us, as the protagonist in the construction of the stage building and other buildings datable to the same period at Tlos was T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

The identification of Marcia Tlepolemis is unknown, as any filiation was not indicated. She seems to have the same name with the daughter of lyciarch T. Marcus Deïoterianus from Kibyra⁸³, who was the wife of Tib. Claudius Hiero and μάμμη συγκλητικῶν and ἀρχιέρεια τρίς (FOS 253). This Marcia Tlepolemis from Kibyra must be active for honors from Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius being a sister of *ktistes* T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus.⁸⁴

The following inscription mentions a son of *ktistes* T. Marcus Deïoterianus, who was honored by the council and people of Tlos.

9. Council and People of Tlos honor *ktistes* T. Marcus Deïoterianus' son

An inscribed block of local limestone broken into various pieces, of which only three fragments have been unearthed, contains 7 lines (fig. 10). It is thought it must have been placed originally on the wall over the second door leading to the scene, according to the grid reference of these finds (11/11 - 11/11/32).

Frg.1. H.: max. 5.3 cm, W.: max. 4.8 cm; Frg.2. H.: max. 78 cm, W.: max. 50 cm; Frg.3. H.: max. 88 cm, W.: max. 134 cm, D.: 50 cm. Letters: variable from 4 cm to 4.5 cm.

⁸¹ Reitzenstein 2014, 585 where only -ίαν has been identified and supposed to be completed both to Flavia and Marcia.

⁸² Cf. Reitzenstein 2014, 585, where she says “Der dort genannte T. Marcus Deiotarianus dürfte mit dem Deiotarianus der neuen Inschrift aus Tlos identisch sein.”

⁸³ *I.Kibyra* 69.

⁸⁴ Another Marcia Tlepolemis is known from Xanthos, who was the wife of *archiereus* Ti. Cl. Stasithemis bis, mother of *archiereus* Ti. Cl. Telemachus and daughter of Q. Veranius Eudemus. See A. Balland, *F.Xanthos* VII pp. 282-283; Slavich 2003, 276. She was an ἀρχιέρεια τῶν Σεβαστῶν in a date from Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius. See Reitzenstein 2011, 209 no. 62.1; Siekierka, Stebnicka and Wolicki 2021, 1110.

- 1 Τί[τον Μάρ]κιον
 Τιτιαν[ὸ]ν υἰὸν τοῦ
 κτίστου Τίτου Μαρκίου
 Δηϊοτηριανοῦ Τλωέων
 5 τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ
 Λυκίων ἔθνους ἢ βου-
 λῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

*The Council and the People of Tlos,
 metropolis of the Lycian nation,
 (honored) T. Marcius Titianus, son of
 T. Marcius Deïoterianus, the founder.*



FIG. 10

The letters are identical to those in the previous inscriptions from the wall of the stage building.

Commentary

The identification of both *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïoterianus and his son T. Marcius Titianus may be all conjectural based on the present inscription. It still depends on the answer as to whom was indicated by the title of *ktistes*. Two approaches may be advanced here. *Ktistes* T. Marcius Deïoterianus is lyciarch T. Marcius Deïoterianus and his son is that one who inaugurated the construction of the stage building. Or, *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïoterianus is T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, who is author of the inscription in the panel, and his son is another T. Marcius Titianus. In fact, there is a reason to accept a son of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus was active at the end of the second century AD, or at the beginning of the third century AD. The next inscription may be evidence of another Deïoterianus who lived in the late second century AD.

10. Deïoterianus and Claudius Clementianus

It was found in Çamurlağı mevkii in a field lying to the north of the theatre. It is a piece of lintel (fig. 11), which must belong to a building not as yet identified and excavated. It bears two lines of inscription. The upper side of the lintel was incised with larger letters than the second line.

H.: 75 cm, W.: 240 cm. Letters: 10 cm in upper line, 8 cm in lower line.



FIG. 11

erased -]δϕ Ἄγτ[ων]εῖνϕ Εὐσέβει Εὐτύχει Σεβαστῶ - - -

]Δηϊοτηριανοῦ καὶ Κλαυδίου Κλημεντιανοῦ - - -

Commentary

This unidentified monumental building seems to be dedicated to a Roman emperor. His name was erased, but his honorific epithets survived as Pius, Felix and Augustus in the dative case. The combined use of the epithets Pius and Felix as the imperial titulature begins to appear from the time of Commodus in AD 185 and it was adopted by all emperors from Caracalla onwards.⁸⁵ It seems likely that the emperor to have been honored in the inscription was Commodus and his name was erased according to the *damnatio memoriae* declared by the senate in AD 193.⁸⁶ On this assumption the text must have included the following lines:

[[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Κομμῶ]δῶ Ἄντ[ων]εῖνῳ Εὐσέβει Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῶ - - -
[Δηϊοτηριανοῦ καὶ Κλαυδίου Κλημεντιανοῦ - - -

Such a reconstruction of the text suggests that either the beginning of the text was on another fragment or that the size of the fragment was at least double in length. The typology of the monument has not been identified yet as no archaeological excavations have been carried out there. It was presented here as it includes the names Deïoterianus and Cl. Clementianus. No part of Deïoterianus' *tria nomina* has survived. It seems likely that this Deïoterianus can be identified with either T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus, who inaugurated the construction of the stage building, or with T. Marcus Titianus, son of *ktistes* T. Marcus Deïoterianus. Cl. Clementianus is not mentioned with full name, but his identification with Sex. Cl. Clementianus Ktesikles, who was honored with a statue at the Letoon by the Lycian League during the lykiarchia of M. Aur. Laetus, *alias* Paetus, at the end of the second century AD⁸⁷, is more convincing. A certain Ktesikles was honored with the title of *ktistes* for his donations and charity in an inscription from Tlos.⁸⁸ His full name was not recorded, but his identification with Sex. Cl. Clementianus Ktesikles seems to be appropriate⁸⁹ as he was contemporaneous with a Deïoterianus during the reign of Commodus and he was honored with the title of *ktistes* by the people of Tlos like T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus. His family ties with lyciarch Tib. Cl. Ktesikles⁹⁰, son of Tib. Cl. Rubrianus, have not been attested in the epigraphic documentation from Tlos to date.

The inscriptions from Tlos do not provide any information about the political and military career of T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus who inaugurated the construction of the stage building. A part of the inscriptions unearthed in the theatre of Tlos record that a certain T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus was an *agonothetes* in the competitions arranged for the great ancestral god Kronos. It surely cannot be suggested that the group of *agonothetes* inscriptions can be attributed to the same person because of the paleographic variation and similar repetition of names, but it can be accepted that some of them belong to T. Marcus Titianus Deïoterianus, who inaugurated the opening of the stage building, because of his dual citizenship with Tlos and Balboura.

The following inscriptions appear on seven limestone bases⁹¹ for bronze sculptures placed inside the *aediculae*. The *scaena* section of the theatre facing the agora on the west side was decorated with arched windows on background on the first and second floors. There is also a columnar *aedicula* arrangement

⁸⁵ Kneissl 1969, 115-116. See also Van't Dack 1991, 334.

⁸⁶ *Historia Augusta, Commodus* 20.5

⁸⁷ *F.Xanthos* VII 77 (= TAM II 497).

⁸⁸ Adak and Şahin 2004, 92 no. 3. See also Reitzenstein 2014, 563-564 no. 2.

⁸⁹ Adak and Şahin 2004, 92.

⁹⁰ Reitzenstein 2014, 561 no. 2. See also Reitzenstein 2011, 207 no. 60.

⁹¹ Four of them have been already published by Reitzenstein in 2014. We treat them again with various corrections.

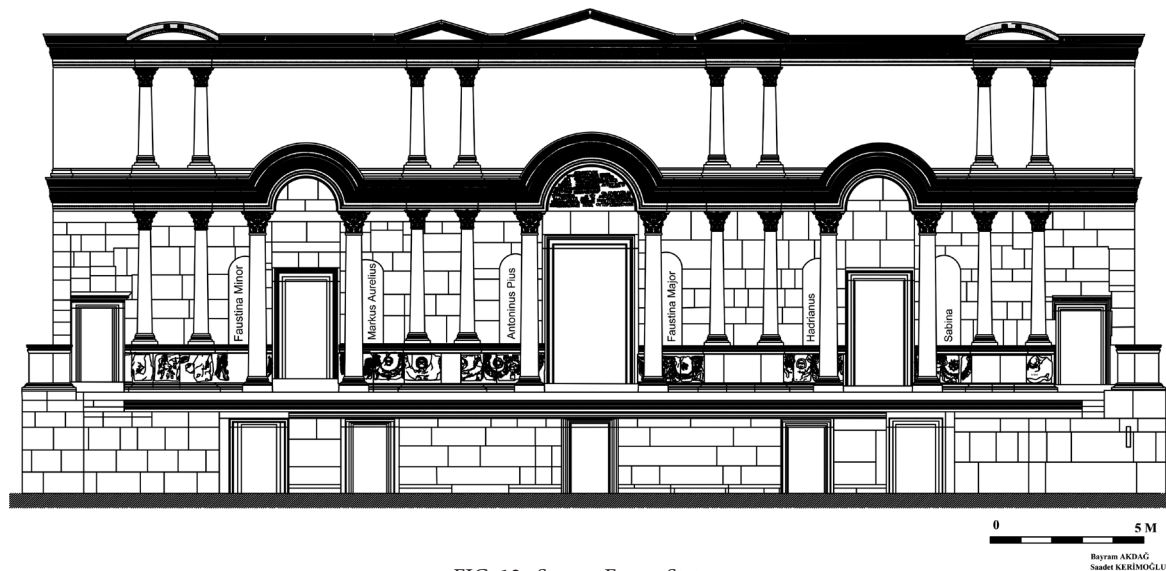


FIG. 12 Scaena Frons: Statues

supported by consoles at the first floor. Bronze statues were placed inside the *aediculae* (fig.12). No bronze statue has been unearthed to date. The inscribed statue bases consist of a pedestal in a rectangular prism-form rising on the base at the lower part and a protrusion to outside moved with acroters at the upper part. Their positions were determined according to the grid system.

Five of these seven statue bases record dedications to honor the athletes who won the wrestling and *pankration* competitions of men and children. The names of four of the athletes are known. Epaphrodeitos, citizen of Myra, was the winner of the men's *pankration*. Epaphrodeitos, citizen of Tlos, was the winner of the men's wrestling, another Epaphrodeitos with *alias* Kosmos, citizen of Tlos, was the winner of a competition, Sosilaos, citizen of Rhodiapolis, Myra and Tlos, was the winner of the children's wrestling and the last athlete with *alias* Pappos was the winner of the children's *pankration*. Half of one inscription was unearthed on which the name of the winner and kind of sport is not preserved.

The *agonothetes* group of inscriptions have a different lettering style from those of the *scaena* wall group. It can also be observed that they can be divided into two categories according to the lettering. No. 5 differs with square *sigma*, *epsilon* and *omega* from the others. *Sigma* and *epsilon* are lunate. *Omega* is cursive. The other four inscriptions have small or slight serifs, non-slanting *sigma*, *alpha* with dropped bar, *omega* with separated feet, *epsilon* with short middle bifurcated bar. The inscriptions of the group seem to be likely to date to the reign of Marcus Aurelius and later.

11. *Agonothetes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus sets up a statue

An inscribed statue base of local limestone with pediment (fig. 13). It was found among the ruins of the *post skene*. It is estimated that it was placed in the fourth *aedicula* from the left side at the first floor on the western part of the *scaena* wall according to the grid system. It has a small pointed pediment in the middle of the top of the profile. It was flattened towards the ears on the sides. The left side of the pediment is broken off. Two double-edged axes interconnected to each other with handles were carved on the back side of the base. The inscription of nine lines was incised on the pedestal body. Lines are regularly aligned and separated by a blank at the left. The words are divided according to the syllabication at the right. Designs of leaf, whose apexes are upturned, were carved at the end of the second line and at the beginning and end of the last line. The letters are deeply cut with slight serifs: lunate *sigma* and *epsilon*, cursive *omega* with the

middle bar stretched upwards, *alpha* with dropped bar, cursive *mu*, *theta* with short central bar, *kappa* with large oblique bars, calice-shaped and widely open *upsilon*, *delta* with right stroke protruding on the top.

H.: 118 cm, W.: 79 cm, D.: 75,5 cm. Letters: A 3.7 cm; Ed. pr. Reitzenstein 2014, no. 12. See also *SEG* 64, 1424; *AE* 2014, 1358; *BE* 2015, 11-15.

- 1 Τίτος Μάρκιος Τιτι-
ανός Δηϊοτηρια-Ϝ
νός Τλωεύς καὶ
Βαλβουρεύς ἀγω-
5 νοθετήσας τοῦ
πατρῶου μεγά-
λου θεοῦ Κρόνο[υ]
τὸν ἀνδριάντα
Ϝ ἀνέστησεν. Ϝ

T. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus, citizen of Tlos and Balboursa, set up the statue when he was agonothetes of the great ancestral god Kronos.



FIG. 13

Commentary

The identification of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus with T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, who inaugurated the stage building, is confirmed by his dual citizenship with Tlos and Balboursa. He appears to be the *agonothetes* of the competitions to honor the great ancestral god Kronos. In *editio princeps* in 2014 the author missed the adjective μεγα/λοῦ in gen. sing. case in her reading. She confused lines 6 - 7 and read the sixth line as πατρῶου θεοῦ Κρόνου instead of ⁶πατρῶου μεγα[?]λοῦ θεοῦ Κρόνο[υ].

The inscription does not provide any record of why the statue was erected, nor does it mention any victor or any type of competition for men or children.⁹²


12. Epaphrodeitos, winner of the men's *pankration*

This inscribed statue base of local limestone (fig. 14) was found among the ruins of the *post-skene*. It is thought that it was placed in the third *aedicula* from the right side at the first floor on the western part of the *scaena* wall, from the grid system. It has a small pointed pediment in the middle of the top of the profile and it was flattened towards the ears on the sides. The right side of the pediment is partly broken. The first line of the inscription, which includes the name of the winner of the men's *pankration*, was incised on the surface just below the pediment and its first two letters are lost. 8 lines are recorded on the body of the pedestal. Headlines are regular and aligned. Lines are incised to the left edge. Syllable divisions are regular. Abbreviations with no punctuation are irregular, like T for Titus and M for Marcius. M and E in line 9 are ligatured. Designs of a leaf are carved at the end of line 8 and at the beginning of line 9. At the end of the

⁹² Cf. Reitzenstein 2014, 588.

last line a design of a bunch of grapes was carved indicating the end of the text. Letters are deeply cut and symmetrical with slight serifs: *alpha* with dropped bar, *sigma* with protruding lower oblique stroke and detaching upper oblique stroke, *epsilon* with bifurcated middle bar, *omega* with developed lower appendices and detached with a single foot, *phi* with losange loop, *rho* with small loop, *theta* with short central bar, *pi* with equal vertical strokes.

H.: 119 cm, W.: 80 cm, D.: 76 cm. Letters: 3.5–4 cm.

- 1 [Επ]αφρόδειτον
 δῖς τοῦ Φίλωνος
 Μυρέα νεικήσαν-
 τα ἀνδρῶν πανκρά-
 5 τιον ἀγωνοθετοῦν-
 τος Τ. Μ. Τιτιανοῦ Δη-
 ἰοτηριανοῦ πατρῶ-
 ου μεγάλου θεοῦ
 Ϝ Κρόνου. 

Eraphrodeitos, son of Eraphrodeitos, grandson of Philo, citizen of Myra, who won men's pankration when T. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus was agonothetes of ancestral great god Kronos.

Eraphrodeitos *dis*, grandson of Philo and citizen of Myra, in other epigraphic documents from Lycia and Asia Minor is an unknown personality.

13. Sosilaos, winner of the boy's wrestling

This inscribed statue base of local limestone (fig. 15) was found among the ruins of the *post-skene* of the theatre. It is estimated that it was placed in the second *aedicula* from the left side on the first floor on the western part of the *scaena* wall, from the grid system. It has a small pointed pediment in the middle of the top of the profile and it was flattened towards the ears on the sides. The right side of the pediment is partly broken.

H.: 119 cm, W.: 79 cm, D.: 67 cm. Letters 3.5-4 cm; Ed. pr. Reitzenstein 2014, no. 13. See also *SEG* 64, 1427; *AE* 2014, 1359; *BE* 2015, 11-15.


- 1 Σωσίλαον δῖς
 [Ρ]οδιαπολείτην καὶ
 [Μ]υρέα καὶ Γλωέα νει-
 [κ]ήσαντα παιδῶν πᾶ-
 5 λην [ἄ]πτωτον *vacat*
 [ἄ]γωνοθετοῦντος
 [Τ]ι. Μαρ. Τιτιανοῦ Δη[ῖ]-



FIG. 14



FIG. 15

στηριανού πατρ[ώ-]
 [ο]υ μεγάλου θεοῦ
 10 Κρόνου. 

Sosilaos, son of Sosilaos, citizen of Rhodiapolis and Myra and Tlos, who won the boys' wrestling, never thrown, when T. Marcius Titianus Deioterianus was the agonothetes of the great ancestral god Kronos.

The first line of the inscription, which includes the name of the winner of children's wrestling, was carved on the surface just below the pediment and the first letters of the name are lost. 9 lines are recorded on the pedestal body, of which edges are worn away and surfaced is eroded. Headlines are regular and aligned. Lines are incised to the left edge, but only in line 5 a *vacat* was left after ἄπτωτον. Abbreviations are shown with punctuation like TI for Titus and MAR for Marcius. N and E are ligatured in line 3. At the end of the last line a design of a bunch of grapes with a leaf was depicted in order to indicate the end of the text. The letters are deeply cut and symmetrical with slight serifs: *alpha* with dropped bar, *sigma* with protruding lower oblique stroke and touching upper oblique stroke, *epsilon* with bifurcated middle bar, *omega* with developed lower appendices and detached with a single foot, *upsilon* with ring below the oblique strokes, *rho* with small loop, *theta* with short central bar, *pi* with equal vertical strokes.

Commentary

The remnants of the first and the second letters in l. 1 are identifiable with *sigma* and *omega* which restores the name as Sosilaos II who has multiple citizenship from Rhodiapolis, Myra and Tlos. This personal name is not attested before in the epigraphic documentation from Asia Minor but it cannot be an exception as the compounds of the noun formation are sufficiently attested in Lycian onomastics. A group of nouns having the pre-component σωσι- derived from σώζω “to save, to keep” is documented in Lycia through examples such as Σωσικλής, Σωσικός, Σωσίπολις, Σωσίβιος, Σωσία and Σωσικλεία. The post-component -λαος frequently occurs attached to Ἐρμόλαος, Νεικόλαος, Ἀρχέλαος, Μενέλαος, Λευκόλαος, Φιλόλαος, Κρινόλαος and Ἀρκεσίλαος. It is obvious that Σωσίλαος is a name reflecting personal characteristics⁹³ and it is in fact within the limits of noun formations seen in Lycia, even though this attestation is unique. Sosilaos should be a great victorious wrestler from Rhodiapolis. He also received citizenship from Myra and Tlos as a prize of victory granted by the Council and the People. Citizenship must be offered in order to transfer his future victories to the adoptive city or to enable him to compete for that city.⁹⁴

14. Pappos, winner of the boy's *pankration*

An inscribed statue base of local limestone (fig. 16) found among the ruins of the *post-skene* of the theatre. It is thought it was placed in the third *aedicula* from the left side at the first floor on the western part of the *scaena* wall from the grid system. It has a small pediment in the middle of the top of the profile and it was flattened towards the ears on the sides. The ears are doubled. The right side of the pediment is broken off. The first line of the inscription, which includes the name of the winner of the children's *pankration*, was incised on the pediment. The name of the athlete is not preserved, but his *alias* is Pappos. The last three signs of his name end in -μην which seems likely to be completed to [Ερ]μην. The remnants of the first sign are identifiable with *mu*. 7 lines are recorded on the pedestal body. Headlines are regular and aligned. Lines are carved to the left edge without *vacat*. Syllable divisions are regular. Abbreviations are shown with punctuation like T for Titus and MAR for Marcius. N and K are ligatured in line 1. At the end of the last line a design of a bunch of grapes with leaf was depicted in order to indicate the end of the text. The letters

⁹³ Colvin 2004, 83.

⁹⁴ van Nijf 2012, 189.

are deeply cut and symmetrical with serifs: *alpha* with dropped bar, non-slanting *sigma*, *epsilon* with bifurcated middle bar, *omega* with developed lower appendices and detached with a single foot, *upsilon* with slightly curved oblique strokes, *rho* with small loop, *theta* with short central bar, *pi* with equal vertical strokes.

H.: 122 cm, W.: 83 cm, D.: 66 cm. Letters: 3.5-4 cm; Ed. pr. Reitzenstein 2014, no. 14. See also *SEG* 64, 1428; *AE* 2014, 1360; *BE* 2015, 11-15.

- 1 [Ερ]μήν τὸν καὶ Πάππον
 Δημητρίου Τλωέα
 νεικήσαντα παίδων
 πανκράτιον ἀγνοθε-
 5 τοῦντος Τ. Μάρ. Τιτια-
 [ν]οῦ Δηϊοτηριανοῦ πα-
 τρώου μεγάλου θεοῦ
 Κρόνου. 🍷

[Her]mes, alias Pappos, son of Demetrios, citizen of Tlos, who won childrens' pankration when T. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus was the agonothetes of the great ancestral god Kronos.

Any Hermes with alias Pappos, son of Demetrios, citizen of Tlos, has not been attested before in the inscriptions from Tlos or Lycia.

15. Unknown athlete⁹⁵

The lower part of a statue base made of local limestone, broken into pieces and found among the ruins of the *post-skene* of the theatre contains the final three lines of an honorary inscription (fig. 17). Other parts have not been unearthed to date from among the ruins of the theatre. It is thought it was placed in the fourth *aedicula* from the right side on the first floor in the western part of the *scaena* wall according to the grid system. The upper part of the preserved block is worn away and chipped.

H.: 65 cm; W.: 60 cm; D.: 40. Letters: 5.5-6 cm; Ed. pr. Reitzenstein 2014, no. 15. See also *SEG* 64, 1429; *AE* 2014, 1361; *BE* 2015, 11-15.

 [- - - - νεικήσαν]-
 τα ἀνδρῶν πᾶ-
 λην ἀγνοθε-
 τοῦντος Τ. Μ. Τι.

... having won the men' contest in wrestling when T. Marcius Titianus was agonothetes.



FIG. 16



FIG. 17

⁹⁵ Reitzenstein 2014, 593 no. 15.

Headlines are regular and aligned. Lines are carved to the left edge without *vacat*. Abbreviations without punctuation are written as T for Titus, M for Marcius and TI for Titianus. H and N are ligatured in line 2. The letters are deeply cut and symmetrical with slight serifs. Letters: *alpha* with dropped bar, *sigma* with slightly slanting upper oblique stroke, *epsilon* with short middle bar, *omega* with developed lower appendices and detached with a single foot, chalice-shaped *upsilon*, *theta* with short central bar, symmetrical *nu* and *mu*.

Commentary

The name of the winner of the men's contest in wrestling is not lost. Normally the inscriptions of the group of *agonothetes* placed inside *aediculae* are dedicated to πατρῷος μέγας θεὸς Κρόνος. In this inscription it is not recorded. It is highly possible that the text of the inscription was misplanned by the inscriber. The name of the *agonothetes* is abbreviated in TMTi which is identified with T(itus) M(arcus) Ti(tianus) without *cognomen* Deïoterianus. The writing of the name of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus has not a standard in the inscriptions of the group of *agonothetes*. It was written with full names as Titus Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus in no. 11, T. M. Titianus Deïoterianus in no. 12, Ti. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus in no. 13, T. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus in no. 14, T. M. Ti in no. 15. The abbreviated name TMTi can be identified either with T. Marcius Titianus, son of *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïoterianus (no. 9), or with T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, who inaugurated the stage building (no. 1).

16. Epaphrodeitos *alias* Kosmos

The upper part of a statue base, made of local limestone, broken into pieces, and found among the ruins of the *post-skene* of the theatre contains the initial four lines of an honorary inscription (fig. 18). It is thought that it was placed in the first or second *aedicula* from the right side on the first floor on the western part of the *scaena* wall, from the grid system. The name of the winner was recorded on the pediment of which the edge corners are broken off. The lower part of the inscription is partly broken off. Four lines are preserved on the body of the statue base.

H.: 37 cm; W.: 71 cm; D.: 70,5 cm. Letters 6 cm.

Ἐπαφρόδειτον
τὸν καὶ Κόσ-
μον Τλωέα νει-
κήσαν[τα



FIG. 18

... Epaphrodeitos *alias* Kosmos, a citizen of Tlos, who won ...

The lines are aligned at the right with an entry margin from the edge of the body. The *vacat* is filled with a design of half leaf in the form of the cursive S at the end of the second line. Syllable divisions are regular. Letters are symmetrical with slight serif: *alpha* with dropped bar; *epsilon* with a middle bar made in the shape of a bird's open beak at the first line, but *epsilon* with short middle bar bifurcated end at the third line; *delta* with large serif on the edges; symmetrical *nu*; *mu* with lower right oblique stroke; *pi* with equal vertical strokes; *omega* without appendices in the form of *omicron* and attached with a single horizontal stroke; *phi* with divided loops.

Epaphrodeitos with *alias* Kosmos, citizen of Tlos, is an unknown athlete. It is also unknown in which contest he won. There is no doubt that the contests were held in honor of Kronos when T. Mar. Titianus Deïoterianus was *agonothetes*.

17. Unknown athlete

Lower part of a pedestal base for a statue, made of local limestone, found among the ruins of the *post-skene* of the theatre which carries the final four lines of an honorary inscription (fig. 19). It is thought that it was placed in the first or second *aedicula* from the right side at the first floor on the western part of the *scaena* wall, from the grid system. A flattened channel was opened on the stepped base of the pedestal. It seems likely that the channel was not opened on the original statue base as the stone cut on the upper part of the preserved pedestal is straight. Letters with slight serifs are aligned to right with a margin of entry. Three letters of the last line are centered with *vacats*. Word separation is regular. Letters are symmetrical: *alpha* with dropped bar; square *epsilon* with short middle bar; *eta* with middle bar detached; *theta* with spiral middle bar detached; symmetrical *mu* and *nu*; *pi* with equal vertical strokes; *rho* with small loop; *omega* with narrow mouthed and oblique feet.

H.: 53 cm; W.: 73.5 cm; D.: 72.5 cm; Letters: 5.5-6 cm.

 [ἀγωνοθετοῦντος]
 [Τ. Μάρ. Τίτιανου]
 Δηϊοτηριανού
 πατρῶου μεγά-
 λου θεοῦ Κρό-
vacat νου. *vacat*

... when T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus
 was agonothetes of the great ancestral god
 Kronos.



FIG. 19

The beginning of the inscription is lost, but it seems obvious that it belongs to the group of *agonothetes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus.

Family tree

A reconstruction of Marci's family tree depends on the identification of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus, *ktistes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus and *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïoterianus.

T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus is the author of the inscription in the panel placed above the *valva regia* in the stage building of the theatre at Tlos (no. 1). He is the son of T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus and the grandson of T. Marcius Titianus. No specific title is given to distinguish his father, but his grandfather is honored with the title of *primipilarius* which has partly survived in no. 1.

The grandfather T. Marcius Titianus is honored by his grandson T. Marcius Titianus Deïoterianus in an inscription incised on the wall block above the door 2 of the stage building (no. 2). This inscription confirms again the *praenomen* of the grandfather. It is Titus, not Sextus. His *cursus honorum* is well explained in the inscription. He was *praef. coh., trib. leg. II, p.p.* and he led cavalry men in the wars against Antoninus in Germania, against Getas and Phreisions in the Roman army. Then he became the head priest of the Augusti, the *grammateus* and ambassador on behalf of the Lycian nation. He was a great *euergetes* for the restoration and construction of various buildings at Tlos. He was dignified with the title of *ktistes*. He is exactly the same person with Marcius Titianus (*PME M 33*) in *IGR III 472, 500 and 576*. In the inscription from Balboura (*IGR III 472*) he was *praef. coh., trib. leg. II, p.p. II* and the founder of the city, and

father of T. Marcius Deïotarianus (*PIR*² M 229) from the tribe Quirina, *trib. leg. XII Primigeniae*. Marcius Titianus is defined *tribunus* and *bis primipilarius* in the inscription on the *heroon* dedicated for Licinnius Musaeus, son of Licinnius Longus and Marcia Lycia, by Zosimos at Pinara (*IGR* III 576). According to the inscription of the well-known mausoleum of Licinnia Flavilla (*IGR* III 500) he was a lyciarch after his army career ended. So three generations of the Marcii family seem to be well established: T. Marcius Titianus had two children. His daughter was Marcia Lycia and his son was T. Marcius Deïotarianus who become father to Marcia Tlepolemis and to T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus who inaugurated the stage building of the theatre at Tlos between AD 147 and 161.

The same T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus also honored his mother Marcia Aelia Basilissa in an inscription carved on the wall blocks of the stage building. She seems to be the wife of the lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus and the mother of Marcia Tlepolemis, ἀρχιτέρεια τρίς and μάμμη συγκλητικῶν, from Kibyra, who was a descendant of Fl. Craterus, asiarch *bis* and *archierus* and mother of Ti. Cl. Polemon in *I.Kibyra* 69. The family lineage between Fl. Craterus and Marcia Aelia Basilissa and between Marcia Aelia Basilissa and Marcia Tlepolemis is unknown from the present epigraphic documentation. The possibility that lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus married a second time cannot be excluded.

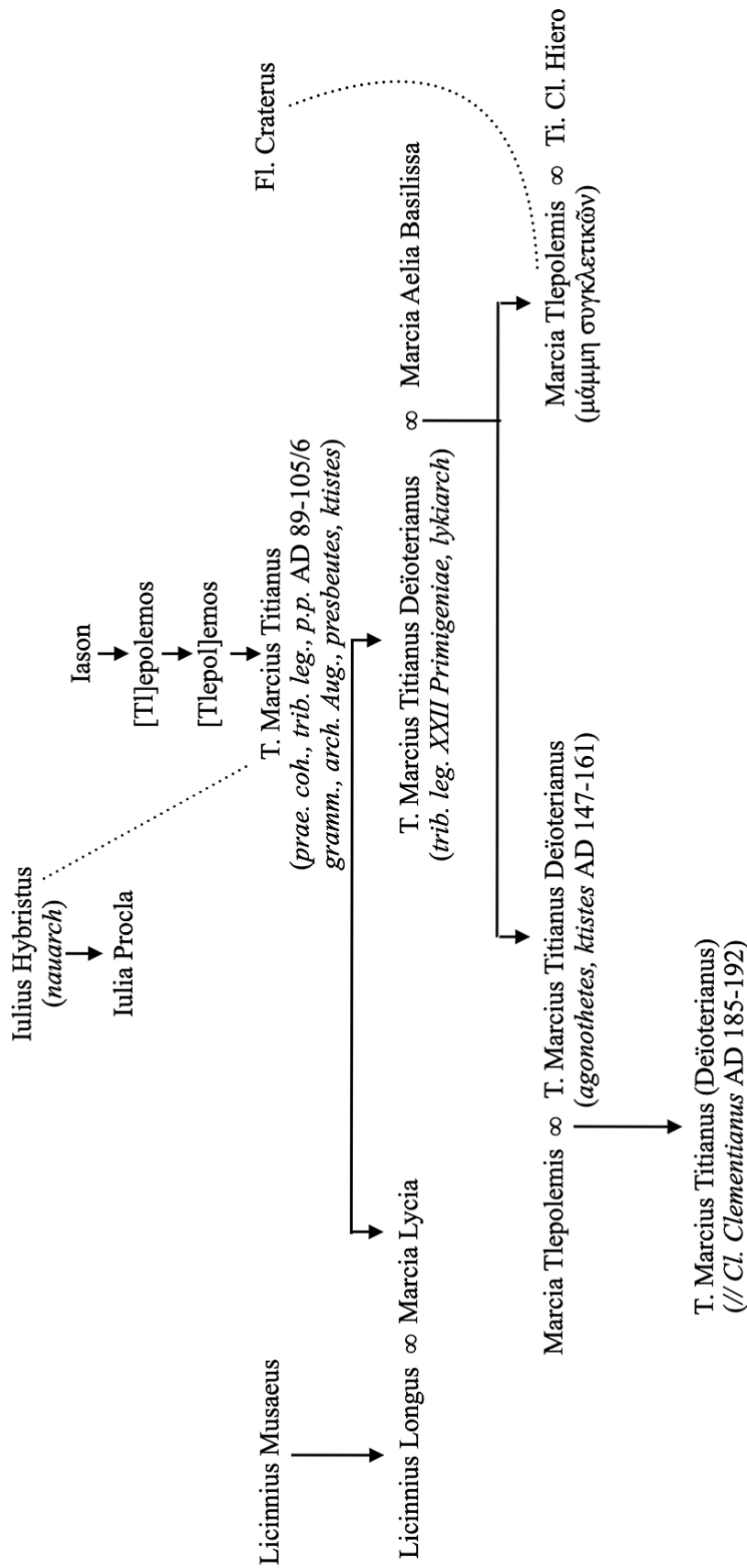
The inscriptions found in the theatre of Tlos record other members of the family. The people and council of Tlos honors the great-grandfather of *ktistes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus for his contribution to the construction of the demolished stage building in an inscription carved on the wall block below the semicircular panel at the upper level of the door 4 opening to the stage building (no. 7). Only the final part of his name has survived. It is likely that he was named Tlepolemos, son of Tlepolemos, grandson of Iason. In this inscription the identification of *ktistes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus is a question. As a probability two assumptions can be advanced to identify him. He can be identified either with T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus who inaugurated the stage building, or with the lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus, *trib. leg. XXII Primigeniae*. It is unclear why the people and council of Tlos suddenly chose to honor the great-grandfather of lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus in an inscription on the wall blocks of the stage building that T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus inaugurated. In any case the identification of *ktistes* T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus with lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus will cause to disappear a grandfather, i.e. the father of T. Marcius Titianus, in the family lineage. It is very likely that the people and council of Tlos honored T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus, who inaugurated the stage building, like his grandfather T. Marcius Titianus with the title of *ktistes* (see stemma below).

Two inscriptions dedicated by the people and council of Tlos are surprising in their naming conventions. They mention a certain *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïotarianus and honor his wife (no. 8) and son (no. 9). The identification of *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïotarianus with lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus seems to be likely at the first as they share the same naming structure, but this identification reverses all other identifications. If *ktistes* T. Marcius Deïotarianus was lyciarch T. Marcius Deïotarianus, then Marcia Aelia Basilissa, mother of T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus, would be the wife of T. Marcius Titianus and his son T. Marcius Titianus would be identical with T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus, who inaugurated the stage building. In addition to these changes, the wife of T. Marcius Titianus Deïotarianus, who inaugurated the stage building, will disappear in the lineage of the family.

KIBYRA

TLOS

OINOANDA



Stemma

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