

Between the Local and the Global: Intersectional Elites at Antiochia ad Cragum in Roman Rough Cilicia

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Taking its cue from studies such as those collected in Pitts and Versluys 2015, this chapter seeks to move the conversation about ruler/ruled beyond the current “Romanization binary” of acculturation or resistance.¹ By analysing some of the public spaces at Antiochia ad Cragum in Roman “Rough Cilicia” (Kilikia Tracheia), and the honorary inscriptions associated with them, I will explore the ways in which local and imperial public building and honorific decrees developed and nurtured shared practices between local and international elites. Over the course of 300 years, an intersectional identity developed, neither wholly local nor global, that articulated both engagement with imperial family and with local leadership and traditions. It is my hope that this exploration of material culture from the Roman period will underscore the spectrum of ways in which the glocalized behaviours of the eastern Mediterranean region that were nurtured in the Classical and Hellenistic periods persisted and evolved under Roman rule.²

Antiochia had a long history, as an independent *polis*, as a royal capital of the expanded Kommagenean kingdom, and as an administrative centre for the Roman province of Rough Cilicia. After the withdrawal of the Seleukid kingdom from Asia Minor, and the contraction of the powerful Seleukid navy around 100 BCE, the community later known as Antiochia, like many of the coastal population centres along the southern perimeter of Asia Minor, became a haven for piracy.³ So successful were the Rough Cilicians as pirates that they orchestrated the famous capture of Julius Caesar in 75 BCE.⁴ After

Pompey's pirate war of 66 BCE,⁵ Antiochia, like much of Rough Cilicia, exchanged piracy for trade, becoming the primary producer of both Passum wine – a sweet rich wine much in demand around the eastern Mediterranean – and the locally produced amphorae that held it, which later came to bear the ANT-brand stamp denoting Antiochia as the city of origin.⁶ Unfortunately, not much is known about individual elites during this early period in the city's history, for little of the Hellenistic community has been located and excavated, apart from the necropolis, yet what remains shows a persistent localism sustained by long-distance trade.⁷ In the necropoleis, for example, we see a number of house- and temple-style tombs, which, although in a very ruined state and bereft of their dedicatory inscriptions, suggest a close cultural connection between the Antiochians and their Luwian relatives to the west in Lykia and Karia.⁸ Indeed, better-preserved tombs from neighbouring Rough Cilician towns such as Lamos and Kestros show that local, Luwian names, local architectural styles, and local, traditional artistic imagery (such as the Cilician-style eagle) were significant characteristics of the region's elite.⁹ Given the prevalence of house- and temple-style tombs at Antiochia, and the prevalence of eagle symbolism among its coins and later public monuments, I see no reason to suggest anything different transpired there during the Roman Republican period.

In the early first century CE, the city on the Kragos cliffs acquired the name Antiochia, when it became the capital of the expanded kingdom of Kommagene.¹⁰ In 37 CE, the Emperor Caligula officially annexed the area and gave it to his friend Antiochos IV of Kommagene, who renamed the community after himself – hence, Antiochia. Two years later, the ever-fickle Caligula ejected Antiochos and returned the city to local rule, though the name persisted. Then, a few years later, in 41 CE, the new emperor Claudius restored Antiochos to his throne.¹¹ At this time, nothing seems to have changed on the ground, architecturally, epigraphically, or economically, though no inscriptions survive to document the rapid governmental shifts. And so, we see Passum wine and amphorae moving around the Mediterranean world in large quantities without any noticeable disruption.¹² But beginning in the reign of Vespasian, after Antiochos' death, the kingdom of Kommagene became officially Roman territory and Antiochia the capital of the new Roman province of Kilikia Tracheia.¹³ Thus, in the space of 100 years the Antiochians had been invaded by Pompey and forced to give up piracy, shifted from raiding to trading and growing a specialty wine, experienced independence and the rule of a client king of Rome, were liberated from the same client king, and then quickly given back to him again, only to finally become an official part of the Roman Empire and have their city elevated to the status of provincial capital. Throughout these changes, Passum wine and

amphorae still moved around the Mediterranean world and the Antiochians continued to bury their elites in traditional house-style tombs. Clearly, the Antiochian elite were survivors and like many peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world, remarkably resilient by modern standards. And just as clearly, the Antiochians were savvy enough to find a way to collaborate with global elites who could affect their lives, whether they be Hellenistic Seleukid, Republican Roman, Royal Kommagenean, or imperial Roman. The local leaders and their families were not eradicated, relocated, or otherwise purged or displaced. The Passum-export economy of Antiochia and local dedications seem blithely unaffected by any such shifts in global elites, and the Antiochian tombs show evidence for multiple burials in what seem to have been “family”-style interments.

It seems fair to say that even though we have little literary or epigraphic testimonia, the Antiochian elites had successfully weathered the social and political vagaries of Rome’s eastern empire during the shift from republic to principate and, as their tombs, Luwian personal names, and local symbols attest, retained important elements of their distinctive local identity. And once Antiochia became an imperial Roman capital, we can see the Antiochians begin to map their new relationships with the imperial rulers of Rome onto the city’s existing physical space. In this effort, the Antiochians had a well-paved path: the region and the city itself had a long tradition of locally valued prestige symbols and systems that helped signal and define rank and power, such as the Cilician eagle and the monumental house- and temple-style tombs.¹⁴ Moreover, traditions of locally orientated euergetism distinguished the Rough Cilician elite from their less elite fellow citizens and assisted in local negotiations of status and positions of leadership, as elites competed to give, and thus be recognized as givers, through honorary statues and inscriptions on tombs and other public buildings.¹⁵ Embracing their new imperial identities, the Antiochians adapted these local symbols not only to underscore their new status, but also to signal Antiochia’s new relationships to powerful individuals beyond the city boundaries. As did many cities of the empire, the Antiochians integrated Roman emperors and their families into the local hierarchies and systems of honour, gift, and display.¹⁶ And the imperial family seems to have eagerly encouraged such practices through financial gifts, visits, and public works of their own.

Unfortunately, much of the initial stages of these negotiations between local and imperial Roman elites at Antiochia are lost from the epigraphic and architectural record, though they are attested at neighbouring sites.¹⁷ Not until the reign of Hadrian, in the first half of the second century CE, do we get a glimpse of the Antiochian reception of the intersection of the local and the global. At this time, we begin to see the *boulē* and the *dēmos*

of Antiochia setting up honorific inscriptions for local elites that anchored (and highlighted) not only their leadership in local matters and their financial generosity, but also reference Hadrian and his father, Trajan – that is the Antiochians were conscious of the need to link the local with the global, the Antiochian and the imperial Roman. For example, a statue base found in the agora honours Hadrian for his generosity to the universe (and presumably the city of Antiochia).¹⁸

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρ[α, θεοῦ]
 [Τρα]ιαν[οῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν,]
 [θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱώνόν,]
 Τ[ραιανὸν Ἀδριανόν]
 5 [Σεβαστόν, τὸν κύριον καὶ] ?
 [εὐεργέ]τ[ην τῆς οἰκουμένης,]
 [ὁ δῆμος].

The Emperor Caesar, son
 of the god Trajan the victor of Parthia,
 who was son of the god Nerva
 Trajan Hadrian
 Augustus, the lord and
 benefactor of the world,
 the *dēmos* (honours).

Though no imperial cult centre has yet been found at Antiochia, and only this honorific statue base that attests to Hadrian's role at Antiochia survive, similar inscriptions and structures from public spaces in nearby Kestros and Lamos, and a dedication to Hadrian's wife Sabina (discussed below) from Antiochia, allow us to get some sense of the connections between Antiochia and the imperial visit by the emperor and his wife, Sabina, in the year 131 CE.¹⁹

Imperial visits to provincial cities were often the catalyst for various sorts of reciprocal dedications such as these, part of the infrastructure of euergetism throughout the Roman world.²⁰ With respect to Hadrian, the *Historia Augusta* (13.6–7) mentions that he dedicated temples and altars in his travels in the east; and Cassius Dio reports (69.5.2–3) that cities Hadrian visited likewise received imperial benefaction. It is well known that this peripatetic emperor toured most of the provinces of the empire and much has been written about his itineraries.²¹ Although the literary sources are silent regarding a visit to Cilicia during his third itinerary, we know one must have occurred – or was expected to have occurred – as coins commemorating it (*Adventus*)

were issued, probably in Tarsus, with Hadrian on the obverse and the personification of Cilicia on the reverse.²² The date when Hadrian appeared in Cilicia has been open to question, but recent scholarship appears to have settled on 131, during his westward journey from Egypt.²³ If the date of the trip is generally accepted, the exact itinerary is not.²⁴ The only sure signposts are that Hadrian spent the winters of 130/131 in Alexandria and 131/132 in Athens. This time frame therefore gave him just over six months of optimum weather to make the journey. As for stops en route, dedications found in the cities of Cilicia and elsewhere provide evidence of the imperial entourage as it proceeded along the coastline, first in the Levant and then along southern Asia Minor to the Aegean.²⁵ All indications are that Sabina accompanied Hadrian. There is no doubt Sabina was in Egypt with her husband, as she left behind a graffito carved on one of the “statues of Memnon” in the necropolis of Thebes as testimony to her presence.²⁶ Scholars who claim Sabina’s presence in the entourage point to dedications in Asia Minor, in both single or joint dedications along with Hadrian, including Kestros, Magydos in Pamphylia; Rhodiapolis, Patara and Tlos in Lykia; Tralles in Karia; Hierapolis in Phrygia; Pisidian Antioch; and Magnesia in Ionia.²⁷ At Antiochia the remains of a fine white marble monument sponsored by Sabina can be seen among the spolia of later Christian structures on the Antiochian acropolis.²⁸

Accompanying the imperial couple was Julia Balbilla, an acclaimed poet and a member of the Roman elite and, most importantly for our purposes, the granddaughter of Antiochos IV, the eponymous founder of Antiochia.²⁹ We know Julia Balbilla was present along with Hadrian and Sabina in Egypt because she too left her mark on the Colossi of Memnon with verse graffiti that have long been known and studied.³⁰ Julia Balbilla had long been a friend of Hadrian and Sabina, along with her brother, C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos,³¹ and since the entourage was headed to Athens, it seems reasonable to assume that Balbilla, like her brother a resident of that city, would have accompanied Hadrian and Sabina. Moreover, Balbilla would have had a familial interest in visiting Antiochia and a special resonance for the local elites, given her blood relationship to the founder. There is no evidence that Balbilla had ever visited the region previously, and thus we can imagine the citizens of Antiochia as excited to greet Balbilla as they were to celebrate Hadrian and Sabina in the city. In a sense, Balbilla represents the high point that a local elite person could reach in imperial Rome, the epitome of intersectional glocal identity: scion of the city’s royal family and close personal friend and confidante of the empress.

The effect Hadrian’s visit in 131 had on the region, and the concomitant intersectionality of the local with the global, may be dramatically seen on Antiochia’s coinage. Although the mechanism that provides the privilege of

minting coins by provincial cities is not well understood, in the case of at least some of the cities of western Rough Cilicia, it may be that the emperor himself granted this right.³² Prior to Hadrian, the only cities in the region who minted coins were Anemurion and Selinos. Beginning with Hadrian, however, the cities of Antiochia, Iotape, Kestros, and Lamos minted coins.³³ The use of a single coinage throughout the empire provided a sense of cohesion for its inhabitants and largely contributed to their conception of what it meant to be a part of the global Roman Empire. Although minting was not unique among the cities of Asia Minor, the fact that Antiochia was granted the right to mint by Hadrian legitimated the city's position as a provincial capital and its elites' personal connections with the emperor and his imperial authority. In producing coins with imperial obverses, that is, the head of the emperor,³⁴ the city of Antiochia ad Cragum signalled its position within, and commitment to, the Roman imperial system. By allowing Antiochia to mint, the emperor reinforced for Antiochia the nature of that position. And yet, the reverse images on Antiochian coins, featuring the eagle of Antiochia, served to legitimize and underscore the city's local identity. In other words, by producing a coinage with imperial obverses and local reverses, the Antiochian elite were positioning themselves within the hierarchy of the empire while also asserting the importance and continuity of local culture and leadership. In a tangible sense, these coins clearly and precisely proclaimed Antiochia's place in the Roman hierarchy.

Located nearby the Hadrian decree discussed above are several texts from a heroon that provide an opportunity to view the nuances of Antiochian global intersectionality. Three honorific inscriptions survive honouring a local notable, Toubon Komdios.³⁵ The longer and more complete inscription gives us some details:

[ἡ βουλὴ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησ[αν]
 Τουβῶν Κομδιος, τὸν φιλόπατ[ριν],
 νεανίαν εὐσχήμονα καὶ ε[ὕγενῆ].

The *boulē* and the *dēmos* honour
 Toubon Komdios for his love of his fatherland,
 a respectable and well-born young man.

Notice that Toubon was praised by the *boulē* and *dēmos* for his love of the fatherland (φιλόπατρια) and for his elite status (νεανίαν εὐσχήμονα καὶ εὕγενῆ). The Toubon family was a respected (and long-standing) member of the local ruling elite – the εὕγενῆ listed here shows that. It is important to note, though, that Toubon has not been “Romanized” to any real degree.

He is using his Luwian name without any Greek or Roman additions. In a style not uncommon to the region, we see both his patro- and matronymics – Toubon Komdios, son of Nana and Toubon Komdios. This inscription is one of several connected to the heroon that Antiochia set up to Toubon in the agora, alongside a dedication to Hadrian.³⁶ Might Toubon's local fame come from his links to Hadrian and the emperor's patronage? This man did something pretty spectacular in the first half of the 100s CE to warrant a heroon. What better act than to facilitate Hadrian's visit and the rights of Antiochia to issue its own coinage?

In the 190s and early 200s CE, during the reign of Septimius Severus, the epigraphic record again shows us a moment of the local alongside the global. As with Hadrian in the 130s, an imperial visit seems to anchor the relationships. In 194 CE, much of Asia Minor had allied with Septimius Severus instead of his imperial rival Pescennius Niger.³⁷ In return for this support, and probably also for pragmatic reasons having nothing to do with it, Severus engaged in a massive road-building project, beginning in 195, when he campaigned against the Parthians and annexed Osroene, and again in 197, when he was audacious and successful enough to sack Ctesiphon and fix the Roman frontier at the Tigris River.³⁸ Mile markers at Antiochia³⁹ and a flurry of public works attest to his roadbuilding in the region and the new wealth and opportunity it brought. The most significant of the new structures was a locally sponsored monumental temple dedicated to the Divine Severus and his son Commodus.⁴⁰ Built of local marble on a grand scale, the Severan cult temple signalled Antiochia's support for the Severan family. And yet, like the coinage first produced under Hadrian, this impressive imperial cult temple also highlighted Antiochian identity, for Antiochian eagles were both placed on the pediment and located internally.⁴¹ By funding a temple to the Severan cult, but then decorating it with local elite symbols such as the Antiochian crouching eagle, the Antiochians had negotiated a way to engage Roman culture that not only acknowledged the legitimacy and prestige of the imperial family, but also underscored (at least to a local audience) the leadership role taken by the Antiochians in creating and maintaining Severan legitimacy and power. To put it another way, the Antiochian elite devised an Antiochian way to honour Severus. In the past they had erected statues and a small-scale precinct to the imperial family of Hadrian and Sabina. They did not have to build a monumental temple to the Severans and place within it, and upon it, the Antiochian-style eagle. They chose to do so, most likely because Severus' road opened up economic opportunities that dwarfed the efforts of previous emperors and warranted special attention.

As with Toubon in the time of Hadrian, another local family appears in the epigraphic record under the Severans that allows us a glimpse of local elite

conceptions of identity. In the early 200s CE, a certain Sourbis, a member of the local Asklepiian priesthood, is allowed to put up a statue to the god in the remodelled Great Bath complex.⁴² What is curious is that, unlike other inscriptions of the time, Sourbis is honoured under his full Roman name: M. Aurelius Sourbis. Although every provincial was enfranchised under Caracalla in 212 CE, it is possible that Sourbis, or his father, who was also named Sourbis, gained citizenship directly from Severus or Caracalla (in connection with the road construction of 195?). For our purposes, it is significant that the *boulē* and *dēmos* (which control public dedications) have chosen to include Sourbis' (new?) Roman name – Marcus Aurelius – alongside his Luwian name – Sourbis. Here, the Antiochians seem to be acknowledging and legitimizing his relationships with the imperial family – in this case Sourbis "adoption" as a Marcus Aurelius. And the family remaining prominent – in the next generation, Sourbis' daughter is honoured with a public statue.⁴³

Conclusions

The Antiochian elite devised a way to acknowledge and participate in the social, political, and economic world of Roman imperialism while at the same time preserving their local cultural integrity and power. Despite the fact that Rome came as a conqueror, and imposed its own global infrastructure, again and again at places like Antiochia we see a reassertion of the local, a piecemeal set of appropriations, adaptations, and modifications that allowed the ruling elites to maintain their local systems of power and thrive in an imperial marketplace of goods and ideas. This is most clearly seen in coinage and through honorific decrees and dedications. On both, the Antiochians simply added in the Roman emperor and members of his family, as and when necessary. Indeed, rather than showing a marked shift in the nature of the Cilician epigraphic landscape in the first century CE, when the city of Antiochia became a Roman possession, public monuments instead emphasized the continuation of sacred and political space within the new imperial Roman milieu. There is no Romanization or resistance but rather a continuation of practice that simply makes room for Roman elites and maps them into existing structures. The Roman imperial system seems to have functioned alongside (and on top of) local forms of leadership (and its negotiation) at Antiochia with those local elites manifesting a uniquely intersectional identity.

In the time-honoured manner, the Antiochians deployed inscribed dedications to stress the relationship between two (or more) parties in a fashion that served both to honour the donor – whether imperial Roman or Antiochian – and to assert the honouring body's right to determine leadership

and honour within a given political context.⁴⁴ The fundamental act of setting up an inscription in the imperial period, then, should be understood much as it always has been: as a rhetorically charged moment in which the communicative act of writing is paramount to setting the dedication into its proper reciprocal context for the local audience.⁴⁵ By recording the recipient's name (and family connections) as well as the name of the granting body and the context of the relationship, the inscription publicly affirmed the local by stressing the important connections between the parties within the greater political landscape. Put into this context, the dedicatory inscriptions to members of the imperial family and local leaders at Antiochia can serve as windows on the intersectional socio-political relationships forged by the local elites. Indeed, dedicatory acts tell us much about local identity and values while at the same time offer little depth or insight into the rulers beyond the need to garner local support. And because of the local context (since inscriptions were placed on or near the gifts they commemorated) the emphasis is thus placed on the bottom-up direction of such honours.

I find it significant that Antiochian material and epigraphic culture was remarkably unchanged during the 500 years of Roman rule and my hope is that this survey of inscriptions and public space from a rather minor Roman provincial capital gives some sense of the rich vocabulary of the local Mediterranean elites as they found ways to legitimate their elite status and make use of global structures for their own purposes. As Woolf (2021: 27) has recently observed, "in each case the local re-asserted itself."

NOTES

- 1 Also useful for framing the discussion are Cecconi 2006; Van Oyen 2015; 2017; Wolf 2014; 2017; 2021; and Versluys 2021. As is the recent back-and-forth discussions in vol. 94 of *Antiquity* about the role of archaeology, material culture, and object agency in the Romanization and globalization-localization debates: Fernández-Götz, Maschek, and Roymans 2020; Versluys 2020; Garner 2020; and Jiménez 2020.
- 2 For a recent discussion of glocalization and periphery-metropole interaction as a dialectic between local and global in Classical and Hellenistic periods, with relevant bibliography, see, e.g., the essays in Hodos 2017; Beck 2020; and the Introduction in this volume. See Barrett et al. 2018 for a framing discussion on how glocalization theory can facilitate new approaches to archaeological evidence. See Woolf 2021: 26–7 for a recent plea to see the *longue durée* of local-global interactions when considering the Roman Imperial experience.

- 3 De Souza 2013; Rauh, Dillon, and Rothaus 2013. For a history of Antiochia see Hoff et al. 2015a: 201–5 and Hoff, Howe and Townsend 2021: 4–8.
- 4 Plut. *Caes.* 2; De Souza 2013.
- 5 Plut. *Pomp.* 24.7–8; App. *Mith.* 96.
- 6 Rauh and Will 2002; Rauh, Autret, Lund 2013; Dodd 2020: 27–30, 59–67.
- 7 Rauh et al. 2009: 293–8, 304.
- 8 Hoff et al. 2005. See Sofia and Nováková 2014 for a discussion of tomb styles among the elites of Asia Minor. See Cubas Díaz 2021 for the continuation of these traditions into the Byzantine period.
- 9 Rauh et al. 2009.
- 10 Cass. Dio 54.9.2; Tac. *Ann.* 6.41. See Hoff and Howe 2020 and Hoff, Howe, and Townsend 2021 for the historical development of the city name.
- 11 *OGI* 411; Cass. Dio 60.8.1; Joseph. *AJ* 19.276. Borgia 2013; Hoff et al. 2015.
- 12 Rauh and Will 2002; Dodd 2020: 67–70.
- 13 Suet. *Vesp.* 8; Joseph. *BJ* 7.219–43, esp. 238; Borgia 2013: 90.
- 14 Hoff et al. 2008a and 2008b; Hoff et al. 2015. See Cubas Díaz 2021 for the continuation of these traditions into the Byzantine period.
- 15 Wandsnider 2013; Argyriou-Casmeridis 2019.
- 16 For the dynamic connection between local elite and monuments of the imperial cult in Asia Minor see Kantirea 2019. Cf. Millett 2021.
- 17 E.g., at Kestros: Bean and Mitford 1970: 155–60, nos. 158–64. See Rauh et al. 2009: 290–4, for discussion of the region under the Flavians and Good Emperors.
- 18 *Antiochia Inscriptions* 18.06. For commentary see Hoff, Howe, and Townsend 2021: 11.
- 19 Kestros: Bean and Mitford 1970: 159, 163. Lamos: *AÉpigr* 2005 (2008) 1549; *SEG* 55.1518; Rauh et al. 2009: 288 (table 5) and 292.
- 20 Magie 1950: 620–1. Euergetism has long been studied; for a recent cogent analysis from an anthropological viewpoint relating to the region in question here, see Wandsnider 2013: 176–88.
- 21 E.g., Henderson 1923: 283–94; Magie 1950: 620–1; Halfmann 1986; Syme 1988: 159–70; Birley 1997; Boatwright 2000. For a contrary opinion regarding the dedication of bases as an indicator of imperial visits, see Højte 2000: 221–35.
- 22 Struck 1933, Pl. 3, 16; Toynbee 1934: 69; *BMCRE* III, 490; Birley 2003: 432 n. 57. On Hadrian's journeys see n. 53.
- 23 So argue Hoff, Howe, and Townsend 2021. For Hadrian's journeys and their dates, see Henderson 1923: 294; Magie 1950: 620–1; Halfmann 1986: 208; Syme 1988: 164–5; cf. Bean and Mitford 1970: 160; Brennan 2018: 138.
- 24 Brennan 2018: 131–41; H. Halfmann 1986; von Mosch and Klostermeyer 2015: 285–326.
- 25 For evidence regarding this itinerary see Halfmann 1986: 208 and Brennan 2018: 138–44.

- 26 Bernand and Bernand 1960, no. 32: [Σα]βεῖνα Σεβαστή/[Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος/[Ἀδρια]νοῦ, ἐντὸς ὄρας/[α΄(?) τοῦ Μέμνονο]ς δις ἤκουσε/ vacat. See also Cirio 2011; Brennan 2018: 125.
- 27 For a review of these dedications, see Brennan 2018: 139–41.
- 28 Antiochia Inscriptions 18.04; Hoff, Howe, and Townsend 2021: 12–13. In light of Baker and Thériault 2020: 68–70 the O and serif we had restored as the phrase ὁ δ[ῆμος] could also be Ὀλ[υμπεῖον] and refer to the title Hadrian acquired in 128/9, further strengthening the contemporaneity of the tour of 130/1 and the dedication.
- 29 Bernard and Bernard 1960: no. 29, ll. 15–16: εὐσέβειες γὰρ ἔμοι γένηται πάπποι τ' ἐγένοντο, Βάλβιλλός τ' ὁ σόφος κ' Ἀντίοχος βασιλεύς. Not much is known about Julia Balbilla, but her pedigree has been reconstructed; see Sullivan 1977: 796–7; Spawforth 1978: 252; Kleiner 1983: 17 and 95. See Hoff, Howe, and Townsend 2021: 17–19, for Balbilla's presence on this imperial journey.
- 30 See Rosenmeyer 2008; Cirio 2011; and Rosenmeyer 2018 for Balbilla and the Memnon inscription; cf. Brennan 2018: 127–37 for full references.
- 31 Kleiner 1983: 95 suggests that Balbilla may have been responsible for the construction of her brother's well-known tomb, the Philopappos Monument, and possibly is herself interred within.
- 32 There have been recent attempts to address this issue: e.g., Weiss 2005: 57–68.
- 33 See Levante 1991: 205–12, which discusses coinage of Antiochia, Kestros, and Iotape. Most recently see online *Roman Provincial Coinage (RPC)*: Antiochia: vol. III, nos. 3192–3 (<https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?q=Antiochia+ad+cragum>); Kestros: vol. III, nos. 3188–9 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?city_id=382); Lamos: vol. III, nos. 3189A, 3190–1 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?city_id=582); and Iotape: vol. III nos. 3181–2 (https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/browse?city_id=552). Lamos' coinage apparently did not extend beyond Hadrian. Curiously, no coin of Hadrian survives from Kestros, but there is a single issue that features Sabina with the inscription ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, the same minimal titulature as on the statue base from the city. Kestros: *RPC* vol. III: 3188. For the mint at Antiochia see Hoff and Howe 2020: 166.
- 34 E.g., Alanya Museum inventory number AC 001. Full list in Levante 1991: 205–7.
- 35 Bean and Mitford 1970: 185, no. 204.
- 36 *Antiochia Inscriptions* 18.06. Hoff, Howe, and Townsend 2021: 11.
- 37 Hdn. 3.3.1–2, 6–8. Birley 1999: 108–20.
- 38 Gradoni 2013.
- 39 Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998: 37–8.
- 40 Hoff et al. 2008a; 2008b; 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2012.
- 41 Hoff et al. 2008a; 2008b; 2009a; 2009b.

- 42 *Antiochia Inscriptions* 13.01 (unpublished). During the excavation season fragments from this statue were recovered.
- 43 SEG 20.97. See Destephen 2012 for further analysis of the role of women in civic euergetism in the Imperial period.
- 44 See Ma 2013 for a discussion of this dynamic across the Greek-speaking eastern Mediterranean.
- 45 So argues Culasso Gastaldi 2014.

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