

REMNANTS OF FEMININE POWER: AN EXAMINATION of
ANKARA EPIGRAPHY

Presented to the Faculty of the Department
of Classics at Washington and Lee University

In partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of the Bachelor of Arts

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Rebecca Benefiel

By: Madison B. Hoaglund
Lexington, Virginia
Spring 2021

Acknowledgements

Thank you, Professor Benefiel, for your constant support during this project. You have been an endless source of kindness, wisdom, and inspiration throughout this process. No one person has ever been so influential in my growth as a scholar. You have taught so much but most importantly to find joy in this work. I will dearly miss working on this thesis with you. I could not fathom completing a project like this or taking my next steps without your caring guidance. Thank you also to Professor Laughy and Professor Crotty who heavily influenced my academic career over the past few years and remain a constant source of encouragement.

Moreover, thank you to my wonderful sisters for listening and contributing to every part of this project and my brilliant parents for encouraging me each step of the way. Finally, I am grateful to my friends CH, CS, DP, AJ, JH, SH, HD, BH, AN, KL, DC, FM III, and KH and my coaches for their patience, support, and advice on Microsoft Word. This project is a culmination of the past four years and I could not feel more grateful for the opportunity to complete it.

Abstract

The ancient city of Ancyra provides a wealth of inscriptions over six hundred years. Throughout this period, women actively participated in the epigraphic habit. For this project, I compiled both volumes of David French and Stephen Mitchell's *The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)* to assess the overall trends of women in inscriptions. The central question of the project is, did the role of women in Ankara's inscriptions change? Dividing my corpus into three separate periods: Roman, Transitional, and Late Antique, I examined five hundred and forty-five inscriptions. Women appear in the funerary and honorific epigraphic categories throughout the entire corpus. After much analysis, it is clear that Ancyra's epigraphy evolved significantly over the three periods for a variety of complex social, political, and religious factors like the introduction of Christianity or loosening of Roman control. The inscriptions of Ankara women transformed alongside the stylistic changes of the three different periods. In each period, influential, educated, and wealthy women emerge as epigraphically significant examples and prominent members of society. Epigraphy is a way to tangibly access antiquity and give a voice to the marginalized groups in the society. Ankara women have a definite presence in epigraphy that remains consistent throughout the three periods.

Table of Contents

I.	Introduction.....	4
II.	Historical Context.....	6
III.	Epigraphy in Ancyra during the Roman Empire.....	12
IV.	Ancyra and Epigraphy in Late Antiquity.....	48
V.	A Shift in Ankara Epigraphy: The Transitional Period.....	69
VI.	Conclusion.....	76
VII.	Works Referenced.....	80

Introduction

Ancyra was a flourishing and diverse city inhabited by Galatians, Greeks, Romans, Jews, Phrygians, and many others.¹ However, the Roman epigraphic habit firmly rooted itself within their society and prevailed well into the Christian era. For over six hundred years, Ankarans produced, carved, and dedicated inscriptions. Unfortunately, only five hundred and forty-five have been discovered so far. The Roman influence on the city, specifically Augustus's decision to promote Ancyra to the capital of the Galatian province, changed the landscape of the material culture of the city for ages to come. There are countless clues hidden within these inscribed texts that provide vital information to the understanding of Ankara culture during Antiquity and into the Middle Ages. From names of the deceased and honored, the primary families of the city appear. Governors, priests, and emperors survive frozen in the stony record. The voices of marginalized groups also burst forth: those of freedmen, slaves, women, and young children. The epigraphic corpus of Ancyra provides a wealth of information about social, political, religious life in the city and the consequences of the changes that occurred in late Antiquity.

In this paper, I analyzed *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), Volumes I and II* edited by David French and Steven Mitchell. Collecting all the known epigraphic examples from the ancient city, they comprised a corpus of five hundred and forty-five inscriptions. None of the inscriptions were discovered in their original location. Instead, the vast majority were found embedded in the later constructed walls of the city or in the Roman baths.² After the third century, Ancyra became a tumultuous location, prone to attacks from the east. The inhabitants swiftly constructed a series of walls from the third century into the Middle Ages.³ In

¹ French & Mitchell, 2012, 30.

² French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012, 2.

³ French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012, 2.

their haste to defend the city, they tore down many of the inscribed monuments and converted them into a barrier, safely preserving them until the excavations began. Ankara, as the current capital of Turkey, is a difficult place to excavate. To this date, no Roman cemeteries have been located. Even though there are many examples of funerary epigraphy within the Ankara corpus of inscriptions, they were not discovered in their original locations. Recovering the cemeteries that were used during the Roman period would be enlightening to the study of Ankara epigraphy.

In my analysis, I divided the Ankara corpus into three chronological periods: The Roman Imperial period (first century-late third century), the Transitional period (late third century-early fifth century), the Late Antique or Christian period (early fifth-sixth century). I used the dates assigned by the editors of *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)* to each of the inscriptions to delineate the three periods. With the three periods, I will analyze the changes in the Ankara epigraphic habit over the three most significant chronological ages while the epigraphic habit survived. With the onset of Christianity came a resurgence and dramatic shift in the epigraphy in Ancyra. In my research, I concentrated on the Ankara women in each of these periods. Even though the city experiences a series of significant shifts in religion, politics, and society, the role of women remains consistent within epigraphy. That is not to say that inscriptions of Ankara women do not change with the period. Between the three periods, there is a significant shift in epigraphic conventions. However, women numerically and stylistically remain consistent. Their role within each period is similar. Epigraphically, Ankarans praise a specific type of woman and a woman's role in society.

The inscriptions from Ancyra provide a wealth of information about the men and women who lived there. I carefully analyzed the texts from each inscription mentioning a woman because of the prescriptive nature of epigraphy. The inscriptions are more than just words in

stone. They serve as a memorial to those who have passed or accomplished great deeds. They are designed to be read by the passerby. Each description becomes more significant. Inscriptions are dedicated to an individual but designed for the passerby. In this project, I seek to enliven these inscriptions once again by introducing them to modern readers. My analysis will reflect this facet of epigraphy considering the prescriptive nature of many of these inscriptions.

Historical Context

Ancyra, the ancient city of Ankara, the current capital of Turkey, was inhabited long before the Roman occupation. Pausanias claimed that the notorious King Midas discovered an anchor and founded the city, naming it after his discovery.⁴ There is evidence of a significant settlement as early as the bronze age. Before the Romans, control of Ancyra often shifted between kingdoms including the Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Greeks, and Galatians.⁵ Based on the archeological record, Ancyra was a city of some magnitude during the Phrygian period in the 8th and 9th centuries BCE. Over twenty large grave tumuli and sculptures have been uncovered from this period.⁶

Not much is known from the Phrygian to the Roman periods and even though Roman accounts refer to Ancyra as a city. So far, no archaeological records have been found supporting settlement at that time.⁷ It was first mentioned in the literary sources by Alexander the Great who noted it as a city of some importance.⁸ Livy called Ancyra a “nobilem in illis locis urbem” after

⁴French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012, 1. There are a few other stories related to the etymology of the Ancyra.

⁵ Mitchell and French, Volume I, 2012, 30.

⁶ Mitchell and French, Volume I, 2012, 1.

⁷ Mitchell and French, Volume I, 2012, 1.

⁸ Mitchell and French, Volume I, 2012, 1.

the first Roman conquest of Ancyra in 189 BCE led by Cn. Manlius Vulso.⁹ In the early third century BCE under the Galatians, a Celtic tribe, Ancyra flourished as an important tribal epicenter. Strabo refers to the city as a fortress of the Galatian tribe of the Tectosages.¹⁰ Though there are multiple literary accounts of the city, it is difficult to determine the magnitude or population of the city. The vagueness and brevity of the sources and the inconsistent archaeological findings paint only a faint portrait of the city before Roman occupation. By 25 BCE, Romans fully occupied the city and Augustus, like the Galatians, proclaimed Ancyra the capital of the Galatian province. Ancyra had already emerged as one of the largest cities in the interior of Asia Minor but with the support of Rome, it was one of the most influential cities in the east by the fourth century.¹¹

Ancyra was a crossroads, one of the most eastern Roman strongholds: “Located on the busiest highway in the country, it long maintained a role as a provincial capital, a military base, and a center of trade, industry, and intellectual life.”¹² Roman occupation bolstered the economy of an already well-established metropolis and trade center. Augustus erected his *Res Gestae*, establishing the imperial cult in the city.¹³ The earliest inscriptions in the corpus are associated with the temple of Augustus.

In *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ancyra*, Mitchell and French only assign inscriptions one through three as belonging to the *Res Gestae*.¹⁴ Although this is true, the

⁹ Livy 38.24.1, also recorded by Polybius (XXI.39.1-2).

¹⁰ 2 Strabo XII.5.2, 567.

¹¹ Foss, 1977, 29. Late antique and Byzantine Ankara.

¹² Foss, 1977, 29.

¹³ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1993, 42.

¹⁴ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 1-3.

imperial temple forged the epigraphic habit in Ancyra. Roman occupation and the introduction of imperial epigraphy sparked a tradition that would span five hundred years. The Romans began several other building programs in the ancient city of Ancyra upon arrival like the Roman baths and the forum.¹⁵ As the capital under Roman control, the city flourished. On the road between Constantinople and Antioch and one of the furthest eastern Anatolian Roman strongholds, Ancyra's economy boomed with travelers and trade. Their famous export, Angora wool became popular while a Roman city and remains a staple of the area in modern times.¹⁶

Ancyra was a late blooming metropolis compared to Constantinople or Antioch. It was not as large or well established as the other two cities in the years prior to Roman control. However, by the second century CE, there was already a tradition of the well-educated flocking to Ancyra like orators, philosophers, and rhetoricians. Inscriptions and ancient sources like Theotenus's *Life of Saint Theodotus* and Eusebius's *Church History* describe Ancyra as an epicenter for learned men both Christian and pagan alike.¹⁷ Ancyra as a flourishing center for education demonstrates the heavy influence that cities like Constantinople and Antioch had on Ancyra, even more than Rome.¹⁸ Athens too significantly contributed to ancient Ancyra. By the early third century Ancyra was quickly becoming one of the most prominent cities in the eastern empire. However, in the mid third century, disaster struck.

A series of Gothic and Arab invasions swept over the city, halting Ancyra's flourishing economy. Like many other Roman cities at the end of the third century, Ancyra suffered from a

¹⁵ French and Mitchell, 2012, 32.

¹⁶ Foss, 1977, 30. Foss suggests that their established exports, like the Angora wool, made Ancyra the perfect military base.

¹⁷ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1993, 85.

¹⁸ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1993, 95.

dissolution of the Roman government resulting in famine, poverty, and plague.¹⁹ From the late second to the third centuries, plague, invasion, famine, and civil war humbled the once great empire. In this tumultuous time, “Ankara became the center of the defensive system of Asia Minor—a major supply base, a place where the troops could take up winter quarters, and a gathering point for new recruits. Naturally, numerous emperors and their armies passed through the city on their way to the wars and contributed to the local economy.”²⁰ The military and the visits of Roman emperors had a significant impact on the epigraphy. Grants of citizenship from emperors appear in the *gentilicium* of the prominent members of the city.²¹ Many soldiers stationed in Ancyra also emerge through the epigraphy. A significant number of soldiers were buried or buried loved ones in the city.

War soon gripped the city with famine on its heels. As Rome’s grip loosened on the eastern provinces, Ancyra slipped away entirely. The Roman army frequented the city until their resources failed them. The roads responsible for Ancyra’s success also contributed to the Syrian queen Zenobia’s successful conquest of the city.²² At least two horrific famines ravaged the city. One during the reign of Aurelian and the other in 280 CE.²³ Emperors rose and fell in quick succession while foreigners ravaged the land. Finally, after a tumultuous late third century, Emperor Aurelian reclaimed the city as part of the Roman empire in 271 CE.²⁴ As the city begins to recover, Christianity firmly roots itself into Ancyra.

¹⁹ Mitchell, 2007, 5.

²⁰ Foss, 1977, 30.

²¹ Hadrian granted many prominent Ankarans citizenship. In late Antiquity, Constantinus II, Valens, and Julian all visited the city for extended periods of time.

²² Foss, 1977, 32.

²³ Foss, 1977, 32.

²⁴ Mitchell, 1993, 46.

Christianity swept over the Roman Empire in the first few centuries after its conception. Spreading relentlessly from Israel to the eastern provinces, the religion finally overcame Rome itself. However, the Eastern Roman empire can boast some of the earliest examples of Christianity. *Acts of the Apostles* in the New Testament details Paul's missionary journeys to the Greek speaking east in places like Ephesus, Athens, and Antioch. Christianity engulfed the east rooting itself into the provinces like Phrygia.²⁵

From the Great Fire of Rome until Constantine's conversion, Christians were mercilessly oppressed culminating in the Great Persecution under Diocletian from 303-305 CE.²⁶ During this persecution, Ancyra suffered the deaths of several martyrs like Theodotus, St. Clement of Ancyra, and St. Plato.²⁷ The persecutions finally ceased with the fourth century Edict of Toleration and Emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Even during intense persecutions, Christianity strengthened its hold in the Greek east. Mitchell examines reliable inscriptions from around 230 CE in the Upper Tembris Valley and concludes that less than twenty percent Christian are identifiable as Christian. However, after 300 CE roughly eighty percent of the inscriptions are Christian.²⁸ Ancyra was an exception to this statistic. Though many of the cities in the surrounding areas were Christian, parts of Ancyra, specifically the aristocracy, staunchly held to the Roman religion.²⁹

The upper classes might have continued to honor the old Roman religions, but Christianity firmly rooted itself in the city before the third century. The Ankara church became

²⁵ Mitchell, 1993, 62.

²⁶ Lançon, 2001, 103.

²⁷ Foss, 1977, 34.

²⁸ Mitchell, 1993, 62.

²⁹ Mitchell, 1993, 64.

one of the most important ecclesiastical sites in the east: “It was the seat of the metropolitan bishop of Galatia, who came to rank fourth in the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church.”³⁰ By 314 CE, Ancyra hosted an ecumenical council discussing the persecutions and consequences for those who renounced their faith under duress.³¹ The same year a man named Marcellus was promoted to bishop of Ancyra and would later represent the city at the Council of Nicaea. It happens that the Council of Nicaea was nearly the Council of Ancyra. Emperor Constantine first suggested Ancyra as the destination for the resolution of the Arian controversy.³² However, the council was moved to Nicaea for geographical convenience.

The fourth century was a time of unparalleled religious upheaval and political unrest. Between Diocletian’s reign, the division of the bishops, and the institution of Julian the Apostate’s reforms, Ancyra was rife with tension. After the persecutions ceased, Marcellus rose to the position of bishop and served at Nicaea. Just ten years after the council, he was accused of heresy and deposed by Basil who would become “one of the most important bishops of the eastern Church in the mid-fourth century, the leader of the substantial and moderate sect of Arians which was closest to the Orthodox in doctrine.”³³ Marcellus, banished from the city, appealed to the pope and was eventually restored to power. In response, the Ankarans rioted in defense of Basil and even attacked nuns and priests.³⁴ The Ankara church, once powerful and influential among the ecclesiastical community of Asia Minor, fell into disarray. Divisions and civil strife ravaged the church until Ancyra even had their own sect of heretics, the Ancyro-

³⁰ Foss, 1977, 36.

³¹ Foss, 1977, 36.

³² Foss, 1977, 37.

³³ Foss, 1977, 37.

³⁴ Foss, 1977, 37.

Galatians.³⁵ Fires raged in the streets, rioters tore religious figures from their churches, heretics were butcher and burned. Julian the Apostate would later say that the Christians should thank him for bringing his reforms into the city.³⁶

Julian the Apostate, emperor from 361-363 CE, sought restoration of the old Roman religion. With the Ankara church weakened and the influential citizens still “steeped in paganism,” Julian set his sights on Ancyra. Remaining in Ancyra for over half of his reign, he attempted to institute his reforms. The epigraphic corpus bears witness to this event with an elaborately carved twelve-line inscription dedicated to Julian modeled after the *Res Gestae* of Augustus that hails Julian as “Lord of the whole world”.³⁷ Some of his reforms included forbidding Christians to teach and encouraging philanthropic work in the temples.³⁸ After several failed attempts to quell the ecclesiastical community, Julian left Ancyra.³⁹

Epigraphy in Ankara during the Roman Empire

The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra) provides a corpus of three hundred and fifteen inscriptions belonging to the Roman period, that is from the first through the third centuries CE. Of the inscriptions, there are only six that the editors Stephen Mitchell and David French were unable to date.⁴⁰ Only a small percentage of the epigraphic examples can be dated precisely most notably by the presence of a consul. The editors determined the relative dates of the other inscriptions based on a variety of factors such as stylistic chronological trends like the

³⁵ Foss, 1977, 37. The Ancyro-Galatians formed after Marcellus returned to Ancyra.

³⁶ Foss, 1977, 38.

³⁷ GLIA 332. The inscription was erected in honor of his visit in 362 CE.

³⁸ Foss, 1977, 41.

³⁹ Foss, 1977, 41. A few Christians, including St. Basil, were persecuted and martyred during Julian’s visit.

⁴⁰ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 8.

lettering or artwork on the stone.⁴¹ Names also contribute to the relative date of an inscription. Based on the other sources and records in Ancyra, names can place an inscription in relation to a previously known man from Ancyra. This is especially useful when considering the epigraphy of the Provincial governors or Galatian aristocracy who typically have other members of their family documented previously, whether in epigraphy or elsewhere. Religion, especially Christianity, influences the relative chronology of an inscription since it did not arise until the middle of the first century CE in the empire and not predominantly in Ancyra until the end of the fourth century.⁴²

One of the constraints of this study is the potential lack of accuracy in the epigraphic chronology. Relative dating is not precise and since most of the inscriptions in this corpus were removed from their original contexts and reemployed elsewhere,⁴³ it is even less so. The editors often must solely rely on onomastic, stylistic, or other evident features of the epigraphy. Though some might dismiss many of the results of this study because of the potential for human error in the relative chronology, Mitchell and French state that the frequency of the inscriptions that they dated mirrors the frequency of the inscriptions with precise dates.⁴⁴ More specifically, Mitchell and French compared the number of precisely dated inscriptions every twenty-five years to ones with relative dates. Even with significantly less numbers, the relative and precisely dated inscriptions do climax and fall at a similar rate. For my own research, I have recreated Mitchell and French's graph from their introduction to demonstrate the distribution of both types of chronology.

⁴¹ See *Tabula Ansata* for an example or the later lettering.

⁴² Mitchell, 1993, 32.

⁴³ French and Mitchell, 2012, 2. Most were found in walls or the Roman baths.

⁴⁴ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 9.

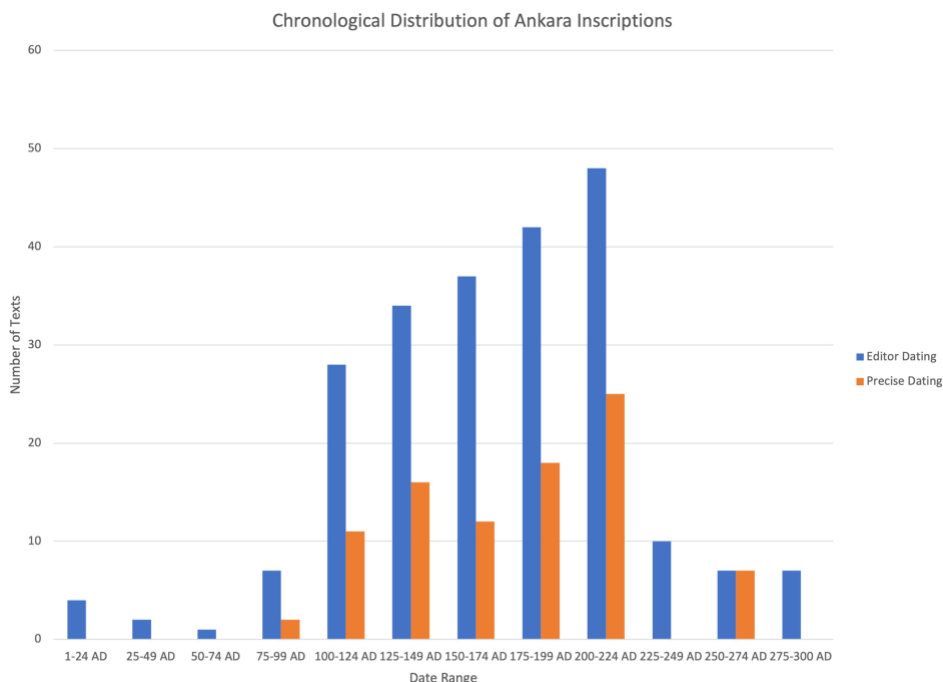


Figure One

The blue bar represents the number of the relative dates that the editors ascribed to the inscriptions while the orange represents the number of inscriptions that can be precisely dated. The first to third centuries are divided into twenty-five-year increments so that the frequency of the inscriptions can be closely observed.⁴⁵ Examining the graph (fig. 1), the epigraphic habit is almost non-existent in Ancyra during the first half of the first century. The first precise dates as well as a significant increase in the number of relatively dated inscriptions occurred in the third quarter of the first century which triples over the next period. The number of both sets of inscriptions continue to increase until there is a steep decline from the first quarter of the third century to the second.⁴⁶ This graph not only shows the peak of the epigraphic habit in Ancyra, but it also provides evidence in favor of the accuracy of the relative dating of Mitchell and French. Even though there is not always a direct correlation, like the lack of any precisely dated

⁴⁵ Anything can affect the epigraphic habit and the 25-year periods help to track emperors' reigns and invasions (like the one around 250).

⁴⁶ Probably due to the barbarian invasions during this period and many other troubles in Ancyra.

inscriptions from 225-249 CE,⁴⁷ for the most part, the numbers follow a similar trend. With any study of a closed corpus of epigraphy from the ancient world, there will always be uncertainties. However, in my own research, the relative dates that the scholars Mitchell and French ascribe to the inscriptions will be treated as accurate. For simplicity's sake, I graphed all of the inscriptions from the three centuries below.

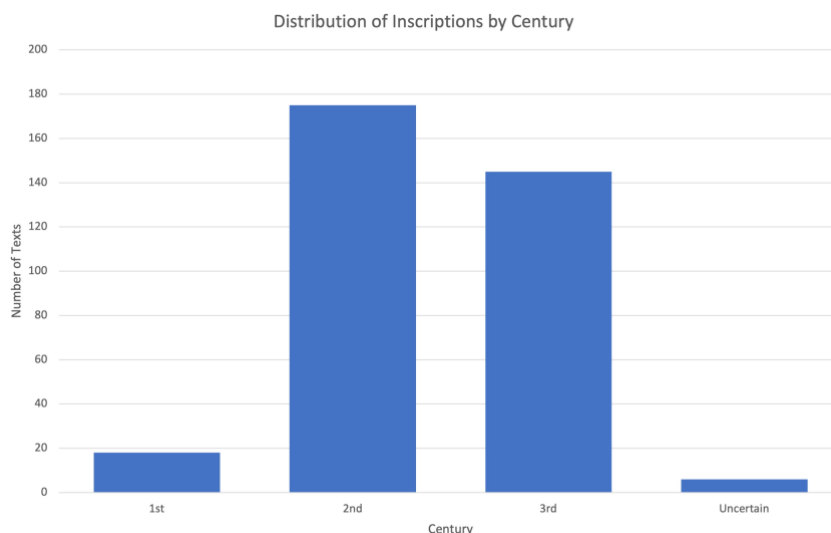


Figure Two

The second and third centuries boast the highest numbers of inscriptions with the climax between them. Based on figure one, the climax is from the 200-224 CE. This graph (fig. two) is useful in that it shows the total number of inscriptions that have been recovered from Ancyra during the Roman period. The second century alone provides over half of the epigraphic examples from the three centuries.⁴⁸ The bar labeled “uncertain” represents the six inscriptions that Mitchell and French were unable to date due to lack of evidence.

The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra) is divided into chapters based on the defining characteristics in the inscriptions, such as important figures or events. Instead of

⁴⁷ There could be a lot of reasons for the lack of precise dates, like the overthrow of the roman government systems.

⁴⁸ Out of 315 inscriptions.

dividing them by common epigraphic functions like imperial, votive, honorary, and funerary, the book divided them into sections specific to Ankara, such as Provincial governors or Galatian aristocracy. I have combined some of the original divisions into fewer categories so that analysis might prove more fruitful. The inscriptions were originally divided into the following categories: imperial temple, imperial dedications, provincial governors, procurators and Roman administrative staff, Galatian aristocracy, senators and equestrians, civic leaders, festivals/contests/gladiators, Roman military, bilingual epitaphs, Greek epitaphs with Latin formula, and Greek epitaphs.

The editors categorized the Roman corpus into twelve different chapters based on the status of people mentioned in the inscriptions. I have combined these chapters into six different categories namely:

- imperial dedications
- Galatian nobility
- festivals
- gladiators, and contests
- religious dedications
- funerary epitaphs
- Roman officials

The imperial dedications also include inscriptions from the imperial temple, specifically the *Res Gestae*. Galatian aristocracy, festivals, gladiators, and contests, and religious dedications remain the same. The category funerary epitaphs consist of the bilingual, Greek, and Greek epitaphs with Latin formula chapters. Lastly, the Roman official's category includes the provincial

governors, procurators and administrative staff, senators and equestrians, civic leaders, and the Roman military.

I graphed three hundred and nine inscriptions.⁴⁹ In each category, there are a number of inscriptions that are dated to one or two centuries instead of a specific year or twenty-five-year period.⁵⁰ Following the example of the editors, I evenly distributed the epigraphic texts dated by the century equally over the period. This should be considered when analyzing the graph below. However, for the purposes of this paper, namely, to track the general trends of inscriptions over a three-hundred-year period, the graph and data will be more than sufficient. Also, many of the inscriptions were dated more specifically than to one or two centuries. Each color corresponds to one of the six categories.

The data is somewhat consistent with the editors' graph of the total number of inscriptions. Although there is not an obvious increase and then a climax from 200-224 CE, there is a similar pattern. The epitaph category consists of the most inscriptions and peaks from 150-174 CE. In each period, the epitaph category increases in number until this period and then sharply drops after 199 CE. However, the Roman officials seem to be more consistent with the original graph. The inscriptions gradually increase, have a slight decrease, and then peak from 200-224 CE in accordance with the editors' analysis of the material. When examining this material, one should inspect all the density of the inscriptions during a specific time, or, in other words, the number of epigraphic examples within each period. If this is done, then one can see that the two graphs demonstrate the same epigraphic trend that peaks at the beginning of the third century.

⁴⁹ The six missing are so partial that the editors were unable to assign dates to them.

⁵⁰ Example: second or third century

This graph can be used to trace the epigraphic habit through certain groups. This can give an insight into the social and political climate of Ancyra during the Roman period. For example, the number of epitaphs increases from 150-174 during a well-documented plague period.⁵¹ However, the increase of epitaphs does not necessarily support this correlation because there might have been a change in the fashion of epitaphs. The religious dedications that survive peak significantly increase from 150-174 CE and peaks during the next twenty-five-year period.

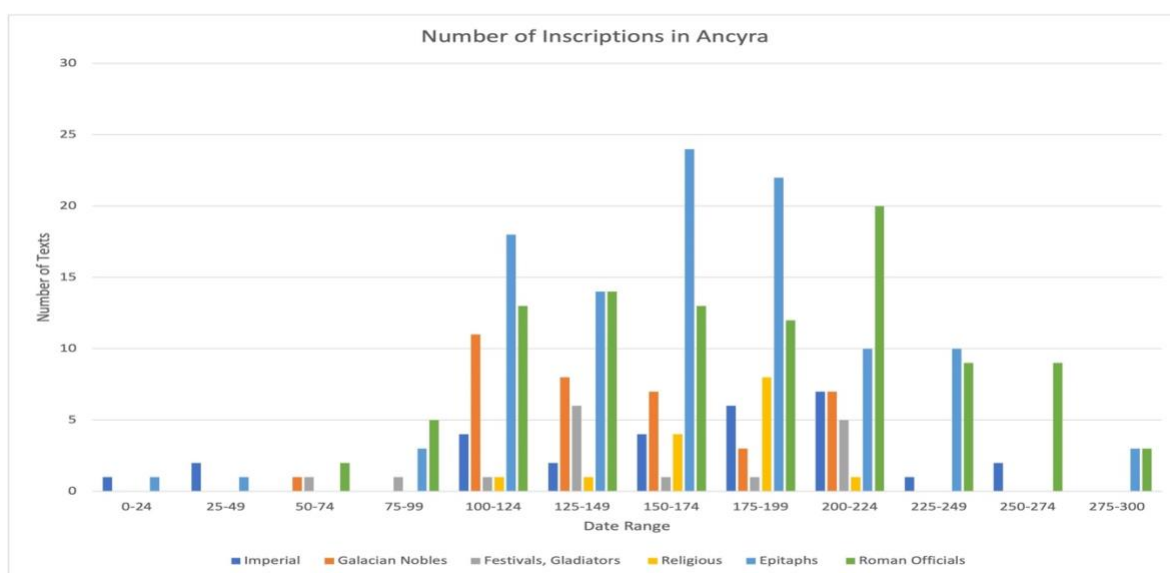


Figure Three

The religious dedications are dated almost entirely to the latter half of the second century.

This along with the numerous votive epigraphic offerings to the god Asclepius⁵² may indicate a time that necessitated an increase in religious offerings, like a plague. As well as chronologically, I also analyzed and divided the inscriptions based on their function. The two primary categories are funerary and honorific.

⁵¹ Mitchell and French, 2012, 10.

⁵² There was an increase in religious dedications to Asclepius around 170 CE (GLIA 191, 192, 193, 194).

Types of Inscriptions in Ancyra

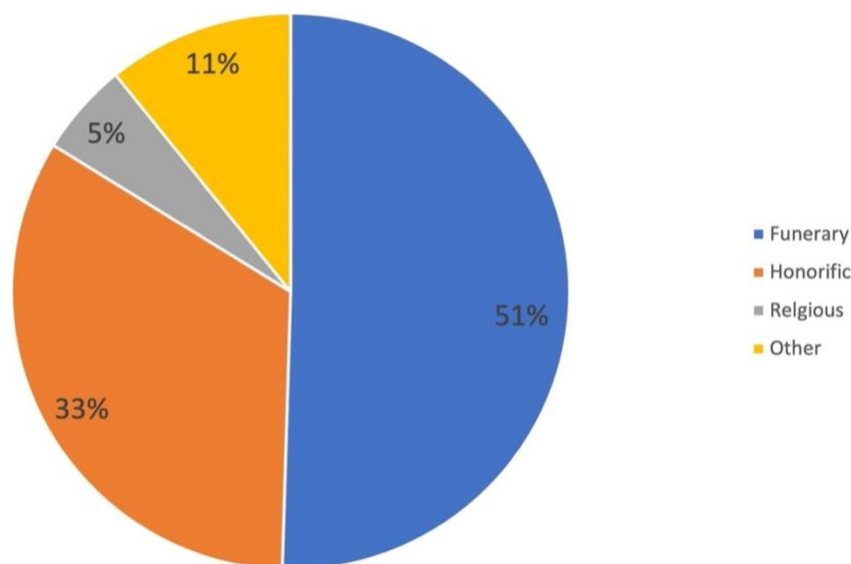


Figure Four

I have also categorized the inscriptions in the Roman corpus by their function. The “other” category consists of imperial dedications, stadium seats, and decrees. Religious dedications are only five percent of the total while over half of the inscriptions are funerary.

Honorific Inscriptions during the Roman Imperial Period

I will begin with an analysis of the honorific inscriptions in Ankara during the Roman Empire. It is pertinent to remember that honorific monuments were public inscriptions. They were erected in crowded places within the city to be seen. According to Forbis’s article “Women’s Public Image in Italic Honorary Inscriptions,” most of the honorific inscriptions served two purposes. First, the dedicator erected the monument and “by singling out deserving individuals for public admiration they ensured the gratitude of such people who then might be moved to make further benefactions in the community.”⁵³ The city relied on the benefactions of

⁵³ Forbis, 1990, 495.

influential citizens to fund new construction. Honorific monuments perpetuated that system in outward and public displays of gratitude. Forbis also suggests a slightly less tangible reason for erecting an honorific inscription: “In doing so, they also proclaimed which virtues, achievements, and gracious acts would earn others similar public recognition and prominence.”⁵⁴ Forbis claims that the inscription itself encourages others to make similar donations to the city. When the Roman commemorated certain individuals for their magnificence, they also encouraged others to perform similar acts of benevolence. Honorary inscriptions are a tangible symbol of gratitude to an individual but also have a prescriptive tone. To achieve political rank or influential status in a Roman city, a man or woman had to accomplish deeds like the ones described in the honorific inscriptions. Taking Forbis’s argument a step farther, in Ancyra the honorific inscriptions not only suggest certain acts of magnificence but also the types of people who should perform them.

The wealthy members of Ancyra constructed much of the ancient city and in return received honorific monuments often in the form of public statues or inscriptions. Unlike many modern honorific parallels, the ancient moments were “potent markers in local politics and aristocratic competition. Architectural setting, inscribed base, statue costume, and styled portrait head all combined to make sometimes complex statements about the subject.”⁵⁵ Although here Smith refers to a specific type of honorific monument, that of portraiture, his statements apply to the honorific statues in Ancyra. They were a local political statement, especially amongst the Roman citizens and the Galatian aristocracy. Smith notes in his argument that many honorific monuments included a statue and an inscription.⁵⁶ These two pieces of an honorific monument

⁵⁴ Forbis, 1990, 495.

⁵⁵ Smith, 1998, 56.

⁵⁶ Smith, 1998, 57.

are usually analyzed separately. In Ancyra, it is difficult to determine the original setting or placement of any of the inscriptions because so many of them are partial. The entire monument should be considered in an analysis but in Ancyra that is usually not possible.

Often, a tribe would dedicate a monument to a particularly influential person for their services to the city, but there were also times when honorific monuments consisted of personal dedications to a patron. Most commonly, honorific monuments in Ancyra were dedicated by a tribe to an important male figure of the city or dedicated to the emperor.

Imperial dedications are an essential Roman component of the honorific monument. Augustus commissioned the building of the *Res Gestae* in Ancyra in the early first century CE.⁵⁷ According to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the *Res Gestae* Divi Augusti was a record of Emperor Augustus's achievements "in the style of the claims of the *triumphatores* of the Roman past... erected on bronze pillars at the entrance of his mausoleum in the Campus Martius in Rome."⁵⁸ A copy of the text of the *Res Gestae* was also found in Ancyra at the Temple of Rome and Augustus, serving as the seat of the imperial cult of Galatia.⁵⁹ Much of the text survives and influenced later imperial dedications.⁶⁰ With the Imperial Temple came the rituals of the imperial cult and in Ancyra four lengthy inscriptions on the walls. Each of these inscriptions is well over one-hundred lines long.⁶¹ In Ancyra generally, there are twenty-nine imperial inscriptions not directly associated with the *Res Gestae* and all of them are honorific. Since many of them were later incorporated within the walls of the city, most are badly damaged and are difficult to

⁵⁷ Foss 1977, 30.

⁵⁸ OCD, *Res Gestae*.

⁵⁹ OCD, *Res Gestae*.

⁶⁰ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 332. Julian Apostate has an inscription that reflects the style of the *Res Gestae*.

⁶¹ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 1-4.

decipher. Fortunately, imperial dedications are formulaic in nature and able to be completed. For example, GLIA 12 is a dedication to three emperors: Severus, Caracalla, and Geta.

Θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις Σεουήρω Ἀυγούστῳ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Ἀυτοκράτορι [Γέτα] Καίσαρι

“To the Olympian gods, Severus Augustus, Antoninus Emperor, Geta Caesar.”

The imperial titles precisely date the inscription to 197/198 CE. Unfortunately, the description of the monument was not recorded so much about this inscription remains unknown. As is common throughout the Ankara corpus, the text begins with an invocation to the Olympian gods followed by the names of the emperors in the dative case. There is a clear delineation between the imperial titles of the three emperors reflecting the current state of the empire. Septimius Severus bore the title “Ἀυγούστος” or “Augustus” as the reigning emperor. His son Caracalla, here referred to as Antoninus, has the title of “Ἀυτοκράτορ” signifying his future as the emperor. Finally, his younger son Geta’s name was accompanied by the title “Καίσαρι” or “Caesar.” These titles give an insight into the political situation at the time. Septimius Severus would later promote Geta to the rank of Augustus and declare both of his sons emperor. Caracalla later assassinated Geta and erased his name from many monuments, such as this one.⁶² Though a relatively brief inscription, it is typical for the Ankara corpus. Unlike this one, most of the corpus appear to name only one emperor and his imperial titles.⁶³ In most other times, there was only one emperor and one successor. This inscription memorializes a unique time in Roman history when Septimius Severus established his dynasty through both his sons. Dedications to the emperor were symbols of devotion and participation in the imperial cult. Caracalla receives the most imperial dedications probably in response to his *Constitutio Antoniniana*, and extension

⁶²Kemmers, 2011, 270-271.

⁶³ I say presumably because many of the inscriptions are partially destroyed and missing the name of the emperor.

of Roman citizenship to the free inhabitants in the empire.⁶⁴ Most of these inscriptions are fairly standard. They are useful because the imperial titles can precisely date these inscriptions which can then be studied for stylistic chronological markers.

An honorific inscription was a difficult distinction to earn. Therefore, only the most prominent members of the Ankara society received one. Unsurprisingly, Roman provincial governors, procurators and administrative staff, the senatorial and equestrian classes, and the Galatian aristocracy boast the highest number of honorific inscriptions. In each of these categories, over half of all the epigraphic examples are honorific. Many of the honorific examples are rather lengthy and provide a wealth of details not only about the life and career of the prominent person honored but about the dedicator as well. GLIA 41 is a typical example from the provincial governor's category:

Δ. Φουλούιον Ῥου\στικὸν Αἰμιλια\νόν πρεσβ. Σεβ ἄ(ν)\ Τιστρα. ὕπατρον ἢ βου\λή κέ ὁ
 δῆμος τῆς μη\τροπόλεως Αγκύ\ρας τὸν ἑαυτῶν\ εὐεργέτην ἐπιμε\λου(μέλου) μένου
 Τρεβίου\ Ἀλεξάνδρου

*“The council and the people of the metropolis Ancyra (honored) their benefactor, Lucius Fulvius Rusticus Aemelianus, legatus Augusti, pro praetore, consul, under the supervision of Trebius Alexander.”*⁶⁵

Lucius Fulvius is the provincial governor who most likely earned his consulship during his term.⁶⁶ He was honored by the council and the city of Ancyra instead of an individual. The editors are unsure who Trebius Alexander is exactly, but they are certain that his *gens* was powerful in Ancyra. The dimensions of this inscription are also missing, constricting the

⁶⁴ *The Oxford classical dictionary*, Caracalla.

⁶⁵ Mitchell and French, 2012, GLIA 41. The editors suggest that the date originates from other sources that mention Trebius Alexander.

⁶⁶ Mitchell and French, 2012, 194. The editors claim that this was a common practice among governors.

evidence. However, the text demonstrates a typical honorific inscription for a powerful man or woman in Ancyra.

The category of the Galatian aristocracy boasts the most diverse set of inscriptions. The wealthy men and women of Ancyra erected many monuments for themselves and one another, both funerary and honorific. They are much longer than the typical Ankara inscription and include titles and descriptions that are unique in the corpus. This inscription, for example, honors Aelius Macedo:

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι Ἰ Αἴλιον Μακέδο\να ἀρχιερέα ἀγωνοθέτην\ τοῦ
κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλα\τῶν γαλατάρχην σεβαστο\φάντην ἱεροφάντην
διὰ Βίου τῶν θεῶν Σεβασ\τῶν ἄρξαντα ἀγνῶς καὶ φιλοτείμως
ταμίαν ἀπο\δεδειγμένον τῶν τριῶν\ ἐθνῶν φυλή ς' Σεβαστή\ τόν
ἑαυτῶν εὐερέτην\ κατά ἀναγόρευσιν βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
φυλαρχοῦντος Ἀνμίου Ἀσκληπίου ἐπιμελουμένου⁶⁷

“To good fortune! (Iulius) Aelius Macedo, high priest, president of the games of the community of the Galatians, galatarch, Sebastophant, hierophant of the Augusti for life, having exercised the office of archon reverently and honorably, appointed treasurer of the three peoples, the sixth tribe of Sebaste, in accordance with a public proclamation of the council and the people, (honored) their benefactor, when Annius son of Asclepius was head of the tribe, the person in charge being...”

⁶⁷ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 88.

Iulius Aelius Macedo was a full Roman citizen whose status as a long serving priest in the imperial cult qualified him for such an elaborate inscription. The inscription even names him as the hierophant for life. Compared to the other inscriptions featuring the Galatian aristocracy, this one is average in length. The honorific inscriptions for the influential members of society are some of the longest inscriptions within the entire corpus. Like many of the others, the rest of the monument itself is missing and only the record of the inscription remains. One of the Galatian tribes, the Sebaste, dedicated the monument in his honor presumably for an act of benevolence and distinguished public career. The monument could be in response to hosting games in Ancyra. Contrary to Forbis's research on Italic honorific monuments, the ones in Ancyra do not usually name the deed that precipitated the inscription. Both examples do not praise a specific act but instead commend the individual for a long civic career. The Ankarans during the Roman period rewarded long lives of civic devotion and service with an honorific monument. Though it is certain that many of these men bestowed many acts of benevolence on the city, the Ankarans do not usually include the deed on the monument.

Funerary Inscriptions during the Roman Imperial Period

Tombs and funerary monuments make up a significant portion of the Roman epigraphy in Ancyra but also all over the Roman empire. Such monuments were an important part of Roman society. When someone died, it was the responsibility of heirs, family members, slaves, or freedmen to erect the tomb or altar.⁶⁸ The epigraph and monument often demonstrated the deceased's wealth and prominence in life. Occupations, political offices, and benefactions to the city were commonly carved onto the stones: "Epitaphs kept the memorial of the dead alive and

⁶⁸ Keppie, 2001, 98.

protected the tomb by reminding violators of the defunct legal rights.”⁶⁹ Epitaphs had a practical purpose, that of protection, but they also memorialized the dead. The tomb or funerary monument provided Romans with the opportunity to celebrate and remember their ancestors.

The plots themselves were usually clearly delineated, and the specifications or size might even be mentioned on the inscription itself and built in a display of wealth.⁷⁰ The most influential members of a Roman city could be gifted with the choicest plots as a gesture of gratitude.⁷¹ Phrases like *locus sepulturae datus* or “the place of the tomb was given” mark that the plot was a gift. The abbreviation DD often accompanied this saying and translates to “by the decree of the decurions” or the town counsel. The tomb was a place to demonstrate wealth and prestige but was also a place for the family to visit and bring offerings.⁷² Unfortunately, in Ancyra many of the cemeteries were destroyed and the tombstones or monuments dismantled to rebuild the walls of the city during the middle ages.⁷³ Therefore, many of the epigraphic findings are incomplete due to the fragmentation and removal of the original monuments. That being said, the certain patterns in the epitaphs mark the stone as funerary and provide insights to the life of the deceased.

The dedicator of a funerary monument would not only carve the name of the deceased onto the stone but his own name also. Funerary monuments were a place that dedicators preserved and honored the memory of themselves and a loved one. Because of the Roman onomastic system, names, especially full Roman names, are especially useful insights into their lives. A single individual provides the name of their entire family, their father, their voting tribe,

⁶⁹ Galvao-Sobrinho, 1995, 448.

⁷⁰ Keppie, 2001, 98. For example, the phrase “in fronte pedes...” appears on many epitaphs specifically delineating the size of the plot.

⁷¹ Keppie, 2001, 99.

⁷² Keppie, 2001, 98.

⁷³ French and Mitchell, 2012, 25.

and any sisters, daughters, or freedmen or women they might have. With a large corpus, one can determine familial relationships between any number of individuals which might help track the prominent members of the town.⁷⁴ The deceased's name may appear in the nominative (as the subject of the epitaph), dative (the grave for someone), or in the genitive (the grave of someone).⁷⁵ The one who erected the stone usually included his or her name as well which could be in the nominative or ablative.⁷⁶ The deceased's name is often accompanied in inscriptions in the Latin West by the phrases *annorum* or *vixit annis* stating how many years the person lived.⁷⁷ Another phrase that might describe the dead is some form of *hic situs est* or *hic iacet* meaning "he/she lies here."⁷⁸ The Romans were also concerned about those who might disturb or destroy the tomb after death. Many epitaphs include a warning to respect the place of burial. In some cases, a curse or punishment is included along with the warning.⁷⁹ Finally, one of the most common tropes in funerary epigraphy are the letters "DM" the abbreviation for "dis manibus" or "to the spirits of the dead."⁸⁰ This phrase became popular in the mid first century CE and dominated the tombstones for the next few hundred years.⁸¹ These trends all describe the deceased and characterize the stone as funerary epigraphy.

In Ancyra, only some of the funerary epigraphic trends are consistent with those in Rome. Generally, they follow a similar template. However, since most of the inscriptions in the Ankara corpus are written in Greek, there are differences in convention and style. Ankara

⁷⁴ As well as tracking the prominent members of the city, one can track freedmen's social mobility, relative wealth of a family, and many more inferences.

⁷⁵ Keppie, 2001, 106.

⁷⁶ The one erecting the monument could do the action of erecting the monument or it could be done by them.

⁷⁷ Keppie, 2001, 107.

⁷⁸ Keppie, 2001 107. "Hic situs est" is often abbreviated "HSE."

⁷⁹ Keppie, 2001, 109.

⁸⁰ Keppie, 2001, 107.

⁸¹ Keppie, 2001, 107.

inscriptions are not simply Latin epigraphy translated into Greek. There are nuances in language and culture that diverge from the Roman standard. The structure of the epitaphs is often the same, as in the epitaph is written for the deceased by someone close to them. However, most stones do not include the “DM” because they are written in Greek. There are a few examples of Latin and bilingual funerary inscriptions which include “dis manibus” but they do not represent the majority.⁸² The most frequently used phrase in the funerary epigraphy is “μνήμης” or “in memory.” For example, inscription GLIA 286,

Τρε(β)ίω Δημο\ν(σ)τράτος μνήμης\ χάριω

“For Trebius Demonstratos, in memory.”

This inscription is one of the simplest in the entire corpus. It is partial, presumably the first few lines are missing from the stone, but the dimensions were not recorded. There is just a name in the dative and the words “μνήμης” and “χάριω.” This inscription is brief and typical of the corpus. “Μνήμης” is the cultural marker of the abbreviation “DM” in the frequency that it occurs. It signals a funerary inscription and is not as common in Latin inscriptions.⁸³ Likewise, “χάριω” is often written at the end of many Ankara inscriptions. It is from “χάρις” which literally means “grace,” or “kindness” but is so common that the editors often leave it untranslated.⁸⁴ Many of the Ankara inscriptions communicate with the viewer. Not only do they offer a farewell, but many offer a greeting of “Χαῖρε.” There are other nuances in the Ankara corpus compared to typical Latin inscriptions. Like the Latin inscriptions, many of the Ankara ones are

⁸² In these inscriptions (GLIA 207-226), instead of “dis manibus,” the phrase was “θεοῖς καταχρονίως” but was still not popular (GLIA 225). It is included in the Greek inscriptions with Latin formula. “DM” does appear but is rare in the corpus.

⁸³ “It” as in the Latin equivalent “in memoriam”

⁸⁴ *χάρις* ¹ *χαίρω* is the LSJ full entry.

also concerned with the preservation of the tomb. They too include warnings and consequences if the site is disturbed.

Women in Roman Imperial Inscriptions

The female presence in the epigraphy of Ankara will also be one of the primary points of analysis in the corpus. In the Roman period, the inscriptions that mention women whether actively or passively will be divided chronologically and graphed in the same twenty-five-year periods. They are also divided into the roles that women play in the epigraphy. Are they written by women for someone else, are they written for women, are women simply mentioned? All of these scenarios will be taken into account. Furthermore, the function that these inscriptions serve will be considered as well as the frequency that women are mentioned in each of the overall categories.

Of the three hundred and fifteen inscriptions in the Roman corpus, ninety-two include the name of a woman, nearly a third of the corpus. Precise dating is more difficult in these inscriptions because women could not hold offices like consul or governor.⁸⁵ Therefore, the editors relied heavily on stylistic and onomastic markers to date the inscriptions. That being said, I have graphed the inscriptions according to the dates that the editors assigned them in figure five. Besides chronologically, I divided the corpus of Ankara women in the Roman period into the commemorator and the commemorated, that is inscriptions written by women and for women. In a few of the examples, women dedicate inscriptions to other women.⁸⁶ The peak of Ankara women's inscriptions is earlier than the peak for the entire corpus of inscriptions in the

⁸⁵ There are several examples of women who held priesthoods which can be dated accurately.

⁸⁶ Mitchell and French, 2012, 1. Any mention of Iulia Augustus within the script of the *Res Gestae* will not be included in the analysis of female inscriptions. As the daughter of Augustus, she was an integral part of the imperial cult but not pertinent to an analysis of Ankara women.

Roman period. After the third period in the second century, there was a steady decline in inscriptions.

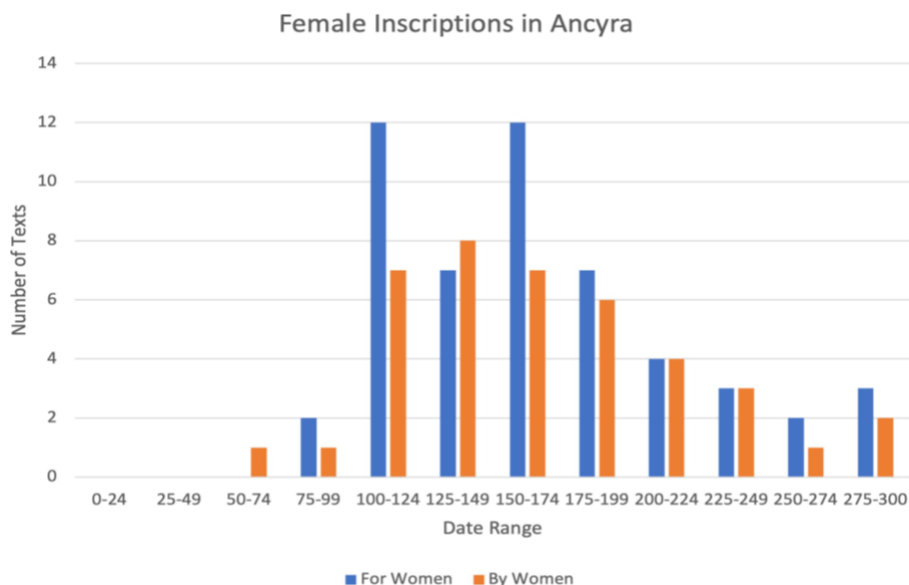


Figure Five

Unlike the total Roman corpus, there is a slight increase in the inscriptions of Ankara women at the end of the third century. However, the numbers are so small that the increase is not pertinent to the analysis of overall trends. Inscriptions written by Ankara women peak in the middle of the second century and then experience a steady decline. Inscriptions written for women have two separate peaks, one from 100-124 and the second from 150-174. Ankara women were most present in the second century CE.

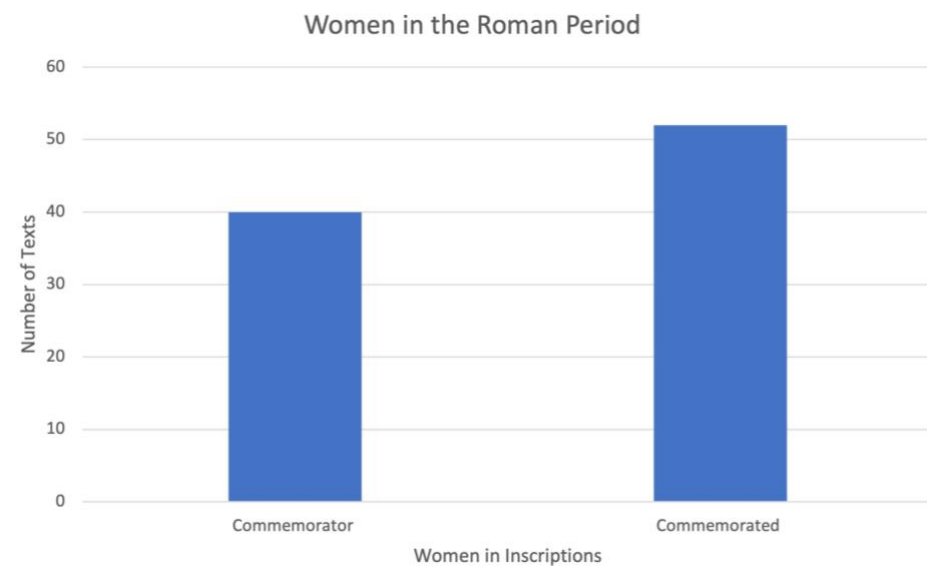


Figure Six

Figure six depicts the two categories of Ankara women's inscriptions in figure five. There are also four examples which were written by women and dedicated to other women. There are more epigraphic examples written and dedicated to women than commemorated by women (40 and 52). However, there are still a significant number of the latter. The Ankara women of the Roman corpus wrote a significant number of inscriptions. Women during the Roman period actively contributed to the Ankara epigraphic habit.

I divided the ninety-two inscriptions featuring women into three categories: funerary, honorific, and other. Most of the corpus is funerary, about 86% (figure seven). There are still a significant number of honorific inscriptions, either honoring women or women honoring a family member. Both are impressive when one considers the secondary role that women held in Ankara society. There are seventy-nine funerary inscriptions that mention a woman which is about half of the entire corpus of funerary inscriptions from Ankara during the Roman period. Even though women in Ankara inscriptions only comprise about a third of the total, they have much more of a definite presence in the realm of funerary epigraphy. Unsurprisingly, only ten percent of the

corpus is honorific, since women had few opportunities to serve as benefactresses. The other category includes religious, votive, and miscellaneous inscriptions that mention women.

Types of Female Inscriptions in Ancyra

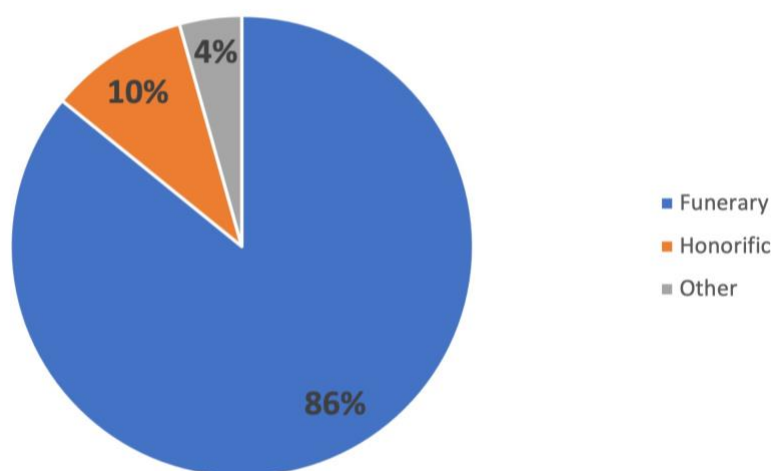


Figure Seven

Funerary Inscriptions for Women

Since an overwhelming number of inscriptions including women from this period are funerary, there is a significant amount of variation among the corpora. There will always be outliers in any set of inscriptions this size. There is a definite pattern among them and several general trends.

Women in Ancyra take a prominent role in the funerary inscriptions of the period. Of the ninety-two inscriptions during the Roman period that mention a woman, eighty-six percent were on tombstones. In Roman epigraphy in Italy, there is a stark difference between the epitaphs of men and women. In Latin epitaphs, women are “most often mentioned in relation to their family

and household.”⁸⁷ For Roman women, the household was their domain: “Literary texts and epitaphs clearly indicate that among writers and within families the domestically virtuous matron was the prevailing ideal of womanhood.”⁸⁸ Not only did they often not have the luxury of a career, but the ideal Roman woman was a good wife and mother. Therefore, in inscriptions, they are thought most often praised for virtues like “childbirth, housekeeping, chastity, and devotion to husband and family.”⁸⁹ Words *such as castitas, pietas, pudicitia, and lanificium* are used to describe women in the western empire on their epitaphs, and the inscriptions are usually a few lines shorter than the ones for men.⁹⁰ In Rome this matronly ideal prevailed and dominated funerary epigraphy. The idea of the matron occurred on funerary epigraphy as a prescriptive text. Funerary epigraphy did not just exist to preserve the memory of the dead but to communicate with the living. Even though Forbis’s argument concerns honorific inscriptions, her claim that the epigraphy has a twofold purpose remains true in the funerary realm. Inscriptions were dedicated to an individual but designed to be read by a passerby. Epigraphy is communicative. Therefore, the text should be considered accordingly.

The Ankara funerary inscriptions are typically descriptive. Most include just the names of the deceased and those who erected the monument, an adjective or two, and some of the funerary trends mentioned previously. Unless the man or woman was particularly significant, they did not receive a long or detailed epitaph. In this way, funerary epitaphs of men and women in Ancyra are similar to one another. GLIA 252 is a typical example of funerary epigraphy from the Roman period in Ankara. Stephanos commemorated his wife Demetria:

Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα \ ζτέφανος \ Δημητρία \ ἀγαθῆ συν-\βίω μνεία \ χάριν \ Εὐτὸχει

⁸⁷ Harvey, 2004, 127.

⁸⁸ Forbis, 1990, 494.

⁸⁹ Harvey, 2004, 127.

⁹⁰ Forbis, 1990, 493.

“Hello, passerby! / Stephanos/ for Demetria, / his good wife, / in memory. Be well!”

Conjugal relationships dominate the funerary epigraphy in the Roman period. The most common epigraphic example of an Ankara woman is a funerary inscription for a spouse. Here, the husband erects the monument for his wife. It begins by greeting the passerby with “Χαῖρε” and ends with the farewell “Εὐτὸχαι.” The words “μνεῖα” and “χαῖριν” immediately signal this as an epitaph.⁹¹ The husband’s name Stephanos is in the nominative followed by his wife’s name in the dative case. He describes her as “ἀγαθῆ” from “ἀγαθός” meaning good.⁹² The monument itself is an altar of grey limestone with the poorly carved inscription on one side. There is a dowel hole in the center of the stone which the editors suggest may have been for a bust instead of a statue.⁹³ The length of this epitaph and monument is also consistent with most funerary epigraphy during the Roman period in Ancyra. The script itself is less legible than the average funerary inscription, even after taking the later damage to the stone into account.

Stephanos praises Demetria as a *κυβίω* or “spouse,” a term that is non gender specific. He memorializes her as a loyal spouse instead of a good wife. The word fuels connotations of a joyous conjugal relationship. There is no mention of children which could suggest that she died without them. However, in Ancyra funerary inscriptions are concise, and funerary ones emphasize conjugal relationships above others.

Ankara women were not just restricted to receiving funerary monuments. Wives commonly erected monuments to their husbands. In inscription GLIA 232, Aperantis erects a grave monument for her husband Ampelius:

⁹¹“μνεῖα , ἦ” meaning remembrance or commemoration and common in epitaphs, especially later ones. The epitaphs usually end with “χαῖριν.” LSJ.

⁹² Greek dictionary, LSJ.

⁹³ French and Mitchell, 2012, 439.

Ἀπεραντίς Ἀμπελίῳ συνβίῳ γλυκυτάτῳ μνήμης χάριν ἐτίθει δὲ μέσον Ἀμπλίου καὶ
Ἀπ γείου

“Aperantis for Ampelius (her) sweetest husband in memory; and it stands between (the graves) of Ampelius and Argeius.”

It should be noted that Aperantis and Ampelius only provide one name. If the corpus were more centrally located in the empire, a single name could signify enslavement. However, Roman citizenship was rare in the provinces especially during the early Roman period. One name most likely suggests that this couple lacked Roman citizenship. Regardless of her status, Aperantis describes her “spouse” or *συνβίῳ* as *γλυκυτάτῳ* translating to “sweetest.” Again, the commentator describes his/her companion with a term of endearment. The phrase is one of familiarity and conjugal fondness. Though GLIA 232 is longer than the previous example, the only other detail provided in this inscription is the tomb’s location.

Aside from the addition of the last two lines, the epitaphs are very similar. The recipient’s name is in the dative, the commemorator is in the nominative, a form of *μνήμης* and *χάριν* are present. Instead of *ἀγαθός* her husband is *γλυκυτάτῳ*. This inscription in form is typical of both men and women and emphasizes the strength of their relationship. The vast majority of the Ankara women’s corpus during the Roman period features inscriptions like the previous two. Based on the frequency of these inscriptions, Ankarans prioritized the relationship between husband and wife above other familial connections. The word *συνβίῳ*, appearing in many of the examples, prevents gendered statements and emphasizes the life shared between a husband and wife. In this way, the Ankara corpus does not provide any prescriptive behaviors for women, such as the matronly trope emphasis in some Roman examples. Instead, Ankara epigraphy

depicts the fondness of conjugal unions and seems to encourage a close relationship with one's spouse.

Women did not just dedicate inscriptions to their husbands. In several examples, they erect monuments for their children, particularly infants.⁹⁴ In two of the inscriptions, the parents, both named, dedicated a tombstone to their daughter. Even though both parents erected this monument, it should still be considered a monument set up by and for a woman. Dion and Eirene dedicated this monument in conjunction with one another. A conjunctive dedication further supports the importance of conjugal relationships without diminishing the contributions of the wife. Her name ensures the strength of her presence and her active role in dedicating the monument. For example, in GLIA 254, the parents erect a monument for their daughter:

Δίων καὶ Εἰρήνη Διονυσιάδι θυγατρὶ μνήμης χάριν

“Dion and Eirene for Dionysias, their daughter, in memory.”

The monument itself is decorated with an agriculture scene suggesting that this may have been a family that relied on farming for their livelihood.⁹⁵ Of course, it could always be a stylistic choice, but the lack of Roman citizenship supports the conjecture that they were not upper class. Parents dedicating an inscription to their daughter is common within the corpus. However, this inscription and GLIA 256 are significant because they name all three people. Other examples in the corpus only name one or two of the people. The presence of the names of both women emphasizes their role in the inscription. Eirene actively participates in the dedication and Dionysias's memory is better preserved.

⁹⁴ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 254 and 256.

⁹⁵ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 254.

Ankara women did not just dedicate monuments in conjunction with or for their husbands. In inscription GLIA 230, Aelia Tatia erected a funerary monument for herself. The text, only a few lines long, does not specify much more beyond her autonomous dedication:

Αιλία Τατία\ ζῶσα ἐαθ\τῆ κατασκευάσεν

“Aelia Tatia while living constructed (this monument) for herself.”

Aelia Tatia was a Roman citizen and evidently a woman of some wealth to set this monument up for herself. Her *gentilicium* “Aelia” is derived from the Emperor Hadrian’s full name Publius Aelius Hadrianus.⁹⁶ In total, there are forty-two people in the corpus who bear the *gentilicium* Aelia or Aelius.⁹⁷ Emperor Hadrian visited Ancyra at least twice “first as a commander serving on the Parthian expedition of his adopted father Trajan in CE 113 and again in the first few weeks after his accession to power in CE 117.”⁹⁸ Many leading Ankarans gained citizenship after the imperial visit. The name Aelius becomes so common in inscriptions that it is often abbreviated. Since Roman women take their father’s *gentilicium* and it is unlikely that Hadrian awarded citizenship to a woman, Hadrian must have granted citizenship to her father. Stylistically, the editors date the monument to the second century CE which would place Aelia Tatia within a generation of the gift of Roman citizenship.⁹⁹

Aelia Tatia was evidently a woman of some wealth since she erected this tomb ἐαθτῆ κατασκευάσεν during her lifetime. The construction of one's tomb, especially for a woman, was not just a display of wealth but a source of pride. In her lifetime, she was able to accrue enough wealth¹⁰⁰ to build herself a tomb. Aelia Tatia was a remarkable woman within the Ankara

⁹⁶ *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Emperor Hadrian.

⁹⁷ French and Mitchell, *Index of names*, Volume I, 2012.

⁹⁸ French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012, 21. Inscription GLIA 81 is primary evidence of this visit.

⁹⁹ In other words, it is not her grandfather or great grandfather who received Hadriatic citizenship.

¹⁰⁰ Or inherit enough wealth.

corpus. She is the only woman in the entire corpus to construct a monument solely for herself. She described herself with four short lines which convey the action of constructing the tomb. Her brief dedication reveals much about her status in Ankara and the position she must have held in society.

Even though Aelia Tatia may be the only Ankara woman to build a tomb for only her use, there are other women that dedicated and constructed a funerary monument. Trebia Iulia, a doctor, erected a monument for her family in GLIA 285:

Τρε Ίουλια ἰατρινὴ ζῶσα φρονοῦσα\ κατεσκεύασα τὸ περιφραγμα ἑαθτῆ\ καὶ Αἰλ Ἀγαθῆ
 μᾶμμη καὶ Αἰλ Πωσφο\ ρίδι μητρὶ καὶ Στατωρίῳ Γαίου πάππῳ\ καὶ Αἰλ Λεωνίδα ἀνδρὶ καὶ μετὰ
 τὸ\ ἐμὲ κατατεθῆναι παρορ(κ)ίζω μηδένα ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐπισεωέγκαι ἕτερον\ σῶμα ἐὰν δέ τις
 τολμήσει τῷ ταμείῳ δώσει\ μύρια πεντακισχίλια.

I, Trebia Iulia, a doctor, while living and sound of mind, constructed the enclosure for myself and for Aelia Agathe, (my) grandmother, and for Aelia Posphoris, mother, and for Statorius, son of Gaius, grandfather, and for Aelius Leonidas, husband, and after my being deposited in the tomb, I adjure that no one shall have the authority to introduce another body. If anyone dares do so, they shall pay the public treasury 5000 denarii.

Trebia Iulia, like Aelia Tatia, was wealthy enough to erect her own funerary monument. The editors suggest that the word *ἰατρινὴ* is not part of Trebia Iulia's name but her occupation deriving from the word *ἰατῆρ* or "doctor."¹⁰¹ Mitchell and French claim that the study of medicine became popular amongst the Ankara elite.¹⁰² However, the word, because it is a feminine form, could refer to a midwife. There is a long-standing tradition in eastern empire of

¹⁰¹ LSJ, Perseus.

¹⁰² French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012.

women serving in this capacity and even drifting into the sphere of the male doctors at times.¹⁰³ In his article, Laes claims that the word *μαῖαι* is most often used in inscriptions to refer to a midwife.¹⁰⁴ Laes cites one inscription that uses the word *ιατρόμια*.¹⁰⁵ Midwives did not usually hold a high status in antiquity.¹⁰⁶ The use of a word like *ιατρική* or *ιατρόμια* might imply an elevated status. In some form, Trebia Iulia participated in the medical profession and had enough money and influence to erect a tomb for herself and her relatives.

By constructing this monument, Trebia Iulia demonstrated her status in Ankara. However, Aelia Tatia did not provide the names of any relatives. Because of the Roman onomastic structure, the names of her relatives will reveal even more about status and personal familial relationships. First, everyone in this inscription is a Roman citizen because they all have two names. Typically, Roman daughters take their father's *gentilicium* and cognomen. Trebia Iulia specified many of the relationships herself which are especially helpful since female familial relations are difficult to determine. Figure eight is a potential family tree for Trebia Iulia.

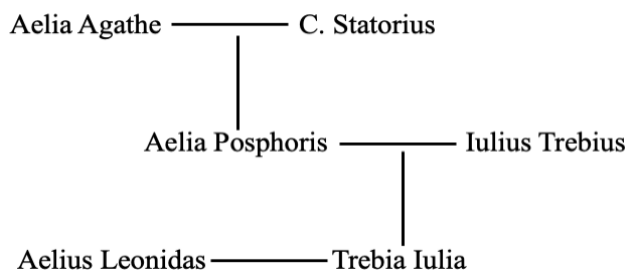


Figure Eight

The names in this inscription stray from the usual formula of Roman nomenclature, so there are a few possibilities for the family tree. I assumed the most likely scenario was Iulia

¹⁰³ Demand, 2004, 67.

¹⁰⁴ Laes, 2011, 154.

¹⁰⁵ Laes, 2011, 162.

¹⁰⁶ Laes, 2011, 156.

Trebia named her mother Aelia Posphoris and her maternal grandmother Aelia Agathe. I also assumed that her grandfather C. Statorius was her maternal grandfather and married to Aelia Agathe. Aelia Posphoris would be the daughter of Aelia Agathe and C. Statorius. If this is true, then Aelia Posphoris inherited her mother's *gentilicium* instead of her father's. Even though this strays from Roman onomastic tradition, it seems more likely than the other scenario, in which Aelia Agathe and C. Statorius are Trebia Iulia's paternal grandparents. I derived her father's name Iulius Trebius from Iulia Trebia's name. C. Statorius and Aelia Agathe cannot be the parents of Iulius Trebius because neither one has the *gentilicium* Trebius, the name of an influential family in Ancyra¹⁰⁷ mentioned in four other inscriptions.¹⁰⁸ Aelia Posphoris may have retained her mother's name because it afforded her a higher status within Ankara.

Trebia Iulia's father was likely related to the Hadrian legate of Galatia, C. Trebius Sergianus, mentioned in GLIA 141. In that inscription, he attends Hadrian's *mystikos agon*, a competition and festival granted to Ankara by the emperor, in 128 CE.¹⁰⁹ The *gentilicium* Trebius, instead of Aelius, and the relation to a provincial governor suggest that Trebia Iulia belonged to one of the older Roma families in Ankara. They were citizens prior to Hadrian's visit and his generous gifts of citizenship. Trebia Iulia's influential family enabled her to be educated in the medical field and construct a tomb. Unfortunately, Trebia Iulia gives no explanation to the absence of her father's name or inclusion in burial. As a member of one of the city's most important families, he might have had his own tomb or died earlier.

The name Aelia, common in so many of the inscriptions from the period, is the indication of Hadrian's gift of citizenship. All three are abbreviated. When Hadrian passed through Ancyra,

¹⁰⁷ French and Mitchell, 2012, 194, The name Trebius derives from C. Trebius Sergianus, a governor of Galatia from 127/8-129/30 CE.

¹⁰⁸ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 41, 286, 77, and 141.

¹⁰⁹ French and Mitchell, 2012, 312.

he did not just award citizenship to prominent men in Ancyra, but to the leading families.¹¹⁰ The inscription is dated circa 200 CE. If the date is accurate, then Aelia Agathe's father, who would be Trebia Iulia's great grandfather, was most likely the first one to receive citizenship from Hadrian.

Trebia Iulius's husband, like her mother and grandmother, has the *gens* Aelius. However, he is likely not from the same family as her mother and grandmother. They share the same *gentilicium* because Hadrian granted so many leading families citizenship during his visit.

The last few lines of the inscription are relatively typical of funerary inscriptions of the period. The epigraph concludes with a warning that is often a curse in other examples.¹¹¹ However, her warning is specifically to anyone who might bury a body within her family tomb after her death and threatens a hefty fine. As a member of a leading family and the constructor of a lavish tomb, the gravesite likely would have been protected by other members of the family after her death.

Trebia Iulia emphasizes the matriarchal structure of her family. She expressly states their relationship to her. She begins with her grandmother Aelia Agathe. She provides her name and relationship then names her mother. Within the family itself, there seemed to be an emphasis on the matriarchal structure. Aelia Posphoris inherited her mother's name even though her father was a Roman citizen. This occurrence is extremely rare in the Ankara corpus.¹¹² If men were Roman citizens, their daughters inherited their *gentilicium*. Hadrian's name might have afforded Aelia Posphoris a great deal more prestige than her father's name. Regardless of the reason, the name passed maternally, and Trebia Iulia emphasized it by naming both women first. Especially

¹¹⁰ French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012, 22.

¹¹¹ Or a prayer that the gods punish anyone who damages the grave.

¹¹² I have found no other examples.

in funerary monuments, Ankarans praised the conjugal relationship in epigraphy. Opposing the trend, Trebia Iulia names her grandmother, mother, grandfather, and lastly her husband.¹¹³ Trebia Iulia was descended from two remarkable women. Her mother and grandmother superseded Roman naming conventions in favor of retaining Hadrian's *gentilicium*. With the help of the emperor, Aelia Agathe was able to pass her name to her daughter, preserving her memory and honoring the gift of Hadrian. Trebia Iulia was a wealthy and influential woman descended from a line of revolutionary matriarchs.

Trebia Iulia's lineage and noble status enabled her to construct this tomb for herself and her family and afford an education in the medical profession. Unlike Aelia Tatia, she provides a description for herself: *ζῶσα φρονοῦσα* or "while living" and "of sound mind." *φρονοῦσα* is from the verb *φρονέω* meaning "to think, to have understanding, to be sage, wise prudent."¹¹⁴ With this word, she emphasizes her intellect and capability as a physician and matriarch. She describes herself as *Ζῶσα* because she was the active dedicator of the monument. Descended from a line of empowered women, Trebia Iulia defied social norms by constructing a tomb for herself and her family, accentuating her female lineage, and praising her intellectual qualities.

Ankara women actively participated in the funerary epigraphy from the Roman period. They are most present in conjugal inscriptions which emphasize the close relationship between husband and wife. The descriptions are not usually gender specific. Aelia Tatia and Trebia Iulia are the only two women in the corpus that constructed funerary monuments for themselves. The brevity of Aelia Tatia's inscription further highlights her active role in constructing her own tomb. Trebia Iulia's inscription not only communicates her active role as a dedicator but as an

¹¹³ It is possible that the family is named in order of burial. However, the editors recorded a neat script on marble that would have been written at once. She might have commissioned the grave cover after the death of her grandmother, but the order of the names was likely chosen intentionally.

¹¹⁴ LSJ

educated woman and commanding matriarch. She constructed the tomb for her entire family without the financial support of her father. She characterizes herself as a doctor and praises her own intellect. Ankara women were not only prominent in funerary inscriptions numerically but played an active role in dedicating the inscriptions.

Honorific Inscriptions Written for Women

Ten percent of the inscriptions of Ankara women during the Roman period are honorific. Considering the lack of opportunities for women to make an impactful donation to the city, there are a significant number of honorific inscriptions. Unexpectedly, the imperial dedications are mostly void of references to women save one inscription. Inscription number eight in the GLIA is an imperial dedication most likely to the emperor Antonius Pius dating anywhere from 144-161 CE.¹¹⁵ The sixty-eight line inscription presumably began with the imperial name and titles of the emperor, but unfortunately, the first part of the marble stele no longer exists.¹¹⁶ After the names of the emperor, several dozen people appear including the governor, *Ἀλφίου Μαζίμου*, the high priest *Μ. Παπυρίου Μοντάνου*, and Claudia Balbina the younger or *σεβαστοφαντούσης Κλ. Βαλβείνης νεωτέρας*.¹¹⁷ Her name is the only female name in the entirety of the inscription. Claudia's position, transliterated as *sebastophant*, is one of the three foremost roles in the imperial cult.

Although the duties of the *sebastophant* are debated, it was no doubt an important religious position and closely related to the chief priest and hierophant.¹¹⁸ The editors speculate that Claudia Balbina the younger might have belonged to a leading Ankara family with royal and

¹¹⁵ Mitchell and French, 2012, GLIA 8. The editors date the inscription to his reign based on the dedication based on the fourth consulship of the emperor and the name of the governors in the inscription. There is still some debate over the emperor because the name is missing.

¹¹⁶ Keppie, 2001, 42.

¹¹⁷ GLIA 8, lines 8-1.

¹¹⁸ Pleket, 1965, 339.

Roman ties.¹¹⁹ GLIA 80 mentions another Claudia Balbina, who was a descendant of royalty and a member of the senatorial class. Based on the earlier date proposed by the editors¹²⁰ and the addition of the adjective “νεωτέρα” or “younger” to her name, the woman might be the older Claudia Balbina’s relative, possibly a younger sister or niece.

The editors claim that Claudia Balbina the younger might be the daughter of Claudia Balbina, the elder, and Claudius Arrianus.¹²¹ Regardless of her exact relation to Claudia Balbina, the elder, she is related to prominent men and women of Ancyra’s elite. Her social standing might explain in part her position as a *sebastophant* and the only woman leading the activities of the imperial cult. This inscription alone demonstrates that there were powerful and influential women in Ancyra during the Roman period.

Honorific inscriptions of the Ankaran women make up a little less than 9% of the total number of honorific inscriptions during the Roman period. Since the women did not have a career or their own money, were unable to perform philanthropic deeds for the city and in turn receive honorific monuments. For a woman to act as a benefactress, she usually had to belong to an influential family. As the corpus has already shown, the wealthy women in Ancyra feature prominently in the inscriptions. During the Roman period, there are nine honorific inscriptions commemorating women either for their heritage, gifts to the city, or patronage. Of those, eight women are expressly praised as descendants from prominent families. Only one of the nine honorific inscriptions is written by a woman.

One inscription, GLIA 106, is an honorific monument erected by Flaviane Smaragdis, a freedwoman, for her master Gaius Flavianus Sulpicius. Her *gentilicium* and use of the word

¹¹⁹ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 8.

¹²⁰ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 80, 115-130 CE.

¹²¹ GLIA 80.

πάτρωνα which is the Greek transliteration of the Latin word *patrona*. This is the only inscription in the corpus that uses this word to refer to a woman.

One of them, GLIA 159, is written by a woman named Octavia Melpomene for her adopted mother, presumably the wife of a Roman military officer. Of the nine inscriptions, it is the only one written by a woman, Octavia Melpomene “nutric” whose name is lost, and the only one written in Latin:

[- -] Ti Cl Candidi tribuni le[g] XV/ Apollin Oct Melpomene/ nutric eae h c

“[- - -, wife] *Of Tiberius Claudius Candidus, tribune of legio XV/ Apollinaris, Octavia Melpomene/ to her nurse in honor.*”

Octavia Melpomene dedicates this inscription to honor her nurse who remains unnamed. Her two-part name demonstrates that she is a Roman citizen.¹²² The inscription is partial, evidently damaged by waterlogged soil, and unfortunately does not include all the names.¹²³ The word “nutric” is unusual and could mean nurse. Since the name of the dedicatee is missing, there is only so much to infer except that wealthy women were not typically nurses. However, the husband was a man of some importance in the Roman military as a tribune. The editors date the inscription to either the first or second century based on the military unit mentioned.¹²⁴ The inscription is written in Latin which is unusual for the Ankara corpus but not the Roman military. Most of the inscriptions of the Roman military or for military officials were written in Latin which might explain the use of the language here. The most Latin inscriptions in the Ankara corpus are from the military category

¹²² Octavia is not usually abbreviated, suggesting the *gens* might have been common.

¹²³ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 159. The text itself no longer exists.

¹²⁴ Mann, 1983, 152. The Legio XV Apollinaris was a military unit stationed at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior under the Flavian emperors and moved to the northernmost fortress on the frontier of the Euphrates after Trajan’s campaign to Satala, Cappadocia from 120 AD on. The legion is present in four centuries of Ankara inscriptions. The date originates from the time that the legion was nearest to Ancyra.

The final letters of the text, namely “h c” identify this text as an honorific inscription. They stand for *honoris causa* which literally translates to “cause for honor.” Therefore, partial inscription was likely on a statue base, as was common for most honorific examples. The rarity of a woman honored in the epigraphic corpus cannot be understated. However, it is even less likely that a woman would have the ability and social standing to commemorate another woman with an honorific monument. It is probable that the woman being honored belongs to the Ankara elite.¹²⁵ Without the rest of the inscription, it is impossible to conjecture at the events which precipitated this honorific monument. Regardless of the specifics, she must have performed a great service to Octavia to receive such a monument.

Octavia Melpomene too must have been of some higher social standing or financial stability, possibly given to her by her adopted mother, to erect an honorific monument. Like the inscription of Claudia Balbina, this example demonstrates the influence that certain women in Ankara held. One can assume that this woman was part of the aristocracy based on the criteria for honorific inscriptions. If this is true, then women within the elite of Ankara not only held important ritual positions like the sebastophant but were influential enough to erect and receive honorific monuments.

The other seven inscriptions in this corpus name powerful and influential woman in the city. Again, Claudia Balbina’s inscription is included in the honorific inscriptions from the Roman imperial period. After examining the inscriptions, the *gentilicium* Claudius appears as belonging to a leading family in Ancyra. Claudia Aquilla is another member of this *gentilicium* and has two honorific inscriptions, GLIA 78 and 79, dedicated to her in 114 CE.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Also referred to as Galatian.

¹²⁶ The date is from the phylarch mentioned at the end of the inscription.

Κλ. Ἀκυλλίαν\ ἀρχιερείαν\ ἀπόγονον βα\ σιλέων θυγατέ\ ρα τῆς μητροπό\ λεως γθναῖκα\ Ἰουλίου Σεουή\ ρου τοῦ πρώτου\ τῶν Ἑλλήνων\ ὑπερβαλοῦσαν [ἐ\ πιδόσεσι καὶ φ[ι]\ [λ]οτειμίας φθλή\ [Π]ακαληωῆ β' τὴν ἰδίαν\ [εὐ]εργέτιν ἐτίμησεν φυ\ [λ]αρχοῦωτος Οὐάπου\ Λογίοθ

“Claudia Aquilla, the high priestess, descendant of kings, daughter of the metropolis, wife of Iulius Severus, the first among the Greeks outstanding for her donations and benefactions. The second tribe of Pakalene honored its benefactress, when the phylarch was Varus son of Logios.”

The monument the text was inscribed on is a rectangular limestone block which the editors suggest pairs with a statue base commemorating Iulius Severus, Claudia Aquilla’s husband.¹²⁷ GLIA 79 matches this text exactly except it is damaged after line nine and thus is missing the tribal dedication. The only difference may have been she was honored by a different tribe of the city. Instead of the praising Claudia Aquilla for her role as a wife or a mother,¹²⁸ she is given an honorary title *θυγατέρα τῆς μητροπόλεως* or “daughter of the city.” This title was reserved for the most influential women and appears in very few inscriptions. She is also referred to as *ἀρχιερεία* or “high priestess.”¹²⁹ Like Claudia Balbina and Trebia Iulia, she held a position. It was uncommon for women to have careers but as seen in these three inscriptions, those who were particularly influential, or wealthy were allowed much more freedom. Also, the text emphasizes her royal ancestry with the phrase *ἀπόγονον βασιλέων* or “descended from kings.” Her husband’s name is included but his own achievements are not.¹³⁰

She is honored by the tribe for her role as a benefactress, not as a woman. It is also important to note that there are two of these honorific texts that commemorate her, potentially

¹²⁷ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 78.

¹²⁸ Based on GLIA 77, she has a son Iulius Severus the younger.

¹²⁹ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 78. The editors claim that she might have received her title of high priestess from her husband.

¹³⁰ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 78. Even though they might have been on the monument.

erected by two tribes. Claudia Aquilla was a leading woman in Ankara partially due to her kingly heritage but also because of her willingness to support this tribe with her resources. She was wealthy in her own right and married an influential man who was also a member of the aristocracy.¹³¹ She held the position of high priestess and received honorary titles from the city for her gifts. Her inscription mirrors many of the other honorific inscriptions to members of Ancyra's leading class except that she did not hold a political office. However, she has reached the equivalent in civic prestige. This inscription demonstrates Ancyra's willingness to honor influential women. It is telling that there is no mention of her children in the inscription or commentary on her role as a wife to Iulius Severus. According to inscription GLIA 77, she had at least a son, Iulius Severus the younger who later held political office. It is possible but unlikely that this inscription was erected before she bore any children. Therefore, the text should be considered as one that praises a leading woman in Ankara society for her benefactions, heritage, and role in society.

Ankara and Epigraphy in Late Antiquity

Late Antique Epigraphy in Ancyra

The Late Antique or Christian period includes the fifth and sixth centuries. Over these two centuries, Ancyra produced one hundred and thirty-one inscriptions, which is a little less than half of the inscriptions during the Roman period but four times the number of inscriptions in the Transitional period. By the fifth century, the epigraphic habit was firmly reestablished in Ancyra. However, the corpus is unlike any other in Ancyra because almost all its inscriptions are funerary. I have chosen to analyze the inscriptions of the Christian period before the Transitional period so that I might track changes during the Intermediate period. Epigraphy transformed and

¹³¹ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 76. He was also of noble birth and lists a great many achievements.

was reinvented during the Intermediate period. To examine the gradual transformation, one should first understand the later corpus of inscriptions, that is the Late Antique corpus.

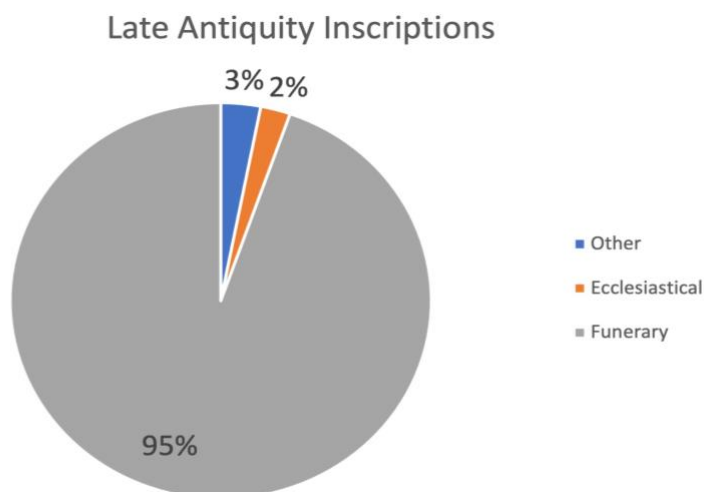


Figure Nine

Of the one hundred and thirty-one inscriptions, three are ecclesiastical. They include a stone basin, possibly for baptismal purposes and church boundary stones inscribed with the names of saints.¹³² The other four inscriptions are outliers in the corpus. One is a votive inscription for the recovery of a child.¹³³ Another is a monogram.¹³⁴ One is an inscription that claims Ancyra as the city of the mother of God. The last one is a 45-line inscription describing figures in the Christian Old and New Testament.¹³⁵ The remaining inscriptions are all funerary.

Structure of Christian Epitaphs

The epigraphy in Late Antiquity becomes fundamentally different from the earliest inscriptions. The time of the Roman epigraphic formula is over. There is a striking shift in the epigraphy. The epigraphy of the Late Antique period is of a much lower quality than the other

¹³² French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 342 and 346/346bis.

¹³³ GLIA 338.

¹³⁴ GLIA 341

¹³⁵ GLIA 347, 348, 349 all count as one inscription.

two corpuses. In Ankara, the script is inconsistent and illegible at times. There are still marble and stone grave covers, but they are not as formulaic or intricate in appearance as the earlier examples. There are also a significant number of clay and terracotta tiles with epitaphs carved into them. Galvao-Sobrinho claims that the poor quality of the inscriptions does not represent a decline in society because there is evidence of many fine craftsmen and architecture.¹³⁶ Instead, he suggests that the people erecting the monuments did not have the same access to these craftsmen. The poorer classes might have been responsible for the resurgence of the epigraphic habit.

In the Roman period corpus and in Roman epigraphy in general, much of the epigraphy is honorific in nature. To clarify, I have so far defined an honorific inscription as one that is erected for the specific purpose of demonstrating gratitude or bestowing an honor on an individual. Heirs and the local government often set up these monuments.¹³⁷ They were designed to be viewed, admired, and interacted with. There was a public audience for these honorific inscriptions which faded in the late third century and then disappeared altogether. Furthermore, the funerary epitaphs from the Roman period¹³⁸ also display this exhibitionist tendency. Meyer in her discussion Roman epigraphy's "obligation to commemorate" claims that: "A typical Roman funerary inscription does not simply name the deceased, or even just add to this his or her age and achievements. Instead, the name of the person erecting the inscription, the commemorator, is

¹³⁶ Galvao-Sobrinho, 1995, 453. He claims that stone became less of a status symbol and that the lower class were partially responsible for the resurgence of the epigraphic habit.

¹³⁷ In Ankara, the Galatian tribes constructed most of them. They are suspected to be accompanied with a statue or other public monument.

¹³⁸ In Ancyra, but also in the early empire in Rome.

also added in approximately eighty percent of the sample from the western Roman empire.”¹³⁹

All this to say, the previous funerary examples from Ancyra demonstrate the Roman necessity to commemorate.

In this new iteration, the most striking characteristic is the lack of variety among the inscriptions. In the Roman period, the inscriptions had a variety of functions such as imperial, funerary, honorific, and votive. In contrast, ninety-five percent of the Late Antiquity period inscriptions are funerary epitaphs. This is not unique to Ancyra. In his article “Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West,” Galvao-Sobrinho reaffirms this epigraphic shift in the city of Rome: “In marked contrast with the earlier record for the principate, the Christian sample suggests that in late antiquity the epigraphic habit was limited to epitaphs.”¹⁴⁰ This trend was not specifically Ankara but instead affected many cities in the empire. Much like the original epigraphic habit, this transition spreads throughout the Roman world. Comparing the Roman and the Late Antique periods of Ancyra provides data which demonstrates the drastic change to just funerary epitaphs. For instance, in the Roman period, over three centuries, there were one hundred and sixty-one epitaphs compared to the Late Antique period’s one hundred and twenty-four inscriptions over just two centuries. The number of epitaphs has increased from the Roman period and all other types of inscriptions are virtually nonexistent. The lack of any honorific examples in Late Antiquity signifies a distinct shift in the purpose of inscriptions.

¹³⁹ Meyer, 1990, 75. Meyer adds that this statistic is from a study by Richard Saller and Brent Shaw.

¹⁴⁰ Galvao-Sobrinho, 1995, 445.

The most common adherence to this trend in Ancyra is the high percentage of both male and female commemorators. In nearly half of the Roman period's female corpus, women act as the commemorators. This is not common in other parts of the empire and demonstrates the role of women in commemoration and the importance of the practice socially. In many examples of Roman epigraphy, accomplishments, political positions, and occupations are included in the epitaphs.¹⁴¹ However, the Ankara corpus differs in that only the most influential members of the city received such treatment and overall, the inscriptions are a little more succinct than the Roman samples.

As previously stated, most of the epigraphy of the fifth and sixth centuries is funerary in nature. But they adhere to a vastly different set of trends. One of these is the lack of the commemorator; in the Late Antique corpus, only one inscription includes the name of a commemorator.¹⁴² The complete lack of a commemorator is a drastic shift from the Roman and even the transitional period between the Empire and late antiquity. The commemorator was such an integral part of the Roman formula that its disappearance deviates from the commemorative nature of the Roman period inscriptions. Therefore, epigraphy during the fifth and sixth centuries serves another purpose. To continue, full Roman names also cease to exist in the Late Antique period. Galvao-Sobrinho suggests that this is partially due to Caracalla's decree of 212 which gave Roman citizenship to all free Roman men in the empire.¹⁴³ Before this decree, Roman citizenship was an influential status symbol that would be included on commemorative

¹⁴¹ Harvey, 2004, 4.

¹⁴² GLIA 426 was written by anonymous parents for their unnamed child.

¹⁴³ Galvao-Sobrinho, 1995, 452, Edict of Caracalla.

epigraphy. However, once everyone gained citizenship, there was not the same desire to flaunt the full Roman name, specifically the *gentilicium*. Also, in provincial cities like Ancyra, many people had the same *gentilicium* and it was less necessary to mention in epigraphy.

This is likely true in other parts of the empire, but the onset in Ancyra is late. The Roman name is still prominent through the mid third century and appears in most inscriptions in the transitional period. It was not until the fifth and sixth centuries that the *tria nomina*, representing the full nomenclature of a Roman citizen, disappeared from the epigraphy. Instead of presenting two or three names, only the cognomen, or personal name, appears in inscriptions. Many of the cognomina from the Roman period are Greek in origin. This holds true for the Intermediate and Late Antique periods, but in these later periods Jewish and Christian names also become common.

Ankara inscriptions display a desire to communicate with their audience. These inscriptions are written to be read and admired. Addressing the passerby encourages an interaction or dialogue between the inscription and the audience which further supports Meyer's claim of Roman epigraphy as commemorative. This is not to say that the Romans were the first or only people to add the name of the commemorator to an inscription. However, during this period, these general trends spread rapidly with the expansion of the empire. Overall, the Ankara examples also display this trend during the Roman imperial period, but this drastically changes in the fifth century.

There were a host of reasons that the epigraphic habit disappeared in the transitional period in Ancyra, but Christianity was responsible for a resurgence in the fifth and sixth centuries. Of the one hundred and thirty-one inscriptions recovered and dated to this period, all

but one are overtly and explicitly Christian.¹⁴⁴ Christianity, a relatively young religion, sought definition and the appeasement of Christian ideology. One of the stylistic changes in epigraphy in the Late Antique period is the shift from *hic iacet* to *hic requiescit* of the Greek and a parallel shift in Greek epitaphs from *ἐνθάδε κατάκειται* to *ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται*.¹⁴⁵ Eternal life after death is the most significant ideological difference between the Roman religion and Christianity. In epitaphs, Christians displayed their belief in a life after death through phrases like *hic requiescit* or the Greek *ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται*. As Brent Shaw has explained: “This image of life-after-death was one shared with some 'pagan' beliefs and, perhaps, more directly with certain Jewish conceptions. But Christians went much further in developing a clear and concrete vision of an actual life-in-the-body to be lived in a vital after-life.”¹⁴⁶ *Hic iacet* and *hic requiescit* demonstrate the belief in life after death. The burial place is a temporary resting place where the Christian sleeps until the second coming of Christ.

Another Christian feature of epigraphy during late antiquity is incorporation/inclusion of the date of death. Some epitaphs in the Roman period included the age of the deceased at death but not the date that it occurred. In this way, the tombstones of the Late Antique period have a more modern feel with both their brevity and the inclusion of the date of death. As previously stated, confidence in the resurrection of the body was a relatively new belief. Shaw suggests that, “Christian rhetoric was marked by an ironic reversal (typical of many rebellious ideologies)

¹⁴⁴ There is a declaration of Christianity, Christian symbolism, or the mention of Christ, God, or Mary.

¹⁴⁵ French and Mitchell, Volume I, 2012, 13. Other normalized spellings of the phrase are “Ἐνθάδε κεῖται, ἔνθα κατάκειται, ἔνθα κεῖται.”

¹⁴⁶ Shaw, 1996, 102. “Reflected in the very name of their place of burial, *coemeterium*: derived from the Greek it meant 'a place of sleep'”

which asserted that death was actually the point of birth into life.”¹⁴⁷ He goes on to explain that many Christian examples of epitaphs even include language conflating death with life. Though this is not the case in Ancyra, the date of death does begin to appear in the Transitional period and becomes standard in the fifth and sixth centuries

The Roman period in Ancyra did not have any epigraphy with the date of death, but there were several examples with the lifespan. Shaw states that in Rome, the lifespan remained on epitaphs and the Christians simply added the date of death.¹⁴⁸ However, in Ancyra the practice was not prolific in the Roman period and had disappeared altogether by the fifth century. The date of death for the early Christians represented the day of their induction into eternal life with Christ.¹⁴⁹ The mortal world and thus the burial place is not the end of life. GLIA 408, for example, commemorates a man named Theodotus and includes his date of death:

Ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεόδωρος ὁ πάντων φίλος ἰνδ. γ' \ μη. Μαίω
κγ'

“Here has been laid to rest the slave of God, Theodorus, the friend of all, on 23 May in the third indiction.”

This inscription included several elements of Christian epigraphy. First, the phrase “ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ,” the most common phrase in Ankara epigraphy from this period, is present and immediately defines the grave marker as Christian. The lettering is shallow, irregular, and carved within a large cross. The marker itself is a large stone grave cover and the editors state

¹⁴⁷ Shaw, 1996, 103.

¹⁴⁸ Shaw, 1996, 453.

¹⁴⁹ Luke 23:43 “Today you will be with me in paradise” muddies the waters about when the resurrection occurs.

that it was repurposed. Theodorus lacks any sort of identification other than his cognomen, his status as a Christian, and his date of death. The date was abbreviated at the end of the inscription demonstrating its prevalence among other Christian tombs. The phrase “Ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται” confers the Christian ideals of the afterlife in stating that death is sleep and the tomb is a temporary resting place.

The lack of a commemorator or a *gentilicium* demonstrates a massive epigraphic shift in Ancyra but also in the entire Roman world. The epitaphs of the fifth and sixth centuries became more uniform, brief, and highly formulaic. The Roman imperial period examples in Ancyra, though less detailed, highlights the differences in epigraphy across the Roman Empire. In the Christian period, the formula changed completely. The most common phrase throughout the Christian epigraphy is the slave of God also seen in GLIA 377:

Ἐνθάδε κατὰ\κρητε ὁ δοῦλος\ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰουλιανός ὑποδιά\κονος ὁ καλῶς\ καμῶν τῇ
ἐ\κκλησίᾳ

“Here lies the slave of God, Iulianus, the sub deacon, who laboured well for the church.”

This inscription was carved into a thin slab of rock partially outlined. There are two decorative crosses. The script is legible. Iulianus is first described as “ὁ δοῦλος\ τοῦ Θεοῦ” identifying the epitaph as Christian. The identifier comes even before the name. Then, the detail of his role as “ὑποδιά\κονος” or sub deacon is included, and his service of the church is praised. This example, though brief and similar to the previous one, is somewhat of an outlier in the corpus. There are very few occupations listed but priest is the most common. An association or occupation related to the church seems to be one of the only acceptable additions to the usual formula. Between these two examples, there are several of the traditionally Christian epigraphic

markers. The date of death, the presence of a cross, and the phrase “ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ” (or the feminine equivalent) are the most frequent examples. Epigraphy demonstrates Christians’ ability to transform the Roman religious landscape.

Shaw also explains that the date of death becomes a time for celebration: “The place of burial became significant for this reason. It was a temporary place of repose, or sleep, where the true relatives, the 'brothers' and 'sisters' of the deceased's Christian family, would come once a year to celebrate his or her birthday.”¹⁵⁰ He then quotes Tertullian as saying, “on the anniversary of their death we make ritual offerings to the dead in celebration of their birth ('oblationes pro defunctis pro nataliciis annua die facimus’).”¹⁵¹ The Christians did not begin this tradition. There was a long-standing Roman practice of celebrating and honoring the dead in annual festivals like the Lemuria.¹⁵² The Romans celebrated the lives of all their departed ancestors, but the Christians celebrated their reception into heaven. Especially in the first few centuries of Christianity, many of the Roman practices were melded into their own. They were still Romans. The Christian tenants of the resurrection simply shifted the concentration from a life well lived to a future in the afterlife. Death became life and life became death. There was a stark contrast in the inscriptions but a much more gradual transition in the religious practices celebrating the dead.

The Christian epigraphy designated the burial place as Christian instead of commemorating the one who died. The cognomen, slave of god, and brevity of the epitaph could

¹⁵⁰ Shaw, 1996, 103.

¹⁵¹ Shaw, 1996, 103.

¹⁵² Beard, 2000, 50.

show a desire for humility and uniformity. Galvao-Sobrinho states that the church fathers were not overly interested in commenting on the epitaphs even though they were prolific throughout the empire. Leading Christians did speak out against ostentatious burial and Gregory of Nysissa even went as far as calling all epitaphs “superfluous” and supporting the repurposing of marble grave covers.¹⁵³ Even though the church fathers were relatively silent about epitaphs, they were important to the average Christian. With Christianity came a desire to designate oneself from the surrounding pagan religions because of the importance of the burial place. Part of the affinity for Christian symbolism on the tomb may have been their anxiety over the resurrection.

The resurrection of the body is promised in Christian scriptures throughout the New Testament but the verses concerning how the resurrection of the body occurs are a little vague. For example, 1 Thessalonians chapter four includes a discussion on death and the resurrection of the body: “For we believe that Jesus died and rose again, and so we believe that God will bring with Jesus those who have fallen asleep in him.”¹⁵⁴ Again, the language of sleeping is used to describe death. Death is temporary until the second coming of Christ. The passage explains what will happen in a little more detail: “For the Lord himself will come down from heaven, with a loud command, with the voice of the archangel and with the trumpet call of God, and the dead in Christ will rise first.”¹⁵⁵ Even though this verse speaks of a trumpet and archangel, very little is explained about how the individual Christian will be raised from the dead. Of course, the Christian is expected to believe this promise regardless of its specificity, but the nondescript

¹⁵³ Galvao-Sobrinho, 1995, 448. Gregory of Nysissa is an important example because of his ties to Ancyra. His brother was Basil, a powerful bishop in Ancyra in the mid fourth century.

¹⁵⁴ 1 Thessalonians 4:14

¹⁵⁵ 1 Thessalonians 4:16

verses about the resurrection caused some anxiety in the early Christians witnessed through their epitaphs.¹⁵⁶

One of the challenges of the early Christian communities was how to distinguish themselves in a pagan world. When Christ returns, how will he recognize the Christians? Again, this is not theologically based, but is a result of the ambiguous imagery in literature on the resurrection. Galvao-Sobrinho states that, “Seen in this light, the gesture of commemorating the dead was the product of significant change in mentality with conversion to Christianity. But it was the fortuitous combination of the spread of Christian beliefs about death and afterlife and an ideologically unstable world that drove the habit.”¹⁵⁷ The epigraphic habit reappeared for a reason. Galvao-Sobrinho proposes that distinction from the crowd of non-believers drove the habit. In a tumultuous religious climate, there was a need to distinguish gravesites, at least in the minds of Christians. There was a concern for claiming one’s Christianity at the final resting place. Part of that necessity springs from uncertainties surrounding the resurrection, but also Christians were anxious to identify themselves as such. Funerary epigraphy was an act of self-definition, and not as an influential member of society or a loving friend or family member but as a Christian. The Christians in the fifth and sixth centuries had the task of defining a new religion. Funerary epigraphy became one of their mediums. There are very few epigraphic examples later than the sixth century and those that do exist are centuries apart. As there is a correlation chronologically and stylistically between the emergence of Christianity in Ancyra and the

¹⁵⁶ This is only one example of a verse on resurrection. Other examples include Paul in Ephesians 4-5 and Christ in John 11:25.

¹⁵⁷ Galvao-Sobrinho, 1995, 458.

resurgence of the epigraphic habit, there is one with its death. That is once Christianity became firmly established, there was no longer any use for epigraphy.

Women in Late Antiquity

Women appear in forty-four of the one hundred and thirty-one inscriptions from Ancyra that belong to the period of late antiquity, which is just under 34% of the corpus. In the transitional period, as we shall soon see, ten of the thirty-two inscriptions mention a woman, or a little over 31%. This percentage is also consistent with the inscriptions from Roman imperial period, which 29% of inscriptions featuring a female individual.¹⁵⁸ The number of inscriptions in which women are mentioned, therefore, is consistent throughout all three periods and indeed through the entire Ankara corpus. Overall, one hundred and forty-six women appear in four hundred and seventy-eight inscriptions in the complete corpus or 30.5%. In any given period, about a third of the inscriptions will at least include a woman's name. Understanding that the analysis of a small sample size may be flawed,¹⁵⁹ but based on the evidence of the entire corpus, women in the inscriptions of the Ancyra have not increased or decreased in frequency by the period of Late Antiquity.

The way in which women appear in the corpus changes through the periods. Since the Roman period has the greatest variety in types of inscriptions, women appear in both honorific and funerary inscriptions. However, when honorific epigraphy disappears from the Ankara record altogether by the fifth century, women and men are confined to the funerary realm. Although this is a shift from the previous centuries, gender is not a contributing factor.

¹⁵⁸ 29% of the Roman Corpus mentions a woman

¹⁵⁹ Like the intermediate period

Epigraphy is changing drastically in a world of invasion, plague, famine, and religious upheaval. As the types of inscriptions restrict, so too does the role of women in epigraphy.

Examining the inscriptions of women in all three corpuses demonstrates the decreasing presence of the commemorator in epigraphy. The Roman imperial period boasts the most inscriptions and a significant number of Ankara women. Considering the small sample size of the Intermediate period, it is difficult to glean much insight from just ten inscriptions. The content of the inscriptions is invaluable to the understanding of Ancyra in this tumultuous period. Of these ten inscriptions, women are the commemorators of three while they are commemorated in seven. Late Antiquity provides only one commemorator, a set of unnamed parents and the forty-three remaining inscriptions belong to commemorated women.

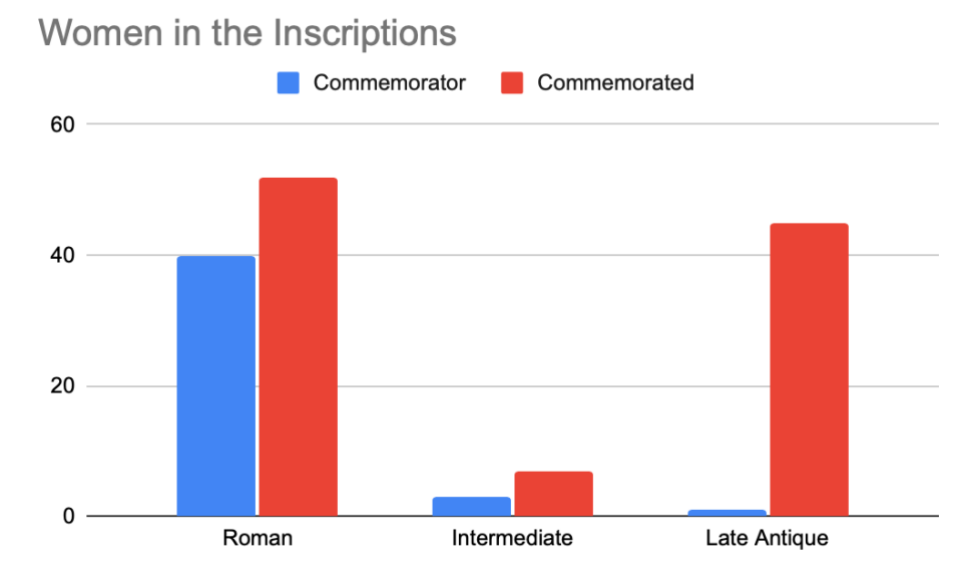


Figure Ten

From this graph, it might seem that the role of women is changing in the inscriptions of Ancyra. That is true but it is less significant because epigraphy has shifted so drastically. With the dawn of Late Antiquity, the epigraphic habit bears little residual resemblance to the Roman

imperial period. The Christian funerary epigraphy has a different set of motivations and priorities than any other period.

As previously stated, the commemorator is no longer present in the inscriptions, male or female. The one possible commemorator is in GLIA 426 for the death of a young girl:

Ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅ δούλη νήπιον] καὶ τοῖς οἰκεῖοις γον[εῦσι ποθι]νατάτη ἔνθα κα[τάκιτε]
τελιωθεῖσα [- - -] fragmentary

“The slave of God, the tiny (child) who was also most adored by her own parents, lies here... having ended her life...”

This inscription, though incomplete, is unique to the corpus because it mentions her parents. It is not a true dedicatory formula. The phrase “by parents” or “τοῖς οἰκεῖοις” is in the dative but is still modifying the daughter (“most adored by her parents”). “τοῖς οἰκεῖοις” is a dative relying on “γονεῦσι” which is the verb in the clause modifying the child. In the text, the parents are not in the nominative and perform the act of erecting the monument. Instead, they are present as modifiers in a clause about their child. The parents are not explicitly stated as the dedicators, but it can be inferred that they are. A small child would have typically been buried by her parents and this inscription is no exception. The lack of the parents' names lessens the force of the commemorator even more. Their dedicatory claim is a little unorthodox when compared to the Roman or Intermediate periods, but it is clear who the commemorators are. This is not possible for most of the inscriptions in the Late Antique corpus.

Most of the epigraphy follows a clearly delineated pattern in the fifth and sixth centuries in Ancyra, and the inscriptions that mention women adhere to this formulaic composition. For example, GLIA 406 is one of the most typical examples in the corpus:

Ἐνθάδε κεκύμητε ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφία τελιουθῖσα ἐν Χριστῷ ἰνδ. Σ' μη Ἰουλίου

“Here has been laid to rest the slave of God, Sophia, having died in Christ in the month of July in the sixth indiction.”

Sophia’s gravestone uses the Christian phrase “κεκῶμητε” or “laid to rest” instead of the *ἐνθάδε κατάκειται*. Again, the Christians were preoccupied with eternal life after death considering the grave a temporary resting place until the resurrection of the body and thus changed *ἐνθάδε κατάκειται* to *ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται*. The inscription not only describes Sophia as “ἡ δούλη” but it comes before her name. The text also includes the date of death and the overtly Christian claim that she “τελιουθῖσα ἐν Χριστῷ” or “having died in Christ.” This inscription is a standard example from the Late Antique corpus. Most of the other inscriptions naming women in this period are very similar to the inscription featuring Sophia.

There are not many outliers because the epigraphy is uniform and brief. However, there are still examples that emerge as significant to analyzing the changing role of women.

In the Late Antique corpus, there is one example of a prioress. GLIA 378 names Stephania who was a religious leader:

Ἐνθάδε καθεύδῃ ἡ μία τῶν εἰς λαμπαδιφόπων παρθένων ἡ θεοφιλεστάτη τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
Στεφανία ἡ γουμένη

“Here sleeps one of the five torch-bearing maidens, Stephania, most beloved of Christ, the prioress.”

This inscription is unlike any of the others in the corpus. Very few people include a distinguishing factor in their epitaph, let alone a woman. The phrase *λαμπαδιφόπων παρθένων* translates as “torch-bearing maidens.” The meaning of this phrase is uncertain. It may refer to the

parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25:1-3.¹⁶⁰ However, allusion would be a weak one since the parable speaks of ten virgins instead of five. The word *παρθένος* could reference her status as a religious leader. Tabbernee, in his book *Montanist Inscriptions and Testamonia*, claims that the word *παρθένος* can refer to an ecclesiastical position.¹⁶¹ This is only a theory, and the phrase could be metaphorical.

Among the men of the corpus, a religious occupation was the most common addition to the epigraphic formula. A priest or other religious leader seems to have been worthy of an addition to the epitaph. They also suggest that the five torches might be symbolic instead of signifying a specific role.¹⁶² A person did not have to hold the position of a priest to add a detail onto their epitaph, relation to one was sometimes enough. In inscription GLIA 38, Anthusa is described as the daughter of a priest:

Κύ ριε\ βούθ\ει Αν\θύσα\ς Λου\γγεί\νου πρεσ\βυτέ\ ρω

“Lord help Anthusa, daughter of the priest Longinus.”

This inscription, like GLIA 378, names Anthusa and her relation to a religious figure. Her father was a presbyter named Longius. This inscription is significant for two reasons. One, just like the previous example, there is an emphasis on religious figures. She has no other defining characteristic or descriptive Christian phrase like “ἡ δούλη” except for her relation to presbyter. This demonstrates the significance of religious leaders and their influence in society. Even though these inscriptions have shifted in style and form from the Roman period, the tendency to commemorate an occupation still survives in ecclesiastical position. Christian epigraphy strives

¹⁶⁰ In Matthew, there are ten virgins instead of five. Five of the women were wise and brought extra oil for their lamps. When the bridegroom arrived late, the five wise women attended the wedding feast, and the five foolish women did not. Matthew 25:1-3.

¹⁶¹ Tabbernee, 1997, 521-523.

¹⁶² There is a possible allusion to a passage in the New Testament.

for humility and uniformity, but this does not extend to the priesthood. Furthermore, it is significant that this inscription includes a patronymic. There are very few examples of any patronymic or named family relatives in the inscriptions. This may suggest that Longinus was not just a religious leader but an influential one. He also might have been the commemorator of the tombstone, but it is impossible to confirm.

One of the most unique examples in Late Antiquity is GLIA 428bis which names a wealthy and influential woman from Constantinople:

Ἐνθα κατάκιτ[ε ἡ τῆς]\ μακαρίας μνή[μης]\ ἡ κύρα Εὐφημ[ία]\ ἡ Κοσταντιν[οπο]λιτῖσα
 θυγα [τῆρ]\ γενομένη Πέ τρου Κωσταντιν[οπολί]\του γαμέτη [γε]\νομένη Ἰωά[ννου]\
 Ἀνατολικ[ῶ]\ εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύ[σει]

“Here lies of blessed memory, the lady Euphemia, a woman of Constantinople, daughter of Peter of Constantinople, spouse of Ioannes Antolikos. If anyone has designs... (he will render account to God)”

This inscription is much more similar to the epigraphic examples during the Roman period. It is written in a neat script on a limestone plaque with a dowel hole.¹⁶³ First of all, the phrase *ἐνθα κατάκιτε* is used instead of *ἐνθάδε κατάκειται*. This is highly unusual in the corpus. The phrase *ἡ κύρα Εὐφημ[ία] ἡ Κοσταντιν[οπο]* is the only example in fifth and sixth centuries. The editors suggest that *κύρα* is an address of respect delineating a woman of high status.¹⁶⁴ Euphemia’s relation to the capital city of Constantinople and the condition of her grave monument seem to support this fact. Although the last line is missing, the editors have suggested a possible completion based on other similar formulas of this period.

¹⁶³ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 428bis description.

¹⁶⁴ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA commentary 428bis.

Again, the presence of the patronymic is significant and the mention of her husband. Her husband is one of the only examples of anyone in the corpus with two names. The second name is likely derived from a geographical location. Euphemia, Ioannes, and Peter are all Christian or Jewish in origin.¹⁶⁵ Since the Roman period, the nomenclature has shifted. As previously stated, full Roman names have almost completely vanished from the epigraphic record, but the cognomen themselves have transitioned. Many names in the corpus originate from the New Testament or the Hebrew Bible or are etymologically Christian. The inscription ends with a warning against disturbing the tomb which is reminiscent of many examples during the Roman period. Unlike the Roman period, the editors suggest that the Christian God would be invoked in the remaining line of the epitaph but again the line is missing. This inscription includes almost no Christian elements. The addition of “μακαρίας” to the common Roman period phrase “μνή[μης]” is suggestive of Christianity. Also, if the editors are correct, then the Christian God was present in the last line. There are no crosses or other Christian symbols on the marker, just a simple, neat script. This inscription is a stylistic outlier in the corpus. The relation to Constantinople might account for many of these differences. GLIA 492 is another example that is unique in Late Antiquity:

Νίση πολυώδυνος τῆ μη\τρὶ κέ τές συν\ηλικες ἀτέλε\στος σὺν τές φή\[\lambda\]ες

“Nise, beset by many woes, for her mother and her contemporaries, unfulfilled with her friends.”

This inscription is exceptional in the entirety of the corpus, regardless of the period. It is carved into a red terracotta tile with a dowel hole in the middle. Because the phrases used here do not appear elsewhere in the corpus, the inscription is difficult to interpret. Nise is in the

¹⁶⁵ Ioannes and Peter are names in the New Testament.

nominative but is not performing an action. She is described participially as “πολυώδυνος” and “ἀτέλεστος” but there is no main verb. Therefore, it is unclear if Nise is also dead. It is significant that she is setting up this marker for other women. The editors suggest that she could be a part of a monastic community but there is no concrete evidence of that. The ambiguity of this inscription only increases the intrigue. Unfortunately, there is not much to glean from the marker unless one similar to it is discovered. However, it is significant that a woman is possibly erecting a monument for other women.

The Late Antique period has less variation in the inscriptions but there are still inferences that can be made about the role of women in epigraphy. For example, the editors of GLIA divide the fifth and sixth century monuments into two sections, large and small funerary monuments. There are fifty-nine large funerary monuments and seventy-two small ones. Only thirteen of the fifty-nine large tombstones commemorate women, or 22%, while thirty-one of the seventy-two small markers, or 43%, commemorate a woman. Women appear in a higher percentage in the small funerary monuments. Even though the text of the inscriptions is equivalent to the ones dedicated to men, men in the fifth and sixth centuries typically had larger monuments. The roles of men and women in epigraphy have changed to reflect Christian theology. The texts may have standardized, but the disparity between men and women remained.

There is one woman who was elevated to a status above any man. In the Late Antique corpus, there are three inscriptions that mention the Virgin Mary. the first is GLIA 365:

MHP XY

ΤΟΙ... ΠΡ... Ἀρτεμίδωρον ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ\ ἓνα φίλτατον ὀφθαλμὸν καταδειξας\ Βασιλέων κλίναις
 ἑξακολούθοντα τάφον ΟΔ Εὐπρεπέα στήσας ταύτην σοι στηλιδ' ἐκόμει τόξον ἀπαστασίας
 ἀμαχήτου\ ὅς τ' ἐχάλασσας.... Ἔτους ...φθ.

“Mother of Christ... one most dearest eye... of the clergy?... all holy... by the championship... in the year 509.”

The inscription was carved onto an oblong limestone stele. The editors state that the date 509 corresponds with 484 CE. The monument has been lost since its discovery and much of the remaining text is suspected to be fictitious.¹⁶⁶ However, the abbreviation MHP XY remains unchallenged. It translates to Mother of Christ. Without the complete inscription, there is little else to infer. It is exceptional in the corpus because this abbreviation does not appear elsewhere. Moreover, GLIA 428 provides a more typical inscription that includes Mary:

XMIΓ\ ἐνθάδε\ κατάκι\τε ὁ τῆς\ μακαρί\ας μνή\μης Ε

“Christ born of Maria Here lies E... of blessed memory.”

This inscription is only partial and was carved onto a white marble slab. The epsilon is all the remains of the name. The formula XMIΓ stands for either “Χριστὸν Μαρία γέννα” or “Χριστὸς ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθείς.”¹⁶⁷ Either supports the translation. This inscription shares similarities with GLIA 428bis, Euphemia’s monument. Like the previous example, the Virgin Mary only appears as an introductory abbreviation. Although this formula is not present in other inscriptions from Ancyra, the abbreviation suggests that it was common enough to be recognized. Even if only these two examples remain, they are enough evidence to argue that Mary was likely a significant presence in epigraphy. GLIA 323 also supports this claim:

[Ἡ πό]λις\ [τῆς Ἀγίας] Θεοτόκου\ [Ἄγκ]υρα

“The City of the Holy Mother of God, Ancyra.”

The exquisitely carved inscription on a large architrave declares the Ancyra as the city of the Theotokos or Mother of God. The structure is badly damaged, and this is all that remains of

¹⁶⁶French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 365.

¹⁶⁷ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 428.

the inscription. The editors are firm in dating the inscription to the reign of Justinian.¹⁶⁸ The council of Chalcedon in 451 confirmed Mary's status as the Theotokos, thus affirming the popularity of her cult in the east.¹⁶⁹

A Shift in Ankara Epigraphy: The Transitional Period

Compared to the Roman corpus of three hundred inscriptions over the first three centuries, and the one hundred and thirty-one inscriptions from the fifth and sixth centuries, the Intermediate corpus, which contains only ten inscriptions that name females, may seem insignificant. However, the inscriptions of the intermediate corpus were composed anywhere from the late third to early fifth centuries during a time of extreme governmental distress and religious upheaval. The crisis of the third century which swept across the entire Roman empire struck Ancyra, which suffered a series of invasions.¹⁷⁰ From 250-272 CE, the Goths and Arabs descended upon and attacked the city until the Syrian Queen Zenobia seized control of Ancyra. Gradually, in the late third century, the Roman emperor began to reclaim lost provinces. Emperor Aurelian defeated the Syrian queen in 272 CE and reestablished Roman rule.¹⁷¹ Around the time of the invasions, the number of inscriptions in the Roman corpus experienced a steep decline. Over the next 150 years, there are a total of thirty-two inscriptions in the intermediate corpus. Of those, fourteen are funerary, seven are related to the emperor or imperial officials, ten were on buildings, and there was one honorific inscription.

¹⁶⁸ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 323.

¹⁶⁹ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 323.

¹⁷⁰ Foss, 1997, 30.

¹⁷¹ Mitchell, 1993, 63

This sample size is so limited that it is difficult to determine any conclusions from the data. However, the small number of inscriptions provides insight into the political upheaval, especially when compared to the previous and subsequent centuries. According to literary sources, there were Christians in Ancyra well before the beginning of the fourth century, when they began to appear epigraphically. However, until Constantine, many Christians in Ancyra were persecuted and even martyred in the early fourth century.¹⁷² Attempting to determine the religion of anyone from this period is difficult because of Christianity's uncertain hold on the city of Ancyra. Christianity did not overrun the city until the late fourth or early fifth century. Even though bishops were significant Ankyrin figures, their ranks were fraught with division. Stephen Mitchell even calls Ancyra "one of the heretical capitals of Asia Minor." With the bishops vying for control of the city and the staunchly pagan aristocracy, Julian the Apostate, attempting to quell the onslaught of Christian converts, enacted his famous reforms against Christianity on his visit in 362 CE.

By the end of the third century, the epigraphic habit was dwindling. Invasion, plague, and famine afflicted the vast majority of the empire. In both Ancyra and Rome, the epigraphic habit experienced a steep decline and shift. For example, from the Roman occupation during the early first century to the mid to late third century, there were three hundred and fifteen Ankara inscriptions.¹⁷³ However, from the late third century to the early fifth, there were only thirty-two inscriptions. This is especially sudden when considering that the number of inscriptions peaked in the early third century. The lack of resources, famine, invasion, and religious persecution

¹⁷² Under Diocletian.

¹⁷³ Over $\frac{2}{3}$ of the corpus is from the 100-225 CE.

likely all had a hand in the decline of the epigraphic habit. Then, in a turn of events, the early fifth century, Ancyra experienced a resurgence of the epigraphic habit. The fifth and sixth centuries boast one hundred and thirty-one inscriptions. All but two of those are undoubtedly Christian. The rise of Christianity and the revitalization of the epigraphic habit are intimately connected.

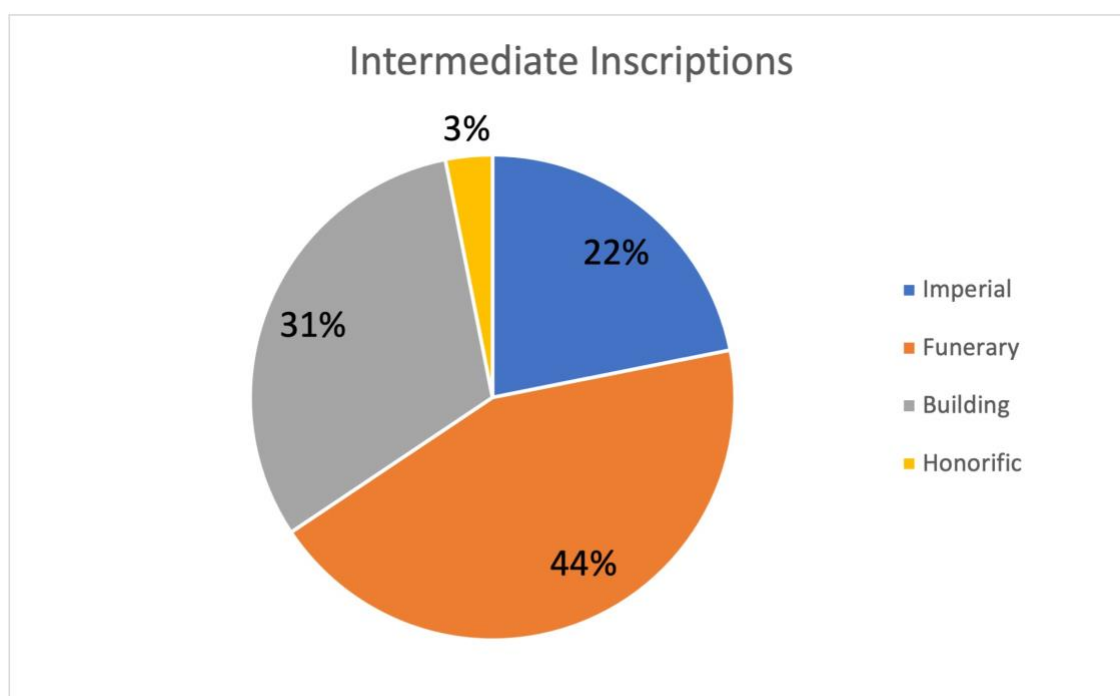


Figure Eleven

The shift in epigraphy is not just due to impending invasion or a lack of resources. Christianity forever changes the epigraphic landscape, especially by the fifth and sixth centuries. The transitional period does not have many of the qualities that overtly Christian epitaphs possess. First, the corpus itself is varied. Funerary epigraphy is a little less than half of the total. There are few crosses or other Christian symbolism and the typical phrases have not yet

appeared in epigraphy. Building inscriptions make up about a third of the corpus. For example, GLIA 319 is an inscription claiming that Aurelius Dionysius Argaeinus built a structure:

Ἐπί Αὐρ Διονυσίου\ Ἀργαείνου τοῦ\ λαμπροτάτου\ ἀρξαμένου κὲ συν\πληρώσαντος
“Under the most splendid Aurelius Dionysius Argaeinus, who started and completed (the work).”

This inscription is almost exactly the same as GLIA 318.¹⁷⁴ Argaeinus is a full Roman citizen. The name Aurelius still survives and has transitioned to become used as a praenomen. It is abbreviated because of how common it was in Ancyra. The inscription was likely attached to a building. It is not extraordinary but a third of the inscriptions in the transitional period are like it.

Furthermore, though the date of death is typically a feature of Christian epigraphy, it only occurs in one of the inscriptions in this period. Many of these inscriptions lack many of the elements of Christian epigraphy that are common in the period of Late Antiquity, which, as we have seen, include the date of death, invocation to Christ, or overt Christian symbolism. Instead, much of the evidence of the religious affiliation originates from an analysis of the names themselves.

Like the Late Antique period, funerary epigraphy comprises the bulk of the corpus. Even though many of the inscriptions do not bear the traditional Christian markings of the Late Antique period, many are Christian. GLIA 359 is an example:

Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα\ ὧδε κεῖτε υἱός\ πρωτήκτορος\ Οὐρσεινου ὄνο\μα Παῦλος\ νεοφώτιστος\
 κησευθείς ὑπὸ\ Ζευδᾶ ἔθηκα τήν\ ΣΚΟΥΤΛΑΣ ΤΩΩ\ ἄν δὲ τις κεινήσι\ ἔξι πρὸς Θεόν

¹⁷⁴ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 319. The editors suggest that it is possible that 318 and 319 may be a copy of the same text. However, it is unlikely.

“Greetings passer-by. Here lies the son of the protector Ursinus by name Paulus, newly baptized, buried by Zeudas; I have placed the... If anyone disturbs (it), he will reckon with God.”

The inscription bears the traditional Roman period greeting to the passerby “Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.” However, there are no full Roman names, and the inscription is clearly Christian. The name Paulus originates from the New Testament. Paulus is also described as newly baptized. Christianity is spreading through the empire at an ever-increasing rate. The Transitional period is a time where epigraphy is changing. It is transforming into the typical Christian epigraphy of the fifth and sixth centuries. Christians are just beginning to express their religious affiliation through epigraphy. This inscription is concerned with identifying Paulus as a recently baptized Christian. According to Christian theology, his baptism is a way of confirming his passage into heaven. More than that, he is distinguished from the other possible non-Christian burials around him.

Women in the Transitional Period

The Transitional period bears the marking of both the Roman imperial period and the later Christian period. Spanning about a hundred and fifty years, the thirty-six inscriptions are exceptionally diverse. External forces bore down on the city increasing the political and religious pressures within. Though few, the inscriptions reflect some of the changes occurring during the late third to early fifth centuries. Ankaran women appear in eleven of the thirty-six inscriptions from this period, again comprising about a third of the epigraphy from this era.

In inscriptions GLIA 352, 353, and 364, women act as the commemorators. All three women are fully and prominently named in the inscriptions. Inscription 353 names Aurelia Menandria as the commemorator of the memorial for her two children:

Αὐρ. Μεναν\δρία τὸ γλυ\ κύτατον τέ\ κνον Ἀλύ\ πιν ὄντα ἐ\τῶν τριῶν

Καί Μάρθα ἀδελφῆ ἑτῶν

“Aurelia Menandria for her sweetest child, Alypius, being three years old; and Martha, his sister, seven years old”

The woman Aurelia Menandria erected the monument for her two children, first her son Alypius and later her daughter Martha. Scratched in jagged letters below the previous text, Aurelia Menandria later added her daughter’s name to the monument. Aurelia Menandria is a Roman citizen. Unlike the Christian period, many of the people in inscriptions during the Transitional period still retain their Roman names. The *gens* Aurelia still appeared in many of the inscriptions and is abbreviated as *Αὐρ.* She does not provide full Roman names for her children likely because they died young, which is typical for the entire Ankara corpus. According to Mitchell’s commentary the name Alypius translates to “feeling no pain” and becomes common among Christians and even has another example in Ancyra.¹⁷⁵ The daughter’s name Martha, Jewish in origin, could be a reference to a woman in the New Testament. However, Mitchell also asserts that the name did appear in Syrian context before the Christian period.¹⁷⁶ The names may not be enough to confirm this inscription as Christian, but the names do suggest at least a Christian environment. Christianity had firmly rooted itself in Ancyra by the beginning of the

¹⁷⁵ Mitchell and French, 2019, GLIA 353.

¹⁷⁶ Mitchell and French, 2019, GLIA 353.

Transitional period (late third century), and so it is possible that the family in this inscription is Christian.

Inscriptions 352 and 364 were written by the wives Aurelia Dadas and Aurelia Gorgonia for their husbands. Since they are similar, I only provided GLIA 352 as an example. Aurelia Dadas erects a monument for her husband Eirenaeus:

Αὐρ. Δαδας Εἰρηιηνέου ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἀνέστησε\ν μνήμην χάρι\ν καὶ εἴτις τοῦ\ του μνημίου
ἤ\τε κατὰ πθόνον ἢ\ κατὰ ἐχθρὰν ἔστε ἀ\ τῶ πρὸς ΘΝ καὶ νῦ\ ν καὶ ἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

“Aurelia Dadas the wife of Eirenaeus, set up this in memory; and if anyone (damages) this memorial out of spite or enmity, he will reckon with God both now and for eternity.”

Onomastically, it is unusual that the Aurelia Dadas only calls her husband Eirenaeus. It is possible that he was not a Roman citizen and had only one name. However, citizenship was readily available to the provinces by the transitional period.¹⁷⁷ I would argue that this is simply an example of Ankara epigraphy evolving. The Roman name gradually disappears from the inscriptions and GLIA 352 is one example of it. The Ankarans are still using the word *σύμβιος* to describe the relationship between a husband and a wife. Aurelia Dadas does not use any adjectives or phrases to describe her husband. She simply names him and concludes the inscription with a formulaic warning to would be grave defilers. Of these eleven inscriptions, one belongs to a member of the Galatian aristocracy. In GLIA 360, a noble woman’s name is unfortunately lost but the rest of her inscription remains:

¹⁷⁷ It is well after Caracalla’s decree.

[-----] ΠΙΜΗΘ\ [----]ς ἐνθάδε\ κείται ἧς ἀρετάς κρύπτειν οὐ\ δύναται θάνατος ἢ κλεινὸν μὲν\ ἔχουσα πόσιν κλεινοῦς δέ τε παῖ\δας τὴν ὁδὸν εὐσεβείως ἤνυ\σε τὴν βιότιον\ τοῦνεκα τῶν ἐπὶ
 γῆς ἀγαθῶν\ πλησεῖσα μετῆλθεν ἐκ βρο\τέης δόξης ἐς κλέος\ οὐπάνιον.

“(Blank) lies here, whose virtues death cannot hide. She had a famous husband and famous children and completed the road of life in piety. Therefore, replete with the benefits of life on earth, she exchanged here mortal fame for heavenly glory.”

This inscription blends the longer inscriptions of the Roman imperial period with the theology of the Christian period. The inscription is Christian. There was a cross carved at the conclusion of the text, a clear signifier of the woman’s religion. The inscription does not name the dedicator, typical of Late Antiquity, and imbeds Christian theology throughout. Instead of directly claiming an impressive lineage directly, the dedicator declares her status through the fame of her family. The adjective *κλεινός* describes her husband and children. Christian theology is beginning to change the epigraphy of Ankara. The inscription is written with a spirit of humility. Describing her husband and children as *κλεινός* acts almost as a euphemism for her status. The last lines then condemn her mortal *κλεινός* reminding the reader of the heavenly glories. Even though her status is presented in a Christian manner, the Ankarans still praised noble women. The emphasis on lineage and family remains but is less pronounced. The absence of her name leaves many other questions.

Conclusion

Regardless of political upheaval, religious change, famine, or siege, Ankara women remained consistent throughout the entire corpus, from the Roman imperial period to the Christian. Over six hundred years, Ankara women were portrayed and portrayed themselves in a similar manner. Women appear in one third of the inscriptions in every period. Even though the

Ankara corpus is likely only a small portion of the total inscriptions, the Ankara women's numerical consistency over the three periods emphasizes their role in epigraphy. In the Roman imperial and the Transitional periods they had more of a presence in the funerary epigraphy. In the Christian era, which is almost entirely funerary, they appear in about a third.

During all three periods, women appeared most often epigraphically alongside their husbands. The conjugal relationship seems to be praised above all others. There are numerous examples in the Roman and Transitional periods of husbands and wives dedicating a funerary or even honorific monument to one another. In Greek inscriptions, the Ankarans only use the word *convβiφ* to refer to their spouse. The word itself denotes conjugal fondness and a non-gendered equality. By the Christian era and the resurgence of the epigraphic habit, this trend fades because the deceased's relationship with God comes to the forefront. However, there are still examples of husbands and wives on the same inscription in Late Antiquity. Many of the inscriptions dedicated to a spouse are highly formulaic, brief, and heartfelt. There is little if any discrepancy between men and women. In epigraphy, the Ankarans emphasized conjugal bliss. Considering epigraphy as method of behavioral prescription, the Ankarans encouraged joyful marital unions above other familial relationships.

Consistently, during all three periods, Ankarans praised a similar type of woman. The ideal Ankara woman belonged to an esteemed lineage. Before Roman occupation, Ancyra already had a well-established Galatian aristocracy. Roman government dissolved any royal family, but the status assigned to their descendants remained. Claudia Aquilla and her descendants belonged to this ancient heritage¹⁷⁸. There are seven other honorific inscriptions created during the Roman Imperial period in Ancyra that praise a noble woman for her kingly

¹⁷⁸ French and Mitchell, 2012, GLIA 78 and 79.

heritage. In the Intermediate period, there is only one example of this type of woman.¹⁷⁹ As a Christian and in the spirit of humility, she is described as a woman with a famous spouse and famous children. Even though she is not explicitly denoted as nobility, the *κλεινός* her family implies it. When Christian theology pervades epigraphy, any claims of nobility disappeared almost entirely, except for one inscription.¹⁸⁰ Euphemia was likely a wealthy woman from Constantinople. The dedicator provides her patronymic and the name of her husband, both rare during the Christian period. However, there is no mention of her noble heritage like the earlier Ankaran examples. The unusual elements of this inscription might be because Euphemia is from Constantinople. As the expectations change for epigraphy, the entire corpus transforms. Ankaran women are not exception. They too must conform to the rigid standards of Christian epigraphy. However, numerically they remain the same.

Gender discrepancy is an integral piece of the study of epigraphy. Men appear and dedicate many more inscriptions than women. Also, the epigraphic examples of men are usually longer and more detailed. The differences between men and women demonstrate the less influential role that women had the ability to play in society. Women could not hold political office or enlist in the Roman military, two primary categories of inscriptions in Ancyra. Most women were confined to their own sphere. However, women like Trebia Iulia, Aelia Tatia, and Claudia Aquilla all defied gender expectations and preserved that action for eternity in stone. Trebia Iulia and her highly matriarchal family demonstrate an exception to the female standard. Her mother inherited her grandmother's name, Trebia Iulia was a doctor, and she dedicated this monument for herself and her entire family. These women demonstrate the potential for Ankara women's social mobility. Ancyra was a place where rich, influential, and educated women could

¹⁷⁹ French and Mitchell, 2019, GLIA 360.

¹⁸⁰ French and Mitchell, 2019, 428bis.

thrive. However, gender discrepancies remain throughout the entire Ankara corpus. During the Late Antique period, when Ankarans transformed the longer and more detailed inscriptions of the first two periods into the brief and highly religious Christian examples, gender discrepancy shifted as well. Because the inscriptions from the Christian period lack detail and are all very similar to one another, differences between men and women within the epigraphic text itself disappears almost completely. Instead, women appear in almost half of the small funerary monuments of the Christian period. The inscriptions might be the same, but the Ankarans began making women's grave covers smaller than those of the men. Gender discrepancies are a consistent trend throughout the corpus.

While the epigraphic habit survived, Ankara women were a consistent presence, numerically and stylistically. The way they were portrayed or portrayed themselves changed with the period, but in every era there are examples of exception women who break the epigraphic mold. Ancyra was a place that fostered the potential of rich and influential women. After analyzing the epigraphy, Ancyra becomes a city filled with mothers, grandmothers, wives, daughters, sisters, freedwomen, slaves, benefactresses, princesses, patronesses, priestesses, and prioresses, all crying out eternally from these stones. Each of them entices the passing reader to with the entreaty, *Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα*. Their voices burst forth in the mind of the reader, briefly resurrecting their owner. Through this work and others, the women of Ancyra can once again impart their story to the living.

Works Cited

- Beard, M., North, J., & Price, S. (2000). *Religions of Rome* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bolle, K., Machado, C., & Witschel, C. (2017). *The epigraphic cultures of Late Antiquity*. Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Demand, N. (2004). *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- French, D., & Mitchell, S. (2012). *The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra). From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD* (Vol. I). München, Germany: Verlag C.H. Beck.
- French, D., & Mitchell, S. (2019). *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra) Late Roman, Byzantine and Other Texts* (Vol. II). München, Germany: Verlag C.H. Beck.
- Forbis, E. 1990. "Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions," *American Journal of Philology* 111.4, 493-512.
- Foss, C. (1977). Late antique and Byzantine Ankara. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31, 27.
doi:10.2307/1291403.
- Galvao-Sobrinho, C. R. (1995). "Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West." *Estratto Da Athenaeum- Studi Di Letteratura E Storia Dell' Antichita*, LXXXIII, 431-462.

Harvey, B. K. (2004). *Roman lives: Ancient Roman life as illustrated by Latin inscriptions*.

Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing/R. Pullins.

Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., & Eidinow, E. (2012). *The Oxford classical dictionary*. Oxford:

Oxford University Press.

Kemmers, Fleur. *Repräsentationsformen in Severischer Zeit*, by Stephan Faust and Florian

Leitmeir, Verlag Antike, 2011, pp. 270–289.

F., Keppie L J. *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*. Routledge, 2001.

Laes, C. (2011). “Midwives in Greek Inscriptions in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity.” *Zeitschrift*

Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik 176, 154-162. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41291113/>.

Lançon, B. (2001). *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312-609*.

New York, New York: Routledge.

Livy, et al. *History of Rome*. Harvard University Press, 2017.

Mann, J. C. (1983). *Legionary recruitment and*

veteran settlement during the principate. London, England: Routledge.

Meyer, Elizabeth A. “Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of

Epitaphs.” *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 80, 1990, pp. 74–96. *JSTOR*,

www.jstor.org/stable/300281. Accessed 22 Apr. 2021.

Mitchell, S. (1993). *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*. New York, NY: Clarendon Press.

Mitchell, S. (2007). *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641: The Transformation of the Ancient World*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Pub.

Mitchell, S., & Greatrex, G. (2001). *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*. London, UK: Duckworth.

Poulsen, B., & Birk, S. (2012). *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Pleket, H. W. "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries." *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 58, no. 4, 1965, pp.

331–347. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/1508545. Accessed 22 Apr. 2021.

Shaw, Brent D. "Seasons of Death: Aspects of Mortality in Imperial Rome." *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 86, 1996, pp. 100–138. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/300425.

Accessed 22 Apr. 2021.

Strabo, and Horace Leonard Jones. *Books 10-12*. Harvard Univ. Press, 2000.

Tabbernee, William. *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*. Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1997.

The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Eds. Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth.: Oxford

University Press, , 2005. *Oxford Reference*. Date Accessed 16 May. 2021

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413>.