

[103] *IAssos* 20

Dedication to Roma by Roman Businessmen

Assos (Troad) 27 BCE–37 CE (time of Augustus or Tiberius)

Publications: *Left piece*: Guglielmo Henzen and Heinrich Kiepert, “VI. Epigrafia,” *Annali dell’ Istituto Archeologico* 14 (1842) 136–161, at 146 (no. 30) (first edition); Le Bas and Waddington, *IGLAM* 1727.

Right piece: *IGLAM* 1034a (first edition); J.R.S. Sterrett, “Inscriptions of Assos,” *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1 (1882–83) 1–90, at 45 (no. 20); Joseph T. Clarke, Francis H. Bacon, and Robert Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Institute of America, 1902) 185 (with facsimile in figure 2; *IGRR* IV 250).

Both pieces combined: Reinhold Merkelbach, “Dea Roma in Assos,” *ZPE* 13 (1974) 280 (first edition); Merkelbach, *IAssos* 20; *IMT* 606; PH288086.

Publication used: *IAssos* 20.

Current Location: Unknown.

Similar or related inscriptions: *IAssos* 13, 14, 19, 26: Roman businessmen at Assos. *IAssos* 20 [103]; *SEG* 28:953 [108]; *IGRR* IV 791 [115]; also see list in the *comments* below: Associations of Romans in Asia Minor. *IDelos* 1778, 1779 (ca. 130–69 BCE): Dedications for Roma by the association of Berytian shippers. *IPhrygR* 302 = *IGRR* IV 793 (I CE): Roman settlers at Apameia Kelainai honour a priest of Roma. *IPergamon* 374 [111]; *IEph* 213 [128]: Imperial cults and associations. *IGRR* III 137 = *OGIS* 532 (Neapolis; 3 BCE): Roman businessmen among those taking an oath at the accession of Augustus.

Block of marble broken in two pieces (no dimensions available). The right piece was found in an entryway into the gymnasium at Assos (see Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey).

ὁ δῆμος καὶ [οἱ] πραγματευόμενοι Ῥω[μαῖοι]
θεὰ[ν Ῥώ]μην [τ]ὴν εὐεργέτιν τοῦ κόσμου[ου].

The People and the Romans engaged in business honoured the goddess Roma (?), the benefactor of the cosmos.

Notes

1. 1: [οἱ] πραγματευόμενοι Ῥω[μαῖοι] → *comments*.

1. 2: θεὰ[ν Ῥώ]μην [τ]ὴν εὐεργέτιν τοῦ κόσμου[ου] → *IDelos* 1778: Ῥώμην θεᾶν εὐεργέτιν (dedication by Berytian shippers); *IStratonikeia* 507: Ῥώμη θεᾶν εὐεργέτιδι. On associations and the goddess Roma → *IPergamon* 374 [111]; *IDelos* 1778, 1779 (ca. 130–125 BCE); *IPhrygR* 302 = *IGRR* IV 793 (Apameia Ke-

lainai; I CE); H. Engelmann, “Ephesische Inschriften,” *ZPE* 84 (1990) 92–94 (no. 2). On Roma generally, see Mellor 1975 and Mellor 1981.

Comments

The coastal area immediately to the west of Mysia included the region of the Troad and, further south, the region of Aiolis, which bordered on Lydia and Ionia (even further south). Before turning to Kyme in Aiolis, it is worth outlining some evidence from the Troad, including the site of Assos, the source of our present inscription regarding an immigrant association of Romans.

Very little has survived concerning associations at Ilion (Troy) in the Troad. There is an undated fragment which attests to a “company” (σπεῖρα) honouring a benefactor (*Illion* 154), a child’s grave on which two brotherhoods (φράτρες) are mentioned (Pleket 1958, 4–10 [no. 4]), and an undated inscription attesting to a chief beast-fighter leading a group of gladiators (*Illion* 126 → *IMT* 1498 [109]). An honorary inscription from Abydos (north of Ilion) mentions “the stall-keepers and merchants” (οἱ σκηνεῖται & καὶ ἔργασ[τάι]) and attests to the “the Romans who are in Ilion ([οἱ] Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Εἰ<λ>ίω; *IMT* 74). From Alexandria Troas we have three partially preserved grave inscriptions, one with fines for violation payable to an association of coppersmiths (τῆ συμβιώσει [τ]ῶν χαλκέων; *IAlexTroas* 122 = *Illion* 171) and the other two with fines payable to the dockworkers of the harbour (*IAlexTroas* 151–153; III CE). There are also three letters of Hadrian to the Dionysiac performers which were recently discovered at Alexandria Troas, and I return to these in a later entry from Nysa in Caria (→ *IEph* 22 [144] *comments*).

The site of Assos provides at least eight inscriptions concerning ethnic associations or occupational groups, but other types of associations are not attested, to my knowledge. There were reserved seats in the theatre during the imperial period for several occupational groups, including those for stonemasons (λατόμων), leather-workers (σκυτέων), and iron-smiths (σιδηροί; Özhan and Arslan 2013). The remainder of the evidence, including our main inscription, pertains to groups of Roman settlers (on which, see also *SEG* 28:953 [108] and *IGRR* IV 791 [115]).

Our main entry is a dedication to the goddess Roma by the association of Roman businessmen (οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι) at Assos. As the personification of the city of Rome itself, the goddess Roma was closely associated with other forms of imperial cults (on which, see the *comments* on *IEph* 213 [128]; on Roma, see Mellor 1975 and Mellor 1981). In fact, another inscription from Assos shows that the Roman businessmen there joined the People in honouring the imperial couple as deities, identifying the emperor’s wife, Livia, as a “new Hera” (*IAssos* 19; 27 BCE–37 CE):

ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγμα[τευσόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι] | θεὰν Λεῖουίαν Ἥραν ν[έαν
— — —] | τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θε[οῦ] γυναῖκα.

The People and the ... Romans engaged in business (?) ... honoured the goddess Livia, new (?) Hera, the wife (?) of god Augustus.

The goddess Roma herself is attested in connection with associations elsewhere and not merely with groups of *Roman* immigrants. The immigrant association of Berytian merchants on Delos dedicated both an altar and a statue to the “benefactor” Roma (*IDelos* 1778, 1779; ca. 130–69 BCE), and one of the shrines within this group’s meeting–place was devoted to the goddess (for discussion and bibliography, see Harland 2013, 54–56 = Harland 2003c, 65–69). There are other clear signs of cultic honours for Roma in connection with the mysteries of the “hymn–singers of god Augustus and goddess Roma” at Pergamon, which I discuss at length in a subsequent entry (→ *IPergamon* 374 [111]). At Apameia Kelainai in Phrygia, the Roman settlers joined with the People there to honour a priest of the goddess Roma in the first century (*IGRR* IV 793 = *IPhrygR* 302; I CE).

Our association of Roman businessmen at Assos is found in several inscriptions from the principates of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) and Tiberius (14–37 CE). Beyond the dedication to Roma (*IAssos* 20) and to Livia and Augustus (*IAssos* 19), the association of Romans honoured Gaius Caesar, Augustus’ grandson and adopted “son” (*IAssos* 13) and posthumously honoured a man and a woman (*IAssos* 14). Finally, the Roman businessmen of Assos are mentioned in one of the surviving oaths of loyalty that were taken at the accession of the emperor Gaius Caligula (*IAssos* 26 = *IMT* 573; 37 CE; cf. *CIL* II 172, from Aritium in Lusitania; Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.124):

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γναίου Ἀκερρωνίου | Πρόκλου καὶ Γαίου Ποντίου Πετρωλίου
Νιγρίνου | ψήφισμα Ἀσσίων γνώμη τοῦ δήμου || ἐπεὶ ἡ κατ’ εὐχὴν πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις ἐλπισθεῖσα Γαίου | Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμονία
κατήγγελλται, | οὐδὲν δὲ μέτρον χαρᾶς εὔρηκε ὁ κόσμος, πᾶσα δὲ πόλις |
καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄψιν ἔσπευκεν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ | ἡδίστου
ἀνθρώποις αἰῶνος νῦν ἐνεστώτος, || ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τοῖς
πραγματευομένοις παρ’ ἡμῖν | Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀσσίων
κατασταθῆναι πρεσβείαν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ
Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἐντευξομένην καὶ συνηθροσμένην αὐτῶι, | δεηθσομένην
τε ἔχειν διὰ μνήμης καὶ κηδεμονίας || τὴν πόλιν, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ
τοῦ πατρὸς Γερμανικοῦ | ἐπιβάς πρώτως τῆι ἐπαρχείᾳ τῆς ἡμετέρας
πόλεως | ὑπέσχετο | ὄρκος Ἀσσίων | ὄμνυμεν Δία Σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν
Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν καὶ τὴν || πάτριον ἀγνὴν Παρθένον εὐνοήσιν Γαίωι
Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶι καὶ τῶι σύμπαντι οἴκωι αὐτοῦ, καὶ φίλους τε κρίνειν, |
οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται, καὶ ἐχθρούς, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προβάλληται·
εὐορκοῦσιν μὲν ἡμῖν εὐ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦσιν δὲ τὰ ἐναντίᾳ· | πρεσβευταὶ
ἐπιγγείλαντο ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | Γάιος Οὐάριος Γαίου υἱὸς Οὐολινία Κάστος |
Ἐρμοφάνης Ζωῖλου | Κτήτος Πισιστράτου | Αἰσχρίων Καλ<λ>ιφάνους ||
Ἄρτεμίδωρος Φιλομούσου | οἵτινες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενοι Διὶ Καπιτωλίωι ἔθυσαν τῶι
τῆς πόλεως ὀνόματι.

When Gnaeus Acerronius Proclus and Gaius Pontius Petronius Nigrinus were consuls, decree of the Assians on the proposal of the People: Since the rule of Gaius Caesar Germanicus Augustus, which all men had hoped and prayed for, has been proclaimed and the joy of the world knows no bounds, and (since) every city (*polis*) and every people has been eager for the sight of the god, as if the happiest age of humanity had now begun, it was resolved by the Council, the Romans engaged in business (*pragmateuomenoi*) among us, and the People of Assos to arrange an embassy consisting of the foremost, distinguished Romans and Greeks to visit him (i.e. Caligula) and express joy, and to beg him to remember and care for the city, just as he also promised our city on his first visit to the province with his father Germanicus.

Oath of the Assians: We swear to Zeus Soter (“Saviour”), god Caesar Augustus, (and) the ancestral holy Maiden (i.e. Athena) to have good will towards Gaius Caesar Augustus and his whole household and to consider as friends whomever he may choose as friends and (to consider) as enemies whomever he accuses. If we swear truly, may it go well for us, but if we swear falsely, the opposite (will happen). The ambassadors offered themselves at their own expense: Gaius Varius Castus son of Gaius of Voltinia (tribe), Hermophanes son of Zoilos, Ktetos son of Pisistratos, Aischrion son of Kalliphanes, (and) Artemidoros son of Philomousos. (The ambassadors) prayed to Capitoline Zeus (i.e. Jupiter) for the safety of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus and they sacrificed in the name of the city.

A similar oath of allegiance at the accession of Augustus, which likewise includes Roman businessmen, was found at Neapolis in Galatia (*IGRR III 137 = OGIS 532*; 3 BCE).

The presence of an association of Romans in a place like Assos was by no means unusual. Groups of Romans or Italians are widely attested in cities of Asia Minor, often with signs of engagement with the society of settlement. Jean Hatzfeld’s (1919) classic study of Romans settled in the Greek world has been supplemented by more recent contributions such as those in the volume edited by Christel Mühler and Claire Hasenohr (2002) and by Taco T. Terpstra’s recent work (2013). One common Greek self-designation used by these associations was “the Romans who are settled” or “the Roman settlers” (οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ρωμαῖοι). Other ethnic or immigrant groups likewise adopted this terminology, so Romans were not alone in this regard (cf. *CIG 2287*, Athenians on Delos; *OGIS 595*, Tyrians at Puteoli). In the case of Romans, sometimes a clarification regarding the group’s involvement in trade or business was appended, as with our present inscription which refers to “the Romans who are engaged (in business)” ([οἱ] πραγματευόμενοι Ῥω[μαῖοι]; cf. *IAdramytt 19* [late-I BCE]). Involvement in mercantile activity is not always clear, as with the many inscriptions from Apameia Kelainai which make no direct reference to trade by the Romans there (→ *IGRR IV 791 [115]*). A further self-designation is found in Lycia and Galatia, where “the Romans who are fellow-citizens” (οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι) is attested multiple times. Although Greek inscriptions are more

commonly attested for these Roman groups in Asia Minor, there are some Latin inscriptions which speak of the group as a *conventus*, as with the Ephesian case of “the company of Romans engaged in business in Asia” (*conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur*; *I Eph* 409 [ca. 44 CE]). The following table outlines some of the evidence for these immigrant groups of Romans or Italians in different parts of Asia Minor.

Associations of Romans or Italians in Asia Minor:

Bithynia

Prusa: *IPrusaOlymp* 229 (οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Προ[ύ]ση Ῥωμαῖοι; cf. *IMT* 2695 found at Olympe, Mysia)

Mysia, Aiolis, and the Troad

Adramyttion: *ADramytt* 19 (late-I BCE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.)

Alexandreia Troas: *AE* 1997, 1423 (early I BCE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.)

Assos: *IAssos* 13–14, 19–20, 28 (I BCE–I CE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.)

Hadrianoi: *IHadrianoi* 95 (οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.)

Kyzikos: *SEG* 28:953 (ca 25–50 CE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.); *IMT* 1446.

Ionia

Ephesos: *I Eph* 409, 3019 (*conventus*; I CE; cf. *I Eph* 646, 884, 2058, 3025 for individuals)

Lydia and Phrygia

Akmoneia and vicinity: *IPhrygR* 474 (Sebaste; 88–89 CE); *IPhrygR* 511 (Nais; οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥ.)

Apameia Kelainai (→ *IGRR* IV 791 [115] *comments*): *IGRR* IV 785–786, 788–791, 793–794 (I–III CE); *MAMA* VI 177 (ca. 65–69 CE), 183 (early III CE; οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥ.)

Dorylaion and vicinity: *MAMA* VI 372 (οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥ.)

Hierapolis: *IHierapJ* 32 = *IGRR* IV 818 (*synedrion*)

Kibyra: *IKibyra* 47–61 (I BCE or I CE; οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥ.)

Philadelphia: *IGRR* IV 1644 (simply Ῥ.)

Sardis: *SEG* 46:1521 (Ἰταλικοῖσι οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν] | πραγμα[τευόμενοι]; → *SEG* 46:1524 [122] *comments*)

Smyrna: *ISmyrna* 534 (simply Ῥ.)

Thyateira and vicinity: *NewDocs* II 18 (Julia Gordos, ca. 75–76 CE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.); *TAM* V 924 (I BCE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥ.); *TAM* V 1002–1003 (Attaleia, late I CE; *conventus*)

Caria

Halikarnassos: *SEG* 34:1067 (ca. 1–10 CE; οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥ.)

Iasos: *IAsos* 90 (4–7 CE; πραγματευόμενοι)

Tralleis: *ITrall* 77, 127 (II CE; οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥ.)

Pamphylia

Attaleia (Antalya): *SEG* 6:646 (ca. 7–4 BCE; οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι Π.)

Galatia

Isaura: *IGRR* III 292 (οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι Π.)

Neoclaudiopolis: *IGRR* III 137 (ca. 8–3 BCE; οἱ κατοικοῦντες Π.)

As this list suggests, the majority of the surviving inscriptions pertaining to associations of Romans comes from Mysia, Lydia, and Phrygia, and the evidence is not limited to coastal towns. Almost all the inscriptions are honorary monuments and, at locales such as Apameia Kelanai in Phrygia, many involve the Romans joining with local civic institutions (especially the People) to recognize benefactors of the city, as is also the case with our present inscription from Assos. The status of the honourees ranges from deities and members of the imperial family to imperial officials and local notables.

In larger centres, such as Ephesos in Ionia, there may have been more than one Italian association at a time. A number of Ephesian inscriptions use the terminology of “Italians who are engaged in business in Ephesos” (*Italicei, qui Ephesi negotiantur*; see *IEph* 2058; cf. *IEph* 409, 658, 738, 800). This is likely to be differentiated from those “engaged in business in the slave market” (*qui in statario negotiantur*) who honoured their patron, C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus, proconsul of Asia in 42/43 CE (*IEph* 3025; cf. *PIR1* P 109) and who also honoured T. Claudius Secundus (*IEph* 646 → *SEG* 46:1524 [122] *comments*). Both of these groups may be further differentiated from the “company of Romans engaged in business in Asia” (*conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur*), which honoured Claudius with a statue (*IEph* 3019; cf. *IEph* 409, largely reconstructed). One of these groups may be the successor of the Romans settled in Ephesos whom Dio Cassius mentions in connection with the establishment of temples for Julius Caesar during the time of Augustus (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 51.30.7).

Terpstra’s recent study returns to the question of the status or position of these Italian and Roman associations within Asia Minor (esp. Terpstra 2013, 171–221; cf. Hatzfeld 1919). It is true that Roman settlers at certain locales (e.g. Assos, Kyzikos, and Apameia) can be distinguished from other immigrant associations with respect to the quantity of evidence for ongoing, close ties to the civic institutions in their societies of settlement. There are also clear signs that individual Roman immigrants might take on important civic positions within the Greek cities. This sort of material points to a special status for these Roman immigrant groups within Greek cities of Asia Minor in certain respects, particularly in light of the fact that this was part of the *Roman* empire. And yet, as Terpstra explains in his survey of legal materials, we generally lack clear evi-

dence that would suggest that Roman settlers were given special judicial treatment by the Roman proconsul.

Literature: Hatzfeld 1919 (Romans); Mellor, Ronald. *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*. Hypomnemata: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben 42. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975; Mellor, Ronald. “The Goddess Roma.” *ANRW* 2.17.2 (1981) 950–1030; Mühler and Hasenohr 2002 (Romans); Özhan, Tolga, and Nurettin Arslan. “Tiyatro Yazıtları Işığında Assos’ta Zanaatkârlar.” *Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu)* 77 (2013) 73–81 (theatre reservations at Assos); Terpstra 2013 (Romans).