

List of Publications with Abstracts

I. Monographs

II. Editorial Work

III. Articles

I. Monographs

(Reviews are listed in my [list of publications](#))

- 1) **Die gens Ausoniana an der Macht. Untersuchungen zu Decimius Magnus Ausonius und seiner Familie.** ('The *gens Ausoniana* in Power. Studies in Decimius Magnus Ausonius and His Family'). **Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research 2002 (=Prosopographica et Genealogica 8).** xvi + 266 pp. For a table of contents and an abstract see <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/publications.htm>.

Abstract (German)

Vor dem Hintergrund des spätantiken Bildungs- und Verwaltungssystems werden Ausonius' akademische und politische Karriere nachgezeichnet (ca. 311-94). Besondere Aufmerksamkeit findet die versöhnende Gesellschafts- und Religionspolitik, die der Professor von Bordeaux und Erzieher des Kaisers Gratian am Trierer Hof verfolgte. Die einzigartige Quellenlage erlaubt zudem, seine Familiengeschichte vom 3. bis ins 6. Jh. zu skizzieren: Ausonius' Aufstieg ist das Ergebnis der Bildungsbestrebungen und Heiratspolitik mehrerer Generationen ebenso wie der Erfolg des Consuls von 379 die bleibende Zugehörigkeit seiner Nachkommen zur Reichs aristokratie begründete; umfangreiche Zeugnisse liegen vor allem für seinen Sohn Hesperius, seine Schwiegersöhne Euromius und Thalassius, seinen Neffen Arborius sowie seinen Enkel Paulinus von Pella vor.

Abstract (English)

Contributing to a larger understanding of Late Roman administration and pedagogy, this book investigates Ausonius' academic and political career against the background of Late Roman education and administration. Shaped to a significant extent by the ideas of the scholar from Bordeaux, Emperor Gratian's domestic policy is studied in detail, as is Ausonius' peculiar reconciliation of conflicting positions on Christian devotion, individual piety, and religious tolerance. Attention is also devoted to Ausonius' family: ancestors, contemporaries, descendants. Those who achieved senior posts under the Roman emperors include his son Hesperius, his sons-in-law Euromius and Thalassius, and his nephew Arborius. His grandson Paulinus of Pella is well attested, and onomastic inferences allow genealogical research to extend down to the mid-sixth century.

- 2) **Bürgerrechtsentzug oder Fremdenausweisung? Studien zu den Rechten von Latinern und weiteren Fremden sowie zum Bürgerrechtswechsel in der Römischen Republik (5. bis frühes 1. Jh. v.Chr.).** ('Withdrawal of Citizenship or Expulsion of Foreigners? Studies in the Rights of Latins and Other Foreigners as well as in the Change of Citizenship in the Roman Republic, 5th–1st Centuries BC'). **Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009 (=Hermes-Einzelstudie 101).** 236pp.

Abstract (German)

Im Zentrum der Untersuchung stehen die Berichte des Livius über Ausweisungen von Latinern und Italikern aus Rom in den Jahren 206–173 v. Chr. Bisher geht die Forschung davon aus, daß es sich bei den Heimgesandten um entrechtete römische Neubürger gehandelt habe. Tatsächlich wurden aber nur Migranten, die kein Bürgerrecht erworben hatten, der Stadt verwiesen. Der Autor stellt diese Erkenntnis zunächst in ihren rechtshistorischen Kontext und analysiert sowohl die Bedingungen für die In-/Exklusion von Fremden in Rom, als auch die politische Funktion und praktische Reichweite der (oft nur vermeintlichen) Latinerrechte wie des *commercium*, *conubium*, *suffragium*, *exilium* sowie der *recuperatio* und *migratio*. Letztere läßt sich auf das *postliminium* ("Wiedererlangung der Heimatrechte") zurückführen, das unter den Bedingungen römischer Kolonialpolitik und später des Hannibalkrieges weiterentwickelt wurde. Die Studie verfolgt die demographischen sowie innen- und außenpolitischen Entwicklungslinien bis in die Zeit der Gracchischen Reformen und des Bundesgenossenkrieges.

- 3) Großzügige Praxis der Bürgerrechtsvergabe in Rom? Zwischen Mythos und Wirklichkeit.** ('Were the Romans Generous in Conveying Their Citizenship? In-between Myth and Reality'), **edited by the Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009 (=Colloquia Academica. Akademievorträge junger Wissenschaftler 2009.1).** 41 pp.

Abstract (German)

Während die moderne Literatur die Integrationsfähigkeit der Römer zu loben pflegt, ist der Quellenbefund widersprüchlich: Antike Zeitgenossen wie Philipp V. von Makedonien oder Aelius Aristides preisen zwar die Offenheit des *populus Romanus*, doch finden sich zahlreiche Belege für die Vorenthal tung politischer Rechte gegenüber Neubürgern, für Massenausweisungen von Immigranten aus Rom und überhaupt für hohe Hürden beim Erwerb der *civitas Romana*. Angemessen verstehen läßt sich die römische Bürgerrechtpolitik nur im Kontext der demographischen Entwicklung Italiens und der imperialen Politik der Römer. Überdies basieren viele scheinbare Unstimmigkeiten auf modernen Mißverständnissen: Denn nicht wenige Grundannahmen zum hohen Wert des römischen Bürgerrechts oder zur Zwangsläufigkeit der italischen Einigung sind im Jahrhundert der Nationalstaatenbildung geprägt worden. Exemplarisch herausgegriffen wird die Annahme der rechtlichen Privilegierung der Latiner aufgrund ihrer Stammesgemeinschaft mit den Römern, speziell ihr angebliches Recht auf Einbürgerung allein durch ihren Umzug nach Rom: Dieses sog. *ius migrandi* wird als moderner Mythos entlarvt. Im Umgang mit den Latinern bewiesen die Römer ebenso wie gegenüber den Eliten der Reichsstädte, den ehrenhaft entlassenen Veteranen und den ehemaligen Sklaven, daß sie Fremde gemäß ihrem Nutzen für die Bürgergemeinde ganz oder partiell inkludierten oder aber von ihrer Gemeinschaft ausschlossen. Damit ist nicht zuletzt auch ein wesentlicher Faktor für die viele Jahrhunderte anhaltende Stabilität des Imperium Romanum bestimmt.

- 4) Cicero und das römische Bürgerrecht. Die Verteidigung des Dichters Archias. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und historisch-philologische Kommentierungen** ('Cicero and Roman Citizenship. The Defence of the Poet Archias. Introduction, Text, Translation, as well as Historical and Philological Comments'), **Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2010 (=Vertumnus, vol. 5, ed. by Ulrich Schmitzer).** 178 pp.

Abstract (German)

Cicero verteidigte 62 v. Chr. den griechischen Dichter und römischen Neubürger A. Licinius Archias gegen die Anklage der Bürgerrechtsanmaßung. Dieses außerordentliche sprachliche Kunstwerk des Cicero ist eine der wichtigsten Quellen zur Geschichte des römischen Bürgerrechts in der späten Republik. Diese Untersuchung beschäftigt sich mit dieser Rede, die das älteste erhaltene, vielleicht überhaupt das erste öffentliche Plädoyer eines römischen Senators für den Wert des Literarischen und speziell auch für die griechische Bildung ist. Darüber hinaus untersucht Coşkun die Rede einerseits auf die Inklusion von fremden »Freunden« in die römische Gesellschaft und den *populus Romanus*. Er zeigt andererseits auch die Instrumentalisierbarkeit der Freundschaftssemantik im Kontext der Verleihung oder Verteidigung der *civitas Romana*.

TOC (German)

Vorbemerkungen

A. Quellennachweis und Bibliographie

1. Überlieferung
2. Texteditionen, Kommentare, Übersetzungen
3. Weitere zitierte Literatur
4. Webseiten und Datenbanken

B. Einführung

1. Vorgeschichte
2. Gegenstand der Klage und Strategie der Verteidigung
3. Datierung des Prozesses und Handlungsmotive
4. Ausgang des Prozesses

5. Gliederung der Rede

C. Der rechtshistorische Kontext

1. Abriss der Geschichte des römischen Bürgerrechts bis 91 v.Chr.
2. Die Bürgerrechtspolitik während des Bundesgenossekrieges
3. Die Bürgerrechtsgesetze des Bundesgenossekrieges
4. Die *lex Plautia Papiria* des Jahres 89 v.Chr.
5. Ausblick auf die weitere Entwicklung der Bürgerrechtsgeschichte
6. Vertiefung: Die *lex Papia de peregrinis* des Jahres 65 v.Chr.

D. Rhetorische Strategien und die Konstruktion eines rechtmäßigen und guten römischen Bürgers

1. *Argumentatio extra causam?*
2. Rhetorische Rollen und interpersonale Nahverhältnisse
3. Freundschaftssemantiken im Dienst der Verteidigung des Archias
4. Archias: *homo Graecus* und *civis Romanus*

E. Durchlaufende Kommentierung

F. Text

G. Übersetzung

H. Register

1. Stellenregister

2. Namen- und Sachregister

Planned

- *A Historical Analysis of 1 Maccabees: Urversion, Continuation, Ideological Layers and Chronology.*

Abstract (English):

The *First Book of Maccabees* (*1Macc*) is the most important source for early Maccabaean history. It also presents the most coherent surviving Seleukid narrative of the mid-2nd century BC, and further offers occasional glimpses into Roman foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean during the same period. *1Macc* provides a panoply of information, much of which is precise, accurate and consistent, although the ideological lense of the pro-Maccabaean author has distorted some of it. Other tensions have been created either through the use of heterogeneous sources or through additions, when the work was later augmented, continued or translated from Hebrew to Greek. Yet other details are simply based on misunderstandings. Studies by Classical Historians, Biblical scholars and Judaists are legion, and much progress in elucidating the Maccabaean account has been made especially since the mid-20th century. The problem remains, however, that no matter how solid or innovative the approach of any scholar has been, so far no one has followed through on a literary analysis that pays as much attention to narrative structure, ideological layers and a detailed chronology of events. At the same time, historical commentators continue to focus on individual problems, often without considering the complex genesis of the text or the methodological principles underlying *1Macc*. The present study tries to combine a variety of approaches into one critical scrutiny, regarding every narrative unit as part of a literary plot, as part of an ideological web and, at the same time, as reflecting Judaean history evolving in time and space.

TOC

INTRODUCTION

- 1) Summary
- 2) The Plot of *1 Maccabees*

PART I: Uncovering the *Urversion* (140 BC) and Continuation (128 BC) of *1 Maccabees*

- 1) The Problem
- 2) Chronological *Termini Ad quem* for the Composition and a First Argument for ca. 129 BC
- 3) Anti-Gentile Polemics and a Possible Composition Date Early under John Hyrkanos
- 4) Inconsistent Representation of the Seleukids
- 5) Analytical versus Unitarian Approaches
- 6) Encapsulated Documents, Literary Criticism and the *Urversion*
- 7) From the Hebrew *Urversion* to the Septuagint Version
- 8) More Documentary Philology
- 9) The Translator and Continuator of *1 Maccabees*
- 10) Conclusions and Outlook: *Urversion*, Continuation, *Chronicle of John* and a Call for More Analytical Studies in *1 Maccabees*

PART II: The Use of the Seleukid Era and Other Chronological Problems in *1 Maccabees*

- 1) Introduction: the Use of the Seleukid Era in *1 Maccabees*
- 2) When Was Antiochos IV in Jerusalem: in 169 or 168 BC?
- 3) The Dates of the ‘Abomination of Desolation’ and of the Purification of the Temple
- 4) When Did Antiochos IV Die?
- 5) Evincing the First Judaean Campaign of Lysias as a Literary Fiction
- 6) The Chronology of the Second Judaean Campaign of Lysias
- 7) The Usurpation of Demetrios I, the Battle of Adasa and Nikanor’s Day
- 8) The Date of the Judaean Embassy to Rome under Judas
- 9) The Date of the Battle at Elaza

- 10) Jonathan's Switch from Demetrios I to Alexander Balas
- 11) Jonathan's Switch from Demetrios II to Antiochos VI and the Timing of His Alleged Embassy to Rome in 143 BC
- 12) Simon's Succession, Numenios' Embassy to Rome and the Agreement with Demetrios II
- 13) The Date of Simon's Capture of the Akra
- 14) The Date of Demetrios II's Parthian Campaign and the Beginning of Antiochos VII's Rule
- 15) The Dates of Simon's Murder and John Hyrkanos I's Succession

PART III: The Evidence for Maccabaeon Diplomacy with Rome (and Sparta)

- 1) Introduction: Prolegomena to a *History of Judaean-Roman Diplomacy*
- 2) An Alleged Roman Letter Addressing the Judaeans in 164 BC (*2Macc* 11.34–38)
- 3) The First Judaean Embassy to Rome in 161 BC (*1Macc* 8)
- 4) Judaean Ambassadors under the Late Oniads and Early Maccabees, 200–104 BC
- 5) A Letter of C. Fannius, Consul of 161 BC (*Jos. Ant. Jud.* 14.10.15 [233])
- 6) The Beginning of Judaean-Roman Friendship According to Justin, Diodorus and Caesar
- 7) Judaean Diplomacy with Sparta and Rome under Jonathan in 143 BC (*1Macc* 12.1–23)?
- 8) The Embassy to Rome under Simon in 142 BC (*1Macc* 14.16–24, 40; 15.16–24)
- 9) Two Embassies to Rome under John Hyrkanos I in 128/27, 107, ca. 106 BC
 - a) John Hyrkanos I's Diplomacy with Rome: Narrative versus Documentary Evidence
 - b) The Letter of the Praetor Lucius Valerius and the Mission of Numenios in 128/27 BC
 - c) A First Look at the *Pergamene Decree* (*Jos. Ant. Jud.* 14.10.22 [247–255])
 - d) The Judaean Campaign of Antiochos IX Kyzikenos – A Chronological Survey
 - e) Joppa, the Second Embassy to Rome (107 BC) and Diplomacy with Pergamon (105 BC)
 - f) The *Athenian Decree* for Hyrkanos in 105 BC
- 10) The Fannius Decree and an Embassy to Rome under Aristobulos I (105/4 BC)
- 11) A Gift of Friendship from Alexander Jannaios and the end of Judaean-Roman *amicitia*
- 12) Triangular Epistolary Diplomacy with Rome from Judas to Aristobulos I

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: A New Analytical Approach to *Daniel*

- 1) The Chronological Timeframe of the Seleukid Prophecies
- 2) The Chronological Layers of the *Book of Daniel*

Appendix 2: A New Analytical Approach to *2 Maccabees*

- 1) Onias III and Jason of Cyrene
- 2) Epitomator and Compilator of *2 Maccabees*

Appendix 3: *1 Maccabees* and Josephus: Tracing an Intermediary Source

- 1) Various Theories on Short Earlier or Different Later Versions of *1 Maccabees*
- 2) The Distinct Ideology of the Intermediary Source
- 3) Conclusions

Appendix 4: What Caused the Religious Persecution under Antiochos IV?

Appendix 5: The Impact of the Sabbatical Year on Judaean Life, Warfare and Historiography

- 1) Introduction: the Impact of Sabbatical Year as an Excuse for Military Failure
- 2) Herod's Siege of Jerusalem and the Capture of Antigonos Early in the Sabbatical Year
- 3) Reconsidering the Effect of the Sabbatical Year on Judaean Warfare
- 4) Evidence for Other Sabbatical Years in the Roman Empire
- 5) The Talmudic Tradition and of the Modern Cycle of the Sabbatical Year
- 6) Epilogue: Apologetic References to the Sabbatical Year in the Historiographic Tradition

Appendix 6: Titulature of the Early Maccabaeans

- 1) Judas
- 2) Jonathan
- 3) Simon
- 4) John Hyrkanos I

Appendix 7: Judaean History – A Timeline for 200 to 37 BC

- Construction of Hellenistic Kingship under the Early Seleukids: Galatian Victory, Saviour Cults, Kinship Roles and Queenship.

Abstract (English)

Monarchy – as any other form of political power – is not a stable or clearly defined entity, but is in a constant process of communication, representation and negotiation. The need to communicate the legitimacy, benefits or at least awe-inspiring might of a ruler(r) was felt particularly by a dynasty that had established itself only very recently and was, in addition, foreign to most of its subjects. The Seleukids were not only highly successful in acquiring and displaying military force, but also in creating views of their charismatic leadership and divine protection. The approach of this study is not simply to reject such representations of power as fictitious propaganda, but to accept that these creations to a degree construed new reality. In order to assess the wit, persuasiveness, and effect of such designs, I attempt to disentangle some military, genealogical, or political realities from their embellished tradition. This will be an important step towards tracing the skilful design of the Seleukids' representation as eternal winners, as charismatic leaders capable of 'healing' the sufferings of their subjects, and as the embodiment of a royal family descending from and modelled after the Olympian gods.

- Von der 'Geißel Asiens' zur 'römerfreundlichen Ordnungsmacht'. Die politische Geschichte der Galater von ihrer Landnahme in Zentralanatolien bis zur Königsherrschaft des Deiotaros Philorhomaios und Amyntas, 3.–1. Jh. v.Chr. ('From the 'Scourge of Asia' to a 'Pro-Roman Regulatory Force'. The Political History of the Galatians from Their Conquests in Central Anatolia to the Reigns of Deiotaros Philorhomaios and Amyntas, 3rd to 1st cents. BC').

Abstract (English)

The Galatians in central Anatolia were amongst the most active players in the political power games of the Hellenistic world, and their involvement in neighbouring conflicts is attested or at least alluded to in dozens of instances, though most often in fragments and with utter distortion. Moreover, little is known about their internal organization and socio-political structure. This monograph is trying to present a fresh synthesis that shed more light not only on this most ill-reputed people of the Hellenistic age, but also of their landscape onto which they left only few physical imprints over the first three centuries due to their nomadic life style. Even so, the literary, archaeological, numismatic, epigraphic and onomastic evidence of late Hellenistic and mainly Imperial date, if adduced with caution, will help to better understand the ethnogenesis and development of the Galatian tribes as well as their (only seemingly) inconsistent diplomatic affiliations. This study is rooted in my Habilitationsschrift (i.e. postdoctoral thesis, University of Trier in 2007, xiii + 533 pp.): Von der 'Geißel Asiens' zu 'kaiserfrommen Reichsbewohnern'. Sudien zur Geschichte der Galater unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der amicitia populi Romani und der göttlichen Verehrung des Augustus, 3. Jh. v.-2. Jh. n.Chr. ('From the 'Scourge of Asia'

to ‘Emperor-Venerating Provincials’. Studies in the History of the Galatians with Special Foci on the ‘Friendship of the Roman People’ and the Divine Cult of Augustus, 3rd Century BC to AD 2nd Century’). Given the substantial changes that Galatian History has been undergoing in recent years (cf. my bibliographical survey in *Anatolica* 39, 2013, 69-95), and facing the numerous ongoing research projects as well as the instant publications of new epigraphic corpora, the production of a comprehensive monograph has been postponed for a few years.

II. Editorial Work a) Edited and Co-Edited Books

(Reviews are listed in my [list of publications](#))

- 1) ***Amici Populi Romani* (APR). Prosopographie der auswärtigen Freunde Roms = Prosopography of the Foreign Friends of Rome. Version 07.** Waterloo ON 2017. URL: <http://www.altaycoskun.apr>.

The database *Amici Populi Romani* (APR) originates in the Trier-based research project *The Foreign Friends of Rome (SFB 600-A2, 2002-2008)*. It was dedicated to the systematic study of the ‘friendly’ relations between the Roman people or Roman individuals on the one side and their diplomatic partners throughout the Mediterranean World and even beyond on the other. These interpersonal connections played major roles in the establishing and development of the Roman Empire, for this was by no means solely based on Rome’s military power, but to a large extent also depended on the loyalty shown and voluntary support offered by external kings or aristocrats. A ruler who collaborated with the Romans and was formally recognized as an *amicus populi Romani* was often able to solidify his position within his local community, if not to increase his influence on neighbouring areas. The main targets for inclusion into the APR collection are all extra-Italian individuals that made friends with the Romans (as represented by the senate, the assembly of the people, a magistrate, or pro-magistrate) or less formally with a Roman aristocrat. However, also listed are some female dynasts, whether for their own sake as *amicae*, or, more often, to address genealogical uncertainties of their more prominent male counterparts; for similar reasons, other close relatives that are known to have played important roles can be included as well. Further added have been entries on successors or even rivals of such *amici*, detailed knowledge of whom may help us better understand the extent but also limitations of the diplomatic friendship with Rome. Most entries fall into the period from the Hannibalic War (218-201 BC) down to the Flavian period (AD 69-96). But these are to be considered no more than ‘soft’ limits.

- 2) **Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat**, in Zusammenarbeit mit Heinz Heinen und Manuel Tröster herausgegeben von Altay Coşkun (‘The Foreign Friends of Rome in the Late Republic and the Early Principate’, ed. by A.C. with the assistance of H.H. and M.T.’), **Göttingen 2005 (=Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft, Beiheft 19)**. x + 300 pp. (Repr. with new cover, Göttingen: Ed. Ruprecht, 2007)

For cover, blurb, and selection of reviews, see <http://www.edition-ruprecht.de/katalog/titel.php?id=82>

Abstract (German)

Seitdem die Römer ihre Blicke weit über die italische Halbinsel hinaus richteten, entwickelte sich die *amicitia populi Romani* zu ihrem bestimmenden außenpolitischen Konzept. Ursprünglich implizierte dieses ganz allgemein gute und friedliche Beziehungen, doch erwies es sich bald als ein elastisches Instrument, um immer entfernter lebende Völker bei nur begrenztem Engagement zu kontrollieren und in das Imperium Romanum einzubeziehen. Über mehrere Jahrhunderte spielte das weite Netz sowohl zwischenstaatlicher als auch interpersonaler 'Freundschaften' nicht nur in politischer und militärischer Hinsicht eine entscheidende Rolle, sondern strahlte auch auf die soziale Stellung der beteiligten Parteien aus und trug zur kulturellen Romanisierung weiter Gebiete bei. Dabei boten diese Nahverhältnisse gerade in der turbulenten Zeit der ausgehenden Republik große machtpolitische Potentiale und Risiken. Das Verständnis von den sehr vielfältigen Spielarten transnationaler 'Freundschaftsbeziehungen' und ihren tiefgreifenden Auswirkungen zu schärfen ist das Anliegen des vorliegenden Sammelbandes. Mit diesem wird eine repräsentative Auswahl aus den Arbeiten getroffen, die im Umfeld des an der Universität Trier angesiedelten Projekts 'Roms auswärtige Freunde' entstanden sind. Acht Beiträge der Trierer Forschungsgruppe um Heinz Heinen und Altay Coşkun werden durch fünf weitere Studien international renommierter Althistoriker ergänzt.

Short Abstract (English)

When the Roman Empire expanded to include distant territories, the concept of «friendship» became the means of political, social, and military integration. This anthology examines the various facets of such transnational «friendship» and their impact on the cultures involved.

3) Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jh. v.Chr. – 1. Jh. n.Chr.) ('Friendship and Clientele Bonds in the Foreign Relations of the Romans, 2nd cent. BC – 1 cent. AD'). Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2008 (=Inklusion/Exklusion. Studien zu Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, vol. 9, ed. by Andreas Gestrich/Herbert Uerlings/Lutz Raphael). 261 pp. + 4 maps.

Abstract (German)

Die Römer bezeichneten die Vertreter auswärtiger Mächte, mit denen sie kooperierten, vorzugsweise als 'Freunde' – unabhängig davon, ob es sich um Könige oder Gesandte von Städten, um Vertragspartner oder ehemalige Kriegsgegner handelte. Welche Auswirkungen hatten diese diplomatischen Umgangsformen? Welche Verbindlichkeit kam der 'amicitia populi Romani' zu? Wie entwickelten sich diese im Laufe der Jahrhunderte? Welche kurz- und langfristigen Auswirkungen hatten derartige Freundschaften auf die römische Politik und auf die Gesellschaft der nichtrömischen Partner? Der Band nähert sich diesen Fragen mit einer Reihe von regionalen Vertiefungen, chronologischen Längsschnitten und systematischen Betrachtungsweisen. Dabei wird das gesamte Spektrum der althistorischen Quellengattungen zu Grunde gelegt. Lateinische und griechische Texte werden mit deutscher oder englischer Übersetzung zitiert.

TOC

Altay Coşkun: Freundschaft, persönliche Nahverhältnisse und das Imperium Romanum. Eine Einführung – Craig Williams: Friends of the Roman People. Some Remarks on the Language of *amicitia* – Luis Ballesteros Pastor: Cappadocia and Pontus, Client Kingdoms of the Roman Republic from the Peace of Apamea to the Beginning of the Mithridatic Wars (188-89 B.C.) – Axel Niebergall: Rom und die griechischen Eliten im Ersten Mithradatischen Krieg – Henrik

Prantl: Artavasdes II. - Freund oder Feind der Römer? – Johannes Engels: Athenodoros, Boethos und Nestor: ‘Vorsteher der Regierung’ in Tarsos und Freunde führender Römer – Altay Coşkun: Das Ende der ‘romfreundlichen Herrschaft’ in Galatien und das Beispiel einer ‘sanften Provinzialisierung’ in Zentralanatolien – Julia Wilker: *Principes et reges*. Das persönliche Nahverhältnis zwischen Princeps und Klientelherrschern und seine Auswirkungen im frühen Prinzipat – Heinz Heinen: Romfreunde und Kaiserpriester am Kimmerischen Bosporos. Zu neuen Inschriften aus Phanagoreia – Altay Coşkun: Anhang: Rückkehr zum Vertragscharakter der *amicitia*? Zu einer alt-neuen Forschungskontroverse.

- 4) together with Heinz Heinen/Stefan Pfeiffer (eds.): Repräsentation von Identität und Zugehörigkeit im Osten der griechisch-römischen Welt** (‘Representation of Identity and Belonging in the East of the Graeco-Roman World’), in: **Inklusion/Exklusion. Studien zu Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart**, vol. 14, ed. by Andreas Gestrich/Lutz Raphael/Herbert Uerlings, Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 2009 (Jan. 2010).

Abstract (German)

Die Frage nach kultureller Identität und rechtlich-politischer Zugehörigkeit war in jeder historischen Epoche relevant, gewann aber besonders In den Großreichen, wie sie sich zunächst nach den Eroberungen Alexanders des Großen (seit dem späten 4. Jahrhunder v.Chr.) und dann vor allem in Gestalt des Imperium Romanum (seit dem späteren 2. Jahrhundert v Chr.) ausbildeten, an Bedeutung und Vielschichtigkeit. Repräsentation, Identität und Zugehörigkeit in der Fremde oder aber in der einer Fremdherrschaft unterstehenden Heimat stellen die zentralen Themen dieses Bandes dar. Wiederholt geraten dabei Ausdruckstornen der Mythologie oder des Kultes, insbesondere im Rahmen der göttlichen Verehrung des Herrschers, in den Blick. Die Fallbeispiele bewegen sich chronologisch zwischen dem Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit sowie geographisch zwischen der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres und der Südgrenze Ägyptens. Der Band geht zurück auf die Tagung „Zwischen Freundschaft und kultischer Verehrung. Formen und Wandel grenzüberschreitender Zugehörigkeit in der Antike“, die im Rahmen des SFB 600 „Fremdheit und Armut“ vom 19. bis 21. Oktober 2007 in Trier stattfand.

TOC

Heinz Heinen: Repräsentation von Identität und Zugehörigkeit: eine Einführung – Sandra Scheuble: Loyalitätsbekundungen ptolemäischer Phrurarchen im Spiegel epigraphischer Quellen – Stefan Pfeiffer: Octavian-Augustus und Ägypten – Hans-Christoph Noeske: Die Münzprägung des Octavianus /Augustus in Alexandria. Materialien und Überlegungen zur Entstehung und Ausgestaltung einer Provinzialwährung – Victor Cojocaru: ‘Fremde’ in griechischen Städten Skythiens und Kleinskythiens auf Grundlage der epigraphischen Quellen bis zum 3 Jh. n. Chr. Forschungsstand und Perspektive – Altay Coşkun: Der Ankyraner Kaiserkult und die Transformation galatischer und phrygisch-galatischer Identitäten in Zentralanatolien im Spiegel der Münzquellen – Roland R. R. Smith: New Citizens and Marble Sarcophagi at Aphrodisias in Caria (Summary).

- 5) together with Lutz Raphael (eds.): Fremd und rechtlos? Zugehörigkeitsrechte Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch** (‘Did Aliens have Rights? Legal and Political Inclusion and Exclusion of Foreigners from Antiquity to the Present Day. A

Handbook'), Köln: Boehlau Verlag, Sep. 2014. Cf. the book presentation by the publisher (p. 14) and by the SFB 600.

Abstract (English)

This volume offers for the first time a concise survey on the legal status of foreigners in the diverse political communities that the Mediterranean and European world has seen from antiquity to the present day. The scope of the book extends from ethnic constructs in Ancient Egypt at the one end to current-day debates of immigration policies in the European Union at the other. Of systematic interest is the question how religious beliefs, demographic shifts and economic needs impacted the inclination of those in power to grant, withhold or even withdraw rights of residency, personal protection or active participation. Likewise studied is the potential influence of the shape of the political constitution on inclusive or exclusive practices. Further considered is the question in how far pre-existing ethnic constructs affected the choice of foreigners for their legal inclusion into the inside group – or whether rather other factors decided on their eligibility for settlement or franchise, and ethnic constructs would only follow in- or exclusion respectively. Chapters have been written by historians with a sustained research agenda in their subfields. They could draw on expert advice provided by Political Scientists, Sociologists, Lawyers, as well as colleagues from Religious Studies.

Abstract (German)

Der Band bietet Überblick über die Rechtsstellung von Fremdgruppen in Herrschaftsverbänden und Gesellschaftsordnungen der mediterran-europäischen Welt. Dargestellt werden die rechtlichen und politischen Regelungen von Teilhabe und Ausschluss Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Besondere Beachtung finden die Einflüsse, welche religiöse Vorstellungen, demographische Umstände und die Semantiken von Fremdheit auf die Gleichstellung bzw. Andersbehandlung Fremder seit der Antike hatten. Geographisch legt das Handbuch einen Schwerpunkt auf den Mittelmeerraum (von der Antike bis zum Islam) sowie das westliche und mittlere Europa. Zeitlich spannen die Beiträge einen weiten Bogen vom Alten Ägypten bis zur Gegenwart. Das Handbuch ist gemeinsam von einem Autorenteam aus Historikerinnen und Historikern der unterschiedlichsten Epochen unter Beteiligung von beratenden Experten aus den Religions-, Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften im Rahmen des Trierer SFB 600 "Fremdheit und Armut" erarbeitet worden.

6) together with Victor Cojocaru and Madalina Dana (eds.): Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. The Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Iași Branch of the Romanian Academy, the Museum of National History and Archaeology Constanța, the Research Project 'Amici Populi Romani' (Trier – Waterloo ON) and the Cultural Complex 'Callatis' Mangalia (Constanța, July 8-12, 2013), Cluj-Napoca: MEGA Publishing House, Dec. 2014. 708 pp. Cf. the Conference Website or a short book presentation in French.

Abstract (English)

This is a collection of 28 papers by leading experts from nine European countries, Turkey, and Northern America. Multiple aspects of interconnectivity between cities and regions of the ancient Black Sea and Mediterranean are studied, such as political and economic networks or local responses to major cultural or religious trends. The investigations present problems at the current

state of research under close consideration of a wide range of primary evidence, some of which has come to light only recently. Several contributions deal with geopolitical implications, others focus on economic connections of the Black Sea area and its integration into commercial networks, and a third group assembles studies dedicated to the mobility of persons, artworks or cultural concepts. This book is intended to serve not only as a reference work for the ancient Black Sea area and its adjacent territories, but also as a stepping stone for further research on the topic, and as encouragement for constructive dialogues between scholars from West and East.

7) together with Alex McAuley (eds.): Seleukid Royal Women. Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire (*Historia Einzelschriften*, Heft 240), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, May 2016. 322 pp.

Select Papers from Seleukid Study Day IV, McGill University, Montreal, 20-23 Feb. 2013.

Cf. the website <http://www.steiner-verlag.de/titel/60870.html>.

Abstract (English)

Over the past two decades, the study of royal women has been one of the most dynamic fields of inquiry into the Hellenistic world (ca. 336/323–30 BC), and one that has dramatically shifted our perceptions of gender, status, influence, and ability within the broader ancient world. While royal women were once dismissed as powerless pawns in a political game that was an exclusively masculine domain, Seleukid Study Day IV (McGill University, Montreal, 20-23 Feb. 2013) made it apparent that we cannot evaluate female power and roles exclusively by male criteria. Perhaps more so in the Hellenistic age than in any other period of Ancient History, a profound appreciation of female prominence and influence as well as an understanding of a very distinct sort of agency has begun to emerge. However, compared to their contemporaries in Macedon and Egypt, Seleukid queens and princesses have hardly begun to fall under the gaze of scholarly scrutiny. Imbued with ideological prominence, they became scions of their family's legitimacy and prestige. But how they impacted the cultures into which they married, and how they were themselves impacted by them, requires far more scholarly attention. Likewise lacking is a systematic scrutiny of the representation of female Seleukids in visual and textual media, both of which are necessary to decode the process of shaping, perpetuating, and modifying expectations attached to gender and social status. Seleukid royal women were born or married into the family at the head of an empire that spanned dozens of cultures and languages, encompassing territory that spanned from western Asia Minor to the Indus River. It has thus been one of the core objectives of this collaborative project to avoid Eurocentric perspectives by bringing the many diverse traditions of one of the largest empires of the ancient world back into the picture.

8) with D. Engels (eds.): Rome and the Seleukid East. Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V, Brussels, 21–23 Aug. 2015, (*Collection Latomus* 360), Brussels: Editions Latomus, 2019.

Longer Abstract for the Conference 2015 (English)

The 2nd century BC was a watershed period of World History that saw Rome, one of the longest-lasting empires of all times, rise to become the sole superpower in the Mediterranean while the Seleukid Kingdom, one of the largest of the ancient world, was slowly but steadily disintegrating. The Seleukids had established themselves as the strongest of all the ‘Successor Kings’ after the death of Alexander the Great, and their territory extended as far as Thrace in the West and

Pakistan in the East for about a century (312/281–190). The kingdom's demise started soon after it had reached a new pinnacle under Antiochos III. The same, however, also suffered harsh military defeat at the hands of the Romans (191/90). And yet, this failure did not trigger the empire's immediate collapse; the dynasty was resilient, and established itself again as the leading might in the Near East under Antiochos IV, and dragged on thereafter for another century, without further Roman military intervention. Thus, Roman military prowess cannot sufficiently explain the shift of power. Apparently, the Seleukid army continued to be a force to reckon with, and the popularity and prestige of the royal house could not be shattered by occasional defeats. Why, then, was the Seleukid Dynasty able to persist for so long? Among the factors that gradually eroded Seleukid supremacy will be discussed the impact of Roman diplomacy, the effect of the dynastic marriage practices that led to rivalries not only within the royal family, but also to the deleterious involvement of the Ptolemaic house; the rise of the Parthians in the East as the most successful competitors of the Seleukids as well as the surge of the Maccabees in the West as the best-documented case of the empire's disintegration.

Shorter Abstract for the Selected Papers 2019 (English)

Seleukos I (312–281) was the strongest among the Successors of Alexander the Great, and his territory extended as far as Thrace in the West and Pakistan in the East for over a century. His kingdom reached a new pinnacle under Antiochos III (223–187), who combined military vigour with political skill, but also bears responsibility for its harsh defeat at the hands of the Romans, the ascending superpower in the Mediterranean. This failure did not yet trigger the dynasty's collapse albeit. It was resilient and re-established itself as the leading power in the Near East under Antiochos IV (175–164), who was able to maintain friendship with Rome. Gradually, however, Seleukid rule was reduced to Syria or parts thereof by 129. The book tries to redress the balance of Seleukid weaknesses and strengths. Case studies either focus on power, politics and ideology of the Seleukid centre, or on continuity and change in 2nd-century Anatolia, Judaea and Babylon, before trying to integrate into a broader picture the factors that led to Seleukid disintegration.

In preparation / planned:

- Recent Research in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia, for the series *Colloquia Antiqua*, ed. by Gocha Tsetskhadze.

Abstract (English)

About a quarter-century ago, S. Mitchell presented an exhaustive synthesis of Galatian History (Oxford 1993), which was shortly followed by the workshop *Forschungen in Galatiens* in Münster (published by E. Schwerdtheim, Bonn 1994) and a most detailed reappraisal of the migration period of the early-3rd century BC by K. Strobel (Berlin 1996). A workshop held at Waterloo in 2014 was designed to offer a new synthesis of more recent and ongoing research projects dwelling on the historical landscape of Galatia, the intercultural processes that took place among the Celtic invaders and the Phrygian inhabitants in the broader contexts of the power games of Hellenistic kings and the expanding Roman Empire. Substantial progress has further been made in recent years owing to excavations (including Pessinus, Gordion, and Ankyra), field surveys (such as in Tavion or the Konya province) as well as the publication of epigraphic and numismatic corpora (most prominently, *I.Ankyra I*). No less important are the several attempts at reconsidering who the Galatians or the inhabitants of Galatia were and how they interacted with

their environment politically, socially and culturally. The study of the broader Hellenistic and Roman contexts not only supports the interpretation of the (still lacunose) evidence for Galatia, but, at the same time, the available information on the Galatians has much to offer to enhance our understanding of the conditions under which royal and imperial rules were established, legitimized, challenged and redefined.

- Recent Advances in Ancient Black Sea Studies: Methodological Innovation, Interdisciplinary Perspectives and International Cooperation. Editorial assistance by Joanna Porucznik & Germain Payen, in preparation for ca. 2020.
- In the Shadow of Mithradates VI Eupator: the Bosporan Kingdom & Rome in a Watershed Period (63 BC to AD 69). With Posthumous Contributions by Heinz Heinen, in preparation for ca. 2021.

Abstract (English)

The Northern coast of the Black Sea was settled by Iranians from the steppes since the 2nd millennium BC, who were joined by Greek colonists as of the 7th century BCE. Roman political interest in the region is attested since the 2nd century BC, before Roman direct or indirect control extended from the 1st century BC to the 4th, if not 5th, century AD. Of particular interest is the Kingdom of the Kimmerian Bosporos, which surrounded the Strait of Kertch. For centuries, it was ruled by Hellenized kings of Iranian descent who held the titles of ‘friend of the Roman people’ and ‘high priest of the Emperor’. Ideological perspectives on the evidence are still prevalent a quarter-century after the fall of the Iron Curtain: the 19th-century paradigm that history is to be understood as rivalry between tribes and nations led to the assumption that major events were determined by a conflict between native Iranians and invading Greeks or oppressing Romans; this conflictual approach was cemented in the 20th century by regarding Rome as a precursor of the imperialist West, at least in the eyes of Eastern European colleagues. The late Prof. Heinz Heinen (Trier, Germany, 1941-2013) was one of the first to systematically question those simplistic antagonisms. He repeatedly demonstrated that the same patterns of intercultural contact were in place as in other parts of the Roman Empire: most of the elite members avidly assumed Greek or Roman names, titles, dressing styles and cults out of free choice, though not necessarily rejecting wholesale their own traditions. They publicly displayed affiliations with the ruling power to enhance their prestige among the locals, rather than to arouse their resentment. Heinen left behind an unfinished manuscript (1997) on the history of the Bosporos that is of high intellectual appeal and historiographical importance; it covers most of the ancient sources for 63 BC to AD 38. The first volume will contextualize many of Heinen’s useful observations among a number of recent studies with interdisciplinary or innovative approaches to Ancient Black Sea Studies. The second volume will revisit more narrowly the political history of the Bosporan Kingdom from 63 BC to ca. AD 69. In both endeavours, the editor Altay Coşkun will be supported by a distinguished team of international experts.

III. Articles

- 1) Ammianus Marcellinus und die Prozesse in Rom (a. 368/69–71/74) (‘Ammianus Marcellinus and the Trials in Rome, AD 368/69–71/74’). In: *Tyche* 15, 2000 [2001], 63-92.

Abstract (German)

Unter Kaiser Valentinian I. (364-75) entspann sich in Rom eine Prozeßwelle, die vor allem mit dem Namen Maximinus verbunden ist. Anklagen wegen Giftmischerei, Magie, Unzucht und Ehebruchs führten zu einer Häufung von Untersuchungen, in denen auch vor Folter und Vollzug der Todesstrafe an Aristokraten nicht zurückgeschreckt wurde. Die Mißachtung der senatorischen Standeswürde und das unverhältnismäßig scharfe Vorgehen haben auf Ammian tiefen Eindruck gemacht. So schienen ihm die Vorfälle zur Illustration der Machenschaften des von ihm leidenschaftlich gehaßten Maximinus besonders geeignet, und er widmete ihnen ein sehr umfangreiches Kapitel (28,1,1-57). Obwohl der Historiograph in ihrer Schilderung nicht einmal den Anschein der Objektivität zu erwecken versucht sowie in seinem einseitigen und pathetischen Dictus manche Zusammenhänge verzerrt oder vernebelt, hat ihm die moderne Forschung nur wenig Mißtrauen entgegengebracht. Entsprechend der Intention des Geschichtsschreibers stützt sie ihr weitgehend negatives Urteil über den pannonischen Kaiser auf diese und ähnliche Passagen der *Res gestae*. Eine strengere Prüfung läßt den Ablauf der Ereignisse, ihre tatsächlichen Hintergründe und einige Characteristica der Darstellungsweise Ammians klarer erkennen.

TOC (German)

1. Skizze der Ereignisse nach der Schilderung des Ammianus Marcellinus (28,1)
2. Der Beginn der Prozeßwelle
 - 2.1 Der chronologische Rahmen
 - 2.2 Das *crudele praeceptum*
3. Der Höhepunkt: Das Verfahren gegen Hymetius und die Senatsgesandtschaft
 - 3.1 Kritik an der Darstellung Ammians
 - 3.2 Gegenvorschläge
4. Das Ende der Verfolgungen und die Amtszeiten der *vicarii urbis a. 370-78*
 - 4.1 Die Darstellung Ammians und ihre Probleme
 - 4.2 Ansätze zu einer Problemlösung
 - 4.3 CTh 9,29,1 und das Ende der Prozesse gegen Aginatius und Anepsia
 - 4.4 *Collectio Avellana* 13 und das Vicariat des Doryphorianus
5. Die „Römischen Prozesse“, Valentinians Gesellschaftspolitik und einige Aspekte (spät)antiker Historiographie - Zusammenfassung und Reflexion
6. Appendix: Zu prozeßrechtlichen Privilegien im 4. Jahrhundert
- Verzeichnis der zitierten Literatur

- 2) *Civiliter vel criminaliter agere de falso*. Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung einer prozeßrechtlichen Reform Gratians (CTh 9,19,4 a. 376 / 9,20,1 a. 378) (‘Pursuing Either in a Civil or Criminal Trial. On the Content and the Meaning of Gratian’s Reform of the Legal Procedure’). In: *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* (TRG) 69, 2001, 21-41.

Abstract (German)

Die Constitution CTh 9,19,4 betrifft verfahrenstechnische Änderungen für die Anfechtung der Echtheit von Urkunden. Die geläufigen Interpretationen sind bisweilen spektakulär: Manche Forscher erkennen einen eklatanten Rechtsbruch und die Festschreibung prinzipiellen Unrechts in der epistula und machen dafür entweder den Dilettantismus des Quaestors Ausonius oder die Machenschaften des berüchtigten Praefecten Maximinus verantwortlich; andere loben die konstruktive Rechtsfortbildung; Verehrer des Ausonius preisen hingegen den milden Charakter der Disposition. Keine der auf evidenten Vorurteilen beruhenden Theorien hält einer Prüfung stand,

wie die kleinschrittige Textuntersuchung ergeben hat, die vor allem um die Trennung von bereits bestehendem Recht und neuer Setzung bemüht war. Von der vermeintlich großen Reform des Jahres 376 bleibt nicht mehr übrig, als daß bei der Erhebung einer Kriminalklage wegen Fälschung dem Richter anheimgestellt wird, auf die Formalie der *inscriptio* zu verzichten, dies aber ohne Konsequenzen für das *periculum talionis* (d.h. der Gefahr, derselben Strafe wie der Angeklagte zu unterliegen, falls die Beschuldigung nicht bewiesen werden kann); um für Akzeptanz der Bestimmung zu werben, betont der Quaestor ihre Übereinstimmung mit älteren Gesetzen. Für den im CTh unmittelbar folgenden Titel (9,20,1 a. 378) wird entgegen weitverbreiteter Ansicht nachgewiesen, daß es sich ursprünglich allein um die Belehrung eines Beamten handelte; Zivilklage und Strafklage im Urkundenprozeß waren auch schon vorher kumulativ zulässig.

- 3) Ausonius und die spätantike Quaestur ('Ausonius and the Late Roman Quaestorship'). In: Savigny-Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung (SZ=ZRG RA) 118, 2001, 312-343.

Abstract (German)

Der aus Bordeaux stammende Rhetorikprofessor Decimius Magnus Ausonius (ca. 310-395) ist heute vor allem durch sein vielseitige Verskunst bekannt, vor allem durch sein Idyll auf die Moselland (Mosella), aber auch durch die rührende Familiendichtung. Berühmtheit und Einfluss erlangte er, als er 368 an den Trierer Hof berufen wurde, um sich der Erziehung des Kinderkaisers Gratian (*359; Augustus 367-83) anzunehmen. Dem Nahverhältnis zur Kaiserfamilie und seinem Talent verdankte er es, dass ihn Valentinian I. (Augustus 364-375) im Jahr 374 zum Quaestor ernannte. Dieses Amt hatte der ehemalige Professor auch über den Tod des Kaisers (17.11.375) hinaus bis ins Jahr 378 inne. Seine Machtstellung nutzte Ausonius nicht nur dazu, eine Vielzahl seiner Familienangehörigen und Freunde in erlesene Ämter zu berufen, sondern er nahm auch prägenden Einfluss auf die Politik. Auf die Quaestur folgte die Beförderung zum Praetorianerpraefect (378/79), wobei die gleichzeitige Ehrung durch das Consulat (a. 379) den krönenden Abschluß seines *cursus honorum* bildete. Bereits dieser Karriereverlauf legt eine erfolgreiche Betätigung als Quaestor nahe. Dennoch gilt der Burdigalenser vielfach als ein inkompakter Amtsinhaber. Unter anderem heißt es, er sei ein eitler, weltfremder Literat mit einer beschränkten Sichtweite und Belastbarkeit gewesen. Der vorliegende Beitrag unterzieht vor allem die unter seiner Ägide erlassenen, vielfach als inkompotent geltenden Gesetze einer Untersuchung und kommt zu einem gegenteiligen Schluss. Zwei entscheidende Voraussetzungen für die bestmögliche Entfaltungsmöglichkeit eines Quaestors waren im Falle des Ausonius unbestritten gegeben: rhetorische Brillanz und ein einzigartiges Vertrauensverhältnis zum Kaiser. Zudem besaß er aber für einen Laien weit überdurchschnittliche juristische Fachkenntnisse: Nachdem er bereits in seinem Rhetorikstudium grundlegendes Wissen vom Rechtswesen erworben hatte, konnte er es als *advocatus*, *grammaticus* und *rhetor* weiter vertiefen. Ein modernes oder stärker rational geprägtes Empfinden könnte Anstoß an einer solchen Gewichtung der drei Kriterien nehmen. Doch war die Aufgabe der spätantiken Quaestoren nicht die eines Justizministers oder Bundesverfassungsrichters, welche je auf ihre Weise auf die Einhaltung oder Fortentwicklung des Rechts zu achten haben. Als Fachmann für Kommunikation sollten sie die Wirkung der administrativen und judikativen Zentralgewalt optimieren helfen und so, um mit Cassiodor zu sprechen, ein *armarium legum* sein.

TOC (German)

1. Vorbemerkungen
 2. Zur Geschichte der *quaestura (sacri palatii)* und ihrer Erforschung
 3. Der Stil der kaiserlichen Constitutionen der 370-er Jahre und die Datierung von Ausonius' Quaestur
 4. Die Leistung des Quaestors Ausonius - Ansätze zu einer Neubewertung
 5. Schlußfolgerungen für die Person des Ausonius und die spätantike Quaestur
- Appendix 1: Zur rivalisierenden Rangstellung der *quaestura (sacri palatii)* und des *magisterium officiorum* vom 4. bis 6. Jh.
- Appendix 2: Stiluntersuchung der vom Quaestor Antonius formulierten Constitutionen der Jahre 373/74
- Appendix 3: Stiluntersuchung der vom Quaestor Ausonius vor dem 9.4.375 formulierten Constitutionen
- Appendix 4: Stiluntersuchung der vom Quaestor Ausonius nach dem 17.10.377 formulierten Constitutionen
- Appendix 5: Liste der von Ausonius *quaestor* verfaßten Constitutionen
- Appendix 6: Stiluntersuchung der von Ausonius' Nachfolgern verfaßten Constitutionen
- Appendix 7: Vermeintlich unbillige Strafen in den von Ausonius formulierten Gesetzen

- 4) Alethius: *quaestor or grammaticus?*, and the Problem of Titulature in Claudian's *carmina minora. Antonio Honorato octogenario quaestorum imperialium scrutatori sagacissimo*. Originally in: Prosopon 12, 2001, 7-13; now in: Prosopon 12.2, 2001, 1-7.

Download: URL: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/prosopon/issue12-2.pdf>.

Abstract (English)

The Alexandrinian poet Cladius Claudianus spent the last decade of his life (ca. 395-404) at the court of the emperor Honorius. By then being one of the most renowned poets, he bequeathed a corpus of Latin poems, which not only mirrors a revival of classical education at his age, but also conveys precious insights into the imperial *palatium* at Milan and Ravenna respectively. The twenty-third of his *carmina minora*, the so-called ('Apology to Alethius the Quaestor') is the only source to evidence an Alethius in this period. With regard to the office assigned to him, a re-examination of the poem might not only arouse the interest of the scholar who has deepened our understanding of this important Roman magistracy, and to whom I would like to dedicate this modest contribution. The investigation will lead to the conclusion that carm. min. 23 attests two different Alethii: one *grammaticus*, active probably in Rome early in the 390s and upset about the young Claudian (*ca. 370) to criticise his verses, and another Alethius being *quaestor* to Honorius probably around 404/5.

- 5) Imperial Constitutions, Chronology, and Prosopography. Towards a New Methodology for the Use of the Late Roman Law Codes, paper given at the conference Resourcing Sources IV (Oxford, 28/6/2001):

- a) Prepublication on the website of the Unit for Prosopographical Research, UPR (now Prosopographical Research Centre, PRC). Download: URL: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/coskun.pdf>.
- b) Revised version in: Katharine Keats-Rohan (ed.): 'Resourcing Sources', Oxford 2002, 122-141.

Abstract (English) in preparation.

- 6) Symmachus, Ausonius und der *senex olim Garumnae alumnus*. Auf der Suche nach dem Adressaten von Symm. *epist.* 9,88 ('Symmachus, Ausonius, and the 'Old Man, Who Had Been a Pupil of the Garonne'. In Search for the Addressee of Symmachus, Letter 9.88'). In: *Rheinisches Museum* (RhM) 145, 2002, 120-128.

Abstract (German) in preparation.

- 7) Chronology in the *Eucharisticos* of Paulinus Pellaeus. A Reassessment. In: *Mnemosyne* 55, 2002, 329-344.

Abstract (English)

Paulinus of Pella reveals his current age (around 83) in his autobiographical poem *Eucharisticos*, but the date of his birth (ca. August 377) and the time of composition (ca. Feb./Mai 460) have to be deduced by combining pieces of information given in the introductory verses (1–49) and by accounting for further sources related to the family of his grandfather Ausonius. The chronology thus established appears to be consistent with the remaining data of the poem as well as with the chronicle of Prosper Tiro; in two cases (v. 474/78), seeming contradictions vanish as soon as the transmitted text is re-established. Redating the steps of Paulinus' life not only enhances our understanding of his personality and of the historical events he was involved into, but also defends the unity of the biography against the analytical concept prevalent in modern scholarship.

- 8) Trennungsschmerz eines anhänglichen Vaters. Zum Hintergrund von Ausonius, *Pater ad filium* ('A Father Suffering from the Absence of His Son. On the Background of Ausonius, *Pater ad filium*'). In: *Hermes* 130, 2002, 209-22.. In: *Hermes* 130, 2002, 209-222.

Abstract (German)

Dem Gedicht *Pater ad filium*, in dem Ausonius seinen Kummer über die Trennung von seinem Sohn Hesperius zum Ausdruck bringt, wird im allgemeinen großer Quellenwert für die Biographie des Dichters zugeschrieben. Oder genauer gesagt findet sich die wichtigste Information in der editorischen Notiz des postumen Herausgebers: *Pater ad filium, cum temporibus tyrannicis ipse Treviris remansisset et filius ad patriam profectus esset. hoc incohatum neque impletum sic de liturariis scriptum* („Der Vater an den Sohn, als er selbst, während der Usurpator herrschte, in Trier zurückgeblieben und sein Sohn in die Heimat aufgebrochen war. Dies begonnene und nicht zu Ende geführte Gedicht ist so (wie es vorgefunden wurde) aus den Kladden abgeschrieben.“). Durch eine eingehende Besprechung des Gedichtes selbst kann jedoch die Ansicht des Herausgebers, Ausonius habe während der Zeit des Usurpators in Trier ausharren müssen, als Irrtum verworfen werden. Die Aufmerksamkeit, die dem Schiffahrtsmotiv zuteil wird (V. 4-10; auch 22 *superstes*), und mehr noch die Begrenzung der Wartezeit auf ein Jahr, das Ausonius zum größten Teil noch vor sich sah, (V. 19) legen gemeinsam mit der auf anderen Quellen basierenden Kenntnis von Hesperius' *cursus honorum* nahe, daß seine Reise im Zusammenhang mit seinem *proconsulatus Africae* stand; er dürfte sie im Jahr 375, am ehesten im Mai, vielleicht auch in den ersten Junitagen, angetreten haben, und

bald darauf hat sein betrübter Vater zur Feder gegriffen. Damit ist das einzige vermeintliche Zeugnis für eine Fortsetzung seines Trier-Aufenthaltes und seiner politischen Tätigkeit über den Herbst des Jahres 379 hinaus entkräftet.

- 9) Die sogenannten *Fasti* und der *Consularis liber* des Ausonius. Mit einem Exkurs zur Karriere des Proculus Gregorius ('The So-Called *Fasti* and the Consular Book of Ausonius. With an Appendix on the Career of Proculus Gregorius'). In: *Philologus* 146, 2002, 350-359.

Abstract (English)

The four epigrams conventionally called *<Libri de fastis> conclusio* or *Fasti* allow to reconstruct the genesis of Ausonius' now lost *Consularis liber*. At the same time, they reveal the date of the first edition of his collected works as well as the chronology of career of Proculus Gregorius, who was dedicated the *Consularis liber* in ca. autumn 378. The poetical list of consuls originally ended with Ausonius' own tenure in 379, but was updated for its inclusion into a collection of *opuscula* in late 382: three stanzas on the consuls of 380-82 to be followed by an adapted 'seal' (tit. 3) were added, whereas the former preface (tit. 4) and epilogue (tit. 1) had to be replaced. Together with another three verses on his consulship (tit. 2), Ausonius incorporated the redundant epilogue (tit. 1) into the *Epigrammaton liber*, while the preface of the first (tit. 4) as well as the epilogue of the second edition (tit. 3) were joined to these posthumously. Scholars have hitherto overlooked that Proculus Gregorius is mentioned as *ex praefecto* as early as 382, implying that he had retired before 383 and did certainly not expect to become consul in 384.

- 10) 'Cover Names' and Nomenclature in Late Roman Gaul. The Evidence of the Bordelaise Poet Ausonius. With contributions by Jürgen Zeidler; ed. by Katharine Keats-Rohan, Unit for Prosopographical Research (UPR, now Prosopographical Research Centre, PRC), Linacre College, Oxford 2003. (58 pp.). Now: Forum Celtic Studies, Universität Trier. URL: <http://www.uni-trier.de/fileadmin/forschung/projekte/ZAT/CEL/cover.pdf>.

Abstract (French):

Né à Bordeaux en 311 environ, Decimius Magnus Ausonius devint professeur de grammaire en 338, puis professeur de rhétorique vers 360. Sa nomination comme éducateur du jeune empereur Gratien à Trèves en 368 lui ouvrit une carrière politique fulgurante qui culmina avec l'obtention du consulat ordinaire en 379. Pendant ces années, il profita énormément de sa position à la cour pour favoriser l'avancement de plusieurs de ses parents dans l'aristocratie impériale. Grâce à ses œuvres littéraires, Ausone n'est pas seulement le plus fameux poète gallo-romain, mais il est aussi une des personnes les mieux connues de cette époque. Les divers obituaires qu'il a composés pour ses parents (*Epicedion in patrem*, *Parentalia*, *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*) invite à suivre l'histoire de sa famille du milieu du III^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du IV^e siècle; histoire que d'autres sources permettent de poursuivre jusqu'au VI^e siècle.

A l'inverse des questions littéraires et prosopographiques, on n'a pas encore consacré une étude systématique au matériel onomastique, alors que beaucoup de noms propres (PNs) rares méritent une explication linguistique. En combinaison avec les riches informations prosopographiques, il est possible d'appréhender la préhistoire des branches familiales à l'aide des méthodes généalogiques et linguistiques: par exemple, pour les familles de *Caecilius Argicius Arborius* (grand-père d'Ausone) et de *Iulus Ausonius* (son père), on peut confirmer une origine celtique; dans le premier cas, il est possible de découvrir un indice d'une ascendance druidique, tandis

qu'on peut suggérer hypothétiquement une ascendance servile dans le second. Pour ce qui est d'*Aemilia Corinthia Maura* (sa grand-mère), *Pomponius Maximus* (mari de sa soeur) et *Valerius Latinus Euromius* (son beau-fils), divers indices pourraient révéler une parenté avec des empereurs du III^e siècle. Mais au-delà de ces acquis, l'ensemble de ces 43 personnes (pour lesquelles 86 PN ou 51 formes différentes de PN sont attestés) forme une base de données remarquable concernant les coutumes onomastiques; il en ressort notamment, d'une manière impressionnante, une influence surprenante de la culture celtique dans l'Aquitaine du IV^e s. malgré – ou plutôt en interaction avec – l'influence romaine.

La condition fondamentale de cette analyse n'est pas seulement l'arbre généalogique assez volumineux, c'est-à-dire, la concentration chronologique et géographique des données ainsi que l'organisation transparente de celles-ci, mais aussi la notion du *cover name* (CN, nom de code, *Deckname* selon Leo Weisgerber), ce qui signifie un nom d'origine celtique qui prend l'apparence d'un nom latin ou grec. Ainsi, par exemple, *Veneria* ou *Aenia*. Cette étude encourage à continuer l'enquête avec une série d'investigations limitées à des régions gauloises dans des périodes bien circonscrites. La synthèse des résultats ne promet pas seulement la découverte de principes onomastiques et généalogiques mal connus aujourd'hui, mais aussi une meilleure compréhension des mécanismes et des conditions de la romanisation et des procès d'acculturation qui s'ensuivaient.

- 11) Ausonioi im Osten des Römischen Reiches ('Ausonioi in the East of the Roman Empire'). In: Archiv für Papyrusforschung (APF) 48, 2002 [2003], 257-266.

Abstract (German) in preparation.

- 12) Ein geheimnisvoller gallischer Beamter in Rom, ein Sommerfeldzug Valentinians und weitere Probleme in Ausonius' *Mosella* ('A Mysterious Gallic Office-Holder in Rome, a Summer Campaign of Valentinian, and other Problems Posed by the *Mosella* of Ausonius'). In: Revue des Études Anciennes (REA) 104, 2002 [2003], 401-431.

Abstract (German)

In der *Mosella* malt Ausonius ein verklärtes Bild des Moseltales nach oder noch während der Wiederherstellung sicherer Zustände durch Valentinian I. Die Preisung der Schönheit und Fruchtbarkeit des Flusses sowie die Beschreibung aller harmonisch ineinander gefügten landschaftlichen Details sind Ausdruck einer tiefen Hoffnung auf Frieden und zugleich auch Begrüßung der gerade anbrechenden neuen Blütezeit. Das den Kaisern gebührende Lob schimmert freilich verschiedentlich durch, doch geschieht dies in einer Dezenz, die die Idylle der vom Dichter evozierten kunstvollen Welt nicht durchbricht. Aber nicht die Bedeutung der *Mosella* als ganzer ist der Gegenstand der hier vorgelegten Studie, sondern ausgewählte historische Probleme. Sie betreffen erstens den in V. 409f. angedeuteten Staatsmann, der vielfach (zu Unrecht) mit dem berühmten Petronius Probus identifiziert worden ist; zweitens die in V. 421-24 erwähnten militärischen Aktivitäten Valentinians am Rhein; drittens die in V. 439 aufgeworfene Frage nach Ausonius' Beziehung zu den Mosellanden; viertens das Problem, ob V. 450 eine Anspielung auf Valentinians gleichnamigen Sohn enthält; fünftens die in V. 451 spielerisch geäußerte Hoffnung des Dichters auf ein Consulat; sechstens die in V. 457 genannten *castra* und damit einen zeitgenössischen Feldzug Kaiser Valentinians. Alle diese Punkte verweisen zugleich auf die Frage nach dem Abfassungsdatum des Gedichtes (bis Frühling 370).

In einem Anhang (8.) sind drei Zeugnisse des Symmachus zu untersuchen, die ebenfalls bei der Datierung zu berücksichtigen sind.

- 13) Q. Aurelius Symmachus und die Stadtpräfekten unter Kaiser Valentinian II. (a. 383–87) ('Q. Aurelius Symmachus and the Urban Prefects under the Emperor Valentinian II, AD 383–87'). Originally in *Prosopon* 13, 2003, 8–17; now in *Prosopon* 13.2, 2003, 1–10.

Download: URL: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/prosopon/issue13-2.pdf>.

Abstract (English)

Due to the singular collection of 49 reports to the emperors (*relationes*), Q. Aurelius Symmachus is the most famous occupant of the city prefecture (*praefectura urbis*) in Late Antiquity as well as the author of the most outstanding sources on the administration of fourth-century Rome. Misconceptions concerning the identity of his predecessor Aventius (autumn 383–spring 384) and the career of Valerius Pinianus who was not Symmachus' immediate successor in early 385, but replaced Sallustius in summer 386, have seriously vitiated the reconstruction of Symmachus' tenure as well as of various important events attested in his *relationes*. They can now be dated soundly to ca. April 384–ca. April 385. The enquiry is concluded by a revised list of Valentinian II's city prefects.

- 14) Theodosius, Eugenius und Afrika. Zur *divisio imperii* 392–94 n.Chr. ('Theodosius, Eugenius, and Africa. On the Division of the Empire in AD 392–94'). In: *Rivista Storica dell' Antichità* (RSA) 32, 2002 [2003], 223–236.

Abstract (English)

It is widely considered that, during the usurpation of Eugenius (A.D. 392–94), African officials either defected to the rebel or, at least, maintained a benevolent neutrality towards him. Such views are based on a variety of sources which have wrongly been related to the rule of Africa in 393/94 (*CIL* 8,782; *Claud. Gild.* 1,241f.), whether they seem to imply that Flavianus *praefectus praetorio Italiae et Illyrici* controlled the overseas magistrates (*Carmen contra paganos* 86f.) or that Gildo *magister militum per Africam* did not interrupt the corn supply of Rome (Symm. *epist.* 6,1). While the value of this evidence is highly questionable, the lists of the *praefecti praetorio* and *proconsules Africæ* give strong support to the assumption that the African officials rather declined to obey their prefect Flavianus in late 392 and henceforth remained faithful to Theodosius.

- 15) Die Ämterlaufbahn des Pannoniers Maximinus und die Chronologie der 'Römischen Prozesse' unter Kaiser Valentinian I. (Amm. 28,1) ('The Career of the Pannonian Maximinus and the Chronology of the Roman Trials under the Emperor Valentinian I'). In: *Ancient History Bulletin* (AHB) 17, 2003 [2004], 5–16.

Abstract (German)

In der Herrschaftszeit Valentinians I. (364–75) ergoß sich eine Welle von Sitten-, Magie- und Hochverratsprozessen über Rom. Dank der *Res gestae* des Ammianus Marcellinus werden sie auf immer mit dem Namen des Richters Maximinus verbunden bleiben, der den Inquisitionen

zunächst als *praefectus annonae*, dann als *vicarius urbis* vorstand. Trotz vieler – auch jüngerer – Studien verdient das Thema erneut aufgegriffen zu werden, da einerseits der tatsächliche Ablauf der Ereignisse und andererseits die darstellerische Freiheit des Geschichtsschreibers noch genauer erfasst werden können als bisher. Die Ergebnisse lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: Nachdem Chilo seine folgenschwere Klage Ende 368 oder Anfang 369 erhoben hatte, wurde Maximinus *praefectus annonae* vermutlich im Sommer 369 mit ihrer Untersuchung beauftragt. Nach seinem besorgniserregenden Zwischenbericht wurde er wohl im Herbst 369 zum *vicarius urbis* befördert. Die Inquisitionen endeten in den letzten Monaten a. 369 oder den ersten a. 370. Dem Prozeß gegen Hymetius stand er gemeinsam mit dem Stadtpraefecten Ampelius vermutlich ab Herbst 370 vor. Hymetius wurde zum Tode verurteilt, appellierte an den Kaiser, der den Fall an den Senat verwies; die senatorische Gesandtschaft, die Rom spätestens im April 371 verließ, überbrachte wahrscheinlich nicht erst jenen Appell, sondern bereits das abgemilderte Urteil (Verbannung). Ergebnis der Verhandlungen war ein Kompromiß-Paket, das bis Mai 371 geschnürt wurde. Ob Maximinus danach noch weitere Prozesse in Rom leitete oder bereits in eben diesen Tagen an den Hof gezogen wurde, um bald die *ppo Galliarum* anzutreten, muß offenbleiben. Keinesfalls sollte man aber für diese ‘Wegbeförderung’ über den Spätsommer 371 hinausgehen. Entgegen dem von Ammian erweckten Eindruck erstreckten sich die Prozesse also keineswegs über die gesamte Herrschaftszeit Valentinians, die zu Unrecht in Misskredit gebracht wird.

- 16) with Manuel Tröster: Zwischen Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft. Vergleichende Beobachtungen zu den Außenbeziehungen des Römischen Reiches und der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika ('In between Friendship and Obedience. Comparative Perspectives on the Foreign Relations of the Roman Empire and the United States of America'). In: Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (GFA) 6.3, 2003 [2004], 67-95. URL: <http://gfa.gbv.de/dr,gfa,006,2003,a,05.pdf>.

Abstract (German)

In der aktuellen Diskussion über die Finalität der amerikanischen Außenpolitik wird oftmals auf tatsächliche und vermeintliche Parallelen mit der Hegemonie des antiken Rom hingewiesen. Auffällige Berührungspunkte ergeben sich insbesondere mit Blick auf die Implikationen des Freundschaftsbegriffs, welcher in beiden Fällen auf ein breites Spektrum von partiell abhängigen Gemeinwesen und Individuen angewendet wird. Zwar kann ‘Freundschaft’ dabei bedeuten, daß der stärkere Partner die vorbehaltlose Unterstützung der schwächeren Partei erwartet und entsprechenden Druck ausübt, doch verbleiben nichtsdestoweniger auch den Freunden der Führungsmacht beträchtliche Spielräume für politische Einflußnahme und Gestaltung. Zum einen sind nämlich der Vorrangstellung Roms wie Amerikas außerhalb der militärischen Sphäre gewisse Grenzen gesetzt; zum anderen stehen den jeweiligen Verbündeten erfolgversprechende Strategien wie das Ausspielen persönlicher Kontakte oder die Koordination mit dritten Akteuren zu Gebote. Freilich erscheint es aus der Perspektive des schwächeren Partners weder realistisch noch sinnvoll, sich den Forderungen des Hegemons gänzlich zu entziehen; dennoch können die Freunde auf eine günstige Entwicklung der internationalen Ordnung hinwirken.

- 17) Die Programmgedichte des Prudentius: *Praefatio* und *Epilogus*. Hans-Otto Kröner zum 75. Geburtstag gewidmet ('The Programmatic Poems of Prudentius: Preface and Epilogue.

Dedicated to Hans-Otto Kröner on His 75th Birthday'). In: *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum (ZAC)* 7, 2003 [2004], 212-236.

Abstract (English)

The *Praefatio* and *Epilogus* of Prudentius blend reflections on his biography and his poetry. Both subjects are considered from the angle of transcendental *utilitas*. In the *Praefatio* Prudentius devotes himself to Christian poetry in a fictitious conversion after assessing his successful wordly career a failure. In the *Epilogus* he modestly compares his verses with pots of clay and wood. But their real value resides in accepting the task attributed by Christ and thus holding out the hope of salvation. The progression of thought and mood is obvious, but it emerges even more clearly, if the seven books of hymns and polemics are regarded as corresponding to the announcement in praef. 37-42 and the retrospective verse epil. 34: *iuvabit ore personasse Christum*. However, one must not overlook that both references even go beyond those seven works presented, as they imply that Prudentius would compose further poems until his last day. Particular attention has been paid to four hebdomadic structures (praef. 7-21; 37-42; epil. 1-12; 15-20) which not only link the two pieces themselves, but tightly string together the body of the seven books: all together (except from perist. 10 and the *Dittochaeon*) once more appears as a unified whole.

- 18) Zur Verwaltungsspitze im Illyricum während der Mailänder Periode Kaiser Valentinians II. (a. 383-87) ('On the Highest Administration in Illyricum during the Milan Period of the Emperor Valentinian II'). In: *Byzantion* 73.2, 2003 [2004], 360-389.

Abstract (German) in preparation.

- 19) Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, der *praefectus* und *consul* des *Carmen contra paganos* ('Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, the prefect and consul of the Poem against the Pagans'). In: *Vigiliae Christianae (VigChrist)* 57, 2004, 152-178.

Abstract (English)

After a general *caveat* concerning the interpretation of polemical pamphlets, various chronologically relevant aspects of the so-called *Carmen contra paganos* are revisited. In particular, the recent identification of the anonymous *praefectus* and *consul* with Vettius Agorius Praetextatus is challenged by reasserting the classical identification with Virius Nicomachus Flavianus. Thus the composition of the poem can be dated to the aftermath of the battle at the Frigidus (5-6/9/394) on firm grounds. At the same time, new light can be shed on the careers of Leucadius *rationalis rei privatae fundorum domus divinae per Africam* ca. 388/90 and Marcianus *proconsul Campaniae* ca. 393/94. This way, the author's methods of distorting as well as various modern misconceptions emerge. As a conclusion, some new paths of further research on the poem and on late Roman religious conflicts are suggested.

- 20) Die tetrarchische Verfassung der Galater und die Neuordnung des Ostens durch Pompeius (Strab. geogr. 12,5,1 / App. Mithr. 560) ('The Tetrarchic Constitution of the Galatians and the Restructuring of the East by Pompey'). In: Herbert Heftner/Kurt Tomaschitz (eds.): *Ad fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag am 15. September 2004, dargebracht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden*, Wien 2004, 687-711.

Abstract (German):

Die in der Forschung vielfach beschriebene, auf der Skizze Strabons fußende tetrarchische Ordnung der Galater ist von verschiedener Seite in Frage zu stellen. So überhaupt jemals galatische Viertelherrschaften in hellenistischer Zeit bestanden haben, sprechen die Rivalitäten und die Uneinigkeit in der Führungsschicht gegen ihre Bestandsfähigkeit. Zudem lässt sich die Annahme eines symmetrischen, stabilen Staatswesens dieses Volkes nicht auf die wenigen Zahlen stützen, die außerhalb der *Erdbeschreibung* überliefert sind. Auch die angeblich keltischen Traditionen oder hellenistischen Einflüsse sind nicht hinreichend zu belegen, während sich für abwechselnde Machtstrukturen zahlreiche Parallelen in Caesars *Commentarii de bello Gallico* finden. Wahrscheinlich ist also das Bild, das Strabon von der Tetrarchie zeichnet, etymologisch inspiriert. Tatsächlich dürfte es in Galatien jedoch – entsprechend den Mitteilungen Appians – erstmals unter Pompeius genau vier von Rom anerkannte Herrscher gegeben haben, denen 62 v.Chr. erstmals der Tetrarchentitel verliehen wurde. Zwar erodierte diese politische Konstruktion schon wenige Jahre später, aber, obwohl sich Deiotaras bis a. 42/41 die Alleinherrschaft gesichert hatte, blieb er – der König mehrerer kleinasiatischer Territorien – ebenso wie seine Nachfolger „Tetrarch der Galater“. Mithin war die Bindung des Begriffs an die Vierzahl, nicht aber an den Status eines Klientelfürsten, aufgegeben, als M. Antonius ab a. 41 die Landkarte des Ostens erneut tiefgreifend veränderte. So konnten in der Folgezeit viele mittelgroße und kleinere romfreundliche Monarchien in Anatolien und der Levante als Tetrarchien bezeichnet werden, die erst im Verlauf des 1. Jhs. n.Chr. dem Ausgreifen der Provinzialisierung durch Rom wichen.

- 21) *Praefecti praesent(al)es* und die Regionalisierung der Praetorianerpraefecturen im vierten Jahrhundert (‘*Praefecti praesent(al)es* and the Establishment of Regional Praetorian Prefectures in the 4th Century’). In: *Millennium* 1, 2004, 279–328.

Abstract (German)

Weder das Modell der kollegialen Besetzung einer Praefectur mit regionaler Zirkumskription (Seeck) noch die Vorstellung, daß ab a. 337/40 (PLRE) oder 343 (Barnes für den Westen) je ein alleinverantwortlicher ppo einen räumlich definier-ten Sprengel verwaltet habe, können die Dokumente für das 4. Jh. befriedigend erklären. Urkunden und literarische Quellen spiegeln vielmehr flexiblere und dynamische Strukturen wider, für die das Prinzip der personalen Bindung an den jeweiligen Kaiser dominierend war. Seit jeher war es für den Herrscher selbstverständlich, einen *praef. praes.* in seiner Umgebung zu haben und diesen auch auf Reisen mit sich zu führen. Entscheidend für die Entwicklung der Amtsorganisation waren die Reaktionen auf Bewegungen, Vermehrung oder Reduktion der Kaiserhöfe. Da die *ppo* bis in die Zeit der Tetrarchie allein an die Augusti gebunden waren, setzte man, wie seit dem 3. Jh. belegt ist, bei Bedarf *vices agentes praefectorum praetorio* bzw. *vicarii* ein, um die Abwesenheit des Kaisers oder seiner höchstrangigen Stellvertreter an zentralen Orten zu kompensieren. Trotz veränderter Rahmenbedingungen blieb dieses Institut bis in die ausgehende Spätantike von großer Bedeutung. Constantins I. Entscheidung, auch Caesaren einen *ppo* an die Seite zu Stellen, führte ab ca. 317 zu einer Vermehrung dieser Funktionsträger, deren Zahl bis 335 auf fünf anstieg. Ihr nichtpraesentales Wirken blieb damals noch eine Ausnahme, die sich in Übergangszeiten infolge von Krieg oder Tod eines Kaisers nachweisen lässt. Die Entwicklung wird bis in die Zeit Julians verfolgt, unter dem sich die vier – von wenigen ephemären Ausnahmen abgesehen – für das

folgende Jahrhundert regulären Amtssprengel Gallien, Italien, Illyricum und Oriens etabliert hatten.

TOC (German)

I. Einführung

II. Die Kaiser der Jahre 337-63 und ihre Praetorianerpraefecten

1. Die Praetorianerpraefecten beim Tod Constantins I. a. 337

2. Constans a. 337-50

3. Vulcarius Rufinus *praefectus praesens* a. ?344-?350 und die Praefecten der Usurpatoren a. 350-51

4. Constantius II. und der Osten a. 337-61

5. Constantius II. und der Westen a. 351-61

6. Julian a. 355-63

III. Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

IV. Anhang

1. Herangezogene Quelleneditionen

2. Verzeichnis der weiteren zitierten Literatur

3. Abkürzungsverzeichnis

3.1 Bibliographisches

3.2 Spätantike Ämter und Rangtitel

V. Tabellarische Übersicht über die Praetorianerpraefecten a. 336-64

- 22) Historisch-Philologische Kommentierungen zu Cicero, *Pro Archia poeta* ('Historical and Philological Comments on Cicero, For the Poet Archias'). (79 pp.). Prepublication on the website of the Project SFB 600/A2 'Roms auswärtige Freunde': URL: <http://www.sfb600.uni-trier.de//filebase/A2/archiana.pdf>.

See now the extended book version published in 2010 (above, I 4).

- 23) with Manuel Tröster: Amerika auf den Spuren Roms? Zum Thema der Freundschaft in den Außenbeziehungen der Vereinigten Staaten und des Römischen Reiches ('America Following the Romans' Footsteps? On Friendship in the Foreign Relations of the United States and the Roman Empire'). In: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht (GWU) 55.9, 2004, 486-501.

Abstract (German)

Es handelt sich um die gekürzte, umgearbeitete und aktualisierte Fassung eines Beitrags, der unter dem Titel 'Zwischen Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft. Vergleichende Beobachtungen zu den Außenbeziehungen des Römischen Reiches und der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika' im Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft 6, 2003 (<http://www.gfa.d-r.de>) erschienen ist. Die neuere Fassung legt einen stärkeren Akzent auf die Methode des historischen Vergleichs.

- 24) *Civitas Romana* und die Inklusion von Fremden in die römische Republik am Beispiel des Bundesgenossenkrieges ('Roman Citizenship and the Inclusion of Strangers in the Roman Republic: the Case of the Social War'). In: Andreas Gestrich/Lutz Raphael (eds.):

Inklusion/Exklusion. Studien zu Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, Frankfurt/M. 2004; 2nd revised ed. 2008, 85-111.

Abstract (German):

Der Bundesgenossekrieg (90-87 v.Chr.) und der sich daran anschließende Bürgerkrieg (a. 88-82) wirkten als Katalysatoren für die Genese der römisch-italischen Staats- bzw. römisch-mediterranen Reichsnation und lassen zugleich charakteristische Merkmale der Eingemeindungspraxis in republikanischer Zeit erkennen. Im 2. Jh. v.Chr. hatten sowohl das Bedürfnis der aufstrebenden Hegemonialmacht nach Vergrößerung ihrer Rekrutierungsbasis als auch das Verlangen der Nachbarn, in die *civitas Romana* aufgenommen zu werden, zugenommen. Jedoch versuchte der Senat, die Verschiebung von Machtverhältnissen, die durch die Aufnahme neuer Wählerklientelen drohte, entweder grundsätzlich abzuwehren oder zumindest einzudämmen, indem z.B. das Stimmengewicht der Neubürger beschnitten wurde. Diesen Tendenzen wirkten einerseits die gewaltsamen inneren Konflikte, andererseits das Repertoire vielfältig differenzierter Formen rechtlicher Zugehörigkeit entgegen. Letztere bedeuteten oftmals eine Vorstufe zur Vollbürgerschaft und bewiesen gerade in Zeiten der Krise ihre stabilisierende Funktion. Gegenüber modernen Nationsbildungen fällt die spezifisch politische Konzeption von *populus* und *civitas* auf, die ebenfalls Fremdheit zu überwinden verhalf.

25) with Heinz Heinen: *Amici populi Romani*. Das Trierer Projekt ‘Roms auswärtige Freunde’ stellt sich vor (‘The Friends of the Roman People. The Trier-Based Project ‘The Foreign Friends of Rome’ Presents Itself’). In: Ancient Society (AncSoc) 34, 2004 [2005], 45-75.

Abstract (German):

Die Bereitschaft zur Integration von Fremden begünstigte Roms Aufstieg zur Weltmachtstellung erheblich. Im Bereich der römischen Außenpolitik wurde seit dem Ende des 3. Jhs. v.Chr. die *amicitia populi Romani* bestimmend, die ursprünglich ganz allgemein gute und friedliche Beziehungen implizierte, sich allmählich aber als ein elastisches Instrument erwies, um die Völker des Mittelmeerraumes bei begrenztem direkten Engagement zu kontrollieren und in das Imperium Romanum einzubeziehen. Über mehrere Jahrhunderte spielte das weite Netz der ‘Freundschaften’ nicht nur in politischer und militärischer Hinsicht eine entscheidende Rolle, sondern strahlte auch auf die soziale Stellung der beteiligten Partner aus und trug zur kulturellen Romanisierung weiter Gebiete bei. Daneben profitierten aber auch nicht wenige auswärtige Freunde erheblich von ihren Beziehungen, die sich keineswegs auf juristische oder politische Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse reduzieren lassen. Das hier vorgestellte Vorhaben soll den Blick für die sehr vielfältigen Spielarten dieser ‘Freundschaftsbeziehungen’ schärfen, die sowohl auf zwischenstaatlicher als auch auf interpersonaler Ebene begründet werden konnten. Die Verbindung von Dynasten, Städten und lokalen Aristokraten mit führenden Römern der späten Republik soll einen von zwei Schwerpunkten des Teilprojekts bilden. Besonderes Interesse gilt den auswärtigen ‘Klientelen’ der großen Imperatoren von Lucullus bis Augustus, an denen zu zeigen ist, wie die wachsenden innerrömischen Rivalitäten allmählich auch zu einer stärkeren Inklusion der Mittelmeieranrainer in das Reich führten. Dabei sind die jeweiligen *amici* nicht nur als Faktoren der römischen Innenpolitik, sondern vielmehr in ihrer komplexen Position sowohl als abhängige Träger der römischen Herrschaft wie auch als selbständige Akteure mit begrenzter Autonomie zu betrachten. Als zweite Projektsäule sollen Art und Umfang des römischen Einflusses auf den nördlichen Schwarzmeeerraum vom 1. Jh. v.Chr. bis zum 4. Jh. n.Chr. erforscht

werden. Im Zentrum dieses Komplexes stehen die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und den Bosporanischen Königen, für die sich die längste Kontinuität der programmatischen Beinamen *Philokaisar* und *Philorhomaios* belegen lässt.

- 26) Der Praefect Maximinus, der Jude Isaak und der Strafprozeß gegen Bischof Damasus von Rom ('The Prefect Maximinus, Isaac the Jew, and the Criminal Trial against Bishop Damasus of Rome'). In: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (JbAC) 46, 2003 [2005], 17-44.

Abstract (German) in preparation.

TOC (German)

- I. Skizze des Römischen Schismas nach der Darstellung der Ursinianer
- II. Ergänzende und korrigierende Quellen
- III. *Basilica, quae Sicinini appellatur*
- IV. Die Zeugnisse des Rufinus und des Socrates
- V. Weitere Quellen zum Damasus-Prozeß
- VI. Chronologische Anhaltspunkte für den Damasus-Prozeß
- VII. Maximinus *praefectus*
- VIII. Zu den Quellen der Kirchengeschichte des Rufinus
- IX. Konsequenzen für die Datierung des Damasus-Prozesses
- X. Der Inhalt der Klage
- XI. Der Kläger Isaak und das kaiserliche Urteil
- XII. Das Nachspiel: Der Freispruch vor dem Bischofsgericht
- XIII. Zeittafel

- 27) Die Karriere des Virius Nicomachus Flavianus. Mit Exkursen zu den *praefecti praetorio Italiae, Africae et Illyrici* 388-95 ('The Career of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus. With Appendices on the Praetorian Prefects of Italy, Africa and Illyricum AD 388-95'). In: *Athenaeum*, 92, 2004 [2005], 467-491.

Abstract in preparation.

TOC (German)

- I. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse und Flavianus' erste Ämter
- II. Das afrikanische Vicariat
- III. Quaestur und Praefectureuren: ein forschungsgeschichtlicher Überblick
- IV. Iteration und Gültigkeit der Praefectureuren
- V. Die Einordnung der Praefectureuren in den verwaltungsgeschichtlichen Kontext
- VI. Exkurse zu den weiteren *praefecti praetorio Italiae, Illyrici et Africæ* 388-95
- VII. Ergebnisse
- Verzeichnis der zitierten Literatur

- 28) Der *comes* Romanus, der Heermeister Theodosius und die drei letzten Akte der 'Lepcis-Magna-Affaire' (a. 373-77) ('Count Romanus, General Theodosius, and the Three Final Acts of the Lepcis Magna Affair'). In: *Antiquité Tardif* (AnTard) 12, 2004, 293-308 [2005].

Abstract (German)

Im Winter 363/64 gerieten die Tripolitaner in einen Konflikt mit dem *comes rei militaris per Africam* Romanus, der seine Zusage zur Unterstützung gegen plündernde Barbaren an gewaltige Materialforderungen knüpfte. Darüber entbrannte ein heftiger Streit, und der befreende Schlag unterblieb. Ein Netz von Intrigen war die Folge, das das Klima der folgenden Jahre vergiftete. Die Krise zog sich durch die gesamte Herrschaftszeit Valentinians I. (364-75) und wurde erst unter Gratian (367/75-83) beigelegt. Mithin schien Ammian der Konflikt besonders dazu geeignet, die Korruption unter Valentinian sowie die von den Provinzialen erduldeten Leiden zu illustrieren. Vor allem Warmington, Demandt und Günther haben offengelegt, daß Romanus und alle diejenigen, die dessen Sache unterstützten oder auch nur billigten, pauschal diskreditiert werden, während Ammian den Lepcimagnensern eine uneingeschränkte Opferrolle zuerkennt. Erst bei näherer Betrachtung zeigt sich beispielsweise, daß Romanus tatsächlich eine Strafexpedition gegen die Austorianer plante und seine Forderungen möglicherweise gar berechtigt waren. Daß jedenfalls auch in den Reihen der Provinzialen große Uneinigkeit und Korruption herrschten, kann als gesichert gelten. Allerdings leiden die bisher vorliegenden Untersuchungen entweder an folgenschweren Fehldatierungen, oder ihr Interesse bleibt auf die Zeit Valentinians beschränkt. Eine systematische Revision des Berichts in Ammians Geschichtswerk vermag deshalb, vieles genauer zu fassen und manches bisher Übersehene oder Ungeahnte hinzuzufügen. Dabei ist insbesondere danach zu fragen, welchen Standpunkt Theodosius d.Ä. vertrat, als er 373 die Führung im Kampf gegen den maurischen Rebellen Firmus übernahm. Damit einher geht der Versuch, das Schicksal des Romanus und seiner Freunde von 373 an zu rekonstruieren. Erst auf dieser Grundlage wird es möglich sein, ein angemesseneres Verständnis von den Prozessen unter Gratian sowie der gesamten ‘Lepcis-Magna-Affaire’ zu gewinnen.

Abstract (English) in preparation.

- 29) Inklusion und Exklusion von Fremden in den Gerichtsreden Ciceros. Zugleich ein Einblick in das Projekt ‘Roms auswärtige Freunde’ (‘Inclusion and Exclusion of Foreigners in the Forensic Speeches of Cicero. At the Same Time, Introduction to the Project ‘The Foreign Friends of Rome’’). In: Sabine Harwardt/Johannes Schwind (eds.): *Corona Coronaria. Festschrift für Hans-Otto Kröner zum 75. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim 2005, 77-98.

Abstract (German)

Auf eine kurze Vorstellung des SFB 600 ‘Fremheit und Armut’ werden die Zielsetzungen und Methoden des Teilprojekts ‘Roms auswärtige Freunde’ exemplarisch an wenigen Ausschnitten aus drei Verteidigungsreden Ciceros verdeutlicht. An *Pro Fonteio* lässt sich zeigen, wie auswärtige bzw. römische Freunde im Dienst einer Anklage oder Verteidigung vor Gericht mobilisiert werden konnten; zudem wird der diskriminierende Einsatz der in Rom verbreiteten Barbarentopik behandelt. In der *Pro rege Deiotaro oratio* setzt sich Cicero für den um Rom hochverdienten Galaterkönig ein, für den er die gleiche Rechtssicherheit wie für einen *civis Romanus* und die gleiche Nachsicht seitens des Bürgerkriegssiegers Caesar wie gegenüber den unterlegenen römischen Anhängern des Pompeius fordert. In der Verteidigung *Pro Archia poeta* verwendet der Anwalt den Großteil seiner Energie darauf, aus der Nützlichkeit des hochtalentierten griechischen Gelehrten seinen Anspruch auf das römische Bürgerrecht herzuleiten. Cicero erweist sich in allen Fällen als Meister inkludierender und exkludierender Strategien, die er hemmungslos und in allen erdenklichen Nuancen anwendet. Die Untersuchung

ist zugleich eine Mahnung, keinen Diskurs über In- bzw. Exklusion losgelöst von zugrundeliegenden Motiven der Akteure zu betrachten. Darüber hinaus kommt die katalysierende Wirkung gesellschaftsinterner Konflikte für den Ein- bzw. Ausschluß von Fremden zur Sprache.

- 30) with Jürgen Zeidler: Acculturation des noms de personne et continuités régionales ‘cachées’: l'exemple des *Decknamen* dans l'anthroponymie gallo-romaine et la genèse du *Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik* ('Acculturation of Personal Names and Regional Continuity 'under Cover': the Example of the 'Cover Names' in Gallo-Roman Anthroponomy and the Genesis of the Network for Intercultural Onomastics'). In: Rivista Italiana di Onomastica (RION) 11.1, 2005, 29-54.

Abstract (English)

In a previous enquiry into the 4th-century Bordelaise family of Ausonius, we have found 43 out of 51 personal names of Latin or Greek origin, but up to 31 of these may well have Celtic or Aquitanian roots lurking behind their classical or pseudo-classical façades. We considered terms like *Deckname/ cover name* or *Übersetzungsname/ name of translation* no longer adequate for so widespread and complex a phenomenon of language contact, for which nearly every period and region can adduce manifold examples. Together with other linguists and historians sharing our questions and interests, we have recently founded the *Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik* (*Network for Intercultural Onomastics=NIO*). This paper is designed to give an introduction into this stimulating subject by surveying the paths of scholarship in this field and by discussing the problematic notions of *Deckname* and of *Interferenzname*. We next develop our detailed classification scheme (1. Classement des langues; 2. Catégories de transfert et d'adaptation des noms de personne; 3. Transfert ou adaptation des systèmes anthroponymiques; 4. Implications psycho-linguistiques et socio-historiques) before inviting other scholars to join our project.

- 31) Freundschaft und Klientelbindung in Roms auswärtigen Beziehungen. Wege und Perspektiven der Forschung ('Friendship and Clientelism in Roman Foreign Relations. Paths and Perspectives of Research'). In: Altay Coskun (ed.): Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat, Göttingen 2005, 1-30.

Abstract (German)

Die Einführung in die Forschungsdiskussion zu den zentralen Begriffen 'Freundschaft' und 'Klientel' wird mit einem Überblick über die Voraussetzungen verbunden, auf denen die Untersuchungen des Trierer Projekts 'Roms auswärtige Freunde' aufbauen. Dabei wird die Gelegenheit ergriffen, in einigen Grundsatzfragen Position zu beziehen und sich abzeichnende Tendenzen soeben abgeschlossener oder noch laufender Recherchen anzudeuten. Die Vorstellung der unterschiedlichen Quellengattungen wird einerseits einen Eindruck davon vermitteln, eine wie breite Verankerung romfreundliche Semantiken im politischen, sozialen und kulturellen Bereich hatten, sowie andererseits zu erkennen geben, auf welchen Ebenen sie sich gerade im Verlauf des von tiefgreifenden Umbrüchen und Umstrukturierungen durchzogenen ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts verdichteten.

- 32) *Amicitiae* und politische Ambitionen im Kontext der *causa Deiotariana* ('Friendship Relations and Political Ambitions in the Context of the Case of Deiotarus'). In: Altay Coskun

(ed.): Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat, Göttingen 2005, 127-154.

Abstract (German)

Rund ein halbes Jahrhundert bewahrte sich der Galaterkönig Deiotaros Philorhomaios (†41/40 v.Chr.) die Achtung und Protektion einflußreicher Römer. Während er ihnen schlagkräftige militärische Dienste leistete, förderten diese den Ausbau seiner Machtstellung entweder aktiv oder gewährten ihm in Zeiten bedrohlicher Anfechtungen wirksamen Schutz. Auf diesen war er besonders angewiesen, nachdem er im Bürgerkrieg auf der Seite des Pompeius gekämpft hatte. Caesar bestrafte ihn zwar durch den Entzug umfangreicher Territorien; jedoch sicherte das weitgespannte Netz seiner Kontakte sein politisches Überleben. Im Jahr 45 beschuldigte ihn ein innergalatischer Rivale, Attentate gegen Caesar geplant und mit dem Rebellen Caecilius Bassus konspiriert zu haben. Cicero übernahm die Verteidigung eines Freundes, dem er als ehemaliger Statthalter Kilikiens zu großem Dank verpflichtet war. Die Apologie ist eine wahre Fundgrube freundschaftlicher Semantiken, der Streitfall selbst ein komplexes Beispiel dafür, wie interpersonale Nahverhältnisse die Grenzen Roms überbrückten und wie tiefgreifend sie auf die Ereignisse im Zentrum und in der Peripherie des Reiches einwirken konnten. Allerdings gilt Ciceros Plädoyer in der jüngsten Forschung als Protestschrei gegen den ‘Tyrannen’ Caesar, wobei der Redner konkrete Nachteile für seinen angeblich ‘barbarischen’ Mandanten in Kauf genommen und überhaupt mit fiktiven Elementen gearbeitet habe. Solcherlei Ansichten werden durch eine Analyse des Streitfalls und der Verteidigungsstrategie widerlegt. Zugleich lassen sich Interaktionen zwischen römischen Senatoren und dem *amicissimus nostrae rei publicae* (Cic. Deiot. 3) herausarbeiten.

33) Zur Umsetzung der Bürgerrechtsverleihungen durch die *lex Plautia Papiria* und zu den Prätorien des Jahres 89 v.Chr. (Cic. Arch. 7-9) (‘Putting the Enfranchisement of the *lex Plautia Papiria* into Action. And Further Notes on the Praetors of 89 BC (Cic. Arch. 7-9)'). In: Eos 91.1, 2004 [2005], 52-63.

Abstract (German)

Die Untersuchung von Cicero, Arch. 7-9, hat einerseits ergeben, daß die Informationen betreffs der Umsetzung der *lex Plautia Papiria* mit der auf anderen Quellen beruhenden Datierung und Deutung des Gesetzes voll vereinbar sind: In der ersten Hälfte a. 89 wurde den von der *lex Iulia* a. 90 ausgeschlossenen *civitatibus foederatis adscripti* im Fall eines Wohnsitzes in Italien die virilane Einbürgerung angeboten, sofern sie sich binnen 60 Tagen bei einem Prätor in Rom meldeten. Die Karrieren der damaligen Amtsinhaber lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius *praet.* 89, *procos.* 88-87 in Ital., 87-84 in Afr., 84/83 in Ligurien?, 83/81 in Ital., *cos.* 80, *procos.* *Hisp.* 79-71 (ab 76 *Hisp. ult.*), †63. App. Claudius Pulcher *praet.* 89, ..., *cos.* 79, *procos.* *Maced.* 78-76, †76. P. Gabinius *praet.* 89, ..., ?*leg. pro praet.* *Maced.* 78-77?, ?*XVvir sacr. fac.* 76?, *damnatus* 76/70. L. Cornelius Lentulus *praet. urb.* (?*suff.*) 89, *procos.* *Hisp.* oder *Gall.* 88-85/83, *procos.* *Maced.* 85/83-ca. 81/80.

34) Zu den Rechtsgrundlagen der römischen Bürgerrechtsvergabe infolge des Bundesgenossenkrieges (‘On the Legal Basis of the Roman Enfranchisement Provoked by the Social War’). In: Revue Internationale des Droits de l’Antiquité (RIDA) 51, 2004 [2005], 101-132.

Abstract (German)

Es gilt weithin, daß die Eingemeindung der Apenninhalbinsel südlich des Po in den römischen Staat eine unmittelbare Folge des Bundesgenossenkrieges gewesen sei, der Italien in den Jahren 90-87 v.Chr. heimsuchte. Dagegen findet der beträchtliche Anteil, den der Bürgerkrieg a. 88-82 an dieser Entwicklung hatte, in modernen Darstellungen nur selten die gehörige Beachtung. Dieser erhellt aber aus einer Rekonstruktion der relevanten gesetzlichen Bestimmungen. Für das Jahr 90 ist zwischen einer *lex Calpurnia* vom Sommer und einer *rogatio Calpurnia* vom Herbst zu unterscheiden. Erstere ermächtigte die Consuln oder alle Imperiumsträger a. 90 zur Verleihung des viritanen Bürgerrechts *virtutis ergo*; letztere hatte die Einrichtung zweier neuer *tribus* für die Neubürger der *lex Iulia* zum Ziel. Mit der *lex Iulia* war kurz zuvor das Angebot an die treu gebliebenen italischen Bundesgenossen und Latiner ergangen, dem römischen Staat kollektiv beizutreten; Bedingung war die Auflösung der Eigenstaatlichkeit (*fundum fieri*), ferner die Ausnahme von Neubürgern (*adscripti*) ohne Wohnsitz (*domicilium*) in der jeweiligen Bundesstadt (*civitas foederata*). Weiterhin sah die *lex Iulia* eine Ausdehnung der Ermächtigung zur viritanen Bürgerrechtsverleihung vor, band dieselbe aber an die Zustimmung des magistratischen *consilium*. Die *lex Plautia Papiria* vom Frühjahr 89 zeigte ein Entgegenkommen für die *adscripti* föderierter Städte, sofern diese zumindest einen Wohnsitz in Italien hatten. Nicht zuletzt die speziellen Regelungen für die Einwohner von Tuder oder die Gallia Transpadana beweisen, daß weder die *lex Iulia* noch die *lex Plautia Papiria* Pauschallösungen für alle Italiker südlich des Po mit sich brachten. Eine solche wurde erst mit Beginn des römischen Bürgerkrieges a. 88/87 möglich. Bevor ein kleiner Teil der Neubürger den *census* a. 86/85 und ein deutlich größerer denjenigen von a. 70 untergingen, konnten sie vermutlich in jeweils zu erlosenden *tribus* auf den Tributcomitien wählen (in acht während a. 89/86), hatten aber keinen Zutritt zu den Centuriatscomitien.

- 35) Zum Feldherrnpatronat in der Römischen Republik (Cic. *off.* 1,35) ('On Patronage of Generals in the Roman Republic'). In: *Mnemosyne* 58.3, 2005, 423-429.

Abstract (English)

According to Cic. *off.* 1.35, Roman generals of the past used to become the patrons of peoples conquered, provided that the latter had rendered themselves into the *fides* of the respective Roman commanders. Neglecting this explicit condition, C. Eilers and K. Verboven understand Cicero to consider 'patronage through conquest' to have been automatic, though only among the *maiores*. Moreover, they conclude that this institution had only been practised centuries ago, if at all. However, a closer look at the context reveals that Cicero is commenting on a custom of the very recent past, i.e. prior to 49 B.C. Cato the Younger, Pompey, and the *gens Fabia* may serve as examples for its continuity well into the mid-first century B.C.

- 36) Notes on the *Eucharisticos* of Paulinus Pellaeus. Towards a New Edition of the Autobiography. *Exemplaria Classica* (ExClass) 9, 2005 [Jan. 2006], 113-153.

Abstract (German)

Der *Eucharisticos* ist ein einzigartiges Zeugnis für die politische, religiöse und kulturelle Geschichte der Spätantike. Sein Autor und Protagonist Paulinus von Pella wurde 377 n.Chr. in Pella in Makedonien geboren und wuchs als Aristokrat in Aquitanien auf. Nachdem er zahlreiche

Germaneneinfälle sowie tiefgreifende Veränderungen in seiner Umwelt erlebt hatte, verbrachte er seine letzten Jahrzehnte als christlicher *conversus* in Marseille. 460 verfaßte er dort seine Autobiographie, die er als ‘Danksagung’ an Gott gestaltete. Zwar entsprang sie seinem Bedürfnis, über das Wirken der himmlischen Gnade in seinem Leben zu meditieren; jedoch ist sie zugleich von Sehnsucht nach der besseren Vergangenheit und Verbitterung gegenüber seinen Widersachern geprägt. Die sich hieraus ergebenen Spannungen erlauben der Forschung nicht wenige bemerkenswerte Einblicke in die Biographie und Mentalität des Greises. – Auf eine forschungsgeschichtliche Einführung folgt die Diskussion verschiedener bisher obskurer oder mißverstandener Abschnitte des *Eucharisticos*: der Konflikt mit seinem Bruder (407); seine politische Laufbahn, die mit seiner Vertreibung aus Bordeaux endete (414); sein Ärger mit Aufständischen und seine Verhandlungen mit dem Alanenkönig Goar in Bazas (414/15); das Schicksal seiner Angehörigen; sein Umzug nach Marseille (427/42); und schließlich die Bedingungen, die damals für die Einquartierung bzw. Ansiedlung germanischer Stämme in Gallien galten. Die Beleuchtung des historischen Kontexts in Verbindung mit narratologischen und zum Teil auch textkritischen Analysen kann vielfach zum besseren Verständnis der faktischen Ereignisse oder ihrer Repräsentation durch den Autobiographen beitragen. Abgerundet wird die Studie durch eine Übersicht über Paulinus’ Art, Daten und Zeiträume zu umschreiben, sowie eine textkritische Synopse, welche die Lesungen der Manuskripte und modernen Editionen einschließlich der Vorschläge des Verfassers für eine Neuausgabe zusammenstellt.

Abstract (English)

The *Eucharisticos* is a unique document for the history of Late Roman politics, religion, and culture. Born in Macedonian Pella in A.D. 377, its author and protagonist Paulinus of Pella grew up as a nobleman in Aquitaine. After experiencing several invasions of Germanic tribes and deep transformations of his environs, he spent his last decades as a Christian convert in Marseille, where he composed his autobiography in 460. The poem is shaped as a ‘thanksgiving’ to God, corresponding to his sincere need to commemorate the traces of divine grace in his life. Notwithstanding, it is likewise marked by nostalgia and exacerbation, which account for the noteworthy tensions within the text and his personality – and are highly revealing for the study of his life and mentality. – The introductory survey of modern scholarship is followed by several discussions of either obscure or hitherto misunderstood chapters of the *Eucharisticos*: the conflict with his brother (407); his political career, which culminated in his expulsion from Bordeaux (414); his trouble with rabble-rousers and his dealings with the Alan king Goar in Bazas (414/15); the fate of his kin; his move to Marseille (427/42); and finally the conditions then applying to the billeting and settlement of the Germanic peoples in Gaul. With regard to all of these issues, the present enquiry provides historical background information, analyses the narrative strategy or discusses matters of textual criticism, whereby the understanding of various events or of their representation by the autobiographer is oftentimes deepened. The article is rounded off with a conspectus of Paulinus’ dating practices as well as with a synopsis of textual variants in the manuscripts and modern editions, including the present author’s suggestions for a new edition.

37) with Jürgen Zeidler: Personennamen zwischen den Kulturen: Was ist Interferenzonomastik und was kann sie leisten? (‘Personal Names in the Midst of Cultural Contact: What is Intercultural Onomastics, and Which Results Does It Promise?’). In: Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik, Gallorömische Abteilung (NIO-Ga-Ro) 2005.1 [Feb. 2006]. URL: <http://www.nio-online.net/intro-2rt.pdf> and <http://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=21749>.

TOC (German)

- I. Personennamengebung in Sprach- und Kulturkontaktezonen (AC)
- II. Personennamenforschung in historischen Sprach- und Kulturkontaktezonen (AC)
- III. Die Begründung des *Netzwerks Interferenzonomastik* (AC)
- IV. Ansätze zu einer Systematisierung interferenzonomastischer Forschungen (JZ)
- V. Perspektiven und Grenzen interferenzonomastischer Forschungen (JZ)

38) with Jürgen Zeidler: *Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik*. The Genesis of the Network for Intercultural Onomastics and Some Trier-Based Projects on Historical Anthroponomy in Zones of Cultural Contact. In: Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik, Gallorömische Abteilung (NIO-Ga-Ro) 2005.3 [Feb. 2006]. URL: <http://www.nio-online.net/icos22nio.pdf>.

Abstract (English)

In a previous enquiry into the family of the Late Roman poet Ausonius, several elements of Celtic onomastics ‘hidden’ behind Roman or Greek façades have been identified. Many of these either translate themes popular in Gaulish (e.g., *Artos-Ursus*) or are homophonous with indigenous names (e.g., *Dubius*). Rather than glossing over a ‘barbarian’ extraction (as one may at first hand expect), the choice of such intercultural names seems to have been motivated by a desire to maintain but modify the inherited onomastic thesaurus. Besides, the same naming practice may result from the wish to indicate a twofold cultural or social affiliation. The unforeseen extent of such phenomena have encouraged further interdisciplinary research on intercultural naming patterns within the Graeco-Roman world and instigated the foundation of the *Network for Intercultural Onomastics* (*Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik*).

39) Intercultural Onomastics and Some Patterns of Socio-Political Inclusion in the Roman World. The Example of Galatia in Asia Minor. In: Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik, Gallorömische Abteilung (NIO-Ga-Ro) 2006.1 [Mai 2006]. URL: <http://www.nio-online.net/galatIcos.pdf> and <http://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=21749>.

Abstract (English)

The Galatians originated from those Celts who had moved East to the Balkans by the early 3rd century BC. In the 270s, some of them got involved in the dynastic wars of Asia Minor. Soon afterwards, they settled in central Anatolia, which they ruled until the creation of the Roman province of *Galatia* in 25 BC. Since only little is known about their cultural identity, a closer look at their personal names shall help to fill some of the gaps. The first analysis starts from the clear dominance of Celtic in the onomastic thesaurus of the last three centuries BC. Prosopographical information is employed to explain that the rare use of foreign names since the late 2nd or early 1st centuries BC was mainly due to intermarriage with the Galatian aristocracy. From this, however, native Phrygians seem to have been mostly excluded. Since the mid-1st century, the new quality of international relations established by king Deiotarus I brought a variety of new (mainly Greek) personal names into the Galatian elite. The second focus is on inscriptions dating to the first three centuries AD. Although Greek and Roman names were then popular throughout Galatia, many villages still show a surprisingly high degree of homogeneity as to the use of either Phrygian or Celtic names. The evidence becomes even clearer, if the implications of intercultural naming practices are also considered. This way, the assumption of an

early ‘Galatization’ of central Anatolia soon followed by its ‘Hellenization’ is seriously questioned. Further analyses may help to describe more precisely both the modes of ethnic and cultural interbreeding and the extent to which distinctiveness persisted in certain areas.

- 40) *Quaestiones Fonteianae*. Staatsraison und Klientelpolitik im Kontext von Ciceros *Pro M. Fonteio oratio* (ca. Herbst 70 v.Chr.) (‘*Quaestiones Fonteianae*. Raison d’État, Clientelism, and Politics in the Context of Cicero’s Speech on Behalf of M. Fonteius’). In: *Latomus* 65.2, 2006, 354-363.

Abstract (German)

Im Jahr 77 v.Chr. besiegte Pompeius die Allobroger, die auf Veranlassung des Rebellen Sertorius von der römischen Zentralgewalt abgefallen waren. Die hohen Tributforderungen trieb den ostgallischen Stamm in einen neuen Aufstand, den diesmal M. Fonteius *proconsul Galliae Transalpinae* 74-72 niederrang. Er setzte die angeordneten Enteignungen kompromißlos durch und konnte dadurch auch die Kriegsführung gegen Sertorius unterstützen. Gegen Ende a. 70 wurde Fonteius vor dem *praetor repetundarum* verklagt. Seine Verteidigung übernahm Cicero, dessen Rede heute die Hauptquelle für die römische Politik in der Gallia Transalpina zur Zeit der Republik sowie für die Karriere und den Prozeß des Fonteius darstellt. Die Neuuntersuchung erlaubt nicht nur prosopographische und chronologische Präzisierungen, sondern auch ein adäquateres Verständnis von den Motivationen der am Gerichtsverfahren beteiligten Akteure. Entgegen der jüngsten Forschung wird erneut dafür argumentiert, daß auch dieser Strafprozeß als Mittel zum Austrag innerrömischer Rivalitäten mißbraucht und zu diesem Zweck auf beiden Seiten auch Grenzen überschreitende personale Netzwerke mobilisiert wurden. Abweichend von der bisherigen Literatur führt der Vergleich mit der nur wenig früher von Cicero gegen Verres erhobenen Repetundenklage nicht etwa zu dem Vorwurf der Willkür römischer Gerichte und des Opportunismus des Anwalts. Die beiden Fälle unterschieden sich insofern wesentlich von einander, als die Sizilianer einen geregelten Provinzialstatus hatten und zudem durch viele Freundschaften mit römischen Senatoren verbunden waren, während die Allobroger rechtlose *dediticii* waren. Verres hatte zudem zur Selbstbereicherung gehandelt, Fonteius dagegen die Ressourcen des Feindesstammes in großem Umfang der römischen Kriegsführung zugeführt.

- 41) Das antike Galatien und die prägende Kraft der Bilder (‘Ancient Galatia and the Impact of Images’). Presentation on the *Habilitandenforum* of the 46th *Deutscher Historikertag*, Konstanz, 20.09.2006. [Offline since ca. 2011; ms. available from the author on request]

Abstract (German)

Seit 278 v.Chr. wurden Galater zur Waffenhilfe nach Kleinasien gerufen und vielfach in Zentralanatolien angesiedelt. Sie waren begehrte Verbündete, gefürchtete Feinde und bald auch Räuber auf eigene Rechnung, bevor sie im 2. Jh. in umfassendere Friedensordnungen einbezogen wurden. Dem Tetrarchen Deiotaros gelang im 1. Jh. durch seine unbedingte Treue zu Rom und seine Freundschaft zu einflußreichen Imperatoren sogar die Gründung eines Königreichs im Zentrum und Nordosten Kleinasiens. Als Galatien 25 v.Chr. römische Provinz wurde, hielten ihre Führer dem Kaiser die Treue, was sich nicht nur in der Fortsetzung des Heeresdienstes für die Supermacht, sondern auch im Ankyraner Augustus-Kult spiegelte. Trotzdem galten die Galater als Inbegriff des Barbarischen: Ihr negatives Bild wurde schon im 3. Jh. v.Chr. im Kontext königlicher Legitimation entworfen. Eine große Wirkung entfaltete besonders die Visualisierung

der Galater als gewalttätige Gegner der Zivilisation in Pergamener Siegesmonumenten. Damit wurde die Vorstellungswelt – oftmals kontrafaktisch – über die römische Kaiserzeit hinaus noch bis in die moderne Literatur hinein geprägt. Nicht minder problematisch ist aber der jüngste Gegenentwurf, nach dem die Galater früh hellenisierte Ackerbauern gewesen seien. Wer nach der Ethnogenese der galatischen Stämme, dem Schicksal der physischen Vorbevölkerung, der politischen Organisation und kulturellen Entwicklung Galatiens, dem Charakter des von Rom etablierten Königtums sowie den Umständen und Folgen der Provinzialisierung fragt, tut gut daran, mit einer Kritik der Galaterbilder zu beginnen. Eng damit verbunden ist die Notwendigkeit, die Reichweite und Spielarten der *amicitia populi Romani* angemessener berücksichtigen. Eine Relecture literarischer Quellen, aber auch die systematische Untersuchung von Personen-, Stammes- und Ortsnamen soll die Grundlage für eine überzeugendere Geschichte der Galater legen. Diese ließe sich auf die kurze Formel ‘Von der *Geißel Asiens* zur *romfreundlichen Ordnungsmacht*’ bringen.

Abstract (English)

This is a short German introduction into the history of Hellenistic and Roman Galatia and the major debates in current scholarship. To a large extend, it overlaps with the article ‘Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: the Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World’, in: Sheila Ager/Riemer Faber (eds.): Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World (Waterloo, August 2008), Toronto 2013, 73-95, see below, III 67.

- 42) The *Eucharisticos* of Paulinus Pellaeus. Towards a Re-Appraisal of the Worldly Convert’s Life and Autobiography. In: VigChrist 60, 2006, 285-315.

Abstract (English)

After a sketch of Paulinus’ autobiography, his spiritual life is outlined, whereby the view of his adherence to a ‘heresy’ is rejected. Next the intentions underlying the composition of the *Eucharisticos* are reconsidered: they are to be sought in the author’s need to reassure and to comfort himself rather than to impress his contemporaries. Instead of censuring the poem as marred with inconsistencies – many of which are rather due to modern misreadings – the verses of thanksgiving are viewed as a remarkable and mostly successful attempt at coming to grips with the disruptions and inconsistencies of the world Paulinus lived in.

- 43) with Heinz Heinen: *Amici populi romani*. Prezentacija trirskogo proekta „Vnešnie druzja Rima“ (‘Presentation of the Trier-Based Project ‘The Foreign Friends of Rome’’), translated into Russian by Vladimir Kasseev. In: Antiquitas Aeterna (AAe) 1, Kazan, Nizhniy Novgorod & Saratov 2005 [2006], 280-303.

This is a Russian translation of ‘*Amici populi Romani*. Das Trierer Projekt ‘Roms auswärtige Freunde’ stellt sich vor’, in: Ancient Society 34, 2004 [2005], 45-75, see III 25 for a German abstract.

- 44) The Travels of the Infant Paulinus and the Unitarian Character of the *Eucharisticos*. A Replication to Carlo M. Lucarini. In: Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (GFA) 10, 2007, 111-118.

Download: URL: <http://gfa.gbv.de/dr,gfa,010,2007,a,06.pdf>.

Abstract (English)

In the mid-fifth century, Paulinus Pellaeus composed an autobiography of 616 hexametric verses styled as a Thanksgiving to God. Though a major source for the transformation of Late Roman Gaul, it was only at the beginning of the third millennium that the *Eucharisticos Deo* was deemed worthy a Teubner edition by Carlo M. Lucarini in 2006. Being basic to the chronology of the whole poem, Paulinus' age at writing, his date of birth, the travels during his infancy, and the year of his conversion to the church are addressed in the preface (pp. X-XII). Lucarini here follows Pierre Courcelle's analytical postulation, according to which the bulk of the poem was written in 455, but published in 459 after its clumsy revision. This way, both scholars prefer chronological vagueness, where Paulinus is precise; they confuse Paulinus' itinerary and his father's Thalassius' career, although the evidence allows clarity; they reject the transmitted tetrapteride in v. 474, and thus needlessly rejects the unitarian character and chronological consistency of the autobiography. The present replication focuses on the chronological implication of Paulinus' early childhood.

- 45) Freundschaft, persönliche Nahverhältnisse und das Imperium Romanum. Eine Einführung ('Friendship, Interpersonal Relations, and the Roman Empire. An Introduction'). In: A.C. (ed.): Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jh. v.Chr. – 1. Jh. n.Chr.), Frankfurt/M. 2008, 11-27.

No abstract, but see above on the whole volume (II 3).

- 46) Das Ende der ‚romfreundlichen‘ Herrschaft in Galatien und das Beispiel einer ‚sanften‘ Provinzialisierung in Zentralanatolien ('The End of the 'Philo-Roman' Rule in Galatia and the Example of a 'Soft' Provincialisation in Central Anatolia'). In: A.C. (ed.): Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jh. v.Chr. – 1. Jh. n.Chr.), Frankfurt/M. 2008, 133-164 (with maps 3-4).

Abstract (German)

Als mit Amyntas der letzte König der Galater 26/25 v. Chr. unerwartet starb, übernahm Augustus die direkte Herrschaft über dessen Reich. Im Laufe der folgenden Jahrzehnte sollten weitere benachbarte, ebenfalls unter galatischen Dynasten stehende Territorien der neuen Provinz zugeschlagen werden. Ein Grund für diese Maßnahmen wird in den Quellen nicht genannt. Auch in der Forschung haben die Motive des Kaisers bisher ein eher geringes Interesse gefunden. Aber gerade mit Blick auf die Loyalität, welche die galatischen Machthaber dem römischen Kaiser erwiesen hatten, sowie auf den Umstand, dass Amyntas mehrere erwachsene Söhne zurückließ, ist die Erklärungsnot für diesen Entschluss nicht gering. Der Aufsatz geht systematisch der Frage nach, warum damals mit der bewährten Tradition gebrochen wurde, das kaum durch Städte und Straßen erschlossene anatolische Hochland ›romfreundlichen‹ Monarchen zu unterstellen. So wird einerseits erörtert, welche Aufgaben Augustus den von ihm eingesetzten bzw. bestätigten Königen zuwies und welche Verpflichtung er gegenüber den *reges amici populi Romani* einging. Zum anderen werden die möglichen Gründe für die Provinzialisierung Galatiens diskutiert, wobei insbesondere auf den Bedarf an Siedlungsland für die Bürgerkriegsveteranen zu denken ist, die

sich vor allem in Pisidien niederließen. Kerngalatien blieb demgegenüber vorerst weitgehend unberührt vom Ende des Königtums, bis 20 Jahre später der Kaiserkult in Ankara gestiftet wurde; Anzeichen für Besteuerung oder direkte Machtausübung durch römische Statthalter sind dort vorerst nicht zu erkennen. Die Urbanisierung Ankyras und weiterer Orte Zentralgalatiens nahm erst durch den flavischen Straßenbau an Fahrt auf. Zur Metropolis der Provinz wurde Ankyra erst gegen Ende der Herrschaftszeit Trajans.

- 47) Rückkehr zum Vertragscharakter der *amicitia*? Zu einer alt-neuen Forschungskontroverse ('Should *amicitia*-Relations Be Considered as Treaties, Again? On an Old and New Controversy'). In: A.C. (ed.): Freundschaft und Gefolgschaft in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Römer (2. Jh. v.Chr. – 1. Jh. n.Chr.), Frankfurt/M. 2008, 209-230.

Abstract (German)

Der vorliegende Themenband betont vielfach die personale Rückbindung, die Flexibilität sowie die moralisch-politische und damit genuin außerrechtliche Dimension der *amicitia populi Romani*. In einem Kontrast zu diesen Perspektiven stehen Andreas Zacks Studien zum ›Römischen Völkerrecht‹ (2001): Indem er zentrale Voraussetzungen von Alfred Heuß (1933) ins Wanken bringt, fordert er eine Rückkehr zur Mommsenschen Lehre vertragsgebundener *amicitia* (1864, 1887). Die umfassende Behandlung des Themas und die Panho-plie seiner Beweisführung haben ihm sogleich das Gehör einschlägiger Autoritäten verschafft. Jedoch erscheint mir bei näherer Prüfung nicht jedes seiner Argumente gleichermaßen stichhaltig. Zudem bleibt auch unklar, welche historischen Schlussfolgerungen aus Zacks Thesen zu ziehen sind, unabhängig davon, ob man ihren Voraussetzungen zu folgen bereit ist oder nicht. Der vorliegende Beitrag prüft und verwirft die Annahme von der „natürlichen Feindschaft“ zweier nicht durch Vertrag verbundenen Staaten. Wenngleich die Möglichkeit des Freundschaftsvertrags zugestanden wird, wird daneben das Konzept vertragloser Freundschaftsverhältnisse verteidigt.

- 48) Zur Biographie des Prudentius ('On the Biography of Prudentius'). In: Philologus 152.2, 2008, 294-319.

Abstract (English)

While Prudentius' year of birth (AD 348) and his home city (Calahorra in Northern Spain) are no longer disputed, his career deserves a complete re-appraisal. He seems to have served as an advocate for up to twenty years (372/375–392/395). Since any political engagement under the usurper Eugenius is to be ruled out, he must have become firstly *praeses Tarraconensis*, secondly *consularis* of another Hispanic province, and thirdly *comes ordinis I intra consistorium* in Milan between 395 and 400. He thus served as a higher official exclusively under the emperor Honorius, who is alluded to in Praef. 20. After his retirement, Prudentius dedicated himself to the writing of Christian poetry. In search of inspiration, he travelled to Rome in spring 401. His return may have been delayed by the Gothic invasion of Northern Italy. Shortly after their defeat at Pollentia, but before the renewal of the war in summer 402 or 403, he left the capital probably in May 402. His journey had a particular impact on his *Contra Symmachum libri* and *Peristephanon liber*, which formed part of the seven books published in 404. As Perist. 10 had been composed earlier, and the dates of the *Dittochaeon* and *Hexaëmeron* remain uncertain, nothing more of the poet's life after this date is known.

- 49) Interculturelle Ortsnamen in Zentralkleinasien und Galatische Geschichte ('Intercultural Place Names in Central Asia Minor and Galatian History'). In: Wolfgang Ahrens/Sheila Embleton/André Lapierre (eds.): Names in Multi-Lingual, Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Contact. Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS XXIII), August 17-22, York University, Toronto 2009, 243-253.

Download of earlier draft: Netzwerk Interferenzonomastik, Gallorömische Abteilung (NIO-GaRo) 2008.1 (2009): http://www.uni-trier.de/fileadmin/fb3/AGY/NIO-GaRo_2008.1.pdf. (14 pp.)

Abstract (German)

Die Ortsnamenforschung zum kleinasiatischen Galatien hat zwar in den letzten Jahren erhebliche Fortschritte gemacht, doch werden auch sie der Massivität weder des primären noch des sekundären keltischen Einschlags in Zentralanatolien gerecht. Viel zu häufig werden indigene (altanatolische, phrygische) Etymologien angesetzt und keltische Ableitungen, Hybridisierungen oder Homonymien nicht einmal geprüft. Während in der neueren Literatur von den rund 75 für Kerngalatien bekannten Ortsnamen (Ethnyme bleiben hier unberücksichtigt) nur zwischen 9 und 16 als (vielleicht) keltisch betrachtet werden, zähle ich 24 (wahrscheinlich) keltische und 25 weitere Fälle mit mehreren, darunter auch keltischen, Anschlussmöglichkeiten. Des Weiteren scheint die Anzahl der (vielleicht) keltischen oder keltisch beeinflussten Ortsnamen außerhalb Kerngalatiens nicht, wie bisher angenommen, 2-10, sondern mindestens 34 zu betragen. Damit ist einerseits eine methodisch neue Ausgangsbasis für die Toponomastik Zentralkleinasiens gegeben; andererseits kann auch dessen Kulurrgeschichte und historische Geographie auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt werden.

Abstract (English)

While toponomastic research on Galatia in Asia Minor has made significant progress in the last years, the enormity of the primary and secondary Celtic impacts in central Anatolia still have not been fully accounted for: far too often, indigenous (Old Anatolian, Phrygian) etymologies are determined and Celtic derivatives, hybridizations or homonyms are not considered at all. While the newest scholarship counts only between 9 and 16 (possibly) Celtic place names out of the approximately 75 known for the Galatian heartland (ethnonyms remain unconsidered here), I count 24 (probably) Celtic names and 25 further cases with several possible etymologies, of which Celtic is an option. Furthermore, the count of (possibly) Celtic or Celtic-influenced place names outside of the Galatian heartland seems not to amount to between 2 and 10, as has been accepted up until now, but rather at least 34. Thus on the one hand a new methodical starting point for the toponomastics of central Asia Minor is given, and on the other hand the cultural history and historical geography of central Asia Minor can be placed on a new basis as well.

- 50) 'New Work on Hellenistic and Roman Galatia': *Terror Gallicus, Keltensieg, and Conflicting Perceptions of the Galatians*. In: University of Wales, Lampeter – Research Institute of Classics, Working Papers, March 2009. [Offline since ca. 2011]

Abstract (English)

This is an introduction into the history of Hellenistic and Roman Galatia and the major debates in current scholarship. To a large extend, it overlaps with the articles 'Belonging and Isolation in

Central Anatolia: the Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World’, in: Sheila Ager/Riemer Faber (eds.): *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World* (Waterloo, August 2008), Toronto 2013, 73-95, and, to a minor extent, also with the article ‘Deconstructing a Myth of Seleucid History: the So-Called ‘Elephant Victory’ over the Galatians Revisited’, in: *Phoenix* 66.1-2, 2012, 57-73. On these see below, III 67 and 65.

- 51) Zu den Bedingungen des Bürgerrechtserwerbs *per magistratum* in der späten Römischen Republik (‘On the Conditions of Acquiring Citizenship *per magistratum* in the Late Roman Republic’). In: *Historia* 58.2, 2009, 225-241.

Abstract (German)

Nach einer eher zufälligen Notiz des Cicero-Kommentators Asconius (*in Cic. Pis.* 3,11f.) hatten die Römer spätestens bis zum Jahr 89 v.Chr. mit dem sogenannten *ius civitatis per magistratum adipiscendae* ein neues Privileg für die Elite der latinischen Kolonien konzipiert. Bezeichnet wird mit diesem modernen Terminus ein rechtlicher Anspruch darauf, über die Führung eines Amtes innerhalb einer latinischen Kolonie römischer Bürger zu werden. Die Bestimmung von Inhalt, Ursachen und Wirkungen dieses für die expansive Politik des römischen Bürgerrechts wohl bedeutendsten Instruments ist äußerst kontrovers, teils deswegen, weil für die Kaiserzeit belegte Bedingungen oft zu leichtfertig auf die Phase der späten Republik übertragen werden, teils auch aufgrund einer allgemein anerkannten Korruptel des Asconius-Textes. Vorliegender Beitrag verteidigt zunächst das Entstehungsdatum um 125/22 v.Chr. und arbeitet sodann heraus, dass die Bürgerrechtsverleihung aufgrund der staatsrechtlichen Voraussetzungen nur ein Angebot sein, nicht aber automatisch erfolgen konnte. Hiermit wiederum deckt sich der – bisher auch aus philologischer Sicht „sanfteste“ – Emendationsversuch: *Pompeius enim non novis colonis eas (sc. colonias) constituit, sed veteribus incolis manentibus ius dedit Latii, ut possent habere ius, quod ceterae coloniae, id est ut peti<tione> magistratus civitatem adipiscerentur.* „Pompeius hat nämliche diese (Kolonien) nicht für neue Siedler gegründet, sondern hat den alten Einwohnern, die dort blieben, das *ius Latii* gegeben, wonach sie den (gleichen) Rechtsanspruch wie die übrigen Kolonien haben könnten, das heißt, daß (ihre) Beamten auf Antrag das (römische) Bürgerrecht erhielten.“

- 52) *Civitas Romana* and the Inclusion of Strangers in the Roman Republic: the Case of the Social War. In: Andreas Gestrich/Lutz Raphael/Herbert Uerlings (eds.): *Strangers and Poor People. Changing Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion in Europe and the Mediterranean World from Classical Antiquity to the Present Day*, Frankfurt/M. 2009, 135-164. (Revised, augmented, and translated version of article No. 24)

Abstract (English)

This is an extended version of the study “*Civitas Romana* und die Inklusion von Fremden in die römische Republik am Beispiel des Bundesgenossenkrieges” (III 24, ¹2004, ²2008). The focus is not so much on the question why the Italian allies demanded equal rights or Roman citizenship, but why the majority of the Romans preferred to withhold these, even at an enormous cost. The Roman aristocracy was deeply concerned with a loss of the political control, which ultimately ushered the violent death of M. Livius Drusus in 91 BC. The same reason explains the heated debates about citizenship legislation starting in 90 BC, next the failure or limitations of the census in 89 and 86 respectively, as well as the lack thereof prior to 70/69 BC.

- 53) Galatische Legionäre in Ägypten: die Konstituierung der *legio XXII Deiotariana* in der frühen Kaiserzeit. Bärbel Kramer zum Geburtstag gewidmet ('Galatian *legionarii* in Egypt: the Constitution of the *legio XXII Deiotariana* in the Early Empire'). In: *Tyche* 23, 2008 [Nov. 2009], 21-46.

Abstract (German)

Die Waffenhilfe galatischer 'Freunde und Verbündete' für die römische Hegemonialmacht ist seit dem späteren 2. Jh. v.Chr. bezeugt und wurde in den Tagen des Deiotaros Philorhomaios (ca. 120–41/40 v.Chr.) zu einer Selbstverständlichkeit römischer Kriegsführung im Orient. Dass die Reichszentrale auch nach der Provinzialisierung Galatiens im Jahr 25 v.Chr. nicht auf diese Unterstützung verzichten wollten, geht nicht zuletzt aus der massiven Präsenz galatischer Legionäre besonders im frühkaiserzeitlichen Ägypten hervor. Der vorliegende Beitrag unterbreitet neue Vorschläge für die Ankunft und die Organisationsform von Galatern im Land des Nils: Es scheint, dass erst Germanicus die *legio (vernacula) Deiotariana* von Kleinasiens aus nach Ägypten brachte und mit diesen dort die *legiones III und XXII Cyrenaicae* verstärkte; seitdem wurden diese Verbände als *legio III Cyrenaica* und *legio XXII Deiotariana* geführt, ohne dass sich fortan weitere regelmäßige Rekrutierungen aus Kleinasiens nachweisen lassen.

- 54) Der Ankyraner Kaiserkult und die Transformation galatischer und phrygisch-galatischer Identitäten in Zentralanatolien im Spiegel der Münzquellen ('The Emperor Cult of Ancyra and the Transformation of Galatian and Phrygio-Galatian Identities in Central Anatolia According to the Numismatic Evidence'). In: A.C./Heinz Heinen/Stefan Pfeiffer (eds.): Repräsentation von Identität und Zugehörigkeit im Osten der griechisch-römischen Welt, Frankfurt/M. 2009 (2010), 173-211.

Abstract (German)

Die Erforschung des Ankyraner Kultes für den Theos Sebastos und die Thea Rhome kann sich mit dem zu großen Teilen erhaltenen Tempel einschließlich der auf diesem befindlichen Inschriften sowie mit den relevanten epigraphischen und numismatischen Zeugnissen auf eine breite Quellenbasis stützen. Nach einer je kurzen Einführung in den historischen Raum Galatiens, die Entwicklung der Städte Ankyra, Pessinus und Tavion sowie die Etablierung des dort praktizierten Kaiserkultes soll die Bedeutung des letzteren für das Selbstverständnis der Galater herausgearbeitet werden. Dies spiegelt sich nicht nur in ihrer Beibenennung als *Sebastenoi* wider. Die Wahl der Münzmotive erlaubt zudem Blicke auf die kultbezogene Selbstrepräsentation seit der spätaugusteischen Zeit. Dabei sind zu ihrer Auswertung die – höchst kontroverse – Datierung der Münzen, Identifizierung der Abbildungen und Zuordnung der Prägeautorität von großer Bedeutung. Die Grundlage des Beitrags bildet die umfassend revidierte Chronologie der frühen Provinz Galatia, die im Rahmen einer jüngst abgeschlossenen Habilitationsschrift erarbeitet worden ist. Dieselbe erlaubt neue Perspektiven auf die Prozesse der Provinzialisierung bzw. Herausbildung neuer politisch-sozialer und ethnisch-kultureller Identitäten im Herzen Kleinasiens.

- 55) Der Rechtsstatus der spätrepublikanischen Kolonie Comum und ein zweifelhafter Fall von Bürgerrechtsanmaßung im Jahr 51 v.Chr. ('The Legal Status of the Late-Republican Colony of

Como and a Dubious Case of Usurping Citizenship in 51 BC'). In: *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* (RIDA) 55, 2008 [Feb. 2010], 189-202.

Abstract (German)

Als Consul des Jahres 59 v.Chr. ließ sich Caesar dazu ermächtigen, 4.500 neue Siedler in die bereits existierende Kolonie Comum zu deduzieren, die jetzt auch Novum Comum genannt wurde. Zusätzlich durfte er ebendort 500 Griechen als *cives Romani* einschreiben, ohne daß sie dort einen Wohnsitz bezogenen. Spätestens zu Beginn des Bürgerkrieges, also nur zehn Jahre später, wurde die Stadt als Teil der Gallia Transpadana in den *populus Romanus* eingegliedert. Unter kaiserzeitlichen Autoren herrschte alsbald eine Unsicherheit über den Rechtsstatus der Kolonialbürger während der 50er Jahre. Infolge dessen erschweren Mißverständnisse und Anachronismen einen nicht geringen Teil der wenigen Quellen sowohl zur Frühgeschichte der Stadt Como als auch und vor allem zur turbulenten Bürgerrechtspolitik der ausgehenden Römischen Republik. Da bisherige Erklärungen nur begrenzte Überzeugungskraft besitzen, soll hier ein neuer Versuch unternommen werden, noch strittige Probleme zu klären. Im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung steht der politische und verfassungsrechtliche Kontext der Folter eines Comenser Ratsherrn durch den römischen Consul Marcellus im Jahr 51 v.Chr., der damit nicht etwa ein Vergehen oder eine widerrechtliche Standesanmaßung durch den Comenser selbst bestrafte, sondern ein deutliches Zeichen gegen die Politik Caesars in der Gallia Transpadana setzte.

56) Were the Romans Generous in Granting Their Citizenship?, *Labyrinth* 91, 2010.

Download: URL: <http://classics.uwaterloo.ca/labyrinth/?p=101> [10.03.2010]

Abstract (German)

The Romans are not only famous for having fostered urban culture throughout the Mediterranean world and built an empire unrivalled in world history; it was also acknowledged by foreign nations – then and now – that they were prepared to share some legal and material privileges, if not full citizenship, with immigrants, former slaves, and even defeated enemies to a higher degree than their contemporaries. Ancient as well as modern authorities have thus been appraising the inclusive and generous nature of Roman citizenship policy, although its imperialistic connotations imposes some due caution on the modern observer: one cannot reasonably embrace Roman citizenship policy as a model for a modern nation state any longer. But despite its imperialistic connotations, some lessons may still be learnt from the Romans today. It is not only legitimate but highly useful to discuss openly the need for either allowing more immigration or curbing it, and to have debates about defining the entry conditions for those requesting access to the country or citizen body. There should of course be a fair balance between respecting the dignity of the people who knock at the door on the one hand and taking seriously the concerns of the ones who hold the key on the other.

57) Das Edikt des Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus und die Fasten der Statthalter Galatiens in augusteischer und tiberischer Zeit ('The Edict of Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus and the Fasti of the Governors of Galatia under Augustus and Tiberius'). In: *Gephyra* 6, 2009 (2010), 159-164.

Abstract (German)

Die galatische Statthalterschaft des Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus ist allein durch eine im h. Burdur bei Sagalassos in Pisidien gefundene, erstmals von Stephen Mitchell herausgegebene Inschrift bezeugt: Es handelt sich um ein Edikt, welches die Mißstände in der Nutzung des öffentlichen Transportwesens zu beheben sucht. Unstrittig ist, daß das Edikt unter der Herrschaft des Tiberius abgefaßt wurde, da sich der Statthalter im Präskript *legatus Ti. Caesaris Augusti pro pr(aetore)* (Z. 1f.) nennt. Verwiesen wird aber auch auf frühere, dasselbe Problem betreffende Anordnungen des Augustus (Z. 3), welche wiederholt mißachtet worden seien. Aus der Formulierung schließt die bisherige Forschung weit mehrheitlich, daß der römische Beamte von Augustus eingesetzt worden und nach dessen Tod in seiner Position verblieben sei. Doch ist dies durch Inschrift von Sagalassos keineswegs belegt und zudem durch die Dokumente für die Statthalterschaft des T. Helvius Basila ausgeschlossen. Diese Beobachtungen führen zu einer umfassenden Revision der galatischen Fasten unter Augustus und Tiberius: M. Lollius (Curio?) 25–22/21 v.Chr.; L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex ca. 14–ca. 13 v.Chr.; Cornutus (Arruntius?) Aquila bis So(mmer) 6 v.Chr.; P. Sulpicius Quirinius So. 6–So. 2 v.Chr.; Metilius (erster Statthaltername im überlieferten Teil der Ankyraner Priesterinschrift) So. 2 v.–So. 4 n.Chr.; Fronto So. 4–Sept. 7/So. 8 n.Chr.; M. Plautius Silvanus Okt. 7/So. 8–So. 12 n.Chr.; T. Helvius Basila (letzter Statthaltername in der Ankyraner Priesterinschrift) So. 12–ca. 15/17 n.Chr.; Priscus ca. 18/19 n.Chr.; Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus ca. 20/37 n.Chr.

Abstract (Turkish)

Sagalassos'ta ele geçen ve çift dilli kaleme alınmış bir emirnamede Sex. Sotidius Strabo, *Ti. Caesaris Augusti pro pr(aetore)* olarak tanımlanmaktadır (AE 1976, nr. 653). Daha önceki yaynlarda Augustus ve Tiberius devirleri arasında Galatia Eyaleti valisi olarak kabul edilmiş olan bu senatörün, sadece Tiberius devrinde valilik yaptığı, buna karşılık T. Helvius Basila'nın Augustus'un son yıllarda Tiberius'un ilk yılları arasında Galatia Eyaletini yönettiği kanıtlara dayandırılarak belgelenmekte ve makalenin sonunda Augustus-Tiberius devirlerine ilişkin Galatia Eyaleti valilerinin kronolojik bir listesi verilmektedir.

- 58) Die Stratios-Mission des Jahres 167 v.Chr., ein später Einschub in den Polybios-Text (30,2,6) und die dynastische Erbfolge der späteren Attaliden. (‘The Mission of Stratios in the Year 167 BC, a Later Insertion into the Text of Polybios (30.2.6), and the Dynastic Succession of the Later Attalids’). In: Historia 60, 2011, 94–114.

Abstract (German)

In einer geheimen Rede vor Attalos (II.) soll der Gesandte Stratios einen „natürlichen Sohnes“ des Eumenes erwähnt haben, der damals noch nicht „anerkannt“ worden sei (Polyb. 30,2,6), ein Hinweis, der gemeinhin als späterer Einschub gilt. Zweifel an dessen Identifikation mit Attalos (III.) führen zu einer Betrachtung des Kontextes der Stratios-Mission im Winter 168/67 v.Chr., die als historiographische Fiktion erwiesen wird. Weiter zeigt sich, dass der erklärende Einschub nicht auf eine vermeintliche Unkenntnis der Bruders des Eumenes im Jahr 168/67 reagiert, sondern vielmehr auf eine Wissenslücke, welche der Historiograph bei der Erstfassung der Passage etwa Anfang der 140er Jahre hatte. Sodann wird herausgestellt, dass die Elternschaft von Eumenes und StratoniKE im Fall des jüngeren Attalos unanfechtbar und somit der Bezug der strittigen Polybios-Passage auf denselben ausgeschlossen ist. Demgegenüber erfüllt Aristonikos nicht nur die Bedingung, ein natürlicher Sohn des Eumenes zu sein, sondern auch die zweite dort genannte Eigenschaft, „in der Königsherrschaft nachgefolgt zu sein“. Die Richtigstellung dieses

Missverständnisses hat darüber hinaus zur Klärung weiterer Fragen der spät-attalidischen Geschichte beigetragen. So muss nun davon ausgegangen werden, dass Aristonikos von seinem Vater Eumenes im Verlauf der 160er Jahre anerkannt worden war. Vor diesem Hintergrund sind schließlich die dynastischen Konflikte während der Herrschaftszeit Attalos' III., die Abfassung des Rom begünstigenden Testaments und die pergamenische Opposition gegen die Erhebung des Aristonikos-Eumenes neu zu beleuchten.

- 59) Annäherungen an die galatische Elite der hellenistischen Zeit ('Approaching the Galatian Elite in the Hellenistic Period'). In: Boris Dreyer/Peter F. Mittag (eds.): Lokale Eliten und hellenistische Könige. Zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation (Oikumene 8), Berlin 2011, 80-104.

Abstract (German)

Während für Galatien im 3. und 2. Jh. lediglich vage Indizien vorliegen, belegen die Quellen zum 1. Jh. v.Chr. erstens die monarchische Herrschaft der Stammesfürsten und zweitens die starke Bedeutung sowohl einer dynastischen als auch einer meritokratischen Legitimation. In allen Fällen vor der Herrschaftsausdehnung des Deiotaros über sämtliche galatische Stämme liegen eine Herkunft des *regulus* bzw. Tetrarchen aus dem jeweiligen Stamm oder doch wenigstens ein genealogisch bedingter Erbanspruch vor. Dies schließt freilich nicht aus, dass kleinere Sippschaften nach und nach in die vier oder später drei Großstämme integriert und damit gewissermaßen vorübergehend einer Fremdherrschaft unterworfen wurden. Das große Bestreben der Galater nach Autonomie ging ganz ohne Probleme mit dem Versuch einher, Herrschaft über fremde Territorien zu gewinnen. Hier zeigte sich ein starkes Nachwirken der gewaltsmalen Landnahme in den 270er Jahren, aber auch eine Begleiterscheinung der nomadischen Lebensweise, die in größerem Maße als sesshafte Gesellschaften auf militärische Selbstbehauptung angewiesen ist. Daher musste sich ihre Elite kontinuierlich in der Kriegsführung bewähren, konnte aber auf eine große Bereitschaft der Stammesgenossen zur Gefolgschaft zählen. Auch im Heeresdienst unter hellenistischen Königen oder römischen Proconsuln verblieben galatische Einheiten im ethnischen Verband, der von ihren eigenen Fürsten kommandiert wurde. Ähnlich wie viele griechische Poleis, aber zum Teil mit größerem Erfolg, changierten auch die galatischen Stämme zwischen voller Autonomie, hegemonialer Beeinflussung und vorübergehender Besetzung seitens einer hellenistischen Großmacht. Im Verlauf des 1. Jhs. lehnten sie sich indes immer stärker an Rom an. Für die meisten Tetrarchen zahlte sich diese politische Ausrichtung durchaus aus, da ihnen Pompeius nicht nur ihre Stellung garantierte, sondern Deiotaros und Brogitaros nachweislich sowie vielleicht auch Kastor Tarkondarios und Domnekleios zusätzliche Territorien aus dem untergegangenen pontischen Reich schenkte. Andererseits vermochte Deiotaros durch seine Begünstigung seitens der Römer derart umfangreiche Ressourcen anzuhäufen, dass er bis zu seinem Lebensende eine Herrschaft über Gesamtgalatien errichtete. Die damit verbundenen gewaltsmalen und für die lokalen Fürstenhäuser zum Teil tödlichen Konflikte stellten eine wichtige Voraussetzung dafür dar, dass die Provinzialisierung unter Augustus friedlich verlief und sich die Eliten an eine Fremdherrschaft gewöhnt hatten.

- 60) Galatians and Seleucids: a Century of Conflict and Cooperation. In: Kyle Erickson/Gillian Ramsey (eds.): Seleucid Dissolution: Fragmentation and Transformation of Empire (Exeter, July 2008), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011 (Philippika 50), 85-106.

Abstract (English)

Most ancient sources and no less modern accounts ignore the political independence of the eastern Celtic, especially Galatian, peoples that settled in the centre of Asia Minor or operated as federates or mercenaries in the whole of the Hellenistic world. However, a fresh analysis of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence enables us to differentiate much more clearly between those political entities. This way, new light may also be shed on their highly dynamic and complex relations with the Seleucids during the first century of their presence in Anatolia. It will be suggested that the Elephant Battle won by Antiochus I in ca. 270 has as much been overestimated as the victories that Attalus I achieved at the sources of the Caicus and at the walls of Pergamum. Even under Antiochus III, when Seleucid rule over Asia Minor reached its pinnacle, it is unlikely that the Galatians considered themselves or were treated as his subjects: while the tribe of Eposognatus (which has hitherto not been identified) remained loyal to Eumenes II of Pergamum, the remaining Galatian tribes seem to have been allies of Antiochus, though at least the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages seem to have been bound by individual treaties. Besides, there is manifold evidence for additional mercenary units probably hired from the failed Celtic kingdom of Tyle in eastern Thrace. The close relationships between Antiochus and the Celts living north-west to the mountain chain of the Taurus was shattered only by the campaign of Manlius Vulso in 189. No further contacts between the Galatians of central Anatolia and the Seleucids can be traced after the Romans had installed their 'peace and friendship' on Antiochus in Apameia the same year.

- 61) Pseudo-Xenophon: ein ‚Alter Oligarch‘? Die *Athenaion politeia* auf dem Prüfstand. (‘Pseudo-Xenophon: an ‘Old Oligarch’? The *Athenaion politeia* Re-Visited’). In: Gustav-Adolf Lehmann/Dorit Engster/Alexander Nuß (Hgg.): Von der bronzezeitlichen Geschichte zur modernen Antikenrezeption. Vorträge aus dem Sommersemester 2008 und Wintersemester 2008/09 (=Syngamma. Vorträge im Althistorischen Seminar 1), 2012, 55-81.

Download of the whole volume: www.oapen.org/download?type=document&docid=411654.

Abstract (German)

Entgegen den traditionell bevorzugten Daten 431/424 und den neuerdings immer häufiger vertretenen noch späteren Ansätzen wird dargelegt, dass die Jahre 446 bis 443 am ehesten für die Abfassung der *Athēnaiōn politeia* in Frage kommen. Damit ist sie die älteste erhaltene Abhandlung zur Demokratie. Zugleich ist jeglicher Zusammenhang mit den oligarchischen Verschwörungen von 415 bis 404 auszuschließen. Aber auch für die 440er Jahre lässt sich eine die Demokratie gefährdende Verschwörung weder in dieser Schrift noch in den Berichten des Thukydides oder Ps.-Aristoteles greifen. Die Deutungen des Textes als politisches Manifest oder symposiastische Stegreifrede werden widerlegt. Indem ferner die Ironisierung traditioneller Wertbegriffe herausgearbeitet wurde, entfällt auch das Fundament für die Annahme, die Schrift sei in einem elitär-antidemokratischen Umfeld entstanden. Ihren Sitz im Leben verraten indes die formalen wie inhaltlichen Einflüsse der frühen Sophistik, die damals vor allem durch Protagoras in Athen präsent war. Am ehesten ist an eine Deklamation aus dem damaligen Lehrbetrieb zu denken, wofür insbesondere die Konstitution der Rolle des Redners, die Neigung zur Verallgemeinerung und der weitgehende Verzicht auf institutionelle Details verweisen. Auch die Verschriftlichung selbst dürfte Unterrichtszwecke implizieren. Des Weiteren wird nachgewiesen, dass die argumentativen und kompositionellen Schwächen vor allem dadurch zustande

gekommen sind, dass Fragmente etwa dreier verschiedener Reden zu einer Art Stoffsammlung zur Athener Demokratie und Seeherrschaft zusammengeführt worden sind.

- 62) Theophore Personennamen in Westkleinasien. Neue Überlegungen auf der Grundlage des *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol. V.A: *Pontus to Ionia* (2010). Dem Gedenken an P.M. Fraser und E. Matthews gewidmet ('Theophoric Personal Names in Western Asia Minor. New Considerations on the Basis of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Vol. V.A: Pontus to Ionia, 2010. Dedicated to the memory of P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews'). In: *Epigraphica Anatolica* 44, 2011, 153-162.

Abstract (German) not yet available.

- 63) Intercultural Anthroponomy in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia. With Maps Drawn by Michael Grün and April Ross.
 a) In *Gephyra* 9, 2012, 51-68.
 b) Translated into Russian by Anton Baryshikov. Forthcoming in: *Keltogalatika. Essays on the Political, Military, and Ethnic History of the Celts in the Hellenistic World*, ed. by Oleg Gabelko, St.-Petersburg, Editorial house of the Faculty of History, St.-Petersburg State University.

Abstract (English)

From 278 BC, Celtic mercenaries started to be involved in the dynastic wars of Asia Minor and began to settle in eastern Phrygia as 'Galatians'. From there they ruled substantial parts of central and western Anatolia until the creation of the Roman province of Galatia in 25 BC. Despite their historical importance, little is known about their cultural identity, so that a closer look at their personal names helps to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge. After a general introduction to the onomastic resources for central Anatolia, it is pointed out that Celtic compound names dominated among the aristocracy of Hellenistic Galatia. Prosopographical information is then employed to explain that the rare use of foreign names in the course of the 1st century BC was mainly due to intermarriage with the nobility of neighbouring territories. Despite the growing impact of Hellenization and Romanization in the same period, Greek and Roman personal names became more popular than Celtic names only in the latter half of the 1st century AD, though Celtic names only disappear in the course of the 3rd century. Surprising is the resurgence of Phrygian names in imperial inscriptions, which may at least partly be explained by the amalgamation of the priestly elite of Pessinus and the Tolistobogian nobility. But in some places, there seems to have been a continuity of Phrygian settlement that may go back to the early Hellenistic period if not beyond. This appears to be implied in rural naming patterns, where a high degree of homogeneity as to the use of either Phrygian or Celtic names is attested in the epigraphic record. The evidence becomes even more striking if the implications of intercultural naming practices are also considered. The assumption of an early 'Galatization' of central Anatolia, soon followed by its 'Hellenization', is therefore in need of modification.

Abstract (Turkish, short)

Helenistik ve Roma Dönemi Galatia'sında Kültürlerarası Antroponomi: Küçük Asya'daki taht savaşlarına dahil edilen Keltler; "Galatlar" adı altında İ.O. 278 yılından itibarendoğu Phrygia'yı iskan etmeye başlamışlardır. Önemli bir siyasi güç haline gelen Galatlar; İ.O. 25 yılında Galatia eyaleti olarak Roma Imperium'una dahil edilene kadar İç ve Batı Anadolu'da hüküm

sürmüşlerdir. Tarihte aldıkları bu öneme rağmen Galatların kültürel kimliklerine ilişkin çok az şey bilinmektektir. Bilgilerimizdeki eksik bir takım noktaları doldurmak amacıyla Galatların kullandığı şahıs isimleri incelemeye alınmıştır. Orta Anadolu onomastik kaynaklarına genel bir girişin ardından Helenistik Dönem Galatia elitleri arasında egemen olan Kelt birleşik isimleri gösterilmektedir. Daha sonradan prosopografik bilgilere başvurmak suretiyle İ.O. 1 yy boyunca yabancı isimlerin nadiren kullanımının ana nedeninin komşu bölgelerdeki elitlerle yapılan evlilikler sebebiyle olduğu açıklanmaktadır.

Abstract (Turkish, long)

Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi Galatia'sındakültürlerarası antroponomi: Hellenistik Dönem'de Küçük Asya'da yaşanan taht savaşlarına dâhil edilen Keltler; "Galatlar" adı altında İ.O. 278 yılından itibaren Doğu Phrygia'yı iskan etmeye başlamışlardır. Zamanla önemli bir siyasi güç haline gelmişler ve İ.O. 25 yılında Galatia Eyaleti olarak Roma Imperium'unadahil edilene kadar İç ve Batı Anadolu'da hüküm sürmüşlerdir. Tarihte taşdıkkları bu öneme rağmen Galatların kültürel kimliklerine ilişkin çok az bilgi mevcuttur. Burada; bilgilerimizdeki eksik birtakım noktaları doldurmak amacıyla Galatların kullandığı şahıs isimleri incelemeye alınmıştır. Makalenin giriş kısmında Galatların Hellenistik Dönem'de, İ.O. 3. yüzyılda Anadolu'ya giriş süreci ve Anadolu'da etki alanları hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Galatların, Apameia Antlaşması'ndan sonra etkinlik alanları azalsa da bölgedeki etkinliklerinin sona ermediği belirtilmektedir. Galatia'da varlığını sürdürten Trokmi, Tolistobog ve Tektosag kabilelerinin yönetimlerine dair, araştırmacıların hemfikir olduğu, İ.O. 3–2. yüzyıllarda oniki *tetrarkhia*'nın varlığının aksine, sadece İ.O. 100 yılı dolaylarında VI. Mithridates tarafından dört *tetrarkhia* kurulduğu önerilmektedir. Bölgenin Roma eyaleti haline getirilip üç *civitates*'e bölünmesinin ardından Ankyra'nın Tektosagların, Pessinus'un Tolistoboglарın, Tavium'un ise Trokmilerin başkenti oluşundan sonra bunların egemenlik alanları gibi veriler yetersiz kalmıştır. Coşkun, bu kabilelerin bölge kentlerine siyasal, sosyal ve kültürel açılarından nasıl baktığı gibi soruları makalesinde yönetmektedir. Ayrıca, Galatların Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Frig kültürünün öğelerini taşıyıp taşımadığını, kültürlerarası ilişkilerin nitelğini açıklamak için onomastik verileri incelemektedir.

Makalenin ikinci bölümünde ise, Galat onomastiği üzerine bazı gözlemler açıklanmaktadır. Verilen örneklerde, İ.S. geç 1. yüzyılda Kelt isimleri ağırlıkta iken, kısa bir süre sonra Kelt, Frig ve Yunan şahıs isimlerinin ön plana çıktığı belirtilmekte, İ.S. 3. yüzyılda ise ağırlıklı olarak Roma şahıs isimlerinin varlığına dair örnekler sunulmaktadır. Bu örneklerden hareketle, Frig şahıs isimlerinin İ.S. 2. yüzyılda yoğun bir biçimde yeniden ortaya çıkışına ve kısa bir süre sonra da görünmemesine dikkat çekilmektedir. Galatlar örneğinde görüldüğü gibi, Orta Anadolu'da şahıs isimleri konusunda, Zgusta'nın "Küçük Asya Şahıs İsimleri Sözlüğü"nündəsında kapsamlı bir *corpusçalışması* yapılmadığınadikkat çekilmektedir. Bunlara ilaveten, Anadolu'da Yunan ve Latin şahıs isimleri yanı sıra bir de Kelt-Galat isimleri bibliografiyasiverilmektedir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde ise Hellenistik Dönem'de (İ.O. 3–1. yüzyıllar) Galat şahıs isimleri ve Roma Yüksek İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde bu isimlere ilişkin veriler tartışılmaktadır. Bölgedeki Hellenistik Dönem isimlerinin krallık, hanedan, seçkin sınıf gibi belli bir zümreden türetildiği ve erken dönem Galat soyluları arasında yabancı şahıs adlarının nadir görüldüğü belirtilmektedir. Ayrıca Amyntas'ın ölümüne kadar kesin olarak tarihlenen soylu şahıs isimleri hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Hellenistik krallıklar arasında yaygın olan ve Yunan-Roma dünyasıyla yakın bağlantıyı gösteren Philopator, Philorhomaios gibi *cognomina* kullanmalarına karşılık çocukları, torunları için Deiotaros, Adobogianos, Brigatos gibi Kelt isimlerini kullanmayı tercih ediyorlardı. Yazar, Galatlar arasında Kelt olmayan isimleri ise İ.O. 1. yüzyılda hanedanlıklararası Yunan kentleriyle yapılan evliliklere dayandırmaktadır. Çalışmada Yunan isimlerinin Galatlar arasında yaygınlaşmasının nedenleri açıklanmaktadır. Bunların yanı sıra, A. Ross yardımıyla epigrafik

verilerden yola çıkarak Roma Yüksek İmparatorluk Dönemi’nde bölgedeki Kelt, Frig, Anadolu şahıs isimlerinin, yer isimleri ve tanrı isimlerinin dağılımını gösteren bir harita verilmektedir. Bölgelerarası bağlantılar tartışırlarken *domnus*, *domnē* gibi isimlerin yayılımı ve bu isimden türetilen şahıs isimlerinin batı eyaletlerinde yaygın görüldüğü ve *dubno-* Kelt kökünden türetildiği açıklanmaktadır.

Makalenin sonuc kısmında ise, Hellenistik Dönem’de son üç yüzyılda Galat isimlerinde Kelt kökenli olanların baskın bir şekilde görüldüğü; az sayıdaki yabancı şahıs isimlerinin yabancı kültürlerde eğilimden değil, yapılan evliliklerden kaynaklandığı; Galatların Yunanlar ve Romalılarla ilişkilerinin artışına bağlı olarak isimlerdeki kültürlerarası çeşitliliğin de arttığı vurgulanmaktadır. Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi’nde Yunan ve Roma adlarının artışına rağmen yine de bölgede mezar yazıtlarının çoğunu Frig ya da Kelt isimleri taşımaktadır.

- 64) Bibliographische Nachträge zu den Fasten der Provinz Galatien in augusteischer und tiberischer Zeit ('Bibliobliographic Addenda to the Fasti of the Province of Galatia under Augustus and Tiberius'). In: *Gephyra* 9, 2012, 124-127.

Abstract (English)

After briefly introducing into the revised *fasti* of the early governors of the province Galatia, a survey of the most recent publications in the field is given. Most importantly, the new chronology of the *legati Augusti pro praetore* as deployed in *Gephyra* 6 (2009) has been accepted in the recent corpus of inscriptions of Roman Ancyra (edd. Mitchell / French 2012), even though it has been argued convincingly there that the main source, the priest list on the left anta of the Sebasteion (I.Ankara I 2), started in 5 (and not 4) BC. Moreover, the discussion of three inscriptions relating to the repair of a road connecting Attaleia and Perge further corroborates a late Augustan and early Tiberian date for the governor T. Helvius Fronto.

Abstract (Turkish)

Augustus ve Tiberius Dönemi Galatya Eyaleti'ni listesine ilişkin bazı bibliyografik ekler: Yazar makalesinde bu süreli yayının 6. sayısında yayımladığı daha önceki bir makalesine (bkz. *Gephyra* 6, 2009, 159–164) ilaveler yapmaktadır. Yazar yukarıda değinilen önceki makalesinde Metilius'un valiliği devraldığı yılı İ.O. 2'ye geri çekmek, böylece de erken dönem Galatia valileri Metilius, Fronto, Silvanus ve Basila'nın görevde oldukları yılları geleneksel kronolojiden 20 yıl kadar öne almak gerektiği ana tezini ileri sürmüştür; buna karşılık Sotidius Strabo'nun valiliğinin ise Augustus sonrasında tarihlenmesinin kesin olduğunu belirtmiştir. Yazar bu genel girişin ardından Galatia eyaletinin erken dönem valilerinin gözden geçirilmiş kronolojisine kısaca değindikten sonra Augustus ve Tiberius dönemlerinde görevde olan Galatia valilerine ilişkin en son çalışmaları ele almaktadır. Buna göre (T. Helvius) Basila'yı *legatus Augusti* olarak gösteren sikkelerin daha önce düşünüldüğü gibi Caligula Dönemi'ne değil, Augustus'un ölümünden önceye veya Tiberius'un hükümlülüğünün hemen başına tarihlenmesi gerektiğini savunan Andrew Burnetts'in (şurada: Roman Imperial Coinage I, Londra 1992) gözlemleri yazar Galatia eyaleti valilerinin kronolojisini gözden geçirmeye teşvik etmiştir. Bunun ardından yazar makalesine kendisi tarafından ortaya konulan yeni kronolojinin yakın zamanda yayımlanan Ankyra Yazıtları (Mitchell – French 2012) külliyatında (*corpus*) kabul gördüğünü dile getirerek devam etmektedir. Yazar makalesinde ayrıca adı geçen külliyyatta bu konudaki en önemli epigrafik kaynak olan AnkyraSebastei-onu'nun sol *ante*'sına kazınan rahip listesinin

sanıldığı gibi İ.O. 4'te değil, İ.O. 5 yılında başladığının ikna edici bir şekilde ortaya konulduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Attaleia ve Perge arasındaki yolu tamiratına ilişkin üç yazıt yeniden yorumlayan yazar makalesini bu yazıtların T. Helvius Bassus'un valilik görevinin Geç Augustus – Erken Tiberius Dönemi'ne tarihlenmesini doğruladıkları yorumyla bitirmektedir.

- 65) Deconstructing a Myth of Seleucid History: the So-Called ‘Elephant Victory’ over the Galatians Revisited. In: *Phoenix* 66.1-2, 2012, 57-73.

Abstract (English)

Common opinion has it that Antiochus the Great pacified central and western Asia Minor by defeating the Galatians in a glorious battle, mainly relying on his war elephants. As a result, the Galatians are said to have been settled in the remote hinterland of Anatolia, remaining loyal vassals of the Seleucids for the ensuing century. Scholarship has until now only been divided as to dating this ‘Elephant Victory’: while ca. 276/74 has traditionally been the date mostly accepted, more recently 270/68 BC has been prevailing. In this article, it is firstly argued that Antiochus must have reacted to the invasion of the Galatians by 274. Secondly, a revision of the ancient sources reveals that the subject of the ‘Elephant Victory’ was absent from Hellenistic historiography. It was rooted in Seleucid propaganda (cf. Suda s.v. *Simonides of Magnesia*) rather than in the political realities of the 3rd century. Little was known about it when Lucian composed his *Zeuxis or Antiochus* in the 2nd century AD, which allowed the sophist to make the story fit his own rhetorical needs. The deconstruction of this myth of modern historiography has a far-reaching impact on the political history of Asia Minor as well as of the reconstruction of the early Seleucid ruler cult.

- 66) Romanisierung und keltisches Substrat im hadrianischen Ankyra im Spiegel der Gedenkinschrift für Lateinia Kleopatra (Bosch 117 = Mitchell/French, I.Ankara I 81) (Romanization and Celtic Substratum in Ancyra under Hadrian, as Mirrored in the Commemorative Inscription for Latinia Cleopatra). In: *ZPE* 183, 2013, 171-184.

Abstract (German)

Die systematische Untersuchung zu den Namen der Gedenkinschrift für Lateinia Kleopatra hat in verschiedener Weise zur Präzisierung unserer Kenntnisse von der Entwicklung des kaiserzeitlichen Ankyra geführt. Zunächst wurden die letzten Jahre der Herrschaft Hadrians als wahrscheinliches Datum für den Ehrenbeschluss ermittelt (ca. 135/138 n.Chr.). Sodann konnte gezeigt werden, wie sich das in der galatischen Aristokratie des 2. Jahrhunderts weit verbreitete Bedürfnis, auf königliche Vorfahren hinzuweisen, in ihrem Namengut spiegelt, wobei die Namen *Kleopatra* und *Alexandros* sowohl thematische als auch genealogische Verbindungslien zum tosiopischen Tetrarchengeschlecht nahelegen. Ferner hat eine Schichtung der Namen der Phylarchen, welche die Ehrung vorgenommen hatten, nicht nur einen Einblick in die (überraschend weite) Verbreitung des römischen Bürgerrechts in der Ankyraner Mittelschicht gestattet, sondern zugleich auch den hohen Anteil keltischer sowie ‚verdeckt‘ epichorischer Namen kenntlich gemacht. Durch Vergleiche mit den Namen von Sebastos-Priestern und Buleuten des Koinons der Galater konnten weitere Besonderheiten erstens der Metropolis Ankyra gegenüber anderen Gebieten Kerngalatiens sowie zweitens der Mittelschicht jener Stadt gegenüber dem engeren Zirkel der aristokratischen Führungselite hervorgehoben werden. Hierbei

verdient besonders die augenfällige Dominanz des keltischen Elementes noch im mittleren 2. Jh. n.Chr. betont zu werden. Die grundsätzliche Gefahr der Verzerrung des Eindrucks angesichts der geringen Zahl von Namen wird durch mehrere Umstände verringert: erstens durch die relativ gleichmäßige Rekrutierung der zwölf Phylarchen aus der Ankyraner Mittelschicht; zweitens durch die ergänzende Untersuchung der ‚verdeckten‘ Namentraditionen; drittens durch mehrere Vergleiche mit anderen Namenlisten Kerngalatiens, welche eine recht genaue Datierung und soziale Einordnung erlauben; und viertens durch die plausible Kontextualisierung der Befunde im weiteren Rahmen der Geschichte Galatiens.

- 67) Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: the Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World. In: Sheila Ager/Riemer Faber (eds.): Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World (Waterloo, August 2008), Toronto 2013, 73-95.

Abstract (English) not yet available.

- 68) Die Menoniden von Pharsalos: Proxenoi der Athener im 5. und 4. Jh. v.Chr. ('The Menonides of Pharsalos: Proxenoi of the Athenians in the 5th and 4th Centuries BC'). In: Hermes 141.2, 2013, 142-154.

Abstract (English)

According to Dem. or. 23.199, Menon of Phasalos was honoured with Athenian citizenship for rescuing Eion. If this happened in 476 BC as commonly assumed, this would have been the only case of franchise through the assembly to predate Pericles' law of citizenship. The Eion episode should thus rather be dated to 424 BC, even though the historian Thukydides claims the merit for himself without mentioning the Pharsalian (Thuk. IV 106.4). This silence, however, serves an apologetic purpose, since Thukydides was banned from Athens soon after defending Eion (V 26.5). Menon was thus identical with the homonymous commander of Thessalian troops in 431 BC (II 22.3) and the father of the Pharsalian Thukydides attested as *proxenos* in Athens in 411 BC (VIII 92.8). Neither of them ever was a citizen of Athens, which is further confirmed by Dem. or. 13.23, who specifies Menon's reward as *ateleia*.

- 69) Von Anatolia bis *Inscriptions of Ankara*: Zwanzig Jahre Forschungen zum antiken Galatien (1993-2012) ('From Anatolia to *Inscriptions of Ankara*: Twenty Years of Research on Ancient Galatia'), Anatolica 39, 2013, 69-95.

Abstract (English)

Once poorly neglected by scholars of the Classical world, Galatia in the heartland of Anatolia has developed into one of the most productive areas of Ancient History, Graeco-Roman epigraphy, and Classical Archaeology in the course of the last few decades. Given the wealth and diversity of recent contributions and ongoing research activities, it is timely to present a concise overview that not only provides readers with easy access to at times remote publications, but also summarizes and contextualizes major results. This will allow us to point out some converging discoveries or insights as well as old and new views that may conflict with documentary evidence that has been recently found or better understood. Likewise, various new problems and re-opened questions that deserve scholarly attention in the future will be put forward. The debt that the

scholarly community owes to Stephen Mitchell is outstanding, as the author of the most comprehensive study of roughly one millennium of Galatian history (1993) as well as the co-editor of the monumental *Inscriptions of Ankara I*, which he has produced together with David French (2012). These milestones of Galatian Studies will serve as a framework for this report.

(Abstract (German)

Galatien im Herzen Anatoliens, einst ein kläglich vernachlässigtes Gebiet der klassischen Altertumskunde, hat sich im Laufe der vergangenen Generation zu einem äußerst produktiven Arbeitsfeld der Alten Geschichte, Epigraphik und Archäologie sowie benachbarter Disziplinen entwickelt. Ziel dieses Beitrages ist es, einen zusammenfassenden Überblick über die vielfältigen, teils entlegenen Veröffentlichungen und Projekte zu bieten, die unsere Kenntnisse eindrucksvoll erweitert haben. Ebenfalls in den Blick genommen werden sollen – soweit dem Verfasser bekannt – auch in Kürze anstehende Publikationsvorhaben sowie laufende Forschungsprojekte. Angesichts der Konzentration gegenwärtiger Untersuchungen auf den zentralanatolischen Raum können deswegen vielfach nur Zwischenbilanzen gezogen oder noch ausstehende Fragen und Kontroversen benannt werden, die der weiteren Klärung harren. Herausragende Meilensteine der jüngeren Forschung und zugleich die Eckpfeiler dieser Darstellung bilden Stephen Mitchell's *Anatolia* (1993) sowie die von demselben gemeinsam mit David French herausgegebenen *Inscriptions of Ankara I* (2012).

- 70) *Histoire par les noms* in the Heartland of Galatia (3rd Century BC–AD 3rd Century). In: Robert Parker (ed.): Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia, Oxford 2013 (Proceedings of the British Academy 191), 79-106.

Abstract (English)

For the two centuries following the Galatian occupation of central Anatolia after 278 BC, only a few nearly exclusively Celtic names of tribal or mercenary leaders have been transmitted. In the 1st century BC, the first examples of Anatolian names re-emerge in our evidence, and a few Greco-Macedonian ones alongside with them. By the beginning of the 2nd century AD, Roman names prevailed among Galatian aristocrats. Complementary to these general trends, this study also looks at the Phrygian and Celtic traditions that were sometimes hidden behind Greek or Roman facades: the extent of such complex naming practices reveals the compatibility of embracing Hellenism or Romanness with an awareness of the Galatian or Phrygian cultural heritage still in the 2nd century. Such local peculiarities faded away in the 3rd century with the completion of Roman franchise and the spread of Christian names.

- 71) with Lukas Lemcke: Users and Issuers of Permits of the Imperial Information and Transportation System in the 1st Century CE. In: *Latomus* 72, 2013, 1034-1054.

Abstract (English)

After a brief introduction into the imperial information and transportation system (occasionally called *vehiculatio* in the High Empire, but *cursus publicus* only in Late Antiquity), this study seeks to specify the dates of its first establishment under Augustus and, more importantly, the steps taken by the central power to tighten the control of its resources. Drawing on the Sagalassus inscription (SEG XXVI, 1392 [20/37 AD]), we shall offer new explanations for who was entitled to draw on those public carts and draft animals on the basis of function or personal status and

who had to produce a permit (*diploma*) to access the resources in the early 1st century AD. Further precision will be allowed by an investigation of the edicts of the *praefecti Aegypti Recto* (*Pap. Lond.* III, 1171 [42 AD]), Capito (*SEG* XX, 694 [48 AD]), and Mamertius (*PSI* V, 446 [133-137 AD]), as well as a rescript of Domitian (*IGLSyr* V, 1998 [81-83 AD]). Those documents warrant the conclusion that the use of *diplomata* became obligatory for everyone (with the possible exception of senators) under Claudius, while the right to issue such permits became a monopoly of the imperial chancellery under Vespasian. In a final chapter, these reforms are contextualized within the broader constitutional development: first an increasingly close state control over the movements of aristocrats and officials under Claudius, and secondly a restriction of the waste of public resources under the Flavians.

- 72) Weitere Überlegungen zu den Voraussetzungen und Folgen des Perikleischen Bürgerrechtsgesetzes: Naturalisierung und Epigamie im Klassischen Athen (Further Reflexions on the Premises and Consequences of the Periclean Citizenship Law: Naturalization and Epigamia in Classical Athens). In: *Klio* 95.2, 2013, 391- 404.

Abstract (German)

Ausgegangen wird von der jüngst gewonnenen Einsicht, dass das Gesetz des Perikles, welches Athener Bürgerrecht an die beidseitige bürgerliche Abstammung knüpfte, keinerlei Fristen oder Exemptionen kannte. Hieran anknüpfend werden zunächst mögliche Spuren für eventuell doch im Gesetzestext formulierte Ausnahmen verfolgt – und verworfen. Dennoch müsste man eine gewisse Notwendigkeit für Sonderregelungen postulieren, sofern man von der Verleihung individuellen Bürgerrechts oder auch der Epigamie an fremde Poleis durch die Volksversammlung vor der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v.Chr. ausgehen sollte. Die beiden in der Literatur angeführten Beispiele früherer Naturalisierungen in Athen (Menon von Pharsalos, Polygnotos von Thasos), die mit der hier vertretenen Interpretation des Perikleischen Gesetzes konfliktieren, halten einer Prüfung jedenfalls nicht stand. Ebenso wenig lässt sich ein positives Recht zur legitimen Polis übergreifenden Heirat in der Frühzeit nachweisen. Vielmehr muss die erstmalige Vergabe von Bürgerrecht und Epigamie durch die Ekklesie als Folge des von Perikles eingebrachten radikal engen Bürgerrechtsgesetzes begriffen werden.

Abstract (English)

This study departs from the recent re-assessment of Pericles' Citizenship Law: it made descent from two citizen parents a necessary requirement for citizenship, without allowing for any deadlines or exemptions. Behind this background, at first all traces of potential exceptions that might have been formulated in the law are considered – and rejected. However, special regulations would still have been necessary, if one posits that the assembly of the people had been used to convey either citizenship to individuals or epigamia to foreign poleis prior to the mid-5th century BC. In fact, two examples of early naturalization in Athens have been adduced in scholarly literature: those of Menon of Pharsalus and Polygnotus of Thasus. While these cases are in conflict with the aforementioned interpretation of Pericles' Citizenship Law, they do not stand up to closer inspection. Likewise, the existence of any positive right to legitimate intermarriage beyond the boundaries of the polis community cannot be ascertained for that early period. It will rather be shown that the assembly bothered to convey citizenship or epigamia only as a result of the radically narrow definition of citizenship by Pericles.

For an English translation of an updated version, see below, III 102.

- 73) War der Galaterkönig Deiotaros ein Städtegründer? Neue Vorschläge zu einigen kleinasiatischen Toponymen auf *Sin-/Syn-* ('Was Deiotaros, the King of the Galatians, a Founder of Cities? New Suggestions as to Some Toponyms from Asia Minor which begin with *Sin-/Syn-*'). In: *Gephyra* 10, 2013, 152-162.

Abstract (English)

After the arrival of the Galatians in central Anatolia, Phrygian cities such as Gordion and Ankyra continued to exist, but the little interest the new rulers took in them became apparent when those cities were not re-founded after the Romans had sacked them in 189 BC. Neither historiographic nor geographical sources provide any evidence for a city built by the Galatians, and the lack of archaeological remains appears to concur with this negative assessment. The same even seems to hold true for King Deiotaros. Although he was most closely connected with Roman senators, he occasionally acted as a benefactor in the Greek world, and effectively succeeded to the throne of Pontus. So, as a (late) Hellenistic king, some interest in constructing, fostering or at least the dynastic naming of cities would fit his role well. But only one isolated reference in Plutarch's *Life of Crassus* (17.1) credits the king with the foundation of a city (54 BC). However, so far it has been impossible to identify any Galatian site with this city. It is therefore suggested that we might have to look for it in Armenia Minor near the Euphrates, for there was a settlement with the Celtic name *Sintoion* which Stephanos of Byzantion explicitly attests as a Galatian foundation. Even more interesting is the case of *Synhorion*, originally a frontier fort established by Mithradates VI Eupator: in all likelihood, this was renamed or rather reinterpreted as *Sinorix Phrourion* (App. Mithr. 101.463; 107.503) or **Sinorigia* by Deiotaros, son of Sinorix, which yielded the later form *Sinoria* (Strab. geogr. 12.3.37). Here the dynastic naming pattern – so widespread among Hellenistic kings, and so often applied by Mithradates – is manifest. One may thus go on and venture the hypothesis that this was also the city Deiotaros was building when Crassus came along on his ill-fated Parthian campaign.

Abstract (Turkish)

Galatia Kralı Deiotaros bir Kent Kurucusu muydu? Küçük Asya Sin-/Syn- Toponym'leri üzerine Yeni Öneriler: Yazar bu makalesinde Galatlar'ın Phrygia olarak bilinen İç Anadolu Bölgesi'ne gelişinden önce bu coğrafyada var olan yerleşimler, Galatların buradaki varlığı ve kurdukları ilişkiler hakkında bilgi vermiştir. Daha sonra Galat idarecilerinin kentleşmeye yönelik tutumlarını ele almıştır. Buna göre aynı zaman diliminde diğer bölgelerdeki yönetimlerde kentleşmeye yönelik çeşitli faaliyetler olmasına rağmen, hem tarihsel hem de coğrafi kaynakların Galat idarecileri tarafından buna yönelik bir politikanın izlendiğine dair kanıt sunmadığı ayrıca bunu destekleyecek arkeolojik kalıntıların olmadığı dile getirilmiştir. Aynı tutum, Roma senatörleri ile çok yakın ilişki kuran ve zaman zaman Yunan dünyasına hayırseverlik yapan Deiotaros için de geçerli gibi görünmektedir. Aslında Deiotaros kendi sülalesine mensup birisinin adını bir kente vermek için uygun bir konuma da sahiptir. Bununla birlikte Plutarkhos'un Crassus'un Hayatı isimli (17.1) eserinde, kralı İÖ. 54 yılında bir kent inşasıyla ilişkilendiren münferit bir örnek bulunmaktadır. Şimdiye kadar hiçbir Galatia yerleşimini bu kente eşleştirmek mümkün olmamakla birlikte bu çalışmada bunun Armenia Minor Bölgesi'nde, Ephrates yakınlarında aranabileceği önerilmiştir. Zira orada Byzantion'lu Stephanos'un açıkça Galatlar tarafından kurulduğunu aktardığı Sintoion adında Kelt ismi taşıyan bir yerleşim bulunmaktadır. Yazar bu soruna öneriler getirdikten sonra, Hellenistik krallar arasında oldukça yaygın olan ve Mithradates VI Eupator tarafından sık sık kullanılmamasında olduğu üzere, açık bir şekilde sülaleden birisiyle isimlendirme geleneği sergileyen, Mithradates tarafından kurulmuş olan sınır kalesi Synhorion

konusuna değinmiştir. Buna göre yazar burasının yeniden adlandırılmış veya bundan ziyade Sinorix'in oğlu Deiotaros tarafından SinorixPhourion(App. Mithr. 101. 463; 107. 503) ya da daha sonra Sinoria (Strab. geogr. 12. 3. 37) formunu alan *Sinorigia olarak yeniden yorumlanmış olabileceğini düşünmektedir. Yazar bu çalışmasında burasının, Crassus yaşamını kaybetmesine neden olan talihsiz Parthia seferi için geldiği sırada, Deiotaros tarafından inşa edilmekte olan kent olduğunu önermektedir.

- 74) Kastor von Phanagoreia, Präfekt des Mithradates und Freund der Römer (Castor of Phanagorea, Praefect of Mithridates and Friend of the Romans). In: Nikolai Povalahev (ed.): *Phanagoreia und darüber hinaus ... – Festschrift für Vladimir Kuznetsov*, Göttingen 2014, 131-138.

Abstract (English)

Suda s.v. *Kastor* (FGrH 250 T 1) conflates the names of four homonymous individuals: the Tektosagen tetrarch Kastor Tarkondarios and his son, an orator from Marseille and a military commander hailing from Rhodes. Combined with the evidence provided by Appian (*Mithr.* 107f.; cf. Oros. 6.5.2), important stages in the Rhodian's biography and the history of Phanagoreia can be reconstructed. When Mithradates VI Eupator was losing control of the Bosporan Kingdom in 64/63 BC, Kastor of Rhodes played an active role in organizing a revolt of his troops against the royal family in Phanagoreia. Pompey rewarded his service to Rome with the title *Philorhomaios* (*amicus populi Romani*). This also reflects his independent rule over Phanagoreia until Pharnakes II managed to bring back the city under Mithradatic control around 55 BC (App. *Mithr.* 120). The tombstone of Hypsikrates (i.e. Eupator's preferred concubine Hypsikrateia) that was recently discovered in Phanagoreia certainly predates the revolt, which she in all likelihood did not live to see.

- 75) Perikles und die Definition des Bürgerrechts im klassischen Athen – Neue Vorschläge zu Inhalt, Zeitpunkt, Hintergrund und Auswirkungen des Gesetzes ('Perikles and the Definition of Citizenship in Classical Athens – New Proposals on the Content, Date, Background, and Impact of His Citizenship Law'). In: HZ 299, 2014, 1-35.

Abstract (German)

Ein Gesetz des Perikles band das Athener Bürgerrecht an die beidseitige bürgerliche Abstammung ([Aristot.] *Ath. pol.* 26,3f.; Plut. *Perikl.* 37,3–5; Ail. *var.* 6,10; 13,24). Bisherige Versuche, Hintergrund, Zweck und Reichweite des Gesetzes zu erklären, leiden daran, dass sie seinen rückwirkenden Charakter leugnen sowie nicht belegte Ausnahmen aufgrund anachronistischer Erwägungen voraussetzen. Jedoch beweist die für 445/4 v.Chr. bezeugte Ausbürgerung von 4 760 Athenern, die zuvor in eine Demenliste eingeschrieben waren, ohne die genannte Bedingung zu erfüllen (Plut. *Perikl.* 37; Philochoros, FGrH 328 F 119), die uneingeschränkte Gültigkeit des Gesetzes. Überhaupt scheint erst jene Revision der Bürgerlisten einen in demographischer und politischer Hinsicht plausiblen Kontext für die Abfassung des Gesetzes zu bieten. Demgegenüber hätte ein solcher Antrag zum traditionell angesetzten Datum (451/0 v.Chr.), das sich allein auf die aristotelische *Athēnaiōn politeia* stützt, kaum auf eine Mehrheit in der Volksversammlung hoffen dürfen. Denn die unmittelbaren Verluste während des Ersten Peloponnesischen Krieges waren beträchtlich und der Bedarf an Bürgersoldaten für die von Perikles und Kimon gemeinsam getragene neue Offensive gegen die Perser blieb hoch. Nach

Abschluss des Perserkrieges 449 v.Chr. und des Ersten Peloponnesischen Krieges 446 v.Chr. reduzierten die Athener indes ihre Flotte und starteten zugleich neue Siedlungsprojekte, die auf einen Bürgerüberschuss hindeuten. Der von Plutarch bezeugte unmittelbare Zusammenhang des Bürgerrechtsgesetzes mit der Überprüfung der Demeisten angesichts einer Getreideschenkung des Königs Psammetich verdient deswegen den Vorrang vor dem Datum der *Athēnaiōn politeia*.

Abstract (English)

This paper focuses on a law designed by Perikles which restricted Athenian citizenship to the children of two citizens ([Aristot.] *Ath. pol.* 26.3–4; Plut. *Perikl.* 37.3–5; Ail. *var.* 6.10; 13.24). Ignoring its retrospective effect, previous attempts at explaining the background, purpose and extent of the law could not but fail: 4 760 Athenians were disfranchised on occasion of a grain donation by King Psammetichos in 445/4 BC (Plut. *Perikl.* 37; Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 119), which proves the unlimited and retroactive force of the law. At any rate, it is this revision of the citizen lists that seems to offer a plausible demographic and political context for the definition of the law. In contrast, in 451/0, the traditional date based on [Aristot.] *Ath. pol.* 26.3–4, Perikles would hardly have been able to gain the majority of votes on the assembly for his law: the Athenians had just suffered substantial losses during the First Peloponnesian War, but the demand for citizen soldiers remained high in the face of a new campaign against the Persians instigated by Perikles and Kimon. Only after the Persian Wars (449) and the First Peloponnesian War (446) did the Athenians reduce their fleet and carry out new settlement projects that are indicative of a perceived surplus of citizens. Therefore, the immediate connection of the citizenship law with the revision of the deme lists in 445/4, as attested by Plutarch and Philochoros, is more credible than the isolated *archon* date transmitted in the *Athēnaiōn politeia*. Data of Kimon's biography further confirm the new chronology. This clarification further allows us not only to more fully understand the rationale for Perikles' legislation, but also its legal consequences pertaining to the social life (practices of marriage and adoption) as well as to the sphere of diplomacy (*epigamia*, citizenship decrees).

- 76) Die Ehrenstellungen des Dexandros und die königlichen Vorfahren des L. Iulios Agrippa von Apameia (The Honours of Dexandros and the Royal Ancestors of L. Iulios Agrippa of Apamea). In: *Ancient West and East* 13, 2014, 81-88.

Abstract (English)

L. Iulios Agrippa is attested as a benefactor in an epigraphic dossier of Apamea on the Orontes. He was distinguished through “royal honours” and prominent ancestors: among those were tetrarchs and other dignitaries who “participated in royal honours”. It is argued that these should be identified with the offspring of King Herod. Only one forebear is mentioned by name, Dexandros, who became an *amicus populi Romani* under Augustus and the first priest of the “eparchia”. Against the common opinion, he never was a tetrarch. Likewise difficult is the idea that he was the first priest of the Syrian imperial cult.

- 77) (with Lutz Raphael): Inklusion und Exklusion von Fremden und die Relevanz des Rechts – Eine Einführung ('Inclusion and Exclusion of Foreigners and the Relevance of the Law – An Introduction'). In: A.C./Lutz Raphael (eds.): *Fremd und Rechtlos? Zugehörigkeitsrechte Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch*, Köln 2014, 9-56.

No abstract available, but see the information on the handbook (II 5).

- 78) Griechische Polis und Römisches Reich: Politische und rechtliche Stellung der Fremden in der Antike ('Greek Polis and Roman Empire: the Political and Legal Conditions of Strangers in Antiquity'). In: A.C./Lutz Raphael (eds.): Fremd und Rechtlos? Zugehörigkeitsrechte Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Handbuch, Köln 2014, 85-120.

Abstract (German)

Abstract (not yet available)

Seit der archaischen Zeit erwies sich der Stadtstaat der Mittelmeerwelt als Raum politischer und kultureller Innovation. In ihm wurden die Grenzen von Zugehörigkeit und gradueller Fremdheit erstmals in einer Weise rechtlich definiert und ausdifferenziert. In solchen Fällen bedingten vor allem die Bedürfnisse nach Versorgungssicherheit und Verteidigungsfähigkeit eine kontinuierliche Ausdehnung auf das Umland und die Entwicklung einer hohen Partizipation der Mitglieder. Zugleich war aber durch die Polisstruktur der äußere Rahmen gesetzt. Sehr erfolgreiche Städte wie Sparta, Athen, Korinth, Karthago, Syrakus oder Rom schöpften diesen Rahmen bis ins 5. Jh. v.Chr. viel weiter aus als die meisten Zeitgenossen, bis auch sie die Grenzen für die Expansion ihres politischen Verbandes gekommen sahen. Darüber hinausreichende Machtentfaltung gestaltete sich zunächst kolonial durch die Aneignung exterritorialen Siedlungslandes für die eigenen Bürger oder aber hegemonial durch die politisch-militärische Bindung der Unterlegenen. Wo diese Stellung dauerhaft behauptet wurde, konnten die Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse in eine Form des niederen Bürgerrechts übergehen (*perioikia, municipium*). Dass die Römer letzteres weiter an ihre *civitas optimo iure* anglichen, setzt ihre fortschreitende Expansion voraus: Spätestens ab 167 v.Chr. beanspruchten sie, ihren Willen rings um die Mittelmeerküste mit diplomatischen oder militärischen Mitteln durchsetzen zu können, waren dafür freilich auf das italische Wehrpotential angewiesen. Nach der Phase eines polyzentrischen 'Imperialismus' dominierte Rom die Mittelmeerwelt immer ausschließlicher. Besondere Bedingungen für Inhaber des römischen Bürgerrechts, geteilte Loyalitäten unter lokalen Politikern und die abnehmende Verbindlichkeit der *polis* als Schicksalsgemeinschaft untergruben die Exklusivität der *politeia*. Zum Durchbruch gelangte diese Entwicklung aber erst, als die griechische Mittelschicht den dauerhaften Verlust der außenpolitischen Autonomie und damit die Beschränkung demokratischer Entscheidungsfreiheit akzeptiert hatte. Ein Netz dauerhaft oder vorübergehend niedergelassener römischer Bürger überzog das Mittelmeergebiet bereits seit dem späten 2. Jh. v.Chr. und verdichtete sich sodann durch Viritanverleihungen, Latinerreicht und Armeedienst. Bis zum Bundesgenossenkrieg hatte die Elite der latinischen Kolonien schon überwiegend die *civitas* und sicherte so den römischen Sieg. Jedenfalls aus heutiger Sicht erscheint da die pauschale Zivitätsschenkung Caracallas geradezu überfällig.

- 79) with Victor Cojocaru and Madalina Dana: Preface – Building Bridges. In: Victor Cojocaru / Altay Coşkun / Madalina Dana (eds.): Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. The Proceedings of the International Symposium (Constanța, July 8-12, 2013), Cluj-Napoca: MEGA Publishing House, 2014, 9-15.

Abstract (German)

No abstract available, but see the information on the edited volume (II 6).

- 80) Interconnectivity – In honorem & in memoriam Heinz Heinen (1941-2013). With a Complete Bibliography of His Scholarly Publications. In: Victor Cojocaru / Altay Coşkun / Madalina Dana (eds.): Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. The Proceedings of the International Symposium (Constanța, July 8-12, 2013), Cluj-Napoca: MEGA Publishing House, 2014, 25-71.

Abstract (German)

Der Nachruf auf den Althistoriker Heinz Heinen (1941-2013) beginnt mit einer kurzen Würdigung seiner Lebensleistung vor allem mit Blick auf Lehre, Forschung, Forschungsmanagement und internationale Zusammenarbeit. Hierauf folgt eine kurze Beschreibung seiner persönlichen Eigenschaften (aus der unverhohlen subjektiven Perspektive eines ehemaligen Schülers und Freundes). Der Hauptteil widmet sich seiner Haltung gegenüber der osteuropäischen Altertumsforschung. In annähernd chronologischer Ordnung werden dabei folgende Themen angesprochen: seine interkulturellen Erfahrungen in seiner belgischen Heimat, sein autodidaktisches Erlernen der russischen Sprache (1962), seine frühen Kontakte und Kooperationen mit den *Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei* der Mainzer Akademie, seine Aufgabe als kritischer aber zugleich respektvoller Mittler zwischen den beiden Wissenschaftswelten während des Kalten Krieges, sein Interesse an der Biographie Michael Rostovtzeffs, welches seinen Schwerpunkt zur Schwarzmerforschung in den frühen 1990er Jahren anregte, seine Rolle als Gastgeber sowjetischer und postsowjetischer Gelehrter an der Universität Trier sowie seine Rückkehr an die Mainzer Akademie als Direktor der althistorischen Sektion. Die Übersicht endet mit einer annähernd vollständigen und systematischen Bibliographie von Heinens Werken.

Abstract (English)

This obituary pays tribute to the Ancient Historian Heinz Heinen (1941-2013). It begins with a brief acknowledgement of his life-time achievements in terms of teaching, research, research management and international cooperation, followed by a characterization of his personal qualities (admittedly from the subjective perspective of an alumnus and friend). The main part focuses on his approaches to eastern European scholarship on the ancient world. Topics covered in a more or less chronological order include the intercultural experience in his home country Belgium, his autodidactic study of the Russian language (1962), his early contacts and cooperation with the *Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei* at the Mainz Academy, his function of a critical but respectful mediator between the two scholarly worlds during the Cold War, his interest in the biography of Michael Rostovtzeff, which also spurred his concentration on Black-Sea Studies since the early 1990s, his role as host to several Soviet and post-Soviet scholars at Trier University, and his return to the Mainz Academy as Director of the Ancient History Section later in his life. The survey ends with a close-to-complete and systematic bibliography of Heinen's scholarly works.

Abstract (French)

Ce nécrologue rend hommage à l'historien de l'Antiquité Heinz Heinen (1941-2013). On commence par faire rapidement le point sur ce qu'il a accompli au long de sa vie en matière d'enseignement, de recherche, d'administration et de coopération internationale, suivi par la présentation de ses qualités humaines (il faut le dire, du point de vue subjectif d'un ancien disciple devenu ami). La partie la plus importante concerne ses efforts d'obtenir des bourses pour les chercheurs en histoire ancienne venus de l'Europe de l'Est. Nous avons traité, de manière plus

ou moins chronologique, son expérience multiculturelle dans son pays d'origine, la Belgique, sa formation autodidacte en russe (1962), ses premiers contacts et coopérations avec *Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei* de l'Académie de Mayence, son rôle d'intermédiaire critique mais respectueux entre les deux mondes scientifiques pendant la Guerre froide, son intérêt pour la biographie de Michaïl Rostovtseff, qui l'a par ailleurs incité à concentrer ses études sur la Mer Noire à partir du début des années 1990, son rôle dans l'accueil à l'Université de Trier de nombreux savants russes ou issus de l'ancien bloc soviétique, ainsi que son retour à l'Académie de Mayence, vers la fin de sa vie, en tant que directeur du département d'histoire ancienne. Cette présentation se termine avec une bibliographie presque complète et systématique des travaux scientifiques de Heinz Heinen.

- 81) Neue Forschungen zum Kaiserkult in Galatien. Edition der Priester-Inschriften des Ankyraner Sebasteions (Dittenberger II 1903/70, 533 = Bosch 51) und Revision der frühen Provinzialgeschichte ('New Research on the Imperial Cult in Galatia. Edition of the Priest-Inscriptions of the Ancyran Sebasteion [OGIS II 533 = Bosch 51] and Revision of the Early Provincial History'). In: Joseph Fischer (ed.): Der Beitrag Kleinasiens zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums, Wien, 3.-5. November 2010 (Österr. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 469), Vienna 2014, 35-73.

Abstract (English)

This article presents an in-depth study of the famous priest inscriptions carved into the left anta of the Temple for Theos Sebastos (i.e. the God Augustus) and Thea Rhome (i.e. the Goddess Rome) in Galatian Ancyra. Under the names of the according provincial governors, 23 annual priests of the aforesaid divinities are listed together with the lavish donations they offered to the gods and their worshippers. Although the inscriptions were known for centuries, new readings of some letters, a scrutiny of the various layers of the inscriptions as well as a better understanding of the political framework allow us to improve the interpretation of the text and its historical evaluation. For the first time, we are in the position to date precisely the establishment of the cult in Ancyra (5 BC), the start of the temple construction (3 BC) and the inauguration of the completed building (AD 14). In contrast, previous studies had variously dated the beginning of the cult to sometime between the 20s BC and even after AD 14. The list of the provincial governors mentioned was formerly understood to cover most if not all of the rule of the Emperors Tiberius (AD 14–37) and Claudius (AD 37–41), whereas the list could be demonstrated to have preserved the magistrates of the years from 5 BC to ca. AD 18/19. Following an introduction to the archaeological setting of the temple and the inscriptions, a critical edition of the text is presented together with a new German translation. On this basis, a detailed commentary as well as further historical appendices discuss several difficulties, solidly establish the new chronology and explore the far-reaching consequences for the history of the province of Galatia and the Roman imperial rule in the east. Even before its publication by the Austrian Academy, the results of this study were received and fully acknowledged by M. Kadioğlu et al.: *Roman Ancyra* (Istanbul 2011) and S. Mitchell and D. French, *I.Ankara I* (Munich 2012), no. 2.

Abstract (German)

Gegenstand des vorliegenden Aufsatzes sind die Inschriften, die sich auf der linken Antenfront des Ankyraner Tempels für Theos Sebastos und Thea Rhome befinden: Insgesamt 23 Priester der zuvor genannten Gottheiten waren dort mitsamt ihren Stiftungen jeweils unter dem Namen des

amtierenden römischen Statthalters aufgelistet. Zwar sind diese Zeilen seit Jahrhunderten bekannt; jedoch erlauben neue Vorschläge zu Lesung, Deutung und Datierung eine sehr viel genauere Rekonstruktion der Anfänge und Entwicklung des Kaiserkults in Galatien. Diese Erkenntnisse versprechen wiederum, zum Verständnis der Kult- und Provinzialgeschichte der augusteisch-tiberischen Zeit auch jenseits der Grenzen Kleinasiens beizutragen. Auf die detaillierte Beschreibung der Inschrift und ihres Trägers folgen ein kritischer Text mit deutscher Übersetzung. Daran schließt sich ein eingehender Kommentar, gefolgt von zusammenhängenden historischen Auswertungen. Auf dieser Grundlage kann der Beginn des Kaiserkultes exakt in das Jahr 5 v.Chr., der Beginn des Tempelbaus 3 v.Chr. sowie die Einweihung des Heiligtums 14 n.Chr. datiert werden.

82) Vier Gesandte des Königs Deiotaros in Rom (45 v.Chr.). Einblicke in den galatischen Hof der späthellenistischen Zeit auf onomastischer Grundlage. In *Philia* 1, 2014 (2015), 1-13.

Abstract (English)

Having sided with Pompey at the Battle of Pharsalos (48), the Tolistobogian King Deiotaros not only had to pay heavy indemnities to Caesar, but was also stripped of Armenia Minor and the Trokmian tetrarchy (47). The latter was given to Mithradates of Pergamon, who, however, died soon thereafter in his attempt to conquer the Bosporan Kingdom (46). Since Caesar's regime remained under pressure through republican rebels in Syria (46-43), Africa (49-46) and Spain (45), Deiotaros seized his opportunity to ask the dictator to return him the Trokmian territory. To this end, he sent out two ambassadors, *Blesamios* and *Artignos* (not *Antigonos*, as is commonly held) (46). The king's Tektosagen rivals tried to thwart his plan albeit; they dispatched prince Kastor to accuse Deiotaros of attempted murder of Caesar and conspiracy with Caecilius Bassus, the rebel in Syria. The Tolistobogian responded with sending out a second embassy, which consisted of his friends *Heras* and *Dorylaos*. Our main source for these events is Cicero's speech in defence of the king, held in Nov. 45 before the dictator. The present paper focuses on the four envoys of Deiotaros: the pieces of information provided by Cicero, including the implications of their Celtic or intercultural names, allows us to throw unique glimpses into the Tolistobogian court of the mid-1st century BC.

Abstract (Turkish)

Kral Deiotaros'un Roma'da Dört Elçisi (İ.O. 45): Tolistobog kralı Deiotaros Pharsalos Savaşı'nda Pompeius'un safında yer aldığı için sadece Caesar'a ağır tazminat ödemek zorunda kalmamış, aynı zamanda Küçük Armenia'dan ve Trokmi Krallığı'ndan da mahrum bırakılmıştı (İ.O. 48-47). Trokmi Krallığı kısa bir süre sonra Bosporos Krallığını işgal etme girişiminde ölecek olan Pergamon'lu Mithradates'e verilmişti (İ.O. 46). Caesar'in rejimi Suriye (İ.O. 46-43), Afrika (İ.O. 49-46) ve İspanya'da (İ.O. 45) cumhuriyet yanlısı isyanlarca baskı altında olduğu için, Deiotaros Trokmilerin topraklarını kendisine iade etmesini diktatörden rica etme fırsatı yakalamıştı. Bu amaç doğrultusunda elçi olarak genel sanının aksine Antigonos'u değil, Blesamios ve Artignos göndermişti (İ.O. 46). Ancak kralın Tektosag rakipleri bu girişimi engellemek amacıyla; Deiotaros'u Caesar'a suikast girişimi ve Caecilius Bassus ile birlikte Suriye'deki isyani çıkartmakla suçlaması için prens Kastor'u gönderirler. Tolistoboglular ise kralın arkadaşları Heras ve Dorylaos'dan oluşan ikinci bir elçi heyeti göndererek buna cevap verirler. Bu olaylar için temel kaynağıımız İ.O. 45 yılının Kasım ayında diktatörün huzurunda kralı savunmak için Cicero tarafından verilen söylevdir. Bu makale Deiotaros'un gönderdiği dört elçiye odaklanmaktadır. Cicero tarafından verilen bilgiler, bu elçilerin Kelt ya da kültüllerarası

isimlerinden yapılacak çıkarımlarla birlikte İ.Ö. 1. yüzyılın ortasında Tolistobog hükümdarlığına benzersiz bir bakış imkanı sağlamaktadır.

83) Latène-Artefakte im hellenistischen Kleinasiens: ein problematisches Kriterium für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Identität(en) der Galater (Latène Artefacts in Hellenistic Asia Minor: a Difficult Criterion for the Definition of the Ethnic Identity (Identities) of the Galatians).

a) In *IstMitt* 64, 2014 (2015), 129-162.

b) Also forthcoming in Russian translation in: Oleg Gabelko (ed.): (Proceedings of the Conference: The Celts and the Classical World: from Ireland to Asia Minor, Moscow, March 2013), ca. 2017.

Abstract (German)

Im vorliegenden Aufsatz wird die Bedeutung von Latène-Artefakten für die Bestimmung der ethnischen Identität der Galater untersucht, die im 3. Jh. v. Chr. nach Anatolien einwanderten. Obwohl nur wenige solcher Objekte in Kleinasiens gefunden wurden, betrachtet man sie gewöhnlich als Belege für die galatische Präsenz in Zentralanatolien sowie zum Teil auch für ihren fortgesetzten Kulturaustausch mit der europäischen Keltike. Diese Ansicht hält aber einer genaueren Prüfung nicht stand. Erstens erweist sich der Ausdruck ‚galatische Keramik‘ als irreführend, da jegliche Latène-Einflüsse fehlen; besser wäre es also, von ‚phrygisch-hellenistischer‘ oder ‚pontisch-hellenistischer Keramik‘ zu sprechen. Zweitens kann keine einzige Latène-Fibel einem Individuum der drei galatischen Großstämme zugewiesen werden; geographische und chronologische Implikationen weisen vielmehr auf osteuropäische Rekruten Attalos I. (ca. 240–197 v.Chr.) oder späterer hellenistischer Könige hin. Drittens steht die Architektur galatischer Hügelgräber in einer anatolisch-phrygischen Tradition; während Grabbeigaben im Latène-Stil bei den Trokmern und Tektosagen durchweg fehlen, entbehrt bislang auch – entgegen anders lautender Behauptungen – eine solche Zuschreibung an die Tolistobogier einer tragfähigen materiellen Grundlage. Mithin ergibt sich, dass die drei galatischen Stämme keine regelmäßigen Nutzer, geschweige denn Produzenten, von Latène-Objekten waren. Trifft dies zu, dann muss aber auch der Ursprung der galatischen Ikonographie der bedeutenden Siegesmonumente von Pergamon neu erklärt werden.

Abstract (English)

This paper seeks to revisit the significance of Latène artefacts in determining the ethnic identity of 3rd-century BC Galatian immigrants to Anatolia as well as of their descendants. Although only few such objects have so far been found in Asia Minor, they have commonly been understood as indicative of Galatian presence in central Anatolia, and at times even of continued cultural exchange with the Celts from Europe. However, a closer look at the evidence speaks against this view. First, the term ‘Galatian Ceramics’ is misleading, since this ware does not show any traces of Latène culture, so that it should better be labelled ‘Pontic-Hellenistic Ceramics’, according to its main production area. Second, not a single Latène fibula can be attributed to an individual bearer from among the three major Galatian tribes; geographical and chronological implications rather point to mercenaries recruited from eastern Europe by Attalus I (ca. 240–197) or later Hellenistic kings. Third, the architecture of Galatian tumuli stands in an Anatolian-Phrygian tradition, and while Latène-style burial gifts are entirely absent from among the Trocmi and Tektosages, alleged attributions of such objects to Tolistobogian tombs could not yet be substantiated. In conclusion, none of the three Galatian tribes seems to have been regular users,

let alone producers, of Latène objects. If this is true, we also have to reconsider the origin of the Galatian iconography of the famous victory monuments of Pergamum.

Abstract (Turkish)

Bu yazında, Latène eserlerinin M. Ö. 3. yüzyılda Anadolu'ya göçen Galatların ve onların soyundan gelenlerin etnik kimliğini belirlemedeki önemi yeniden değerlendirmeye çalışılmaktadır. Anadolu'da şimdide dek böyle pek az obje bulunmuş olmasına rağmen bunlar, genel olarak Orta Anadolu'da Galat varlığının ve hatta bazen Avrupalı Keltlerle devam eden kültürel değişim tokuşlarının göstergesi olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, daha yakından bakıldığından kanıtlar bu görüşün aksini söylemektedir. Öncelikle, »Galat keramikleri« teriminin yanlış yönlendirdiği gösterilebilir, çünkü bu mal grubu Latène kültürüne ait herhangi bir iz taşımamaktadır; onları »Frig-Hellenistik« ya da »Pontik-Hellenistik keramikleri« olarak adlandırmak daha doğru olacaktır. İkinci olarak, bir tane Latène fibula üç büyük Galat kabilesinden birine mensup bir bireye atfedilemez; coğrafi ve kronolojik sonuçlar daha ziyade I. Attalos (240–197 civarı) ya da daha sonraki Hellenistik kralların döneminde Doğu Avrupa'dan ikmal edilen paralı askerlere işaret etmektedir. Üçüncü olarak, Galat tümülüslerinin mimarisi Anadolu-Frig geleneği içinde bulunmaktadır ve Latène tarzı gömütarmağanları Trokmi ve Tektosagler arasında hiç yoktur, böyle objelerin Tolistobog mezarlarına dayandırılması iddiaları da henüz kanıtlanamamıştır. Sonuç olarak, üç Galat kabilesinden hiçbir Latène objelerinin düzenli kullanıcıları ya da üreticileri gibi görünmemektedir. Bu doğruya, Pergamon'un ünlü zafer anıtlarındaki Galat ikonografisinin kökenini yeniden değerlendirmemiz gerekecektir.

- 84) Die Tetrarchie als hellenistisch-römisches Herrschaftsinstrument. Mit einer Untersuchung der Titulatur der Dynasten von Ituräa ('The Tetrarchy as a Hellenistic and Roman Instrument of Imperial Rule. With a Study of the Titulature of the Dynasts of Ituraea'). In Ernst Baltrusch / Julia Wilker (eds.): *Amici – Socii – Clientes. Abhängige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 30, Berlin 2015, 161–197.

Abstract (German)

Es ist umstritten, ob die Tetrarchie aus Gallien oder Makedonien stammt oder aber beide Traditionen verbindet. Eine systematische Untersuchung der Quellen ergibt indes, dass Mithradates VI. um 100 v.Chr. den Tetrarchentitel zum ersten Mal an vier (nicht zwölf) galatische Fürsten verlieh. Infolge innergalatischer Rivalitäten verlor er seine etymologische Rückbindung an eine Viererstruktur und konnte Herrschern auferlegt werden, die nicht des Diadems für würdig befunden wurden. Eine solche Praxis ist für Mark Anton nach Philippi belegt: Er gewährte den Titel den Söhnen des idumäischen Strategen Antipater wegen seiner Verdienste, während er den König der Ituräer Ptolemaios, Sohn des Mennaios, zwecks Bestrafung zum Tetrarchen und Hohepriester degradierte. Dessen Sohn Lysanias usurpierte die Königswürde, als er unter dem Schutz der Parther stand, aber wurde deswegen von Antonius hingerichtet. Sein Enkel Lysanias von Abilene war unter den letzten Tetrarchen von Roms Gnaden.

Abstract (English)

Scholars are divided as to whether the tetrarchy originated from Gaul or Macedon, or was a mix of both traditions. However, a systematic study of the evidence suggests that, for the first time, Mithridates VI bestowed the tetrarchic title on four (not twelve) Galatian kinglets around 100 BC. Due to inner-Galatian rivalries, the term lost its etymological relation to a four-fold structure, and

could be imposed on rulers not deemed worthy of the diadem. Such a practice is attested for Mark Antony after Philippi. He granted the title to the sons of the Idumaeon strategos Antipater in return for his merits, whereas the King of the Ituraeans Ptolemy, son of Mennaios, was demoted to the rank of a tetrarch and high priest as a punishment. His son Lysanias usurped the royal title when enjoying the protection of the Parthians, but was executed by Antony in return. His grandson Lysanias of Abilene was among the last tetrarchs of Rome's grace.

- 85) About Scholarly Debate, the Value of Authorities and a New Approach to the Concept of Latin Privileges in the Roman Republic: a Response to David Kremer. In: *Athenaeum* 103.2, 2015, 606-610.

This short article responds to the most detailed reaction (in *Athenaeum* 102, 2014, 226-237) that my book on the Latin Rights in the Roman Republic (*Bürgerrechtsentzug oder Fremdenausweisung? Studien zu den Rechten von Latinern und weiteren Fremden sowie zum Bürgerrechtswechsel in der Römischen Republik (5. bis frühes 1. Jh. v.Chr.)*, Stuttgart 2009) has so far elicited. Besides correcting some of many the counter-factual allegations, I invite to put aside polemical rhetoric and rather to reflect on the methods applied to reconstructing legal norms (here the so-called Latin privileges). I thus plead the need to value positive evidence more highly than authoritative doctrine in modern scholarship, to very carefully consider the relevance of indirect evidence, and to historically contextualize a law from its legislative process to the political consequences of its implementation.

- 86) Valentinian I. in Konz. Eine Revision der Gesetzesfragmente des *Codex Theodosianus* ('Valentinian I in Konz. The Legal Fragments of the Theodosian Code Revisited'). In: *Trierer Zeitschrift (TZ)* 77/78, 2014/15, 193-199.

Abstract (German)

Die Annahme, dass Kaiser Valentinian I. (364-375 n. Chr.) die Villa von Konz als Sommerresidenz nutzte, lässt sich anhand des in der Region verfassten Schrifttums bis ins frühe 17. Jh. zurückverfolgen. Im Wesentlichen stützt sich diese Überzeugung auf einige wenige fragmentarisch überlieferte Gesetze, die Valentinian im Verlauf des Sommers 371 an einem Ort namens *Contionacum* erlassen hat und die dank ihrer Aufnahme in den *Codex Theodosianus* auf uns gekommen sind. Freilich blieb die Identifikation des – durch keine weitere antike Quelle sicher bezeugten – *Contionacum* mit dem heutigen Konz keineswegs unbestritten. Nach der Übersicht über die Forschungsliteratur, in der vor allem die Verdienste J. B. Keunes ihre Würdigung finden, werden die bereits oft besprochenen Rechtsquellen vom Sommer 371 (CTh 9,3,5; 11,1,17; 2,4,3; 4,6,4; CI 6,22,7) einer eingehenden Untersuchung unterzogen. Ergänzend werden daraufhin zwei Zeugnisse des Frühjahrs 369, CTh 8,7,10 und Ausonius (*Mosella* 367-369) in die Diskussion einbezogen. Die Annahme, dass es sich bei der archäologisch nachgewiesenen Villa von Konz um eine Kaiserresidenz handelte, wird damit befestigt.

- 87) with Alex McAuley: The Study of Seleukid Royal Women – An Introduction. Forthcoming in: Altay Coşkun / Alex McAuley (eds.): *Seleukid Royal Women. Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*, Stuttgart 2016, 17-22.
See book abstract (II 7).

- 88) Laodike I, Berenike Phernophoros, Dynastic Murders, and the Outbreak of the Third Syrian War (253-246 BC) Forthcoming in: Altay Coşkun / Alex McAuley (eds.): Seleukid Royal Women. Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire, Stuttgart 2016, 107-134.

Abstract (English)

Throughout the ancient and modern literary tradition the first wife of Antiochos II, Laodike I, appears as the prototype of the evil queen. All of her misdeeds hinge on the alleged complications ensuing from Antiochos' second marriage with the Ptolemaic princess Berenike after the Second Syrian War (260–253 BC). However, the widespread view that Laodike was divorced or demoted to being a concubine does not withstand scrutiny. It can further be shown that her son Seleukos II was already co-ruling king when Antiochos died in 246. With this, all allegations of her having murdered her husband, Berenike, and her step-son in order to secure the succession of Seleukos appear to be baseless. The search for the source Laodike's 'bad press' leads to the court of Ptolemy III Euergetes, who needed to cover up his less noble reasons for the war. But it was Phylarchos who stood at the beginning of the historiographical tradition: he opted for the more dramatic version in which Antiochos' bigamy provoked the bloodthirst of Laodike and thus the outbreak of the Third Syrian War. In this way, Laodike became a model of a royal woman who transgressed social boundaries.

Abstract (German)

Laodike I., die Gattin Antiochos' II. Theos, erscheint in der antiken wie modernen Literatur gleichermaßen als Prototyp der ‚Bösen Königin‘. Die Serie ihrer Missetaten scheint dabei in der zweiten Heirat ihres Gatten zu gründen, der im Anschluss an den Zweiten Syrischen Krieg (261/0-253 v.Chr.) Berenike (Phernophoros), die Tochter Ptolemaios' II. Philadelphos, zur Frau nahm. Allerdings ist die weitverbreitete Ansicht, dass Laodike und ihre Söhne deswegen verworfen worden seien, mittlerweile widerlegt. Im Gegenteil liegt nahe, dass ihr ältester Sohn Seleukos II. Kallinikos mitherrschernder König war, als Antiochos etwa im Juli 246 starb. Vor diesem Hintergrund sind die Anschuldigungen gegen Laodike, sie habe zuerst ihren Mann, dann Berenike und deren Sohn getötet, um Seleukos die Nachfolge zu sichern, haltlos. Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen der Laodike-feindlichen Tradition führt über den seleukidenfeindlichen ptolemäischen Hof zur moralisierenden Historiographie des Porphyrios (FGrH 260 F 43, vgl. auch Just. 27.1): Erst letztere konstruiert die Bigamie als Ursache blutrünstiger Eifersucht sowie Laodike als Prototyp einer hellenistischen Herrscherin, die für ihre Machtgier über Leichen geht.

- 89) Heinz Heinen und die Bosporanischen Könige - Eine Projektbeschreibung ('Heinz Heinen and the Bosporan Kings – Outline of a Project'), in Victor Cojocaru & Alexander Rubel: Mobility in Research on the Black Sea. (Iași, July 5-10, 2015) (Pontica & Mediterranea 6), Cluj-Napoca 2016, 51-72.

Summary (German)

Über Jahrhunderte wurde das viele verschiedene Völker umfassende Königreich am Kimmerischen Bosporos von hellenisierten Königen iranischer Abstammung beherrscht. Mithradates VI. Eupator war der erste von ihnen, der den Titel eines *amicus populi Romani* trug (116/111-63 v.Chr.), und trotz dreier Kriege, die er gegen die mediterrane Supermacht ausfocht,

bestand diese enge Rombindung unter seinen Nachfolgern bis in die Spätantike fort. Allerdings prägte die im 19. Jh. entwickelte Vorstellung, dass Geschichte als Konkurrenzkampf zwischen Stämmen oder Nationen zu begreifen sei, die Ansicht, dass die Hauptereignisse durch Konflikte zwischen einheimischen Iranern, griechischen Siedlern und der römischer Kolonialmacht bestimmt gewesen seien. Dieses auf Konfrontation gerichtete Modell wurde im 20. Jh. noch weiter dadurch zementiert, dass Rom als Vorläufer des imperialistischen Westens betrachtet wurde, zumindest in den Augen osteuropäischer Kollegen. Prof. Heinz Heinen (Ordinarius an der Universität Trier, 1971-2006, †13) war einer der ersten, welche diesen schematischen Antagonismus in Frage stellten, ohne freilich sich gelegentlich ergebende Spannungen zu leugnen. Immer wieder hat er dargelegt, dass die gleichen Muster von Kulturaustausch und Kommunikation wie auch in anderen Gegenden der Römischen Reiche anzusetzen seien: Ein Großteil der Elite nahm begierig griechische oder römische Namen, Titel, Kleidung und Kulte an, ohne dadurch zwangsläufig ihre eigenen Traditionen grundsätzlich zu verwerfen. Sie stellten ihre Bindungen an die herrschende Macht öffentlich zur Schau, um dadurch an Ansehen bei der einheimischen Bevölkerung zu gewinnen, nicht aber um deren Ressentiments zu schüren. Im Nachlass von Heinen befindet sich ein nicht abgeschlossenes Manuskript zur Geschichte des Bosporos, welches von hohem intellektuellen Niveau und großer historiographischer Bedeutung ist. Es behandelt einen Großteil der antiken Quellen von 63 v.Chr. bis 38 n.Chr. und diskutiert insbesondere die Arbeiten führender russischer und ukrainischer Kollegen. Der vorliegende Aufsatz zeichnet einige wesentliche Argumente beispielhaft nach und zeigt das große Potential auch für die gegenwärtige Forschung auf. Als sein ehemaliger Projektmitarbeiter beabsichtigt Altay Coşkun, gemeinsam mit dem ehemaligen Gastwissenschaftler Victor Cojocaru, eine postume Edition der Kapitel vorzulegen. In dieses Projekt wird ein internationales Expertenteam eingebunden.

Summary (English)

The multiethnic Kingdom of the Kimmerian Bosporos was ruled for centuries by Hellenized kings of Iranian descent. Mithradates VI Eupator was its first ruler who held the title of ‘friend of the Roman people’ (116/111-63 BC), and despite the three wars he fought against the Mediterranean superpower, this affiliation was continued by his successors until Late Antiquity. However, the 19th-century paradigm that history is to be understood as rivalry between tribes and nations led to the assumption that major events were determined by a conflict between native Iranians and invading Greeks or oppressing Romans; this conflictual approach was cemented in the 20th century by regarding Rome as a precursor of the imperialist West, at least in the eyes of Eastern European colleagues. The late Prof. Heinz Heinen (Chair at Trier University, 1971-2006, †13) was one of the first to systematically question those simplistic antagonisms, without denying occasional tensions though. He repeatedly demonstrated that the same patterns of intercultural contact were in place as in other parts of the Roman Empire: most of the elite members avidly assumed Greek or Roman names, titles, dressing styles and cults out of free choice, though not necessarily rejecting wholesale their own traditions. They publicly displayed affiliations with the ruling power to enhance their prestige among the locals, rather than to arouse their resentment. Heinen left behind an unfinished manuscript on the history of the Bosporos that is of high intellectual appeal and historiographical importance. It covers most of the ancient sources for 63 BCE to 38 CE, and discusses various approaches especially by leading Russian and Ukrainian colleagues. The present article exemplifies the main line of argument and thus demonstrates that the manuscript still has high potential to elucidate the current scholarly debates. As his former research associate Altay Coşkun intends to prepare a posthumous edition of the work, together

with the former visiting fellow Victor Cojocaru. The project will further draw on the support of an international team of experts.

Summary (French)

Le royaume multiethnique du Bosphore Cimmérien a été dirigé pendant des siècles par des rois hellénisés d'origine iranienne. Mithridate VI Eupator fut son premier dirigeant qui porta le titre d'«ami des Romains» (116/111-63 av. J.-C.), et, en dépit des trois guerres qu'il avait menées contre le superpouvoir méditerranéen, cette affiliation a été poursuivie par ses successeurs jusqu'à l'Antiquité tardive. Cependant, le modèle historiographique du XIXe s., selon lequel l'histoire doit être comprise comme une rivalité entre peuples et nations, a conduit à la supposition que les événements les plus importants ont été déterminés par le conflit entre les indigènes iraniens et les envahisseurs grecs ou les oppresseurs romains; cette approche conflictuelle a été renforcée au XXe siècle par la conception de Rome en tant que précurseur de l'impérialisme occidental, du moins aux yeux des collègues est-européens. Le regretté professeur Heinz Heinen (détenteur de la chaire d'histoire ancienne à l'Université de Trèves, 1971-2006, †2013) a été l'un des premiers à remettre systématiquement en question ces oppositions simplistes, sans toutefois nier les tensions occasionnelles. À de nombreuses reprises, il a démontré qu'on retrouve dans le Royaume du Bosphore les mêmes modèles de contacts interculturels attestés ailleurs dans l'Empire romain: la majorité des membres de l'élite se sont empressés d'accepter en toute liberté de choix des noms grecs et romains, des titres, des façons de s'habiller et des cultes, sans pour autant rejeter entièrement leurs propres traditions. Ils ont publiquement affiché leur connivance avec le pouvoir dirigeant afin d'accroître leur propre prestige parmi les populations locales, plutôt que de susciter le ressentiment de celles-ci. Heinen a laissé un manuscrit inachevé sur l'histoire du Royaume du Bosphore d'un grand intérêt intellectuel et d'une importance historiographique remarquable. Il couvre la plupart des sources anciennes de 63 av. J.-C. à 38 ap. J.-C. et présente diverses approches, notamment des spécialistes russes et ukrainiens. Cet article expose les arguments principaux et montre par conséquent que le manuscrit possède encore un fort potentiel pour élucider les débats savants actuels. Dans sa qualité d'ancien collaborateur, Altay Coşkun a l'intention de préparer une édition posthume de l'ouvrage, en coopération avec Victor Cojocaru, ancien chercheur invité. Le projet bénéficiera du soutien d'une équipe internationale d'experts.

- 90) Ptolemaioi as Commanders in 3rd-Century Asia Minor and Some Glimpses on Ephesos and Mylasa during the Second and Third Syrian Wars. In: Burak Takmer / Ebru AkdoğanArca / Nuray Gökalp Özil (eds.): *Vir doctus anatolicus. Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin – Sencer Şahin Anısına Yazıtlar* (Philia Supplements 1), Istanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi, 2016, 211-233.

Abstract (English)

During the rules of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Ptolemy III Euergetes, several sources attest namesakes operating in western Asia Minor in distinguished positions. On this basis, scholars have so far identified mostly two or even one single prominent representative(s) of the House of the Ptolemies. The prevailing unitarian reconstruction regards him as Ptolemy, son of Lysimachos and Arsinoe II as well as the adoptive son and designated successor of Ptolemy II; he is believed to have functioned as Ptolemaic commander-in-chief of the Aegean fleet in the 260s BC, before revolting in Ephesos in 259; pardoned by his adoptive father, he would have retired to a principality in Telmessos until his recall by Euergetes in 246. He tends to be identified with

'Ptolemy the Brother' mentioned in the correspondence between the local dynast Olympichos and the citizens of Mylasa in ca. 244. 'Ptolemy the Son' is reported to have been killed in Ephesos by Athenaios, just as a certain 'Ptolemy epiklesin Andromachos' (P. Haun. 6). If indeed identical, his murder occurred after the last attestation of 'Ptolemy of Telmessos' in ca. 239. This and similar reconstructions have always been fraught with numerous inconsistencies and anomalies, but can now firmly be rejected based on more reliable reconstructions of Seleukid-Ptolemaic interactions under Antiochos II, Antiochos Hierax and Seleukos II. As a result, we should distinguish four namesakes: first, Ptolemy, son of Arsinoe II and Lysimachos, who vanished from our sources in the 270s. Second, 'Ptolemy the Son', born to Arsinoe I and full brother of Euergetes, who died in a revolt in Ephesos while Antiochos II was about to capture the city in 258. Third, 'Ptolemy epiklesin Andromachos' was a natural son of Philadelphos, thus identical with 'Ptolemy the Brother' of Euergetes; he was the father of Ptolemy, son of Andromachos and priest of Alexander and the Theoi Adelphoi in Alexandria 251/50; he also died in Ephesos sometime after 244. Fourth, 'Ptolemy of Telmessos' was another son of Philadelphos and Arsinoe I, later adopted by Arsinoe II, as attested by Theokritos. These new identifications substantially impact our reconstruction of major events and changes of power in 3rd-century Asia Minor as well as of the dynastic histories of the Seleukids and Ptolemies.

Abstract (Turkish)

İÖ. 3. Yüzyılda Küçük Asya'da Komutan olarak görev yapan Ptolemaios'lar ve İkinci ve Üçüncü Suriye Savaşları sırasında Ephesos ve Mylasa'ya bir Bakış: Ptolemaios II Philadelphos ve Ptolemaios III Euergetes'in hükümdarlıklarında, pek çok kaynak aynı isimli kişilerin Küçük Asya'nın batısında seçkin mevkilerde iş başında olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, bilim insanları günümüze dek çoğulukla Ptolemaios'lar Hanedanlığıının onde gelen iki ya da tek bir temsilcisini tespit edebilmişlerdir. Yaygın görüş onu, Lysimakhos ve II. Arsione'nin oğlu ve aynı zamanda II. Ptolemaios'un evlatlığı ve halefi olarak tayin edilmiş olan Ptolemaios olarak kabul etmektedir. Bu kişinin, İÖ. 259 yılında isyan etmeden önce İÖ. 260'lı yıllarda Ege donanmasında Ptolemaios'ların başkumandanı olarak görev yaptığına ve üvey babası tarafından affedildikten sonra İÖ. 246'da Euergetes tarafından geri çağrılmaya dek Telmessos'ta bir prenslige çekildiğine inanılmaktadır. Onun, Mylasa vatandaşları ile yerel dynast Olympikhos arasında yak. İÖ. 244 yılındaki mektuplaşmalarda bahsi geçen "Kardeş Ptolemaios" olduğu eğilimi ön plana çıkmaktadır. Athenaios'un bildirdiğine göre, "Oğul Ptolemaios", tipki "Andromakhos olarak da bilinen Ptolemaios" gibi (P. Haun. 6) Ephesos'ta öldürülmüştür. Eğer bu eşleştirme gerçekten de doğrusa, cinayet Telmessos'taki Ptolemaios'un yak. İÖ. 239 yılında son defa belgelenmesinin ardından gerçekleşmiştir. Yazar, bu makalesinde bu ve benzeri kurgulamaları masaya yatırmakta ve barındırdıkları sayısız anormallik ve tutarsızlıklara dikkat çekerek onları kesin olarak reddetmektedir. II. Antiokhos, Antiokhos Hieraks ve II. Seleukos döneminde Seleukoslar ve Ptolamioslar arasında karşılıklı ilişkilerden yaptığı çok daha sağlam temeller üzerine oturmuş kurgulamalara dayanarak yazar, aynı ismi taşıyan bu dört kişiyi birbirinden ayırmaktadır. Buna göre; ilk Ptolemaios Lysimakhos ve II. Arsinoe'nin oğlu olup İÖ. 270'lü yıllarda kaynaklardan kaybolmuştur. İkincisi, yani "Oğul Ptolemaios" I. Arsione'nin oğlu ve Euergetes'in öz kardeşi olup II. Antiokhos 258 yılında Ephesos'u ele geçirmek üzereyken kentte çıkan bir isyan sırasında ölmüştür. Üçüncüsü, yani "Ptolemaios epiklesin Andromakhos", Philadelphos'un öz oğluydu ve bu yüzden Euergetes'in kardeşi Ptolemaios ile özdeşti ve Andromakhos oğlu, İÖ. 251 yılında İskenderiye'de Aleksandros ve Theoi Adelphoi'un rahibi Ptolemaios'un ise babasıydı. O da İ.S. 244 yılından bir süre sonra Ephesos'ta öldü. Dördüncüsü, "Telmessos'taki Ptolemaios" ise Philadelphos ve I. Arsione'nin bir diğer oğluydu ve Theokritos'a göre II. Arsinoe tarafından evlat edinilmiştir. Yazar, yaptığı bu yeni

özdeşleştirmelerle hem İÖ. 3. yüzyılda yaşanan güç değişimleri ve büyük olaylara hem de Seleukos ve Ptolemaios Hanedanlıklarının tarihine dair yaptığı yeni kurgulamaları büyük ölçüde pekiştirmektedir.

- 91) The Latin Rights of the Early and Middle Republic: a Pessimistic Assessment. In: Michel Aberson, Maria Cristina Biella, Massimo Di Fazio, Pierre Sánchez, Manuela Wullschleger (eds.): *L’Italia centrale e la creazione di una koiné culturale? I percorsi della “romanizzazione” (= *E pluribus unum?* L’Italie, de la diversité préromaine à l’unité augustéenne, vol. II)*, Bern 2016, 57-72.

Abstract (English)

The ‘Latin Rights’ are commonly considered the foremost catalyst for the legal and political inclusion of Republican Italy and, since the 1st century BC, also of the Western provinces. In a recent monograph (2009), I have argued that most legal privileges that are normally claimed for the Latins were rather designed as late as the Gracchan period, whereas the so-called *ius migrandi*, the right to settle in Rome and become a Roman citizen, has been shown to be a modern myth. This paper reopens the debate. Common opinion previously held that those Latins expelled in 187 BC had acquired Roman citizenship thanks to the *ius migrandi*, but were stripped of it for political reasons. However, Livy (39.3.4–6) rather attests to the fact that ‘repatriated’ were only those Latins who had been denied the franchise. They had still undergone the census in Rome, though not as Roman citizens, but as foreign residents. Why they had been excluded from the franchise becomes clearer later on, when Livy (41.8.6–12; 9.9–12) quotes a law that required Latins to leave behind a son of their own (*stirps*) in their home town, to be eligible for citizenship. Latin migrants had used various loopholes in the law to be enrolled as Roman citizens in the census of 179/78, because this alone protected them from being sent back to their Latin homes. Complaints of the allies did not result in the undoing of the franchise, even if achieved fraudulently, but in sending home the remaining Latins in 177 and in taking precautions against further abuse of the law. This revision of the political choices and legal principles urges us to radically re-define the relations between the Romans and the Latins, and to deny them a major impact on the creation of an Italian *koinè* before ca. 125 BC.

- 92) Attalos I and the Conquest of Pessinus. *I.Pessinus 1 Reconsidered*. In: *Philia* 2, 2016, 53-62.

Abstract (English)

Very few sanctuaries of the ancient world can boast such a broad and diverse literary, epigraphic and numismatic tradition as the temple state of Kybele Agdistis in Pessinus. And yet, inconsistencies or lacunae in the sources have resulted in countless controversies on the history of the cult place. In particular, the most detailed account of the Roman quest for the sacred meteorite of the goddess in 205/4 BC (Livy 29.10.4–29.11.8; 29.14.5–14) has often been rejected as later fabrication. An important argument is that King Attalos I of Pergamon, the guide of the Roman embassy according to Livy, did not yet have access to Eastern Phrygia at the time. The close relation between the Attalid kings and the sanctuary is attested by Strabo (12.5.3), who remains unspecific in chronological terms, and through a number of royal letters addressing Attis, the ruling priest of Pessinus, which have traditionally been dated to 163/156 BC. However, Christian Mileta (2010) has convincingly shown that *I.Pessinus 1* should rather be identified as a letter by King Attalos I to one of his own military officials, providing instructions for the

conquest of “Pessongoi” in 207 BC. All attempts at not identifying this place with Pessinus have failed, and Mileta’s argument for the high date can be further enhanced by a closer study of the letter and its addressee. This way, we shall be in a much better position to understand what happened in the Gallos Valley at the end of the 3rd century BC.

Abstract (Turkish) = Özet

Attalos I ve Pessinus'un Fethi. I.Pessinus 1 Hakkında Değerlendirme

Pessinus'taki Kybele Agdistis tapınak devleti denli geniş ve muhtelif içerikli edebi, epigrafik ve nü-mizmatik geleneğe sahip olmakla Antik Dünya'nın sadece birkaç tapınağı övünebilir. Hal böyleyken kaynaklardaki tutarsızlık veya boşluklar kült merkezinin tarihçesi hakkında sayısız tartışmayı da beraberinde getirmektedir. Özellikle Tanrıça'nın göktaşının hakkında Roma tarafından İ.O. 205/4 yılında yürütülen incelemeye dair Livius'un detaylı anlatımı (Liv. 29.10.4–29.11.8; 29.14.5–14) daha sonraki dönemlerin bir uydurması olarak çoğu kez reddedilmektedir. Bu yöndeki önemli bir veri Livius'a göre Roma sefareetine rehberlik eden Pergamon Kralı Attalos I.'in o sırada Doğu Phrygia'ya henüz girmemiş olmasıdır. Her ne kadar kronolojik dizgeler açısından belirsiz kalsa da Strabon'un aktarımıyla (12.5.3) Pessinus'un idaredeki rahibi Attis'e hitaben kaleme alınan ve yaygın görüşe göre İ.O. 163/156 yılina tarihlenen birkaç kraliyet mektubu, Pergamon krallarıyla tapınak arasındaki yakın ikişkiyi belgelemektedir. Bununla birlikte Christian Mileta (2010), I.Pessinus 1'in “Pessongoi”un İ.O. 207 yılındaki fethi sırasında Kral Attalos I'in kendi askeri görevlilerine gönderdiği talimatları içeren mektubu olduğunu ikna edici bir şekilde göstermiştir. Mektupta geçen “Pessongoi”u Pessinus ile özdeşleştirmemek yönündeki her girişim başarısızlıkla sonuçlanmış ve Mileta'nın daha erken bir tariheleme için sunduğu argüman mektup ve muhatabı üzerine bu makalede yapılan detaylı bir incelemeyle daha da güçlenmiştir. Bu yolla İ.O. 3. yüzyılın sonunda Gallos Vadisi'nde ne olduğunu anlayabilmek için çok daha iyi bir konuma sahip olunmaktadır.

- 93) Philologische, genealogische und politische Überlegungen zu Ardys und Mithradates, zwei Söhnen des Antiochos Megas (Liv. 33,19,9) ('Philological, Genealogical and Political Considerations Regarding Ardys and Mithradates, two Sons of Antiochos Megas, Liv. 33,19,9'). In: Latomus 75,4, 2016, 849-861.

Neben den drei Söhnen des Antiochos Megas, die selbst den Rang von Mit- oder Alleinherrschern im Seleukidenreich innehattten (Antiochos †193, Seleukos IV. †175, Antiochos IV. †164), bezeugt Livius zum Jahr 197 v.Chr. eher beiläufig zwei weitere Söhne des Megas, Ardys und Mithradates (33,19,9). Holleaux (1912) versuchte den Nachweis zu erbringen, dass die Überlieferung fehlerhaft sei; er identifizierte ersten mit einem bereits um 220 v.Chr. nachgewiesenen Feldherrn im Dienst des Megas, letzteren mit einem 212 v.Chr. bezeugten Neffen desselben Königs. Dies blieb nahezu die *communis opinio*, bis Wörrle (1988) mit Verweis auf einen neuen Inschriftenfund von Herakleia am Latmos die Sohnschaft des Mithradates anerkannte. Dabei erklärte er überzeugend, dass jener Mithradates nach dem Tod des älteren Bruders dessen Namen annahm und später selbst als Antiochos IV. herrschte. Die Anerkennung des Ardys als Sohn des Megas ist aber erst Mehl (1999) und Ogden (1999) zu verdanken. Die Revision der Thesen Holleaux' setzte sich allerdings nur zum Teil in der neuesten Forschung durch. Deswegen soll sie durch Verbesserung der Argumentation gestützt werden. In diesem Sinne wird zuerst der Antiochos-Neffe Mithradates mit dem Satrapen von Kleinarmenien identifiziert und vom Antiochos-Sohn unterschieden, so dass auch Spekulationen über eine mögliche Adoption hinfällig werden. Sodann erhält die Rekonstruktion des Livius-Textes eine

methodisch solidere Grundlage. Schließlich erlauben es die dynastische Namengebung und polygame Heiratspraxis der Seleukiden, Ardys nicht nur als Sohn des Megas, sondern vermutlich auch als Enkel des zuvorgenannten gleichnamigen Feldherrn von 220 v.Chr. zu erweisen.

94) The Latins and Their Legal Status in the Context of the Political Integration of Pre- and Early Roman Italy. In: *Klio* 98.2, 2016, 526-569.

Short Abstract (English)

Traditional concepts of ‘Romanization’ prior to the Social War are currently meeting with growing criticism. Converging developments in Italy are no longer uniformly explained with deliberate Roman agency or an inescapably attractive Roman model. This context offers an intriguing framework for a renewed discussion of the ‘Latin Rights’: while previously viewed as a major catalyst for legal and political integration, a recent study has argued that the Latins were barely ‘privileged’ prior to ca. 125 BC, when the Romans radically changed their attitude to them, and the legal conditions accordingly. Responding to various criticisms, this article corroborates the paradigm shift.

Long Abstract (English)

Traditional concepts of ‘Romanization’ prior to the Social War are currently meeting with growing criticism. Converging developments in Italy are no longer uniformly explained with deliberate Roman agency or an inescapably attractive Roman model. This context offers an intriguing framework for a renewed discussion of the ‘Latin Rights’: these have commonly been considered the foremost catalysts for the legal and political inclusion of Republican Italy and, since the 1st century BC, also of the Western provinces. In a recent monograph (2009), I have argued that most legal privileges that are normally claimed for the early Latins were rather designed as late as the Gracchan period, whereas the so-called *ius migrandi*, the right to settle in Rome and become a Roman citizen, has been shown to be a modern myth. This paper reopens the debate. Common opinion previously held that those Latins expelled in 187 BC had acquired Roman citizenship thanks to the *ius migrandi*, but were stripped of it for political reasons. However, Livy (39.3.4–6) rather attests to the fact that ‘repatriated’ were only those Latins who had been denied the franchise. They had still undergone the census in Rome, though not as Roman citizens, but as foreign residents. Why they had been excluded from the franchise becomes clearer later on, when Livy (41.8.6–12; 9.9–12) quotes a law that required Latins to leave behind a son of their own (*stirps ex sese*) in their hometown, to be eligible for citizenship. Latin migrants had used various loopholes in the law to be enrolled as Roman citizens in the census of 179/78, because this alone protected them from being sent back to their Latin homes. Complaints of the allies did not result in the undoing of the franchise, even if achieved fraudulently, but in sending home the remaining Latins in 177 and in taking precautions against further abuse of the law. This revision of the political choices and legal principles urges us to radically re-define the relations between the Romans and the Latins, and to deny them a major impact on the creation of an Italian *koinè* before ca. 125 BC. It was only in the age of the Gracchi that the Romans thoroughly changed their attitude to the Latins and crafted a set of legal privileges for them. By responding to various criticisms to my book of 2009, this article corroborates the paradigm shift and more broadly contextualizes it within the larger trend of the expansion of Roman power in Italy during the 2nd century BC.

95) ‘Warlordism’ in Later Hellenistic Asia Minor. In: Fernando López-Sánchez & Toni Ñaco del Hoyo (eds.): *War, Warlords, and Interstate Relations in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2018 (Dec. 2017), 205-230.

Abstract (English)

The study of ‘warlordism’ in antiquity, if ever such a thing existed, faces the difficulty that its modern implications, especially the context of the nation state, cannot be applied to the Graeco-Roman world. If filtered out, an ‘ancient warlord’ would have been a ruler *who drew on military force with a deficient legitimacy*; his contemporaries might have called him *tyrannos, pirata* or *lēstēs*. However, the definition is too broad to serve as an analytical category, for it likewise fits very different types of rulers, such as Antipatros of Derbe, the Galatian Amyntas, Mithradates Eupator of Pontos or the latest Seleukids; several Roman generals such as Sulla or Mark Antony fulfill these criteria as well. Moreover, none of the aforementioned labels is an objective category, but they appear to be derogative terms imposed by enemies. Against this background, it is suggested that further studies may concentrate on the rhetoric that seeks to establish, deny or negotiate legitimacy of kings, petty rulers and military leaders.

96) The Temple State of Kybele in Phrygian and Early Hellenistic Pessinus: a Phantom? In: Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (ed.): *Pessinus and Its Regional Setting*, vol. 1 (Colloquia Antiqua 21), Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2018, 205-243.

Abstract (English)

Common opinion has it that the ‘temple state’ of Pessinus was founded in the Phrygian period, maintained its status under the Lydians, Achaimenids, the Seleukids (or Galatians), to flourish under the Attalids, before gradually declining under Roman rule. However, the material evidence that has so far come to light from the Gallos Valley only confirms the presence of the cult of Kybele through the ages, though without supporting yet the existence of any sanctuary run continuously from the Phrygian to the Roman periods. Traces of monumental residences appropriate for priestly dynasts are so far absent. The assumption of a pre-Hellenistic temple state is ultimately based mainly on legendary references to King Midas as the founder of the cult, and on Strabo’s mention of those priestly dynasts in an unspecified past. A careful reading of the Geographer’s report suggest that the past he envisaged was the blossom of Attalid rule, and this in combination with the Romans’ interest in the sacred meteorite in 205 BCE. Against this background, most recent research on the diplomacy and propaganda of Attalos I is surveyed, to support the hypothesis that it was this king of Pergamon who skilfully diverted the Roman quest for their ‘Idaean Mother’, as prophecized by the Sibylline Oracles, from the Troad into the Anatolian hinterland. Next the reasons are explained that made an insignificant Phrygian village with a local sanctuary an attractive choice for Attalos and a credible home of the Idaean Mother in the eyes of the Romans. In conclusion, a highly contingent, though no less effective convergence of Roman interests and Attalid diplomatic skills, combined with substantial sponsorship, dragged the Pessinuntian sanctuary out of the shades of insignificance that are so typical for most inner-Anatolian settlements and sanctuaries in pre-Roman times.

97) *Amicitia, fides* und Imperium der Römer aus konstruktivistischer Perspektive. Überlegungen zu Paul Burton’s *Friendship and Empire* (2011) (‘Friendship, Trust and Empire of the Romans

from a Constructivist Perspective. Reflections on Paul Burton's *Friendship and Empire* (2011)'). In: *Latomus* 76.4, 2017, 910-924.

Abstract (German)

Mit *Friendship and Empire* (2011) hat P. Burton rund ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Erscheinen von E. Badians *Foreign Clientelae* (1958) die bisher dezidierteste Antwort auf eines der einflussreichsten Bücher zur Außenpolitik der Römischen Republik gegeben. Bereits D. Braund hatte versucht, mit *Rome and the Friendly King* (1984) eine Kurskorrektur herbeizuführen, und im Trierer Projekt *Roms auswärtige Freunde* (2002–2008) sind zahlreiche Studien entstanden, welche die Vergleichbarkeit dieser Beziehungen zu innerrömischen *amicitiae* in Wort und Tat hervorhoben. Burtons Ausgangspunkt ist dagegen, die tiefe Verwurzelung von Badian in der Rhetorik des Kalten Krieges und der Gedankenwelt der *International Relations (IR) Realists* aufzuzeigen, und dies zumal angesichts des jüngsten Erfolges der *IR Neorealists* in der Römischen Geschichte durch die Arbeiten von Arthur Eckstein (2006 und 2008). Burton vertritt dagegen eine zutiefst konstruktivistische Sicht, welche die wirklichkeitsprägende Kraft moralisierender Rhetorik betont. Freundschaftsterminologie sei – so zeigt er an unzähligen historiographischen Berichten von Interaktionen zwischen Rom und auswärtigen Dynasten, Königen und Städte(bünde)n für die Jahre 264–146 v.Chr. auf – hätte man sich nicht nur an die Sprachregelung, sondern auch an die für Freundschaft von Cicero formulierten Normen orientiert sowie die in der modernen Soziologie beschriebenen Verhaltensmuster befolgt. Innovativ ist die Grundannahme, dass Asymmetrie der sozialen Rollen von Freunden kein Hinderungsgrund für Freundschaft sei, sondern eine Normalität und letztlich gar eine notwendige Bedingung. Der vorliegende Aufsatz untersucht die Vorzüge, aber auch Grenzen solcher Neuansätze. Dies gilt ebenso für das Verständnis von *fides*: Während Burton zu Recht betont, dass eine *deditio in fidem* das Entstehen einer Freundschaftsbeziehung nicht ausschließe, ist seine Annahme, dass *fides*-Beziehungen im außenpolitischen Bereich immer zugleich *amicitiae* seien, nicht überzeugend. Damit sind keineswegs alle Erkenntnisse entwertet, aber es gilt, ein genaueres Verständnis von *fides* zu gewinnen – und zwar in seinen unterschiedlichen Erscheinungsformen (*amicitia*, *deditio*, *patronatus*, *societas*, *foedus*, *consanguinitas*), die je zu bestimmten Zeiten eine gewisse Konjunktur erlebten. Nicht *amicitia*, sondern – so die zentrale These des Aufsatzes – *fides* ist die grundlegende Kategorie römischer Diplomatie.

- 98) Brogitaros and the Pessinus-Affair. Some Considerations on the Galatian Background of Cicero's Lampoon against Clodius in 56 BC (Harusp. Resp. 27–29). In: *Gephyra* 15, 2018, 117–131.

Abstract (English)

All of our extant literary sources on the history of Pessinus in the Hellenistic age involve Roman agency. For the most part, they are strongly shaped by a specifically Roman perspective that focuses on Roman political or economic interests, and in a way that significantly limits, if not distorts, the information on the sanctuary itself. A telling example is a section from Cicero's fervent lampoon against Publius Clodius, *De haruspicum responsis* 27–29. This is our main source for the law that granted the control of Pessinus to the Trokmian Brogitaros at the cost of the Tolistobogian Deiotaros. Cicero's rhetoric has encouraged modern scholars to contextualize this incident within Roman Republican strivings – which is indeed pertinent –, but, at the same time, discouraged attempts to better understand specifically Galatian agency behind the conflict. However, a subtle analysis of Ciceronian polemics, especially a reflection on what Cicero does

not say, will allow us to put forward some plausible hypotheses about the otherwise poorly attested history of Pessinus after the end of the Attalid Kingdom in 133/129 BC. By doing so, we shall gain further arguments for the view that Tolistobogian interest in Pessinus was very late, and that the development of its emporion to the urban center of the Tolistobogians may well have started as late as around 60 BC.

Abstract (Turkish) = Özeti

Brogitaros ve Pessinus Meselesi: Cicero'nun İÖ 56'daki Clodius hicvinin Galatia Arkaplanı Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler (*Harusp. Resp.* 27-29)

Pessinus'un Hellenistik Dönem tarihine ilişkin mevcut tüm edebi kaynaklar Roma dahlini içermektedir. Çokunlukla bu kaynaklar Roma politik ve ekonomik çıkarlarına odaklanan ve bizzat tapınakla ilgili bilgiyi, çarpıtmasa bile, önemli ölçüde sınırlayan Roma bakış açısından güçlü bir biçimde şekillenmiştir. Buna çarpıcı bir örnek Cicero'nun *De haruspicum responsis* eserinin 27–29. bölümlerinde Publius Clodius'a karşı yaptığı hararetli bir tartışmadan bir kesittir. Bu, Pessinus'un kontrolünü Tolistobog Deiotaros yerine Trokmi Brogitaros'a bahşeden yasa hakkındaki temel kaynağımızdır. Cicero'nun kullandığı retorik, modern araştırmacıları, bu olayı, gerçekten de olması gereği gibi, Roma Cumhuriyet Dönemi çekişmeleri içinde ele almak konusunda cesaretlendirmiş ama aynı zamanda bu çatışmanın arkasında spesifik olarak Galatia'nın müdahil olmasını daha iyi anlamaya yarayacak girişimlerin de hevesini kırmıştır. Buna rağmen, Cicero'nun polemiklerini, ama özellikle de söylemediği şeylerin yansımاسının ustaca bir analizi, bize Attalos Krallığının İÖ 133/129'da sona erişinin ardından Pessinus'un az bilinen tarihine ilişkin bazı mantıklı hipotezler ortaya koymamıza imkân verecektir. Böyle yaparak, Tolistobog'ların Pessinus'a olan ilgisinin oldukça geç olduğunu ve bu emporion'un Tolistobog'ların kent merkezi oluşuna uzanan gelişim sürecinin İÖ. 60'lı yıllar civarında başlamış olabileceği dair görüşlere dair başka argümanlar elde edebiliriz.

- 99) Der Ethnarchentitel des Simon (Makkabaios) und die Verleihung der Souveränität durch Antiochos VII. Sidetes ('The Title Ethnarch of Simon Maccabaeus and the Grant of Sovereignty by Antiochos VII Sidetes'). In: *Scripta Classica Israelica* 37, 2018, 129-161.

Abstract (English)

A systematic enquiry into the oldest occurrences of the title 'ethnarch' has yielded the result that the two first instances, *Jos. ant. Jud.* 13.6.7 (on 142 BCE) and *1Macc* 14.47 (on 140 BCE) are anachronistic. This does not justify, however, the conclusion that the next known instances, *1Macc* 15.1-2 (on 138 BCE) are likewise not authentic, and that the title was first introduced under John Hyrkanos II, as is now a widespread belief. The attestation of 'ethnarch' in Antiochos VII's letter to Simon is rather entirely plausible. After the Parthians had captured his brother Demetrios II, and while the usurper Diodotos Tryphon was holding large parts of Syria, Antiochos was ready to make substantial concessions to gain the support of the Judaeans, including their full immunity and liberty. This view is not contradicted by the fact that the king showed himself less generous after defeating Tryphon, when he refused to accept some of Simon's conquests. At any rate, Simon and after him John Hyrkanos I bore the title 'ethnarch' besides that of the 'great priest' (*hiereus megas*), which is often rendered as 'high priest' (*archiereus*) in the Graeco-Roman context. The rank of ethnarch did not imply any limitation of sovereignty, but rather reflects hesitation as regards kingship among the Jews. Only after the end of Hasmonaean kingship, if not after the death of Herod the Great, 'ethnarchy' gained a connotation of second-class rule.

Abstract (German) short

Eine systematische Untersuchung des Ethnarchentitels ergibt, dass die Belege zu den Jahren 142 (Ios. *ant. Iud.* 13,6,7) und 140 v.Chr. (*1Makk* 14,47) anachronistisch sind. Der erste glaubhafte Nachweis findet sich im Brief Antiochos' VII. an Simon, der in *1Makk* 15,2 irrtümlich schon zum Herrschaftsantritt des Königs 138 statt wohl richtiger zur Zeit seiner Belagerung von Didotos Tryphon in Dora im Jahr 137 zitiert wird. Damals war Antiochos bereit, die Unterstützung der Juden mit ihrer völligen Unabhängigkeit zu bezahlen. Der neu geprägte Herrschaftstitel bringt nicht allein die Anerkennung ihrer Souveränität, sondern auch Respekt gegenüber jüdischen Befindlichkeiten zum Ausdruck.

Abstract (German) long

Eine systematische Untersuchung des Ethnarchentitels ergibt, dass die scheinbar frühesten literarischen Belege, und zwar zu den Jahren 142 (Ios. *ant. Iud.* 13,6,7) und 140 v.Chr. (*1Makk* 14,47), anachronistisch sind. Dennoch erlaubt dies nicht den Schluss, dass der Titel erstmals von Hyrkanos II. geführt worden sei, wie heute weitgehend angenommen wird. Vielmehr bleibt der Nachweis desselben Titels im Brief Antiochos' VII. an Simon (*1Makk* 15,2; vgl. 15,1) aus dem Jahr 138 v.Chr. glaubhaft. In der schwierigen Phase nach der Gefangennahme seines Bruders Demetrios II. durch die Parther sowie während der anhaltenden Usurpation des Diodotos Tryphon war Antiochos bereit, im Kampf um den seleukidischen Thron die Unterstützung der Juden mit ihrer völligen Unabhängigkeit und Lastenfreiheit zu bezahlen. Daran ändert nichts, dass sich Antiochos bald schon nach Gewinnung der Oberhand gegenüber Tryphon 137 v.Chr. unnachgiebig gegenüber den als unrechtmäßig betrachteten Eroberungen Simons zeigte. Der neu geprägte Ethnarchentitel wurde von Simon und sodann von Johannes Hyrkanos I. neben dem Titel ‚Großer Priester‘ (*hiereus megas*), der im hellenistisch-diplomatischen Kontext oft auch als ‚Hohepriester‘ (*archiereus*) bezeichnet wurde, weitergeführt. Der Ethnarchenrang brachte für die Makkabäer keine Einschränkung der Souveränität zum Ausdruck, sondern respektierte vielmehr jüdische Vorbehalten gegenüber dem Königstum. Erst nach dem Niedergang des hasmonäischen Königstums, wenn nicht seit dem Beginn der herodischen Königsherrschaft, hatte der Titel eine Konnotation der Zweitrangigkeit.

- 100) Neue Überlegungen zur Chronologie und historischen Einordnung der hasmonäischen Münzprägungen – Zugleich eine verspätete Würdigung der ‚Häresie‘ Ya’akov Meshorers (‘Revision of the Chronology and Historical Interpretation of Hasmonaean Coinage – Also a Belated Recognition of the “Heresy” of Ya’akov Meshorer’). In: *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 164, 2018, 285-321.

Abstract (English)

Most scholars have traditionally ascribed the beginning of Hasmonaean Bronze issues (Prutot) to John (Yehohanan) Hyrkanos I as of 129 BCE, to be followed by his sons Judas (Yehuda) Aristobulos I and Jonathan (Yehonatan) Alexander Jannaios, as well as by the latter's two sons Hyrkanos II and Aristobulos II, and grandson Antigonos (till 37 BCE). Ya’akov Meshorer (1966; 1982) suggested instead to attribute all Yehohanan coins to John Hyrkanos II and those of Yehuda to Judas Aristobulos II; he dated the earliest Prutot to the rule of Alexander Jannaios. But Meshorer changed his mind, when a hoard with over 700 Prutot issued in the name of Yehohanan was found in 1988. He then endorsed what has become the new ‘orthodoxy’ of Hasmonaean coinage (Meshorer 1990/91; 2001). In contrast, the present article tries to demonstrate that a

return to Meshorer's earlier chronology has the potential of better explaining the many numismatic and historical difficulties. The naming practices among the Hasmonaeans, the development of their titulature and the historical context of the aforementioned bronze hoard all seem to be pointing to around 90 BCE for the beginning of Prutot. If this is accepted, the long-disputed legend *hever ha Yehudim* probably denotes a council introduced by Alexander after 90 BCE, and the title *roš ha hever ha Yehudim* marked the grant of the *ethnarchy* to John Hyrkanos II by Caesar in 47 BCE.

- 101) The War of Brothers, the Third Syrian War, and the Battle of Ankyra (246-241 BC): a Re-Appraisal. In: Kyle Erickson (ed.): *The Seleukid Empire, 281–222 BC. War within the Family*, Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2018, 197-252 + 275-308 (bibliography).

Abstract (English)

The Third Syrian War (246-241 BC) is normally viewed as an indirect result of the peace agreement following the Second Syrian War (260-253). This was sealed with a marriage between Antiochos II and Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. For when Antiochos died, his first wife Laodike supposedly murdered the rival queen and her infant child, which in turn provoked the invasion of Berenike's brother Ptolemy III Euergetes (246). According to Justin (27.1-3), the tensions between Seleukos II (246-225) and his younger brother Antiochos Hierax escalated just when their cooperation had caused Euergetes to sue for peace – Porphyry of Tyre (FGrH 260 F 32.8) dates this to 241. More convincingly, Porphyry synchronizes the beginning of the War of Brothers with to the outbreak of the Third Syrian War: Ephesos had already been lost to Ptolemy when Seleukos was confronting his brother in Ionia, but it was only after Seleukos' defeat at Ankyra that Euergetes invaded Syria and Mesopotamia in the latter half of 246. Hierax' control of the Seleukid possessions in Asia Minor finally consolidated when Seleukos conceded this to him together with the royal title in ca. 242. A closer look at Justin (27.2.6-7) reveals that the chronology of the two wars had been changed for the sake of rendering the moralizing messages more clear-cut: Seleukos is the villain of the first chapter, Hierax of the second, both suffering divine punishment for wronging a brother. A revision of the chronology also helps us better understand the roles of the many parties involved: the Tolistobogian and Tectosagen Galatians, the Prusiads, the Mithridatids, Ariarathids, and the Attalids, all of whom pursued agendas of their own. As a result, the history of the empire needs to be rewritten for the entire rule of Seleukos (246-225).

- 102) 'Friendship and Alliance' between the Judaeans and the Romans under Judas Maccabee (*1Macc* 8.17–32): A Response to Linda Zollschan's *Rome and Judaea* (2017), *Electrum* 25, 2018, 185-225.

Abstract (English)

Zollschan promises a highly interdisciplinary study of the report on the first Roman embassy to Rome under Judas Maccabee in *1Macc* 8. In part, she argues that the Senate did not grant the requested alliance, but only informal *amicitia*; in part, she claims that not even *amicitia* was granted but only a declaration of liberty; in part, she proposes that the ambassadors misunderstood the result of their mission, since it meant subjection under Rome without effective protection. Further results include the views that the embassy was undertaken in 162 BCE, and that the account and treaty text is based on the Aramaic report of the ambassadors Eupolemus and

Jason. The contradictions and misunderstandings of Zollschan's book are plentiful and serious. The present study engages with the questions she asks and with the answers she gives, adds substantially to the recent bibliography in the addressed areas and concludes with very different assessments: namely, that we should maintain the traditional date of 161/60 BCE for the Judaean embassy, that the Senate granted a treaty of friendship and alliance, that the Continuator of *1Macc* inserted the (highly edited) version he found on a bronze inscription in Jerusalem, and that success was largely denied to the mission, since the ambassadors returned after Judas had died in battle.

TOC

I. Introduction: a New Study on the Judaean-Roman Relations under Judas Maccabee

II. Friendship or Voluntary Subjection? Notions of Roman *Amicitia*

III. *Foedus* versus *Amicitia*

- 1) The Readiness of the Romans to Offer a *Foedus*
- 2) The 'Escape Clause', Intentions and Expectations
- 3) Potential Effects of Diplomatic Relations with Rome
- 4) The Chronology of the Judaean Embassy Reconsidered
- 5) Loyalty among Friends
- 6) The Ritual of Swearing

IV. The 'Formalities' of Establishing 'Informal' *Amicitia* (According to Zollschan)

- 1) Request of Roman *Amicitia*
- 1) a) Declaration of *Libertas*
- 2) *Appellatio*
- 3) *Formula amicorum*
- 4) Bronze Tablets

V. The Nature of the Documentary Evidence and of the Diplomatic Relation

VI. Conclusions

103) In: Altay Coşkun & David Engels (eds.): *Rome and the Seleukid East. Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V*, Brussels, 21–23 Aug. 2015 (Collection Latomus 360), Brussels 2019, 11–23.

This introduction surveys recent trends in Seleukid scholarship and addresses the main points of discussion concerning the decline and disintegration of the Seleukid Kingdom in the course of the 2nd century BC. For further detail, see the [abstract](#) of the whole volume.

104) Which Seleukid King Was the First to Establish Friendship with the Romans? Reflections on a Fabricated Letter (Suet. *Claud.* 25.3), *amicitia* with Antiochos III (200–193 BC) and the Lack thereof with Ilion. In: Altay Coşkun & David Engels (eds.): *Rome and the Seleukid East. Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V*, Brussels, 21–23 Aug. 2015 (Collection Latomus 360), Brussels 2019, 27–60.

Abstract (English)

Suetonius, *Claud.* 25.3 has preserved the summary of an obscure Roman letter to *Seleucus Rex*, offering him *amicitia et societas* in return for exempting the citizens of Ilion, their own 'relatives', from taxation. While previous generations of scholars had been inclined to reject this

letter as a forgery (esp. HOLLEAUX 1921), more recently, its authenticity has been claimed, and the king been identified with Seleukos II Kallinikos (RIZZO 1974; GRUEN 1984), Seuleukos III Keraunos (GRAINGER 2002) or Antiochos III Megas (ERSKINE 2001). But neither Seleukos II nor III seems to have exerted effective control over Ilion to qualify. In the case of Antiochos III, he can be shown to have become an *amicus populi Romani* probably in 200 BC. Rome was then, however, concerned about the Ptolemaic and the Attalid Kingdoms. Moreover, it seems that Antiochos gained the loyalty of Ilion in 198 BC. When the Romans began to advocate the freedom of some Greek cities in 196 BC, the sources repeatedly specify Lampsakos and Smyrna, which defied the king, never Ilion. The later annalistic tradition presents a polished version of the relation between Rome and Ilion: the city figures among the allies in the peace treaty of Phoinike in 205 BC (LIV. 29.12.14); its citizens went over to Rome in the war with Antiochos, as soon as the first Roman commander C. Livius Salinator set foot on the Ilian coast early in 190 BC; Salinator and soon after him L. Scipio chose to sacrifice to Ilian Athena (LIV. 37.9.6f.; 37.37.1-3); and Ilion is rewarded at Apameia with immunity and territorial gains (LIV. 38.39.8). But this tradition is belied by the telling silence of Polybios and Strabon, *Geogr.* 13.1.27 (594f. C). The latter, in fact, specifies Caesar as the authority that granted tax exemption and a territorial extension. The second half of the 1st century BC thus emerges as the most likely time both for the upgrade of the pro-Ilion annalistic tradition and the fabrication of the Suetonian letter, which could be produced as *uetus epistula* in the days of Claudius.

- 105) Triangular Epistolary Diplomacy with Rome from Judas Maccabee to Aristobulos I. In: Altay Coşkun & David Engels (eds.): *Rome and the Seleukid East. Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V*, Brussels, 21–23 Aug. 2015 (Collection Latomus 360), Brussels 2019, 355–388.

Abstract (English)

The sheer amount of scholarship on Judaean-Roman diplomacy from Judas Maccabee (166-161 BC) to Hyrkanos II (76-30 BC) has done little to reduce the controversies on nearly every single aspect. This said, scholarly opinions tend to converge towards accepting that Roman commitment was very limited, whether the sources that tell otherwise were fabricated or the Romans never had the intention to get involved, despite the treaties of friendship and alliance they concluded. One way or another, Roman inactivity is blamed for the discontinuation of friendship by the end of the 2nd century BC, unless the change is explained with the growing aggressiveness and expansionism of the Judeans. The present study questions these views, not least by demonstrating how highly *amicitia populi Romani* was appreciated both by the Author (ca. 140 BC) and Continuator (ca. 128 BC) of *1Macc*. The major methodological novelty is to accept the historicity of the diplomatic documents in *1Macc* and Josephus *Jewish Antiquities*, and to systematically correct their narratives on the basis of this primary evidence. Accordingly, Eupolemos and Jason made an alliance under Judas (161 BC), which was renewed under Simon (142 BC) and again under John Hyrkanos I (ca. 128 BC). Another mission to Rome under John Hyrkanos was headed by Stratton (107 BC). Next, I shall argue that the alliance was also renewed under Aristobulos (104 BC) and Alexander Jannaios (by 100 BC). The evidence allows us to describe the mechanism of Judaean diplomacy: ambassadors were sent from Jerusalem to the Roman Senate, put forward their concerns, expected and normally received official letters that told third parties what to do. Of particular importance were documents that impressed the Seleukid kings in Antioch or Damascus. This kind of ‘triangular diplomacy’ was particularly successful under Simon and John Hyrkanos. Gradually, however, the large-scale changes in the

eastern Mediterranean World on the verge from the 2nd to the 1st century BC diminished Roman interest and influence in the Near East. As a result, the high tide of Roman epistolary diplomacy came to an end as well.

- 106) Epilogue: Rome, the Seleukid East and the Disintegration of the Largest of the Successor Kingdoms in the 2nd Century BC. In: Altay Coşkun & David Engels (eds.): *Rome and the Seleukid East. Selected Papers from Seleukid Study Day V*, Brussels, 21–23 Aug. 2015 (Collection Latomus 360), Brussels 2019, 457–479.

Abstract (English)

Although Antiochos III Megas had been defeated by the Romans in 191/90 BC, his son Seleukos IV managed to consolidate it, and his youngest son Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–164) even became the most powerful monarch of his time. After a brief succession crisis (164/62), the kingdom regained strength once more under his grandson Demetrios I Soter (162–150). Only the revolt of Alexander I Balas in 153 resulted in a near-permanent crisis. Dynastic rivalries proliferated and catalyzed the further disintegration of the realm culminating in the Parthian conquests of Media, Mesopotamia and Persia by 140. With the death of Antiochos VII Sidetes (129), the loss of the territories east of the Euphrates became permanent, and Seleukid dissolution continued until Pompey deposed Antiochos XIII in 64/63. Reflecting on the multiple factors that contributed to the disintegration, I shall argue (1) that the heterogeneous nature of the kingdom need not be seen as weakness *per se*. Also, the negative impact of the Peace of Apameia in general (2) and, especially, the financial needs due to indemnity payments to Rome (3) have been overstated. (4) Roman diplomacy after 188 was harmful, but barely decisive for determining the fate of the Seleukids. (5) Ptolemaic interference was more destructive, but by itself not strong enough to annihilate the Seleukid colossus. The worst enemies of the Seleukids were the Seleukids themselves. This inner-dynastic rivalry got more frequent and more harmful through Roman manipulation and Ptolemaic intervention. (6) The combination of those three factors under Balas finally crippled the realm beyond repair in that it further induced the loss of the Iranian satrapies, and soon thereafter even the Babylonian heartland – areas that had previously functioned as the backbone of legitimate Seleukid kingship and resilience.

- 107) The Bosporan Kings in-between the Mithridatic Tradition and Friendship with Rome: the Usurpation of Asandros Revisited, forthcoming in *Archaia Pontou*.

Abstract (English)

The Northern coast of the Black Sea was settled by Iranians from the steppes since the 2nd millennium BC, who were joined by Greek colonists as of the 7th century BC. Roman political interest in the region is attested since the 2nd century BC, before Roman direct or indirect control extended from the 1st century BC to the 4th, if not 5th, century AD. Of particular interest is the Bosporan Kingdom, which surrounded the Strait of Kerch. For centuries, it was ruled by Hellenized kings of Iranian (and Thracian) descent who held the titles of ‘friend of the Roman people’ (and ‘high priest of the Emperor’). Ideological perspectives on the evidence are still prevalent a quarter-century after the fall of the Iron Curtain: the 19th-century paradigm that history is to be understood as rivalry between tribes and nations led to the assumption that major events were determined by a conflict between native Iranians and invading Greeks or oppressing Romans. This conflictual approach was cemented in the 20th century by regarding Rome as a

precursor of the imperialist West, at least in the eyes of many Eastern European colleagues. The late Prof. Heinz Heinen (Trier, Germany, 1941-2013) was one of the first to systematically question those simplistic antagonisms. He repeatedly demonstrated that they publicly displayed affiliations with the ruling power to enhance their prestige among the locals, rather than to arouse their resentment. Heinen left behind an unfinished manuscript on the history of the Bosporos that revisits most of the ancient sources for 63 BC to 38 AD. Altay Coşkun is preparing a posthumous edition of these chapters in the context of a major research collaboration, into which this paper will introduce. A case study will be dedicated to the reconstruction of Asandros' usurpation, his marriage with Dynamis, the daughter of Pharnakes II and granddaughter of Mithradates VI, as well as Asandros' diplomacy with Rome. Heinen's sober presentation of the state of affairs forms the basis for once more revisiting the literary and numismatic evidence. A clearer picture of the stages of Asandros' usurpation will allow us to better understand his strong and persistent desire for official recognition by Rome.

108) Keltische Personennamen und keltische Personennamentraditionen im römischen Galatien.
Mit einer Fallstudie zu den Namen der Mitglieder des galatischen Koinons unter Nerva
(I.Ankara I 8, 98 n.Chr.) (Celtic Personal Names and Celtic Personal Naming Traditions in
Roman Galatia. With a Case Study on the Names of the Members of the Galatian Koinon
under Nerva [I.Ankara I 8, 98 BCE]. Forthcoming in George Broderick, Paul Schwind &
Lothar Willms (eds.): Akten der Konferenz: Celts, Romans, Greeks – Language and Cultural
Contacts in the Roman Empire and Associated Areas. Heidelberg, 18–21 Sept. 2014.

Abstract (English) long

The variety of personal names in Celtic-speaking areas shows a tremendous diversity and creativity. According phenomena are not confined to Celtic names themselves, but also extend to names adapted to their Greek or Latin environment. The basic principles of how onomastic traditions are carried over from one language into another are a) transliteration, b) assonance (e.g., *Dubius* < *Dubno-*), c) translation (e.g., *Ursus* < *Artos*), and d) hybridisation (e.g., *Iul-iccus*). After giving some examples from the Gallo-Roman world, for which the principles of intercultural onomastics are widely established, the focus shifts eastwards to the Galatians in Asia Minor. Their names began to be collected more than a century ago, but they have become the object of intercultural name studies only recently, and much more work needs to be done to further our understanding of the cultural and socio-political history of the area. A short overview delineates the major stages of Galatian History from the 3rd century BC to the 4th century AD, as reflected in their personal names: starting with the Anatolian-Phrygian layer and indications of early Hellenization under Alexander the Great (†323 BC), the Celtic impact on the area after the invasion of Galatian tribes into north-western and central Anatolia as of 278 BC is explained. Greek and Roman influence became noticeable in the 1st century BC, gradually beginning to supersede epichoric traditions in the High Empire; with the emergence of Christian names in the later 3rd century AD, Celtic names evaporate from our record. A case study on the list of members of the Galatian koinon (*I.Ankara I 8*) allows us to exemplify the problems of classifying names according to intercultural parameters. Quantifying the results generates data for linguistic and historical comparison. The core of this paper consists of an onomastic commentary to the transmitted 95 persons or 196 individual names respectively of the aforementioned inscription. The data not only conveys nuanced insights into intercultural naming practices, and more specifically into the ways names of Roman emperors and provincial governors affected local naming patterns, but as a whole it also lends strong support to identifying the date of the

inscription: this can now be established as AD 98 (rather than AD 145/61, which has so far been the prevailing view. The article concludes with a revised list of all known governors of Galatia from Augustus to the death of Trajan (25 BC–AD 117).

- 109) The Date of the Revolt of Asandros and the Relations between the Bosporan Kingdom and Rome under Caesar. Forthcoming in a Festschrift ca. 2019.

Abstract (English)

Following the suggestions of Heinz Heinen, I have pleaded elsewhere for a complete revision of the history of the Bosporan Kingdom. Violent successions especially in the century after the death of Mithradates VI Eupator should not be explained with lasting ethnically-based hostilities. They rather need to be contextualized within the framework of Hellenistic royal dynasties striving for survival under the changed conditions of Roman Imperialism. The present case study seeks to reconstruct as precisely as possible the usurpation of Asandros against Pharnakes II. We have unique numismatic evidence for Asandros' rise and rule, but its implications on his policies have been obfuscated by a remarkable disregard for the literary sources. After introducing into the difficulties of Asandros' coinage, I shall draw on Appian, Cicero and the Caesarian *Bellum Alexandrinum* to distill a fine chronology of the campaigns of Pharnakes, Asandros and Mithradates VII for the years 48 to 46 BC. This will allow me to date the revolt of Asandros to ca. April 47 BC. Accordingly, his coinage dated to year 1 falls into ca. Oct. 48 / ca. Sep. 47 BC. After issuing coins as *archon* in years 1–4, he adopted the title *basileus* still in year 4, i.e. 45/44 BC. This chronology supports the impression conveyed by Appian that Asandros initially sought recognition from Caesar. Upon failing to achieve this, he waited until Mark Antony sold him the title *rex amicus populi Romani*.

- 110) Chersonesos Taurike, Asandros and Rome – A New Interpretation of the Embassy of C. Julius Satyrus to Rome, 46 BC (*IOSPE* I² 691). Forthcoming in a Festschrift ca. 2019.

Abstract (English)

Strabon (*Geogr.* 7.4.3 [309C]) reports that Chersonesos had constantly been subject to the rulers of the Bosporos from Mithradates VI Eupator to his own time. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 4.85), in turn, states that the Romans have granted freedom to the city ‘recently’, which seems to relate to the fraternal war between Mithradates VIII and Kotys I around AD 45. There is only one source that conveys insights into the city’s history during the Roman civil war, the honorary decree for C. Iulius Satyrus, which mentions his embassy to Rome in 46 BC (*IOSPE* I² 691). Rostovtzeff established the former common opinion that Satyros had requested and been granted the city’s freedom. In contrast, Makarov suggests that Satyros undertook the embassy as a citizen of Herakleia Pontike. If accepted, his mission would not affect the status of Chersonesos. But a close reading of the fragmentary inscription requires us to regard him as a Chersonesitan, and also to understand his embassy as conducted for Chersonesos. The timing seems to imply that he offered Caesar military support for Mithradates of Pergamon, who had been sent to fight the usurper Asandros in 47 BC. When Satyros returned to Chersonesos, the defeat of Asandros and, with this, the grant of privileges for Chersonesos still seemed to be very likely. But the failure of Mithradates later in 46 BC, combined with Caesar’s death (44 BC), brought the city soon back under Bosporan rule. There it remained until the times of Claudius. It will further be argued in an appendix that the mention of πάτριον Χερσονησίταις ἐλευθερίαν in another fragmentary

inscription (*JOSPE* I² 355) relates to the times prior to the rule of Mithradates Eupator.

- 111) The Chronology of the Desecration of the Temple and the Prophecies of *Daniel* 7–12 Reconsidered. Forthcoming in *Historia* ca. 2019.

Abstract (English) short

The counterfactual allusion to the death of Antiochos IV in *Dan* 11.40–45 implies a *terminus ante quem* of December 164 BC. While scholars have previously extended this *terminus* to all Seleukid prophecies in *Daniel* 7–12, we should rather confine it to *Dan* 10–11, allowing for a later composition of the remaining Seleukid prophecies. Their author had full knowledge of the king's death and the nearly simultaneous purification of the temple of Yahweh. If we accept the latter as the end point of the ‘prophesized’ religious persecution, a detailed Judaean chronology for 171–164 BC can be established that is in line with *1Macc* and at least in part also with *2Macc*.

Abstract (English) long

Generations of scholars have been puzzled by the chronological time frame that the Seleukid prophecies of *Daniel* 7–12 are structured around. Basic to the problem is *Dan* 11.40–45, which clearly implies that the author did not know when and how Antiochos IV died. This seemed to warrant the *terminus ante quem* of late 164 BC, with the result that the prophet had not yet seen the effective turn in the Maccabaean revolt against the king, let alone the purification of the Jerusalem temple on 25 Kislev 148 SE (ca. 14 Dec. 164 BC). The present study suggests relating this *terminus* only to *Dan* 10–11, while allowing for a later composition of the remaining Seleukid prophecies. Based on a chronological revision of the *First and Second Book of Maccabees*, a plausible timeline can be presented that is compatible with every historical implication of *Dan* 7–9 and 12. Accordingly, the apocalyptic final year week started with the replacement of Jason as high priest by his rival Menelaos in 171/70 BC; the temple was pillaged by Antiochos IV in summer 169 BC, and Seleukid forces expelled Jason from Jerusalem in 168 BC. The cataclysmic final three-and-a-half years started with the arrival of the commander Apollonios in Jerusalem in May or June 167 BC, followed by the issue of Antiochos' religious edict around October 167 BC. The pinnacle of the religious persecution was reached with the sacrifice to Zeus Olympios in the temple of Yahweh on 25 Kislev 145 SE^B (December 167 BC). Nearly all prophecies regard the purification of the temple as the end point of the crisis. Only the addendum *Dan* 12.12 alludes to an event that happened 45 days later, perhaps the completion of the fortifications against the royal garrison and the Judaean collaborators on the Akra of Jerusalem. *Dan* 7–9 and 12 were likely composed by the end of January 163 BC, to supersede *Dan* 10–11, which had become obsolete after the king's death. The two groups of Seleukid prophecies were later merged when the collective memory of the events was fading away (before 100 BC).

- 112) The ‘Temple State’ of Phrygian Pessinus in the Context of Seleukid, Attalid, Galatian and Roman Hegemonic Politics (3rd-1st Centuries BC). Forthcoming in Gocha R. Tsetskhladze (ed.): *The Phrygian Lands over Time (from Prehistory to the Middle of the 1st Millennium AD)*. Proceedings of the International Conference, Anadolu University, Eskisehir, 2nd – 8th November, 2015, ca. 2019.

Abstract (English)

The affluent and exotic ‘temple state’ of Cybele rendered Pessinus the most famous Phrygian cult site in the Graeco-Roman world. No other Phrygian cult or location is mentioned as often in Classical literature, and, likewise, the epigraphic and material evidence for the Roman city stands out amongst its peers in Asia Minor. In contrast, the primary record that predates the 3rd century BC is absent or minimal. Based on this lack of evidence, a recent study has tried to demonstrate that Pessinus as a super-regional sanctuary of the Great Mother should be understood as a creation by king Attalos I. The current article intends to specify the political relations of the priest elite of this newly created sanctuary with its neighbours, the Attalid kingdom to the west and the Galatian tribal states to the east and north, besides their connections with the court of the Seleucids and the Roman superpower respectively. The evidence for the mid- and late Hellenistic period continues to remain highly lacunose and controversial. But recent work on the political divisions and dynamic territorial changes among the Galatians suggests some modification to the currently prevailing view: Pessinus was not part of Galatia (however defined), but rather part of the Attalid kingdom, first from 207 BC to about 200/197, and then again from 188 BC until the dissolution of the kingdom (133/129 BC). Then it seems to have been controlled first by the Tektosages, a generation later by the Trokmoi and since the time of the Mithradatic Wars by the Tolistobogioi. Hence it developed into the urban centre of the Tolistobogioi under Augustus.

113) Mithridates Eupator: Retter, Hegemon, Feind und Opfer der Galater (Mithridates Eupator, Saviour, Hegemon, Enemy, and Victim of the Galatians). Forthcoming in: David Braund & Anca Dan (eds.): Mithridates and the Pontic Kingdom (Collection Varia Anatolica, ed. by the French Institute of Anatolian Studies, Istanbul), Paris: de Boccard, ca. 2019.

Abstract (English)

The Pontic Kingdom and the Galatian tribal states share the fate that their histories have to be, for the most part, reconstructed on the basis of a very fragmentary literary tradition, which rarely ever aims at completeness. Most pieces of information that have come down to us either relate to the generation of the founders in the earlier 3rd century BC or have been drawn from narratives dedicated to conflict or cooperation with the Romans. It is owing to the latter, however, that our documentation is relatively rich for Mithradates Eupator, yet his role as archrival of the Romans has frequently narrowed down or distorted the perspective on him. The present paper seeks to study Galatian-Pontic relations based on such marginal notes, anecdotes and historical conjecture. First, the developments of the early Hellenistic period will be rehearsed, before the occupation of Galatia by Mithradates towards the end of the 2nd century BC is studied in more detail. This intervention resulted in the demotion of the four tribal kings to tetrarchs. Relations remained very close with the Trocmi under Brogitarus, whereas the Tolistobogii soon evaded Pontic influence under the leadership of Deiotarus. Based on the resources of his own territory, but also on his easier access to allies in the West, the latter gradually grew in importance before his close friendship with Rome effectively allowed him to inherit the Mithradatic dynasty as the leading force of Asia Minor. Although Mithradates ultimately failed in his subjection of Anatolia, his relation to the Galatians appear to be quite ambivalent: prior to the brutal conflict that erupted in 86, the king had been able to maintain close supervision of the leading dynasties with minimal deployment of force, and it appears that the Trocmi remained loyal to him even for several years after that pivotal year.

Abstract (German)

Das Königreich Pontos und die galatischen Stammesstaaten teilen das Schicksal, dass ihre Geschichte vielfach nur aus den Trümmern einer ehemals breiteren, freilich kaum jemals nach Vollständigkeit strebenden literarischen Tradition rekonstruiert werden muss. Die meisten Informationen, die dennoch auf uns gekommen sind, betreffen entweder die ‚Gründergenerationen‘ etwa bis zur Mitte des 3. Jhs. v.Chr. oder stehen im Kontext von Kooperationen oder Konflikten mit den Römern. Letzterem Umstand ist immerhin die relativ reiche Dokumentation zu Mithradates Eupator zu verdanken, aber durch seine Rolle als Roms Erzrivale ist die Perspektive oftmals verengt oder verzerrt. Deswegen wird der Versuch unternommen, das galatisch-pontische Verhältnis weitgehend aus Randnotizen, Anekdoten und indirekt Erschlossenem nachzuzeichnen. Nach einer kurzen Skizze der fruhhellenistischen Entwicklungen liegen die Akzente liegen besonders auf der Besetzung Galatiens durch Mithradates gegen Ende des 2. Jhs. v.Chr. Diese ermöglichte es ihm, die insgesamt vier Stammeskönige zu Tetrarchen zu degradieren. Besonders eng blieb für eine Generation die Verbindung mit den Trokmern unter Brogitaros, während sich die Tolistobogier unter Deiotaros dem Einfluss von Pontos schnell wieder entzogen. Gestützt auf ihre eigenen Ressourcen und durch leichteren Zugang zu Bündnispartnern im Westen hatten sie wiederholt selbst die Rolle einer regionalen Vormacht gespielt. Durch geschicktes Taktieren und effektive Unterstützung Roms vermochten sie schließlich sogar Pontos als Schutzmacht Kleinasiens zu beerbten. Trotz des letzlichen Scheiterns des Mithradates ergibt sich indes auch für sein Verhältnis zu den Galatern ein ambivalentes Bild: Trotz der brutalen Entzweiung im Jahr 86 hatte der König mindestens zwei Jahrzehnte ohne großen Aufwand eine Hegemonialstellung über die Galater inne, und es scheint, dass ihm die Trokmer auch noch einige Jahre darüber hinaus die Treue gehalten hatten.

114) Perikles and the Withdrawal of Citizenship in Imperial Athens, 445 BC. English version in collaboration with Tanner Rudnick. Forthcoming in: Michael Sommer (ed.): *Polites – Cives – Citoyen. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue on Citizenship*. Villa Vigoni, Como, 11-14 October 2013.

Abstract (English)

This paper focuses on a law designed by Perikles which restricted Athenian citizenship to the children of two citizens ([Aristot.] *Ath. pol.* 26,3f.; Plut. *Perikl.* 37,3–5; Ail. *var.* 6,10; 13,24). Ignoring its retrospective effect, previous attempts at explaining the background, purpose and extent of the law have failed. But 4 760 Athenians were disfranchised on occasion of a grain donation by King Psammetichos in 445/4 BCE (Plut. *Perikl.* 37; Philochoros, FGrH 328 F 119), which proves the unlimited force of the law. At any rate, only that revision of the citizen lists seems to offer a plausible demographic and political context for the definition of the law. Data of Kimon's biography further confirm the new chronology. In contrast, in 451/0, the traditional date based on [Aristot.] *Ath. pol.* 26,3f., Perikles would hardly have been able to gain the majority of votes on the assembly for his law: the Athenians had just suffered substantial losses during the First Peloponnesian War, but the demand for citizen soldiers remained high in the face of a new campaign against the Persians instigated by Perikles and Kimon. Only after the Persian Wars (449) and the First Peloponnesian War (446) did the Athenians reduce their fleet and carry out new settlement projects that are indicative of a surplus of citizens. Therefore, the immediate connection of the citizenship law with the revision of the deme lists in 445/4, as attested by Plutarch and Philochoros, is more credible than the date transmitted in the *Athenaiōn politeia*. This clarification further allows us not only to more fully understand the rationale for Perkles'

legislation, but also its legal consequences pertaining to the social life (practices of marriage and adoption) as well as to the sphere of diplomacy (*epigamia*, citizenship decrees). (This is a translation of an updated version of III 72).

- 115) Roman Citizenship in the Context of Empire Building and Cultural Encounters.
Forthcoming in: Michael Sommer (ed.): *Polites – Cives – Citoyen. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue on Citizenship*. Villa Vigoni, Como, 11-14 October 2013.

Abstract (English)

It is commonly accepted that the strength of the Romans not only consisted in their military prowess, but also in their ability to include former enemies and foreigners into their socio-political community. There is also plenty of ancient evidence that the Romans took pride with this quality. Upon closer inspection, however, many inconsistencies appear: conquered peoples were often denied full integration into the citizen body for centuries. Most strikingly, the reluctance of the Romans to give the Italians similar legal and political rights ushered one of the bloodiest wars that took place on the Apennine Peninsula (91/90-87 BC). Reluctance rather than generosity also guided the treatment of the Latins: based on their ethnic relation with the Romans, scholars since the 19th century seriously over-estimated the legal privileges they held compared to other foreigners. Moreover, the Romans' preparedness of sharing citizenship with their freed slaves deserves to be re-considered. Drawing on such diverse examples, some light is shed on the principles that influenced Roman citizenship policies. Further on, the significance of language skills and other cultural aspects as criteria for the franchise are discussed, as is the notion of 'generosity' in citizenship matters. Notwithstanding some difficulties posed by the imperial nature of ancient Rome, it is finally argued that some lessons can still be learnt from her for current debates.

- 116) The Liberation of Judaea and Early Maccabaean Diplomacy with Rome According to Justin (36.3.9), Diodorus (40.2/4) and Caesar (Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 14.10.6 [205]), forthcoming in *Anabasis*.

Abstract (English)

Justin (36.3.9), Diodorus (40.2/4) and Julius Caesar (quoted by Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 14.10.6 [205]) are the only non-Jewish sources that mention Roman-Judaean diplomacy in the 2nd century BCE. Some scholars have adduced them to reject the claim of *1Macc* 8 that Judas Maccabee established friendship and alliance with Rome in 161 BCE – unduly so, as this article sets to argue. Justin has often been misunderstood as attesting only a grant of freedom to Judaea rather than a treaty, but this would be misreading the anti-Roman rhetoric. What is more, Justin mentions that *amicitia* began under King Demetrius, and different to previous interpretations, the context compels us to identify him with Demetrius II Nicator during his second tenure (129–125 BCE). Diodorus has been read as evidence for freedom under Demetrius I Soter (162–150 BCE), but the transmitted text does not speak of a Demetrius or a revolt from the Seleucids; what it does is alluding to Judaean diplomacy with Rome under John Hyrcanus I (135–105 BCE). Caesar states that Joppa was a possession of the Judaeans before the Romans first made a treaty with them. Since the city was taken by Jonathan and Simon for the first time in 150 BCE, Caesar reflects the same unawareness of the first Judaean-Roman treaty of friendship and alliance made under Judas. Rather than providing independent evidence against the claim of *1Macc* 8, the three

sources under examination seem to be traces of one now-lost Graeco-Roman tradition that let Judaean-Roman *amicitia* begin under John Hyrcanus I in ca. 128 BCE.

- 117) The Galatian Kingdoms. Forthcoming in Oğuz Tekin (ed.): Hellenistik ve Roma İmparatorluğu dönemlerinde Anadolu – Anatolia in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Periods (English-Turkish), Istanbul: Yapı Kredi.

Abstract (English)

This brief title reflects the progress of recent research on Galatia in the Hellenistic period. Previously, the hoards of fighters entering Asia Minor as of 278 BC were seen as somewhat unruly mercenaries in the service of the kings of Bithynia and Pontos, and later also of the Seleukids or Attalids. Sometimes, they were ascribed a rudimentary state structure labeled ‘tetrarchy’, although the latter was ephemeral and introduced only around 100 BC. By far the strongest force were the western-Galatian Tolistobogii, whose kingdom was located along the bend of the river Sangarios in-between Bithynia and Pessinus, whereas the Tectosages were settled in eastern Phrygia in the environs of Ankyra by the Mithradatids of Pontos. Except for the latter, the other Galatian tribes, especially the Trocmi, were mostly controlled by the Tolistobogii just as the Bithynians, and often they were in a position to exact taxes from the Greek cities. The Seleukids never fully subjected the Galatians, but rather had to pay for their alliance. After the Romans had established hegemony over Asia Minor by 188 BC, the Tolistobogii in particular refused to accept the lead of the Attalids as commanded by the Romans, together with Bithynia and Pontos. After the provincialization of Pergamum, Pontos emerged as the most aggressive power in Anatolia, allying in particular with the Trocmi, who were settled east of the Halys bow by Mithradates VI Eupator. Fierce resistance to him allowed the Tolistobogian tetrarch Deiotaros to become the most trusted friend of the Romans and most powerful king of Asia Minor after the death of Mithradates VI Eupator (63 BC), inheriting about half of his territories in Pontic Armenia. At the end of his life (ca. 41 BC), he united the Galatian tribes. His successor Amyntas extended Galatian rule into Lykaonia and Pisidia, before Augustus established the province of Galatia in 25 BC.

Submitted

- 118) Über den Hintergrund der Verbreitung des Kybele-Kultes im Westen des Mittelmeerraumes – Neue Forschungen zum phrygisch-hellenistischen Pessinus ('On the Background of the Dissemination of the Cult for Cybele in the Western Mediterranean – New Research on Phrygian and Hellenistic Pessinous').
- Prepublication in the Preliminary Publication of the Conference Proceedings 'Contact Zones of Europe from the 3rd mill. BC to the 1st mill. AD. International Scientific Conference (Humboldt Kolleg), Moscow, 1-4 October, 2017, 13-18.
 - Extended and Illustrated version submitted to Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia.

Abstract (German)

Die literarische Quellenlage zur Überführung der Magna Mater (in Form eines Meteoriten) von Pessinus nach Rom im Jahr 205 v.Chr. sowie zur mythischen Aetiologie und institutionellen Ausprägung des Kultes ist relativ reichhaltig. Aber tatsächliche oder auch nur vermeintliche

Widersprüche in den Schriftzeugnissen sowie das mittlerweile beklemmende Ausbleiben entsprechender archäologischer Funde haben zu einer großen Skepsis gegenüber unserer Hauptquelle (Livius 29,10,4–29,11,8 & 29,14,5–14) geführt. Der vorliegende Beitrag beleuchtet zahlreiche rezente, zum Teil noch nicht erschienene Publikationen, welche einerseits die livianische Tradition im Wesentlichen bestätigen, andererseits vor allem die *agency* Attalos' I. neu beleuchten. Die Hinweise verdichten sich, dass er nicht nur Mittler zwischen Rom und Pessinus, sondern vielmehr Schöpfer des Kybele-und-Attis-Kultes sowohl im Gallos-Tal als auch am Tiber war.

119) Ino-Leukothea, Athamas and Phrixos: a Theban Family Drama Retold and Repainted in Hundreds of Versions.

Abstract (English)

Strabon of Amaseia attests a Kolchian sanctuary of Leukothea and names Phrixos as its founder (*Geogr.* 11.2.17 [498C]). The singular combination of the (second?) wife and the son of the Theban King Athamas is puzzling. Ino's jealousy is believed to have induced the plan of Phrixos' sacrifice, which he escaped on the back of the golden-fleeced ram. Ino herself became the victim of Athamas' god-inspired madness, but was transformed into the maritime goddess Leukothea. But Ino was not always the evil stepmother. The myth seems to originate from a fertility rite, and its earliest narrative must have focused on the agency of Athamas, whose frenzy victimized various members of his family. The misogynistic attitude of Athenian tragedians introduced various evil stepmothers in the mid-5th century (Pherekydes, *BNJ* 3 F 98 = *Scholia (BDEGQ) on Pindar*, 4.288a), a role which was tested also on Ino about a generation later (Hdt. 7.197.1). As both the literary tradition and red-figure paintings of Italian vases show, this younger version never became the mainstream in antiquity. Removing the bias against Ino from our perception may open our eyes for many nuances and ambiguities in the textual and iconographic representation of the myth, especially in Italian red-figure vases and Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*.

120) Pontic Athens: An Athenian Emporion in Its Geo-Historical Context.

Abstract (English)

The least significant of all ancient settlements called *Athenai* was located east of Trapezus on the Pontic coast. It maintained its name well into the 20th century, when its successor was renamed *Pazar*. That Arrian provides us with the first (surviving) description of this *chorion* is due to a storm that compelled him to anchor parts of the Roman fleet in its little harbour (AD 132). In the 6th century, Prokopios mentions the village only to refute the local tradition that it had been founded by its more famous namesake. Scholars have shared this skepticism and thus largely relegated Pontic Athens to footnotes or condemned it to complete oblivion. But nothing is more plausible than regarding it as a result of Perikles' expedition to the Euxine (ca. 437/35 BC). Athenai may have a pre-history as a Milesian *apoikia* called *Limen*. Less certain is the role it played after the breakdown of Athenian thalassocracy (405 BC). It probably stood under Sinopean hegemony, before being absorbed into the Pontic kingdom in the early-2nd century BC. By then, however, Pontic Athens had shared the economic downturn of the area between Trapezus and Phasis. It lived on as a village regardless, and thus demonstrates that a *polichnion* could escape the historical record for centuries without ceasing to exist.

121) Phasian Confusion: Notes on Kolchian, Armenian and Pontic River Names in Myth, History and Geography.

Abstract (English)

Due to its close link with the legendary kingdom of Aia, where the Argonauts found the Golden Fleece, the Kolchian Phasis is one of the most illustrious rivers in world literature. It is, at the same time, surrounded by several controversies, ancient as well as modern. The present paper will argue that it was first pictured as part of the mythical landscape around 500 BC. It will further try to disentangle some of the intricate views on the river's course and relation to other waters: mythical narratives, colonial ideologies, reports of explorers and geographical speculation led to a heterogeneous, in part fancy tradition, as is best exemplified by the Phasis / Tanaïs / Don, which was fathomed with a second outlet into the Baltic Sea. This notwithstanding, the concept of the Kolchian Phasis was quite sober. Eratosthenes, Strabon and the mainstream literary tradition identified it with the modern Rioni only as far as Rhodopolis / Geguti, whence its middle course equals the Kvirila river to Sarapana / Shoropani; its upper course, now the Barimela, connected it with its Armenian source. The knowledge that Herodotus and Xenophon had of the Phasis / Rioni and of the Araxes / Phasis / Aras was limited but not confused. Prokopios, however, describes the Boas / Akampsis as the upper course of the Phasis / Kvirila / Rioni in book 2, but later corrects this view in book 8. His error stands in a broader tradition that ignored the Akampsis, possibly due to confusion with multiple rivers called Lykoi in the Argonautic and geographical literature. This insight will allow us to demystify Apollonios Rhodios' verses on the Phasis, Lykos and Araxes, and to appreciate the minor rivers of the riverscape of Aia: the Hippos, Kyaneos, Glaukos and Lykos, whose systematic study remains a desideratum.

122) Akampsis, Boas, Apsaros, Petra, Sebastopolis: Rivers and Forts on the Southern Littoral of Kolchis.

Abstract (English)

In his *Periplous Pontou Euxeinou* (ca. AD 132), Arrian describes the Roman fortresses on the estuaries of the Akampsis (Tchorokhi) and the Phasis (Rioni). There are various hints that Fort Apsaros (Gonio) by the Apsaros / Akampsis had been used as a stronghold by other rulers before, such as Mithradates VI Eupator (ca. 100 BC). Arrian mentions no other garrison or settlement along the south-Kolchian coast. Pseudo-Skylax, Strabon, Pliny, Ptolemy and Prokopios convey a similar impression, with two exceptions. Ptolemy attests a Sebastopolis just north of the Apsorros / Apsaros / Akampsis, which scholars tend to ignore. More likely, however, Polemon I (37–9/8 BC) founded it there, before relocating it further north, about 30 miles north-west from Dioskourias. Petra figures as the most important stronghold in Kolchis / Lazika during Justinian's Persian War (AD 540s). Common opinion identifies it with Tsikhisdziri, but this is barely compatible with the details provided by Prokopios. Although he occasionally confuses the Phasis with the Boas / Akampsis, his narrative suggests locating Petra on the southern bank of the Phasis estuary. It can thus be seen as a successor to the 2nd-century Roman fortress. At some point, it was extended to receive the population of the submerged city of Phasis. The study is preceded by a discussion of the names and identities of the rivers in the area, especially the Akampsis / Boas / Lykos, Apsaros / Apsorros / Glaukos as well as the Leiston and Rhis.

123) The Course of Pharnakes' Pontic and Bosporan Campaigns in 48/47 BC.

Short Abstract (English)

Appian's account of Pharnakes' Pontic and Bosporan campaigns (*Mithr.* 120.590–595) conveys the impression that the king started his attack on Asia Minor by attacking Sinope from the sea, and returned on ship to confront the usurper Asandros in Pantikapaion. The end of Appian's narrative, however, raises some doubts as to whether the king still had a fleet at his disposition. A comparison with the parallel tradition (*Bellum Alexandrinum* 34–78 and Cassius Dio 42.45–47) and a reflection on geographical terminology allows for a detailed reconstruction of Pharnakes' itineraries. It can be demonstrated that both ways led him through Kolchis and Pontic Armenia. Appian is not really falsifying the evidence, but he can be shown to omit relevant details and skew causalities, in order to adjust the plot to his narratological design and moralizing purpose.

Long Abstract (English)

Appian's account of Pharnakes' Pontic campaign (*Mithr.* 120.590–595) conveys the impression that the king of the Bosporos started his attack on Asia Minor by attacking Sinope from the sea. The end of the narrative, however, raises some doubts as to whether the king had a fleet at his disposition. It is therefore a plausible hypothesis that Pharnakes' land forces had marched through Kolchis to invade Asia Minor. The *Bellum Alexandrinum* (34–78) and Cassius Dio (42.45–47) confirm this view and allow us to complete the picture. Seeming contradictions disappear, once we concede that Armenia (Minor) denoted the entire former Mithradatic territory in Anatolia east of the river Halys, or at least east of the river Iris. Pharnakes progressed along the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, before turning south at the mouth of the Iris. This way, he reached northern Kappadokia, but withdrew to Pontic Armenia after the diplomatic intervention of the proconsul Cn. Domitius Calvinus. When negotiations failed, Pharnakes defeated the Romans and their allies at Nikopolis, whence he expanded further west into Paphlagonian Pontos. News of Asandros' revolt in the Bosporos caused his army to march back east, but the unexpected arrival of Caesar induced him to turn back once more. In the meantime, he ordered allied forces to gather on the Taman peninsula, while Asandros was extending his control over the European parts of the kingdom. Beaten by Caesar at Zela, Pharnakes fled to Sinope, and was so desperate to escape Calvinus that he killed the last 1,000 horses, to evacuate their riders by sea on randomly confiscated ships. Together with his allies, he was able to retake Theodosia and Pantikapaion, but was defeated regardless by Asandros no later than early September 47 BC. Appian's account thus emerges as largely reliable regarding facts, whereas distortions are due to his arbitrary selection of details and skewed causalities. These are best explained with the literary design of his narrative and its underlying moral lesson.

In preparation:

- 124) Dioskourias in the Recess of the Black Sea. (Re-) Locating Greek & Roman Cities along the Northern Coast of Kolchis (Gyenos, Dioskourias, Sebastopolis, Pityous and Herakleion)

Abstract (English)

The reconstruction of ancient land- and riverscapes faces several difficulties, most of all changing riverbeds and coastlines, not to mention the thick layers of sedimentation covering most ancient sites. There is also much lamentation about the imprecision of our literary sources, but the value of Arrian's *Periplous* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* has so far been underrated. The present study of the Kolchian littoral also draws on Strabon (Eratosthenes), Pliny and Claudius Ptolemy, besides the invaluable support of *Google Maps*. My search for *Dioskourias* did not lead me to

Sukhumi, where common opinion locates it, but to the *Hippos* / Tskhenistskali and *Mochos* / *Anthemous* / Mokvi Rivers in the bay of Ochamchire in north-western Georgia. This is where scholars have previously situated *Gyenos*. But for the latter we should rather look somewhere along the lower course of the *Kyaneos* / Okumi River, for Roman *Sebastopolis* at the Kodori Delta south-east of the Sukhumi Airport, for Graeco-Roman *Pityous* at the estuary of the Khipista River, and only for its Byzantine refoundation at Pitzunda by the *Korax* / Bzipi River. At least, the plausibility of the traditional location of Caucasian *Herakleion* on Cape Adler has finally been confirmed.

125) Searching for the Sanctuary of Leukothea in Kolchis.

Short Abstract (English)

Strabon mentions a sanctuary of Leukothea, together with an Oracle of Phrixos, in the Kolchian *Moschike*. Scholars proposed either Vani up the Rioni (Phasis) or the valley of the upper Mtkvari (Kyros) for its location. But Ino-Leukothea was a sea goddess, so that her cult site should be expected on the coast, as in the Mediterranean. Moreover, Strabon does not point to a site along or east of the Phasis, but rather to its south, where the westernmost foothills of the Lesser Caucasus reach the sea. This is also implied in its sack by Pharnakes II during his flight from Pontos after his defeat by Caesar, while he was facing the revolt of Asandros in the Bosporos. The tight chronology in summer 47 BC excludes a siege of the acropolis of Vani, let alone a campaign into the Iberian mountains further east. The Leukotheon must have been visible from the Euxine sea, and the Mtsvane Kontskhi ('Green Cape') north of Batumi would have been an ideal location.

Long Abstract (English)

Strabon of Amaseia mentions a sanctuary of Leukothea, together with an Oracle of Phrixos, in the *Moschike* somewhere in Kolchis (11.2.17 and 18 [498 and 499C]). O. Lordkipanidze (1972; 2000; cf. Tsetskhladze 1998; Radt 2008) suggested a location in modern Vani at the confluence of the Sulori and Rioni (Phasis) Rivers. In contrast, D. Braund (1994; cf. Roller 2018) proposed an area much farther to the east in the Lesser Caucasus (Moschian Mountains), slightly north of Borjomi, in the valley of the upper Mtkvari River (Kyros). Both identifications are difficult to accept. First, Ino, wife of the Theban King Athamas and stepmother of Phrixos, called Leukothea after her apotheosis, was a sea goddess. As such, her cult was widespread along the northern coast of the Mediterranean. Its only attested branch in the Black Sea region should therefore not be sought in the hinterland or far-away mountains. Second, Strabon's indications do not point to a location east of (the mouth of) the Phasis, but rather south of it, where the westernmost foothills of the Lesser Caucasus reach the open sea. Third, we are now in a position to contextualize Strabon's historical references in detail: most importantly, the sack of the sanctuary by Pharnakes II occurred after his defeat at Zela in Pontos by Caesar and before his final battle against Asandros near Pantikapaion. Since both battles occurred within no more than a month, Pharnakes had no time to march through the Kolchian hinterland, let alone to lay siege to its massive fortifications, when sailing back to Pantikapaion in August 47 BC. As a result, the Leukotheon most likely stood out as a landmark, visible from afar for sailors on their way from Trapezus to Phasis. The Mtsvane Kontskhi ('Green Cape'), which is now covered by the Batumi Botanical Garden, might have been an ideal location.

126) Pessinus, Kleonaeion and Attalid Administration in Eastern Phrygia in the Aftermath of the Peace of Apameia (188 BC) – Reflections on a Recently-Found Royal Letter from Ballıhisar.

Abstract (English)

The so-called ‘secret correspondence’ from Pessinus, i.e. seven fragmentary letters authored at the Attalid court, is normally dated to the mid-2nd century BC and read as revealing treacherous exchanges with the High Priest Attis. An eighth letter has recently been found in Ballıhisar. In this, Attalos orders his officials Sosthenes and Heroïdes to take action to satisfy the request by the military official Aribazos, leader of military settlers in Amorion and Kleonaeion. A. Avram & G. Tsetskhladze, who published the *editio princeps* (*ZPE* 191, 2014, 151–181), date it to ca. 160/59 BC, and thus assign it to the same historical context as the other royal letters. But P. Thonemann (*ZPE* 193, 117–128) now argues for a date around 183 BC. The difference is significant in that Pessinus and Galatia are normally regarded as subjected to Pergamon from 188 or 183 to 166 BC. Thonemann thus views the new letter as reflecting administrative measures affecting Pessinus directly during its short dependency from Pergamon. Moreover, he claims that the military settlement Kleonaeion was located in or perhaps merged with Pessinus, and at some point even enjoyed polis status. Most recent research on Hellenistic Galatia, however, has seriously questioned an important premise for the study of the royal correspondence: there is no evidence that Pessinus had ever been subjected to the Galatians in the 3rd or 2nd century BC. As a result, Pessinus was most likely ceded to Eumenes together with Eastern Phrygia in 188 BC. The royal letters addressing Attis should no longer be interpreted as secretive, but as correspondence between the high priest and his king. The new letter, in fact, attests to Pessinus’ subjection to Attalid administration, and probably dates as early as 188/85 BC. And, finally, there is no evidence to warrant the identification of the cult site in the Gallos valley with Kleonaeion.

127) Basilissa Dynamis, Basileus (Scribonius) Mithradates and Basileus Polemon Eusebes

Abstract (English)

Dynamis, the daughter of Pharnakes II (63–47 BC), was the most important queen of the Bosporan Kingdom. As wife the usurper Asandros, her dynastic prestige helped him consolidate his power in 47 BC. In his old age, she allied herself with the insurgent Scribonius (20/19 BC), and after a short period of sole rule (ca. 16/14 BC), she gave in to Roman pressure and married Polemon I, who united the kingdoms of Pontos and the Bosporos (14–9/8 BC). Only after his death, she enjoyed a longer period of sole rule, probably until her death in AD 7/8. Much of her political biography is highly controversial, partly because Strabo names Pythodoris as his widow and successor (though only in Pontos and Kolchis). The present study seeks to shed some more light on her and her family by revisiting the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. I shall first attribute the coin series with the enigmatic letters *BAM* to Scribonius ‘Mithradates’, possibly a cousin of hers. With the arrival of Polemon in the Bosporan Kingdom, she was confined to a much more passive role. I shall adduce the famous inscription mentioning Mathianes (*SEG* 45, 1995, 1023) as a source for the rule of King Polemon Eusebes. Nothing compels us to believe that he repudiated Dynamis or that she took arms against him. After his death, the two queens either acted in unison by requesting to rule in their own rights in the Bosporos and Pontos-Kolchis respectively, or at least this was the result after Augustus mediated, possibly after the intervention of Livia. Dynamis commemorated the deceased Mathianes (*SEG* 45, 1995, 1018), before she was recognized by Augustus and granted the title *Philorhomaios*. Her coinage continued heralding a strict subordination under Augustus (and the deceased) Agrippa, but this

only implies that her foreign relations had to respect the interests of the Roman hegemonic power, not that she had to accept a Roman garrison. The conditions of her death and succession remain opaque.

128) (with Gaius Stern): *Dynamis in Rome? Revisiting the South Frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae* (in preparation for the first collaborative Black Sea volume, ca. 2020).

Abstract (English)

Dynamis was the most important queen of the Bosporan Kingdom. She was the granddaughter of Mithradates Eupator, who had incorporated the Kimmerian Bosphorus into his inherited realm of Pontos (ca. 110 BC), before squandering all his previous possessions in three wars with Rome. When trying to regain Pontos, her father Pharnakes II fell victim to Asandros, who seized the Bosporan throne and consolidated his rule through his marriage with Dynamis (48/47 BC). In 19 BC, she joined the insurgent Scribonius, who, in turn, was killed when Polemon of Pontos tried to seize the Bosphorus (16/14 BC). The coup finally succeeded with the support of Marcus Agrippa, who ordered Dynamis to marry Polemon. Most scholars are convinced that Polemon repudiated her, since he bequeathed Pontos to his younger wife Pythodoris. Connected with this is the widespread belief that she had organized the revolt of the Aspurgianoi against Polemon. This last view gained further support when Brian Rose (1990) cautiously identified Dynamis and her young son Aspurgos on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae. V.N. Parfenov (1996) modified the interpretation by suggesting that the boy is rather an unknown son of Scribonius. Either interpretation seemed to buttress the view that Dynamis was temporarily removed from the Bosphorus, but later returned with hostile intentions. However, an iconographic study of the relief leads to the conclusion that the depicted woman was a teenage girl, most likely Vipsania III, and that she was showing sisterly affection for a Parthian prince living in the house of her father Marcus Agrippa. Moreover, biographical data exclude the possibility that Dynamis had a son with either Asandros or Scribonius. The available evidence is further incompatible with the assumption that Asandrochos, the father of Aspurgos, was identical with Asandros, the husband of Dynamis. Hence, Cassius Dio deserves to be trusted when he surmises that Agrippa and Augustus wanted Dynamis to be the wife of Polemon, obviously to strengthen his legitimacy through her dynastic clout. Since Dynamis lived up to this expectation until the death of Polemon (9/8 BC), Augustus rewarded her by granting her sole rule as *amica populi Romani*.

129) Queens of Black Sea Kingdoms in the Shadow of the Early Roman Empire.

Abstract (English)

Royal women could obtain high visibility in the Hellenistic age and the early Roman Empire. Queen Dynamis is the most illustrious example from the Bosporan Kingdom. As the granddaughter of King Mithradates VI Eupator of Pontos (123–63 BC) and the daughter of King Pharnakes (II) of the Bosphorus (63–47 BC), she became the prize of three subsequent usurpers, Asandros (47–ca. 19 BC), Scribonius (ca. 19–ca. 15 BC), Polemon I (ca. 37–9/8 BC), before Augustus allowed her to rule in her own right over the Kimmerian Bosphorus. Both the reconstruction of her biography and the interpretation of her political choices are highly controversial. But many problems can be overcome, if the literary, numismatic and epigraphic evidence is subjected to a sober scrutiny and her career reflected in the contexts of Mithradatic Dynastic politics, Roman friendship diplomacy and Hellenistic-Roman queenship. We will also

address other prominent queens, especially Dynamis' younger rival Pythodoris, queen of Pontos and Kappadokia. Can we identify particular trends of female royal agency under Roman Imperial rule?

- 130) Seleukid Throne Wars, for Andrea Berlin & Paul Kosmin (eds.), *The Middle Maccabees from the Death of Judas through the Reign of John Hyrcanus (161–104 BC). New Archaeological and Historical Perspectives.*

Abstract (English)

Although Antiochos III Megas had been defeated by the Romans in 190 BCE, the kingdom recovered splendidly, and Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE) may well be called the most powerful monarch of his time, second only to the Roman Republic. Despite the succession crisis of 164/62 BCE, the empire remained strong for most of the time that it was ruled by Demetrios I Soter (162–150 BCE). His final years, however, saw an acceleration of the decline, triggered by the revolt of Alexander Balas, or perhaps more correctly by the support he gained from Ptolemy VI Philometor. The endless dynastic rivalries of the 140s BCE catalyzed the further disintegration of the empire with the loss of Persia and Mesopotamia to the Parthians. And yet, recovery under Antiochos VII Sidetes was unexpectedly vigorous, and could have re-established the Seleukid Kingdom as the dominant power in the Near- and Middle East – had he not been ambushed and killed in 129 BCE. At first glance, the first two *Books of Maccabees* may convey the impression that the Judaeans substantially contributed to the process of Seleukid disintegration. The revolts in Judaea first under the leadership of Jason in 168 BC and then under the Maccabees as of 167/66 BC absorbed substantial resources of the realm. But no matter how glorious the military and political victories were, the Seleukid response did not wait long, and regularly resulted in a reintegration of Judaea into the kingdom. Even the grant of full independence under Simon could be reversed under his son John Hyrkanos I, as long as the Mediterranean territories were largely united under a single king. Judaean freedom became irreversible in 129 BC: after the permanent loss of Babylonian and Media, and with Syria divided, no Seleukid king was strong enough to regain control of Judaea – a development that was symptomatic for the further disintegration of Seleukid rule in the Levant as well.

- 131) with Ben Scolnic: The Three ‘Uprooted’ Horns and Some (Peculiar) Perspectives on Seleukid Dynastic History in *Daniel 7*

Abstract (English)

Daniel’s oracular vision of the he-goat with ten horns, the last three of which were ‘uprooted’ by the eleventh, has puzzled biblical and historical scholars for over two millennia. It is largely accepted that the ten horns are an allegory for the Seleukid lineage. Likewise uncontested is that the eleventh horn stands for Antiochos IV Epiphanes, under whom the cult of Yahweh in Jerusalem was desecrated and traditional Judaism effectively banned. This persecution triggered the Maccabaean Revolt, which would re-establish a very traditional version of the cult in 164 BC and ultimately result in the independence of Judaea. No previous commentator has been able to present a consistent dynastic list. All available studies include spurious kings such as Alexander the Great or Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt; and most lists regard Demetrios I as the tenth king, but he would rise to power only after the successor of Epiphanes was killed in 162 BCE, so that he cannot be one of the three kings ‘uprooted’ by Epiphanes. There is, however, a clear-cut

solution, if all the legally co-ruling kings of the dynasty are included. Based on this principle, a coherent list of ten Seleukid kings predessessing Epiphanes can be drawn up. This revised list enables us not only to better understand the ideological distortions of the the author behind Daniel – a contemporary of Antiochos IV and V –, but also to reconsider difficulties relating to Seleukid dynastic successions.

132) A Quarter-Century on Research on Ancient Galatia (1993–2017) – An Updated Survey

Abstract (English)

This paper will provide an extended English version of my article ‘Von Anatolia bis *Inscriptions of Ankara*: Zwanzig Jahre Forschungen zum antiken Galatien (1993-2012)’, *Anatolica* 39, 2013, 69-95. See above for [abstracts](#).

133) Polygamy and Seleukid Queenship under Antiochos II. – Implications of the *Basilissa* Title (or the Lack thereof)

Abstract (English)

Scholars of the ancient world have been aware for a long time that ‘queenship’ – or perhaps more broadly the role of the ‘royal consort’ – gained a particular prominence in the Hellenistic age. The *basilissa* title was of course not entirely new, but had occasionally been attached to mythical and historical figures; it appears nonetheless much more consistently as of the days of the Diadochs. This is most clearly the case for the Ptolemies and Antigonids, among whom the (main) wife of the king enjoyed the title and the status that came with it from early on. The evidence for the early Seleukids, however, is not as clear as it might seem. Many (modern) arguments have been built on the epigraphic and papyrological evidence for the *basilissa* title of Berenike Phernophoros, the second wife of Antiochos II; accordingly, the lack of the same for Laodike I, his first wife, seemed to imply her divorce, a view that has now been rejected on various grounds (Coşkun 2016). While previous interpretations tended to take the title of the official wife for granted, this paper seeks to reverse the argument by suggesting that both the employment and lack of the title can and should be explained consistently within the broader context of Seleukid (and Ptolemaic) royal ideologies. In our specific cases, I tentatively suggest to explain the lack of Laodike I’s title with the predominant role of Stratonike I. After the latter’s death, Antiochos II continued to withhold the *basilissa* title from his wives, either because he felt discomfort about overly prominent female members within the royal family, or with an intention to keep all options for the dynastic succession open.

Planned

- Kultisch-religiöse Aspekte der Inklusion bzw. Exklusion von Fremden im mediterran-europäischen Raum: das Erbe der Antike (‘Cultic and Religious Aspects of the Inclusion / Exclusion of Foreigners in the Mediterranean and European Territories: the Heritage of Antiquity’).

Abstract (English)

This paper will explore the inclusive and exclusive forces of ancient cults and religions, and their bequest to subsequent periods. On the one hand, all of them prescribed the protection of foreigners and even claimed that hospitality or at least merciful treatment was owed to them; on the other hand, to varying degrees, they had difficulties to accept dissent, or, even worse, deviant practices. Most divisive, however, was the effect of rules of cultic purity: the more aspects of every-day life they affected, the more precarious the situation for foreign residents could become, unless they were prepared to fully assimilate. This study will draw on a wide range of observations made while preparing the edition of the handbook *Fremd und rechtlos? Zugehörigkeitsrechte Fremder von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (ed. with Lutz Raphael, Cologne 2014).

- Historical and Ideological Implications of Era Dating in the Orbit of the Seleukid Empire.

Abstract (English)

The counting of time according to the years of an individual monarch ('regnal years') can be traced back to the Bronze age. In contrast, Antiochos I was the first Hellenistic ruler to establish a count for his whole dynasty. This started with the foundational campaign of his father Seleukos I in 312/311 BCE. With minor regional variation, it became the chronological point of reference throughout the kingdom for centuries to come or, in other words, the beginning of the 'Seleukid Era'. Gradually, however, several minor kingdoms or cities in the former territory either replaced the Seleukid Era by introducing their own regnal year counts or dynastic or civic eras respectively, occasionally even side by side with the Seleukid Era. It is crucial for the interpretation of the ideological implications of using or rejecting Hellenistic eras to identify not only their start years, but also the time when those counts were effectively introduced, modified, abandoned, rejected, or even resumed; likewise, it may be relevant to specify the audience that was being addressed. Case studies that draw on the (1) Arsakids of Parthia, (2) Maccabees of Judaea and (3) Mithradatids of Pontos and the Bosporos will illustrate the complexity of the problem as well as the potential of shedding light on ideological choices made in the orbit of the Seleukid Empire.

- The Cults of Leukothea and Phrixos and Some Hidden Chapters of Greek Colonial History in the Black Sea Region.

Abstract (English)

Strabon (11.2.17) attests a very peculiar cult for Kolchis: a sanctuary of Leukothea allegedly founded by Phrixos, and possibly even connected with an oracle of the latter. I have argued in recent studies that our only source gives no indication of a Caucasian, Armenian or Iranian re-interpretation of the cult, so that we should regard Leukothea as divinized Ino, the former stepmother of Phrixos. The tension between these two mythical individuals is only a seeming one, since Ino's role as the evil stepmother was not invented before the third quarter of the 5th century. It had not yet been known when Ino was transformed into a maritime goddess, a protectress of sailors in need. In the present chapter, I shall suggest that sanctuaries for Leukothea are likely to be indicative of colonial activities of the Phokaians (until 540 BC). The tradition of Phrixos as the founder of the cult may reveal that the Leukotheon and perhaps also an adjacent Greek settlement got under control of the

Milesians (in the mid-6th century) or, perhaps more likely of the Sinopeans (around 400 BC). After the disintegration of Athenian thalassocracy around 413/405 BC, Sinope established itself as the leading political and economic force in the south-eastern Black Sea littoral, including the area of Bathys Limen (Batumi), where the Leukotheion was most likely located.

– The Cult of Theos Sebastos in Galatia: a Mystery Cult?

Long Abstract (German)

Während die frühere Forschung zum Ankyraner Kult für Theos Sebastos und Thea Rhome betr. der Datierung der Kultstiftung zwischen 25 v.Chr. und 19 n.Chr. schwankt, erlauben neuere Studien endlich eine solide Chronologie: Der erste Priester amtierte 5/4 v.Chr., und das Koinon der Galater wurde um 60 n.Chr. eingerichtet (RPC I 3563f.): beide Ereignisse sind also deutlich von der Errichtung der Provinzialherrschaft durch Rom 25 v.Chr. zu trennen. Auch die Titel eines ‚Hohepriesters‘ (*archiereus*), ‚Spielstifters‘ (*agonothetes*) und Sebastophanten sowie die penteterischen Spiele in Tavion finden unter Nero ihre erste Erwähnung. Die Stellung eines Hierophanten ist nicht vor 98 n.Chr. bezeugt. Besonders der letzte Titel, der schon aus Eleusis bekannt ist, lässt an einen Mysterienkult denken. Ein Teil der Forscher (W. Ramsay 1922, 174 [mit Verweis auf die Liste der 92 Hierourgoi], L. Robert, H.W. Pleket, A. Brent) geht deswegen davon aus, dass die Verehrung des römischen Kaisers in Ankyra, wenn nicht überall im Osten, Mysteriencharakter besessen habe. Nicht wenige Forscher ignorieren diese Interpretation aber (z.B. S. Mitchell) oder lehnen sie mit dem Argument ab, dass der Herrschkult grundsätzlich politischen und damit auch öffentlichen Charakter gehabt haben müsse (J. Strubbe). Letztere Sicht ist zwar grundsätzlich plausibel, kaum aber zu verallgemeinern. Denn sie schließt ja auch die Möglichkeit aus, dass ein vergöttlichtes Mitglied des Kaiserhauses dem Gott eines Mysterienkultes beigesetzt würde. Dies könnte erklären, warum die Sebastophantie zwar grundsätzlich selten, aber doch zumeist im Umfeld eines Mysterienkultes genannt wird: so ausdrücklich in Prusias am Hypion (IGR III 69 = IK 27, 17 Z. 2-7: ... Τίτον Οὐλπιον] Αἰλιανὸν] Παπινιανὸν Βειθυνιάρχην καὶ Ποντάρχην, τοῦ κοινοῦ νάου τῶν μυστηρίων [i]εροφάνην καὶ σεβαστοφάντην ...; sowie IGR III 63 = OGIS II 528 = IvK 27, 47 Z. 10-13); daneben aber auch in Prusa am Olympos, Nikaia und Kios sowie in Ephesos. Hier ist an die große Bedeutung der Dionysos- bzw. Artemis-Mysterien zu erinnern. Aus Ankyra sind aber ansonsten keine Mysterien bekannt, und die Opferung fand auf einem Altar vor dem Podium des Sebasteions statt. Weiterhin bestand die Festgemeinde aus einem *ethnos* bzw. zwei *poleis*, nicht aus *mystai*. Kam also die Schaffung der Sebastophantie nur dem Bedürfnis nach einer neuen untergeordneten Priesterstelle im Zuge der Koinon-Bildung nach, wobei nur der Ausdruck ohne Inhalt aus Bithynien übernommen wurde? Jedoch ist bisher übersehen worden, dass der Sebastophant vornehmlich für Pessinus zuständig war, wenn er auch in das Koinon eingebunden blieb. Vermutlich hatte auch der Hierophant seine rituelle (und euergetische?) Hauptaufgabe in Pessinus. Dieser Lokalbezug legt aber die Einbindung des Theos Sebastos in die Kybele-Mysterien nahe, zumal der Theos Sebastos in Pessinus keinen eigenen Tempel gehabt haben dürfte, sondern ein *synnaos theos* der Göttin war (Coşkun 2009, 2014). Die Zuständigkeit für einen Mysterienkult würde gut dazu passen, dass die Hierophantie ausdrücklich auf Lebenszeit verliehen wurde, und die Sebastophantie jedenfalls kein Jahresamt war. Mithin ist die Existenz eines *zusätzlichen* Kultes, der religiöses Geheimwissen (Sebastos als neuer Attis?), Initiationsriten und individuelles Heilsversprechen voraussetzt, im Rahmen des Koinons für die Filialstelle Pessinus wahrscheinlich.

Short Abstract (English)

The priest titles *hiero-phantai* (< *hieros* = sacred, *phainein* = to show), also known from Eleusis (cf. Strab. geogr. 10.3.10), and *sebasto-phantai* (< *Theos Sebastos* = *Deus/Divus Augustus*), are repeatedly attested in Roman Asia Minor. (1) Most scholars (esp. Ramsey, Robert, Price, Pleket, Brent) now agree that the Imperial cult was often or always shaped as a mystery cult, including secret rites and theology. In contrast, formerly the idea prevailed that the political nature of the cult required its public celebration, with *sebastophantai* having similar functions as imperial high priests (*archiereis*): to sponsor public games & feasts (thus still Strubbe). Others advocate various compromises (e.g., Chaniotis), admitting some mystic elements, but denying either initiation rites or any deeper meaning attached to it. However, Harland and Frija point out the connections to traditional mysteries, emphasizing the latter's model functions for the Imperial mysteries at Ephesos and Pergamon. But their origins, organizational structure and theological contents still remain uncertain. Following the paths of Harland & Frija, the present paper will give due consideration to the highly diverse nature of ancient cults, including the Imperial. But in contrast to previous studies, mystery features within the Imperial cult will be explained by the thorough permeation of any pre-existing cultic landscape by the cult of Augustus and his successors. A precise chronology of the establishment of new priesthoods within the imperial cult of the Galatians in Ankyra and Pessinous will not only give strong support to this view, but also recommend it as a model to explain the evidence, e.g., for Ephesos and Nikomedia.

– Documents in Josephus.

Abstract (English) in preparation

– The Social War as Test Case for the Principles of Roman Republican Citizenship Policy.

Abstract (English)

Despite the occasional cautions or nuances suggested by some specialist scholars, the common view still prevails that the Romans were prepared to share their citizenship ‘generously’. Such a sweeping judgment is ambivalent at best, though anachronistic and misleading if pronounced somewhat uncritically in modern-day contexts shaped by nation states and transnational regimes. The tensions of such a generalizing assessment emerge nowhere more clearly than in the case of the Social War: on one hand, nearly all free persons living in Italy had become Roman citizens at the end of the war; on the other hand, the staunch resistance to the demands of the allies had triggered one of the bloodiest wars ever fought on the Apennine peninsula. The impression of generosity is further counteracted by the fact that the effective integration of the new citizens was delayed at least until the census of 70/69 BC, if not until the monarchies of Caesar and Augustus. These delays reveal a strong hesitation among both the Roman electorate and the senate to share political power. Reluctance to diminish the material and legal benefits of their privilege-laden citizenship may have played a certain role, but much more import seems to have been the concern among the elite factions that they might lose their share of the political control, if not risk the complete disintegration of the political system. It was feared in particular that any one group among the senatorial elite might monopolize the resources of the new citizens to an extent that would shatter the long-grown balance of power on which the Republican constitution was based.

Citizenship legislation throughout the Social War was mainly designed to maintain this equilibrium, and its failure to adhere to it in 88 BC caused the (first) fall of the Roman Republic.