

THE GREEK EAST IN THE ROMAN CONTEXT
PROCEEDINGS OF A COLLOQUIUM
ORGANISED BY
THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS
May 21 and 22, 1999



Edited by Olli Salomies

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PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. VII

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Preface

Olli Salomies

The papers published in this volume were delivered as lectures at a colloquium organised by, and held on the premises of, the Finnish Institute at Athens on Friday, May 21 and on Saturday, May 22, 1999.

In planning and preparing the colloquium, the idea was to invite to Athens scholars dealing with Roman things who are known to take an interest in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire, especially as reflected by the literary and epigraphical (rather than the purely archaeological) sources. The choice of the Roman period as a subject of the colloquium does not seem to be in need of justification, as much scholarly work has been directed towards exactly this period in recent years; moreover, there remains work to be done in this field. I hope that at least some aspects of the wonderful variety of approaches to the Greek East in the Roman period are reflected in this publication.

The colloquium seems to have been quite a success; certainly there were no vacant seats left during the lectures in the avowedly smallish lecture hall of the institute. But the problem with colloquia is that they tend to produce publications, and the fact that acts and proceedings of colloquia are thought of, along with e.g. *Festschriften*, by some people as undesirable additions to the in any case enormous number of scholarly publications cannot be concealed. However, colloquia, unlike most *Festschriften*, at least normally have a theme and as such deserve to be treated with at least some respect. Moreover, organisers of colloquia are often *expected* to publish the results, and thus find themselves in a situation in which philosophical meditation on the uses of scholarly publications does not seem to pay off. In any case, what troubles me most is not the existence and proliferation of various acts and proceedings, but the existence and proliferation of various acts and proceedings without indexes. In view of this, I have tried to furnish the volume with indexes as copious as possible, and I hope eventual users of this volume will find them satisfactory.

As for editorial policies applied in the preparation of this volume, I decided not to give any instructions concerning stylistic matters except that I expressly discouraged the authors from using, in referring to secondary literature, the so-called Harvard system, a system which does not (I think) really meet the needs of the serious classical scholar. As for abbreviations and the like, in view of the fact that (to mention an example) what I have learned to write as JHS (for the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*) is normally written as *JHS* by the English, as *J.H.S.* by the French, and as «*J.H.S.*» by the Italian, I thought that it would be against the rules applied in different languages to try to impose a kind of unity on this field, and understood that a certain licence must be granted. Certainly I think that some natural variation here is preferable to stiff rules of no real use.

It remains for me to present my thanks to those who collaborated in the planning and the arrangements of the colloquium. First of all, I must thank my Athenian colleagues, especially Athanasios Rizakis, with whom I had many useful and pleasant conversations during the preparatory phase, and Kostas Buraselis, who also gave me some advice at this stage and who moreover furnished me with a name for the colloquium. At the institute, the organisation of the colloquium was, as so often, strenuously promoted by the efforts of the then Assistant Director, Dr. Jari Pakkanen (now of Royal Holloway College, University of London), and of Maria Martzoukou, the Institute's secretary. (But of course, again as so often, all those involved in some way or another in the Institute's affairs, had their share.) I am also grateful to the Göran

Schildt Foundation of Ekenäs, Finland, for a generous contribution covering not only the organisation of the colloquium but also much of the costs of the publication of its proceedings. Finally, I wish to thank all those who took part in the colloquium.

The Eastern Roman Provinces till Diocletian A Rapid Survey*

Bengt E. Thomasson

Prologue

The word *provincia*, in the beginning, signified and geographically (or politically) limited the sphere of action (especially bellic action) of a consul or a praetor. Livy gives us many instances of this use of the word. He also tells us — as early as the fourth century B. C. (Liv. 8, 26, 7) — that a consul's or a praetor's *imperium* could be prolonged, by *prorogatio imperii*, if the normal year of office was not enough; in this case he was styled proconsul or propraeor. But when, after the first and the second Punic wars, formal provinciae in our sense of the word were established, Sardinia, Sicily and the two Hispaniae, then special provincial praetors were elected (two since 227 B. C., another two since 197 B. C.).

We are now reaching the period in which Rome's ambitions went across the Adriatic, first with Flaminius, then with Paullus, at last with Mummius. The result was the creation of the province of Macedonia in 148 B. C., of which Greece proper, or Achaia, became a part after the rebellion of the Achaian league in 147 and the sack of Corinth in 146 B. C. The governors of Macedonia had to fight the tribes to the North and East of the province; so M. Cosconius held command there in 135 B. C. as praetor and continued in command as propraeor in at least 134, possibly even 133 and 132. Another praetor, Pompeius, was killed in battle in 119, one Cato was defeated as governor during his consulship in 114, two other consuls, M. Livius Drusus and M. Minicius Rufus, were better off in 112 and 110 respectively. Even in the following period Macedonia with its troubled borders was entrusted, with few exceptions, to consuls and proconsuls, until the situation changed under Augustus, as we shall see.

Now we must go back a little in time and cross the Aegean Sea. King Attalos III of Pergamon, a man (and a kingdom) of proverbial wealth, died unexpectedly and childless in 133 B. C., in his will leaving land and treasures to the Roman People. After the rebellion of one Aristonikos, the kingdom was organized as a Roman province in 129, by one of that year's consuls, Manius Aquillius, and a commission of ten senators: the cities were made autonomous, freed from tribute and indeed assigned territory for revenue; the royal lands became the property of the Roman People, and Rome drew rents from the leases of these lands; some cities became even allies of Rome, e. g. Pergamum, Ephesus, Aphrodisias.

* Not knowing very much about the audience to whom the original paper was to be read, I worked it out as a sketch of the administrative frame-work within which the inhabitants of Rome's oriental provinces led their daily life, and of the historical development that determined the growth and organisation of those provinces. I had chosen to limit my task chronologically and geographically: chronologically by speaking only of the period of the Principate (with a long prologue on the development during the last century of the Republic), geographically by omitting the provinces of the Balkans to the North of Macedonia and to the South of the Mediterranean. The reasons for these limits are still valid. — The splendid volumes IX and X of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (CAH, 2nd ed., with papers by J.G.F. Hind, A. Lintott, J. Richardson and A.N. Sherwin-White, to mention only those quoted in my notes) and the rich book of Maurice Sartre, *L'Orient romain. Provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d'Auguste aux Sévères (31 avant J.-C. – 235 après J.-C.)*, Paris 1991, have spared me much waste of time by providing a succinct choice of facts. Only occasionally I have paid due tribute to that help.

I think we may look upon Manius Aquillius as the first governor of the new province, of Asia. Consul in 129, he was to remain in Asia till 126. A few years later, however, in 120, a praetor was assigned Asia, and in the sequel we meet with governors of varying rank, especially after Sulla's reforms, when most provincial governors were ex-magistrates, proconsuls or propraeors, but, if styled *proconsules*, very often only with the rank of ex-praeors, of which category the most renowned instance is, of course, Cicero's brother Quintus in 61–58 (he had been praetor in 62 and was never to become consul). It ought to be mentioned that in the years of war against Mithridates, the consul of 74 B. C., Lucullus, was consular and proconsular governor of Asia, with a *provincia* (in the old sense of the word) extended also to Bithynia, Pontus and Cilicia; thereafter most governors of Asia seem to have been ex-praeors with the title of proconsul, some however, in the years 64 to 62 and 51 to 50, also styled *pro praetore*.¹

These changes may seem unimportant but they will be illuminating for the future.

Also the closest assistants to the republican governors are interesting as forerunners to those of the later epochs, the *quaestor* and the *legati*, the legates. The former was himself a magistrate of the Roman people, holding office by virtue of his election; his specific *provincia* was decided by lot following a decree of the Senate or even through a direct senatorial decree; his main responsibilities were financial and he was to account to the treasury of Rome at the end of his period, which usually coincided with the governor's. Also the legates, mostly of senatorial rank as well, were assigned to the governor by the senate, but here the governor's own choice was generally respected, although he would often take members of his own family and other friends and associates; Cicero, for instance, had with him in Cilicia his brother Quintus, another Tullius and two others as well.² The legates are in most cases known as military men, but we have also instances of legates who assisted their superior in more civil duties, not always in a civilized way, however, as shown in the story of Verres' misconduct in Sicily.³

For judicial purposes the province was subdivided into *conventus* (or *dioeceses*) named after their central city; we know of more than a dozen in the province of Asia, most important among them Ephesus, the new Roman capital, further Pergamum, Sardes and Smyrna. The governor would travel round these *conventus* to administer justice, but even members of his staff, the quaestor and the legates, could be used for this activity.⁴ As for the collection of taxes, we hear of a division of Asia into 44 districts, the collection being conducted by the notorious publicans.⁵

In the beginning the province of Asia did not comprise the whole of the kingdom of Attalos III: parts of it went to Pontus, some to Bithynia, so it seems. Even in the South there were changes, especially owing to difficulties with the Cilician pirates; indeed Cilicia was named as the *provincia* of Marcus Antonius in 102, and a few decades later, following the final defeat of the pirates, Cilicia was organized as a province.⁶ That it was still not quite pacified is shown not only through Cicero's activity there, but also by the fact that all

¹ All these dates are easily found in T. R. S. Broughton, *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*. I–III. (The American philological association. Philological monographs XV: 1–3), Haverford, Pe. 1952–53 (I–II), Atlanta, Ge. 1986 (III, Suppl.).

² For details cf. B. E. Thomasson, *Legatus. Beiträge zur römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, series in-8°, 18), Stockholm 1991, pp. 15; 18 f.; 24.

³ Cf. *Legatus* (see the preceding note), pp. 16 f.; 19–22; 24 f.

⁴ Cf. also J. Richardson, in *CAH IX*², p. 590.

⁵ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, Leipzig 1881, p. 339.

⁶ Cf. A. Lintott, in *CAH IX*², pp. 34–36.

known governors of the province seem to have been proconsuls of consular rank, not a single *propraetor* (or *ex-praetor*) is known from 67 to 50 B. C., a period that of course includes the Great Command of Pompey.⁷

Imitating Attalos of Pergamum, Nikomedes IV of Bithynia, at his death in 75 (or 74?) B. C. left his kingdom to the Roman people, which led to the third Mithridatic war and to Bithynia being declared the *provincia* of M. Aurelius Cotta, one of the consuls of 74, whose *imperium* was prorogated in the following year.⁸ After the final victory, the result of the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey in the east, Western Pontus was added to Bithynia, and the double-province of Bithynia-Pontus was organized, with two capitals, Nicomedia in the west, Amastris in the east.⁹

Pompey's wars finally extended as far as Syria, which was occupied because the last Seleucids were considered too weak to resist the threat from the east, a danger that was to occupy Roman minds for the rest of Roman history. Northern Syria was organized as a province, Antioch-on-the-Orontes becoming its capital;¹⁰ it is symptomatic that all the governors of this frontier province were consular proconsuls. In southern Syria a number of small principalities became client states to the Romans. Some small kingdoms in the north were likewise acknowledged as client states, most important among them Commagene.

Principate

The period of civil wars added no new provinces to the Roman Empire, as was to be expected; instead, as soon as peace was restored in the interior, a hectic period of reorganization began, and now we must look especially at the Augustan scheme of provincial organization, which, according to Dio Cassius and Strabo, was introduced in 27 B. C.,¹¹ and how it affected the Eastern provinces. We, thus, have to distinguish between the provinces of the Roman people and those of the Emperor, which we conventionally call senatorial and imperial provinces,¹² in Dio's words (and Cary's): "He restored to the Senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt." Both in the senatorial and in the imperial provinces we can distinguish two classes of rank, consular provinces and praetorian provinces, the former entrusted to ex-consuls, the latter to ex-praetors. All governors of senatorial provinces were called proconsuls, whether they were ex-consuls or ex-praetors, and the governors of imperial provinces (except some very small ones) were called legates, *legati Augusti pro praetore*, whatever rank they had. We should add that the period in office was limited to one year for the proconsuls, but unlimited for the legates (yet usually 2-3 years). In the figure below, the first scheme presents these different classes of governors. Later on we shall see how it worked out for the provinces at different times (parts two and three of the same figure).

⁷ Cf. the material offered by Broughton, op. cit. (n. 1).

⁸ Cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, in *CAH IX*², pp. 233 f.

⁹ Marquardt, op. cit. (n. 5), p. 355.

¹⁰ Cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, in *CAH IX*², p. 259.

¹¹ Dio 53.12.2 ff.; Strabo 17.3.25 (840 C).

¹² But cf. F. Millar, 'Senatorial provinces. An institutionalized ghost', *AncW* 20 (1989) 93-97.

Scheme of principle

Senatorial (<i>proconsul</i>)		Imperial (<i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>)		Equestrian governors (<i>procurator, praefectus</i>)
Consular	Praetorian	Consular	Praetorian	

Governors' rank in the Augustan reorganization of the Republican provinces

Senatorial (<i>proconsul</i>)		Imperial (<i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>)		Equestrian governors (<i>procurator, praefectus</i>)
Consular	Praetorian	Consular	Praetorian	
Asia	Macedonia	Syria	(Cilicia)	Iudaea (until AD 72)
	Bithynia-Pontus			Cappadocia (until c. AD 70)
	(Achaia)			

Governors' rank during the later principate

Senatorial (<i>proconsul</i>)		Imperial (<i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i>)		Equestrian governors (<i>procurator, praefectus</i>)
Consular	Praetorian	Consular	Praetorian	
Asia	Macedonia	Syria (Coele)	[Syria Phoenice]	Iudaea (until A.D. 72)
	Achaia	Cappadocia	Galatia	Cappadocia (until c. A.D. 70)
	Bithynia-Pontus	(Bithynia-Pontus)	Lycia-Pamphylia	Epirus
	Cyprus	Syria Palaestina	Cilicia	Mesopotamia
	Lycia-Pamphylia		Arabia	

We have seen that during the last century of the Republic a certain province would be governed sometimes by an ex-consul, sometimes by an ex-praetor, and that an ex-praetor would be styled sometimes *pro praetore*, sometimes *pro consule*: it was, indeed, up to the Senate to decide on the rank of the province and its governor, and that, in turn, depended on what military forces were needed in the province. In all this we see the gradual evolution of the conception of *provincia*: from "field of action" to "annexed area", i. e. province. Let us again sum up the situation during the decades before the crossing of the Rubicon, including also some Western provinces and relying on Broughton's *Magistrates* (see n. 1; his years within brackets). Spain only on rare occasions propraetorian (69, 62, 51), in most cases proconsular but more than once the proconsul was an ex-praetor; the same holds good for Asia (propraetorian only in 64-62, 51-50, as we saw), and Macedonia (propraetorian only in 63 and 58), whereas Cilicia and Syria were constantly governed by proconsuls of consular rank, Sicily on the other hand constantly by propraetors. But again: even in this period it is difficult to distinguish between "field of action" and province.

To all this Augustus put an end, deciding that every governor of a senatorial province should be called *proconsul*, a governor of an imperial province (with few, procuratorial, exceptions) *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, and deciding explicitly on the rank of every province. So let us put the Eastern provinces hitherto dealt with into the scheme (see the second part of the figure).

The names within brackets call for short comment: (1) Greece proper, which had been part of Macedonia, now forms a province of its own, called Achaia, its capital being Corinth, whereas Thessalonica remained capital of the reduced Macedonia. (2) Large parts of Cilicia were given to adjacent client kings and provinces, remaining parts (if any) were administered by a *procurator Augusti*, until Vespasian reorganized the province in 72, with Tarsus as its capital, under a praetorian *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.¹³

Before we look at further additions to the number of Eastern provinces, it seems appropriate to examine the organization of Asia, which was and remained the richest of them all in every respect, economic, social, cultural.

Like the republican governors of Asia, even the proconsuls of the Empire had a staff, whose most important members were the quaestor and the legates, whereas the procurators responsible for the collection of the revenues of the province were called *procuratores Augusti*, thus being imperial officials. The duties of the quaestor did not differ very much from those of his republican counterpart, but as for the legates we notice a strong preponderance for civil duties. Asia was, in fact, one of the so called *provinciae inermes*, i. e. without legionary forces, and the legates seem to have had nothing to do with the few auxiliary units of the province.¹⁴ Instead, the legates, who were now invariably numbered three in Asia, had their most important duties as assistants to the proconsul in the administration of justice, in the words of Christian Habicht "the most noble and the most important duty of any governor."¹⁵

We have already dwelt on the *conventus iuridici* or *dioeceses*. Some twenty years ago Chr. Habicht could even publish an inscription with a list of five such *conventus* from the first century A. D., namely Sardis, Miletus, Pergamum, Halicarnassus and Apamea,¹⁶ which together with other inscriptions¹⁷ and Pliny's list in his Natural History, book 5,¹⁸ gives a total of fourteen.¹⁹ It is obvious that the proconsul alone, besides all his other duties, could not visit all these *conventus* in one year but had to be assisted by his legates, and for this we have also literary and epigraphic evidence, for which I can refer to a paper by G. P. Burton.²⁰ It will even seem that the proconsul in the second century A. D. could entrust the judicial administration of a *conventus* more permanently to one legate, witness

¹³ See R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1997, pp. 322ff. (Achaia), 104ff. (Macedonia), 267ff. (Cilicia), with discussion.

¹⁴ There surely were troops, for we have, since a few of years ago, a military diploma issued A. D. 148 (AE 1981: 845), for soldiers in a unit *quae est in Asia sub Flavio Tertullo praefecto Flavio Iuliano*, which makes clear that the *praefecti*, not the legates, were responsible for these units.

¹⁵ JRS 65 (1975) 67.

¹⁶ Chr. Habicht, 'New evidence on the province of Asia', JRS 65 (1975) 64–91.

¹⁷ E. g. R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus consulta and epistulae to the age of Augustus*, Baltimore 1969, no. 52.

¹⁸ Plin. n. h. 5, 105–126.

¹⁹ A summary of this evidence is given by Habicht, op. cit. (n. 16) 70.

²⁰ JRS 65 (1975) 92–106.

the title *legatus dioeceseos Ephesiaca*e and similar in a couple of inscriptions from Ephesus.²¹

The extension of the province of Asia in different periods during the four centuries dealt with here, cannot be described in detail in this contribution (something will be touched on when neighbour provinces are treated). Only two details should be emphasized:

(1) We have epigraphic testimonies for two special imperial legates of the Cycladic Islands, who were at the same time legates of the proconsul of Asia, both around A. D. 160,²² the former even called *legatus Augusti ad ordinandos status insularum Cycladum*; very probably the difficulties that called for settling, were of economic nature, but confer the Diocletianic *Insularum provincia*, which may find an early precursor here.

(2) Of a later date is the formation of Caria-Phrygia as a separate province; it will seem that this happened about the middle of the third century, when inscriptions from Aphrodisias and other sites name imperial legates of this new double-province.²³ It is significant that the two provinces re-emerge in the list of Diocletianic provinces as well.

As for seceding or detached provinces, there is yet another instance of the third century: Pontus, where we find equestrian *praesides perfectissimi* as early as the reign of Maximinus (about A. D. 236),²⁴ or even a little earlier,²⁵ although D. H. French has dated the secession still earlier, under Septimius Severus,²⁶ listing some *legati Augusti pro praetore* who are mentioned on milestones of Pontus as governors of Pontus alone; with Christol and Lorient (n. 25) I think there is no sufficient reason for this.

Very little is to be said about Macedonia and Achaia: the two provinces led a quiet life, sheltered by the legions of the newly organized province of Moesia, with which they were even connected for thirty years (A. D. 15–44) in a great provincial complex governed by the two consular legates Poppaeus Sabinus and Memmius Regulus; nor is much ink to be wasted on the Neronian "liberation" of Greece, i. e. Achaia, to which a quick end was put by the firm hand of Vespasian.

Interesting and much discussed in its details is also the temporary transition of Bithynia-Pontus from senatorial to imperial administration during a few years under Trajan (about A. D. 110–114); through the tenth book of Pliny's correspondence we know that the Emperor was worried about the financial difficulties troubling that double-province.

Up to now we have touched on regions that had come to Rome during the Republic. Now we turn to some of the client kingdoms that were doomed to be provincialized,²⁷ first of all Galatia, the kingdom of Amyntas, which became a Roman province in A. D. 25, governed by an imperial legate, who resided at Ancyra and sometimes may have been of consular rank, because warfare needed a strong legionary army. Most of them, however, were ex-praetors, and that is where we put them in our

²¹ See, e. g., my *Legatus* (n. 2), pp. 67–70.

²² C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, *AE* 1920: 45 = *ILA* 281; L. Saevinius Proculus, *AE* 1971: 462; *AE* 1924: 77 = *Inscr. v. Ephesos* VII: 1, 3037; cf. *Legatus* (n. 2), pp. 83f.

²³ Cf. Charlotte Roueché – D. H. French, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 159f.

²⁴ Cf. X. Lorient, *BSAF* 1976: 57ff.

²⁵ M. Christol – X. Lorient, 'Le Pontus et ses gouverneurs dans le second tiers du III^e siècle', *Recherches épigraphiques* (Centre Jean-Palmerie. Mémoires VII, 1986), pp. 13–40.

²⁶ *ZPE* 43 (1981) 160.

²⁷ Cf. J.G.F. Hind, in *CAH* IX², 152f.

figure (see above). The province was soon expanded to the North by incorporating Paphlagonia and Pontus Galaticus, but on the other hand diminished to the South in that Lycaonia and Rough Cilicia were given to the king of Cappadocia. Only a few decades later, at the death of old king Archelaos, even Cappadocia was annexed to the Empire and put under provincial (procuratorial) administration, except Rough Cilicia, which was left to a son of the deceased king. In one of the first years of Vespasian's reign, Cappadocia and Galatia were joined to form a vast consular province to which also Armenia Minor was attached. The two provinces were separated only late in Trajan's reign (about A. D. 112); Cappadocia alone continued to be the Roman bulwark to the northeast, governed by an imperial legate of consular rank, who commanded an army of two legions (garrisoned at Melitene and Samosata on the Upper Euphrates) and auxiliary troops.

But let us pass to more cultivated regions. Since the Hellenistic period Lycia on the south coast of Anatolia had formed a *koinon* or league of independent cities, rich and beautiful, such as Xanthos and Patara; in A. D. 43 the region was made a Roman province together with Pamphylia to the East, which was detached from Galatia. The new province of Lycia-Pamphylia, under an imperial legate of praetorian rank, was to be one of the pearls of Anatolia, whose splendour is now unearthed also in Side and Attalea, Perge and Phaselis.

For some time in the first century, it is true, Pamphylia was again detached from Lycia and annexed to Galatia, and sometime after the mid-second century Lycia-Pamphylia was transferred from imperial to senatorial administration (under a proconsul of praetorian rank), and at about the same time Bithynia-Pontus was transferred in the opposite direction to be governed by an imperial legate of consular rank, but – in spite of this high rank – with no legionary forces under his command.

We must leave Anatolia, although there would be much more to say about this exciting peninsula. But the region which we are approaching, Syria, is no less exciting. How Syria came under Roman rule through Pompey's victories in the East in the sixties B. C. has been reported above, albeit very briefly. During the following civil wars it was always very important for the fighting dynasts to control the province. Moreover, in the provincial organization of 27 B. C. it had a very important role as a guardian on the Euphrates south of Cappadocia and Commagene, with no less than three legions (possibly four), each of them commanded by a legionary legate (details are lacking for the Augustan period). With such huge forces the governor could only be of consular rank. Under Tiberius, Commagene was annexed to Syria, and so Cappadocia, a procuratorial province from the same time (cf. above), and Syria shared total responsibility for the Euphrates frontier. (It is, however, worth mentioning that Commagene was, at least twice, returned to client kings, but only for short periods.)

It would be impossible to even outline the history of the small kingdoms (or principalities) of Southern Syria in a short paper like this, and I must limit myself to the most important country, namely Judaea. When Herod the Great died in 4 B. C., his kingdom was divided between his sons and a daughter, Judaea with Samaria and Idumaea falling to Archelaos, whose brutal reign ended with his exile to Vienna in far Gaul; his domain was annexed to Syria and administered, under the supervision of the imperial legate of Syria, by a *praefectus* of equestrian rank, the most famous of whom is, of course, Pontius Pilate, whose exact title is known to us since the 1960s.²⁸ Soon after, there was a short period of royal authority, but from A. D. 44 the whole of Judaea was again annexed to Syria and administered by equestrian officials called *procuratores Augusti*. Thanks to Flavius Josephus and to Tacitus we have the whole series of procurators down to the rebellion, after which Judaea was totally emancipated from Syria and its consular legate, in that one of the legionary legates (the one of the X Fretensis) was given *imperium* of his own (he became a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*) and brought his legion with him to

²⁸ AE 1964: 39; cf. G. Alföldy, 'Pontius Pilatus und das Tiberieum von Caesarea Maritima', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 18 (1999) 85-108.

Jerusalem (where it may have been before, also); the legion was of course only the nucleus of the forces that were necessary to keep a tight rein on the Jews.

This was, incidentally, the first one-legion province formed by emancipation, others were to come, in different parts of the Empire.²⁹ We shall soon see another instance. But first we must call attention to the fact that one legion was not enough to keep the Jews in check: after the great Jewish rebellions in North Africa, from Egypt to Mauretania, in A. D. 115–117, a second legion was garrisoned at Caparcotna in lower Galilee, and the rank of the imperial legate was accordingly raised to consular status. More legions than that were needed to check the terrible Bar Kochba-rebellion of A. D. 132–135, they were fetched in from Syria and Egypt, and after the war the province, from now on called (Syria) Palaestina, not Judaea, remained a two-legion province through-out the principate as far as is known.

To the south or southeast of the kingdom of Herod the Great there was another kingdom called the Nabataean, a client kingdom as well, its capital being Petra. This desert state (more or less) had not been suited for Roman administration, but facing a war of conquest with the Parthians Trajan thought it suitable as an armed base; so, when the Nabataean king died in A. D. 106, he sent the governor of Syria, Cornelius Palma, to occupy the country; one of the Syrian legions (we do not know for sure which one) remained in the new province, and its commander obtained *imperium* of his own as *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. The first (as far as we know) of these praetorian legates of the province of Arabia was Claudius Severus, who was to stay there until A. D. 115, being *consul suffectus* in his absence, A. D. 112. The capital of the province was transferred to Bostra, and the legion garrisoned there as well.

Let us go back to Syria for a while but also make a jump forward in time, to the fatal year of 193, when Pescennius Niger, the consular legate of Syria with his three legions rose against Septimius Severus, who had been proclaimed emperor by the Pannonian and German legions. Within a year or so Severus had crushed his enemy – and learned a lesson: he divided the powerful Syrian province with its three legions: Northern Syria or Syria Coele with two legions, capital Laodicea (at least for some time), and Syria Phoenice with one legion and Tyrus as its capital. The detached one-legion province was of course only of praetorian rank (cf. Judaea A. D. 72 and Arabia in 106). To minimize the danger, Severus also transferred the southernmost parts of Syria to the province of Arabia.

I have found it wiser to neglect the very temporary occupation and provincialization of Assyria and Mesopotamia in the last years of Trajan. Instead some words must be said on the last provinces to come to the Roman Empire more permanently: Mesopotamia and Osrhoene. This was the result of the Parthian campaigns of Severus in the last years of the second century; Osrhoene became an equestrian procuratorial province, capital Edessa, as early as A. D. 195, Mesopotamia was organized as a province, capital Nisibis, a few years later (199), likewise an equestrian province, but governed by *praefecti* of the same high rank as those prefects who had governed Egypt for more than 200 years; like these the prefects of Mesopotamia were supreme commanders of two legions, I et III Parthica, which had been raised by Septimius Severus for his Parthian campaigns; the commanders of these legions, that were garrisoned outside the capital (at Singara and Resaina respectively), were likewise of equestrian rank, called *praefecti legionis* (as in Egypt).

The military provinces on the borders of the eternal enemy in the East, which we have just treated, were of course subjected to the well-known edict of Gallienus that excluded men of senatorial rank from military command. How this affected the individual

²⁹ I treated this theme in English in *Op. Rom.* 9 (1973) 61–66, in German in *Legatus* (n. 18), pp. 46–53.

provinces is, however, difficult to say, given the scarcity of relevant inscriptions, especially career inscriptions, in the second half of the third century.³⁰

³⁰ Cf. the not very satisfactory treatment by H. Petersen, *JRS* 45 (1955) 47–57; further B. Malcus, 'Notes sur la révolution du système administratif romain au III^e siècle', *Op. Rom.* 7 (1969) 213–237; H. Thylander, '*Senatum militia vetuit et adire exercitum*', *Op. Rom.* 9 (1973) 67–71 (in French); H.-G. Pflaum, 'Zur Reform des Kaisers Gallienus', *Historia* 25 (1976) 109–117; and, especially, M. Christol, *Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales dans la moitié du III^e siècle ap. J. C.* (Études prosopographiques VI), Paris 1986, pp. 39–54.

Memories of the Roman Republic in the Greek East

Christopher Jones

Memory, as an expression of collective values, is undergoing study in many academic fields, and for reasons easy to see. We need only think, for example, of the memorialization of the Holocaust, with its concomitant discussion of the uses of memory and memory's counterpart, "denial."

The subject of the present paper is memory in the ancient world. More specifically, I wish to consider the question in what way, and to what extent, the Greeks of the imperial period remembered the civil wars of the late republic, from Sulla down to Octavian and Antony. Many of these wars had been fought on Greek soil, and there is ample record in literature and on the ground of the traces that they left, for example of the destruction wrought by Sulla in Athens. This question of historical memory is connected with a more general discussion about the attitude of the Greeks to Roman rule. In a seminal paper, Ewen Bowie argued that the Greeks of the Second Sophistic had little interest in the late republic. "The Roman civil wars were written about until the end of the Augustan period; thereafter it is as likely that interest simply waned as that the subject was felt to be exhausted or perilous" Similarly on Pausanias the Periegete: "[he] almost completely neglects monuments and dedications later than ca. 150 B.C. [since] the intervening years were of no interest to a Greek." So also with reference to Arrian: "It is not that he disapproved of the Roman empire, but that he admired the Greek past which could exhibit great men and great deeds. Such could not be exemplified when autonomy was lost."¹

There might seem to be an objection to such a view in the fact that modern knowledge of the history of the late republic comes precisely from authors of the second and third centuries - Plutarch, Appian, Cassius Dio. These authors, however, so it has been recently argued, certainly did not lack interest in this period, but their memories, or at least the memorials that they composed, were controlled by self-interest and a need to accommodate the ruling power. Thus Plutarch has recently been presented as "a Greek aristocrat living under Roman occupation."² Another author invokes the experience of modern colonization and its effects: "It might be expected that the Greeks' obsession with the past would have had some nationalistic import along the lines of the nationalist movements of new nations and regimes in modern times Better comparisons than the new nations are offered by the examples of societies still under colonial rule Local elites filtered their own power through a history acceptable to the rulers with the aim of furthering their own position and entrenching their own identity."³

The view that local concerns affected the shaping of historical memory will be one of the central themes of this paper. At the same time, to reconstruct the thought-world of local elites, it is necessary not only to question literature, but also the local manifestations of memory and forgetfulness that emerge from the evidence of archaeology, and particularly from coins and inscriptions. It is true that such an approach involves "relying

¹ E. L. Bowie, 'Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic', *Past and Present* 46 (1970) 3-41 (the quotations are from pp. 15, 22-3, and 27 respectively).

² J. Boulogne, *Plutarque: Un Aristocrate grec sous l'Occupation romaine* (Lille 1994).

³ Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50-250* (Oxford 1996) 68, 71.

on the ... heavily contextualized evidence of public discourse in the epigraphic record."⁴ But what discourse is not "contextualized"? And why should the "discourse" of Greeks within their own communities, even if expressed in the form of monuments, city-titles, images, or processions, be more "heavily contextualized" than, for example, the speech addressed by a Greek to unruly Alexandrians or to a Roman emperor?⁵ In the present paper I suggest that an attentive reading of both "discourses," of "literary" texts and also of texts which happen to be preserved in other ways, will show that the two "discourses" are not in contradiction, but instead corroborate and illuminate each other.

I begin with a literary text, the *Annals* of Tacitus. In Books III and IV Tacitus reports two somewhat similar transactions. One involves the embassies of various cities of the empire to protect their rights of asylum in 22 (*Ann.* 3.60-3); the other is the competition in 26 between cities of *Asia provincia* competing for the right to house the temple of Tiberius, Livia and the senate (*Ann.* 4.55-6). In the first debate, the Ephesians rehearse the sanctity of their temple of Artemis, beginning from mythic times and going down to the Macedonians and the Romans. Magnesia on the Meander produces decisions of L. Scipio Asiaticus, consul in 190, and of Sulla; Aphrodisias and Stratonicea in Caria produce decrees of Caesar and Augustus; Hierocaesarea in Lydia begins with Cyrus and ends with Servilius Isauricus under Julius Caesar. So also in the contest for the temple, one of the two finalists, Sardis, begins with its mythic history and ends with "letters of generals (*imperatorum*) and treaties struck with us in wars against the Macedonians." The Smyrnaeans similarly begin with myth, but "pass to the claims in which they had most confidence, their services to the Roman people." The most signal of these are their temple of Rome, founded in 195, and their help given to Rome in the war of Aristonicus; concerning the latter they adduce "testimony" of Sulla, presumably contained in some letter which he wrote during or after his campaign against Mithridates.⁶

All these appeals and claims evince strikingly little sentiment of common Greekness. What matters for the competing cities is their own particular past, the historical rights of their sanctuaries, their claims on Rome in the wars of the later republic. So far from the late republic being of "no interest to a Greek," a time when Greece could no longer "exhibit great men and great deeds," it is a period fertile in examples of another kind, of services (*officia*) given and received. We should not assume that renown derived only from "glory," from "great men and great deeds": it flowed also from the system of beneficence and mutual obligation which was as deeply embedded in Greece as in Rome.

Nor is this particularism, and this sense of services given and received, merely something produced by competition among Greek cities before the Roman senate: it is also visible in Greek authors of the imperial period. The clearest example is not an Asian Greek, but one from Boeotia, Plutarch. In his preface to the *Lives of Cimon and Lucullus*, Plutarch tells how his city of Chaeronea was collectively accused of having murdered a Roman citizen. The Chaeronean ambassadors appealed to the testimony of Lucullus, the Roman governor wrote to him, and Lucullus' reply won the city its acquittal and its salvation. "Those who were saved then," continues Plutarch, "set up a marble statue of Lucullus in the agora beside the (statue of) Dionysus. I myself, though I am many generations later, think that the debt of gratitude extends to those of us who live now. Thus, believing that a statue that reproduces the character and the manner is much more

⁴ Swain (previous n.) 71.

⁵ For criticism of Swain's rejection of "the *Stadt und Fest* approach to the history of Greeks under Rome" (Swain 8), see the review by G. W. Bowersock, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4 (1998) 477-80.

⁶ On this incident, A. G. Lewis, 'Sulla and Smyrna', *CQ* 41 (1991) 126-9. Compare the letter of Q. Oppius to Aphrodisias, J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, *JRS Monographs* 1 (London 1982) no. 3, especially lines 44-8: "When I arrive in Rome, I will declare to the senate and the people what you have done".

beautiful than one which reproduces the body and face, I will include Lucullus' deeds in the writing of the *Parallel Lives*" (*Cimon* 2.2).

An archaeological parallel to Plutarch's commemoration of Lucullus is provided by a statue-base found at Synnada in Phrygia. The inscription honors Lucullus as *proquaestor*, and so between 85 and 80, but the lettering is of the imperial period, roughly between 150 and 200. The inscription must therefore have been recut, perhaps because of some benefit conferred by Lucullus which the citizens still remembered.⁷

This is only one of several passages in which Plutarch uses the first person when talking of Chaeronea. By contrast, he seems rarely if ever to do the same when talking of the Greeks collectively. Thus when Flamininus announces his liberation of Greece at the Isthmia of 196, the biographer represents the assembled Greeks as meditating on the fortunes of their country. He here gives a remarkably dispassionate account of Greek history, without ever speaking in the first person of Greece and its achievements (*Titus* 11). By contrast, he gives a vivid vignette of how Chaeronea was saved by the news of Actium, citing "my grandfather Nicarchus" and speaking of "the citizens" and "the city" as if he could mean none other than his own (*Ant.* 68.7-8).

The attitudes of Plutarch and other writers to the Roman empire have been discussed almost to exhaustion, but there is still room for a general observation about the filtering which Greek authors have undergone in the Middle Ages, and about the effect of that process on the present question. Although Plutarch's attachment to Chaeronea and Boeotia is visible even from the extant works, it must have emerged much more clearly from works that are lost: the biographies of local heroes such as Heracles, of poets such as Hesiod, of historical figures such as Daiphantus of Hyampolis, and antiquarian writings such as one *On the descent to Trophonius*, referring to the famous cave at Lebadeia. From antiquity in general there survives no extant work of local history or antiquities earlier than Malalas on Antioch, though a recently published inscription from Halicarnassus reminds us how proudly cities maintained such records.⁸ The nearest approach to such a work is Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, but this does not provide the local history of any one city, but subsumes the work of many previous antiquarians. The reason for this Panhellenic bias is surely to be sought in the process of Byzantine selection: Pausanias' work, however slender the thread by which it survived, had a better chance of doing so than the compilations of local authors who were no longer of interest. So also with Arrian: his history of Alexander survives, and one or two shorter works, but not the *Bithyniaca*, which went down to the death of the last king, Nicomedes IV. This was still used by Eustathius in the twelfth century, but then disappeared, perhaps in the destruction of the Fourth Crusade. Philip Stadter has plausibly attributed its preservation to the Byzantines' interest in Bithynia as a core region of their empire.⁹

The advantage of texts and images preserved on stone or metal is that they survive from a period before this Byzantine winnowing, and moreover they represent a comparatively random sample. I turn, therefore, to the material evidence for memory of the Roman republic in the Greek east, drawing on literature only for illustration and parallel, and I begin with local Greek benefactors in the first hundred years of *provincia Asia*. From a modern perspective it might seem that this era failed to "exhibit great men and great deeds." But that was not necessarily the view of contemporaries. Two men who were

⁷ IGR 4.701; MAMA 4.52; Kl. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien: Beiträge zur archäologischen Überlieferung aus der Zeit der Republik und des Augustus, IstMitt Beiheft 23* (Tübingen 1979) 63, 243.

⁸ Plutarch's works of local history: Lamprias Catalog (*Plutarchus: Moralia* 7, ed. F. H. Sandbach [Leipzig 1967] 1-10), nos. 34, 35, 38, 181. Halicarnassus: H. Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 124 (1999) 1-14, 125 (1999) 63-65.

⁹ P. A. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (Chapel Hill 1980) 155-6.

certainly great in the eyes of their fellow-citizens have become known only from inscriptions published in 1989. Polemaeos and Menippos of Colophon in Ionia lived near the end of the second century before our era, and were commemorated in the chief sanctuary of Colophon, Claros. The decree for Polemaeos was carved on a large marble base at the beginning of the Sacred Way; the column on the base carried a gilded statue of the honorand. The similar base for Menippos was at the other end of the Sacred Way, just near the temple of Apollo Clarios. Very much as we find Plutarch advising in his *Political Precepts*, the careers of Polemaeos and Menippos show them at one and the same time preserving Colophon from unwelcome interference by the Roman authorities, and yet maintaining the best personal relations with individual Romans and the senate. Thus for Polemaeos: "He profitably undertook the most honorable embassies, on matters of the greatest moment, to the Roman leaders themselves and to the senate. He allowed the rest of the citizens to remain undisturbed in possession of their own goods, and he himself, undertaking danger on behalf of everyone, and by sea and land risking body, soul, and all his existence on the people's behalf, met with the leading Romans, was considered worthy of their friendship, and turned the profit which he gained from this to his fellow-citizens, contracting ties of patronage [*patrôneia*] with the best men."¹⁰

These two monuments are conspicuously located at the heart of Colophon's most sacred space, and there is no sign of their destruction in antiquity, so that they must have been visible to the citizens and the countless visitors for hundreds of years. True, we do not know how many of the viewers knew what the statues represented. How many Londoners have any idea who stands on top of Nelson's Column, or why? But these analogies are perhaps misleading, in that they are drawn from huge modern metropoleis with millions of inhabitants, many only recently arrived. In a community like Colophon, with perhaps some ten or twenty thousand inhabitants and a small élite of old families, such monuments are the reification of collective memory, and this memory persists well into the period of the empire. It is a curious but instructive contrast that, according to Plutarch, the memory of Aratus of Sicyon had largely faded by his time: "most of his honors have ceased through the passage of time and other matters" (*Arat.* 53.7).

While local benefactors such as Menippos and Polemaeos of Colophon and Diodoros Paspáros of Pergamon tend to receive much more fulsome and detailed tributes than are paid even to kings and generals, they tend to be commemorated only in their own city, though sometimes by the general council (*koinon*) of the province. In the late republic, much more widespread tributes are paid to Roman generals and governors, several of whom figure largely in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, especially Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar. Thus the same Sacred Way of Claros contained statues of Lucullus, Pompey, and Quintus Cicero.¹¹ Such dignitaries were remembered not only as the honorands of statues but, even more importantly, as the issuers of rights, privileges and testimonials to the subject cities: we may recall the "testimonial" of Lucullus which saved Chaeronea at a critical moment, and that of Sulla which the Smyrnaeans cited in 26. A full collection of the extant documents up to 1969 was made by Robert Sherk, but such published collections raise a question not easy to answer.¹² How long were such documents visible? We know that the visibility of epigraphic lettering was enhanced by the addition of color, usually red or blue: was this coloring maintained in later centuries? To what extent were such documents called upon in the life of the city?

An example published too recently to be included by Sherk survives on a marble block, apparently from an *anta* or a wall, which is now in the Adana Museum. The

¹⁰ L. and J. Robert, *Claros I: Décrets hellénistiques*, Paris 1989 (*SEG* 39, 1243-44). The passage quoted is Robert, p. 12, col. II lines 11-31 (*SEG* 39, 1243).

¹¹ Tuchelt (n. 7) 160-169; J.-L. Ferrary will publish the relevant inscriptions.

¹² Robert K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969).

provenance is Mopsouhestia in Cilicia. The text shows that Lucullus as quaestor of Sulla, and so during the first Mithridatic War, confirmed the *asylia* or inviolability of the sanctuary "as also the *imperatores* (*autokratores*) before me have judged." Subsequently, though this document appears earlier on the stone, Sulla wrote his own letter to the city mentioning previous decisions of the "kings" (evidently Seleucid ones) and declaring his own concession of the *asylia* "because of my reverence for the goddess and in accordance with the request of Lucullus."¹³ We thus have a continuous chain of such concessions, stretching back to the "kings" and going down to the present time. The inscription is contemporary with the letters, but must have remained visible for much longer. As with the claims mentioned by Tacitus, when the *asylia* of a sanctuary was challenged, the city concerned could always appeal to the paper documents which formed the originals of these inscriptions; or possibly, if those were lost or damaged, it might have made use of the inscriptions themselves. The documents issued by these two generals were thus, in effect, permanently in the city's memory, as that was embodied in the local archives. Perhaps not all the members even of the ruling class remembered the documents in detail, but functionaries could summon them up when needed, just as the citizens of Smyrna called on testimony of Sulla in the Tiberian senate.

The archives (*archeia*, *grammatophylakia*) in which such papers were preserved are almost all lost, but inscribed dossiers survive which document the privileges of a city, or of a group within it such as the *gerousia*. These are sometimes called "archives," but it would be less confusing to call them "document-displays." The largest of these is from Aphrodisias in Caria, and was uncovered on the walls of the north parodos, or entrance-way, of the theater when this was excavated in the late 1960's.¹⁴ The earliest items are, once more, from the First Mithridatic War, two letters of the proconsul Quintus Oppius; other documents of republican date are a letter which has been identified as coming from Nicomedes IV, the last king of Bithynia, but is surely from a Roman official, perhaps Julius Caesar; and a triumphal decree and two *senatus consulta* of the year 39, with a covering letter from Octavian transmitting them and ordering that they be stored in the public archives (*en tois dêmosiois grammasin*). The whole collection began to be inscribed probably under Septimius Severus, and additions were made up to the reign of Decius.¹⁵ The republican documents had clearly remained "in the public archives" which, here as no doubt everywhere, served as the city's collective memory. Over two centuries later, the Aphrodisians decided to make an epigraphic copy of these documents, visible to the public eye and destined to last as long as the city itself, and so the paper record was transformed into a sumptuously inscribed one. At that time the documents must have re-entered the consciousness of the Aphrodisians, if indeed they had ever left it, and thereafter they served both as a source of pride and as an assertion of the city's rights and privileges.

It is true that a city like Aphrodisias, which was in effect founded by Rome, might have retained a particularly vivid memory of the republican period. We can presume a similar attachment to the Roman past in other cities of the east which were either founded or re-founded by *imperatores* under the late republic. One of Sulla's legates in the First Mithridatic war, L. Licinius Murena, remained behind as governor of Asia, and proved himself an active administrator, who checked piracy and deposed a local tyrant of Cibra. According to Memnon of Heraclea, this Licinius also founded a city in Pontus whose

¹³ M. H. Sayar, P. Siewert, H. Taeuber, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 113-130; *SEG* 34, 1227; Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley 1996) 466-71 no. 217.

¹⁴ Published by Reynolds (n. 6); the imperial letters also in James H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of early Roman Emperors* (Philadelphia 1989).

¹⁵ Reynolds, nos. 2 and 3 (Oppius), 4 ("Nicomedes IV": but cf. C. P. Jones, 'A Letter to Aphrodisias', *Classical Views* 29 [1985] 309-31, arguing in favor of Caesar), 6-8 (documents of 39), 25 (Decius).

name, corrupted in the manuscripts, seems to have been *Licina*. The inscription from Ephesus listing the administrative districts (*dioicêseis, conventus*) of Asia includes a city in the *conventus* of Sardis with the name *Murenia*, and this must be another foundation of Murena.¹⁶ We do not know how conscious the citizens of Licinia or Murenia were of their Roman *ktistês*. Modern analogies might suggest, not very much: how many New Yorkers know that their city is named for James, Duke of York, later the king James II? But again such an analogy is probably misleading. These foundations were doubtless small towns, with few claims to civic identity and pride. A connection with a legate of Sulla was not so good as a mention from Homer, but it was at any rate worth remembering and cherishing.

A clearer instance of civic memory is provided by Pompeiopolis in Cilicia. Under its previous name of Soloi, this was devastated by Tigranes of Armenia, who in true Hellenistic fashion transported many of its inhabitants to populate his new foundation of Tigranocerta. Pompey re-founded the city by settling there some of the previous inhabitants, together with some of the recently defeated pirates. From henceforth he was the *ktistês*, and the city took the name *Pompeiopolis*. So far from showing an ungrateful forgetfulness, the citizens of this ancient and honorable Greek city clung to the new name, used an era dating from the re-foundation, and commemorated Pompey on many of their issues. They do so with particular insistence in the 229th year, which must be 163/4 or 164/5. Aline Boyce argued some thirty years ago that these issues reflect the presence of Lucius Verus in the city at the time of his Parthian War, and if she is right then there is a clear connection between this commemoration and contemporary circumstances.¹⁷ Several other cities of Asia Minor and Syria preserve the names of Roman commanders who founded or re-founded them.¹⁸

The case of Pompeiopolis raises another aspect of the civic commemoration of benefactions, that of eras.¹⁹ Expressions like "the Sullan era," "the Pompeian era," might suggest that such eras were imposed on cities or provinces by the Roman administration, but the great variety of practice shows rather that here, too, local considerations were paramount. Each city was free to mark its era from the event or events which the citizens saw as a turning-point in their existence; we should remember that, in Greek and Roman thought, to be saved was often to begin a new existence, as when Rome was "born" in Cicero's consulate. Thus the so-called Sullan era of 85/4, frequent in cities of Asia, though it commemorates Sulla's "reconquest" of the province, should rather be seen as marking the cities' liberation from the domination of Mithridates.²⁰ The era of Pompey used by Pompeiopolis is unusual in Cilicia, but frequent in cities of the erstwhile Syrian kingdom which Pompey had "liberated" from their Seleucid overlords.²¹ Other cities counted from

¹⁶ On Murena, F. Münzer, *RE* 13 (1926) 444-6 no. 122; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York 1952) 2.56, 61. Memnon: *FGrHist* 434, 26.1. Inscription from Ephesus: Habicht, *JRS* 65 (1975) 64-91, esp. 75 on *Murenia* (*SEG* 37, 884 col. I 15).

¹⁷ On Pompeiopolis in general, bibliography in Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, Mass. 1986) 163 n. 12; for this conjecture, A. A. Boyce, 'The Foundation Year of Pompeiopolis in Cilicia', *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (Brussels 1969) 3.87-103.

¹⁸ For a list, C. P. Jones, 'Appia in Phrygia and Appius Claudius Pulcher', *Studi Ellenistici* 13 (forthcoming).

¹⁹ W. Leschhorn, *Antike Ären, Historia Einzelschr.* 81 (Stuttgart 1993), esp 416-32, "Politisch-historische Aspekte der Ära".

²⁰ D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 1.240; cf. Leschhorn (previous n.) 216-21.

²¹ H. Seyrig, 'Antiquités syriennes 56: Ères pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie', *Syria* 31 (1954) 73-80, especially 78-80 on the spontaneous and local adoption of these eras.

Pharsalus, making Caesar their liberator; others reckoned from Actium, treating Augustus in the same way; Cibyra in Phrygia and other cities, rebuilt by Tiberius after the earthquake of 23, calculated from an era dated to 24/5.²² Once again, modern parallels can mislead; though the Christian era is in almost universal use, a truer analogy is perhaps with those peoples who continue to count from special figures in their own past, for example the year of Abraham or of Muhammad.

From memory we may finally turn to forgetfulness. In the context of the Greek east, this takes several forms, not always easy to distinguish. There is the compulsory amnesia often associated with the Romans and dubbed *damnatio memoriae*. Yet erasure of names and other reminders of "non-persons" goes back at least to ancient Egypt, and occurs in the Greek world as early as the sixth century.²³ The most conspicuous in the late republican period is that of Mark Antony. At Rome itself, Antony's name was officially condemned after Actium, but the ban was later lifted by an emperor descended from him, probably Caligula.²⁴ A spectacular example from Sardis has been excellently published by Peter Herrmann. This is a large stele from the bed of the Pactolus which, once again, refers to the privilege of inviolability.²⁵ The original grant was made in favor of the local Artemis by Julius Caesar shortly before his assassination. Being in possession of his papers, Antony transmitted the dictator's decision by a letter which was originally inscribed at the top of the stone, but was then carefully erased after Actium. Later documents, however, reflect Antony's rehabilitation. Thus his name survives intact in the two *senatus consulta* from the theater of Aphrodisias mentioned above. Similarly, two copies survive of a letter which he wrote to the general council of Asia, protecting and extending the privileges of the international guild of athletes, and again his name stands intact. Publishing the papyrus copy, F. G. Kenyon observed, "Why it was transcribed cannot even be guessed with any confidence," a comment quoted with approval by Sherk. Yet the reason is surely patent. Egypt was a famous breeding-ground of athletes, and the worldwide guild would always have wanted to maintain the extensive privileges granted by Antony. For this numerous and influential association, the triumvir's memory remained very green in the second century, as for different reasons it remained for Plutarch.²⁶

A more insidious kind of amnesia, and one attested both by authors and inscriptions, is the re-use of old statues. Even so thoroughly Hellenic a city as Rhodes adopted this practice, against which Dio Chrysostom railed in one of his longest speeches (*Or.* 31). His complaint does not show the Rhodians' indifference to the Roman past: on the contrary, they placed the names of contemporary Romans on statues which had previously honored their own benefactors, presumably Greeks or at least Greek-speakers. Dio also excoriates Athens, the very capital of Hellenism, for the same reason (31.116-

²² Era of Pharsalus: Magie (n. 20) 2.1261 n. 9; Leschhorn (n. 19) 221-5. Actian era: Magie 1.440, 2.1289 n. 37; Leschhorn 225-8. Era of Tiberius: Magie 2.1358 n. 23; Leschhorn 352-9.

²³ In Greece, A. Wilhelm, 'ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΑΚΑ', *SBAW* 224, 1 (1946) 4-10 = *Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Leipzig 1974) 3.143-8; on the Roman period, M. Kajava, 'Some Remarks on the Erasure of Inscriptions in the Roman World', in *Acta Colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae habiti, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 105 (Helsinki 1995) 201-10.

²⁴ On the *damnatio* of Antony see now J.-L. Ferrary, *CRAI* 1999, 838-39 with n. 46 (for the fragments of the *lex Fonteia* from Cos see now *SEG* 46, 1088).

²⁵ P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 19 (1989) 127-164 (*SEG* 39, 1290).

²⁶ Papyrus copy: Sherk (n. 12), no. 57, citing Kenyon, *CR* 9 (1893) 476. Epigraphic copy from Tralles: F. B. Poljakov, *Die Inschriften von Tralles und Nysa*, *IGSK* 36, 1 (Bonn 1989), no. 105. Plutarch: *Ant.* 28.3-12, 68.7-8.

17). Here he is corroborated by Pausanias (1.18.3), who saw statues of Miltiades and Themistocles at Athens that had been reinscribed with the names of a Roman and a Thracian; the second is perhaps Rhoemetalces III, the Thracian king who served as Athenian archon in 36/7.²⁷ Pausanias noted the same practice in Mantinea, where the statue of a fourth-century hero, Podares, had been reassigned to his descendant, another Podares "who had reached a sufficient age to partake of the Roman citizenship" (8.9.9).

Since this paper has involved a large number of disparate topics and examples, I give a brief summary. If we wish to study the Greeks under Roman rule, we cannot confine ourselves to the literary texts which Byzantine choice has preserved for us. We must use those texts in conjunction with all the available evidence, verbal and visual, and we must take into account the local identity of a Greek like Plutarch or Pausanias, and not only the panhellenic one.

Adopting such an approach to the question, "Did the Greeks of the East remember the republic?," there is no basis for the view that this period was "of no interest" or that Greeks only "admired the Greek past which could exhibit great men and great deeds." Greek cities like Colophon proudly displayed the monuments of those citizens who had helped the city in the difficult years after the establishment of the province. Such cities also preserved the memory of those great Romans (Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony) whose actions had saved them from enslavement or destruction. For cities of Greece and of western and central Asia Minor, the first Mithridatic War is an especial focus of memory, perhaps all the more for those cities that had not resisted the lure of Mithridates; but whatever their loyalties, this event, even more than the actual beginning of Roman rule, formed an epoch in their relations with Rome. A similar concentration on the conquests of Pompey, and for similar reasons, is visible in Cilicia and Syria. Memory is kept alive by gratitude (notably towards the memory of Lucullus and Pompey); by pride in the services which the cities had performed for Rome; and by a desire to maintain the privileges which Roman *imperatores* had conferred on cities, on temples, or on corporations like the guild of athletes.

In the end, texts and artifacts are not at variance. The same persons who so often recur in the inscriptions and on coins also appear in the pages of Plutarch, Appian, and Cassius Dio. But we cannot read those pages without sometimes raising our eyes from our books. As well as printed texts, we must study maps, coins, images, inscriptions, and perhaps, if we are very adventurous, actually visit the places that we talk and write about.²⁸

²⁷ On this passage of Dio, Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, Mass. 1976) 29. For this conjecture about the "Thracian", J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.* 1973, 14; on Rhoemetalces at Athens, L. Robert, 'Deux épigrammes de Philippe de Thessalonique', *JS* 1982, 145-6 = *Opera Minora Selecta* 7 (Amsterdam 1990) 513-4.

²⁸ I am very grateful for comments received both at the Colloquium and when I presented a version of this paper at the University of Michigan in April 1999.

Rome et la géographie de l'hellénisme: réflexions sur "hellènes" et "panhellènes" dans les inscriptions d'époque romaine¹

Jean-Louis Ferrary

Les réflexions sur Rome et la géographie de l'hellénisme que je voudrais proposer dans cette contribution m'ont été inspirées par l'étude de deux des inscriptions en l'honneur de Romains qui ont été découvertes à Claros lors des fouilles menées par Louis Robert de 1950 à 1961, et dont Madame Robert m'a confié la publication.² La première appartient à un monument élevé en l'honneur de Q. Cicéron, le frère du grand orateur, qui fut proconsul d'Asie de 61 à 59:

Ὁ δῆμος
Κόιντον Τύλλιον
Μάρκου υἱὸν Κικέ-
ρωνα ἀνθύπατον
εὐεργέτην ὄντα
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ
πάτρωνα τοῦ δή-
μου.³

La seconde est la base d'une statue élevée à Octavien entre 31 et 28, sans doute dans la *cella* du temple d'Apollon, puisqu'elle fut retrouvée lors du dégagement de l'*adyton* souterrain en même temps que des fragments des statues cultuelles:

Ὁ δῆμος
[Αὐτοκρ]άτορα Θεοῦ υἱὸν Καίσαρα
[διὰ τ]ὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς
[ἰσο]θέους πράξεις καὶ τὰς εὐερ-
[γε]σίας τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
[καὶ κ]οινῶς εἰς τοὺς Πανέλληνας.⁴

¹ Ma gratitude s'adresse à tous ceux qui m'ont fait profiter de leurs remarques au cours du colloque. Je remercie tout particulièrement Christopher Jones et François Lefèvre, avec qui j'ai discuté avec grand profit de certains problèmes et qui m'ont communiqué des manuscrits de travaux encore inédits. Bien entendu, cela ne signifie pas qu'ils partagent toutes les hypothèses émises dans ce travail.

² Ces inscriptions seront publiées dans le *BCH*, 124, 2000. Voir en attendant J.-L. Ferrary et S. Verger, "Contribution à l'étude du sanctuaire de Claros à la fin du II^e et au I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.: l'apport des inscriptions en l'honneur des Romains et des fouilles de 1994-1997", *CRAI*, 1999, p. 811-850.

³ Inscription signalée par L. Robert, *OMS*, IV, p. 153; *AJA*, 62, 1958, p. 98-9; J. et L. Robert, *Bull.*, 1958, n° 390. Publiée sans commentaire par Kl. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien*, Ist. Mitt. Beiheft 23, Tübingen, 1979, p. 165; S. Sahin, *EA*, 9, 1987, p. 61-2.

⁴ Inscription signalée par L. Robert, *OMS*, IV, p. 155.

L'une et l'autre statues furent élevées par la cité de Colophon, mais les inscriptions qui furent gravées ne célèbrent pas seulement les mérites des deux Romains envers elle: Quintus Cicéron est honoré comme "bienfaiteur des Hellènes" avant de l'être comme patron de la cité, et Octave l'est pour ses bienfaits, non seulement envers la cité, mais aussi "envers tous les Hellènes en général". Que faut-il entendre, dans des inscriptions de ce genre, par "les Hellènes" ou par "les Panhellènes", c'est-à-dire "tous les Hellènes"? C'est une question à laquelle il n'est pas si facile de répondre. Du moins voudrais-je essayer de montrer qu'elle mérite d'être posée, et qu'elle doit être traitée avec plus de prudence qu'on ne l'a fait parfois.

Je partirai d'un article bien connu de A. E. Raubitschek, qui a rassemblé et étudié les inscriptions grecques honorant César.⁵ De ce travail, au demeurant fort utile, on retiendra qu'un grand nombre de ces textes durent être gravés peu après Pharsale. On acceptera aussi sans difficulté l'idée que l'insistance, non seulement sur le titre d'ἀντοκράτωρ, mais aussi sur le grand pontificat, a été suggérée par la propagande césarienne. Mais d'autres hypothèses me paraissent beaucoup trop aventurées. Selon Raubitschek, le fait que dans plusieurs cités d'Europe et d'Asie, des inscriptions honorent César à la fois comme bienfaiteur de la cité et comme "commun bienfaiteur des Hellènes" (Chios, Délos, Pergame) ou "bienfaiteur d(e tous l)es Hellènes" (Pergame, Phocée, Samos) s'expliquerait par le vote en ce sens d'un décret amphictionique; c'est ce que confirmerait le décret des Amphictions en l'honneur de Callistos de Cnide, qui était dans l'entourage de César et qui fut précisément honoré lui aussi "pour son zèle et son mérite envers (les Amphictions) et les autres Hellènes".⁶ Cela n'est pas convaincant. D'une part, il reste trop de variantes, dans la titulature de César comme dans les mérites qui lui sont reconnus, pour qu'on puisse supposer l'existence d'un décret qui aurait ordonné "the erection of statues of Julius Caesar containing the very honorary inscriptions which have been found all over the Greek world".⁷ D'autre part, et surtout, cette hypothèse sacrifie au mythe du panhellénisme de l'Amphictionie delphique, dont Fr. Lefèvre vient de faire justice.⁸

L'existence d'un décret amphictionique en l'honneur de César est très vraisemblable, mais il serait sans précédent qu'il ait contenu l'ordre d'élever des statues dans toutes les cités, et la compétence des Amphictions ne s'étendait pas en tout cas au-delà de la Grèce propre. A propos du décret amphictionique en l'honneur de Callistos de Cnide, Ph. Gauthier avait remarqué déjà que "les Έλληνες n'étaient sans doute pas 'tous les Grecs'..., mais les Grecs de Grèce péninsulaire".⁹ En fait, le décret en l'honneur de Callistos doit être replacé dans le corpus des actes amphictioniques publié par Fr. Lefèvre (*CID*, IV) et, comme il l'a remarqué, il y a d'autres textes où les Amphictions prétendent parler, non seulement au nom des 'autres Hellènes', mais tout simplement au nom des

⁵ A. E. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar", *JRS*, 44, 1954, p. 65-75. On trouvera une liste mise à jour (mais incluant aussi des inscriptions d'époque augustéenne) dans Ph.-St. G. Freber, *Der hellenistische Osten und das Illyricum unter Caesar*, Palingenesia 42, Stuttgart, 1993, p. 189-194. Voir en dernier lieu G. Dobesch, "Caesar und Kleinasien", *Tyche*, 11, 1996, p. 51-77. En ce qui concerne les problèmes qui nous intéressent ici, Freber et Dobesch reprennent dans l'ensemble les hypothèses de Raubitschek.

⁶ *Syll.*³, 761 A, l. 22-3; *CID*, IV, n° 130: οἱ Ἀμφικτίονες Κάλλιστον Ἐπιγένους [Κ]νίδιον εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν καὶ ἀρετῆς τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας.

⁷ A. E. Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 74-5 (c'est moi qui souligne).

⁸ Fr. Lefèvre, *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions*, BEFAR 298, Athènes, 1998, part. p. 163-171.

⁹ Ph. Gauthier, *Ann. E.P.H.E.*, 1974/1975, p. 341-2.

Hellènes: de tels actes apparaissent à partir des années 270,¹⁰ et tout au long du deuxième siècle on retrouve cette phraséologie dans des textes aussi connus que le décret en l'honneur de Nicostratos de Larisa célébrant la renaissance de l'Amphictionie (186/5)¹¹ ou le décret sur le tétradrachme attique (c. 115-100).¹² Cette phraséologie a inspiré à Fr. Lefèvre des propos dont le réalisme et la prudence me paraissent tout à fait justifiés: "cette tendance pour un organisme international à se faire le porte-parole 'des Grecs' n'est pas propre aux Amphictionies... Mais il ne s'agit à chaque fois que d'une manière de parler, ces rassemblements excluant toujours une partie des Grecs. On ne s'en étonnera pas: passé un certain niveau d'hétérogénéité parmi les membres de ces groupements, le concept hellénique restait le seul plus grand commun dénominateur encore utilisable pour le désigner. De plus, indépendamment de cette nécessité lexicale, il ne faut pas sous-estimer les arrière-pensées d'une pareille terminologie, riche d'intentions politiques. Aussi chaque structure dépassant le cadre de l'*ethnos* ou de la *polis* avait-elle cette propension à se considérer comme représentant de l'ensemble des Hellènes, prétention abusive, quelle que soit la légitimité des intentions initiales (guerre contre les Perses etc.)".¹³ Ces remarques ne confirment pas seulement que Raubitschek s'est laissé aller à surinterpréter le décret amphictionique en l'honneur de Callistos de Cnide. Elles nous incitent également à poursuivre nos réflexions sur les inscriptions honorant des Romains pour leurs bienfaits envers une cité et "les autres Hellènes" ou "(tous) les Hellènes", en tenant compte à la fois des arrière-pensées propagandistes de tels formulaires et de l'extrême ambiguïté de l'expression οἱ Ἕλληνες.

Un décret ou une inscription honorifique en l'honneur d'un puissant reprend assez souvent, on le sait bien, un formulaire déjà suggéré par une lettre ou une ambassade de celui qui est honoré. Un bon exemple est fourni par un autre acte amphictionique, le décret de 182 reconnaissant les nouveaux Niképhoria de Pergame et honorant le roi Éumène II: il est dit explicitement que les théores de Pergame ont exposé le dévouement du roi envers les Hellènes dans leur ensemble et chacune des cités en particulier, et cela ne fit bien sûr que favoriser la propension des Amphictionies à prétendre parler au nom des Hellènes en général.¹⁴ Il est d'autres cas où un décret ou une inscription honorifique rédigée par une

¹⁰ CID, IV, n° 12 (278/7): confirmation par les Amphictionies de l'atélie accordée aux technites athéniens ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλάνων; n° 18 (275/4 ?): un Érétrien (Μένεδέμος?) ἀγαθὸν εὐρετὴς τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Voir déjà les textes d'Eschine (*Ctes.*, 117, 161 et peut-être 254) et d'Hypéride (*or. fun.*, 17) commentés par Fr. Lefèvre *Amphictionie*, p. 163 et 180-1.

¹¹ Syll.³, 613; CID, IV, n° 106, où se mêlent les formules "les Amphictionies et les autres Grecs" et, tout simplement, "(tous) les Grecs": ἐπετέλεσεν πάντα τὰ κοινῇ συμφέρον[τα] τοῖς τε Ἀμφικτιόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν τοῖς αἰρουμένοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν (l. 17-19); παρεκάλεσεν Δελφοὺς διατηρεῖν τὴν εὐνοίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ μὴθὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπεναντίον πράττειν τοῖς πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐψηφισμένοις (l. 26-29, les derniers mots désignant bien entendu des décisions de l'Amphictionie); ὅπως ἂν οὖν εἰδῶσιν πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες διότι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς εἰς [αὐ]τοὺς εὐεργετοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας (l. 34-37); ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἣν ἔχων διατετέλεκεν πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων [καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας] (l. 41-43).

¹² Syll.³, 729; CID, IV, n° 127, l. 2-3: ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀμφικτιόσι τοῖς [ἐλ]θοῦσι εἰς Δελφοὺς δέχεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸ Ἀττικὸν τέτραχμον... Sur la datation, voir Fr. Lefèvre, *Amphictionie*, p. 126 n. 609 (d'après une information fournie par D. Mulliez).

¹³ Fr. Lefèvre, *Amphictionie*, p. 164.

¹⁴ Syll.³, 630; CID, IV, n° 107: l. 14-5: [ἀ]πελογίσαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ θεωροὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως [εὐ]νοίαν ἣν ἔχων δ[ια]τελεῖ κοινῇ τ[ε] πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν π[ρὸς] τὰς πόλεις; cf. l. 19-22: [δεδοχθαι] τοῖς Ἀμφικτιόσιν ἐπαινέσαι βασιλέα [Εὐ]μένη βασιλέως [Ἀττ]ιάλου [καὶ στε]φανῶσαι δάφνης στεφάνωι τῷ ἱερῷ τ[οῦ] Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ [Πυ]θίου ὧι

cit   et honorant un roi ou un Romain pour ses m  rites envers elle-m  me et les autres Hell  nes laisse soup  onner, derri  re le formulaire adopt   par la cit  , la trace d'une propagande d  velopp  e par le roi ou le Romain honor  : je mettrai dans cette cat  gorie, aussi bien les d  crets de T  os ou d'Iasos en l'honneur d'Antiochos III,¹⁵ qu'une base de statue   lev  e    Olympie par la cit   d'  lis en l'honneur de L. Mummius.¹⁶

Si nous revenons maintenant aux inscriptions en l'honneur de C  sar retrouv  es dans des cit  s d'Asie, il est   vident que les canaux de la propagande c  sarienne furent multiples, y compris des lettres qui purent   tre envoy  es    des cit  s, en r  ponse    leurs ambassades.¹⁷ Mais si un pr  c  dent d  cret d'un *koinon* put influencer sur les honneurs d  cern  s par ces cit  s, ce n'est assur  ment pas un d  cret amphictionique, mais bien celui qui fut vot   d  s 48 par le *koinon* de la province, et en vertu duquel fut   rig  e une statue dont la base a   t   retrouv  e      ph  se:

αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ οἱ [δῆμοι]
καὶ τὰ ἔθνη Γάιον Ἰούλιον Γαίον υἱ-
ὸν Καίσαρα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτο-
κράτορα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπα-
τον, τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδε[ί-]
της θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ
ἄνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα.¹⁸

De toutes celles qui nous sont parvenues, cette inscription porte au plus haut niveau l'exaltation de C  sar, et, au moins tout autant que dans le d  cret amphictionique, on y peut soup  onner l'influence des amis cniidiens du dictateur, Callistos et Th  opompe. La formule "commun sauveur du genre humain", m  me si elle n'  tait pas tout    fait sans pr  c  dents,¹⁹ n'  tait aucunement habituelle (n'apparaissant pas, en particulier, dans la riche   pigraphie de langue grecque en l'honneur de Pomp  e), alors qu'elle allait   tre reprise, avec des variantes, pour c  l  brer Auguste et ses successeurs.²⁰ On notera qu'elle ne le fut pas

πατρι[όν]   στιν στεφανοῦν τοὺς   αυτῶν   εργ  [τ]ας,   ρετ  ς   νεκεν καὶ   νοίας τ  [ς]   ς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

¹⁵ T  os: P. Herrmann, *Anadolu*, 9, 1965, p. 34 (B, l. 6-8: κοιν  ς [  εργ  της πρ]ο  ιρηται γ  νεσθαι τ  ν τε   λλων Ἑλληνίδωμ [π  λεων καὶ τ]  ς π  λεως τ  ς   μετ  ρας); Iasos: *I. Iasos*, 4, l. 41-2 (βασιλεύως μεγ  λου Ἀντι  [χο]υ προγονικ  ν   ρεσιν διατηροῦντος   ς π  ντας [το]  ς Ἕλληνας).

¹⁶ *Syll.*³, 676:   ρετ  ς   νεκεν καὶ   εργεσίας   ς   χων διατελεῖ   ς τε αὐτ  ν καὶ τοὺς   λλους Ἕλληνας. Il est probable que l'  rection de la statue dans le sanctuaire d'Olympie fr  quent  ,    l'occasion des concours, par des repr  sentants de toute la communaut   hell  nique, contribue aussi    expliquer la r  f  rence aux 'autres Grecs'. Mais il s'agit-l   de deux aspects parfaitement compl  mentaires: Mummius, qui prit soin d'orne  r le temple de Zeus    Olympie (Paus., 5,10,5; 5,24), dut inclure dans les consid  rants des privil  ges accord  s      lis la pr  sence sur son territoire d'un sanctuaire honor   par la communaut   grecque tout enti  re.

¹⁷ Seule a   t   conserv  e une lettre    Pergame (*RDGE*, 54; *I. Smyrna*, 590), o   la titulature de C  sar est malheureusement trop mutil  e pour permettre une datation s  re entre 48 et 44, mais qu'on placera en 47 plut  t qu'en 48 (cf. note 30).

¹⁸ *I. Ephesos*, 251.

¹⁹ Cf. l'inscription d'Iasos en l'honneur d'Antiochos III d  j   signal  e (*I. Iasos*, 4, l. 46-7: [le roi] τ   [κα]  θ'   λον τ   βασιλεύειν νενομικ  τος πρ  ς   εργεσία[ν - - -]σθα   νθρώπων).

²⁰ Signalons en particulier trois d  crets du *koinon* d'Asie o   il est question d'Auguste: premier d  cret du *koinon*    propos de la r  forme du calendrier provincial, 9 av. (*RDGE*, 57, l. 34-5; U. Laffi, *SCO*, 16, 1967, p. 21: la Providence τ  ν Σεβαστ  ν ...   ς   εργεσίαν ἀνθρώ[πων]   π   ρωσεν   ρετ  ς);

immédiatement sur les monuments élevés à César par les diverses cités,²¹ où il est seulement célébré pour ses mérites envers la cité et, dans certains cas, envers "(tous) les Hellènes". Cet additif apparaît à Pergame,²² Phocée,²³ Samos,²⁴ Chios²⁵ et Délos,²⁶ c'est-à-dire dans des cités de la province d'Asie (la seule exception étant Délos, où il s'agit d'une statue élevée par le peuple athénien, et encore faut-il tenir compte des liens étroits existant, au moins depuis Sulla, entre Délos et la province d'Asie)²⁷. Peut-être, si nous possédions non seulement la base de la statue élevée à César par le *koinon* d'Asie, mais aussi le décret du *koinon*, le rapprochement serait-il plus sensible entre ce décret et les inscriptions de Pergame, Phocée, Samos et Chios. Ainsi que nous le savons en effet grâce à un autre décret du *koinon*, retrouvé à Aphrodisias et d'époque précésarienne, l'organisme qui, sur des bases de statues se désignait comme "(les cités,) les peuples et les nations d'Asie", avait comme titre officiel "la ligue des Hellènes d'Asie", qui pouvait être abrégé en "la ligue des Hellènes", ou même simplement en "les Hellènes".²⁸ En 48, à Éphèse précisément, César avait fait remise à la province épuisée par les réquisitions des Pompéiens du tiers de l'impôt dû à Rome, et il avait dépossédé les publicains de la collection de la dîme.²⁹ Ces mesures expliquent très probablement l'enthousiasme dont témoigne la base d'Éphèse, et le décret du *koinon*, avant de saluer César comme divinité épiphane et sauveur du genre humain, avait dû exalter plus particulièrement le bienfait dont lui était redevable toute la

deuxième décret du *koinon* en l'honneur de Ménogènes de Sardes, 2 av. (*Sardis*, VII, 1, n° 8, l. 101-2: Auguste πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους); fragment de décret trouvé à Halicarnasse, probablement postérieur à 2 av. (*IBM*, 894, l. 5-7: Auguste πατέρα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος θεῶς Ῥώμης, Δία δὲ πατῆρα καὶ σωτήρα τοῦ κοινῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους).

²¹ La plus proche est sans doute une inscription de Karthaia de Kéos (*IG*, XII, 5, 557): τὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτήρα τῆς οἰκουμένης. La date de cette inscription ne peut être précisée, mais je ne suis pas sûr du tout qu'elle soit postérieure à Thapsus et à l'érection à Rome même d'une statue de César représenté en maître de l'*oikoumène* et qualifié de ἡμίθεος (Dio, 44,4,5): voir en ce sens H. Heinen, *Klio*, 11, 1911, p. 132 n. 3; A.E. Raubitschek, *JRS*, 1954, p. 74, n. 26. Au vu de l'inscription d'Éphèse, bien datée de 48 par le second consulat, celle de Karthaia pourrait remonter au lendemain de Pharsale (cf. déjà Dobesch, *Tyche*, 1996, p. 76).

²² *IGR*, IV, 305 (inscription bien datée de 48): τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην. *I. Pergamon*, 378; *IGR*, IV, 307: [τὸν] κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων [σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην].

²³ L. Robert, *Hellenica*, X, Paris, 1955, p. 257-260 (inscription bien datée de 48): τοῖς τε Ἑλλησιν τῶν [μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν γεγόμενον] αἴτιον.

²⁴ *IGR*, IV, 970: ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ καὶ κοινῶς πρὸς πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς ἑαυτόν.

²⁵ *IGR*, IV, 929: εὐεργέτην ὄντα κ[α]ὶ σωτήρα π[α]ντῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

²⁶ *I. Délos*, 1587; Raubitschek, *JRS*, 1954, p. 65: τὸν [κοινὸν εὐεργέτην] τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

²⁷ J.-L. Ferrary, dans *Insula sacra. La loi Gabinia Calpurnia de Délos* (dir. C. Nicolet), Rome, 1980, p. 40-44; R. Étienne, *Ténos*, II, Athènes, 1990, p. 253-264.

²⁸ J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, Londres, 1982, n° 5: inscription devant être gravée sur les statues de Dionysios et Hiéroclès d'Aphrodisias (οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη - l. 28); désignation complète (δεδοχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων - l. 24-5); "la ligue des Hellènes" ([τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν Ἑλλήνων - l. 4; [ὑπὲρ τοῦ] κοινῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων - l. 21; τοῦ κοινῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων - l. 22); "les Hellènes" (τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων - l. 13; [παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν] - l. 14).

²⁹ Plut., *Caes.*, 48,1; App., *B.C.*, 2,95 et 5,4; Dio, 42,6,3.

province, ou encore, dans la terminologie du *koinon*, dont lui étaient redevables les Hellènes. Aussi bien, lorsque dans des inscriptions de Pergame³⁰, Phocée, Samos ou Chios César est honoré comme "sauveur et bienfaiteur de tous les Hellènes", "commun (sauveur et) bienfaiteur des Hellènes", ou encore pour son "dévouement envers les Hellènes en général", je suis tenté de croire que οἱ Ἕλληνας, sans avoir, certes, la même signification précise et quasi-technique que dans les décrets du *koinon*³¹, n'en est pas moins ambivalent: il évoque bien sûr les Grecs en général, mais désigne aussi, tout particulièrement, les membres du *koinon* de la province d'Asie.

Ph.-St. Freber et G. Dobesch ont fait un bref rapprochement entre les inscriptions en l'honneur de César et celle de Claros en l'honneur de Q. Cicéron,³² où l'on trouverait déjà le caractère panhellénique marqué des premières. Il faudrait joindre à ce dossier une dernière inscription, trop négligée: une base élevée à Priène en l'honneur du proquesteur M'. Aemilius Lepidus, très probablement en 80/79.

[Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πρι]ηνέω[ν]
[Μά[ν]ιον Αἰμύλιον [Μ]ανίου υἱὸν
Λέπ[ι]δον ἀντι[τ]α[μί]αν,
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας
καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας.³³

³⁰ Il est probable qu'en 48 Pergame faisait encore partie de la province, et qu'elle n'a regagné la liberté qu'en 47, lorsque Mithridate de Pergame eut rendu à César un service majeur pendant la guerre d'Alexandrie, obtenant personnellement le royaume du Bospore, et probablement pour sa cité la liberté (cf. note 17; Chr. Habicht, A. v. *Pergamon*, VIII, 3 [1969], p. 23).

³¹ Voir *supra* note 28 pour le décret d'époque précésarienne conservé à Aphrodisias. Dans le riche dossier concernant Ménogénès de Sardes (*Sardis*, VII, 1, n° 8), on trouve τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων dans un décret de Sardes (l. 32), deux décrets de la *gêrousia* de Sardes (l. 58 et 68) et un décret du *koinon* (l. 104 et 109); οἱ Ἕλληνας dans un décret de Sardes (l. 43 et 51), un décret du *koinon* (l. 94), des décrets du Conseil de Sardes (l. 125, 131 et 136). Une autre abréviation, plus usuelle encore, est ἡ Ἀσία: décret de Sardes (l. 20), lettres de grands prêtres de Rome et d'Auguste (l. 78 et 88), décrets du *koinon* (l. 94, 106, 108, 116), décret du Conseil de Sardes (l. 122).

³² Ph.-St. Freber, *op. cit.*, p. 28 n. 148; G. Dobesch, *op. cit.*, p. 62, n. 65. Cicéron, il est vrai, peut écrire à Atticus que la gloire des Cicérons dépend d'autant plus de la bonne réputation que son frère acquerra en gouvernant l'Asie, que *praeter ceteros φιλέλληνες et sumus et habemus* (*Att.*, I, 15, 1), mais il me semble que le formulaire de l'inscription de Claros, plus encore que par cette réputation générale de philhellénisme, s'explique par certains aspects très concrets de la politique de Quintus comme proconsul d'Asie.

³³ I. *Priene*, 244. La date est fournie par I. *Délos*, 1659 et 1953 (Lépidus honoré à Délos sous l'épimélète Nicanor, c.-à-d. sous l'archontat d'Apollodore à Athènes, généralement daté de 80/79). La date de 65/4 proposée pour l'archontat d'Apollodore par H. Mattingly (*Chiron*, 9, 1979, p. 166-7) aurait le grave inconvénient de ne plus permettre d'identifier le proquesteur honoré à Délos et Priène avec le futur consul de 66. - Ainsi que me l'a fait justement remarquer C. P. Jones, "les autres Grecs" apparaissent aussi au nombre des dédicants de I. *Délos* 1659 (Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι), mais cette dernière formule, qui reste limitée à des gens d'origines diverses mais résidant ou séjournant pour des raisons professionnelles à Délos, se trouve ailleurs dans l'épigraphie délienne (n° 1657 et 1658: statues élevées à des épimélètes; 1660: statue élevée à T. Manlius Torquatus la même année que la statue de Lepidus, et peut-être parce qu'il accompagnait ce dernier): elle est avant tout caractéristique du statut particulier de l'île à cette époque.

Il me semble que, dans le cas de ces deux magistrats de la province d'Asie plus encore que dans celui de César, "les (autres) Hellènes" sont avant tout les membres du κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων. Nous ne savons quels services exactement Lepidus rendit à la province, mais il eut toute occasion de le faire, y étant proquesteur alors que les cités d'Asie devaient déjà être en proie à la crise financière que provoquèrent les lourdes sanctions imposées en 85 par Sulla, et qui ne fut apaisée qu'en 71/70 grâce aux sages mesures de Lucullus. Dans le cas de Quintus Cicéron, nous avons plus de précisions: nous savons qu'il n'exigea pas des cités la taxe que ses prédécesseurs leur avaient infligée pour l'entretien d'une flotte, et qu'il interdit dans son édit qu'elles contribuent aux jeux célébrés à Rome par les magistrats, une pratique qui s'était généralisée et qui constituait une taxe supplémentaire mal déguisée sous la forme de contributions prétendument volontaires.³⁴ Il me paraît possible, même si les inscriptions de Priène et de Claros ne suffisent pas à en fournir la preuve, que M'. Lepidus puis Q. Cicero aient été officiellement comptés au nombre des évergètes de la province par un décret du *koinon*: l'existence d'une telle liste officielle est supposée par celle d'*Euergesia* célébrés dans les principales cités de la province à tour de rôle par "les peuples et les nations d'Asie".³⁵ Compte tenu de cette tradition, je n'excluais pas que, dans les inscriptions des cités d'Asie en l'honneur de César, les Hellènes dont César est proclamé bienfaiteur et sauveur soient aussi une façon de désigner la province d'Asie. Aussi bien le *koinon*, lorsqu'il veut exalter César en dépassant les limites de la province, le qualifie-t-il de "sauveur de tout le genre humain" (de même que la cité insulaire de Karthaia parle d'un "sauveur du monde habité"): deux façons, en fait, de la saluer comme sauveur de l'empire romain dans son ensemble.³⁶

Quand le *koinon* de la province d'Asie est appelé, et s'appelle lui-même, "les Hellènes (d'Asie)", nous observons un phénomène fort intéressant, qui s'explique en partie par les observations déjà citées de Fr. Lefèvre sur la terminologie des décrets amphictioniques, mais qui introduit une nouveauté sur un point important. Dans le décret retrouvé à Aphrodisias, qui date de l'époque précésarienne (et plus précisément, sans doute, des années 70 puisque les deux personnages honorés ont participé à une ambassade à Rome pour défendre la province accablée par les publicains),³⁷ le *koinon* apparaît composé de cités (*dèmoi, poleis*) et d'*ethnè* qui, plutôt que des ligues de cités, désignent très probablement les régions de la province les moins hellénisées, celles qui, à l'intérieur de l'Asie Mineure, n'étaient pas encore pleinement organisées en cités.³⁸ La terminologie est la même que celle de la vieille Amphictionie (où les cités en tant que telles ont d'ailleurs toujours été très minoritaires parmi les douze communautés représentées: Delphes et Athènes dès les temps anciens, puis Nicopolis à partir d'Auguste), mais elle recouvre une réalité sensiblement différente: les communautés primitives de l'Amphictionie, y compris les *ethnè*, étaient incontestablement considérées comme grecques, alors que le *koinon* d'Asie comptait parmi ses membres, y compris parmi les cités, nombre de populations plus hellénisées que proprement grecques. Cet usage du mot

³⁴ Voir respectivement Cic., *Flacc.*, 33 et *Q. fr.*, 1,1,26.

³⁵ *IGR*, IV, 291. Voir *infra*, n. 43.

³⁶ Cf. G. Dobesch, *Tyche*, 1996, p. 63 (paraissant hésiter entre un empire romain universel et une conception de l'univers dépassant l'empire romain).

³⁷ Th. Drew-Bear, *BCH*, 96, 1972, p. 445-7, 450-2, 466-71; J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, p. 26.

³⁸ L. 2-3: τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν; 23-4: τοῖς [ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ π]ᾶσιν δήμοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν; 28: οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη. Sur le sens d'*ethnè*, voir D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, p. 1065 n. 48 et 1261 n. 9; Th. Drew-Bear, *BCH*, 1972, p. 448.

"Hellènes" peut être considéré comme s'inscrivant dans une évolution déjà ancienne;³⁹ et l'hellénisation de l'Asie Mineure (comme du Proche Orient) est un phénomène historique issu de la conquête d'Alexandre, qui se développa sous l'impulsion des monarchies hellénistiques mais culmina en fait sous la domination romaine. Il n'en reste pas moins remarquable qu'une ligue représentant l'ensemble des communautés de la province d'Asie ait été appelée "ligue des Hellènes d'Asie", et on aimerait savoir quand exactement, et à l'initiative de qui, fut adoptée cette désignation.

Th. Drew-Bear, qui a eu le mérite de dater correctement le décret trouvé à Aphrodisias, a cru un peu trop vite, peut-être, que cela réglait définitivement le problème de l'apparition de la "ligue des Hellènes d'Asie".⁴⁰ Il est vrai que, dès le proconsulat de Q. Mucius Scaevola, c.-à-d. dès 98 à une année près,⁴¹ est attesté un *synédriou* qui s'appelle, dans le seul document où son titre soit bien conservé, οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλῖαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ εἰρημένοι μετέχον τῶν Σωτηρίων καὶ Μουκικίων.⁴² On trouve également οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλῖαι dans une inscription de Pergame de date incertaine, honorant l'agonothète de cinquièmes *Euergésia* qui avaient été célébrés à Pergame.⁴³ Il y a, je n'en disconviens pas, un incontestable élément de continuité menant de ces textes à οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη dans le décret du κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων retrouvé à Aphrodisias et datable des années 70, puis à αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ οἱ [δῆμοι] καὶ τὰ ἔθνη sur la base de statue de César élevée à Éphèse en 48.⁴⁴ Mais cela n'exclut pas qu'il y ait eu évolution, et qu'après la guerre de Mithridate la ligue attestée dès les années 90 ait connu des modifications, tant dans sa dénomination que dans sa composition et dans ses fonctions.

³⁹ Même s'il faut renoncer à interpréter en ce sens Isocr., *Pan.*, 50: cf. U. Wilcken, *SB Berlin*, 1922, p. 114 n. 3; J. Jüthner, *WS*, 47, 1929, p. 26-31; F. W. Walbank, *Selected Papers*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 5-6.

⁴⁰ Th. Drew-Bear, *BCH*, 1972, p. 460-6.

⁴¹ Voir en dernier lieu R. Kallet-Marx, *CPh*, 84, 1989, p. 305-12.

⁴² *OGIS*, 438 (inscription trouvée dans le nord de la Mysie), postérieure à 98 sans qu'une date exacte puisse être donnée. C'est cette inscription qui a permis à P. Foucart de proposer en 1901 des restitutions à peu près sûres pour deux inscriptions très mutilées datant de 98: *OGIS*, 439 (Olympie: [οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥ]ωμαίο[υς] φιλῖαι καὶ [τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μετέχον] ἐλόμενοι τῆς [ἀγ]ομέν[ης] πεντετηρίδος τῶν Σω[τηρίων] καὶ Μουκικίων) et *RDGE*, 47 (Pergame: [τῶν ἐν τῇ] φιλῖαι κριθέν[των] δῆμων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν]; voir, sur d'autres parties de ce texte, les nouvelles restitutions de K. J. Rigsby, *TAPhA*, 119, 1988, p. 141-9).

⁴³ *IGR*, IV, 291. Rigsby pense que ces *Euergésia* seraient les *Sôtèria kai Moukieia* pentétériques rebaptisés (*TAPhA*, 1988, p. 147-9), ce qui daterait l'inscription de 82, mais cette identification ne me paraît pas assurée (cf. J.-L. Ferrary, *Actes du Xe Congrès de l'A.I.E.G.L. (Nîmes 1992)*, Paris, 1997, p. 217 n. 46). Rien ne prouve non plus que les *Euergésia* aient également été un concours pentétérique, ni même (contrairement à ce que j'admettais en 1992) qu'ils aient nécessairement été postérieurs aux *Sôtèria kai Moukieia*. La date de l'inscription me paraît dans ces conditions rester fort incertaine.

⁴⁴ On ne peut rien tirer de *I. Tralleis*, 87: base de statue élevée par οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι à une prêtresse de l'Artémis d'Éphèse de date incertaine.

Dans les inscriptions sûrement présullanienues la seule fonction attestée du *synédriou* est l'organisation de concours,⁴⁵ et le décret retrouvé à Aphrodisias, qui est très probablement postsullanien est le plus ancien texte où, d'une part, apparaît la formule οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνας, et où cette instance, d'autre part, joue un rôle de défense des intérêts provinciaux en envoyant à Rome une ambassade pour obtenir la protection du Sénat contre les excès des publicains.⁴⁶ Il y eut bien, nous le savons, des ambassades venues d'Asie pour se plaindre d'exactions commises par des gouverneurs, et cela avant même le vote en 123/2 de la loi Sempronia *de repetundis*,⁴⁷ mais nous ignorons tout des conditions dans lesquelles elles furent mandatées (par des cités individuellement ? par une structure supra-civique dont il faudrait faire remonter l'institution à l'organisation même de la province par M. Aquilius et les dix légats?), et je n'oserais affirmer qu'ait déjà existé alors le *synédriou* attesté en 98. D'autre part l'intitulé du *synédriou* des années 90 est remarquable en ce qu'y figurent, outre "les peuples et les nations d'Asie", "ceux qui ont été individuellement inscrits dans la liste des amis du peuple romain", et, lorsqu'il est question des *Sôtéria kai Moukieia*, "ceux parmi les autres (Hellènes) qui ont choisi de s'associer à la célébration des *Sôtéria kai Moukieia*". Il y a là, me semble-t-il, deux catégories privilégiées, qui n'apparaissent plus dans les inscriptions postsullanienues et qui n'étaient pas aussi directement intéressées à la défense des intérêts provinciaux. Les premiers, ainsi qu'on l'a vu depuis longtemps, sont des individus personnellement inscrits dans la *formula amicorum populi Romani*, et qui jouissaient probablement dès l'origine d'avantages personnels, notamment du point de vue fiscal.⁴⁸ La seconde catégorie est plus difficile à identifier, mais, compte tenu de l'insistance avec laquelle on relève qu'il s'agit d'une libre adhésion, j'aurais tendance à croire qu'il est question de communautés ne figurant pas dans la *formula provinciae* (ou d'individus membres de communautés ne figurant pas dans la *formula provinciae*), et que nous avons là un indice de la participation de cités libres à l'organisation et la célébration des *Sôtéria kai Moukieia*.⁴⁹ Il y a, de toute façon, évolution

⁴⁵ Voir, dans le même sens me semble-t-il, les récentes remarques de D. Erkelens, "Cicero, pro Flacco 55 - 59. Zur Finanzierung von Statthalterfesten in der Frühphase des Koinon von Asia", *Chiron*, 29, 1999, p. 43-56, part. 50.

⁴⁶ Je considère en revanche comme relativement secondaire l'apparition du mot τὸ κοινόν: Th. Drew-Bear (*BCH*, 1972, p. 463-6) a montré que son absence dans les inscriptions de 98 ne prouve rien, et on trouve dans *OGIS*, 438 (de date il est vrai incertaine [voir n. 42], mais probablement présullanienne) la formule μεγάλα περιπο[λ]ήσαντα τοῖς κοινοῖς τοῦ συνεδρίου πράγμασιν. Sur la signification des mots συνέδριον et κοινόν, voir, à propos de l'Amphictionie delphique, les remarques de Fr. Lefèvre, *Amphictionie*, p. 179-182.

⁴⁷ Appien, *BC*, 1, 22, 92.

⁴⁸ *OGIS*, 438 et 439; *IGRR*, IV, 291: οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ. Le rapprochement s'impose avec le s.c. d'Asclépiade de 78 (*RDGE*, 22, en part. texte latin, l. 12: *eos in amicorum formulam rel[er]rundos curarent*, texte grec, l. 24-5: τοὺτους εἰς τὸ τῶν φίλων διάταγμα ἀνενεχθ[ῆ]ναι φροντίσωσιν). Il serait bien sûr de mauvaise méthode de pousser plus loin le rapprochement, et d'admettre que οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ jouissaient nécessairement de tous les privilèges accordés à Asclépiade de Clazomènes et aux autres navarques. Une autre question est de savoir si, dans ces inscriptions, οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ faisaient partie de οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, étant donc nécessairement concernés par la participation au *synédriou* des communautés auxquelles ils continuaient à appartenir, mais voyant reconnu leur statut privilégié: j'aurais tendance à le croire.

⁴⁹ *OGIS*, 438: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ εἰρημένοι μετέχειν τῶν Σωτηρίων καὶ Μουκιεῶν; *OGIS*, 439: καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μετέχειν ἐλόμενοι τῆς [ἀγ]ομ[έ]νης πεντετηρίδος τῶν Σωτηρίων καὶ Μουκιεῶν. Le mot Ἑλλήνων n'est qu'une restitution, et je me suis demandé si elle était nécessaire, mais je dois avouer que je n'ai pas trouvé d'autre solution pour combler la lacune. On notera cependant que l'usage grec d'ἄλλος n'implique pas nécessairement que soient de ce fait explicitement

entre la composition de la Ligue telle qu'elle apparaît dans les documents des années 90 et dans les documents des années 70 puis de l'époque triumvirale et augustéenne, et cela n'a rien qui doive surprendre quand on pense aux bouleversements qu'a connus la province d'Asie du fait de la guerre mithridatique. C'est un point qui a été récemment souligné par R. Kallet-Marx, à juste titre dans l'ensemble, même s'il l'a fait, me semble-t-il, avec quelque excès.⁵⁰ L'une des lacunes graves de notre documentation concerne le statut d'un grand nombre de cités entre la création de la province d'Asie et la guerre de Mithridate. Les données dont nous disposons en 1971 ont été réunies avec soin par R. Bernhardt,⁵¹ et les documents découverts ces trente dernières années n'ont pas enrichi considérablement nos connaissances sur ce point précis. Même si le nombre des cités libres entre 129/6 et 88 fut, selon moi, probablement moins important que le suppose R. Kallet-Marx,⁵² il n'en reste pas moins incontestable que le règlement syllanien de 85 fit qu'un nombre non négligeable de cités, y compris d'authentiques cités grecques, durent alors faire pour la première fois partie de la province d'Asie, et c'est dans ce contexte, me semble-t-il, que pourrait s'expliquer l'apparition, non attestée auparavant en l'état actuel de nos connaissances, de οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες.

L'existence d'une *lex data* sullianienne réorganisant la province d'Asie est attestée par nos sources. Le second décret du *koinon* introduisant en 9 av. J.-C. le nouveau calendrier proposé par le proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus mentionne une loi Cornelia qui, entre autres, précisait la date d'élection des magistrats dans les cités d'Asie.⁵³ On a généralement admis qu'il s'agissait d'une prétendue *lex Cornelia de prouinciis ordinandis*,⁵⁴ mais A. Giovannini a mis en doute, à juste titre selon moi, l'existence de cette loi,⁵⁵ et les lois Corneliae signalées par divers textes doivent (et peuvent sans

qualifiées comme Ἕλληνες toutes les catégories précédemment définies. La participation à la célébration des *Sôtèria kai Moukieia* de cités libres me paraît confirmée par le document *RGDE*, 47, dont K. J. Rigsby (*TAPhA*, 1988, p. 144-5) a montré qu'il devait s'agir d'une lettre de Q. Mucius à la cité de Pergame. On peut s'étonner que Mucius, dans sa lettre, utilise une formulation abrégée pour désigner le *synédriou* ([τῶν ἐν τῇ φιλίας κριθέντων] δήμων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν), mais les lignes conservées sont suivies d'une lacune dont on ne peut connaître la dimension exacte. Ne pourrait-on supposer que "ceux parmi les autres (Grecs) qui ont choisi de s'associer à la célébration des *Sôtèria kai Moukieia*" ont, en un second temps seulement, rallié l'organisation originelle, que c'était été le cas de la cité alors libre de Pergame, et que la lettre de Mucius, précisément l'en remercie? Du document inscrit sur la colonne de gauche, les quelques lettres conservées ne permettent même pas de dire ce qu'il était. K. J. Rigsby (p. 145) pense au décret du *synédriou* fondant les *Sôtèria kai Moukieia*; il pourrait aussi bien s'agir d'un document concernant le ralliement de Pergame au *synédriou*.

⁵⁰ R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, Berkeley, 1995, p. 125-160 (cf. également p. 117 et n. 85: on ne saurait prendre à la lettre la phrase de Strabon, 14, 1, 38, C 646, à propos de M'. Aquilius: διέταξε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἔτι συμφέρον τῆς πολιτείας σχῆμα).

⁵¹ R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria*, diss. Hambourg, 1971, p. 103-108 (et 52-71).

⁵² R. Bernhardt (*Polis und römische Herrschaft in der späten Republik (149-31 v. Chr.)*, Berlin, 1985, p. 285-294) me semble du moins avoir montré qu'il n'y avait pas dans nos sources d'argument décisif en faveur de la thèse d'une libération de toutes les cités attalides dans le testament d'Attale III.

⁵³ *RDGE*, 65, l. 83: ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίῳ νόμῳ γέγραπται.

⁵⁴ G. Tibiletti, *DE*, IV, s.v. *Lex*, col. 720-1; U. Laffi, *SCO*, 17, 1967, p. 70; M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Munich, 1988, p. 92. Cf. déjà Mommsen, *MDAI(A)*, 1899, p. 282-3 (= *GS*, V, p. 524-5); Dittenberger, *OGIS*, 458 n. 55.

⁵⁵ A. Giovannini, *Consulare imperium*, Bâle, 1983, p. 73-101.

difficulté) être rapportées à d'autres lois sullaniennes.⁵⁶ C'est également à une *lex data* de Sulla concernant la province d'Asie que Cicéron doit faire allusion dans une de ses lettres à Ap. Claudius Pulcher écrite en 50 av. J.-C. : elle nous apprend qu'une des mesures de la loi limitait les frais que les cités pouvaient engager pour envoyer à Rome des ambassades chargées de faire l'éloge d'un gouverneur.⁵⁷ Autant la rédaction d'une nouvelle *lex data* apparaît une hypothèse extrêmement probable, et même presque nécessaire compte tenu de l'importance de la crise mithridatique et de la nécessité de réorganiser la province d'Asie, autant on peut se demander si Sulla eut le loisir, et l'envie, de se charger lui-même de la rédaction de cette nouvelle charte. Pour le seconder, voire pour écrire ce texte sous le nom du proconsul, on verrait volontiers intervenir le fidèle Lucullus, son questeur et homme de confiance, qui resta en Asie jusqu'en 80. Les honneurs remarquables qu'il reçut en Asie dès les années 85-80⁵⁸ pourraient s'expliquer, non seulement par la mansuétude avec laquelle il traita les cités,⁵⁹ autant que le lui permettaient sa fonction de questeur et la nécessité de financer l'armée de Sulla pendant la guerre civile, mais aussi par le rôle qu'il joua dans la nouvelle organisation de la province. La remise en ordre par le philhellène Lucullus d'une province d'Asie qui comprenait un nombre sensiblement accru de cités grecques est le contexte où, me semble-t-il, s'expliquerait le mieux la réorganisation d'une structure provinciale qui prendrait, alors seulement, le nom de κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων. L'idée de ce nom vint-elle des provinciaux, qui auraient mis en avant leur hellénisme dans l'espoir d'être mieux traités (ou moins maltraités) par les Romains, ou de certaines autorités romaines, par exemple de Lucullus, qui auraient décidé d'étendre à tous les provinciaux le terme, à leurs yeux valorisant, de *Graeci*? L'hypothèse d'une suggestion provinciale ratifiée par les autorités romaines me paraît la plus vraisemblable.

Le corpus cicéronien fournit deux documents précieux sur les sentiments mêlés que cette utilisation du nom *Graeci* pour désigner les provinciaux de la province d'Asie pouvait susciter chez les aristocrates romains, deux textes dont la comparaison est d'autant plus significative qu'ils datent l'un et l'autre de l'année 59. L'un est la première lettre de Cicéron à son frère Quintus alors proconsul d'Asie, qui est une véritable profession de foi philhellène : le gouvernement de l'Asie, par comparaison avec celui de l'Afrique, ou des Espagnes, ou des Gaules, est présenté comme impliquant, de la part du proconsul, une obligation toute particulière d'*humanitas* (= φιλανθρωπία), de bienveillance, à l'égard

⁵⁶ Ainsi peut-on rapporter à la loi de majesté les références à une loi Cornelia dans Cic., *fam.*, 1,9,25; 3,6,3 et 6.

⁵⁷ Cic., *Fam.*, 3,10,6. Il est vrai que Cicéron gouvernait la Cilicie et non l'Asie, mais les *conuentus* phrygiens de la province d'Asie se trouvaient, probablement depuis 58 en vertu d'une loi Clodia (E. Badian, *JRS*, 55, 1965, p. 115-8), rattachés à la province de Cilicie, et c'est précisément en réponse à des ambassades de cités de la Phrygie Épicète que Cicéron invoque la loi Cornelia. C'est encore la même loi Cornelia, très probablement, qui est mentionnée dans l'inscription *IGR*, IV, 1188 (près de Thyatire), dans un contexte malheureusement très lacunaire (l. 5: ἵτοι γράψαντα κατὰ τὸν Κορνῆλιον νόμον διάταξιν). La *diataxis* en question doit être la répartition des revenus de la cité entre les divers postes de dépense (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX, Paris, 1950, p. 14-18; M. Wörle, *o.c.*, p. 92, n. 77). La principale raison des restrictions dont il est question dans la lettre de Cicéron devait être, précisément, de ménager l'équilibre des finances des cités, nécessaire pour qu'elles puissent s'acquitter de leurs redevances à Rome. On voit apparaître un type de préoccupation qui sera constant à l'époque impériale : voir G. P. Burton, "Was there a long-term trend to centralisation of authority in the Roman Empire?", *RPh*, 72, 1998, p. 7-24.

⁵⁸ A Éphèse, [patron] (ou [sauveur]) et bienfaiteur : *I. Ephesos*, 2941. A Thyatire, sauveur, bienfaiteur et fondateur (ou protecteur : κτίστης) ou κηδεμών, voir L. Robert, *OMS*, IV, p. 230; *IGR*, IV, 1191; *TAM*, V, 2, 918. A Synnada, patron et bienfaiteur : *IGR*, IV, 701.

⁵⁹ Plut., *Luc.*, 4,1.

d'un peuple, les Grecs, qui a été le berceau même de l'*humanitas* (= παιδεία), de la civilisation.⁶⁰ Cette lettre servira de modèle à celle que Pline le Jeune enverra à son ami Maximus, au moment où ce dernier s'apprête à partir comme proconsul d'Achaïe.⁶¹ Tout autre est bien sûr l'attitude de Cicéron dans le *Pro Flacco*, lorsqu'il défend contre l'accusation d'exactions L. Valerius Flaccus, prédécesseur de son frère comme proconsul d'Asie. L'avocat utilise tous les moyens pour dévaloriser le témoignage des provinciaux contre son client. Je ferai seulement une remarque, c'est que leur statut de "Grecs" permet deux angles d'attaque bien distincts. Le premier concerne les Grecs en général, dont on reconnaît les valeurs intellectuelles mais dont on dénigre les valeurs morales, en reprenant le thème traditionnel de la *fides Graeca*, et les valeurs politiques, en critiquant la démocratie qui a ruiné jusqu'à l'Athènes classique.⁶² Mais Cicéron n'oublie pas non plus de souligner que ces Grecs n'en sont pas vraiment, qu'ils sont des Phrygiens, des Mysiens, des Cariens et des Lydiens, peuples dont les défauts sont soulignés dans la littérature grecque elle-même,⁶³ et au témoignage de ces provinciaux d'Asie, il oppose ceux de la *uera atque integra Graecia*, d'une part Athènes, Lacédémone, l'Achaïe tout entière, la Béotie et la Thessalie, d'autre part Massilia, cité sauvée par la sagesse de son aristocratie.⁶⁴

Sur le modèle du κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων fut ensuite constitué le κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, après que le royaume de Bithynie eut été légué à Rome par son dernier roi, mort en 75 ou 74.⁶⁵ On aimerait, là encore, avoir davantage de détails sur les conditions dans lesquelles cela se fit. Envahie par Mithridate en 73, la Bithynie fut reconquise en 72 par Lucullus et ne retomba pas aux mains du roi du Pont lors de son ultime offensive. Elle devait finalement être réunie avec l'ancien royaume du Pont, et c'est de Pompée que la nouvelle province reçut une *lex data* sur laquelle nous possédons d'assez nombreuses informations grâce au livre 10 de la *Correspondance* de Pline le Jeune. La Bithynie était plus profondément hellénisée et urbanisée que le Pont, qui fut divisé par Pompée en 11 cités dont 7 étaient des créations. Ce fut l'occasion d'imposer des institutions fortement inspirées par le modèle romain, qui ne furent pas seulement données aux cités nouvelles, mais aussi aux anciennes cités du Pont et à celles de Bithynie.⁶⁶ Doit-on penser que les Bithyniens, obtenant du moins de constituer un *koinon*

⁶⁰ Cic., *Q. fr.*, 1, 1, 27-28. Cf. J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme*, Rome, 1988, p. 511-6.

⁶¹ Plin., *ep.*, 8,24.

⁶² Cic., *Flacc.*, 9 et 15-17.

⁶³ Cic., *Flacc.*, 17, 38, 41, et surtout 64-66, où les témoins finissent par être dépossédés du statut de *Graeci* pour être appelés *Asiatici*.

⁶⁴ Cic., *Flacc.*, 61-64. Sur Massilia comme modèle d'aristocratie, voir aussi *rep.*, 1,43-4. Une autre thématique intéressante (Massilia comme exemple de colonie grecque parvenant à maintenir ses valeurs originelles dans un environnement barbare) se trouve dans le discours au Sénat que Tite-Live prête aux Rhodiens en 189, pour défendre la cause de la liberté des cités d'Asie: 37,54,21 (addition de l'historien romain à sa source polybienne [21,22-3]).

⁶⁵ Voir J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Vestigia 6, Munich, 1965, p. 60-4; M. D. Campanile, "Il Koinon di Bitinia, βειθυνιάρχαι et ἄρχοντες τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἐν Βειθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων", *SCO*, 43, 1993, p. 343-357. Sur la chronologie de la mort de Nicomède IV et de la troisième guerre de Mithridate: Fr. de Callatay, *RBN*, 132, 1986, p. 24-30; B. C. McGing, *ZPE*, 109, 1995, p. 283-288.

⁶⁶ Sur la loi Pompeia, voir en dernier lieu R. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, p. 328-331 (avec la bibliographie antérieure).

séparé,⁶⁷ en profitèrent pour proclamer fièrement leur qualité d'Hellènes? Ou peut-on imaginer, bien que Pompée ne se soit aucunement senti lié par les actes de Lucullus, qu'il a sur certains points du moins conservé des décisions de son prédécesseur, et que le κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ Ἑλλήνων est une initiative de Lucullus qui n'aurait pas été annulée par Pompée? Cette hypothèse, si fragile qu'elle soit dans l'état actuel de notre documentation, rendrait compte de l'incontestable ressemblance entre les deux κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων d'Asie et de Bithynie. On les retrouve associés en 29, lorsqu'Octave permet aux deux *koina* de lui élever des temples, respectivement à Pergame et Nicomédie.⁶⁸ Et sous l'Empire, l'un et l'autre *koina* décernent le titre de πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων.⁶⁹

Si l'Asie et la Bithynie sont seules, à notre connaissance, à avoir eu des assemblées provinciales arborant le titre d'Hellènes, il est d'autres cas où *Graeci* signifie tout simplement "provinciaux". C'est un usage bien attesté, par exemple, dans la correspondance de Cicéron au moment où il est proconsul de Cilicie (une autre province réorganisée par Pompée, mais dont les origines remontaient jusqu'avant Sulla, et qui, lorsqu'elle fut gouvernée par Cicéron, incluait les diocèses de Phrygie détachés de la province d'Asie): la distinction fondamentale est entre *ciues Romani* et *Graeci*, citoyens romains et provinciaux.⁷⁰ Un autre dossier, d'autant plus intéressant qu'il s'agit de textes officiels, est celui des édits d'Auguste retrouvés à Cyrène. Les seules catégories qui soient mentionnées, là encore, sont celles des Ῥωμαῖοι et des Ἑλληνες.⁷¹ L'opinion généralement reçue est que les Hellènes, néanmoins, ne comprennent que les citoyens des cités grecques, plus peut-être quelques autres privilégiés, à l'exclusion en tout cas des Juifs et des Libyens indigènes.⁷² Une autre opinion avait toutefois été exprimée par Dessau, pour qui les Ἑλληνες de Cyrénaïque sont les provinciaux en général,⁷³ et cette interprétation mérite peut-être plus d'intérêt qu'on ne lui en a accordé. Il n'est pas sûr qu'il faille chercher dans la documentation papyrologique égyptienne la clé de documents concernant l'administration romaine de la Cyrénaïque, et de toute façon, il faudrait en ce cas ne considérer que les documents d'époque romaine. Comme l'a bien montré J. Méléze,

⁶⁷ Le Pont a sa propre assemblée provinciale, connue sous le nom de κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ πόλεων.

⁶⁸ Dio, 51,20,6-7. Cf. Chr. Habicht, "Die Augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt", dans *Le Culte des souverains dans l'Empire romain*, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique 19, Vandœuvres 1973, p. 55-63. Dion précise: τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἑλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ... τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε; cela confirme bien qu'il répondait à des requêtes des *koina*, mais n'implique pas que le *koinon* de Bithynie ait alors seulement reçu le nom de *koinon* des Hellènes, puisque nous savons que ce ne fut pas le cas pour l'Asie.

⁶⁹ L. Robert, *RPh*, 17, 1943, p. 186: Bithynie; *AC*, 35, 1966, p. 421 n. 6 (= *OMS*, VI, p. 45 n. 6): Asie.

⁷⁰ Cic., *Att.*, 5,21,8; 6,1,15-16; 6,2,5.

⁷¹ Ἑλληνες dans les édits de Cyrène: premier édit, l. 9, 15-7, 21, 23-4, 26, 29, 31, 35, 38-9. Troisième édit: l. 58. Quatrième édit: l. 64, 67 et 69.

⁷² L. Wenger, dans son mémoire rédigé en collaboration avec J. Stroux, *Die Augustus-Inschrift auf dem Marktplatz von Kyrene*, Abh. Bayer. Ak. Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., 34,2, Munich, 1928, p. 45-55; F. De Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrène*, Louvain, 1940, p. 48-50 (concluant en faveur de Wenger sans toutefois exclure totalement l'interprétation de Dessau). Cette définition restrictive de Ἑλληνες est adoptée comme allant de soi par A. Laronde (*ANRW*, II, 10, 1, p. 1026) et J. H. Oliver (*Greeks Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphie, 1989, p. 51-2).

⁷³ H. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II,2, Berlin, 1930, p. 562 et 576 n. 1.

le statut d'Hellènes qui avait existé dans l'Égypte lagide éclata aussitôt après la conquête romaine, et ce furent de nouvelles catégories qui, par le biais d'un correctif fiscal, redéfinirent, en dehors des cités (Alexandrie, Naucratis et Ptolémaïs, auxquelles s'ajoutera Antinoopolis), des catégories privilégiées (les "métropolitains", les "gens du gymnase"), véritables *ordines* donnant satisfaction aux Grecs de la chôra et aux descendants d'Égyptiens hellénisés.⁷⁴ Dans ces conditions totalement nouvelles, J. Méléze n'exclut pas que le mot "Ἕλληνες", dans certains documents administratifs romains y compris dans un article du *Gnomon de l'Idiologue*, soit en fait l'équivalent du latin *peregrini*.⁷⁵

En Asie et en Bithynie assurément, ailleurs aussi sans doute, quoique moins explicitement, la conquête romaine poursuit et achève la période hellénistique dans le sens d'une extension de l'usage du terme d'Hellènes. En même temps, le cadre administratif romain de la province devient celui à l'intérieur duquel peuvent se couler, en prenant un sens en partie nouveau, des formules comme "les Hellènes" ou "tous les Hellènes", à l'intérieur duquel un notable peut recevoir le titre de "premier des Hellènes". Nous avons vu quelles ambiguïtés, quelles incertitudes dans l'interprétation des textes ce phénomène a pu entraîner. Nous avons vu aussi la complexité des effets que provoqua un tel usage pour les Romains eux-mêmes, puisqu'il tend à inciter les magistrats à considérer des provinces entières comme ayant droit à la modération particulièrement due aux Grecs, mais qu'en même temps il contribue à accentuer une conception négative des Grecs, et que, par une sorte de réaction, il favorise la vision restrictive d'une "vraie Grèce" réduite au Péloponnèse, à l'Attique et à la Grèce centrale. Il y a une sorte de dilution de la notion d'Hellène susceptible d'avoir des effets pervers: son extension à l'ensemble de provinces comme l'Asie et la Bithynie faisait que l'appartenance à la "vraie Grèce" de vieilles et authentiques cités grecques, pouvait, implicitement du moins, être remise en question. Significative est de ce point de vue la proclamation de la liberté des Hellènes faite par Néron à Corinthe en 66, qui commence par s'adresser aux Hellènes, sans autre précision (ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, l. 9), mais ne leur accorde finalement la liberté que dans les limites du Péloponnèse et de la province d'Achaïe (πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀχαϊάν καὶ τὴν ἕως νῦν Πελοποννησὸν κατοικοῦντες Ἕλληνες, l. 12-13).⁷⁶

Cette dilution de la notion d'Hellènes, avec les risques qu'elle entraînait, exigeait une espèce de restructuration de la communauté hellénique, qui connut précisément son apogée à l'époque impériale, aux 2^{ème} et 3^{ème} siècle. La création du Panhellénion sous Hadrien en est assurément l'un des phénomènes les plus remarquables, qu'ont largement contribué à éclairer des travaux déjà nombreux.⁷⁷ Une étude récente et très suggestive de

⁷⁴ J. Méléze Modrzejewski, "Entre la cité et le fisc: le statut grec dans l'Égypte romaine", *Symposion 1982. Actas de la Sociedad de Historia del Derecho Griego y Helenístico*, Valence, 1985, p. 241-280 (repris dans *Droit impérial et traditions locales dans l'Égypte romaine*, 1990), article complétant pour l'époque romaine "Le Statut des Hellènes dans l'Égypte lagide", *REG*, 96, 1983, p. 241-268 (repris dans *Statut personnel et liens de famille dans les droits de l'Antiquité*, 1993).

⁷⁵ J. Méléze Modrzejewski, "Entre la cité et le fisc", p. 254-6. J'ajouterai que c'est également le cas dans le dossier en latin et en grec concernant la succession du scholarque du Jardin à Athènes: Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 73 (lettre de Plotine à Hadrien: *ciuibus Romanis et peregreinae condicionis*, l. 6 et 8-9; Hadrien au scholarque Popillius Theotimus: *ex peregrinis quoque, uel in peregreinum uel in ciuem Romanum*, l. 14 et 16-7; Plotine à l'école épicurienne: εἴτε Ἕλληνα εἴτε Ῥωμαῖον, l. 20).

⁷⁶ *IG*, VII, 2713; *Syll.*³, 814; Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, n° 296. Cf. J.-L. Ferrary, "Rome, Athènes et le philhellénisme dans l'Empire romain, d'Auguste aux Antonins", dans *Filellenismo e tradizionalismo a Roma nei primi due secoli dell'impero*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 125, Rome, 1996, p. 186-8.

⁷⁷ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Le Caire, 1934, p. 102-111; J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East*, Hesperia Suppl. 13, Princeton, 1970, p. 92-138; S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle*, Paris, 1976, p. 125-135; A. J. Spawforth et S. Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion", *JRS*, 75, 1985, p. 78-104 et 76, 1986, p. 88-105; M. Wörle, "Neue

C. P. Jones nous incite toutefois à relativiser globalement l'importance du Panhellénion et à mettre l'accent sur sa dimension religieuse et culturelle plus que sur un rôle politique qu'on a sans doute eu tendance à surévaluer.⁷⁸ Une grande originalité du Panhellénion est assurément d'avoir créé à époque romaine une nouvelle communauté qui transcendait les limites des provinces.⁷⁹ Une autre est d'avoir associé cités mères de Grèce propre et colonies d'Asie et d'Afrique, en encourageant ces dernières, et même des cités non strictement helléniques à l'origine, comme Cibyra,⁸⁰ à présenter et faire reconnaître leurs titres. Nous n'avons malheureusement pas de liste des communautés participant au Panhellénion, ce qui doit inciter à la plus grande prudence dans les conclusions que l'on peut tirer des données disponibles. Il est certain que le Panhellénion regroupait avant tout des cités et peuples de la Grèce propre et de la province d'Asie, mais qu'étaient aussi représentées des communautés appartenant à la Crète-Cyrénaïque, à la Macédoine et à la Thrace. L'absence, pour le moment, de documentation concernant les trois plus grandes cités d'Asie (Éphèse, Pergame et Smyrne), les cités des autres provinces d'Asie Mineure (y compris la Bithynie), celles de la Syrie, celles enfin de ce qui restait de l'hellénisme occidental ne peut que nous intriguer, sans que nous soyons en droit d'en rien déduire. Mais l'étude de C. P. Jones nous met en garde, de façon salutaire, contre une tentation à laquelle ont succombé Graindor et Oliver, celle d'opposer de façon beaucoup trop radicale les "vrais panhellènes", ceux du Panhellénion attique, et ceux qui les avaient précédé, et n'auraient été en fait que de "prétendus panhellènes".⁸¹ Sans doute y eut-il un idéal, ou un mirage, récurrent de "conseil commun de tous les Hellènes".⁸² Mais il n'y eut jamais, en

Inscripfen aus Aizanoi", *Chiron*, 22, 1992, p. 337-376; S. Follet et D. Peppas Delmousoy, "Le Décret de Thyatire sur les bienfaits d'Hadrien et le 'Panthéon' d'Hadrien à Athènes", *BCH*, 121, 1997, p. 291-309; C. P. Jones, "A Decree of Thyatira in Lydia", *Chiron*, 29, 1999, p. 1-21; A. J. Spawforth, "The Panhellenion Again", *Chiron*, 29, 1999, p. 339-352.

⁷⁸ C. P. Jones, "The Panhellenion", *Chiron*, 26, 1996, p. 29-56. Une autre thèse développée dans cet article est qu'il ne faudrait pas attribuer au seul Hadrien une initiative dont l'idée première appartiendrait plutôt aux Athéniens et à d'autres cités de Grèce propre (cf. Dio, 69, 16, 1-2 [Xiphilin]). On retrouve le problème, toujours difficile lorsque nous ne possédons pas un dossier épigraphique complet, de préciser le rôle exact de chaque partenaire dans le processus habituel de "petition and response", problème que j'ai signalé plus haut en ce qui concerne la création des ligues des Hellènes d'Asie et de Bithynie. Voir toutefois, pour le texte de Xiphilin, l'interprétation différente proposée par A. J. Spawforth, *Chiron*, 1999, p. 345-7.

⁷⁹ Différent est le cas d'une structure comme l'Amphictionie delphique, dont les membres traditionnels se trouvaient répartis entre cités libre, province d'Achaïe et province de Macédoine (les Thessaliens, dont le rattachement à la Macédoine remonte au moins à Néron, peut-être à Auguste lui-même, selon la façon dont on corrige le texte de toute façon corrompu de Strabon, 17,3,25, C 840: voir G. W. Bowersock, *Rh. Mus.*, 108, 1965, p. 282-8; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS*, 14, 1973, p. 389).

⁸⁰ *OGIS*, 497; cf. Strab., 13,4,17, C 631. A. J. Spawforth et S. Walker, *JRS*, 1985, p. 82; O. Curty, *Les Parentés légendaires entre cités grecques*, Bibl. EPHE, III, 20, Genève, 1995, n° 81, p. 259-263.

⁸¹ L'article de J. H. Oliver sur "Panacheans and Panhellenes" publié dans *Hesperia*, 1978, p. 185-191 parut aussi dans le volume *Homenaje a García Bellido*, IV, *Rev. de la Univ. Complutense de Madrid*, 28, n° 118, 1979, p. 45-51, sous le titre significatif "The So-Called and Real Panhellenes of the Roman Period." Cf. déjà Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 106: "le koinon d'Achaïe avait déjà porté auparavant (le titre de Panhellènes), emploi abusif pour une simple assemblée provinciale, mais que le pouvoir central avait toléré. Maintenant que le Panhellénion s'est pour ainsi dire superposé à tous les koina grecs des provinces orientales et constitue, en quelque sorte, le trait d'union entre eux, il est seul à mériter le titre usurpé par la province d'Achaïe."

⁸² Dans une lettre écrite par Hadrien à la cité de Delphes en 125, six ans seulement avant la fondation du Panhellénion, on trouve une proposition de redistribution de voix thessaliennes en faveur des Athéniens,

fait, à aucun moment de l'histoire grecque, de véritable ligue réunissant véritablement tous les Hellènes. Et lorsque sous Tibère le *koinon* achéen et les *koina* déjà précédemment réunis de la Grèce centrale décidèrent d'avoir des réunions communes et d'envoyer auprès des autorités impériales des ambassades où les différentes composantes étaient toutes représentées, il n'y a pas à s'étonner, ni encore moins à s'indigner, que ces Achéens, Béotiens, Locriens, Eubéens et Phocidiens se soient aussi appelés Hellènes, et même Panhellènes.⁸³ Ils constituaient l'équivalent d'une assemblée provinciale de l'Achaïe (province qui, depuis le début du règne de Tibère, n'avait d'ailleurs plus un proconsul qui lui fût propre, mais avait été placée sous le gouvernement du légat de Mésie), ne comptant en son sein ni les cités d'Asie, ni celles de Macédoine et de Thrace, ni celles de Thessalie, ni même les cités libres de Grèce propre, au premier rang desquelles Athènes et Lacédémone: mais le dépassement (ou plutôt la réunion) des ligues purement ethniques ne pouvait qu'inspirer cette vieille et traditionnelle prétention à parler au nom des "Hellènes", et même de "tous les Hellènes".

Je voudrais, pour finir, dire quelques mots de la deuxième des inscriptions de Claros que j'ai mentionnées initialement: celle qui honore Octavien, après Actium mais avant qu'il reçoive le titre d'Auguste, donc dans les années 30-28, [διὰ] ... τὰς εὐερ[γε]σίας τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν [καὶ κ]οινῶς εἰς τοὺς Πανέλληνας. C'est, à ma connaissance, la plus ancienne attestation épigraphique de οἱ Πανέλληνες. Et si ce mot apparaît dès l'*Illiade*, puis chez Hésiode et Archiloque,⁸⁴ il est rare dans la prose, et en particulier dans la prose préimpériale.⁸⁵ Pas plus que οἱ "Ἕλληνες, le nom οἱ

des Lacédémoniens et d'autres cités, ἵνα ᾗ κοινὸν πάντ[ω]ν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ συνέδρι[ον]. (Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, 75; *CID*, IV 152, col. II, l. 5-6). On notera qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une proposition d'Hadrien lui-même, mais d'un rapport fait devant le Sénat par une commission qui demeure non identifiée (cf. V. Marotta, *Ostraka*, 4, 1995, p. 162-3; Fr. Lefèvre, *Amphictionie*, p. 130 n. 636; A. J. Spawforth, *Chiron*, 1999, p. 341-2). L'Amphictionie n'était pas seule alors à se réclamer de cet idéal. C'est τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλατῆας συνιόντων qui élève à Thèbes une statue de Ti. Claudius Atticus, père d'Hérode Atticus (*IG*, VII, 2509; cf. W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*, Hildesheim, 1983, II, n° 61) et le prêtre de Zeus Éleuthérios dans la Confédération des Hellènes à Platées peut être appelé ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων (L. Robert, *OMS*, I, p. 361 n. 27). Voir M. Nafissi, "Tiberius Claudius Attalos Andragathos e le origini di Synnada, i culti plataici di Zeus Eleutherios e della Homonoia ton Hellenon ed il Panhellenion", *Ostraka*, 4, 1995, p. 119-136.

⁸³ *IG*, VII, 2711 (inscription rééditée par Oliver dans *GRBS*, 12, 1971, p. 221-5 [l. 78-128] et *Greek Constitutions*, n° 18 [l. 1-97]), bien daté de 37 ap. J.-C.: les Achéens, Béotiens, Locriens, Eubéens et Phocidiens se désignent eux-mêmes, dans un décret (l. 15-20) précédé par une lettre de leur stratège à Acraephiae (l. 1-14), deux fois comme οἱ Ἕλληνες (l. 15 et 20), une fois comme πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες (l. 14-5) et une fois comme οἱ Πανέλληνες (l. 10). On retrouve l'expression οἱ Πανέλληνες deux fois dans une lettre du *koinon* béotien à Acraephiae (l. 61 et 67), et une fois dans une lettre de Thèbes à Acraephiae (l. 101-2). Également dans *IG*, VII, 2712 (inscription rééditée par Oliver, *GRBS*, 1971, p. 225-36), l. 39-40 et l. 45 (décret d'Acraephiae, de peu postérieur à 37). Cf. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, 1978, p. 185-8, et *Greek Constitutions*, p. 77.

⁸⁴ Hom., *Il.*, 2, 530; Hes., *Trav.*, 528; Arch., fr. 102 West. Cf. également Ion de Chios, fr. 26 West; Aesch., fr. 596 Mette; Eurip., *Suppl.*, 526 et 671, *Troad.*, 413 et 721, *Iph. Aul.*, 350 et 414; Aristophane, *Paix*, 302; Cratinus, *ap. Plut.*, *Cimon*, 10,4; Apoll. Rhod., 2, 209; Quint. Smyrn., *Posthom.*, 13, 50; Nonnos, *Dion.*, 4, 252; Anth. gr., 7, 369 (? Antipater de Thessalonique) et 9, 188. Également dans des épigrammes connues par des inscriptions: Kaibel, 272, 915 b, 1079.

⁸⁵ Crantor (philosophe académicien, ca. 340-275), dans un long fragment cité par Sext. Emp., *adv. dogm.*, 5,52-58; Philodème (philosophe épicurien du 1er s. av.), *de pietate*, p. 84 Gomperz; Strabon, 8,6,6 C 370 (cette discussion περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πανελλήνων, dont la source est Apollodore d'Athènes [2e s. av.], se fonde surtout sur les poètes anciens); Pilon d'Alexandrie, *de uita contemplatiua*, 42; Plut., *apophth. Lacon.*, p. 235 c; Athénée, 4, 148 c (résumant l'historien Socrate de Rhodes, très vraisemblablement contemporain de la guerre civile entre Octavien et Antoine: *Fr.Gr.Hist.*,

Πανέλληνες n'est proprement technique, du moins avant la création du Panhellénion: ce n'est en fait qu'un équivalent de πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες. On peut penser que, pour célébrer celui dont elle vantait les ἰσόθεοι πράξεις (une expression très peu usitée), la cité de Colophon a choisi ce mot noble, paré de l'auréole d'une attestation homérique. Peut-être même a-t-elle ainsi voulu souligner l'universalité des bienfaits apportés par la paix civile, οἱ Πανέλληνες n'ayant pas dans le contexte de la province d'Asie l'ambiguïté que nous a paru présenter une formule comme οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες. On notera au demeurant que, même après la création du Panhellénion, il n'est sans doute pas impossible qu'une formule comme πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες soit encore utilisée pour désigner un organisme comme le *koinon* de la province d'Asie.⁸⁶ Des usages déjà anciens ne pouvaient soudainement disparaître.

192 F 2) et 13, 590 f; Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, 2,34,1 et *Strom.*, 2,1,2,4; Eusèbe, *Praep. ev.*, 2,6,10 (= Clem., *Protr.*, 2,34,1); 4,17,4; 5,21,6 et 14,10,11; Synes., *de insomn.*, 1. Le contexte est souvent celui de grandes fêtes panhelléniques, de concours ou de spectacles réunissant des Grecs venus de toutes les cités.

⁸⁶ Le problème se pose pour un texte comme Eus., *Hist. Eccl.*, 4, 26, 10 (citant l'*Apologie* de l'évêque Melito de Sardes adressée à l'empereur Marc-Aurèle), où il est question de lettres d'Antonin πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας. T. D. Barnes (*JRS*, 58, 1968, p. 37-38) et C. P. Jones (*Chiron*, 1996, p. 37) pensent à une lettre au *koinon* d'Asie, alors que, pour A. J. Spawforth et S. Walker (*JRS*, 1985, p. 83-4), il ne pourrait s'agir que du Panhellénion.

La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe*

A. D. Rizakis

"Quels habitants tu as trouvés, malheureuse (Corinthe), au lieu de quels autres!
Ah! l'infortune de la grande Hellade! (Crinagoras, *Anth. palat.* IX, 284)

Introduction

Les colonies romaines qui émergent, à la fin de la République et au début de l'Empire, tout au long des côtes occidentales helléniques et sur le parcours de la *via Egnatia*, modifient, par leur nombre et leur importance, la géographie politique du monde hellénique. Les fondations coloniales acquièrent une position dominante dans la nouvelle hiérarchie qui s'établit entre les cités car elles sont, par les ressources que leur procure leur immense territoire ainsi que par la supériorité de leur statut politico-juridique, de véritables mégapoles à côté des petites cités situées dans leur environnement hellénique. Mais là où la colonisation provoque une véritable révolution, un séisme, c'est dans l'équilibre démographique et social à l'intérieur des cités transformées en colonies; dans ce domaine la rupture avec le passé est totale car les anciens habitants se retrouvent dans la marge de la nouvelle société coloniale; en devenant des *incolae*, c'est à dire juridiquement parlant des étrangers dans leur propre pays,¹ ils cèdent leur place aux nouveaux colons, seuls citoyens

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- Amandry M., 1988 *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. 15, Paris.
Cébeillac 1998 Cébeillac-Gervasoni M., *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la seconde guerre punique à Auguste: le Latium et la Campanie*. Rome.
Démougis S., 1992 *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains Julio-Claudiens (43 av.J.-C.-70 ap.J.-C.)*. Rome.
Devijver H., *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*. Leuven, vol. I-II, 1976 et 1977 et vol. suppl. I-II, 1987 et 1993.
Halfmann H., 1979 *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* Göttingen.
Rizakis A.D., 1995 *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, MEAETHMATA 20. Athènes.
Rizakis A.D., 1998 *Achaïe II. La cite de Patras: épigraphie et histoire*, MEAETHMATA 25. Athènes.
RPC I A. Burnett, M. Amandry, P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)* (London-Paris 1992).
Roman Onomastics Rizakis A. D. (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics*, Athens 7-9 September 1993, MEAETHMATA 21 (Athènes 1996).
Spawforth A., 1996 'Roman Corinth: the Formation of a Colonial Elite', in *Roman Onomastics*,

de plein droit dans la nouvelle organisation civique; de cette dégradation politico-sociale ne sont pas épargnées les anciennes élites locales; leur réintégration politique, par le biais de la *civitas*, et par conséquent leur accès aux magistratures municipales ne se réalise que très lentement, seulement à partir du moment où le cercle restreint de l'élite coloniale romaine commence à s'ouvrir.

I. Définition et composition de l'élite municipale²

Dans toutes les villes romaines l'élite, constituée par les *decuriones* et par les magistrats en charge, représente la "haute société locale", au sommet de laquelle sont placés, à l'image de Rome, les chevaliers et les sénateurs qui ont revêtu des magistratures locales mais qui en sont l'exception.³ A un niveau social bien inférieur sont classés les *decuriones*, appelés *adlecti* ou *pedani*, qui sont fraîchement cooptés et, les personnes qui ont reçu les ornements de décurion, préparant l'intégration future, de plein droit, dans l'*ordo* municipal; il va de soi que ces deux derniers sont moins honorables que les anciens magistrats.⁴ Plus bas dans l'échelle sociale des membres de la curie locale, se situent les sévirs augustaux et les *augustales* dont la fortune et la générosité leur confère un place sociale enviable mais dont le statut d'affranchi leur interdit l'accès aux magistratures et donc à l'élite municipale.⁵

La formation des élites coloniales ne suit pas des règles uniformes dans l'ensemble des colonies; elle obéit à divers critères relatifs aux conditions de la *deductio* ainsi qu'aux

167-182.

Stansbury A., 1990

Corinthian Honour, Corinthian Conflict. Thèse inédite. Ann Arbor.

Hatzfeld, J. 1919

Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique. Paris.

¹ Cf. A.D. Rizakis, "Incolae-paroikoi: populations et communautés dépendantes dans les cités et les colonies romaines de l'Orient", *REA* 100 (1998), n° 3-4, 599-617.

² Les latins et les Grecs ont, pour désigner les notables de la ville, divers termes qui varient selon l'espace chronologique et le contexte géographique; l'analyse sémantique, faite par M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, pour la *pars occidentis* (Le notable local dans l'épigraphie et les sources littéraires latines: problèmes et équivoques", in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni [éd.], *Les 'bourgeoisies' municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av.J.-C.*, Paris-Naples 1983, 51-58), montre une certaine complexité qui m'oblige à utiliser, à sa suite, pour des raisons de commodité, les termes modernes, 'bourgeoisie' et notables qui, malgré leur couleur anachronique, prêtent moins à équivoque.

³ W. Langhammer, *Magistratus municipales: Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Magistratus municipales und der Decuriones* (Wiesbaden 1973) 196-199; N. Mackie, *Local Administration in the Roman Spain, AD 14-212* (Oxford 1983) 58; L. Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (Toronto, Buffalo, London 1990) 21-27, 71-73 et 80-81.

⁴ Pour les *pedani*, voir *CIL* IX 338=ILS 6121; cf. F. Jacques, *Le privilège de liberté. Politique impériale et autonomie municipale dans les cités de l'Occident romain (161-244)*, Rome 1984, 478-482.

⁵ Toutefois il était possible pour eux de prendre les *ornamenta decurionatus*, cf. J. D'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1981) 133. Leurs fils pouvaient avoir accès aux magistratures municipales sous certaines conditions; cf. M.L. Gordon, *JRS* 21 (1931) 65-77; F. Jacques, *op. cit.*, 595-596, et *infra* n. 17. En revanche, leur ascension à l'ordre équestre était beaucoup plus difficile, voir W. Eck, 'Ordo equitum Romanorum, ordo libertorum. Freigelassene und ihre Nachkommen im römischen Ritterstand', in: S. Démougin, H. Devijver et M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (éds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Coll. EFR 257, Rome 1999, 5-29.

intérêts politiques de Rome; dans certains cas, elle peut tenir compte de la culture politique et des traditions locales. Les choses semblent plus simples en Occident où les plus riches parmi les colons sont appelés à prendre la direction de la nouvelle cité; ceux-ci, dans le cas des colonies militaires, se trouvent parmi les officiers de l'armée, tribuns ou centurions;⁶ ce premier groupe est, assez souvent, renforcé par un nombre de notables locaux, gratifiés de la *civitas* et intégrés ainsi dans le corps social.

Ce modèle de composition "binaire" est bien connu en Italie, où parfois, non seulement les anciennes élites sont rapidement intégrées aux couches supérieures de la nouvelle société de leur ville mais aussi, certains de leurs membres, appartenant aux vieilles familles aristocratiques ou sacerdotales, reçoivent relativement vite la dignité équestre;⁷ cette promotion sera plus facile pour ceux qui ont fait le bon choix pendant la période des conflits civils de la fin de la période républicaine. En revanche, le sort de ceux qui ont choisi de résister à Rome ou de s'opposer à ses projets sera plutôt triste; la *deductio* coloniale sera précédée ou accompagnée de leur élimination physique ou de leur anéantissement politique.⁸ Ces deux modèles extrêmes d'organisation ne connaissent que de très rares applications en Orient et, dans tous les cas, sont difficilement reconnaissables dans le cadre des colonies romaines en Achaïe et en Macédoine. Ici les situations sont plus variées et reflètent la disparité et la complexité du monde grec avec lequel Rome devait traiter.

II. Les élites municipales dans les colonies romaine d'Achaïe

II.1. L'état documentaire

Les sources dont nous disposons ne sont malheureusement pas les mêmes, dans toutes les colonies et la quantité de même que la qualité des témoignages connaît divers degrés; aussi parmi les inscriptions qui datent de l'Empire le chiffre de celles qui concernent l'administration municipale et le cursus de ses magistrats est extrêmement limité; si enfin on ajoute les problèmes de datation d'un grand nombre de ces textes la base de notre documentation est terriblement appauvri. Dans l'ensemble on peut dire que d'une part la pénurie ou la dispersion temporelle des données nous privent de la possibilité d'avoir une meilleure connaissance du milieu civique et d'autre part, que l'hétérogénéité chronologique des témoignages rend difficile "une enquête comparative entre les diverses situations" (Cébeillac 1988, 23).

Cette règle présente des heureuses exceptions; la première est celle de Corinthe; sa documentation est unique, surtout dans le domaine numismatique; son monnayage qui porte les noms des plus hauts magistrats de la colonie, les *duoviri*, offre une densité temporelle de témoignages enviable, particulièrement pour la période qui s'étend de la

⁶ Cf. E. Gabba, *Esercito e società nella tarda repubblica romana* (Firenze 1973) 136-143, particulièrement p. 140-141; L. Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement. in Italy, 47-14 BC* (1983) 106.

⁷ Le problème s'est posé à Pompéi et également à Préneste, mais les solutions proposées sont très controversées; voir F. Zevi, 'Personaggi della Pompei sillana', *PBSR* 63 (1995) 1-24, particulièrement p. 18sq.; *id.*, 'Pompéi della città sannitica alla colonia sillana: per un'interpretazione dei dati archeologici', in: *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron. Actes de la table ronde internationale de Clermont-Ferrand* (1991), Coll. EFR 215, Naples-Rome 1996, 125-138.

⁸ Les sources littéraires ne font pas, naturellement, état de ces situations, mais d'autres éléments nous permettent, dans certains cas, d'en déduire les conséquences de la conquête; cf. M. Clavel, *Béziers et son territoire* (Paris 1970), 579-584; *ead.*, 'L'implantation coloniale et l'aménagement du territoire de Béziers', in: M. Clavel-Lévêque (éd.), *Cité et territoire* 2 (Paris 1998) 13-15.

fondation de la colonie (44/43 av.J.-C.) jusqu' à Galba (68/9 ap. J.-C.);⁹ cette documentation, malgré ses grandes lacunes (elle ne représente que le 21%), par son caractère de "closed deposit" (Spawforth (1996, 168), sert comme base pour la réconstitution de l'album colonial.¹⁰ Cette base est enrichie par la littérature et l'épigraphie, bien que le témoignage de cette dernière, par son caractère fragmentaire et souvent incertain, ne nous donne pas toujours des gages de fiabilité; il faut, toutefois, préciser que l'épigraphie corinthienne, malgré les défauts énoncés, présente une richesse quantitative et reste, surtout après les Flaviens, notre source documentaire unique.

La documentation de la colonie, également césarienne, de Dymé, dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse,¹¹ ne peut aucunement être comparée à celle de Corinthe sur le plan quantitatif surtout, mais elle se rapproche d'elle dans la mesure où ses plus hauts magistrats figurent sur les médailles, comme dans l'ensemble presque des fondations césariennes ou triumvirales.¹² La documentation dyméenne présente une certaine densité temporelle qui compense en quelque sorte sa faiblesse générale, due à la courte vie de la colonie, absorbée par Patras, sa puissante voisine, probablement au début du règne de Tibère.¹³

La documentation de Patras présente un grand inconvénient par rapport aux précédentes; dans cette colonie augustéenne les *duoviri* ne figurent pas sur son monnayage, chose qui nous prive d'une source d'information précieuse; cette lacune est, en

⁹ *RPC* I, n° 1116-1222; Amandry 1988, 9-10.

¹⁰ Amandry 1988 *passim* et *RPC* I, 1116-1138.

¹¹ La documentation de Dymé, en Achaïe, est plus ou moins équivalente à celle de Cassandree, en Macédoine. La majorité des inscriptions dyméennes (ca 50 avec les inédites) ont été publiées par J. Martha, 'Inscriptions d'Achaïe', *BCH* 2 (1878) 40-44 et 94-101; F. v. Duhn, 'Reisebericht aus Achaia', *AthMitt* 3 (1878) 72-75 (O. Hoffmann, *SGDI* 1612-1624); J. Bingen, *BCH* 78 (1954) 85-88 et 395-403; A. D. Rizakis, 'La *politeia* dans les cités de la confédération achéenne', *Tyche* 5 (1990) 109-134; J. Papapostolou, *Achaean Grave Stelai with Epigraphical Notes by A. Rizakis* (Athens 1993) *passim*. Pour les inscriptions latines, voir en dernier lieu M. Sassel-Kos 1979, 32 n° 44. Ces textes, publiés et inédits, seront publiés dans A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe* III (en préparation).

¹² *RPC* I, p. 275; les noms des *duoviri* disparaissent à Dymé et à Buthrote, comme dans la majorité des fondations ou des refondations augustéennes, après Actium; c'est l'*ordo decurionum* qui a maintenant l'autorité du monnayage, souvent signalé sur le revers de leurs émissions; exceptionnellement les *duoviri* continuent à figurer sur le revers des monnaies corinthiennes, à peine jusqu'à Tibère à Dium ou Pella (*RPC* I, 1528-1544). L'abréviation D.D. ou EX D.D. apparaît sur le monnayage des colonies césariennes, comme Corinthe, Dymé, Buthrote et Cnossos; voir Amandry 1988, 11-12, 103 et 105; *id.*, 'Le monnayage de Dymé (colonia Dymaeorum) en Achaïe. Corpus', *RN* 23, 1981, 50-51; *RPC* I, n° 1287-1289 (Dymé); *RPC* I, n° 1394-1317 (Buthrote) mais il n'apparaît pas sur le revers des monnaies des colonies augustéennes comme Patras (*RPC* I, n° 1248-1282) ou Pella. En Macédoine elle figure sur les émissions de Dium (cf. S. Kremidi-Sisilianou, 'Η νομισματοκοπία τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀποικίας τοῦ Δίου', Athènes 1996, 16; *RPC* I, 1528-1550). A Buthrote on trouve l'abréviation EX D.D. sur les émissions pré-augustéennes et quelques augustéennes mais par la suite on rencontre d'autres variantes: CCIBDDPUBL ou D EX CONSE CCIB (*RPC* I, n° 1394-1417 *passim*); voir Amandry 1988, 9-10, qui pense qu'il est difficile d'établir une règle sur cette question.

¹³ Cette présence n'a ni la régularité ni la richesse corinthienne; voir M. Amandry, 'Le monnayage de Dymé (colonia Dymaeorum) en Achaïe. Corpus', *RN* 23, 1981, 45-67; *RPC* I, 1283-1289. Son absorption par Patras, sa puissante voisine, date probablement du début du règne de Tibère; voir *infra* n. 41. Pour Dium et Pella, voir *RPC* I, n° 1504-1508 et 1528-1535 et S. Kremidi-Sisilianou (note précédente) 16 n. 25. La documentation la plus intéressante, après Corinthe, est celle de Buthrote (*RPC* I, n° 1378-1393 *passim*).

petite partie, il est vrai compensé par un matériel épigraphique qui date de la première génération de la colonie et conserve les noms des quelques de ses magistrats (Rizakis 1998 *passim*); en dehors de cette particularité le matériel patréen - provenant exclusivement des fouilles de sauvetage - est relativement pauvre et dispersé dans le temps; s'il ne permet pas d'établir son album colonial, elle permet néanmoins de saisir l'origine et le caractère de ses premières élites.

II.2 La bourgeoisie municipale corinthienne

La structure de la bourgeoisie municipale corinthienne a déjà attirée l'attention des spécialistes; les premiers commentaires on les doit, naturellement, aux éditeurs du corpus (*Corinth* VIII.1-3), mais c'est A. Stansbury qui, dans une thèse restée malheureusement inédite (1990 *passim*), consacra plusieurs pages intéressantes sur l'origine ethnique et la composition sociale de la nouvelle élite de la colonie. Stansbury voyait, au départ, une composition binaire de l'élite municipale dans laquelle les riches affranchis et les hommes d'affaires ont un tout premier rôle; en revanche, aucune place n'est réservée aux militaires et aux indigènes; seuls des notables des cités voisines pénètrent, postérieurement, dans l'*ordo* municipale.¹⁴ A. Spawforth dans sa contribution originale (1996, 167-182) ajouta aux deux groupes initiaux, celui des militaires; c'est la plus grande innovation.

La présence du premier groupe à Corinthe n'a rien d'étonnant; on sait d'ailleurs par Strabon (Strabon VIII, 23=C 381) que la majorité des colons corinthiens sont τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους et l'ensemble des sources - littéraires, numismatiques et épigraphiques - révèlent le rôle important des affranchis dans la direction des affaires de la colonie. Il va de soi que ces *liberti*, membres de l'*ordo* municipal, ne doivent pas être assimilés à la masse des colons, ces ἄποροι sans moyens, dont nous parle Appien (*Pun.* 136; cf. Strabon VIII, 23=C 381) et pour lesquels les aristocrates Grecs contemporains des cités voisines n'ont que du mépris;¹⁵ ils sont riches et puissants, étroitement associés aux personnages importants de la fin de la République et du début de l'Empire et on peut supposer qu'ils sont là principalement pour servir leurs intérêts économiques ou leur cause.

Cette participation des affranchis aux affaires publiques, dans des magistratures diverses, est constatée dans plusieurs colonies de César. Déjà la *Lex Ursonensis* (FIRA n° 21, § 105) prévoit qu'un *libertus* peut devenir decurion et par conséquent *duumvir*.¹⁶ Ce privilège devait être inscrit aussi dans la constitution des colonies césariennes en Grèce, comme Corinthe (Stansbury 1990, 157-158 n. 33), Dymé et éventuellement Dium, en Macédoine, car dans celles-ci les *liberti* sont éligibles; mais il faut croire qu'il n'a eu,

¹⁴ A noter enfin que A. Badjikian, *The Civic Officials of Roman Corinth* (thèse inédite de l'Univ. de Vermont 1953) ne traite pas de cette question.

¹⁵ Ceux-ci, artisans ou commerçants, étaient mal vus par les litterati des cités environnantes : "Quels habitants tu as trouvés, malheureuse, au lieu de quels autres! Ah! l'infortune de la grande Hellade! Puisses-tu à l'instant t'effondrer, ô Corinthe, plus bas que le sol même, te voir plus désertée que les sables de Libye, plutôt que d'être livrée tout entière à des tels misérables et de fouler aux pieds les ossements des antiques Bacchiades" (Crinagoras in *Anth. palat.* IX, 284); voir aussi Alciphron 3, 24; cf. S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 107-117.

¹⁶ La chose est courante dans les colonies césariennes, en Italie, en Afrique et en Dalmatie, à l'époque républicaine et au début de l'Empire; cf. E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (London 1969) 135; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 63-63; P.A. Brunt, in: *Assimilation et résistance à la culture greco-romaine dans le monde ancien* (Paris 1976) 161-173. Pour l'Espagne, en revanche, il n'existe aucun témoignage, même à Urso; cf. L. Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (Toronto, Buffalo, London 1990) 71.

comme partout ailleurs, qu'une très courte durée, car Auguste, avec la *Lex Veselia* (24 a.C.), a mis fin à cette pratique en interdisant aux membres de cet ordre l'accès aux magistratures municipales.¹⁷ Les exceptions à cette règle sont rares; on n'en connaît que quelques exemples dont celui de Cn. Babbuius Philinus à Corinthe, qui fit une carrière municipale à la fin du règne d'Auguste et au début du règne de Tibère, est le plus notoire.¹⁸

Il n'est pas du tout étonnant que parmi les premiers magistrats de Corinthe figurent des affranchis du dictateur: C. Iulius [?] (en 44/3) et C. Iulius Nicephorus, le second étant l'un des deux *duoviri* de l'année suivante.¹⁹ Après la mort de César, Antoine arrive à créer ici son propre réseau de clientèle; ses amis sont nombreux et jouent dès le départ un rôle prépondérant dans l'administration coloniale.²⁰ Certains sont des clients ou des affranchis des lieutenants du triumvir qui sont, parfois, connus par la littérature. M. Insteius Tectus, par exemple, *duumvir* et *duumvir* quinquennal de la colonie, respectivement en 42/1 et en 35 av. J.-C.,²¹ peut avoir une relation avec M. Insteius, un des fidèles amis d'Antoine qui fut, selon Plutarque (*Ant.* 65), un des commandants de la flotte à Actium. Cicéron parle de lui, avec beaucoup de mépris, le petit brigant et "maître de bain de Pisaurum", *Pisauri balneatorem*, mais ce n'est qu'un jeu de propagande, car M. Insteius n'est pas seulement un sénateur mais aussi un *imperator*, comme révèle une nouvelle inscription d'Europos, en Macédoine, où le personnage est honoré comme *autokrator* et *euergetes*.²²

Plutarque (*Ant.* 67, 7) parle d'un certain Théophile, probable affranchi d'Antoine, que ce dernier avait placé, avant Actium, comme gouverneur à Corinthe; après sa défaite Antoine lui adressa une lettre en le priant de protéger ses amis jusqu'à la conclusion d'une paix avec Octave; on ignore les détails de cette affaire mais on sait que son fils, Hipparque, fut le premier parmi les affranchis d'Antoine qui changea de camp et se rapprocha

¹⁷ La *lex Veselia* n'interdira pas naturellement l'accès aux magistratures à leurs descendants; voir M. L. Gordon, 'The Freedman's son in Municipal Life', *JRS* 21 (1931) 65-77; P. Garnsey, 'Descendants of Freedmen in Local Politics: some criteria', in B. Levick (ed.), *The Ancient Historian and his Materials. Essays in Honour of C.E. Stevens on his seventieth Birthday* (Farnborough 1975), 167-180.

¹⁸ Voir A.B. West, *Corinth* VIII.2, 132; J.H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII.3, 155; cf. Stansbury 1990, 254-258.

¹⁹ K.M. Edwards, *Corinth* VI, 16 n° 17= A. Badjikian, *The Civic Officials of Roman Corinth* (thèse inédite de l'Univ. de Vermont 1953) 31, 34 n. 2; J.H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 24; Amandry 1988, 32-33 et 76.

²⁰ L'épigraphie corinthienne montre la grande influence d'Antoine et de ses lieutenants – L. Marcus Censorinus, C. Asinius Pollio, L. Sempronius Atratinus, C. Cocceius Balbus et M. Iunius Silanus, L. Gellius Poplicola et M. Barbatius Pollio, P. Ventidius etc. – sur les colonies par le biais des liens directs ou indirects qui ont été tissés pendant la période de sa domination en Orient (on trouvera in Stansbury 1990, 129-134 et Spawforth 1996, 170 la liste des *duoviri* corinthiens, faisant partie de la clientèle, directe ou indirecte, de ces personnages). L'influence des deux premiers est également attestée à Patras (Rizakis 1998, 115-116 n° 33). L'influence de César, Octave et Agrippa, bien que présente, ne peut aucunement être comparée à celle d'Antoine.

²¹ K.M. Edwards, *Corinth* VI, 16 n° 18-19; cf. A. Badjikian, *op. cit.*, 31 et 34-35 n. 3, 5; J.H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII.3, p. 24. Amandry 1988, 27-28, 32-33, 76, 123-124.

²² Cicéron, *Phil.* 12.20; 13, 26; Stansbury 1990, 130 l'identifie à tort avec le *duumvir* Corinthien, M. Insteius Tectus. L'hommage rendu à M. Insteius L. f. à Europos (*BullÉpigr* 1992, 312; *SEG* 42, 1992 575) indiquerait qu'il a dû "avoir un commandement indépendant en Macédoine dans la décennie qui précède Actium"; le texte ne donne pas de précisions sur les services rendus à la cité d'Europos mais on peut supposer avec M. Hatzopoulos (*BullÉpigr* 1992, 312) qu'ils pourraient avoir un rapport avec les troubles de 40-39 av. J.-C., dont on trouve l'écho dans un décret inédit d'Anthémonte.

d'Octave.²³ A côté de ces personnages connus par la littérature, l'épigraphie et la numismatique, de nombreux autres clients de la famille des *Antonii*, comme leur *nomen* l'indique, figurent sur le monnayage des *duoviri* corinthiens; on compte en tout onze membre de cette famille qui ont exercé diverses magistratures entre la fondation de la colonie et le règne d'*Antoninus Pius*. La période de leur grande puissance coïncide avec la fin de la République,²⁴ car la défaite de leur patron à Actium met fin à leur pouvoir à l'exception de ceux qui, comme Hipparque, ont prévu de changer de camp à temps.²⁵ Les *Antonii*, après une disparition passagère, réapparaissent parmi les membres de la notabilité locale sous le règne de Néron (Stansbury 1990, 520-521), mais il est difficile de prouver que ces derniers aient un rapport direct avec les familles notables des *Antonii* de la période républicaine.

Le deuxième groupe constitutif de l'élite coloniale est celui des *negotiatores* actifs dans plusieurs cités de la Méditerranée orientale, à la fin de la période républicaine.²⁶ Après l'abandon de Délos, vers le milieu du Ier s. ap.J.-C., beaucoup de ces familles transfèrent le siège de leurs affaires dans d'autres ports méditerranéens (Rizakis 1999), profitant des conditions favorables créées après la fin de la première guerre civile et surtout par la fondation de plusieurs colonies. Dans ces dernières les *negotiatores* peuvent s'intégrer plus facilement, acquérir des terres et faire ainsi partie de la nouvelle notabilité locale.²⁷ Le plus souvent, ces hommes d'affaires n'agissent pas seuls; beaucoup d'entre eux sont des clients - souvent des affranchis - de riches chevaliers ou de sénateurs qui ont des intérêts économiques en Orient et, par conséquent peuvent les aider à pénétrer dans le milieu dirigeant des nouvelles fondations.

Le rapport de certains Romains de Corinthe avec des familles de *negotiatores* romains, actives en Orient, a déjà été suggéré déjà par les éditeurs du corpus corinthien et surtout par L. Robert, à l'occasion de son étude sur un catalogue d'*Erôtidéia* de Thespies, datant de la fin du Ier siècle de notre ère; un certain nombre de concurrents, qui y figurent, sont probablement originaires de Corinthe; il s'agit, selon toute vraisemblance, des descendants des familles de *negotiatores* installés et enrôlés dans la colonie lors de la *deductio* césarienne ou un peu plus tard;²⁸ l'onomastique indique que certaines de ces familles pourraient être originaires de Thespies où le groupement des Romains, faisant des affaires au Ier s. av. J.-C., est un des plus nombreux et actif en Grèce centrale;²⁹ après la

²³ Hipparque s'installe ensuite à Corinthe et sert, à deux reprises, en tant que *duovir* de la colonie (Amandry 1988, 142-148; cf. Stansbury, 129-130; Spawforth 1996, 176).

²⁴ Stansbury 1990, 129-134 et 518-519.

²⁵ Plut., *Ant.* 67 et 73; Vell. Pat., II, 84; Dio Cassius LI, 1, 3.

²⁶ Hatzfeld 1919, *passim*; A.J.N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (1966), *passim*; F. Cassola, in *Dialoghi di Archeologia*, IV-V (1971) p. 305-322; A.D. Rizakis, 'Η κοινότητα τῶν συμπραγματευομένων Ῥωμαίων τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἡ ῥωμαϊκὴ οἰκονομικὴ διείσδυση στὴ Μακεδονία', in: *Ancient Macedonia IV* (1986) 511-524; *id.*, 'L'émigration romaine en Macédoine et la communauté marchande de Thessalonique: perspectives économiques et réalités sociales', in *Actes de la Table Ronde, organisée par l'École française d'Athènes*, Paris 14-16 mai 1998 (sous presse).

²⁷ S. Démouglin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens* (Rome 1988) 537-538.

²⁸ 'Sur une inscription agonistique de Thespies', *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 5-14; P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes* (Paris 1982) 176; Spawforth 1996, 172; voir également les observations de Chr. Müller, *Onomastique latine et société dans la Béotie hellénistique et romaine* (Mémoire de troisième année, inédit, École française d'Athènes 1996) 63-66.

²⁹ L'hypothèse à savoir si les *Castricii* et *T. Manlii* étaient venus s'installer dans la colonie en quittant Thespies où la présence d'autres également hommes d'affaires italiens est attestée déjà sous la République

création de la colonie les deux villes ont continué à avoir des rapports qui, naturellement, ne se limitent pas uniquement au domaine agonistique.

Parmi les familles des hommes d'affaires les plus influentes à Corinthe, les C. Heii et les L. Castricii figurent sur la liste des *duoviri* corinthiens.³⁰ Trois des premiers assument cette charge cinq fois, entre 42 a.C. et 5/6 p.C. et un C. Heius Aristio est connu comme *Ilvir quinquennalis* par une inscription honorifique du règne augustéen. Spawforth (1996, 172, cat. n° 13) n'a pas hésité à relier cette famille à C. Heius Libo, éminent *negotiator* délien, après les années 88 a.C., dont la ville d'origine est Messana.³¹ Le cas des *Castricii* est aussi intéressant. La famille est connue dans plusieurs endroits en Grèce, depuis le IIe s. a.C.³² Le membre le plus célèbre de cette *gens* à Corinthe est L. *Castricius Regulus* qui est le premier agonothète romain d'un festival panhellénique, celui des *Isthmia*. Il fait une brillante carrière municipale (*aedilis*, *praefectus iure dicundo*, *duumvir*) couronné par l'agonothésie (deux fois); les inscriptions indiquent que *Castricius* a restauré des bâtiments au sanctuaire, pour la préparation du festival ainsi que d'autres constructions; deux décades après les premiers *Isthmia* de la colonie, *Regulus* devient *duovir quinquennalis* (21/2 AD).³³ La liste pourrait s'allonger avec d'autres noms auxquels ne manquent pas les banquiers.³⁴ La grande fortune de certains membres de ces familles d'hommes d'affaires leur permet d'accéder, dès le Ier s. p.C., à l'ordre équestre.³⁵

(P. Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, 1982, 176; Spawforth 1996, 172; Chr. Müller, 'Les nomina romana à Thespiis, du IIe s. a. C. à l'édit de Caracalla', in *Roman Onomastics*, 161-163), n'est pas invraisemblable.

³⁰ Amandry 1988, 33-41 et 165-168; Stansbury 1990, 186-189 et 516-522.

³¹ Il faut croire que les Heii étaient assez riches à la fin de la période républicaine et leur intégration dans la nouvelle colonie s'est fait dans les meilleures conditions; en effet ils font partie, dès le départ, du cercle dirigeant. Deux au moins étaient des affranchis (l'ancien Pamphilus et Aristio), leur patron pouvait être lui-même un colon (p. ex. l'ancien C. Heius Pollio) mais on peut supposer aussi qu'un riche patron envoie ses affranchis, au moment de la fondation ou un peu plus tard, afin de mieux représenter ses intérêts dans la nouvelle colonie (Stansbury 1990, 186-189).

³² On la trouve, certes à Délos (J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* 1912, p. 24-25 et *EAD* XXX-1-441) en Béotie, à Athènes, à Chalcis, à Cos, à Éphèse et à Smyrne (Chr. Müller, *supra* note 28, p. 52 n. 140).

³³ *Corinth* VIII, 2, p. 45 et *Corinth* VIII, 3, n° 153 (entre 10 av. J.-C. et 23 ap. J.-C.); cf. Stansbury 1990, 261-263.

³⁴ Voir la liste in Stansbury 1990, 159-60 et 253-258. Parmi les familles d'hommes d'affaires, installés à Corinthe, Spawforth (1996, 172-73, 181 n° 27 et 180 n° 22) reconnaît deux familles de banquiers qui s'installèrent à Corinthe au moment de la fondation: P. Tadius Chilo et C. Pinnius - -. Le premier, *duovir* des années 43 or 42 (Amandry 1988, 32-33; cf. Stansbury 1990, 516-522), a été rapproché par F. Münzer à la famille sénatoriale de P. Tadius qui vivait à Athènes en 79 a.C., (Cic. *Ver.* I, 100). Le second, C. Pinnius qui exerça sa charge de *Ilvir*, entre 39 et 36 a.C., est lié par M. Amandry à T. Pinnius, le riche ami de Cicéron auquel la cité bithynienne de Nicaea devait, en 51 a. C., 8 millions de HS (Amandry 1988, 32-33; Stansbury 1990, 516-522; cf. également Spawforth 1996, 173).

³⁵ Le cas de Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Dinippus est caractéristique malgré les doutes qui existent sur l'origine sociale de cette personne; en fait Spawforth (1996, 197 n° 10) pense à une relation de Ti Claudius Dinippus avec les Ti. Claudii, *negotiatores* établis en Orient (J. Hatzfeld, 'Les Italiens résidant à Délos', *BCH* 36 [1912] 26-27: Délos; *SEG* 23, 1968, 23: Messène), plutôt qu'avec les Claudii Pulchri, de l'époque républicaine, comme le veut A.B. West, *Corinth* VIII.2 (p. 73-74) car ces derniers ne sont connus nulle part en Grèce à une date si haute. Le personnage est honoré, sous Néron, dans onze inscriptions dont deux conservent (*Corinth* VIII. 2, 86 et VIII.3, 158) mieux sa carrière; pour celle-ci, voir Devijver, C 139; Démougin 1992, 507-508 n° 607; Spawforth 1996, 175; cf. Stansbury 1990, 501-515.

Alors que la participation des affranchis et des *negotiatores* dans la formation de la bourgeoisie municipale n'est point contestée, celle des militaires, soutenue par A. Spawforth (1996, 170-171), bien qu'elle ne soit pas privée de bon sens manque de preuves solides. Certes, on peut évoquer avec l'auteur un passage de Plutarque (*Caes.* 57) qui observe que Carthage et Corinthe sont les plus distinguées des colonies dans lesquelles César envoya ses soldats mais cette vague information n'est confirmée ni par la numismatique ni par l'épigraphie. Cette pénurie documentaire nous oblige, certes, à avoir recours aux arguments onomastiques. C'est ainsi que Spawforth (1996, 170) a fait le rapprochement entre certains *duoviri* de la colonie (e.g. Aebutii, Belii, Lucanii et Vibullii) et des militaires homonymes, attestés ailleurs. Parmi ces familles, celle des Aebutii semble avoir donnée des magistrats au plus tôt (30 av. J.-C.), alors que les Vibullii, bien qu'ils étaient déjà résidents, sous Auguste, n'assument de fonctions que sous les Flaviens; la famille est connue également à Patras, colonie sans aucun doute militaire (Rizakis 1988, 131), mais il ne semble pas avoir ici un rôle prépondérant. La question de la participation des militaires à la colonisation corinthienne reste obligatoirement ouverte et nous espérons que de nouveaux documents enlèveront toute l'ambiguïté de la documentation actuelle.

L'absence des notables locaux parmi les membres de la bourgeoisie coloniale à Corinthe, pendant les premières générations, n'est aucunement étonnante. Le fait que les C. Iulii et C. Antonii, qui font partie du premier groupe dirigeant (Spawforth 1996, 169-170), portent des *cognomina* grecs ne signifie pas que ceux-ci font partie de l'ancienne société locale car la cité était abandonnée depuis 146 a.C.³⁶ L'installation des Grecs, cherchant une meilleure vie dans la capitale provinciale, a dû commencer aussitôt après la fondation mais ces *peregrini* sont sans droits civiques et pauvres au départ et n'ont aucune chance de pénétrer dans le milieu dirigeant de la colonie.

La première grande promotion des indigènes est constituée par quatre, peut-être, cinq *Ti. Claudii* qui sont magistrats depuis le règne de Néron³⁷ mais l'exemple le plus ancien et le plus caractéristique est celui de P. Caninius Agrippa, *Ilvir quinquennalis*, en 16/17 ou 21/22 p.C., et procureur d'Achaïe pendant le règne d'Auguste. Malgré son nom purement latin, son patronyme *Alexiades* plaide en faveur d'une origine grecque. Il est possible de croire avec Spawforth (1996, 173) qu'*Alexiades*, comme Eurycles de Sparte, ayant offert ses services à Agrippa pendant la période critique avant Actium, fit partie de la bourgeoisie de la colonie après cette date; sa procuratelle montre qu'il est parmi les protégés d'Auguste; Caninius est peut-être originaire de la cité achéenne de Pellène où il est honoré comme *ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτης*.³⁸

Plus grande est l'intégration dans le milieu dirigeant de la colonie des notables originaires des cités voisines qui viennent faire carrière à Corinthe, surtout à partir de Claude; nous avons cinq exemples: Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, membre de la fameuse famille épidaurienne, C. Iulius Laco et C. Iulius Spartiacus, les descendants immédiats d'Eurycles de Sparte, enfin C. Iulius Polyaenus, P. Memmius Cleander et P. Memmius (?) Critolaus Theocles dont Spawforth considère comme presque certaine l'origine delphique. Certaines de ces personnes - Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, C. Iulius Spartiacus et P. Memmius (?) Critolaus Theocles - en dehors de leur carrière municipale à Corinthe, accomplissent

³⁶ Cette idée traditionnelle fut contestée, dans son sens absolu, par J. Wiseman (*The Land of Ancient Corinthians*, Göteborg 1978, 12 et n. 25) qui pense à une certaine forme d'occupation 'by squatters and shepherds', entre 146-44 av. J.-C.; ces rares habitants sont, naturellement, restés après la *deductio* mais ils pouvaient avoir des présomptions de faire partie de l'élite coloniale.

³⁷ Stansbury 1990, 252 n. 13.

³⁸ A. Orlandos, *ArchEph* 1934, 163 (*AnnEpigr* 1934, 163; *SEG* 11, 1954, 1269). Un autre membre de la même famille, P. Caninius Zenon, est connu dans la ville voisine d'Aigeira, en Achaïe (J.G. Fraser, *Pausanias description of Greece IV*, London 1898, commentary ad IV.17, 7).

également une carrière équestre.³⁹ L'introduction de telles personnes dans l'élite coloniale permet, d'une part la rapide intégration des élites provinciales au système de Rome assurant, par ce biais, le contrôle des cités (Halfmann 1979, 16 sqq.), d'autre part facilite l'intégration de la colonie, véritable enclave romaine, dans son environnement hellénique devenant *mutatis-mutandis* moins hostile sinon amicale (Spawforth 1996, 167). Ces provinciaux riches et ambitieux, achètent probablement leur magistrature et, apparemment, c'est leur richesse et leurs relations qui leur permettent d'accéder à l'ordre équestre.⁴⁰

Malgré l'absence de l'élément indigène et l'ambiguïté de celui des vétérans, la participation des deux autres groupes à la formation de la première élite municipale corinthienne ne fait aucun doute. Ainsi peut-on dire à nouveau que le modèle d'organisation sociale corinthien s'éloigne de celui connu dans la majorité des colonies romaines en Occident: affranchis et *negotiatores* semblent être ici les groupes dominants, le rôle des militaires est douteux sinon mineur et celui des notables locaux exceptionnel, du moins au départ. Cette composition s'explique par les conditions temporelles, la situation locale et les buts de la fondation qui ne sont autres que de créer sur cet emplacement stratégique, permettant le contrôle du Péloponnèse et de la Grèce centrale, un pôle romain d'attraction, peuplé par des personnes qui vont, tout en servant les ambitions politiques de leurs patrons, faire revivre le commerce et les activités économiques d'autant; ce pari a complètement réussi.

III. Les notables dans les autres colonies romaines d'Achaïe

Les conditions générales et locales ne sont pas les mêmes dans les autres colonies romaines en Achaïe; ainsi même si on trouve dans certaines de celles-ci des éléments correspondants au modèle corinthien, il y a des disparités, parfois assez fortes. Il n'y a aucun doute que l'exemple le plus proche de Corinthe est celui de Dymé, en Achaïe occidentale, colonie également césarienne; le fait que Dymé a eu une très courte vie, car elle fut absorbée par sa puissante voisine Patras, probablement au début du règne de

³⁹ [1] *Cn. Cornelius Pulcher* parcourut un cursus municipal complet dans la colonie de Corinthe (sa carrière municipale est connue par 12 textes corinthiens, plus ou moins fragmentaires); promu à l'ordre équestre il assumait également une carrière équestre (règne de Trajan); voir *Corinth* VIII.1, 80 (cf. 81), 83-IG IV 1601; *Corinth* VIII.3, 138-143; cf. Devijver II, 301 n° 24. [2] *C. Iulius Laco* et [3] *C. Iulius Spartiatius* sont les descendants immédiats d'Eurycylès de Sparte. Le père *C. Iulius Laco* (règne de Claude), en dehors de sa carrière municipale dans la colonie, fut nommé par Claude procurateur; *Corinth* VIII.2, 67; cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (Paris 1960-61) I, 63-65; Halfmann 1979, 127 n° 29b (autrement Démougin 1992, 415-417 n° 503); son fils *C. Iulius Spartiatius* suivit une carrière identique sous Néron; il a été honoré par l'Empereur avec le cheval public: *equo publico exornatus a Divo Claudio, tr. militum procurator (rerum) Caesaris (Neronis) et Augustae Agrippinae*; voir A.B. West, *Corinth* VIII.2, 68; cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *op. cit.*, 63-65; Halfmann 1979, 126-127 n° 29a; voir Devijver II, 488-89 n° 128; Démougin 1992, 469-70 n° 564. [4] *C. Iulius Polyaenus* figure sur les monnaies impériales de la colonie (Amandry 1988, 209-215, em. XXI; *RPC* I, 1201-1202), il est probablement originaire de Delphes et s'identifie avec un Polyaenus mentionné dans une inscription fragmentaire de Corinthe: A.B. West, *Corinth* VIII. 2, 180, pl. 16. [5] Le duumvir quinq. (66/7), *P. Memmius Cleander* (*Corinth* VIII.3, 81; Amandry 1988, 215-221; Stansbury 1990, 516-522 et 252 n. 14), doit être d'après Spawforth (1996, 180 n° 17 et 1998, 174) de la même origine, de même que *P. Memmius (?) Critolaus Theocles* (probablement un grec pérégrin qui acquiert la *civitas* par *P. Memmius Regulus* entre 35-44 p.C.), un *equus* de la période vespasienne qui apparaît dans une inscription delphique où on voit qu'il a exercé probablement à Corinthe, entre autres fonctions, celle de *strategos* (IIvir) et reçu également les *ornamenta* agothétiques par une cité (*AnnÉpigr* 1967, 454; Devijver II, 568-569, n° 40; Démougin 1992, 469-470 n° 564).

⁴⁰ Pour un phénomène analogue aux colonies d'Espagne, voir G. Alföldy, *Gérion* 2 (1984) 193-238.

Tibère,⁴¹ ne présente pas que des inconvénients; le classement des documents dans une fourchette chronologique précise facilite énormément la "reconstitution" de son cercle dirigeant après la fondation. La cité a reçu des colons civils de Rome mais qui ne sont pas venus occuper, comme à Corinthe, un terrain vide; les colons de Dymé prennent la place des pirates, installés dans cette ville vingt trente ans plus tôt par Pompée.⁴² Mais Dymé n'est pas une place de commerce et présente moins d'attraits pour les hommes d'affaires romains que ses voisines Corinthe ou Patras. Le rôle de ceux-ci, dans la *deductio* dyméenne, n'est pas aussi clair qu'à Corinthe; on peut seulement supposer que L. Caecilius L. f. Macer et Q. Egnatius Q. f. Quir(ina) Timotheus, magistrats municipaux qui apparaissent sur les inscriptions, datant du début de l'Empire,⁴³ peuvent avoir quelque rapport avec la famille des Caecilii ou des Egnatii, les deux étant très actives dans le milieu d'affaires en Orient (Hatzfeld 1919, 387 et 390 s.v.).

Il faut croire que les colons civils jouent un rôle dans la formation de l'*ordo* municipal; dans cette catégorie on peut classer C. Arrius A. f., un des premiers *duoviri quinquennales* de la colonie (RPC I, n° 1283-84; ca 40 av. J.-C.).⁴⁴ Il n'y a aucune trace de présence de militaires ni sur ces émissions monétaires ni sur les inscriptions; en revanche, on trouve à Dymé, comme à Corinthe, plusieurs affranchis parmi ses premiers magistrats. Les C. Iulii, les M. et C. Antonii, les Cn. Octavii et les M. Lollii – qui figurent, comme *duoviri* ou *duoviri quinquennales* sur les émissions monétaires dyméennes ou dans les inscriptions, souvent avec des *cognomina* grecs – ne sont pas des anciens notables gratifiés avec la *civitas* mais des personnes qui font partie de la clientèle directe des hommes politiques puissants de la période, à savoir César, Antoine, Octave ou leurs lieutenants (e.g. Lollius).⁴⁵

La place des anciens notables est nulle dans la composition de l'élite coloniale de Dymé; ceci est fort compréhensible dans le cas dyméen car on sait que la bourgeoisie locale n'a pas manqué d'occasions, dès le début du second siècle av. J.-C., pour montrer ses sentiments antiromains; l'échec de la révolte antiromaine, une année seulement après la destruction de Corinthe, a donné le coup de grâce à la bourgeoisie locale impliquée dans la *stasis* antiromaine.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Pausanias VII. 17, 5; cf. M. Amandry, 'Le monnayage de Dymé [*Colonia Dumaeorum*] en Achaïe, Corpus', *RN* 23 (1981) 64; Rizakis (note suivante).

⁴² Plut. *Pomp.* 28, 6-7; App., *Mithr.* 96; cf. A.D. Rizakis, 'Cadastres et espace rural dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse', *DHA* 16.1 (1990) 259-280; id., 'Συμβολή στη μελέτη του ρωμαϊκού ἀποικισμού τῆς ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου', in *Ποικίλα*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 10 (Athènes 1990) 321-337 (en grec avec résumé en anglais).

⁴³ M. Dubois, *BCH* 4 (1880) 521 n° 4 (*CIL* III, Suppl. 12279); la stèle portant le nom de Q. Egnatius Q.f. Quir(ina) Timotheus, reste encore inédite.

⁴⁴ Dans les inscriptions dyméennes on trouve des magistrats qui portent des *nomina* (e.g. Villii, Grattii, Fabii et Gavii) qui n'ont apparemment aucun rapport avec les hommes d'affaires romains en Orient et sont, probablement, des descendants des premiers colons (*CIL* III, 7257; *ILGR* 39 n° 68 = *AnnÉpigr* 1979, 576).

⁴⁵ Sur les émissions monétaires de Dymé figurent: C. Iulius Calamus, C. Iul(ius) Tang(inus), M. Ant(oni)us Arist(archus); cf. *RPC* I, n° 1283 - 1286. Dans les inscriptions on trouve: M. Lollius Epinicus, aedilis et Ilvir, in *CIL* III, 7256 = *ILS* 3312; [C. Iul]ius Tangin[us], le Ilvir quinquennal connu par les monnaies de ca. 40 av. J.-C. (*RPC* I, n° 1283-1284); un [C.?] Antonius apparaît in *CIL* III, 7257 et un autre in *AnnÉpigr* 1974, 614 = *ILGR* p. 32 n° 44, les deux inscriptions datent du début de l'Empire.

⁴⁶ *Syll*³ 684 et R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969) 246-248 n° 43; cf. J.-L. Ferrary, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme*, BÉFAR 271 (Paris - Rome 1988) 186-189: nouvelle

Patras, colonie voisine entre Dymé et Corinthe, sur la côte méridionale du golfe de Corinthe, est un cas à part car elle ne ressemble à aucune autre colonie romaine. Cette fondation augustéenne se place dans un tout autre contexte temporel et politique et c'est l'unique des colonies romaines d'Achaïe et de Macédoine dans laquelle l'élément militaire est prépondérant; comme je pense l'avoir montré récemment, ce sont les vétérans de la XIIe légion *Fulminata* et de la Xe légion *Equestris* qui s'installent dans la ville, probablement au cours de deux phases: l'une immédiatement après Actium et la seconde en 16/5 a.C., à l'occasion du voyage d'Agrippa en Orient.⁴⁷ Le corps d'élite, la bourgeoisie municipale, est constitué ici par les vétérans.⁴⁸ Le rôle des affranchis semble moins important, les cas connus sont très ambivalents,⁴⁹ celui des hommes d'affaires et de leurs descendants encore moindre bien que l'onomastique de la colonie révèle la présence de plusieurs familles (e.g. Aufidii, Fulvii, Paconii, Tadii) qui pourraient être liées aux *negotiatores*, actifs en Orient, à la fin de la période républicaine.⁵⁰

Le rôle des anciens habitants dans la nouvelle société coloniale est très obscur et l'information de Pausanias (VII.18, 7) à savoir que les Achéens Patréens jouissaient des mêmes privilèges que les colons reste ambigu et énigmatique (Rizakis 1996, 309-311), malgré l'affirmation de certains savants que tous les Patréens ont été gratifiés, au moment de la *deductio*, de la *civitas*. En fait l'onomastique de Patras, telle que nous la connaissons par les inscriptions, ne révèle pas d'indigènes promus à la *civitas* par le fondateur de la colonie; bien que cela puisse paraître étonnant il n'y a point de magistrats qui portent le nom *Iulius* et il en est de même en ce qui concerne les *Claudii* (Rizakis 1988, *passim*); si l'absence des notables locaux n'est pas due au hasard des découvertes, il faut admettre que le cercle du milieu colonial dirigeant patréen était extrêmement fermé, du moins au départ, l'*ordo* étant en quelque sorte réservé aux colons et à leurs descendants immédiats.

Conclusion

Malgré le caractère provisoire de cette enquête qui est, comme toutes nos enquêtes, redevable et prisonnière en même temps de la documentation disponible, on peut conclure

datation et commentaire intéressant; M. Kallet-Marx, 'Quintus Fabius Maximus and the Dyme Affair (Syll.³ 684)', *CQ* 45 (1995) 129-153.

⁴⁷ Rizakis 1998, 27-28.

⁴⁸ Rizakis 1998, n° 39, 51, 136I, 157; cf. également les *incerti* Rizakis 1998, n° 51, 201, 265. A cette liste il faudra ajouter l'exemple d'une inscription inédite, trouvée récemment à Katō Achaia (A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe III*, sous presse).

⁴⁹ Le premier exemple est celui de M. Lollius Epinicus IIvir de la colonie qui fait une dédicace à *Stata Mater* (CIL III.1, suppl. 7252 = ILS 3312). La pierre provient de Dymé mais U. Kahrstedt (*Historia* 1, 1950, 551 n. 15) l'attribua à Patras car il datait l'inscription de la fin du Ier s. ap. J.-C. Mais cette datation n'est pas du tout certaine, par conséquent on ne peut pas exclure, a priori, une date du début de l'Empire qui jouerait, en fait, en faveur de son attribution dyméenne. Le deuxième exemple concerne Q. Cassius Euprepes (Rizakis 1998, n° 142); ce personnage pourrait être identique au [Κάσσιος Εὐπρε(ε)πῆ[ς], στρατηγός, mentionné dans une inscription bilingue que j'avais datée du IIe/IIIe s. (Rizakis 1998, 110), datation qui, me semble-il, devrait être révisée. L'exemple enfin de C. Varronius Verus (Rizakis 1998, n° 49), fils d'un affranchi (Ier/IIe s.), montre que l'accès aux magistratures n'était pas exclu pour les descendants de riches affranchis, même après la *lex Veselia*; voir ci-dessus n. 17.

⁵⁰ Pour les Aufidii (Rizakis 1995, n° 13, 132), les Fulvii, Tadii et les Paconii (Rizakis 1998, n° 39, 91 et 367), *gentes* très actifs en Orient, voir Hatzfeld 1919, 385-86 s.v. Aufidii; p. 392-93 s.v. Fulvii; p. 399 s.v. Paconii. Il est peu probable que T. Statilius T.f. Pal(atina) Felix, *eques*, mort à Patras (Rizakis 1998, n° 158: IIe s. ap. J.-C.) soit originaire de la colonie dont les colons étaient classés dans la tribu Quirina.

que, si en théorie existe un modèle colonial qui fait des colonies de petites reproductions de Rome, selon l'expression de Aulu-Gelle, ceci concerne la forme d'administration et d'organisation sociale; dans ce domaine il n'y a presque pas d'écarts entre les colonies de l'Occident et de l'Orient. En revanche, la formation et la composition des élites municipales n'a pas suivi un modèle unique dans l'ensemble des colonies romaines; les groupes sociaux qui formèrent l'ordo municipal et les rapports entre eux ne sont pas partout les mêmes, leur évolution non plus. L'importance d'affranchis dans la constitution des élites des colonies césariennes est confirmée tant par l'exemple déjà connu de Corinthe mais également par celui de Dymé; par contre le rôle des *negotiatores*, extrêmement manifeste dans un port comme Corinthe, semble nul à Dymé, cité privée de port, et douteux à Patras, colonie des vétérans. Dans cette dernière, contrairement aux deux précédentes, ce sont les militaires et leurs descendants qui constituent sa bourgeoisie municipale. Ce qui étonne est d'une part l'exclusion totale des indigènes, dans l'ensemble de ces colonies, de la formation des premiers milieux dirigeants et de l'autre part leur faible participation dans la direction des affaires, tout au cours de l'Empire. Si le rôle des populations indigènes semble effacé, il est notoire que Corinthe, capitale de la province homonyme, fonctionne comme pôle d'attraction pour les riches et ambitieux notables des cités péloponnésienes (Epidaure, Argos, Sparte). Certains de ceux-ci s'y s'installent, suivent le *cursus honorum* local et accèdent à l'ordre équestre qui leur ouvre la voie vers une carrière provinciale. Cette promotion, due à leur richesse et à leur notoriété, est impossible sinon difficile, en général, pour la majorité des colons et de leurs descendants (Cébeillac 1998, 246-249). L'exiguïté des territoires et les ressources limitées des colonies, en général, étaient des grands obstacles pour l'ascension des élites locales au plus haut niveau de l'échelle sociale de l'Empire, c'est à dire, à l'ordre équestre et l'ordre sénatoriale.

Remarques sur le culte de la *domus Augusta* en Achaïe de la mort d' Auguste à Néron*

Maria Kantiréa

Une loi sacrée de Gytheion¹ et un décret de Messène,² constituent, du point de vue chronologique, les premiers documents épigraphiques connus de la province romaine d'Achaïe qui témoignent des manifestations d'un culte adressé collectivement aux membres de la famille impériale.³ Les deux textes datent avec certitude de 14/15 apr. J.-C., puisqu'ils mentionnent l'envoi des ambassadeurs à Rome afin qu'ils consolent Tibère de la mort d'Auguste et qu'ils félicitent le nouvel empereur pour son ascension au pouvoir romain.

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¹ L'inscription fut gravée sur une stèle de pierre locale trouvée à l'est du théâtre de la cité; elle a connu plusieurs éditions et rééditions: S. B. Kougéas, 'Καίσαρείων καὶ Εὐρυκλείων ἱερὸς νόμος', *Ἑλληνικά* 1, 1928, pp. 16-38, fig. 4 (*AE* 1929, 99); L. Wenger, 'Griechische Inschriften zum Kaiserkult und zum Grabrecht', *ZSS* 49, 1929, pp. 308-327; E. Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult*, Breslau 1929, pp. 8-10, n° 3 et pp. 20-31, Abb. 3; H. Seyrig, 'Inscriptions de Gythion', *Rev. Arch.* 29, 1929, pp. 84-106, en particulier pp. 84-101 (R. Herzog, *ZSS* 50, 1930, pp. 628-633; V. Ehrenberg et A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford 1952, pp. 87-89, n° 102a; *SEG* XI 923; J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, pp. 58-65, n° 15); cf. la lettre de réponse de Tibère adjointe à la loi sacrée avec laquelle il remercia la cité de Gytheion, mais quant à lui, il refusa les honneurs divins et n'accepta que ceux qui conviendraient aux mortels; Kougéas, 'Ἐπιστολὴ Τιβερίου', *op. cit.*, pp. 38-43; Wenger, *op. cit.*; Kornemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7, n° 2 et pp. 16-20, Abb. 2 (*AE* 1929, 100; Lily Ross Taylor, 'Tiberius' Refusals of Divine Honors', *TAPA* 60, 1929, pp. 87-101; M. Rostovtzeff, 'L'empereur Tibère et le culte impérial', *Rev. Hist.* 163, 1930, pp. 1-26; M. P. Charlesworth, 'The refusal of divine honours; an Augustan formula', *PBSR* 15, 1939, pp. 1-10; O. Montevicchi, 'Osservazioni sulla lettera di Tiberio ai Giteati', *Epigraphica* 5-6, 1943-1944, pp. 104-108; D. M. Pippidi, *Autour de Tibère*, Bucaresti 1944, pp. 154-155; Ehrenberg et Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89, n° 102b; *SEG* XI 922; Oliver, *op. cit.*).

² *IG* V.1, 1448; An. Orlandos, *PAE* 1969, p. 104, pl. 128; id., *Ergon* 1969, 106, fig. 118; L. Moretti, *RPAA* 60, 1987/8, pp. 250-251 (*SEG* XXXVIII 340; *SEG* XXXIX 378); P. Themelis, dans W. Coulson et H. Kyrieleis (éds), *Πρακτικά Συμποσίου Ολυμπιακών αγώνων, 5/9 Σεπτεμβρίου 1988*, Αθήνα 1992, pp. 88-89, ph.; id., *PAE* 1988, pp. 54 et 57-58, ph. 45β; id., *PAE* 1990, pp. 87-91, fig. 12 (*SEG* XLI 328; cf. *AE* 1991, 1442; *SEG* XLII 344).

³ Ch. Br. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian period*, New York 1997, pp. 136-161, nos 66-97, rassemble les données archéologiques et les témoignages épigraphiques concernant l'érection des groupes statuariers en l'honneur des Julio-claudiens dressés dans les cités et les sanctuaires de la Grèce.

La loi sacrée de Gytheion,⁴ dont le début et la fin manquent, votée par le koinon des Eleuthérolacones,⁵ règle le cérémonial des fêtes en l'honneur de la famille impériale, de l'ancien libérateur de la Grèce T. Quintus Flamininus,⁶ et de deux membres de la dynastie princière locale des Euryclides de Sparte, C. Iulius Euryclès⁷ et son fils C. Iulius Laco.⁸ Entre autres il a été décidé d'ériger des images du dieu Auguste, de Livie et de l'empereur Tibère dans le théâtre de la cité, d'accomplir des sacrifices et d'organiser des concours thyméliques et des processions sacrées.⁹ Les fêtes duraient huit jours dont les cinq premiers furent consacrés aux membres de la famille d'Auguste;¹⁰ le premier à Auguste en sauveur libérateur (θεοῦ Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σωτήρος Ἐλευθερίου), le deuxième à Tibère désigné père de la patrie ([Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος),¹¹ le troisième à Livie assimilée à la Tychè de la cité et de tout l'ethnos, c'est-à-dire du koinon des Eleuthérolacones (Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ πόλεως ἡμῶν Τύχης),¹² le quatrième à la Victoire de Germanicus (Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς [Νί]κης) et le cinquième à la Vénus de Drusus (Δρούσου Καίσαρος τῆς Ἀφροδείτης). Le culte donc concernant les fils adoptif et naturel de Tibère respectivement ne s'adressait pas directement à eux mais à deux déesses

⁴ Dans les lignes 37-38 le document est caractérisé comme 'ἱερὸς νόμος'.

⁵ Pausanias attribue la réorganisation du koinon des Eleuthérolacones constitué de 18 petites cités autour de Gytheion (III. 21, 7) à Auguste (III. 21, 6: Γύθιον δὲ ἀπέχει μὲν σταδίου τριάκοντα Αἰγίων, ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ δὲ 'κισμένον ἔστιν ἤδη τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων, οὓς βασιλεὺς Αὐγουστος δουλείας ἀφῆκε Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατηκόους ὄντας); M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain*, Paris 1991, p. 200; cf. une inscription fragmentaire honorifique trouvée à Gytheion qui faisait allusion à cet événement; IG V.1, 1160: [- - Σεβας]/τοῦ Καίσαρος υἱὸν / ἡ πόλις ἀποκατασ[τή]/σαντα μετὰ τοῦ πατ[ρὸς] / τῇν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευ[θ]ερίαν (Seyrig, *op. cit.*, p. 92, n. 2).

⁶ H. Gundel, *RE* XXIV, 1963, cols 1047-1100, n° 45; cf. l'inscription en son honneur érigée par le peuple de Gytheion en 195 av. J.-C. à l'occasion de la libération de la cité par le proconsul (IG V. 1, 1165; *SGDI* 4565; *Syll*³ 592).

⁷ E. Groag, *RE* X. 1, 1918, col. 580, n° 220; *PIR*² I, 301.

⁸ E. Groag, *RE* X. 1, 1918, cols 658-660, n° 309; *PIR*² I, 372; Ségolène Demougine, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens*, EFR 153, Rome 1992, pp. 415-417, n° 503, avec la bibliographie précédente.

⁹ Le cortège formé des éphèbes et des citoyens couronnés de laurier et vêtus de blanc, des vierges sacrées et des femmes en vêtement rituel, partait du sanctuaire d'Asclépios et d'Hygieia pour aboutir au Sébasteion où était accompli le sacrifice d'un taureau à la santé des princes et dieux et à l'éternelle conservation de leur règne (II. 25-30).

¹⁰ LI. 7-11.

¹¹ Il est à rappeler que Tibère refusa le titre de *pater patriae* que le Sénat lui avait accordé (Tacite, *Ann.*, II. 87; Suétone, *Tib.*, XXVI; Cassius Dio, LVII, 8. 1; cf. LVIII, 12. 8).

¹² En 40 av. J.-C. Livie, son premier époux Tib. Claudius Nero et leur fils Tibère, le futur empereur, se réfugièrent à Gytheion, lequel se trouvait alors sous la protection des Claudii, afin d'échapper à la persécution d'Octavien (Suétone, *Tib.*, VI); en récompense de l'hospitalité que les Gythéates avaient montrée à sa future épouse Auguste leur donna l'île de Cythère (Cassius Dio LIV, 7. 2). L'impératrice portait le nom *Iulia* après son admission par adoption dans la *gens* julienne d'après le testament d'Auguste (Tacite, *Ann.*, I. 8).

associées aux princes, la Victoire à Germanicus et l'Aphrodite à Drusus.¹³ Il est évident que dans la loi il s'agit de la célébration des Césarées¹⁴ lesquels comprenaient aussi le sixième jour férié dédié à Flamininus et auxquels furent ajoutés deux jours supplémentaires consacrés à Euryclès défunt et à son fils Lacon, les Euryclées.¹⁵

Datant du début du règne de Tibère le document gythien reflète l'une des plus sérieuses préoccupations du nouvel empereur; entré dans la *gens Iulia* après son adoption par Auguste en 4 apr. J.-C.,¹⁶ Tibère avait toujours besoin de valoriser l'association de lui-même et en particulier de son fils naturel Drusus le Jeune avec la *gens* du fondateur de l'empire.¹⁷ Cette politique prenait très souvent une forme de vénération insistante de Vénus, la déesse protectrice de la *gens Iulia*¹⁸ dont un aspect se traduisait par les assimilations vénusiennes des impératrices et des princesses julio-claudiennes.¹⁹ Il est à noter à cet égard que pendant ces années-là Livilla, l'épouse de Drusus le Jeune, fut assimilée à la déesse Aphrodite Anchisias (ἠδὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀνχεισιάδῃ) à Ilion de Troas,²⁰ une vénération qui est identifiée à celle de *Venus Genetrix*.²¹ Il nous paraît donc fort probable que l'Aphrodite de Drusus dans le document de Gytheion faisait allusion à la

¹³ La phraséologie des honneurs leur accordés n'a pas presque aucun parallèle dans l'épigraphie grecque; nous devons donc écarter une assimilation de deux princes aux divinités féminines; cf. A. Piganiol, *Histoire de Rome*, Paris 1946, p. 262; Kornemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24 pense que les statues de deux princes étaient dressées dans les temples des déesses.

¹⁴ *IG* V. 1, 1167.

¹⁵ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, p. 14; G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, pp. 59-60 et p. 92.

¹⁶ D. Kienast, *Augustus, Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, pp. 115-116.

¹⁷ Dans le même cadre s'inscrit la présence des images autant claudiennes que juliennes lors de la procession funéraire de Drusus le Jeune à Rome en 23 apr. J.-C. (Tacite, *Ann.*, IV. 9: *Funus imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur*).

¹⁸ R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste*, Paris 1982², pp. 301-346.

¹⁹ Pour les assimilations des princesses julio-claudiennes à Aphrodite/Vénus, voir Ulrike Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, Saarbrücken 1994, *passim*.

²⁰ L'inscription en l'honneur de la princesse et de sa mère Antonia la Jeune date entre 14-19 apr. J.-C. (*ILS* 8787; Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127); l'épithète ou l'épiclèse Anchisias, formée du nom d'Anchise, le père d'Énée, du fondateur de Rome, faisait aussi allusion à Iulus, descendant d'Énée et protecteur de la *gens Iulia* (W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884-1890, 1er Band, s.v. Aineias, Anchises et Leipzig 1890-1897, 2er Band, s.v. Iulus).

²¹ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; R. S. Rogers, *Studies in the reign of Tiberius*, Westport, Connecticut 1977³, pp. 112-113; il est à rappeler que Julie la Jeune, la fille d'Auguste, était déjà désignée Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενέτειρᾷ et *Venus Genetrix* sur une inscription bilingue de Lesbos datant entre 16 et 13 av. J.-C. (*IG* XII. 2, 537; Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108).

Venus Genetrix.²² Dans cette optique la loi sacrée illustre la manière dont certains aspects de l'idéologie politico-religieuse d'Auguste s'intégrèrent dans le système cultuel grec.²³

Quant au décret mutilé de Messène trouvé près du Sébasteion de la cité,²⁴ nous ne pouvons pas en avoir une idée précise jusqu'à ce que la découverte de nouveaux fragments au cours des fouilles actuelles permette de le restituer avec certitude.²⁵ La partie subsistante de ce texte mentionne des honneurs culturels accordés au dieu Auguste, à Tibère et à ses descendants ([θεοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόν]οις αὐτῶν --- Τιβερίου δὲ Καίσαρος ἀπ[--- καὶ τοὺς γεννήσαν]τας αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνιέντας αὐτῷ),²⁶ à la déesse Livie, mère de

²² Fr. Taeger, *Charisma; Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, 2er Band, Stuttgart 1957, pp. 263-264; cf. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, p. 94, qui pense qu'Aphrodite était la déesse protectrice du mariage de Drusus avec Livilla; Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 129, no 31.

²³ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. De même la Victoire de Germanicus (Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς Νίκης), une expression formée sur le modèle latin de *Victoria Caesaris* ou de *Victoria Augusti*, évoquait l'expédition victorieuse du prince en Germanie entre les années 13 et 15 apr. J.-C. et la récupération des enseignes perdues par Varus; pour ces victoires le Sénat lui décréta un triomphe dont la célébration datait selon Tacite (*Ann.* II. 41) le 26 Mai 17 apr. J.-C.; D. Timpe, *Der Triumph des Germanicus; Untersuchungen zu den Feldzügen der Jahre 14-16 n. Chr. in Germanien*, Bonn 1968; Fr. Hurler, *Les collègues du prince sous Auguste et Tibère; de la légalité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique*, EFR 227, Rome 1997, pp. 172-180; une émission monétaire de Corinthe frappée sous les duumvirs A. Vatinius Labeo et L. Rutilius Plancus et datant entre les années 12/3 et 15/6 apr. J.-C., sur le revers de laquelle figure une Victoire ailée sur un globe tenant une palme et une couronne, devait être frappée en commémoration de cet événement; sur le droit figure le portrait lauré de Tibère, mais à cause de son 'faible qualité' l'identification n'est pas certaine (M. Amandry, *Le Monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. XV, Athènes 1988, pp. 156-165, émission XIV, pl. XV-XVIII et pp. 67-68).

²⁴ Le Sébasteion ou Kaisareion constituait la partie septentrionale de l'Asclépieion, du sanctuaire principal de la cité composé d'une cour à portiques avec des temples et des bâtiments administratifs; An. Orlandos, 'Νεώτεροι Ἐρευναι ἐν Μεσσήνῃ (1957-1973)', dans U. Jantzen (éd.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, 1976, pp. 9-38, en particulier pp. 30-31; pour le caractère politique de tout ce complexe architectural, voir Fl. Felten, 'Heiligtümer oder Märkte?', *AntK* 26, 1983, pp. 84-105, en particulier pp. 84-93.

²⁵ Il semble que pendant la 1ère moitié du Ier siècle apr. J.-C. les Messéniens participaient avec zèle aux manifestations du culte impérial; un assez grand nombre d'inscriptions mentionnent la célébration des fêtes et l'accomplissement des sacrifices en l'honneur des empereurs et des membres de leur famille: décret en l'honneur de Caius César d'après la proposition du propréteur P. Cornelius Scipio datant de 2-3 apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XXIII 206; cf. *BullÉpigr* 1966, 201); décret de souscription pour la réparation de monuments publics datant entre 15 av. J.-C. et 14 apr. J.-C. dont les lignes 3 et 36-42 se réfèrent au culte impérial (L. Migeotte, *BCH* 109, 1985, pp. 597-607, ph. pp. 598, 599; *SEG* XXXV 343); décret concernant la célébration de l'anniversaire d'Auguste datant de 30-31 apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XI 968; *IG* V.1, 1359); décret en l'honneur de Mnasistratos fils de Philoxenidas pour sa contribution à l'accomplissement des sacrifices aux Augustes datant de 42 apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XXIII 208); inscription dédicatoire gravée sur l'épistyle du propylon d'un de deux gymnases de Messène mentionnant la contribution de 10000 deniers par un riche Messénien pour l'accomplissement des sacrifices et l'organisation des concours en l'honneur des Augustes datant des années 40 apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XLV 308); inscription en l'honneur de deux syndroi Messéniens ayant donné 3800 deniers pour la réparation de la fontaine Arsinoë et sa décoration avec des statues impériales datant du Ier siècle apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XLV 311); autel consacré aux dieux Patrôoi et à Auguste datant du Ier siècle apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XLIII 163; *SEG* XLIV 376; Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, 'Notes sur le culte impérial dans le Péloponnèse', *ZPE* 125, 1999, pp. 177-181, en particulier pp. 177-179).

²⁶ Ll. 20-22 et 26-27.

l'empereur et femme du dieu Auguste (θεὰν Λειβίαν τὰν ματέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος)),²⁷ à Antonia la Jeune et à Livilla ('Αντωνία καὶ Λιβίλλα),²⁸ épouses de Drusus l'Ancien et de Drusus le Jeune, frère et fils naturel de Tibère respectivement, et elle règle en outre la célébration de l'anniversaire de Tibère (ἐπιτελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνας ... ἐν τῇ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρᾳ).²⁹

Vers la fin du règne de Tibère un culte à la *gens Iulia* avait lieu dans la colonie romaine de Corinthe. Une série de monnaies frappées en 32/33 apr. J.-C. au nom des duumvirs quinquennaux locaux L. Arrius Peregrinus et L. Furius Labeo portent au revers la représentation d'un temple hexastyle de face sur l'architrave duquel a été gravée la légende *Gent(is) Iuli(ae)*.³⁰

Amandry attribue au même collègue de duumvirs l'émission d'une autre série monétaire datant de la même année ou de l'année suivante sur le revers de laquelle figurent deux bustes masculins affrontés avec la légende CAE/GEM.³¹ Écartant une restauration comme CAE[SARES] GEM[INI] Amandry restitue la légende comme CAE[SAR]/GEM[ELLUS] et il l'associe à Caligula César et à Tiberius Gemellus qui devinrent les héritiers du trône de Tibère en 32 apr. J.-C.³²

Du point de vue politique les deux émissions constitue un ensemble véhiculant l'idéologie dynastique. Les monnaies furent frappées une ou deux années après la révélation du complot de Séjan de 31 apr. J.-C., qui ruina la maison de Germanicus et suscita de graves problèmes concernant la succession légitime au trône des membres de la famille d'Auguste.³³ Les droits de la première série représentant la tête radiée d'Auguste, le

²⁷ L. 28.

²⁸ L. 29.

²⁹ Ll. 34-35.

³⁰ Amandry, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-180, émission XVI, pl. XIX-XXIV; cf. pp. 59-66; les détails architecturaux d'un temple hexastyle périptère fouillé sur le forum de la colonie, dit le temple E, correspondent aux représentations monétaires; cette ressemblance et un témoignage de Pausanias, selon lequel le périégète vit sur l'agora de Corinthe un temple consacré à Octavie, la soeur d'Auguste (II, 3. 1: ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐστὶν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Αὐγούστου), ont amené plusieurs savants à identifier les trois temples, c'est-à-dire, celui figuré sur les monnaies, le temple E et celui dont Pausanias parle; voir en dernier lieu C. K. Williams, II, 'The Refounding of Corinth: some Roman Religious Attitudes', dans Sarah Macready et F. H. Thompson (éds), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, 1987, pp. 26-37, en particulier pp. 29-31 et pp. 35-37, ns 6-11, Amandry, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62, avec la bibliographie précédente, et Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, 'Evidence for the imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth', dans A. Small (éd.), *Subject and Ruler: the cult of the ruling power in classical antiquity*, JRA Suppl. 17, 1996, pp. 201-213; dans le cadre de la présente étude ce qui nous intéresse plutôt c'est l'existence confirmée et datée avec certitude par les données numismatiques d'un temple consacré à la *gens Iulia*. Il est à rappeler que probablement sous Tibère un autel fut consacré à la *gens Iulia* sur le Capitole (E. La Rocca, 'Gens Iulia, Ara', dans Eva Margareta Steinby (éd.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, Roma 1995, vol. II, pp. 369-370) et un *sacrarium genti Iuliae* a été dédié à Bovillae, la maison des Iulii (Tacite, *Ann.*, II. 41: *sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur*).

³¹ Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 180, émission XVI 164-166.

³² Amandry, *op. cit.* pp. 64-66; à cette époque Tiberius Gemellus était le seul fils survivant de Drusus le Jeune, plus jeune que Caligula; il est à rappeler que Drusus III, le deuxième fils de Germanicus accusé par le Sénat très probablement pour complot contre Tibère, fut condamné à mort en 33 apr. J.-C.; sa mère Agrippine l'Ancienne mourut aussi la même année.

³³ D. Hennig, *L. Aelius Seianus; Untersuchungen zur Regierung des Tiberius*, München 1975; Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the politician*, London 1976, pp. 148-179; une dédicace à *Diana Pacilucifer Augusta* trouvée à Corinthe et mentionnant un vœu [*pro salut[e] Ti. Caesaris [Augusti]*] constituait très

portrait lauré de Tibère et le buste de Livie en *Salus* et en *Pietas* illustraient la volonté de la propagande impériale de réunir les membres de la *gens Iulia*³⁴ et d'affirmer la confiance du peuple romain en eux.

Quelques années plus tard, en 37/8 apr. J.-C. date une inscription trouvée dans la basilique dite julienne de Corinthe,³⁵ cette fois en l'honneur de Tiberius Gemellus, Antonia la Jeune et la *gens Augusta* (*Tiberio Caesari / Ant[oniae] Augu[stae] / Genti Augustae*).³⁶

La position prépondérante que Caligula donna à sa grand-mère Antonia la Jeune³⁷ est aussi illustrée par la création d'une grand-prêtrise en son honneur à Athènes. Le seul prêtre que nous connaissons, Tib. Claudius Novius fils de Phileinos, est attesté dans une inscription en son honneur datant des années entre 47/8 et 51/2 apr. J.-C. comme grand-prêtre d'Antonia Augusta (ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀντωνίας Σεβαστῆς).³⁸ La prêtrise athénienne de l'impératrice devait être instituée si non entre l'avènement de Caligula au pouvoir romain et

vraisemblablement un écho de cet événement politique de Rome (*Corinth VIII. 2, 15, ph.*); cf. Isabelle Cogitore, 'Séries de dédicaces italiennes à la dynastie Julio-claudienne', *MEFRA* 104, 1992, pp. 817-870, en particulier pp. 832-833.

³⁴ Selon le concept principal romain à la *gens* d'Auguste appartenaient tous les membres de la dynastie qui étaient comme lui des Iulii; cf. l'inscription dédicatoire d'un autel à Narbonne datant de 11 apr. J.-C. à Auguste, son épouse et sa *gens* (*CIL XII. 4333*).

³⁵ De ce monument il est question plus bas.

³⁶ *AE* 1922, 1; *Corinth VIII. 2, 17*; l'inscription est brisée à droite où selon l'éditeur devaient être gravés les noms d'autres membres de la famille impériale, probablement ceux de Caligula et de ses trois sœurs; cf. une autre dédicace très mutilée concernant la *gens Augusta* (*Corinth VIII. 3, 71: D[ivo?] - - - ri - - - C - - - | Ca[esari?] - - - | [ge]nt[is] Au[gusta]e - - - Augu[st] - - -*); une dédicace d'un portique en l'honneur de la *gens Augustorum*, de Rome et de la cité (γένει Σεβ[αστῶν] καὶ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ πόλει - - -) faite à ses frais par Phileinos fils de Mondôn à Thespies (P. Jamot, *BCH* 26, 1902, pp. 297-298, n° 17, restituée: γένει Σεβ[αστοῦ] καὶ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Ἐρωτί; cf. A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia*, London 1981, vol. 1, pp. 211-212, surtout p. 212, n. 4; *SEG XXXI*, 1981, 520; Christel Müller, *Onomastique latine et société dans la Béotie hellénistique et romaine*, diss., EFA, Athènes 1996, p. 147, n° 6 et p. 163, n° 36) et la consécration d'un temple d'Artémis Sôteira, à la *gens Augustorum* et à la cité (γένει Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει) par un certain Skylax fils de Skylax à Thisbè (*IG VII 2234*; cf. Schachter, *op. cit.*, p. 213 et p. 212, n. 4; Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 164, n° 48) sont datées du début de l'Empire.

³⁷ Antonia Augusta était fille de Marc Antoine, veuve de Drusus l'Ancien et mère de Claude; d'après un témoignage de Cassius Dio (*LIX. 3, 3-4*) Caligula dès son ascension au pouvoir romain donna à sa grand-mère Antonia la Jeune le nom *Augusta* comme un titre honorifique: ἔς τε τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἔς τὰς ἀδελφὰς τὴν τε τήν τὴν Ἀντωνίαν πλεῖστα ὅσα εὐσεβῶς ποιήσας --- ταύτην τε γὰρ Αὐγούστην τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἱέρειαν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀποδείξας πάντα αὐτῇ καθάπαξ, ὅσα ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοισι ὑπάρχει ἔδωκε; cf. Suétone (*Cal., XV. 2: post haec Antoniae aviae, quidquid umquam Livia Augusta honorum cepisset, uno senatus consulto congegessit*); Mireille Corbier, 'La maison des Césars', dans *Épouser au plus proche. Inceste, prohibitions et stratégies matrimoniales autour de la Méditerranée*; Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 1994, pp. 243-291, en particulier p. 250; il est à noter que sous Caligula le buste drapé de la princesse fit son apparition sur des monnaies corinthiennes des années 37-38 apr. J.-C. (Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 191; émission XVII 72 et 73; *RPC* 1176-1177); cf. W. Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius; Agrippina Maior und Antonia Augusta auf Münzen*, Berlin 1978, pp. 104-105 et p. 142, Taf. 13.

³⁸ *IG II² 3535*; Simone Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle*, Paris 1976, p. 161; cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the sacred and ancestral law*, Baltimore 1950, p. 81, la date de 57 apr. J.-C. environ; Hoff, ci-dessous, pp. 113-114 et 117, constate que le culte impérial à Athènes fut réorganisé sous Claude pour intégrer la vénération des *divae* Livia et Antonia la Jeune.

la mort de la dame julio-claudienne, le 1er Mai 37 apr. J.-C., de toute probabilité dans les premières années du règne de Claude, qui lui fit en outre confirmer le nom d'*Augusta*.³⁹ Cet empereur avait raison de rendre un hommage à sa mère Antonia la Jeune, fille d'Octavie, puisque c'était à travers elle qu'il se rattachait à la famille du *divus Augustus*.⁴⁰

Dans la dédicace corinthienne déjà mentionnée nous rencontrons la formule de la *gens Augusta*, laquelle, comme Mireille Corbier constate, "constituerait en effet un non-sens selon les catégories familiales romaines".⁴¹ Il a été constaté que cette expression particulière devait être créée par les provinciaux, qui n'étaient pas habitués à distinguer la différence subtile entre les termes *gens Iulia* et *domus Augusta*.⁴² Or, la *gens Augusta*, au moins dans les régions hellénophones de l'empire, elle devrait être synonyme avec la *domus Augusta*.⁴³ Tous les deux termes avaient une signification plus large et plus souple que la *gens Iulia*, laquelle, dans un sens strict du terme, ne comprenait que ceux qui portaient le nom *Iulius* comme gentilice. Au contraire, la conception de la *domus* ou *gens Augusta* définissait l'appartenance à la famille impériale des parents les plus éloignés de l'empereur ou bien de ses parents par alliance, qui n'étaient pas forcément ses descendants agnatiques.⁴⁴ La forme adjectivée *Augusta*, formée du nom d'Auguste,⁴⁵ avait en outre des connotations religieuses qui servirent aux Julio-claudiens à associer leur culte à celui du fondateur divin de la dynastie.⁴⁶

En Achaïe les premières attestations connues du terme de la *domus Augusta*, dans la titulature sacerdotale datent du début du règne de Néron. Pendant ces années-là se place la nomination de C. Iulius Spartiacus, membre de la dynastie royale de Sparte,⁴⁷ comme

³⁹ Corbier, 'Maison', pp. 250-251, n. 22; Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 119-121, pense que la princesse aurait dû accepter un culte même de son vivant.

⁴⁰ Il suffit à cet égard de rappeler l'inscription gravée sur un siège du théâtre de Dionysos à Athènes; il était réservé au desservant du culte d'Antonia la Jeune: (IG II² 5095: 'Ιερή[ας --- 'Αν[τ]ωνίας; Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 119).

⁴¹ Mireille Corbier, 'A propos de la Tabula Siarensis: le Sénat, Germanicus et la Domus Augusta', dans J. Gonzalez (éd.), *Roma y las provincias: realidad administrativa e ideología imperial*, Madrid 1994, pp. 39-85, en particulier p. 67.

⁴² À part l'inscription corinthienne nous rencontrons l'expression de la *gens Augusta* sur un temple carthaginois consacré *genti Augustae* par un individu et datant du règne d'Auguste ou peu après sa mort (R. Cagnat, 'Un temple de la Gens Augusta à Carthage', *CRAI* 1913, pp. 680-686; J. Gagé, 'Divus Augustus; l'idée dynastique chez les empereurs julio-claudiens', *Rev. Arch.* 34, 1931, pp. 11-41, en particulier pp. 35-36; Hurlet, *op. cit.*, p. 417; cf. D. M. Pippidi, *Recherches sur le culte impérial*, Paris, Bucarest 1939, pp. 128-139, en particulier pp. 129-130; Gagé, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴³ Pour l'emploi de l'expression de la *domus Augusta* dans les documents officiels à Rome à partir du règne de Tibère et dans les textes littéraires, en particulier chez Ovide, même du vivant d'Auguste, voir Corbier, 'Tabula', pp. 64-66; Hurlet, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁴⁴ Gagé, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-41; Pippidi, *Recherches*, p. 130; Corbier, 'Tabula', pp. 63-85; Fishwick, ci-dessous, pp. 423-424; Hurlet, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-418.

⁴⁵ Dans ce sens elle est égale au génitif *Augusti* ou *Augustorum*.

⁴⁶ Taeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119; Corbier, 'Tabula', p. 64; cf. Pippidi, *Recherches*, pp. 129-130; Gagé, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14 et 35-36; pour la *domus divina*, voir D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, Leiden 1991, vol. II. 1, pp. 423-435.

⁴⁷ E. Groag, *RE* X. 1, 1918, cols 839-840, n° 495; *PIR*² I, 587; Demougin, *op. cit.*, pp. 469-470, n° 564, avec la bibliographie précédente.

grand-prêtre de la *domus Augusta* désigné par le koinon achéen (*archiereus domus Augustae in perpetuum primus Acheon*).⁴⁸ Il est à noter que dans le même document apparaît un autre terme concernant la maison impériale, celui de la *domus divina*.⁴⁹ À part cette inscription latine trouvée à Corinthe une autre grecque d'Athènes érigée en l'honneur de Spartiatikus mentionne plus explicitement ses fonctions sacerdotales: il fut nommé grand-prêtre des *divi Augusti* et de la *gens Augustorum* désigné à vie par le koinon d'Achaïe, le premier des Achéens (ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν] Σεβαστῶν κ[αὶ γένους Σεβ]αστῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆ[ς] Ἀχαιῶν διὰ βίου πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος).⁵⁰ Une simple comparaison des titulatures met en évidence que dans la formule grecque les Augustes défunts (θεοὶ Σεβαστοὶ) se distinguaient de ceux vivants (γένος Σεβαστῶν), tandis que sous le terme latin de la *domus Augusta* étaient compris sans se nommer séparément autant les *divi* que leurs descendants.⁵¹

La *domus Augusta* est en outre attestée dans la titulature de Tib. Claudius Novius déjà mentionné; cette fois ce personnage figure sur un décret athénien datant de 60/1 ou 61/2 apr. J.-C. parmi d'autres comme grand-prêtre de la *domus Augustorum* ([ἀρχι]ερεὺς τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν).⁵² Désigné d'abord grand-prêtre d'Antonia Augusta il fut ensuite chargé de la grand-prêtrise de la *domus Augusti*.⁵³ Le changement

⁴⁸ AE 1927, 2; *Corinth* VIII. 2, 68; A. J. Spawforth, 'Corinth, Argos and the Imperial Cult: Pseudo-Julian, *Letters* 198', *Hesperia* 63, 1994, pp. 211-232, en particulier pp. 218-221; l'inscription date des années entre 54 et 59 apr. J.-C.; cf. un décret messénien, déjà mentionné, en l'honneur de Caius César d'après la proposition du propréteur P. Cornelius Scipio datant de 2-3 apr. J.-C. (*SEG* XXIII 206; cf. *Bull'Épigr* 1966, 201), où le terme *domus* sans adjectif signifiait la famille impériale (ll. 3-4: εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ); Hurler, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

⁴⁹ Spartiatikus fut honoré "ob ... erga domum divinam ... munificentiam". À partir de la fin du règne de Tibère l'expression de la *domus divina* commença à substituer à celle de la *domus Augusta*; pour ses premières attestations épigraphiques et littéraires datant après la découverte de la conspiration de Séjan, voir Fishwick, *op. cit.*, p. 423 et Cogitore, *op. cit.*, pp. 822-823, p. 832 et p. 866, n° 83.

⁵⁰ *IG* II² 3538; sur l'expression de *primus Achaeon* (πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος), voir Spawforth, 'C. Iulius Spartiatikus, «first of the Achaeans»: a correction', *Hesperia* 64, 1995, p. 225. Dans une inscription en son honneur de Sparte (*IG* V.1, 463) il porte le titre plus abrégé de grand-prêtre des Augustes (ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν); nous constatons que de l'époque de Néron se généralisa la mention des Σεβαστοὶ dans la titulature des prêtres et des grands-prêtres du culte impérial en Achaïe, une formule qui comprenait indifféremment les empereurs et les membres de leur famille autant vivants que divinisés (*IG* VII 7213; *FD* III. 3, 181; *Syll*³ 813 A, B et C; *IG* V. 2, 515; *IVO* 447; *IG* V.1, 380; *IG* V.1, 971; *IG* V.1, 1172; *SEG* XI 779, etc.).

⁵¹ Fishwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-426.

⁵² *IG* II² 1990.

⁵³ Novius, dont la carrière brillante nous est connue de 11 inscriptions d'Athènes et de Délos (*IG* II² 3270; *IG* II² 4174; *IG* II² 3271; *IG* II² 1945; *IG* II² 3273; *IG* II² 3535; *IG* II² 1990; *IG* II² 3277; *ID* 1628; *ID* 1629; *ID* 1861; Follet, *op. cit.* p. 161); A. J. Spawforth, 'The early reception of the imperial cult in Athens: problems and ambiguities', dans M. C. Hoff et Susan I. Rotroff (éds), *The Romanization of Athens*, Oxford 1997, pp. 183-201, en particulier pp. 188-191, je considère comme le premier grand-prêtre des Augustes à Athènes; à part ces deux sacerdoces athéniens du culte impérial déjà mentionnés il fut encore chargé d'un autre provincial; il fut grand-prêtre de Néron et de Zeus Eleuthérios désigné par le synédriion des Hellènes réunis à Platées (*IG* II² 1990: ἀρχιερεὺς Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ βίου).

de la titulature qui implique aussi un développement qu'une rédéfinition progressive de l'objet de culte doit être placé dans les années 50 apr. J.-C.⁵⁴

L'activité édilitaire religieuse dans les cités les plus importantes de l'Achaïe pendant cette époque confirme notre supposition que le culte de la *domus Augusta* devait être institutionnalisé sous Claude. À Corinthe à part le temple de la *gens Iulia* déjà mentionné, des honneurs cultuels à la dynastie impériale devaient être rendus dans la basilique dite julienne à l'est du forum de la colonie.⁵⁵ Dans ce monument dont le caractère reste encore à définir et dont la construction se place, selon la datation la plus certaine, sous Claude, ont été trouvées entre autres⁵⁶ une statue d'Auguste *togatus*, deux statues de Gaius et de Lucius César nus et un portrait attribuable à Germanicus.⁵⁷

De Claude ou moins probablement de Néron date la construction d'un monument dans l'agora romaine d'Athènes récemment identifié avec le Kaisareion.⁵⁸ L'inscription dédicatoire illustre qu'il fut consacré à Athéna Archégète et aux dieux Augustes (Ἀθηνᾶ ἀρχηγέτηδι καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς).⁵⁹

Le Métroon à Olympie, l'ancien temple de la Mère des dieux, constitue un exemple des plus révélateurs de l'évolution du culte dynastique en Achaïe. Consacré d'abord au culte d'Auguste sauveur, comme l'indiquent l'inscription dédicatoire gravée sur l'architrave du temple⁶⁰ et la statue colossale qui y fut érigée et qui datait du vivant de l'empereur,⁶¹ il devint ensuite, à notre avis sous Claude, un lieu de culte de la maison impériale; dans la

⁵⁴ Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 99; si on doit tirer des conclusions du catalogue des grands-prêtres du culte impérial à Athènes fait par Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84, leur titulature n'implique aucun culte dynastique d'Auguste à Néron; cf. Corbier, 'Tabula', p. 65.

⁵⁵ S. S. Weinberg, *The Southeast Building, the Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House, Corinth I. V.*, Princeton, New Jersey 1960, pp. 35-57, plates 18-35, plans III-X; H. A. Stansbury, *Corinthian honor, Corinthian conflict: A social history of early Roman Corinth and its Pauline community*, diss. University of California, Irvine 1990, pp. 313-314, avec la bibliographie précédente; cf. P. Douglas Scotton, *The Julian Basilica at Corinth: an architectural investigation*, diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1997, pp. 244-267.

⁵⁶ Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-56; Douglas Scotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-261; il est à rappeler que dans la basilique a été trouvée l'inscription en l'honneur de Tiberius Gemellus, d'Antonia Augusta et de la *gens Augusta* déjà mentionnée.

⁵⁷ Auguste se représente au type de prête prêt à sacrifier *velato capite* tenant de la main droite une patère; les deux princes furent sculptés en guise héroïque, comme les divinités ou les demi-dieux nus; il n'est pas certain si la statue d'Auguste était flanquée de statues de deux princes (Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139, n° 69, avec la bibliographie précédente).

⁵⁸ M. Hoff, 'The so-called Agoronomion and the Imperial Cult in Julio-claudian Athens', *AA* 1994, pp. 93-117, en particulier pp. 114-115, ph.

⁵⁹ *IG* II² 3183; Hoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-109.

⁶⁰ *IvO* 366; cf. Anna Benjamin et A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, p. 69, n° 18; K. Hitzl, *Die kaiserzeitliche Statuenausstattung des Metroon*, Olympische Forschungen XIX, Berlin-New York 1991, pp. 19-24, Abb. 2-4, Tafel 1 (*SEG* XLII 390).

⁶¹ Hitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38, n° 1, Taf. 2-7.

cella du temple devaient être dressées des statues en l'honneur de Claude et d'Agrippine la Jeune⁶² et un peu plus tard des proches de Néron.⁶³

Dans cette optique nous proposons de dater sous Claude la consécration d'un portique et des parties d'un bouleutérion aux dieux Augustes, à la *domus Augusti* et à Rome (θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ῥώμῃ ? ---) par des polémarques et des prêtres à Thespies.⁶⁴

Nous pouvons donc conclure qu'à partir du règne de Tibère le culte dynastique commença à avoir un caractère plus officiel, d'abord dans les cités les plus romanisées de la province d'Achaïe. En même temps il y avait une certaine tendance d'associer de plus en plus les dédicaces dynastiques à l'actualité politique concernant la famille impériale, aux expéditions militaires, aux conspirations, aux adoptions.⁶⁵ Dans la titulature sacerdotale la nomination de chaque membre de la famille impériale séparément se substitua progressivement à une désignation plus élargie et compréhensive de la *domus Augusta*, des dieux Augustes ou tout simplement des Augustes.

⁶² Hitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-46, nos 2-3, Taf. 8-19, 38b, 39b, 40a.

⁶³ Cf. un torso cuirassé de l'époque de Néron sur lequel fut insérée la tête de Titus sous les Flaviens (Hitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49, n° 4, Taf. 20-25, 34a, 38c, 40b), une statue féminine néronienne laquelle représenta Flavia Domitilla la Jeune (Hitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-52, n° 5, Taf. 26-29) et les statues de Vespasien (Hitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-55, n° 6, Taf. 30-33, 34b, 38a) et de Flavia Domitilla l'Ancienne (Hitzl, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56, n° 7, Taf. 35-37, 39a).

⁶⁴ L'inscription est datée du début de l'Empire; A. Plassart, *BCH* 50, 1926, pp. 394-395, n° 14; Schachter, *op. cit.*, London 1981, vol. 1, p. 212, surtout n. 3, qui restitue οἴκῳ Σεβαστοῦ[ν ...]; cf. *SEG* XXXI 521; Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 147, n° 7 et p. 163, n° 35.

⁶⁵ Cogitore, *op. cit.*, p. 834.

Two Notes on Theophanes' Descendants

Kostas Buraselis

I. Behind *Graeca adulatio*

Tacitus, *Annals* VI.18.2 mentions in the year A. D. 33, in the context of other political condemnations of the era after Sejanus' fall and Tiberius' grim turn, the fate of a lady and four men of her family: *etiam in Pompeiam Macrinam exilium statuitur, cuius maritum Argolicum, socerum Laconem, e primoribus Achaeorum, Caesar adflixerat; pater quoque inlustris eques Romanus ac frater praetorius, cum damnatio instaret, se ipsi interfecere. Datum erat crimini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat*. This text has often been studied and especially most of its prosopographical aspects clarified, while the alleged motives for the emperor's rigour have usually earned quite understandable disbelief or rejection. It will be the purpose of this note to look closer at the possible reasons for those persons' harsh treatment by Tiberius.

It is clear that this grave disgrace struck members of two distinguished provincial Greek families with an already elevated Roman status: the Euryclids of Laconia and the descendants of Pompeius' Greek right-hand man, Theophanes of Mytilene. Pompeia Macrina was their human link. Her husband, Iulius Argolicus, and her father-in-law, Iulius Laco, the son of Augustus' notorious Greek friend, Eurycles, seem to have been punished first (*adflixerat*), although Laco reappears later (under Claudius) in an important imperial post in the Peloponnese.¹ So the blow for Laco, Argolicus and Macrina was severe but not fatal. The case with her father and brother was different as they obviously had reasons to fear the worst and prefer suicide to execution. Tacitus does not name them but mentions their status, so their identity has been persuasively spotted:² another Greek friend of Augustus was Pompeius Macer, entrusted by the first emperor with the organization of his libraries at Rome (*Suet., Iul., 56.7*). He seems to be one of those exciting political and intellectual liaisons between the Greek world and the Roman empire: he should be the same man with M. Pompeius, the great Theophanes' son, mentioned by Strabo, XII.2.3 (618) as procurator of Augustus in Asia who remained an *amicus principis* under Tiberius, possibly also with Ovid's friend *Iliacus Macer* (*Pont., IV.16.6*).³ So the Tacitean *inlustris eques Romanus*

¹ *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 67. Cf. P. Cartledge-A.J.S. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta*, London 1989, 102.

² All relevant evidence, the - by now more or less - standard identifications and the main bibliography most recently in the careful articles by K. Wachtel in *PIR*², VI (1998), P 625: Cn.(?) Pompeius Macer; ib. 626: Q. Pompeius Macer. Cf. also H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jhdts. n. Chr.*, Göttingen 1979, 1, 1a (p.100); G. Labarre, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, Lyon 1996, 147-53; the works cited in the following notes.

³ Especially this last identification has been categorically rejected by P. White, 'Pompeius Macer and Ovid', *CQ* 42 1992 210-18 (215-8), on rather insufficient grounds (the fact e.g. that Ovid included his friend Macer in a list of contemporary poets who are otherwise known to have written in Latin cannot exclude that Macer could have composed his major work in Greek: poetic talent and personal relationship might explain his place there).

perfectly suits both status and age of this person. His son and ex-praetor has also been recognized with great probability as the praetor Q. Pompeius Macer who consulted Tiberius on launching some new *iudicia maiestatis* (*Tac., Ann.*, I.72.3) in A. D. 15 - a true irony of history. Of course, Tacitus' term *proavum* to describe the relation of Macrina and her brother with Pompey's favourite is then inexact by one generation as Syme had first the courage to demonstrate.⁴ More recently, Bertrand has been able to conclude from a fragmentary inscription of Priene the existence of another probable Augustan member of the family in imperial service, a Cn. Pompeius Theophanes (cognomen partly restored), *hyparchos* of Augustus in Asia about 20 B. C., who may have been the elder brother of the praetor of A. D. 15.⁵ So there seem to have been at least three descendants of Theophanes advanced to important posts under Augustus and Tiberius until A. D. 33.

While the prosopographical landscape has been so reasonably cleared, the doom of these members of Theophanes' progeny in Tiberius' twilight years remains a puzzle. Bowersock has actually underlined the enigma by showing that Pompeius Macer very probably belonged to Tiberius' circle of Greek friends in the latter's Rhodian period who backed the future princeps decisively in his rivalry with Caius Caesar and accompanied him then after A. D. 2 to Rome and the way to the throne.⁶ Tiberius' late anger against such an old friend and partisan, and his relatives, seems to ask for a more specific explanation than the haunted mind of the old monarch after Seianus' end. On the other hand, an attempt to coordinate this and other contemporaneous punitive measures of Tiberius into a reasonable, general plan of persecution against Drusus', Germanicus' and Agrippina's last adherents (understood as a sort of "party") in the empire has certainly overstated the extant issues, and encountered justified criticism.⁷

What about the official incrimination in Tacitus? Syme was explicit: it "appears unduly trivial".⁸ There were further such reactions: Koestermann in his commentary on the *Annales* thought that the accusation "nicht ernst genommen werden kann";⁹ Seager in his biography of Tacitus remarked: "It is incredible that these can have been the only grounds for the prosecution", to concur then in the generally psychological or psychiatric interpretation of Tiberius' turn against old friends;¹⁰ most recently Guy Labarre in his useful synthesis of our data on Hellenistic and Roman Lesbos has lucidly

⁴ R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford 1958, II.748f. Cf. also his later, more decided statements of this view in: id., *History in Ovid*, Oxford 1978, 73f.; 'Tacitus' Sources of Information. (8) The descendants of Cn. Pompeius Theophanes', *JRS* 72 (1982), 79f.

⁵ J.-M. Bertrand, 'A propos de deux disparus: Cn. Pompeius Theophanes, M. Pompeius Macer', *ZPE* 59 (1985), 173-6.

⁶ G. W. Bowersock, 'Augustus and the East: The Problem of the Succession', in: F. Millar & E. Segal, *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, 169-88 (178-85). Some Lesbian connection of Tiberius in the period of his Rhodian withdrawal might be discerned in his eponymous prytany (as Claudius Nero) at Eresos: *IG XII Suppl.* 124.5 = Labarre (n. 2), Choix, no. 78 (pp. 351-2; cf. 115).

⁷ B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, London 1976, 98ff.

⁸ *JRS* 72 (1982), 80.

⁹ E. Koestermann, *Cornelius Tacitus, Annalen, Bd. II: Buch 4-6*, Heidelberg 1965, 283-284.

¹⁰ R. Seager, *Tiberius*, Berkeley 1972, 232. Cf. also the older analysis by F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius*, Oxford 1931, 291-5, also assuming that the initial charges in this and similar cases were used simply "to prejudice the senate against the accused" (292).

expressed the apparent fragility of that crimen: "Cette argumentation peut apparaître comme un prétexte. Pourquoi attendre 33 p.C. pour reprocher à cette famille d'avoir été dans la clientèle de Pompée alors qu'elle occupa jusque là des fonctions importantes dans l'Empire? Les honneurs divins après la mort étaient chose courante en Grèce. Le culte impérial n'était pas sur un pied d'égalité avec les cultes civiques".¹¹ So even this latest study preferred simply to recognize the only real fault of these persons in an unspecified and unsubstantiated connection with the family of Germanicus and Agrippina.

However, the question is at least legitimate whether the official charge against the condemned could be in fact so glaringly irrelevant whatever the possible further ramifications of their apparent breach of imperial order with the political scene of the period might have been. To study and estimate this crucial aspect we should now rather turn to the political context of contemporary Mytilene and Asia. There are actually two questions to answer here: (a) when was Theophanes deified and how long did his divine celebration last? (b) what was the possible connection of these honours for him with the contemporaneous status of his home city and the parallel tenure of imperial positions of influence by members of his family?

The evidence for Theophanes' deification apart from the passage of Tacitus cited consists of one inscription and a group of coins. A base from Mytilene at the British Museum (Syll.³ 752/4) preserves a Greek tripartite dedicative text (in datives), arranged in three columns: the left refers to Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Magnus imperator (αὐτοκράτορι), then styled in the traditional Greek way as *euergetas*, *soter* and *ktistas*. The middle column concerns the latter's friend Theophanes who appears not simply deified (Θ[ε]ώ) but identified with *Zeus Eleutherios* and additionally styled as *philopatris*, *soter*, *euergetas* and "second founder of the fatherland" (κτίστα δευτέρω τῶς πατρίδος). The right column names a local prominence, Potamon, son of Lesbonax, styled as *euergetas*, *soter*¹² and *ktistas* of the city. We should rather understand that the base supported some form of representation of the three men honoured. It is also clear that Theophanes is the most honoured of the three, in place and terms: he has been given the central position, he is a god between mortals, and not just "(the) founder", that is one of the "founders" of Mytilene, but specifically its "second founder", that is the first person deserving that title after the mythical *ktistas* of it, who should be, of course, a traditional local hero.¹³

The monument postdates Theophanes' death according to Tacitus' *defuncto Theophani*: so it is later than 44 B. C. when we find the last mention of Theophanes in Cicero's correspondence.¹⁴ Richard Laqueur in his *RE* article on Theophanes was the first to establish that the three texts of the monument must have been inscribed

¹¹ Labarre (n. 2), 148.

¹² The genitive σώτηρος (instead of the syntactically correct form σώτηρι) is a telling slip, probably owed not just to the easy confusion of genitive and dative in the Aeolic dialect (so Dittenberger, *ad loc.*): it actually borrows a form from the alternative expression of the whole text in genitive, that is in a purely honorific and not dedicative sense.

¹³ The foundation of the city was attributed either to Mytilene, daughter of Makar, or to Mytilēs/Myton, son of Poseidon and Mytilene: Steph.Byz., s.v. Μυτιλήνη; Herodian, 332.28ff. Lentz. Cf. R. Herbst, *RE* XVI.2 (1935), s.v. Mytilene, 1412. W. Leschhorn, "Gründer der Stadt". *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1984, 378. On the title δεύτερος κτίστης cf. now also J.-L. Ferrary, 'The Hellenistic World and Roman Political Patronage', in: P. Cartledge et al. (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs. Essays in Culture, History and Historiography*, Berkeley 1997, 119, n. 57.

¹⁴ *Ad Att.*, XV.19.1.

simultaneously.¹⁵ He also tried to pin down its date: as Sextus Pompeius, Pompey's son, fled from Octavian to the East and sought refuge and a new base of action against Antonius in the summer of 36 B. C. at Mytilene, where the loyalty to his house remained alive,¹⁶ Laqueur thought this should be the best historical context of the threefold inscription. However, he erroneously thought that Potamon's diplomatic activity for his home city could only set a *terminus ante quem* at 45 B. C. for the monument. As Potamon was still on an embassy to Augustus in 27-25 B. C., when a new Mytilenaeon alliance with Augustan Rome was achieved, Potamon's inclusion in this sort of honorific triptych may well be later. Much later, indeed, as Potamon's longevity (he died ninety years old, according to Lucian¹⁷) and the article on him in the Suda, placing him in Tiberius' times,¹⁸ render possible. So the erection of the monument and the respective actuality of Theophanes' divine honours in Mytilene may belong, as far as Potamon's life is concerned, to Augustan or early Tiberian times. Of course, the possibility of an even later date inside Tiberius' reign cannot be excluded if Potamon were also dead by the erection of the monument, which could so glorify in a unitary way three departed but decisive benefactors of Mytilene and its status.

Besides, a date later than the situation of 36 B. C. is suggested by the contents of the dedication itself where the real place of honour does not belong to Pompey but to Theophanes: certainly, this cannot have been the best method to exalt the dead emperor and win his son's favour. One has much more the impression that Pompey appears in a subordinate role, somewhat as the Roman patron of both Mytilene and Theophanes, who is represented as *the* benefactor and new personification of Zeus Eleutherios for his city.

The numismatic evidence indicates a similar temporal framework. The bronze coins of Mytilene representing and naming Theophanes have been systematically treated by Salzmann in 1985.¹⁹ There are two distinct groups of them: the later one, generally dated to the Severan period, presents a bust of Theophanes with the upper end of his chlamys near the neck (legend: ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗC) on the obverse and Artemis hunting a deer on the reverse (legend: ΜΥΤΙ-ΛΗΝΑ-ΙΩΝ). The earlier one bears a bust of Theophanes (head uncovered) with the legend: ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗC²⁰ ΘΕΟC on the obverse and the bust of a lady (head covered) with the legend: ΑΡΧΕΔΑΜΙC - ΘΕΑ on the reverse. It is an old and certainly right inference that Archdamis was Theophanes' wife. Before Salzmann's study this second group was usually placed in the Tiberian period but he showed that there were no cogent reasons for this date and preferred to remove at least its beginnings into the Augustan period, that is subsequently to Theophanes' death. On the other hand, Salzmann himself noticed the existence of a

¹⁵ R. Laqueur, *RE* V A.2 (1934), s.v. Theophanes (1), 2093-4. Cf. L. Robert, 'Théophraste de Mytilène à Constantinople', *CRAI* 1969, 42-64 (49). The lettering style of the three texts is the same, as visible on the photograph published by Salzmann (n. 19), pl. 100.5.

¹⁶ Cass. Dio 49.17.5: τῶν δὲ Λεσβίων προθυμώτατα αὐτὸν (sc. Σέξτον) διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμην καὶ δεξαμένων καὶ κατεχόντων ...

¹⁷ *Macr.*, 23.

¹⁸ s.v. Ποτάμων Μιτυληναῖος, υἱὸς Λεσβώνακτος, ῥήτωρ, ἐσοφίστευσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος Τιβερίου. Καὶ ποτε αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιόντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφοδιάζει τοιοῖσδε γράμμασι· "Ποτάμωνα Λεσβώνακτος εἴ τις ἄδικεῖν τολμήσει, σκεψάσθω εἴ μοι δυνήσεται πολεμεῖν".

¹⁹ D. Salzmann, 'Cn. Pompeius Theophanes. Ein Benennungsvorschlag zu einem Porträt in Mytilene', *MDAI(R)* 92(1985), 245ff. (253-60).

²⁰ ΘΕΠΦΑΝΗC ib. 259 is a misprint (cf. the illustrations on pls. 101-2, 104).

great number of obverse and reverse dies for these coins, suggesting a longer period for their emission.²¹

What is now equally noteworthy is that while the deified Theophanes (and his wife) should so probably appear on Mytilenaeen coins already under Augustus, the appearance of Roman emperors on them had to wait considerably. As Andrew Burnett has ascertained in his entry on Mytilene in *RPC*,²² this happens with a bronze issue in the last years of Tiberius. There are three denominations of it: the largest one presents on the obverse Tiberius in a typical Roman libating posture and the legend TI(BEPIOC) KAIZAP ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟC, MYTI(ΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ); on the reverse we see Augustus on an elephant quadriga and the legend KAIZAP ΘΕΟC ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟC. The other two, and smaller, denominations both present on the obverse Tiberius' laureate head and the legend TI ΘΕΟC ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟC, MYTI, while on the reverses appear respectively Augustus and Livia as ΘΕΟC/ΘΕΑ. The elephant chariot of Augustus on the largest denomination, where Tiberius is not yet styled Theos, has been convincingly recognized by Burnett as an imitation of a Roman sestertius of A. D. 34/5-36/7, so his date "c. AD 35" for this and the two other, probably a little later series must be accepted.

Let us now reconstruct what all this means historically. Up to c. A. D. 35 there seem to have been only two gods²³ exhibited on Mytilenaeen coins: Theophanes and his wife. Just two years after the Tacitean events we started from the situation changes: first the deified Augustus and the reigning Tiberius in sacerdotal posture appear, probably a little later also Tiberius himself and Livia expressly deified. The temporal relation seems too close to be accidental. The expression of the cult of Theophanes on the coins of Mytilene is very probably succeeded after the fall of Theophanes' first descendants by the orthodoxy of imperial cult. So Theophanes' cult cannot have been as politically trivial and inoffensive as one might have thought.

To return to the sole preserved piece of epigraphic evidence for it, we may notice that Theophanes as Zeus Eleutherios, manifestly outbidding the parallel honour of Pompey the Great on local Greek level, is also a sign of a strong Mytilenaeen self-confidence and pride. As we saw, we cannot exclude that the date of that triple iconostasis of Mytilenaeen freedom also falls into Tiberius' reign, even if the inception of Theophanes' cult may well be much older, that is directly subsequent to his death after 44 B. C. Anyway, an impressive projection of the local political god of Mytilene under Augustus or Tiberius results here, too. The fact that we also possess rich inscriptional evidence on the cult of Caesar, Augustus and members of his house (e.g. M. Agrippa), often identified with traditional Greek gods (as e.g. Zeus Olympios) at Mytilene²⁴ does not detract, I think, from the importance of this conclusion. It is exactly in a passage of the well-known, fragmentary decree of the Mytilenaeans for the foundation of a local cult of Augustus (26 B. C.)²⁵ that we find a passage unintentionally betraying the inappropriateness of an ongoing divine cult for a

²¹ *Ib.*, 254f.

²² A. Burnett - M. Amandry - P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, I, London/Paris 1992, 396f.

²³ The coins of Mytilene celebrating Germanicus and Agrippina as gods have now been persuasively attributed to the reign of their son, Caligula, by Burnett, *ib.* Of course, even this late appearance supports the thesis of a permanent bond between Agrippina's family and Lesbos, cf. below.

²⁴ So e.g. *IG* XII.2.164-169 and the inscriptions cited in the next notes.

²⁵ *Ib.* 58 = Labarre (n. 2), Choix, no. 21, b.3-9: ... ὅτ[ι] τοῖς οὐρανίου τετε[λ]χόσι δόξης καὶ θεῶν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ κράτος ἔχουσιν οὐδέποτε δύναται συνεξισωθῆναι τὰ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ταπεινότερα καὶ τῇ φύσει.

Mytilenaeen glory: the Mytilenaeans humbly ask there for Augustus' understanding "that those who have achieved celestial glory and divine superiority and might never can be matched by offerings lower by fortune and nature". It was actually something of a self-contradiction on the part of the Mytilenaeans to go on claiming that divine level on the basis of political grace for one of their past fellow citizens. The discrepancy would emerge even more clearly if the restoration of the epithet *Eleutherios* in another Mytilenaeen dedication to Augustus is correct:²⁶ a latent competition of Mytilene's great political benefactors would result. So we might come more and more to realize that the development to imperial exclusivity of political divinity does not need to have been always a smooth one.

Now, the critical factor in the case of Mytilene must have been the not simply local but imperial status of Theophanes the god's descendants. As mentioned above, no less than three of them had been already integrated into the Roman imperial administration (and there may have been more in lower positions). Two of them must have been active in Asia under Augustus, that is, in the province to which the *civitas libera* Mytilene was practically attached. So their connection with Mytilene must have been important for the city and may have decisively contributed to Theophanes' posthumous distinction there. Another important, specific aspect was that Lesbos was naturally and closely connected with Agrippina who bore there Iulia Livilla during the eastern tour of Germanicus in A. D. 18.²⁷ Such a personal relation was not at all negligible in Greek loyalties since much older times (it may suffice to recall the special position of Kos towards Philadelphos and the rest of the Ptolemies splendidly cherished in local loyalty and Alexandrian policy and poetry). So indigenous and empire-wide bonds of Lesbos and Lesbians might cause understandable concern to Tiberius' already shaken confidence in his most familiar persons and himself.

A remark on the difference of fate between Theophanes' and Eurycles' descendants initially mentioned also suggests itself: we should perhaps notice that there is a marked difference between Eurycles' posthumous celebration in Laconia and Theophanes' one at Mytilene under Tiberius. In the well-known Gythian *lex sacra* under Tiberius²⁸ regular divine honours are decreed for Augustus, Livia, the reigning emperor (his own expressed reluctance to such honours²⁹ just corresponding to his name's not being associated with the title of "god" or the cult of a traditional divinity) and the princes of the dynasty (Germanicus and Drusus). For Eurycles and his son Laco just the honour of two additional days of theatrical performances "after the days of the gods and hegemon" is reserved, respectively "to the memory" of the former styled just as "euergetes of our *ethnos* (Eleutherolakones) and city in many cases" and "to the honour" of the latter described as "tutor (κηδεμόνος) of our *ethnos* and the safety and preservation of our city". The Euryclids, whatever other inopportune imperial connections and local mischiefs they might indulge in, probably earlier and better discerned the marking line between heroes of local politics and the exclusive gods of imperial level. They knew to acquiesce in an inoffensive, safer place of religious hierarchy for the heads of their *genos*.

We may so conclude that it was not "Greek adulation" but rather the capacity, pride and imperial as well as local connections of Roman aristocrats of Greek origin

²⁶ IG XII.2.156: Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Ἐλε[υθερίῳ.]

²⁷ Tac., *Ann.*, II.54.1. Cf. n. 23 above.

²⁸ J.H.Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, 15 I.

²⁹ Ib. II.

that were well known to and able to disquiet Tiberius' *saeva et lenta natura*³⁰ against Theophanes' descendants in the princeps' sunset of fear and terror.

II. *Neos Theophanes* and new Lesbian troubles.

Another important, much later descendant of Theophanes of high imperial status appears in the second century A. D. under the name M. Pompeius M. f. Macrinus Neos Theophanes. The basic elements of his considerable Roman career had been long known from an inscription of Mytilene,³¹ one from Tegea³² and one from Iotape in Cilicia:³³ praetor about 105, legatus of the Legio VI Victrix before 110, then first legatus Augusti pro praetore in Cilicia and later proconsul of Sicily, consul suffectus in 115 and proconsul of Africa about 130. These data reappeared and important new ones were added with the publication in 1979 by Hodot of a new inscription with the cursus of the same man from Mytilene.³⁴ Although just the left upper part of the whole has been preserved, it is clear that this Macrinus' Roman career is here sandwiched between local functions, titles and services. So just after his name we have in ll. 2-4 (according to the most recent edition by Labarre based on Hodot's text and proposed restorations): ... ὁ εἰρονόμος κα[ὶ ca. 14-15 εὐεργέτας καὶ κτίσ]/τας τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀπύγον[ος Γναίω Πομπηίω Θεοφάνη, ὀγκεκομίσμε]/νος τὰν τε πόλιν ἀμμένων καὶ [ca. 11-13 ὕπατος ... Again ll. 11-15 offer the following elements of local relevance: ... π[ρεσβεύσαις πόλλακις ὑπὲρ τῆς διατη]/ρήσιος καὶ συναυξήσιος τῆς τε ἐλευθερία[ς ἀμμένων καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχοίσας φιλίας πρὸς τὸν] / μέγιστον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος [πρίγκιπα αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλι]/ον Ἀδρίανον Ἀντώνεινον Σέβαστον Εὐσ[έβεια, τὸν εὐεργέταν καὶ κτίσταν τῆς πόλιος,] / καὶ προφῆτας Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίῳ, Σεβασ[τοφάντας ca. 27] γ.

It is clear that Macrinus Neos Theophanes is invested here with important hieratic titles although their precise significance in regard to place and time unfortunately escape us. However, this would not be the only case where the extraordinary authority of a local magnate finds inoffensive expression in an exalted sacral position, with at least an ingredient of imperial cult, in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire (cf. the older Mytilenaeon example of Potamon and C. Stertinus Xenophon's position on Kos under Nero). Not less significant and here mainly relevant is what Macrinus was able to achieve for Mytilene's status. We cannot be certain which participle should be restored at the end of l. 3 and the beginning of l. 4 and which word followed the conjunction (καὶ) where the preserved part of l. 4 ends. Nevertheless, even if the restoration [ὀγκεκομίσμε]/νος, inspired by the similar expression in a honorific inscription for the Republican Theophanes,³⁵ is not without possible alternatives (e. g. σεσώσμε]νος or ἀποκαταστάμε]νος), the meaning should emerge that Macrinus has

³⁰ Suet., *Tib.*, 57.1.

³¹ *IG* XII.2.135= Labarre (n. 2), Choix, no. 42.

³² *IG* V.2.151= *IG* XII Suppl., p.75.

³³ *Αἴετ* 1965, 319. Cf. on his whole career most recently K. Wachtel, *PIR*², P 628.

³⁴ R. Hodot, 'La grande inscription de M. Pompeius Macrinus à Mytilène', *ZPE* 34 (1979), 221-37. The text (p. 224) also in: *SEG* 29 (1979), 741; Labarre (n.2), Choix, no. 43.

³⁵ Robert, *Théophraste* (n. 15), 52f.= Labarre (n. 2), Choix, no. 18: ... ἀνακομισσάμενον παρὰ τῶν κοινῶν εὐεργετῶν Ῥωμ[αί]ων τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ...

put his community of descent with its territory/the whole island (see below) greatly in his debt. This view is further strengthened by the discernible contents of ll. 11ff. The restoration π[ρεσβεύσαις ... in l. 11³⁶ is the only that would give sense in this part of the text and διατη[ρήσιος in ll. 11-12³⁷ could only be replaced by συντη[ρήσιος with actually the same sense, although worse style perhaps.³⁸ The meaning of this part of the text should undoubtedly be that Macrinus achieved the preservation and enlargement of Mytilene's freedom and possible parallel privileges. It would simply not do to see here in all this just a vague reference to specific privileges and not to the *libertas* of the city, obviously a question of great interest at that very time.³⁹ What is more, the byname of Macrinus, Neos Theophanes, seems to me to have been greatly underestimated so far. It has already been shown that it could not mean just the resumption of the name of a famous ancestor among his descendants, so that "New" and "Old" Theophanes could have been distinguished.⁴⁰ It is clear that "New Theophanes" is here a honorific byname, as e.g. in the well-known attribution of the title "New Themistocles" to C. Julius Nicanor who gave back Salamis to the Athenians in the Augustan period.⁴¹ Therefore, we should rather understand that the "New Theophanes" did for Mytilene something so important that its value could be paralleled and his personality fittingly compared to his famous ancestor, the "liberator" of Mytilene *par excellence*, through this byname.

Despite these clear indications of the new inscription on Macrinus Neos Theophanes previous scholars have been apparently reluctant to recognize the seriousness of the situation from which this man saved Mytilene and gained his eloquent local title.⁴² A reason for this attitude may be that Hadrian was often celebrated as *Eleutherios* at Mytilene,⁴³ which has hesitantly been connected with a possible restoration of political liberty in his reign:⁴⁴ so renewed problems on this issue under his successor might seem at first improbable.

Fortunately, the clear indications of Macrinus' new Mytilenaeen *cursus* may be turned into certainty by a contemporary's testimony overlooked so far. Aelius Aristides addressed in about A. D. 149 a speech "To the Rhodians on Concord" (Ῥοδίοις περὶ

³⁶ I have been able to verify the rest of the initial *pi* on the stone at the Museum of Mytilini (July '98).

³⁷ Again I have verified on the stone the clear rest of a *rho* at the beginning of l. 12.

³⁸ Cf. already Hodot (n. 34), 226, n. 21.

³⁹ *Contra* Labarre (n. 2), 144.

⁴⁰ See Hodot (n. 34), 230 with n. 41.

⁴¹ See G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, 96; C. P. Jones, 'Three Foreigners in Attica. I. Julius Nicanor', *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 222-8.

⁴² Hodot (n. 34), 231 with n. 45; Labarre (n. 2), 144. According to G. Alföldy, *Chiron* 9 (1979), 529, n. 74 he apparently owed his byname to the fact that he was the "new founder" of his family after the eclipse since Tiberius. However, this misses the important local relevance of the title.

⁴³ The certain epigraphic testimonies collected in Hodot (n. 34), 235, n. 64.

⁴⁴ So first V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, Paris 1904, 118. Cf. later: W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1907, 136; F. Hiller v. Gärtringen, *IG XII Suppl.*, p. 75; Hodot (n. 34), 235. Labarre (n. 2), 142-4 evades the specific question although he seems to believe in the permanence of Mytilenaeen *libertas* during the whole period of the Empire.

ὁμονοίας).⁴⁵ Aristides tried with this sort of epistolary preaching to help the Rhodians recover the normal rhythm of their political and social life, which had been seriously disturbed in the years after the severe earthquake of A. D. 141 or 142. As it becomes such a genre, he arrayed positive and negative examples, often taken from literary and historical tradition, to reach his purpose. Among these he mentioned the importance of collaboration and common spirit on warships as in the heyday of Rhodian power. Then we find the following part (§ 54-56) that deserves to be quoted here: Εἴτα ἐν νηὶ μὲν στάσις οὐχὶ σωτήριον, ἐν δὲ πόλει καὶ ταύτῃ περιρρύτῳ φθείρειν ἀλλήλους συνεξευγμένους σῶφρον ἢ τὰ Λεσβίων καὶ τὰ Μυτιληναίων κακὰ μιμῆσθαι 'Ροδίους ὄντας; 'Αλλὰ πολλῷ βέλτιον ἦν ἐκείνους τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐνομίας ἐπιθυμήσαντας ὁρᾶσθαι ἢ τῆς ἐκείνων δυστυχίας ὑμᾶς ὑπομῆναι μιμητὰς γενέσθαι. (55) Καίτοι πρόποντα μὲν ἂν τις ἔχοι καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἰπεῖν καὶ ἰκνούμενα· "ἄνδρες Λέσβιοι, ποῖ προήχθητε; Οἱ φατὲ μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἅπασαν ὑμῖν εἶναι μουσικὴν καὶ τούτου τὴν 'Ορφῆως κεφαλὴν αἰτιάσθε, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὕτως ἀμούσως διακείμενοι; Καὶ κιθαρωδοὶς μὲν ποτε τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἐνίκᾳτε, τῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευσασθαι κινδυνεύετε ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων; Καὶ πρότερον μὲν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐτέρωσε βαδίζοντες ἔπαινον τὰς στάσεις, νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς γινῶναι δύνασθε;" Ταῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τις ὁρθῶς (ἂν) καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν νοουθετῶν. (56) Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἄλογον τοῦτο τῆς δυστυχίας συνείμαρται καὶ πολλάκις ἡλέγχθησαν οὐχ ὥς δεῖ διακείμενοι, ὑμῖν (sc. 'Ροδίοις) δὲ οὐδαμόθεν προσήκει τὸ νόσημα ...

"The evils of Lesbians and Mytilenaeans" should so work as a deterrent from similar situations for the Rhodians, possessing a very different tradition of political harmony. Now, one could first think that the time of these Lesbian and Mytilenaeans troubles, eliciting from Aristides this *en passant* admonition, belongs to the historical past, e.g. Alkaios' era and its notorious strives. One could then just possibly understand the temporal antithesis expressed through νῦν δὲ in § 55 as opposing the time of Terpendros, who went to Sparta to promote its internal peace in the seventh century B. C. to Alkaios' and Pittakos' turbulent period in the next century, that is, as an antithesis between *past situations*, just given in its second part the literary force of a historical present for greater emphasis. However, even by such a strained interpretation a second, unequivocal antithesis between past and real present of the Lesbians exists in the expression ἐκ παλαιοῦ in § 56, which implies a traditional and *current* difference in the political behaviour of Lesbos and Rhodes.⁴⁶

So we may conclude that Aristides integrated into his conciliatory address to the Rhodians a similar and obviously not less badly needed "spot" of political wisdom for his contemporary Lesbians and Mytilenaeans. As in his description of the Rhodian problems⁴⁷ Aristides avoids precision. However, he mentions a situation of political misery on Lesbos (Lesbian δυστυχία opposed to Rhodian εὐνομία), actually a sort of political paralysis as the Lesbians should be unable "to decide for themselves" (τῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευσασθαι), even to "know each other" (οὐδὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς γινῶναι δύνασθε), in other words to keep proper contact

⁴⁵ XXIV Keil. Cf. K. Buraselis, 'Aelius Aristides als Panegyriker und Mahner. Von Theorie und Praxis des politisch-sozialen Gleichgewichts im griechischen Osten der Kaiserzeit', in: W. Schuller (Hrsg.), *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum*, Darmstadt 1998, 192ff.

⁴⁶ Cf. already Ch. A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works*, vol. II, Leiden 1981, 370, n. 43 (on τὰ Λεσβίων καὶ τὰ Μυτιληναίων κακά): "They (:the Lesbians) were notorious for the factions behavior immortalized in the poems of Alcaeus, c. 600 B. C. ... However, a real current event may be alluded to".

⁴⁷ Cf. Buraselis (n. 45), 193.

with each other. It is, of course, understandable that if Rhodes of the better tradition is represented in another passage of the same speech⁴⁸ as running the risk of losing its free status through political disorder, Lesbos and Mytilene were in more acute danger of such a loss.⁴⁹ Against this enriched background then Neos Theophanes' engagement and achievement for the city of his forefathers is wholly justified. The old involvement of Theophanes' family in Roman politics cost the island some agonies but also served it well in preserving its status of privilege.

⁴⁸ § 58. Cf. Buraselis (n. 45), 198f.

⁴⁹ Another possible aspect of Aristides' reference to the troubles of "Lesbians and Mytilenaeans" can be the contemporary situation of the Lesbian Koinon, which existed in Potamon's times (*IG* XII Suppl. 7 = Labarre (n. 2), Choix, no. 22 with bibl.), apparently under Mytilenaeon leadership, but seems to have been split in the Flavian period as Mytilene and possibly the rest of the island's cities as Καλληγεῖς build separate political units in the still enigmatic dues (?) list of Asia from Ephesos (*SEG* 37 (1987), 884, II.9-11, on which see Labarre's (n. 2) attractive hypothesis, 137ff.). As the Koinon reappears and mints, apparently for the first time, during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (*BMC* Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos, London 1894, pp.169f.), one might think of an inter-city crisis on Lesbos also superseded in the preceding period of Antoninus Pius. We cannot say more by the present evidence.

Vesta and Athens*

Mika Kajava

In what follows I am going to argue that from Augustan times there was not only an ideological but also a physical link that connected the Roman Vesta with the city of Athens, the Acropolis in particular. This observation is based on the interpretation of some Athenian inscriptions as well as the re-reading of various literary sources. First of all, an attempt will be made to define the ideological role of Vesta in Athens and, as far as possible, to give her a place in the archaeological and historical reality of the city.

The memory that Vesta and her cult were of foreign origin was generally kept alive by the Romans, and in fact there is every probability that they were right. Vesta and the Penates seem to have had a sanctuary (in common?) at Lavinium and moreover there were various - and complex - traditions of different age that linked this place together with those deities as well as with Aeneas and the Trojan origins of Rome.¹ Even if the Roman Vesta, goddess of the hearth and protectress of houses, had probably developed from an ancient, indigenous deity (with some fairly universal characteristics like the association with fire²), it remains plausible that a well-established form of the cult of Hestia (with some aspects in common or later associated with Vesta) really did arrive in Rome through Lavinium (and Cumae) together with other cults of eastern origin (e.g. the Dioscuri, whose temple was dedicated in Rome in 484 BC). In fact, the Roman *interpretatio* of Hestia may have occurred already at Lavinium, one of the centres from which Greek cults and other Greek influence began to penetrate Rome. It seems that Carmine Ampolo³ was right when he argued in the early seventies that the phase of the archaic Regia in the Roman Forum that was built around 500 BC was largely modelled upon the contemporary Prytaneion complex of the Athenian Agora (i.e. the one later destroyed by the Persians). The rebuilding would roughly coincide with the traditional fall of the Etruscan dynasty and the subsequent emergence of the Republic, and furthermore it would appear as if the Romans had been influenced by what was happening in Athens: about 500 BC, in the aftermath of Cleisthenes' reforms, the Pisistratid Prytaneion was partly replaced by a new complex which manifested the victory of democracy over tyranny. And just as the *arkhon basileus* was closely connected with the Prytaneion and the *koine hestia*, the Public Hearth (which were both under the protection of Hestia), similarly the Roman *rex sacrorum* resided by the sanctuary of Vesta and supervised her cult, whose foundation was traditionally attributed to King Numa, and which is archaeologically attested within the Regia complex

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¹ The literature on this topic is abundant. For Vesta and Lavinium, see e.g. A. Dubourdieu, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Pénates à Rome* (Coll.EFR 118), Rome 1989, 292 ff.

² G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1974², 322.

³ C. Ampolo, 'Analogie e rapporti fra Atene e Roma arcaica. Osservazioni sulla Regia, sul rex sacrorum e sul culto di Vesta', *PP* 26 (1971) 453 ff.; see also Id., *Opus* 6-8 (1987-89) 76 f.

as early as the seventh century BC.⁴ It may be that this public cult in the Forum was a Greek-influenced form of an earlier one which included worship of Vesta and her hearth on the Palatine.⁵ Besides the contextual similarities between the building complexes in Athens and Rome and the activities involved, the manifestations of the cults of Hestia and Vesta show many further aspects in common (I will return to these later). Now, while it is indisputable that the Greek Hestia has left many traces of herself in the West, is the contrary true? Is there any evidence for the presence of the Roman (or Romanized) Vesta in the Greek East? Since it has rarely occurred to anyone to ask whether this was the case (perhaps because at first sight a positive answer would seem impossible),⁶ I shall now take the opportunity to investigate the issue, focusing in particular on the mechanisms of a possible transfer (or rather a duplication) of a Roman cult in Greek soil as well as the reasons why this may have happened. The following discussion can also be taken as a contribution to the discussion of the influence which the Roman culture (in its various aspects and forms) may have had upon the Greek world.

First, we shall climb up to the Acropolis to look for useful evidence. A number of inscriptions on the hill show that Roman Vestals (ἱερὰ παρθένος)⁷ were honoured with statues by the Athenian people. We know three such inscriptions of which only the one honouring Vibidia clearly seems to date from Augustan times; the others can be assigned approximately to the second quarter of the first century AD.⁸ Vibidia, who received a statue for the sake of her εὐσεβεία, was *vetustissima* among the Vestals in AD 48; she was the daughter of Sex. Vibidius Virro, who is otherwise known as a *homo novus* in the

⁴ For all that concerns Vesta's foreign origins and the early connections (direct or indirect) between Athens and Rome, I refer to Ampolo's rich and well-documented study (n. 3). For the cult of Vesta within the Regia complex, see F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano I*, Roma 1983, 56 ff.; T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome*, London - New York 1995, 102.

⁵ Cf. A. Carandini, *La nascita di Roma. Dèi, lari, eroi e uomini all'alba di una civiltà*, Torino 1997, 214 n. 104 and now Id., in: *Roma. Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città* (a cura di A. Carandini - R. Cappelli), Roma 2000, 107 f. According to this view, the hearth of Vesta (or proto-Vesta) was originally situated in the regal house on Cermalus (the acropolis of the Palatine), from where it was brought to the Forum by Numa. Ancient tradition said that (the Romulean) Vesta in turn had her origins in Alba (Liv. 1,20,3; D.H. 2,65,1).

⁶ As far as I know, while according to some scholars the Temple of Vesta in Rome may have had an effect on the Athenian architecture under Augustus (see below nn. 37, 57), only W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (HbAW III:2,2), München 1931², 99 n. 5 has considered the possibility that the cult of the Roman Vesta was also known in Athens (thus already in the edition of 1905, p. 94 n. 12).

⁷ Though rarely attested (obviously because Vestals could not travel abroad), this seems to have been the official Greek expression for *virgo Vestalis* in public documents (at least in Athens), cf. also e.g. App. BC 3,92,380; D.H. 1,69,4 (merely παρθένος in 2,66); Plut. 89 E. Otherwise, in literary sources, Roman Vestals were usually styled as ἱέρεια (τῆς) 'Εστίας or simply ἱέρεια (thus e.g. Dio, who also has ἱέρεια ἀειπαρθένος: 56,5,7; 59,3,4); cf. also 'Εστιάδες π. in Plut. Cic. 19,4 (for IG XII,2 58 b 24, see below n. 23). - For "sacred virgins", female attendants of a deity, in papyri, cf. P.Oxy. 3177,2-3 (AD 247) and P.Mert. 2,73,1 (AD 163/4).

⁸ IG II² 3532 ("orientem versus a Parthenone"): Οὐιβιδίαν, ἱερὰν παρθένον, Σέξτου Οὐιβιδίου Οὐίρρωνος θυγατέρα ... (Tac. ann. 11,32,2: *vetustissima* among the Vestals in AD 48), cf. D.J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (Hesperia Suppl. 12), Princeton 1967, 158; Raepsaet-Charlier, *PFOS* 805. - 3534 ("inter Propylaea et Parthenonem"): Αὐρηλίαν, ἱερὰν παρ[θέ]νον, Κότ[τ]α[ς] θυγατέρα ..., cf. Geagan, *ibid.* 158; Raepsaet-Charlier, *PFOS* 131. - 3533 ("orientem versus ab Erechtheo"): Οὐαλερίαν, ἱερὰν παρθένον ..., cf. Geagan, *ibid.* 158; Raepsaet-Charlier, *PFOS* 769. - For further reading, see M. Kajava, in: *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 91), Helsinki 1990, 76.

Augustan period. The fact that a statue set up for Virro alone is also documented suggests that he had some kind of contact with Athens or at least with the Greek East.⁹ Though no office requiring his presence in Greece is hitherto attested, it is likely that he was in Athens in the capacity of office-holder, whether stationed in Greece or temporarily residing there on his way to or back from Asia Minor (one may note that Aurelia, the Vestal recorded in *IG II² 3534*, was the daughter of Cotta Messalinus, the proconsul of Asia in about AD 35/36). Now, of course, Vestal Virgins could not marry (at least during their service) nor could they travel abroad, for they were not allowed to omit their duties in Rome, leaving, for example, the eternal fire in the Forum unprotected.¹⁰ Thus Vestals in office could never come to Athens in person. This probably means that when a Vestal was honoured in Athens, it was her father who was in the Greek East because of either administrative duties or military service or for some other reason. In such cases a statue may have been erected on the initiative of the father.¹¹ Sometimes, however, the father may not have been physically involved at all, it being simply the distinguished ancestry of a Vestal that counted most. At any rate, the above three dedications (and there would have been more of them in antiquity) are most remarkable as Vestal Virgins were not similarly honoured anywhere else in the Roman provinces. On the whole, there is very little evidence for their presence outside of the city of Rome.¹² One cannot but conclude from this singular evidence that there must have been some particular reason for the Vestals to be honoured on the Acropolis. It is true that an obvious way to explain this would be to assume a link with Athena Parthenos (after whom the Parthenon was called; cf. below n. 30). However, even if such a connection would in a way justify the presence of Roman Vestals on the hill, one may still ask whether there is a deeper - or, perhaps, more concrete - explanation for the phenomenon. Could it be that the Vestals were given honours on the Acropolis because the Roman goddess herself also resided there?

Three seating inscriptions from the Theatre of Dionysus show that there were priesthoods of Hestia in Athens: one of the seats belonged to the priestess of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia" (Augustus' daughter). This institution is likely to date before 2 BC, the year of Julia's banishment.¹³ Moreover, a priestess of Ἑστία Ῥωμαίων

⁹ T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 BC - AD 14*, Oxford 1971, 273 no. 484. Virro honoured alone: *IG II² 4161*.

¹⁰ Cic. *leg.* 2,20: *Virginesque Vestales in urbe custodiunt ignem foci publici sempiternum*.

¹¹ Compare the monuments of Hellenistic date on the Acropolis, which were set up by parents in commemoration of their daughter's service as *arrephoros* of Athena: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford 1996, 271.

¹² Particularly serious situations could necessitate the transferring of Vestals to a safer place. So it is told that during the Gallic sack of Rome in c. 386 BC the Vestals and their *sacra* were given refuge in the allied town Caere (Liv. 5,40,9 f., etc.; see now J. von Ungern-Sternberg, in: C. Bruun (ed.), *The Roman Middle Republic. Politics, Religion, and Historiography c. 400-133 BC* [Acta IRF 23], Rome 2000, 211 ff.). That some priestesses of Vesta are attested in the old Latin sanctuaries in Alba and Tibur (thus reflecting Vesta's old Latin connections) is not relevant here, for the significance of the cult of Vesta for the welfare of the Roman state was in practice bound to one place only, i.e. the Roman *aedes* with the *pignora imperii*, cf. H. Cancik-Lindemaier, 'Arcana aedes. Eine Interpretation zum Heiligtum der Vesta bei Ovid', in: A. & J. Assmann (eds), *Schleier und Schwelle I: Geheimnis und Öffentlichkeit* (Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation V, Bd. 1), München 1997, 173.

¹³ *IG II² 5096* (cun. I dexter, ordo IV): ἱερῆας Ἑστίας ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλίᾱς[ς]. The text itself does not show that Livia was identified with Hestia (as she in fact sometimes was: see below n. 26) nor is it possible that the phrase καὶ Ἰουλίᾱς would indicate Livia's change of name (as was suggested by early editors and some others; for an early correct interpretation, see G. Grether, *AJPh* 67 [1946] 230 f. n. 43).

is attested on two other seats.¹⁴ These three inscriptions, all (probably) from the early Imperial period,¹⁵ have attracted little attention from scholars, who are usually content with saying that either the goddess Hestia had a cult on the Acropolis (cf. below) or there was a Hearth of the Romans somewhere in Athens.¹⁶ However, no pre-Imperial cult of Hestia on the Acropolis is attested, and even if it is true that cults of the People of Rome were relatively common in the Greek world, they were typical of earlier times.¹⁷ As far as I can see, a priesthood of the Hearth of the Romans would probably imply a worship of the Romans or the Roman People (*demos*) and if the Hestia inscriptions really pointed to such a cult in the early Principate in Athens, one would not expect to find a priestess involved, for the officials of the cult of Roma or the People of Rome were almost exclusively men.¹⁸ On the other hand, supposing that 'Ρωμαῖοι refers to the Romans living in the city, the Roman residents of Athens are not known to have been organized as a formal community¹⁹ nor do there seem to be further cases of hearths (*hestiai*) of foreign or any ethnic communities in Athens. Assuming, then, that the three Hestia inscriptions (or at least the one recording "Hestia on the Acropolis") would indicate a cult of the (Greek) Hestia, one encounters material difficulties, for it is very hard to find evidence for her priesthood in Athens. As far as I can see, no other priestesses would be attested and there is only one inscription where the editors have proposed to restore a priesthood of Hestia (but the restoration may be wrong).²⁰ On the whole, there is very little evidence for

¹⁴ IG II² 5102 (cun. I dexter, ordo IX): ἱερείας 'Εσ[τίας 'Ρω]μαίων. - 5145 (cun. IV dexter, ordo IV): ἱερείας 'Εσ[τίας 'Ρω]μαίων.

¹⁵ Though letter forms may be poor evidence in a case like this, 5102 and 5145 are nonetheless palaeographically similar to the Augustan 5096, with the only exception that there is some fluctuation in the shape of the sigmas (5096: C; 5102: Σ; 5145: C and Σ [the latter almost rectangular]; the alpha is broken-barred in each inscription; autopsy 9 May 2000). However, this phenomenon is not so rare: for further examples of considerable variation in the form of the sigmas (and other letters) in one and the same inscription, see M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Vestigia 15), München 1972, 40. As for the spelling of the word for 'priestess', besides the normal ἱερεῖα (5102) and the Augustan ἱερέα (5096), there is ἱερέα (5145) which L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I: Phonology*, Berlin - New York 1980, 205 f. prefers to date "probably later than 100 AD." Note, however, IG II² 4126-7 showing ἱερείας and ἱερεῖας, respectively (the inscriptions should not be later than Claudius: SEG 31 [1981] 187). In vol. II of his work (1996), Threatte p. 774 points out that the reading ἱερείας is ascertainable alongside ἱερεῖαν in IG II² 1346 (lines 21 and 5) from the early first century, but he explains that form by a careless omission of E. If needed, this explanation could, of course, be valid also for 5145. — A modern visitor is struck by the observation that the "seat" of each priestess was so broad as to provide easily space for several persons.

¹⁶ S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, 41 ("priestess of the Hearth of the Romans").

¹⁷ C. Fayer, *StudRom* 26 (1978) 474 ff.

¹⁸ Only when Roma began to be venerated together with Augustus do we find priestesses in provincial cults: R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42), Göttingen 1975, 181 f. Note also that the representations of Greek *Demoi* were inevitably masculine, and thus also the statues of *Demos* of the Romans were those of male figures (like the *Genius Populi Romani*), see J. Rufus Fears, *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 275 f.

¹⁹ A. Spawforth, in: M.C. Hoff - S.I. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, April 1996* (Oxbow Monograph 94), Oxford 1997, 189, refuting an old idea according to which there were cults organized by the "Italian" residents of Athens.

priesthoods of Hestia anywhere in the Greek world, obviously because *hestia* primarily meant the hearth and the fire, and this personification never became a common and popular object for worship, being rather an abstract and hardly conceptualized figure who was rarely represented in art.²¹ There was a sanctuary of Hestia at Piraeus²² and dedications to her are documented here and there, but priests are known only from Delos, Camirus (Rhodes) and Stratoniceia in Caria, the only priestess of Hestia being found in the Euboean Chalcis.²³ In Athens there was the famous κοινὴ ἑστία in the Prytaneion (also called ἑστία τῆς πόλεως or ἑστία τοῦ δήμου, sometimes ἑστία πατρῶα) and there was also the hearth of the Boule, both of which could be personified as Hestia Prytaneia and Hestia Boulaia, respectively.²⁴ Similar *hestiai* with their personifications are known from many cities all over the Greek world. So, while public hearths are quite common, the priesthood of Hestia is a rarity which is not only because the cult of Hestia was never fully institutionalized but also because of the partial ambiguity of the term *hestia*: it was perfectly in order that gods like Apollo, Athena or Zeus were given offerings

²⁰ *Agora* XV no. 260, 14 ff. (early first cent. BC): [--- καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Προσ[τατηρίου] ----- καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀ[πόλλωνος τοῦ] [Πατρώϊου] ----- καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τῆς Ἑσ[τίας] Μαρσύ[αν] ---], etc. Instead of restoring τὸν ἱερέα τῆς Ἑσ[τίας] (the articles before the names of the deities are omitted in *Kerameikos* III [1941] 4 ff.), one should perhaps understand Βουλαίας Ἑσ[τίας] (or βουλαίας ἑσ[τίας]), either the goddess residing in the Bouleuterion or the Hearth in that same place - unless an amalgamation of both. Besides Hestia Boulaia, one may think of the cult of some other deity that was practised at the Heart of the Bouleuterion (for such cults, see R.E. Wycherley, *Agora* III [1957] 128). But can we even be absolutely sure that ---[τίας] should be taken to refer to Hestia?

²¹ H. Sarian, *LIMC* V (1990) 407 ff., pointing out that in the frequent lack of characteristic attributes the evidence for Hestia's iconography is often ambiguous and difficult to interpret.

²² *IG* II² 1214 (early third cent. BC), 1229 (late fourth cent. BC); the cult seems to have been supported by the *Krokonidai genos*: Parker [above n. 11], 304).

²³ Ἀρισταγόρη Ἰππάρ[χου] ἡ ἱέρεια Ἑστίας[ς] (*IG* XII Suppl. 651; second/first cent. BC). Note that the ἱέρηαι τῆς Ἑστίας recorded in the early Augustan decree *IG* XII,2 58 b 24 (= *IGR* IV 39, found in Lesbos) are no other than Roman Vestals. Delos: *I.Délos* 1877 and 2605: this was a common priesthood of Hestia, Demos (of the Athenians) and Roma, cf. C. Fayer, *Il culto della dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero* (Collana di saggi e ricerche 9), Pescara 1976, 62 ff., suggesting Athenian origin for the items "Demos and Roma". The cult may have been observed in the local Prytaneion. In Camirus (Rhodes) the current title was δαμιουργὸς τῆς (ἐν Καμείρῳ) Ἑστίας or similar (*Tit. Cam.* and Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, passim; cf. also *TAM* II 1185 [Lycia] suggesting Rhodian influence). As for M. Sempronius Clemens, known from *I.Stratoniceia* 16 (about AD 200), among his many offices was that of priest of Hestiai (Ἑστιῶν), which must refer to the cult of Hestia Boulaia, considering that two successive councils were summoned annually in Stratoniceia (for the *boulai*, see now V. Caldesi Valeri, *Minima epigraphica et papyrologica* 2 [1999] 204 ff.). One could also mention *I.Cilicie* 44 recording a priest τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Βουλῆς καὶ Βουλαίας Ἑστίας Σεβαστῆς διὰ βίου (with the interesting addition Σεβαστῆς). Note also that in Messenia and Olympia *hestia* was used as an honorific term for priestesses (ἑστία πόλεως or the like); an attestation also in *I.Heraclea Pontica* 1.

²⁴ Dedications to, or mentions of, Hestia Boulaia (together with Zeus Boulaios): *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 63 f. no. 16 (55/54 BC) = *Hesperia* 52 (1983) 161 f. no. 3 (= *SEG* 33 [1983] 198); *Agora* XV no. 269 (53/52 BC); together with Zeus B. and Athena Boulaia: *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 96 ff. For further reading, see P.J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, 34 f. (with Plans E and F). — The *hestia* of the Prytaneion is recorded in numerous inscriptions. A statue of Hestia stood there together with that of Eirene and others (Paus. 1,18). — Note also the expression ἱερεὺς τῶν Βουλαίων in reference to gods especially worshipped in the bouleuterion, which at times may have included Hestia as well (cf. *IGR* IV 556; *MAMA* IX 38, Aezani).

on a *hestia*, for, besides 'hearth' and its personification, this word also means 'altar' in Greek.²⁵ In consequence, and lacking further evidence, the expression "priest of Hestia" would sound somewhat inadequate, because the Hestia in question had to be defined and identified with an attribute (at least in a community with more Hestiai). Whether taken as a noun or as the personification of the hearth, *hestia*/Hestia alone remains neutral and ambiguous.

Turning back to the seating inscriptions, we can see that they all belonged to priestesses of Hestia, for whom there does not seem to be further evidence in Athens. And as we have seen, it would have been more natural that the person who took care of the cult of Hestia (or that of the Roman People) was a male. One of the priestesses also attended to the cult of Livia and Julia, which makes it possible that the cult of Hestia on the Acropolis was also related to the Roman world. It is well known from inscriptions and literature that Livia was associated with Vesta or Hestia (and, of course, with many other deities and personifications), as were some other female members of the Imperial House.²⁶ And since it appears from many ancient sources that the name *Vesta* was rendered as *Hestia* in Greek and *Hestia* was *Vesta* in Latin,²⁷ I cannot but conclude that 'Εστία 'Ρωμαίων, as distinguished from other Athenian *hestiai*, refers to the Vesta of the Romans who is probably identical with the one "on the Acropolis". While this locution served to distinguish topographically the Hestia of the Acropolis from those of the Agora (i.e. the Boulaia and the Prytaneia), the attribute 'Ρωμαίων was used to underline that the goddess in question was the Roman version of Hestia, i.e. the Vesta of the Roman Forum.²⁸ The genitive plural 'Ρωμαίων was, of course, the normal Greek expression for

²⁵ For the *hestia* of the Athenian Bouleuterion associated or identified with an altar, see the literary evidence collected by R.E. Wycherley, *Agora III* (1957) 128 ff. The connection between hearth and altar is obvious, cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical* (transl. J. Raffan), Oxford 1985, 61: "The altar is the pre-eminent fire place, the hearth of the gods".

²⁶ Livia as Vesta: e.g. Ov. *Pont.* 4,13,29; also in some western mints; cf. E. Bartman, *Portraits of Livia. Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*, Cambridge 1999, 94 f. - Livia as Hestia: *I. Lampsakos* 11 (Tiberian); *Roman Provincial Coinage I* (1992) 1149 (Corinth; AD 21/22; identification uncertain). As for the Claudian (?) IG II² 3185, a private dedication to Hestia, Apollo, *Theoi Sebastoi*, etc., P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Le Caire 1931, 175 f. argued that Hestia and Apollo here represent Livia and Augustus, respectively (similarly Th. Mavrogiannis, *Ostraka* 4 [1995] 91 n. 53). In *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 464 no. 12 (cf. Wycherley [above n. 20], no. 427), which was found near to the Bouleuterion, the epithet of *Iouliā Sebaste Boulaia* seems to suggest an association with Artemis Boulaia. For this evidence and for other Imperial ladies styled as Hestia, see U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina* (Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte, Bd. 8), Saarbrücken 1994, passim.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,67: *Vestae nomen a Graecis; ea est enim quae ab illis 'Εστία dicitur*. In Greek writers, *Vesta* was currently given as 'Εστία. In reality, however, the relation of these names to each other and their etymology are complex and still without a definitive answer. Whatever the truth in this respect, the Roman tradition generally associated Vesta with the Greek East and so the etymological and linguistic problems are a matter of secondary importance to our argument. For a recent survey of the name *Vesta* in Ovid and other ancient writers, cf. E. Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus. Astronomy in Ovid's Fasti*, Cambridge 2000, 114 ff. - *Vesta* is found in the meaning 'hearth' for the first time under Augustus (Verg. *georg.* 4,384; cf. Moret. 51; Sil. 6,76).

²⁸ M. Torelli, *Ostraka* 4 (1995) 28 argues that the priestess of 'Εστία 'Ρωμαίων (in T., however, τῆς 'Εστίας τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, which would have a slightly different shade of meaning) was "con tutta evidenza sacerdotessa del culto dell'imperatrice *sub specie* di Hestia-Vesta". This is in fact a good point, for an association of Livia with Hestia-Vesta is obvious (cf. above n. 26) and it might also be conceivable that there was a cult of Livia = Hestia besides that of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia". However, the expression 'Εστία 'Ρωμαίων for Livia without any record of her own name or a title for her would be

something being "Roman" or "of the Romans" or "belonging to the Romans" and in the present case it surely implies that there were Greek Hestiai in Athens. So the Athenians were well aware that besides their own Hestiai there was also the Roman one and to speak of her in the topographical context of Athens there was in practice no other way than to adopt the attribute Ῥωμαίων (which is less ambiguous than the adj. Ῥωμαία).²⁹

If there really was some sort of cult of Vesta on the Acropolis, it must have needed female personnel. This is precisely the kind of cultic context where the above-mentioned three priestesses of Hestia would fit. In Rome, the Vestal Virgins were in charge of the cult, but since they could be present in Athens at best in the guise of honorific statues, local girls must have been chosen to do the job. Perhaps the duty was given to the priestesses of Athena Parthenos, considering that those of Athena Polias were normally married women.³⁰ One should note, however, that several more hieratic girls and women worked and even lived on the Acropolis. In any case, the role and life of a Roman Vestal cannot be paralleled with that of an Athenian priestess responsible for the daily maintenance of Vesta's cult in Athens. The strict rules concerning the Roman Vestals and their sacred duties cannot have been similarly applied to the Athenian priestesses.³¹

The next thing to do is to look for a suitable place on the Acropolis where Vesta may have resided, for if she really had a priestess, there must have been an adequate site for her cult (whatever the type and nature of this may have been). The whole Acropolis was a sacred area with monuments, statues and numerous places for cult worship, dominated by the Great Altar to Athena Polias. In antiquity, however, it was not so uncommon that a god or a goddess shared his or her temple with other deities. Such an ensemble would be readily perceivable in the case of a deity like Vesta, for we are not even supposed to find a proper temple for her - she did not have one in Rome either, the *aedes*

most unusual (epigraphic and numismatic evidence in Hahn [above n. 26], 322 ff.). Torelli, *ibid.* also thinks that the cult of Livia-Hestia on the Acropolis was reproduced in the Bouleuterion, "dove un'epigrafe prova che la moglie di Augusto vi era venerata come Artemis Boulaia, e forse... nella Tholos, che, a ben vedere, può anch'essa apparire una reiterata allusione simbolica al tempio di Vesta di Roma". There is indeed an honorific inscription found near to the Bouleuterion and dedicated to *Ioulia Sebaste Artemis Boulaia* (SEG 22 [1967] 152; Hahn [above n. 26], 49), but it does not prove the existence of a cult of Livia-Hestia in the same place (even if there is evidence for Hestia's cult in the Bouleuterion: above nn. 20, 24; Wycherley [above n. 20], 128, and even if the *prytaneis* used to give offerings to Artemis Boulaia in the Tholos).

²⁹ For the genitive plural in similar cases, cf. e.g. Ἀπόλλων Περινουονδέων (SEG 33 [1983] 1160; Pisidia); Ζεὺς Ὀρωκονδέων (and other names of local phylai, cf. *I. Mylasa* II p. 175); Ζεὺς Περσῶν (SEG 28 [1978] 1186; Nacolia, Phrygia); Ζεὺς Πισαρισσέων (SEG 40 [1990] 1292); ἡ Τύχη ἡ Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέων (*ibid.* 1297; Seleucia Pieria). The epithet of Ζεὺς Αἰζανῶν (cf. *MAMA* IX 10 f.; SEG 45 [1995] 1711) derives directly from the place name, as does that of Τύχη Βόστρων (SEG 36 [1986] 1379).

³⁰ Though not attested (cf. D.D. Feaver, *YCIS* 15 [1957] 132), the existence of a priesthood of Athena Parthenos is conceivable (a number of dedications to A. Parthenos are preserved), cf. B. Jordan, *Servants of the Gods. A Study in the Religion, History and Literature of Fifth-century Athens* (Hypomnemata 55), Göttingen 1979, 34 f. Recently, however, J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*, Cambridge 1999, 27 and 163 f. has stressed that the Parthenon may not have been a temple at all (being rather a treasury, a votive and a symbol) and so it would be no wonder if there is no evidence for an altar or any priestess of the goddess.

³¹ In his discussion of the privileges accorded to the Vestal Virgins in Rome, G. Wissowa, in: Roscher, *Lexikon* 6 (1924 ff.) 265 also refers to the seats of honour given to them in public games. In doing this he mentions the two seats of the Dionysus Theatre. Since it would be hard to believe that he had the Roman Vestals in mind, he may have meant local priestesses. If so, he was perfectly correct, though, of course, he failed to underline the difference between a Roman Vestal and an Athenian priestess of Vesta.

of the Forum Romanum having never been inaugurated; it was rather a sacred shelter where some vital things were preserved from times immemorial.³² Likewise, the Vestal Virgins were the only higher priesthood in Rome whose members were not inaugurated. The question, therefore, is: where could Vesta find a good place to stay on the hill? Various alternatives are available, but among the buildings still preserved or known to have once existed the most likely choice seems to be the Temple of Roma and Augustus. There has been some dispute as to where exactly this building originally stood, but archaeological and other evidence makes it clear that the site has to be set some twenty-three metres east of the Parthenon, being aligned along its east-west axis (Figs 1 [No. 119], 2).³³ The dedicatory inscription, which is the only preserved mention of the sanctuary (it was not even recorded by Pausanias³⁴), is still preserved on the Acropolis, where it was seen and copied by Ciriaco d'Ancona as early as 1436.³⁵ It was a round temple in Ionic order with nine columns and without cella, whose greatest diameter measures less than nine metres. What is more, this diminutive monopteros appears to be the only one of this form (circular) known to have been given to Roma and Augustus in the Roman Empire. It is true that the tholos type had been known for centuries in the East and it is equally true that it may be only incidental that the *aedes Vestae* in Rome was also a round building in Ionic order (as we know it was under Augustus).³⁶ Still, I would not

³² Serv. *Aen.* 7,153; Gell. 14,7,7; G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster 1965, 328.

³³ There is a great deal of literature on the temple from the late 19th century onwards. The more recent treatments include M.C. Hoff, in: A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: the Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity. Papers presented at a conference held in The University of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994, to celebrate the 65th anniversary of Duncan Fishwick* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. ser. 17), Ann Arbor 1996, 185 ff.; P. Baldassarri, *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ*. *Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il saeculum Augustum* (*Archaeologica* 128), Roma 1998, 45 ff. (earlier in *Ostraka* 4 [1995] 69 ff.); T. Schäfer, *Spolia et signa: Baupolitik und Reichskultur nach dem Parthererfolg des Augustus* (*Nachr. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen; phil.-hist. Kl.* 1998,2), 46 ff., 63 ff.; Hurwit (above n. 30), 279 f. (Cf. also W. Binder, *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort*, Stuttgart 1969, who argues with great improbability that the temple stood opposite the Erechtheion, followed by H. Hähnlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers* [*Archaeologica* 39], Roma 1985, 156 ff.; for pictorial evidence, see J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* [1971] 494.) Unfortunately, I have not seen G. Schmalz, *Athens after Actium: Public Building and Civic Identity under the Early Principate (31 BC—A.D. 115)*, Chapel Hill ("forthcoming" according to Hurwit 375).

³⁴ As a devoted philhellene he seems to have often passed by Roman monuments in silence, cf. C. Auffarth, in: *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (hrsg. von H. Cancik und J. Rüpke), Tübingen 1997, 224.

³⁵ *IG II²* 3173: ['Ο] δῆμος θεᾶι 'Ρώμηι καὶ Σε[βασ]τῶι [Καίσαρι] στρα[τηγ]οῦντος ἐπὶ τ[οῖς] / ὀπλίτας Παμμένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος Μαραθωνίου ιερέως θεᾶς / 'Ρώμης καὶ Σεβαστοῦ Σωτήρος ἐπ' / Ἀκροπόλει ἐπὶ ιερείας Ἀθηνᾶς / Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆς Ἀσκληπίδου Ἀλαιῶς θυγατρὸς / ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀρχοῦ τ[οῦ] Δωρίωνος Παιανιεύς.

³⁶ For round edifices in Greece (with various interpretations of their function and significance), see F. Robert, *Thymélè: recherches sur la signification et la destination des monuments circulaires dans l'architecture religieuse de la Grèce* (BEFAR 147), Paris 1939, underlining the chthonic aspect (the Acropolis monopteros: 369 ff.); A. Giuliano, *La cultura artistica delle province della Grecia in età romana* (*Studia archaeologica* 6), Roma 1965, 14; G. Roux, in: *Temples et sanctuaires* (Trav. de la maison de l'Orient 7), Lyon 1984, 166 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 55 ff. (with further references). — Regarding the round form of Vesta's *aedes* in Rome (for its Augustan appearance, see R. Cappelli, *LTUR* 5 [1999] 126 f.), it has often been thought that it reproduces a circular hut of the archaic type ('capanna'), but the question is obviously more complex: some have preferred to recognize in the *aedes* the ancient form of a tomb (cf. G. Radke, *Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom*,

doubt that many Romans at least associated the Athenian building with the Roman one. As far as I can see, Paul Graindor in his book on Athens under Augustus is one of the few to have seriously suggested that the round form has something to do with Vesta. On the other hand, I think he was only partly correct in concluding that there was a cult of the Greek Hestia in the same place, for the testimony he used (i.e. the inscription recording the priestess of "Hestia on the Acropolis", etc.) probably has to be interpreted in a different way (see above).³⁷ I agree that the triple cult of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia" may plausibly be associated with the Temple of Roma and Augustus, for on the Acropolis there is no earlier trace of a worship of Hestia;³⁸ moreover, this temple is the only known nucleus of an imperial cult on the hill.³⁹ However, in my opinion the Hestia of the seating inscription is none other than the Roman Vesta. This should not mean, however, that the Roman *aedes Vestae* actually served as an architectural model for the Athenian monopteros. What seems probable is that the two came to be easily associated with each other not only in ideological terms but also because of their appearance. For a Roman visiting the Acropolis the mere shape of the Temple of Roma and Augustus may have recalled Vesta's temple in the Roman Forum.

The dedicatory inscription of the temple records three persons: besides Pammenes of Marathon, son of Zeus, who was hoplite general and priest of Roma and Augustus

Darmstadt 1987, 279 and 286, taking the Vestal as a 'living dead' who alone has access to the tomb, i.e. the *aedes* which by its form resembles a tomb). As an ancient testimony one may cite Ovid's original explanation of the shape of Vesta's temple: it is round because the earth (= Vesta) is round, and it is comparable with the famous globe of Archimedes (*Ov. fast.* 6,265 ff., 277 ff., now discussed in detail by Gee [above n. 27], 92 ff.).

³⁷ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Le Caire 1927, 154 f. (he also assumed a link with the Tholos of the Agora, which is unsustainable, for the *koine hestia* was not in that building; the idea of an original connection between the round form and the cult of Hestia [and other female deities] has been revived by M. Weber, *Baldachine und Statuenschreine* [Archaeologica 87], Roma 1990, 110 ff.). Graindor's ideas were not refuted by Robert (above n. 36), 370 f.; D.J. Geagan, in: *ANRW* II:7,1 (1979) 382 (though he has some reservations). Mellor (above n. 18), 139 also held a connection with the Roman Temple of Vesta as possible and, moreover, he suggested, following Graindor, that the triple cult of Hestia, Livia and Julia might be associated with the Temple of Roma and Augustus (similarly Torelli [above n. 28], 28). A connection with Vesta was denied by R. Trummer, *Die Denkmäler des Kaiserkults in der römischen Provinz Achaia*, Diss. Graz 1980, 57 n. 2: in her opinion, the round form rather goes back to funerary and ruler cults.

³⁸ Graindor (above n. 37), 154 and some others have assumed that the cult of Hestia on the Acropolis would go back, ideologically at least, to an early *hestia*, which would have risen on the hill before the synoecism, while others think that the early Prytaneion was there afterwards (cf. L.B. Holland, *AJA* 43 [1939] 289 ff., suggesting that, from the time of Theseus to that of Solon, there was a Prytaneion on the Acropolis; for the old Prytaneion and its location in the archaic agora, see recently J.-M. Luce, *RA* 1998, 10 ff.). Attractive though it is, the association of the ἱερὸς πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως (*IG* II² 5046; Maass [above n. 15], 121) with the cult of "Hestia on the Acropolis" and in turn with the Imperial cult (thus Graindor, *ibid.*; J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 5 [1936] 100) is undemonstrable (for further examples of this title, see *IG* II² 3631, 3804-5 with D.J. Geagan, *ZPE* 85 [1991] 158 f.; S.B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens*, Amsterdam 1991, 58 n. 2, and for πυρφόροι in general, see L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* VI, Amsterdam 1989, 564 ff.).

³⁹ The phrase "on the Acropolis" is added to the name of Hestia (in order to distinguish her from the Hestiai of the lower city), but it is certainly valid for the cults of Livia and Julia as well, for it would be unlikely that a single priesthood served for cults located in two or even three quite different places. Perhaps the original cult here was that of "Hestia on the Acropolis" and the other two were later additions (or perhaps only Julia was added later). Livia may have had a cult together with Tiberius in the Agora (in an annex to the Stoa of Zeus), and, moreover, we know that she was worshipped at Eleusis, cf. K. Clinton, in: *The Romanization of Athens* (above n. 19), 165 ff.

Soter on the Acropolis⁴⁰ concurrently, and the archonship of Areios, the text mentions Megiste, daughter of Asclepides of Halai, as priestess of Athena Polias. This is an interesting inclusion, because having a lifetime tenure this priesthood could not serve for dating and so Megiste's name suggests a link between the Imperial cult (including Vesta, Livia and Julia) and Athena Polias.⁴¹ Significantly, Megiste's grandfather may already have been priest of the goddess Roma.⁴² The dedication itself dates between 27 and 18/17 BC, for the archons from 17/16 to 11 are known. In any case, the inscription is hardly later than 12 BC, because Augustus is not *arkhiereus megistos* (*pontifex maximus*). Though, in theory, if this title was omitted, one could also think of the years 10-9 but not later, for after the death of Drusus Caesar in 9 BC the priesthood of his cult was held by the archon. As Michael Hoff, Paola Baldassarri and Thomas Schäfer (and some others) have perceptively suggested,⁴³ the temple was most probably dedicated in 19 BC, that is, during the Emperor's last visit to Athens.⁴⁴ This year, when Augustus stayed in Athens on his way back from the East and when he also participated for a second time in the Eleusinian mysteries (held out of season according to Dio 54,9,10), is indeed the best

⁴⁰ The qualification ἐπ' Ἀκροπόλει shows that another priest of Augustus was in office in the lower city: H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 182; Hoff (above n. 33), 194 f.; Clinton (above n. 39), 165 f.; Spawforth (above n. 19), 184 f. (both Clinton and Spawforth justly question whether the inscription can be taken to prove the existence of another joint cult of Roma and Augustus in Athens). Whereas the priest of Roma and Augustus Caesar had a seat in the sixth row in the Theatre of Dionysus (*IG II² 5114*), the priest of Augustus Caesar sat in the front row (*IG II² 5034*; inscribed soon after Actium [see now Clinton and Spawforth, cit.]); the priestly title was remodified later so as to read ἱερέως καὶ ἀρχιερέως Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος. As Spawforth (art. cit.), 199 n. 59 assumes, it is possible that 5114 dates after Augustus' death, for the qualification "on the Acropolis" was probably omitted as unnecessary (as at the time of inscription, after the Emperor's death, this was the sole cult of Augustus). Moreover, as pointed out by Spawforth, *ibid.*, if *Soter* was preferably reserved for the living emperor, it may also be that the use of *Sebastos Kaisar* instead of *Sebastos Soter* indicates a date after AD 14. This would also help explain why Σωτήρι was cancelled and Καίσαρι inscribed in its place in the first line of the Acropolis dedication (see n. 35). However, if the argument of *Kaisar-Soter* is valid, and if there was only a single cult of Roma and Augustus in Athens, we should probably accept that the altar *IG II² 3179* to "Roma and *Sebastos Kaisar*" not only associates with the Acropolis monopteros but was also inscribed after Augustus' death (Grainger [above n. 37], 150 and Fayer [above n. 23], 147 considered it possible that this was the altar of the monopteros; Schäfer [above n. 33], 66 n. 88: "möglichlicherweise". The problem is, however, that the text is known only from an old copy and is reported to have been found in the lower city, not far from the Roman Agora, see Baldassarri [above n. 33], 50 n. 25).

⁴¹ For Pammenes, Megiste and Areios, see Hoff (above n. 33), 190 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 51 f. Pammenes, who is also attested in other inscriptions, came from an old and prominent family and he may have been a client of Agrippa, which would have made it easier for him to assume the two offices (see J.H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore 1950, 92; D.J. Geagan, *Phoenix* 46 [1992] 29 ff. with stemma on p. 34 f.; Hoff [above n. 33], 192). For Pammenes' priesthood of Apollo on Delos and its relevance to the Imperial cult in Athens, see also Mavrogiannis (above n. 26), 89 f.

⁴² D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 50 (1955) 9 no. 13 = *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History*, Cambridge 1997, 199. For Megiste and some further (alleged) priestesses of Athena Polias between 27 and 18 BC, see also S. Aleshire, in: R. Osborne - S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, 336 f. no. 16. The grandfather: *IG II² 2336,262* (in 97/96 BC: S. Dow, *HSCPh* 51 [1940] 111 ff.).

⁴³ Hoff (above n. 33), 192 ff. (cf. *Id.*, in: S. Walker - A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, London 1989, 5 ff.); Baldassarri (above n. 33), 27 f., 51; Schäfer (above n. 33), 47 f.

⁴⁴ The alleged visit of 12 BC is based on a misreading of Dio 54,28,3: G.W. Bowersock, *AJA* 95 (1991) 358; C. Habicht, *CPh* 86 (1991) 226 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 28 n. 103.

alternative. This is because one could hardly imagine a temple being dedicated to Augustus during his previous visit in the winter 22/21 when he was on fairly bad terms with the Athenian people (one may remember that the Emperor did not even enter the city and remained on the island of Aegina, which he took away from the Athenians along with Eretria).⁴⁵ However, the unrest probably soon calmed down and ties to Athens were renewed by 19 BC. Many scholars now agree that the institution of the cult of Roma and Augustus and the construction of the respective temple should be assigned to this year. There would have been various manifestations of the recognition of the Emperor's sovereignty in Athens, but one event in particular seems to have given the Athenians a special opportunity to honour both the emperor and Rome's power, that is, Augustus' victorious Parthian campaign and the restitution (in 20 BC) of prisoners as well as the lost standards which the barbarians had taken from Crassus and others in a number of battles from 53 BC. No doubt one of the principal motives for the building of the monopteros was that it was planned to be a memorial to Augustus' victory over the Parthians.⁴⁶ The propaganda value of this success (diplomatic rather than military) was enormous and it is well attested in Augustan art and literature.⁴⁷ Besides being a monument to the Imperial cult and a demonstration of the Athenians' renewed wish to pay honour to Augustus,⁴⁸ the Acropolis temple was a strong expression of Augustan propaganda. So there would have been more than one reason for establishing the temple; it was, in fact, one of the results of what had been going on in both Athenian and Roman (foreign) policy over the previous years. It is true that the monopteros would have been an Athenian attempt at reconciliation with Augustus, but it is very likely also that the project was strongly prompted by the Romans, being in a way comparable to the completion with the Emperor's money of the Roman Market around the same time.⁴⁹ It also deserves to be underlined that the temple was placed on the Acropolis which, for the most part, can be seen as a panhellenic victory monument over the barbarian East. The notion of Rome's victory over Parthia as compared with that of the Athenians over the Persians was consciously used for propaganda

⁴⁵ G.W. Bowersock, *CQ* n.s. 14 (1964) 120 f., discussing Plut. 207 E-F and other sources; M.C. Hoff, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 267 ff.; Hoff (above n. 33), 192; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 19 ff. C. Böhme, *Principes und Polis. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsform des Augustus über bedeutende Orte in Griechenland* (Quellen u. Forsch. z. antiken Welt 17), München 1995, 50 f., prefers to date the episode of punishment immediately after Actium (cf. also Graindor [above n. 37], 17).

⁴⁶ R.M. Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigen Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst*, Worms 1986, 89; Hoff (above n. 33), 193 f.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 22 ff., 54. In reality, however, it may have been Tiberius who received the standards (if we may trust Suet. *Tib.* 9,1; cf. *Aug.* 21,3), an incident likely to have been omitted in official propaganda (cf. G. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti. A Historical Study*, Oxford 1994, 101 n. 152). In practice, however, they may have been first handed over to the governor of Syria (cf. Str. 16,1,28 with H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* [HABES 2], Stuttgart 1986, 161).

⁴⁷ This point has been widely discussed (for a recent survey, see Baldassarri [above n. 33], 27 n. 97; add now H.I. Flower, *CIAnt* 19 [2000] 55 ff.); for reflections in art, see N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Jutland Archaeol. Soc. Publ. 19), Aarhus 1986, 50 ff.; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 188 ff.

⁴⁸ According to G. Schmalz ("forthcoming", see above n. 33), cited by Spawforth (above n. 19), 193, the building of the monopteros and its prominent placing were motivated by "an Athenian wish to allay the 'anger' of Augustus".

⁴⁹ The Market was completed with funds donated by Augustus some thirty years after the project had been launched by Caesar (perhaps in 51 BC), see Hoff, in: *The Greek Renaissance* (above n. 43), 1 ff., plausibly opting for Augustus' visit in 19 BC as the occasion for the funding (p. 5). The Market may have been dedicated in 11 or 10 BC (ibid. p. 6).

purposes. In the words of J.M. Hurwit, "Perfectly aligned with the Parthenon and thus with the Nike-bearing Athena Parthenos, the Temple of Roma and Augustus essentially marked an eastward extension of the Parthenon's own ideological geometry, an imperial insertion into the Acropolis' complex network of allusions to the west's triumph over the east".⁵⁰ Just as the chryselephantine image of Athena Parthenos in the east room of the Parthenon faced east, so the entrance of the round temple would have been on the east side, which obviously means that the statues of Augustus and Roma also had an eastern exposure. The shrine was so small and low that it could not possibly eclipse the greatness of the Parthenon, nor could it prevent the sunlight from illuminating Athena's statue.⁵¹

It may seem pointless to ask why the monopteros looked like it did, but if one really wishes to find a precise model for it, there is at least a new candidate. Considering that the building of the temple was partly motivated by the restitution of the Roman standards, Baldassarri has given attention to the fact that, according to Dio,⁵² Augustus (when perhaps still in Syria) had asked the Senate for a sanctuary sacred to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, where the recovered standards could be deposited. Such a building may in fact be identified with a round edifice visible in a number of provincial emissions dating to 19/18 BC.⁵³ Baldassarri's idea is that the Capitoline round building and the Athenian monopteros were not only contemporaneous but were dedicated for identical reasons: this would explain the typological similarity between the two.⁵⁴ Of course, since on this hypothesis the temples would have been conceived contemporaneously, both the question of which temple served as a model for which and the notion of the round form itself would pose a problem. However, as pointed out by Schäfer, the Athenians could hardly have started building the monopteros without knowledge of the Capitoline plan whose fulfilment was the primary goal of the whole affair. If correct, this theory would give credit to the idea that the standards not only followed Augustus to Athens but were preserved in the city during his stay: they (or their copies) may have been exhibited in the Acropolis monopteros in 19 BC.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Hurwit (above n. 30), 280. For this point, see also K. Carroll, *The Parthenon Inscription* (Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs 9), Durham, NC 1982, 67 ff.; A. Spawforth, in: S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography*, Oxford 1994, 234 f.; Hoff (above n. 33), 193.

⁵¹ Hurwit (above n. 30), 279. That the right exposure of statues was most important not only for the Athenians but also for Augustan propaganda, is nicely shown by the miracle on the Acropolis which, according to Dio 54,7,2 f., caused the economic sanctions the Emperor imposed on the city (during the winter 22/21): "And it seemed to them [i.e. the Athenians] that the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune; for this statue on the Acropolis, which was placed to face the east, had turned around to the west [i.e. in the direction of Rome] and spat blood" (trans. E. Cary; Loeb ed.), cf. Hoff (above n. 45), 267 ff.; G.W. Bowersock, in: *Opposition et résistances à l'empire d'Auguste à Trajan* (Entr. Hardt 33), Genève 1986, 298 f., discussing miraculous events as acts of political opposition.

⁵² Dio 54,8,3.

⁵³ The evidence is collected in Ch. Reusser, *LTUR* III (1996) 230 f.

⁵⁴ Baldassarri (above n. 33), 58 ff. (61: "In ultima analisi proprio le insegne partiche e l'alto valore ideologico da esse espresso potrebbero aver determinato non solo la costruzione dei due monumenti, ma anche la loro affinità tipologica"). The historical event promoted the building *ex novo* and the restoration of many honorific monuments in the Greek East, cf. Baldassarri, *ibid.* 61 n. 75; Schäfer (above n. 33), *passim*.

⁵⁵ Schäfer (above n. 33), 58 f., 63 ff., arguing (55) with sufficient probability that the Capitoline building was also a monopteros. This type of building (without cella) would have been particularly adapted to the exposition and conservation of sculptures and other objects. The standards were recovered in spring 20 (some scholars implausibly opt for 12 May: see below n. 98), while Augustus arrived at

Thus a connection with the Capitoline round temple seems likely and the Athenian monopteros was plausibly planned to recall the Augustan victory and the return of the lost standards, and even to serve as a temporary pavilion for them (or a more permanent one for the copies). It is another matter that the small temple on the Capitol probably never existed but remained only a plan illustrated on some coins.⁵⁶ It was originally decreed by the Senate that the standards should be deposited on the Capitol, but it was decided some time after Augustus' return to Rome that the temple of Mars Ultor should be part of a new forum, i.e. the Forum Augustum (see below). While the plan was changed in Rome, the original project was completed on the Acropolis.

These considerations do not mean that Vesta could not have had anything to do with the Athenian monopteros. On the contrary, the goddess could be easily adapted to the cultic context of the round temple. As I have stated above, though there was probably no organic link between the *aedes Vestae* and the monopteros,⁵⁷ the round form is still likely to have produced an association between the two. Therefore, if Vesta was ever to arrive at the Acropolis, the mere form of the new Temple of Roma and Augustus would have made it a natural choice. However, this would not have happened in 19 BC, but some time later, preferably after 6 March 12 BC, when Augustus became *pontifex maximus*. Reading through Augustan poetry with an emphasis on Imperial propaganda, Ovid's *Fasti* in particular, and looking at other literary and archaeological evidence, one can see that the figure of Vesta was most important to Augustus and his ideology. As *pontifex* the Emperor, descended from Aeneas and a kinsman of Vesta (Ov. *fast.* 3,425 f.), was *sacerdos Vestae* himself, a priestly relationship that had been unknown until then, for the role of the Pontifex Maximus of the Republic did not involve direct participation in the worship, even less a direct relationship with the goddess herself. "Now a primary relationship of a sacred nature between Augustus and the goddess of the Roman hearth has been created".⁵⁸ This link was remarkably strengthened by the reproduction (not transferral) of Vesta's cult in Augustus' own house on the Palatine on 28 April 12 BC (which, like 6 March, was to be made a *Nefas Publicus* day).⁵⁹ Vesta had been important

Athens in the next spring. He may have stayed there (or in the vicinity) until late summer, for he entered Rome on 12 October (the evidence is discussed by Baldassarri [above n. 33], 28; Schäfer, *ibid.* 61 f.).

⁵⁶ The long-disputed question of its existence may probably be taken as settled after the powerful arguments of J.W. Rich, *PBSR* 66 (1998) 79 ff. and M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (Archäologie und Geschichte 9), Heidelberg 1999, 62 ff.

⁵⁷ Unless, perhaps, the planned round temple on the Capitol intentionally recalled Vesta's sanctuary (taken as a possibility by Spannagel [above n. 56], 65). Rich (above n. 56), 86 thinks that the character of the Capitoline area may have led the Senate to prescribe that the temple should be round. Schäfer (above n. 33), 52 ff. (and *passim*) plausibly underlines that the architecture of the round temple was suitable for the exposition of *signa* and *spolia*.

⁵⁸ Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 69. *Sacerdos Vestae*: Ov. *fast.* 3,699; 5,573 (cf. below n. 90).

⁵⁹ Even if there is no clear evidence for a temple of Vesta on the Palatine (A. Fraschetti, *Roma e il principe*, Bari 1990, 342 ff.; D. Fishwick, *Acta Univ. Wratisl. Antiquitas* 18 [1993] 51 ff.; see recently R. Cappelli, in: *LTUR* 5 [1999] 128 f.), her cult was certainly reproduced there (*Fasti Caer.* and *Praen.*; Ovid, Dio) and it must have needed some sort of physical setting (perhaps in the *vestibulum* on entering Livia's house: *Flavius Josephus. Death of an Emperor* [transl. and comm. by T.P. Wiseman], Exeter 1991, 107 ff.). The *signum Vestae* (*Fasti Caer.*; *Fasti Praen.* [suppl.]) that was dedicated on the Palatine would have indicated a cult statue (possibly, though not necessarily, in the shape of a Palladium). Cf. also A. Barchiesi, *Il poeta e il principe. Ovidio e il discorso augusteo*, Bari 1994, 197 f.; Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 77 ff.; C. Kunst, "Wohnen mit den Göttern. Zur Einbeziehung des Göttlichen in den Kaiserlichen Wohnraum", in: C. Batsch - U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser - R. Stepper (eds), *Zwischen Krise und*

in Rome for centuries, but it was only after 12 BC, following her *cognatio* with the Princeps, that she was given a particular place in the Imperial propaganda. Stories of Vesta's eastern connections began to be revived by contemporary writers. Vesta herself (and her fire) was thought to have been brought to Rome from Troy.⁶⁰ But what is equally or even more important is that the round sanctuary of Vesta in Rome housed the Palladium, the holy image of Athena (or, to be precise, one of those images reported to have existed in antiquity), whose propagandistic importance increased considerably under the first Princeps, not least because as a Trojan relic it was one of the claims to Rome's Trojan origins.⁶¹ Ovid clearly reflects the Augustan ideology when he says: *ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt / Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides* (*fast.* 3,421 f.), in other words, the fire of Vesta and the Pontifex Maximus have been united so as to form with the Palladium a trinity, where Vesta is the guardian of the two pledges of the Roman state. The context is clearly what happened on the Palatine in April 12 BC, but the implications, deeply rooted in Augustan ideology, are wider: thenceforth not only the Palladium⁶² but also the Emperor would be a *pignus imperii*, a position legitimated with recourse to religion, mythology and legend. If the co-operation with Vesta were to continue without disturbance, the Emperor could guarantee peace and stability in the whole Empire.⁶³

From the ideological point of view, then, the presence of Vesta in the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis would be perfectly apposite:⁶⁴ Augustus, who (by beating the Parthians) had established peace, is now Vesta's kinsman and under her guardianship. The same goddess guaranteed the safety of the Palladium, i.e. the image of Athena to whom the Acropolis had been sacred from ancient times. Just as the Roman *pignora imperii* guaranteed the power and impregnability of the Roman (Augustan)

Alltag. Antike Religionen im Mittelmeerraum (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge, Bd. 1), Stuttgart 1999, 230 f.

⁶⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 2,296.567; 5,744; 9,259; Prop. 4,4,69; Ov. *am.* 3,6,76; *fast.* 3,29. 142. 418; 6,227. 365. 456; *met.* 15,730 f. (and elsewhere); D.H. 2,65,2. For the relation between Augustus and Vesta as well as the Trojan origins of the goddess, see Fraschetti (above n. 59), 345 ff.; S.R.F. Price, *CAH² X* (1996) 825 ff.

⁶¹ The pretension to the Palladium being preserved by the Romans - an idea closely linked with the legend about the Trojan Aeneas as the founder of Lavinium and of the Latin people - would have been established during the mid-Republic, cf. Dubourdieu (above n. 1), 460 ff., esp. 466 f.; for further bibliography, see now Spannagel (above n. 56), 115 f. A recent survey of the significance of the Palladium in Rome is provided by J.-M. Moret, *Les pierres gravées antiques représentant le rapt du Palladion*. Texte, Mainz am Rh. 1997, 281 ff.

⁶² Cf. Cic. *Scaur.* 48: *Palladium illud, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur*. This is the earliest known testimony to the role of the Palladium as *pignus imperii* (possibly drawing on an earlier source).

⁶³ A remarkable pictorial testimony to this ideology is the Augustan "Base di Sorrento" (after 12 BC), showing Vesta, the Palladium, the Pontifex Maximus, Livia (?) and some Vestals (G.E. Rizzo, *Bull.Com.* 60 [1932] 7 ff.; *LIMC V* [1990] 415 no. 25 with bibliography). On coins, the combination of Palladium and Vesta is attested for the first time for Galba (*BMC Emp.* I 335,159; *RIC I* 206,72; 265).

⁶⁴ Mellor (above n. 18), 200 f. has argued that in the western municipal cults of Roma (and Augustus) provincial people often identified the goddess Roma with Vesta, who together with the Emperor represented the eternity of Rome. However, the general applicability of this idea to the cults of Roma is questionable (in the first place Mellor thinks of Roma as understood by the Roman legionaries, recently pacified barbarians, etc.). That it would also seem to fit the cultic context of the Athenian monopteros is quite incidental.

Empire, so Athena (Polias, etc.) was the guardian of both the Acropolis and the whole city. A further noteworthy item is the eternal fire of the *aedes Vestae* (often identified with the goddess herself), which recalls the *koine hestia* in Athens. Moreover, besides Rome, the only other place where Pallas Athena is known to have been associated with an eternal flame was precisely in the Prytaneion which was sacred to the goddess.⁶⁵ Note, finally, that there was an ever-burning fire also in the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Acropolis.⁶⁶

Of all the known edifices on the Acropolis the round temple would seem to provide the most plausible setting, topographical as well as ideological, for the cult of Vesta. The monopteros, with an open colonnade, would have exhibited on its east side the cult images of Roma and Augustus and, possibly, the recovered standards at their feet.⁶⁷ It would not have been difficult, however, to add a further deity to this group: Vesta in particular would have been easily adaptable, for if identified with the hearth or fire, she evidently did not even need a cult image; and there was none in the Roman *aedes*. In fact, the goddess was by no means frequently represented or portrayed in art in Republican and early Imperial times, representations of Vesta being relatively rare at any period.⁶⁸ Moreover, since Vesta in a strict sense did (and could) not have a temple of her own, she was probably honoured, when necessary, in the context of other cults. But the possibility exists that there were other statues in the monopteros, provided that the cult of "Hestia on the Acropolis, Livia and Julia" may be associated with the temple. On the assumption that this Hestia is the Roman Vesta, the two statues of Livia and Julia may have been placed within the circle in or after 12 BC. It is true that the monopteros was small (its stylobate measuring 7.36 m), yet I do not believe that it would have become too crowded if it housed four statues of natural size.⁶⁹ If this is correct, one priest (of Roma and Augustus) and two priestesses (of Vesta and of Vesta, Livia and Julia, respectively) must have served at the temple, similar combinations of priestly offices being, naturally, otherwise well documented. And there would have been at least two altars (if a single further one was enough for the cults added after 12 BC),⁷⁰ and a flame as a symbol of Vesta: not necessarily of firm construction, it may have been a movable olive-oil burning lamp like (perhaps) the golden one with a pertinent chimney seen by Pausanias in the Temple of Athena Polias in the Erechtheion. The priestess of Vesta would have taken care of the eternal fire.

⁶⁵ Sch. Aristid. 3, p. 48,8 (Dind.).

⁶⁶ Paus. 1,26,6 f., cf. RE II 1955 f. Judging from Pausanias' description, besides the use of asbestos as a wick, a considerable amount of oil would have been somehow stored to keep the fire alive.

⁶⁷ Thus Schäfer (above n. 33), 66 f.

⁶⁸ As were those of Hestia (above n. 21). Absence of cult statue for Vesta: G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HbAW IV:5), München 1912², 159; C. Koch, RE VIII A 2 (1958) 1728 f.; Radke (above n. 32), 327 f. Some other statuary representations are known to have existed (e.g. the one showing Vesta among the Dei Consentes); the evidence from coins, reliefs and wall paintings is collected by T. Fischer-Hansen, LIMC V (1990) 412 ff.

⁶⁹ Clinton (above n. 39), 168 argues that the temple was too small to have housed the cult of Livia and Tiberius (which should be located somewhere in central Athens) in addition to that of Roma and Augustus. Livia and Tiberius were evidently not honoured on the Acropolis, but the argument of limited space is questionable.

⁷⁰ For the altar IG II² 3179 which has been associated with the Temple of Roma and Augustus, see above n. 40. Note also that an anonymous reader (mentioned by Spawforth [above n. 19], 184 n. 11) has suggested that rather than a temple, the monopteros was "an elaborate baldacchino for an altar".

Besides the normal cultic activities involving the presence and work of priestesses, one may assume other types of worship as well. A remarkable and nearly contemporaneous parallel may be found in Cumae. The Augustan *Feriale Cumanum* (between AD 4 and 14) shows that Vesta was given *supplicationes*, probably in a temple of Augustus, on the birthdays of (perhaps) three members of the Imperial family, and if Attilio Degraffi was right, the same was done on Augustus' birthday (23 September). Significantly, a *supplicatio Vestae* is also attested for 6 March, the day on which Augustus assumed the office of *pontifex maximus* and it may be, moreover, that the *supplicatio* usually taken to honour the birthday of Germanicus (24 May) in reality refers to the day on which the altar to Vesta was dedicated in Augustus' house on the Palatine (28 April).⁷¹ The presence of Vesta in this calendar is indeed conspicuous and it may be that it partly reflects a local practice, considering that municipalities in Italy were relatively free to adapt their list of festivals and accompanying rites to the calendar of Rome.⁷² In any case, Augustus himself did not fail to record that the Senate had decreed 55 thanksgivings (covering 890 days) because of his military and other successes.⁷³ Some of them are otherwise documented, like those instituted for 3 September in memory of the sea fight of Naulochus where Sex. Pompeius was defeated in 36 BC.⁷⁴ Who knows, then, if the anniversary of the restitution of the Roman standards was celebrated at the Acropolis monopteros with *supplicationes* to various deities, including Vesta? According to Dio, *supplicationes* were held in Rome after the recovery of the standards in 20 BC, a claim whose authenticity should not be doubted.⁷⁵ Whether the Emperor's birthday was ever celebrated on the Acropolis is uncertain, for we know that the Athenians offered annual sacrifice to Augustus on that day at an altar somewhere in the lower city, perhaps from either 21/20 or (rather) 19 BC.⁷⁶ In any case, if such things of a more public nature ever

⁷¹ A. Degraffi, *Inscr. It.* XIII,2, 278 ff. no. 44: 7 October (Drusus Caesar); 16 November (Ti. Caesar); 24 May (Germanicus Caesar). Augustus' birthday: Degraffi p. 279, line 3: *supplicatio [Vestae]*. — 6 March: [---] *Eo die Caesar pontifex maximus creatus est. Supplicat<i>o Vestae, dis publ(icis) p(enatibus) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium)*. For the possibility of a *supplicatio* celebrating the event of 28 April (instead of Germanicus' birthday on 24 May), see Spannagel (above n. 56), 42 n. 170. Lacking evidence for a temple of Imperial cult at Cumae, Degraffi, *ibid.* 276 f. assumed that the feast calendar may have been kept by some local collegium (probably that of the Augustales); cf. also Hänlein-Schäfer (above n. 33), 267 (under the title "Hypothetische Augustustempel"). Degraffi's argument was questioned by D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West* II.1, Leiden 1991, 490 n. 92. A *supplicatio Vestae* seems to be attested also in the *feriale Amerinum* for 6 November, perhaps celebrating the birthday of the Younger Agrippina (*Inscr. It.* XIII,2, 281 no. 45, line 5). Interestingly, a papyrus from Tebtunis, written under Marcus Aurelius (*P.Osl.* 3,45 ff. no. 77), records the birthday of Vesta on 11 December among those of the members of the Imperial house. The birthday of Hestia Prytanitis was also registered at Naucratis (Athen. 4,149 D, cf. Fishwick, *op. cit.* II 493) which may point to a local feast. What relation, if any, this has with the fact that, according to the *menologia rustica*, the month of December was in *tutela Vestae*, is unknown.

⁷² Fishwick (above n. 71), II 490 ff. Whether some features of the calendar (e.g. Augustus paralleled with Iuppiter Sempiternus) should be explained as influenced by Greek practice, is questionable (see, however, G. Freyburger, in: *ANRW* II:16,2 [1978] 1436).

⁷³ *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 4,2.

⁷⁴ *F. Arv.* (*Inscr. It.* XIII,2,33) and *F. Amitern.* (*ibid.* 193): *Feriae et supplicationes ad (apud) F. Amitern.) omnia pulvinaria*, etc.

⁷⁵ Dio 54,8,3, cf. Rich (above n. 56), 76.

⁷⁶ *IG* II² 1071 with G.A. Stamires, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 260 ff. no. 98 (= *SEG* 17 [1960] 34); M.C. Hoff, *MH* 49 (1992) 230 f.; Mavrogiannis (above n. 26), 92 f. (especially on the association of Augustus' birthday with that of Apollo). The honours were probably decreed on the proposal of Antipatros son of

happened on the Acropolis, they would have included general participation and the offering of incense and wine, sometimes animal sacrifices (which were particularly important in Greece).⁷⁷ However, the exact nature of the rites remains obscure, for they could have been Greek rather than Roman, or perhaps they overlapped. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that Roman ritual practice could also be imported and applied in the Greek-speaking East.⁷⁸

If the presence of a cult of Roma and Augustus in the rear of the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora is uncertain, perhaps even unlikely,⁷⁹ there is another building in the Agora that deserves to be mentioned in this context, namely the fifth-century Temple of Ares that had been dismantled and transferred to the Market, perhaps from the god's sanctuary in the deme of Acharnai.⁸⁰ The removal occurred in the Augustan age and it seems (on archaeological grounds) that the transplantation to the Agora took place after the construction of Agrippa's Odeion, to which the new temple stood at right angles.⁸¹ The two projects seem to have been conceived during Agrippa's eastern tour between 23 and 13 BC (he may have been in Athens in 16/15 BC and perhaps already in 23/22 BC),⁸² though, obviously, the final re-erection of the temple must have taken time and so it may date several years after the dedication of the Odeion in around 15 BC.⁸³ Many scholars have believed that one of the motives for the transplantation of the Temple of Ares was to

Antipatros of Phlya during his third hoplite generalship (D.J. Geagan, *AJPh* 100 [1979] 67 ff.). The original collocation of the monument is unknown.

⁷⁷ For the different roles of sacrificial meat in Greece and Rome, respectively, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 118 f. Note that in the Calendar of Cumae, the only animal sacrifice is attested for Augustus' birthday. The offerings given on other occasions were less sumptuous.

⁷⁸ Price (above n. 16), 89 f.; Fishwick (above n. 71, vol. II.1), 512 ff. For a recent survey of the organization and procedure of various types of festivities in the eastern Imperial cult, see P. Herz, in: *Römische Reichsreligion* (above n. 34), 241 ff.

⁷⁹ Cf. H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 171 ff. (who on p. 187 was inclined to think that rather than with Roma, Augustus was worshipped there with some divine personification). The pair of Augustus and Roma has been accepted by Fayer (above n. 23), 147; Hänlein-Schäfer (above n. 33), 159 f.; Torelli (above n. 28), 20 f.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 151. Reservations in Clinton (above n. 39), 168 f., who argues that the annex may have housed the cult of Tiberius and Livia, admitting, however, that there are obstacles to even this hypothesis; Spawforth (above n. 19), 186 and 193 f. also points out that the evidence and its dating are disputable. Hoff (above n. 33), 194 ff. suggests that the primary location of the early imperial cult in the lower city may have been in the Augustan Market (for the Arcuated Building, perhaps Claudian, see Id., *AA* 1994, 114 ff.).

⁸⁰ The evidence is discussed in Baldassarri (above n. 33), 166 ff. According to K.J. Hartswick, *RA* 1990, 258 ff., the Ares temple that was transferred to the Agora need not originally have been dedicated to Ares, which among other things would explain why a new cult statue had to be created (i.e. the Ares Borghese type), cf. below n. 86.

⁸¹ For the plan and its dating, see now, convincingly, Spawforth (above n. 19), 186 ff.; also Torelli (above n. 28), 27.

⁸² For the (circumstantial) evidence for such visits, see Baldassarri (above n. 33), 30 f.; Halfmann (above n. 46), 163 ff.

⁸³ The date of the Odeion: H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 31 ff.; *Agora III* (1957) 161 f.; *ibid.* XIV (1972) 111 ff.; R.E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, 216; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 31, 139; Schäfer (above n. 33), 94 f. - W.B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 50 f., proposed a date between 11/10 and 10/9 BC for the transplantation of the Ares Temple; cf. J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (BEFAR 253), Rome 1984, 439.

produce a new setting for the Athenian Imperial cult. This idea is primarily founded on two famous Athenian inscriptions respectively honouring C. Caesar, Augustus' grandson and now his adopted son, as the "New Ares" and, later, Drusus Caesar, Tiberius' son, as the "New God Ares".⁸⁴ Both cases can be firmly connected with the eastern missions of the young princes: C. Caesar from 2 BC and Drusus in AD 17-20 (in Illyricum). In Bowersock's opinion, when Gaius (probably) entered Athens in 2 BC, the temple had been moved ("or was conceivably then in the process of being moved") into the Agora; this would have happened in honour of the prince.⁸⁵ Recent research, however, seems to suggest that the idea of the transplantation had been conceived much earlier, some time during M. Agrippa's eastern tour, when no one could know anything about Gaius' future command in the East. And since previously Ares had been a minor god in Athens, it would seem that "moving the temple was a centrally inspired project intended chiefly to pay homage to the Roman god of war".⁸⁶ This is surely correct: the object of the honouring in Athens was not Ares but the Roman god Mars, whose central position in the Augustan propaganda culminated in Rome in the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Emperor's new forum in 2 BC. Though there was no physical link between the inscription showing Gaius as the "New Ares" and the Agora temple (the former was found in the Theatre of Dionysus, though not *in situ*), still I think Bowersock is right in connecting the two things, for they would have been ideologically associated with each other: the temple had been reconstructed in honour of the Roman Mars (Ultor) and it was only natural that a later and expected arrival of a Roman avenger would be celebrated in Athens by an appellation like the "New Ares".⁸⁷ This avenger in the guise of a new Mars happened to be Gaius Caesar. At this point, a brief discussion of the figure of Mars Ultor is appropriate, also because, I believe, the presence of this god in the Augustan Athens is ideologically comparable to that of Vesta on the Acropolis.

The dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BC must have been a major event in Rome in that year. Besides the famous *naumachia* reproducing the victory of the Athenian navy over the Persians,⁸⁸ the celebrations included the installation in the temple

⁸⁴ Gaius: *IG II²* 3250; Drusus: *IG II²* 3257; G.W. Bowersock, in: F. Millar - E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, 173.

⁸⁵ Bowersock (above n. 84), 173, followed by S. Alcock, *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, 195; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 170 f.

⁸⁶ Spawforth (above n. 19), 188, cf. similarly Burkert (above n. 25), 121; H.A. Thompson, in: S. Macready - F.H. Thompson (eds), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (Soc. Antiquaries London, Occasional Papers N.S. 10), London 1987, 9: "Is it conceivable that Ares was brought into the Agora as an Athenian equivalent of the Roman Mars Ultor?". The influence of Roman ideas was also accepted by B.M. Levick, in: *CAH X²* (1996) 654. That the temple was indeed dedicated to Ares alone seems to emerge from Spawforth's (ibid.) re-reading of *IG II²* 2953. A new earlier date for the temple would undermine the idea of Hartswick (above n. 80), 267 ff., who argued that the cult statue of Ares (which she identified with the youthful Ares Borghese type) should be iconographically associated with the youthfulness of Gaius Caesar (to be correct, this theory would demand that a new cult statue was adopted many years after the dedication of the temple); for further critique on Hartswick's thesis, see P. Bruneau, *BCH* 117 (1993) 402; Schäfer (above n. 33), 98.

⁸⁷ Bowersock (above n. 84), 173, of course, did not fail to underline the importance of Mars Ultor in Rome in 2 BC and earlier he had already pointed out that the re-erection of the Temple of Ares is not surprising, "since Ares was the Greek counterpart of the Roman Mars, for whom the Emperor had special regard" (*Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, 95). Though found far from the temenos of Ares, the inscription honouring Drusus Caesar as the "New God Ares" (*IG II²* 3257) could also be associated with the temple in ideological terms.

⁸⁸ Dio 55,10,7; Ov. *ars* 1,171 f., etc. The reference was, of course, to the sea fight of Salamis, and the same is true of the naval battles that were organized in Athens (*IG II²* 1006, 29 f.; A. Chanotis, in: J.

of the Roman legionary standards which had been in the hands of the Parthians for more than thirty years until they were recovered in 20 BC. This marked the end of a long story of vengeance (though, in reality it was rather an interval, for, as we know, the Parthian problem was still far from solution); it may even be that the idea of Mars avenging on the Parthians the loss of the standards in 53 BC goes back to Julius Caesar, who may have vowed a temple to him if the Parthians were beaten.⁸⁹ In any case, after Caesar's death the theme of vengeance was maintained by the triumvirs and it was often recorded by Augustan poets. Mark Antony did not succeed, but Augustus did, though without striking a blow (in 20 BC). This was the justification for Mars to earn his title *Ultor*, and it was only then that the decision to build a temple to the god became fact. In his famous description of the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BC, Ovid reports another possibility for Mars to receive a temple and the epithet *Ultor*: he should stand by the young Caesar and help him avenge the murder of his father, who was *sacerdos Vestae*.⁹⁰ This was the message of the famous vow allegedly uttered by Octavian at Philippi in 42 BC. That it was a later invention (created by the Augustan regime) was argued by Weinstock, whose thesis has been followed by a number of scholars.⁹¹ In any case, the vengeance on behalf of Vesta's priest implies avenging Vesta herself and thus the Roman nation as a whole.⁹²

In 19 BC, following Augustus' diplomatic success, the recovered standards were to be deposited in a round temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol (it is only then that the epithet *Ultor* is attested for the god).⁹³ However, as we have seen, the Capitoline project was rejected soon after and it was decided to build a temple to the god in a new forum. Why the plan was changed and when exactly the construction work of the forum temple was begun is difficult to say, yet the recent study by Martin Spannagel gives reason to believe that the building was launched in 17 BC, i.e. the year of the adoption of the princes Gaius and Lucius and the *Ludi saeculares*, respectively. He argues, moreover, that while the never-built Ultor temple on the Capitol was only intended to house the standards (a

Assmann [ed.], *Das Fest und das Heilige* [Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen 1], Gütersloh 1991, 124, 130).

⁸⁹ The planned temple of Mars: Suet. *Iul.* 44,1. See S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971, 130 ff.; Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 98. It is highly questionable, however, whether Caesar had already thought of the title *Ultor* (which is not attested before the recovery of the standards), cf. Spannagel (above n. 56), 75.

⁹⁰ Ov. *fast.* 5,573 ff.: "*Si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaeque sacerdos / auctor et ulcisci numen utrumque paro, / Mars, ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum / stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus. / Templa feres et me victore vocaberis Ultor*". / *Voverat et fuso laetus ab hoste redit*. For the retrojection of the idea of Pontifex Maximus as Vesta's priest to Julius Caesar, see Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 70 f. The vow is also reported by Suet. *Aug.* 29,2 (as justification for the temple).

⁹¹ Weinstock (above n. 89), 128 ff.; Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 98; Spannagel (above n. 56), 73 ff. (modifying some of Weinstock's weaker arguments). As for the date of the vow, one cannot agree with Herbert-Brown 98 ff. when she maintains that Ovid's reference to *sacerdos Vestae* shows that the vow dates only from 12 BC or later, after Augustus as Pontifex Maximus had annexed Vesta to his own *domus*. In her opinion, Mars could have become the avenger of Caesar only after 12 BC, perhaps as late as AD 4 or 6 (p. 107: "during a possible upsurge of popularity for the memory of Julius"), but cf. R.A. Gurval, *MAAR* 42 (1997) 69 n. 120; Spannagel (above n. 56), 74 n. 383; 207 n. 788.

⁹² The theme reappears in Ov. *fast.* 3,697 ff., see Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 125 ff.

⁹³ For the coinage of 19 BC with *Mars Ultor* and other legends referring to the recovery of the standards, see Spannagel (above n. 56), 62 f.; cf. also R.A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus*, Ann Arbor 1995, 281 ff.

vengeance on the Parthians), the new temple of the forum was to be given to Mars Ultor as the avenger of Caesar as well.⁹⁴

As we have seen, the recovery of Crassus' standards was also the primary motive for the erection of the Acropolis monopteros. Probably around the same time the decision was made in Athens to transplant the old Temple of Ares to the Agora and the ideological reason for this operation would have been the same, that is, vengeance on the Parthians and the recovery of the standards whereby the god could earn his title of Avenger.⁹⁵ Since, it seems, the re-erection of the Ares temple dates after the construction of the Odeion (which may have been finished by 16/15 BC), the possibility cannot be excluded that the entrance of Mars was roughly contemporaneous with the institution of Vesta's cult on the Acropolis. In any case, if the remounting of the Agora temple was still going on in or around 12 BC (it was surely not a minor operation; see above n. 83), the work was apparently completed well before there was certainty about the name of the "New Mars". In 6 BC it was intended that Tiberius should go to the East to negotiate with the Parthians, but he mysteriously retired to the island of Rhodes and so, after the expiry of his five-year tribunician power in 2 BC, Gaius Caesar was dispatched on his eastern mission: he would be the avenger of Crassus and he was to be the new Mars. His departure from Rome appears to have been intended as a justification for the revenge to be exacted, though in reality Gaius' mission, propagated by Augustus and his regime, was by nature ceremonial, for in that year the Parthian problem was by no means imminent.⁹⁶ One cannot claim, however, that the dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor would have been deliberately delayed in expectation of Gaius' forthcoming Parthian campaign.⁹⁷ The construction work, of course, took time (there is ample evidence for similar projects taking even decades for construction) and there were other reasons for the dedication to take place in 2 BC: Augustus, who became *pater patriae* in that year, took the consulship and introduced Lucius Caesar (born 17 BC) into public life. Both princes figured as official dedicators on 12 May, perhaps the anniversary of their adoption, and they were also conspicuously present in the architecture and imagery of the whole forum.⁹⁸ It is true that Gaius' eastern mission was also ideologically connected with the dedication of the temple, but like the Augustan *naumachia* (see n. 88), it was fitted together with that occasion, not the other way around. This does not mean, however, that the idea of a mission of Gaius could not have been conceived earlier.⁹⁹ Whenever it arose, it probably postdates the building of the Temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora.

Though the donor of the transplanted Temple of Ares is nowhere recorded, there is little doubt that this enterprise followed the construction of the Odeion and was part of a single plan orchestrated by Agrippa, the Emperor's agent in the East. It is a justifiable assumption that Agrippa was backed by Pammenes, the first Athenian priest of Roma and Augustus, who may have been his client and who was certainly closely tied to the Roman

⁹⁴ Spannagel (above n. 56), 64, 69, 84, 254 f., 360. On p. 84 he also points out that Divus Iulius began to appear on coins in 17 BC, which may not be a mere coincidence.

⁹⁵ Cf. also Schäfer (above n. 33), 95: "vielleicht ist der Plan dazu bereits im Jahre 19 v. Chr. entstanden".

⁹⁶ R. Syme, *History in Ovid*, Oxford 1978, 8 ff.

⁹⁷ Thus Herbert-Brown (above n. 46), 100 ff. (esp. 106).

⁹⁸ See now, in detail, Spannagel (above n. 56), 21-59, also showing definitively that 12 May cannot have been the anniversary of the recovery of the standards from the Parthians.

⁹⁹ Spannagel (above n. 56), 27, arguing that Gaius was intended to be the first to follow the new practice (cf. Dio 55,10,2 ff.) according to which the Roman commander should start his mission from the Temple of Mars Ultor.

authorities in Athens. And just as Pammenes would have acted as the spokesman for the Athenians when the erection of a shrine to Roma and Augustus attained greater actuality in 20 BC - perhaps he even arranged the execution of the project - so it was probably Agrippa who saw that everything was done in conformity to the Imperial propaganda. This was true not only politically but also in terms of art and decoration: the architect of the monopteros may have been a certain Diogenes, who was responsible for part of the decoration of Agrippa's Pantheon in Rome.¹⁰⁰ Besides the intentional axial alignment with the Parthenon (see above), the round building also shows some elements which are compatible with the idea of the classical polis in Augustus' moral propaganda:¹⁰¹ classic Pentelic marble, columns imitating those of the Erechtheum, and a block of the Erechtheum built into its foundation.¹⁰²

The presence of Vesta in Athens may seem peculiar, as she already resided in the Forum Romanum, but in view of what was done with the Temple of Ares in order to praise Mars Ultor in Athens, the itineracy of the goddess becomes more understandable. Vesta's cult was also reproduced on the Palatine (with at least an altar and a cult statue). However, this surely did not mean abolishing in any detail the ancient rites of the round temple after 12 BC. Everything went on as before with the Palladium and the eternal fire being protected by the Vestals. A definitive transferral of the cult with the *pignora* and *sacra* from the very ancient and sacred location would have been a most hazardous and imprudent, even sacrilegious, undertaking. It has been argued recently that the fire of Vesta was also brought to the Temple of Mars Ultor. However, even if such a connection is perfectly apposite in ideological terms under Augustus, and it would certainly support the argument of this paper, the evidence for a partial transferral of Vesta's cult to the Forum Augustum remains strongly conjectural.¹⁰³

Vesta may have been brought to the Acropolis in 12 BC and her cult most probably was observed in the monopteros. Agrippa died on 12 March 12, too early to be the agent of the transfer,¹⁰⁴ but whoever took care of the reproduction of Vesta's cult in

¹⁰⁰ Hänlein-Schäfer (above n. 33), 96 f.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 62 f.

¹⁰¹ Cf. S. Walker, in: *The Romanization of Athens* (above n. 19), 72.

¹⁰² Hurwit (above n. 30), 280.

¹⁰³ P. Herz, in: J. Ganzert, *Der Mars-Ulter-Tempel auf dem Augustusforum in Rom* (DAI, Sonderschriften, Bd. 11), Mainz am Rh. 1996, 268 f. This hypothesis is based on the interpretation of the word μέγαρον in Dio 55,10,6 not only as cella (thus already G. Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma* [Vetera 8], Roma 1992, 28; for Dio's passage, cf. now in detail Spannagel [above n. 56], 38 ff.: in his opinion, μέγαρον probably refers to the so-called Sala del Colosso outside of the temple, which housed the colossal statue of Divus Julius) but a cella with a fire or hearth. Herz believes that Vesta's fire was represented by a tripod which, according to Ganzert, was placed in the middle of the cella (ibid. p. 200: Cipollino-Dreifussplinthe; 291). However, if there really was a tripod in the cella, it must have been a victory monument with obvious associations with Apollo (for tripods heralding Augustus' victories at Actium and over the Parthians, see Schneider [above n. 46], 61 ff.; Schäfer [above n. 33], 67 ff.). As far as I know, Vesta's fire was not associated with the tripod. - M. Siebler, *Studien zum augusteischen Mars Ultor* (Münchener Arbeiten z. Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie 1), München 1988, 66 ff. claimed that the motive of a 'candelabrum between two griffins' represented on the cuirass of the cult statue of Mars Ultor refers to the fire of Vesta being protected by the griffins ("die die Bewachung des Vestafeuers durch Mars symbolisieren", p. 69 n. 404). In my opinion, the griffins rather associate with the notion of vengeance, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 34 (2000), forthcoming, which does not undermine the fact that Mars and Vesta had a lot in common in Augustan propaganda (note, by the way, that Ov. *fast.* 6,465 ff. made Vesta praise the future avenger of the Parthians).

¹⁰⁴ But he may have been organizing the affair in advance, considering that the (probably) preceding events of spring 12 BC in Rome (Augustus becoming *pontifex maximus* and the subsequent reproduction of Vesta's cult on the Palatine) must have been planned early enough.

Athens, it was the Augustan policy that gave Vesta, protectress of Rome and guarantor of its power, a symbolic place on the Acropolis beside Athena, the ancient guardian of her citadel. So, in a way, Vesta made a visit to her roots and the local *hestia* would have been kept warm in expectation of her arrival. There is no way to know how long Vesta resided on the hill. The fact that two of the statues set up for Roman Vestals on the Acropolis (above n. 8) may be Tiberian or later suggests that priestly activity still endured after Augustus' death, and one of the seating inscriptions (*IG II² 5145*) might well be post-Augustan (above n. 15). The cult of Roma and Augustus (evidently in the monopteros) still had a priest in AD 45/6.¹⁰⁵ After the reorganization of the Athenian Imperial cult (probably) under Claudius,¹⁰⁶ the monopteros may have housed the collective cult of the *Sebastoi*, though there is no way to prove this.¹⁰⁷ Should this be the case, Vesta may still have been worshipped in the company of later emperors, though her propagandistic role surely was no longer what it had been under Augustus. At all events, the building itself cannot have been left empty and so the most plausible assumption remains that it continued to serve for the Imperial cult; for how long, we have no means of telling. The monopteros is represented on Athenian bronze coins from the third century AD.¹⁰⁸ What actually happened there in those times is beyond our knowledge.

¹⁰⁵ *IG II² 3242* (rededication of the fifth-century Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous to Livia after her death, cf. M.M. Miles, *Hesperia* 58 [1989] 236 ff.); for the historical and ideological context, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 34 (2000), forthcoming.

¹⁰⁶ Spawforth (above n. 19), 188 ff.

¹⁰⁷ It would be tempting to assume a connection between the temple and "the altar of the *Sebastoi* on the Acropolis" recorded in the Severan inscription *IG II² 1076*, lines 38 f. (cf. *SEG* 34 [1984] 184 and 37 [1987] 97). Unfortunately, however, the location of such an altar cannot be identified (though Premierstein thought of a place some 15 metres northeast of the monopteros). The inscription itself tells about extraordinary honours to Julia Domna (e.g. a golden statue of her within the Parthenon and another one beside the ancient cult image of Athena Polias in the Erechtheion).

¹⁰⁸ *BMC Attica* nos. 801 ff.; J.M. Svoronos - B. Pick, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, München 1924, tab. 98, nos. 19 ff.; recent discussion in Hoff (above n. 33), 186 ff.; Baldassarri (above n. 33), 46 f.

Fig. 1. The Acropolis in the second century AD. From Travlos (above n. 33), 71 fig. 91.

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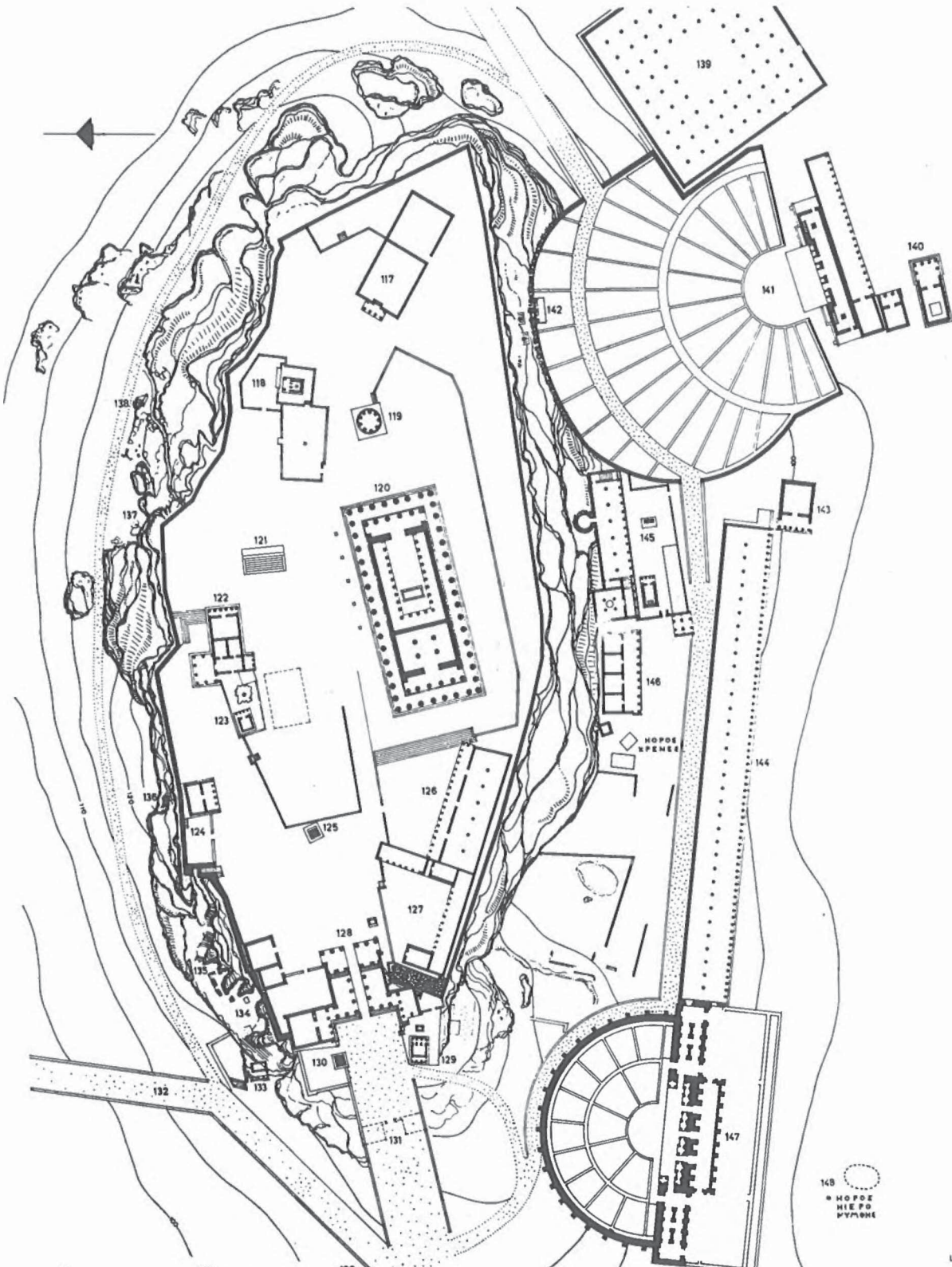
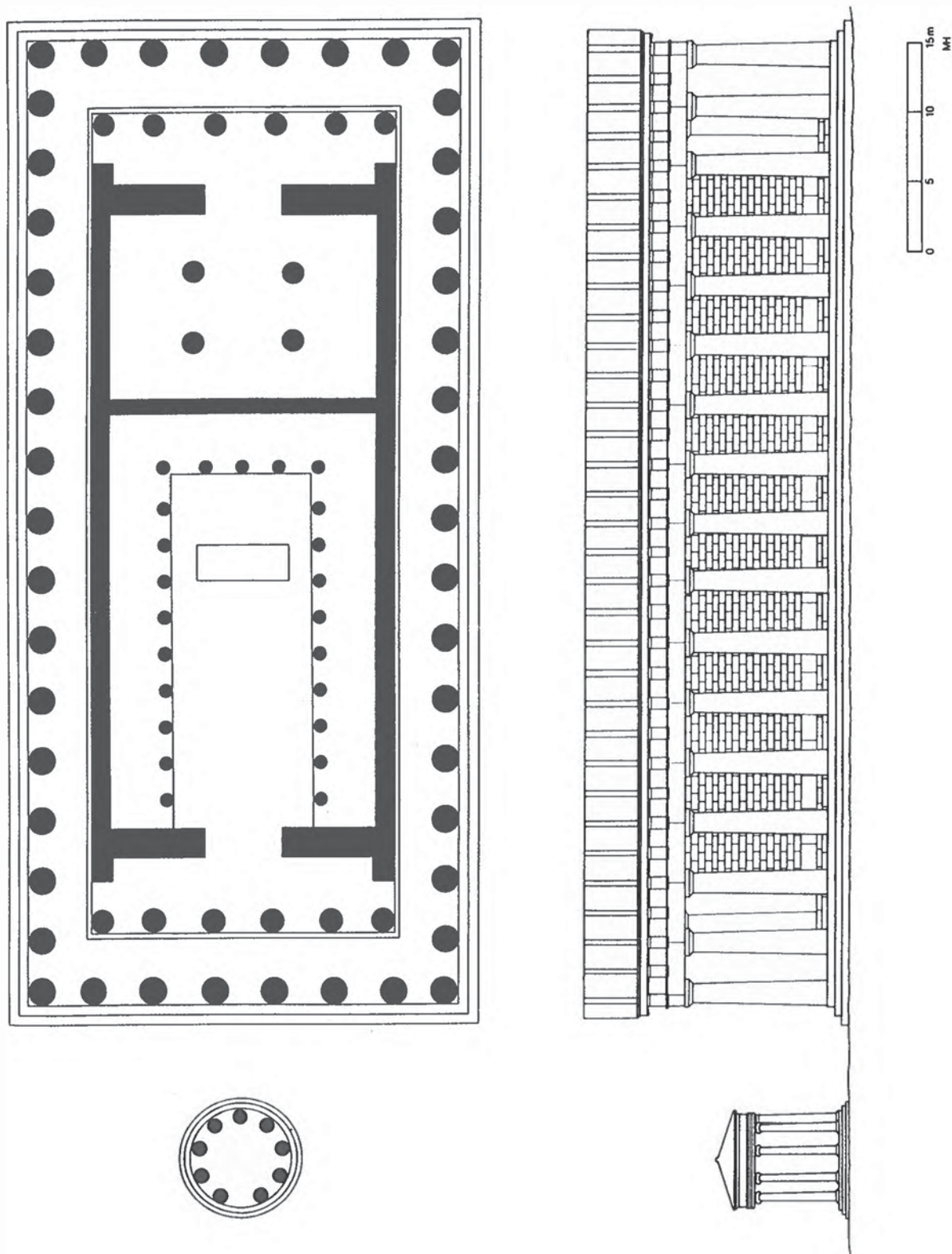


Fig. 2. Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Parthenon. After Hoff (above n. 33), 187.



Les dedicaces chorégiques d'époque flavienne et antonine à Athènes

Simone Follet

Dina Peppas Delmousou

Les inscriptions chorégiques - dedicaces en prose ou en vers gravées sur des monuments supportant le trépied accordé au vainqueur des chœurs dithyrambiques aux Grandes Dionysies - constituent à Athènes un ensemble assez riche, que l'on peut suivre du Vème siècle *a. C.* jusqu'au moins au milieu du IIème siècle *p. C.* A. Brinck,¹ qui a étudié l'ensemble de ces monuments, a bien montré qu'on pouvait, par le formulaire et l'écriture, distinguer deux groupes: l'un d'époque classique et hellénistique (on peut faire descendre cette première série jusqu'au IIème siècle *a. C.*: archontat de Sonicos, 175/4²), l'autre, après une rupture marquée, sous les Flaviens et les Antonins. Dans les études d'ensemble de la fin du XIXème siècle ou de la première moitié du XXème,³ le second groupe a été fort négligé, victime des préjugés régnants sur l'Athènes "décadente". En 1980, W. Peek⁴ a revu et republié plusieurs épigrammes, mais certaines lectures erronées et restitutions arbitraires imposent de soumettre ses textes à une révision critique. Quelques rapprochements nouveaux de fragments, opérés par D. Peppas-Delmousou au Musée épigraphique d'Athènes, permettent de compléter certains textes, grâce, notamment, à quelques fragments inédits (voir les n^{os} 8 et 12 ci-après). Enfin, malgré les études importantes d'E. G. Stikas,⁵ de P. Amandry⁶ et d'A. Chorémi-Spetsieri,⁷ nous ne

¹ *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, "Dissertationes philologicae Halenses", 7, Halle 1886, p. 71-274.

² D. M. Lewis, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions, II", *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 50 (1955), n^o 6, p. 24, date de cette même année IG II² 3058 et 3088.

³ Voir surtout E. Reisch, *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus*, Vienne 1885; *RE* s. v. Χορικοί ἀγῶνες, col. 2431-2438; E. Bodensteiner, "Ueber choregische Weihinschriften", *Commentationes philologicae conventui philologorum Monachii congregatorum oblatae*, München 1891, p. 38-82; C. Bottin, "Etude sur la chorégie dithyrambique en Attique jusqu'à l'époque de Demetrius de Phalère (308 avant J.-C.)", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 9 (1930), p. 749-782; 10 (1931), p. 5-32, 463-493. - P. Wilson, "Leading the Tragic Khoros: Tragic Prestige in the Democratic City", in *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, ed. Ch. Pelling, Oxford 1997, p. 81-108, annonce un ouvrage d'ensemble sur la chorégie, que nous n'avons pas encore vu.

⁴ "Attische Versinschriften", *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse* (ci-après *ASAW*), 69, 2 (1980).

⁵ "Τρίπλευρα κιονόκρανα, κορυφώματα καὶ μνημεῖα", *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1961, p. 159-179.

⁶ "Trépieds d'Athènes: I. Dionysies", "II. Thargélies", *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 100 (1976), p. 15-93; 101 (1977), p. 165-202 et plans hors texte.

⁷ "Ἡ οδὸς τῶν Τριπόδων καὶ τὰ χορηγικά μνημεῖα στὴν ἀρχαία Αθήνα", in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, Proceedings of an International Conference celebrating 2500 years since the birth of democracy in Greece, held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens,

disposons pas encore d'une description précise de chaque monument. Il n'est presque aucun de ces textes qui ne puisse être amélioré (chronologie, restitutions, interprétation); mais leur regroupement permet aussi d'étudier l'institution en elle-même, les personnages qui interviennent dans l'organisation de ces fêtes (archontes, agonothètes, chorèges, aulètes...), le nombre de tribus en compétition et les variations qui peuvent se produire au fil des ans dans le déroulement des concours.

Après avoir révisé sur la pierre la plupart de ces documents, nous essaierons de proposer pour chacun d'eux un texte plausible et une traduction - éventuellement après avoir mis en concurrence les différentes versions existantes - et de signaler les problèmes de texte ou d'interprétation non encore résolus. On verra que l'étude de ces documents intéresse non seulement l'histoire des compétitions chorales, mais aussi l'archéologie ou la chronologie des archontes. Les instruments prosopographiques dont nous disposons aujourd'hui - le *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II* de M. J. Osborne et S. Byrne,⁸ la banque de données *Persons of Ancient Athens* de J. S. Traill⁹ et la prosopographie des artistes dionysiaques d'I. E. Stephanis¹⁰ - ont rendu possible une étude qui ne l'était sans doute pas il y a vingt ans, mais qui doit encore être présentée, à certains égards, comme incomplète ou provisoire.¹¹ Par exemple, S. B. Aleshire¹² mentionne une dédicace chorégique, IG II² 4464 (ou 4463?), que M. A. Mantis reconstitue à l'aide de nouveaux fragments trouvés à l'Asklepion.

Parmi les monuments qui offrent quelque ressemblance avec la série étudiée, nous avons écarté IG II² 3155,¹³ distique relatif à la victoire d'un Alkibiadès, parce que le texte dit clairement que cette dédicace commémore sa valeur, non une victoire dans un concours musical (οὐ μολπᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀρετᾶς ἄεθλον); IG II² 3189b,¹⁴ qui semble appartenir plutôt au II^e siècle a. C. et se situer dans le contexte de la rivalité entre Athènes et Sparte à Platées (on ne peut y retrouver le nom de l'archonte d'époque augustéenne Lacon, attesté dans IG II² 1069); B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23 (1954), n° 46, p. 258-259 et pl. 54, début d'épigramme portant le nom d'un archonte Philisteidès, que nous classons, à la suite de W. Peek,¹⁵ dans les dédicaces d'éphèbes.

December 4-6, 1992, ed. W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear, Jr., H. A. Shapiro, F. J. Frost ("Oxbow Monograph" 37), Oxford 1994, p. 31-42 (notamment p. 42, n. 53).

⁸ Oxford 1994.

⁹ Toronto 1994- (en cours de publication).

¹⁰ Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται. Συμβολὲς στὴν προσωπογραφία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων, Herakleio 1988.

¹¹ Il est possible qu'il existe aussi des inscriptions chorégiques au Musée de l'Agora (à paraître dans *Agora*, XVIII, ou dans des volumes ultérieurs). Voir aussi la note suivante.

¹² *Asklepios at Athens. Epigraphic and prosopographic essays on the Athenian healing cults*, Amsterdam 1991, p. 54, n. 6.

¹³ La mention de la prêtresse d'Athéna Alexandra, fille de Léon, des Cholléides prouve que ce distique est d'époque augustéenne, donc en dehors de la période de nos dédicaces.

¹⁴ La première édition assez complète est celle de W. Peek, "Metrische Inschriften, 1. Ein choregisches Denkmal", *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand*, München 1938, p. 14-18 et pl. 1-6; voir aussi N. Robertson, "A Point of Precedence at Plataia. The dispute between Athens and Sparta over leading the procession", *Hesperia*, 55 (1986), p. 99-101.

¹⁵ *ASAW* 69. 2 (1980), n° 37, p. 36. Seul le fait que la face inscrite est légèrement concave, signalé par les éditeurs, pourrait faire penser plutôt à un monument chorégique.

Avant d'aborder l'étude des épigrammes, nous pouvons considérer brièvement trois documents en prose du I^{er} siècle relatifs aux concours lyriques des Grandes Dionysies.

1. *IG* II² 3112 est une base massive en marbre de l'Hymette (ht. 73, l. 103, ép. 52 cm), toujours en place au théâtre de Dionysos, qui devait porter une statue de Philopappos dédiée par la tribu Oinéide. Après avoir "bien concouru" avec un chœur dionysiaque, cette tribu honorait "l'archonte et agonothète des Dionysies Gaios Ioulios Antiochos Epiphanès Philopappos de Bèsa" pour ses bienfaits. On sait que l'agonothète n'a commencé à être nommé sur les monuments chorégiques que dans le dernier tiers du IV^{ème} siècle *a. C.*¹⁶ Il existe au moins un autre exemple de cumul de l'archontat éponyme avec l'agonothésie des Grandes Dionysies: celui de l'empereur Hadrien.¹⁷ Les "spécialistes" qui ont financé et instruit le chœur sont nommés soit dans l'intitulé (lettres de 3,8 cm), tels le maître de chœur (διδάσκαλος) Moiragénès et le chorège Boulon, tous deux fils de Moiragénès, de Phylè (l. 6-7), soit au début ou à la fin de la première colonne de choreutes (lettres de 1 cm), tels l'épistate (ce titre ne paraît pas ailleurs) Ménandros, fils de Ménandros, de Phylè (l. 8-10), l'aulète Philètos, fils de Méniskos, de Colone (l. 12-13), soit à la fin de la dernière colonne, comme le maître de chant (μελοποιός) Mousikos (l. 41-42), identique, comme l'a vu A. Brinck, à Mousikos, fils de Kléon, cité parmi les choreutes d'Acharnes (l. 33). Malgré quelques anomalies dans la présentation de la liste - démotique inscrit en tête de colonne ou après le nom ou sous-entendu, choreute cité en dehors de la liste de son dème (l. 17; cf. l. 29-37), choreutes inscrits sur une même ligne alors qu'il y a d'ordinaire un nom par ligne (l. 34) -, on a calculé que le chœur comprenait, en plus de l'épistate, de l'aulète et du maître de chœur, 25 choreutes (on sait qu'ils étaient 50 à l'époque classique). Le fait qu'ils ont un démotique suffit à indiquer qu'il s'agit d'un chœur d'hommes. L'expression εὐ ἀγωνισαμένων (avec incertitude sur l'adverbe, apparemment martelé) indique certainement que, sans être vainqueur, ce chœur a été classé honorablement; Plutarque nous assure en effet, dans ses *Propos de table*,¹⁸ que dans les compétitions chorales tous les concurrents étaient classés.

On a parfois rapproché¹⁹ de cette inscription le passage des *Propos de table* (I 10, 1) où Plutarque évoque le roi Philopappos, "agonothète brillant et généreux, chorège à la fois pour toutes les tribus", mais il est sûr ici que Boulon était chorège de l'Oinéide; le texte de Plutarque se rapporte donc à une autre agonothésie, comme nous le verrons.

J. Kirchner, après P. Graindor,²⁰ a daté ce texte entre 75/6 et 87/8;

¹⁶ Voir par exemple *IG* II² 3073, 3074, 3079, 3081, 3083, 3086/7, 3088 ...

¹⁷ Son archontat (111/2) est attesté par *IG* II² 2024, 2025, 3286, Phlégon de Tralles, *FGrHist* II B 257 F 36 (*Mir.* 25), *Hist. Aug.*, V. *Hadr.* 19, 1. Pour l'agonothésie des Grandes Dionysies, voir Dion Cassius, LXIX, 16, 1.

¹⁸ Voir le titre du problème I, 10: "Pourquoi à Athènes on ne classait jamais dernier le chœur de la tribu Aiantide."

¹⁹ Notamment P. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Le Caire 1931, p. 51-52 et fig. 4, suivi par J. Kirchner.

²⁰ *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, Bruxelles 1922, n° 66, p. 95-100.

E. Kapetanopoulos, en 108/9.²¹ Mais les études récentes de B. Puech,²² M.-F. Baslez,²³ S. B. Aleshire²⁴ montrent que Philopappos a dû naître entre 60 et 70, et n'a donc pu être archonte avant 85/6 (Hérode Atticus lui-même ne semble pas avoir été archonte avant l'âge de vingt-cinq ans²⁵); s'il est bien parti pour l'Égypte dans les années 93-96, comme l'indique M.-F. Baslez, son archontat doit se placer entre 85/6 et 92/3. On ne sait si la liste atypique IG II² 1759 (Agora XV, 312) est de la même année: on y retrouve peut-être Philopappos, comme agonothète plutôt que comme archonte, Philètos comme aulète et Boulon, fils de Moiragénès, de Phylè comme secrétaire de prytanie. L'aulète doit être le fils du pédotribe Méniskos qui était en charge, selon Plutarque,²⁶ à l'époque où Ammonios, en tant que stratège, faisait passer au Diogéneion les examens des éphèbes; il appartient à une famille connue, qui a fourni des pédotribes et des hypopédotribes au I^{er} siècle *a. C.*²⁷ Le choreute Faustos, fils de Glaukias, d'Acharnes (l. 37) appartient aussi à une famille connue par Plutarque et plusieurs inscriptions attiques, étudiée par S. Follet dans les *Mélanges Jacques Bompaire* (sous presse).

2. Une base quadrangulaire (ht. 20, l. 32,5, ép. 44 cm), de provenance inconnue, porte l'inscription IG II² 3157 (EM 4553). Copiée et publiée par J. Kirchner, avec l'aide d'E. Preuner, elle a été datée du I^{er} siècle *p. C.* Kirchner indique que les trous destinés à la statue ne semblent pas contemporains de l'inscription. On ne peut affirmer que cette base portait un trépied, car ce monument ne commémorait pas seulement une victoire aux Dionysies. La plus grande partie de la surface supérieure de la base étant conservée, il est sûr qu'une seule ligne manque au début. Les bords sont lisses à droite et à gauche, mais avec une échancrure à bords lisses à gauche, qui réduit la surface inscrite à 26,5 cm de large (voir pl. I a). La face inscrite étant endommagée, le dernier mot du texte est incertain, à l'exception des deux premières lettres, car on ne voit guère que le haut des lettres suivantes; mais une dédicace à Athéna paraît en soi plus probable qu'une dédicace aux Athéniens. Les lettres mesurent environ 1 cm, l'interligne 1,3 à 1,5 cm. Nous présentons côte à côte le texte de Kirchner et le nôtre.

..... αν ἀ[γωνι]σάμενος κ[υ-]
[κ]λίοις χορο[ίς] ἀνδρῶν Κεκροπίδι
[φ]υλ[λ]ῇ αὐτὸς χορηγῶν καὶ διδάσ-

..... αν ἀ[γ]ωνισάμενος κ[υ-]
[κ]λίοις χοροῖς ἀνδρῶν Κεκροπίδι
[φ]υλῇ αὐτὸς χορηγῶν καὶ διδάσ-

²¹ "Οἱ ἄρχοντες Γάιος καὶ Λούκιος", *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 7 (1974), p. 391-394; "The Reform of the Athenian Constitution under Hadrian", *Horos* 10-12 (1992-1998), p. 235.

²² "Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 33, 6, Berlin-New York 1992, p. 4870-4873.

²³ "La famille de Philopappos de Commagène, un prince entre deux mondes", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, 18, 1 (1992), p. 89-101.

²⁴ *Asklepios at Athens*, p. 52-54.

²⁵ Son archontat est attesté par IG II² 3733, 3734, 3190; IG III, 3871; voir S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle. Etudes chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris 1976, p. 110-111; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*, II, Hildesheim 1983, p. 2, n. 13, et n° 72-74, p. 101-104. La date de l'archontat, fixée grâce à la mention de l'ère du voyage d'Hadrien à Athènes, invite à préférer, comme date de naissance, 101 ou 102; W. Ameling ne donne en fait aucun argument obligeant à abaisser cette date jusqu'en 103.

²⁶ *Propos de table*, IX, 15, 1.

²⁷ Toutes les références citées dans LGPN II, s. v. Méniskos (de Colone), ne peuvent pas se rapporter au même personnage. P. A. Pantos, *Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς*, 1973, p. 176-180, attribue au I^{er} siècle *p. C.* tous les textes mentionnant le pédotribe Méniskos, mais certains sont sûrement du I^{er} siècle *a. C.*

[κων, κα]ῖ τραγωδίαν Παναθήναια τ[ἀ] κων, καὶ τραγωδίαν Παναθήναια τὰ
[μεγά]λα καινὴν διδ[ά]ξας κα[ῖ]] μεγάλα καινὴν διδάξας καὶ νεικ[ή-]
[.] αστα τρία Ἀθηναί[ο]ις.]ας τὰ τρία Ἀθηναί[ο]ις[?].

(restitutions de Kirchner en général et de Preuner l. 4). Au début, Kirchner a songé à un ethnique comme Ἀκαρνάν, mais le représentant aux Dionysies de la Cécropide doit être Athénien; on peut songer à une expression comme [--- Διονυσίων τὴν ἄμιλλαν ἀγωνισάμενος κτλ. L. 5-6, aux suggestions de Preuner [θαυμ]αστὰ et de Kirchner [διασκευ]αστὰ, nous préférons καὶ νεικ[ή]σας τὰ τρία, en grande partie déchiffré sur la pierre, qui respecte la coupe syllabique et donne un sens satisfaisant; une victoire à un autre concours devait être évoquée dans la partie perdue en tête de l'inscription. Revenant à l'usage du Vème siècle a. C., ce vainqueur aux Dionysies était à la fois chorège et maître de chœur; il a donc financé et instruit le chœur.

Traduction: (*Un tel*), ---, ayant concouru aux Dionysies avec des chœurs cycliques (= dithyrambiques) d'hommes pour la tribu Cécropide, en étant lui-même chorège et maître de chœur, ayant été maître de chœur pour une tragédie nouvelle aux Grandes Panathénées, et ayant été vainqueur dans ces trois épreuves, (a consacré ce monument) à Athéna (?).

3. Un fragment conservé à l'Agora romaine (n° 764 de cette collection) et publié par S. N. Koumanoudis, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 25 (1970), n° 4, p. 57 (ht. 13,5, l. 19,5, ép. 6 cm; hauteur des lettres 2,7, interligne 1,3 cm, selon l'éditeur), daté du Ier-IIème siècle, porte les restes de quatre lignes d'une dédicace imitant celles de l'époque classique. L'éditeur a bien noté que l'avant et l'arrière convergent vers la droite, ce qui laisse supposer primitivement un monument triangulaire. On lit seulement la partie droite de quatre lignes: ---ἐνείκα / ---ος ἔχο[ρήγει] / [----- ἐδίδα]σκε / [--- ἦρχ]ε. Ce fragment de marbre blanc étant brisé de tous côtés, rien ne permet de savoir si le texte en prose était ou non associé à une épigramme.

4. IG II² 3114, trouvé près du portique du Poecile, aujourd'hui exposé au portique d'Attale, est le mieux conservé de tous les monuments d'époque flavienne.²⁸ C'est un monument triangulaire en marbre pentélique, de 2,96 m de haut, selon les calculs de P. Amandry,²⁹ à flancs concaves et pans coupés. L'inscription en prose des trois premières lignes a des lettres de 3,5 cm, les six trimètres iambiques qui suivent de 1,8 cm. Le texte, quasi complet, n'offre aucune difficulté de lecture.

Ὁ δῆμος ἐνείκα.
Λούκιος Φλάουιος Φλάμμας
Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἦρχε.
4 Πάντες χοραγοὶ πᾶς τε φυλέτας χορὸς
ἄγαλμα δῆμῳ Κέκροπος ἐστάσαντά με,
ἐκούσιοι μεθέντες ἐξ ἀγωνίας,
ὥς μὴ φέροι τις αἰσχος ἀποκισσόμενος.
8 [Ἐ]γὼ δ'ἐκάστῳ τόσσον εὐκλείας νέμω,
καθ' ὅσον ξυνὸς ὢν ὀφείλομαι.

Le verbe ἀποκισσόμεναι est clair, bien qu'il ait ici un sens inusité. Mais, pour l'interprétation de l'ensemble, Kirchner paraît hésiter: "Vs. 4-7 sententia haec esse videtur:

²⁸ Voir I. E. Stikas, *Arch. Ephem.* 1961, p. 168-169; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, Athens 1971, p. 568, fig. 713; *The Athenian Agora*³. A Guide to the Excavation and Museum, Athens 1976, p. 122-123.

²⁹ *BCH* 100 (1976), p. 42-43.

Omnes choregi et choreutae, cum victoria dubia fuisset (v. 6 μεθέντες Kaibel, [μεθέντες ed. princeps]), sua sponte constituerunt choregum victorem et tribum non eligere, ne quis victoriae palma non reportata infamia afficeretur. Br(inck). Vs. 8-9, sic explicavit Kaib(el): prout quisque ad me ponendum tulit, suam cuique laudis partem tribuo. Cf. 3023, 6". La formulation de ces deux hypothèses suscite des objections: ce ne sont pas les chorèges ou les choreutes qui choisissent le chœur, donc la tribu qui sera victorieuse, ce sont les juges; nous pensons qu'il n'y a pas eu une victoire douteuse, mais que les chorèges et les chœurs ont renoncé à concourir. D'ordinaire le trépied accordé par le peuple au vainqueur était consacré par lui. Ici il n'y a pas eu de victoire. Deux hypothèses peuvent dès lors être envisagées, en fonction du sens donné à ἄγαλμα:³⁰ 1) au lieu du trépied, le peuple aurait consacré une statue de Dionysos, qui parlerait à la première personne dans les deux derniers vers, disant qu'il est impartial ("commun à tous") et accorde donc un honneur égal à chaque tribu; 2) le mot, désignant une offrande au sens large, s'applique ici au trépied, et toutes les tribus peuvent considérer qu'elles l'ont reçu comme si elles avaient emporté la victoire. L'idée évoque les vers de V. Hugo:

Oh ! l'amour d'une mère! amour que nul n'oublie!

Pain merveilleux qu'un dieu partage et multiplie!

Table toujours servie au paternel foyer!

Chacun en a sa part, et tous l'ont tout entier!

Les Feuilles d'automne, "Ce siècle avait deux ans" (nous soulignons).

Ce parallèle permet de comprendre comment chacune des tribus peut estimer avoir obtenu pleinement l'honneur de la victoire.

Seule l'archéologie peut aider à choisir entre ces deux hypothèses, mais aucune des descriptions existantes ne permet de savoir ce que supportait primitivement ce monument triangulaire. Selon P. Amandry (p. 42), "le chapiteau n'a jamais porté de trépied."

L'archonte L. Flavius Flamma de Kydathènaion est attesté aussi comme stratège des hoplites et prêtre de Zeus Boulaïos et Athèna Boulaia.³¹ Comme la plupart des archontes du début du II^e siècle sont connus et comme la prêtresse d'Athèna nommée sous son archontat est antérieure à Flavia Phainarète, connue par de nombreux documents du début du II^e siècle,³² il appartient presque sûrement aux vingt dernières années du I^{er} siècle.

Traduction: *Tous les chorèges et chaque chœur de tribu m'ont érigé en ex-voto (ou: moi, statue) pour le peuple de Cécrops, après avoir renoncé spontanément à concourir, pour qu'aucun d'eux n'eût la honte de se voir refuser la couronne de lierre. Pour ma part (ou: Quant à moi, Dionysos), j'attribue à chacun autant de gloire, dans la mesure où, étant commun à tous, je suis dû à chacun.*

5. Le "monument de Sarapion" comportait primitivement une seule face inscrite et, d'après IG II² 3704, il supportait un trépied. De forme triangulaire et de dimensions imposantes, il a dû, avant d'être remployé et consacré à l'Asklepion, où la plupart de ses fragments ont été retrouvés, appartenir à la série des monuments chorégiques d'époque flavienne. En attendant la reconstruction du monument au Musée épigraphique par Mme Ch. Karapa-Molisani, nous présenterons seulement quelques observations sur la dédicace primitive - prose et vers -, à partir des éditions de J. H. Oliver³³ et de D. J. Geagan.³⁴

³⁰ Pour les trois sens possibles, voir H. Bloesch, *Agalma. Kleinod, Weihgeschenk, Götterbild. Ein Beitrag zur frühgriechischen Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte*, Bern 1943.

³¹ IG II² 3543, 3544, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), n° 55, p. 46-47 et pl. 11.

³² IG II² 3582, 3583, 4061, 4210, 4345.

³³ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 5 (1936), p. 91-122, avec photographies.

³⁴ D. J. Geagan, "The Sarapion Monument and the Quest for Status in Roman Athens", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 85 (1991), p. 145-165.

Mais, pour déterminer l'étendue des lacunes de l'inscription chorégique gravée à l'avant du monument, nous pouvons nous appuyer sur la dédicace plus récente ajoutée par le petit-fils de Sarapion, qui occupe à présent les l. 3-6. La photographie de J. H. Oliver prouve que les restitutions proposées jusqu'ici sont trop courtes. Nous écrirons:

Κό. Στά[τιος -----, πυρφόρ]ος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως, Χολλεί-
δης, [ε]ρεὺς διὰ βίου τοῦ Σωτήρος] θεοῦ, τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον
ἀνέθ[ηκεν καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶ]να αὐτοῦ ἀνέγραψεν.
κα[θ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν τῶν Ἀρεοπ]αγειτῶν.

La mention de l'épimélète, qui figurait au bas du monument, devait aussi se présenter sous une forme plus longue, comme dans les inscriptions contemporaines où est nommé le même personnage:³⁵

Ἐπιμελη[τεύοντος τῆς πόλεως διὰ βίου Τίτου Κωπω]νί-
ου Μαξίμου Ἀγνουσίου ---] (le nom du zacore qui suivait est perdu).

Comme l'a vu S. B. Aleshire,³⁶ sa mention permet d'attribuer l'inscription à la période 85/6-103/4. B. Puech,³⁷ d'autre part, et M.-F. Baslez ont bien vu que la victoire de Sarapion évoquée ici était celle dont parlait Plutarque dans ses *Propos de table*, I, 10. Ce rapprochement permet de rétablir le nom de l'agonothète, Philopappos. Dans la période considérée, il existe un archonte connu en -ôros, M. Annios Pythodôros; il est devenu prêtre d'Apollon Pythien entre 92/3 et 98/9,³⁸ ce qui fournit un *terminus ante quem* pour son archontat. Il était éphèbe vers 80 p. C. (*IG* II² 1994, 8) et n'a donc pas dû être archonte avant 85/6. Comme, d'après une autre inscription qui doit se rapporter à lui,³⁹ son archontat coïncide avec une année de Grandes Eleusines, il peut être situé en 87/8 ou 91/2. En éliminant les nombreux *uacat* supposés par D. J. Geagan, nous proposons:

Λε[ωντὶς ἀνδρῶν ἐνεῖκα, Ἀννιος Πυθόδω]ρος ἦρχε,
[Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος Φιλόπαππος ἐχορήγει,]
[Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος Χολλείδης ἐδίδασ]κεν.

A la l. 1, J. H. Oliver avait pensé à Λε[ύκιος Διονυσόδω]ρος (voir le n° 14 ci-après). D. J. Geagan a rétabli avec raison le nom de la tribu victorieuse, la Léontide, mais a ensuite songé à l'archonte de ca 120 Fulvius Métrodôros,⁴⁰ croyant devoir dater tout le monument après 120 parce qu' E. A. Kapetanopoulos⁴¹ a montré que Sarapion n'a pas pu devenir citoyen romain, avec le gentilice Statius, avant cette date. Mais Sarapion porte ce gentilice

³⁵ Ces inscriptions sont réunies et étudiées par S. Follet, *Athènes*, p. 170-173.

³⁶ *Asklepios at Athens* (v. n. 14), p. 52-54.

³⁷ "Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque" (v. n. 22), p. 4870-4873.

³⁸ Voir *ID* 2535, 2536, étudiées par S. Follet, *Athènes*, p. 150-155, 162-166 et 466.

³⁹ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 11 (1942), n° 8, p. 37-40 (photographie); *Agora* XV (1975), n° 313, p. 240. Pour la date, voir S. Follet, *Athènes* (1976), p. 329-331.

⁴⁰ *IG* II² 2021 (113/4-124/5).

⁴¹ "The Sarapion Monument at Athens", *Prometheus*, 20 (1994), p. 234-242.

dans la seconde phase de gravure de la face A, non dans la première; la date la plus probable pour la dédicace primitive est donc 87/8 ou 91/2.

Quant à l'épigramme, non identifiée selon D. J. Geagan, elle semble mutilée irrémédiablement. Quelques remarques cependant sont possibles. D'abord il est peu probable que les fragments non encore placés en fassent partie, car ils doivent appartenir au poème de Sarapion sur les devoirs du médecin qui faisait suite à l'épigramme. D'après l'analogie des monuments contemporains, on peut penser qu'elle célébrait la victoire de la Léontide. La séquence -ος ἀνδρομάχοι[o] semble indiquer qu'elle était en hexamètres ou distiques élégiaques. Au vers précédent, il faut sans doute écrire ἄθλα plutôt qu'ἄθλα devant καὶ, et peut-être μό[γῳ] ou, de préférence, μό[χθῳ] ou μό[χθοις]. Les lectures actuelles sont suspectes; il convient d'attendre la reconstitution du monument, avec d'éventuels fragments inédits.

6. S. N. Koumanoudis, "Quintus Vibius Crispus", *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 3 (1970), p. 403-406, a publié avec photographies l'inscription figurant sur la partie gauche, seule conservée - en fait formée de deux fragments jointifs -, d'un grand monument triangulaire (ht. 205, l. 30,5, ép. 10 à 25 cm), à l'avant légèrement concave, de provenance inconnue, conservé à la Tour des Vents, qu'il a rapproché d'IG II² 3114 (nous rectifions la référence). Les dimensions du monument donnent à penser qu'il supportait un grand trépied, obtenu sans doute à la suite d'une victoire avec un chœur d'hommes. L'archonte éponyme étant Q. Vibius Crispus de Marathon, *consul ter* - son nom au nominatif, sans le démotique, figure aussi sur un épistyle, IG II² 4191, qui n'offre aucun indice précis de datation -, l'éditeur a pu dater le monument entre le troisième consulat de ce personnage et sa mort, soit entre 83 et 93 p. C. E. A. Kapetanopoulos,⁴² A. N. Oikonomides⁴³ et W. Peek⁴⁴ ont ultérieurement proposé diverses restitutions pour ce texte, qui comporte une partie en prose de trois lignes, en lettres de 1,5 cm, et une épigramme de quatre hexamètres, en lettres de 2,5 cm, l'interligne mesurant partout 1 cm, séparées par un blanc de 3,9 cm (39 cm selon l'éditeur, mais les photographies montrent qu'il faut corriger). La différence de grosseur de lettres permettait aux lignes de finir à peu près au même niveau, alors que les trois premières lignes comportent un nombre de lettres plus important, comme l'a remarqué W. Peek. Le formulaire de l'inscription en prose était composite: d'abord la formule usuelle de datation par l'archonte éponyme, au génitif, puis des imparfaits imitant ceux des inscriptions chorégiques d'époque classique (du type "un tel était chorège"). Les informations données dans les deux parties de l'inscription étaient en partie redondantes: l'archonte était cité l. 1 et 4, Asklepiadès (fonction disputée) l. 2 et 5, l'aulete l. 3 et 7, alors que dans d'autres documents prose et vers se complètent.

S. N. Koumanoudis avait restitué seulement la formule éponymique de la l. 1 et quelques débuts ou fins de mots assurés. A. N. Oikonomides (I) et W. Peek (II), plus hardis, ont proposé des restitutions sensiblement différentes. Aucun de ces textes ne peut être accepté entièrement: le premier viole souvent la métrique, le second contient des noms propres entièrement imaginaires; un rapprochement prosopographique assuré⁴⁵ a obligé,

⁴² "The Archon Q. Vibius Crispus Marathonius", *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 6 (1973), p. 137-138.

⁴³ *Ancient World*, 2 (1979), p. 24.

⁴⁴ *ASAW* (v. n. 4), n° 35, p. 35.

⁴⁵ Un Asklepiadès, fils d'Hygeinos, d'Anaphlystos est prêtre de l'éponyme, puis éponyme de la tribu Antiochide en 135/6 et 138/9 (*Agora*, XV, 330, 333); le même (ou un parent homonyme, oncle ou grand-père) était cité comme thesmothète dans une liste d'archontes publiée par M. G. Vasilarou, *Horos*, 4 (1986), p. 35-36 et pl. 6, revue par E. A. Kapetanopoulos, *Horos* 6 (1988), p. 21-31. On a peut-être aussi trouvé son épitaphe: voir A. P. Matthaiou, *Horos* 6 (1988), p. 73-74. Quels que soient les liens entre ces personnages, la restitution du démotique est assurée ici.

par exemple, à remplacer l. 2 le démotique 'Α[φιδναῖος] par 'Α[ναφλύστιος]. Mais la confrontation de ces deux versions permet de poser clairement certains problèmes.

- I. A [Ἐ]πὶ Κο. Βειβίου Κρίσπου Μα[ραθωνίου ἄρχοντος]
[Ἄ]σκληπιάδης Ὑγείνου Ἀ[ναφλύστιος ἀγωνοθετῶν ἐνίκᾳ, Διογένης
[ἐ]δίδασκε, ἡεὺλει Φιλόδη[μος ---ίδι Αἰαντίδι παίδων].
- B. [Τ]ρὶς Ῥώμας ὕπατο[ς Κρίσπος ἦρχεν Κεκροπίη]
[ἐν]θ' Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς ἀεθλον ἔλαβεν ἡιθέων χοροῖς].
[Δ]ειογένης ἐδίδασ[κε, ἐνίκων δὲ --- ἰς καὶ]
[Α]ϊαντίς, λωτοῖς δ' [ἐπ]ῆγε ρυθμὸν Φιλόδημος].
- II. A [Ἐ]πὶ Κο. Βειβίου Κρίσπου Μα[ραθωνίου ἄρχοντος, Αἰαντὶς παίδων
ἐνίκᾳ]
[Ἄ]σκληπιάδης Ὑγείνου Ἀ[φιδναῖος ἐχορήγει, Δειογένης Ἡραίου
Οἰναῖος]
[ἐ]δίδασκε, ἡεὺλει Φιλόδη[μος -----].
- B [Τ]ρὶς Ῥώμας ὕπατο[ς λαχ' ὅτ' ἀρχὴν ἐνθάδε Κρίσπος]
[ἐν]θ' Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς παίδων χοροῦ ἦρχ' ἐρατεινῶν],
[Δ]ειογένης ἐδίδασ[κεν ὃν Ἡραίου, καὶ ἐνίκᾳ]
[Α]ϊαντίς, λωτοῖς δ' [ἐτί]θει ρυθμὸν Φιλόδημος].

Seule la restitution de la l. 7 est justifiée; elle s'inspire d'IG II² 3117, 6 (n° 10 ci-après). Pour la forme du nom propre, nous pouvons hésiter, la couleur dorienne n'étant pas constante dans le poème (voir l. 4 et 5 Ῥώμας et Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς]).

Quelques points sont assurés: le nom de l'archonte et son identité (l. 1 et 4), le nom de l'aulète (l. 3, à restituer aussi l. 7), la tribu victorieuse, l'Aiantide (l. 7). Pour S. N. Koumanoudis, il était clair aussi que Diogénès était le maître de chœur. Mais Asklepiadès est pour W. Peek le chorège et pour A. N. Oikonomides l'agonothète - encore y a-t-il quelques anomalies dans ses restitutions l. 2 et 5, car c'est normalement le chorège, non l'agonothète, qui est proclamé vainqueur. Sauf si l'on suppose qu'Asklepiadès était, comme le fut une fois au moins Philopappos, chorège pour toutes les tribus, ce personnage qui appartient à l'Antiochide ne peut avoir fait triompher l'Aiantide. Au contraire, Q. Vibius Crispus de Marathon, lui, appartenait à cette tribu et pouvait être chorège; sinon, un chorège pouvait être nommé soit à la fin de la l. 1, la formule indiquant la tribu victorieuse occupant la fin de la l. 3, soit l. 2 avant le maître de chœur. Mais il serait surprenant, alors que l'identité complète de l'archonte et de l'agonothète est donnée, avec patronyme et démotique, que le chorège et le maître de chœur soient désignés par un simple nom. En fait deux reconstructions paraissent possibles, que pourraient exprimer approximativement les deux versions ci-après.

- I. A [Ἐ]πὶ Κο. Βειβίου Κρίσπου Μα[ραθωνίου ἄρχοντος καὶ χορηγοῦντος]
[Ἄ]σκληπιάδης Ὑγείνου Ἀ[ναφλύστιος ἡγωνοθέτει, Διογένης -----]
[ἐ]δίδασκε, ἡεὺλει Φιλόδη[μος -----, Αἰαντὶς ἀνδρῶν ἐνίκᾳ].
- B [Τ]ρὶς Ῥώμας ὕπατο[ς Κρίσπος κάρχων ἐχορήγει]
[ἐν]θ' Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς ἡγωνοθέτει Διονύσωι],
[Δ]ειογένης ἐδίδασ[κε χορὸν κούρων ὧι ἐνείκα]
[Α]ϊαντίς, λωτοῖς δ' [ἐτί]θει ρυθμὸν Φιλόδημος].
- II. A [Ἐ]πὶ Κο. Βειβίου Κρίσπου Μα[ραθωνίου ἄρχοντος, ὁ δεῖνα ἐχορήγει],
[Ἄ]σκληπιάδης Ὑγείνου Ἀ[ναφλύστιος ἡγωνοθέτει, ὁ δεῖνα]
[ἐ]δίδασκε, ἡεὺλει Φιλόδη[μος -----, Αἰαντὶς ἀνδρῶν ἐνίκᾳ].
- B [Τ]ρὶς Ῥώμας ὕπατο[ς Κρίσπος ἔην κάρχων]
[ἐν]θ' Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς ἡγωνοθέτει, χορὸν δ' ἦγεν]

[Δ]ειογένης, ἐδίδασ[κε δὲ -----, ὧι ἐνεῖκα]
 [Α]ϊαντίς, λωτοῖς δ' [ἐτίθει ῥυθμὸν Φιλόδημος].

Au terme de cette analyse, il apparaît que l'archonte est peut-être aussi le chorège vainqueur de l'Aiantide, qu'Asklèpiadès est probablement l'agonothète, que Diogénès peut être le chorège ou le maître de chœur; dans ces conditions, il convient de ne garder que la restitution des démotiques l. 1 et 2, de l'agonothésie l. 2 et 5 et, en tant que formulation possible, la fin de la l. 7, la fonction de Philodèmos étant assurée.

7. IG II² 3113 (EM 9515) doit appartenir au dernier quart du I^{er} siècle ou au premier quart du II^{ème}. C'est la partie droite d'une stèle de marbre pentélique (voir pl. I b), à surface inscrite légèrement concave (ht. 66 cm, l. 33, ép. 12 à droite, 5 à gauche). Deux espaces blancs (12 cm en haut, 22 cm en bas) indiquent que le texte ne comportait que les sept lignes encore visibles, une de prose et trois distiques élégiaques. Le bord est arrondi et, à l'arrière, se trouvait un bandeau lisse, oblique, partiellement conservé, qui donne à penser qu'elle était peut-être exposée dans une exèdre.⁴⁶ L'écriture est remarquable, en particulier l'*oméga* à *apices* mais aussi double boucle intérieure qui évoque pour nous des lunettes, les lettres rondes masn détachée de l'*êta* et la position haute de la haste transversale de l'*alpha*. Les lettres mesurent 3 cm l. 1, puis 2,3 cm, l'interligne 2 à 2,5 cm.

Il est intéressant de comparer les différentes restitutions proposées, qui ont chacune leur cohérence:

1. Dittenberger, IG III, 79:

[Πτολεμαῖς (?) ἀνδρ]ῶν (?) ἐνεῖκα.
 [----- ἐχ]ορήγε[ε], φυλαῖς
 [ήνικ' Ἀθηναίων δώδε]κα νεῖκος ἔην.
 4 [Τῷ δ' ἄρα Κεκροπίης ἀρχὸς νέ]με πρῶτον ἄεθ[λον],
 [----- ἐκ] Βερενεικιδέων.
 [Νίκησαν Πτολεμαίου (?) ἐπ]ώνυμοι, ἤειδο[ν δὲ]
 [ὅσσ' ἐδίδασκε σοφῶς ---- ὁ] Λαοδικεύς.

N. B. La version de Kirchner ne diffère de celle-ci que par ἐχ]ορήγεε l. 2, [---] Βερενεικιδέω l. 5, ἤειδον [δὲ] l. 6 et [---] Λαοδικεύς l. 7.

2. G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, n° 929, p. 385:

[Nomen victoris χορηγ]ῶν ἐνεῖκα.
 [Οὔτος ὅτ' ----- ἐχ]ορήγεε, φυλαῖς
 [δὴ τότε Κεκροπιδῶν ἔξο]χα νεῖκος ἔην,
 4 [οὗ τρίποδα κλεινὸν λεύσσεις ἐ]μὲ πρῶτον ἄεθ[λον],
 [nomen choregi ----- τοῦ Β]ερενεικιδέω.
 [Κοῦροι μὲν Πτολεμαίου ἐπ]ώνυμοι ἤειδο[ντο]
 [ῥυθμοὺς δὲ nomen ἥρμος]ε Λαοδικεύς.

N. B. A. Brinck, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, n° 72, p. 159-160, a présenté, sans choisir, les deux versions ci-dessus, avec quelques remarques.

3. W. Peek, ASAW 69. 2 (1980), n° 5, p. 9-10:

[Πτολεμαῖς (?) ἀνδρ]ῶν (?) ἐνεῖκα.

⁴⁶ Sur ce type de monuments, voir S. Freifrau von Thüngen, *Die frei stehende griechische Exedra*, Mainz 1994.

- [Υἱὸς Διογένους Εὐκλῆς ἐχ]ορήγεε, φυλαῖς
 [Κεκροπιδῶν πασαῖς ἡνί]κα νεῖκος ἔην.
 4 [Καὶ δὴ νικήσαντι χορῶ νέ]με πρῶτον ἄεθ[λον],
 [ἄρχων Σωσικλῆς, παῖς Β]ερενεικιδέω.
 [Νίκων δὲ Πτολεμαίου ἐπ]ώνυμοι, ἥειδ[ον δὲ]
 [Ἰων ὄσσα σοφῶς ἤρμ]οσ]ε Λαοδικεύς.

Les noms propres, de pure invention, doivent être éliminés de ce texte - et des lexiques où ils ont été recueillis. Ce texte est proposé comme un essai par l'auteur, donc sans crochets; nous les avons rétablis d'après son fac-similé.

On a d'ordinaire considéré que la tribu victorieuse était la Ptolémaïde, dont le nom a été restitué l. 1 et 6 - avec hésitation d'abord, puis sans marque de doute. L. 6, W. Peek a bien vu qu'il fallait préférer l'imparfait à l'aoriste, à l'analogie des autres verbes. On ne peut restituer ni le nom de la tribu l. 1 ni le nom de son héros éponyme l. 6, car *e. g.* [Νείκων οὖν Ἀκάμαντος οὐ Αἴαντος ἐπ]ώνυμοι οὐ [Νείκων δ' Ἴπποθόωντος ἐπ]ώνυμοι conviendrait métriquement. La catégorie du concours, hommes ou enfants, nous échappe également.

Dittenberger avait dégagé la structure de base, identique à celle d'une épigramme de Simonide: nom du chorège dans le premier distique, de l'archonte dans le second, du maître de chœur dans le troisième.

Aux ll. 2-3, il était peut-être question de douze tribus qui s'affrontaient - ce qui daterait le texte avant la fondation de l'Hadrianide; mais la restitution de W. Peek prouve que cette hypothèse n'est pas la seule possible. Il nous paraît inutile de ponctuer après le verbe l. 2.

Si l'on admet que l'archonte a attribué le premier prix, il agissait sans doute en qualité d'agonothète, donc devait cumuler les deux fonctions. Sur la pierre, la lecture du *ny* final du démotique est sûre, bien que la moitié droite de la lettre soit encrassée. Nous connaissons un archonte D. Junius Patron des Béréneïdes,⁴⁷ sous Hadrien probablement, mais son père, l'exégète Patron, avait pu être archonte une génération plus tôt. Même si la restitution du nom Πάτρων l. 5 était avérée, elle ne permettrait pas de déterminer précisément la date.

Au dernier vers, on lit deux hastes parallèles horizontales devant *lambda*, qui peuvent appartenir à *sigma* ou *epsilon*. Le premier étant exclu métriquement, il faut préférer la leçon de Kaibel et Peek. Un M. Antonius Epaphras de Laodicée⁴⁸ est attesté à Claros comme ὑμνοδιδάσκαλος sous le proconsul d'Asie Juventius Celsus (129/30 ?), mais d'autres possibilités existent; il est prudent de ne rien restituer.

Nous proposerions le texte suivant:

- [tribus ἀνδρ]ῶν (?) ἐνεῖκα.
 [----- ἐχ]ορήγεε, φυλαῖς
 [δῶδεκ' Ἀθηναίων ἡνί]κα νεῖκος ἔην.
 4 [Τῷ δ' ἄρα Κεκροπίνης ἀρχὸς νέ]με πρῶτον ἄεθ[λον],
 [---- ὃς γένος ἦν ἐκ Β]ερενεικιδέων.
 [Νείκων ----- ἐπ]ώνυμοι, ἥειδον [δὲ]
 [ὄσσα σοφῶς ---- ἤρμ]οσ]ε Λαοδικεύς.

Traduction: (*Telle tribu*) a triomphé dans la catégorie des hommes (?).

⁴⁷ IG II² 3745 et peut-être ID 2691.

⁴⁸ Voir I. A. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται*, n° 849, p. 162, renvoyant à *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*, 8 (1905), n° 1, p. 167, l. 24.

nom de la tribu victorieuse, l'Oinéide. La coupe de mots de Kirchner est confirmée (νεύς) contre celle de Peek (ν ευς-). L. 5, nous avons déchiffré -σίας, en accord avec Köhler, non Pittakis; on ne voit que le haut des lettres. A cette place devait se trouver le chorège, mais celui-ci pouvait aussi ne figurer que dans l'inscription en prose. Comme les contraintes métriques sont fortes, nous suggérons le nom d'Agasias, attesté dans le dème d'Acharnes, donc faisant partie de la tribu attendue, l'Oinéide. L. 6, le nom de l'archonte est perdu. En fin de ligne, Peek proposait δ' ἄ[ρα]; le rho est confirmé par le nouveau fragment et cette restitution reste possible. A la l. 7, Dittenberger pensait à l'adjectif κρατερόφρων, Peek, en raison de la rareté supposée de cet adjectif, suggérait plutôt un anthroponyme. La restitution de D. Peppas-Delmousou, appuyée sur les dedicaces de l'Acropole,⁴⁹ paraît donner le sens le meilleur. Il n'y a en effet rien d'impossible à ce que soit mentionné ici un air guerrier,⁵⁰ symbolisé par Arès et la Vierge au coeur vaillant, Athèna.

Traduction: *Voici, s'élançant en nombre, la descendance des rois, les seigneurs de Marathon (?) ou de la terre d'Acharnes, ceux qui doivent leur nom à Hippothoon et à Egée; ils entraînaient un chœur d'hommes, et Oenée ainsi l'emportait, et le chœur était conduit par Agasias (?); le pays de Cécrops était régi par l'archonte ---, et un tel jouait sur son aulos Arès (?), avec le nome de (?) la Vierge au coeur vaillant.*

Nous arrivons à une série de documents postérieurs à la création de la tribu Hadrianide.

9. IG II² 3116 (EM 2867⁵¹+ EM 3259, recollés) est une stèle de pierre blanche à surface légèrement concave (ht. 50, l. 43, ép. 5 cm), intacte à gauche - un fragment de marge est conservé en haut-, mais légèrement érodée en surface (voir pl. II b). Les lettres des six premières lignes mesurent 2 à 2,8 cm, celles de la l. 7 3,6 cm, l'interligne 2 cm. Un blanc de 3,5 cm sépare les deux dernières lignes et un blanc de 9,3 cm occupe le bas de la stèle.

Cette inscription a deux points communs avec la précédente: une épigramme en trimètres iambiques et une ligne de prose placée après l'épigramme, donnant le nom de l'archonte éponyme. Nous avons vainement cherché dans IG, III et IG, II² un fragment susceptible de compléter cette ligne.

Publiée par S. A. Koumanoudis en 1860 avec photographie, l'inscription a été reprise, d'après sa copie, par Dittenberger, par Kaibel, qui a fait connaître des restitutions de Wilamowitz, puis par Brinck et Kirchner.⁵² W. Peek⁵³ a revu la pierre et donné un fac-similé, mais avec une restitution erronée de la l. 7 et, en conséquence, une date erronée.

⁴⁹ Voir A. E. Raubitschek - L. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis. A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B. C.*, Cambridge, Mass. 1949; M. L. Lazzarini, *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*, Memorie dell' Accademia dei Lincei, VIII, 19, 2, p. 45-354.

⁵⁰ Un décret de Cos figurant dans le corpus de M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Roma 1993, p. 154-156, ED 234, montre que la pyrrhique, danse guerrière, pouvait être insérée dans un concours de dithyrambe. Voir aussi P. Ceccarelli, "Le dithyrambe et la pyrrhique. A propos de la nouvelle liste de vainqueurs aux Dionysies de Cos (Segre, ED 234)", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 108 (1995), p. 287-305; *La pirrica nell' antichità greco-romana*, Pisa-Roma 1998, p. 121-125 et 134-135.

⁵¹ Voir D. Peppas Delmouso, "Archaeological Notes", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 69 (1965), n° 12, p. 151; O. Bizuènou, *Ἀρχαῖον τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, 3 (1998), n° 7, p. 255.

⁵² S. A. Koumanoudis, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἑλληνικαὶ ...*, Athènes 1860, n° 47, p. 22 et pl. 5; IG III 81; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, n° 926 b, p. 201-202; A. Brinck, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, n° 74, p. 161; IG II² 3116.

⁵³ ASAW 69. 2 (1980), n° 7, p. 11-13.

Le poème est composé de six distiques élégiaques, avec pentamètre en retrait. Avant l'addition d'EM 4591, l'inscription avait été publiée dans *IG III Add. 82a*, d'après une copie de F. von Duhn, puis par G. Kaibel, A. Brinck et J. Kirchner.⁵⁴ Le texte complété, avec le troisième fragment, identifié par J. H. Oliver au Musée épigraphique, a été publié après recollage par M. MacLaren,⁵⁵ avec photographie, puis par W. Peek,⁵⁶ avec fac-similé.

V. 1-3, avant l'addition du fragment situé en haut à gauche, Dittenberger avait lu Διογένης ou διογένης v. 1, πᾶς v. 2 et restitué v. 3 θεοειδέος 'Α[....οι]ο; A. Wilhelm a reconnu le nom d'Antinoos. V. 1, nous préférons la restitution de MacLaren, qui comble exactement la lacune, à celle de Peek, légèrement trop courte: ἡμαρ ἀγῆτο[ν ἔην, ὅτ]ε Διογέ[νης ἐχορήγει]. V. 2, au début, ἐν θυμ[έλαις γὰρ] ἄπας (MacLaren) comble mieux la lacune qu'ἐν θυμ[έλαισι δ'] ἄπας (Peek); on voit le coin supérieur gauche de l'*epsilon* et la haste inférieure droite de l'*alpha*. En fin de vers, le texte de Peek, que nous suivons, est préférable à celui de MacLaren, πει[ρῶι ἀγῶνας ἐλεῖν]; on voit le bas des deux hastes verticales, assez rapprochées, de l'*iota* et du *rho*. V. 4, MacLaren a pensé à un concours en l'honneur d'Antinoos (ἡθέους [ἄθλοις κτλ.) et Peek à une initiation (ἡιθέου [τελετῇ]), mais l'aspect du monument et le contenu du poème semblent évoquer une victoire aux Grandes Dionysies. La référence à Antinoos ne concernait sans doute que l'âge des choreutes; l'adjectif ἡλιξ étant un peu court, nous préférons l'homérique ἔταρος. Le v. 4 était relié directement au v. 3 par MacLaren, [ῥῆσεν τότε] πᾶς δῆμος [ὁ] Κεκρόπ[ιτος], légèrement séparé par Peek, [τοὺς θεεῖτο δ]ὲ πᾶς δῆμος [ὁ] Κεκροπ[ιδῶν], dont la restitution s'accorde avec la disposition du texte et la métrique. Dans la première partie, le poète indiquait sans doute que c'était le peuple athénien qui avait proposé les prix ou organisé le concours. Pour les v. 5-6, il y a désaccord sur le début du v. 5, [ἀνδρῶν μὲν γὰρ Πραξαγ]όρης (Dittenberger) ou [ἡδυβόην μὲν Πραξαγ]όρης (MacLaren) ou [ἡδυβόην μὲν Ἰσαγ]όρης (Peek) et sur le début du v. 6: [ἡδὺν δ' αὐλοῦ]σιν dans les deux premières versions, [καὶ τοῖς μέλψα]σιν dans la dernière, [καὶ μὴν ψαλμοῖ]σιν MacLaren. On ne peut trancher quant au nom propre. L'association ἡδυβόην ... ἡδὺν est peu probable, l'aoriste μέλψασιν également. Le nom propre final est probablement Γρύ[πων] (Peek) plutôt que Τρύ[φων] (*ceteri*). Le nom du maître de chœur devait se trouver v. 5 et celui de l'aulète ou du maître de chant v. 6. Nous avons lu un double *sigma* au début du v. 6, qui exclut plusieurs des restitutions proposées. V. 7, Dittenberger tenait Εὐάγγελος pour un anthroponyme et ne restituait rien au début; Kaibel, suivi par Brinck et Kirchner, écrivait [νίκη δ' ἡνίκ' ἐπῆλθ'] εὐάγγελος, MacLaren [καὶ μέλεσιν δ' αὐλῶν] Εὐάγγελος; la restitution de Dittenberger en fin de vers, κῦ[δος], est admise par tous. Comme beaucoup de noms propres sont cités ailleurs dans cette épigramme, nous préférons voir ici un adjectif, qui peut aussi qualifier un mot comme κῆρυξ, puisqu'aucune victoire ne se conçoit sans proclamation. V. 8 début, Dittenberger écrivait [φυλαῖς, ὦν ----] Ἀτταλος, mais tous ont ensuite suivi Kaibel: [οἷσιν ἐπώνυμος ἦν κτλ. On voit le haut du premier *tau* d' Ἀτταλος, comme l'indiquait F. von Duhn, et le haut du *sigma* final d' Ἀκάμας. V. 9, la plupart des savants, depuis Dittenberger, ont laissé le début du vers sans restitution et écrit à la fin Ἀδρι[ανός τε]; il y a place pour un seul éponyme avant Ptolémée et Hadrien; le

⁵⁴ *IG III 82a*, p. 484; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, n° 928a, p. 202; A. Brinck, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, n° 75, p. 161-162; *IG II² 3117*; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 2 (1899), p. 232, n. 32.

⁵⁵ M. MacLaren, "A Choragic Epigram from Athens", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 68 (1937), p. 78-83 et pl. III.

⁵⁶ *ASAW* 69. 2 (1980), n° 8, p. 13-14.

nombre des tribus en compétition était probablement de six. W. Peek, sans commentaire, écrit: [σὺν δ' ἔτι τοῖσδε χορὸς Π]τολεμαῖος Ἀδρι[ανοῦ τε] / ἐστέφθη τῶν νῦν τῆσδε βέβηκα γέρας - construction qui paraît rude et truffée de chevilles. Il est plus probable qu'une seule tribu avait triomphé et que son nom - ou celui de son éponyme - se trouvait au début du v. 10. On voit le coin inférieur du *delta*. Aux v. 11-12, Dittenberger ne restituait que les fins de vers; on voit la haste gauche du *tau* final. Le dernier mot peut être le nom des grâces, personnifiées ou non, mais il peut s'agir aussi de l'anthroponyme Χαρίτ[ων]; un adjectif comme χαρίεις est exclu. L'écriture de ces deux lignes étant assez différente de celle du reste de l'inscription, l'hypothèse de Kaibel, qui a songé ici à un nom d'artiste, n'est pas dénuée de fondement. Il écrivait: [᾽Ὅς δὲ σὺν εὐτεχνίῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαίῃ τόδ' ἔτευξε[ν] / [nomen artificis] ἐρατὰς] οὐκ ἔλαθεν χάρι[τας], mais MacLaren a critiqué εὐτεχνίῃ et, suivi par Peek, a cherché plutôt ici un nom d'archonte; aucune certitude n'est possible.

Nous proposerions le texte suivant:

- Ἡμαρ ἀγῆτο[ν ἄρ' ἦν ὅτ]ε Διογέ[νης] ἐχορήγει,
 ἐν θυμέ[λαις γὰρ] ἅπας πείρ[ατ'] ἔδειξε τέχνης,
 ἡθέου γ' [ἑτάρος θε]οειδέος Ἀν[τιν]όοι[ο],
 4 [στ]ῆσεν δ' ἄθλά μ]ε πᾶς δῆμος [ὁ] Κεκροπ[ιδῶν].
 [Καλὸν μὲν γὰρ Πραξαγ]όρης (?) χορὸν ἡνιόχευε[ν],
 [αὐλοῦ δ' ἄνδρε]σσιν ῥυθμὸν ἐπῆγε Γρύ[πων].
 [Εὔτε δὲ κήρυξ ἦλθ'] εὐάγγελος, ἔσπετο κῦδ[ος]
 8 [οἷσιν ἐπώνυμος ἦν Ἀ]τ[τ]αλος ἡδ' Ἀκάμας,
 [Ἀντίοχος τ' (?) ἡδὲ Π]τολεμαῖος Ἀδριαν[ός τε].
 [Νείκης δ' Αἴαντος (?) τῆσ]δε βέβηκα γέρας.
 [----- κάλλει] κάγλαίῃ τόδ' ἔτευξεν,
 12 [καὶ οὕτως (?) ἐρατὰς] οὐκ ἔλαθεν Χάριτ[ας].

Traduction: *C'est vraiment un jour merveilleux, celui où Diogènes était chorège et où, parmi les autels, chacun a donné les preuves de son art, tous les compagnons du jeune Antinoos semblable aux dieux, et où, tout entier, le peuple des Cécropides m'a proposé comme prix. Ce choeur brillant, c'était Praxagoras (?) qui le guidait, et Grypon transmettait aux hommes le rythme de l'aulos (?). Quand le héraut arriva, porteur de bonnes nouvelles, la gloire suivit ceux qui portent le nom d'Attale et d'Acamas, d'Antiochos (?), de Ptolémée et d'Hadrien; mais c'est la victoire d'Ajaj (?) que je suis venu récompenser. ---, qui a fabriqué avec beauté et éclat ce trépied, n'est pas resté ignoré des aimables Charites (?)*.

11. IG II² 3118 (EM 8353) est une petite base triangulaire de marbre pentélique, à flancs légèrement concaves et pans coupés d'environ 2 cm de large, trouvée dans l'enceinte du théâtre de Dionysos. Elle est brisée en bas à gauche, mais le dessus, conservé, porte un trou carré à peu près central pour le support du trépied, prolongé sur un côté par une fente rectangulaire (voir pl. IV a). Une seule face est inscrite actuellement (voir pl. IV b), mais une autre portait une inscription assez longue qui a été martelée ligne par ligne. La hauteur conservée est au plus de 38 cm, la face inscrite a 51 cm de large et les deux autres côtés environ 50 cm. Un blanc de 10 cm, sous la corniche supérieure, et un autre en bas de 7 cm prouvent que la pierre portait seulement une épigramme, composée de cinq distiques élégiaques. Les lettres, de forme lunaire, ont 1,1 cm de haut; le tréma est noté sur Ἀγλαίᾱ, v. 10.

L'inscription a été publiée en 1862 par S. A. Koumanoudis, A. Rhousopoulos et P. Pervanoglu,⁵⁷ puis, d'après ces trois éditions, par W. Dittenberger, IG III 82. G.

⁵⁷ Φιλίστωρ, 3 (1862), n° 3, p. 461-462 (texte en minuscules); Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1862, n° 165, col. 164-166, avec fac-similé; *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 6-7 (1862), p. 119 (texte en majuscules).

Kaibel⁵⁸ a revu la pierre et fait connaître quelques suggestions d' U. von Wilamowitz. A. Brinck⁵⁹ a soumis à un examen critique les textes de Dittenberger et de Kaibel. J. Kirchner a disposé d'un estampage, mais n'a pas modifié le texte. Enfin W. Peek⁶⁰ a revu l'épigramme, qu'il attribue à la même année qu'*IG II² 3117*. Nous avons aussi révisé ce texte au Musée épigraphique.

Ce poème comprend cinq distiques élégiaques. Après les six tribus victorieuses, évoquées par diverses périphrases (v. 1-4) - on peut penser qu'il s'agit des six tribus qui sont le mieux classées et que peut-être l'Egéeide (φερεστέφανος) était première, ou bien, avec A. Brinck,⁶¹ que six tribus s'étaient associées pour former le chœur victorieux - sont nommés le maître de chœur, Agathoclès,⁶² "aux rythmes compliqués", l'aulète Zôsimos et le maître de chant, Tryphon; le nom de l'archonte (cinq à sept lettres, forme d'un dactyle ou d'un spondée⁶³) a disparu au début du v. 7. V. 6 début, le [τα]ρσοῖς de Wilamowitz,⁶⁴ adopté par Kaibel et par Peek ("natürlich"), mais non par Kirchner, est confirmé par la lecture de Kaibel (dans une certaine mesure), celle de Kirchner et la nôtre (nous avons lu le haut de la hampe et de la boucle du *rhô*); il suffit de mettre une virgule après ce mot pour éviter l'objection de Brinck: "...vix credi potest eum, qui hoc epigramma confecit, dixisse ταρσοῖς ὀσσόμενοι" (Kaibel jugeait l'explication embarrassée, mais admettait [τα]ρσοῖς dans son texte). Au début du v. 8, on a généralement restitué un participe, [χρη]σάμε[ν]ος (Dittenberger Kirchner) ou [μελ]πόμε[ν]ος (Kaibel), mais ce dernier fait pléonasmе avec μολπὰν; nous préférons [ᾠ]ψάμ[εν]ος, qu'on trouve notamment chez Pindare construit avec un datif. Nous avons lu le quart supérieur gauche d'une lettre ronde, peut-être *omicron*, qui peut appartenir à [ᾠ]ψάμ[εν]ος. V. 9-10, on n'a souvent rien restitué. Wilamowitz, cité par Kaibel, a proposé:

[ᾠ]ψάμ[εν]ος δ' ἄγρωνι (?) ἄνασσα Χοραγία, ᾠψάμ[εν]ος δὲ Νίκα
[ἔ]πλετο κυδαλίμ[εν]α τ' Ἀγλαία τρίποδος,

mais Kaibel a refusé Ἀγλαία τρίποδος, suggéré le verbe ᾠψιέπομαι et un composé comme πασιάνασσα devant χοραγία, écrivant:

[nomen . . .]ιάνασσα χοραγία, ᾠψάμ[εν]ος δὲ νίκα
[ἔ]σπετο οἱ κλειν[έ]α τ' Ἀγλαία τρίποδος.

⁵⁸ *Epigrammata Graeca*, n° 928, p. 384-385.

⁵⁹ *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, n° 76, p. 162-163.

⁶⁰ *ASAW* 69. 2 (1980), n° 8, p. 14.

⁶¹ *Loc. cit.*: "Sex tribus vicisse referuntur; cum totidem nominatae fuisse videantur in titulo antecedenti [*IG II² 3117*], non improbabile est, illo tempore in sollemnibus nescio quibus binos choros inter se certasse, quorum alter alteram tribum partem repraesentabat." - Rappelons que, depuis Hadrien, une treizième tribu a été créée et que l'équilibre ne saurait être parfait.

⁶² La pierre porte Ἀγαθοκλεῖς; comme Kirchner, nous corrigeons pour retrouver la leçon attendue, que Köhler seul a cru lire.

⁶³ Noms possibles: Mênis, Ardys, Hellen, Sextos, Peison, Phôkas, Syllas, Bassos ... Il y a trop de possibilités pour qu'une hypothèse soit formulée.

⁶⁴ Il avait bien dégagé le sens: "...Tryphonem intuentes ad eiusque tibias suum confirmantes gradum."

Enfin W. Peek, à cause de son rapprochement avec *IG II² 3117*, insère ici le nom du chorège Diogénès au vocatif et écrit:

[Διόγενης, σο]ῖ ἄνασσα χοραγία, ἀμφὶ δὲ Νίκα
[ἔσπετό οἱ κλειν]ά τ' ἀγλαία τρίποδος.

En nous inspirant de ces tentatives et en supprimant les chevilles (ἔπλετο ou ἔσπετο), nous supposerions plutôt une triple anaphore et une forte disjonction, l'idée étant qu'autour du trépied du chorège vainqueur sont réunies la Chorégie (on sait que le mot indique souvent la générosité en général), la Victoire et la Grâce (Aglàè) ou le halo de la Victoire. On évite ainsi de lier Ἀγλαία à τρίποδος. Quelle que soit la construction, le chorège devait être nommé au v. 9 ou au v. 10.

Nous écririons donc:

Νίκαν μὲν Πτολεμαίου ἐπώνυμοι Ἀτταλίδας τε
λαὸς ἔλεν, φυλᾶς τ' ἔκγονοι Ἀδριανοῦ,
Αἰγείδας τε φερεστέφανος, Πανδειονίδαι τε
4 αἰμά τ' Ἐρεχθεϊδᾶν, κοῦροι ἐγερσιβόαι.
Ῥυθμοῖσιν δ' ἔσποντο πολυπτύκτοις Ἀγαθοκλε(ῶ)ς
[τα]ρσοῖς, αὐλοβόαν Ζώσιμον ὁσσόμενοι.
[.] δ' ἄρχεν Ἀθανάοις, ἔντυνε δὲ μολπὰν
8 [Ἀμφί]ονος (?) ψαλμοῖς ἀμφικρότοισι Τρύφων.
[nomen δ' ἀμφ]ῖ ἄνασσα Χοραγία, ἀμφὶ δὲ Νίκα,
[ἀμφὶ δὲ κυδαλί]μα τ' Ἀγλαία τρίποδος.

Traduction: *La victoire, ce sont ceux qui portent le nom de Ptolémée et le peuple descendant d'Attale qui l'ont emportée, avec les descendants de la tribu d'Hadrien, le descendant d'Egée qui porte la couronne, les Pandionides et la race des Erechthéides, jeunes gens à la voix sonore. Ils suivaient de leurs pas les rythmes compliqués d'Agathoclès, les yeux fixés sur le joueur d'aulos, Zôsimos. (Un tel) était archonte d'Athènes, et Tryphon dirigeait le chant en frappant des deux mains les cordes d'Amphion (?). Autour du trépied de (nom du chorège), se trouvent la souveraine Chorégie, se trouve la Victoire, et aussi la glorieuse Aglaè.*

12. EM 2271 + EM 2320 + *IG II² 3119* (EM 9516) + EM 5946: EM 9516, fragment d'une stèle de marbre pentélique, a été recollé au Musée épigraphique, sous la direction de D. Peppas-Delmouso,⁶⁵ au-dessus d'EM 5946, qui provient également de l'Acropole et était peut-être connu de Pittakis,⁶⁶ qui donnait dans ses deux éditions un texte un peu plus complet que celui de Kirchner. Pittakis présentait le premier fragment comme trouvé auprès des Propylées dans sa première édition, dans les fouilles archéologiques à l'est de l'Erechtheion dans la seconde. Il soulignait l'effort fait par le copiste pour aligner les lettres en colonnes, ce qui peut être un trait archaïsant. Les deux fragments recollés mesurent 23 cm de haut, 21 de large et 11 en épaisseur; mais la pierre est brisée au dos. La hauteur des lettres est de 1,6 cm, mais elles sont plus grosses et plus espacées à la ligne 1 et aux lignes 7-8. W. Dittenberger ne connaissait apparemment qu'EM 9516, publié avec peu de restitutions, d'après une copie de Köhler, dans *IG III 83*, de même qu'A. Brinck et J. Kirchner, *IG II² 3119*; seul le recollage a permis de retrouver

⁶⁵ Voir *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 93 (1978), p. 109, n. *, renvoyant à *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 92 (1977), p. 229, où est annoncée la publication des nouveaux fragments.

⁶⁶ *L'Ancienne Athènes*, Athènes 1835, p. 348; *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1842, n° 1021, p. 584. Voir *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*, 3, Athènes 1998, n° 77, p. 38.

la lecture de Pittakis, plus complète, de la ligne 5, et aussi quelques lettres de deux lignes supplémentaires, qu'il n'avait pas transcrites.

Dans l'*editio princeps*, Pittakis avait restitué [ὁ δῆμος] devant ἐχορήγε[ι], ce qui a pu donner l'idée de rapprocher EM 2320, mutilé de tous côtés, très semblable par l'écriture, que D. Peppas-Delmousou a placé à gauche de l'ensemble précédent, en ne laissant une lacune que de deux ou trois lettres. C'est elle aussi qui a reconnu la même écriture sur le fragment EM 2271, également inédit, qu'on peut placer à gauche du fragment précédent, à une distance qu'on ne peut calculer exactement (voir pl. V). Le bord gauche, lisse, est préservé et ce fragment porte les lettres qui constituent le début de trois lignes.

Nous pouvons proposer le texte suivant, où sont intégrés tous les fragments:

	[	-----	τοῖν	θε]	οῖν (?)	ἐξή[	-----	]
	[	-----	ῆρχεν,	[---	]	ὁ δῆ[μο]	ς ἐχορήγε[ι	-----
		κ	α[	-----	ἐχ]	όρ	ε	υ[ο
4		K	α[	-----	ἐδίδ]	α	σ[κεν.	Σ
		Θ	ε[	-----	η]	ύ	λ	ει
				-----	τ	ό	[ν	-----
				-----	ρ	ς	Τ	-----
				-----		Ι	φ	-----

L. 1, nous avons pensé à un "exégète des Deux Déeses", mais l'expression ne semble pas attestée; on connaît seulement, sous l'Empire, un πυρφόρος τοῖν θεοῖν (*IG* II² 4816) et un φαίδωντής τοῖν θεοῖν (*IG* II² 1078, 16). Il peut s'agir aussi d'un nom propre commençant par Exè-, comme Exèkestidès. L. 2, comme nous n'avons aucun exemple d'époque impériale où le peuple soit chorège, nous avons préféré un anthroponyme à la formule suggérée par Pittakis, ὁ δῆμος ἐχορήγε[ι]. Les tribus ayant fourni des choreutes, donc ayant pris part à la compétition, devaient être nommées aux lignes 2 et 3 au minimum deux. Nous avons songé à restituer le nom de la Cécropide, mais le *kappa* initial paraît plutôt suivi d'une lettre triangulaire, sans doute *alpha*. On peut penser aussi à une forme avec crase entre le coordonnant et un nom de tribu commençant par *alpha*. La tribu victorieuse, l'Hadrianide, pouvait être incluse ou non dans cette énumération. En fin de ligne, alors que sa copie en majuscules avait un *alpha*, Pittakis avait restitué [παίδων]; ses successeurs ont justement rétabli ἀ[νδρῶν]. L. 4, le nom du maître de chœur (διδάσκαλος) pouvait commencer par Ka- ou Kl- (e. g. Kallias, Kallistratos, ou Kleon, Kleonymos ...). On ne sait quelle était la fonction exacte de Sertorius,⁶⁷ l. 4, et Thé-, l. 5. Le nom latin Sertorius est rare à Athènes; un éphèbe Sertorius, fils de Sertorius, est attesté dans la tribu Egéide au milieu du III^e siècle p. C. (*IG* II² 2245, 77).

13. *IG* II² 3121 est une brève inscription archaïsante inscrite sur une grande base triangulaire de l'Agora romaine (n° 27 de cette collection), haute de 95 cm, qu'on peut attribuer à l'époque d'Hadrien ou d'Antonin. Selon le premier éditeur, Ph. D. Stavropoulos,⁶⁸ la face inscrite porte, au-dessus de l'inscription, un relief sculpté mutilé qui figurait deux personnages au moins, dont un en mouvement.⁶⁹

Dans l'*editio princeps*, le texte était en majuscules, disposé sur deux lignes au lieu de trois (la photographie permettait de rectifier), daté de l'époque romaine; l'éditeur reconnaissait le nom de dème (il écrivait, par lapsus, tribu) Ἰπποτομάδαι, et l'aspect archaïsant de l'écriture.

⁶⁷ Pittakis écrivait Σαρτώριος[ς ῆρχεν], mais les hastes horizontales de l'*epsilon* sont bien visibles (voir la copie de Köhler). On voit aussi le coin gauche du *sigma* final.

⁶⁸ *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, 1930-1931, Παράρτημα, n° 1, p. 7 et fig. 7, p. 8.

⁶⁹ A. Chorémi-Spetsieri, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 42, n. 53, évoque seulement le lieu de trouvaille et le décor sculpté du monument, d'après l'*editio princeps*.

J. Kirchner (*IG* II² 3121), disposant d'un estampage, a publié le texte en minuscules, en a souligné le caractère archaïsant, l'a attribué, avec hésitation, au milieu du II^e siècle *p. C.*, mais a omis le début de la l. 3 et a restitué à la fin 'Ιπποτομάδ[ης], logique puisqu'il n'a qu'un seul anthroponyme l. 3, mais en désaccord avec le pluriel de la ligne 1.

J. H. Oliver⁷⁰ est revenu à une date moins précise (II^e siècle *p. C.*), a signalé l'omission du début de la l. 3 par "les éditeurs précédents" (en fait seulement Kirchner) et a proposé, pour la l. 3, [Νό]νιος Ἑρμῆς ἱπποτομά[δης], tenant le premier nom pour un gentilice. Cette restitution, donnée pour sûre, ne l'est pas, car Nouius est employé comme *cognomen* à Athènes⁷¹ et on ignore combien de lettres manquent à gauche.

Enfin S. B. Aleshire, dans les *Preatti* du Congrès de Rome,⁷² a inclus ce texte dans une liste de documents archaïsants d'époque "Hadrianic", en a décrit soigneusement l'écriture, mais l'a présenté par lapsus comme une dédicace à Hermès.

Si la lecture du *iota* de χορευοί est sûre - on ne le voit pas clairement sur la photographie -, il faut écrire:

Χορευοὶ
Οἰνεῖδος
[---]νιος Ἑρμῆς ἱπποτομά[δαι].

Les deux chorèges appartiennent au même dème et peuvent être apparentés (frères ?). Il y a une mode archaïsante dans la seconde partie du règne d'Hadrien et le début de celui d'Antonin; telle est sans doute la date qu'il faut attribuer à cette inscription.

14. *IG* II² 3120 est un monument original. Les deux épigrammes célébrant la victoire d'un chorège sous l'archonte Dionysodôros sont en effet gravées côte à côte sur un épistyle ionique de marbre d'époque augustéenne (l'archonte éponyme et prêtre de Drusus consul était alors Polycharmos, fils de Polykritos, d'Azènia,⁷³ daté entre 9/8 et 13/4), qui a été remployé. Cet épistyle, de près de 5 m de long (ht. 52, l. 484, ép. 56 cm, d'après le premier éditeur), faisait partie d'une série de douze épistyles remployés dans un mur tardif (les autres ne sont pas inscrits),⁷⁴ non loin de l'Asklēpieion, où il est toujours visible; on n'a pas identifié le monument auquel ils appartenaient,⁷⁵ propylée (J. Travlos) ou plutôt portique (S. Walker⁷⁶). On peut penser que, si la date de destruction du portique

⁷⁰ "Notes on Documents of the Roman East", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 45 (1941), p. 539.

⁷¹ Voir *LGN* II, s. v.

⁷² "The Identification of Archaizing Inscriptions from Roman Attica", *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Preatti*, Roma 1997, n° 24, p. 467.

⁷³ Il est attesté dans *IG* II² 3517, 3518, 3904. Son père était exégète entre 40 et 20 environ (*FD* III 2, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64) et son fils est sans doute l'archonte Polykritos de 37/8 (*IG* II² 2292, 37). Ce Polycharmos peut être le chef du parti populaire évoqué par Plutarque, *Propos de table*, VIII, 6, 2 (726 ab), qui ne saurait être identifié au Polycharmos de Marathon attesté dans la famille d'Hérode Atticus.

⁷⁴ Voir l'*editio princeps*, *Ἀθηναίων*, 6 (1877), n° 27, p. 146.

⁷⁵ Voir les photographies de P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, Gand-Paris 124, t. I, p. 16-17, n° 11 et pl. IX; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, Athens 1971, p. 127-128; P. Baldassarri, *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ. Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il saeculum Augustum*, "Archaeologica", 124, Roma 1998, pl. VIII.

⁷⁶ "A Sanctuary of Isis on the South Slope of the Athenian Acropolis", *Annual of the British School of Athens*, 74 (1979), p. 243-257 et pl. 30-32 (p. 243-244).

(?) était connue, elle fournirait un *terminus post quem* pour notre inscription, mais on ne peut exclure absolument qu'une dédicace privée de chorège ait été inscrite sur un monument encore existant. En tout cas, pour graver la seconde inscription, on a martelé une partie de la première; l'inscription primitive avait des lettres de 2,6 cm, la seconde de 1,4 cm.

Il est paradoxal qu'un des seuls monuments où figure un nom d'archonte soit un des plus difficiles à dater. Les premiers éditeurs⁷⁷ avaient pensé au Dionysodoros de 52/3 ou 53/4 cité par Phlégon de Tralles,⁷⁸ mais cela laissait peu de temps entre la première dédicace et le remploi. On peut penser à Dionysodôros (d'Oion?), archonte autour de 80 p. C. (IG II² 3008). P. Graindor,⁷⁹ sur la base d'un rapprochement prosopographique fragile, a supposé un archonte Dionysodôros, fils d'Eukarpos, de Paiania à la fin du II^e siècle; mais le nom est très banal et aucune certitude n'est possible.

La lecture ne présente aucune difficulté. Voici le texte des deux épigrammes, toutes deux en trimètres iambiques, avec *scriptio plena* en cas d'élision, qui sont disposées côte à côte sur la pierre:

- a Διον[υσ]όδωρος ἦρχε, Δεξικλῆς με ὅτε
νείκης ἄεθλον ἔλαβεν ἡιθέων χορῶ.
b Ἄρχων Διονυσόδωρος Εὐκάρπου τέχνης
πάσης με κῦδος, κωμικῆς, τραγικῆς, χορῶν,
τὸν δειθύραμβον τρίποδα θῆκε Ἀσκληπιῶ.

C'est partout le trépied qui parle: sous l'archonte Dionysodôros, Dexiklès l'a reçu pour prix de sa victoire avec un chœur d'hommes, puis l'archonte a consacré ce "trépied-dithyrambe"⁸⁰ (symbole d'une victoire au dithyrambe) à Asklepîos (d'autres monuments chorégiques, nous l'avons vu, ont été dédiés à l'Asklepîeion, notamment lorsqu'il y avait un lien entre le dédicant et le milieu médical). Mais on peut s'interroger sur la fonction des différents personnages cités: Dionysodôros était peut-être agonothète en même temps qu'archonte. Dexiklès devait être chorège, mais on comprend mal pourquoi ce n'est pas lui qui consacre le trépied. Eukarpos, avec ses talents variés (comédie, tragédie, chant choral), était sans doute le maître de chœur; A. Brinck⁸¹ a fait justement remarquer que la coupe du trimètre sépare les noms Dionysodoros et Eukarpos et que, si l'on fait d'Eukarpos (comme P. Graindor plus tard) le patronyme de l'archonte, le mot τέχνης reste en l'air. La dédicace s'expliquerait bien s'il y avait un lien de parenté entre les trois personnages, mais celui-ci n'est pas explicite.

⁷⁷ S. A. Koumanoudis, *Ἀθηναίων* 6 (1877), n° 27, p. 146; IG III, 68 b (p. 482); G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, n° 926 a, p. 201; A. Brinck, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, n° 70, p. 156-157; IG II² 3120.

⁷⁸ Voir S. Follet, *Athènes*, p. 26-29. Cet archonte est nommé aussi dans un catalogue d'éranistes (IG II² 1345) et dans l'intitulé d'une liste de gymnasiarques (IG II² 1737).

⁷⁹ *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, n° 56, p. 86-87 et n° 154, p. 207; S. Follet, *Athènes*, p. 504 (corriger le lapsus Sphettos pour Steiria). La liste de prytanes sur laquelle il se fondait (IG II² 1026) est lue différemment dans *Agora*, XV, 477, si bien que Dionysodôros n'appartient plus au dème de Steiria.

⁸⁰ G. Kaibel et A. Brinck, *loc. cit.*, ont bien souligné l'étrangeté de la formule et en ont dégagé le sens.

⁸¹ *Art. cit.* (v. n. 77).

Traduction: *Dionysodôros était archonte lorsque Dexiklès m'a reçu pour prix de sa victoire avec un chœur de jeunes hommes.*

Archonte, Dionysodôros m'a consacré à Asklepîos, moi le trépied du dithyrambe, pour glorifier l'art varié d'Eukarpos, qu'il s'agisse de comédie, de tragédie ou de chant choral.

Ce dossier des inscriptions chorégiques d'époque flavienne et antonine autorise plusieurs conclusions.

P. Amandry a bien montré que la forme triangulaire et la localisation dans la zone du théâtre de Dionysos caractérisent les monuments qui commémorent une victoire aux Grandes Dionysies. La plupart de ceux du I^{er} et du II^{ème} siècle ont aussi cette forme caractéristique, qui ne s'explique par un remploi que dans quelques cas, et doivent être associés à des victoires au dithyrambe dans les mêmes concours. Mais deux groupes se distinguent assez nettement: les monuments d'époque flavienne, souvent en rapport avec des personnages illustres, sont dans l'ensemble assez hauts (près de 3 m), donc visibles de loin, et les dédicaces associent le plus souvent prose et vers; ceux de l'époque antonine sont plus modestes et sont d'ordinaire limités à un seul texte, en vers ou en prose. S. B. Aleshire a inclus des inscriptions des deux groupes dans sa liste de monuments archaisants, mais a bien fait, ici aussi, une distinction: les monuments de l'époque flavienne imitent le formulaire du IV^{ème} siècle *a. C.*, ceux de la fin du règne d'Hadrien et du début de celui d'Antonin imitent, avec plus ou moins de constance, l'orthographe et l'écriture des inscriptions du V^{ème} siècle *a. C.*

La révision de ces textes nous a permis parfois de compléter ou de rectifier la lecture et d'écarter des restitutions hasardeuses, en particulier de noms propres. Certains poèmes, où il faut faire entrer les noms des principaux participants et des tribus qui ont concouru, sont de véritables tours de force. Remarquons la prédilection toujours marquée pour l'hexamètre dactylique, le distique élégiaque et le trimètre iambique. Les poètes sont encore créatifs et n'hésitent pas à forger des mots nouveaux ou à réinterpréter certains composés. Malgré l'évolution de la prononciation, la prosodie est encore correcte dans l'ensemble.⁸²

Sur la compétition chorale proprement dite, ces textes apportent aussi quelques informations. Si IG II² 3112 est représentatif, le chœur compte 25 choreutes et plusieurs spécialistes. Comme au IV^{ème} siècle *a. C.*, l'aulète est toujours nommé. Une remarque de Plutarque,⁸³ faite, il est vrai, à propos des éphèbes du gymnase, souligne que certains avaient parfois plus d'ardeur que de sens artistique; les choreutes recrutés dans chaque tribu n'étaient pas des professionnels, alors que ceux qui instruisaient ces chœurs devaient appartenir à la guilde des technites dionysiaques; on voit qu'ils peuvent venir de l'étranger, alors que les choreutes sont athéniens. Nous avons un seul cas de chorégie assumée par deux personnages; à l'époque classique, on devrait penser que ce concours est celui des Thargélies; au II^{ème} siècle *p. C.*, il peut s'agir d'un cas isolé où deux membres d'un dème - peut-être deux frères - se sont associés pour assumer la charge financière de la chorégie. La compétition de l'époque flavienne opposait certainement encore les différentes tribus, mais il était peut-être exceptionnel de voir douze tribus en compétition; il était certainement aussi exceptionnel de les voir toutes renoncer à concourir, comme ce fut le cas sous l'archonte L. Flavius Flamma, de Kydathènaion. À l'époque antonine, il n'y avait peut-être que cinq ou six chœurs chaque année, d'où la fierté que l'on pouvait avoir en ayant seulement participé; les fréquentes citations de noms de tribus ou d'éponymes de tribus dans les épigrammes traduisent cette fierté. L'agonothète n'est pas toujours nommé; c'était parfois l'archonte éponyme qui assumait cette charge et proposait les prix. En tout cas ces épigrammes attestent que ces fêtes gardaient tout leur éclat et qu'un chorège vainqueur pouvait paraître escorté de Générosité, de Victoire et de Gloire.

⁸² Dans IG II² 3120, l. 4, la première syllabe de κομικῆς est scandée brève.

⁸³ *Propos de table*, IX, 15, 1 (747 b): Ὁρχουμέν δὲ πολλῶν προθυμότερον ἢ μουσικώτερον ...

Table des planches:

I a: *IG* II² 3157 (EM 4553).

I b: *IG* II² 3113 (EM 9515).

II a: *IG* III 3837 (EM 9809) + EM 5750, inédit, + *IG* II² 3115 (EM 9517).

II b: *IG* II² 3116 (EM 2867 + EM 3259).

III a: EM 4591 + *IG* II² 3117 (EM 8351 + EM 8352).

III b: monument triangulaire portant *IG* II² 3117, vu de dos.

IV a: *IG* II² 3118 (EM 8353), sommet triangulaire.

IV b: *IG* II² 3118 (EM 8353), face inscrite.

V: EM 2271 + EM 2320, inédits, + *IG* II² 3119 (EM 9516) + EM 5946, inédit.

Roman Messene. The Gymnasium

P. Themelis

In 369 B.C., Messene, founded at the western slopes of Mount Ithome, a position of great natural strength, at the same time as Megalopolis, was one of the largest cities in Greece with an area of about 290 hectares surrounded by a fortification wall with a circumference of 9,5 kilometres, still one of the most impressive ruins in Greece. During the 1960s Anastasios Orlandos excavated a monumental building complex with a court and a colonnaded temple, the well-known Asklepieion.¹ During the last twelve years or so the Archaeological Society of Athens has uncovered other large architectural complexes of the city centre, e.g. the theatre, the fountain house of Arsinoe, the north stoa of the Agora, the sanctuary of Demeter, the stadium and the gymnasium.² In Pausanias' time all the above buildings still retained the architectural form, the sculptural decoration and the function of the Greek period almost unchanged. Cult statues were standing on their bases still undamaged; they were mostly works in marble by the Messenian sculptor Damophon whom Pausanias especially admired.³ Pausanias also saw works of other, unnamed artists, such as the chrysolith (made of gold and marble) cult statue of the deified mythical queen Messene in the Asklepieion, the statue of Zeus Soter, Poseidon and Aphrodite in the agora, and the statues of Hermes, Heracles and Theseus in the gymnasium made by sculptors from Alexandria.⁴ Messene had managed, at least up to the 2nd century A.D., to

¹ A. Orlandos, *Prakt.* 1957, 121-125, pls. 53-58; 1958, 177-183, pls. 137-142; 1959, 162-173, pls. 136-145; 1960, 210-227, pls. 162-169; 1962, 99-112, pls. 103-120; 1963, 122-129, pls. 94-105; 1964, 96-101, pls. 99-109; 1969, 98-120, pls. 121-136; 1970, 125-141, pls. 172-184; 1971, 157-171, pls. 191-203; 1972, 127-138, pls. 103-116; 1973, 108-111, pls. Στ.-Ζ; 1974, 102-109, pls. 83-87; 1975, 176-177, pls. 154-161; Id., *BCH* 82 (1958) 714-717; 83 (1959) 636-639; 84 (1960) 695-700; 85 (1961) 697-703; 87 (1963) 768-777; 88 (1964) 734-742; 89 (1865) 729-732; 94 (1970) 984-989; 95 (1971) 892-895; 96 (1972) 60-66; *AJA* 67 (1963) 281-282; 75 (1971) 308-310; *Arch. Rep.* 1971/72, 10; Id., 'Νεώτεροι έρευναι εν Μεσσήνη 1957-1973', in: U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976) 9-38.

² P. Themelis, 'Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης', *Prakt.* 1986, 74-82, pls. 17-22; 1987, 73-104, pls. 64-80; 1988, 43-79, pls. 31-57; 1989, 63-122, pls. 54-94; 1990, 56-103, pls. 31-74; 1991, 85-128, pls. 50-78; 1992, 60-87, Taf. 20-27; 1993, 48-72, pls. 25-49; 1994, 69-99, pls. 19-48; 1995, 55-86, pls. 13-42; 1996, 139-171, pls. 53-72; 1997, 79-113, pls. 32-65.

³ G. Despinis, 'Zu einigen Künstlern der späthellenistischen Zeit', in: *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Berlin 1990) 151; R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991) 240-241 figs. 301-30; P. Themelis, 'Ο Δαμοφών και η δραστηριότητά του στην Αρκαδία', in: W.D. Coulson - O. Palagia (eds.), *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an International Conference, American School of Classical Studies at Athens 10-14 April 1992* (Oxford 1993) 99-109; Id., 'Damophon von Messene. Sein Werk im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen', *AntK* 36 (1993) 24-40, pls. 3-9; Id., 'Damophon of Messene. New Evidence', in: K. Sheedy (ed.), *Archaeology in the Peloponnese. New Excavations and Research* (Oxford 1994) 1-37; P. Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica I* (Roma 1994) 504-518; P. Themelis, 'Damophon', in: O. Palagia - J.J. Pollitt (eds.), *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Yale Classical Studies 30, Oxford 1996) 154-187, pls. 91-130; Id., 'Ο Δαμοφών στην Κύθηρο', in: L. Mendoni - A. Mazarakis (eds.), *Proceedings of a Conference KEA-KYΘNOS 1994* (Αθήνα 1998) 437-448.

⁴ P. Themelis, 'Statuenfunde aus dem Gymnasium von Messene', *NBA* 15 (1998/99) 59-84.

avoid the decline which had already begun in neighbouring Arcadia, presented by Pausanias with a dramatic picture of abandonment and decay (Pausanias 8.30.1 and 8.44.3.).⁵

The gymnasium, forming one architectural unit with the stadium of the city, seems to have developed into a much-frequented centre of civic life and an exhibition gallery for important works of art from the early Imperial period onwards. In addition to the statues of Hermes, Heracles and Theseus mentioned above, many honorific statues of gymnasiarchs, benefactors of the town and men of intellectual accomplishments were set up inside or in front of the stoas. Remarkable mantic ritual was conducted on the grave and shrine of the heroized Messenian king Aristomenes seen by Pausanias in the gymnasium: a bull tied to a column played the main role in the ritual (Pausanias 4.31.3-4; cf. *SEG* xxiii 205, 207 and *SEG* xxxv 343). To all this we should add a considerable number of imposing grave monuments belonging to eminent Messenian families which were granted the privilege of intramural burial, more precisely of burial in the area of the gymnasium. The rising generation trained in the gymnasium was thus introduced to the world of heroes and heroized mortals and to the traditions and obligations it represented.⁶

The end of the race course abuts the southern section of the city wall. At this point the wall was partly broken through in order to construct a high rectangular podium projecting southward like a bastion. On the podium was a Doric temple with two columns in antis.⁷ All its architectural members - around 1400 - lay scattered around the podium, but the metal dowels and lead sheathing were missing. The collapse of the building is not to be attributed to an earthquake, but to the actions of men who wanted to pry out the metal. Grave stelae, built into the podium wall, indicate that the original construction dates to the Augustan period. Many fragments of marble sculpture were found, among which it was possible to mend up a marble sarcophagus of the mid second century A.D. with a reclining male figure on the lid, an *imago clipeata* of a bust in armour probably of the first century A.D., a portait head, probably Antonine, as well as other sculptures and funerary inscriptions. This imposing monument occupying such a prominent place above the stadium could be identified as the grave monument of the family of the Saethidae.⁸ Pausanias saw and described the heroon of this family in the stadium (Pausanias 4.32.2). Tod in 1905 and Kolbe reconstructed the stemma of the Saethidae for a span of five generations.⁹ A member of this family, Tiberius Claudius Saethidas Caelianus II was high priest of the *Sebastoi* for life and Helladarch, of the province of Achaia between 139 and 161 A.D.¹⁰ A long inscription recently found in the theatre is carved on the marble base for a statue of Tiberius Claudius Saethidas. It provides valuable information on the family, its donations and building activity in Messene.¹¹ An equestrian statue of the same

⁵ Cf. Strabo 8.388; N. Papachatzis, *Παυσανίου Αττικά* (Athens 1974) 9-10; Id., *Παυσανίου Αχαϊκά, Αρκαδικά* (Athens 1980) 2-9.

⁶ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985) 208.

⁷ F. Cooper, 'Scamilli impares and the Heroon at Messene', in: L. Haselberger (ed.), *Appearance and Essence Refinements of Classical Architecture - Carvature* (Philadelphia 1997) 97-112.

⁸ P. Themelis, 'Το στάδιο της Μεσσήνης', in: W. Coulson - H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games* (Athens 1992) 89-90.

⁹ I. Tod, *JHS* 15 (1905) 43; W. Kolbe, *IG* v 1, 1451, 1455a and 512.

¹⁰ C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1985) 38, 58 and note 80, 81.

¹¹ P. Themelis, *Heroes and Hero Shrines at Messene* (Athens 2000, in print).

Helladarch Saethidas stood in front of the east stairway leading to the orchestra of the *ekklesiasterion*.¹²

Inscriptions carved on limestone stelae and columns of the gymnasium list the ephebes of the city according to the five tribes Aristomachis, Kleolaia, Hyllis, Kresphontis and Daiphontis. The name of the eponymous priest of Zeus Ithomatas appears at the head of each of these inscriptions usually followed by the year after Actium. Most of the catalogues found until now date between 19 B.C. and 96 A.D.¹³ In some of the catalogues listed are also the ephebas of a new sixth tribe called "(the tribe of) foreigners and Romans" (*Ξένων καὶ Ῥωμαίων*),¹⁴ while in one inscription the ephebes of a seventh group are listed under the heading "and the ephebes from the towns (of Messenia)" (*καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων*). Three of the five ephebes in this group, described as *Mothoniai* (from Methone), bear Roman names: Tullius Pespus, Gaius Cestus and Gaius Aulus.¹⁵ A second catalogue mentions five ephebes from Asine, present-day Korone: Agesilaos son of Kallikrates, Dionysios son of Xenon, Aristoteles son of Philostratos, Ai[g]leus son of Kleoboulos and An[droni]kos son of Damatrios, followed by ephebes from Kyparissia and, presumably, other towns.¹⁶ This means either that the towns of Messenia, which are also called the "towns in the province" (*αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν πόλεις*) in the inscription *SEG* xxiii 206 dated to 2-3 A.D., sent their ephebes to be trained in the capital or that some Messenian families had just moved from the coastal towns to the capital and were not yet registered in one of the five old tribes.

The Achaean League (Polybius 18.42.7) had detached Asine and Pylos from Messene's sphere of influence as early as the end of the First Macedonian War (c. 205 B.C.). The same thing happened in 191 B.C. with Methone and other important coastal towns of Messenia: they became independent members of the Achaean League. After 146 B.C. the Messenian Confederacy succeeded in attaining political unification and complete restoration; it was still in existence in the imperial period. Augustus only turned Thouria over to the Lacedaemonians as a reward for their assistance at the Battle of Actium. From that time on Thouria was a Lacedaemonian town (*IG* v, p. 262). According to Pausanias (4.35.3), Methone became independent under Trajan (98-117 A.D.). Shortly afterwards Kyparissia, Asine and other Messenian towns as well gained a short period of independence as attested by their pseudo-autonomous coinages during the reigns of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.), Caracalla (198-217 A.D.) and Geta (211-212 A.D.). The ephebes spent three years in the gymnasium as the description *trietirenes* indicates. It is not known whether or not this was customary before the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. It does seem, however, that this practice was abandoned by Methone at the time of self-government under Trajan and by the other towns at the beginning of the third century A.D. The sixth very numerous tribe of "foreigners and Romans" was probably formed in the Augustan period, because of the increase in population which can be observed, as Greeks from other towns, Romans and freedmen settled in Messene. It seems however that, towards the end of the first century A.D., this tribe was absorbed into the five old tribes. Two ephebic lists of 92 A.D. (Inv. nos. 4207 and 4208), found in the

¹² P. Themelis, *Η αρχαία Μεσσήνη* (Athens 2000) 69-72; *IG* v 1, 1455a.

¹³ A full publication of these inscriptions is being published by Niki Makris.

¹⁴ Also in the so-called "oktobolos" inscription *IG* v 1, 1433, v. 8 the *Ξένοι καὶ οἱ τετιμαμένοι ἐν τῇ φυλῇ Ῥωμαῖοι* are mentioned.

¹⁵ Cf. *IG* v 1, 1417.

¹⁶ Dionysios son of Xenon is probably a relative of Timaios son of Xenon mentioned in the inscription *IG* v 1, 1407 from Asine (present-day Korone); cf. *IG* v 1, 1408.

gymnasium west stoa no longer have a separate tribe of foreigners and Romans, but now the Roman names in the five tribes are by far more numerous than the Greek names.¹⁷

In their free time, the ephebes scratched their names everywhere they possibly could; they specially favoured the statue bases. They also sat on the northwest propylon steps and played with dice. A monumental Doric propylon has been uncovered at the north end of the gymnasium west stoa.¹⁸ All of the architectural members made of local limestone, such as capitals, epistyles, triglyph-metope blocks, cornices, pediments without sculptural adornment and palmette acroteria, were found scattered around, mostly in front of the south side of the standing columns. An inscription on the middle epistyle has to do with the construction of the building by the gymnasiarch Charteles, son of Philon. Directly below is a second inscription concerning a repair of the gymnasium carried out by the gymnasiarch Dionysios son of Demetrios, whom we know from an ephebic catalogue. A third, longer inscription is carved on the three central plain metopes of the building, reading:

Metope A

Εἰς τὸν τ[ῶ]ν Σεβα-
στῶν τι[μᾶ]ν δι' αἰῶ-
νος Γάϊος [Ἰ]οῦ-
λιος Εὐρυκ[λέ]-
[erasure]
[erasure]

Metope B

[erasure] ἀνέθη-
κε τᾷ πόλει δη-
νάρια μύρια εἰς τε
θυσίας τοῖς Σε-
βαστοῖς καὶ εἰς
ἐλαίου παροχάν

Metope C

εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ
Γυμν[άσι]α ἐπὶ
γραμ[ματ]έως Συ-
νέδ[ρῳ]ν Μνασι-
σ[τρ]άτου τοῦ
[Φίλο]ξενίδα.

"Gaios Ioulios Eurykl[-----] donated ten thousand denarii to the city for the perpetual sacrifices in honour of the Divi Augusti and for the supply of oil for both gymnasia when Secretary of the Council was Mnasistratos son of Philoxenidas".

The reference to two gymnasia is important. They are to be identified as the later and the older gymnasium mentioned in the well-known inscription dated to Tiberius' reign found by A. Orlandos in front of the Sebasteion grand stairway.¹⁹ The same inscription also mentions the "Olympic" and the "middle" stoa of the gymnasium.²⁰ The secretary Mnasistratos, son of Philoxenidas was honoured by the Council of Elders of Artemis Oupesia and Orthia as their benefactor, according to the testimony of an inscription dated to the year 42 A.D.²¹ This year can be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the monumental propylon which seems to date to Augustan times according to its architectural features as well.

It seems that the erased name at the end of the first metope, of the major donor of 10,000 denarii for the expenses of the sacrifices to the Augusti and oil for the two gymnasia, could be restored as "Gaius Julius Eurykles, son of Lakon", Epistates of Sparta and Prostates of the koinon of Free Laconians (A.D. 14-32) or as "Gaius Julius Spartiatikos son of Eurykles Lakon", who was exiled in A.D. 61. The erasure could thus be explained as a *damnatio memoriae* that took place after the exile of Spartiatikus. G.

¹⁷ Cf. *IG* v 1, 1473.

¹⁸ P. Themelis, 'Statuenfunde aus dem Gymnasium von Messene', *NBA* 15 (1998/99) 68-70.

¹⁹ A. Orlandos, *Prakt.* 1959, 170-171.

²⁰ P. Themelis, *Prakt.* 1993, 67-68.

²¹ A. Orlandos, *Prakt.* 1962, 102, pl. 106; Id., *Ephem.* 1965, 116-121; *SEG* xxiii 208 and 206.

Julius Eurykles son of Lachares, grandfather of Spartiacus, was a benefactor of the Peloponnese and a patron of the Asklepieion at Epidaurus. At Asopus his benefaction took the form of a perpetual oil supply.²²

The propylon leads via the stairway to a large room with a high base set in front of its south wall. The marble torso of a naked male lay in front of the base with fragments of the hands, shins, the feet attached to the plinth and the support (a palm tree trunk) for the right weight leg. The statue fell off its base at a time when the gymnasium had already been abandoned and in the course of time had been gradually covered over with earth; it lacks its head, right thigh and left shin. It is a copy of Polycleitus' Doryphoros set up on a base originally made for a bronze statue or for a group of bronzes. A cutting was made in the base to receive the marble plinth of the Doryphoros. But since the cutting was too shallow for the plinth four iron clamps were installed at the edge of the plinth in order to fasten the statue securely on its new base which had apparently also been brought in from elsewhere. The Doryphoros of Messene augments the list of complete or partly preserved Roman copies known to us.²³ The copy from Pompeii in Naples (Museo Nazionale), 2.12 m high, is the closest to ours in regard to volume and proportions.²⁴ In all likelihood, the Doryphoros of Messene was made during the latter part of Augustus' reign, that is to say, it is contemporary with the revival of the *ephebeia* in Messene and the construction of the monumental Doric propylon. The placing of the statue on a base originally made for a bronze statue could be associated with the renovation of the gymnasium which seems to have been made before Pausanias' visit around 155 A.D.

The find of a new copy of the Doryphoros in the gymnasium of Messene at once raises the question of naming and interpreting the Polycleitan spear-bearer. As early as 1909 Hauser advanced the view that nudity and overlifesize scale indicate that a hero or a demigod, most probably Achilles, was represented, not a mortal victor.²⁵ In a recent study, Burkhardt Wesenberg advanced new arguments for identifying the Doryphoros as Achilles with the lance at Patroclus' funeral games.²⁶ Pausanias had undoubtedly seen a statue of the Athenian hero Theseus set beside those of Herakles and Hermes in the gymnasium of Messene. The statue of the Doryphoros found close to room III of the gymnasium where the cult statues of Herakles and Hermes were standing (see below) is the most probable candidate to be identified as Theseus. In Athens the institution of the *ephebeia* clearly bears the marks of initiation rites.²⁷ The service of the *epheboi* for two years (one less than in Messene) consisted in military training in the barracks of Piraeus

²² On the Euryclid dynasty see E. Kjellberg, 'C. Julius Eurykles', *Klio* 17 (1921) 49-58; G.W. Bowersock, 'Eurycles of Sparta', *JRS* 51 (1961) 111-18; P. Cartledge – A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London – New York 1989) 97-104.

²³ P. Themelis, 'Statuenfunde aus dem Gymnasium von Messene', *NBA* 15 (1998/99) 74-78.

²⁴ On the copies of the Doryphoros and on other related topics see the recent publication, W.G. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition* (Wisconsin 1995) 65-161.

²⁵ *ÖJh* 12 (1909) 104; cf. G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (HdA III, München 1950) 163 with note 13; S. Howard, 'The Hero as Norm in the Fourth-Century Sculpture', in: *Proceedings of the XII International Conference of Classical Archaeology Athens 1983*, vol. 3 (Athens 1988) 116, note 5 and 121.

²⁶ B. Wesenberg, *JdI* 112 (1997) 59ff.; cf. W. Gauer, 'Der argivische Heros mit dem Pferd. Neue Überlegungen zur Deutung des polykletischen Doryphoros', *Archeologia* 43 (Warszawa 1992) 7-14. However, W. Gauer identifies the Ephebe Westmacott with the "canon" of Polykleitos and not the Doryphoros.

²⁷ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985) 263.

and as *peripoloi* in guarding the frontiers. When some Attic inscriptions mention that the Athenian ephebes "lifted up the oxen" at the sacrifice, they are seen to perform at the same tests of youthful strength which the young Theseus performed (Pausanias 1.19.1).²⁸ The festival of the Oschophoria is based on the aetiological myth of the return of Theseus from his victory against the Minotaur and his "ambiguous" situation: happy because of his victory and sad because of the death of his father.²⁹ In a situation "between and betwixt", according to the most suitable expression of the British anthropologist Victor Turner.³⁰ The black chlamys worn by the Athenian ephebes was considered to be a reminiscence of this death.³¹ The presence of a statue of Theseus in the gymnasium of Messene, representing the hero after his victory of the Minotaur could thus be justified. A wall painting in Herculaneum depicts him triumphantly standing in front of the entrance to the labyrinth; he has his lance or a kind of long club on his left shoulder in a representation iconographically close to Polykleitos' Doryphoros.³² The marble copy of Doryphoros now in Naples was set up in the palaestra of Pompeii, so that he could have had the same function and probably the same significance as the Doryphoros in the gymnasium of Messene.

Two limestone bases with inscriptions came to light in Room IX of the west stoa of the gymnasium. Two marble statues which had fallen over were found in front of these bases. One of these, made of Pentelic marble, is missing the head; it is 1.71 m high and represents a figure wrapped in a mantle, belonging to the very popular type of the *Romanus palliatus*. The bundle of papyrus rolls serving as a support beside the left foot characterizes the man as a philosopher or orator, in any case as a learned man. The separately inserted head must surely have been the portrait of a man whom the town of Messene honoured by setting up his statue, dated, according to style and workmanship, to the first century A.D. An inscription on the front of the base pertaining to the mantle figure runs as follows:

'Α πόλις
 Τι. Κλαύδιον
 3 Νικηράτου
 υἱὸν Θέωνα
 ἥρωα.

"The city (honours) Tiberius Claudius Theon, son Nikeratos, hero".

An earlier inscription at the back side is related to the bronze statue of a gymnasiarch set up by the ephebes in his charge after they had completed their three-year term. The title 'hero' for Tiberius Claudius Theon son of Nikeratos indicates that he was honoured after his death. We know a Nikeratos, son of Theon, probably the father of the man honoured

²⁸ IG ii/iii² 1006, 1008, 1011, 1028/9; SEG xv 104; xxiv 109; L. Ziehen, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 227-232. RE XVIII 610. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985) 261-263.

²⁹ Plutarch, *Theseus* 22.4; P. Vidal-Nacquet, *Ο μαύρος κυνηγός* (Αθήνα 1983) 174.

³⁰ V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca and London 1967), *passim*.

³¹ Plutarch, *Theseus* 22.4; P. Vidal-Nacquet, *Ο μαύρος κυνηγός* (Αθήνα 1983) 174.

³² The original painting has been ascribed to the painter and sculptor Euphranor: A.B. Levides, *Πλίνιος ο Πρεσβύτερος περί της αρχαίας ελληνικής ζωγραφικής*, 35ο βιβλίο της Φυσικής Ιστορίας (Αθήνα 1994) pl. 40-41; J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece. Sources and Documents* (Cambridge 1990) 167-168; R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991) 138, fig. 143; O. Palagia, *Euphranor* (Leiden 1980) 50-51 and 57-60.

here, from the Augustan building inscription of the Sebasteion (Inv. no. 1014, v. 19; *SEG* xxiii 205, 207) and a second Nikeratos who was epimelete of Artemis Oupesia or Orthia in A.D. 42 (Inv. no. 1013; *SEG* xxxviii 337).

The second marble statue representing Hermes is over-lifesize, 2.08 m high, completely preserved, mended up from many joining fragments. The messenger of the gods appears naked and in mid-strike, with his drapery wrapped around his left forearm. The manner in which the weight is distributed as well as the addition of the support in the form of a tree trunk by the copyist, suggest that the original was made of bronze in the early fourth century B.C. Its prototype must be looked for among the works of the followers of Polykleitos' school and not of Praxiteles.³³ The iconographic similarity of the Messene Hermes to the Hermes Psychopompos depicted on the relief column drum of the younger Artemision in Ephesus is striking.³⁴ The over-lifesize format, the nudity and the idealized features are in complete contrast to the naturalistic figure of Tiberius Claudius Theon, tightly wrapped up in his mantle. It appears to have a chthonic character, particularly in connexion with the nearby grave monuments, just as the Hermes of Andros is generally thought to be the escort to the realm of the dead, and not Hermes Agoraios.

The limestone lintel above the entrance to Room III of the west stoa, found where it crashed to the ground, has a three-line inscription:

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Λούκιος Πετίκιος Γάλλος ὁ υἱὸς τὸν ναὸν κατεσκεύασαν
Ἑρμῶν Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ τῇ πόλει.

"Herakleidas and his son Lucius Peticius Gallus built the temple in honour of Hermes, Herakles and the city".

The inscription must refer either to the rebuilding of a temple of Herakles and Hermes destroyed for unknown reasons or, more probably, to the removal of the two cult statues to gymnasium Room III now remade into a temple. Transplanting the statues may have something to do with the setting up of the Doryphoros at a new site. Hundreds of pieces of marble, varying from small chips to large fragments, belonging to two statues were found in the earth filling of Room III. Chopping up the statues and blocking the entrance was probably the work of Christian fanatics, done towards the end of the fourth century A.D. as a coin of Theodosius found in the marble fragment layer attests. The colossal statue certainly represented Herakles; the other statue, approximately lifesize, probably was a Hermes, of a type different from the Hermes from Room IX described above. Two bases were also uncovered in situ in Room III. A large rectangular base, apparently for the statue of Herakles in the middle of the room, and a smaller for Hermes found in its SE corner. Both bases were originally made for bronze statues. The smaller one must have been brought in from elsewhere as it happened with the statues. The fragments that have been recognized until now have made it possible to determine that the Herakles of

³³ D. Arnold, *Polykletnachfolge* (Berlin 1969) 215; A. Linfert, *Von Polyklet zu Lysipp. Polyklets Schule und ihr Verhältnis zu Skopas von Paros* (Köln 1969) 1-25; D. Kreikenbom, *Bildwerke nach Polyklet: Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach polykletischen Vorbildern* (Berlin 1990) passim; cf. E. Berger, B. Müller-Huber, L. Thommen, *Der Entwurf des Künstlers: Bildhauerkanon in der Antike und Neuzeit* (Basel 1990) fig. 446-450.

³⁴ G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (München 1950) 255, pl. 89,2; P.E. Arias, *Skopas* (Roma 1952) 111-112, pl. VI,18; R. Carpenter, *Greek Sculpture. A Critical Review* (Chicago 1960) 176, fig. xxxiii; A. Rügler, *Die columnae coelatae des jüngeren Artemision von Ephesos* (Tübingen 1988) 54-56 and 69-73 and 119-120, pl. 13-14; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period and Sculpture in Colonies and Overseas* (London 1995) 29-30, pl. 23; cf. O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique II* (Paris 1884), 6ème livraison no. 7, p. 9; C. Anti, *Monumenti antichi* 26 (1920) 546; D. Arnold, *Die Polykletnachfolge* (Berlin 1969) 215.

Messene is a version of a sculpture by Lysippos. The fragments preserve the club, the trunk, the right hand that lay on the back, the left forward foot with a section of the plinth, the toes of the right foot with a part of the plinth, the hair and the mouth and the left thigh. The Herakles is closer to the copy in Caserta than the copy in Naples known as the Farnese-Pitti Herakles. Joining fragments of the rocks on which Herakles supported his club carry the partly preserved *tabula ansata* with the signatures of the sculptors:

"Apollonios son of Hermodoros from Alexandria and Demetrios son of Apollonios".

Christian Habicht identified the son of the sculptor Demetrios with the homonymous initiate in the mysteries of Samothrace named in the inscription *IG* xii 8, 206 (lines 9-10), dated to the first century A.D. The same sculptors signed two other statues in Messene, one of which stood in the Artemision of the Asklepieion.³⁵ The statue from the gymnasium of Messene, a free copy of Lysippos' Herakles by two sculptors from Alexandria, throws doubt on the hypothesis concerning the Asia Minor origin of the Caserta type.³⁶ The fact that this statue appears on the reverse of a pseudo-autonomous coin issue of Messene during the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211) shows its significance for the city. Herakles is particularly suited to the gymnasia and the ephebes, for "there is something forever youthful about this hero who is always wandering, fighting and nowhere at home".³⁷

Soon after A.D. 360-370 the gymnasium was abandoned and fell into ruin. Stray finds, especially coins of Valentinian and Theodosius, show that life went on. Between A.D. 400 and 600 Christians settled here and they are apparently responsible for the chopping up of the statues of Herakles and Hermes in Room III. The centre of the new settlement was, however, at the Asklepieion and the Agora, where a protobyzantine basilica has been recently revealed.

The image provided by the above shortly commented new epigraphical, sculptural and architectural finds from the gymnasium testify to the growth of a Roman provincial town like Messene which was raised to a higher social and economic level thanks to the long peace (*pax Romana*). It seems to have preserved certain privileges and enjoyed freedom to govern itself according to its ancient constitution. The city formed the basis of social, economic and public life and was linked with a large district, corresponding more or less to present-day Messenia, which was called its territory. "The measure of self-government enjoyed by such a town was determined by its past history and the willingness of Rome to take that history into account".³⁸

³⁵ *StudClas.* 24 (1968) 97; *IG* v 1, 1461 (= Inv. no. 127); A. Orlandos, *Prakt.* 1962, 112-112α, no. 4, pl. 112α (= Inv. no. 1020); *SEG* xxiii 225; P. Themelis, 'Artemis Ortheia at Messene, the Epigraphical and Archaeological Evidence, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence. International Seminar at the Swedish Institute at Athens 22-24 November 1991* (Stockholm 1994) 101-122.

³⁶ D. Krull, *Der Herakles des Typ Farnese. Kopienkritische Untersuchung einer Schöpfung des Lysipp* (Frankfurt am Main 1985) 369-373 and 377, pl. 9.

³⁷ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985) 211; cf. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (1960) 339.

³⁸ M. Rostovtzeff, *Rome* (Translation into English by J.D. Duff, New York 1957) 215-232.

Romains et Italiens en Syrie: Contribution à l'histoire de la première province romaine de Syrie

Maurice Sartre

La première province de Syrie - je nomme ainsi la province créée en 64 par Pompée jusqu'à sa réorganisation par Auguste au lendemain d'Actium - reste très largement méconnue en dehors de quelques épisodes militaires ou diplomatiques où elle se trouve impliquée mais dont elle n'est visiblement pas le seul enjeu.¹ Notre ignorance procède largement de l'absence de deux sources documentaires qui, à l'inverse, nous informent d'abondance sur les provinces d'Asie Mineure et d'Anatolie: nous ne possédons pour la Syrie de cette période à peu près aucune inscription, et Cicéron ne s'y est pas davantage intéressé. Dans ces conditions, il semble présomptueux de vouloir broser un tableau de la Syrie romaine à l'époque républicaine. De fait on se limitera à quelques thèmes pour lesquels il existe une documentation limitée mais significative.

On devrait pouvoir s'interroger au moins sur les points suivants:

- Que peut-on dire de la situation fiscale de la Syrie romaine sous la République? D'une manière générale, peut-on déceler les traces d'une surexploitation de la Syrie par Rome sur le modèle asiatique?
- Y eut-il installation significative de résidents romains, publicains ou *negotiatores* dans la Syrie républicaine? Y eut-il, avant l'époque augustéenne, installation de type colonial entraînant des modifications de cadastres?
- Peut-on parler d'une continuité dans la politique de Rome en Syrie de Pompée à Antoine et, si oui, dans quels domaines?
- Peut-on déceler l'émergence d'un groupe de grands notables civiques servant de relais entre Rome et la population indigène?

I. La prise en main de la province de Syrie: fiscalité et exploitation

On a coutume de dire, sans doute avec de bons arguments, que les provinces romaines, à la fin de la République, étaient à la fois sous-administrées et surexploitées. En ce qui concerne la Syrie, la documentation est d'une extrême minceur, à moins de raisonner par analogie, ce qui évidemment ne fait en rien avancer la solution du problème. Si l'on s'en tient aux faits attestés, on relève que la Syrie est confiée à un pro-magistrat, assisté d'un questeur et de légats lorsqu'il est chargé d'une expédition militaire.² Situation banale, que l'on retrouve dans n'importe quelle autre province. Tout au plus peut-on noter que les premiers gouverneurs furent d'anciens préteurs (Marcius Philippus et Lentulus Marcellinus), mais l'importance militaire de la province poussa à la confier dès 57 à des

¹ Les articles déjà anciens consacrés à l'occupation romaine de la Syrie ne traitent que de quelques aspects: cf. J. Dobias, "Les premiers rapports des Romains avec les Parthes et l'occupation de la Syrie", *Archiv orientální*, 3, 1931, p. 215-256; G. Downey, "The occupation of Syria by the Romans", *TAPA*, 82, 1951, p. 149-163; A. R. Bellinger, "The early coinage of Roman Syria", *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, Princeton, 1951, p. 58-67.

² Cf. la liste des gouverneurs de Syrie de Pompée à Auguste donnée en annexe.

consulaires (A. Gabinius, Crassus). Mais cette politique ne fut pas systématique et l'on observe ensuite l'affectation tantôt de magistrats de rang prétorien (C. Sosius, M. Calpurnius Bibulus et son fils L. Calpurnius Bibulus, Q. Didius), tantôt d'anciens consuls (P. Ventidius, Cornelius Dolabella, L. Munatius Plancus). En revanche, on ne sait rien des bureaux du gouverneur durant toute cette période.

Il ne fait aucun doute qu'un tribut fut imposé dès la création de la province, ainsi que les impôts habituels prélevés par Rome: *scriptura*, *portorium*, etc... On peut imaginer que le *vectigal Syriae* ne fut pas long à être créé étant donné les courants d'échanges qui traversent la Syrie. Les bureaux purent en être établis sur l'Euphrate et en d'autre point de la Syrie intérieure, compte tenu que ni Palmyre, ni Emèse ne sont alors incorporés à l'Empire. Mais la seule information à ce sujet, provenant de Josèphe, signale un bureau du *portorium* à Joppè, en Palestine.³

En tout cas, la présence de publicains est bien attestée par Cicéron. Dans le discours *Sur les provinces consulaires*, il s'en prend vivement à Gabinius qu'il accuse d'à peu près tous les maux et toutes les dépravations.⁴ Il lui reproche notamment d'avoir refusé de rendre la justice dans des procès concernant les publicains, d'avoir révoqué les conventions (*pactiones*), supprimé les forces de police destinées à protéger les publicains (*custodiae*), d'accorder sans limite des dégrèvements aux cités qui le demandent et de chasser les publicains de chaque ville.⁵ Si les accusations de Cicéron restent vagues, on peut en préciser au moins une: Cicéron mentionne un peu plus tard, dans une lettre du 13 février 54, un procès des Tyriens contre les publicains.⁶ Puisque le discours sur les provinces consulaires est antérieur de deux ans (mi-juin 56) à ce procès des Tyriens, ce dernier doit succéder à d'autres de même nature dont nous ignorons le nombre et l'objet précis. M. Rostovtzeff estimait que Gabinius ne visait à rien moins que la suppression des sociétés fermières au profit d'une perception directe qui lui aurait rapporté davantage, du moins dans un certain nombre de cités;⁷ c'est indémontrable et même improbable, mais Gabinius peut avoir eu seulement un souci de bonne gestion.

A travers ces accusations, Cicéron apporte indirectement de précieux renseignements sur la politique de Gabinius en Syrie. D'une part, il confirme qu'une dizaine d'années après l'annexion, le système fiscal est bien installé: il y a des publicains dans chaque ville. D'autre part, des conflits ont déjà éclaté entre les cités et les publicains, soit que ceux-ci exigent plus que leur dû, soit que les cités soient incapables de verser les sommes réclamées. Peu importe *a priori* qui a tort ou raison, mais on constate qu'à peine dix ans après la création de la province, le gouverneur est obligé d'accorder des dégrèvements. Naturellement, Cicéron se fait l'ardent avocat des chevaliers et, d'une manière générale, des créanciers, comme il l'a fait si souvent en Asie. Mais si on le lit attentivement, on ne manque pas d'être frappé par les contradictions de ses propos, souvent repris sans vérification par Flavius Josèphe et Dion Cassius. A le croire, la Syrie aurait été opulente et pacifiée lorsque Gabinius y arriva au printemps 57.⁸ Mais celui-ci, s'engageant imprudemment dans des guerres inconsidérées contre des "peuples pacifiques" (les

³ Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XIV, 205-206; la ferme est confiée à Hyrcan qui verse 20675 *modii* de blé en échange.

⁴ Cicéron, *De prou. cos.*, 9.

⁵ Cicéron, *De prou. cons.*, 10.

⁶ Cicéron, *Ad Q. fr.*, II, 11, 2-3.

⁷ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Histoire économique et sociale du monde hellénistique*, Paris, 1989, p. 696-697.

⁸ *Pro Sestio*, 93.

Parthes? des tribus arabes?), non seulement y aurait perdu ses meilleures cohortes,⁹ mais aurait mis la province en coupe réglée pour satisfaire ses appétits. Cicéron l'accuse de pillages (*direptiones*), brigandages (*latrocinia*), meurtres (*caedes*). Accusations reprises sans nuances par Dion Cassius qui accuse Gabinus d'avoir volé en Syrie plus de 100 millions (deniers?, sesterces?),¹⁰ en un mot d'avoir dévasté le pays.¹¹ Or, on apprend incidemment qu'un soulèvement eut lieu en Syrie après le départ de Gabinus pour l'Égypte.¹² On pourrait l'interpréter comme le signe d'un profond mécontentement contre le gouverneur responsable des malheurs de la province: en son absence et profitant du départ des troupes qu'il a emmenées en Égypte, les provinciaux choisiraient de se soulever. Mais en réalité, il n'est pas sûr que le soulèvement soit dirigé contre lui. Dion Cassius signale que les Syriens se plaignent des pillards, des collecteurs de taxes et des lourds arriérés qui leur sont réclamés.¹³ En fait, l'absence du gouverneur qui, de l'aveu de Cicéron, tranchait trop facilement en faveur des provinciaux, a pu laisser la bride sur le cou aux publicains et provoquer ce mouvement de colère des provinciaux.

En définitive, le témoignage hargneux de Cicéron tourne plutôt au bénéfice de Gabinus.¹⁴ En dix ans, les arriérés se sont accumulés au point que le gouverneur a dû accorder des dégrèvements et sans doute agir pour remettre de l'ordre dans les finances de sa province. Tout comme Cicéron le fait quelques années plus tard en Cilicie: on sait comment d'un côté il écrit sans relâche à ses collègues de Bithynie ou d'Asie pour faire rendre gorge aux provinciaux débiteurs de ses amis, et de l'autre se flatte d'avoir soulagé la misère des cités et rétabli de saines finances civiques.

Il n'est pas impossible qu'un acte de la politique de Bibulus soit à mettre en relation avec l'assainissement des finances publiques et les difficultés entre cités et publicains. Cicéron affirme que Bibulus et lui, ensemble, firent le change des monnaies au profit de l'État,¹⁵ tout en regrettant que Bibulus s'en octroie seul le mérite. Ce passage ne semble avoir suscité aucun commentaire des historiens¹⁶ et reste donc à expliquer. L'opération doit être en rapport avec la situation monétaire assez particulière de la Syrie et de la Cilicie. On sait que lors de l'annexion en 64, Rome n'émit pas sa propre monnaie de bronze ou d'argent, compte tenu notamment de la pénurie d'argent à Rome même. D'ailleurs il n'y eut ni frappe, ni circulation des deniers en Syrie, sauf peut-être une émission d'Antoine et Cléopâtre et, un peu plus tôt, une autre émission très isolée.¹⁷ En revanche, Antioche fut autorisée à frapper des bronzes (avec la mention d'Antioche la Métropole), tandis que les anciennes monnaies séleucides et celles de Tigane continuaient à circuler. À partir de 57, Gabinus fit frapper des monnaies à l'effigie et au type de Philippe Ier Philadelphe, ne se

⁹ *De prou. cos.*, 9.

¹⁰ Dion Cassius, 39, 55, 5.

¹¹ Dion Cassius 39, 56, 1.

¹² Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 176.

¹³ Dion Cassius 39, 59.2.

¹⁴ Cf. E. M. Sanford, "The Career of Aulus Gabinus", *TAPA*, 70, 1939, p. 64-92.

¹⁵ Cicéron, *Ep. CCLXIX*, 7 (*Fam.* II, 17).

¹⁶ Il n'en est jamais question dans *RPC I*, où les auteurs remontent pourtant assez facilement avant 44 av. J.-C.

¹⁷ *RPC I*, p. 12 et p. 587; cf. M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 536 et 539.

distinguant des monnaies originales de ce roi que par le monogramme de Gabinus;¹⁸ le choix de Philippe Ier s'explique par le fait qu'il pouvait être considéré comme le dernier roi légitime aux yeux de ce pompéien, avant la conquête arménienne. Des monnaies de Philippe Ier furent encore émises au temps de Crassus, puis par Jules César et jusqu'en 16 av. J.-C. au moins.¹⁹ Parallèlement, c'est peut-être à partir de Gabinus que furent introduites des dénominations romaines dans le monnayage d'Antioche.²⁰ Y a-t-il un rapport entre l'un ou l'autre de ces éléments et l'opération mentionnée par Cicéron ? Il était logique que l'opération ait été coordonnée entre les deux gouverneurs puisqu'ils héritaient l'un et l'autre d'une partie de l'ancien royaume séleucide où la situation monétaire était identique. S'agit-il du retrait du monnayage royal ancien au profit des monnayages civiques et du monnayage contremarqué par Rome ? Ou de l'échange des dénominations anciennes contre de nouvelles, ce qui devait simplifier la comptabilité des cités et des publicains.

Il est difficile d'aller plus loin dans ce domaine faute de renseignements. Les textes anciens s'intéressent davantage à l'exceptionnel, les pillages plutôt que les mesures d'allègement en faveur des provinciaux. D'autant que la guerre étrangère ou civile favorise les exactions en tous genres. Ainsi les auteurs anciens se plaisent-ils à souligner le vol des statues d'Athéna et de Zeus Kéraunios à Antioche par Bibulus,²¹ le pillage des villes de Syrie par Metellus Scipion en 49,²² puis la taxation généralisée imposée par Cassius en 42.²³ Mais, lorsque Crassus évalue les richesses de la province qui lui a été confiée, il n'agit sans doute pas par simple esprit de lucre comme semble l'indiquer Plutarque,²⁴ mais en gouverneur soucieux de savoir sur quoi il peut compter avant de se lancer dans la campagne contre les Parthes pour laquelle le Sénat l'a mandaté.²⁵

II. Installation et colonisation

On sait qu'il n'y eut pas d'installation coloniale en Syrie avant l'époque d'Auguste, avec la fondation de la colonie de Berytus. Mais on peut se demander s'il est possible de trouver la trace de l'installation de Romains ou d'Italiens en Syrie, soit par la mention d'acquisitions foncières, soit par leur présence dans les milieux dirigeants des cités, les listes d'éphèbes, les participants aux concours, etc..., soit enfin par des modifications cadastrales qui témoigneraient d'une installation de type colonial.

¹⁸ *RPC* I, 4108 ; cf. p. 606-607 sur ce monnayage.

¹⁹ Sur tout ceci, Gl. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 148.

²⁰ *RPC*, I, p. 588.

²¹ Malalas 211-212. Le passage est confus chez Malalas, mais le fait se rapporte plutôt à Bibulus (nommé Byblos par Malalas) qu'à Pompée; cf. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 151, n. 41. Les statues auraient été offertes par les Antiochiens au peuple de Rome, mais on peut douter que les habitants d'Antioche se soient séparés d'œuvres qui remontaient à la fondation même de la ville par Séleucos Ier.

²² César, *BC* III, 31-33.

²³ Flavius Josèphe *BJ* I, 12, 1-2.

²⁴ Plutarque, *Crassus*, 17, 7-9, 10.

²⁵ Sur ce point, essentiel, cf. P. Arnaud, "Les guerres parthiques de Gabinus et de Crassus et la politique occidentale des Parthes Arsacides entre 70 et 53 av. J.-C.", *Electrum*, 2, 1997, p. 13-34, en particulier p. 18-20.

Autant dire de suite que les documents épigraphiques ne permettent de déceler la présence de Romains ou d'Italiens ni chez les éphèbes, ni parmi les vainqueurs aux concours, ni chez les magistrats des cités: aucun document de cette nature ne provient de Syrie pour cette époque.

En revanche, la présence de *publicani* évoque presque inévitablement celle de *negotiatores*. Or, de fait, il en existe quelques mentions dans la Syrie républicaine. Ainsi, au lendemain de Pharsale, les "Romains qui font commerce" à Antioche se déclarent contre Pompée²⁶ et suscitent sans doute un "miracle" qui convainc la population de la bonne fortune de César. Le portrait de l'un d'eux a peut-être été retrouvé.²⁷ Un peu plus tard, Tyr se flatte d'avoir échappé aux Parthes lors de l'invasion de 41 grâce à la présence d'une forte communauté romaine dans ses murs.²⁸ Peut-être sont-ils également nombreux à Sidon si G. Bowersock a raison de penser que la suppression de la liberté de Tyr et de Sidon en 21-20 av. J.-C. par Auguste se justifie par le fait que les résidents romains avaient eu à souffrir, comme à Cyzique, des luttes entre factions rivales.²⁹ Ces quelques indications ne doivent pas faire illusion et laisser penser que les résidents romains ne sont présents que dans quelques grandes cités commerçantes. Lors du soulèvement d'Alexandre fils d'Aristobule en Judée, après le départ de Gabinius pour l'Égypte, il se promet de massacrer tous les Romains de la région, sans que le texte de Josèphe ne permette de savoir s'il s'agit de la Judée ou de la Syrie tout entière.³⁰ S'il s'agit de la Judée seule, cela témoignerait de la présence des *negotiatores* jusque dans les États-clients, ce qui est confirmé un peu plus tard à Pétra au temps de l'expédition d'Aelius Gallus.³¹

Y constituent-ils des groupes stables, avec leurs familles, ou s'agit-il de marchands et hommes d'affaire de passage? On ne saurait le dire avec certitude, mais dans tous les cas il semble bien qu'il y ait au moins d'un noyau sédentaire. J'en trouve une confirmation possible dans l'abondance des gentilices non impériaux attestés à Antioche: ce pourrait être les descendants d'immigrants puisqu'il est pratiquement exclu qu'il s'agisse de Grecs de Syrie dotés de la citoyenneté romaine, même si quelques cas peuvent s'expliquer ainsi.³² La décision de César de faire construire à Antioche un amphithéâtre, édifice typiquement romain, peut bien répondre aux besoins de la communauté émigrée de Rome et d'Italie.³³

²⁶ BC III, 102.6-103.1.

²⁷ F. Poulsen, "Un portrait hellénistique du musée d'Antioche", *Syria*, 19, 1938, p. 355-361. Cf. J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens*, Paris, 1914, p. 142, 374-375, sur les *negotiatores* en Syrie.

²⁸ Dion Cassius, 48, 24,7-26, 2.

²⁹ Dion Cassius 54, 7.6; cf. G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, p. 103.

³⁰ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 176; ce pourrait être une simple réminiscence littéraire des événements tragiques d'Asie en 88.

³¹ Strabon, XVI, 4, 21.

³² M. Sartre, "Les progrès de la citoyenneté romaine en Syrie et en Arabie", dans A. Rizakis éd., *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects*, Athens, 7-9 septembre 1993, Athènes, 1996, p. 249. Dans les seuls autres sites où cette proportion est forte, Bostra, le Hauran et Zeugma, on explique assez aisément cette proportion de gentilices non impériaux par la présence de soldats ou de vétérans, explication qui ne peut jouer à Antioche, quasiment dépourvue de troupes.

³³ G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 155. Il existait déjà un cirque depuis la venue de Q. Marcius Rex en 67: Malalas, 225, 7-11; cf. G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 140-141.

On ignore tout de ces *negotiatores* et de leurs affaires, mais nul doute qu'ils n'aient été en relation d'affaires avec les marchands et artisans de Syrie. Cela a dû donner lieu à de multiples contrats privés, et donc aussi à des conflits entre les contractants. Une allusion de Cicéron dans une longue lettre à Atticus datée de février 50 montre que Bibulus, successeur de Crassus, a dû prendre des mesures pour régler ce genre de conflit. Atticus s'inquiète en effet du contenu de l'édit provincial de Bibulus qui constitue, selon lui, "un très grave précédent au préjudice de notre ordre".³⁴ Or les commentaires de Cicéron montrent qu'il s'agit bien de régler la juridiction des conflits privés, et lui-même avoue avoir prévu de semblables dispositions, reprises d'édits antérieurs. C'est sans doute pour répondre aux mêmes besoins que César établit en Syrie des tribunaux lors de son passage dans la province pendant son voyage entre Alexandrie et le Pont.³⁵ Mais le texte reste allusif et l'on ne peut guère aller plus loin sur ce point.

Un signe de résidence ou d'intégration aux cités de Syrie pourrait être l'octroi d'une citoyenneté locale à des Romains résidents. Il est probable que le cas a pu se produire mais on n'en trouve guère d'exemples. On peut citer Caecilius Bassus, honoré de la citoyenneté à Tyr³⁶ mais dans des conditions sans doute exceptionnelles: ancien membre de l'armée de Pompée, il aurait trouvé refuge à Tyr après Pharsale et y aurait reçu la citoyenneté sans que l'on en connaisse les raisons. Il est assez étrange que les Tyriens aient conféré un tel honneur à un pompéien alors que César est désormais maître de la Syrie, mais précisément César pilla Tyr³⁷ et la citoyenneté de Caecilius Bassus peut avoir été accordée antérieurement. C'est à Tyr que Caecilius Bassus aurait convaincu certains membres de la légion de Sextus Iulius César d'assassiner leur chef et de le nommer à sa place, origine de la guerre civile qui ravage la région d'Apamée à partir de 47-46. Mais il est plus intéressant de signaler que le choix de Tyr n'est pas l'effet du hasard car Dion Cassius indique que Caecilius Bassus avait investi à Tyr.³⁸

Ce cas semble isolé mais on sait qu'il est très difficile de repérer des Romains détenteurs d'une citoyenneté locale lorsque font défaut les inscriptions: ceux que l'on connaît en Asie Mineure apparaissent dans les catalogues éphébiques, dans les listes de vainqueurs aux concours, plus rarement dans les inscriptions mentionnant des magistrats. En l'absence de tels documents, nous n'avons donc à peu près aucune chance de les connaître en Syrie.

Par ailleurs, on peut se demander si les documents cadastraux dont l'étude a commencé en Syrie depuis quelques années ne peuvent donner des indices en faveur de lotissements de type colonial - pour des vétérans ou des colons - dans certaines villes de Syrie. Mais on connaît la précision toute relative de ce type d'enquête lorsque qu'elle n'est accompagnée d'aucune découverte épigraphique et, dans l'état actuel des recherches, rien ne semble à coup sûr antérieur à l'époque d'Auguste, notamment à Alep, Damas,³⁹ Emèse-

³⁴ Cicéron, *Lettres*, CCXLV, 15 (*Att.* VI, 1, 15).

³⁵ *Bell. Alex.*, 65, 1-2.

³⁶ Appien, *BCIII*, 77-78.

³⁷ Dion Cassius 42, 49. 2.

³⁸ Dion Cassius, 47, 26, 1-7.

³⁹ Cf. M. Dodinet, J. Leblanc, J.-P. Vallat et F. Villeneuve, "Le paysage antique en Syrie: l'exemple de Damas", *Syria*, 67, 1990, p. 339-367, et en particulier p. 353, quoique les auteurs n'excluent ni l'époque de Pompée, ni celle d'Antoine.

Aréthuse⁴⁰ ou Antioche.⁴¹ La situation troublée qui règne en Syrie du fait des guerres civiles romaines comme des invasions parthes ne favorise pas l'installation permanente de fortes communautés de Romains et d'Italiens avant l'époque d'Auguste. S'il y eut acquisition de domaines ruraux par des Romains et Italiens, nous n'en avons aucune trace tangible, ni épigraphique, ni littéraire, ni archéologique.

III. Une politique cohérente et continue?

Faudrait-il donc réduire l'histoire de la première Syrie romaine à une succession de pillages, d'invasions, de conflits entre *imperatores* romains, en dehors des quelques indications relatives au gouvernement de Gabinus? Certes tout ceci a existé, affectant plus ou moins gravement telle ou telle partie de la Syrie. Mais, en dépit des difficultés et des ambitions des uns et des autres, il n'est peut-être pas impossible de repérer une ligne directrice dans la politique de Rome en Syrie, politique suivie avec une certaine constance de Pompée à Antoine, et, sur quelques points, au-delà.

Pompée avait annexé une province réduite, même par rapport à ce qui était, nominalement, le royaume séleucide. En fait, il devait régler le sort de la Syrie en tenant compte de deux contraintes qu'il pouvait difficilement négliger. D'une part, Rome se trouvait incapable de détacher dans sa nouvelle conquête une administration efficace et nombreuse. Malgré la multiplication des provinces - et donc des expériences - en Méditerranée orientale, il n'était pas de règle de dépêcher dans les nouvelles provinces plus que les quelques cadres administratifs de très haut rang indispensables. La Province d'Asie, créée depuis 129, fonctionnait avec un minuscule noyau administratif autour du pro-magistrat et la création en quelques années de la Bithynie, de la Cilicie, du Pont, et, maintenant, de la Syrie, posait un redoutable problème de personnel. D'autre part, bien des habitudes acquises en Syrie pendant la longue agonie de la monarchie séleucide étaient difficiles à remettre en cause du jour au lendemain: dynastes, cités, émirs avaient pris des habitudes d'autonomie qui, tous comptes faits, pouvaient servir les intérêts de Rome. En quelque sorte, la seconde contrainte pouvait être utilisée pour pallier les inconvénients de la première.

En réalité, l'ossature même de la province fut constituée par la Syrie des cités, c'est-à-dire l'ancienne "Séleucide" et la Phénicie, plus quelques groupes de cités plus ou moins isolées, en Transjordanie (Décapole) ou sur la côte palestinienne. De ce fait la *provincia* ne constituait pas un ensemble géographiquement continu. De plus, durant la longue crise du royaume séleucide, de nombreuses cités s'étaient émancipées, s'octroyant ou se faisant accorder la liberté, soit par les rois séleucides, soit par Tigrane. Pompée ne revint pas sur cette situation et il est possible que ce soit à cette époque que certaines cités aient vu leur territoire s'agrandir (Arados aux dépens de Baitokèkè par exemple).⁴² Beaucoup de cités avaient souffert des guerres entre Séleucides, du brigandage, ou de l'expansion hasmonéenne, voire des trois maux à la fois, quand ne s'y ajoutaient pas encore les dégâts

⁴⁰ Etude en cours par J. Leblanc et M. Dodinet.

⁴¹ J. Leblanc et G. Poccardi, "Etude de la permanence de tracés urbains et ruraux antique à Antioche-sur-l'Oronte", *Syria*, 1999, p. 91-110.

⁴² Il est clair que le sanctuaire n'appartient pas à Arados lors de l'octroi des privilèges par le roi Antiochos, que celui-ci soit Antiochos Ier ou, plus vraisemblablement, un Antiochos de la fin du II^e ou du début du I^{er} siècle: le roi ne mentionne jamais la cité, mais rappelle que le village appartenait à un certain Démétrios de Tourgôna. En revanche, dans le décret envoyé à Auguste par les Aradiens, qui constitue les lignes 32-39 de l'inscription *IGLS VII*, 4028, la cité semble bien contrôler le sanctuaire.

causés par quelque tremblement de terre, comme cela avait été le cas à Antioche peu avant que Tigrane ne quitte la Syrie.⁴³ Il convenait de les aider à se reconstruire.

Partout Pompée restaura les villes détruites ou endommagées même s'il est difficile d'établir des listes précises d'édifices reconstruits par ses soins.⁴⁴ Surtout, il assura l'indépendance de villes soumises aux Hasmonéens, sur la côte (Gaza), en Palestine même (Samarie, Adora, Marisa), mais aussi en Transjordanie où Gadara, Pella, Gerasa, Dion notamment furent libérées et regroupées au sein d'un district de dix villes (à l'origine) dont le lien paraît géographique ou administratif plus que politique. De même il libéra de leurs tyrans Byblos et Tripolis du Phénicie,⁴⁵ alors qu'il délivrait la côte tout entière et la plaine de la Beqa'a de la pression des Ituréens.⁴⁶ On aimerait connaître avec plus de précision l'action de Pompée en faveur des cités car il fait peu de doute qu'il ne se contenta pas de bonnes paroles. En dehors d'Antioche, à laquelle il accorda la liberté en même temps qu'à Séleucie de Piérie et qu'il contribua à restaurer,⁴⁷ on ne connaît, un peu, que l'exemple de Gadara, d'où était originaire son affranchi Démétrios. Démétrios s'était retrouvé esclave à Rome à la suite des guerres d'Alexandre Jannée et vouait en conséquence une haine farouche aux Hasmonéens. C'est pour lui plaire, dit-on, que Pompée reconstruisit sa cité après l'avoir libérée de la tutelle hasmonéenne.⁴⁸ Riche et puissant par la faveur de son maître,⁴⁹ Démétrios avait eu une forte activité de constructeur à Rome même⁵⁰ et reporta sur sa cité libérée une partie de son activité.⁵¹

Il est probable que partout Pompée sut s'appuyer sur les notables des cités et, accordant divers privilèges, notamment fiscaux, aida à leur relèvement. En tout cas, toutes ces villes adoptèrent, séparément les unes des autres, une ère nouvelle, dite "pompéienne", débutant entre 64 et 62,⁵² qui témoigne que les cités considéraient l'oeuvre de Pompée,

⁴³ G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 138.

⁴⁴ Malalas 211.18 signale la reconstruction du bouleutérion d'Antioche, mais on ne possède pas un Malalas pour chaque ville de Syrie! Noter cependant le caractère symbolique de la reconstruction.

⁴⁵ Strabon XVI, 2, 18 (Byblos), Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XIV, 39 (Tripolis)

⁴⁶ Strabon, XVI, 2, 18-20.

⁴⁷ G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 145-146.

⁴⁸ Pline, *HN*, 35.200; Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XV, 75 = *BJ*, I, 155.

⁴⁹ Plutarque, *Pompée*, 40, 1-5 (idem, *Caton*, 13), rapporte que Caton, arrivant à Antioche, avec une délégation de Romains, s'étonnait et s'irritait de ce que les Antiochiens avaient préparé une réception officielle mobilisant magistrats, prêtres, éphèbes, etc... alors qu'il avait souhaité une arrivée discrète. Quelle ne fut pas sa surprise de constater que tout cela n'avait pas été préparé pour lui, mais pour Démétrios, que les Antiochiens attendaient !

⁵⁰ Dion Cassius, 39, 38.6.

⁵¹ Il fut peut-être à l'origine de la construction du théâtre nord de Gadara: Th. Weber, *Gadara Decapolitana. Untersuchungen zur Topographie, Geschichte und bildenden Kunst einer "Polis Hellenis" im Ostjordanland*, Diss. Hab. Mayence, 1995 (*non vidi*), cité par Th. Weber, *ZDPV*, 112, 1996, p. 14, n. 48.

⁵² A. Stein, *Studies in Greek and Latin inscriptions on the palestinian coinage under the Principate*, Thèse Tel Aviv University, 1990, a fait le point de façon précise sur les diverses ères utilisées. A Antioche, l'ère pompéienne débute rétrospectivement en 66, année de la reddition de Tigrane à Pompée, ce qui supprime toute interruption entre la chute de Tigrane et la conquête de Rome; cf. H. Seyrig, "Sur les

poursuivie par quelques uns de ses successeurs, comme équivalent à une véritable refondation. Ces ères attestées également en Phénicie⁵³ et en divers points de la Syrie⁵⁴ prouvent l'importance de l'activité de Pompée en ce domaine partout en Syrie. Certes, on pourrait les assimiler à une ère de Rome, nom officiel à Gadara,⁵⁵ marquant un simple changement de souverain, mais trop de cités ont conservé l'usage de l'ère séleucide pour que l'adoption par quelques unes, à la place de l'ère séleucide,⁵⁶ d'une nouvelle ère n'ait pas une signification politique précise, en rapport avec l'action de Pompée et de ses légats. D'ailleurs l'adoption d'ères débutant à des moments différents prouve que chaque cité restait maîtresse de sa décision et décidait en fonction des avantages qu'elle avait retiré du vainqueur.

Pompée a bien compris que parmi tous les habitants de la Syrie, seuls les Grecs et les indigènes hellénisés étaient attachés à l'ordre nouveau et pouvaient donc être les fermes soutiens de Rome en Syrie. Ni les Juifs, attachés à leur indépendance, ni les Arabes, peu hellénisés, ne pouvaient favoriser l'implantation de Rome en Orient. Il convenait donc de s'appuyer sur les cités, qui regroupaient l'essentiel des Grecs, descendants de colons ou indigènes hellénisés. Mais ce choix n'était pas sans inconvénient: en émettant le pouvoir, Pompée rendait plus difficile une attitude commune de toute la Syrie face à un danger éventuel, qu'il s'agisse du voisin parthe (on le vit en 40-39) ou des entreprises d'un *imperator* romain. Mais la formule retenue était sans doute la seule possible en 64-63. Elle ne fut pas réellement remise en cause bien que plusieurs indices montrent que certains successeurs préférèrent privilégier les Etats-principiers: Cassius (cf. ci-dessous), Antoine qui fit en 37-36 une donation globale à Cléopâtre des cités situées au Sud de l'Eleuthéros (à l'exception de Tyr et Sidon) sans que l'on sache la portée pratique réelle de cette donation,⁵⁷ et surtout Octave qui rendit à Hérode de

ères de quelques villes de Syrie", *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 8-11. Même ère à Apamée (*ibid.*, p. 16-19) et à Tripolis (*ibid.*, p. 40-41).

⁵³ Cf. H. Seyrig, "Les ères pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie", *Syria*, 31, 1954, p. 73-80 (Byblos, Orthosia, Botrys).

⁵⁴ Alexandrie près d'Issos: *RPC* I, p. 597.

⁵⁵ H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 1959, p. 71: L A ΡΩΜΗΣ.

⁵⁶ Cf. H. Seyrig, "Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie", *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 5-50. Il arrive que la nouvelle ère coexiste avec l'ère séleucide.

⁵⁷ Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XV, 92-95: "Elle pressait Antoine d'ôter l'Arabie et la Judée à leurs rois et de les lui donner. Mais quoique sa passion pour elle fut violente au point qu'il semblait qu'elle l'eût ensorcelé, il ne put se résoudre à commettre une injustice si manifeste qu'elle aurait fait voir à tout le monde que, même dans les choses les plus importantes, il était esclave d'une femme. Ainsi, pour ne point la fâcher en lui refusant tout ce qu'elle demandait et ne pas passer pour coupable d'une injustice à la vue de tout le monde s'il le lui accordait, il lui donna des parties retranchées de ces deux pays, et, de plus, toutes les villes situées depuis l'Eleuthéros jusqu'à l'Egypte, excepté Tyr et Sidon qu'il savait avoir toujours été libres, quoiqu'il n'y eût point d'efforts qu'elle ne fit pour tâcher de les obtenir". Cf. A. Momigliano, "Ricerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea sotto il dominio romano (63 A.C.-70 D.C.)", *ANSPN*, 3, 1934, p. 349-350. Le monnayage donne des indications d'interprétation difficile. En effet; il existe bien une ère syrienne de Cléopâtre, que l'on trouve sur les monnaies de Tripolis, Bérytos, Orthosia, Chalcis du Liban (H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 40, 43-46) et l'absence de monnayage civique d'Orthosia entre 24 et 36 de son ère pompéienne correspond de fait au règne de Cléopâtre dans la région (H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 31, 1954, p. 76). Mais des villes qui continuent à user de l'ère séleucide, comme Damas (H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 34-35), peuvent aussi bien placer des bustes de Cléopâtre (et parfois d'Antoine) sur leurs monnaies, à titre honorifique: *RPC* I, p. 583.

nombreuses cités grecques (Gadara, Hippos, Samarie, Gaza, Anthédon, Joppé et la Tour de Straton).⁵⁸

En dehors des cités, Pompée reconnut aussi le pouvoir d'Etats-clients plus ou moins étroitement tenus en lisière. Il pouvait s'agir soit d'Etats anciens, comme le royaume hasmonéen où, en arbitrant entre Hyrcan II et Aristoboulos, il transformait le roi hasmonéen en *rex datus*, soit d'Etats nouveaux auxquels Pompée consentait de reconnaître une existence légale, comme celui de Ptolémée fils de Mennaios, dynaste ituréen, qui s'était constitué une principauté couvrant la Beqa'a centrale et le Nord du Mont Liban et qui eut la vie sauve en échange de 1000 talents. De même, la dynastie des Sampsigéramos d'Emèse vit confirmer son pouvoir sur Emèse et Aréthuse, comme Abgar II d'Edesse qui sauva sa principauté en aidant Afranius dans sa lutte contre les brigands de l'Amanus. Aux franges du désert, des émirs furent donc reconnus comme alliés et il se constituait ainsi par touches successives le réseau d'Etats-clients sur lesquels Rome entendait s'appuyer. Y eut-il dès cette époque d'autres micro-états, notamment dans les Monts Ansarié? Ce n'est ni improbable, ni démontrable.

Il me semble donc assuré que Pompée mit en place une politique cohérente d'administration à la fois directe et indirecte. Or cette politique ne fut pas remise en cause par quiconque, ami ou adversaire de Pompée, même s'il se trouve que tel ou tel des maîtres successifs de la Syrie paraît privilégier l'un ou l'autre des modes d'administration.

Ainsi la politique de redressement des cités fut poursuivie énergiquement par les légats pompéiens comme en témoigne les épithètes évoquant Marcius Philippus devant les noms de Pella et de Gaba⁵⁹ ou les *Gabinia* Canatha, *Gabinia* Scythopolis.⁶⁰ De plus, ce que l'on a dit plus haut de l'attitude de Gabinus envers les publicains va dans le même sens, celui d'un vigoureux soutien au redressement des cités. Josèphe confirme cette politique favorable aux cités de la part de Gabinus qu'il crédite de la refondation de nombreuses cités de Palestine: Scythopolis, Samarie, Anthédon, Apollonia, Iamnia, Raphia, Marisa, Adora, Gamala, Azotos, Gaza et quelques autres restées anonymes.⁶¹ De même, César s'attacha à aider les cités, en accordant à quelques unes la liberté, à d'autres des avantages qui ne sont pas toujours clairement établis:⁶² la multiplication des ères césariennes⁶³ me semble être un indice suffisant pour attester que César eut une politique favorable aux cités. Cela n'empêche ni les pillages, ni les sièges en cas de conflit, mais ce ne sont que des cas extrêmes justifiés par une situation politique locale précise: siège et pillage de Tyr par César,⁶⁴ de Laodicée par Cassius,⁶⁵ taxation exceptionnelle de toutes les cités par Cassius,⁶⁶ prise d'Arados par C. Sosius en 38.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 396.

⁵⁹ *RPC* I, 4856-4857, avec une ère commençant en 61-60, ce qui exclut une ère de Rome, mais signale bien une ère fondée sur des privilèges accordées à un moment précis à cette seule cité.

⁶⁰ *RPC* I, 4825-4828.

⁶¹ Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XIV, 88 et *BJ*, I, 166.

⁶² Il peut s'agir de la confirmation d'avantages anciens: ainsi Sidon se vit confirmer en 46 sa tutelle sur Joppé de Palestine, acquise au plus tard au II^e siècle av. J.-C., voire bien plus tôt (cf. l'inscription d'Eschmounazar): Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XIV, 202-203. A Antioche, César lança durant les quelques jours de son passage un vaste programme de travaux publics: G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 154-156.

⁶³ Ainsi à Antioche, à laquelle César accorda aussi la liberté et l'asylie: H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 14; G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 157-158. A Laodicée: H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 27 et 30-31.

⁶⁴ Dion Cassius, 42, 49.2.

⁶⁵ Appien, *BC*, IV, 57-63, mais Dion Cassius 47, 26.7 dément qu'il y ait eu pillage.

Cette politique n'empêcha pas la poursuite d'une politique d'Etats-clients qui eurent sans doute tendance à se multiplier. L'expédition de Scaurus contre Pétra dès 62 n'avait aucune justification militaire ou diplomatique;⁶⁶ si l'on ne veut pas en réduire les objectifs à une simple quête de butin pour financer la campagne électorale de Scaurus à la préture,⁶⁹ on pourra admettre qu'il s'agissait de faire reconnaître formellement à Arétas III la tutelle politique de Rome. Les tentatives de réforme de la Judée par Gabinius soumettaient un peu plus l'Etat hasmonéen à Rome, en privant le grand-prêtre de toute autorité politique, ce que symbolisait l'abandon du titre royal.⁷⁰ Les soubresauts du même Etat au temps de César et de Cassius ne font qu'accentuer la dépendance de l'Etat hasmonéen: le meilleur signe en est que les Romains s'appuient davantage sur leur homme de confiance, Antipater, que sur les divers représentants de la dynastie;⁷¹ lorsqu'Antigone retrouve une autorité, c'est par la grâce de Cassius qui le ramène d'exil.⁷²

D'une façon générale, Cassius aurait multiplié les petites principautés, selon Flavius Josèphe,⁷³ et c'est donc plutôt à lui qu'à Pompée ou Antoine que l'on doit la multiplication des micro-Etats dont parle Pline l'Ancien. Mais il me semble que le seul objectif n'est pas d'assurer une bonne administration de secteurs difficiles à contrôler mais bien de se créer une clientèle répandue à travers tout le pays. Cette politique ne peut en effet pas être isolée de l'installation de tyrans dans des villes qui peuvent se révéler stratégiquement importantes: Mariôn aurait été installé comme tyran de Tyr par Cassius, avant d'être destitué par Hérode.⁷⁴ Politique reprise avec d'autres objectifs par les Parthes si l'on en croit Appien qui signale la multiplication des tyrans dans les cités au temps de l'invasion parthe de 42-41.⁷⁵

Antoine poussa à l'extrême le système de l'Etat-client mais il héritait sans doute d'une Syrie déjà largement morcelée: revenir sur les avantages accordés par ses prédécesseurs eût conduit à des affrontements inutiles, comme le montrèrent rapidement ses tentatives de satisfaire les appétits territoriaux de Cléopâtre sans mécontenter les rois de Pétra et de Jérusalem. Antoine était condamné au moins au *statu quo*. En fait, il

⁶⁶ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 219.

⁶⁷ Dion Cassius 48, 24, 3 (les Aradiens refusent de payer une contribution exigée par Antoine en 42 et tuent ses envoyés); 48, 41, 6 (ils sont assiégés par Ventidius qui vient de récupérer la Syrie, mais celui-ci ne parvient pas à s'emparer de l'île); 49, 22.3 (C. Sosius s'empare de l'île). Arados avait fait bon accueil à Cassius et avait abrité un faux Ptolémée XIII, usurpateur qui prétendait être le frère et premier époux de Cléopâtre. C'est sans doute en compensation que Balancia obtint en 37 certains privilèges: H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 23.

⁶⁸ Cf. M. Sartre, "Rome et les Nabatéens à la fin de la République", *REA*, 81, 1979, p. 37-53.

⁶⁹ Scaurus fut préteur en 56.

⁷⁰ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 170.

⁷¹ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 195-215, entre autres.

⁷² Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 239.

⁷³ Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XIV, 297-298 et *BJ* I, 239.

⁷⁴ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 12, 1-2.

⁷⁵ Appien, *BC*, V, 7 et 10.

accentua encore le rôle des clients, sans doute par souci de se créer, comme Cassius avant lui, une clientèle personnelle. Ainsi le voit-on confier au réfugié parthe Monaïkès Larissa sur l'Oronte, Aréthuse et Hiérapolis-Bambykè.⁷⁶

Cette double politique de soutien aux cités et de prolifération des principautés clientes devrait aboutir à l'émergence d'un groupe privilégié de notables, soutien du pouvoir romain. Or ceux-ci appartiennent bien davantage au milieu des princes-clients qu'à celui des notables civiques. On sait comment tous les princes de Syrie ou presque se précipitèrent au secours de César englué dans la guerre d'Alexandrie: Antipater, Ptolémée fils de Sohaïmos, Jamblique d'Emèse, Malichos de Nabatène.⁷⁷ De même, la plupart aidèrent Antoine dans sa lutte contre Octave, quelques uns le payant après coup de leur vie, d'autres, plus habiles, négociant leur ralliement.

En revanche, on ne trouve guère de ces grands notables civiques qui joueraient le rôle d'évergètes tout puissants pour leur cité, ou pour leur province. Sans doute existent-ils néanmoins. On est étonné que l'homme le plus riche de la Syrie, Saramallas, ne soit ni hellénisé (à en juger par son nom), ni crédité d'une action politique ou évergétique quelconque,⁷⁸ bien qu'il soit au courant de ce qui se trame au temps de l'invasion parthe de Pacôros. En revanche, on a mentionné le rôle décisif de Démétrios de Gadara dans la reconstruction de sa cité. Mais son rôle ne dut pas se limiter à sa cité, ni même aux villes de Décapole, puisqu'il avait été honoré à Antioche.⁷⁹ Il est vrai qu'il apparaît bien davantage comme l'ami de Pompée que comme un riche notable Gadaréniens. En revanche, on ne sait rien d'autres grands "Syriens" amis des puissants, tel Antiochos d'Ascalon, maître de Cicéron et de Brutus, familier de Lucullus,⁸⁰ ou Philodèmos de Gadara, ami de L. Calpurnius Piso qu'il accompagne en Macédoine durant son proconsulat.⁸¹ On pourrait leur ajouter plus tard Sosibios d'Antioche, un ami d'Auguste, fondateur par testament des concours quinquennaux de cette ville,⁸² ou Théodôros de Gadara, maître de Tibère.⁸³ De même, le navarque Séleucos fils de Théodotos, citoyen de Rhosos, honoré par Octave de la citoyenneté et de divers privilèges, se trouvait en position avantageuse pour agir en protecteur de sa cité,⁸⁴ bien qu'aucun document ne le mentionne en dehors des lettres de 35-30 av. J.-C.

En réalité le rôle de relais entre les autorités romaines et les habitants de la Syrie romaine semble bien davantage rempli par les princes clients, y compris en dehors de leurs Etats. On connaît l'abondance des évergésies d'Hérode dans les villes de Syrie et de

⁷⁶ Plutarque, *Antoine*, 37, 1.

⁷⁷ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ* I, 187-188; *Bell. alex.* 1.

⁷⁸ Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XIV, 13.5 = *BJ*, I, 13, 5.

⁷⁹ Plutarque, *Pompée*, 40, 1-5; *Caton*, 13; *Julien*, VII, 9.

⁸⁰ Plutarque, *Lucullus*, 28.7; Cicéron, *Acad. Pr.*, 2, 61; cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule*, II, 1217; G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus*, p. 4 et n. 1.

⁸¹ Cicéron, *In Pisonem*, 68; *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 349; cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, p. 3; Pison fut consul en 58.

⁸² Malalas, 224.22-225.2, 248; cf. G. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 168.

⁸³ G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus*, p. 35-36.

⁸⁴ *IGLS* III, 718.

Phénicie, d'Ascalon à Antioche,⁸⁵ qui ne sont sans doute pas antérieures à Actium et ne relèvent donc pas à proprement parlé de notre sujet, mais il fournit un modèle de comportement que l'on peut avoir retrouvé ailleurs et plus tôt, même s'il est improbable que d'autres aient été aussi fastueux. On aimerait connaître, par exemple, les relations qu'entretenait Dexandros, titulaire d'une tétrarchie dans la montagne et citoyen d'Apamée, avec sa propre cité. Il est difficile d'imaginer qu'il ne se soit pas comporté en protecteur et en évergète pour elle comme, peut-être, pour d'autres cités du voisinage. En devenant grand-prêtre provincial du culte impérial, il s'obligeait à des générosités plus étendues mais, à l'inverse, c'est peut-être bien parce que sa *philotimia* l'avait mis en évidence et qu'il entretenait des relations privilégiées avec Auguste, qu'il fut chargé d'inaugurer cette fonction.

S'il existe un modèle syrien de l'administration romaine, ce n'est sans doute ni par les aspects fiscaux, ni dans le soutien accordé aux cités qu'il faut le définir. C'est bien plutôt la place prépondérante accordée aux princes clients qui en fonde l'originalité, dans une province où, tous comptes faits, les hommes d'affaires et administrateurs romains restent peu nombreux. Il est vrai que les menaces qui pèsent sur la frontière orientale de la province - et qui se traduisent par les invasions de 52-51, puis de 41-39 -, ajoutées à l'insécurité intérieure dont Pompée n'a que partiellement débarrassé le pays, n'incitent pas les Romains à s'installer en nombre ni à investir. Pourtant, la Syrie est bien loin d'être délaissée et la politique de Rome, appuyée sur tous ceux qui avaient intérêt à la paix, témoigne d'une belle continuité durant les trente premières années après l'annexion. Auguste et ses successeurs n'y changèrent rien de fondamental et finirent par obtenir dans le courant du I^{er} siècle une pacification durable, plus propice à l'installation définitive de colons romains.

Annexe:

Les gouverneurs de la Syrie romaine sous la république (64-31)

- Aemilius Scaurus (*RE* s.v. Aemilius 141), légat de Pompée durant la guerre contre les pirates, laissé comme gouverneur de Syrie lors du départ de Pompée en 62, mais sans mandat explicite du Sénat. Edile en 58, préteur en 56.
- L. Marcius Philippus (*RE* s.v. Marcius 76), né vers 80, préteur en 62 avec César, gouverneur en 61-60, cos. 56 avec Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, son successeur à la tête de la Syrie.

⁸⁵ Flavius Josèphe, *BJ*, I, 422-425: "Après d'aussi nombreuses fondations, il déploya ses libéralités également au bénéfice de très nombreuses cités étrangères: pour Tripolis, Damas et Ptolémaïs, il fit construire des gymnases; pour Byblos un rempart; pour Bérytos et pour Tyr des exèdres, des portiques, des temples et des places publiques; pour Sidon et Damas, des théâtres; pour Laodicée-sur-Mer un aqueduc; Ascalon, des thermes, des fontaines luxueuses, outre des colonnades étonnantes par leur perfection et leurs dimensions. Pour certaines cités, il dédia des bois sacrés et des prairies; beaucoup reçurent de lui des territoires, comme si elles faisaient partie de son royaume. (...) Et la grande rue d'Antioche-de-Syrie, que la boue rendait impraticable, ne l'a-t-il pas fait paver en marbre poli sur toute sa longueur, qui était de soixante stades, et n'y a-t-il pas construit un portique d'égale longueur contre la pluie?" Il accorda encore des remises de dettes ou des exemptions de taxes à Balaneaia.

- Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (*RE* s.v. Cornelius 228), préteur en 60, gouverneur 59-58, cos. 56 avec son prédécesseur L. Marcius Philippus.
- A. Gabinius (*RE* s.v. Gabinius 11), cos. 58, arrive en Syrie au printemps 57; rappelé au printemps 55.
- M. Licinius Crassus, cos. 70, cos. II 55, se voit affecter la Syrie pour 5 ans, à partir de l'automne 55. Son gouvernement prend fin avec sa mort à Carrhai en 53.
- C. Cassius Longinus (*RE* s.v. Cassius 59), questeur de Crassus en 53, assure l'interim de celui-ci après la mort de chef à Carrhai en 53.
- M. Calpurnius Bibulus (*RE* s.v. Calpurnius 28), cos. 59, arrive en Syrie en octobre 51, et quitte la province en octobre 50.
- Veiento (*RE* s.v. Veiento 2), légat de Bibulus, laissé par celui-ci à son départ.
- Cn. Domitius Calvinus (*RE* s.v. Domitius 43), en place à la fin de la guerre d'Alexandrie: "D. Calvinus à qui César avait remis l'administration de la Syrie et des régions avoisinantes" (*Bellum alex.*, 34).
- Sextus Iulius Caesar, parent de Jules César, laissé comme gouverneur de la Syrie après le départ de celui-ci en juin-juillet 47. Assassiné peu après à la suite de manoeuvres de Q. Caecilius Bassus.
- Q. Cornificius (*RE* s.v. Cornificius 8) questeur 48, préteur 47 ou plutôt 45, nommé pour remplacer Sextus Iulius César (Cicéron, *ep.* 570) et lutter contre Q. Caecilius Bassus.
- C. Antistius Vetus (*RE* s.v. Antistius 47). Tribun de la plèbe en 56, assiège Q. Caecilius Bassus à Apamée en 45; encore en place en octobre 44 (Cicéron, *ep.* 728.3). Cos. suff. en 30.
- L. Staius Murcus (*RE* s.v. Staius 2), préteur en 45, propréteur de Syrie en 44, remplace Antistius (*BJ* I, 217, 224) et se rallie à Cassius (*BJ* I, 219); n'est pas encore arrivé en mars 44.
- P. Cornelius Dolabella (*RE* s.v. Cornelius 141), cos. 43, nommé par Octave et Antoine pour 43; arrive en Syrie alors que Cassius s'y trouve déjà. Echoue à entrer dans Antioche et s'enferme dans Laodicée.
- L. Decidius Saxa (*RE* s.v. Decidius 4), nommé par Antoine après la bataille de Philippi pour diriger la Syrie en 41; en place lors de l'invasion parthe de 40, chassé d'Antioche et exécuté en Cilicie par les Parthes dans la même année.
- P. Ventidius Bassus (*RE* s.v. Ventidius 5), tribun en 46, préteur en 43, gouverneur de Syrie en 39-37, aide Hérode à libérer la Judée et monte une expédition contre Malichos de Pétra, accusé d'avoir aidé les Parthes. Obtient le triomphe en 38.
- C. Sosius (*RE* s.v. Sosius 2), peut-être questeur en 49, nommé par Antoine comme gouverneur de 38 à 35 (*AJ* XIV, 447; Dion Cassius, 49, 22, 3), il gouverne aussi la Cilicie; cos. 32 avec Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
- L. Munatius Plancus (*RE* s.v. Munatius 30), cos. 42, nommé gouverneur de Syrie comme légat d'Antoine en 35.
- L. Calpurnius Bibulus (*RE* s.v. Calpurnius 27), fils du gouverneur de 51-50, préteur désigné en 34, gouverneur en 34-32, mort en fonction.
- Q. Didius (*RE* s.v. Didius 4), fait brûler la flotte d'Antoine en Mer Rouge,⁸⁶ et arrête les gladiateurs antonins et les installe à Daphné à l'automne 31.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Dion Cassius, 51, 7, 1.

⁸⁷ Dion Cassius 51, 7, 4-6; Flavius Josèphe, *AJ*, XV, 195; *BJ*, I, 392.

Honorific Inscriptions for Roman Senators in the Greek East during the Empire

Some Aspects (with Special Reference to Cursus Inscriptions)

Olli Salomies

I. Introduction¹

The aim of this article is to examine some aspects of the inscriptions honouring Roman senators, or, to be more precise, the inscriptions attached to the monuments set up in honour of Roman senators. The focus will be on inscriptions honouring senators for some reason other than the fact that the honorand was the relative of someone; inscriptions honouring, for instance, sons of governors will thus not primarily concern us here, unless the sons had an official status of sorts and/or were described as *euergetai* or *klistai* or as something other on these lines, which probably indicates at least some sort of independent activity. Inscriptions set up in honour of senatorial women (wives of governors, etc.) will also be excluded from this article, although it is true that their existence in some cases illustrates the phenomenon of honouring governors and other senators, inasmuch as one can, for example, deduce the existence of a (now lost) monument in honour of a governor from an inscription honouring the same man's wife (cf. below n. 65). In addition to this restriction concerning wives and children, the focus will be on the formulations of the inscriptions rather than, e.g., on the archaeological aspects of the monuments themselves, although it is quite clear to me that these aspects are of the utmost importance not only intrinsically but also because the archaeological aspects of a monument may, and in fact often do, have an influence on the formulations of the inscription attached to it. If there is, for instance, often a difference between the formulations of an inscription set up in the middle of a *forum* or of an *agorá*, and those of an inscription set up in the house of a senator by a slave, this is, of course, only what one would expect. As for the period this paper deals with, I shall concentrate on the period between Augustus and about the middle of the third century, my reasons for this being, on one hand, the fact that the Republican material from the Greek East has been dealt with by earlier scholars;² furthermore, since special attention is being directed towards *cursus* inscriptions - inscriptions enumerating the stages of the honorand's career - it seemed sufficient to take into consideration only the period in which inscriptions of this type are attested, that is from the Augustan period

¹ The following works will be referred by the use of an abbreviation: Halfmann, *Senatoren* = H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.* (Hypomnemata 58, 1979); Tuchelt = K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien. Teil I: Roma und Promagistrate. Ist. Mitt. Beih. 23* (1979); PFOS = M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier - IIe siècles)* (1987). The epigraphical publications are quoted in the traditional way, for instance the volumes of the series *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* by combining "I." (for in this case "Inschriften") with the key word (e.g. "Ephesos"); only in the case of Side the reference to the volume by J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum* is made by the use of the abbreviation "Nollé, Side", in order to avoid a possible confusion with G.E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side* (1965).

² See especially M.-J. Payne, *Aretas heneken. Honors to Romans and Italians in Greece from 260 to 27 B.C.* (Diss. Ann Arbor 1987); and now J. Tanner, 'Portraits, Power and Patronage', *JRS* 90 (2000) 18-50, with many references to earlier literature.

onwards. On the other hand, it seemed opportune to exclude the late-antique material from the later third century onwards, as this enables one to work on a material of some coherence. From the introduction of some novel aspects and formulations into the honorific inscriptions of the later period - especially the shift to the use of versified inscriptions, a phenomenon by no means limited to honorific inscriptions (building inscriptions come to mind) it follows that the late material belongs to a genre of its own, not in every way comparable to the earlier material. The late material pertaining to provincial governors has also been dealt with recently in a very complete and competent fashion by M. Horster.³ As for the definition of 'Greek East' in this paper, after having pondered upon this matter with some care, I have arrived at the conclusion that the most useful approach to the question is to concentrate on 'civilian' provinces, by which I mean provinces without a legionary garrison,⁴ my reason for this being the fact that the presence of a sizeable army introduces some special features into the epigraphical record of the province, especially to that referring to various aspects of the Roman administration. It obviously being of some use to concentrate on areas which are more or less comparable to each other, I have thus decided to omit the 'military' provinces (as defined above) and to deal with only the following eastern provinces: Achaia, Epirus, Macedonia, Thracia, Asia, Bithynia-Pontus, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Creta-Cyrenae. Of course I know that, at some point of the period under review here, some of the above provinces belonged to 'military' areas (Galatia for instance being combined at times with Cappadocia), but this does not affect the overall picture and I am in any case thinking of the 'normal' situation during the earlier Empire.

By omitting the Eastern⁵ provinces, Moesia inferior and the provinces from Cappadocia to Egypt, from consideration in this paper, I am of course not implying that they represent a uniform group. Civilized urban life of the normal Eastern Roman type is well represented in the epigraphy of (say) Moesia inferior, whereas the second- and third-century epigraphy in Arabia (part of the Roman empire only from AD 106 onwards) very clearly concentrates on aspects of the Roman administration. However, the presence of Roman legions always introduces a special accent into the epigraphy of any province, and so I think I can be excused if I prefer to deal with only the group of 'civilian' eastern provinces. Furthermore, the inclusion of the 'military' provinces would not have much impact on the numbers of texts to be taken under inspection; my subject being inscriptions in honour of senators, I would not really gain much by extending the geographical scope, as have been able to locate only very few honorific inscriptions in the 'military' provinces (Cappadocia, for instance, seems to have produced only four texts.⁶) It seems notable that

³ M. Horster, 'Ehrungen spätantiker Statthalter', *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998) 37-59.

⁴ However, one must note that minor military units were normally stationed even in provinces without legionary garrisons; cf. M. Sartre, *L'orient romain* (1991) 74 (and more generally, regarding proconsular provinces, W. Eck, 'Prokonsuln mit militärischem Kommando. Folgerungen aus Diplomen für prokonsuläre Provinzen', in: Id. & H. Wolff [eds.], *Heer und Integrationspolitik* [1986] 518-34 = Id., *Die Verwaltung des röm. Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge*, 2. Bd. [1997] 187-202). However, this fact does not influence the epigraphy of the province in general. (Note that in some cases the existence of garrisons has been disclosed by military diplomas, not by inscriptions in the same provinces.)

⁵ An 'eastern' province is here (as always) defined as a province in the East in which Greek was the predominant language, this in practice meaning the provinces southeast of Dalmatia, Moesia superior and Dacia and east of the province of Africa. (For the language border between Latin and Greek see A.D. Rizakis, in: H. Solin & al. [eds.], *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae ... 1991 habiti* [1995] 373f.). Greek-speaking areas in the West - most importantly Sicily - belong to a different category.

⁶ *IGR* iii 125 cf. *AS* 18 (1968) 94 no. 1; *AE* 1964, 4 = *AS* 18, 1968, 96 no. 1.02; *AE* 1909, 19; *SEG* xl 1314; *Studia Pontica* iii (1910) 244 no. 271.

this fact does not necessarily depend only on chance, but also perhaps on the so-called epigraphic habit; certainly it seems striking that, although e.g. Satala in Cappadocia has produced large numbers of inscriptions of soldiers, no inscriptions honouring Roman officials seem to have been found to date. (Note also that all the Cappadocian texts mentioned in n. 6 come from a civilian context.) On the other hand, the situation may also depend on other circumstances, e.g. on the fact that not all relevant material has been published; for instance, in addition to *AE* 1974, 650f., honorific inscriptions for senators from Apamea in Syria (a producer of a great number of inscriptions of soldiers) can be extracted only from various references in works not dedicated to the publication of inscriptions.⁷ Moreover, once the promised corpus of inscriptions from Caesarea is published, things will no doubt change, at least in the case of this city.

Of course, things are quite different in Arabia, where inscriptions, many of them set up by soldiers, honouring senators - Roman governors and in some cases their sons - have been found (and published) in great numbers both at Bostra and at Gerasa.⁸ But the fact that there is quite a lot of material in Roman Arabia does not really affect the assumption made above that it is not really useful to compare 'military' provinces to 'civilian' provinces, at least when discussing a subject such as mine. In any case, whenever useful, I have referred to material from outside the provinces under inspection.

II. Some Formal Aspects of, and General Questions related to, Honorific inscriptions

The original Greek form of honouring an individual was in the form of an honorific decree. The Greek honorific inscription, introduced around the turn of the third and second centuries BC, may be seen as representing a development of the honorific decree, it being, if seen in a simplistic way, a sort of summary or abstract of the main contents of a decree, although, in fact, things are not quite that simple.⁹ In any case, by the end of the Hellenistic period, the honorific inscription is the normal (though not the only¹⁰) type for honouring individuals, and in the case of Roman senators in the period under consideration here, it is practically the only type, although one can also locate a

⁷ J. C. Balty, in *ANRW* ii 8 (1977) 122 n. 127; Id., *JRS* 78 (1988) 93f.

⁸ For new relevant inscriptions from Bostra see M. Sartre, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Ἐπιγραφαί. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini* (2000) 971-990. And note that H.M. Cotton, in: Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome sous le haut-empire* vol. I (Lyon 2000) 354-6, suggests that *Gerasa* 435 no. 171 could be a cursus inscription, set up by soldiers of the *legio VI Ferrata* in honour of a legate of Arabia, perhaps Q. Corelius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus.

⁹ See G. Gerlach, *Griechische Ehreninschriften* (Halle 1908) I. 107-110 (p. 109 for the date of the introduction of the genre), and, above all, the extraordinary exposition of F. Gschnitzer, *Zwischen Denkmal und Urkunde. Kaiserzeitliche Neuerungen im Formular der Psephismata*, in: R. Günther and S. Rebenich (eds.), *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften* (Festschrift H. Chantraine, 1994) 281ff. On the formulations of the Hellenistic decrees, observe M. Wörle, 'Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum 'gestreßten' Euergeten. Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete', in: Id. and P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (Vestigia 47, 1995), 241ff. Note that, although decrees are also inscriptions, the term 'honorific inscription' is here used to denote the *Ehreninschriften* as contrasted to decrees.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. T.B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (1971) no. 76-83 for a series of honorific decrees of imperial date; or e.g. *IGR* iv 144-146, decrees from Cyzicus in honour of 'queen' Antonia Tryphaena (*PIR*² A 900) from the time of Tiberius and Gaius.

smallish number of inscriptions of the decree type.¹¹ These few instances will not be considered in this paper.

Another formal aspect which I will have to refer to at this point is the question of verse inscriptions. There are some early instances from the fifth and fourth centuries BC, but before approximately the time of Diocletian this type is extremely rare, becoming (as mentioned above) common (in fact, very common) only after this period.¹² The appearance of verse inscriptions in this period was mentioned above as one of the reasons for excluding the later period from the considerations presented here. However, the fact that there are also some verse inscriptions from my period cannot be concealed, and it is fair to add a few references to (possible) verse honorific inscriptions before Diocletian in a footnote at this point where I shall be leaving these texts for good.¹³

So the bottom line at this point is that although there are some honorific decrees, and some honorific inscriptions in verse from this period, these represent marginal groups which I shall not consider any more in this paper. This observation allows me to move on to other topics to be treated here. I shall have a look at the cases in which the honorand's name is rendered; then I shall briefly turn to inscriptions not designating senators as such; and finally I shall have to say a few words about the relation of honorific inscriptions to funerary ones.

First, as for the case used for the honorand's name, let us start with the only case other than the accusative and the dative attested in my material, that is the nominative. Now the use of the nominative¹⁴ is, of course, not really difficult to explain, as it can be viewed

¹¹ Note e.g. the following: *FD* iii 4, 438 (Augustan, honouring a proconsul); *SEG* xxiii 206 = *AE* 1967, 458 (decree in honour of P. Cornelius Scipio, quaestor of Achaia in c. AD 1 or 2; on the identity of the honorand cf. R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* [1986] 59, 252); *IGR* i 1024 = J. Reynolds in J.A. Lloyd & al. (eds.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish. Benghazi (Berenice)* vol. I (1987) 244f. no. 17 (a decree by the Jews of Berenice in honour of a legate(?) of Creta-Cyrenae in (probably) AD 24); *IGR* iv 1410 = *I. Smyrna* 591 (decree in honour of a Neronian proconsul of Asia); *FD* iii 4, 47 (decree in honour of C. Caristanius Iulianus, proconsul of Achaia in AD 98); *Bull. ép.* 1999, 210: references to Athenian decrees of the Severan period honouring the local senator M. Ulpianus Eubiotus Leurus. (The reconstruction of an Athenian decree in honour of Fulvius Plautianus the pretorian prefect by J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 19 (1941) 85-90 no. 37 is thought of as impossible by J. & L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1944, 82 [p. 204]).

¹² Cf. Gerlach, *op. cit.* (n. 9) 103-6.

¹³ Some instances dated, correctly or not, to a period preceding Diocletian: *Corinth* 8, 3, 129 (Herodes Atticus?); *I. Olympia* 352 (a Mod[estus], proconsul of Achaia?); *Corinth* 8, 1, 89 (a proconsul, perhaps before the middle of the third century); *IG* ii/iii² 4218 ("s. iii p."; cf. S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et III^e siècle* [1976] 40); C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* (1941) no. 477 = *AE* 1948, 197 (about Severan, honouring a senator of Rhodian origin; cf. *ibid.* no. 472ff.); T.B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (1971) no. 89 = *AE* 1975, 823 (Poplicola Priscus, apparently a governor of the third century); *IGR* iii 883 cf. *Bull. ép.* 1950, 206. 1965, 210 (Tarsus, said to be probably Severan [not rejected by *PIR*² H 83], although note the *signa*). Then there is also a text from Sparta, *IG* v 1, 540 (set up by the daughter of the honorand), which seems to be not later than the *constitutio Antoniniana* (cf. Thomasson, *op. cit.* [n. 11] 200 no. 89); by the way, it is normally assumed that Χαρείσιον (in: τὸν κλυτὸν ἡγεμονῆα Χαρείσιον ἄνθετο κούρα Σπάρτας ἁ πρώτα, Πηνελόπεια νέα) is the name of the daughter, not that of the father in the accusative (thus E. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* [1939] 86f.; Thomasson, *loc. cit.*; A.J. Spawforth, *ABSA* 79 [1984] 276f.), and it seems this must be true (one could also add the reason that, by taking Χαρείσιον to go with ἄνθετο κούρα, not with ἡγεμονῆα, a feminine caesura is produced, a most satisfactory result). It is true that with this interpretation the ἡγεμών / ἡγεμονεύς is left nameless, but a stone with his name may be missing.

¹⁴ Gerlach, *op. cit.* (n. 9) 30; Horster, *art. cit.* (n. 3) 38 n. 3. (Add e.g. *I. Olympia* 473 = *SIG*³ 882 of AD 212/213, in honour of a woman.) Cf. Gerlach p. 30f. for the genitive, of which I have found no instances in my material. There is also a rare type, not mentioned by Gerlach (and not appearing in my material), consisting of ὑπέρ followed by a name in the genitive, and ending in a dedication to a deity

as the definition of the person honoured by the statue the inscription is attached to.¹⁵ If the name accompanies a monument which is meant to honour an individual, the inscription can be seen as representing the category of honorific inscriptions, although it is true that all of the texts present features not normal in honorific inscriptions of the usual type and come from a special context. In my material, I have encountered the nominative being used in the following inscriptions:¹⁶ (1) *AE* 1965, 212 = *I. Perge* 108 and 109: inscriptions on statue bases of M. Plancius Varus, father of Plancia Magna, and of C. Plancius Varus, Magna's brother; both inscriptions start with κτίστης followed by the name in the nominative, and finish off with Περγαῖος. Here we are dealing with statues belonging to the series of statues of κτίσται (op. cit. no. 101ff., starting with Calchas), the inscriptions of which all have the same form.¹⁷ (2) *AE* 1979, 595 = *SEG* xxix 741 = B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* iii (1990) 65 no. 56 = G. Labarre, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale* (1996) 300f. no. 43 (Mytilene, large block now in the yard of the museum): the name, offices and other distinctions and achievements of the consul (in AD 115) M. Pompeius Macrinus, a man of local origin; though the text is fragmentary in the end, the formulations seem to imply that the stone was set up not by the man himself, but by someone else and meant to honour Macrinus.¹⁸ (3) *CIL* iii 12116 = 13618 = *ILS* 1050 = A. Dupont-Sommer – L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala* (1964) 54: the name (in the nominative and career of [P. Cassius?] Dexter, legate of Cilicia in the middle of the second century; this Latin text is followed by a Greek epigram, in which the doctor Lucius addresses himself to the local goddess and asks her ἡγεμονῆα τεὸν σῶόν τε φύλασσε καὶ κλεινὴν ὑπατον πέμψον ἐς Εἰταλίην. Having mentioned his name and

(mentioned in the dative). In some instances these texts might be thought of as representing a sub-class of honorific inscriptions; *I. Cret.* ii 19, 2 (Ptolemy III and Berenice) is certainly treated in M. Guarducci, *Epigrafi greca* ii (1969) ii 147 under the "dediche onorarie pubbliche", and the phrase εὐνοίας ἔνεκα adds an honorific touch to the Vespasianic inscription from Rhodes, *AE* 1987, 932 = *SEG* xxxvi 744: ὁ δᾶμος ὁ 'Ροδίων / ὑπὲρ / 'Οφιλίου Μακέδονος ἐπιτρόπον ... Σεβαστοῦ εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. Θεοῖς. There are also inscriptions in which governors of provinces are included in a group, introduced by ὑπέρ, consisting of the emperor, his family, the senate, etc. (e.g. *IGBulg.* ii 615. 660), but these belong, of course, to a different category.

¹⁵ The nominative is naturally also the normal case used in Latin honorific inscriptions of the *elogium* type.

¹⁶ Cf. n. 14; for a funerary inscription of a senator using the nominative see *CIL* III 7339 = *AE* 1948, 20 from Philippi (note that the name and career in the nominative are followed in the end by *C. Iulius ... fratri piissimo f(aciendum) c(uravit)*). Note furthermore that the inscription of the funerary monument of Philopappus on the Hill of the Muses in Athens (Th. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia* [1989] 380f. no. B13; R.R.R. Smith, *JRS* 68 [1998] 70-73), built by Philopappus himself, uses the nominative (*CIL* iii 552 = *ILS* 845). - Normally of course inscriptions in which a name appears in the nominative (e.g. building or votive inscriptions) refer to something done by the man himself. For inscriptions of this type in which the career or at least several offices are enumerated, cf. e.g. *I. Ephesos* 17-19 (edict of Paullus Fabius Persicus); *ILS* 8821 = *IGR* iii 615 = *TAM* ii 282 (Xanthos); *I. Ephesos* 5106, 5107; and W. Eck, 'Statuendekanten und Selbstdarstellungen in den römischen Städten', in: *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de M. Le Glay* (Collection Latomus vol. 226, 1994) 550-62 (in Italian in W. Eck, *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati* [Vetere 10, 1996] 346-57).

¹⁷ S. Sahin in the commentary on no. 109 assumes that both Plancii may have been already dead at the time of the dedication of the monument.

¹⁸ Note especially [---- ὑπὲρ τῶν διατηρήσιος καὶ συναυξήσιος τῶν τε ἐλευθερία[ς ----] in line 12. This inscription is designated as an "Ehreninschrift" by B.E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* (1996) 56.

occupation he goes on by saying τόδε σοὶ βρέτας οὗ ἐτάροιο Δ ἑξτρου καὶ τούτους ὁκτῶ ἔδωκε τύπους. (The βρέτας of Dexter being given to the goddess, we are dealing with a situation similar to that in the next example.) The doctor thus set up a statue of the governor.¹⁹ (4) *IG* ii/iii² 4780 cf. J.H. Oliver, *AJA* 45 (1941) 540; M. Mitsos, *AD* 22 (1967) Chr. p. 14 no. 1 (a small - 23x17x12 as preserved - statue base in the Epigraphical Museum) "Κλαύδι[ος Σεου]ήρος / δις ὕπατος (AD 173), [κ]ηδεστῆς / Αὐτοκράτο[ρ]ος Ἀντωνίνου Γερμ[α]νικοῦ / ὁ ἀνάθεις τῇ θεῷ [Ἡρῶ]δης.²⁰

As for the use of the dative in Greek inscriptions and of the accusative in Latin ones, I must start by saying that both cases seem to be fairly rare, the share of Greek texts using the dative and the Latin texts using the accusative being minimal if compared to the whole of the material. Both cases can no doubt be explained as being influenced by habits practised in the other language, although this observation does not take us very far. It is more instructive to observe that two Greek inscriptions honouring the same man but from different places both use the dative (and are also otherwise practically identical), namely two inscriptions set up in honour of the son of Valerius Asiaticus, proconsul of Asia in c. 108, one from Samos and the other from Ephesus (*IGR* iv 960 = *IG* xii, 6, 1, 381; *I. Ephesos* 695B). The identical formulations of the text and the use of the dative in both inscriptions must mean that the text to be inscribed must have been supplied to the dedicators by the honorand himself.²¹ Perhaps this is the explanation also in some of the other instances. In any case, if one looks at accusatives in Latin inscriptions, one observes that they are found mainly in two cities, in Ephesus (only in inscriptions set up by individuals)²² and in Corinth,²³ which does not come as a surprise, as these cities are

¹⁹ Cf. E. Groag, *PIR*² C 490; Dupont-Sommer - Robert, op. cit. 51. However, R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* (1997) 582 n. 29 assumes, because of the use of the nominative, that "das Weihegeschenk im Namen des Statthalters von seinem Arzt gestiftet worden ist".

²⁰ The inscription is referred to as honorific by Oliver, *loc. cit.*; Follet, op. cit. (n. 13) 37; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* ii (1983) 178ff. no. 187. The goddess is, of course, Pallas Athene (Mitsos).

²¹ No doubt one can apply the same explanation to the fact that a Flavian proconsul of Cyprus is honoured by Greek inscriptions using the dative both in Curium and in Salamis (below n. 29). On the other hand, note that, from the three Greek inscriptions from Ancyra in honour of the legate of Galatia (in 138), C. Iulius Scapula, *IGR* iii 176, 177, 178, the first two use the accusative but the third (no. 178) the dative, at the same time being very similar to 177 whereas 176 has features of its own (cf. below n. 263).

²² *I. Ephesos* 620 (a bilingual inscription set up by Vibius Salutaris in honour of a man from Xanthus; note that in the very end the Greek text lapses into the use of the dative); 664 (3rd century, set up by a *strator*; also 3089, in honour of the same man); 718 (set up by a *cliens*); 811add. (set up by Flavius Damianus); 1543 (*CIL* iii 6076 = *ILS* 1095, set up by two individuals *honoris causa*; at the end, the text lapses into the use of the dative, perhaps influenced by the many datives ending in -o in the indication of the vigintivirate). Note also how the sepulchral inscription of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (*ILS* 8971 = *I. Ephesos* 5103), formulated in the dative, ends with *Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus patrem suum*. (For a general overview of the Latin inscriptions of Ephesus see E. Weber, in: H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger [eds.], *100 Jahre österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* [Öst. Ak. d. Wiss., Denkschr. 260, 1999] 139ff.) - For *ILS* 8970 = *Milet* i 5, 53f. no. 1 (not an honorific inscription) see G. Alföldy, *REA* 100 (1998) 367ff.

²³ *CIL* iii 7270 (fragmentary); *Corinth* viii 2, 56. 57; *ibid.* 3, 126 (set up by the city); B.E. Thomasson, *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections* (1997) no. 165; F. Grelle, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Ἐπιγραφαί. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasparini* I (2000) 455-62 (probably from Corinth and set up perhaps by the city; cf. below n. 205).

important suppliers of Latin honorific inscriptions. Otherwise there are only scattered, mainly latish, instances which do not lend themselves to any useful interpretation.²⁴

As for the dative in Greek inscriptions, in some early instances the use of the dative is explained by the presence of a cult concerning the honorand.²⁵ In an instance from Nicaea, the dative depends on the use of the most uncommon expression εὐ[χα]ρισ[τ]εῖ (*Museum Iznik* i 53, 54).²⁶ Otherwise, there are some examples in Ephesus,²⁷ Lycia²⁸ and Cyprus,²⁹ and scattered instances in other places, the explanation of all of them probably being the influence of Latin practices, sometimes no doubt transmitted by the honorand himself (cf. above at n. 21).³⁰

Now I shall turn to inscriptions honouring senators which omit any mention of the senatorial status of the honorand. Looking at the material, it appears that this phenomenon is attested in mainly two groups of inscriptions, on one hand in early texts honouring various Romans, outside Athens often simply designated as patrons (in Athens references

²⁴ *CIL* iii 12241 = *IGR* iv 778 = Tuchelt p. 136 (Apamea in Phrygia, Augustan; set up by three men from nearby Metropolis; the Latin text is preceded by the Greek one); *I. Perge* 154; *CIL* iii 13639 (Iconium); *I. Central Pisidia* 44 (Cremna); *CIL* iii 252 = 6754 (Ancyra). Cf. e.g. *CIL* iii 6885 (Hadrian honoured in Comama in Pisidia); *CIL* iii 251 = *ILS* 1373 (an equestrian in Ancyra); *CIL* iii 90 = *IGLS* xiii 9078 (a third-century governor in Bostra).

²⁵ *I. Mylasa* 410 (C. Marcius Censorinus cos. 8 BC and proconsul of Asia; note the verb καθιέρωσαν and the reference to the Κ[η]νσὸν ἱεῖα); *IGR* iv 963 = *OGI* 469 = *IG* xii, 6, 1, 365 (C. Vibius Postumus cos. AD 5 and likewise proconsul of Asia, the monument being an altar from near Pythagorio; note the commentary of Hallof in *IG*: "Ex ἡρώεω colligitur Vibium post mortem honoratum esse ... titulus non est honorarius, sed spectat ad sacra quaedam a Samiis in Vibii ara instituta"). For "honours culturels décernés à des magistrats romains" see now J.-L. Ferrary, in: M. Christol & O. Masson (eds.), *Actes de Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (1992), Paris 1997, 216-8. - The "honours culturels" of course explain the use - fairly common - of the dative in inscriptions in honour of emperors.

²⁶ Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 58-62 (this instance being mentioned on p. 60). - Note furthermore another special case, *IG* ii/iii² 3700 (referring to the Athenian senator M. Ulpius Eubiotus and his sons), inscribed in the theatre of Dionysus on a "sella marmorea" to be used by the senator.

²⁷ *I. Ephesos* 734 (in a bilingual text, the Greek being preceded by the Latin); 1535 (fragmentary). Cf. Valerius Asiaticus' son, above at n. 21.

²⁸ *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii 129f. no. 49 = *AE* 1981, 829 (on p. 130 Balland observes that the text is written "au datif "honorifique" sous l'influence de l'usage latin"); *ibid.* 136 no. 51 = *AE* 1981, 831; *ILS* 8818 = *IGR* iii 551 = *OGI* 560 = *TAM* ii 563 (Tlos).

²⁹ *AE* 1956, 186 (Paphus); *I. Kourion* 87 (= *AE* 1975, 821); *ibid.* 88 (= *AE* 1975, 822); *Salamine de Chypre* xiii (1987) 55 no. 123 (the same man as in *I. Kourion* 87).

³⁰ *IGR* iv 1508 = *Sardis* vii 1 (1932) no. 36 (a proconsul of Asia in the time of Tiberius; set up by a private person); *IGR* iv 524 = *OGI* 476 (Dorylaeum, set up by the city in honour of a Vespasianic proconsul); *Museum Iznik* ii 1204, 1205 (L. Catilius Severus honoured perhaps in his country residence, cf. n. 206); *AE* 1958, 15 (Argos, soon after 169); *IGR* iii 392 = *I. Central Pisidia* 152 (Severan or later). Cf. also the case from Ancyra (above n. 21) and e.g. *ILS* 1103a = *IGR* i 931 = *CIL* viii 7052 = *ILAlg.* ii 636, a Greek inscription set up in Rome (but later moved to Cirta) in honour of the legate of Arabia by the city of Adraa, and (from an earlier period) *OGI* 477 (Delos). - Cf. on the use of datives in Greek inscriptions and accusatives in Latin ones also P. Veyne, *Latomus* 21 (1962) 68-75; M. Crawford, in P. Garnsey & C. Whittaker (eds.) *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (1978) 196.

are more often made to *euergesia*, *arete*, etc., although often just the name is given³¹), and on the other in later texts honouring eastern senators of local origin, who are referred to as holders of local offices or as benefactors of varying merits. In the latter group, the establishment of the fact that we are dealing with senators is not a grave problem, as there is not normally a problem about the identity of the honorand and as his status can be deduced from other sources; the same goes for many cases in the first group. However, there are also cases in which the fact that an honorand is a senator must be inferred almost on the basis of his nomenclature alone. For instance, Sex. Vibidius Virro (honoured by the *demos* in *IG* ii/iii² 4161) and M. Titius L. f. (honoured in Eleusis in *IG* ii/iii² 4202) have names which look senatorial, and may in fact both be identified with senators known from other sources. I have thus classified the above texts as inscriptions honouring senators.³² For other early - mainly Augustan - inscriptions from Athens which omit a reference to the senatorial status of the honorand, note *IG* ii/iii² 4123 (Agrippa designated as εὐεργέτης), 4124, 4128, 4129, 4131, 4132 (4128ff. being inscriptions honouring Paullus Fabius Maximus cos. 11 BC, to which *SEG* xxiii 122 should perhaps be added), 4135, 4137, 4139, 4140, 4144, 4145, 4149, 4173; *ID* 1605 (from Delos but set up by the *demos* of the Athenians).³³ The explanation for the fairly large number of texts from Athens seems to be that, because of the special status of Athens, many Roman senators were honoured there not as officials in the province, but for various other reasons (the same explanation also goes for the Julio-Claudian inscriptions of this type; for Romans in Athens cf. P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* [1927] 55ff.; Id., *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* [1931] 29ff.). For further early inscriptions of this type from other places note *IGR* iv 1719 = *IG* xii, 6, 1, 362 (Samos, the proconsul of Asia, Sex. Appuleius, described only as 'patron'; *AE* 1993, 1476 (Ephesus; perhaps triumphal); I. Ephesus 3435 (Metropolis; a proconsul); *Tuchelt* p. 148 (Halicarnassus; Q. Lepidus proconsul of Asia); I. *Pergamon* 421 = *OGI* 465 = *Tuchelt* p. 227 (the proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus); *ibid.* 422 = *Tuchelt* p. 228 (C. Marcius Censorinus, proconsul of Asia); *ibid.* 423 = *Tuchelt* p. 229 (the proconsul C. Antistius Vetus); *ibid.* 424 = *Tuchelt* p. 223; *ibid.* 425 = *Tuchelt* p. 230 (L. Piso, a proconsul?); *CIL* iii 12241 = *IGR* iv 778 = *Tuchelt* p. 136 (Apamea in Phrygia; the proconsul C. Antistius Vetus designated simply as 'patron' in a bilingual text); *IGR* iv 1564 = *Tuchelt* p. 245 (Teos, A. Vibius Habitus, cos. AD 8, honoured as the brother of an *euergetes* who is, in fact, proconsul); *Anc. Soc.* 27 (1996) 154 fig. 1 (Sagalassos, M. Lollius, legate of Galatia, designated as 'patron').³⁴

After the time of Tiberius, this sober type becomes extremely rare. From Athens there are also some dedications of this type from the later Julio-Claudian period (*IG* ii/iii² 4185, 4186 [a private dedication], 4189),³⁵ and at other places one finds occasional even

³¹ E.g. *IG* ii/iii² 4145 (Acropolis) 'Ο δῆμος / Γάιον 'Ανθέστιον / Γαίον ὁν Οὐτέτρα (apparently C. Antistius Vetus cos. 6 BC and proconsul of Asia). Just the name of a proconsul and no further details are given also e.g. in I. *Pergamon* 422 = *Tuchelt* p. 228.

³² On the other hand, I have excluded e.g. *IG* ii/iii² 4143, 4166, 4168, 4172 (not to speak of texts too fragmentary to be taken into consideration) honouring men with names which do not seem to imply senatorial status.

³³ I think that the reading of the name must be modified and that we are dealing here with M. Aemilius Lepidus cos. AD 6 (and not with his brother L. Paullus); I think that the following reading would be satisfactory: [Μᾶρκον Αἰ]μίλιον Παύλ[ου Λεπέ]δου υἱὸν Λέπ[εδον] (see my *Die römischen Vornamen* [1987] 320 n. 107).

³⁴ Perhaps *IGR* iv 1508 = *Sardis* vii 1 (1932) no. 36, set up by a private person to his 'friend and euergete' (the man in fact being a Tiberian proconsul) should be added to this group.

³⁵ Note also I. *Olympia* 337, a private dedication set up in honour of P. Memmius Regulus (governing Greece in the years 35 to 44, but designated simply as *euergetes*), by the same man who set up the

later instances, of which *CIL* iii 6817 = *ILS* 998 (from Pisidian Antioch),³⁶ *TAM* ii 133. 134; *Opusc. Ath.* 9 (1969) 76³⁷ and *IG* vii 2879 (the *boule* and the *demos* of Coronea honouring Πόπλιον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανόν, that is, Hadrian before he was emperor; cf. below n. 178) are perhaps the most striking ones. But normally one finds in this period references to senatorial status being omitted mainly in the case of local notables and benefactors whose senatorial status, known by all, did not necessarily have to be pointed out on every occasion. Thus one finds the senator from Xanthus, M. Arruntius Claudianus (probably to be dated to the time of Trajan), known from many inscriptions from Xanthus, referred to simply as πάτρωνα [καὶ εὐ]εργέτην and αἰεὶ προπρεσβεύσαντα τ[ῆ]ι πατρίδι³⁸ in two of them (*Fouilles de Xanthos* vii no. 55. 56 = *AE* 1981, 800. 801). In *IG* v 1, 971 from Asopos in Laconia, C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus, the first senator from Sparta,³⁹ is designated simply as ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀπὸ προγόνων; in *AE* 1994, 1606 from Sparta, his name only is mentioned.⁴⁰ In the latest inscription honouring A. Iulius Quadratus from Pergamum (cos. II 105), *Altertümer von Pergamon* viii 3 no. 20 from after AD 120,⁴¹ set up by the local *boule* and the *demos*, Quadratus is described only as ἀρχιερατεύσαντα φιλοτείμως καὶ ἀξίως ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγᾶμῳ. Another senator from Pergamum, L. Cuspius Rufinus (perhaps the consul of 142), is honoured in, and by, his πατρίς because of his *arete* and his *eunoia*, no titles being added. In Perge, the local senator C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, legate of Cilicia under Hadrian, is honoured by the *boule* and the *demos* as πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν] and as the winner of all ἀθλήματα θέμιδος Οὐαρείου named after his father (*AE* 1965, 208 = *I. Perge* 128). In Ephesus, M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus (cos. 177) is honoured by a private person as γαμβρὸν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ, υἱὸν Κειωνίας Φαβίας ἀδελφῆς θεοῦ Οὐήρου (*I. Ephesos* 704, between AD 169 and 180).⁴² In Athens in the time of Severus Alexander, the

statue, with a similar inscription, of a certain C. Vaternius Pollio (*I. Olympia* 338), who must have had something to do with Q. Vaternius Pollio, proconsul of Achaia in about the same period (known from an honorific inscription from Thespieae, *AE* 1928, 47). In Olympia there are, by the way, several inscriptions which might honour senators not designated as such (e.g. *I. Olympia* 351). - *IG* xii 5, 757 (*SIG*³ 811. 812) honouring P. Glitius Gallus and his wife is a special case, as Gallus had been expelled from the senate in AD 65 and was in exile on Andros (as one learns from this inscription).

³⁶ "Cn. Pompeio / Collegae / patrono col[.] / d d." Collega was legate of Galatia-Cappadocia in the time of Vespasian.

³⁷ Inscriptions set up by the *boule* and the *demos* of Lydæ in Lycia εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκεν (not a common phrase) in honour of Iulius Marinus, Iulius Quadratus and Mettius Modestus, legates of Lycia-Pamphylia at the end of the first century; these men are designated only as *soter* and *euergetes*.

³⁸ For the meaning of this, cf. *SEG* xxxi 1316 (p. 345); J. & L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1982, 379 (who think that this inscription could date from a period when Claudianus had not yet started his career; but who would use a description like this of a young man? In this inscription, only one aspect, a most important aspect indeed, of the activities of Claudianus is emphasized).

³⁹ On whom see A.R. Birley, *ZPE* 116 (1997) 210f., 216f.

⁴⁰ Although perhaps one could think that, as he is referred to as the son of C. Iulius Laco, Eurycles is honoured as a young man.

⁴¹ For the date, see Habicht, *ibid.* p. 42.

⁴² Or rather between the early 170s and 180, if Fadilla, Quintillus' wife, was born only in 159 (thus A.R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography* (1987) 114). Cf. below n. 208.

Areopagus honoured L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, consular corrector of Achaia (and a man known from very many honorific inscriptions from the Greek East) only as τὸν ῥήτορα, adding a reference to his πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς εὐνοία and to his κηδεμονία τῶν Ἀθηναίων (IG ii/iii² 4217). No doubt Lollianus' status in Athens was not based only on the fact that he held an office in Achaia, and it seems clear that the Areopagus had decided to describe him by the use of expressions thought of as pertinent at the moment of the erection of the monument. (Note that Lollianus is praised for his oratorical talent also in *I. Smyrna* 635).⁴³ Finally, it may be pointed out that Herodes Atticus and members of his family are often found honoured in inscriptions which omit any reference to the senatorial status of the honorands;⁴⁴ but we are, of course, dealing with a family the status of which surpassed that of all other Greeks of the period and also that of any Roman official active in Achaia, and so the omission of a mention of senatorial rank is not in need of explanation.

In a study of honorific inscriptions, one question one has to deal with is that of the relation between honorific and funerary inscriptions. One also has to deal with the existence of honorific inscriptions of a "commemorative" nature, set up in honour of deceased persons. During the Roman period, this question is of extra importance because of the fact that funerary inscriptions - or at least their formulations -, especially those pertaining to persons of the higher orders, share some common features with honorific texts. For instance, both funerary and honorific inscriptions may set out the career in a similar way, and until fairly recent times the possible relevance of the distinction between the two types of inscriptions was rarely observed, funerary inscriptions of senators being often included in a vague class of "inscriptions of senators". As a result, senators who had died in their youth could be thought of as being identical with consuls and governors with the same name. It is to the credit of especially Werner Eck to have pointed out the basic importance of taking into account the nature of an inscription before using it for further study.⁴⁵ As for how to distinguish a funerary inscription from an honorific one, the distinction can be established on the basis of many different factors varying from case to case. Inscriptions coming from funerary monuments, or having the form of a funerary monument, these monuments normally being situated outside city centres and dedicated by family members, should of course be classed as funerary, whereas those inscriptions which have been set up by a public body in a public space, or, say, by a subordinate at the home of the honorand, should be viewed as honorific inscriptions. I must note here that many aspects of this question have been studied, in the case of Italian inscriptions, with

⁴³ Follet, op. cit. (n. 13) 42, noting that the consular status of the honorand is not mentioned, thinks that the inscription belongs to an earlier period, but I find this hard to believe. - Note also that M. Ulpius Eubiotus, the early-third-century Athenian senator, is referred to in an inscription in honour of his son (IG² ii/iii 3701) simply as 'euergete' and 'eponymous archon' at a time when he was already of consular status.

⁴⁴ E.g. SIG³ 859A (Delphi). 862 (Athens) (= W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* [1983] no. 103 and 202).

⁴⁵ See W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation. Developments in the Augustan Period', in: F. Millar & E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (1984) 133ff. = Id., *Tra epigrafia prosopografia e archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati* (Vetere 10, 1996) 273ff. (who observes in n. 29 [p. 155 = 288] that the inscription of a certain Ti. Latinius Pandusa, CIL xiv 2166, is a funerary inscription, which makes it impossible to identify this man with a legate of Moesia; note also e.g. CIL xiv 2607 referring to the quaestor M. Gavius T. f. Vel. Appalius Maximus: this is probably a funerary inscription (W. Eck, quoted in ZPE 53 [1983] 213), and so the man cannot be identical with a consul of AD 155 as suggested by G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 167; Id., CIL vi 8, 3 p. 4712 on no. 1556.). See also the paper of W. Eck cited in n. 50.

great care by A.M. Andermahr in a memorable monograph.⁴⁶ However, the problem is that, in many cases, one does not know enough of an inscription to establish its *genre*. In numerous cases, no information is available on the exact findspot or on the form of the epigraphical monument, and many inscriptions are so fragmentary that the dedicator remains unknown. There are also many inscriptions which do not mention a dedicator at all, this being a feature both of funerary and of honorific inscriptions. However, in the case of texts without dedicators which honour Roman officials in provincial cities, it seems that one can assume fairly safely that that these were set up by the city (often represented by e.g. the *boule* and the *demos*) itself.⁴⁷ Furthermore, although family members - wives, children, etc. - normally appear as dedicators of funerary inscriptions, one can also observe them setting up monuments which must be classed as honorific because of their position - a central space in the forum etc. Many of these monuments may be of the "commemorative" type, honouring deceased relatives, no doubt persons of merits surpassing the average. On the other hand, it appears that private persons could in some cases receive the authorization to set up honorific monuments in the public sphere for a relative still alive and well. For a recent absolutely certain example of this, although from outside the area we are examining, note the remarkable inscription from Lavinium south of Rome published by D. Nonnis.⁴⁸

Looking at inscriptions pertaining to senators from my area using either the accusative or the dative (and not simply mentioning senators as dedicators of monuments or in some other occupation), one finds that, unlike in the city of Rome, where the majority of these monuments are funerary or at least set up after the honorand's death,⁴⁹ most of the inscriptions are honorific. This is, of course, only what one would expect, for in provincial epigraphy, honorific monuments set up in public spaces for governors and other Roman officials, and later also for senators of local origin, played an important role, whereas only very few senators ever had the possibility of being honoured in a public space in Rome (honorific inscriptions from Rome mostly coming from private locations). As for funerary monuments, in the beginning one finds them only in the case of Roman officials dying on a provincial mission, funerary monuments for senators of local origin appearing only gradually with the appearance of provincial senators themselves.

There are some instances of archaeological remains of senatorial tombs.⁵⁰ However, normally the existence of funeral monuments must be deduced on the basis of inscriptions. I have already mentioned funerary inscriptions (or inscriptions pertaining to a

⁴⁶ A.M. Andermahr, *Totus in praediis. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit* (1998) 10-25.

⁴⁷ R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum* (1997) 595 n. 88.

⁴⁸ D. Nonnis, *RPAA* 68 (1995-96 [1999]) 248ff. Here the wife of an equestrian official and a local notable sets up, in AD 227/228, a statue of her husband; the inscription (*C. Servilio Quir. Diodoro v. e. ... coniugi incomparabili Egnatia Salviana eius*) could, to judge from the formulations, be funerary, but that the husband was still alive (and probably well) at the time appears clearly from the documents attached to the other sides of the statue base. (Note for instance that the honorand himself interestingly describes his wife as acting *pro sua pietate erga me*).

⁴⁹ W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 45) 133 = Id., *Tra epigrafia* etc. (n. 16) 273f.

⁵⁰ In addition to the famous funerary monument of C. Iulius Antiochus Philopappus in Athens (above n. 16), note the mausoleum of a consular, the inscription of which has not been preserved, at Attaleia (Th. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia* [1989] 373 no. B1; W. Eck, 'Rome and the Outside World: Senatorial Families and the World They Lived In, in: B. Rawson & P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy* (1997) 91 (with references). From outside the area under consideration here, note the tomb of the legate of Arabia T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus at Petra (*CIL* iii 14148, 10; K.S. Freyburger, *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 5 [1991] 1-8).

funerary monument) using the nominative.⁵¹ Now let us have a look at inscriptions using the dative or the accusative, and let us start with Latin inscriptions which are less problematic than the Greek ones; note that in all the Latin texts (except *CIL* iii 252) the whole career is described. At Ephesus, two Latin inscriptions both pertaining to legates of Asia and both lacking the mention of a dedicator, have been identified as funerary inscriptions, there being no doubt about this.⁵² Another Latin inscription referring to the burial of an official in Ephesus is *CIL* iii 429 = *I. Ephesos* 654, set up for a quaestor of Asia by his surviving son.⁵³ Then there is a Latin inscription from Ancyra, introduced by the formula *d. m.*, and mentioning the deceased in the genitive, pertaining to a young military tribune who died on his way to (probably) the Parthian war of L. Verus.⁵⁴ A legate of Galatia, L. Petronius Verus, also died in Ancyra (in AD 198), but the inscription set up for him by two beneficiarii and cornicularii, *CIL* iii 252 = 6754 = Bosch, op. cit. (n. 54) 283 no. 218, where he is referred to as already deceased by the use of the formula *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) v(irum)* is perhaps not a funerary monument *stricto sensu* but rather a commemoration.⁵⁵ All these instances pertain to officials dying during a mission, but in the case of an inscription from Philippi, where the text is inscribed on a funerary altar, we seem to be dealing with a local man.⁵⁶

Let us now move on to Greek inscriptions which, unlike the Latin ones, all belong to senators of local or at least Eastern origin; here we face some problems of interpretation. There are some texts which clearly can be regarded as funerary. Although the inscriptions from the Celsus library in Ephesus in honour of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (cos. 92), the builder of the same library (*I. Ephesos* 5101-6), are all dedicated by Celsus' descendants, they otherwise present no feature which would clearly separate them from honorific inscriptions, and five of them are on statue bases (no. 5101 is on an architrave). The fact that Celsus' sarcophagus was found in the crypt of the building shows that the inscriptions are actually part of the ornamentation of Celsus'

⁵¹ Above, n. 16 (with references to an inscription from Philippi enumerating the whole career and to that of the monument of Philipappus in Athens).

⁵² W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 50) 91 n. 56: *CIL* iii 6074 = *ILS* 975 = *I. Ephesos* 683 = Schäfer, op. cit. [n. 50] 377 no. B7 (M. Helvius Geminus); *CIL* iii 6072 = *I. Ephesos* 631 = Schäfer, op. cit. 377f. no. B8 (M. Calpurnius Rufus). Note that both monuments were found outside Ephesus on the road to Magnesia on the Maeander. (Both are in the British Museum, although this is mentioned only in the case of *I. Ephesos* 631.) The monuments both belong to the middle of the first century. (There has been some unnecessary debate on the date of the monument of M. Calpurnius Rufus; cf. W. Eck, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 97-102.)

⁵³ The stone ("im Pflaster des Kastells verlegt") was not found *in situ*.

⁵⁴ *CIL* iii 6755 = E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (1967) 235 no. 175. Cf. J. Fitz, 'Tribuni laticlavii in Pannonien', *Tituli* 4 (1982) 323.

⁵⁵ Note that the text ends with *praesidem sanctissimum h(onoris) c(ausa)*. Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 589 describes this operation by "ehrten den ... verstorbenen Statthalter". However, the possibility that this is the inscription from the governor's tomb cannot perhaps be altogether excluded.

⁵⁶ *AE* 1992, 1527 (from Th. Schäfer, op. cit. [n. 50] 261 no. 15): *L. Salvio Secundino Secundi filio Quirina quaest. urbano, adlecto inter aedilicios ab imp. Antonino Aug., praetori urbano, legato pro praetore provinciae Asiae Petrusidia Augurina uxor faciendum curavit*. It is true that the man does not have the local tribe Vol. and held an office in Asia at the time he died, but it is hard to see why he would have been buried in Philippi unless he was a local man or at least had connections to Philippi. (In any case, there is no reason to assume that this is a man from Italy, as Schäfer does.)

tomb.⁵⁷ Again, an inscription of the earlier third century from Dorylaeum, inscribed on an architrave, mentions a young military tribune of senatorial status (*AE* 1976, 664); the text was dedicated by the πό[λις], but in spite of this, this is a funerary inscription as it seems to come from a *heroon*.⁵⁸ Then there are inscriptions set up by close relatives which either belong or at least may belong here. There can be no doubt about an inscription, now lost, from Claudiopolis in Bithynia, *IGR* iii 73 = *I. Klaudiu polis* 65, set up for Μάρκον Δομίτιον Εὐφημον τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν etc. by Μάρκος Δομίτιος Τειμολέων ὁ κρ(άτιστος) μυστάρχης who says he is honouring τὸν γλυκύτατον ἀδελφόν. One learns from the annotation to the latter publication that the statue base with the inscription was found outside the city in what appeared to be a "cimetière", and this, combined with the identity of the dedicator and the use of the adjective γλυκύτατον, establishes the nature of the inscription. No adjective is used in the case of *IGR* i 1017 = *I. Cret.* iii 3, 20 from Hierapytna, set up for [Λ.] Φ[λ.] Σουλπ[ικία]νὸν Δωρίωνα Πολύμνιν ... τὸν υἱόν by his father. No exact findspot is given (the stone is now in the museum of Iraklio), but when the fact that the career ends with the designation to a praetorship, and the fact that the monument is described as a tabula (78 x 70 x 9.5) is combined with the fact that the dedicator is the father and that the monument may have been found outside the city centre, one may legitimately suspect that the monument belongs to a tomb.

But as for the use of the adjective γλυκύτατος, an inscription from Hierocaesarea (in Lydia), *IGR* iv 1741 = *ILS* 8842 (cf. *SEG* xl 1034, ca. Severan), which was set up for a consular (who, the stone being fragmentary, cannot be identified) by his wife, the text ends in κρατίστη ὑπατική τὸν γλυκύτατον ἄνδρα. Here, too, one assumes that the adjective γλυκύτατος implies a funerary context,⁵⁹ and the same goes for another acephalous inscription, also set up by the wife, describing a career (ending with the man being praetor designate), *IGR* iii 188 from Ancyra (early third century).⁶⁰ However, in the case of those inscriptions where the archaeological context is unknown, there is a problem, namely the fact that the use of this adjective by relatives is also attested in cases where we seem to be dealing with honorific inscriptions. In Delphi in the time of Severus Alexander, a consular from Thespieae, T. Flavius Philinus, was honoured by his wife Flavia Amphiclea, the inscription ending with τὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ σεμνότατον ἄνδρα, ψηφίσματι Ἀμφικτ[υόνων] (*AE* 1953, 51 = *SEG* xii 265). Now it is possible that the husband was already dead by this time, this inscription then belonging to the category of commemorative inscriptions, but in the case of *I. Cret.* iv 292 (an equestrian statue found near the praetorium in Gortyn⁶¹) set up shortly before AD 70 ψηφισαμένης τῆς κρατίστης Γορτυνίων βουλῆς for the quaestor of Creta-Cyrenae, A. Larcus Lepidus Sulpicianus, ταμίαν ευσεβέστατον καὶ γλυκύτατον υἱόν, by his mother Sulpicia Telero (herself from Crete), we know that the honorand was far from being dead, as he

⁵⁷ This is pointed out by W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 50) 89. For the library and its monuments see W. Wilberg & al., *Forschungen in Ephesos* V, 2 (1953²); for the sarcophagus see p. 43-6 and and for the library as a *heroon* see p. 81-4 [J. Keil]; cf. also R.R.R. Smith, *JRS* 68 [1998] 73-75.

⁵⁸ Th. Drew-Bear and W. Eck (the publishers of the text), *Chiron* 6 (1976) 305. However, Halfmann, *Senatoren* 208 refers to the inscription as an "Ehreninschrift".

⁵⁹ Thus J. Keil in the commentary on *TAM* v 2, 923 (*IGR* iv 1212 from Thyatira). This inscription, describing the cursus of the same man, is so fragmentary that its nature cannot be established.

⁶⁰ Cf. H. Halfmann, in *Tituli* 5 (1982) 644.

⁶¹ The size of the statue base is given in *I. Cret.* as 140 x 340 x 210, and it said that we are dealing with a "statua fortasse equestris". Cf. W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 45) 162 n. 127.

was later to proceed to further offices.⁶² The same should not necessarily be assumed in the case of another man honoured in Gortyn by an inscription on a statue base, setting out his career, *ILS* 8834b = *IGR* i 971 = *I. Cret.* iv 299. The monument was set up by a woman, Volumnia Caleda, for her γλυκύτα[ον καὶ εὐ]σεβέστατον υἱόν who was probably a Larcius (cf. *PIR*² L 87); the statue base was found between the villages of Ag. Deka and Mitropoli, that is, somewhere in the area of the praetorium and the theatre, and so this is clearly not a tomb.

The fact having been established that the wording of an inscription does not necessarily imply that it belongs to a funerary context, and, on the other hand, that people could set up monuments in honour of relatives, sometimes still active but probably more often already deceased, in public places, we can move on to further instances. To stay in Gortyn, there are two statue bases in honour of the young senator M. Roscius Lupus Murena (quaestor of Creta-Cyrenae and most probably of local origin), one set up by his wife, the other by the same wife's grandmother (one supposes that there might once have been even more similar bases), both setting out the honorand's career (*I. Cret.* iv 297; *ILS* 8834a = *IGR* i 969 = *I. Cret.* iv 296). Both were found close to the church of St. Titus, that is, in the area of the forum. Again, the inscriptions are obviously not funerary but honorific, although probably of the commemorative type.

This is certain in the case of *I. Ephesos* 648 (Severan, a statue base found near the baths of Scholasticia, coming from a construction built by the dedicatrix herself - cf. *ibid.* no. 639 -, set up for [M.] Κλ. Σεβήρον [κρ]ατίστης μνήμης, [πρ]ῶτον ὑπατεύσαντα Ἐφεσίων ... τὸν πατέρα by Claudia Caninia Severa, ἡ κρατίστη ὑπατική. On the other hand, the honorand of the other inscription set up by Severa in the same building (*I. Ephesos* 639), her ἀδελφιδῶς Ti. Claudius Artemidorus ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀνθύπατος may perhaps have still been active, as this inscription has no reference to his μνήμη. Another instance of an honorific inscription set up by a relative is *ILS* 8835 = *IGR* iii 667 = *TAM* ii 426 from Patara, set up by the daughter for her father Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus etc., a man from Patara (middle of the 2nd century); the inscription, on a "basis quadrata" (157 x 57 x 54) was found "prope murum ad septentriones a teatro", so I do not think we are dealing with the tomb of the senator. The whole, detailed cursus of the honorand, up to the curatorship of the *via Flaminia*, has been added; perhaps one may conclude that he was dead at the time of the erection of the monument.⁶³

⁶² The later career of the man is described in his (acephalous) funerary inscription from Antium, *CIL* x 6659 = *ILS* 987; cf. *PIR*² L 94. There is, however, a problem which I must mention here. That the inscription from Antium belongs to a man called Larcius Lepidus is certain as the name is supplied by Josephus (see *PIR*) and because, moreover, his daughter is a [La]rcia. As this man was quaestor of Creta-Cyrenae as was the man called A. Larcius Lepidus Sulpicianus (the province is not specified in *I. Cret.* iv 292, but can be inferred with quasi-certainty), scholars have always taken for granted that we are dealing with one and the same man, and I think that this can hardly be doubted. The only thing which makes me wonder is the wording of *I. Cret.* iv 292. If someone would read the text of the inscription from Gortyn without knowing that it is from the late sixties of the first century, she or he would probably think of the Severan period. In fact, who would even think of the possibility that an inscription in which a senator is introduced as συνκλητικός, a quaestor is defined as εὐσεβέστατος and the *boule* of Gortyn as κρατίστη, could date from ca. AD 70? Still, the facts are there and so many things speak for the identity of the two Larci that this conclusion must remain above suspicion.

⁶³ For other probably honorific inscriptions set up by relatives see e.g. *IGR* iii 960 (Paleopaphus, set up for a young senator by his sister; the man is no doubt from Cyprus, but he cannot be found on any list of senators from this province); *TAM* iv 1, 41 (Nicomedia, in honour of the senator and author Arrian by his ἀνεψιός); *IG* x 2, 1, 147 (Thessalonica) in honour of the dedicatrix's συγγενής, a Severan senator probably (I think) from Thessalonica. For an honorific monument which also includes a reference to the honorand's death, note the early Hadrianic statue base from Pergamum honouring the prominent senator C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus, Chr. Habicht, *Alt. von Pergamon* viii 3, 21 (= B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi*

So the bottom line here is, then, that whereas the Latin inscriptions in honour of deceased senators (mainly provincial officials) all seem to be parts of actual funerary monuments, Greek inscriptions for deceased senators (all, as it seems, local men) tend to be commemorative honorific monuments placed in public spaces (perhaps often, as in the case of Claudia Caninia Severa, in constructions built by members of the family) also used for honours aimed at living persons, actual funerary monuments being not easy to trace. Moreover, we have seen that monuments set up, according to their inscriptions, by close relatives, this *a priori* indicating that the honorands were already deceased, were in fact set up in honour of persons still alive. In any case, in the following I shall include in the group of honorific inscriptions also those which have, or may have, been set up in honour of deceased persons, whereas I shall not consider those inscriptions which can clearly be identified as funerary.

III. A General Overview of the Material

My aim here is to present some general observations on the numbers and the nature of the material. As defined above, my material consists of inscriptions from the provinces of Achaia, Macedonia, Epirus, Thracia, Asia, Bithynia-Pontus, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Creta-Cyrenae, set up in honour of men of senatorial status not defined simply as someone's sons, in the period between Augustus and about the middle of the third century. Excluding three cases in which the same senator is the honorand on a number of monuments coming from the same city (these cases all being counted as one instance),⁶⁴ the total number of inscriptions I have been able to trace is 585.⁶⁵ According to the type (with or without a *cursus*), the language and the findspots of the inscriptions the material can be divided as follows:⁶⁶

praesidium iii [1990] 62 no. 46), found "vor den Stufen der Nordhalle in der Gegend des Theaters" (its size being 97 x 55 x 52). The monument was set up by the city of Seleucia Zeugma in Syria (governed by Quadratus Bassus before his command in Dacia), which had sent an ambassador to supervise the erection of the monument. The latest office mentioned (although this is in a lacuna, but the restoration is certain, cf. Habicht, p. 47) is Dacia. The front of the base is occupied by the honorific inscription setting out his career in extraordinary detail; but one of sides has an additional inscription saying that Quadratus Bassus died in Dacia and mentioning interesting details in connection with this (cf. Eck, art. cit. [n. 50] 90). Now the monument must have been set up at the point when Quadratus was leaving Syria for Dacia, his hometown being a suitable place for a monument of this type. In any case, Quadratus Bassus must have been alive at this point. However, after he had died in Dacia, and was (as we learn from the second inscription) taken back to Pergamum to be buried there, the other inscription was added. (It is clearly an addition, although not very much later than the original text, cf. Habicht, p. 53.) Though the site of the actual tomb is not known, no doubt it must have been in Pergamum ("vielleicht", Habicht p. 52; but see Eck, loc. cit.).

⁶⁴ A. Iulius Quadratus in Pergamum (*I. Pergamon* 436ff., *IGR* iv 275, 373ff.; cf. H. Halfmann, *Städtebau und Bauherren im röm. Kleinasien* [2001] 47), C. Novius Rusticus (*CIL* iii 6814ff.) and C. Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus (*CIL* iii 6810ff.; *AE* 1914, 130) in Pisidian Antioch.

⁶⁵ For some "new" inscriptions see e.g. *IG* xii 6, 1, 366. 368; *JRS* 89 (1999), Plate v 3 (an unpublished inscription from Aphrodisias). Unpublished inscriptions from Perge (not taken into consideration here) are referred to by R. Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 610; cf. *PIR*² vii 1, p. 53, where a certain Naucellius Reginus, proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia, is registered. The total number must, of course, remain uncertain for many reasons, e.g. because of the fact that there is some uncertainty about the date of some inscriptions and because some early texts may in fact not refer to senators at all (cf. above on inscriptions leaving out the mention of the honorand's senatorial status). Also, for instance, among the inscriptions of Olympia, there are numerous fragments (e.g. *I. Olympia* 360, 363, 364 etc.) with traces of expressions such as ὑπάτος or ἀνθύπατος, which might belong to inscriptions honouring senators. Note furthermore that one could add to the total of 585 inscriptions those texts whose existence can be inferred from the existence of inscriptions in honour of wives and children, for e.g. in the case of governors one can assume

	With cursus			Without cursus			Total
	Greek	Latin ⁶⁷	Total	Greek	Latin ⁶⁷	Total	
Achaia	24	21	45	119	1	120	165
Macedonia	2	-	2	15	10	5	16
Epirus ⁶⁸	-	-	-	1	1	2	2
Thracia	1	1	2	5	-	5	7
Asia	44	14	58	151	8	158	216
Bithynia-Pontus	2	1	3	12	-	12	15
Lycia-Pamphylia	25	2	27	46	1	47	74

with quasi-certainty that statues of wives and children were not set up without the father being honoured at the same time. Cf. below on the geographical distribution of honorific inscriptions.

⁶⁶ Of course I know that the numbers presented below do not represent the whole truth; the survival of individual inscriptions is based mainly on chance, and the chance for inscriptions to survive varies from site to site. In cities which were not abandoned during the Middle Ages, the survival rate of inscriptions must generally be smaller than in abandoned sites which have been excavated. In Ephesus, one finds more than 80 inscriptions in honour of senators (to which a large number of monuments in honour of senatorial women and children could be added), whereas Thessalonica, a very important city and like Ephesus, the capital of a prosperous province, offers only 7 instances. (Note also the absence of inscriptions in honour of Roman senators in Cyzicus, below at n. 162.) The relation cannot reflect the "historical truth". One of the explanations for the unimpressive epigraphic record of Thessalonica must be that there has not been much archaeological study of the central area of ancient Thessalonica, where one would expect to find honorific monuments. On the other hand, one does not necessarily have to postulate the existence of honorific inscriptions everywhere, the epigraphic culture varying from town to town. It has been observed that in Cologne, a city with a rich epigraphic heritage, it was obviously not customary to set up honorific inscriptions (W. Eck, in *Epigrafi e ordine senatorio* ii [1982] 543). One might also note, although these are minor cities, that Pompeii and Herculaneum, of which we no doubt know all honorific monuments which existed in AD 79, do not leave the impression of having been generously equipped with the same. In fact, during the 100 years of imperial Herculaneum the only senator honoured there was M. Nonius Balbus (cf. below at n. 69).

⁶⁷ The bilingual inscriptions, usually with some less important parts in Greek, are included in the number of Latin ones. For instances see *ILS* 928 (Athens, Augustan); *ILS* 308 (Hadrian, Athens); *ILS* 1036 (Hierapolis Castabala, 116/7); *I. Ephesos* 811add. (170s); *CIL* iii 7059a + 12243 (Apollonia in Mysia). Cf. above at n. 19 on *ILS* 1050. Inscriptions mentioning more or less the same things in both Latin and Greek are rare: *I. Cret.* iv 289 (from Gortyn, Augustan, with the Greek text preceding the Latin one); *CIL* iii 12241 = *IGR* iv 778 = Tuchelt p. 136 (Apamea in Phrygia, Augustan, with the Greek text preceding the Latin one); note that the honorand, proconsul of Asia, 'patron' in the Greek text, has no title at all in the Latin one); *ILS* 976 = *IGR* iv 675 (Prymnessus, from the time of Tiberius; cf. below n. 77, 203); *I. Ephesos* 620 and 3027 (inscriptions set up by C. Vibius Salutaris, a firm believer in bilingual inscriptions, in the time of Trajan; note how in 620 some additional details - filiation and tribe, the *dona militaria*, etc. - are omitted from the Greek part); *I. Ephesos* 734. For a bilingual inscription setting out the career both in Greek and in Latin in honour of an equestrian see e.g. *AE* 1915, 46 (Attaleia, set up in honour of a local knight by some city, obviously Latin-speaking, not identical with Attaleia).

⁶⁸ *AE* 1985, 771 (Augustan, in Latin); *AE* 1949, 265 (third century, in Greek), from Buthrotum. (At the time of the erection of the first inscription Buthrotum was, of course, still part of Macedonia.)

Galatia	13	13	26	17	4	21	47
Cappadocia	1	-	1	4	-	4	5
Cilicia	2	2	4	10	-	10	14
Cyprus	5	-	5	8	-1	9	14
Creta-Cyrenae	4	-	4	7	-	7	11
	121	56	177	388	20	408	585
Percentage	68.4	31.6	100	95.1	4.9	100	

This number does not include inscriptions by cities or larger units within the defined area set up in cities lying outside the same (e.g. Cretan cities and the *koinon* honoring the Augustan proconsul M. Nonius Balbus in his hometown of Herculaneum, *CIL* x 1430-34), a category of inscriptions now studied by F.J. Navarro, *Veleia* 14 (1997) 255-293 (who takes into consideration the material from all parts of the Roman empire). He seems, however, to have missed an inscription in which ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Γαλατίας Ἀνκυρᾶ honours a former governor of Galatia, L. Fabius Cilo, as τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτην⁶⁹ in Rome, no doubt in the senator's residence on the Aventine (*IG* xiv 1078 = *IGR* i 138 = *IGUR* 68).⁷⁰ - We shall come back to this phenomenon within our area below.

Now looking at the numbers above, one may make a few observations (not all of them surprising). First of all, one sees that, almost one third of the inscriptions setting out the whole cursus are in Latin, whereas only about five percent of the inscriptions without cursus are in Latin. This means that, if one used Latin, the propensity to mention not only the name and the title, but to set out the whole career was higher than in the case of Greek inscriptions, there of course being a strong tradition to attach the cursus of the honorand to an honorific inscription in Latin epigraphy.⁷¹ Comparing the number of cursus inscriptions to the total number of honorific inscriptions in each province,⁷² one observes that Galatia and Lycia-Pamphylia occupy a special place. In Galatia, more than a half of the surviving honorific inscriptions include the cursus of the honorand, in Lycia-Pamphylia the percentage is almost 38. The latter province is, however, more interesting

⁶⁹ Cf. Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 593 n. 77; *IG* ii/iii² 3697f.; *IGR* i 797 = *I. Perinthos* 21; *I. Ephesos* 1539.

⁷⁰ For the residence, see F. Guidobaldi, in: E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum Urbis Romae* II (1995) 95f. (this stone was, however, not found *loco suo*). Note that the monument was set up more than ten years after Cilo's tenure in Galatia, as the inscription mentions Cilo's second consulate in 204, whereas Cilo was in Galatia before 193 (Thomasson, op. cit. [n. 11] 258 no. 32; one is reminded here of the dedication made in honour of P. Memmius Regulus in Delphi, *ILS* 8815 = *FD* iii 1, 532, mentioning Regulus' proconsulate of Asia, which, although not exactly datable, must have followed a number of years after Regulus' tenure in Greece). On the other hand, Cilo was also Severus' *comes* on his "oriental expedition" against Pescennius Niger in 194, at about which time he was honoured in Pisidian Antioch (*AE* 1926, 79), and he must have maintained some connections of uncertain nature to Asia Minor as he was also honoured by a statue after his second consulate in Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 3204; cf. below n. 212). - For a city setting up a monument in another city cf. also e.g. *IGR* i 622 = *ISM* ii 57 (the *boule* and the *demos* of Heraclea on the Chersonese honouring a legate of Moesia inferior in Tomi, the main city of the province).

⁷¹ Note e.g. that all the Latin honorific inscriptions one finds in Athens are cursus inscriptions.

⁷² Obviously there is no use in doing this in the case of provinces with a minimal number of inscriptions such as Cappadocia or Cilicia.

here, for Galatia with its colonies, above all Pisidian Antioch, and with its epigraphically rich capital Ancyra is in a unique position. In Lycia-Pamphylia, there are no colonies to explain, at least in part, the existence of cursus inscriptions, and Latin inscriptions are extremely rare; in fact only a small minority of the cursus inscriptions (this being in great contrast to other provinces), 2 out of a total of 28, are in Latin, both being from the capital Perge. It thus seems that one could conclude that in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia - and in fact both in Lycian and in Pamphylian cities - there existed a fairly strong epigraphical tradition of adding the cursus of a senatorial honorand.⁷³

Let us move on to an overview of the cities where one finds inscriptions set up in honour of senators. At this point I must observe that I have been able to trace Latin and bilingual inscriptions, with or without cursus, only in the following cities: in Achaia: Athens, Corinth, Patrae; in Macedonia: Dium, Philippi; in Epirus: Buthrotum; in Thracia: Perinthus; in Asia: Alexandria Troas, Apamea (Phrygia), Ephesus, Parium, Pergamum, Prymnessus, Synnada; in Bithynia-Pontus: Apamea; in Lycia-Pamphylia: Perge, Side (thus only in Pamphylia); in Galatia: Ancyra, Antioch, Cremna, Germa, Iconium; in Cilicia: Hierapolis Castabala; in Cyprus: Paphos. One sees that what we have here is basically a list of either Roman *coloniae*⁷⁴ or capitals of provinces which are prone to produce Latin inscriptions because the presence of a Roman bureaucracy.⁷⁵ (Note by the way that in all cases when we have more than just a minimal amount of material, the tendency is that the Latin inscriptions concentrate in the earlier period, the Greek ones in the later.⁷⁶) The only cities which do not belong to these two categories are Athens, Apamea in Phrygia, Pergamum, Prymnessus, Side, Synnada, and Hierapolis Castabala. Of these cities, the very special character of Athens easily explains the presence of Latin inscriptions there. As Apamea, Pergamum and Synnada are *conventus* centres, and thus in a way centres of the Roman administration, the use of Latin is perhaps not something in need of explanation (and in any case, the inscription from Pergamum, *ILS* 962 is a private dedication in honour of P. Memmius Regulus). In the other cities, we are dealing with special cases: the bilingual inscription from Prymnessus (*ILS* 976 = *IGR* iv 675) is a dedication, probably from the time of Tiberius, to a young noble by the *Prymness(enses) et c. R. [qui ibid(em) nego]tiantur*, the latter group explaining the language choice.⁷⁷ In Side, we are dealing with an inscription set up by a governor's *strator* (*AE* 1966, 476 = Nollé, *Side* 67).⁷⁸ As for Hierapolis Castabala, where we find both *CIL* iii 12117 = *ILS* 1036 (Pompeius Falco) and *CIL* iii 13618 = *ILS* 1050 (cf. above at n. 19), perhaps the status and the

⁷³ Cf. below at n. 266. For cursus inscriptions from Lycia-Pamphylia in honour of equestrians see e.g. *IGR* iii 487. 670. 777; *AE* 1915, 46 (Attaleia); *AE* 1966, 472 = Nollé, *Side* 55; for the use of Latin in Perge see W. Eck, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 643ff.

⁷⁴ Corinth, Patrae, Dium, Philippi, Buthrotum, Alexandria Troas, Parium, Apamea in Bithynia, Antioch, Cremna, Germa, Iconium.

⁷⁵ Perinthus, Ephesus, Perge, Ancyra, Paphos. For the definition of a 'capital' of a province and its characteristics see the book of R. Haensch (above n. 11).

⁷⁶ Cf. B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (1967) 130ff.; A.D. Rizakis, in: H. Solin & al. (eds.), *Acta Collquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae ... 1991 habiti* (1995) 383-6.

⁷⁷ As the inscription refers to him only as an augur and city prefect during the Latin festival (and also as *Pompei Magni abn(nepos)*, he cannot be thought of as a quaestor of Asia. Cf. on him M. Christol - Th. Drew-Bear, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 59f. n. 82 (who, however, still think that he could have been quaestor), and on this inscription also below n. 203.

⁷⁸ Cf. Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 610.

characteristics of this city should be reconsidered.⁷⁹ In any case, *ILS* 1036 was set up by a centurion of the Roman army and in *ILS* 1050, the honorand and his career appear in the nominative, this indicating special circumstances (cf. above at n. 19).

Let us now move on to have a look at the locations, not only of the Latin inscriptions, but of all the material as a whole. In the following list, I shall also mention cities in which inscriptions in honour of senators are attested only indirectly, through inscriptions honouring wives and children of senators, as their existence must imply the existence of inscriptions honouring husbands and fathers of the same (cf. n. 65).

Cities or locations in which inscriptions honouring senators are attested (in alphabetical order within each province):

Achaia: Argos;⁸⁰ Athens; Corinth; Coronea (n. 178); Delos;⁸¹ Delphi; Epidaurus; Gythium; Megara; Olympia; Patrae;⁸² Phalanna (in Thessaly);⁸³ Plataeae;⁸⁴ Sparta; Tegea; Thebes; Thespieae.

⁷⁹ Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 270f. considers the possibility that Hierapolis was the capital of Cilicia, only to dismiss it. But in this discussion he seems to consider only *ILS* 1050, although he also mentions *IGR* iii 904 in his list of sources on Cilicia (p. 582-5); and *ILS* 1036 does not seem to appear either in the discussion or on the list. One could also note *AE* 1920, 71 (Augustan), although at this time Hierapolis was part of the province of Syria.

⁸⁰ One might also add Asopus in Laconia, with an inscription honouring C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus (*IG* v 1, 971), but he is honoured simply as ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀπὸ προγόνων (cf. above at n. 40).

⁸¹ *ID* 1605 (I think this is not L. Aemilius Paullus cos. AD 1 but his brother M. Lepidus, cos. AD 6; cf. above n. 33), 1625, 1626, these inscriptions all being from the time of Augustus. - For Republican senators, often governors and other officials in Asia, being honoured on Delos and on other islands see J.-L. Ferrary, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 185ff.

⁸² *AE* 1979, 577 = Rizakis, *Patras* 34; *AE* 1989, 660 = *ibid.* 35. For the city of Patrae honouring the consular author A. Claudius Charax in Pergamum (Charax' *patris*) see *AE* 1961, 320 = *SEG* xviii 557 = *ibid.* 364.

⁸³ *Arch. Delt.* 10 (1926) Parart. 51 no. 2 (quoted in Groag, op. cit. [n. 13] 46; the proconsul Q. Acutius Flaccus); *IG* ix 2, 1239 (the wife of the proconsul L. Cocceius Iustus).

⁸⁴ *IG* vii 1676 (the proconsul Iunius Gallio). For the city of Plataeae honouring the *corrector* L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (time of Severus Alexander) in Thebes (perhaps a more suitable place for honours of this kind in the third century) see *IG* vii 2510 (cf. below n. 172).

Macedonia: Argos (Paeoniae);⁸⁵ Dium;⁸⁶ Hadrianopolis (?);⁸⁷ Heraclea Lyncestis;⁸⁸ Idomene;⁸⁹ Philippi; Thessalonica.

Epirus: Buthrotum (cf. n. 68).

Thracia: Nicopolis ad Istrum;⁹⁰ Perinthus; Philippopolis.

Asia I: The islands: Andros; Chios;⁹¹ Chalce;⁹² Cos; Lesbos; Naxos;⁹³ Paros;⁹⁴ Rhodes;⁹⁵ Samos; Tenos.⁹⁶

⁸⁵ An inscription of perhaps the second century presenting problems in the reading of the name; for the various editions of this text see Thomasson, op. cit. (n. 11) 187 no. 51. Note that, instead of the letters Λο[--] now being edited as the beginning of the text, the reading in the original publication ZA 3 (1953) 222 (photo on p. 223) was Λοδ[--].

⁸⁶ AE 1915, 114 = Sasel-Kos 178.

⁸⁷ The questionmark applies here to the name of the city, not to the existence of the inscription. There is an inscription in honour of the proconsul Cornelius Rufus (between 161 and 169) from Sandanski (IGBulg. 2262 = SEG xxiv 617); this city is identified with Hadrianopolis by M. Zahrt, in: *Inscriptions of Macedonia. Third International Symposium on Macedonia, Thessaloniki 8-12 December 1993*, (Thessaloniki 1996) 232-235.

⁸⁸ IG x 2, 2, 71 (= CIG 1999b) (ca. Severan, the wife of the proconsul A. Pontius Verus).

⁸⁹ Cf. F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine* (1988) 177-80. The inscription: SEG xix 438.

⁹⁰ IGBulg. ii 603.

⁹¹ AE 1932, 7 (Augustan).

⁹² IG xii 1, 959 = IGR iv 1112.

⁹³ IG xii 5, 58. This inscription may well be only from the fourth century (see PIR² C 469; PLRE I Cassianus 1).

⁹⁴ Attested only indirectly in the inscription IG xii 5, 328 (around the middle of the third century), set up in honour of a deceased son of a local senator and benefactor.

⁹⁵ A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (1925) 4f. (Severan); C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* (1941) no. 472 = AE 1948, 191 (also Severan), cf. ibid. 474 = AE 1948, 194 (and in general no. 473ff. = AE 1948 192ff.; for an epigram in honour of the same man see above n. 13).

⁹⁶ IG xii 5, 940 = ILS 8812 = OGI 463 (a young senator accompanying Augustus in 21/20 (cf. P.M. Nigdelis, Πολίτευμα και κοινωνία των πόλεων των Κυκλάδων [1990] 163).

Asia II: The continent: Acmonia; Aezani;⁹⁷ Alexandria Troas; Alia;⁹⁸ Apamea in Phrygia;⁹⁹ Aphrodisias; Apollonia (Mysia);¹⁰⁰ Blaundus;¹⁰¹ Caunus;¹⁰² Cibyra; Clarus;¹⁰³ Cnidus;¹⁰⁴ Cyme;¹⁰⁵ Didyma; Dorylaeum; Ephesus; Eumenia;¹⁰⁶ Halicarnassus;¹⁰⁷ Heraclea ad Salbacum;¹⁰⁸ (a funerary inscription from Hierocaesarea: see above at n. 59); Iasus;¹⁰⁹ an unknown Lydian city at Kula;¹¹⁰ Laodicea on the Lycus;¹¹¹ Magnesia on the Maeander;¹¹² Magnesia by Sipylus;¹¹³ Metropolis;¹¹⁴

⁹⁷ *IGR* iv 570.

⁹⁸ *AE* 1991, 1513 = *SEG* lxi 1174 (a governor of Phrygia-Caria in 250).

⁹⁹ *CIL* iii 12241 = *IGR* iv 778 = Tuchelt p. 136 (cf. above at n. 24, n. 67); inscriptions in honour of Sosia Polla, the wife of the proconsul Pompeius Falco (*IGR* iv 779; 780 = *OGI* 490 = *ILS* 8820 = *MAMA* vi 182).

¹⁰⁰ *CIL* iii 7059a + 12243.

¹⁰¹ *IGR* iv 717 (third century, referred to as the son of a *hypatikos*, but also as *euergetes* and *ktistes*).

¹⁰² *SEG* xiv 646, the wife of a Tiberian proconsul; 648, the sister of A. Iulius Quadratus designated as δικαιοδότης (this is interpreted as '*iuridicus Cauniorum*' in *PIR*² I 507 and by Halfmann, *Senatoren* 114, an interpretation which strikes me as problematic; I think that Quadratus is here referred to as legate of Asia); Chr. Marek, *MH* 57 (2000) 89 (a most remarkable cursus inscription set up in honour of Pompeius Falco, no doubt in connection with his proconsulate of Asia). (There are numerous monuments honouring Republican senators in Caunus.)

¹⁰³ Tuchelt p. 168 (Augustan; note that this is the last of a long series of honorific monuments from Clarus).

¹⁰⁴ *SEG* xii 452 = Tuchelt p. 170 = *I. Knidos* 87 (P. Vinicius, cos. AD 2, later proconsul of Asia; note that, unlike in some other places where one finds monuments in honour of Roman senators ending with the time of Augustus, no monuments pertaining to prominent Romans earlier than this are attested in Cnidus).

¹⁰⁵ The early Augustan proconsul Sex. Appuleius and his wife and daughter (*AE* 1966, 422. 423a. b. = *I. Kyme* 18a. b.).

¹⁰⁶ *MAMA* iv 331 (Severan).

¹⁰⁷ Le Bas - Waddington 506 = Tuchelt p. 148 (Augustan; cf. J.-L. Ferrary, *Chiron* 30 [2000] 190).

¹⁰⁸ *MAMA* vi 103 = L. & J. Robert, *La Carie* II 168 no. 52 (perhaps from the later second century).

¹⁰⁹ *I. Iasos* 86 = *AE* 1979, 609 (middle of the third century).

¹¹⁰ *IGR* iv 1382 = *TAM* v 1, 213b (the daughter of a *hypatikos*).

¹¹¹ *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 37, 39.

¹¹² *I. Magnesia a. M.* 152 = Tuchelt p. 183 (the brother of the Augustan proconsul C. Vibius Postumus; cf. below n. 123).

¹¹³ *IGR* iv 1338 = Tuchelt p. 185 = *I. Magnesia am Sipylus* 2 = *TAM* v 2, 1366 (the Augustan proconsul Potitus Messalla).

¹¹⁴ *I. Ephesos* 3435. 3467.

Miletus; Mylasa;¹¹⁵ Nysa;¹¹⁶ Palaeapolis;¹¹⁷ Parium;¹¹⁸ Pergamum; Prymnessus (cf. n. 77); Sardis; Sebaste;¹¹⁹ Smyrna; Stratonicea;¹²⁰ Synnada;¹²¹ Tabala;¹²² Teos;¹²³ Thyatira; Tralles. (Note furthermore that the city of Cotiaeum set up a monument in honour of the Augustan proconsul Sex. Appuleius in Pergamum,¹²⁴ and that the city of Cyzicus honoured a late Severan legate of Thrace in Perinthus, cf. n. 164.)

Bithynia-Pontus: Amastris;¹²⁵ Apamea (a colony);¹²⁶ Claudiopolis;¹²⁷ Nicaea; Nicomedia;¹²⁸ Prusa;¹²⁹ Prusias;¹³⁰ Sinope.¹³¹

¹¹⁵ *SEG* ii 549 = *I. Mylasa* 410 (the Augustan proconsul C. Marcius Censorinus).

¹¹⁶ *AE* 1926, 13 = *SEG* iv 405 (the son of a consul of local origin, second century).

¹¹⁷ *AE* 1979, 604 = *I. Ephesos* 3707 (AD 211/2).

¹¹⁸ *CIL* iii 727 = *I. Parion* 13.

¹¹⁹ *IGR* iv 1697 (Severan, cf. *PIR*² D 63; the honorand [...] Dexter looks like a local man, and should thus perhaps be added to the lists of Halfmann).

¹²⁰ *Tuchelt* p. 242 = *I. Stratonikeia* 1010.

¹²¹ *ILS* 9483 (a Latin inscription in honour of an early Tiberian proconsul; as the inscription is fragmentary in the end, the dedicator(s) cannot be ascertained). For Synnada as the findspot of the inscription see Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 639 n. 96.

¹²² *IGR* iv 1378 = *TAM* v 1, 209 (honouring a certain Curtia Iulia Valentilla [*PFOS* 305], one suspects of local origin, who had built a bath at Tabala; so in this case it is perhaps not necessary to assume that this monument implies one in honour of her husband).

¹²³ *IGR* iv 1564 = *Tuchelt* p. 245 (a brother of the Augustan proconsul C. Vibius Postumus; another brother of the same proconsul was honoured in Magnesia on the Maeander, see above n. 112).

¹²⁴ *IGR* iv 402 = *I. Pergamon* 418 = *Tuchelt* p. 220; cf. below at n. 166/7.

¹²⁵ Chr. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* (1993) 163 no. 16 (= *IGR* iii 85), 17.

¹²⁶ *CIL* iii 335 cf. 6991, 14188,1 = *I. Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai* 2 (a Vespasianic senator most probably of local origin).

¹²⁷ *I. Klaudiu polis* 68 (Severan or later). For the funerary inscription of the local senator M. Domitius Euphemus (ibid. no. 65) see above at n. 58.

¹²⁸ *TAM* iv 1, 41, the author Arrian (from Nicomedia) being honoured κατά τὸ κρίμα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, but without any reference to his senatorial status, by a relative (cf. above n. 63).

¹²⁹ *IGR* iii 33 = *I. Prusa ad Olympum* 12: the legate of Bithynia-Pontus in about the time of Severus Alexander, L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, who is described as τὸν οἰκιστὴν τῆς πατρίδος; *patris* cannot also refer to Lollianus, but only to the dedicator(s) ("of our hometown"). For scholars thinking that Lollianus might be a man from Prusa see Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 607 n. 130. But he is clearly a member of an important Italian family on whom see F. Chausson, *JS* 1997, 211ff.; cf. below at n. 176.

¹³⁰ *SEG* xiv 772 = *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 45 (240s), a local senator.

¹³¹ *AE* 1906, 1 (C. Marcius Censorinus cos. 8 BC as πρεσβευτῆς Καίσαρος; cf. *PIR*² M 222).

Lycia-Pamphylia: Adada (Pisidia);¹³² (Aspendus¹³³); Attaleia; Balbura; Cadyanda;¹³⁴ Cyaneae;¹³⁵ Lydae; Myra;¹³⁶ Oenoanda; Patara; Perge (cf. also above n. 65); Phaselis;¹³⁷ Sagalassus;¹³⁸ Selge;¹³⁹ Side; Sidyma;¹⁴⁰ Telmessus;¹⁴¹ Tlos; Xanthus. - (For inscriptions from Termessus and Trebenna (and Sagalassus) in honour of the governor Terentius Marcianus who seems to belong to the time of Diocletian, see Thomasson, op. cit. [n. 11] 287 no. 74.)

Galatia: Ancyra; Antiochia; Apollonia;¹⁴² Cremna;¹⁴³ Germa;¹⁴⁴ Hadrianopolis (Paphlagonia);¹⁴⁵ Iconium;¹⁴⁶ Laodicea Catacecaumene;¹⁴⁷ Pappa-Tiberiopolis;¹⁴⁸

¹³² *IGR* iii 363 cf. *SEG* xxxii 1290 (Severan or later); *IGR* iii 367 = *ILS* 8838 (a third-century proconsular legate - so it seems - of Lycia-Pamphylia, but also a citizen of Sagalassus, another Pisidian city then belonging to Lycia-Pamphylia).

¹³³ It now having been established that the Curtii Crispini who built a theatre at Aspendus (*IGR* iii 803) had reached senatorial status, one of them now being attested as consul in 159 (see P. Weiß, *Chiron* 19 [1999] 162ff.), one is entitled to postulate monuments in honour of members of this family in Aspendus.

¹³⁴ *IGR* iii 512 = *TAM* ii 658 (a governor, c. AD 81)

¹³⁵ *IGR* iii 703 (a governor, reign of Claudius).

¹³⁶ *IGR* iii 724 (probably L. Luscius Ocrea, governor in the time of Vespasian). For the city of Myra setting up a monument in Ephesus see *I. Ephesos* 3902 (cf. below).

¹³⁷ *IGR* iii 763 = *ILS* 8828 = *TAM* ii 1201 + *SEG* xxxi 1300 (the governor Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus in the time of Pius).

¹³⁸ *Anc. Soc.* 27 (1996) 154 fig. 1 (honouring the Augustan governor of Galatia, M. Lollius); Sagalassus as part of Lycia-Pamphylia: *IGR* iii 356, 357 (in honour of third-century senators of local origin).

¹³⁹ *AE* 1990, 981 = *I. Selge* 12 (a senator of local origin, middle of the third century). In the later second century, the city of Selge set up a monument in honour of a former governor of Lycia-Pamphylia in Ephesus, the governor's home (*I. Ephesos* 3036; cf. below).

¹⁴⁰ *IGR* iii 581 = *TAM* ii 194 (a Severan senator of local origin).

¹⁴¹ *IGR* iii 1510 = *TAM* ii 21 (the father of a governor under Titus).

¹⁴² *IGR* iii 316 (a second-century governor being promoted from Galatia to Pontus-Bithynia).

¹⁴³ *I. Central Pisidia* 26. 27. 44 (= *AE* 1988, 1034), honouring three Severan Ulpia, of whom one (in no. 44) was certainly from Cremna, the other two most probably.

¹⁴⁴ *AE* 1971, 463 = 1973, 534 (M. Plancius Varus from Perge, but owning land in Germa, being honoured in Latin by a man with a tribe, perhaps a magistrate of the colony).

¹⁴⁵ *IGR* iii 151 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 188 no. 2 (a legate of Galatia in AD 138).

¹⁴⁶ *CIL* iii 13639, a Latin inscription known only from an inadequate description, but which seems to set out the career of a senator, probably of local origin because of the name *Anch[arenius]* (cf. S. Mitchell, *Historia* 28 (1979) 423). Moreover, there is *AE* 1926, 81 = 1928, 101 (also in Latin) in honour of the wife of the Trajanic legate L. Cossonius Gallus (on whom, and his possible identity with the legate of Galatia known from *ILS* 1038, see H. Wolff, *Ostbair. Grenzmarken* 41 (1999) 14f. with n. 8). Note that M. Zahrnt, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 242ff. argues that there was a colony at Iconium already from the

Pompeiopolis; (Sagalassos: cf. n. 138); Tavium;¹⁴⁹ a city located at Kocaaliler (E of Sia and S of Cremna).¹⁵⁰

Cappadocia: Comana; Nicopolis;¹⁵¹ Zela.¹⁵²

Cilicia: Adana;¹⁵³ Cestrus;¹⁵⁴ Claudiopolis;¹⁵⁵ Hierapolis Castabala; Iotape;¹⁵⁶ Palaea Isaura;¹⁵⁷ Nephelium;¹⁵⁸ Olba;¹⁵⁹ Soli.¹⁶⁰

Cyprus: Citium;¹⁶¹ Curium; Palaeopaphus; Paphus; Salamis.

time of Augustus (and not only from the time of Hadrian), this having an effect on a possible *terminus post quem* for the two inscriptions.

¹⁴⁷ *IGR* iii 249 = *JHS* 38 (1918) 174, a cursus inscription, perhaps from the time of Hadrian, in honour of one of the Ti. Iulii Frugi (on whom see S. Sahin, *EA* 3 (1984) 41-1; B. Rémy, *Epigraphica* 45 (1983) 79-93), who most probably came from Laodicea (B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie* [1989] 74).

¹⁴⁸ *IGR* iii 1469 (a Trajanic legate).

¹⁴⁹ *IGR* iii 238 = *RECAM* ii 414, cf. *SEG* xxxix 1517, a legate of Cappadocia - it seems that Tavium belonged to Cappadocia at this period - under Philip. Note that this man, M. Antonius Memmius Hiero, seems to have been of Eastern origin (see K. Dietz, *Senatus contra principem* [1980] 78 n. 183).

¹⁵⁰ *IGR* iii 392 = *I. Central Pisidia* 152, a cursus inscription in honour of the local senator Ulpius Quirinius Quadratianus, perhaps to be connected with the Ulpia in Cremna (n. 143).

¹⁵¹ *AE* 1909, 19 (a legate of Cappadocia in the 240s).

¹⁵² *Studia Pontica* iii (1910) 244 no. 271, a legate of Cappadocia ca. 160.

¹⁵³ *IGR* iii 888 (about Augustan; R. Syme, op. cit. [n. 11] 211 thinks that this Valerius might be a Messalla); *IGR* iii 889 (a senator from Magarsus - another Cilician city - probably of the second century; cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 208).

¹⁵⁴ *AE* 1972, 651b = St. Hagel - K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* (1998), 150 Kestros 20b, a Trajanic governor of Cilicia, his son being honoured at the same time (ibid. 651a = ibid. 20a).

¹⁵⁵ *IGR* iii 821 = *AE* 1972, 656, [P. Cassius] Dexter, legate of Cilicia in c. 150. For this Claudiopolis, a colony and identical with Ninica (*colonia Ninica Claudiopolis*), see S. Mitchell, *Historia* 28 (1979) 426-35.

¹⁵⁶ *AE* 1966, 485 = Hagel - Tomaschitz, op. cit. (n. 154) 129 Iotape 18, a Trajanic governor of Cilicia.

¹⁵⁷ *IGR* iii 290 = *OGI* 576 = *ILS* 8827, a legate of Cilicia in the time of Pius.

¹⁵⁸ *AE* 1995, 1556 = *SEG* xlv 1835 = Hagel - Tomaschitz, op. cit. (n. 154), 324 Nephelion 1: a governor of Cilicia (in AD 157).

¹⁵⁹ *IGR* iii 875 = Hagel - Tomaschitz, op. cit. (n. 154) 324 Olba-Diakaisareia 1, a governor of the third century. (I do not think that [τὸν ἡγε]μόνα is the correct restoration in *IGR* iii 850 = Hagel - Tomaschitz 326 no. 10.)

¹⁶⁰ *IGR* iii 874, a senator of the third century, either *PIR*² A 1059 or P 536. Cf. below n. 227.

¹⁶¹ *IGR* iii 978, a Neronian proconsul.

Creta-Cyrenae: Gortyn; Hierapytna.¹⁶²

There is, of course, a lot of variation in the numbers of inscriptions attested in these cities, at least as represented by the material that has been transmitted to us (cf. above n. 66). Both Athens and Ephesus have produced around 80 inscriptions each, whereas in many of the cities listed above, only one inscription relevant here has been preserved, this meaning that one can easily expect new epigraphical finds to add new cities to the list. Certainly there are cities absent in the above list in which one would expect to find monuments of the kind studied here. One city which comes to one's mind is Cyzicus, an important city with a large territory. Although this is a city with a significant number of inscriptions of the Roman period (many of which are, it is true, hard to come by, as a complete corpus does not yet exist), inscriptions honouring Roman senators have (as far as I can see) not yet turned up there, something which can hardly reflect the situation in antiquity.

We have already encountered instances of cities setting up honorific monuments in other cities (cf. above at n. 69 with a reference to an article by F.J. Navarro). Let us now come back to the subject as revealed in the material under scrutiny here. In those cases studied by Navarro, one is dealing with former governors being honoured with monuments after their provincial terms, usually either in their hometowns or in the capital. Let us now have a look at other cities honouring senators in cities within my area. Here we find the following instances:

<u>Site of monument</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Dedicator</u>	<u>Senator being honoured</u>	<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Reason</u>
1. Athens	Hadrian	Tripolis (Phoenicia)	L. Aemilius Iuncus	<i>IG</i> ² ii/iii 4210	native of Tripolis, corr.in Achaia ¹⁶³
2. Thebes	c. 230	Plataeae	L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus	<i>IG</i> vii 2510	governor honoured in regional centre
3. Thebes	c. 230	Thespieae	"	<i>IG</i> vii 2511	"
4. Perinthus	Severus Alex.	Cyzicus	M. Ulp. Senecio Saturninus	<i>IGR</i> i 797 = <i>I. Perinthos</i> 21	Special reason ¹⁶⁴
5. Ephesus	Tiberius?	Myra	M. Lepidus?	<i>I. Ephesos</i> 3902	patron honoured in new office ¹⁶⁵
6. Ephesus	Trajan	Laodicea (Syria)	A. Iulius Quadratus	<i>I. Ephesos</i> 614	governor honoured in his residence?
7. Ephesus	Hadrian	Neapolis Samaria	Q. Pompeius Falco	<i>I. Ephesos</i> 713	governor honoured in new office? ¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² *IGR* i 1018 = *I. Cret.* iii 3, 21. For what seems to be the same man's funerary inscription see above at n. 58/59.

¹⁶³ Cf. below n. 209.

¹⁶⁴ Senecio Saturninus was legate of Thracia, but seems to have been settling problems between Thracian and neighbouring Asian cities, as he is described as τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας τῶν πόλεων προστάτην.

¹⁶⁵ C. Eilers, *Tyche* 10 (1995) 9-12 suggests, with some plausibility, that the honorand may be M. Lepidus cos. AD 6 and proconsul of Asia for three years in the late 20s. His long stay in Asia, and the fact that at the time Lycia was not yet part of the Roman empire, would explain him being honoured in Ephesus. Eilers does not offer any opinion on the question of when Lepidus (or one of his ancestors) became patron of this Lycian city; however, Oenoanda certainly had a Roman senatorial patron in c. 100 BC (*SEG* xlv 1816; Eilers p. 9).

¹⁶⁶ The editors of the *Année épigraphique* say that this monument (which mentions the proconsulate of Asia) must be connected with the very same proconsulate and the resulting presence of Falco in Ephesus; however, Haensch, op. cit. (n. 11) 625 n. 72 assumes that Falco may also have had some possessions in

8. Ephesus	178>	Selge	Cn. Pompeius Hermippus etc.	<i>I. Ephesos</i> 3036	governor honoured in hometown
9. Pergamum	Augustus	Cotiaeum	Sex. Appuleius	<i>I. Pergamon</i> 418	governor honoured in major city
10. Pergamum	Trajan	Gerasa	A. Iulius Quadratus	<i>I. Pergamon</i> 437	governor honoured in hometown
11. Pergamum	Trajan	?	"	<i>I. Pergamon</i> 451	gov. honoured in hometown? ¹⁶⁷
12. Pergamum	Hadrian	Seleucia / Zeugma	C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus	<i>Alt. v. Perg.</i> viii 3, 21	governor honoured in hometown
13. Pergamum	Pius	Patrae	A. Cl. Charax	<i>AE</i> 1961, 320	historian honoured in hometown
14. Didyma	Trajan	Tyrus	A. Iulius Quadratus	<i>I. Didyma</i> 151	governor honoured in cultic centre
[15. Apamea (Phrygia)]	Augustus	3 men from Metropolis	C. Antistius Vetus	<i>CIL</i> iii 12241	governor honoured in regional centre]
16. Xanthus	Vespasian	Phellus	M. Neratius Marcellus	<i>AE</i> 1981, 841	son of gov. hon:d in regional centre
17. Cremna	Severan	Sagalassus	M. Ulpius Italicus	<i>I. Centr. Pisid.</i> 26	patron honoured in hometown
18. Ancyra	III cent.	?	Sempronius Metrophanes	<i>SEG</i> xxvii 845	<i>soter</i> etc. hon:d in hometown ¹⁶⁸
19. Adana	Augustus	Mallus	Valerius [-] ¹⁶⁹	<i>IGR</i> iii 888	patron honoured in regional centre
[20. Adana]	II cent.	the priests of Athena Magarsia	[-]lius [Ocut?]avianus	<i>IGR</i> iii 889	senator from Magarsus honoured in regional centre

Here, then, we have some examples of the reasons which lead cities to erect monuments honouring senators in some other city (I have added similar cases in which the dedicators are private persons). The most common case is, of course, the wish to honour a governor in his hometown at the point when he is leaving his province, this type of honour being most common also in the western part of the empire. This type is here represented in nos. 8, 10, 11, 12. In no. 13, a senator from Pergamum is honoured in the same city on the basis of his literary activities, in no. 17 a patron of another city, in no. 18 a *soter* etc. is honoured in his hometown. As for former governors, one sees that they could also be honoured by statues in other places (outside the province, that is): in no. 14 we find Iulius

Ephesus. It is true that it would certainly be striking if the city of Neapolis in Judaea had decided to set up a monument in honour of a former governor no less than about fifteen years later in a city in which Falco resided for only one year as proconsul of Asia, and perhaps one must conclude that Falco had more connections to Ephesus than just the one-year proconsulate. This does not of course rule out the assumption, in my view unavoidable, that the monument dates from the proconsular year. The career of Falco is formulated in such an irregular and loose way (cf. below at n. 248) that this could point to it belonging to the private sphere. On the other hand, in the Greek East a loose formulation of the career is not unparalleled and the fact that the monument was found built into the walls of the Scholasticia Baths, and thus probably originates from somewhere nearby, seems to mean that it is a public one.

¹⁶⁷ From the mention of ambassadors at the end of the inscription, one sees that the monument was set up by some other city. I am not quite sure whether there are absolutely compelling reasons for dating this inscription after the second consulate and the proconsulate of Asia, and would rather think that this could be another monument set up by a city in Syria after Quadratus' tenure in Syria.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. H. Halfmann, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* ii (1982) 645. The dedicating city must have been mentioned in the beginning of the text.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. above n. 153.

Quadratus being honoured in the oracular centre at Didyma,¹⁷⁰ in no. 6 in Ephesus; perhaps one could conclude from this that Quadratus had a residence in the capital of the province of Asia.¹⁷¹ Then there are honorific monuments erected for senators of various merit when taking up a new appointment. In no. 1, we find a native of Tripolis, now corrector in Achaia, honoured by the same city on the Acropolis at Athens; in no. 5 a Lycian city honours a patron, now proconsul of Asia, in Ephesus; in no. 7, a city in Judaea set up a monument in honour of a former legate about fifteen years later in Ephesus, when the man was proconsul of Asia (but probably had some other connections, too, with Ephesus, cf. n. 166).

But it also clearly emerges that minor cities could choose to set up a monument honouring a governor in some other city of the same province, a regional centre of sorts no doubt conceived of as being a more suitable location for an honour of this type. Thus in the 230s the people of Plataeae and Thespieae clearly thought that a monument located in Thebes, not in their hometown, would be what was needed.¹⁷² This is interesting information on the status of Thebes in the third century; it is also useful to know that Adana, between Augustus and the second century, was regarded by people from other Cilician cities as a suitable place for honorific monuments. On the other hand, it is no great surprise that people from the rather insignificant city of Metropolis in Phrygia chose to set up a monument in nearby Apamea, an important city,¹⁷³ and about the same can be said of the people of Cotiaeum in Phrygia, an out-of-the-way place, setting up a monument in Pergamum (no. 9) and of the people of Phellus doing so in Xanthus (no. 16).¹⁷⁴

IV. The Chronological Distribution of Monuments in Honour of Senators

The chronological distribution of monuments in honour of senators, and of epigraphical monuments in general, in different areas and cities depends on various factors of which most important are no doubt the prosperity, the importance, and the role in Roman administration of the place in the period with which we are concerned. But there are also other factors; there is the "epigraphic habit" which may differ from town to town and from province to province,¹⁷⁵ this habit also depending on the possible presence or absence of people prone to set up honorific inscriptions - say, local men with connections to the imperial administration. The appearance of senators of Eastern origin, in need of honorific monuments, later affects the numbers and the chronology of honorific inscriptions, this depending on the date of appearance of these senators. Furthermore, one should not

¹⁷⁰ For some thoughts on why exactly the Tyrians chose Didyma see A. Rehm, in *I. Didyma* p. 135.

¹⁷¹ The inscription *I. Ephesos* 614 was not found *in situ*, and no measures are available. It is thus not possible to infer the original character of the monument. - Cf. below n. 206.

¹⁷² The latest honorific inscription from Thespieae itself is from the time of Commodus (*IG* VII 1866), the honorand here being himself from Thespieae. There are no honorific monuments from Plataeae after *IG* vii 1676 from the time of Nero.

¹⁷³ Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937) 69f.

¹⁷⁴ It is certainly just by chance that there is no example of a small city in Asia setting up a monument in honour of a governor in Ephesus. (For such a case in Moesia inferior see n. 70.)

¹⁷⁵ Note that no Syrian inscription honouring a governor before the tenure of A. Iulius Quadratus in 100-104 is mentioned in E. Dabrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus* (1998; on Quadratus see p. 79-81). (Note, however, *IGR* iii 1209 = 1540 cf. *SEG* xl 1395, with *PIR*² P 837; *IGLS* vi 2779, no doubt an earlyish text.)

expect much early material from areas such as Lycia which became part of the Roman Empire only after Augustus. Finally, the influence and authority of certain individuals may affect the distribution and the chronology of inscriptions. I am here thinking of persons such as Herodes Atticus and A. Iulius Quadratus; in the case of Herodes Atticus his unquestionable merits will have motivated the numbers of honorific inscriptions, but in the case of Iulius Quadratus, honoured so often in Pergamum but also in other places, one suspects that he must himself have had something to do - perhaps by giving a discreet hint or two - with the monuments. A different kind of person altogether is L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, a familiar figure in epigraphical circles with an interest in early third-century eastern epigraphy; unlike Herodes Atticus and Iulius Quadratus he is not an eastern man of wealth and influence,¹⁷⁶ but a normal Roman official governing, between AD 218 and the 240s, several eastern provinces, Galatia, Bithynia-Pontus, Achaia (as *corrector*) and Asia (see *PIR*² E 36). In spite of this, he is a most remarkable person inasmuch as he is the honorand of an impressive number of dedications, some of them going to great lengths in praising him.¹⁷⁷ The number of monuments in his honour is so large that it has some effects on the numbers of honorific inscriptions in general. In Thebes and Prusa, only monuments in honour of Lollianus have survived; in Coronea and in Metropolis near Ephesus, of two relevant texts in each case, one is in honour of Lollianus.¹⁷⁸ In Miletus, there are only Augustan inscriptions honouring senators after the Augustan ones until one appears in honour of Lollianus.¹⁷⁹ And the many other inscriptions in his honour from other places play a significant role as a group in the total number of honorific inscriptions from the same period.

This having been said, let us have a look at the impressions one gets on the basis of my material. I would like to define 'early' here as the Augustan period and the first century, and 'late' everything from Trajan till the later third century. Now there are places where the material shows a heavy concentration in the early period; in many cases we are dealing with cities whose importance diminished in imperial times, which we know from other sources; there is, for instance, nothing after the Augustan period from cities such as Chios, Clarus, Cnidus,¹⁸⁰ Cyme, Delos, Halicarnassus, Tenos, Teos, but these are places with very little relevant material. Of sites with four or more honorific inscriptions of the period under discussion, the texts concentrate in the earlier period e.g. on Cos¹⁸¹ and

¹⁷⁶ Cf. above n. 129.

¹⁷⁷ The most recent one to have been published is *AE* 1996, 1480 from Aphrodisias. There do not seem to be inscriptions in Lollianus' honour from his Galatian period.

¹⁷⁸ Thebes: *IG* vii 2510. 2511 (cf. above at n. 172); Prusa: above n. 129. Coronea: *IG* vii 2879 (a statue in honour of Hadrian before he was emperor; cf. A.R. Birley, *ZPE* 116 [1997] 214 with n. 37, 215 n. 53; Id., *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor* [1997] 322 n. 8); *SEG* xxxvi 427 = xli 456 (Lollianus). Metropolis: *I. Ephesos* 3435. 3467 (the latter inscription honouring Lollianus).

¹⁷⁹ *Milet* i 7, 339 no. 268. This is followed by another of about the same period, in honour of the *hypatikos* Iunius Quintianus (*Milet* i 9, 171 no. 344). - At this point, note also e.g. the heavy domination in the honorific epigraphy of Thyatira of the family of M.Cn. Licinius Rufinus (*TAM* v 2, 984-88; *AE* 1997, 1425).

¹⁸⁰ Note that, unlike e.g. in Clarus and in many other places not prominent during the Empire, there does not seem to be relevant material of Republican date in Cnidus (at least there is nothing in Tuchelt).

¹⁸¹ The latest relevant inscription seems to be *AE* 1934, 94 (Calvisius Ruso, proconsul of Asia in the 90s).

Samos.¹⁸² Sites with material extending from Augustus to the third century, but with a concentration in the earlier period are Athens, Thespieae¹⁸³ and Pergamum. According to my calculations, almost 50% of the honorific inscriptions in Athens are from, or are at commonly dated to, the time of Augustus; in Pergamum, if one leaves out the monuments in honour of Iulius Quadratus mostly from the time of Trajan, one finds that half of the monuments are, or are at least said to be, Augustan.

On the other hand, there are places where one finds only inscriptions of the later period; to this group belong cities such as Perinthus, Philippi, Thessalonica (nothing before Commodus),¹⁸⁴ Tralles (nothing before the Severans), and to mention cities with only two or three relevant inscriptions each, Argos, Sparta, Tegea, Thebes, Philippopolis, Rhodes, Laodicea ad Lycum, Amastris, Cremna. Then there are cities in which there are also early texts, but where the accent is clearly on the later period; this is the case with e.g., Corinth, Megara, Ephesus,¹⁸⁵ Aphrodisias,¹⁸⁶ Ancyra, and, in fact, with the cities in the province of Bithynia-Pontus in general.

But then one also finds cities in which there seems to be a concentration of inscriptions in honour of Roman senators in a kind of a 'middle' period between the late Julio-Claudians and the Antonines. This seems to be the case with many cities in Lycia-Pamphylia, where one must, of course, observe that Lycia was not part of the Roman Empire before AD 43. (A concentration in the earlier part of the second century can also be observed in parts of Cilicia, although it is true that here the number of relevant texts is much smaller.¹⁸⁷) In many cases, when we have honorific inscriptions later than the Antonine period, they tend to be inscriptions in honour of local senators, not of governors. In Lydæ, the six relevant texts are all between the 60s and the middle of the second century;¹⁸⁸ in Tlos, there are more than ten inscriptions from the period between the 50s and Trajan, but otherwise only one text, in honour of a governor, from the 240s (*ILS* 8840

¹⁸² The fairly numerous honorific inscriptions, mostly from the time of Augustus and Tiberius, seem to end with *IG* xii 6, 1, 384 (probably Trajanic), cf. 381 in honour of the son of Valerius Asiaticus, proconsul of Asia in c. 108.

¹⁸³ In addition to the early texts (*AE* 1928, 44. 45. 46. 47; *IG* vii 1852 = *BCH* 50 [1926] 440 no. 76), of which the one in honour of the proconsul Q. Vaternius Pollio may be from the 60s or 70s, there is the monument in honour of a local senator, *IG* VII 1866, from the time of Commodus. For the city of Thespieae setting up a monument in Thebes in the third century, see above at n. 172.

¹⁸⁴ The epigraphic material of Thessalonica in general shows a heavy concentration in the second and third centuries.

¹⁸⁵ About 80% of the Ephesian honorific inscriptions are from the time of Trajan or later (about 30% apparently being Severan or later). The share of the Augustan inscriptions seems to be about 10%. The percentages change if one studies only the honorific inscriptions which set out the whole career, for about 70% of these are from the period between Trajan and Commodus.

¹⁸⁶ In addition to three Augustan inscriptions (*AE* 1984, 879, 880a, 880b) there is an impressive series of later dedications starting around the time of Commodus (this seems to be the date of *CIG* 2783 and *MAMA* viii 517 cf. J Reynolds, in: P. Scherrer & al. [eds.], *Steine und Wege. Festschrift D. Knibbe* [1999] 330f.).

¹⁸⁷ Governors between Trajan and Pius (and no one else) are honoured at least in the following Cilician cities: Cestrus, Claudiopolis, Iotape, Nephelium, Palaea Isaura (see above n. 153ff.).

¹⁸⁸ For the inscriptions see *TAM* ii 131ff.; *Opusc. Ath.* 9 (1969) 76. The earliest is *TAM* II 131 in honour of the legate Sex. Marcius Priscus, the latest *TAM* ii 136 in honour of C. Iulius Maximianus Diophantus, a senator of local origin from about the middle of the second century (cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 201 no. 137).

= TAM ii 572);¹⁸⁹ Then there are a number of Lycian cities with only one or two monuments each, but only from this period, e.g. Cadyanda, Cyaneae, Myra, Oenoanda, Phaselis. Most of the more than ten inscriptions of Xanthus are from this period (and, in addition to this, there are also many texts from this period in honour of members of the governors' families), but there are also some Severan inscriptions,¹⁹⁰ set up, however, in honour of local senators. In Patara, one finds governors, partly with their family members, being honoured in the time of Hadrian and Pius,¹⁹¹ and then a governor who seems to be of local, or at least Lycian, origin in about the time of Severus.¹⁹² It is true, however, that there are also cities in which one finds nothing before the Severans, although one must note that in these late cases we are always dealing with inscriptions in honour of local senators. This is the situation e.g. in Sidyma¹⁹³ and, to move from Lycia to other parts of the province, Sagalassus and Selge.¹⁹⁴ In the larger Pamphylian cities, on the other hand, the inscriptions relevant here tend to extend from the Flavians to the third century; this seems to be the case in Attaleia, Perge and Side.¹⁹⁵ To round off this section, let me enumerate some sites in which the relevant material seems to be fairly evenly distributed between the early empire and the third century; to this category belong cities such as Delphi, Epidaurus, Olympia (note that these are not quite "normal" cities), and in Asia Minor e.g. Smyrna and Pisidian Antioch (the inscriptions here starting in the middle of the first century).

One sees, then, that certain differences in the chronological distribution of honorific inscriptions in my material can be observed. In most cases, the existence of inscriptions in honour of senators in certain cities at certain times seems to fit the picture which one gets from other source types. One thus observes cities flourishing in the Hellenistic period of the type of Cos and Samos giving way in importance in the Roman to cities such as Perinthus, Thessalonica and Aphrodisias, and the difference in the share

¹⁸⁹ The inscriptions in honour of governors' sons and wives are also from the same period (TAM ii 568. 570. 594).

¹⁹⁰ TAM ii 279f.; AE 1993, 1550b.

¹⁹¹ TAM ii 421 (for the Hadrianic date cf. Thomasson, op. cit. [n. 11] 280 no. 25; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* vi (1991) 352; vii (1991) 594 n. 43); ILS 8835 = IGR iii 667 = TAM ii 426 (a senator of local origin).

¹⁹² S. Sahin, *EA* 31 (1999) 50f. no. 17. For the origin of this senator, implied by items of his nomenclature, see Sahin, p. 51.

¹⁹³ IGR iii 581 = TAM ii 194, cf. *SEG* xli 1392.

¹⁹⁴ Sagalassus: IGR iii 356, 357 (for an Augustan legate of Galatia being honoured in Sagalassus see above at n. 34); Selge: AE 1990, 981 = *I. Selge* no. 12 (proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia originating from Selge; for the city of Selge setting up a monument in Ephesus see above n. 139).

¹⁹⁵ In Attaleia, where the series begins with an Augustan text in honour of the legate of Galatia, M. Plautius Silvanus (AE 1974, 634 = Tuchelt p. 139), the latest inscription is clearly IGR iii 776 = *SEG* xvii 572 = AE 1960, 314 in honour of the proconsul P. Aelius Bruttius Lucianus (because the item *P. Aelius* no doubt about Severan or later). In Perge, where the inscription honouring senators appear later, the material also extends to the third century, as there are unpublished inscriptions (cf. above n. 65) which do not appear in the first volume of *I. Perge*, covering the pre-Severan period. Cf. also *I. Perge* 157, honouring the wife of the governor Fl. Severinus, an inscription which is (I think) not correctly dated by Sahin, but must belong to the third century (thus also W. Eck, *Chiron* 30 [2000] 645 n. 17). As for Side, the inscription honouring a *logistes* and *epanorthotes* (Nollé, *Side* 66) and another one presenting the traces of a fragmentary cursus (ibid. 69 = AE 1993, 1553) clearly belong to the third century.

of Augustan inscriptions between Pergamum and Ephesus illustrates well the evolution of the status of these two cities, respectively. With the Augustan inscriptions, one is, of course, on somewhat problematic ground, as the numbers of Augustan inscriptions are not altogether comparable to the numbers of later inscriptions. This comes from the fact that, epigraphically, the Augustan period forms a continuation of the Republic, Roman senators still retaining much of the authority - this resulting e.g. in the exercise of useful acts of patronage - they commanded during the Republic, this again motivating the erection of monuments, some of which might have been left undone in later times. The personal authority and influence of the *princeps* developed only gradually during the reign of Augustus, but fairly early the emperor eclipsed everyone else as a potential source of *beneficia*. This no doubt had some effect on the numbers of monuments honouring senators. This is especially obvious in Athens. As we have seen, about half of all monuments honouring senators are from the time of Augustus, which is a share which is clearly in no relation to Athens' importance in later times and to the numbers of Roman senators actually having a connection to Athens. It is also notable that, among the honorands, there are so many men with no official business there, proconsuls of Asia on their way to that province, etc. The explanation is that clearly in the time of Augustus it was still regarded as most important to attract the attention, by the erection of honorific monuments, of as many senators (and of course other influential Romans) as possible, and that connections of a concrete nature - such as someone being or having been governor - did not play the role they did later. After Augustus, the number of inscriptions honouring senators drops very visibly, the emperor now taking over most of the roles played by senators in earlier times. The Augustan dedications thus in fact belonging to a somewhat different category than the later ones, this being especially clear in Athens but also in other places, one should, when dealing with imperial inscriptions honouring senators, perhaps concentrate on the period beginning only with the Julio-Claudians. In any case, it is certainly true that the existence, and numbers, of the early texts do not necessarily illustrate the same phenomena as a corresponding number of (say) Severan inscriptions at a certain site.

V. Reasons for setting up monuments in honour of senators

What led a public body such as a city or a private individual to set up a monument in honour of a senator? (The dedicators of the same monuments will be studied in the next section.) It is, of course, well known (and has already been touched upon in this article) that provincial officials such as governors were a frequent target of those aiming to set up honorific monuments; another large group of honorands were senators honoured in their hometowns either as local benefactors or on the basis of other merits - e.g. (as we have seen above) as former governors of provinces. However, it is clear that there must have been a great variety of reasons to set up a monument in honour of a senator, and we shall have a look at various possibilities as they can be studied on the basis of the material under scrutiny here.

Let us have a look at a table meant to illustrate the distribution of honorific inscriptions by the honorand, the dedicator, and the reason for the dedication. In my material, there are altogether 405 inscriptions which were erected at a certain place either (a) because the honorand held an office in the province (or in the case of *curatores*, etc. in the city) where the dedication was set up; or (b) because the honorand was a citizen of the city where the dedication was set up; or (c) for a certain, identifiable reason (cf. below). (The inscriptions set up without an easy explanation are also interesting, but I shall come back to them later.) I have divided the inscriptions into those with a *cursus* and those just giving the name and the title. There are 128 *cursus* inscriptions and 290 other inscriptions which can be considered here (e.g. because of the fact that they are not too fragmentary). These numbers do not include Athenian dedications, for the Athenian honorific epigraphy (with e.g. its numerous obscure honorands) has a character completely of its own, this

resulting in the observation that a comparison of this material with the rest does not seem really useful in this connection. In any case, what we find can be tabulated as follows:

I Inscriptions honouring provincial officials

Dedicator	Cursus total	Earliest inscription	No cursus total	Earliest inscription
a. Private person	17	42/3	41	Augustus
b. Soldier	3	ca. 161	6	Domitian
c. Individual & City ¹⁹⁶	1	II cent.	10	Augustus
d. City ¹⁹⁷	19	Augustus	124	Augustus
e. No dedicator ¹⁹⁸	4	Trajan	9	Domitian
f. Larger body ¹⁹⁹	-	-	7	Augustus
g. Dedicator uncertain	19		16	
	63 48.8%		213 73.4%	

II Inscriptions honouring senators originating in the city with the dedication

Dedicator	Cursus total	Earliest inscription	No cursus total	Earliest inscription
a. Private person	17	Domitian	19	Trajan
b. Soldier	-	-	-	-
c. Individual & City	3	mid-II cent.	7	Hadrian
d. City ²⁰⁰	23	Vespasian	17	Trajan
e. No dedicator	2	Titus	5	Hadrian
f. Larger body	-	-	-	-
g. Dedicator uncertain	5	-	2	-
	50 38.8%		50 17.2%	

III Inscriptions set up for a special reason

Dedicator	Cursus total	Earliest inscription	No cursus total	Earliest inscription
a. Private person	3		6	
d. City	9		17	

¹⁹⁶ With this I mean types such as ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι (AE 1974, 634 = Tuchelt p. 139; Attaleia) or ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου ... καθὼς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσαντο (AE 1971, 456 = I. Ephesos 619A).

¹⁹⁷ This category, of course, includes inscriptions set up by various bodies operating within, or representing, the city (the *boule* and the *demos*, the *gerousia*, etc.).

¹⁹⁸ In most cases the dedicator was probably the city in which the inscription was found (cf. Haensch, op. cit. [n. 11] 595 n. 88).

¹⁹⁹ E.g. οἱ Ἀχαιοί (IG iv 1² 665 cf. W Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* [1969] no. 289) or τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν (Arch. Delt. 10 [1926] Parart. 51 no. 2).

²⁰⁰ A 'city' here can mean both the home city of a senator or another city setting up a monument in the honorand's *patris*.

e. No dedicator	3		4	
g. Dedicator uncertain	1		1	
	16	12.4%	27	9.3%
Total	129	100%	291	100%
			420	

Looking at these numbers, one observes some interesting things. It is, of course, no surprise to find that inscriptions set up in honour of senators in their hometowns start only in the Flavian period, as it is only in this time when one starts to find eastern senators in larger numbers. Instead, it is interesting to note (although even this is probably not a very big surprise) that the share of cursus inscriptions is much larger among the inscriptions honouring senators in their hometowns than among the inscriptions set up in honour of provincial officials. Furthermore, in most cases here - in group II - the earliest cursus inscriptions are earlier than the non-cursus inscriptions set up by the same categories of dedicators. The earliest cursus inscription in this group set up by a private individual is from the time of Domitian, the corresponding earliest non-cursus inscription is from the time of Trajan;²⁰¹ the earliest cursus inscription set up by a city is from the time of Vespasian, whereas the earliest corresponding non-cursus one is from the time of Trajan.²⁰² On the other hand, in group I, inscriptions honouring provincial officials, one observes the tendency of private dedicators apparently to be more likely to set out the whole career of the honorands: 17 of a total of 62 cursus inscriptions, i.e. 27%, were set up by individuals, whereas among the 213 non-cursus inscriptions 41, i.e. 19%, were set up by individual dedicators. The difference is not very large, but perhaps one might interpret this as indicating private dedicators being more concerned with including all relevant information regarding the honorands in their dedications.

But it is true that whatever one observes on the basis of the numbers above is bound to be fairly uncertain, as the bare numbers do not take into account factors such as differing habits in different places and at different times. So one should perhaps refrain from making too many deductions on the basis of the table. Instead, let us move to the group of dedications made for special reasons and then turn to an overview of the cases where there is no obvious reason for the setting up of the monuments.

As for the "special" cases, I have classified under this group all those dedications which do not come under group I (provincial officials) or II (senators honoured in their hometowns), but for the erection of which an explanation of sorts can be put forward without much trouble. First of all, during the earliest empire we still often find senators, normally representatives of Republican noble families, honoured as patrons, this relationship not necessarily being connected with a provincial office of the honorand;²⁰³

²⁰¹ Cursus from the time of Domitian: *ILS* 9485 (from Pisidian Antioch, that is from a colony, where special circumstances obtain); non-cursus from the time of Trajan: *IGR* iv 386 (A. Iulius Quadratus, Pergamum). The next ones are from the time of Pius (*IGR* iv 424, 425 [*OGI* 491], also from Pergamum).

²⁰² Cursus from the time of Vespasian and Titus: *ILS* 8817 = *OGI* 482 = *IGR* iv 644 = *MAMA* vi 262 (Acmonia); non-cursus from the time of Trajan: *IGR* iv 387.

²⁰³ E.g. *AE* 1985, 771 (Buthrotum, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus cos. 16 BC); *I. Ephesos* 3902, a patron of Myra (in Lycia, at this time not part of the Roman empire) honoured when proconsul of Asia; cf. above n. 165). *Milet* I 2, 116 no. 12b = Tuchelt p. 190 (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus cos. 16 BC; note also *Milet* I 9, 161f. no. 333 = Tuchelt p. 191); *I. Pergamon* 425 = *IGR* iv 410 = Tuchelt p. 230; *IGR* iv 411 = Tuchelt p. 231 (Augustan Pisones). Perhaps the striking, bilingual monument honouring a young Arruntius from Prymnessus (*ILS* 976 = *CIL* iii 7043 = *IGR* iv 675; cf. above n. 67, 77) could also belong here. For patrons of Greek cities (up to the time of Augustus) see J.-L. Ferrary, in: M. Christol & O. Masson (eds.), *Actes de Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (1992), Paris 1997, 219-224.

then there are intellectuals of senatorial rank being honoured because of their status as intellectuals.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, there is a group of senators with possessions and influence outside their hometowns, whom one observes being honoured in various cities and sites belonging to a larger area; this group is well represented by Herodes Atticus and members of his family,²⁰⁵ but there are many other instances.²⁰⁶ Some senators earned a monument by doing a special favour for a city; thus an Augustan proconsul of Cyprus is honoured in the temple of Asclepius in Cos because he had taken care of the interests of Cos regarding a *ἱερὰ καὶ δαμοσία ἀμῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ χώρα* (AE 1934, 86).²⁰⁷ In the

²⁰⁴ Thus one finds Arrian honoured as a 'philosopher': AE 1971, 437 (Athens, now in the epigraphical museum; here also designated as *hypatikos*); Corinth viii 3, 124 = AE 1968, 473 (here also designated as legate of Cappadocia; note furthermore that Arrian was also honoured - without any titles - in his hometown Nicomedia [TAM iv 1, 41] and apparently - as *anthypatos philosophos* - in an unpublished inscription from Byblos, cf. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, JRS 68 [1978] 65 n. 288); the city of Patrae set up a monument of the consular historian Claudius Charax in his hometown Pergamum (AE 1961, 320); in Olympia, the consular *rhētor* Claudius Aristocles of Pergamum (on whom see Philostratus, VS 2, 3; Halfmann, *Senatoren* 193 no. 121) was honoured by a monument mentioning no dedicator (*I. Olympia* 462). These dedications, of course, illustrate the genre of monuments honouring intellectuals rather than a category consisting of "senatorial" inscriptions.

²⁰⁵ E.g. Corinth viii 2, 58 (AE 1977, 774 will probably have been identical) and AE 1986, 632 (Olympia), in honour of Herodes Atticus' father; IG vii 88 (Megara); *I. Olympia* 454 (Herodes Atticus); *I. Olympia* 619, 620 (relatives). As for Herodes Atticus himself, note also the Latin inscription of unknown origin now in Stockholm, published at last by B.E. Thomasson, *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections* (1997) no. 165 and by F. Grelle, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Ἐπιγραφαί. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini I* (2000) 455-62; I should say that this looks like another inscription from Corinth (Grelle p. 458 also considers Corinth). One could go on with this list, although it is true that many of these inscriptions do not make a reference to the senatorial status of the honorand.

²⁰⁶ Thus M. Plancius Varus of Perge is honoured in c. AD 70 in Attaleia by the *demos* of Attaleia (EA 28 [1997] 150 = AE 1997, 1505) and by a 'friend' (SEG vi 650 = AE 1973, 539), and in Germa by (probably) a municipal notable (AE 1971, 463 = 1973, 534); A. Iulius Quadratus is honoured not only in his hometown Pergamum but also in Didyma (cf. above at n. 170) and Ephesus, where he may well have had a residence (cf. above at n. 171; *I. Ephesos* 614, 3033); L. Catilius Severus, cos. in 110 and 120, a man with a Bithynian background, perhaps from Apamea (Halfmann, *Senatoren* 133ff. no. 38), is honoured by two inscriptions mentioning no dedicators at a site outside Nicaea (*Musum Iznik* ii 1204, 1205; for the exact spot see S. Sahin, *ibid.* p. 283b), perhaps in a villa he owned here (cf. n. 212); at about the same time, the Spartan senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculaneus from Sparta is honoured in Gythium (IG v 1, 1172); in the time of Pius, the senator from Nysa, Sex. Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, is honoured by the city of Pergamum because of his *eusebeia* towards "the God" (i.e. Asclepius) and his *eunoia* for the city; a senator from Messene in the time of Marcus, Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus, whose influence and interests no doubt extended over the whole of the Peloponnese, is honoured both at Sparta (IG v 1, 533) and at Argos (IG iv 588; note that these two texts are almost identical); at about the same time, one finds an inscription from Epidaurus (IG iv 1² 682) in honour of the *synkletikos* and *euergetes* Veturius Paccianus, a man probably from Corinth (Halfmann, *Senatoren* 192 no. 118). The about Severan senator from Rhodes, Ti. Claudius [Aqui?]la Theopropos (cf. Halfmann in *Tituli* 2 p. 625), is honoured as *hypatikos* by a private person on the small island of Chalce just off the N. coast of Rhodes (IG xii 1, 959 = IGR iv 1112). Furthermore, the monument (AE 1953, 51 = SEG xii 265) that Flavia Amphiclia set up in Delphi ψηφίσματι Ἀμφικτ[ύωνων] in honour of her husband T. Flavius Philinus from Thespieae most probably also belongs under this heading.

²⁰⁷ A somewhat similar case is that of the suffect consuls of AD 23, C. Asinius Pollio and C. Stertinius Maximus being honoured in the Heraeum on Samos (IGR iv 1724a.b = IG xii 6, 1, 367 i. ii), for it was in their consulate that the senate confirmed the asylum rights for the temple of Iuno on Samos (Tac. *ann.* 4.14).

time of Marcus Aurelius, various relatives of the emperor were thought of as needing to be honoured by monuments;²⁰⁸ finally, there are various other dedications which can be classified as having been set up for special reasons.²⁰⁹

But there is still a fairly large number of honorific monuments which seem difficult to explain. It is true that in some cases in which a senator is honoured by a former subordinate in a certain city, it seems possible to assume that this happened not because the senator himself had something to do with the city, but because it was the home of the dedicator; this has been suggested e.g. in the cases of Rutilius Gallicus being honoured in Ephesus and Pompeius Falco being honoured in Hierapolis Castabala,²¹⁰ and this makes

²⁰⁸ In Argos, M. Vettulenus Civica Barbarus cos. 157 was honoured after the year 169 as ἀδελφὸς Ἀ. Καίσαρος, θεῖος Σεβαστῶν (AE 1958, 15, the senatorial career also being added), and in Athens as ὑπάτος by Herodes Atticus who calls himself Ἡρώδης Ἀττικοῦ Μαπαθώνιος and a friend of the honorand (SEG xvi 166 cf. xvii 76, a statue base from the Agora); Cn. Claudius Severus (later cos. II in 173), a son-in-law of Marcus, is honoured in Ephesus as 'the father of Ummidius Quadratus' and as κηδεστὴς τῶν θειο[ύ]των αὐτο[ῦ] κρατ[όρων] (I. Ephesos 1539); in Athens, the same Severus is honoured by Herodes Atticus in an inscription in which the nominative, not the accusative is used as δῖς ὑπάτος, [κ]ηδεστὴς of Marcus (above n. 20); M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus cos. 172 is honoured in Ephesus by a private person as Marcus' son-in-law and Verus' sister's son (I. Ephesos 704, no senatorial offices being mentioned; cf. above n. 42).

²⁰⁹ Thus we have young senators accompanying the emperor (ILS 8812 = IG xii 5, 940 = OGI 463, Tenos; IGR iv 418 = I. Pergamon 424 = OGI 464 and IGR iv 419, from Pergamum, all set up in honour of the young senator P. Quinctilius Varus, who was accompanying Augustus on his eastern tour in 21/20 BC; he was also honoured in Athens, IG ii/iii² 4124); we have a senator expelled by Nero being honoured, together with his wife, in his exile in Palaeopolis on Andros (IG xii 5, 757; cf. n. 35); we have the senator P. Aelius Hadrianus honoured in Athens as archon (CIL iii 550 = ILS 308) and in Coronea without any title (IG vii 2879; cf. above n. 178), the monument no doubt being from the same period and indicating that Hadrian's interests were not limited to Athens; in Ephesus, we find a young senator, only a *monetalis*, being honoured by a lictor, the explanation perhaps being that we have here a grand-nephew of Hadrian coming to Ephesus to meet his great-uncle on his way back from the Jewish war (I. Ephesos 734, cf. E. Champlin, ZPE 21 [1976] 88f.; R. Syme, Roman Papers iii [1984] 1168; cf. A.R. Birley, Hadrian. The Restless Emperor [1997] 309); we have the Hadrianic senator from Tripolis in Syria, Aemilius Iuncus, being honoured as *poleites* and *euergetes* by his hometown on the Acropolis in Athens, the dedication being done according to a *psephisma* of the *demos* and two councils of Athens and coinciding with the office of *corrector* in Achaia of the honorand (IG ii/iii² 4210 = OGI 587; cf. on Iuncus in Achaia now J.-L. Ferrary and D. Rousset, BCH 122 [1998] 292ff.). Moreover, if A. Vibius Habitus (cos. AD 8), the brother of the proconsul of Asia, C. Vibius Postumus (cos. AD 5), is honoured in Teos, at the time no doubt being of consular status, he cannot be being honoured simply as a brother accompanying the proconsul (IGR iv 1564 = Tuchelt p. 245); finally, if a quaestor of Macedonia and *curator* of Philippi was honoured in the time of Marcus by a local notable as his *amicus* in Philippi (AE 1934, 55), a *kratistos tamias* (also of Macedonia) by a private man as his *philos* in Thessalonica in the middle of the third century (IG x 2, 1, 149), one suspects that the two young honorands may have had more intensive connections with the towns where they were honoured than just those arising from the fact that they were provincial quaestors (in fact, in the case of the man honoured in Philippi it has been suggested that he came from Philippi, cf. PIR² M 669 and AE 1996, 1374f.). - The honorific inscriptions of Athens, left out here because of their very special nature, would provide much illustration of the variety of "special" reasons for a senator appearing as an honorand of an honorific monument.

²¹⁰ Rutilius Gallicus: ILS 9499 = I. Ephesos 715 (cf. W. Eck, in Id. [ed.], Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte [1993] 373 n. 19); Pompeius Falco: ILS 1036 = CIL iii 12117 (cf. PIR² L 5; for the name *Laberius* - that of the dedicators - in a recently published inscription from Cilicia see K. Tomaschitz, Unpublizierte Inschriften aus dem Nachlass T.B. Mitfords [1998] 12 no. 5). Perhaps one could think of this explanation also in the case of the monuments set up in honour T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus in Ephesus (I. Ephesos 657. 817), an explanation which one could connect with a lengthy stay of the honorand in Ephesus, no doubt in connection with Severus Alexander's eastern campaign in

one think of cases in which local men set up monuments in honour of 'friends'.²¹¹ In these cases, one could assume that the monuments were part of the dedicators' "self-representation", the monuments being meant to point out the dedicators' connections with men of very high social rank. (But of course here, too, the honorands may have had connections with the places where they were honoured totally obscure to us.) Again, in some cases one might think that a senator is honoured at a place where he had property.²¹² Connections of a varying and not necessarily clear nature to us, of course play a large role here. If two Tineii, both the consul of 158 and his son, consul in 182, are honoured in Side (Nollé, *Side* 60f.), this seems to have something to do with the elder Tineius' wife, Volusia Laodice.²¹³ The fact that L. Calpurnius Proculus, a senator from Ancyra in the time of Commodus, is honoured in Pisidian Antioch by the the city of Antioch (*AE* 1926, 77), can perhaps be illuminated by the fact that Proculus' grandson L. Calpurnius Reginianus was also honoured there,²¹⁴ the fact that L. Cossonius Eggus Marullus cos. 184 was honoured as ὑπατικός and ὁ ἐαυτοῦ θρέψας καὶ εὐεργέτης in Ephesus by a certain T. Aelius Aurelius Neo, παράδοξος (*I. Ephesos* 660), by the fact that Marullus' niece was honoured in the same city (*I. Ephesos* 896). If M. Flavius Carminius Athenagoras from Attuda received an honorific monument in Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2783), this has surely something to do with the fact that the family had connections with Aphrodisias appearing also in other sources.²¹⁵ Again, in the case of the jurist M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus from Thyatira, some connections with Macedonia, relevant for the interpretation of the honorific inscription from Thessalonica, *IG* x 2, 1, 142, can be established.²¹⁶ Then there are of course patrons²¹⁷ and various *euergetai* and/or *ktistai*

which the honorand took part as the emperor's *comes* (cf. C. Badel, in *XI. Congresso internazionale di epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma ... 1997. Atti* [1999] 505).

²¹¹ Thus e.g. in the case of M. Pompeius Macrinus from Mytilene (cos. 115) being honoured ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς) by a 'friend' (also called M. Pompeius) in Tegea (*IG* v 2, 151, with *cursus* and all).

²¹² Thus there is a monument in honour of L. Fabius Cilo (cos. II 204) found at a place called *Belevi* in the lower Cayster valley about 15 km from Ephesus (*IGR* iv 1674 = *I. Ephesos* 3204; the inscription is broken in the end so that the dedicator cannot be ascertained); in view of the findspot and of the fact that Cilo never held an office in Asia, one might perhaps think of property owned by Cilo here. Pompeius Falco, honoured by a city in Judaea in Ephesus, most probably had a residence of sorts in the area (cf. above n. 166). Again, L. Catilius Severus is the honorand of two monuments from outside Nicaea, the findspot pointing to a country villa owned by Severus (n. 206).

²¹³ Raepsaet-Charlier (*PFOS* no. 837) in fact thinks that she was from Side; Nollé, *op. cit.* 343 assumes that she is from somewhere in the larger area (cf. also *IGR* iii 829 from Syedra in Cilicia).

²¹⁴ *IGR* iii 299 (cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 207); perhaps one could assume that Calpurnius Proculus' wife Domitia Regina (*PFOS* no. 332) came from Antioch.

²¹⁵ Cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 36f.

²¹⁶ See A.B. Tataki, *Ancient Beraea* (1988) 214f. no. 809; P. Hermann, *Tyche* 12 (1997) 112.

²¹⁷ E.g. C. Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus, a patron of Pisidian Antioch in the Severan period (*CIL* iii 6810-12; *AE* 1914, 130. Honoratus, a patrician from Cirta with no service in the provinces, had no doubt inherited the patronate; one would like to know from whom exactly. To go back a bit in time, one also wonders how the man honoured in the time of Nero in *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii no. 48 = *AE* 1981, 828 had become patron and *euergete* of Xanthus. The man - *inter alia* military tribune 'in Britain', quaestor 'in Gaul' (i.e. of Gallia Narbonensis), and, at the end, 'legate of Nero Claudius (etc.) in Syria' - never came even close to Lycia during his career. Could this be a local man? Attaleia in Pamphylia produced the first senator in the time of Claudius (Halfmann, *Senatoren* 101 no. 2).

labelled as such in honorific inscriptions, the exact nature of whose operations escapes us.²¹⁸

In the case of these *euergetai*, one is dealing with men from Asia Minor operating in the same area, something which does not seem too surprising. But there are some cases remaining which seem fairly striking and for which even speculation does not seem to provide an explanation of sorts. Let me present here in quick review some instances which seem worthy of mention. First of all, one would like to know exactly why the young senator, adlected to the patriciate before the quaestorship, L. [Ped]anius Se[c]undus Pompeius Festus [M]unatianus, received an honorific monument in Ephesus, set up by the *boule* and the *demos* together with two brothers referring to the honorand as their *euergete* (all the dedicators strikingly being mentioned in the nominative). The inscription (*AE* 1968, 482 = *I. Ephesos* 701) enumerates the whole career up to the office of quaestor of the emperor Vespasian. The origin of the connection with Ephesus must remain uncertain, unless one wishes to adduce the fact that L. Pedanius Secundus cos. 43 (*PIR*² P 202), no doubt a close relative, had been proconsul of Asia in the early 50s.²¹⁹ An interesting case is certainly the Greek inscription in honour of L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus cos. 139 (*PIR*² M 620) from Megara (*IG* VII 89); this inscription, fragmentary in the end so that the dedicator cannot be ascertained - but one assumes that the monument will have been set up by the city itself - sets out the whole career, closely following the renderings in Latin of the man's offices in other inscriptions pertaining to him, the stone in its present state reaching the legateship of Africa.²²⁰ On official business, Natalis never even came close to Greece, although it is true that he is attested as having at least been there, as he won the four-horse chariot race at the Olympics of 129; moreover, it has been suggested that Natalis, a former quaestor of Hadrian, was accompanying the emperor on his visit to Greece in 128-129.²²¹ But the dedication in Megara can hardly be explained by the athletic victory or by the young senator's possible presence in the entourage of the emperor. E. Groag (*RE* xv 1840 under Minicius no. 19) says that Natalis had provided some "benefactions" to the city, and I have nothing to say against that; however, I think that one should rather wonder how, when and in what capacity Natalis got a connection with the city.²²² A rather obscure case seems to me to be an inscribed epistyle (58 x 107 x ?) from Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Mysia, *CIL* iii 7059a cf. 12243 = *IGR* iv 124, a

²¹⁸ E.g. *I. Ephesos* 3040 (C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus from Sardes); *IGR* iv 717 (the son of the same Quadratus in Blaundus).

²¹⁹ W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970) 107 n. 84 thinks that this man may after all have been quaestor of Asia (but does not repeat this statement in *RE* Suppl. xiv [1974] 371 no. 11). But why should this have been omitted in the inscription? As for the connection perhaps arising from the elder Pedanius Secundus' proconsulate, this seems fairly dubious to me (Secundus the Younger, whether a son or not, cannot have been more than a few years old during the proconsulate), but one might adduce the parallel of the senator C. Iulius Scapula (*PIR*² I 552) being honoured, in the time of Pius, by a private person on the Acropolis (*IG* ii/iii² 4212, with the cursus), this perhaps having something to do with the fact that his father had been proconsul of Achaia in c. 135 (*PIR*² I 553). Cf. below n. 269.

²²⁰ Note that the transcription of the text in *IG* is defective and has to be corrected on the basis of the majuscule copy.

²²¹ Birley, op. cit. (n. 209) 216.

²²² According to Pausanias, Megara, unlike many other cities in Greece, did not gain from the reign of Hadrian and he does not seem too optimistic about its prospects (1. 36. 4, cf. S. Alcock, *Graecia capta* [1993] 160); however, U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* [1954] 121-4 is no doubt right in saying that things were not that bad; certainly one is struck by the number of inscriptions of the Roman period there.

monument set up in honour of a young senator of whose name only the cognomen [Ae]quus, [Anti]quus or [Propin]quus²²³ is left on the stone; no other office than that of a *III viarum cur[an]darum* seems to be mentioned, and the monument was set up apparently by two clearly young men of senatorial status - the first perhaps a quaestor designate, the other a military tribune - who most surprisingly move on to the use of Greek after having mentioned the honorand and his office. How this man has ended up in Apollonia seems beyond conjecture.²²⁴ Further senators receiving honorific monuments not easily explained could be M. Nummius Albinus honoured by a private person as *hypatikos* in Adada in Pisidia (in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia);²²⁵ C. Sallius Aristaenetus, a Severan senator from Byzantium, also honoured as *hypatikos* (perhaps by the city itself) in Amastris;²²⁶ [---?] Armenius Peregrinus being honoured as *lamprotatos* (also possibly by the city itself) in Soli (Pompeiiopolis) in Cilicia.²²⁷ However, we cannot speculate on these men, as we must move on to the last section of this paper.

VI. Cursus Inscriptions in the East. Some Observations

In this last section I shall briefly discuss some aspects related specifically to cursus inscriptions beginning with a definition or description of cursus inscriptions as contrasted with "normal" honorific inscriptions. Then we shall move on to some features of those cursus inscriptions which one encounters in our area.

In principle, the definition of cursus inscriptions, as contrasted with the rest of honorific inscriptions, is simple: Cursus inscriptions set out the career of the honorand, whereas the other inscriptions normally mention only the highest office. In practice some questions, however, may arise now and then, as cursus inscriptions often do not mention all the offices, and "normal" inscriptions sometimes mention more than just one office. But basically one can say that one can define as cursus inscriptions those which either set out the career or at least try to give a description of some of its stages, whereas one should (I think) define as non-cursus inscriptions those texts which, while mentioning more than one office, refrain from trying to give an enumeration of even a selection of the honorand's offices but rather mention an additional office which defines the main office - for instance the provincial governorship in a text from the same province - by being either (a) an indication of the rank (say, *hypatikos*) of the honorand when being honoured because of a certain office, or (b) a closer definition of the office, or, when a following office is mentioned, (c) an indication of the future activities of the honorand.

²²³ In *PIR*, he is registered under *Propinquus* (*PIR*² P 1012).

²²⁴ C. Cichorius (*AM* 4 [1889] 249) suggests reading [χιλ]ίαρχος[ς] πλατύσημο[ς] λ[ε]γ[ε]ω[ν]ος ζ' as the office of the second dedicator, and (his name beginning with Γ. Io-) proposes to identify him with C. Julius Scapula cos. c. 138 (*PIR*² I 553), who was tribune of the *legio VII Gemina*. This may be correct but does not seem to take us very far.

²²⁵ *IGR* iii 363 cf. *SEG* xxxii 1290, quoting J. Nollé, *Nundinas habere et instituere* (1982) 57 n. 125. Nollé assumes that this is the same man who is attested as legate of Asia; but what is he doing as consular in Lycia-Pamphylia?

²²⁶ *ÖJh* 28 [1933] Beiblatt 74 no. 23 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 163 no. 17. For his *patris* see Halfmann in *Tituli* 2 (1982) p. 637.

²²⁷ In *PIR*² A 1059 it is said that this may be L. Armenius Peregrinus, attested as praetor in 213, or this man's son, Ti. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus, consul in 244. The consul is registered in *PIR*² P 536, but here this inscription is not mentioned as a possible source for the consul's activities.

Let us have a quick look at these variations as they appear in our material.²²⁸ As for the first case, when an honorand is also characterized by an indication of his rank, I would count as belonging to these cases those in which a priesthood is added (these being predominantly Latin inscriptions), most often to the mention of a consulate, but (normally in the case of patrician or noble consuls) also to minor offices; this is, of course, something which one is accustomed to find in the early period,²²⁹ but in our material one finds both early and later instances.²³⁰ In a late second-century text from Side, a reference to the patrician status of the honorand is most strikingly added to the combination.²³¹ Another combination already found in the early period is that of the consulate and the proconsulate of a province held after the consulate, i.e. either Africa or Asia. Here the mention of the consulate is no doubt added to produce a combination of the highest, and the most impressive, offices of the honorand²³² and perhaps also meant to underline the fact that the proconsulate is one requiring consular status. However, instances of this combination are not really very common, because normally a senator of this rank was already in possession of a priesthood which at least in the earlier period was thought worthy of mentioning.²³³ Thus a normal type of giving a summary of the achievements of a proconsul of Asia or Africa was to use a combination consisting of the consulate, the

²²⁸ About the same things could be said of honorific inscriptions from all around the Roman world. Note that I am here talking only about what can be labelled as 'offices'; of course, it is well known that honorands could be described by the use of many more terms (e.g. as patrons, friends, citizens, etc.). Note furthermore that whereas *hypatikos*, although also indicating a certain rank within the senatorial order, can be seen as registering an office, that of a (former) consul, whereas the term *synkletikos* simply denotes a rank within the social structure of the Roman empire, and does not indicate the man so labelled as having held a certain office. I shall thus not consider cases in which this term is combined with an office, especially as this is in fact most uncommon (e.g. *συνκλητικόν, ταμίαν* *I. Cret.* iv 292; *συνκλητικόν, τριβούνον* *IGR* iii 960 from Palaeopaphus [this man should perhaps be added to the lists of senators from Cyprus]), the term normally being used to describe young senators who have not yet held an office.

²²⁹ E.g. *ILS* 919 (Hadria) *cos., pontif.* (Paullus Fabius Maximus *cos.* 11 BC). Cf. W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 45) 166 n. 166 (= *Id., Tra epigraphia* etc. [n. 16] 281, 283, 297 n. 172).

²³⁰ E.g. *pontif., cos.* *AE* 1985, 771 (Buthrotum, in honour of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus *cos.* 16 BC); *ὑπάτον* (in the later inscriptions *δῖς ὑπάτον*), *ποντίφικα* *AE* 1939, 26 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 136 no. 3; *IGR* iii 135 = 1447 = *OGI* 546 = *ILS* 8832 = Marek 137 no. 4; Marek 137f. no. 5-7 (Pompeiiopolis, in honour of the local senator Cn. Claudius Severus, *cos.* II in 173); *I. Ephesos* 1539 (*ὑπατικόν, ποντίφικα*: the same Claudius Severus). Priesthood combined with minor offices: *ILS* 976 = *CIL* iii 7043 = *IGR* iv 675 (augurate combined with the urban prefecture for the Latin holidays; cf. above n. 203); *I. Ephesos* 734 (a *monetalis* and an *pontifex*; cf. above n. 209).

²³¹ Nollé, *Side* 60 (cf. *ibid.* 61 = *IGR* iii 808) *[Κ]όντον Τινέον Σακέρδωτα ὑπατικόν, πατρίκιον, ποντίφικα*.

²³² Among representatives of this category one can no doubt also count combinations which include a proconsulate of Asia or Africa and the city prefecture (e.g. *I. Ephesos* 3030) or the city prefecture and an iterated consulate (e.g. *I. Ephesos* 3204).

²³³ In *I. Ephesos* 659A (in honour of Cn. Lentulus Augur proconsul in c. 2/1 BC) one reads *cos., [pro]cos.*, but here something may be missing between *Au]guri* and *cos.* From a later period, there are somewhat more instances, e.g. *δῖς ὑπάτον καὶ ἀν[θύ]πατον Ἀσίας* *IGR* iv 386 (and 388), from Pergamum and in honour of A. Iulius Quadratus; *I. Ephesos* 3082 (Severan, consulate and proconsulate of Africa of a senator from Ephesus); *IGR* iii 614 = *TAM* ii 279 (Severan, consulate and proconsulate of Africa of a senator from Xanthus).

proconsulate and the priesthood.²³⁴ In Africa, one also finds many proconsuls equipped with two priesthoods, the definition of the status of the proconsul in these cases consisting of altogether four items;²³⁵ in my material, I have observed only the bilingual inscription from Ephesus honouring L. Nonius Asprenas, proconsul in c. 107/8, where one must supply one priesthood between the augurate and the proconsulate (*I. Ephesos* 3027).²³⁶

But besides proconsuls of Asia and Africa, one of course finds the rank of *consul(aris) / hypat(ik)os* being applied to other consular governors, of which one finds in my material e.g. special legates²³⁷ and (later) *correctores*.²³⁸

As for those cases in which a closer definition is given of an office, by this I mean a reference to an additional mission during the tenure of the main office, an office of this type being represented in my material by curatorships held during a provincial tenure either as governor²³⁹ or as a minor official.²⁴⁰ However, perhaps the most common type, at least if one considers honorific inscriptions in general, is that in which the current and the next office, already known to the dedicators, are mentioned together. The most common case is, of course, that in which a governor of a praetorian province is either designated to the consulate or holds the consulship *in absentia* during the provincial command or in some cases is honoured only after having left the province for Rome. In our material, however, the mention of a designation to the consulate, common in the honorific inscriptions in some provinces,²⁴¹ seems to be rather rare (in cursus inscriptions

²³⁴ In my material one finds at least *cos.*, [*VII/viro epu]lon[um, pro cos.] CIL iii 727 = I. Parion 13 (L. Volusius Saturninus cos. 12 BC); [VII/viro epu]lonum, cos., pro cos.] AE 1968, 483 = I. Ephesos 706 (M. Plautius Silvanus cos. 2 BC). In African inscriptions referring to proconsuls this is a common combination, not only on honorific inscriptions but also on those set up by the proconsuls themselves (see e.g. the inscriptions of M. Pompeius Silvanus proconsul in AD 53, *IRT* 338, *CIL* viii 11006).*

²³⁵ Cf. e.g. the inscriptions of Q. Marcius Barea procos. 41/3 (*CIL* viii 11002. 19492 = *ILAlg.* ii 550. *AE* 1935, 32. *IRT* 273) or the inscription of C. Pomponius Rufus etc. procos. 113, *ILAlg.* i 1282.

²³⁶ In *I. Ephesos*, the restoration *sodali Augustali* is suggested. In *PIR*² N 133 this question is not referred to. Note also P. Memmius Regulus (legate in Greece in 35-44) being honoured as legate, ex-consul and member of altogether three priesthoods which, however, are not enumerated separately (*IG* iv 1² 667 + 669 cf. Peek, op. cit. [n. 199] no. 290).

²³⁷ P. Memmius Regulus (cf. previous n.): *IG* ii/iii² 4174; *IG* iv 1² 668 (but for instance in *IG* vii 87 Regulus is designated only as 'legate'). For regular governors of various other provinces being designated as consulars and governors see e.g. *IGR* iii 616 = *TAM* ii 277; *IGR* iii 85 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 163 no. 16; *AE* 1991, 1513 = *SEG* lxi 1174.

²³⁸ Thus two *correctores* of Achaia in the earlier third century, Cn. Claudius Leonticus (see the inscriptions from Delphi, Megara and Epidaurus at *SIG*³ 877B.C.D.E) and L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (*IG* vii 2510; *SEG* xxxvi 427 = xli 456). The inscription in honour of Ti. Claudius Callippianus Italicus, λογιστὴν καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων in the Severan period (*IG* ii/iii² 4215) adds that he also had the title πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον τῶν Σεβαστῶν.

²³⁹ *AE* 1949, 265 (Buthrotum, third century); cf. also *Milet* I 9, 171 no. 344 (from the time of Philip).

²⁴⁰ *AE* 1934, 55 (Philippi); *BCH* 47 (1923) 87f. no. 6 (likewise); *I. Ephesos* 696.

²⁴¹ Especially in the case of legates of the legio III Augusta in Africa from about the time of Marcus onwards (B.E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* [1996] 154ff.) and in Arabia (e.g. *IGLS* 9064. 9065. 9069. 9079; *IGLS* xxi 4, 46; *Gerasa* 433 no. 165; M. Sartre, in: G. Paci (ed.), 'Επιγραφαί. *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini* (2000) 975 no. 3).

this seems to be somewhat more common),²⁴² and about the same goes for those instances in which governors of praetorian provinces are described as *hypatoi* or *hypatikoi*.²⁴³ In an inscription from Attaleia in honour of the Vespasianic legate of Lycia-Pamphylia, M. Petronius Umbrinus, the priesthood (interestingly mentioned before the other offices) is added to the mention of the consulate and the governorship (AE 1972, 615 = SEG xvii 569), the result being that we have here an enumeration of three offices.

Whereas it is, generally speaking, quite common to find the consulate being referred to as an honorand's next appointment, other impending offices are found less often. These texts have been studied by E. Birley.²⁴⁴ In my material, I seem to be able to find subsequent appointments other than the consulate being referred to only in the case of two inscriptions from Pergamum, both of (probably) Severan date and honouring quaestors of Asia leaving their posts for new appointments in the capital.²⁴⁵ However, perhaps one might add, from the very end of our period, an inscription from Aphrodisias set up in honour of T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus (PIR² O 115), τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν, ἡγεμόνα Καρίας καὶ Φρυγίας, ἀνθύπατον καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴν Ἀσίας (AE 1981, 770 = SEG xxxi 910 = C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* [1989] 16 no. 7). The man seems to be identical with an Asclepiodotus attested as governor of Caria-Phrygia in 282/3.²⁴⁶ If one could assume that the inscription was set up during this governorship, one would have to conclude that Asia is mentioned as the following post. But as the honorand is himself from Aphrodisias (this is clear from the wording of the inscription), one might also assume that the monument was set up after the conclusion of his career and that his most important offices were mentioned.

If the latter alternative is the correct one, this text would come close to cursus inscriptions (and the same could perhaps be said also of some of the other inscriptions

²⁴² Non-cursus inscriptions: IGR iii 151 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 188 no. 2 (Hadrianopolis, AD 138); *I. Olympia* 356 (early third century); probably also *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii 136 no. 51 = AE 1981, 831. In a Latin inscription from Ancyra set up after the death of the honorand, legate of Galatia in 197-8: CIL iii 252 = 6754 = Bosch, op. cit. (n. 54) 283 no. 218. As for cursus inscriptions, see e.g. in CIL iii 7394 = ILS 1093 = *I. Perinthos* 19; ILS 9499 = *I. Ephesos* 715; IGR III 176; AE 1969/70, 601 cf. 1971, 462 (Ancyra); *I. Perge* 154 and TAM ii 1201 cf. SEG xxxi 1300 (Voconius Saxa); for *cos. II des.* see *I. Ephesos* 3026-7, for designated praetors see CIL iii 6076 = ILS 1093 = *I. Ephesos* 1543, CIL iii 6814ff., IGR iii 188, for designated quaestors *I. Ephesos* 4110, IGR iii 134 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 136 no. 2. Cf. also *I. Ephesos* 697B (fragmentary).

²⁴³ *Hypatoi*: IGR iii 186 = Bosch, op. cit. (n. 54) 208 no. 159 (legate of Galatia, time of Pius); IGR iii 290 = ILS 8827 (legate of Cilicia, time of Pius); IG x 2, 1, 146 (late Severan proconsul of Macedonia); IGR iii 556 = OGI 568 = ILS 8840 = TAM ii 572 (τὸν εὐγενέστατον ὁρδινάρτον ὑπατον [in 244] καὶ ὑγιέστατον ἀνθ(ύ)πατον) [of Lycia-Pamphylia in the early 240s]. *Hypatikoi*: IGBulg. 5407 (legate of Thrace, Severan); legates of Phrygia-Caria: AE 1996, 1481; *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 39.

²⁴⁴ E. Birley, 'Inscriptions Indicative of Impending or Recent Movement', *Chiron* 9 (1979) 495-505.

²⁴⁵ *Altertümer von Pergamon* viii 3 no. 24 (now becoming *ab actis senatus*); IGR iv 407 (becoming aedile, the exact nature of the office not being specified). As I am here interested in non-cursus inscriptions mentioning more than just one office, I shall not deal with cursus inscriptions mentioning future activities. For some instances, note *Alt. von Pergamon* viii 3, 21 (cf. above n. 63); AE 1972, 575 = *I. Ephesos* 735 (a legate of Asia headed for a new post in Moesia). - Of course I am thinking here only of officials honoured because of that same office, senators of local origin belonging to a completely different category. Inscriptions in honour of such senators naturally also often included references to future posts (note e.g. *I. Ephesos* 4110; IGR iii 392 = *I. Central Pisidia* 152).

²⁴⁶ Cf. C. Roueché, in A. Chastagnol & al. (eds.), *Splendidissima civitas. Études d'histoire romaine en hommage à François Jacques* (1996) 238.

referred to above), for among those inscriptions which I would like to class as cursus inscriptions there are quite a few which do not enumerate all stages of the honorand's career. Let us now turn to this aspect of cursus inscriptions as reflected in our material.²⁴⁷

There are, then, non-cursus inscriptions which mention more than just one office, and cursus inscriptions which omit offices, sometimes a significant number. In ascribing inscriptions to either one of the two categories, I have classed as cursus inscriptions all those which make at least a modest effort to give a description of the career leading to that stage in which he is honoured by the monument equipped with the inscription in question. The most important criterion seemed to me to be the mention of offices, or even just one office, which the honorand had formerly held, unless it is an office indicating the honorand's general rank such as *hypatikos* (cf. above). So, in the most extreme case an inscription with two offices of which is earlier would be classed as a cursus inscription, whereas another inscription with two offices of which the other is an office to which the honorand is being promoted, would be classed as a non-cursus inscription.

One faces only rarely a situation as that described above (cursus inscriptions mentioning only one earlier office are, of course, only to be expected in the case of young honorands). But it is true that among the inscriptions in my material there are quite a few which seem curiously defective and inadequate. Let us have a look at these texts now. First of all, one finds a category of cursus inscriptions which does not seem to exist at all outside the East, namely those texts in which it is said that, in addition to some offices mentioned by name, the honorand also held "many" other offices. In this category we find an inscription from Ephesus honouring A. Iulius Quadratus, *I. Ephesos* 1538 cf. *AE* 1997, 1435, in which Quadratus is described as [πρεσβευτή]ν καὶ [ἀντιστράτηγον] Αἰὶ[τ]οκράτορος [Νέρου]α Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος [Σεβαστο]ῦ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Συρίας [καὶ πολλῶν] ἄλλων ἐπαρχειῶν. In another inscription from Ephesus, Q. Pompeius Falco, proconsul of Asia in 124, is honoured (perhaps with some exaggeration) as πρεσβευτήν Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Μυσίας καὶ Βρεταννίας καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας ἡγεμονίας διατελέσαντα, Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον (*I. Ephesos* 713, cf. above n. 166). In a fairly impressionistic description of the career of a third-century *corrector* of Achaia, an inscription from Sparta renders the honorand's career up to the appointment in Greece with the phrase μετὰ [πολλ]ὰς καὶ ἄλλας [Ῥωμαί]ων ἀρχὰς ἢ [γ]ε[μόνα] καὶ διορθωτὴν [τῆς] Ἑλλάδος (*IG* v 1, 538 cf. *AE* 1913, 244).²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ There are also, of course, cursus inscriptions from other parts of the Roman empire which can be shown to leave out offices of the honorand. The best way to study this phenomenon is to compare, when possible, two or more cursus inscriptions set up in honour of the same person. It is true that there are cases in which the offices of the honorand are set out in a similar fashion in the inscriptions, which can no doubt be explained by assuming that the honorand himself had furnished the dedicators with his own curriculum vitae (cf. W. Eck, "Tituli honorarii", curriculum vitae und Selbstdarstellung in der hohen Kaiserzeit", in: H. Solin & al. [eds.], op. cit. [n. 5] p. 211-37 = Id., *Tra epigraphia* etc. [n. 16] 319-340). On the other hand, there are also numerous cases in which the comparison of two or more cursus inscriptions honouring the same man reveals notable differences and omissions. We shall have a look at eastern cases here, but note among inscriptions from other parts of the empire e.g. the inscriptions describing the career of the Flavian senator L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (*PIR*² F 570), *ILS* 1005 and *Suppl. It* 10 Forum Popili 1 (the latter set up by the man himself), of which the first omits the vigintivirate and the *cura aquarum*, whereas the latter omits the legionary command and the prefecture of the *aerarium Saturni*. Interesting omissions are also revealed by the study of the cursus inscriptions e.g. of the senators L. Catilius Severus (*ILS* 1041 and *ILAFr.* 43), C. Arrius Antoninus (*ILS* 1118 and 1119), M. Pontius Varanus (*AE* 1982, 956 and *ILJug.* 1418).

²⁴⁸ Cf. Groag, op. cit. (n. 13) 85; A.J. Spawforth, *ABSA* 79 (1984) 274-6.

Again, one finds quite a few *cursus* inscriptions which concentrate on just a part of the honorand's career. In some cases, only the consular stages are included;²⁴⁹ this seems to be the case in *ILS* 962 = *CIL* iii 7090 (Pergamum, in honour of P. Memmius Regulus) and in the inscription from Ephesus set up (no dedicator being mentioned) in c. 162 in honour of the proconsul C. Popillius Carus Peto, *I. Ephesos* 3028 (to be contrasted with *ILS* 1071 with his whole career).²⁵⁰ Only the part of the career starting with the praetorship is rendered in the inscriptions from Lycia-Pamphylia honouring the Vespasianic governor L. Luscius Ocrea; only the praetorian career is set out in the case of Q. Caelius Honoratus, proconsul of Cyprus in the time of Trajan.²⁵¹ Furthermore, one observes a number of *cursus* inscriptions in which the offices are enumerated either incompletely or in a haphazard way or both. In Attaleia, an inscription (*AE* 1972, 620) in honour of the local senator L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus, now attested as consul in 148,²⁵² renders the career as military tribune, (proconsular) legate of Pontus-Bithynia, holder of an office in Achaia, thus no doubt omitting more than just the quattuorvirate *viarum curandarum* which appears in another inscription (*ibid.* 621). In *I. Ephesos* 3027 of c. 180 in honour of L. Saevinius Proculus (to be contrasted with *AE* 1968/70, 601 cf. 1971, 462, from Ancyra), the quaestorship is omitted and the rest of the offices are enumerated in an order which is incorrect in each detail, starting with the praetorship which is followed by the tribunate of the plebs. In another inscription from Ephesus, *I. Ephesos* 735, Veturius Paccianus, then legate of Asia, is honoured by Flavius Damianus as quaestor of Macedonia, proconsul of Creta-Cyrenae, legate of the diocese of Ephesus, and as "legate of the legion of upper Mysia",²⁵³ this being his next appointment. Perhaps Damianus chose to mention only the offices Paccianus had held in a province. In a Latin inscription from Pisidian Antioch in honour of L. Calpurnius Proculus from Ancyra, *AE* 1926, 77 (to be contrasted with *IGR* iii 180 = *OGI* 548 from Ancyra; from about the time of Commodus), no office is recorded between the sevirate [*equitum R]omanorum turmae deducendae* (omitted in the inscription from Ancyra which also omits the quaestorship) and the praetorian offices beginning with a *cura viarum*. In a Severan inscription from Sidyma in honour of a local senator, *IGR* iii 581 = *TAM* ii 194 cf. *SEG* xli 1392, formulated in a most idiosyncratic way, no offices are mentioned other than that of *hypatikos*, quaestor of Achaia, legate of Asia, curator of Callatis in Moesia (inferior).²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ This is also what one finds e.g. in the enumeration of the offices of the Pollienius Auspex the Elder (*PIR*² P 537) in the inscription from Xanthus set up in honour of his grand-granddaughter, *ILS* 8841 = *TAM* ii 278.

²⁵⁰ The inscription from Ephesus also enumerates the consular offices in an incorrect order. Cf. on the two texts G. Alföldy, *Fundeberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 8 (1983) 55ff.

²⁵¹ Ocrea: *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii 129f. no. 49 = *AE* 1981, 829; *AE* 1929, 27 cf. W. Eck, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 73 n. 37 (Attaleia); *IGR* iii 724 (Myra). Honoratus: *IGR* iii 970 = *I. Kourion* 86.

²⁵² G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 235ff.; J.H. D'Arms, *JRS* 90 (2000) 135f. 140.

²⁵³ Cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 192 (no. 118).

²⁵⁴ It is possible that something was added in the lacuna after Μυσ[ί]ας, but this would not change much in the overall picture. – Note also e.g. *AE* 1964, 4 = R.P. Harper, *AS* 18 (1968) 96 no. 1.02 (Comana in Cappadocia), mentioning only the quaestorship, the praetorship and the governorship of Cappadocia-Galatia of L. Iulius Proculeianus (cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* 111); *IGR* iii 174f. from Ancyra in honour of C. Iulius Severus which omit the praetorship (mentioned in *Corinth* viii 2, 56); *I. Ephesos* 3029 (contrast *AE* 1997, 721) in honour of the proconsul in c. 170, M. Nonius Macrinus, where the governorship of Pannonia inferior is collocated in the wrong place; *IG* ii/iii² 4220 in honour of a senator

It is also notable that quite a few cursus inscriptions in my material start the career only with the quaestorship.²⁵⁵ Of course this may in some cases mean that we are dealing with former equestrians,²⁵⁶ but in many cases the careers belong to men who certainly do not look like former knights (thus in *I. Olympia* 619 and 620)²⁵⁷ and at least in the case of M. Plancius Varus from Perge, whose career is described as starting with the quaestorship in AE 1997, 1505, we know that he did start as *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis*, as this is specified in the Latin honorific inscription from Germa, AE 1973, 534. So it seems that one can observe in these cases, too, a certain tendency in my material to omit now and then an office or two, although it is true that, to get a general picture of the merits of the honorand, one does perhaps not really need to know the exact details of the lowest offices. Also, the rendering in Greek of the offices of the vigintivirate presented some difficulties clearly reflected in the wonderful variety of various renderings of these offices in the relevant inscriptions.²⁵⁸ But be that as it may, it is any case clear that, in the solemn world of the Latin honorific career inscription in Italy and in the West, the conscientious enumeration of all the offices was normally considered essential.

Of course, the observation that one finds, now and then, a cursus inscription defective in some way in the eastern material, does not mean that there are not many texts mentioning all the necessary offices in perfect order. In some cases it seems clear that this is to be explained by the fact that the list of offices was based on a curriculum vitae furnished by the honorand himself (cf. the article of W. Eck referred to in n. 247); this is the case when we find two or more inscriptions from different places honouring the same man with practically the same wording. In this category one can place e.g. the inscription from Megara in honour of L. Minicius Natalis, *IG* vii 89, which reproduces the formulas

whose name has been lost, where the *praefectura frumenti dandi* is mentioned between the quaestorship and the praetorship; and the cursus rendered in *I. Ephesos* 5106f.

²⁵⁵ Thus e.g. *IG* ii/iii² 4220; *IG* v 1, 1172; *IG* VII 1866 (Thespieae); *I. Olympia* 619 and 620; *SEG* xlv 1088 (Mytilene); *I. Ephesos* 735; *IGR* iv 1697 (Sebaste, Severan; as the man is a *candidatus* both in his quaestorship and in his tribunate, he does not leave the impression of being a *homo novus*; note moreover that this young senator, of whom only the cognomen *Dexter* has survived - he is registered as *PIR*² D 63 -, honoured in Sebaste in Lydia by some local men as their *filos* and *euergetes*, must be of local origin himself, and should be added to the lists of senators from Asia); *ILS* 8818 = *IGR* iii 551 = *OGI* 560 = *TAM* ii 563 (Tlos); AE 1997, 1505 (cf. below); AE 1975, 821 (Curium); AE 1964, 4 = AS 18 (1968) 96 no. 1.02 (Comana, Cappadocia).

²⁵⁶ Thus probably or certainly in the cases of A. Claudius Charax (AE 1961, 320, cf. W. Eck, *RE* Suppl. xiv 99 no. 107a; A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* [1981] 251); L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorio Polymnis (*IGR* i 1017 = *I. Cret.* iii 3, 20; T. Flavius Damianus jr. (*I. Ephesos* 677). Cf. also e.g. (to mention an instance from the East but outside the area studied here) M. Sentius Proculus from Berytus (AE 1926, 150 cf. 1992, 1689).

²⁵⁷ Cf. W. Eck, *ANRW* ii 1 (1974) 180 n. 88 on the two texts.

²⁵⁸ Not much of this variety is reflected in H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (American Studies in Papyrology, Vol. 13, 1974). For instance, in the case of the decemvirate *stlitibus iudicandis*, there seem to be as many versions of a Greek rendering as there are inscriptions mentioning this office, some inscriptions producing surprising results (e.g. δέκα ἀνδρῶν πρώτ[ω]ν *ILS* 8835 = *TAM* ii 426: "mire erravit scriptor Graecus" Dessau; for other attempts at a rendering see e.g. *IG* ii/iii² 4071; *IG* v 1, 533 and *IG* IV 588; *I. Ephesos* 701, 3029; *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii 48; *IGR* iii 134, 249; *MAMA* vi 262; *ILS* 8829; *IG* xiv 719 = *IGR* i 431; perhaps the translator, who simply transcribed the office as δεκεμόρουμ στλειτίβους ιουδικάνδεις [*TAM* ii 1201 cf. *SEG* xxxi 1300], chose the easiest solution).

found in the other cursus inscriptions pertaining to this man.²⁵⁹ The same goes for the inscriptions in honour of Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus, legate of Lycia-Pamphylia in the 140s, *I. Perge* 154 (Latin) and *TAM* ii 1201 cf. *SEG* xxxi 1300 (Greek), which seem almost identical (*mutatis mutandis*),²⁶⁰ and the two absolutely identical inscriptions in honour of the Messenian senator Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus, *IG* v 1, 533 = *ILS* 8831 (Sparta) and *IG* iv 588 (Argos).²⁶¹ Another instance are the two completely identical inscriptions in honour of the Trajanic legate of Lycia-Pamphylia, L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex, *IGR* iii 470 from Balbura and *IGR* iii 554 = *TAM* ii 567 from Tlos.²⁶² However, here one sees that other versions of a certain cursus could also circulate, for the inscription from Xanthus, *Fouilles de Xanthos* vii 133 no. 50 = *AE* 1981, 830, gives a shorter version of the quattuorvirate *viarum curandarum*, omits the military tribunate altogether, leaves out the specification '*kai antistrategon*' from the mention of the quaestorship of Macedonia - but somewhat unexpectedly adds '*demou Romaion*', missing in the other texts, to *agoranomon*.²⁶³ In any case, in all those instances mentioned above it is not only the fact that one finds practically identical inscriptions from different places which is striking, but also the fact that it is a common feature of all these texts that they offer detailed and accurately presented information on the careers of the honorands, undoubtedly because the dedicators were closely following instructions supplied by the honorand himself. The same must be assumed in those many other cases in which we find a satisfactory and informative rendering of the honorand's career (e.g. *IG* ii/iii² 4212). However, the material seems also to offer instances of a procedure in which the dedicators decided to formulate the honorand's career themselves, this in some cases leading to various defects in the career's presentation.

As for the relation between cursus and non-cursus inscriptions, it does not seem possible to explain in each case why some dedicators chose to set out the career of the honorand and some preferred to settle for just mentioning the most important offices.²⁶⁴ It is a very good thing for us that the κηπουροί of Thyatira decided to describe the career of the honorand, M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus, in all its details (*AE* 1997, 1425), but it does not seem possible to provide an explanation for the fact that, in doing this, they chose to

²⁵⁹ See *PIR*² M 620 (for the Greek inscription from Callatis, apparently almost identical with the text from Megara, see now *ISM* iii 114). Cf. W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 247) 220 = Id., *Tra epigraphia* etc. (n. 16) 323; above n. 220.

²⁶⁰ Cf. W. Eck, art. cit. (n. 247) 219f. n. 41 = Id., *Tra epigraphia* etc. [n. 16] 337 n. 41; Id., *Chiron* 30 (2000) 645f.

²⁶¹ There has only been a misunderstanding in the Greek rendering of the decemvirate *stlitibus iudicandis*.

²⁶² A most remarkable instance of a career being rendered in an absolutely identical way in different places are the inscriptions honouring the son of D. Valerius Asiaticus, proconsul of Asia in c. 108, *IGR* iv 960 = *IG* xii, 6, 1, 381 from Samos and *I. Ephesos* 695B, in both of which all the stages of the father's - mentioned in the genitive - career are set out (cf. above at n. 21).

²⁶³ Note also e.g. the inscriptions in honour of C. Iulius Scapula, legate of Galatia in 138, from Ancyra, *IGR* iii 176, 177, 178, which are almost identical (178 however using the dative, not the accusative) with the exception that 176 shows a tendency to abbreviate (thus *Did(ymou)* instead of *Didymou Eusebous* in the mention of the military tribunate, only *tamian* instead of *tamian eparcheias Baitikes*, only *anthypaton* instead of *anthypaton Achaias*). That there could be different versions of the career of a senator could receive some most instructive illumination from the material pertaining to Q. Pompeius Falco (observe the striking formulations of the new inscription from Caunus, above n. 102) and A. Iulius Quadratus.

²⁶⁴ On this point in late antique inscriptions, see Horster, art. cit. (n. 3) 41.

disregard the by now well-established τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν phrase used by the βυρσεῖς and the other dedicators of monuments in Thyatira in honour of the same man (*IGR* iv 1214ff.; *TAM* v 2, 984ff.). However, it is true one can see some general trends in the use of cursus and non-cursus inscriptions. First of all, in those cases when Latin was used, the enumeration of the career was, in general, much commoner than in Greek inscriptions, "career inscriptions" belonging to the Latin epigraphic culture (cf. above at n. 71). The language choice would probably normally be one made by the dedicators, and to stay with the dedicators, one can make, on the basis of the tables above at n. 196ff., some interesting observations. From table I can be seen that, when a private person set up a monument in honour of a provincial official, the likelihood that she or he added the whole career was clearly higher than in those cases when the monument was set up by the city. I observed above (at n. 202) that one could interpret this as pointing to private dedicators being more concerned about including all relevant information regarding the honorands in their dedications. On the other hand, things change completely when we turn to monuments set up in honour of local senators (table II): in this case cities were much more prone to enumerate the stages of the honorand's career, there now being more cursus than non-cursus inscriptions. This can no doubt be explained by the fact that, in these cases, both the honorand and his professional background were well known to the dedicating cities and that the addition of the career of a familiar figure was more often than not thought of as desirable.

Moreover, one seems to be able to recognize a preference for cursus inscriptions in some places and areas. Ancyra, with its interesting number of cursus inscriptions,²⁶⁵ may be a special case, as it was the capital of the province of Galatia and as such also produced Latin inscriptions, and, furthermore, seems to have had various connections and contacts with the colonies of the same province, especially with Pisidian Antioch (cf. e.g. above at n. 214), the existence of these colonies being the explanation for the impressive number of cursus inscriptions in Galatia in general (cf. above at n. 72). But in the case of the cities of Lycia-Pamphylia, it seems one could conclude that there was a sort of a tradition of mentioning the details of the honorand's career in the honorific inscriptions, the honorands being in the beginning exclusively provincial officials; we saw above (at n. 73) that almost 38 percent of all honorific inscription in Lycia-Pamphylia are cursus inscriptions, a percentage surpassed only by Galatia where, however, special circumstances obtain (cf. above). The cities of Lycia-Pamphylia are additionally interesting because there the cursus inscriptions are practically all in Greek with only Perge, the capital, furnishing instances of Latin inscriptions; one also notes that the inscriptions make their appearance right in the beginning, starting with the first governor, Q. Veranius under Claudius (*IGR* iii 703 from Cyaneae).²⁶⁶

But there can be no doubt that the wishes of the honorand himself also, at least sometimes, played a role. We have already seen some cases in which one must assume that certain formulations must be due to the honorand himself (cf. above at n. 21 on datives in Greek inscriptions; and cf. the paper of Eck cited in n. 247), and considering this, one may formulate the hypothesis that not only the wording of cursus inscriptions but also the use of cursus inscriptions (as contrasted to non-cursus inscriptions) itself could be due to the honorand. It is hardly just by chance that almost all the inscriptions in honour of A. Iulius Quadratus, from Pergamum and from other places, are cursus inscriptions; no doubt the full rendering of the stages of his career was something

²⁶⁵ *IGR* iii 176-178; 180; *CIL* iii 254; *AE* 1969/70, 601 cf. 1971, 462.

²⁶⁶ Things are very different e.g. in Arabia, where one finds a very large number of inscriptions in honour of governors mainly in Bostra and Gerasa (cf. above n. 8), which almost all follow the practice of mentioning only the governorship (and possibly the designation to the consulate). Only the very first governor of Arabia, C. Claudius Severus, manages to become the honorand of a (Latin) cursus inscription in Petra (*AE* 1968, 525 [cf. Halfmann, *Senatoren* p. 135] = *IGLS* xxi 4, 45).

Quadratus himself preferred.²⁶⁷ The same can perhaps be assumed in the case e.g. of C. Iulius Scapula, legate of Galatia in 138, of whom only cursus inscriptions seem to be known, the one from Hadrianopolis being almost identical with the texts from Ancyra,²⁶⁸ and this seems to have run in the family, since the only inscription in honour of this Scapula's son (*PIR*² I 552) is also a cursus inscription, not a common item in mid-second-century Athens.²⁶⁹ The list of senators in the case of whom only cursus inscriptions seem to be attested could be extended,²⁷⁰ but I think we have reached the bottom line here, which seems to be that one can expect cursus inscriptions (as contrasted with non-cursus inscriptions) in various circumstances which depend on the language used, the dedicator(s), the site of the dedication, and last, but certainly not least, on the honorand himself.

ADDENDUM. By mistake, the texts from Hierapolis in Phrygia were omitted from the discussion. I have observed four relevant inscriptions: (1) *IGR* iv 813 cf. *SEG* xxx 1478 (a proconsular legate; with cursus); (2) *IGR* iv 814 cf. *SEG* xxxi 910; (3) *IGR* iv 815; (4) T. Ritti, in: *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina. Atti* (1999) 291-6 (T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus as proconsul of Asia). Note also the omission of *SEG* xiv 645 (C. Fufius Geminus) from the enumeration of the relevant texts from Caunus (above n. 102).

There is now a new inscription in honour of Herodes Atticus from Olympia: L. Schumacher, 'Eine neue Inschrift für den Sophisten Herodes Atticus', in: A. Mallwitz (ed.), *XI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (1999) 421-437 (a publication not available to me; I owe this reference to Chr. Settapani, *Continuité gentile et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale* [Prosopographica et genealogica 2, Oxford 2000] 536).

²⁶⁷ There are, of course, also some non-cursus inscriptions in honour of Quadratus, but they are either from the very end of his career, when the early details did not matter quite in the same way as before (cf. e.g. *IGR* iv 386, 387, 388 with the mention only of the two consulates and - in the case of 386 and 388 - of the Asian proconsulate; *Altertümer von Pergamon* viii 3 no. 20, the latest inscription mentioning Quadratus, with no mention at all of his senatorial status, cf. above at n. 41), or otherwise belong to special circumstances (*IGR* iii 520 = *TAM* ii 133, from Lydæ and belonging to the series of inscriptions referred to in n. 37; *IGLS* vii 4010 from Arados in Syria, set up by a certain Νοαρος Νοαρου τοῦ Βαδρου, perhaps a man not in full command of all the details of Quadratus' career).

²⁶⁸ Ancyra: *IGR* iii 176, 177, 178. Hadrianopolis: *IGR* iii 151 = Marek, op. cit. (n. 125) 188 no. 2 (although this text is fragmentary in the end, the beginning is so similar to the texts from Ancyra that one must assume that here, too, the cursus followed).

²⁶⁹ *IG* ii/iii² 4212 (cf. above n. 219).

²⁷⁰ Note e.g. C. Iulius Severus from Ancyra (Halfmann, *Senatoren* 151 no. 62), proconsul of Achaia and cos. c. 138, apparently known only from cursus inscriptions (*IGR* iii 174f.; *Corinth* viii 2, 56f., viii 3, 126). Similar cases are those of L. Aquilius Florus Turcianus Gallus (*Corinth* viii 2, 54; *IG* ii/iii² 4126 = *ILS* 928, these inscription from the time of Augustus perhaps being the earliest known honorific inscriptions with the cursus being attached, cf. W. Eck, art. cit. [n. 45] 150 = Id., *Tra epigrafia* etc. [n. 45] 283) and of Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus (*ILS* 1087, *IG* v 1, 533; *IG* iv 588; above n. 206).

Latin Cognomina in the Greek East*

Heikki Solin

Greek personal names in Rome form a clearly defined group, the significance of which goes far beyond the ethnic importance of the Greek element in Rome, representing, indeed, a central motif in the topic of "Hellenism in Italy". This group of names has been intensively studied for a long time, and its basic historical and social significance has now been clarified. By contrast, the use of Latin and Roman names in the Greek East has yet to receive the attention it deserves, being treated so far in a rather slapdash way, in spite of its clear significance for the study of Romanization and of the Latin element in the Greek half of the Mediterranean.¹

In this article, I will discuss the spread of Latin cognomina in the Greek East, the question of the sources of their use and the popularity of those names forming a top-ten list of Latin cognomina in the Greek-speaking world, on their morphological specificities, and on other interesting emerging questions. I have a project to write a history of the Latin cognomen in the Greek East, a project hardly begun. So I cannot yet offer you anything but some modest first observations, very vague observations.

Let us begin by asking what is a cognomen in a Greek surrounding. Such a question is not without relevance. In a Latin milieu you would probably consider, in the Imperial period, every single name as a cognomen, including those names which morphologically are either praenomina or gentile names, for we know that these names could also be used as individual names, that is to say names to be considered as cognomina. If Roman slaves bore names like *Marcus* or *Quintus* or *Titus*,² these cannot be regarded as praenomina; they have lost their original function and become individual names of those slaves, given by their masters, and if the slave was manumitted, his or her individual name became the cognomen in his or her new nomenclature. In a similar way, a gentile name could act as the individual name of a person, as we can see, once again, in servile nomenclature. *Annius*, *Domitius*, *Licinius* as slave names bear witness in an eloquent way to their use as individual names.³ By the way, this use of gentile names as cognomina is not confined to servile nomenclature, but appears in other juristic categories, too. This custom of the use of gentile names as authentic cognomina has not yet received a comprehensive study.

Also in the Greek world such names could be used in an identical way. But it is not always easy to distinguish, in the case of a gentile name used as a single name,

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¹ But things are now improving; see, e. g., the volume *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, edited by A. D. Rizakis (Meletemata 21), Athens 1996, and the present volume, too. And other work done by Greek colleagues as well as by members of the Finnish school could be mentioned.

² These kinds of slave names are collected in my *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 2)*, Stuttgart 1996, 3-11.

³ Cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 16 (1982) 168 = Id., *Analecta epigraphica*, Roma 1998, 133; for their use as slave names *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* (see the previous note) 16-20.

whether it was really a gentile name or whether it was used as an individual name. Sometimes the decision is easy. There can be no doubt that the centurion called Κορνήλιος in the book of Acts was a Roman citizen belonging to the *gens* Cornelia. On the other hand, it is completely certain that the evangelist Mark was not a Roman citizen and his name *Marcus* was thus an individual name, given to him for a reason unknown to us. The same is true for Saint Luke, whose name is a new coinage formed with the Greek hypocoristic suffix -ᾱς from the common Latin praenomen *Lucius*. Even though in the mid-first century AD the cognomen had already become the individual name of a Roman citizen, it is easily conceivable that the centurion Cornelius - who surely must have had a cognomen - was known by his gentile name only - by the way, this was also possible in Rome and in the West in general. In contrast, we do not know Saint Paul's gentile name - even though he must have had one as a Roman citizen - nor his praenomen. One of the main reasons why Roman citizens so easily appear in a Greek context with only one name is that the Greeks themselves had, in their own nomenclature, only one name - this Greek pattern has contributed, among others, to the fact that Roman nomenclature during Late Antiquity was reduced to only one name. But I would still like to stress that this practice of calling a Roman citizen by only one name is not confined to the Greek area, although much more commonly used there; it can be observed also in Roman inscriptions. What is true is that when only one name is used, it is normally the cognomen in Roman inscriptions; the gentile name, sometimes also the praenomen, can be chosen, but normally only in special circumstances, as in verse inscriptions for metrical reasons.

I will approach my subject by choosing three samples from the Greek East. The first are the Latin names attested for Athenians. The second are those names attested for the inhabitants of Central Greece including Thessaly. The third are the inscriptions contained in the two Lydian fascicles hitherto published in the admirable corpus by Peter Herrmann in *Tituli Asiae Minoris* V.⁴ The names of the first two groups are collected from the corresponding volumes of the British Academy *Lexicon of Greek personal names*, devoted to Attica, and to Central Greece respectively.⁵ Of the names comprised in the two volumes, I have omitted only those which are clearly used as gentilicia. These are taken into consideration by the authors of the Attic volume in cases where the cognomen of the name-bearer is lacking - in my mind a questionable decision (if you omit from the *Lexicon*, say, all the individuals bearing the gentile name Κλώδιος and provided with a cognomen,⁶ why should you include only a Μάρκος Κλώδιος [*IG II*² 1757 = *Ath.Ag.* XV 286, 51] or a Π. Κλώδιος [ib. l. 28], as do the authors?).

The starting point is a list of the most popular Latin cognomina listed in Kajanto's classic *Latin Cognomina*.⁷ Let us first take up the Athenian case and begin by giving the top-ten list on the basis of Kajanto's calculations - or, more exactly, the top-eighteen list; in the right column are listed the corresponding figures from the Athenian material in numerical order:

⁴ *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, vol. V. *Tituli Lydiae*, fasc. I: *Regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens*; fasc. II: *Regio septentrionalis ad occidentem vergens*, Vindobonae 1981-1989.

⁵ *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. II: *Attica*, edited by M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, Oxford 1994; vol. III B: *Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly*, edited by P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, Oxford 2000.

⁶ E. g. *IG II*² 1796 Κλώδιος 'Αντίοχος; 2239 Κλώδ(ιος) 'Ονήσιμος; 12112 Κλωδία Γαίου Μηνο[---].

⁷ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965.

Kajanto		Athenians
1) Felix	3716	6
2) Secundus	2684	40
3) Saturninus	2615	11
4) Fortunatus	2516	3
5) Primus	2397	95
6) Maximus	2362	37
7) Ianuarius	2007	4
8) Rufus	1829	72
9) Severus	1738	5
10) Victor	1699	4
11) Sabinus	1452	18
12) Proculus	1366	(25)
13) Faustus	1279	25
14) Priscus	1269	6
15) Hilarus	1196	(46)
16) Crescens	1045	3
17) Tertius	1042	11
18) Vitalis	1028	4

These names have more than a thousand examples each.

The corresponding frequency list of the names among the Athenian population follows; in the right column are listed the corresponding numbers from Kajanto (feminine forms are tacitly included):

Athenians		Kajanto
1) Πρίμος	95	2397
2) Γάιος	74	104
3) Ρούφος	72	1829
4) Μάρκος	70	209
5) Πόπλιος	65	18
6) Σεκοῦνδος	40	2684
7) Μάξιμος	37	2362
8) Φίρμος	27	596
9) Αὔλος	26	7
10) Βάσσος	26	-
11) Μαρκιανός	25	561
12) Φαῦστος	25	1279
13) Κόιντος	24	478
14) Λούκιος	23	217
15) Πωλλίων	23	132
16) Δέκμος	22	64

These names have more than twenty examples each in the Athenian name material. I provide summarily the figures for names showing ten to twenty attestations: Ἰουλιανός 19; Ρουφίνος 19; Σαβίνος 18; Μουσώνιος 17; Μάρκελλος 15; Μάγνος 14; Κορνήλιος 13; Σέξτος 12; Κλήμης 11; Κορνηλιανός 11; Σατορνίλος Σατορνίνος 11; Τέρτιος 11; Τίτος 11; Γναίος 10; Ἰούλιος 10; Πῶλλα 10 (1 time written Πόλλα; the name Παῦλ(λ)ος Παῦλ(λ)α has to be kept apart).

We have here at our disposal a valuable collection of material for the study of the dissemination of Latin names in Athens, and even though one should be aware of the dangers in using statistics of this kind, some conclusions can be drawn. However, one should bear in mind that a cautious attitude towards the numbers is necessary, especially if the name in question does not belong to the popular ones.

The two lists are, in many respects, revealing and require some further considerations. As one can see at once, there are considerable differences between them. But whereas the most popular Latin names among Athenians are also normally well known in the Roman world in general, many names from Kajanto's list have not been accepted by the Athenians with great enthusiasm.

But before entering into the interpretation, just a few introductory remarks on the individual figures are necessary. I have also taken into consideration the feminine forms of the single names, if existing, but not suffix formations (on these see below); so the frequency numbers of e.g. *Rufus* comprise also *Rufa*, but not, for example, *Rufinus* -a. As for Kajanto's top list, the corresponding frequencies from the Athenian material for *Proculus* and *Hilarus* cannot be calculated exactly, as the attestations can also belong to the authentic Greek names Πρόκλος and Ίλαρος; for this reason I have put the frequency numbers of the two names in brackets and will come back to the case of these two names in due course. On the same occasion I will also discuss some popular Athenian names, which were felt in Rome to be Latin, but which in Athens must primarily be regarded as Greek, the most evident example of them being Ἀττικός. As for the Athenians' top list, the corresponding frequency number for Βάσσιος -α from Latin sources is missing from Kajanto's lists, as he did not consider *Bassus* Latin - a very questionable decision. We have indeed to do with a Latin cognomen. I have calculated for *Bassus* / *Bassa* roughly 575 attestations from *CIL* and the other sources used by Kajanto. - In the following, "no." refers to the numbers of the entries of individual names in the *LGNP*.

And now to the interpretation of the two lists. I begin by referring to the surprising phenomenon of the deep abyss between the general and Athenian figures perceptible in a few cases. It is striking that the most popular of all Latin cognomina, *Felix*, which stands at the top of Kajanto's list in splendid isolation, is quite rare in the Attic material (all the attestations date from the II cent. AD), as is also *Fortunatus*, the fourth name in Kajanto's ranking. (Instead, in Central Greece, in Boeotia and Thessaly, Φορτουνάτος -α is attested 10 times, whereas Φήλιξ drags clearly behind with its 4 attestations.) It is further noteworthy that no derivatives of *Felix* are attested in Athens, in spite of the great popularity of some of them in Rome.⁸ To explain this is not easy, but some reasons could be adduced. I refer first to euphonic ones: perhaps the phonetic impression of *Fortunatus* was not pleasant (note that there are no popular names in Greek beginning by Φορτ-); on the other hand, *Felix* could easily be confused in the Imperial period with Greek names in Φίλο-, but as it was, morphologically, not a Greek formation, it was avoided. But more likely the main reasons are to be sought in semantics and chronology. Both names belong to the category of wish-names and have their Greek equivalents in the very popular names Εὐτυχής and the like, including formations like Εὐδαίμων, Εὐήμερος and others. When the Athenians resorted to this category of names, they preferred formations in their own language. But this is not alone sufficient to explain the small number of the Athenian attestations of these names, as is shown by other names such as *Primus* or *Secundus* that are popular both in general and in Athens, even though they too had their equivalents in the Greek anthroponymy in Πρώτος and Δεύτερος; but whereas the first was an old coinage in Greek onomastics and somewhat widespread in the Greek world, and also in Athens (since the IV cent. BC), Δεύτερος only came into use in the Roman period and has probably to be regarded as a translation of the highly popular cognomen *Secundus*, well known since the Republican period, also from various parts of the Greek world;⁹ but

⁸ But note Φορτουνατίων *IG II² 13011* (II cent. AD).

⁹ See H. Solin, apud O. Masson, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 69.

in Athens Δεύτερος is virtually unknown.¹⁰ So, after all, the semantic aspect might have played a certain role. But still more important is the chronology: whereas *Primus* and *Secundus* are old coinages, *Felix* and *Fortunatus* come into common use only in the Imperial period (and note that the semantically closely related wish-name *Faustus* became somehow popular in Athens because, as a cognomen, it was a Republican coinage in Rome). Both *Primus* and *Secundus* are frequently attested in Republican inscriptions, whereas there are only sporadic instances of *Felix* and *Fortunatus* in the Republican period.¹¹ The dissemination of the numerical cognomina (or in the Athenian case, the single names) was still facilitated by the fact that this name category was in general a popular one.

The other cases, where the abyss between the general and the Athenian figures is striking, might also be, at least partly, explained by chronology: the popular cognomina *Ianuarius*, *Severus*, *Victor*, *Crescens*, *Vitalis* come into use only in the Imperial period in Rome (of these, only *Crescens* and *Severus* are occasionally attested in Republican inscriptions).¹² As to *Ianuarius*, one could add that the use of month names as personal names is very rare in Greece, and this is true both for Greek and Latin coinages.¹³ In the case of *Victor* and *Crescens*, we must not forget the morphological aspect: -ωρ and -ηνς are not normal Greek endings.¹⁴ There remains the case of *Priscus* which is attested only six times in Athens. It was already a popular senatorial cognomen in Republican times and is attested in Republican inscriptions among the ordinary people with a certain frequency. Why it could not find its way into the hearts of the Athenians, can only be guessed; perhaps Πρίμος had already conquered the available terrain.

A specific case is made up by *Saturninus*, the bronze medalist in Kajanto's list, attested in Athens between the I-III cent. AD nine times in the form Σατορνίλος and twice in the authentic Latin form Σατορνίνος. The slight popularity of the name in Athens might perhaps not surprise, in spite of its great success in Rome since the Republican period among all classes (but note that it was especially widespread in Roman Africa, which reduces a bit the significance of the deep abyss between Latin and Athenian figures). Probably the name did not sound modern to Athenians' ears, its sound was maybe not pleasant (note the common dissimilation in Σατορνίλος). Besides, *Saturninus* did not mean anything to Greeks, as the god was known to them as Kronos, but Kronos has left only insignificant traces in the Greek anthroponymy, and in Athens none.¹⁵

¹⁰ There is a somewhat obscure attestation on a vase dated to c. 510 BC (ABV 367 no. 89) running ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΣ and explained by the editors and in *LGPN* II 102 as Δευτέρης. But cf. O. Masson, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 68.

¹¹ See H. Solin, 'Die innere Chronologie des römischen Cognomens', in: *L'onomastique latine*, Paris 1977, 105ff. *Felix* appears four times in Republican inscriptions, and *Fortunatus* one time.

¹² See H. Solin, op. cit. 114 and 133. For both *Crescens* and *Severus* only one attestation in Republican inscriptions.

¹³ Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen*, Halle 1917, 523ff. mentions a few cases, but these also relate to names of festivities. As to Latin month names, besides the four attestations of 'Ιανουάριος, there is no other instance of a Latin month name used as a personal name in Athens. By the way, of the four attestations of 'Ιανουάριος, two are somewhat uncertain, as written 'Ιανάριος or 'Ιανάρης; however, they seem to reproduce this name.

¹⁴ But note -άνωρ and -ήνωρ.

¹⁵ Bechtel *HPN* 529 mentions only one name, Κρόνιος. In *LGPN* II, there are two names listed with one instance of each, Κρονίδης and Κρόνιος, but both fragmentary with very uncertain restitutions. I do not understand why the *LGPN* quotes these and other fragmentary cases without a question mark, if the restitutions are uncertain.

Kronos was not worshipped anywhere in the Greek world, and this is the main reason for its relative rarity (Κρόνιος, which appears with some frequency in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, is not a theophoric name, but a calendaric one, deriving from the month name Κρονίων); the only region where names deriving from Kronos attained great popularity is Egypt, but here Kronos is a translation of the Egyptian god Geb.¹⁶ The same picture is also encountered elsewhere in the Greek world.¹⁷ In Central Greece, only one instance of Σαρτορνίλος (sic), from Demetrias (Imperial period), one from Crete, and one Σαρτορνίος from Cyrenaica. In Asia Minor, the name was a bit more in use,¹⁸ which is partly perhaps due to the great popularity of the name among soldiers.¹⁹

Let us examine more closely the top of the Athenians' list. One aspect emerges clearly. Most of the commonly used Latin praenomina are very well represented in the ranking. Γάιος, Μάρκος, Πόπλιος, Αὔλος, Κόιντος, Λούκιος, Δέκιμος are eloquent witnesses of this. All figure among the 16 most popular Latin names in Athens. Not very much behind come Σέξτος (12 times attested in Athens), Τίτος (11 times), Γναίος (10 times) and Μάνιος (9 times). However, Νεμέριος (6 attestations) and Τιβέριος (3 attestations) did not achieve the same popularity. *Numerius* was never a very popular praenomen in Latin, and *Tiberius* became, with the Claudian Emperors, fashionable only during the first century AD, a fact that explains its reduced use in Athens, as will be seen. Closely related to them are the numeric cognomina Πρίμος and Σεκοῦνδος (also Τέρτιος -α is well represented in Athens with 11 attestations), which, strictly speaking, do not represent the core of common praenomina, but are, at least in women's nomenclature, old praenomina. Πῶλλα was also an old female praenomen, 10 times attested in Athens.²⁰

Two conclusions easily follow. Latin praenomina became normally fashionable in Athenian nomenclature, irrespective of their popularity in Rome, no matter whether as real praenomina or praenomina in cognominal function. And the advance of the name in question must have begun in Republican times; otherwise it did not have such chance to gain popularity in Athens. This rule knows only one exception, Μαρκιανός, the attestations of which all belong to the II and III cent. AD (with one female name-bearer in the IV cent. AD). This was so also in Rome - there are hardly any instances earlier than Augustus, except a freedman of Cicero (Cic. *Att.* 12.17).²¹ But Μάρκος was, since Republican times, a popular name in Athens, so that the dissemination of a derivative of it during the Imperial period in Athenian nomenclature is very understandable, the suffixal formations being a characteristic feature in the onomastics of the advanced Imperial

¹⁶ Cf. L. Robert, *Actes du VII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Constanta 1977), Bucuresti 1979, 39f. = his *Opera minora selecta* VI, Amsterdam 1989, 693f.

¹⁷ *LGPN* III A records seven cases, five of them with -ῖλ-, two with -ῖν-.

¹⁸ In *TAM* IV two times; in *TAM* V five attestations with one Σατοῦρνα. In *MAMA* c. 12 times; at Ephesus c. 20 attestations; a stephanephoros from Miletus: *I. Didyma* p. 102f.; 'Οφέλλιος Σαρτορνίλος Μιλήσιος *IG* II² 2026, 56.

¹⁹ L. R. Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*, Diss. Princeton 1916, 62. 273-278.

²⁰ As to its dissemination in the Greek East, see now M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina*, Rome 1994, 56-59, 176-181.

²¹ Quint. *inst.* 6, 3, 95 mentions a Marcianus from the time of Augustus. Quite early also *CIL* VI 17544.

period. A similar case is offered by Μάρκελλος (15 attestations in Athens) with the important difference that *Marcellus* was a widespread cognomen already in the Republican period. Note also that *Marcianus* was popular as senatorial cognomen. (To be sure, a few other popular names in Athens are also attested only during the Empire, such as Μάξιμος, Φίρμος and Φαῦστος, but they all were Republican coinages in Rome, so that their absence in the Republican name material of Athens can be a matter of chance.) The second conclusion you can draw is that the popularity of a given Latin praenomen in Athenian nomenclature does not necessarily relate to its popularity in Rome. That Γάιος, Μάρκος and Πόπλιος lead the way (but note that *Publius* never became a popular cognomen in Rome), is no wonder, but the greater popularity of Αὔλος in respect to Κόιντος and Λούκιος does not depend on its popularity on its home ground, for *Aulus* was not among the commonest praenomina and its use as a cognomen was quite limited, whereas *Lucius* and *Quintus*, besides being among the commonest praenomina, also became very popular cognomina in Rome. One reason for the popularity of Αὔλος in Athens can be that the name could be perceived as a Greek one; the pre-Roman anthroponymy knows names such as Αὐλίσκος and Αὐλίων.²²

But let us have a closer look at the qualities and chronology of these names. Πρίμος forms a slight exception to the chronology of the list of names, as most of its Athenian attestations come from the II-III centuries AD; one case (no 38 of *LGPN* II) is dated to III BC, and a few cases to the I cent. AD. The explanation is that *Primus*, even if it was in use in the Republican period, was not among the really fashionable cognomina; and note that a good deal of the Republican attestations belong to slaves or freedmen, a fact that did not favour its dissemination in Greek nomenclature. In general, it was characteristic of the lower strata until the Imperial period - no senators are known before Augustus.²³ And as it was not a praenomen either, its only chance to spread into the Greek nomenclature was through persons bearing it as a cognomen, and as long as it had a servile flavour, its advance into Greek nomenclature proved rather difficult. - Πρίμος shows very few derivatives in use in Athens: only Πρίμιλλα and Πριμίων (each attested once from the Imperial period); Πριμιγένης with Πριμιγένεια and Πρίσκοις with Πρισκιανός are not derivatives, but independent formations.

Γάιος: attested in Athenian nomenclature since the II cent. BC with a certain frequency (nos. 1, 2, 8, 9 of *LGPN* II are dated generally to this century, no. 12 to c. 155 BC, nos. 36, 42 and 43 to 123/2 BC, no. 44 to 119/8 BC; nos. 3, 10, 11, 13-16, 19, 27-29, 37, 46, 48, 49 date from the I cent. BC), but the bulk of the examples belong to the two first centuries of the Christian era, with a few latecomers from the III century. The derivative Γαιανός is clearly a later coinage in Athens (4 attestations from the II-III cent. AD, one of Γαιανή from late antiquity). The Greeks first got acquainted with *Gaius* as a pure praenomen; in the II cent. BC, from which the earliest Athenian attestations date, the praenomen was still perceived as the basic name of a Roman citizen, so that the Greeks could easily borrow *Gaius* as an individual name for their own nomenclature. Because in the Roman West *Gaius* came into use as a cognomen only in the Imperial period (it is not attested with certainty in the Republican period),²⁴ the popularity of Γάιος in the Greek nomenclature cannot derive primarily from the Latin cognomen *Gaius*, but derives directly from the praenomen, as stated above. Only in the later periods is a direct dependence on

²² Bechtel, *HPN* 604.

²³ The earliest cases are: P. Alf(---) Primus (*PIR*² A 515 = Wiseman, *New Men* 279 no. 521, early Augustan if not late Republican); M. Primus (*PIR*² P 946, Augustan); Q. Caecina Primus, consul suffectus AD 53 (*AE* 1977, 18).

²⁴ In *CIL* I² 2008, read C. Vensius C. f. Caius, the cognomen seems to be rather *Canus* or *Cavus*; cf. p. 1074.

the cognomen *Gaius* conceivable in individual cases, after *Gaius* had become fashionable as a cognomen.

The same is true also for the other Latin praenomina gaining territory in Athens. *Marcus* is perhaps a still better example: not attested with certainty as a cognomen in the Republican period, it became popular in the Empire and is attested with much greater intensity than *Gaius*. In Athens, it likewise invaded the citizens' nomenclature in the Republican period, as shown by numerous attestations from the pre-Christian era (no. 26 from c. 62 BC, no. 5 from c. 50-40 BC, nos. 13, 27, 29, 30 from the I cent. BC, no. 20 from c. 21/0 BC, no. 35 from c. 14/13 BC, no. 36 from c. 13/12 BC). The rest dates from the I-III centuries. As to its derivatives, *Μαρκιανός* has already been referred to, as also *Μαρκελλος* (15 attestations dating from the II-III centuries); add *Μαρκελλίνος* (four times from the II-VI centuries). Instead, *Μάρκιος* -ία (attested three times from the II-III centuries) seems to represent the gentile name *Marcus*.

Exactly the same picture is offered by *Πόπλιος*, with the only difference that *Publius* never became fashionable as a cognomen in the Roman West: it is intensively attested in Athens during the Republican period after 107/6 BC (no. 36). Even though less impressively attested in Athens, *Κόιντος* and *Λούκιος* show a similar history, except that the latter appears for the first time in Athens only during the I cent. AD. A more or less similar picture is still offered by *Δέκιμος*: attested only occasionally as a cognomen in Republican Rome, it came in vogue in Athens in the II/I cent. BC; in Imperial Rome it was clearly a less fashionable cognomen than *Quintus* and *Lucius*. And lastly *Αὔλος*, scarcely attested in the Roman West as a cognomen, but fashionable in Athens, where it is attested after 106/5 BC (no. 1); however, it fell out of use at the end of the pre-Christian era. Surely *Αὔλος* has invaded the Athenian nomenclature in the same way as the other common praenomina, but why it fell out of use is more difficult to explain; one reason has been given above.

A few words still about the remaining names. The popularity of *Rufus* is easy to explain. Extremely common in Rome and Italy since the late Republican period (older examples are less common),²⁵ it penetrated into the Athenian nomenclature about the middle of the I cent. BC, to remain a popular name throughout the Empire until the early III cent. AD, with a couple of later attestations.²⁶ Note that *Rufus* was common among inhabitants of various parts of Italy which spawned immigrants to the Greek East; thus it came to the East with Italian settlers. It might still be added that of the derivatives, *Ρουφίνος* -α is quite common in Athens with 19 attestations, but unlike *Rufinus*, which is known in the nomenclature of both senators and common people in Republican times, it appears in Athens only from the II cent. AD.

Then *Μάξιμος* and *Φίρμος*, both common in the II-III cent. AD, the former showing sporadic attestations from the I cent. AD. In Rome, *Maximus* had been a popular upper-class cognomen since the Republican period, both names being discretely attested among the common people before Augustus; during the Empire too, *Maximus* was much more in vogue, but in Athens the popularity of both names was more or less equal.

Two names still remain. The popularity of *Βάσσος* in Athens follows the normal rules: a popular cognomen, attested in Rome since the Republican period, as also in Athens. It is difficult to say whether the Oriental or, more precisely, Semitic name has contributed to its popularity in Athens;²⁷ note that other common Semitic names like *Malchio* or *Martha* are unknown in Athens. The history of *Βάσσος* in Athenian

²⁵ See Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 229. Solin, in: *L'onomastique latine* 132.

²⁶ No. 71 from 235/6 AD, no. 56 from 255/6 AD, no. 60 from the fourth cent. AD.

²⁷ On the Semitic name see G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* I, Louvain 1934, 53; H. Solin, in: *ANRW* II 29 (1983) 641.

nomenclature does not seem to speak in favour of a stronger Semitic influence. And to finish, Πωλλίων had a history in Athens similar to Βάσσος, only that it was less widespread in Rome, but note that it was quite a popular Republican cognomen both in upper-class onomastics and in that of the common people. (Πῶλλα, too, was popular in the Greek East.)

Back to Kajanto's top list. *Proculus* and *Hilarus* are both very common Latin cognomina. They are also popular in Athens. They also represent authentic Greek names, and so it is difficult to say to what extent their popularity in Athens is due to the corresponding Latin names. The chronology could speak in favour of a certain Latin influence, for both Πρόκλος and Ἰλαρος are in vogue during the Empire (of the former, there is one solitary instance from the I cent. BC, but otherwise its attestations date from I-III cent. AD, and those of Ἰλαρος from II-III). Morphologically, Πρόκλος relates to the good and old Greek name Προκλῆς (especially in vogue among the Athenians) as Πάτροκλος to Πατροκλῆς, but as Πρόκλος does not seem to be a very old coinage in Greek onomastics, it might after all be a borrowing from Latin. The fact that the name is always written with -κλ-, does not speak against Latin derivation, for *Proclus* is quite a common form in Latin,²⁸ and then the influence of the pure Greek name Προκλῆς contributed to the establishment of this spelling in Greek onomastics. Ἰλαρος in its turn is also used mainly during the Empire (it is absent in Bechtel), whereas there are other formations of the same name family known as early as the classical period, e. g. Ἰλάρων and Ἰλαρίων, attested in Athens from the V cent. BC onwards; even Ἰλάρα, the feminine pendant of Ἰλαρος, begins its advance in Athens during the III cent. BC.

The same question can be posed regarding Λεύκιος (116 attestations in Athens) and Πείσω. Λεύκιος could also represent *Lucius* (as is well-known, this praenomen was rendered in early Greek texts by Λεύκιος, and only later by Λούκιος), and precisely for that reason Λεύκιος, as an individual name, could partly have been given as a Latin name. Apart from a couple of very old name-bearers (no. 86 from the V cent. BC and no. 87 from c. 367-330 BC), the history of Λεύκιος in Athens shows the same characteristic features as the common praenomina - becoming popular in Athenian onomastics during the Republic and expanding in use in the Empire. In other words, the 'physiognomy' of Λεύκιος in Athenian nomenclature is much the same as that of e. g. Γάιος. As to Πείσω (attested in Athens 6 times), it occurs from the V cent. BC (no. 1 dates from the V cent. BC, no. 2 from the IV cent. BC, nos. 3, 5 from the II cent. BC); the two remaining cases date from the Imperial period, and one of them shows the spelling Πίσ-. It is well known that the cognomen of the Calpurnii is often written in Greek inscriptions, as well as in the manuscripts of e. g. Dio, in the form Πείσω; on the other hand, the Greek name Πείσω could no doubt be rendered in an inscription of the Imperial period with Πίσων. To conclude, it is impossible to distinguish whether the attestations at least from the Imperial period, and perhaps also those from the II cent. BC, belong to the Greek or to the Latin name. But I would not hesitate to declare as Latin the derivative Πεισωνιανός IG II² 3167 cf. p. 349 from the II-III cent. AD, as well as Πεισωνεῖνος TAM V 1010 (Thyatira);²⁹ IGRR IV 1567. 1571 (Teos).

To finish with one further example. *Atticus* was a very popular cognomen (attested 387 times according to Kajanto's lists) and has to be regarded for well-known reasons as a Latin name. But what about the Athenian attestations of Ἀττικός, derived from the

²⁸ To take just one example, *Proclus* appears in CIL VI some 52 times against *Proculus* round 150 times.

²⁹ It is true that the name is fragmentary: Πεισωνεῖ[νος], but there is no reason to suspect the integration and see here a Greek name-form Πεισωνεῖδης, as did the editores principes Keil and Premierstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien* (Denkschr. Ak. Wien 54, 2, 1911) 33 no. 62.

ethnic?³⁰ This name, occurring 179 times in Athens, came into vogue during the Imperial period; I know only one earlier attestation (no. 147 from the II cent. BC).³¹ It is quite possible that in individual cases the name-givers had in mind a prominent Roman provided with this name. The geographical names were not very much in vogue among Athenians; if 'Αθήναιος was popular in Athens (147 attestations), it depends much on the name of the goddess,³² who was an extraordinarily fertile name-source in Athenian name-giving, as is shown by the great popularity of 'Αθηνόδωρος (165 attestations), which can only refer to the goddess. When geographical names came into vogue, there are special reasons for it; the explosive increase of the popularity of 'Ελευσίνιος - with 97 attestations from the beginning of the Imperial period - is due to the popularity of the Eleusinian cults. So it would indeed be very seductive to connect the popularity of 'Αττικός with some famous Roman name-bearers and with the positive cultural connotations inherent in it both in Greek and even more in Latin. This idea could receive support from the fact that 'Αττικός also became popular in other parts of the Greek world: *LGP* I records it 9 times, mostly from the islands and imperial period; III A 38 times, all from the imperial period, except *SEG* XXX 1119 (Segesta, IV/III cent. BC); III B 5 times, of which 2 in Boeotia, 3 in Larisa, all from the imperial period. Moving to Asia Minor, we find it in Lydia as covered by *TAM* V five times with 'Αττικιανός 1x; at Ephesus there are four attestations; from Miletus four: *IG* II² 1996, 166, 186, 2024, 82, 9438; (all imperial period), with a Γρανία 'Αττίκιλλα *I. Milet* 176. We find suffixal formations also on the Greek mainland: in Athens 'Αττικία 2 times (both imperial), 'Αττικίων 5 times (all imperial); 'Αττίκιλλα 3 times in Sicily and Italy (all imperial), 'Αττίκων in Sicily (one time, I cent. AD); 'Αττικίων two times in Boeotia (imperial).

And finally two observations on the names showing fewer than 20 attestations. The popularity of the Latin gentile name *Musonius* in Athens with 17 attestations (which date from the II cent. AD onwards) could be a surprise; no other Roman gentile name is attested (as an individual name) with such a great number, as next comes 'Ιούλιος with 10 attestations. This must have been an Athenian peculiarity and requires an explanation. Could it have something to do with C. Musonius Rufus, the philosopher who taught in Greek and had many Greek students? He was also very famous in the Greek world, as is shown by the story of how people came from everywhere to hear him when banished to Gyaros in the Cyclades.³³ He circulates in the ancient literature often with the name (C.) Musonius, and it is not inconceivable that the dissemination of Μουσώνιος in Athenian onomastics is due to some popularity of the philosopher in Athenian intellectual circles; an analogous case would be 'Αττικός, dealt with above. As an additional factor to explain the popularity of Μουσώνιος could be adduced the possible association with the Muses (there also exists in Greek a personal name Μούσων, but morphologically the Athenian name can hardly be a derivative of it; this is precluded by the chronology, as -ιος would represent a late suffix).³⁴ Μουσώνιος spreads further in the Later Roman Empire; it is

³⁰ For the sense of the ethnic 'Αττικός and its relation to 'Αθηναίος see W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 41 (1906) 213-219; 42 (1907) 10-27.

³¹ No. 136 from *IG* II² 2356, 59 ['Α]ττικό[ς] is integrated and remains uncertain.

³² In fact, 'Αθήναιος has to be taken as a theophoric name and accentuated in this way, not 'Αθηναίος; cf. J. Bingen, *CE* 48 (1973) 197 (but I would write an eventual personal name to be derived from the ethnic also 'Αθήναιος). Bechtel, *HPN* quotes 'Αθήναιος on two occasions, as a theophoric name (p. 526) and as a geographical one (p. 536). On the spreading of the name in Egypt, we have recently been provided with a complete list by A. Martin, *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1989) 169-184.

³³ Philostr. *VA* 7, 16.

³⁴ Pape - Benseler translated it downright as "Kunstmann"!

attested as the name of several officers and bishops (*PLRE* I 612-614 nos 1-3, II 769 nos 1-3, III 906 nos 1-2; *RE* XVI 897 nos. 3-19; note also Musonianus *PLRE* I 611).

The other case, with which I would like to conclude the discussion on the Athenian section, concerns Μάγνος in *IG* II² 3780, 2, normally regarded as an Athenian or a Greek of unknown provenience of the II cent. BC. (Note also a Μάγνα of Italic extraction in Larisa in the I cent. BC: *SEG* XXIX 557.) It is highly surprising to find such an early instance of this name in Greece as *Magnus* was a characteristic name of the advanced Imperial period. It appears in the Republican period only as an additional cognomen of the consul of 148 BC and of Cn. Pompeius and his sons; add a T. Roscius Magnus, known from Cicero's *Pro Roscio*. The consul of 148 BC Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus could have been one of the ten legati sent in 146 BC as a member of the commission to settle the affairs of Greece after Mummius' campaign (but this is all but certain),³⁵ and on such an occasion the Athenians could have become acquainted with the name *Magnus*, even though this remains quite uncertain, as *Magnus* must have been only a secondary component in his name. But our Μάγνος has recently been identified by P. Veyne with the consul of 148 himself.³⁶ This remains quite hypothetical, for *Magnus*, as stated above, was such a secondary component in the name of the consul, that it is not easy to see why the Athenians should have chosen only that name to honour, even if indirectly, Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus.³⁷ The wording of the epigram does not favour the identification with Postumius Albinus, either. If this Μάγνος was an Athenian, or at least a Greek, we have here a highly remarkable case of the Athenian use, if only occasional, of a Latin cognomen hardly in use at that time in Roman onomastics; the source may have been the positive connotation of the word *magnus*, perhaps conceived as a sort of title. Whether Postumius Albinus Magnus played any role in making this name known in Athens so that it would be used in local name-giving remains, to be sure, very hypothetical.

What were the sources for the use of Latin cognomina by the Athenians? First and foremost, naturally the commonest Latin cognomina as such, but not all of them, as we have seen. The striking popularity of the Latin praenomina in Athenian onomastics since the Republican period is due to the fact that the Greeks of the older periods designated the Romans only by the praenomen,³⁸ so that the take-over of this category of names was easy in Greek surroundings, that is to say, the change in their use from praenomen to cognomen was much easier in Greece than in the Roman West. Famous individual Romans might also have played a role in the dissemination of Latin names in Athens, even though we do not have many clear examples of that. Perhaps Ἀττικὸς came in vogue partly by virtue of famous name-bearers, more certainly Μουσώνιος did; surely the case is true for Νέπων, which appears in Athens and also in Asia Minor and in Syria (for a very early attestation from Boeotia, see the following section), but is extremely rare in the Roman West outside the Claudian imperial family. Its use in the Greek East must be seen

³⁵ See Fr. Münzer, *RE* XX 930 with an excellent discussion; cf. also Id., *ibid.* 905f.

³⁶ *Historia* 35 (1986) 112f.

³⁷ Veyne seems to think that Μάγνος was chosen to distinguish him from the other Postumius Albinus member of the commission, the consul in 151 A. Postumius Albinus, who was probably the head of the commission, but the elder Albinus had, as it seems, no individual cognomen. And did the commission really remain such a long time in Athens that 1) Magnus found time to procure himself an Athenian doctor; 2) that the Athenians got acquainted with Magnus' whole name to such an extent that they were able to use just this name to designate the man? In that period it would have probably been depreciatory to designate an official legate of the commission by his secondary cognomen.

³⁸ This phenomenon is treated extensively by O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 270ff.

in the light of Nero's popularity in Greece. Mostly the Greeks became acquainted with these names through Italian immigrants (or Greeks spending time in Italy), and many of them then became rooted in the Athenian onomastic customs. Slaves and popular Latin slave-names do not seem to have played any role in this process.

* *

*

Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly. I begin by giving similar frequency lists of the Latin names attested in these regions.

Kajanto		Central Greece
1) Felix	3716	4
2) Secundus	2684	10
3) Saturninus	2615	1
4) Fortunatus	2516	10
5) Primus	2397	30
6) Maximus	2362	8
7) Ianuarius	2007	-
8) Rufus	1829	18
9) Severus	1738	2
10) Victor	1699	-
11) Sabinus	1452	2
12) Proculus	1366	(5)
13) Faustus	1279	6
14) Priscus	1269	-
15) Hilarus	1196	(9)
16) Crescens	1045	-
17) Tertius	1042	-
18) Vitalis	1028	1
Central Greece		Kajanto
1) Πρίμος	30	2397
2) Μάρκος	22	209
3) Κόιντος	20	478
4) Ρούφος	18	1829
5) Γάιος	17	104
6) Πόπλιος	16	18
7) Δέκμος	10	64
8) Λούκιος	10	217
9) Σεκοῦνδος	10	2684
10) Φορτουνάτος	10	2516
[11] Ἰλαρος	9	1196]
12) Μάξιμος	8	2362

The number of individuals appearing in this area is much lower than that of the Athenians; in *LGN II*, the total number was 62,360, whereas the volume dedicated to Central Greece (*III B*) contains 43,454 persons. But even against this background, the percentual share of Latin names in the regions covered by *LGN III B* is clearly lower than in Athens; it is true that I have not compiled comprehensive statistics, but if you glance at the list of the Latin names, it is difficult not to note the explicit inferiority of Latin onomastic attestations in Central Greece in proportion to Attica. For this reason, because of the scantiness of the statistical basis, I abstain from a thorough interpretation of the lists.

The top names are much the same as in Athens, though not exactly. The only name among the top of the list from Central Greece which is absent from the list of fashionable Latin names in Athens is Φορτουνᾶτος, but that might be accidental. What we see clearly is that in Central Greece, too, the Latin praenomina form a prominent group, and apart from Αὔλος,³⁹ they are all present in great numbers, including the numerical cognomina Πρῖμος, which also maintains here the first place, and Σεκοῦνδος (written also Σακ- and -όνδ-). What is different from the state of affairs in Athens is that the attestations from the Republican times are, even in regard to the use of the praenomina, very few in numbers. It is difficult to say whether this is due to the smaller amount of epigraphic material or to the fact that, on average, Latin names invaded Central Greece later than Attica. Against this background it is interesting to draw attention to a suprisingly old attestation of the Italic praenomen and Latin cognomen *Nero*: IG VII 2823, 13 (Hyettos, from c. 190-175 BC) Νέρων (the reading is certain and there is no other plausible explanation for the name).⁴⁰ But how has this name landed in Hyettos? Either it arrived with some Italic immigrants or it was borrowed from the name of a Claudius Nero who had connections with the region. We know, for example, of Ap. Claudius Nero (RE 245) that he was legate of Flamininus in Greece in 197 BC, and of Ti. Claudius Nero (RE 251) that he travelled to Greek cities in the islands and Asia Minor in 172 BC. Who knows whether either of them or some other prominent representative of the Claudii Nerones could have acted as an onomastic model for the Hyettian family (our Νέρων was the father of a Καλλικλίδας). - In Boeotian Thebes we meet a Νῶνος, who gives us - mirabile dictu - the first incontestable example of the Latin cognomen *Nonus*.⁴¹

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And now to Lydia and the corpus of Peter Herrmann. Here too, I begin by reproducing the two lists.

Kajanto		Lydia
1) Felix	3716	-
2) Secundus	2684	17
3) Saturninus	2615	5
4) Fortunatus	2516	1
5) Primus	2397	12
6) Maximus	2362	5
7) Ianuarius	2007	-
8) Rufus	1829	10
9) Severus	1738	3
10) Victor	1699	-
11) Sabinus	1452	2
12) Proculus	1366	(9)
13) Faustus	1279	3
14) Priscus	1269	2
15) Hilarus	1196	-
16) Crescens	1045	2

³⁹ Αὔλος knows only two attestations, one from Lebadeia (I cent. AD), and one from Halai in Opuntian Lokris (I cent. AD).

⁴⁰ I have been able to consult a squeeze in the archive of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, made by K. Hallof whom I would like to thank for checking with me the reading of the squeeze.

⁴¹ See H. Solin, *Arctos* 34 (2000) 156.

17) Tertius	1042	3
18) Vitalis	1028	-
Lydia		Kajanto
1) 'Ιουλιανός	50	800
2) Λούκιος	31 + Λεύκιος 5 = 36	217
3) Μᾶρκος	30	209
4) 'Ιούλιος	29	-
5) Γάιος	24	104
6) Πόπλιος	19	18
7) Βάσσο	17	(575)
8) Σεκοῦνδος	17	2684
9) Παῦλ(λ)ος	16	447
10) 'Αντωνῖνος	12	143
11) Πρεῖμος	12	2397
12) Αἰλιανός	11	195
13) Μαρκιανός	10	561
14) 'Ροῦφος	10	1829
15) Παυλῖνος	8	463
16) Πωλλίων	6	132
17) Φαυστῖνος	6	475

Here one notes a certain difference to the two previous samples, a difference due primarily to chronological and socio-historical factors. For example, the popularity of the names provided with the suffix *-ianus* or *-inus* has to be connected with the later date of the sources on average. But, on the other hand, the old Roman praenomina are there, as are *Primus* and *Secundus*. Another characteristic feature (which Lydia shares with Athens and Central Greece) is the slight representation of the most popular wish-names e. g. *Felix* or *Fortunatus*, which is not easy to explain, all the more as these names come in vogue in a somewhat later period, contemporaneously with the rise of the number of the inscriptions in the advanced Imperial period. It seems that, in Asia Minor as well in Greece, those Latin names, having once invaded the Greek anthroponymy, also remained popular in the advanced Imperial period. As for socio-historical factors, one could think, for example, about an influence of soldiers' nomenclature, but this is not possible, as shown by the fact that many name-categories lacking in the Lydian sample are on the top of the most popular cognomina of soldiers; once again, *Felix*.⁴²

⁴² See Dean, op. cit. (n. 19) 61. 178-184.

Index

The index does in general not include placenames which are mentioned only as findspots of inscriptions referred to for some other reason than because of the findspot. In the case of inscriptions in Dessau's *ILS* and in *IGR* these collections are quoted in the index (rather than e.g. *OGI*). On the other hand, inscriptions in *IG* are always quoted by their *IG* numbers, even if they have been published in later publications such as *Agora*. - Polyonymous persons appear under their main nomen, if known (e.g. C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus under 'Iulius').

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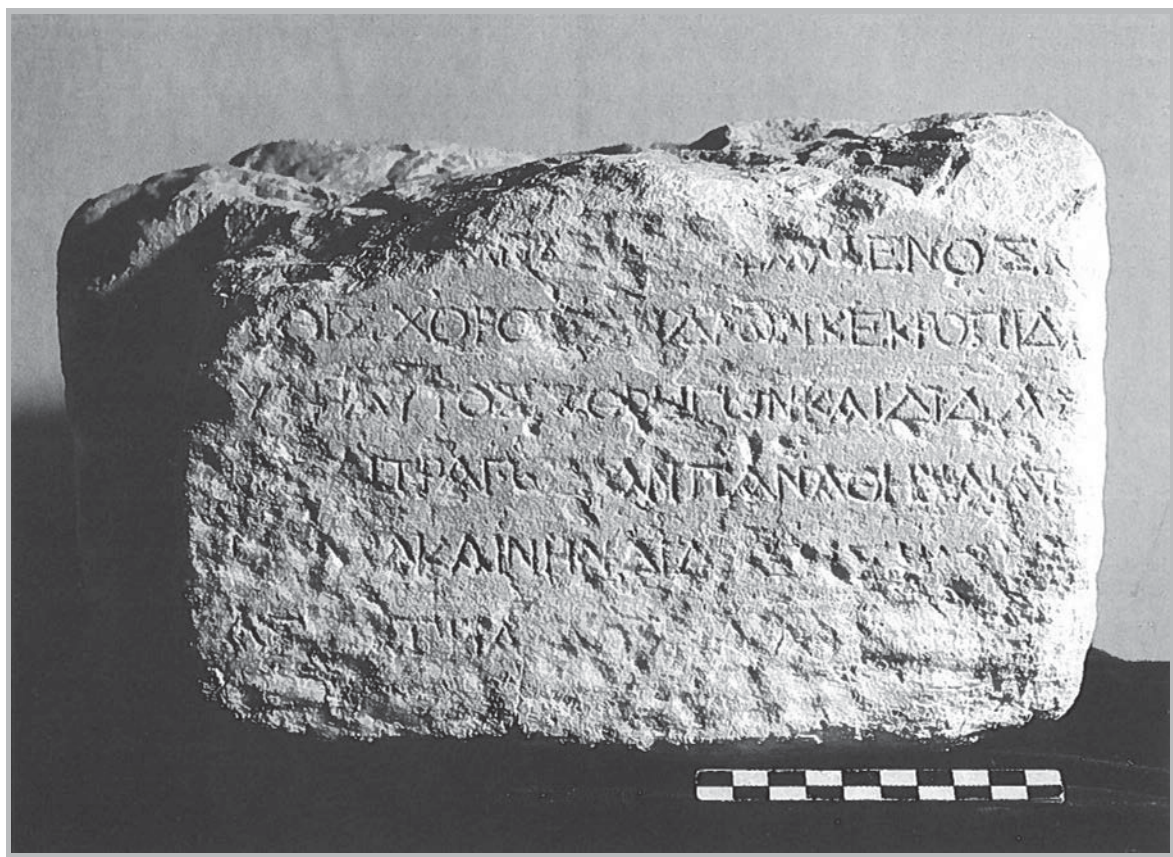
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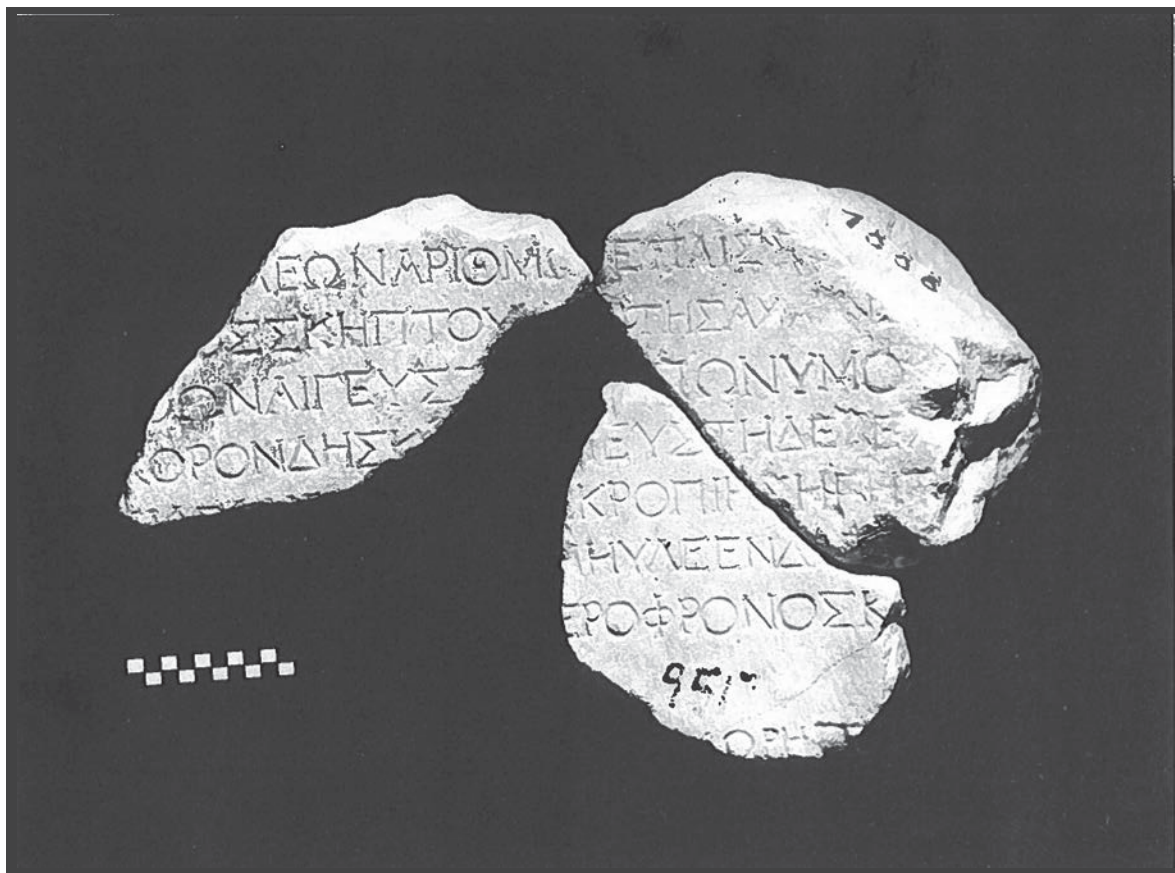
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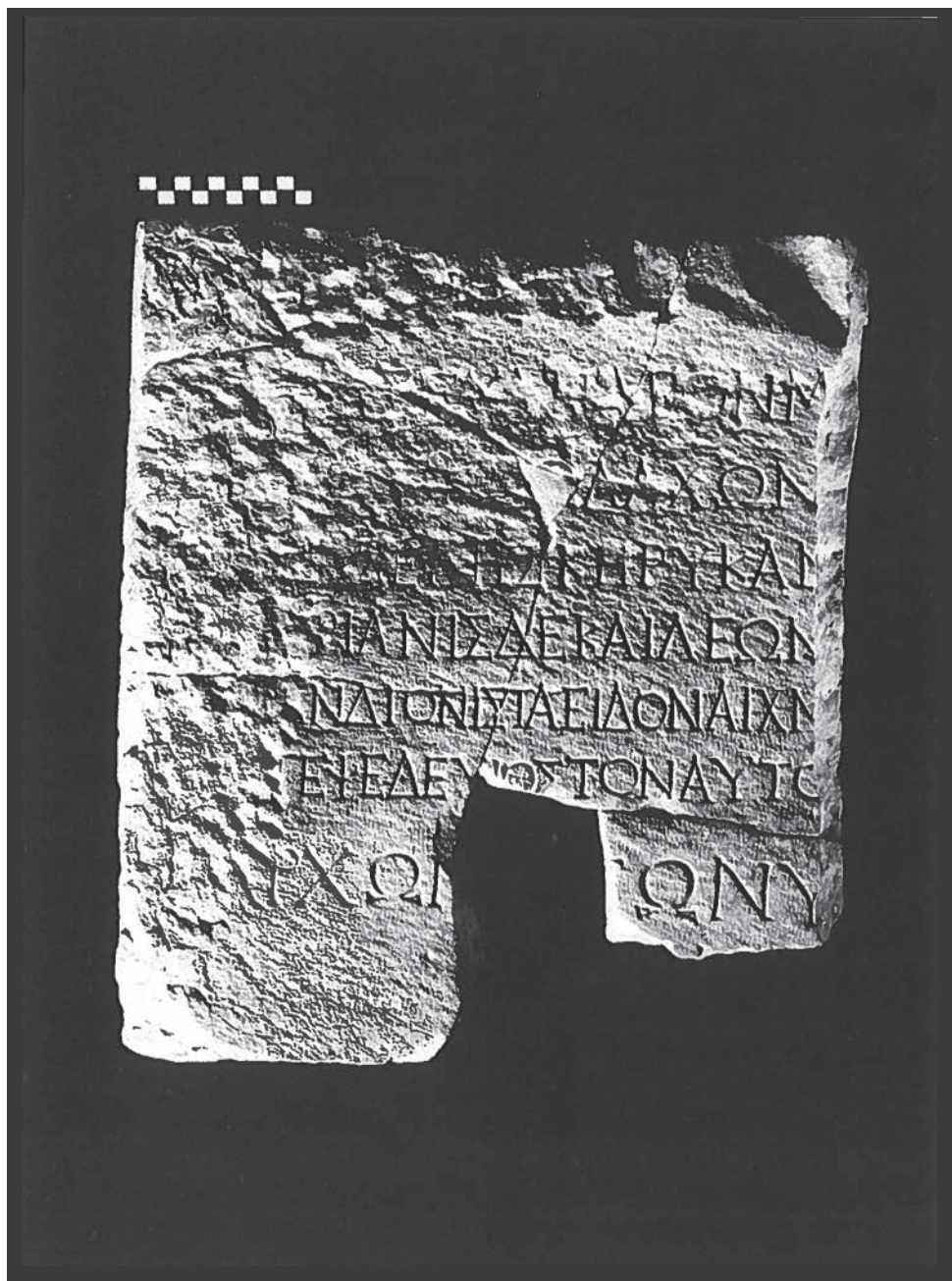
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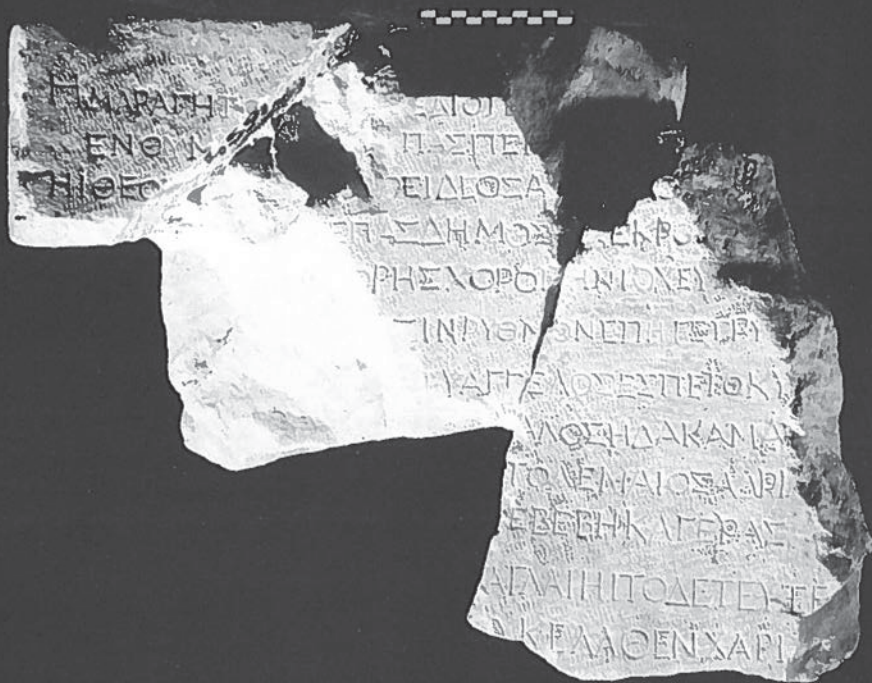
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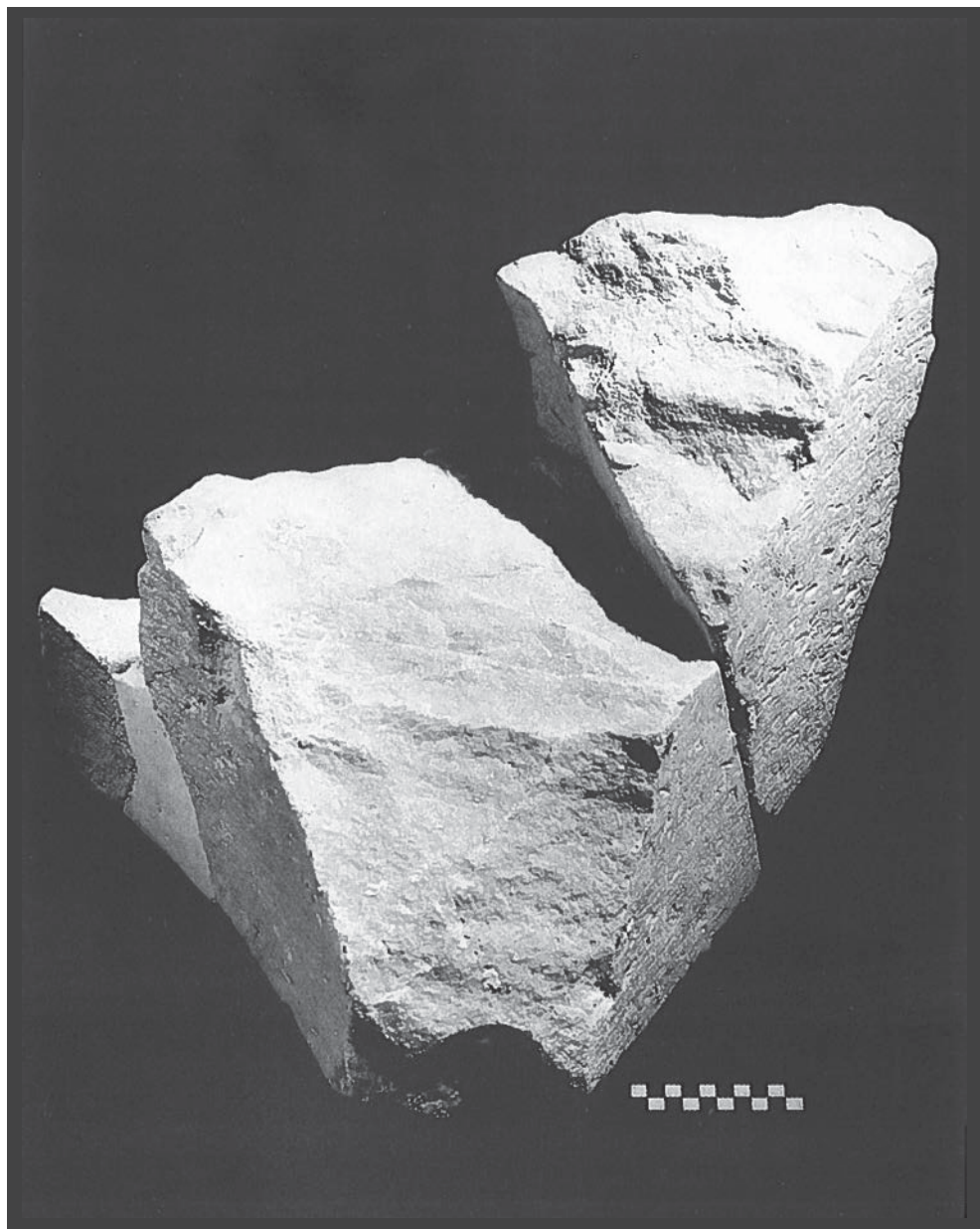


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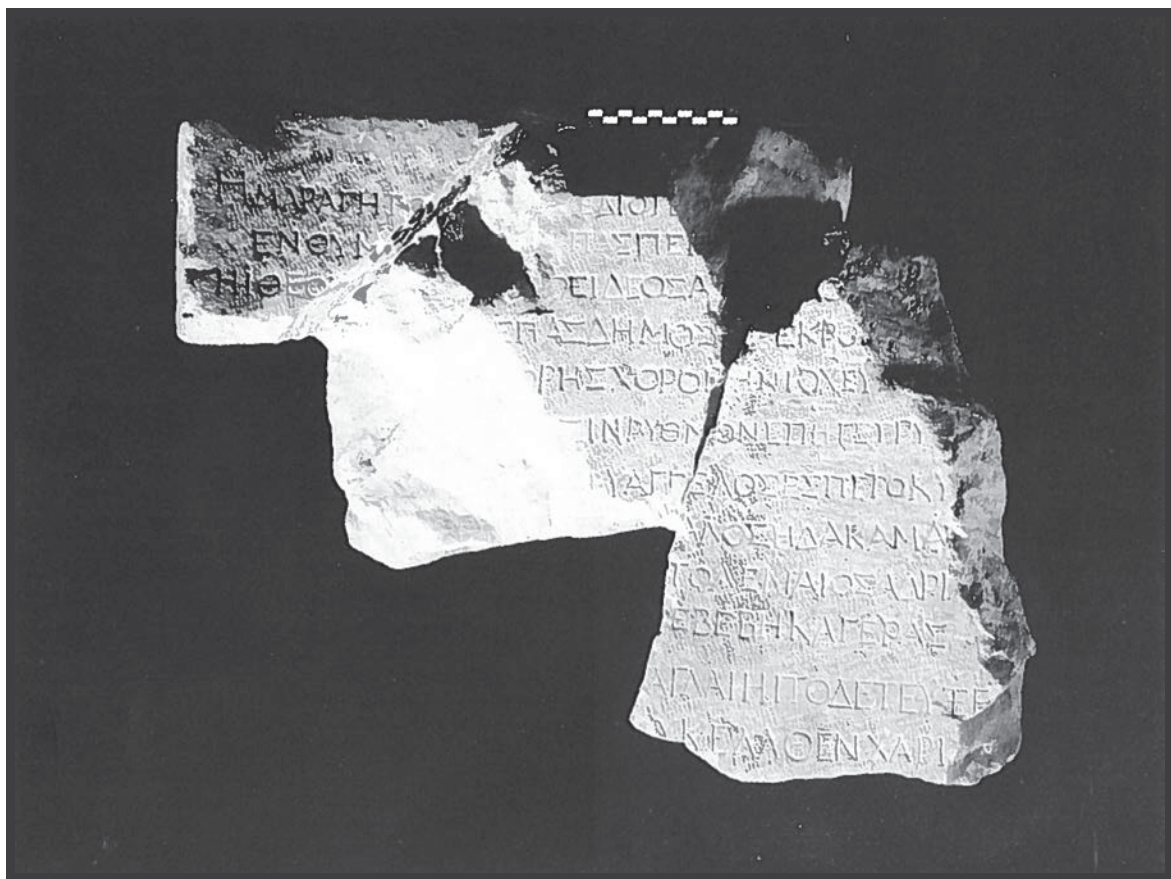


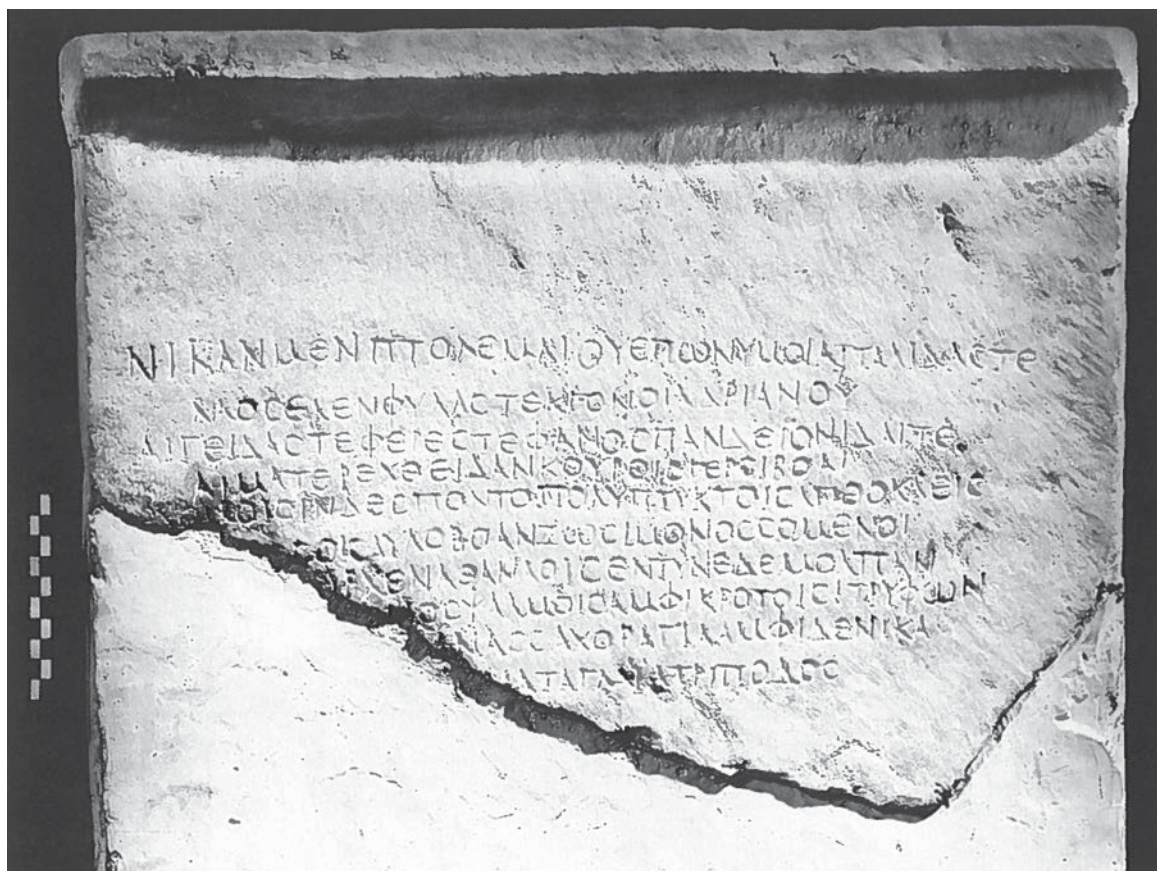
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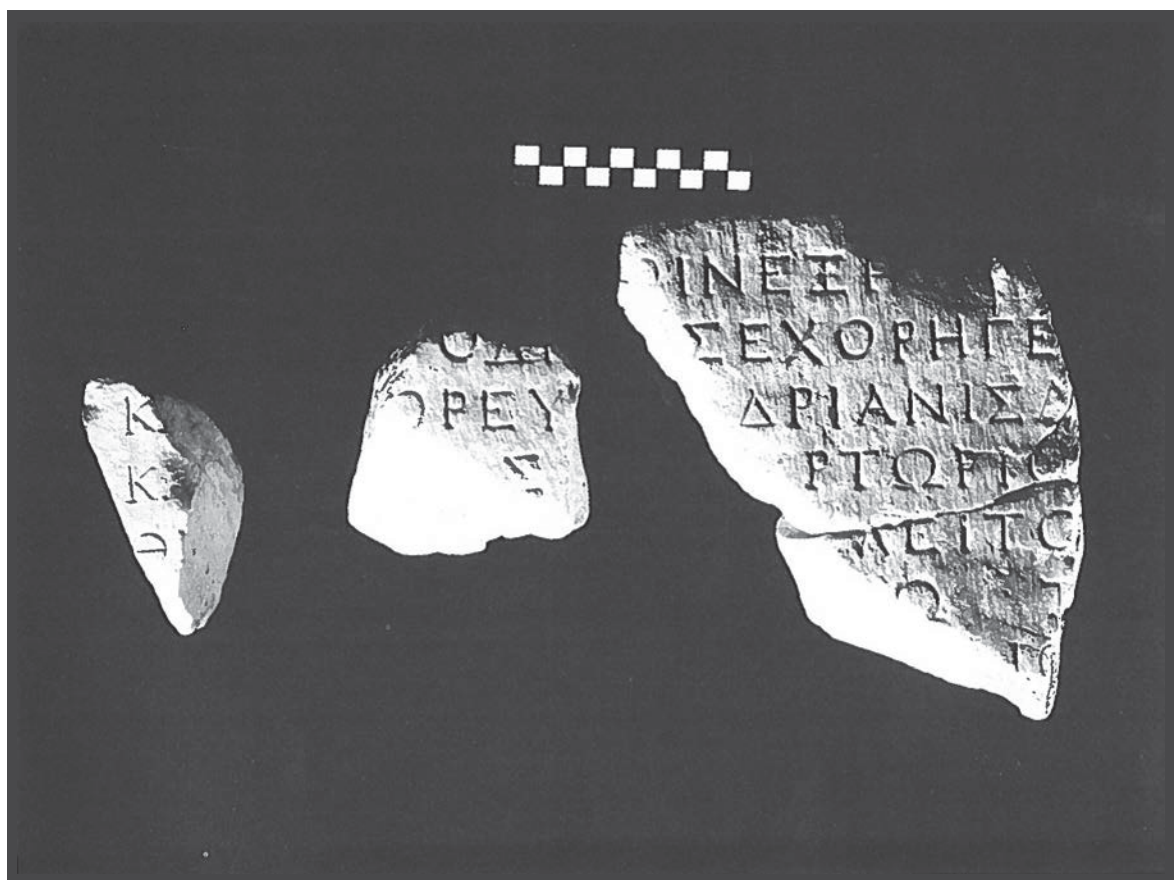
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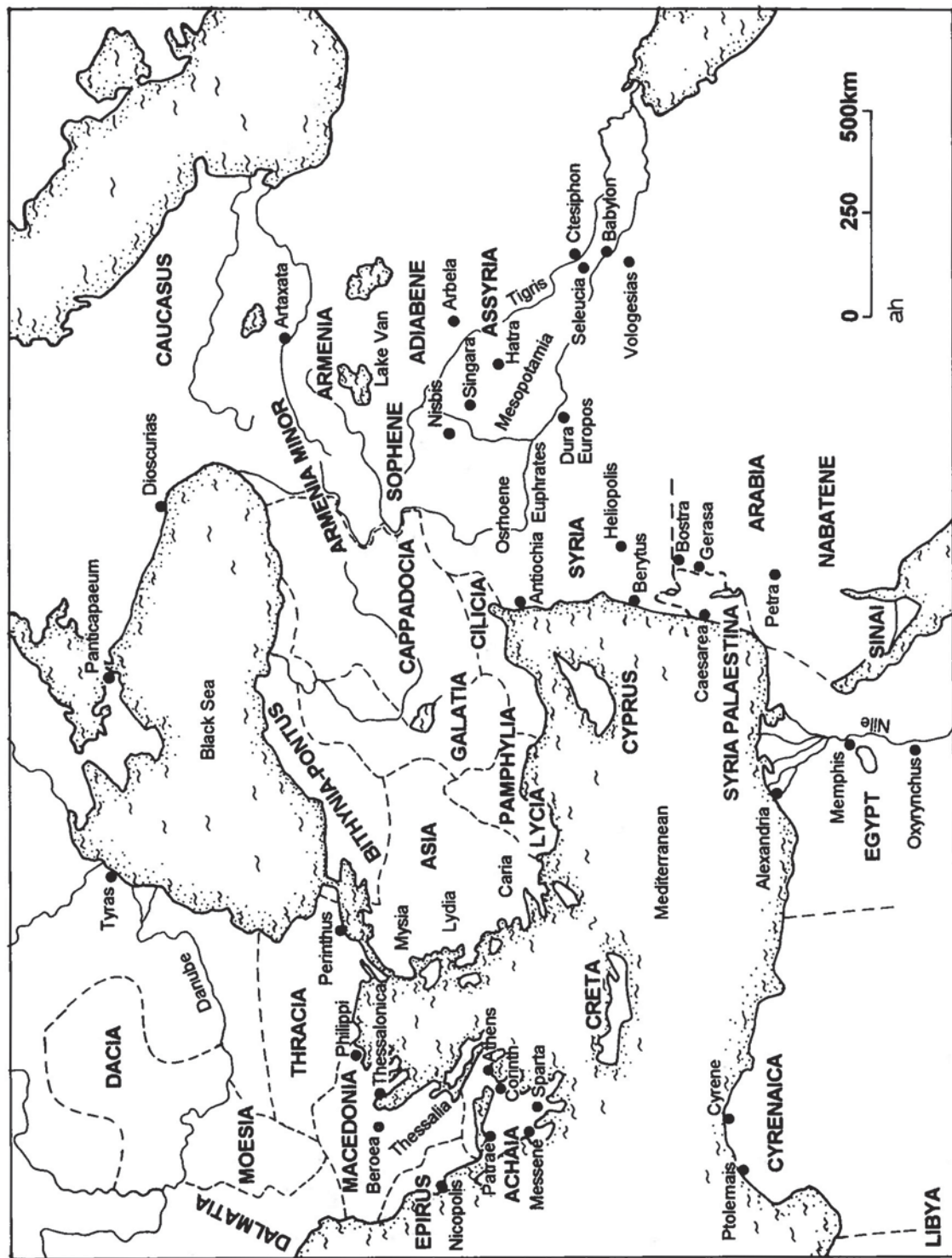
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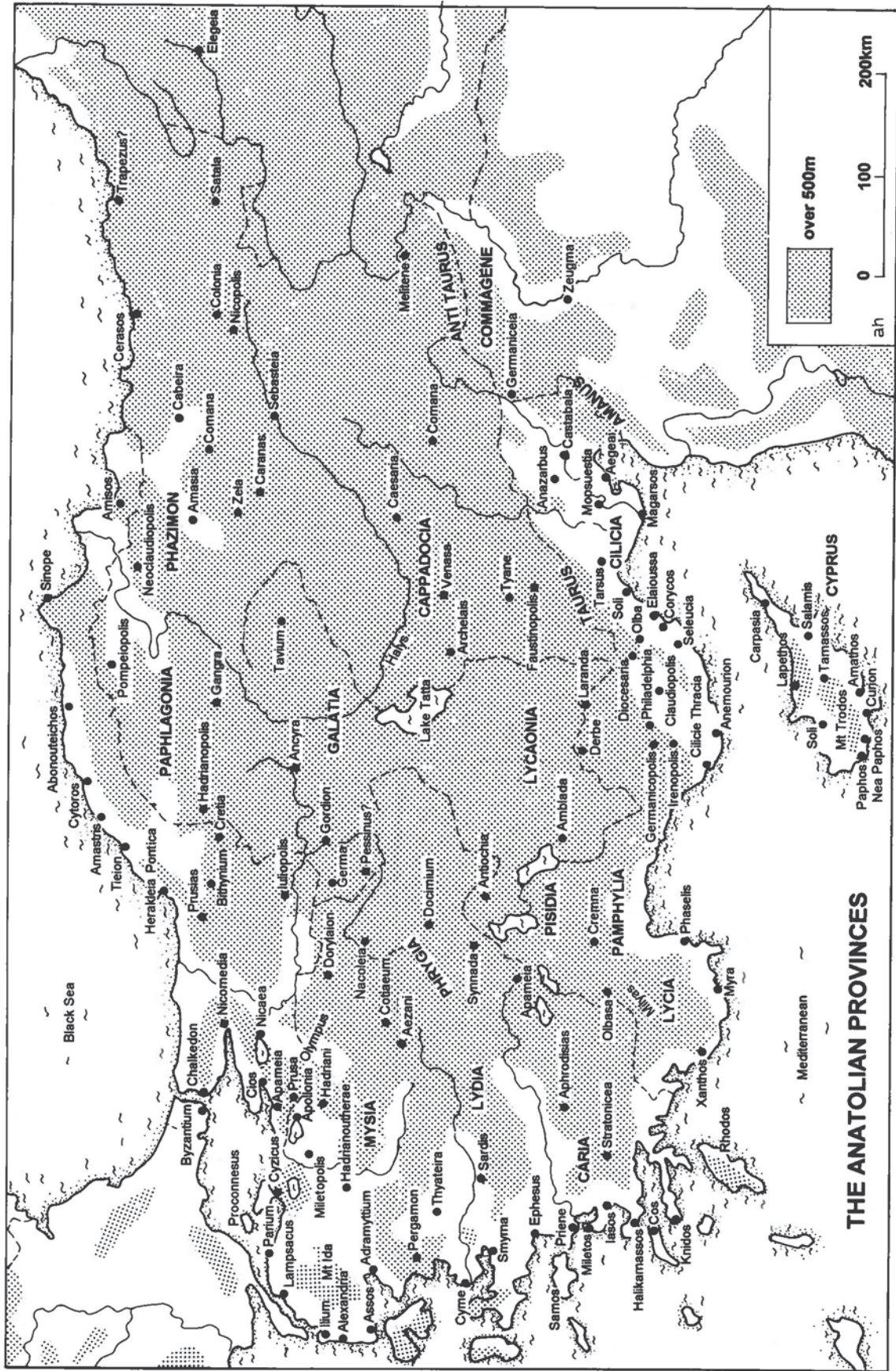
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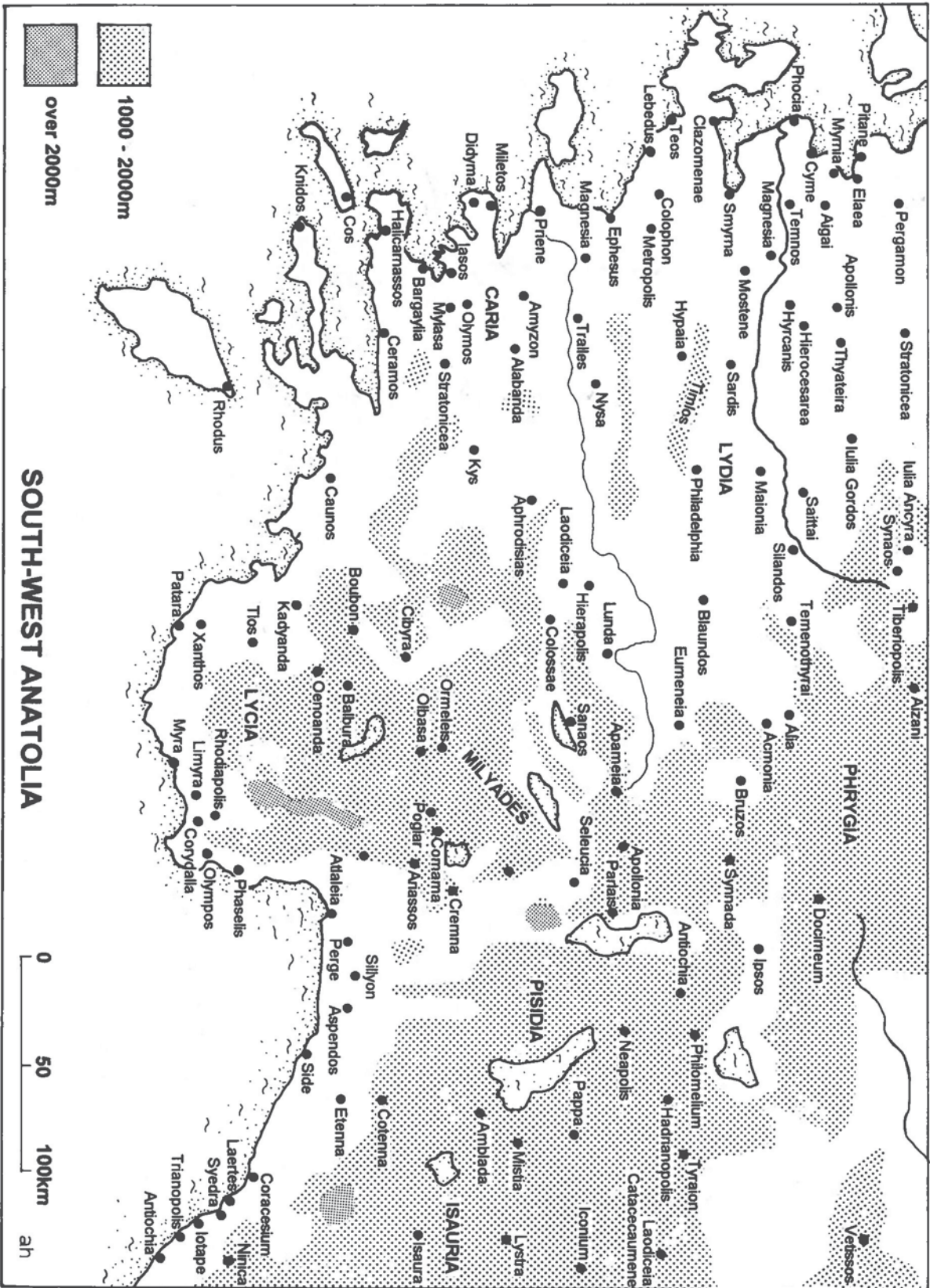
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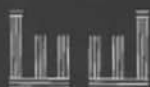
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