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POTAMON OF MYTILENE AND HIS FAMILY

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Amidst the turbulence of the first century B.C., Potamon the son of Lesbonax was one of several litterati from Mytilene who achieved literary renown and won influential friends among the Roman nobility. Men such as Potamon, Lesbokles, Krinagoras and Theophanes exploited these friendships to gain political benefits for their polis.¹ Although Potamon is neither so well attested in the literary sources as Theophanes, nor has his literary work been so fortunately preserved as Krinagoras', nevertheless he was honored by his fellow citizens more often and more conspicuously.² His descendants for several generations profited from his legacy and emulated him by performing important duties in the city's civic and religious life. The evidence, chiefly inscriptional, for various members of this family has gradually accumulated casting new light on their individual accomplishments and prosopography. It is

* The corpus of Lesbian inscriptions and its main supplements have been abbreviated as follows:

IG = W.Paton, *Inscriptiones Graecae* XII, 2: *Insularum Lesbi, Nesi, Tenedi* (Berlin 1899);

Suppl = F.Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscriptiones Graecae* XII: *Supplementum* (Berlin 1939);

Sympleroma = S.Charitonides, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου: Συμπλήρωμα* (Athens 1968).

The testimonia for and fragment of Potamon are referred to hereinafter according to the designations assigned to them by F.Jacoby, *FGrHist* 147 Potamon: T1= *Souda* Π 2127; T2 = *Strabo* 13.2.3; T3 = *Souda* Θ 151 (Θεόδωρος Γαδαρεύς); T4 = *Seneca Suasoria* 2.15-16; T5 = [Lucian] *Makrobioi* 23; F1 = *Plutarch Alexander* 61. These sources are translated in C.A.Robinson, Jr., *The History of Alexander the Great* (Providence 1953) I 261-62.

A rhetorical fragment published by L.Koenen, "Papyrology in the Federal Republic of Germany and fieldwork of the International Photographic Archive in Cairo," *Studia Papyrologica* 15 (1976) 39-79, may be Potamon's (54 n.36); Koenen, however, prefers Polemon.

¹ These were the most noteworthy Mytileneans in the time of Strabo (T2). For Potamon see *RE* 22.1 (1953) 1023-27, s.v. Potamon (3) (W.Stegemann), *M.I.Rostovtzeff, SEHHW* (Oxford 1959) III, 1528 n.98 and *PIR*¹ III 92 no.675;

For Lesbokles the only sources are Strabo (T2) and Seneca the Elder (T4 and *Controv.* 1.8.15);

For Krinagoras see *RE* 11.2 (1922) 1859-64, s.v. Krinagoras (F.Geffcken) and A.F.S.Gow and D.L.Page, *The Greek Anthology: the Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams* (London 1968) II, 210-13;

For Theophanes see *RE* 5A (1934) 2090-2127, s.v. Theophanes (1) (R.Laqueur), F.Jacoby, *FGrHist* 188 Theophanes, L.Robert, "Théophane de Mytilène à Constantinople," *CRAI* 1969,42-64 and cf. D.Salzmann, "Cn.Pompeius Theophanes. Ein Benennungsvorschlag zu einem Porträt in Mytilene," *Röm.Mitt.* 92 (1985) 245-260 for a possible portrait bust.

For the historical background C.Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene* (Leipzig 1888) remains useful, while R.K.Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore 1969) 144-45, 152-57 and 270-71 provides a good account of relations between Mytilene and Rome from the first Mithradatic War until the time of Augustus.

² Most notably by a large structure, apparently the "Monument of Potamon" ([Ποτα]μώνειον) mentioned on IG 51 (with Suppl p. 13, ad IG 51), on which were engraved transcripts of official Roman and other documents that pertained in some way to him. Its pieces were later used as building materials for the mediaeval wall of the citadel; inscribed fragments identified to date include: IG 23-57; Suppl 6-12, 112; *Sympleroma* 6-15, 26, 69; SEG 27.491 (with R.Hodot, "Deux notes sur des inscriptions de Mytilene," *ZPE* 49 [1982] 187-89); an unedited fragment in the museum at Mytilene (inv. MM 3851). Sherk (*supra* n.1) nos.25-26, 51, 73-78, provides a text, apparatus, full bibliography and historical commentary on the Roman documents. For other monuments see *infra* n.25.

the aim here to bring together and examine this evidence with a view to presenting as full a picture as possible of this family and its continuing role in Roman Mytilene.

As a first step a brief review of what is known about Potamon himself and his forebears will be useful. The family claimed origin from "Penttilos the king", Orestes' son, whose descendants according to tradition were the first Greek settlers and rulers of Aeolis and the Aeolic islands. By the time of Alkaios and Sappho the Penttilidai of Mytilene were infamous and their power broken, although members of the haughty clan survived. Virtually nothing more is heard about them until Potamon's claim of ancestry in the first century.³

Potamon's father, Lesbonax, was a distinguished philosopher according to the Souda (Λ 307), the only literary source to mention him: Λέσβωναξ Μυτιληναῖος φιλόσοφος, γεροντός ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου, πατήρ Ποτάμωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου· ἔγραψε πλεῖστα φιλόσοφα. Although both this dating of Lesbonax and the precise vocation of his son are inaccurate, numismatic and epigraphic evidence do confirm the assertion that Lesbonax was known as a philosopher.⁴ Potamon, in fact, was famous to his own and the succeeding generation as a rhetor, which skill he taught, perhaps in rivalry with the equally distinguished Lesbokles.⁵ His literary works included a *Horoï* of the Samians, *On the Complete orator*, *encomia* of Brutus and Caesar, and a work on Alexander of Macedon which Plutarch consulted.⁶

Potamon first appears in the sources in the turmoil of 48 B.C. Mytilene had staunchly supported Mithradates in 88, but had paid the price for this when Minucius Thermus stormed her in 80. Thanks to Theophanes' influence with Pompey, the city recovered her independence in 62. Pompey left his wife and son at Mytilene before crossing to Greece in 48, and after the battle of Pharsalos he sailed back there in the company of Theophanes

³ On Penttilos and the Aeolic migration see Strabo 13.1.3 and Pausanias 3.2.1; on the Penttilidai see P.Carlier, *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre* (Strasbourg 1984) 458-61. Suppl 121 line 15 attests a Penttilos at Eresos in the third or second century B.C. Potamon's claim to Penttilid ancestry is preserved on Suppl 7 (see infra n.24).

⁴ IG 255 line 6 and the coin discussed on p.128 and illustrated in plate 4 nos.27, 28 of L.Bürchner, "Griechische Münzen mit Bildnissen historischer Privat-personen," *Zeitschr. für Numism.* 9 (1882) 109-137 both style him "philosophos." See infra nn.41, 42 for other Lesbonactes.

⁵ Their younger contemporaries, Strabo (T2) and Seneca (T4 and Controv. 1.8.15), refer approvingly to Lesbokles and Potamon, and [Lucian] (T5) also lauds Potamon. Seneca's anecdote about the two (T4) may suggest a rivalry, but F.Jacoby, *FGrHist* II.B p.533 (citing no evidence) wondered "Lesbokles Bruder Potamons?" The name Lesbokles is attested (in the form of an Aeolic, feminine patronym from Eresos) on Suppl. 21 (pp.15 and 40) and at Pliny HN 34.85. Tacitus, *Dialogue* 15.3 at a dramatic date ca. A.D. 75 could still mention Mytilene and Ephesos as eastern centers of rhetoric, a fact probably explained by Potamon's distinguished career according to G.W.Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969) 19 n.2.

⁶ T1, F1 and cf. L.Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (Philadelphia 1960) 248-49. Potamon had met Caesar at least twice (see nn.8, 9, 10 infra), and had the opportunity to meet Brutus who visited Mytilene in 46 (Cicero *Brut.* 250).

(lately his praefectus fabrum) to collect his family. The city welcomed Pompey and invited him to come within the walls, but he refused and advised submission to the victor.⁷

Acting on Pompey's advice the Mytileneans sent out ten ambassadors to Caesar, among them two rather young, but apparently already renowned men of letters, Potamon and Krinagoras son of Kallippos.⁸ Caesar may have been acquainted with the families of these two already, or perhaps Potamon represented an alternative to the influence of Theophanes, but in any case his inclusion on the embassy was evidently a wise act, for the ambassadors achieved their goal, and in his official reply praising them Caesar singled out Potamon for special mention. Potamon probably used his good offices to approach Caesar on the matter of confirming Mytilene's political status as friend and ally of Rome.⁹ These contacts were obviously successful, since the Mytileneans followed them up in 46 by sending to Caesar a second embassy on which Potamon and Krinagoras again served. The second embassy obtained the renewal of friendship and alliance with Rome, and the dictator also relieved the city of a financial burden by rescinding all grants of immunity from local taxation.¹⁰

Good relations between Potamon and the Julian house continued in the troubled times following Caesar's murder. In about 33 a competition in "sophistic" was held at Rome among him, Antipatros (of Damascus?) and Theodoros of Gadara, who won the contest and consequently became tutor of Tiberius.¹¹ Potamon and Krinagoras undoubtedly took part in yet another embassy to Rome in 25, at which time Augustus was lying ill at Tarraco in the midst of a military campaign in Spain. Several of Krinagoras' epigrams suggest that he visited Spain and others show him to have been in intimate contact with various members of the imperial family between 27-25 B.C., so the assumption that he was on the embassy and that he visited the emperor in Tarraco is a reasonable one. Since a transcript of the Roman Senate's decree in response to this embassy was inscribed with others all of which

⁷ Mytilene in the Mithradatic wars: Diod.Sic. 37.27.1; Appian Mith. 21.52; Plut.Pomp. 4; Livy Per. 89; Suet. Iul. 2 and cf. Vell.Pat. 2.18; Cic.Rab.Post. 27 and Leg.Agr. II 40. Pompey and Mytilene in 62 and 48: Plut. Pomp. 42, 74-75. Theophanes: Jacoby (supra n.1) T1-10. Cf. Cichorius (supra n.1) 4-8 and Sher, (supra n.1) 144-45, 152-3.

⁸ IG 35 col. a and cf. R.K.Sherk, "Caesar and Mytilene," GRBS 4 (1963) 145-53 for the date. For the ages of Potamon and Krinagoras see infra n.14.

⁹ IG 35 col. a 13. Column b 1-5 of the same stone contains the conclusion of a letter from a Roman magistrate, perhaps Caesar's reply to a Mytilenean inquiry about the renewal of friendship and alliance, as Sher, (supra n.1) 153-54 cogently argues. M.I.Rostovtzeff, "Caesar and the South of Russia," JRS 7 (1917) 27-44 draws attention (36) to Caesar's literary acquaintances in the Greek East and their involvement in diplomacy, and Th.Mommsen, "Das Potamon-Denkmal auf Mytilene," SBBerl 1895, 887-901 suggested this was so in Potamon's case. According to Suetonius (supra n.7) Caesar participated in the siege of Mytilene in 80, and it is not impossible that he met some of the local litterati at that time. R.Syme, Roman Revolution (Oxford 1939) 262 suggests that Potamon was "perhaps a rival of the great Theophanes".

¹⁰ IG 35 col. b 6-36. Sher, (supra n.1) 154 n.14 explains the considerable financial impact of rescinding these grants.

¹¹ T3. The date is Jacoby's (supra n.5). Cichorius, (supra n. 1) 63 identified Antipatros as the father of the historian Nikolaos of Damascus; J.Brzoska, RE 1 (1894) 2516-17, s.v. Antipatros (28) is more cautious.

concerned Potamon, it is fair to conclude that he was an ambassador as well.¹² The envoys successfully negotiated a defensive alliance with Rome.

This was not Potamon's last visit to Rome. Although he had not won the contest in sophistic, he must have maintained an association with Augustus' eventual successor as the article devoted to him in the *Souda* indicates. There he is explicitly synchronized with Tiberius (somewhat inaccurately) and an anecdote demonstrating the high regard in which the emperor held him is related: "when Potamon was returning to his fatherland the emperor supplied him with a letter threatening war on whoever dare wrong Potamon son of Lesbonax."¹³ Potamon was a mature and presumably renowned adult already in 48 B.C., so he must have been very old when Tiberius finally attained sole power, if the chronological context of this anecdote is correct. The Lucianic *Makrobioi* corroborates such a calculation with the notice that "Potamon a not obscure rhetor (lived) ninety years," and thus allows us to posit a lifespan for him ca. 75 B.C. to A.D. 15.¹⁴

There is evidence for considerably more diplomatic activity on the part of Potamon both at Rome and elsewhere, although few details can be determined.¹⁵ He appears to have devoted equal energy to Mytilene's internal affairs, specifically in the realm of constitutional reform and the revitalization of various cults. One of the cults with which Potamon concerned himself was that to Roma. On the fragments of the monument built in his honor Roma Nikophoros is twice mentioned in uncertain contexts and yet a third reference to Roma (and Tiberius?) clearly relates to Potamon's services (apparently including several priesthoods) to a number of cults.¹⁶ In roughly the same years that Potamon was enhancing local cults

¹² IG 35 col. b lines 36-43 and cols. c-e. See Gow and Page (supra n.1) 211-13; epigrams 32(?), 30, 29 and 16 (= Anth.Pal. 9.599, 516, 419 and 7.376, respectively) seem to concern a visit to Spain. Members or intimates of the imperial house mentioned or addressed by Krinagoras include Marcellus, Kleopatra-Selene, Antonia (Minor), Germanicus, Tiberius and Sallustius Crispus. IG 44, also a fragment of the Potamoneion, makes mention of "Tarraco of Iberia," and so would appear to corroborate the suggestion that some or all of the ambassadors made a journey there.

¹³ Π 2127: καί ποτε αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιόντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφοδιάζει τοιοῖσδε γράμμασι· "Ποτάμων Λεσβόνακτος εἴ τις ἀδικεῖν τολμήσῃ, σκεψάσθω εἴ μοι δυνήσεται πολεμεῖν." The author probably synchronized the two men simply on the evidence of the available anecdotes (T1, T3), and then deduced the 'Augustan' date for Lesbonax (Λ 307), as Cichorius, (supra n.1) 65 suggested long ago.

¹⁴ *Makrobioi* 23: Ποτάμων δὲ οὐκ ἄδοξος ῥήτωρ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα. These dates have become standard: see Stegemann (supra n.1) col. 1023, H.H.Scullard in *Oxford Class. Dict.*² s.v. Potamon (1) and cf. Jacoby (supra n.5). Gow and Page (supra n.1), using IG 35 and the internal evidence of the epigrams, conclude that Krinagoras was born about 70 B.C. and lived until at least A.D. 11, possibly later, they defend the notion of an ambassador aged 21 years.

¹⁵ Sherk, (supra n.1) 359-64 identified IG 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41 and Suppl 11 as fragments of either decrees of the Senate or letters of Roman magistrates, all of which are pieces of Potamon's monument, but at 270 n.2 and "Senatus Consultum de Agris Mytilenaeorum," GRBS 4 (1963) 217-230 he suggests that Suppl 11 (two blocks published separately on pp. 12 and 208) are perhaps from a different monument in honor of Theophanes. IG 42 is a rescript of honors decreed for Potamon by Adramyttion and IG 43+ (?) Suppl 12 is another (with provision for a bronze equestrian statue) decreed by the Thessalians.

¹⁶ IG 255 (see infra n.48) refers to "Potamon the nomothete." This term is restored (partially) on Suppl 9b line 10 and (wholly) on Suppl 7 line 5. Fragments referring to religious activities are IG 25, 26, 33, 49 and Suppl 9a and 9b, and collectively concern the cults of Roma Nikophoros, Artemis (Thermia?), Herakles

another new cult was being established at Mytilene, that to Augustus, and it may be possible to detect Potamon's role in it as well.

In 29 B.C. the province of Asia was granted permission to establish a cult to Roma and Augustus with a temple at Pergamon, and while that temple was still under construction the Mytileneans also established a cult to Augustus and Roma, either building a new temple or installing Augustus in an existing one to Roma. In several particulars the cult was modeled on that of Zeus and included quadrennial games, annual sacrifices at the temple and sacrifices on Augustus' monthly birthday. The Mytileneans even promised to decree more distinguished honors, if in future times there were discovered any that might deify him further.

Although the decree containing the provisions for the cult is fragmentary and no individual Mytilenean is named on it, several magistrates and a chief-priest (ἀρχιερέυς) are mentioned. Some early editors of this inscription failed to realize that the decree concerned Mytilene and assumed that the chief-priest mentioned therein was a provincial official, but a chief-priest presided over the cult of Roma and Augustus at both Mytilene and Eresos.¹⁷ One Mytilenean chief-priest was none other than the son of Potamon, G.Claudius Diaphenes as we learn from a marble throne proclaiming his proedria:

[Ἀρ]χίρεωσ διὰ βίω θέασ Ῥώμασ
καὶ τῶ Σεβάτω Δίωσ Καίσαροσ
Ὀλυμπίω πάτροσ τᾶσ πάτριδοσ
προεδρία Γαίωσ Κλαυδίω, Ποτάμωνο[σ ὕω]
Διαφένη τῶ εὐεργέτα.¹⁸

Potamon's own proedria was also commemorated by an elaborate throne, IG XII, 2 272, presently in the courtyard of the archaeological museum in Mytilene. Another inscription records a dedication made to the god Augustus by Potamon himself:

[Ποτ]άμων Λεσβ[ών]ακτοσ ὁ διὰ β[ίου] ἱερέυσ--]
Θεῶ Σεβατῶ Καίσαρι.

Equally possible is the supplement ἀρχιερέυς. Potamon made a dedication to the god Augustus Caesar probably in his capacity as priest of that cult, just as his counter-part at Eresos, the ἀρχιερέυς Ti.Claudius Damarkhos, erected a series of imperial statues there.¹⁹

(?), Roma and (?) Tiberius, Etephilai (= Demeter and Kore), and Asklepios. Suppl 7 and perhaps 9a evidently refer to Potamon's multiple priesthoods.

¹⁷ Cult at Pergamon: Dio Cassius 51.20.6-9; at Mytilene: IG 58. Cf. the discussion in S.R.F.Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984) 55-57, 217-19. Paton, in his note to IG 58, did not realize that the cult in question was at Mytilene, and he supposed (cf. p. 153, index VII: Res sacrae s.v. ἀρχιερέυς) the chief-priest to be a provincial (i.e., of Asia) official.

¹⁸ IG 656. On names (mostly Aeolic) in Ἄφεν- and -αφένης see O.Masson, "Anthroponymie grecque et dialectologie," *RPhil* (Ser. 3) 39 (1965) 235-40.

¹⁹ IG 154, first published by E.Pottier and Am.Hauvette-Besnault, "Inscriptions de Lesbos," *BCH* 4 (1880) 417-448 (no.4, p.426), and seen by no subsequent editor: my text differs only in the employment of

Thus it appears that Potamon, too, was (chief-?)priest for life of an imperial cult established at Mytilene after Actium.²⁰

The selection of priests for the imperial cult and their length of tenure were not universally standardized, but neither selection by heredity nor life-long tenure were unusual. An example is as close at hand as Eresos where the chief-priest, Damarkhos, also held office for life.²¹ Recent studies of the cult of Roma and the imperial cult in the Greek world show how complex the mosaic of imperial worship could be. The historical relationship between cults of Roma, Roma and Augustus, and individual emperors alone (or together with previous emperors) was not standardized from one locale to another, nor was their evolution necessarily rational. Accordingly, one cannot automatically equate a priesthood of Roma with one of Roma and Augustus, or of Augustus alone.²² Nonetheless, a priestly family at nearby Pergamon provides what may be a situation analagous to that at Mytilene. The Pergamene philosopher M.Tullius Cratippus had been the friend and client of Cicero and even came to Mytilene to converse with Pompey during the latter's flight in 48. His son was priest of Roma and Salus, and his grandson was priest διὰ γένουc of Roma and Augustus during the reign of Tiberius.²³

It may be that Potamon, too, held one or more priesthoods hereditarily, as a decree moved by the koinon of the Lesbians and inscribed on Potamon's monument may indicate:

vacat [Τὸ κοῖνον τὸ Λ]εcβίων *vacat*
[Ποτάμωννα Λεcβώνακτοc] τὸν ἀπύγονον Πενθίλω τῶ [β]αcίλεοc

acceptable modern epigraphical conventions for missing and fragmentary letters. On Damarkhos see IG 549 of which Suppl 129 is a surviving fragment as J.Boüüaert, "Aeolica," *AntCl* 16 (1947) 105-111 pointed out (105-106); IG 539-42 are the bases of statues of emperors dedicated by him. Cf. *Sympleroma* 122 for his father (or ancestor: Charitonides [p.85 n.1] was at a loss, rightly in my view, why Suppl p.40 [ad 549] claimed the Damarkhos of IG 549 to be a descendant of the man in IG 539-42.

²⁰ Priests of Artemis Thermia at Mytilene were regularly styled "priest and chief-priest" (IG 239, 242-243, 246-252 and cf. 244) and those of Asklepios Soter were πανίρευc κα ἰ ἕρευc (IG 61, 102, 116). Similarly Damarkhos seems to have styled himself indiscriminately "chief-priest," "priest" and "priest and chief-priest" (IG 540, 542 and 549, respectively). R.Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΑ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, *Hypomnemata* Heft 42 (Göttingen 1975) 186 observes that the priest and chief-priest were apparently not functionally distinct.

²¹ For the cult of Roma see Mellor (n.20 supra) 186-88 and for the imperial cult in general see Price (supra n.17) 63. For Damarkhos see supra n.19 and cf. IG 693 (Suppl p.210) for Aurelius Styra whose priesthoods include one διὰ βίω Cεβ./Ἐρέεοc Ἀπόλλωνοc.

²² For the historical trend see Price (supra n.17) 61-62 and Mellor (supra n.20) 195-98, who also documents examples of the rather illogical co-existence of Roma alongside the imperial cult.

²³ The Cratippi: A.O'Brien-Moore, "M.Tullius Cratippus, Priest of Rome," *Yale Class.Stud.* 8 (1942) 23-49; C.Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon VIII: Die Inschriften von Pergamon III* (Berlin 1969) 164-5 and cf. Mellor (supra n.20) 78-79. As indicated by Cicero, *Brutus* 250 and 315, Cratippus (I) had once taught at Mytilene.

[Αἰολέων, τὸν θεῶν πά]ντων τε καὶ παῖσαν λάβοντα κατὰ
[τὸ γένος αὐτῶ ταῖς ἰρω]κύναις τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς Λέσβω.²⁴

When taken all together the evidence for Potamon's activities in religious affairs and his and Diaphenes' involvement in the imperial cult makes quite plausible the suggestion that Potamon held a hereditary priesthood for life of Roma and Augustus.

For the services reviewed above Potamon was repeatedly honored by the city. The chief honor must have been the large monument located on the acropolis, the so-called Potamoneion, on which were inscribed the many documents pertaining to the various official benefactions he had performed on the city's behalf. Numerous smaller monuments including statues, a marble throne inscribed with a notice of proedria, an altar and other dedications to him as εὐεργέτα καὶ σώτηρι καὶ κτίστα τᾶς πόλιος also honored him.²⁵

Yet another inscription has been interpreted as honoring Potamon along with a woman named Prokla, his wife, according to one conjecture. This inscription was first brought to light by C.Cichorius and included in the Lesbian corpus (as IG 47) by Paton who assigned it to the monument of Potamon. Hiller von Gaertringen republished it with extensive restorations in the mistaken impression that it was new. His and Cichorius' texts follow:

]ΒΩΝΑΚΤ[[---Ποτάμωνα Λεσ]βώνακτ[ος]
]ΑΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΑ[[-----κ]αὶ Πρόκλα[ν]
]ΥΠΡΟΓΟΝ[[τὰν γύναικα(?) κα]ὶ προγόν[οις]
]ΠΑΝΤΑΤ Τ[[--εὐεργετή]σαντας τ[ὰν πόλιν]
]ΔΙΑΙΩΝΟC[[---] δι' αἰώνος [---]
]ΕΝΝΕ[[ἀρέτας] ἔννε[κε παῖσας ?]. ²⁶

Hiller noted that a Prokla was also named on another inscription, IG 240, known only from a transcription by Cyriacus of Ancona:

ἀ βόλλα καὶ ὁ δᾶμος Φλ· Πουπλικίαν Νεικομα(χ)ίδα ΒΑ τὰν
παῖδα Διννομάχ(ω) καὶ Π(ρ)όκλ(α)ς τῶν εὐεργέταν καὶ ἀπὸ
προγόνων εὐεργέταν καὶ κτίσταν τᾶς πόλιος ἄμμεων τὰν δι'
αἰώνος πρύτανι(ν), ἀρέτας ἔνεκα παῖσας.²⁷

²⁴ Suppl 7 lines 1-4. κατὰ/ [τὸ γένος αὐτῶ] or simply κατὰ/[γένος] for Hiller von Gaertringen's κατὰ/ [πρεσβείαν] is the suggestion (310 n.2) of L.Robert, "Recherches épigraphiques," REA 62 (1960) 276-361.

²⁵ Supra n.2 (Potamoneion); Sympleroma 6 lines 8-10 (statues and a gold crown); IG 272 (throne); Suppl 44 (altar); IG 159-63, Suppl 43, Sympleroma 43 (others), and Suppl 45 (but cf. the discussion of this last infra).

²⁶ C.Cichorius, "Inscripfen aus Lesbos," Ath.Mitt. 13 (1888) 42-80 (67 no.19); Suppl 45. Charitonides, Sympleroma p.35 detected Hiller's error. For the phrase δι' αἰώνος and its equivalent see IG 208, 211 and 232 and cf. the discussion of L.Robert (supra n.24) 294-296.

²⁷ The abbreviation ΒΑ in line 1 has yet to be explained satisfactorily, but see Suppl p.22 (ad 240). Cf. the obscure symbol "-B-" (as represented in the corpora, but see Paton's note at IG 244 for the actual form) surviving on IG 244 and 256, which signifies "patrem homonymum" according to Paton (p. 155, index IX: Sigla et compendia) and cf. R.Koerner, "Die Abkürzung der Homonymität in griechischen Inschriften," SBBerl (1961, 2) 101-102. The Symbol "-B-" signifying δεύτερον is found on IG 693. On the spelling of

Mytilenean coins from the Antonine period bearing portraits of each of these three persons with the legends

IOY(ΛΙΑΝ) ΠΡΟΚΛΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ,
ΦΛΑ(ΒΙΑ) ΝΕΙΚΟΜΑΧΙC,
ΝΕΟΝ ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΝ ΗΡΩΑ

testify to their eminence, and Hiller supposed that the family might have traced its descent "from ancestral benefactors and founders of the city" through an earlier Prokla who was related to Potamon. He therefore conjectured tentatively that the earlier Prokla was Potamon's wife.²⁸ Hiller's interpretations of fragmentary letters, however, differs from Cichorius', and a comparison between the latter's text and the formula preserved on IG 240 suggests that other restorations may be entertained.

It is unclear whether Cichorius intended the low horizontal stroke over the N of his (and Hiller's) line 1 to represent a fragmentary letter and thus another line, as Paton so interpreted it. Hiller records AI, Paton a dotted N for Cichorius' representation of the fragmentary strokes preserved before Π in line 2, and in the next line a fragmentary letter clearly interpreted by Cichorius as Y became I in Hiller's text. In line 4 a vertical stroke that Cichorius guessed was a fragmentary Π became Hiller's dotted C and a high horizontal stroke became his dotted T. The stone is mutilated on all sides so that line length cannot be calculated with much confidence. Nevertheless whole and fragmentary letters reported by Cichorius correspond to the formula used to honor Neikomakhis so that IG 47 (= Suppl 45) could be restored thus:

[----- Λ Ε C] Β Ω Ν Α Κ Τ [-]
[-----] Α Ι Π Ρ Ο Κ Λ Α [-]
[ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠ]Υ ΠΡΟΓΟΝ[ΩΝ]
[ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙC]ΤΑΝ ΤΑC Π[ΟΛΙΟC]
[ΤΑC? ΑΜΜΕΩΝ ΤΑΝ] ΔΙ' ΑΙΩΝΟC [ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΝ]
[ΑΡΕΤΑC] ΕΝΝΕ[ΚΕ ΠΑΙCΑC.]

Such a reading still leaves a wide scope for supplementing the lacunae in lines 1 and 2. The precise grammatical case of neither name is preserved, so it cannot be determined with any

Διωνόμαχος cf. Διωνομένη/η in E.Lobel and D.L.Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1955) "Alcaeus" Z 53 and Z 60.

²⁸ For the coins, dated to the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, respectively, see J.N.Svoronos, "Monnaies inédites d'Athènes et de Mytilène," *RIN* 21 (1908) 313-322, W.Wroth, *Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos, Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum XVII* (London 1894) 200-202 nos. 165-66, 173-74 and cf. Barclay Head, *Historia Numorum 2* (Oxford 1911) 563. Neikomakhis is paired with CEETON ΗΡΩΑ. For other Mytileneans named Prokla/Proklos see IG 67; 255 (an Aurelius Proklos, under whose secretaryship the "sacred boule" decreed honors for a descendant of Potamon: infra n.48); 488; 519; Suppl 690 = 18 (G.Julius G.f. Proclus); *Sympleroma* 18 line 15; 77 (Prokles or Prokle?).

certainty if either (or both) Lesbonax or Prokla is the honorand or the parent(s) of the honorand. If the two decrees were entirely similar, the reading

[A ΒΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΑΜΟC ΛΕC]ΒΩΝΑΚΤ[Α]
[ΤΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΟC Κ]ΑΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΑ[C]

would fill the lacunae comfortably, but, although a Lesbonax son of (the famous) Potamon has been conjectured (see *infra*), one hesitates to press this in the absence of further parallels. At the very least it is safe to suppose that Prokla and Lesbonax were related in some fashion.²⁹

Potamon's son, G.Claudius Diaphenes, the chief-priest of Roma and Augustus has been met already. Although nothing more is known about him, several female members of his family have been identified with varying degrees of certitude. His wife has been conjectured to be the woman honored with a statue the broken base of which preserves this inscription:

[Ὁ δᾶμοc]
Κ[λ]αύδία Μελικ[--τὰν]
[ε]υέργετιν, γύνα[ικα δὲ Γαίω Κλαυδίω Ποτά-]
μωνοc υἱῶ (Δια)[φένη τῶ ευέργετα, ἀρέταc ἔν-]
νε[κα τᾶc εἰc αὐτόν].³⁰

At least one and probably two daughters of Diaphenes have been identified. One is known from three inscriptions in Mytilene. An engraved fragment of an architrave block from a building in the form of a small Doric stoa can be seen near the north harbor where it is immured low in the outer face of a tower that formed part of the mediaeval circuit.³¹ In elegant letters it proclaims:

Φιλῶν Διαφέ[νη, γυναῖκα δὲ ---]
πρώταν γυνα[ικῶν --- ἀρετᾶc]
καὶ φιλαγαθίαc [ἔνεκα τᾶc πρὸc ---.]

This inscription had long been known, but it had not been realized that Philo was a woman until Louis Robert established her identity by publishing two other inscriptions honoring her.³² A statue base attests the praise of the demos for her virtue and piety towards the gods and styles her 'heraldess', an office in the cult of Etephila:

²⁹ As on IG 240, so too on 237 the names of mother and father (and maternal grandfather) of the female honorand, Cornelia Cethegilla, are given.

³⁰ IG 229 with the supplements of Boüüaert (*supra* n.19) 108-109, who maintains that Paton mistook ΔΙΑ for ΑΝΔ in line 3.

³¹ IG 260. C.Williams, "Hellenistic and Roman Buildings in the Mediaeval Walls of Mytilene," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 31-76 discusses (38-45 and plate) the block and the building from which it came, and suggests it may have been a tomb. Cf. *Suppl* 21 pp. 15, 40 for a stoa dedicated to Artemis by a mother and daughter.

³² L.Robert, "Inscriptions de Lesbos et de Samos," *BCH* 59 (1935) 471-88 (esp. 471-76). Cichorius, (*supra* n.1) 49 connected this inscription with an epigram by Krinagoras *Anth.Pal.* 5.108 which puns on Πρώτη, a woman's name.

ὁ δᾶμος Φίλων Διαφένη τὰν κάρυσαν
 ἀρέτας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβήας
 τᾶς πρὸς τοῖς Θεοῖς.³³

A third, fragmentary inscription records her dedication to Isis, made probably in her capacity as priestess:

[-----]|| Θεο[ιτι]
 [---]αις ν Π..ποισι Φίλω Διαφένη ἀ [ἴρηα]
vacat Ἴσιδος ἀνέθηκε.³⁴

Philo, then, was clearly a woman of some stature at Mytilene, and held important offices in a sphere of activity which arguably offered women the greatest scope for contributing to the public life of their community.

Another woman honored by the Mytilenean demos with a statue was probably Philo's sister. The base of the statue preserves the people's commendation:

Κλαυδίαν Δα[---]
 ἠροΐναν Γαίω[---]
 τῷ εὐεργέτα πα[ίδα].

Paton conjectured long ago that Claudia's second name was Dada, and it has been further observed that her father's nomen was Claudius. Thus it has been suggested that she, too, was a daughter of G.Claudius Diaphenes.³⁵ This suggestion is plausible in view of the fact that an earlier Dada had married into the family of Potamon.

This earlier Dada was also honored with a statue, the base of which preserves intact the demos' honors:

ὁ δᾶμος
 Δάδαν Δίη, γυναῖκα δὲ Λεσβώνακτος
 τῷ Ποτάμωνος, ἱερέσσαιαν Ἐτηφίλα
 κάλωσ καὶ εὐσεβέωσ καὶ ἀποκατασταί-
 σαιαν τὰ ἴρα, ἀρέτας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐ-
 νοΐας τᾶς εἰς αὐτόν.

³³ Suppl 62 with Charitonides' correction (Sympleroma p.49). Robert, (supra n.32) 471-76 explains the term κάρυσ(σ)α as the feminine of κήρυξ, i.e., "heraldess."

³⁴ Suppl 22 is an improvement over the text of Robert (supra n.32) 474. Cf. L.Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* No.260.

³⁵ IG 228. The identification is argued by Boüüaert (supra n.19) 107-108, who restores thus [ὁ δᾶμος]/ Κλαύδιαν Δά[δαν, παρθενίκαν]/ ἠροΐναν, Γαίω [Κλαυδίω Διαφένη]/ τῷ εὐεργέτα πα[ίδα]. Boüüaert (109-111) also argues for the restoration of Suppl 112 as follows: [Δάδα Διαφένη] παρθένικα εὐ[έργετις, Πο-]/[τάμωνος τῷ σάτ]ηρος καὶ κ[τίσι]α παιδός-]/ [παις· χαίρε], but R. Hodot, "Notes critiques sur le corpus epigraphique de Lesbos," *Études d'archéologie classique* 5 (Nancy 1976) 17-81 doubts (57) the restoration of εὐ[έργετις] and suggests γυ[να ?] instead. Hodot notes that both the size and style of the lettering are similar to, and probably contemporaneous with, that of the Potamoneion, and he both accepts the connection of this woman with Potamon and also conjectures (following J. and L.Robert, *Bulletin epigraphique* 1940 no.83) that the woman on Suppl 112 was his wife.

Dada, the daughter of Dies, in her office as priestess of the cult of Etephila was publicly commended for her efforts to revive local cults, just as Potamon and Theophanes were.³⁶ She may well be the benefactress who is mentioned on a fragmentary inscription that appears to refer to her donations of plants, vessels, money and paraphernalia.³⁷ Similarly, she is likely to be the Dada whose image appears with that of "Pankratides" on coins from the time of Trajan.³⁸

Paton judged the lettering on the base of Dada's statue to be neither much before nor much after Potamon's floruit, and he consequently identified Dada's husband as the philosopher Lesbos. This would make her Potamon's mother and the Potamon of the inscription his grandfather. Recently, however, R.Hodot suggested that the Lesbos of this inscription was not Potamon's father, but his son. He noted that Mytilenean coins of the Antonine period bear the portrait of

ΛΕCΒΩΝΑΚΤΑ ΦΙΛ(ΟCΟΦΟΝ),

whose features are discernably different from those of

ΛΕCΒΩΝΑΞΗΡΩC ΝΕΟC

portrayed on other coins of about the same date. Thus, Hodot argued, there were two famous Lesbos in the tradition, but only one Potamon, and the inscription honoring Dada showed that this other Lesbos, the "new hero", was Potamon's son.³⁹ It hardly needs to be pointed out that dating inscriptions by lettering is imprecise, the more so in the case of Potamon, a nonagenarian who, as shall be seen directly, outlived at least one son.

Seneca the Elder provides the evidence for this son of Potamon. He relates an anecdote illustrating the difference in character between Lesbos and Potamon. Each of the two, he writes, was predeceased by a son. The former closed his school and was never heard from again, whereas Potamon went directly from the funeral to his school and declaimed.⁴⁰ Seneca fails to name the son of Potamon, but if the hypothesis advanced above concerning

³⁶ IG 222 with Suppl p.21. Ἐταιφίλη is equated with Persephone in the lexicon of Hesychios s.v., and the present inscription was found in the same place as IG 112, a dedication to Kora Soteira. On this cult see Robert, (supra n.32) 471-76, E.L.Shields, *The Cults of Lesbos* (Baltimore 1917) 45-46 and *Symplekoma* p.25 n.1. The verb ἀποκαθίστημι occurs on a fragment of the Potamoneion (IG 29 line 3 and cf. Suppl p.9 ad 29) in an uncertain context. Suppl 9 mentions Potamon's benefactions to various cults including (b 14) the Ἐτηφίλια. L.Robert, (supra n. 1) 52-53 publishes a base from Constantinople which honors Theophanes for, among other things, ἀποκατατάσαντα δὲ/ καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ πατρ[ρ]ῶα καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς/ τῶν θεῶν.

³⁷ Suppl 5 line 10: ΤΑΝ δεδώκη ἃ εὐέργ[ετις Δά[δα Δίη ---]. The supplement is the conjecture of Bouüaert, (supra n.19) 107 n.5. Cf. IG 39 for an apparent reference to Potamon's son and wife.

³⁸ Illustrated in Wroth (supra n.28) plate 74. ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ is depicted with the attributes of Asklepios. Cf. the numismatic authorities supra n.28.

³⁹ Hodot, (supra n.35) 27-28, who rightly rejects Hiller von Gaertringen's (Suppl p.21) attempt to create a stemma by combining IG 222 and 68 (the latter of Antonine date). For illustrations of the coins of the "philosopher" see Büchner (supra n.4) 128 and plate 4 nos. 27, 28 and for the "new hero" see Wroth, 199 no. 164 and cf. Head, (both supra n.28) 563. For a list of the legends on this series of coins from Mytilene with historical portraits see Svoronos (supra n.28) 318-21, who notes (320), that the features of the "philosopher" are different from those of the "new hero."

⁴⁰ T4.

the hereditary priesthood of Roma and Augustus is correct, one would expect Diaphenes to have succeeded his father as priest "for life", and not to have predeceased him. In that event, Potamon will have had another son.

Hodot's hypothetical Lesbonax, however, is probably not the "new hero" of Mytilenean coins. In fact, there are several pieces of evidence for two, possibly more, distinguished men named Lesbonax who lived later than the "philosopher". For clarity and ease of reference the individual testimonia have been designated by lower case Roman numerals. Two books are preserved under the name of Lesbonax. One of these is (i) a work on literary, rhetorical figures by a grammarian. Estimates on the date of this book vary between the first and the later second century A.C., but its author is not to be identified with the rhetor of the second century, (ii) three of whose Atticizing orations survive. The ethnic of neither of these authors is preserved, but a Mytilenean Lesbonax (iii) of the second century is known from an anecdote in the Lucianic *de Saltatione*. An admiring scholiast (iiia) comments on this man's declamations, as well as his erotic epistles. He is usually identified with the author of the extant orations (ii), but whether he is the same as the Lesbonax (iv) to whom are addressed two very brief and uninformative epistles from the corpus attributed to Apollonios of Tyana is uncertain. Finally, there is the ΗΡΩC ΝΕΟC (v) depicted on Mytilenean coins of the Antonine period.⁴¹

However these testimonia are combined or sorted, it appears that at the very least there were two Lesbonactes (besides the "philosopher") from different eras, perhaps each of them a scholar or litterateur. One was a particularly distinguished Mytilenean honored by his native city on its coins. The talented rhetor from Mytilene (iii, iiia and ii?) is, on the present evidence, clearly the best candidate to be the "new hero" (v), certainly better than Potamon's hypothetical son, who cannot be the rhetor.⁴² In any event, the evidence for the "new hero" does nothing to support the claim that Lesbonax, the husband of Dada, was a son of the great Potamon. Perhaps an investigation of Dada and her family can contribute some information on this question.

⁴¹ On (i) see R.Müller, *de Lesbonacte grammatico*, (Diss. Griefswald 1890) (reprinted as *Λεβόνακτος περὶ σχημάτων* [Leipzig 1900]) and now D.Blank in *I frammenti dei grammatici Agathokles, Hellanikos, Ptolemaios Epithetes; Lesbonax ΠΕΡΙ CXHMATΩΝ*; *The Fragments of Comanus of Naucratis* (Band 7 of *Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker*) by Franco Montari, David L.Blank and Andrew Dyke, respectively (Berlin and New York 1988) 143-45; (ii) F.Kiehr, *Lesbonactis Sophistae quae supersunt* (Leipzig 1906) 23-24; (iii) and (iiia) = *Salt.* 69 and scholion ad loc., respectively; (iv) *Epistles* 22, 61; (v) see the numismatic sources cited supra n.28.

⁴² For an attempt to sort the testimonia out see K.Aulitzky, *RE* 12.2 (1925) 2102-06, s.v. Lesbonax (1), (2), (3), where: (1) is the philosopher and the "new hero" (= v); (2) is the grammarian (= i); (3) the rhetor (= ii, iii, iiia and, very doubtfully, iv). Müller's (n. 41 supra) 89, dating of the grammarian "nach Herodian" was rejected by Aulitzky who opted for the first century; Blank (supra n. 41) 143-45 hesitantly leans towards associating him with Dio (of Prusa) and the Plutarchean *Vit.Hom.*, thus the time of Hadrian. It is worth noting that in his list (T 2) of Mytilenean notables Strabo saw fit to mention the distinguished scion of Theophanes, but not the hypothetical son of Potamon.

Dada's father was Dies. Terpheos son of Dies and Dies son of Matrokles were colleagues of Potamon and Krinagoras on their second embassy (in 46) to Caesar. Moreover, Krinagoras composed a poem on the death of a boy whom a certain Dies buried on an island near the entrance to the Gulf of Korinth, an episode that likely occurred during the journey of Mytilenean ambassadors to Italy.⁴³ Thus there was a Dies of Mytilene who was prominent enough to be made ambassador in 46 B.C. and perhaps another whose son served in the same capacity. Although the name Dies is not unique on Lesbos, it is nonetheless plausible that after Potamon's success on the first embassy his influence in the second was bolstered by the inclusion of one or more kinsmen, as may have been true of Krinagoras as well.⁴⁴ On the other hand, a Dies was priest and agonothete of the imperial cult in the time of Gaius or Claudius. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that his daughter could have been married to a hypothetical Lesbonax who died before ca. A.D. 15, but neither is it very likely.⁴⁵

Hodot's Lesbonax son of the great Potamon can be substantiated only to the degree that one is prepared to combine Seneca's testimony on the anonymous son who pre-deceased Potamon with the uncertain possibility that IG 47 (= Suppl 45) honors a son of Potamon and Prokla. Nor can Dada's era be fixed with any precision. One might point to the absence of any attempt on her part to capitalize on the fame and status of her family (on the inscription neither her husband nor his father is ὁ εὐεργέτας, κτίστας, νομόθετας or the like) as an indication of earlier date, but Diaphenes was equally modest about his forbears. Perhaps more telling is the apparent existence of a granddaughter of Potamon named Dada. She is much more likely to have received the name of an illustrious great-grandmother, than that of an aunt by marriage. Also to be considered is the fact that Dada, the wife of Lesbonax, "re-established" the rites of Etephila. Both Potamon and Theophanes "re-established" cults; perhaps this was an activity characteristic of their own rather than their children's generation. Thus, although there is no decisive evidence, there are at least some grounds for supposing Dada to be of an earlier generation, while at the same time there is not yet solid evidence for the existence of a son of Potamon named Lesbonax. Paton's identification of Dada as the wife of Lesbonax the philosopher and mother of Potamon should stand.

At this point the genealogical thread of the family is lost, although one further member of the line is known and others may be conjectured. Dies, the priest of the imperial cult in the time of Gaius or Claudius could be Potamon's descendant. The marriage of Dada to

⁴³ IG 35 col. b 15; Anth.Pal. 7.628. The Oxeiai, as Krinagoras calls them, are probably the islands at the mouth of the Achelous at the entrance to the Gulf of Korinth according to Gow and Page (supra n.1) 224-25.

⁴⁴ Other Dies' on Lesbos include IG 209 (see infra n.45), 257, 329, 333, Suppl 127 line 17 and 136 line 9. C.Cichorius, "Römische Staatsurkunden aus den Archiv des Asklepiostempels zu Mytilene," SBBerl 1889, 953-973 assumed (963) that Φαινίας Φαινίου τοῦ Καλλί[π/που] on IG 35 b 14-15 was Krinagoras' relative (a brother, Eukleides, figures in Anth.Pal. 6.242).

⁴⁵ IG 209: Γάϊον Καίσαρα] Cέβακτον Αὐτοκράτ[ορα]/ [Γερ]μάνικον *vacat* ? / [πάτερα πάτριδ]ος Δίης ὁ ἕρευς [---]/[--- καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθέτας Αὐτ[οκράτορ]/[ος Καίσαρος Δί]ος Ὀλυμπί[ω] Cεβάκτω.

Lesbonax may have introduced the name Dies among the descendants of Potamon. If the hypothesis about the hereditary (chief-)priesthood is valid, it would not be surprising to find a man named Dies as heir to Potamon's office in the imperial cult.

Another possible Potamonid is the Lesbonax who is the subject of the anecdote in the Lucianic *de Saltatione* and the accompanying scholion. In the anecdote he is described as ὁ Μυτιληναῖος, ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀγαθὸς and as a pupil of Timokrates. Timokrates is probably the philosopher from Herakleia, and (to judge from his other known pupils) Lesbonax is likely to have studied under him in the early second century. The scholiast comments enthusiastically on Lesbonax' "remarkable declamations ... rivaling Nikostratos and Philostratos, the most distinguished of the later sophistai, and especially his erotic epistles distilling much delight from the words."⁴⁶ The coincidence of name, city of origin and literary interests makes plausible the conjecture that he was a descendant of Potamon; the same cannot be said for other homonyms.⁴⁷

A final descendant is known from the late second or more probably third century, when the council and people of Mytilene honored Aurelia Artemisia with a statue. The inscription on its base has been preserved only through a transcription made by Cyriacus of Ancona:

ἀ βόλλα καὶ ὁ δᾶμος <τὰν> Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμισίαν τ[ὰν-]
 δίκω τῷ Εὐτύχῳ θύγατρα, τὰν (λ)όγιον πρ(ύ)ταν(ι)ν
 καὶ εὐέργετιν, ἰερέα(ν) τᾶν θεᾶν Ἐτ(η)φίλαν καὶ κα-
 ρίccαν καὶ ἐρ(σ)όφορον τ(ῶ)ν ἀγιωτάτων μυ(στ)αρίων,
 τὰν ἀπύγονον Ποτάμωνος τῷ νομοθέτα καὶ
 Λεσβώνακτος τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τοῖ(ν) εὐεργέται(ν),
 ἀρέτας ἔνεκα παίσα(σ).
 ὄνταθεῖσας τεῖμας ὑπὸ τᾶς ἴρας βόλλας ἐπιμελήθεν-
 το(σ) τῷ γραμματέος αὐτάς Αὐρ. Πρόκλῳ τῷ Ἰούστῳ.⁴⁸

In Artemisia, the last known descendant of Potamon, are fittingly combined various offices and services to the city. She was a benefactress and prytanis in addition to continuing her family's traditional devotion to Etephila.⁴⁹ As priestess and heraldess of the cult, Artemisia

⁴⁶ The scholion reads: οὗ καὶ ἄλλαι μελέται ῥητορικαὶ φέρονται θαυμάσιαι καὶ ἐνάμιλλοι Νικοστράτου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις σοφισταῖς διαπρεπόντων, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ ἐρωτικά ἐπιστολαὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀποστάζουσαι ἡδονήν.

⁴⁷ IG 68 (a Dada of Antonine date); IG 239 with Suppl p.22 ([D]iogenes P[otamonos?]) benefactor from his ancestors, priest, chief-priest etc. of Artemis, hereditary priest of ? and involved in the Etephilai); IG 352 (Satyris daughter of Potamon); Suppl 26 (Leukios Tatios Potamon); Suppl 37 (Dikaios Potam[onos], a strategos).

⁴⁸ IG 255 (with Suppl p.22) and cf. Robert, (supra n.32) 471-72. Nota bene that Paton used < > and () where the modern conventions are { } and < >, respectively.

⁴⁹ On the prytanis see RE Suppl 13 (1973) 730-816, especially 733, 746-47 (Fritz Geschnitzer) for Aiolis, Lesbos and Mytilene. At Mytilene the prytanis was the eponymous magistrate (IG 1, 5, 6, 74 passim, 75, 96, 112, 275 and cf. 7, 68, 71) as elsewhere on Lesbos (IG 498, 500, 502, 503; Suppl 114, 116 [Methymna]; 526c.29, 529.12; Suppl 124 and Sympleroma 122 [Eresos]; cf. IG XI 1064, a rescript from Delos, [Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa and Eresos]). At least one other female prytanis is known,

held positions filled individually by her ancestors Dada (I) and Philo, respectively. In addition she served as *ersophoros*, an office not otherwise attested in the local cult of Etephila, but perhaps similar in function to the *ἀρρηφόροι* known from several Attic cults, most notably that of Athena Polias. In that cult young girls chosen each year in virtue of their family background performed ritual duties which included carrying sacred objects in baskets.⁵⁰ Such service was not infrequently commemorated by the obviously proud families of these Athenian girls.⁵¹

Clearly, the family of Potamon also felt it worthwhile to erect lasting memorials to its cultic servitors. Relatively few opportunities existed for women to serve the community publicly and, even granting the scantiness of evidence, the females of Potamon's family figured prominently in the cult of Etephila, and were perhaps preeminent in the realm of religion generally.⁵²

The eminence achieved by Potamon under the first Caesars was maintained by his descendants in a variety of spheres: civic, perhaps literary and religious. Their history invites comparison with the vicissitudes of Theophanes' descendants, who followed his path into imperial politics with the concomitant rewards and risks.⁵³ For several generations both families successfully asserted themselves at home and abroad, distinguishing themselves and Mytilene.*

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Neikomakhis (IG 240: see nn. 26, 27, 28 *supra* and cf. the discussion of it and IG 47 [= Suppl 45] *supra*). *λόγιος πρύτανης* is found again on IG 210, 243 and Suppl 63.12.

⁵⁰ An *ἐρρηφόρος* for Demeter and Kore is attested at Athens on IG II² 3729. N.Robertson, "The Riddle of the Arrhephoria at Athens," *Harv.Stud. Class.Phil.* 87 (1983) 241-288 thoroughly treats *arrephoroi* as a generic office and the specific festival associated with Athena Polias, and interprets (244-50) the Attic *ἀρρη-ἐρρη-ἐρρηφόρος* as "basket-bearer." For the cult of Etephila on Mytilene see *supra* n.36.

⁵¹ As Robertson (n.50 *supra*) 242 notes, the *arrhephoria* was a liturgy worth mentioning in forensic speeches, and worth commemorating with votives on the Akropolis. IG II² 3470, 3473 and 3497, for example, provide testimony for the great familial pride in the girls (as well as an opportunity to mention the names of their father, mother, brothers, and, in one case, uncle).

⁵² In addition to Dada, Philo and Artemisia only two other servitors of Etephila are known, both priestesses: IG 110, 263. Other priesthoods held by women include those of Pnistia: IG 136, *Sympleroma* 25; and of Isis (n.34 *supra*, i.e., Philo).

⁵³ On the descendants of Theophanes see most recently R.Hodot, "La grande inscription de M.Pompeius Macrinus à Mytilène," *ZPE* 34 (1979) 221-237 and J.M.Bertrand, "A propos de deux disparus: Cn.Pompeius Theophanes, M.Pompeius Macer," *ZPE* 59 (1985) 173-176; cf. n.1 *supra* for Theophanes himself.

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Corrigenda

ZPE 85,1991, S.128, Z.6 lies: ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ.