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HADRIAN AND GREEK SENATORS

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‘Studies of this kind proceed by experiment and are subject to hazard’
(R. Syme, ‘The proconsuls of Asia under Antoninus Pius’, ZPE 51
(1983) 271–290 = id., RP IV 325–346, at 275 = 330).¹

I

Two small conjoining pieces of bronze were found in 1986 at Bad Wimpfen in Baden-Württemberg, a former military *vicus*, later chief town of the Upper German civitas Alisinensium. They belonged to a military diploma for a veteran of cohorts II Hispanorum; and the consular date is preserved, *P. Sufenate* []/ *Ti. Claudio Attico* [].² This pair had already occurred, it turned out, on another diploma fragment, from Norican Faviana (Mautern in Austria; CIL XVI 174), issued under Hadrian no earlier than 128 (he is *p(ater) p(atriciae)*): [] *Vero Ti. Claudio* []. A conflated text produces *P. Sufenate Vero Ti. Claudio Attico* [*Herode cos.*]: [*Herode*] can be restored because the spacing on the Wimpfen diploma shows that a further *cognomen* for the second consul must have been engraved below [*Vero*]. This *Ti. Claudius Atticus*, there can be no doubt, was the father of the sophist Herodes Atticus. His colleague, *P. Sufenas Verus*, was one of the legates of Lycia-Pamphylia named in the Opramoas dossier;³ this, newly combined with other documents, establishes that *Sufenas*’ governorship began in 129 and ended in 132. He was probably consul at the end of his term. This is confirmed by M. M. Roxan’s analysis: she puts the diploma ‘c. a. 131–133’.⁴

Not much more needs saying here about *Sufenas Verus*.⁵ The minor sensation is the date for the elder Atticus’ consulship, which had been universally assigned to the reign of Trajan. Other considerations aside, he was identified with the governor (ὕπατικός, sc. of Judaea) Atticus, who, according to Eusebius (HE 3.32.3–6, citing Hegesippus), in the reign of Trajan tortured and crucified the 120-year-old Symeon or Simon son of Clopas, a kinsman of Jesus.⁶ To be sure, Philostratus (V.

¹ This article is a suitably adjusted version of the Ronald Syme lecture delivered at Wolfson College, Oxford on 7 November 1996. References to his many publications are, not surprisingly, numerous. His note of caution here cited applies to the case here offered – it is ‘subject to hazard’. The present paper is closely related to a biography of Hadrian, completed in autumn 1996, to appear in September 1997. Géza Alföldy and Werner Eck were good enough to read an early draft and offer comments. The latter also read a first version of the biography; and he drew to my attention the new inscription from Larinum (which resulted in a great expansion of App. 1, below). Antony Spawforth and Malcolm Errington kindly gave advice on particular points, in answer to my questions. Responsibility for what follows remains with the author.

Monographs cited several times are given in the notes by author’s or editor’s name; full details in the Bibliography at the end of the article. Discussion of problems in the family and careers of Herodes Atticus, father and son, of the problem of *cos. II suff.* after AD 103, and of Eurycles Herculanus, is reserved for App. 1 and 2, below.

² M. Pietsch, ‘Ein neues Militärdiplomfragment aus Bad Wimpfen’, *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 15 (1990) 247–263, acknowledging ample advice from G. Alföldy; the text is reproduced as AE 1990. 763 (cf. 1991.1286); and by Roxan, RMD III no. 159, with discussion, pp. 278f. Syme (apprised by G. Alföldy) registered the new date, RP VI 352 n. 29, but did not discuss the implications.

³ W. Eck, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 164; Thomasson 1984, 280 Nr. 24; 1990, 40.

⁴ Wörrle 1988, 39 ff.; Roxan, RMD III 279.

⁵ For the rare name, W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1904) esp. 239, 530, presumably an ethnic (cf. *Trebula Suffenas*); also found as a *cognomen* (of the senatorial Nonii), but not listed in Kajanto 1965. Note M. *Sufenas M.f. Proculus*, an Augustan equestrian officer, AE 1960.266; *P. Sufenas P.f. Pal. Myro*, *eq.R.*, ILS 6188a–c; *P. Sufenas T.f. Ilvir* of Hispellum, AE 1978.829; Rémy 1989, 301.

⁶ In the *Chronicle* (vers. Arm.) Eusebius places the martyrdom between the tenth and eleventh years of Trajan, i.e. 106/7 or 107/8; the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 471 Bonn, summarising Eusebius-Hegesippus, gives the year 105. Cf., for the identification of the persecutor with the sophist’s father, E. Klebs, PIR¹ C 654; E. Groag, RE 3.2 (1899) 2677 and PIR² A 1338 (not, however, A. Stein, PIR² C 801); E.M. Smallwood, JRS 52 (1962) 131–3, who proposed 104 for the consulship;

soph. 2.1.1) implies that the sophist's father was twice consul. But that his tenure of the *fasces* with Sufenas Verus was his second can be ruled out. Not necessarily because of the standard doctrine that there were no *consules suffecti iterum* after the year 103. This remains an *argumentum ex silentio*.⁷ There is another consideration: a *cos. II* could hardly take second place in a consular pair to a *cos. I*. Both diplomas have Sufenas as *consul prior*.⁸ Thus it must be concluded that the elder Atticus was consul suffect only a dozen years, or less, before his son became *ordinarius* (143). Atticus had been granted *ornamenta praetoria*; he was later presumably *adlectus inter praetorios*.⁹ These *ornamenta – ex s.c.* – may have come under Trajan; but the notion that his adlection was also conferred by Trajan – let alone by Nerva – now becomes doubtful.

The excavator of the Wimpfen diploma – relying on the advice of G. Alföldy – properly remarks that the elder Atticus was hitherto regarded as ‘der erste Konsul nicht nur aus Athen, sondern aus Griechenland überhaupt’. He seems to imply that this is no longer the case.¹⁰ This remains to be seen. One must at any rate eliminate other candidates as the earliest Athenian or ‘Achaian’ consul: C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus (*suff.* 109), from the former royal house of Commagene, and L. Staius Aquila (*suff.* 116), Athenians only by adoption; or, for that matter, P. Aelius Hadrianus (*suff.* 108), and, later, L. Flavius Arrianus (*suff.* c. 129), not to mention earlier archons – and thus honorary Athenians – from the highest levels at Rome, the emperor Domitian and Q. Vibius Crispus.¹¹ The sophist's father may still have been the first consul from Athens, and from old Greece, even if it was, after all, not Trajan who adlected him into the senate, but Hadrian. He may very well also have been the first senator from Greece. But for this distinction there is, at first sight, another candidate, the Spartan C. Julius Eurycles Herc(u)lanus L. Vibullius Pius.

The entry into the senate of Eurycles Herculanus, as quaestor, not by adlection, was for a long time generally dated to the reign of Hadrian. In the *Realencyclopädie* E. Groag introduces him as ‘hochadeliger Spartaner und römischer Senator der traianisch-hadrianischen Zeit’, concluding that Hadrian rather than Trajan made him a senator. Not merely because of Hadrian's philhellenism: Herculanus was still alive in late 130 (he survived Antinous, who perished in October of that year), apparently without having become consul. Hence, Groag argued, his senatorial rank could hardly go back much earlier (although he admitted that the *cursus*-inscription – not dated – did not necessarily reproduce his entire career as a Roman senator). Groag also noted that Herculanus was legate to a proconsul in a western province, an appointment more likely under Hadrian than before. He stuck to this dating in his monograph of 1939. Likewise L. Petersen, in the second edition of *PIR* (1966) commented: ‘Primus Graecorum ut videtur ab Hadriano in senatum acceptus est.’ Yet she put his probable date of birth c. 70 – which would have made him a very elderly quaestor, aged at least 48, if he served under Hadrian, twice the normal age of entry. This seems hard to swallow. More recently, H. Halfmann pronounced that ‘die Laufbahn ist sicher in die trajanische Zeit zu datieren, da [Herculanus] auf keinen Fall viel jünger gewesen sein kann als Q. Pompeius Falco (*cos. suff.* 108), der auch den Namen von [Herculanus] in seiner Nomenklatur führte’. Meanwhile, A. J. S. Spawforth, offering new readings of

Halfmann 1979, 122f. arguing for 108, followed by a consular governorship of Judaea. This suggestion is followed by Franke 1991, 302 f., not discussed by Eck, *Chiron* 12 (1982) 335 n. 215, who largely accepts Smallwood.

⁷ See further App. 1, below.

⁸ Pietsch, *op.cit.* (n. 2) 258. This problem is evidently overlooked by A.J.S.S(pawforth), *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (31996) 338: ‘[Atticus] held a first (suffect) consulship under Trajan and governed Judaea in AD 107. A military diploma . . . dates his second (suffect) consulship (cf. Philostr. VS 546 [= 2.1.1]) to 128–38; this honour – rare for a *novus homo* – he must have owed to the favour of Hadrian, a great lover of Athens.’ See further App. 1, below.

⁹ AE 1919.8 = Smallwood no. 198 = Ameling 1983, II no. 34, Corinth; cf. AE 1977.774 = Ameling II no. 35, *ibid.* (heavily restored); cf. *id.* I 22f. See further App. 1, below.

¹⁰ Pietsch, *op.cit.* (n. 2) 258.

¹¹ Halfmann 1979, nos. 36 (Philopappus), 48 (Aquila), 56 (Arrian). Hadrian: ILS 308 = Smallwood 109; Phlegon, *FGrH* 257, fr. 36,xxv; HA Had. 19.1. Domitian: IG II² 1996. Crispus: AE 1971.436.

posthumous inscriptions in honour of Herculaneus, showed that the Spartan magnate's female 'cousin', ἄνεψιά, was none other than Julia Balbilla, sister of Philopappus, best known for her poems on the Colossus of Memnon. Spawforth did not comment directly on the date when Herculaneus became a senator. He put his date of birth c. 73, and took ἄνεψιά to mean 'first cousin'.¹²

Halfmann's argument is not decisive. Even if Falco, consul suffect 108¹³, was quite old (although probably not yet 70) at the time of Herculaneus' death, viz. c. 136 or 137, as Spawforth usefully established, he was still alive in 140. He was visited on his country estate in that year by Antoninus Pius and Aurelius Caesar; the latter was impressed by an unusual tree there.¹⁴ In other words, Falco was simply still around to inherit something from this wealthy Spartan – including Herculaneus' names (omitting *praenomina*), which were duly passed on, to be swamped, however, by over thirty more, in the nomenclature of Falco's grandson.¹⁵ One can only guess why Herculaneus made Falco one of his heirs, with the *condicio nominis ferendi*: gratitude for some remembered service from Falco's late father-in-law Sosius Senecio is plausible enough. In any case, the Euryclid line seems to have ended with Herculaneus: he presumably wanted the names to be perpetuated at the highest level, which in his person the Euryclids had finally attained.¹⁶

As for Herculaneus' ἄνεψιά Balbilla, she can easily have been much older than him. There is no need to suppose that the word has to mean first cousin. To quote a contemporary example, ἄνεψιός in the inscription of C. Julius Severus (*suff.* c. 138) covers a remoter degree of kinship: no one could argue that this Galatian magnate was first cousin to all four distinguished consulars there listed (perhaps not to any of them: he may well only have been e.g. second cousin, first cousin once or twice removed, or some other sort of relative).¹⁷ That Balbilla was related to Herculaneus is not sufficient ground to put his birth back to the early 70s.

There are, to be sure, some awkward problems in the stemma of the Euryclids: how many generations between the Augustan dynast of Sparta and the senator Eurycles Herculaneus? One further consideration may be registered here: Herculaneus was apparently not *patronomos*, eponymous magistrate, of Sparta, until about the end of the second decade of the second century, shortly before 120. There is no information about a minimum age for this post. But it is hard to believe that a Euryclid would have avoided holding the patronomate until he was nearer fifty than forty. The post had a

¹² IG V 1, 1172 = Smallwood 210, Gytheum, gives his senatorial career (text below, App. 2). Cf. Groag, RE 10.1 (1917), Iulius no. 221, 580–5; id. 1939, 117f.; PIR² I 302; also Alföldy 1969, 176f. (not discussing date of birth), all for Hadrianic entry to senate; for Trajanic date, Chrimes 1949, 189 n. 3; Halfmann 1979, 125ff.; A.J.S. Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 249–60; cf. id., in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 110ff. – entry to senate 'probably through the sponsorship of Trajan'. See further App. 2, below.

¹³ FO² 47, heavily restored, but generally accepted. On his career, A.R. Birley 1981, 95ff.

¹⁴ Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 2.9, p. 29 v.d.Hout, the letter, addressed *amplissimo consuli magistro suo*, can now be dated to July or August 142, for Fronto, was, it turns out, consul in those months in 142, not 143, W. Eck & M.M. Roxan, in *Festschr. Lieb* 1995, 79ff.; thus the visit *anno abhinc tertio* can be assigned to 140. (Syme, RP II 495, is worth quoting: '[Falco's] later years were given over to experiments in arboriculture: he went in for grafting, an operation that should not have proved arduous or uncongenial to a Roman senator of consular standing.')

¹⁵ The grandson (*ord.* 169) – who included the *praenomina*: ILS 1104. Falco's own full names are known only from ILS 1035 = Smallwood 231, Tarracina: *Q. Roscio Sex. f. Quir. Coelio Murenae Silio Deciano Vibull(i)o Pio Iulio Eurycli Herclano*, set up after his proconsulship of Asia (123–4) but not otherwise dated. The Euryclid items, from Vibullius to Herclanus, do not appear earlier (as sometimes mistakenly assumed, e.g. Syme 1980, 49 n. 30: 'The additional items emerge in 116'), even in an inscription from his proconsulship, IEph 713. Salomies 1992, 121ff., discusses his nomenclature and origin (cf. below, n. 35). Herculaneus' death: Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 251f.

¹⁶ On 'testamentary adoption' or the *condicio nominis ferendi*, very different from a real adoption, Syme, RP IV 159ff.; Salomies 1992, esp. 15ff. Failure to observe the difference misled Chrimes 1949, 189 n. 3 and, evidently, Halfmann 1979, 126. For Falco's wife Sosia Polla, ILS 1037, 8820; IGR IV 780; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 723. On Senecio, below, and n. 35.

¹⁷ IGR III 173 = Smallwood 215, Ancyra. Halfmann 1979, no. 62. Cf. id. p. 48: 'die genauen verwandtschaftlichen Verbindungen liegen weitgehend im dunkeln'.

liturgical character, lavish expenditure was unquestionably expected and the Euryclids were extremely rich.¹⁸

All in all, the new evidence about the elder Atticus suggests, *a fortiori*, that he and Herculanus acquired senatorial status at about the same time – viz. early in the reign of Hadrian – although just when and with what rank Atticus became a senator requires further thought. At any rate, if Herculanus did acquire senatorial rank from Hadrian, he must be assumed to have been from the next generation to Atticus: not many years older than the future sophist Herodes – and not a first cousin, but a first cousin once removed, of Julia Balbilla (or even more remotely related).

If the two grandes from old Greece did not become senators until the reign of Hadrian, one would like to know why. At least the elder Atticus was old enough and rich enough to have gained this status under Trajan who, it does not need to be emphasised, greatly boosted Greeks of various sorts.¹⁹ The entry into the senate of men from the east went back a long way, the trail-blazer being Q. Pompeius Macer, praetor in 15, grandson of Pompey's friend and historian Theophanes of Mytilene. Descendants of colonists followed. L. Sergius Paullus from Antioch-towards-Pisidia may even have become suffect consul as early as 70, if so the first from the east. Otherwise one is left with T. Junius Montanus from Alexandria Troas, in 81. Under Domitian the great leap forward began. The earliest 'genuine Greek' – i.e. not of Italian ancestry – to become consul, Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus, from somewhere in western Asia, was suffect in 86 – and, as *cos. II* in 105, the first, or equal first, Greek *ordinarius*. Candidus was, though, so many think, half-Narbonensian (inferred from the names Marius Celsus). He was soon followed by Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus from Sardes (*suff.* 92) and C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus from Pergamum (*suff.* 94), the latter, colleague of Candidus as *II ord.* 105, being from a nexus also linked to various royal houses of Asia Minor and beyond.²⁰

Perhaps Claudius Atticus had been too proud to solicit senatorial rank; he might even have been offered it by Trajan and declined.²¹ It might be, also, that he was not good enough at Latin, and was not prepared to be laughed at in the *curia*. One will note that he sent his son, the future sophist, to be brought up in the house of Calvisius Tullus Ruso (the grandfather of M. Aurelius), surely to learn the language.²²

II

The subject being 'Hadrian and Greek senators', one need not dwell on Trajan and previous emperors. But it is worth pausing to reflect on Hadrian's own contacts before his accession. As far as is known, his first direct acquaintance with the Greek world was when he went to Athens as a consular and became *archon*, in 111 or 112.²³ His devotion to *studia Graeca* had won him the (surely unfriendly) nickname *graeculus* in his youth.²⁴ Of course, Flavian and especially Domitianic Rome was very hellenised, and

¹⁸ App.2, below.

¹⁹ Syme stressed Trajan's role in various places, e.g. RP II 579; IV 14f., 44f., 69; V 553f; VI 22 (originally 1937), 107f.; id. 1958, 510f.; 1980, 92, 118. Halfmann 1979, 75ff. has a useful brief summary.

²⁰ Details in Halfmann 1979. A sister of Macer (his no. 1) married C. Julius Argolicus, grandson of the Spartan dynast, *e primoribus Achaeorum* (Tac. Ann. 6.18). On Sergius Paullus' consulship, perhaps in 70, Syme, RP III 1328 n.; IV 260 n., 473n., 551n, 677n. Syme commented many times on the Greek *ordinarii* of the year 105 (already in 1938 on Quadratus and his colleague in 94, RP I 59).

²¹ Syme, RP V 562: 'Many of the eastern notables were reluctant to exchange personal and local primacy for a seat in the Senate, for tedious or trivial business and a sequence of minor occupations at Rome or in the provinces, even in prospect of the consulate.' On the careers of the two Attici, App. 1, below.

²² M. Aurelius, ap. Fronto, Ad M. Caes. 3.2.1, p. 36 van den Hout; Ameling 1983, I 37.

²³ The date, 112, is supplied by Hadrian's freedman Phlegon, FGrH 257, fr. 36, XXV.

²⁴ HA Had. 1.5; Epit. de Caes. 14.2; cf. Juvenal 3.78. On the term, M. Dubuisson, '*Graecus, graeculus, graecari*: l'emploi péjoratif du nom des grecs en latin', in Said 1991, 315–335.

there is no need to suppose he had to go elsewhere to acquire this passion.²⁵ Still, when so much is unknown, it would be rash to say that he could not have been east of Italy in his early years. His father Hadrianus Afer lived to the age of 39 or 40, and should have held a number of offices after the praetorship (all that is directly attested). It is at least legitimate to guess that Afer could have been legate to a proconsul, or himself proconsul, of a Greek province – taking his wife and children with him – before his death at latest in early 86.²⁶ A reasonable possibility, for example, is that he was a legate of his first cousin, M. Ulpius Traianus, when the latter was proconsul of Asia in 79–80. He could even have become proconsul of Achaia c. 81. As it happens, two out of Traianus' three legates in Asia seem to be known: T. Pomponius Bassus (*suff.* 94) – and A. Julius Quadratus.²⁷

Quadratus, a friend of Traianus' son the emperor,²⁸ was on two occasions well placed to exercise influence on behalf of Trajan's ward Hadrian. First, Hadrian was prefect of Rome during the *feriae Latinae*, probably in 94. This appointment was in the gift of the consuls – and the pair in office at the appropriate time that year was: M. Lollius Paullinus D. Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus and C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus.²⁹ Second, Hadrian acquired two priesthoods: *VIIvir epulonum* and *sodalis Augustalis*, at latest by the time his inscription was set up at Athens, i.e. c. 111/113. The election as *VIIvir* has been assumed to go with, or follow, his consulship in 108.³⁰ This is neither necessary nor plausible. The priesthoods are doubtless mentioned out of chronological order, as so often, on the Athens statue-base. Why not suppose that he became *VIIvir* at the time he entered the senate as quaestor in 100 or 101 – he was, after all, very well connected?³¹ There were then two vacancies in the college of *VIIviri*: the delinquent proconsul Marius Priscus had just been expelled, and L. Vibius Sabinus – whose daughter Hadrian had just married – had died.³² Pliny applied to Trajan for one of the vacant priesthoods (the augurs also needed a new member); he had to wait. One may speculate that Julius Quadratus, himself a *VIIvir*, successfully nominated Hadrian, grand-nephew of his old friend Traianus.³³

During the Dacian wars, if not before, Hadrian had the opportunity for close acquaintance with two of those described by the *Historia Augusta* as his friends *expeditionis Parthicae tempore*: Sosius Senecio and Claudius Livianus.³⁴ Senecio, philhellene, friend of Trajan, of Pliny and of Plutarch, remains an enigma in one respect: his origin is unknown. For what it is worth, his father-in-law Julius Frontinus was (surely) Narbonensian, his son-in-law Pompeius Falco, about whose extraction there has also been debate, turns out to come from Sicily – it is, however, another matter to label Falco a 'Greek'.³⁵ Livianus, the Guard Prefect, was from Lycian Sidyma, which must count as Hellenic.³⁶

²⁵ Cf. Syme, RP VII 619: 'Rome was the intellectual centre of the Greek world, the goal of ambitions, the resort of talkers and thinkers. No journey to centres of Hellas explains the ardent proclivities of the young Hadrian.'

²⁶ Afer died when Hadrian was in his tenth year, i.e. between 26.1.85 and 25.1.86, HA Had. 1.4, cf. 1.1. He reached the age of 39 or 40 according to the letter of Hadrian to Antoninus, PFayum 19 = Smallwood 123. He had been praetor (Dio 69.3.1), presumably at 29 or 30, i.e. c. 73/5.

²⁷ Thomasson 1991, 130.

²⁸ This is guaranteed by IGR IV 336 = Smallwood 456, his temple to Jupiter *amicalis* at Pergamum. Trajan calls him [*a*]mico *clarissimo viro* (not quite the same as *amicus clarissimus*, as Halfmann 1979, 48, 114). Syme repeatedly referred to Quadratus as a close friend of Trajan: 1958, 510; RP II 578, 637; III 1304, 1391, 1436; IV 13, 205, 315, 409; V 553, 559, 617, 679; VII 633; 1980, 76, 92.

²⁹ The prefecture (not in HA Had.) is given by ILS 308 = Smallwood 109. On these *feriae*, RE 6.2 (1909) 2213–6. Lollius: PIR² L 320. Quadratus: I 507. The conjecture is owed to Syme, RP IV 310.

³⁰ ILS 308 = Smallwood 109; 'zw. 108 u. 112', Schumacher 1973, 116f.

³¹ Cf. Syme, RP VI 421ff. for 'a dozen early priesthoods'.

³² Priscus: Pliny, Ep. 2.11.12. Sabinus: CIL XI 8020; Syme 1958, 775; Schumacher 1973, 111f. Sabina: Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 546f., 624f.

³³ Pliny, Ep. 10.13. For Quadratus as *VIIvir*: Schumacher 1973, 113f.

³⁴ HA Had. 4.2.

³⁵ On Senecio, C.P. Jones, JRS 60 (1970) 98ff.; id. 1971, 55ff.; Caballos Rufino 1990 (the latest discussion), 295ff. argues for Spanish origin. It is purely hypothetical. 'A thought might go to Mutina, where among QQ. Sosii of presumably

Hadrian was archon at Athens in 112, so his freedman Phlegon recorded – probably 112–113 rather than 111–112. There seems no good reason to doubt that he held the office in person and that he took the opportunity to inspect other parts of Greece as well as Athens. This cannot be proved – or disproved – perhaps; but his presence in Achaia would explain, for example, the erection of a statue in his honour, before he was emperor, at Coronea.³⁷ It is also plausible that on his way to Athens he stayed at Nicopolis, sitting at the feet of Epictetus. According to the HA, *in summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum philosophos . . . habuit*.³⁸ When could he otherwise have made the acquaintance of the aged Stoic? This encourages the attempt to detect possible allusions in Arrian's *Discourses*. For Arrian himself was surely at Nicopolis at this period.³⁹ Epictetus' remarks to the *corrector* Maximus and to the unnamed procurator-governor of Epirus, thought to be Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, are often quoted.⁴⁰ A passing reference might give a clue to where Hadrian's lodgings. Epictetus evidently held forth from time to time 'at the house of Quadratus'. The name is not particularly uncommon, it is true.⁴¹ All the same, the owner could have been A. Julius Quadratus – who could also, perhaps, have attended some sessions at Nicopolis. One may at least draw attention to Epictetus' cutting comment about *bis consules*: 'if some man who has been consul twice hears this [sc. that no bad man can be truly free], he will agree with you if you add – "but you are a wise man, this does not apply to you"'.⁴²

Two passages could have been directed at Hadrian himself. To be a son of God or a citizen of the universe was what counted, said the sage. 'Shall kinship with Caesar or with any other powerful persons at Rome be enough to enable men to live in security?' Who else but Hadrian could claim kinship with the emperor at this time? Even closer is another remark. No one could think ill of himself if he regarded himself as begotten of God. 'But – if Caesar adopts you, no one will be able to endure your conceit.' Irrespective of the story in the HA that Hadrian had learned when consul in 108 that he would be adopted by Trajan, something which (if true) may not have been common knowledge, many must have looked on him as the heir apparent.⁴³

Sentiments in another discourse could also have made an impact on Hadrian. Expatiating on providence and the gifts of nature, Epictetus had occasion to mention facial hair. At first sight, 'can there be anything more useless than the hairs on a chin?' But the beard is nature's way of distinguishing men and women – 'we should preserve the signs that God has given; we should not throw them away

libertine type, there is one who died in Sicily at Syracuse, CIL XI 915, cf. 914, 916' (A.R. Birley, in W. Eck, ed., *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Kolloquium Köln 1991* (Cologne 1993) 43 n. 52). Frontinus: Syme 1958, 790; A.R. Birley 1981, 69f.; Syme RP VI 216 (and elsewhere); O. Salomies, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 139f. Falco: Salomies 1992, 121ff.; W. Eck, 'Senatorische Familien der Kaiserzeit in der Provinz Sizilien', *ZPE* 113 (1996) 109–128 (the full discussion). Swain 1996, App. B, 426f., not apprised of the new evidence on Falco, argues that he may be 'assigned to an Italian provincial background. In all probability Sosius Senecio can join him.'

³⁶ PIR² C 913: polyonymous (Ti. Iulius Aquilinus Castricius Saturnin[us] Claudius Livianus). His presumed father or grandfather dedicated to Claudius at Sidyma, IGR III 579, cf. 578; Syme, RP III 1300ff. Livianus had at least one thing in common with Hadrian, appreciation of male beauty. He was the owner of the twin slave boys Hierus and Asylus, praised by Martial 9.103: if Leda had had twins like them, *mansisses, Helene, Phrygiamque redisset in Idam/ Dardanius gemino cum Ganymede Paris* – not naming the boys' master, revealed by CIL VI 280 (30728) and AE 1924.15. On the choice of names, H. Solin, *Namenpaare. Eine Studie zur römischen Namengebung* (Helsinki 1990) 61f.

³⁷ FGrH 257, fr. 36, XXV. Coronea: IG VII 2879.

³⁸ HA Had. 16.10. On the identity of Heliodorus, cf. A. R. Birley, 'Hadrian's farewell to life', *Laverna* 5 (1994) 176–205, at 197 and n. 80.

³⁹ As his presence in the *consilium* of C. Avidius Nigrinus, imperial legate in Achaia (below and nn. 50, 57), indicates: Syme, RP IV 24ff.; A.B. Bosworth, *ANRW* 2.34.1 (1993) 228f.

⁴⁰ Diss. Epict. 3.7; 3.4. Cf. e.g. Groag 1939, 125ff.; Pflaum, CP no. 81; F. Millar, *JRS* 55 (1965) 142, 146f.; Syme, RP IV 24; V 446f., 453f. (Maximus); RP IV 26 (Pulcher).

⁴¹ Diss. 3.23.23. Kajanto 1965, 232 ('SEN. 20; CIL men 165 + sl./fr. 14, one woman').

⁴² Diss. 4.1.53. There were, to be sure, various other *coss. bis* about at the time.

⁴³ Diss. 1.9.7; 1.3. 1, cf. Millar, *JRS* 55 (1965) 143. HA Had. 3.10: *in quo magistratu . . . a Sura comperit adoptandum se a Traiano esse*.

and confuse the sexes'.⁴⁴ Shaving had been the norm in Roman society for several hundred years, influenced perhaps by Alexander setting this fashion. This had less effect in the Greek world: the men there stuck to their beards. Dio of Prusa registers his satisfaction at having seen in a remote outpost of Hellenism, Olbia on the R. Borysthenes, only one man who was clean-shaven. This was to curry favour with the Romans – and he was looked down on by his fellow-citizens.⁴⁵ As emperor Hadrian is regularly shown⁴⁶ sporting, not the luxuriant whiskers of a philosopher, but the traditional well-tended beard of the Greeks.⁴⁷ He might of course have already stopped shaving some years before. Still, it is a plausible conjecture that his visit to Greece, when he was in his mid-thirties, was decisive, that it made him wish to look like a Greek, whether or not Epictetus' comments had a direct influence. The *HA* (characteristically) has another explanation: he grew the beard 'to conceal facial blemishes'.⁴⁸

While Arrian was at Nicopolis he clearly took the opportunity to visit the surrounding areas. He elsewhere reveals familiarity with Ambracia and Amphilochia, and gives details of how one sails between Acarnania, south of Nicopolis, and Leucas.⁴⁹ Arrian was also at Delphi. By then he had presumably ended his studies with Epictetus. An inscription shows him in the advisory council of a high Roman official settling boundary disputes. This was C. Avidius Nigrinus, imperial legate with a special mission, probably soon after his consulship in the first half of 110. Nigrinus, it has been suggested, arrived after the *corrector* Maximus had completed his tour of duty – that Trajan sent a second special commissioner, this time a consular, may be a sign of concern for the state of Greece. The legate may have replaced the proconsul, as Pliny had just done in Pontus-Bithynia. Nigrinus was well qualified: his father of the same names and his uncle Quietus had strong links with Greece, and had been friends of Plutarch.⁵⁰

Hadrian's friend Sosius Senecio was also closely linked to Plutarch. Senecio had probably met Plutarch many years before, when serving as quaestor in Achaia. Plutarch dedicated to Senecio the nine books of *Table Talk*, in which he recalls their conversations at Athens and Patras, and at Chaeronea, Plutarch's home in Boeotia, where Senecio attended the wedding of Plutarch's son, as well as at Rome. Several pairs of the *Parallel Lives*, on which he was still engaged at this time, were also dedicated to Senecio, as was his essay *On Making Progress in Virtue*.⁵¹ Much of Plutarch's life was centred on Delphi, where he held an important priesthood of Apollo.⁵² It is plausible enough to suppose that Hadrian visited Delphi on his way to Athens, but whether there or elsewhere, he surely made the acquaintance of Plutarch during this stay in Greece.⁵³

⁴⁴ Diss. 1.16.9–14.

⁴⁵ Dio Or. 36.17. Cf. also Apollonius, Ep. 63.76. A good discussion in S. Walker, 'Bearded men', Journ. Hist. Collections 3 (1991) 265ff. Cf. also P. Zanker, *Die Maske des Sokrates* (Munich 1995); but his ch. 5 (109–251), although called 'Hadrians Bart', does not have much on Hadrian himself; he does not cite Walker (or quote Dio and Apollonius).

⁴⁶ The only exception is on some late *aurei* (136): BMC RE III, Hadrian 603. Discussed by N. Hannestad, ARID 11 (1982) 97ff., who compares a bust from Tibur (Villa Adriana, Museo Inv. 2260), his Abb. 46–48. Hadrian is shown aged c. 20, with long sideburns but no beard or moustache. The reverse of the *aurei*, DIVIS PARENTIBVS, may hint at the explanation (less startling than that proposed by Hannestad), A.R. Birley, *Laverna* 5 (1994) 198 and n. 86.

⁴⁷ At least, the classical Athenians trimmed their beards – and laughed at the long whiskers of the Spartans, Aristophanes, *Lysist.* 1072ff.; Plutarch, *Phocion* 10.1. Note also Plut. *Mor.* 710B, an unnamed βαθυλόγων σοφιστής ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς (surely sarcastic).

⁴⁸ *HA Had.* 26.1.

⁴⁹ *Anab.* 2.16.5f.; *Ind.* 41.2f.

⁵⁰ SIG³ 827, emended by A. Plassart, *Fouilles de Delphes* III 4 (Paris 1970) no. 290. Nigrinus' mission: Syme, *RP IV* 24f.; W. Eck, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 187 n. 479; Thomasson 1984, 193 no. 24. For his father and uncle, Plut. *Mor.* 478B, 487E, 548B, 632A, discussed by Jones 1971, 51ff.

⁵¹ Plut. *Mor.* 75B, 612C–E, 613C–D, 666D–E, etc.; *Thes.* 1.1; *Demosth.* 1.1, 31.4, discussed by Jones 1971, 51ff.

⁵² Jones 1971, 26,43; S. Swain, *Hist.* 40 (1991) 318ff.

⁵³ If not at Chaeronea, Hadrian was probably at Coronea, at any rate, *IG VII* 2879.

At Athens Hadrian had, no doubt, ample opportunity for dinner parties with witty literary or philosophical conversation of the kind that Senecio relished. At least one of the guests at an Athenian party immortalised in the *Table Talk* was still at Athens. ‘King Philopappus’, as Plutarch calls him, by his full names C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, was a grandson of the last king of Commagene. Antiochus IV was deposed by Vespasian in 72: his sons and this grandson retained the royal title. Philopappus had taken up residence at Athens, of which he had become a citizen and lavish benefactor, holding office as archon. What is more, Philopappus was now a Roman senator as well (and an Arval Brother – but he is not known ever to have attended their rituals), had even been consul suffect, in 109. It had been a nice gesture to confer the *fasces* on a descendant of the Seleucids at precisely this moment: almost the three hundredth anniversary of the battle of Thermopylae, at which Antiochus the Great had been defeated by Rome. The consulship of Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus marked a symbolic coming together of the western and eastern élites. (It might be coincidence, of course; or, even if not, not many people may have noticed. One of the *ordinarii* the next year was a Scipio, of a kind: Ser. (Cornelius) Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus – a reminiscence of Magnesia, 190/189 BC?)⁵⁴ Hadrian could easily have got to know Philopappus at Rome in the summer of 109, and could well have been invited to stay with him at Athens. In any case, it would have been difficult for a high-ranking visitor not to come into contact with the king. His sister Balbilla turns up later as a close friend of Hadrian’s wife Sabina.⁵⁵ It is a fair bet that their friendship began, if not in 109, then at latest about 111 or 112, when Hadrian – surely with his wife – first came to Athens.

Other prominent persons likely to have entertained Hadrian or to have made his acquaintance include the Spartan notable related to Philopappus and Balbilla, Eurycles Herculanus. Plutarch dedicated an essay to Herculanus, *On the Art of Self-Praise Without Incurring Disapproval*. Most of the piece is devoted to examples from Greek history, but towards the end comes some practical advice. Boasting about one’s success, some ‘act or word that found favour with the governor’, should be avoided. After attending gubernatorial banquets, people should refrain from recounting ‘gracious remarks illustrious or royal persons have addressed to them’. The time of writing is of course unknown; and not everyone accepts that Plutarch’s addressee is the man from Sparta. But the tone suggests advice to a young man.⁵⁶ One can readily imagine Herculanus at a dinner-party given by his older kinsman

⁵⁴ Plut. Mor. 48E, 628A–B; PIR² I 151; Syme 1980, 113. That Philopappus had expired by AD 114–115, the date implied by his funerary inscription, ILS 845 = Smallwood 207, Athens, on his ostentatious tomb, seems to be generally taken for granted. Philopappus might well, however, merely have set up the inscription when his last resting-place was complete, and could perfectly well have lived on to contemplate it with satisfaction for many years. A decision of the victor of Thermopylae, M’. Acilius Glabrio (*cos.* 191 BC), was referred to by Nigrinus at Delphi, SIG³ 827c (*ex auctoritate Ma]ni Acili*). The *cos. ord.* 110: PIR² C 1446.

⁵⁵ PIR² I 650. More on Balbilla in T.C. Brennan, ‘The poets Julia Balbilla and Damo at the Colossus of Memnon’, *Classical World* (forthcoming). I am grateful to the author for allowing me to see his paper in advance of publication.

⁵⁶ Plut. Mor. 539A, not cited in PIR² I 302; the identification was thought possible by Stein, RE 8.1 (1912) 549; rejected by Groag, *ibid.* 10.1 (1917) 585, because on inscriptions Herc(u)lanus is mainly called Eurycles, and because there is no direct reference to Herclanus’ Spartan origin in the essay. Hardly compelling. It would have been otiose for Plutarch to spell this out. There are at least several Laconian topics, 540D–E, 542C, 545A (really about Epaminondas, to be sure, so not necessarily welcome to a Spartan), 544E–F (improving choruses), 545A (Agesilaus). ‘Ought to be identical’, Jones 1971, 41, cf. his n. 8: ‘the treatise on philosophers and men in power may be addressed to the same man . . . 776A, with the conjecture of Pohlenz . . . *Moralia* 5.1 (Teubner 1957), 1, n.’ (The conjecture, ὁ Ἡρακλάνε for Σορκανον, had already been made by F.H. Sandbach, CQ 34 (1941) 113. For what it is worth, that treatise refers to one Thales – unknown – putting ‘an end to faction among the Lacedaemonians by the music of his charms and his exhortations’, 779A. Note also 776D–E: ‘if he were skilled in discovering and collecting water, as they say Heracles and many of the ancients were . . . he would not delight in digging the swineherd’s fount of Arethusa, but in uncovering the unfailing sources of some river for cities and camps and the plantations of kings and sacred groves.’ For Herculanus’ gift of baths to Corinth, Paus. 2.3.5; Spawforth, *ABSA* 73 (1978) 258.) The advice quoted: 546D–E. Note also Syme, RP 1256; IV 1f.; V 559f. (‘Plutarch cannot be acquitted of gentle malice when he dedicated to Herculanus a useful treatise: how to practise self-laudation without incurring discredit.’) More on Herculanus, App. 2, below.

Philopappus, with, for example, the legate Nigrinus – who was also active at Athens⁵⁷ – and Hadrian among the other guests.

Herculanus, ‘thirty-sixth in descent from the Dioscuri’ and a member of a family, the Euryclids, that had dominated Sparta since the time of Augustus, was related not only to King Philopappus but to the leading family of Athens, that of Claudius Atticus – through the Corinthian Vibullii.⁵⁸ Atticus claimed descent from Miltiades and Cimon, and indeed from the Aeacids. There is no need to dilate here on the immense wealth of these people.⁵⁹

Hadrian liked Athens – his repeated stays there as emperor make this clear. To see the Acropolis and the Parthenon and other monuments was an aspiration shared by most cultivated persons. He may have been particularly struck by the vast Temple of Olympian Zeus, inaugurated over 600 years earlier by Pisistratus, but never completed. Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid king whose names Philopappus bore, had spent large sums to take the work further. It was still not finished, in spite of efforts under Augustus. Athens, in turn, liked Hadrian. He became an Athenian citizen, in the deme Besa. King Philopappus belonged to Besa as well. One may suppose that he played a part. Hadrian was then elected *archon*. His freedman, the learned Phlegon, probably already with him, would later register his patron’s archonship, coinciding with the consuls of AD 112 (he uses the two magistracies merely to date the year in which a two-headed baby was born at Rome). As the archonship began and ended in the summer, it is not certain whether his term began in 111 or 112. However this may be, it was a striking gesture. ‘The *Boule* of the Areopagus, the *Boule* of the Six Hundred and the *Demos* of the Athenians’ honoured ‘their *archon* Hadrianos’ with a statue. They prefaced these three lines with seven in Latin setting out their *archon*’s senatorial career. Few Romans of his rank had accepted this office.⁶⁰

An eminent senior senator, on his way to become proconsul of Asia, may have passed through Athens in the spring of the year 112 – or a year later, on his way back – and witnessed the Roman *archon* carrying out his duties. Cornelius Tacitus, his *Histories* complete, may now have been beginning his research for a new work. Athens gets only brief mention in the surviving books of the *Annals*, first a paragraph on Germanicus’ visit in AD 18, going from Nicopolis to the ancient allied city, where the ‘Greeks received him with elaborate honours, expatiating on their own history and literature to make their flattery seem more dignified’. There follows an account of the – very different – stay at Athens by the Caesar’s enemy Piso.⁶¹ Hadrian was not yet a Caesar. The Athenians, however delighted with so eminent an *archon*, may not have displayed such elaborate flattery to him as to Germanicus. All the same, the position of Hadrian’s wife, already distinguished, became even more special in the summer of 112. Her grandmother, Trajan’s sister Marciana Augusta, died at the end of August and was promptly

⁵⁷ Hesperia 32 (1963) 24, Athens. The date and status of Nigrinus is not, it must be admitted, entirely certain. Following Groag 1939, 54ff., Syme 1971, 95f., 107, takes him to be an imperial governor, probably ‘consular, perhaps from 111 or 112 to 114’. Cf. id. RP II 720, 781f.; IV 24f., 298, 406; V 446, 548 (‘precisely during the season of Hadrian’s visit, it may be’). For some doubts on his status, Eck, Chiron 13 (1983) 187, n. 479. On Nigrinus’ later appointment as legate of Dacia, his role as one of the ‘four consulars’ who ‘conspired against’ Hadrian and his death, a new interpretation is offered in A.R. Birley, 1997, ch. 8.

⁵⁸ A.J.S. Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 249ff.; 75 (1980) 203ff.; also now id. ‘Roman Corinth: the formation of a colonial élite’, in Rizakis 1996, 167–182, at 171. Cf. also App. 2, below.

⁵⁹ App. 1, below.

⁶⁰ Olympian Zeus: Strabo 9.1.6, p. 396; Vitruvius 7, praef. 17; IG II/III2 4099; Suet. D. Aug. 60; on all this, D. Kienast, Kleine Schriften (Aalen 1994) 363; Willers 1990, 31ff. Hadrian as *archon*, etc.: ILS 308 = Smallwood 109; Phlegon, FGrH 257, fr. 36 XXV; HA Had.19.1. That he served as *archon* in person, has, it is true, been denied. Proof or disproof are lacking. Other Romans: n. 11, above.

⁶¹ On Tacitus’ proconsulship: Eck, Chiron 12 (1982) 353 n. 289; Syme 1958, 513, discusses Tac. Ann. 2.53,55 in this context.

deified; on the same day Marciana's daughter Matidia, Sabina's mother, became Augusta. Sabina was thus *Augustae f., divae n.*⁶²

III

Hadrian was not to return to Athens for eleven years (assuming that he remained there after his archonship and joined Trajan when the emperor arrived on his way to the east in October 113).⁶³ But Athens must have been in his thoughts from time to time in the interim. In Pannonia Herodes Atticus the younger, 'still a youth', broke down in the middle of a speech before the emperor. It must have been Hadrian, in summer 118. 'In his humiliation he rushed to the River Danube as though he was going to throw himself in. So overwhelming was his ambition to become a famous orator that he treated the penalty of failure as death.' Perhaps he had tried to make the speech in Latin – he might have gone direct to Pannonia from the house of Calvisius Tullus at Rome. Philostratus does not specify the subject of the address. Hardly congratulation for the accession – 118 was a bit late for this.⁶⁴ The Athenians at about this time invited Hadrian 'to reform their laws'.⁶⁵ Herodes could have conveyed the request. Perhaps Hadrian offered senatorial rank to Herodes' father Atticus, presumably by adlection *inter praetorios* – he may have acquired the *ornamenta praetoria* from Trajan in autumn 113, at Athens, it might be guessed – and to his kinsman Herculanius, in his case with appointment as quaestor to follow not long after. On the other hand, Atticus may, for the time being, have remained outside the senate; Herodes, aged about 17 or 18, may have received the *latus clavus*.⁶⁶

To resume: Herculanius and Herodes Atticus, son or father, or both, representatives of Greece's two 'great powers' of ancient times, may be the first Greeks of old Greece enrolled into the senate – and Hadrian may have had to persuade them, may have needed to assuage reluctance. He had probably made at least one 'overseas' Greek, from Bithynia, a senator already, namely L. Flavius Arrianus – and had quite possibly taken Arrian with him on his western journeys as his *comes*.⁶⁷ Not nearly enough is known about his entourage on those travels or later ones: he may have travelled with an *arto comitatu* (although the Epitome de Caesaribus and a papyrus suggest the reverse), but it might not be a bad guess that some of his companions were *liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur* – even if one denies (but why should one?) that Tacitus was thinking about Hadrian rather than, or as well as, Tiberius when he wrote these words. Herodes can later be detected in Hadrian's company, probably on the move.⁶⁸

⁶² Smallwood 22; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, nos. 824, 681, 802. For that matter, Sabina was also – or shortly would become – *divi Traiani patris proneptis*: M. Durry, 'Sur Trajan père', in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne* (Paris 1965) 45ff. (not that she is yet so attested.)

⁶³ Arrian, Parthica fr. 35 (Trajan's departure from Rome on the anniversary of his adoption, which was three months before Nerva's death, Epit. de Caes. 12.9). At Athens: Dio 68.17.2f.

⁶⁴ Philos. V. soph. 2.14. On Herodes' date of birth, App. 1, below.

⁶⁵ Jerome, Chron. 198 Helm, etc.; S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle* (Paris 1976) 116ff.

⁶⁶ App. 1 and 2, below.

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. Syme, RP IV 29ff.; A.B. Bosworth, ANRW 2.34.1 (1993) 229f.

⁶⁸ Tac. Ann. 4.58.1. Cf. Syme 1958, 524f. The Epit. de Caes. 14.5 claims Hadrian took *cohortes* of craftsmen on his provincial tours. For supplies, enough to feed large numbers, stored at Oxyrhynchus months before his expected arrival, SB 9617 (but the calculation depends on how long the imperial party was expected to stay. Halfmann 1986, 110, estimates for the 'Durchreise . . . eher mehr als 5000 Köpfe . . . als weniger', but does not suggest for how many days.) Not many *comites* of Hadrian are attested epigraphically: Halfmann 1986, lists only four: the consulars C. Cilnius Proculus (*suff.* 100), based on his restoration of CIL XI 1833+AE 1926.123, Arretium (ZPE 61 (1985) 239–250 – very conjectural) and M. Atilius Metilius Bradua (*ord.* 108), ILS 8824a, Olympia (A.R. Birley 1981, 92ff.) and the young Caesernii brothers (ILS 1069; AE 1957.135; ILS 1068; Alföldy 1977, 347ff.). He adds under 'Incerti', 253, Ti. Claudius Quartinus (Alföldy 1969, 79f.). For another conjectural *comes* of Hadrian, C. Julius Proculus (*suff.* 109), below, App. 1.

Herculanus was able to launch his senatorial career by staying at home, as quaestor of Achaia. But he then, it must be assumed, moved to Rome for the next stages of the *cursus honorum*: tribune of the plebs and praetor. There followed, it is a surprise, a year as legate to a proconsul of Baetica.⁶⁹ This appointment will need further examination shortly. As for the elder Atticus, no posts at all are known before his consulship, which would not come until c. 132.⁷⁰

Hadrian returned to Greece at last in early autumn 124, in time to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.⁷¹ During this, his first extended provincial tour, which had begun in 121, he had, obviously, continued to conduct the business of empire on the move. There is a fair chance that Arrian went with him to the west, at least to Noricum and Raetia in 122: why not in Gaul, Germany, Britain and Spain as well – and later in Africa?⁷² One or two appointments from these years may be noted: Sex. Julius Major, of Tralles (or Nysa), would become legate of III Augusta, *de facto* governor of Numidia, in 124 or 125.⁷³ A man from Pergamum, L. Cuspius Camerinus, probably of Italian origin, may have attracted Hadrian's attention there in 124: he was to become suffect consul in 126.⁷⁴ Hadrian's personal urging in 123, when he was in Galatia, may also have persuaded another Greek to enter the senate. C. Julius Severus of Ancyra, descendant of three tetrarchs and of a king Attalus, ἀνεψιός of four Greek consulars, kinsman of many senators, and 'first of the Hellenes', was *adlectus inter tribunicios* by Hadrian.⁷⁵ At about this time also, it may be, Arrian became proconsul of Baetica. Or so it has been assumed for some twenty-five years, since the Greek epigram by the proconsul *Arrianos* from Corduba in honour of Artemis became known. The latest discussion, by A.B. Bosworth, makes the identification even more appealing.⁷⁶ Meanwhile a Spanish archaeologist, J. Beltrán Fortes, has argued from the style of moulding that the stone must belong to the third century; and that only the notion that it was a copy of a Hadrianic altar would save it for the historian. The archaeological arguments seem less than compelling: style could have been very conservative in a provincial city – and not all that many parallel altars can be cited.⁷⁷

If one may still retain Arrian as proconsul of Baetica in the early to mid-120s, why not guess that he chose as his *legatus* the Spartan Herculanus? Hadrian was at Sparta at the beginning of 125.⁷⁸ Perhaps he encouraged Herculanus – who in normal circumstances must have been his host there – to take up the appointment.

⁶⁹ IG V 1, 1172 = Smallwood 210. One restoration of line 7 would mean that he was quaestor twice, at Rome after Achaia. Cf. App.2, below.

⁷⁰ Piso 1993, 46ff., re-reading CIL III 953 = IDR III 4,230, identifies as governor of Dacia Superior under Hadrian (between 127 and 132) a *Tib. Cl.* [], and suggests (with some hesitation) that he might be Atticus Herodes. This seems hard to swallow. One could find another senatorial Ti. Claudius (not necessarily eastern). The governorship of an unarmed – and eastern – province would be less implausible for the elder Atticus.

⁷¹ HA Had. 13.1 (*Eleusinia sacra exemplo Herculis Philippique suscepit*); Dio 69.11.1; IG II/III2 3575 = Smallwood 71a; Weber 1907, 109ff. J.H. Oliver, 'Hadrian's precedent, the initiation of Philip II', *AJP* 71 (1950) 295–9, proposed emending the HA passage to *exemplo . . . Philopappi*. T.C. Brennan, *Classical World* (forthcoming, cf. n. 55, above), suggests a further emendation, *Herculani for Herculis*. Worth serious consideration.

⁷² A.B. Bosworth, *ANRW* 2.34.1 (1993) 229f. For Arrian's presumed visit to the R. Inn (Ind. 4.15–16), I prefer the arguments of H. Grassl, 'Arrian in Donaumraum', *Chiron* 12 (1982) 245–52, that it was as *comes* to Hadrian (in 121), rather than earlier as an equestrian officer, that Arrian was there.

⁷³ *PIR*² I 397; Eck, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 158f.; Thomasson 1984, 396f., no. 26.

⁷⁴ W. Eck & M.M. Roxan in *Festschr. Lieb* 1995, 55ff. (a new diploma). Presumably, as the editors suggest, the father of the *cos. ord.* 142, L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (Halfmann 1979, no. 66).

⁷⁵ Halfmann 1979, no.62.

⁷⁶ *AE* 1974.370, many times discussed: Bosworth, *ANRW* 2.34.1 (1993) 238ff. (with full bibliography, n. 68).

⁷⁷ J. Beltrán Fortes, 'Arriano de Nicomedia y la Bética, de nuevo', *Habis* 23 (1992) 171–96. I am grateful to Werner Eck for this reference – he himself is convinced by Beltrán's arguments, Eck 1996, 87.

⁷⁸ A.R. Birley 1997, ch. 15.

A most important stage of his journey in 125 came at the end of his Greek tour: Delphi. He had already written ‘to the city of the Delphians’ earlier in the year, announcing his decision on how many delegates each member-state in the Amphictyonic Council should have. Augustus had weighted the voting-rights heavily in favour of his new city of Nicopolis, and Nero had made further changes. Now, Hadrian’s letter reveals, a commission of enquiry had recommended to the Senate at Rome that the membership should be reconstituted. He refers to the proposal that the membership should be increased and a new balance established. In particular, excess votes held by the Thessalians ‘should be transferred to the Athenians, Lacedaemonians and other cities, so that the Council (*synedrion*) should be a common Council of all the Hellenes’. The stress on ‘a Council of all the Hellenes’ suggests that at this stage Delphi was to be the Panhellenic centre from which to revive the national self-consciousness.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, it may be argued, the young Herodes Atticus had become a senator, perhaps precisely on 5 December, the traditional first day of the quaestorian year, in 124, and in Greece, as *q(uaestor) imp. Caesaris Hadriani Aug. inter amicos* – to accompany Hadrian through Greece and across to Rome.⁸⁰

Hadrian returned to Greece in late summer 128. At Eleusis he was initiated into the higher grade of the Mysteries. Otherwise, only his second stay at both Athens and Sparta is explicitly documented.⁸¹ Since he was last at Sparta, Hadrian had accepted, *in absentia*, the eponymous magistracy there, the office of *patronomos*. Perhaps he was still in office when he returned – the Spartan year began and ended in the autumn, and Hadrian’s tenure is assignable to 127–8.⁸²

It was appropriate – and surely no coincidence – that it was precisely Athens and Sparta that were to the fore in the Greek motherland in entering the Roman Senate. The Baetican legation held by Eurycles Herculanus was followed by a further post, legate of a legion III, evidently III Gallica in Syria. An interesting move: the Spartans were, after all, traditionally the most martial of all the Hellenes. Although Herculanus’ ancestor Eurycles had fought at Actium, no army service is known for the intervening generations, except for an equestrian military tribunate. One may offer another guess: that Herculanus was offered the legion by Hadrian at the time of his second visit to Sparta. A corollary would be that Herculanus could have travelled east with the emperor in 129, to take up his command in Syria when the imperial party arrived there.⁸³

For Hadrian the visit to Sparta was more than sentimental. His plans for the Greeks, now crystallising, were indeed centred on Athens. But it was natural for him to treat with particular sensitivity the city which had shared the dual hegemony with the Athenians six centuries years before. This would in any case be welcome in contemporary Athens. Atticus’ claimed descent from Miltiades and from Cimon, the great advocate of Athenian co-operation with Sparta – and he had himself had spent some time at Sparta in his youth – fitted in beautifully. Now the Hellenes, with Hadrian the adoptive Athenian at the forefront, were actively recreating and re-enacting their glorious past, the age of the Persian Wars above all. When the Great King invaded, the Hellenes had stood together united (with a few exceptions) in ‘the League against the Mede’. Their victory at Plataea, of which the 600th anniversary had recently occurred, was still commemorated.⁸⁴ Athens had sought to continue the

⁷⁹ Oliver 1989, no. 75, with discussion.

⁸⁰ SIG³ 863, n. 1 = Smallwood 199b, unknown provenance (full publication is at last forthcoming, as Werner Eck kindly informs me). Cf. App. 1.

⁸¹ A.R. Birley 1997, ch. 18.

⁸² A.S. Bradford, *Horos* 4 (1986) 71–4. But another *patronomos*, Sitimus, was in office before Hadrian left Sparta, IG V 1,32.

⁸³ C. Julius Spartiaticus was *trib. mil.*, Corinth VIII 2, no.68. Cf. App. 2 below on Herculanus’ family and career. For Spartan contingents in Rome’s wars, Spawforth, in Cartledge & Spawforth 1989, 116 (Parthian war of L. Verus), 191 (Caracalla and perhaps Julian).

⁸⁴ Atticus’ descent: Philostr. V. soph. 2.1.1; youth at Sparta, Spawforth, *ABSA* 75 (1980) 203ff.; cf. App. 1, below. Plataea: SIG³ 835A. Cf. remarks by C.P. Jones, *Chiron* 26 (1996) 45.

crusade and to liberate the Greeks of Asia. Sparta had opted out. After three decades, in the face of mounting opposition, Pericles put through the Athenian assembly, so Plutarch related, a decree ‘to invite all the Hellenes, wherever they lived in Europe or in Asia, whether in a small *polis* or a great one, to send delegates to Athens to deliberate on the Hellenic shrines which the barbarians had destroyed and the sacrifices owed to the gods’. Twenty Athenians of mature years had been despatched to urge their fellow-Greeks to attend ‘and take part in resolutions on peace and on the common welfare of Hellas’. Nothing had come of it, because of Spartan opposition – instead, indeed, bitter decades of conflict between the Hellenes. There can be no doubt that Hadrian and his entourage, with Atticus and Hecuba to the fore, were consciously thinking of these events.⁸⁵ The literature of the age is focused to the point of obsession on the people and deeds of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Perhaps it was all a charade; but for the élite, at least, it was one that gave them enormous satisfaction.⁸⁶ Hadrian’s apparent initial notion of making the Amphictyons of Delphi the instrument for his regeneration of Hellas, the *synedrion* to be ‘a common council of all the Hellenes’, did not go through, perhaps because of Spartan resistance. The Spartans at some point sent an embassy to meet Hadrian at Nicopolis, either when he was leaving for Sicily in 125 or when he arrived in Greece in summer 128.⁸⁷ Perhaps they had been anxious to explain their position on Panhellenic matters.

Whatever the details, Hadrian was now ready to implement a new and much more ambitious plan. The Amphictyonic ‘*synedrion* of all the Hellenes’ would, even if reconstituted, have catered only for the *poleis* of the motherland. Yet the Hellenes were spread far and wide beyond the boundaries of old Greece. It was probably during his second stay in Greece as emperor that Hadrian devised – or at least approved with enthusiasm – a new and grandiose programme: to create a Hellenic commonwealth for all the *poleis* which could prove their authentic Hellenic origins. In other words, Hadrian was to bring the abortive programme of Pericles to fruition. He would create a Panhellenion, an association of all the Hellenes, with its centre at Athens. The groundwork was – literally – done: the great temple of Heavenly Zeus, the Olympieion, was being given the finishing touches. A stately enclosure was going up around it. Within this sacred *temenos* the delegates of the Hellenes would convene. This was only one item in Hadrian’s Athenian building programme.⁸⁸

Only a few years before, probably at the time of his stay at Tarraco, Hadrian had begun to parade as the new Augustus.⁸⁹ Plutarch, who alone records the Congress decree of Pericles, also recalls that the Athenian statesman was nicknamed ‘Olympian’. Now Hadrian – who was in addition completing the temple of Olympian Zeus – assumed this appellation: this might be said to make him the new Pericles. What procedure or ceremony produced the title is not recorded – perhaps it was conferred in the Athenian assembly? At any rate, from 129 onwards all over the Greek part of the empire he became *Hadrianos Sebastos Olympios*, or, indeed, *Hadrianos Sebastos Zeus Olympios* – for some identified him with the god.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Plut. Per. 17 is the only evidence for the ‘Congress Decree’. Whether or not it was historical, Hadrian presumably chose to believe in it. The connection between Hadrian’s Panhellenion and the ‘Congress Decree’ was evidently first made by Oliver 1970, 132, cf. 94.

⁸⁶ Literature on the ‘Greek Renaissance’ is now so extensive that I cite only two very recent publications: Kennell 1995, esp. 83ff., 95ff.; Swain 1996, esp. 65ff.

⁸⁷ SEG XI 493, Nicopolis.

⁸⁸ Willers 1990, 26ff., identifies the *temenos* of the Olympieion as the meeting-place of the Panhellenion, plausibly in my view. A.J. S. Spawforth and S. Walker, ‘The world of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis’, JRS 75 (1985) 78–104, at 78ff., prefer to look elsewhere. See further n. 93, below, on C.P. Jones’ theory.

⁸⁹ P.L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jhdts.*, II. Die Reichsprägung unter Hadrian (Stuttgart 1933) 12ff.; H. Mattingly, BMCRE III, pp. cxv, clxvii; M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge 1950) 101f.; Syme 1958, 248, 496. See further A.R. Birley 1997, ch. 12.

⁹⁰ Plut. Per. 8.2, 39.2. *Hadrianos Olympios*: Weber 1907, 209ff.

To convene an inaugural assembly of such a body as the Panhellenion required several years of intensive planning. Lists would need to be drawn up of eligible or potentially eligible states, of which there were hundreds all over the eastern half of the empire and well beyond. Both the literature and the material remains of the age – local coinage, inscriptions and statuary – give the impression that a principal preoccupation of many a city was to demonstrate the antiquity and authenticity of its Hellenic origins. Homer and Greek mythology were deployed with remarkable ingenuity to prove foundation by deities or heroes or famous Greeks; sometimes little known, not to say invented, figures from the heroic age were produced. Such claims would need testing in some cases.⁹¹ It may not be a coincidence that Phlegon of Tralles somewhere in his *Olympiades* stated that Adria, Hadrian's *ultima origo* in Picenum, where he, *quasi in alia patria*, held office as *quinquennalis*, had been founded by Dionysius I of Syracuse.⁹²

A new interpretation has recently been proposed: the Panhellenion arose from an initiative by the overseas Greeks, to which Hadrian simply consented. But even if the brief sentence in Dio (Xiphilinus) means what is now claimed, there is no difficulty about Hadrian 'permitting' the Greeks to do what he had himself inspired them to undertake – of course, persons like Herodes Atticus, senior and junior, or Eurycles Herculanus, or Polemo, had probably fed Hadrian with ideas on the subject.⁹³ One has to speculate. It has been commented that 'the paucity of surviving evidence makes it difficult to be sure exactly what Hadrian intended of it . . . How far it represents imperial whim and how far policy (in so far as the two may be distinguished) is, at present, impossible, to establish.'⁹⁴ Still, if one accepts the arguments of D. Willers that the Olympieion at Athens which Hadrian completed was also the meeting-place for the Panhellenion, there is less difficulty in attributing the inspiration for this 'Hellenic Commonwealth' to Hadrian himself. At the consecration of the great building, 'completed at last after an interval of 560 years [surely a mistake for 660]', according to Philostratus, Polemo, in the proemium of his 'long and wonderful discourse from the base of the temple . . . declared that his [Hadrian's] initiative had not been without divine impulse.'⁹⁵ What Hadrian's purpose was has to be inferred from his behaviour.

It fitted neatly into Hadrian's Panhellenic programme that he was on his way to the eastern frontiers in 128–9. The Persian empire was no more; but there was a contemporary equivalent, an Iranian power that had some pretensions to have taken its place. Invitations were being sent out at this time to client

⁹¹ Spawforth & Walker, *JRS* 75 (1985) 78ff., offer the fullest discussion of membership. Their map, p. 80, omits Cibra, as noted by D. Kienast, *Kleine Schriften* (Aalen 1994) 380 n. His contribution, 'Antonius, Augustus, die Kaiser und Athen', originally in *Festschr. A. Lippold* (Würzburg 1993) 191–222 = id., *Kleine Schriften* 351–386, offers many valuable comments on Hadrian and the Greeks. It remains an *argumentum ex silentio* to suppose that great cities such as Ephesus and Smyrna did not join. One may now probably add Nysa, W. Blümel, *Epigr. Anatol.* 25 (1995) 61f. no. 32. On the search for authentic Greek founders, J.H.M. Strubbe, 'Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte: Fiktion und Realität', *AncSoc* 15/17 (1984/86) 253–304, esp. 280ff.

⁹² HA Had. 1.1; 19.1. Phlegon, *FGrH* 257, fr. 23.

⁹³ C.P. Jones, 'The Panhellenion', *Chiron* 26 (1996) 29–56. He translates Dio 69.16.2 as follows, 30: 'he permitted the Greeks to build the sanctum to himself which is called the Panhellenion, and he established a competition in connection with it.' Comparing Dio 51.20.7 – how Octavian 'permitted the Greeks' (of Greek and Bithynia) to establish a cult of himself in 29 BC – he assumes, 30f., that something similar happened under Hadrian; and argues, 31ff., that τὸν σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ should mean a building, specifically a sanctuary for the emperor-cult. He does not, it is strange, refer to Willers 1990. See further n. 95, below.

⁹⁴ G. Woolf, 'Becoming Roman, staying Greek: culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman East', *PCPhS* 40 (1994) 116–143, at 134. Cf. Swain 1996, 75f.: 'The reasons why the Panhellenion was established are not fully known', with which one must agree. When he adds that it 'was never particularly popular with the Greeks themselves', he is surely arguing from silence.

⁹⁵ Philostr. *V. soph.* 1.25.3 (mistranslated in the Loeb ed., p. 112 – 'not without a divine impulse was he inspired to speak on that theme'; in essence correctly by B.W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (London 1923) 120 – 'Verily the God Himself has inspired the Emperor to this work.') Willers 1990, 35ff., cites other sources and discusses the date, accepting Weber 1907, 208, 268ff. (between September 131 and September 132).

rulers and kings beyond the Euphrates to attend a ‘durbar’ in 129 – Hadrian had already held one in 123. Perhaps the Parthian Chosroes was invited to another *colloquium*. His position as Great King was no less under challenge than it had been for two and a half decades, but it evidently suited Hadrian to deal with him rather than with his rival Vologaeses. As a sweetener, Hadrian sent back the king’s daughter, in Roman captivity these past twelve years or more. He also offered to return the royal throne of the Arsacids, the *sella regia*. (In the end he kept it.)⁹⁶

IV

In the spring of 129 Hadrian began the new eastern tour, sailing from Eleusis to Ephesus. His arrival probably preceded by a few weeks that of a new proconsul, Juventius Celsus, the eminent jurist, *cos. II ord.* that year. Celsus may have found that one of his *legati* had been selected for him. C. Julius Severus was ‘legate in Asia in accordance with a letter and *codicilli* of the God Hadrian’. Severus is attested in office near Dorylaeum, regulating boundaries. The odds are that he joined Hadrian the next year in Syria, to take command of the legion IV Scythica, as a colleague of Herculaneus, legate of III Gallica.⁹⁷

Hadrian’s activities in the years 129–130, interesting and important though they are, cannot be discussed in detail in this context.⁹⁸ It will, however, be worth noting that his philhellenism had reached a high peak with the title Olympios, and the inauguration of the Olympieion/Panhellenion being scheduled, it may be supposed, for the spring of 132. That he decided, while in the east, to rebuild Jerusalem as a Roman *colonia* and prohibited the Jews ‘to mutilate their genitals’, certainly requires mention.⁹⁹ Hadrian was travelling with a descendant of the Seleucids, Julia Balbilla, whose brother Philopappus called himself Antiochus Epiphanes. The influence on Hadrian’s thinking of the first and most famous bearer of that name had already been seen at Athens. It had, after all, been king Antiochus IV Epiphanes who had gone a long way to completing the Olympieion. He too, like Hadrian, had promoted the cult of Zeus Olympios. Various other aspects of the character and policies of the eccentric monarch find an echo in Hadrian, of whom he seems to be almost a mirror image. In his long years as a hostage the Seleucid prince had acquired a fervent admiration for Roman ways. His behaviour at Antioch, mingling with the common people like a would be *civilis princeps*, recalls Hadrian the *plebis iactantissimus amator*.¹⁰⁰

Whatever impact these matters may have had on Hadrian – and, considering the length of time he spent altogether at Antioch, he had ample opportunity for finding out about them – Antiochus Epiphanes was remembered not least for his Jewish policy, which had provoked the uprising of the Maccabees. There was considerable debate in antiquity over the circumstances and course of events which led to the emergence of an independent Jewish state. One thing is undisputed: the Temple at Jerusalem was desecrated by the ‘abomination of desolation’. An altar to Olympian Zeus was set up in the Temple court and circumcision was strictly prohibited under pain of death. This assault on the Jewish religion had indeed been preceded by active hellenising on the part of the Jewish leadership. They had ‘petitioned the king to let them build a gymnasium in Jerusalem. And when he had granted this, they also concealed the circumcision of their private parts in order to be Greeks even when naked’,

⁹⁶ HA Had. 13.8; cf. 12.8 (AD 123). Antoninus Pius still had the *sella regia*; he refused to return it, HA Ant. Pius 9.7. Oliver 1970, 93f., notes the ‘Persian’ factor in connection with the Panhellenion. See further A.R. Birley 1997, ch. 18.

⁹⁷ Celsus: Eck, Chiron 13 (1983) 167 and n. 403. Severus: ILS 8826 = Smallwood 216.

⁹⁸ Cf. A.R. Birley 1997, chs. 18–19.

⁹⁹ Jerusalem: Dio 69.12.1ff. ‘mutilate’: HA Had. 14.3, cf. further below. Cf. generally (among numerous other contributions) L. Mildenberg, The Chronology of the Bar Kokhba War (Aarau–Frankfurt 1984) 104ff.

¹⁰⁰ Balbilla: above, and n. 55. Antiochus’ *civilitas*: Polyb. 26.1ff.; 28.18. Hadrian: HA Had. 17.3. For the influence of Antiochus Epiphanes’ policies on Hadrian, Willers 1990, esp. 100ff.; briefly, A.R. Birley, Laverna 5 (1994) 201f., 204f.; further id. 1997, chs. 18–20.

as Josephus put it, paraphrasing the First *Book of Maccabees* and spelling out an important aspect of what had gone on.¹⁰¹

Whether or not Antiochus had really ordered his extreme measures in ‘an attempt to wipe out their superstition and introduce Greek practices, in order to change that most repulsive people for the better’, as Tacitus put it in the *Histories*, the odds are that Hadrian believed this version. There were certainly some Jews in Judaea at this time who had tried to reverse the effects of circumcision by the process known as *epispasmos*, no doubt so that they could exercise naked in the Greek gymnasia without attracting adverse comment.¹⁰²

The harsh and hostile language of the HA, *Iudaei . . . vetabantur mutilare genitalia*, may reproduce the phrasing of an imperial edict. In Greek the word used was presumably *κατατέμνειν* – a deliberate variant of the normal *περιτέμνειν*. As it happens, a renegade Jew had once explicitly chosen to call circumcision *κατατομή*, ‘mutilation’, instead of *περιτομή*, in his *Letter to the Philippians*. To the Galatians, Paul went further: ‘these agitators’, who insisted on circumcision, had better ‘cut themselves off’, *ἀποκόψονται* – in other words, castrate themselves.¹⁰³ In fact, the new Hadrianic prohibition – which was universal, not confined merely to the Jews – did indeed put circumcision under the same penalty as castration: death. The practice had already been banned by Domitian and Nerva. Hadrian made castration subject to the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*.¹⁰⁴ He may charitably be supposed to have been unaware what the reaction would be, to have been led to believe that Jewish resistance to Hellenisation had now melted away. There were, indeed, signs of this.¹⁰⁵

This is not the place to say more on Antinous, whose relationship with Hadrian is an important aspect of Hadrian’s attempt to become a Hellene.¹⁰⁶ After the stay in Egypt in 130–1, Hadrian was in Syria again, then in Cilicia and Pamphylia. It seems that he had not visited that half of Lycia-Pamphylia in 129. Several cities were also worth a visit, such as Aspendus on the R. Eurymedon, where Cimon and the Delian League had won a great victory over the Persians 600 years before (perhaps exactly 600 years), Perge, and Attalia. The two latter could boast impressive arches in honour of Hadrian. That at Perge was erected by Plancia Magna, a senator’s daughter, from an Italian settler family linked by marriage with Julius Severus of Ancyra. She had adorned it with statues of four empresses, Plotina, Sabina and Sabina’s mother and grandmother, and of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian. Plancia’s brother, who had governed Cilicia and been consul, seems to have had a villa at Tibur not far from that of the emperor. These people would have been very suitable hosts for Hadrian.¹⁰⁷

Further west a stop is definitely attested, at Phaselis, on the once debatable boundary between Lycia and Pamphylia. Phaselis had had an evil reputation as a haunt of pirates, although Cicero spoke up for it: it had been taken over by those people because of its position – it had three separate harbours – but its inhabitants were really ‘Lycians, *Graeci homines*’. Phaselis was indeed a Greek city, founded by the Rhodians, and had been a member of the Delian League. A splendid new south gateway had been erected in honour of Hadrian’s visit. Statues were erected to him as ‘saviour of the universe and of their country’, ‘on the occasion of his landing’.¹⁰⁸ Sufenas Verus, governor of Lycia-Pamphylia, who had

¹⁰¹ I Macc. 1.54; Jos. AJ 12.241. Cf. e.g. E. Bickermann, *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (Berlin 1937); K. Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa* (Göttingen 1983).

¹⁰² Tac. Hist. 5.8.2. *epispasmos*: P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba Aufstand* (Tübingen 1981) 45ff.

¹⁰³ HA Had. 14.2. Cf. Paul, Ep. ad Phil. 3.2; Ep. ad Gal. 5.12.

¹⁰⁴ Dig. 48.8.4.2, cf. Dio 67.2.3, Suet. Dom. 7.1.

¹⁰⁵ F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31BC–AD 337* (London 1993) 369f.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. comments in A.R. Birley, *Laverna* 5 (1994) 193ff.; further, id. 1997, ch. 19.

¹⁰⁷ The itinerary from Egypt to Athens is conjectural, apart from a return to Syria (Dio 69.12.2) and the landing at Phaselis (next note). The date of the battle of the Eurymedon is uncertain: perhaps as early as 470 or 469, more likely a few years later. Perge: AE 1958.76–77; JRS 55 (1965) 56ff.; AE 1965.211; Halfmann 1979, no. 31. Attalia: IGR III 771. That Hadrian was in Lycia in 129, but not in Pamphylia until 131 is argued by Wörrle 1988, 40.

¹⁰⁸ Cic. II Verr. 4.21; TAM II 3,1187 = SEG XXXI 1299; TAM II 3, 1191–4.

taken office at the time of Hadrian's visit to Lycia in 129, was presumably in attendance and may now have been designated to the consulship for 132. His colleague Claudius Atticus would perhaps have been able to hold office as consul at Athens precisely during the festivities in the following spring. Meanwhile, Arrian was appointed consular legate of Cappadocia. A year or two later Julius Major would become governor of Moesia Inferior.¹⁰⁹

V

Counting heads when trying, for example, to compare the treatment of Greek senators by Trajan and by Hadrian – and by Antoninus Pius – is perhaps not very reliable.¹¹⁰ For Trajan's twenty years or for Hadrian's twenty-one the numbers of attested consuls vary considerably: over ninety *suffecti* for Trajan, only a few more than fifty for Hadrian, supplemented in each case by imprecisely dated cases, about twenty-five for Trajan, about thirty for Hadrian.¹¹¹ Greek *ordinarii*, it might seem, are clear enough¹¹²: Trajan's pair in 105, Ti. Julius Candidus and A. Julius Quadratus, is not matched until 142, with L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus of Pergamum – clearly son of L. Cuspius Camerinus (*suff.* 126)¹¹³ – and L. Staius Quadratus, adoptive Athenian, followed the next year by Herodes Atticus. T. Statilius Maximus (144), may be another easterner, from Syria, Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus (146) came from Paphlagonian Pompeiopolis, in 151 the brothers Quintilii from Alexandria Troas shared the *fascēs*, in 155 C. Julius Severus, son of the man from Ancyra adlected by Hadrian, was *ordinarius*. Some might decline to admit the Quintilii to this reckoning, called 'Trojans' not Greeks, by Herodes.¹¹⁴ Statilius could be from an Italian colonial family too. All the same, what remains is impressive: five out of thirty-eight non-imperial *ordinarii* in the years 139–161. Hadrian's score appears at first sight to be zero out of thirty-eight. But one is now allowed to count L. Catilius Severus (II *ord.* 120) as an easterner, albeit of Italian descent, from the *colonia* of Bithynian Apamea. M. Antonius Rufinus (131) can be regarded as plausibly eastern because of his *gentilicium*. By the same token, M. Antonius Hiberus (133) – although as assumed descendant of a Julio-Claudian *Augusti libertus*, he can hardly have been 'eastern' in any meaningful sense.¹¹⁵

Closer inspection of one or two other names might wring some kind of eastern connection out of the consular Fasti, e.g. T. Vibius Varus (134), possibly from Asia – this would add another name to the list for Antoninus too, T. Clodius Vibius Varus (160).¹¹⁶ P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius (137) was manifestly linked somehow to the Vibullii Pii of Corinth.¹¹⁷ One might even ask if C. Trebius Sergianus

¹⁰⁹ Eck, *Chiron* 13 (1983) 169 and n. 405; 172.

¹¹⁰ Syme, RP II 579: 'Valid statistics are not to be had, etc.:'; cf. id., RP IV 14 f., 44 f.; 69; V 553 f.

¹¹¹ Smallwood, pp. 2ff. (requiring some updating in detail), supplies useful lists.

¹¹² For what follows, a general reference to Halfmann 1979 in most cases makes further citation of evidence superfluous.

¹¹³ W. Eck & M.M. Roxan, in *Festschr. Lieb* 1995, 55ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Herodes' remarks, Philostr. V. *soph.* 2.1.11.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Syme 1980, 118: 'the exuberant philhellene permits only one [Greek] to lend his name to a year, in 133', with the note: 'viz. M. Antonius Hiberus. However, M. Antonius Rufinus (*cos.* 131) might be eastern.' Note also RP IV 315: 'Indeed, it is not easy to detect consuls from the Greek east among the *ordinarii*, unless Antonius Rufinus (131) and Antonius Hiberus (133) be assigned to that rubric. The former is only a name, the latter goes back, so it is presumed, to an imperial freedman of the first dynasty. If Hadrian reserved his exuberant philhellenism for other spheres and countries, sparing the Fasti, that was all to the good: a mark of tact and prudence.' Similarly, RP V 556. For Catilius, Halfmann 1979, no. 38, cf. his no. 18. Noted by Syme, RP III 1164 n. 38; IV 23; approved, RP V 473; 555; VII 558.

¹¹⁶ Halfmann 1979, p. 168. Vibius Varus was, it seems probable, a late substitution as *ordinarius*, see App. 1, below. He had been legate of Cilicia, Eck, *Chiron* 13 (1983), 169ff. and n. 414, probably when Hadrian was there in 131, A.R. Birley 1997, ch. 20.

¹¹⁷ Not discussed by Halfmann 1979. Syme, RP IV 165, prefers Italica as his *origo*, following PIR² C 1241. Elsewhere, id. 1971, 120, 195, he had opted for Dalmatia. Caballos Rufino 1990, 346f., puts this consul among the uncertain Spaniards.

(132) could derive from, or might be connected with, Pisidian Antioch (no other senatorial Sergii except the Pauli from that place seem to have been extant).¹¹⁸ P. Calpurnius Atilianus Atticus (?) Rufus (135) has even been claimed for Syria-Transpadana is far more likely.¹¹⁹

Syme was always inclined to stress the role of Domitian and even more of Trajan in enrolling Greeks and giving them high office – and to diminish the role of Hadrian in this respect.¹²⁰ On present evidence, Hadrian's choice of *ordinarii* does not conflict with this; if more suffectus were known for his reign, that might tell another story.¹²¹

Office-holding in the west by Greek senators also requires emphasis. This had already begun in a modest way. M. Pompeius Macrinus (*suff.* 115) and L. Antonius Albus (*suff.* c. 132) were respectively legionary legate and military tribune on the Rhine under Trajan.¹²² Under Hadrian, one may or may not retain Arrian as one of these western office-holders: but, even if not Arrian as proconsul of Baetica, Eurycles Herculanus as proconsular legate there; Julius Major as legate of Numidia; Pompeius Macrinus as proconsul of Africa. Others would soon follow: C. Julius Severus of Ancyra as legate of Lower Germany, A. Claudius Charax of Pergamum as legate of II Augusta in Britain – indeed, in Scotland.¹²³ One may wonder about Claudius Maximus, the philosophic mentor of M. Aurelius, legate of I Adiutrix and *iuridicus pr. pr.* of both Pannonias when Aelius Caesar was there. He could well derive from a Greek province.¹²⁴

As for the Greek *ordinarii* of the following reign, in particular Herodes Atticus in 143, this has often been commented on: 'The year . . . was opened by Atticus as *consul ordinarius*. The best that Latin eloquence could put up in this season was the African, Cornelius Fronto. He was only a suffect consul, sharing the honour with half a dozen senators'. As it so happens, another new diploma shows that Fronto was consul in 142, six months earlier than Herodes, even if only a suffect.¹²⁵ But in any case, as

Note Syme, JRS 39 (1949) 17f. = Ten Studies in Tacitus (Oxford 1970) 77, on various Vibullii. The *cos. ord.* 137 – or already his presumed father P. Coelius Apollinaris (*suff.* 111) – may at most have had Corinthian connections.

¹¹⁸ Rémy 1989, 150, regards Sergianus' origin as unknown, but later, 297, cites an Italian homonym of C. Trebius Maximus (*suff.* 122), legate of Lycia-Pamphylia 115–117 (see Wörrle 1988, 42 for precise dating): a municipal worthy, C. Trebius C.f. Lem. Maximus, AE 1976. 207, near Bononia. A third Trebius was also consul under Hadrian, L. Trebius Germanus, colleague of C. Calpurnius Flaccus, ILS 7912; cf. A.R. Birley 1981, 237, for the date, c. 124. This man had a rescript from Hadrian, clearly a provincial governor, Dig. 29.5.14. The *ord.* 132 was quite likely son of the *suff.* 122. There were at least one or two Trebii among the Italian businessmen in the east, though the oil-merchant, Trebius Loesius, on Delos in 162 BC, J. Hatzfeld, Les trafiquants italiens (Paris 1919) 202, had Trebius as a *praenomen*, Münzer, RE 13.1 (1926) 965. There was a C. Trebius on Cos in 8 B.C., Hatzfeld 100. For the Sergii of Pisidian Antioch, Halfmann 1979, nos. 3,4,9,77; cf. pp.55ff. Trebius Sergianus was legate of Galatia in 128, not long before becoming consul, Rémy, l.c. Perhaps it was his native province.

¹¹⁹ Claimed for Syria by M. Avi-Yonah, RE Supp. 13 (1973) 405, evidently influenced by IGLS VI 2784, Heliopolis. Treated with scepticism by Halfmann 1979, 209. Perhaps son of P. Calpurnius Macer (*suff.* 103), PIR² C 250, cf. 273; Syme, RP V 459, VII 489, citing Pliny, Ep. 6.24.2 ('Larius noster').

¹²⁰ Thus in JRS 27 (1937) 272 = RP VI 22: 'It is not the philhellenic Hadrian but the martial Trajan who is responsible for the great influx into the Senate of men from the provinces of the Greek East.' Cf. id. 1958, 510. 'Domitian and Trajan, less obtrusive philhellene than Hadrian, are shown more potent', id. 1980, 92; cf. 118. 'Not friends of Hadrian, the notorious philhellene, but coevals of Trajan', RP IV 69. On the year 105: 'Two *bis consules* and a consular general, the impact must have been startling . . . Nothing comparable was to be seen during the reign of Hadrian', ibid. 315; cf. VI 107f. 'As emperor, Hadrian went on to establish Athens as the metropolitan seat of a religion: the culture of Hellas. At the same time, he yielded to restraint at Rome: not many eastern senators', RP VII 540.

¹²¹ It may, at least, be noted that the lists in Halfmann 1979, 78ff., 'Tabellarische Übersicht über die *homines novi* aus dem Osten', require modification: four or five of those listed as 'Nerva/Traianus' must be placed under 'Hadrianus'.

¹²² Halfmann 1979, nos. 44, 58.

¹²³ Halfmann 1979, nos. 56, 54, 44, 62, 73. For Herculanus, App. 2, below.

¹²⁴ His origin is unknown. For his career, Alföldy 1977, 143, 236, etc.; from a 'nicht näher bestimmbar Provinz', 322. M. Le Glay, EOS II 769, favoured Cirta.

¹²⁵ Syme, RP IV 8. Cf. similar remarks in A.R. Birley 1987, 80. For Fronto's consulship, see now W. Eck & M.M. Roxan, In Festschr. Lieb 1995, 79ff.

far as senators, Greek and Latin, are concerned, how important were these distinctions?¹²⁶ Herodes would marry a woman from the Italian élite.¹²⁷ Fronto's wife, Cratia – Krateia – in all probability came from the province Asia.¹²⁸ While the eastern senators from the colonies or the Italian diaspora cannot yet perhaps, in the early second century, be thought of as Greeks, some of them were intermarried with the Greek élite. If L. Cuspius Pactumeius Rufinus (*ord.* 142) of Pergamum, who adorned the new Asclepieum, is surely, from his names, a scion of an Italian immigrant family, it is hard to think of him as a 'Latin', any more than C. Julius Severus, who paraded as πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων (whatever that really meant), can be thought of a Celt.¹²⁹ For one thing, Rufinus' mother was probably a Pactumeia from the well-known family at Numidian Cirta, Fronto's home town.¹³⁰

On the other side, people like M. Pompeius Macrinus (*suff.* 115), descendant of Pompey's Mytilenian friend, were perhaps latinised – but not exactly: after all this Macrinus was called 'a new Theophanes' back on Lesbos.¹³¹ Most of the first 'real Greeks' in the Roman Senate tended to disguise themselves, it might be thought, by completely Latin names: Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus is an exception, to be sure, although even 'Polemaeanus' is a latinised Greek name; but consider Pompeius Macrinus and his forebears, Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus, C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, L. Antonius Albus, C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, Ti. Julius Frugi, L. Flavius Arrianus, Sex. Julius Major, C. Julius Severus, and so on. The practice aroused some criticism, allegedly, from Apollonius of Tyana.¹³² This changes: Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus did not even have one Latin *cognomen*; and the new Hadrianic senators, the Claudii Attici and Eurycles Herclanus¹³³, or A. Claudius Charax, retain their Greek names as *cognomina*. The sophist was rather extreme and wilful: L. Vibullius Hipparchus Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Quir. Atticus Herodes.¹³⁴ The son of Julius Major added Pythodorus to his Latin names Sex. Julius Major Antoninus. There are one or two questions regarding the Latin nomenclature of these Greek senators: one can only speculate about the reasons for the choice.¹³⁵ Ti. Julius Frugi is clear enough: 'Frugi' had made an impact because of the eastern service of a Calpurnius Piso. A. Julius Quadratus was 'A.f. Volt.'. Hence an incomer, it would seem – and Aristides refers to the first Quadratus coming to Pergamum 'at the summons of the god'. Does this just mean from Phrygian Thermae Theseos? Rather from Narbonensis, it has been suggested, where Voltinia is so widespread. Macedonian Philippi which also had this tribe is, of course, a less remote alternative as *ultima origo*. But there could be some other explanation.¹³⁶

¹²⁶ Syme, RP I 59 (first published in 1938): 'As early as the year 94, a joint consulship was held by Valerius Asiaticus, of Celtic dynastic stock from Vienna of the Allobroges, and A. Julius Quadratus, a man from Pergamum. It is not at all likely that these two exhibited a notable difference in character, education, and social standing.'

¹²⁷ Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla: PIR² A 720; Ameling 1983, II 16ff.

¹²⁸ Champlin 1980, 26f. and nn. 33ff.

¹²⁹ IGR III 173 = Smallwood 215, Ancyra. Taken, it seems, by E.L. Bowie, 'Hellenism in writers of the early Second Sophistic', in Said 1991, 184–204, at 184, to mark a contrast with non-Greeks, presumably in Galatia.

¹³⁰ W. Eck & M.M. Roxan, in Festschr. Lieb 1995, 55ff.

¹³¹ Halfmann 1979, no.44, descendant of his no.1. 'Neos Theophanes' was, however, 'a title of honour, not an item of nomenclature', Syme, RP III 1308

¹³² For these persons, Halfmann 1979. Apollonius, Ep. 71; Philostr.V. Apoll. 4.5: the sage's disapproval of Ionians calling themselves Lucullus, Fabricius or Lucianus.

¹³³ The name 'Herclanus' is, to be sure, a latinising form, as observed by Chrimes 1949, 199f.

¹³⁴ Salomies 1992, 5: 'Greeks with Roman citizenship . . . did not always follow the same onomastic rules as their Latin-speaking fellow-citizens in the west.' He gives Herodes as an example. Since Herodes' mother Vibullia Alcia was his father's sister's daughter, Herodes was no doubt in Roman law illegitimate, Ameling 1983, I 24, n. 23. Was he therefore adopted by his mother's brother? Cf. Ameling II 62, and his stemmata, 232f.

¹³⁵ Sex. Julius Major's *praenomen* – and citizenship – probably goes back to Sex. Julius Frontinus, proconsul of Asia at about the calculable time of his birth (*suff.* 126, Halfmann no. 54), Eck, Chiron 12 (1982) 310f. and n. 125: AD 85–6.

¹³⁶ G.W. Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (Oxford 1969) 19, citing Aristides 30.9: 'In the reign of Augustus Pergamum was a decaying city, when the god Asclepius summoned one Julius Quadratus from the village of

Of course, as S. Swain has recently stressed, it is no doubt wrong to assume that ‘the Greek élite must have been pro-Roman in all respects’. There may, indeed, as he comments, have been ‘a degree of contradiction between their Greek and Roman identities’.¹³⁷ For some of these people, perhaps: that A. Julius Quadratus, who was so devoted to his Pergamum, nonetheless over four decades put in appearances at sessions of the Arval Brethren, tells us something, surely, about his attitude to Rome.¹³⁸ The question has recently been posed, also by Swain, ‘why . . . Rome supported local tradition in the Greek world and encouraged Greeks to identify with their past?’¹³⁹ Syme offered a rather Tacitean comment on the whole business nearly sixty years ago: ‘The Antonine Empire achieved a master-stroke in disguising the predominance of the rich under the mask and justification of ancient Roman standards of civic virtue in alliance with Greek culture.’¹⁴⁰ This makes it all sound just like *Realpolitik*. As far as Hadrian is concerned, I think the answer to Swain’s question may be that Hadrian wanted to be a Greek himself. Granted, it is dangerous to try to guess motivation from actions alone with any historical figure, especially one so ambiguous and many-sided as Hadrian.¹⁴¹

‘Many claims to Greek ancestry were made and easily accepted, if Greek culture and speech could be proved, through the familiar ploy of extending or creating a genealogy of descent.’ There are good examples of non-Greeks becoming Greeks in the second century AD, not least Favorinus of Arelate and Lucian of Samosata.¹⁴² But, after all, if the Galatian dynast C. Julius Severus could be called *πρώτος Ἑλλήνων*, Hadrianos Olympios, Athenian citizen in the deme Besa, and a new Theseus to boot,¹⁴³ could claim to be a true Hellene too. One will recall Phlegon’s statement that Adria, Hadrian’s *ultima origo*, had been founded by Dionysius I.¹⁴⁴ Various items converge: the beard, the Panhellenic programme, Antinous (even if, e.g. Plutarch and Dio of Prusa did not approve of homoerotic relations,¹⁴⁵ ‘Greek love’ was, after all, very Greek), and the treatment of the Jews. Perhaps one may add to this, the particular details, closely linked to his Panhellenic programme, of Hadrian’s enrolment and treatment of ‘Greek’ senators: Athens and Sparta singled out.

Thermae Theseos to restore its fortunes.’ Aristides does not name the place. It is an inference from IGR IV 1377, C.A. Behr, P. Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works II (Leyden 1981) 390 n. 14. Syme 1980, 52f., favoured Narbonensis as the *ultima origo*. Likewise W.M. Ramsay, The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor (London 1941) 117; Schumacher 1973, 113, 243f.; Salomies 1987, 203; id. 1992, 31. In an unpublished paper on Aelius Aristides (in the Syme archive at Wolfson College, Oxford), Syme had a different suggestion: ‘The *consul bis* had for tribe the ‘Voltinia’. That suggests a conjecture [he refers to W. Weber, Berl. Abh. 1932, 64]. The original Julius Quadratus may derive ultimately from Narbonensis – a person of wealth and taste, who on a tour of the eastern cities succumbed to the seductions of Pergamum and its society. [With a note: For examples of such people, G.W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (Oxford 1965) 73ff.] The better sort in Narbonensis knew Greek civilisation before they became Roman citizens. But another explanation avails. The original Julius Quadratus acquiring the franchise under one of the Julian Caesars might have been enrolled in the tribe of a Roman friend and patron. Observe the illustrious Asiarch of Tralles, C. Julius Philippus: this family has the ‘Velina’, anomalously (cf. OGIS 499).’

¹³⁷ Swain 1996, 70, 71.

¹³⁸ Halfmann 1979, no. 17, lists forty inscriptions of Quadratus, well over half from Pergamum. For Quadratus as Arval, Syme 1980, 15f., etc. He was present in 72 (?), 78, 86, 87, 89, 105, 111, PIR² I 507.

¹³⁹ Swain 1996, 71.

¹⁴⁰ Reviewing W. Weber, Rom, Herrschertum und Reich (Stuttgart–Berlin 1937), in HZ 158 (1938) 554–61, at 559, repr. in English, RP I, 55–61, at 59. Cf. RP VI 381.

¹⁴¹ Syme more recently, RP IV 7, said of Hadrian: ‘more a Greek than a Roman’.

¹⁴² Swain 1996, 69; 43ff.

¹⁴³ IG III 401–2 = Smallwood 485, Athens.

¹⁴⁴ FGrH 257, fr. 23.

¹⁴⁵ Swain 1996, 120ff., 125f., 214ff.

Appendix 1

The Careers of Herodes Atticus, Father and Son, and the Question of *consules suffecti* II after AD 103

The Bad Wimpfen diploma, showing that the elder Atticus – hereafter Atticus¹⁴⁶ – was suffect consul not under Trajan, at latest c. 108, but under Hadrian, c. 132, makes necessary a re-examination of his biography, most recently discussed in full by Ameling.¹⁴⁷ Atticus' date of birth is quite uncertain, since estimates of c. 68, or the early 70s at latest, have been based on his consulship having been held c. 108 or earlier.¹⁴⁸ Further, Atticus is reckoned to have been at Sparta as a youth, in the *agoge*. Assumed to have been c. 86–93. It might have been a bit later.¹⁴⁹ Some details of the life and career of Atticus' son, hereafter Herodes, also require discussion. All that one may now infer is that Atticus was adult in the reign of Nerva (Philostr. V. soph. 2.1.2) and married not later than c. 100, to judge from the date of birth of Herodes (below). He could have been born in the late 70s. The date at which Atticus was *praetoriis ornamentis ornato ex s.c.* (Corinth VIII 2, 58 = Smallwood 198 = Ameling II 65 no. 34; cf. AE 1977.774 = Ameling II 66f. no. 35, also Corinth – largely restored) must also now be regarded as open. It could have been under Trajan, when the riches which he 'discovered' and was allowed to keep under Nerva had already made him μέγας – and his mother's as well as his father's fortune helped to make him affluent (Philostr. V. soph. 2.1.2). This need not mean that he was given this special honour by Trajan, nor, for example, that he acquired property at Rome or in the vicinity and a reputation for conspicuous consumption at this stage. If, as generally supposed, Juvenal's line, *Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur*, Sat. 11.1, refers to him, the poet need not have noticed the Athenian's lavish dinner-parties until the 120s.

It is assumed that before the consulship Atticus was *adlectus inter praetorios*, which is no doubt correct. There is no inscription to attest it. The governorship, sc. of Judaea, by an Atticus under Trajan, reported by Eusebius, now of course lapses. If Eusebius – or Hegesippus – got this name right, another Atticus must be found.¹⁵⁰ Diplomas aside, there are other inscriptions of our Atticus as consul. IG VII 88 = Ameling 1983, II no. 52, Megara, was erected by *boule* and *demos* for his benefactions and benevolence to Tib. Claudius Atticus ὕπατον. Now to be dated to c. 132, when he was in office, or later. IG V 1, 1147 = Ameling II no. 53, Gytheum, a letter, of Hadrian, is too fragmentary to count as evidence for Atticus as consul. He is registered as [Τιβ. Κλαύ]διος Ἀττικὸς ὁ κρᾶτιστος [. . .], but one need not restore [ὕπατος]. It might just refer to his senatorial rank. More interesting is IOlymp. 359 = Ameling II no. 124 = L. Schumacher, EOS I 263ff., set up by his son Herodes: [Τι. Κ]λαύδιον

¹⁴⁶ Stein, PIR² C 802, on the son, commented: 'Sophista is de quo agimus ipse Atticus solus nisi in consulatu . . . non dicitur.' A.J.S. Spawforth, 'Sparta and the family of Herodes Atticus. A reconsideration of the evidence', ABSA 75 (1980) 203–220, at 208ff., discusses IG V 1, 45 = Ameling 1983, II no. 70, which gives the career of Corinthas, who had been συν[έ]φηβος Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ Ἡρώδου. This Atticus is taken to be Herodes' son Regillus Atticus, who had thus gone through the Spartan *agoge* (p. 204: 'for certain'). However, Ameling II 100 argues that this must be Herodes, although 'diese Namensgebung für ihn sonst nicht belegt [ist]'. Accepted by Spawforth, 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes', ABSA 80 (1985) 191–258, at 226.

¹⁴⁷ Ameling 1983, I 21–35; II 65–93 (catalogue of inscriptions).

¹⁴⁸ Thus Ameling 1983, I 18: 'Zwar kennen wir hier keine genauen Daten, aber da Attikos vermutlich 108 cos. suff. wurde, ist er kaum nach 68, eher sogar etwas früher geboren worden.'

¹⁴⁹ ABSA 26 (1923–25) 168, C7 = SEG XI 565 = Ameling 1983, II no.33: Ἱεροκλῆς (Ἱεροκλέους) Ἀττικῶ κ(άσεν), discussed by Spawforth, ABSA 75 (1980) 204ff.; Ameling II 65. The same list of *gerontes* to which this Hierocles belonged includes a former *kasen* of Eurycles, assumed to be Eurycles Herculani, cf. below. There is no need to suppose, however, that the former *kasens* of Eurycles and of Atticus must have been exact coevals. On the *kasen* relationship, n. 228, below.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. above and n. 6. The *cognomen* is quite common, not least in the upper order: Kajanto 1965, 203 – the *cos.* 244 B.C.; Cicero's friend; and 'SEN. 18; CIL 210 + sl./fr. 39, women 84 + sl./fr. 26 (in Rome 128 out of a total of 359)'. For an alternative Atticus as persecutor in Judaea, A.R. Birley, JRS 85 (1995) 294 (M. Quintius Atticus, legate of IV Scythica, undated, CIL III 12250).

Ἄττ[ικὸς]ν Ἡρώδη[ν Ἴπ]πάρχου[ν] Μαραθῶ[νιον, ὕπατον κυ]νδεκεμ[β]ηρα, κτλ.¹⁵¹ This shows Atticus a member of the *XVviri s.f.* – but not until the 130s, one must now add. His son was to achieve membership of the same college.¹⁵² This distinction – if he attended any gathering of the college, might have brought him into contact with some interesting people: Q. Pompeius Falco (*suff.* 108), C. Julius Proculus (*suff.* 109), M. Pompeius Macrinus (*suff.* 115), C. Bruttius Praesens (*suff.* c. 118, II *ord.* 139), perhaps even P. Cornelius Tacitus (*suff.* 97).¹⁵³

Philostratus in a notorious statement (V.soph. 2.1.1) makes the sophist Herodes rank ἐκ πατέρων ἐς τοὺς δισπύτους (copied by the Suda, H544 Adler). This could only refer to Atticus, it was thought.¹⁵⁴ Not many were happy with the idea. Ameling, after rejecting the second consulship, asked whether – to rescue Philostratus – ‘der Kaiser dem Attikos *ornamenta consularia* für ein zweites Konsulat verliehen hat.’¹⁵⁵ He offers no parallel, and none seems to exist, for such *ornamenta* going to someone who had already been consul.¹⁵⁶ But this suggests an explanation. In the early third century a development took place which may have misled Philostratus – a contemporary. Septimius Severus conferred *ornamenta consularia* on his Guard Prefect Plautianus and later made him a senator and consul – and announced that ‘the man was entering his second consulship [203]; and the same thing has been done in other cases subsequently’, as Dio (46.46.4) disapprovingly registered. One may cite Q. Maecius Laetus, ‘II’ *ord.* 215, M. Oclatinus Adventus, ‘II’ *ord.* 218, P. Valerius Comazon, ‘II’ *ord.* 220.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps Atticus, after receiving the *ornamenta praetoria*, some time later got the *ornamenta consularia*. A precedent may be found: Claudius’ Guard Prefect Rufrius Crispinus got the *praetoria* in 47 (Tac. Ann. 11.4), the *consularia* at some later date (ibid. 16.17). If this happened to Atticus (at a moment which can only be guessed), it might have led him or his descendants, or informants of Philostratus, to suppose, or pretend, that Atticus had been a *consul bis*.

The problem of *suffecti iterum* still requires examination. Syme long ago commented: ‘Several iterated consulates of the second century, culled from the literary evidence, need to be carefully scrutinized. They must be suffect consulates, if authentic; yet none such have yet been certified by inscriptions subsequent to 103 under Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, or Commodus. Accident can of course be invoked.’ After discussing three dubious cases from the *Historia Augusta*, he adds that ‘one ought not to suppress a doubt about [the elder Atticus’] second consulate’.¹⁵⁸ Nearly thirty years later, Halfmann dismissed V. soph. 2.1.1 curtly: ‘sicher unzutreffend, da der iterierte Konsulat seit der ersten Hälfte der Regierungszeit Trajans nicht mehr als consul suffectus, sondern nur noch als consul ordinarius bekleidet wurde’.¹⁵⁹ It is no good to call in the HA for support: *tertio consules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plurimos fecit, infinitos autem secundi consulatus honore cumulavit* (Had. 8.4). Syme commented simply: ‘That is false. The facts are there.’¹⁶⁰ It is certainly impossible to believe that there

¹⁵¹ Schumacher, EOS I 265f., rejects the restoration [ὕπατον β’], to which he had inclined, attributed to him by Ameling (who relied on an unpublished version of the paper). See below on the ‘second consulship’.

¹⁵² Schumacher 1973, 79.

¹⁵³ Schumacher 1973, nos. C 15 (Falco), 16 (Proculus), 19 (Macrinus), 22 (Praesens), 9 (Tacitus). All still alive – except, most people would assume, Tacitus. But he might have survived into the 130s: his 70th birthday would have fallen c. 127–8. One or two other *XVviri* were certainly out of reach, e.g. Sex. Julius Severus (*suff.* 127), C 24: in Moesia Inferior, Britain, Judaea and Syria. For Falco, cf. above and nn. 13ff., for Proculus, below.

¹⁵⁴ Ameling 1983, I 27 n. 36, also compares V.soph. 1.25.6 – ἐξ ὑπᾶτων – but it is hard to see why this ‘auch auf δισπύτους zu zielen scheint’.

¹⁵⁵ Ameling 1983, I 27.

¹⁵⁶ No such case in B. Rémy, ‘*Ornati et ornamenta quaestoria, praetoria et consularia* sous le Haut Empire romain’, REA 78–79 (1976–77) 160–198.

¹⁵⁷ Degrassi 1952, 60f.

¹⁵⁸ Reviewing Degrassi 1952, JRS 43 (1953) 148–161 = RP I 230–255, with addenda, 255–9, at 157 = 247f.

¹⁵⁹ Halfmann 1979, 123.

¹⁶⁰ RP I 232. Syme never wavered from this view: cf. RP II 491, 493, 685; IV 46, 319; V 555.

were *plurimi* *cos.* III under Hadrian: only M. Annius Verus (126) and L. Julius Ursus Servianus (134) are attested and surely neither they nor Hadrian *cos.* III 119 had a *cos. tertium* as suffect. As for *cos.* II *infinitos*, one can hardly find much more than half a dozen among the *cos. ord.* (On the other hand, there are only two certain *cos. II ord.* under Pius (139 and 146), surprisingly few.¹⁶¹)

Another, apparently more convincing, case of a *cos. II suff.* later than 103 has recently come to light. Werner Eck has kindly drawn to my attention an inscription from Larinum, G. De Benedettis and A. Di Niro, L'anfiteatro di Larinum. Iscrizioni monete sepolture (Istituto regionale per gli studi storici del Molise 'V. Cuoco' 1995) 21–26, no. 2¹⁶² :

[---]culo *cos* II/[---]s *f*fetiali/[---]vinc Lugudun⁴/[---]r pr trib pleb/[---]IIIviro a a a f f/[---]es remissal
[---]us

The lettering in the first line is considerably larger than in lines 2–5, except for the slightly smaller *O* in *cos* and, even more markedly, the *II* which follows it, manifestly inserted later, to the right of the top half of the *S*. (The lettering in the last two surviving lines, 6–7 – the editors assume there was a further line – is also somewhat larger, if less markedly, than that in 2–5.) As the editors recognise, *cognomen*, priesthoods and posts in Lugdunensis and as *monetalis* combine to identify the honorand as C. Julius M. f. Volt. Proculus, whose *cursus honorum* is known from CIL X 6658 = ILS 1040 = Smallwood 212, Antium:

C. Iulio M. f. Volt./Proculo cos. XVvir./sacris faciundis fetiali cur./⁴operum publicorum leg. Aug./p.p. ad census provinciae Lug/dunensis leg. Aug. p.p. region./Transpadanae legato leg. VI⁸Ferrat. praet. trib. pl. ab actis/ imp. Traiani Aug. tr. leg. IIII Scythic. q. Augustor. IIIviro a.a.a.f.f./Antiates publice¹²patrono.

Proculus was consul suffect in September and October 109; and, apart from the career on the Antium stone, the initial stages of which are particularly interesting, is thought later to have had some post in Baetica, under Hadrian.¹⁶³ Further comment is required, since, apart from the surprising *cos. II* of the new inscription, interpreted by the editors as *cos. suff. iterum*, Proculus can now be identified in a long, fragmentary letter of Fronto.¹⁶⁴

The editors restore the new text as follows:

[*C Iulio M f Volt Pro*]culo *cos* II/ [*curat operum publicorum XVvir*] s *f*fetiali/ [*procos prov Baetic leg Aug p p ad census pro*]vinc Lugudun⁴ [*leg Aug p p reg Transpadan praef alimento*]r pr trib pleb/ [*leg leg VI Ferrat ab actis imp Traiani Aug q Augustor*] IIIviro a a a f f/ [*huic municipes Larinat*]es remissal/[*pecunia statuum dedicaver ob honor patronat*]us⁸[*l d d d*].

¹⁶¹ C. Bellicius Torquatus, colleague of Herodes as *ord.* 143, is sometimes shown as *cos. II*. Alföldy 1977, 144 n. 28, is unwilling to accept this evidence – it would make him identical with the C. Bellicius Flaccus Torquatus Tebanianus (*ord.* 124). (But why not?) Otherwise, one would like to find a second – necessarily suffect – consulship for Q. Lollius Urbicus (PIR² L 327), who won Pius his only imperial acclamation and was City Prefect – which before and after Pius generally led to an iteration. It would be possible to fit him in as suffect to the emperor, *cos. IV*, or to M. Aurelius Caesar, *cos. II*, in 145 (Alföldy 1977, 149, shows that there are no known suffects immediately replacing the imperial pair): a reward for his British victory. For this suggestion, A. R. Birley 1987, 275 n. 9. A new diploma of 145, dated by suffects, but without the month surviving, gives: *L. Lamia Silvano L (?) [. . . cos]*. M. M. Roxan in RMD III 165 follows K. Wachtel, *Klio* 74 (1992) 246–9, in identifying the first suffect as Pius' son-in-law Lamia Sil<v>anus (HA Ant.Pius 1.7). He might have survived till 145, although Groag supposed that he 'mature vita functum esse' (PIR² A 206). But could the consul of 145 not be the father, *consocer* of Pius, L. Fundanius Lamia (Plautius Silvanus) Aelianus, *cos. ord.* 116 (A 204; Syme, RP I 327; III 1175)? Then what follows the name could be read, not as *L.* – the *praenomen* of the other consul – but *I[I]* and one might conjecturally restore the pair as *L. Lamia Silvano I[I] Q. Lollio Urbico II*]. When Sex. Erucius Clarus, *II ord.* 146 and City Prefect, died in office the next year, Urbicus was probably his successor, already a *cos. bis* on this hypothesis – which remains merely a hypothesis.

¹⁶² This makes a rather lengthy excursus necessary.

¹⁶³ Evidence in PIR² I 497.

¹⁶⁴ Klaus Wachtel, preparing the entry for 'Proculus Iulius' for PIR² P, was good enough to draw the Fronto passage to my attention.

The second consulship, the principal concern here, is discussed below. First, some comment on other elements:

line 2: the listing of the curatorship of public works is unsuitable between consulship and priesthoods – which are out of chronological order, as so often. Some post more distinguished than this *cura* is required, e.g. *praefecto urbi* (cf. CIL V 6980), *procos. provinc. Africae* (cf. AE 1950. 66; ILS 1061), or *comiti imp. Traiani (vel Hadriani) Aug.* (cf. ILS 1141). The first two posts do not, however, seem to fill the space adequately.

line 3: the proconsulship of Baetica, taken to be, exceptionally, consular, must be rejected. This notion goes back a long way. Groag took a *terminatio* from Baetica, CIL II 2349 = ILS 5973, recording that the *trifinium* between three peoples, *ex sententia Iuli Proculi iudic.*, had been *confirmatu(m) ab imp. Caesare Hadriano Aug.*, to be evidence for our Proculus having been assigned a ‘Spezialmandat’ by Hadrian during the latter’s stay in Spain.¹⁶⁵ Alföldy followed this view, with a refinement, suggesting that Proculus was with Hadrian as one of his *comites* and was assigned to the case as ‘Schiedsrichter’. He emphatically ruled out a proconsulship of Baetica.¹⁶⁶ It would serve no useful purpose to set out the long list of opinions (mostly in favour of identification with the *suff.* 109), for the stone has recently been re-edited: CIL II, editio altera, pars VII, Conventus Cordubensis, editio A. U. Stylow, adiuvantibus C. González Román et G. Alföldy (Berlin 1995) no. 776, more conveniently CIL II² 7, 776. The editor rejects as ‘vix probabile’ identification of *iudex* and consular: the *iudex* could well have given his *sententia* long before Hadrian’s visit; and anyway such *iudices* were seldom either senatorial or equestrian.¹⁶⁷

line 4: [*praef alimento*]r is very dubious, even though Eck plausibly enough suggested that Proculus’ post in Transpadana (to be discussed further below) was in effect that of a ‘Sonderbeamter für die Konstituierung der Alimentarinstitution’.¹⁶⁸ [*leg.leg. VI Fer*]r is surely needed here (on the lines of the Antium text) rather than in line 5, where the editors place it.

Now for the second consulship. Was it a ‘suffect’ second consulship? It could, surely, only have been held in succession to a *cos. II* (or more) *ord.* The years 112 and 113 are ruled out: suffectus for Trajan VI and L. Publilius Celsus II are already known. There are ten years under Hadrian or Pius where no immediate suffect to a *cos. iterum* or *tertium* is certainly known: 118, 119, 120, 125, 126, 128, 129, 137, 139, 140.¹⁶⁹ Proculus might theoretically have held office in one of these years. Another possibility is more plausible: that he was designated to a second consulship as *ordinarius*, but died shortly before 1 January of the year in question. There are two parallels. Three papyri from the Dead Sea give the consuls of 128 as P. Metilius Nepos II and M. Annius Libo.¹⁷⁰ Yet the Fasti otherwise show Libo’s colleague as L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus II. Metilius had presumably expired at the end of 127.¹⁷¹ Even clearer is the case of Cn. Julius Verus, described on his funerary inscription from Dalmatian Aequum as *cos. desig. II* (CIL III 8714+2732 = ILS 8974+1057+add.), but given as *cos. II* – for 180 – in PDura 25 (23) with C. Bruttius Praesens II; the Fasti have as Praesens’ colleague Sex. Quintilius Condianus. Verus clearly died late in 179.¹⁷² For Proculus a similar explanation is to hand. In 134 Hadrian’s aged brother-in-law, L. Julius Ursus Servianus (*suff.* 90, II *ord.* 102), at last became *cos. III*. Most sources give his colleague as T. Vibius Varus. But on a number of inscriptions, including some

¹⁶⁵ RE 10.1 (1917) Iulius no. 418, 783–6, at 786 (likewise Stein, *ibid.* no. 414, 783).

¹⁶⁶ Alföldy 1969, 166f.

¹⁶⁷ Citing A. Aichinger, ZPE 48 (1982) 192–204.

¹⁶⁸ Eck 1979, 158.

¹⁶⁹ Smallwood 7 ff.; Alföldy 1977, 138ff.

¹⁷⁰ Now N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem 1989) nos. 16–18.

¹⁷¹ Thus PIR² M 545.

¹⁷² Degrassi 1952, 50; PIR² I 618.

from 134, Servianus is given as sole consul. On one, CIL III 10281, as colleague of Servianus stood originally another name, subsequently deleted, ending *O* in the ablative and between seven and nine letters long.¹⁷³ Why not [[*Proculo*]] – his name erased not because he had been condemned, but simply because he had never entered office?

Other problems or puzzles about Proculus justify a further brief digression. First, his *origo*, almost universally taken as Narbonensis because of the tribe Voltinia, because he was a Iulius with the filiation *M.f.* and because of the *cognomen* Proculus – relationship with the family of Agricola's mother Julia Procilla (Tac. Agr. 4) is conjectured or assumed.¹⁷⁴ Not doubted by the editors of the Larinum stone, who assume that town was in Clustumina. Yet there is good evidence for Larinum being precisely in the same tribe as Proculus – the dedication by a descendant or homonym of Cicero's client from Larinum, found in 1949 at Carrawburgh (Brocolitia) on Hadrian's Wall, AE 1951.125b = RIB I 1545: *D(eo) in(victo) M(ithrae) s(acrum) Aul. Cluentius Habitus pra(e)f. coh. I Batavorum domu V(o)ltin(i)a colon. Sept. Aur. L(arino) v.s.l.m.* E. Birley pointed out that 'it has hitherto been supposed that Larinum belonged to the tribe Clustumina, attested by three inscriptions found there [CIL IX 731, 737, 755]. But there is no case in which Larinum is specified as the man's *origo* and Clustumina as his tribe (which would prove the point); and the Carrawburgh altar shows that, at least after its receipt of a charter from Severus, the town belonged to the Voltinian tribe.'¹⁷⁵ In that case, if Proculus was a local man after all, he need not have been honoured as *patronus* (although he probably was *patronus* as well; and detailed restoration of the last lines becomes less certain).

Proculus began as *monetalis*, a sign of favour for plebeians, likewise the next post, quaestor of the emperor. Not, surely, a *novus homo*. Senatorial ascendants are to hand: filiation and tribe point to M. Julius [.] f. Vol. Ro[mu]lus, made a senator by Claudius (AE 1925.85, Velitrae), then legate of XV Apollinaris, followed by the praetorship and four senatorial posts, the latest being *pro[cos.] extra [sort]em* of Macedonia, and his presumed son, also M. Julius Romulus, legate to the proconsul of Sardinia in 68–9 (ILS 5947).¹⁷⁶ The *cognomen* 'Romulus' for these two, putative grandfather and father of our Proculus, looks particularly appropriate (see below). *q. Augustor(um)* is most plausibly interpreted as referring to Domitian and Nerva, in 96. The following post, military tribune of the Syrian legion IV Scythica, looks out of place. Syme explained the timing as a product of events of 97 in that province: the governor, who had been behaving threateningly (Pliny, Ep. 9.13.10f.), and at least two legionary legates dismissed, A. Larcus Priscus, quaestor in Asia, made legate of IV Scythica and acting governor of Syria, the *ignotus* of ILS 1020, legate of Cappadocian XVI Flavia under Nerva, taking over VI Ferrata in Syria under Trajan.¹⁷⁷

However this may be, Proculus' next post, described as *ab actis imp. Traiani Aug.*, is also peculiar: *ab actis senatus* was the normal description; but the terminology was probably not yet fixed.¹⁷⁸ (That Trajan is not called *divi Traiani* need not, by the way, mean he was still alive when the Antium inscription was composed – cf. ILS 1039, *candidato imp. Traiani Aug. Germ. Dacici Parth.*, or 1053, [*quaest.] imp. Caesaris Nervae Traiani Aug. G[e]rmanic[i] Dacici*], both after Trajan's death.) It might

¹⁷³ Briefly discussed by Groag, RE 10.1 (1917), Iulius no. 538, at 887f.; Degraasi 1952, 38f.

¹⁷⁴ E.g. Groag, RE 10.1, 783; PIR² I 497; Syme 1958, 650; RP VI 221, 226; Pflaum 1978, 317; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 390; Salomies 1987, 371, 427; Franke 1991, 137; Kolb 1993, 176.

¹⁷⁵ E. Birley, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., 39 (1951) 51 = id., *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal 1953) 174 = id. *The Roman Army. Papers 1929–1986* (Amsterdam 1988) 179.

¹⁷⁶ Probable Narbonensians for Syme, RP VI 216, 226, cf. 221.

¹⁷⁷ Syme 1958, App. 3, 'Syria in 97', 631f. Note also Syme, RP I 390 n. 1; II 484, 695; III 1048 n. 36, 1388; IV 274 n. 135, 317; V 448 n. 48. Few have doubted Proculus' role; but cf. Pflaum 1978, 317; Franke 1993, 137; on the *ignotus* ILS 1020, M.A. Speidel, MH 47 (1990) 149ff., has refinements. The dangerous governor was identified by G. Alföldy and H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3 (1973) 331–373, as M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus. See now Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte* (Amsterdam 1987), 153–195, reprinting this paper, with Nachträge 195–201; on Proculus, 364f. = 186f.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the list in R.J.A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1984) 334ff.

be a way of indicating some ‘special relationship’ with the emperor, say in 99 – but it is not impossible that the mason confused and condensed an original which went *praet. trib. pl. candidatus imp. Traiani Aug. ab actis senatus*. If quaestor in 96, Proculus was probably born c. 71 at the earliest and would have been at most 38 when *cos. suff.* in 109. One may estimate that he was tribune of the plebs c. 101, praetor c. 103 and legate of VI Ferrata c. 104–6 – at the time of the annexation of Arabia by the legate of Syria A. Cornelius Palma.¹⁷⁹

It is customarily assumed that after the legionary command he was appointed *leg. Aug. p.p. region. Transpadanae*. Here one must discuss the passage in Fronto, *Ad amicos* 2.7.19, newly deciphered, p. 195f., by van den Hout (2nd ed., Teubner 1988): *Proculus Iulius quindecimvir anno decimo lamentis relegatus est gratuando tulit biennium illud . . . item praeverti et quinquennium exulis in triennium artavit . . . Proculus homo ingenio ad cetera remisso et delicato, sed in sententiis dicundis ad poeniendum paulo durior et infensior et infestior . . . plerique ad cetera viri minime severi inlautius prolati, in iudicando asperi tamen in eadem dignitate furere, videlicet spec<t>antes, ut pro severitate, qua carebant, obtensui saevitias subornarent*. (This was previously, e.g. in Haines’ Loeb ed., numbered section 9 of *Ad amicos* 2.7.) Although much remains incomprehensible (but one may presumably conjecture *gratu<l>ando* to make sense of the ninth word), this *Proculus Iulius quindecimvir* must surely be our man. The frequency of the combination ‘Iulius Proculus’ doubtless led Fronto (who had a friend from Circa of this name)¹⁸⁰ to add the label *quindecimvir*; and, as often, in his archaising way he inverted *nomen* and *cognomen*. This may have been the practice of the man himself – this style could have evoked a legendary figure. Note Groag’s suggestion, ‘daß er seinen Namen nach dem sagenhaften Proculus Iulius, der Romulus’ Himmelfahrt sah, erhalten habe’. That Iulius, a *homo agrestis*, would have had ‘Proculus’ as a *praenomen*.¹⁸¹ If our Proculus’ father and grandfather were called ‘Romulus’ (cf. above), the choice of ‘Proculus’ is given added point.

Fronto’s letter, to his Cirtensian friend C. Arrius Antoninus, concerned Volumnius Serenus, an elderly *decurio* of Concordia, formerly banished (*relegatus*), evidently by Proculus, for five years, a sentence reduced by the same Proculus to three years. His right to re-enter the *curia* thereafter had first been disputed before Lollius Urbicus, presumably in his capacity as Urban Prefect,¹⁸² *qui nihil adversus Volumnium statuit* (there follows the words *sed loco* and a lacuna of two pages, 2.7.12, p. 191). Volumnius’ membership of the *ordo* was again called in question when Arrius Antoninus was *iuridicus regionis Transpadanae*, the first appointed, c. 165/6.¹⁸³ Volumnius was now well over 70 (*seni septuaginta annos olim egresso*, 2.7.18, p.194) and had been a *decurio* for 45 years (2.7.7, p. 190), i.e. since c. 120. He can only have been *relegatus* by emperor, senate, an Urban or Praetorian Prefect – or by a provincial governor (Digest 48.22). Precisely under Hadrian one of the new consular imperial legates installed by that emperor functioned as a ‘provincial governor’ of this part of Italy. This has been shown clearly by Eck.¹⁸⁴

It seems too much of a coincidence that Julius Proculus the *XVvir*, who evidently had imposed the five year exile and then reduced it to three years, had been, according to the Antium inscription, precisely *leg. Aug. p. p. region. Transpadanae*. This post (whatever its purpose) is customarily assumed

¹⁷⁹ Thus e.g. Pflaum 1978, 317.

¹⁸⁰ PIR² I 255, 501; Champlin 1980, 14 and n. 62.

¹⁸¹ Groag, RE 10.1, 784; Münzer, *ibid.* 112f.; Salomies 1987, 44f.

¹⁸² PIR² L 327; Alföldy 1977, 287, i.e. not before 146

¹⁸³ Thus most recently Piso 1993, 106–117.

¹⁸⁴ W. Eck, ‘Die italischen legati Augusti pro praetore unter Hadrian und Antoninus Pius’, *Hist. Aug. Coll. Parisinum MCMXC* (Macerata 1991) 183–95; repr. *id.* 1995, 315ff.; Italian version, *id.* 1996, 155ff., taking further G. Camodeca, *EOS* I 529 nos.2–3, on the career of L. Vitrasius Flamininus, *suff.* 122 and among other posts *leg. pr.pr. Italiae Transpadanae*.

to have immediately preceded his consulship in 109.¹⁸⁵ Further, Proculus' other provincial appointment, *ad census provinciae Lugdunensis*, is taken to be consular, c. 111/112.¹⁸⁶ Further, the post is held to have been concerned only with Transpadana in the narrower sense, *regio XI*.¹⁸⁷ Yet Arrius Antoninus, who manifestly dealt with Concordia, in *regio X* (Venetia et Istria), was called *iurid[i]co per Italiam [re]gionis Transpadanae primo* (ILS 1118, Concordia) or *iuridico regionis Transpadanae* (1119, Cirta). There seems then no impediment on grounds of job description to taking Julius Proculus to have been one of the Hadrianic legates – the order of posts in the Antium *cursus*, in descending order *cura*, Lugdunensis, Transpadana, need not be pressed.

If Proculus, *cos. suff.* 109, did not in fact hold office as imperial legate of Transpadana until Hadrian's reign – and probably not before 128¹⁸⁸ – that leaves a remarkable gap in his career. It would also, at first sight, leave him with no post between legionary command and consulship, implausible even for one so favoured at the start of his career. Perhaps, then, he was in Lugdunensis before his consulship. There was no fixed status for these imperial *censitores*: both ex-praetors and ex-consuls are attested.¹⁸⁹ The *cura operum publicorum* at all events will have followed the consulship, perhaps, then, immediately, c. 110–111.¹⁹⁰ What ensued after the urban *cura*? The answer may be in Fronto's letter: Proculus, who sentenced Volumnius to *relegatio*, had apparently been exiled himself, *Proculus Iulius quindecimvir anno decimo lamentis relegatus est* – the context is, to be sure, far from clear. Perhaps he had incurred Trajan's displeasure – like M'. Laberius Maximus, *cos. II ord.* 103, in exile in 117 (HA Had. 5.5) – some time after his consulship, to be restored by Hadrian. And, since it seems essential to find something to fill the space in the first part of line 2, before the priesthoods, why not suppose that, after recall by Hadrian, he was a *comes* of that emperor on his travels? He was, after all, so Fronto conceded, *homo ingenio ad cetera remisso et delicato* – this might have made him an attractive companion for the intellectual ruler.¹⁹¹ Then, in due course, Proculus could have been appointed one of Hadrian's newly created consular legates for four regions of Italy. Finally, in 133, on this reconstruction, he was singled out to have a second consulship, as *ordinarius*, twenty-five years after his first as suffect, and to share the *fasces* with old Servianus in 134.

Proculus' own banishment may, to be sure, be too much to stomach. It may be better to assume that the archetype from which the *codex Ambrosianus* derived already contained a gap, not noticed as such, between *Proculus Iulius quindecimvir* and *anno decimo lamentis relegatus*. In that case, Proculus' unemployment after the urban *cura* could be ascribed to illness, disdain or his *ingenium remissum et delicatum*. When he gained his two priesthoods, as *fetialis* and *XVvir s.f.*, remains entirely uncertain. Schumacher puts the XVvirate 'vor ca. 113 unter Trajan' – but he accepts the identification of Proculus with the *ignotus* CIL XI 4646, Tuder, a Trajanic legate of Dalmatia who had been [*curator operum publi*]corum (the only two posts preserved). No other evidence survives for this notion, and there is no need for further discussion here.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ Groag, RE 10.1, 786; Pflaum 1978, 317; Eck 1979, 158; Franke 1993, 138; PIR² I 497; Syme 1958, 800; RP IV 317; V 432 – and elsewhere.

¹⁸⁶ As well as items cited in the previous note, Kolb 1993, 176f.; Thomasson 1991, 87.

¹⁸⁷ Thus Syme, RP V 431f.; Eck 1995, 44.

¹⁸⁸ For the probable date when Hadrian's four legateships were first established, Syme, RP V 432.

¹⁸⁹ As conceded by Thomasson, EOS I 305ff.; id. 1991, 87.

¹⁹⁰ Kolb 1993, 177 puts it c. 112–113, taking the Lugdunensis post to be consular and accepting the order of posts in ILS 1040. It must be conceded that the alternative here proposed, legate (and *censitor*) of Lugdunensis c. 106–8, consul 109, curator c. 110–111 – and legate of Transpadana years afterwards – involves disregarding the order of the Antium *cursus*.

¹⁹¹ Cf. above and n. 68.

¹⁹² Schumacher 1973, 71f.; cf. e.g. Kolb 1993, 175, on the Tuder inscription.

An alternative restoration of the Larinum inscription may now be offered, sticking approximately to the same number of letters restored in the original publication (but omitting full supplementation of lines 6–7 – or 6–8, if a further line must be supplied):

[C Iulio M f Volt Pro]culo cos II I[?comiti imp Hadriani Aug Xvvir] s f fetali/[leg Aug p p Transpadanae item ad cens pro]vinc Lugudun⁴[ensis curat. operum publicorum leg leg VI Fer]r pr trib pleb/[ab actis imp Traiani Aug tr leg III Scythic q Augustor] IIIviro a a a f fl [?Larinate]s remissal[pecunia?]us

This reconstruction remains a hypothesis, ‘subject to hazard’. To return to the starting-point: the new inscription need not be evidence for *cos. II suff.* under Hadrian.

A little more needs saying on Atticus and Herodes. The date of birth of Herodes can only be inferred from his age at death, 76, Philostr. V.soph. 2.1.15, presumably not long after M. Aurelius conferred with him about the nomination of professorships at Athens, Philostr. V. soph. 2.2.1, cf. Dio 71.31.3 – in 176. This is the last record of his existence. Hence birth c. 100 or 101 seems plausible.¹⁹³ As a boy he could easily have made the acquaintance of Hadrian when the latter was *archon* at Athens, 111–112 or 112–113. As a youth he had a spell in the Spartan *agoge*, perhaps c. 114–115. Thereafter he was probably sent to Rome, to the house of Calvisius Tullus; and in summer 117 made a speech before Hadrian in Pannonia (Philostr. V. soph. 2.14). His early senatorial career is known only from a Latin inscription of unknown provenance, now in Stockholm, SIG³ 863, n.1 = Smallwood no. 199b = Ameling 1983, II no.76: *L. Vibullium Hipparchum Ti. Cl. Ti. f. Quir. Atticum Heroden q. imp. Caesaris Hadriani Aug. inter amicos, trib. pleb., praetorem*. The failure to register a post in the vigintivirate may, but need not, mean that he did not hold one. At all events, if he was a *XXvir*, it would have been at age 18 or so, i.e. c. 119. Why not suppose that Herodes gained the *latus clavus* from Hadrian in 117 or 118, following his meeting with the emperor in Pannonia? At this stage Atticus may have been granted the *ornamenta consularia*, topping up his existing *ornamenta praetoria*, which could be associated – it is merely a guess – with Trajan’s presence at Athens in 113. The expression *q. imp. . . . inter amicos*, which is unmatched, allows one to infer special favour. Hence the suggestion that Hadrian made Herodes his quaestor in 124, when he was at Athens, and took him back to Rome with him in spring 125. Herodes returned to Athens at latest in 126/7, when he was *archon*, aged not more than about 25.¹⁹⁴ His tribunate of the plebs probably fell in 128 (beginning 10 December 127), and he could perfectly well have returned to Athens, again with Hadrian, in late summer. At this stage, having seen his son’s career as a Roman senator taking off, Atticus may have been persuaded to enter the *amplissimus ordo* himself, adlected *inter praetorios* with a promise from Hadrian of a consulship. Herodes’ praetorship could be assigned to 130.¹⁹⁵ Thereafter, for his senatorial career, there is only the post as *corrector* of free cities in Asia, datable to c.135–6,¹⁹⁶ his consulate as *ordinarius* in 143, and his priesthood as *XVvir s.f.*

¹⁹³ Ameling 1983, II 2 and n. 13, argues for a slightly later year, 102 or 103. Perfectly possible, it is true, but the evidence makes 100 or 101 acceptable, without special pleading.

¹⁹⁴ In the *agoge*: above, n. 146. At Rome: above, n. 22. *archon*: see further next note on the senatorial career. Ameling 1983, II nos. 72–4.

¹⁹⁵ This dating differs somewhat from that proposed by Ameling 1983, II 2ff.: *XXvir* 128 – *Xvir s.i.* is suggested by that scholar (but this presupposes some basic familiarity with Roman law, perhaps unlikely for Herodes); quaestor 129; *trib. pleb.* 131; praetor 133 (aged 30 on his estimate of the birth-year). The vigintivirate remains hypothetical. It was compulsory from 13 BC, Dio 54.26.4ff. Cf. A.R. Birley 1981, 5 n. 6, for some cases where it seems to have been omitted. But if Herodes served, it would surely have been aged c. 18 – 20, cf. op.cit. 4ff.; at any rate not necessarily in the year immediately before the quaestorship, as Ameling assumes. Information on the age at which the office was held is hard to come by. But note e.g. Hadrian, *Xvir s.i.* before his three military tribunates (ILS 308 = Smallwood 109) which began c.95, when he was 19 (HA Had.1.3; 2.1ff.).

¹⁹⁶ He coincided – or clashed – with the proconsul, Antoninus, Philostr. V. soph. 2.1.8. Eck, Chiron 13 (1983) 178, favours this year.

Herodes was apparently not married until shortly before his consulship – a son, his first (apparently), was not born until summer 142 at earliest.¹⁹⁷

Considerable uncertainty remains over parts of Atticus' life. He is never, it is a surprise, on record as *archon* at Athens. Yet late in life he served as eponymous magistrate, *patronomos*, at Sparta.¹⁹⁸ As such he would have had an important role in supervising the *agoge*, in which he had apparently participated in his youth.¹⁹⁹ He had Spartan relatives – a daughter or perhaps a sister was married to a Spartan notable.²⁰⁰ The revival of the re-invented *agoge* was now a vital element in the Hellenic renaissance. As Kennell has acutely pointed out, the 'Spartans did not hold themselves completely aloof from this phenomenon.' But, as 'the triumph of the Athenocentric view of the fifth and fourth centuries meant a Sparta usually relegated to the role of villain', they had to stress the period ending with the Persian Wars – and their *agoge*, 'purported to be the last surviving repository of Sparta's archaic warrior traditions'.²⁰¹ That an Athenian who claimed descent from Miltiades and Cimon (Philostr. V. soph. 2.1.1), the latter philolaconian, and who himself embodied the harmonious co-operation of Athens and Sparta, should play a part in supervising Sparta's claim to uniqueness, is entirely appropriate. Just before his death, he was made *Κυθηροδίκας*, apparently to administer the island bequeathed by its owner Herculanius to Hadrian and returned by him to the Spartans.²⁰²

Atticus and Herodes, along with others, such as Polemo – and Eurycles Herculanius, may be supposed to have worked closely with Hadrian, in particular to design his new Hellenic Commonwealth. The emperor, several times at Athens and twice at Sparta, may, it can be guessed, have stayed at each place at one of the houses of the leading citizen.

Appendix 2

The Later Euryclids and the Career of C. Julius Eurycles Herc(u)lanus Vibullius Pius²⁰³

It has been argued above that neither the Euryclid nomenclature of Q. Pompeius Falco nor the discovery that Julia Balbilla was Herculanius' *ἀνεψιά* prove that he was born in the period c. 70–73, nor that he was made a senator by Trajan.²⁰⁴ The only evidence for this rank is IG V 1, 1172 = Smallwood 210, Gytheum:

[Γ. Ιούλι]ον Εὐ[ρ]υκλέα
 [Ἡρκλα]νὸν Γ. Ἰ[ο]υλίου
 [Λάκω]νος υἱόν, ἔκγονο[ν
 4 Εὐρυκ]λέους, λς' ἀπὸ [Διοσκ]ούρων ἱερέα κ[αὶ ἀρχι]ερέα τοῦ τῶν [Σ]εβαστῶν
 [οἴκου δι]ὰ βίου, τα[μί]αν καὶ

¹⁹⁷ Fronto, Ad M. Caes. 1.6.10 = 13 v.d.Hout (letter of Marcus); Ameling 1983, I 80, II 16 – but E. Champlin, JRS 64 (1974) 141, is unwilling to be more precise than 'between later 143 and c. 160'. (The *terminus post quem* has to be modified in the light of new evidence for Fronto's consulship, July-August 142, not 143, above and n. 14) Later children followed, Ameling I 18ff., II 16ff.

¹⁹⁸ Evidence conveniently listed by Ameling 1983, II 74ff., nos. 45–49. His year is dated to 134–5 by Chrimes 1949, 465, which might need slight adjustment.

¹⁹⁹ On the *patronomos*' role cf. below and n. 211. Atticus in the *agoge*, n. 149, above.

²⁰⁰ Spawforth, ABSA 75 (1980) 210ff., 219, on SEG IX 781 = XXX 407. Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 251, suggests that Claudia Tisamenis may have been a sister of Atticus rather than his daughter, as proposed by Spawforth.

²⁰¹ Kennell 1995, 94ff. Note also id., 87ff., showing that the – artificial – linguistic archaism at Sparta only begins in the 130s and is almost wholly confined to agogic texts.

²⁰² SEG XI 492 = Ameling 1983, II no. 51. See esp. Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 251f.

²⁰³ Spartans will generally be referred to by the numbering in Bradford 1977.

²⁰⁴ Cf. above, with nn. 12ff.

[ἀντιστρ]άτηγον τ[ῆ]ς Ἀχαΐα[ς]
 ?δήμου Ῥωμαίων²⁰⁵, δήμαρχο[ν]
 8 καὶ στρατ]ηγόν, πρ[ε]σβευτῆ[ν]
 ἐπαρχεία[ς] Ἰσπανί[α]ς Βαιτικῆ[ς]
 πρεσβευ]τὴν το[ῦ] Σεβαστο[ῦ]
 λεγιῶνος γ' ²⁰⁶

None of his numerous other inscriptions mention his senatorial rank, which does not necessarily mean that he did not have it when they were set up. For example, IG V 2, 281 = Smallwood 164, Mantinea, with only his names, no rank, records his donation of a stoa with exedrae to the city and to the ἐπιχώριος θεός Antinous. This was certainly after he had become a senator – the donation was not carried out until after his death, by his heirs. IG V 1, 380 = Smallwood 137, Cythera (now lost), was set up to Trajan, evidently in 116 or 117, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος διὰ βίου τῶν <Σε>β<α>σ<σ>τῶν (sic) φιλοσεβίας<σ>του (sic) τε καὶ φιλοπάτριδος καὶ κηδεμόνος τοῦ πόλεος <Γ.> Ἰουλίου Εὐ<ρυ>κλέους<ς> (sic) Ἡρκλανοῦ Λουκίου<υ> Βιβουλίου [Πείου]. Failure to specify senatorial rank need not mean that he was not yet a senator; and the same inscription should not be taken to refer to his patronomate either.²⁰⁷

It might be thought that light would be shed on his date of birth by Herculanus' year as eponymous magistrate at Sparta. But it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the chronology of the patronomate. There are few 'fixed dates' and only relative positioning (in Spartan 'cursus-inscriptions') produces a chronological series. Since Kolbe, in IG V 1, the only full list, with attempted dating from Nero to Severus, is that of Chrimes (which certainly requires revision in places).²⁰⁸ She puts Herculanus in 117/18, after Mnason 7, '106/7', and P. Memmius Pius 2, '113/14', and before T. Flavius Charixenus 6, '119/20'.²⁰⁹ There is no information on a minimum age for the *patronomos*.²¹⁰ What is clear is that there was a heavy financial burden, and an important role in the *agoge*.²¹¹ If Herculanus was born as

²⁰⁵ In line 7 Kolbe restored ταμίαν rather than δήμου, as Foucart, cf. Groag, RE 10.1 (1917) 583, who regarded this 'Wortstellung' – δήμου – as 'ungewöhnlich'. [ταμίαν Ῥωμαίων, if correct, would suggest he held a second quaestorship at Rome, after that in Achaia.

²⁰⁶ It must be asked whether the stone is complete. One would expect at least the name(s) of whoever set up the statue, e.g. ἡ πόλις ἡ Γυθαιτῶν (as in 1160, 1162ff., etc...). On the other hand, there seems to have been uninscribed space ('vacat') above line 1; and the career is probably complete, for a leaf stop is placed after the numeral γ' in line 11 – the numeral must, it is thought, refer to legion III Gallica, since the command of Numidian III Augusta was the equivalent of a governorship and the same probably applies to III Cyrenaica, the sole legion of Arabia some time under Hadrian (or, if the legionary legateship were Trajanic, III Cyrenaica was in Egypt). Perhaps there was originally a second stone alongside, with details of the person or corporation that erected the monument.

²⁰⁷ It does not mean that he was *patronomos* at the time, as implied by A.J.S. Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 252 n. 23; retraced, id., in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 111.

²⁰⁸ Chrimes 1949, 463ff. She dates Callicrates 26, son of Rufus, '100/1' (and Bradford 1977, p.464, to the 'reign of Trajan'). But cf. A.J.S. Spawforth, 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes', ABSA 80 (1985) 191–258, at 202 with n. 35, citing A.M. Woodward for Callicrates' year being in the mid-2nd century. On the Hadrianic *patronomi*, A.S. Bradford, *Horos* 4 (1986) 71–4 (modifying dates in Bradford 1977), seems to have established the order: P. Memmius Sidectas 2 124–5; C. Julius Charixenus 7, 125–6; Sipompus 2, 126–7; Hadrian 127–8; Sitimus 4 128–9; C. Julius Lysippus 3, 129–30. Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 252, proposes 136–7 for the year of Nicephorus 17 (in which Herculanus died), as it was 'shortly before that of C. Julius Meniscus [1], who is securely dated to 137–8'. (B. Puech, ANRW 2.33.6 (1992) 4854, n. 78, although aware of Spawforth's article of 1978, ignores his dating of Herculanus' death and asserts that, 'sans pouvoir donner ici le détail de la démonstration', the order Nicephorus 17–Damocles 3–Aristocles 14–Meniscus 1–Theophrastus can be established and that the following dates are 'assurées': 'Méniscos [1], 135–6; [C. Julius] Théophrastos, 136–7.') For problems and possible redating of other patronomates, see below.

²⁰⁹ L. Petersen in PIR² I 302, citing IG V 1, 32, 34, 44, 103 (which is not relevant), 1315, puts the office 'paulo ante annum 125', followed by Halfmann 1979, 126. Bradford 1977, Eurycles 2 Herculanus, gives IG V 1, 32B, 34 (but omitting 44), 1315, SEG XI 518, 680.

²¹⁰ Chrimes 1949, 151f.; Spawforth, ABSA 80 (1985) 203.

²¹¹ Spawforth, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 202; Kennell 1995, 44f.

early as AD 70 or shortly afterwards, he would, on this dating, have been in his mid- to late forties when *patronomos*. This seems implausibly late. Surely so wealthy a Spartan would have been persuaded to take his turn much earlier.²¹²

There are other ways of tackling Herculanius' date of birth. Three men who were *kasen* to a Eurycles during the *agoge*, which means that they were about the same age as him, crop up later as *gerontes*, Aristomenes 2, IG V 1, 103, Nicippus 3, BSA 26, C6/C7, 9, and an *ignotus*, Bradford's Frag. 150, IG V 1, 103 = SEG XI 568,4. These lists look Trajanic, for the Nicippus text is a duplicate of IG V 1, 20b, a list of *gerontes* and other magistrates in the year the Leonidean games were re-established by C. Julius Agesilaus 4, under Trajan, as is generally supposed.²¹³ It might, however, be argued that 121 would have been an eminently suitable year – precisely the 600th anniversary of Leonidas' heroic end. Still, the same Agesilaus 4 had been *athlothes* at another festival, the revived (or reinvented) Οὐράνια, called τὰ μέγιστα, with the additional name Σεβαστεία Νερουανίδεια, assumed to start up in 97 or 98, since the festival manifestly commemorated Nerva.²¹⁴

But one must ask: was it really named after Nerva himself? Νερουανίδεια ought, surely, to refer to Νερουανίδης, i.e. Trajan, the son of Nerva – or to the Νερουανίδαι, Nerva's descendants: Trajan, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱός, and Hadrian, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνός. Admittedly, the name Νέρουας is awkward: Νερουάεια might have been too much of a mouthful. But what was wrong with Νερουάνεια? After all, the Euryclidean games were not Εὐρυκλίδεια but Εὐρύκλεια.²¹⁵ Other -ίδης, -ίδαι forms point this way: Ἀτρείδης, Ἀτρείδαι, etc. Parallels for Nerva do not seem to exist – no other festivals for him are known. But that the new 'dynasty' could have been conceived as being the 'Nervanids' is at least feasible. That this notion might go back to Hadrian himself is worth a thought. As it happens, a poem attributed to Hadrian, and reckoned to have been composed in Syria in 113–114, a dedication to Zeus Casius on the eve of the first campaigning season, calls Trajan Αἰνεάδης and the Parthians Ἀρσακίδαι (Anth. Pal. 6.322). Hadrian's need to prove his legitimacy at the start of his reign²¹⁶ might, it could be argued, have led him to drop a hint, taken up in Sparta, that stress should be laid on the 'Nervanids'.

'In his benefactions Agesilaus [4] associated himself with a certain T. Flavius Charixenus [6]', as Spawforth notes, adding that the latter 'seems to have been a younger man, since he held the patronomate well over a decade later.' The patronomates of these two are, indeed, dated by Chrimes to 95–6 and 119–20, a gap of over twenty years (which may well need revision – the year of Charixenus 6 was evidently after that of Eurycles 2 Herculanius, IG V 1, 34; the date of Agesilaus 4's year does not

²¹² To be sure, Spawforth, ABSA 80 (1985) 226ff., puts the patronomate of the only other known Spartan senator, Ti. Claudius Brasidas 7 = ?4, *praetorius vir* under M. Aurelius, i.e. between 161 and 180 (Dig. 36.1.23) (Halfmann 1979, no. 111), 'somewhere in the decade 167–177' and 'relatively late in his life, perhaps when his Roman career was over and he had returned to his native city.' Chrimes 1949, 467 has 'c. 157/8'. Halfmann 1979, p. 188, 'gegen Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts'; Bradford 1977 labels Claudius Brasidas 4, the *patronomos*, 'mid II A.D.' Neither, of course, could use Spawforth's paper – but the dating remains very speculative. Atticus, of course, was no longer young when *patronomos* – but Herodes was *eponymus* at Athens in his early to mid-twenties, above, n. 194.

²¹³ Spawforth, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 192f.; accepted by Kennell 1995, 82. Spawforth's point that Trajan's Parthian War, 'in the preparations for which the Peloponnese had been actively involved' (citing R. Baladié, *La Péloponnèse de Strabon. Etude de géographie historique* (Paris 1980) 273ff.) afforded an appropriate context for commemoration of heroes of the Persian Wars, is well made. Chrimes 1949, 445, no. 38, 452f., nos. 5,6, 22, 455 n. 1, cf. n. 5, puts this *gerusia* list c. 120.

²¹⁴ This view goes back well before Kolbe, ad IG V 1, 667. Like everyone else, Spawforth, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 185f., 195f., 232, also assumes this date. There is scarcely any evidence for the cult of Zeus Uranius, to which the Urania are supposed to belong, before this time. In fact, the sole mention seems to be Herodotus, 6.56: one Spartan king was priest of Zeus Lacedaemon, the other of Zeus Uranius. IG V 1, 36A, mentioning a priest of Zeus Uranius, is from the second century A.D. (the man in question was later *nomophylax* in the patronomate of Callicrates 26, cf. n. 208 above). The label Νερουανίδεια is not found again on other inscriptions referring to the Urania.

²¹⁵ Spawforth, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 110f., 186f., 232, with references.

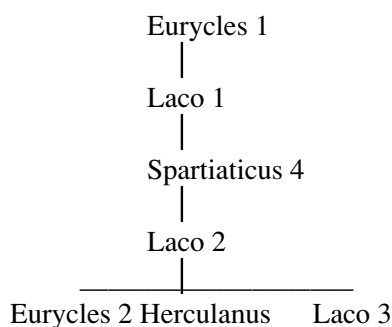
²¹⁶ A.R. Birley 1997, ch. 8.

seem to have any really firm basis).²¹⁷ If the suggestion above about the ‘Urania Nervanideia’ has any force, there are various implications: *inter alia* that the patronomate of Meneclēs 5, in office when they were held, ceases to be a ‘fixed date’, viz. 97/8.

Leaving this aside, if the list of *gerontes* who included former ‘*kasens* of Euryclēs’, which belongs to the year in which Agesilaus 4 ‘re-endowed’ the Leonidea, could be dated to 120 – hardly later – the question is then: how old were they then? Chrimes was clear that the old minimum age of 60 no longer applied: the *gerusia* was not now a council of elders, elected for life. Instead, a one year term, sometimes several times repeated. She proposed 50 as the new minimum. Spawforth prefers 40²¹⁸ – but it might have been less. Roman senators, whose title had once meant exactly the same as *gerontes*, could be as young as 24 or 25 on gaining entry to the senate as quaestor in this period.²¹⁹ On the extreme reckoning, these *ex-kasens* – and their aristocratic ‘foster-brother’ Euryclēs – need not have been born earlier than c. 95.

It must be conceded that this may seem a desperate attempt to manipulate the evidence. A less drastic way to dispose of ‘Euryclēs of the three *kasens*’ as an obstacle to Euryclēs 2 Herculānus having been born as late as the early 90s, would be to regard the two as separate persons. Not inconceivable, given that several Euryclid names crop up repeatedly, e.g. Deximachus (sixteen in Bradford 1977), Lachares (six altogether, three subsequent to the dynast’s father, no. 3), and one more Laco, P. Memmius Laco 4. There is also a further (C. Julius) Euryclēs (3), evidently of freedman origin, in the *agoge* under Hadrian.²²⁰ Might one not suppose that e.g. a hypothetical son or grandson of the procurator C. Julius Spartiaticus 4, or one of his numerous siblings, was given this name? (He may have died young.)

It might help if one could establish the descent of Herculānus, to see how many generations on from Euryclēs 1 he was (that he was the 36th from the Dioscuri does not, alas, tell us anything useful). There are various versions of the Euryclid stemma. It would take up too much space and try readers’ patience to reproduce them in full. One may note the main features, beginning with Euryclēs 1, son of Lachares 3 (abbreviating the names). Kolbe, IG V 1 (1913), ad 1172, offered the following:



²¹⁷ Spawforth, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 106; Chrimes 1949, 464f. Spawforth, ABSA 80 (1985) 221 and n. 97, notes that A.M. Woodward, ABSA 29 (1927–8) 8, preferred ‘c. 100–5’ for Agesilaus 4’s patronomate.

²¹⁸ Chrimes 1949, 139f.; Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 192: ‘on the assumption that a minimum age as low as thirty must be excluded, if only because it seems too young for a body calling itself (literally) ‘the old men’, we are left with forty as perhaps the most likely age-threshold in the Roman period.’ On the – diminished – role of the *gerusia* in this period, with only twenty-three, annually elected, members (instead of twenty-eight life ‘elders’), as part of the composite *boule*, together with the *synarchia*, composed of ephors and *nomophylakes*, N.M. Kennell, ‘IG V 1, 16 and the *gerousia* of Roman Sparta’, Hesperia 61 (1992) 193–202. Note his comment, p. 200: ‘the *gerontes* do not seem to have had power by themselves’. All the more reason to suspect that they may often have been quite young (cf. further next note).

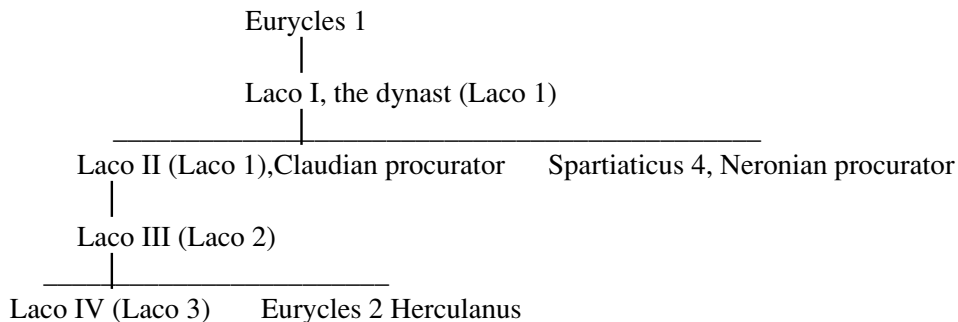
²¹⁹ The age of entry to the senate was clearly established by J. Morris, ‘Leges annales under the Principate I.’, Listy Fil. 87 (1964) 316–337, at 316f.: 24 (the 25th year). The relevance of this point was kindly drawn to my attention by Antony Spawforth (who must not, however, be taken to agree with the use I seek to make of it).

²²⁰ Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 255 n. 45; id, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 166f. (referring to an unpublished inscription).

Groag did not print a stemma, but basically accepted the relationships worked out by Kolbe.²²¹

Further information accrued with the publication in 1926 of Latin inscriptions from Corinth, showing a C. Julius C.f. Fab. Laco as procurator of Claudius, and C. Julius Laconis f. Euryclis n. Fab. Spartiaticus as *procurator Caesaris et Augustae Agrippinae*, i.e. of Nero and his mother (between 54 and at latest 59); revised texts in Corinth VIII 2 (1931) nos.67–8. These were discussed by Chrimes, who, however, imported confusion by her use of a further text, IG V 1, 374. Her stemma must thus be rejected.²²²

New developments followed. In 1961, G.W. Bowersock, apart from solving the problem over Strabo 366, thanks to the new text in the Vatican palimpsest, and throwing new light on the role of the dynast, took up the question of Eurycles 1's descendants. He argued that C. Julius C.f. Fab. Laco, procurator of Claudius, revealed by the Latin inscription (Corinth VIII 2, no.67), could not be the dynast's son, Laco 1: he is otherwise called 'son of Eurycles', and Eurycles was 'not to be obscured by a mere *praenomen*.' Hence Bowersock produced an extra Laco. His stemma, while retaining Chrimes' non-existent 'Eurycles Herculanus *qui et Deximachus*', also differs in other respects from both Kolbe and Chrimes. Omitting earlier generations and siblings, the relevant parts are as follows²²³:



PIR², ad I 301 (Eurycles 1), essentially reverted to Kolbe, incorporating the procuratorships; Bowersock's dissection of Laco 1 into dynast and procurator 'nobis non persuasit', *ibid.* I 372. Spawforth likewise dissented: 'With regard to Laco's nomenclature, *C. Iulius C.f. Laco* is no more than the correct Latin form of his name, while the Greek preference for the paternal *cognomen* as a patronymic, rather than the *praenomen*, is well known.'²²⁴ All the same, the other Euryclid known to have been *proc. Aug.*, Spartiaticus 4, called himself not *C.f.* but *Laconis f. Euryclis n.* Hence Bowersock's view still deserves serious consideration. Spawforth's stemma is essentially the same as those of Kolbe and PIR², with the addition of the link he detected with Julia Balbilla, as ἀνεψιά of

²²¹ RE 10.1 (1917) 580 (Eurycles 1), 581 (Eurycles 2 Herculanus), 660f. (Laco 2 and 3), 839f. (Spartiaticus 4).

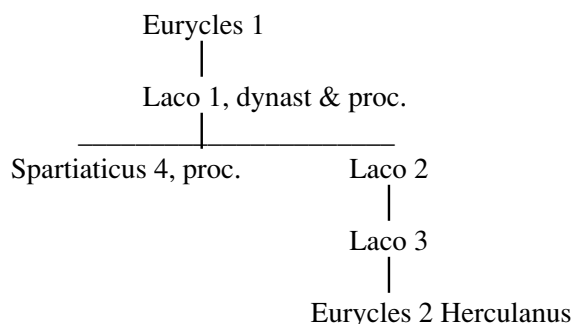
²²² Chrimes 1949, 183ff.; stemma, 204. Her case, 196ff., that the senator Eurycles 2 Herculanus descended from the dynast Eurycles 1 only via an adoptive son, Deximachus 1 – son of Pratolaus 2 – renamed C. Julius Eurycles Herculanus, and for the Lachares of IG V 1, 94 being that man's son (rather than Lachares 3, the father of the dynast Eurycles 1), was based on various misconceptions. On Deximachus, she misled J. Kent, Corinth VIII 3 (1966) ad nos. 314a–e, but was convincingly refuted by Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 256ff., who *ibid.* 80 (1985) 193ff., has further clarified the identity of Deximachus the son of the dynast Eurycles 1 (IG V 1, 141; SIG³ 788), his second, the eldest being Rhadamanthys (IG V 1, 141), who must have died young, the third Laco 1, successor to the role of dynast. This Deximachus is to be distinguished from Deximachus 1, son of Pratolaus 2, whose brother Sidectas 4 became the ancestor of the Laconian Memmii. Chrimes, by the way, was in favour of the Laco known from coins issued under Claudius ΕΠΙ ΛΑΚΩΝΟΣ, now Grunauer–v. Hoerschelmann 1978, 79ff., being Laco 2 not Laco 1.

²²³ 'Eurycles of Sparta', JRS 51 (1961) 112–118 (at 117, on Laco 1; stemma 118). The palimpsest confirmed R. Syme's unpublished conjecture, cf. now A.R. Birley, in R. Syme, *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo* (Oxford 1995) xxi. Cf. further on Eurycles 1, Bowersock, in F. Millar & E. Segal, edd., *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984) 176ff.

²²⁴ ABSA 73 (1978) 254 n. 33. He stuck to this position in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 102.

Eurycles 2 Herculanus, on his view a first cousin (but see above and n. 17). Meanwhile S. Grunauer–v. Hoerschelmann had shown that coins of Laco were issued not only under Claudius but under Tiberius. Hence, it seemed, Laco 1 not only inherited his father’s position, but got it back under Claudius after returning from the exile imposed in AD 33 (Tac. Ann. 6.18); and was then made a procurator by Claudius, a position which Spartiaticus 4, his son on this view, also had under Nero.²²⁵

Halfmann, not commenting on, but apparently rejecting, Bowersock’s dissection of Laco 1 into dynast and procurator, and without printing a stemma, follows Chrimes in making Herculanus son, rather than brother, of Laco 3. He appears to assume the following²²⁶ :



Herculanus was son of a C. Julius Laco, IG V 1, 971, 1172 – but of which Laco? There were at least three members of the family in successive generations called C. Julius Laco: 1, on the ‘standard view’ the dynast, son of Eurycles 1, late in life, after rehabilitation, made a procurator; 2, his son, *patronomos*; *ibid.* 280; 3, the son of the *patronomos*, who substituted for his father in that office, *ibid.*, and later held it himself, *ibid.* 480. Dating patronomates is not easy (cf. above). Chrimes assigned the patronomate of Laco 2 to ‘hardly later than the end of Vespasian’s reign’, more specifically to ‘about AD 75’. The date depends on ‘a point which hitherto seems to have escaped notice’,²²⁷ the career of Thrasybulus Callicratis f., *kasen* in the *Paidikos Agon*, i.e. a youth of between 16 and 19,²²⁸ in the year Laco 3 substituted for Laco 2. This Thrasybulus was a near contemporary of two others who were in the Gerusia when C. Julius Philoclidas 3 was *patronomos*, IG V 1, 97, which she dates to c. AD 120.²²⁹ Chrimes felt that her date of c. AD 75 for the patronomate of Laco 2 was still late enough to make it likelier that Eurycles 2 Herculanus was son, rather than brother, of Laco 3.²³⁰

²²⁵ Grunauer–v. Hoerschelmann 1979, 73ff. She reproduces Groag’s dating of Herculanus, p. 78; Spawforth, in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 102f., exploits the new numismatic evidence on Laco 1.

²²⁶ Halfmann 1979, 125ff., on his no. 29 (Eurycles 2 Herculanus). (One irritation needs to be removed *en passant*: Spartiatius, procurator at the beginning of Nero’s reign, and certainly a grandson, not a son, of the great Eurycles, is restored as ‘35th from the Dioscuri’ on IG V 1, 463: ἅ [πόλις] Γά. Ἰούλ[ιον Σπαρτιατικόν], Λάκων[ος υἱόν, ἔκγονον Εὐ]ρυκλέ[ους, λέ ἀπὸ Διοσ]κούρω[ν, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβ.] πάντα [πρῶτον]. Accepted by Halfmann 1979, 127, with no indication that λέ is restored. But this must be wrong: Herculanus is ‘36th’, IG V 1, 971, 1172.)

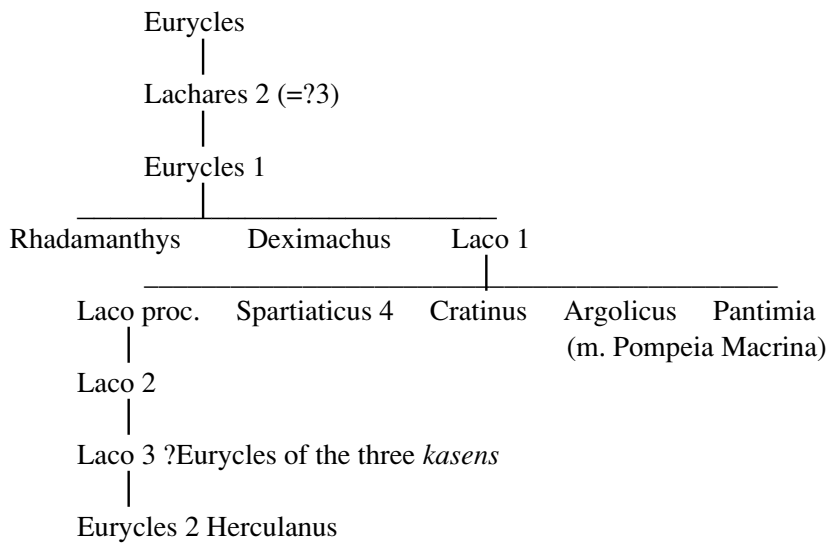
²²⁷ Chrimes 1949, 191 and n. 2, 463 (she puts Laco 3’s own term c. 82–3); accepted by Bowersock, JRS 51 (1961) 118 n. 57.

²²⁸ Spawforth in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 167f.; Kennell 1995, 28ff., esp. 41ff.

²²⁹ This may be right, but cf. above and nn. 218–219 on the age of *gerontes*.

²³⁰ Chrimes 1949, 191. Incidentally, 188f., she argued that the Laco who coined under Claudius was probably Laco 2, not Laco 1. It is, indeed, perfectly feasible that the Laco whose name is now known from Tiberian coins (cf. above) was different from the Laco who coined under Claudius, cf. above and n. 166f. Chrimes further argued, 189 n. 3, as later Halfmann 1979, 126, from the Euryclid names of Q. Pompeius Falco, that Eurycles 2 Herculanus’ entry to the senate must have been Trajanic. But her reference to some sort of ‘legal adoption’ shows that she misunderstood the *condicio nominis ferendi*. Cf. above and n. 16.

For the sake of argument, one further, perfectly feasible, stemma may be offered:²³¹



A remaining uncertain factor is the age of marriage. If Laco 2 were the postulated husband of a princess of Commagene, Laco 3, on this hypothesis the parent of Eurycles 2 Herculanus, would need to have married when in his early twenties – and could hardly have been old enough to have substituted for Laco 2 as *patronomos* c. AD 75. Some other marriage connection must be postulated to make Julia Balbilla – and her brother the consul Philopappus – cousins of some sort of Herculanus.²³² Herodes Atticus, it may be recalled, was quite likely not married until he was over 40²³³ – and Herculanus is not known to have married at all. At any rate, no widow or offspring survived him. These people – for

²³¹ On Lachares 3, cf. Spawforth, *ABSA* 73 (1978) 258, an unpublished Spartan decree referring to Λαχάρης Ἡρακλείδα. Hence, as he points out, there is no warrant for restoring Lachares 3's father's name as Ἡρακλ[ανοῦ] in *IG V* 1, 94 and 265; and the name Herc(u)lanus is thus not attested except for Eurycles 2 (according to Bradford 1977), a son of Eurycles honoured at Athens, *IG II* 5, 1171B, is surely the same as Lachares 3. If so, a further Eurycles, omitted by Bradford (but accepted elsewhere, e.g. Groag, *RE* 10.1, 580). For the two elder sons of Eurycles 1, see Spawforth, *ABSA* 80 (1985) 193ff. (Lachares 4 may be the same as Lachares 5, father of Agesinicus 2. If so the latter was a cousin of Laco 1. Chrimes 1949, 204, makes Agesinicus 2 a brother of Eurycles 1, while Bowersock, *JRS* 51 (1961) 118, puts him two generations earlier, and also has a Leonidas as his brother, citing *IG V* 1, 610 – but Bradford 1977 makes this person Leonis 1, daughter of Lachares 6.) Where Julia Balbilla or her aunt are to be fitted in is an open question, see next note.

²³² Spawforth, *ABSA* 73 (1978) 249ff., combined *IG V* 1, 489+575 to show that the ἀνεψιῶ who took charge of erecting the μνημεῖον for Herculanus at Sparta was Balbilla (a first cousin on his view; but cf. above and n. 17). He then acutely cited, 253f., the proximity of dedications near Megalopolis to Cratinus and Pantimia, siblings of Spartiaticus (cf. stemma), *IG V* 2, 541–2, and to Philopappus, Balbilla's brother the *suff.* 109, to conjecture that one of the fugitive King Antiochus IV's daughters (Jos. *BJ* 7.234) married Laco 2 (Herculanus' father on this view), c. 72. In that case, Laco 3 could then only have been substitute *patronomos* c. AD 75 if he were the product of a – considerably earlier – first marriage of Laco 2. Spawforth implies this, *ibid.* 254 (a reference to Laco [2]'s 'other son', with his father 'shortly to be found holding office' at Sparta); but his stemma, 261, makes Laco [3] younger son of the king's daughter (Julia) and Laco [2]. One could solve this imbroglio by postulating e.g. that Cratinus, brother of Laco the procurator – and great-uncle of Herculanus (on my own hypothesis) – was the bridegroom of the king's daughter. His niece and nephew, Balbilla and Philopappus, would then be first cousins once removed of Herculanus' postulated father Laco 3 and first cousins twice removed of Herculanus himself – still quite enough for Balbilla, on *IG V* 1, 489+575, to call herself ἀνεψιῶ of Herculanus. (If one supposed elderly bridegrooms married barely nubile brides, one could manage with less generations and still bring down Herculanus' birth to the 90s. Cf. above and n. 197.)

²³³ Cf. above and n. 197.

reasons about which one can only speculate – may have deferred matrimony as long as possible. Too long, perhaps, in Herculanus' case: the Euryclids died out with him.²³⁴

To conclude, one may suggest that Herculanus was born towards the end of Domitian's reign, that Plutarch's advice was directed to him when he was in his late teens, c. 113; that he was *patronomos* as a young man in his early twenties; that he entered the senate, as quaestor of Achaia, not long after Hadrian's accession, was tribune c. 123, praetor c. 125, and legate (to Arrian) c. 126–7, and legionary legate in Syria c. 129–130. He may, or may not, have risen further before his death c. 136–7.

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²³⁴ That Herculanus had no widow is the inference from the posthumous memorials discussed by Spawforth, ABSA 73 (1978) 249ff. And a non-Euryclid (C. Pomponius Alcastus 3; see Spawforth, *ibid.* 252, for the date he succeeded) took over the high-priesthood of the imperial cult – which had been hereditary with the Euryclids, IG V 1, 380 = Smallwood 137; *id.* in Cartledge–Spawforth 1989, 99, 184–5.

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