THE PANHELLENION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN HADRIANIC GREECE

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THE AFFILIATION OF MEMBER-CITIES to the league known as the Panhellenion was achieved through a process of selection that reflected an archaizing conception of Greek ethnic identity. According to this narrow interpretation, cities were Greek only if they could declare their membership in the Hellenic *genos* through direct descent from its original formative elements—the Ionians, the Dorians, and the Aeolians. Consequently, only cities that could prove this kind of descent could aspire to enrollment in the Panhellenic Council founded by Hadrian. Such a restricted interpretation of Greekness as one based on blood descent seems openly at odds with views preached by certain contemporary intellectuals belonging to the current of the Second Sophistic, who privileged instead the Isocratean idea of Greekness in terms of *paideia*—that is, an education in Greek culture (*Paneg.* 50). In this article, I should nevertheless like to suggest that within the sophistic movement there existed more variable positions concerning the question of authentic Greekness and, furthermore, that it was precisely in the circles of Asiatic sophists that the roots of Panhellenic ideology may have first been elaborated.

GREEKNESS AND ADMISSION TO THE PANHELLENION

The epigraphic evidence for the Panhellenion is wide ranging and of great interest. We are certain of the date of its foundation thanks to an inscription from Epidauros and to further elements that allow us to place the inauguration in 131/2—that is, well into the Hadrianic era.[1] The Panhellenic games were not founded until 137, as emerges from an inscription recently discovered at Aizanoi.[2]

The creation of the Panhellenion has been attributed either to imperial intervention or to an independent initiative on the part of Greek communities. Hadrian's interest in Greek civilization is perhaps the most characteristic trait of his personality, and so it is hardly surprising that many have attributed

I should like to thank C. P. Jones, J. M. Hall, and the two anonymous readers of *CP* for their useful comments and suggestions. All dates are C.E. unless otherwise specified.

1. *IG* 4^2 1.384; Weber 1907, 208, 268–74; Oliver 1970, no. 38.
2. Wörrle 1992; Jones 1996b, 33.

Classical Philology 97 (2002): 21–40
 0009-837X/02/9701-0002$10.00

the project of founding a council that would reunite the Greek cities to a personal initiative of the emperor, though he was assisted and perhaps inspired by prominent citizens in the provinces.[3] A number of factors point towards this interpretation. The most explicit is a decree in honor of Hadrian that was erected on the Athenian acropolis between 131/2 and 138 by the Lydian member-city of Thyateira. The decree, recently edited with important new restorations,[4] records the intervention of the emperor in convening the Panhellenic council in the city of Athens and in submitting its formation to the approval of the Roman Senate (lines 11–16). It is, of course, possible that Hadrian presented and supported in the Senate a proposal that originated with the Greeks, and it is in this sense that a passage from the Severan historian Cassius Dio (69.16.2) has been interpreted, recording how Hadrian "allowed the Greeks to construct in his honor the shrine (*sekos*) known as the Panhellenion" (the seat of the league's cultic activity).[5] But the employment of this concessive formula reflects the typical linguistic conventions of the imperial bureaucracy; furthermore, what is in question in the passage from Cassius Dio is not the foundation of the league itself but of the location designated for the imperial cult, which was one of the principal activities of the council. In addition, Antony Spawforth has underlined the difficulties that the Aegean cities of the empire, physically divided from one another and belonging to distinct provincial units, would have encountered in independently presenting a proposal for union in a Panhellenic council.[6] It would appear, then, to be more likely that an initiative of this type originated among the imperial entourage, and the decree of Thyateira perhaps allows us to catch a glimpse of the bureaucratic route that the project took. It seems to be the case that Hadrian had initially convened the council at Athens, and that it was only after he had secured the public support of the Greeks that he proceeded to present personally the proposal to the Senate for its formal approval.[7]

Since the focus of this article is the peculiar conception of Greek ethnic identity expressed through the Panhellenion, it is necessary to analyze in more detail the composition of the council and the criteria of admission for each of its members. Still, on the basis of the decree from Thyateira, one may infer that the selection process for member-cities was already at an advanced stage by the time the council first met in Athens. This in turn seems to have taken place shortly before the Senate gave its approval—presumably in 131/2, the official foundation date of the league. The thirty-three cities whose membership in the league can be documented to date on the basis of exclusively epigraphic testimony are shown on the map on p. 23.[8]

3. So Mommsen 1919, 245; see now Sartre 1991, 210, and Birley 1997, 218–19.

4. *IG* 2^2.1088 and 1090 with *IG* 3.3985 (= *TAM* 5.2.1180); see Oliver 1941, 363–68; and now Follet and Peppas Delmousou 1997; and Jones 1999a.

5. Jones 1996b, 32–33.

6. Spawforth 1999, 339–44.

7. Marotta 1995, 157–67. Similar language seems to have been used for the admission of Synnada in Phrygia: see *IG* 3.55 and *IG* 2^2.1075, together with other fragments edited by Graindor (1918, 227–37) and Geagan (1972, 132–34); cf. *SEG* 30.89. Finally, on the inscription see Jones 1996b, 39–41 (with previous bibliography; revised in Jones 1999a, 14); Nafissi 1995, 119–36; and Follet and Peppas-Delmousou 1997, 309.

8. For the relevant bibliography see Oliver 1970; Spawforth and Walker 1985. For Synnada and Ptolemais see the bibliography cited in notes 7 and 23–25, respectively. For the possible membership of Samos,

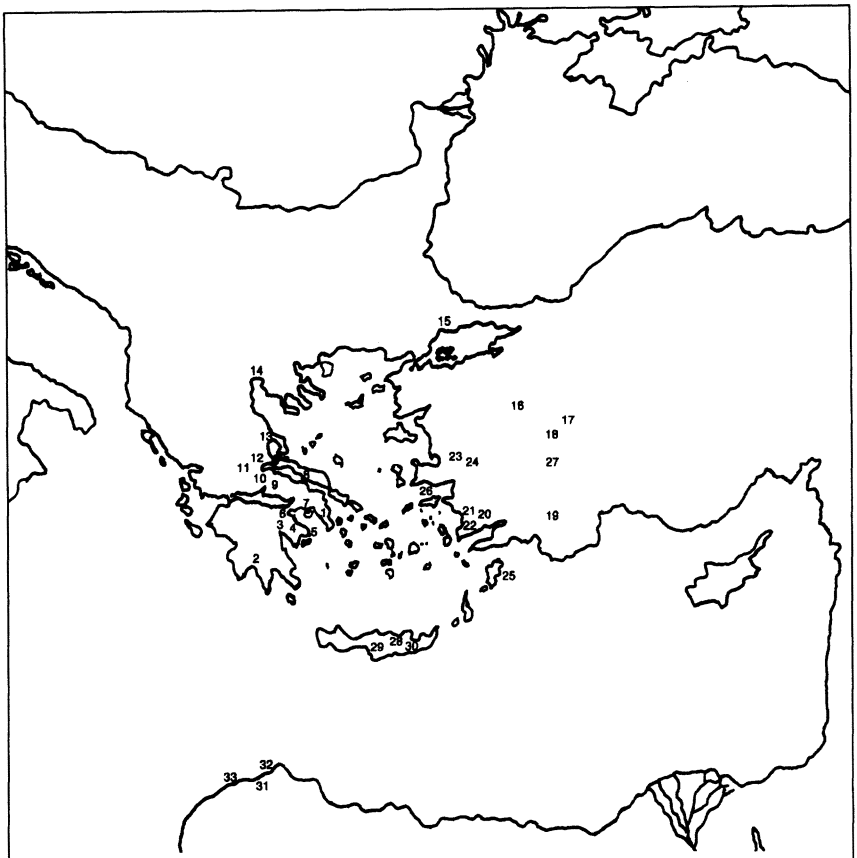

FIG 1.—Map showing Panhellenion member-cities

Some of these cities—notably those in mainland Greece itself—should probably be considered as automatic or "charter" members of the new council on account of their geographical location in the heart of historical Greece

see *IG* 12.6.1, no. 440. For Naryka, see the Hadrianic inscription in the Louvre, recently presented with some imprecision by Boffo (2000, 132–33, no. 110): I thank C. P. Jones for this information. The membership of Eumeneia is hypothetical, based on numismatic considerations in Weiss 2000, 617–37.

and for their status as mother-cities of the more important colonies:[9] among these should be numbered, in the first place, Athens and Sparta, but also Argos, Corinth, Megara, Chalcis, and the Thessalian, Locrian, and Boeotian communities. For others, admission would have resulted from a complex procedure of selection designed to ascertain the plausibility of the professions of Greekness advanced by those cities who petitioned.

But on what criteria were civic communities identified as being able to serve as constituent members of the Panhellenic league? If we limit ourselves for now to a consideration of the historical regions from which those cities of mainland Greece identified as charter members derived their origins, we can observe an interesting coincidence with those groups who were still, even in the Hadrianic period, endowed with voting rights in the most prestigious of the Panhellenic assemblies—the Delphic Amphictiony. This council had, throughout its long history, witnessed a series of reforms relating to the provenance of its members and the number of votes assigned to each region or group. To take just the Roman period, it will be recalled that after the battle of Actium, Octavian, while maintaining the total number of available votes at twenty-four, had assigned no fewer than ten of them to Nicopolis, the city that was founded on the site of Antony and Cleopatra's defeat to celebrate his victory (Paus. 10.8.2–3).[10] Further statutory modifications can probably be attributed to Nero and Domitian, with a progressive increase in the total number of votes and the reduction of Nicopolis' influence in favor of Thessaly, which was, according to Thucydides (1.3), the ancestral cradle of the Hellenes and historically the most important member of the Amphictiony.[11]

In his turn, Hadrian—probably in 125—engineered (or at least planned to engineer) a reduction in the number of Thessalian votes and an equally important increase in the weight assigned to Athens and Sparta within the Delphic Amphictiony. The correspondence between Hadrian and Delphi was inscribed on the orthostats of the Temple of Apollo, and in a related letter the emperor declared that he had wished to advance such a reform so that the Delphic council could become "an assembly for all the Greeks."[12] The situation must have changed once more between the Hadrianic age and 170—the approximate date usually assigned to the composition of Pausanias' tenth book, where the periegete informs us of the composition of the Delphic Amphictiony in his own day. Out of a total of thirty votes, six votes each were assigned to Thessaly, to Nicopolis, and to the recently admitted Macedonians; two each were assigned to Phocis, to Delphi, and to the Boeotians; and the remaining six votes were divided between the Dorians (of both the Metropolis and the Peloponnese, represented in turn by Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara), the Ionians (the Athenians and the Euboeans), and East and West Locris (Paus. 10.8.4–5). The absence of Sparta and the

9. For the term "charter members" see Jones 1996b, 41.
10. See further Daux 1975; Jacquemin 1991; Weir 1998, 139–40.
11. See most recently Hall 2002, chap. 5.
12. *FD* 3.4.302, col. 11, 3–6.

reduced weight of Athens are thus an interesting feature of the Antonine age that drastically modified Hadrian's plan.

It is, however, precisely the composition of the Hadrianic Amphictiony and the links with the subsequent creation of the Panhellenion that concern us here. Regrettably, we do not know the exact number of votes assigned to Athens and Sparta by Hadrian, but they must certainly have been considerable if they were equivalent to the reduction in the Thessalian votes (which had been raised to twelve under Nero). Apart from these two cities, which in the classicizing ideology of the Hadrianic period represented the most important centers of Greekness, the Hadrianic Amphictiony should also have included those communities that had traditionally been represented on the council—that is, Phocis, Thessaly, Boeotia, the Dorian cities of the Metropolis and the Peloponnese, and the Ionians of Attica and Euboea. Although not complete, the overlap between the members of the Hadrianic Delphic Amphictiony and the cities that may be identified as "charter" members of the Panhellenic league is clearly considerable, and in both cases members were drawn only from mainland Greece.

The similarities between the Delphic Amphictiony of the Hadrianic age and the composition of the Panhellenic league become even more striking in light of certain administrative and organizational aspects. The archon of the Panhellenion held office for four years, as did the Delphic *epimeletes*, introduced by Augustus, who was, at least initially, chosen directly by the emperor. The Panhellenes, represented by the member-cities on the Athens-based council, were appointed annually, as was normally the case for the individual members of the Amphictiony. In the second century, the Delphic *epimeletes* organized the Pythian Games and supervised public works at Delphi from the funds of the sanctuary of Apollo; the Panhellenion too, from 137, organized its own agonistic cycle of quadrennial games.[13] On the basis of these similarities, there are those who have wanted to believe that Hadrian initially attempted to transform the Delphic Amphictiony itself into a common assembly of all Greeks according to those same rules of selectivity and Athenian preeminence that, once the Delphic project failed, were applied in founding the Panhellenic league. Perhaps it was precisely the dominant role attributed to Athens that ultimately caused the failure of the Delphic experiment;[14] some scholars even go as far as to deny that the Hadrianic proposals for reforming the Delphic council were ever applied, given their differences from the Amphictiony described only a generation later by Pausanias.[15] Either way, the broad structural similarities allow us to recognize in Hadrian's plans for the Amphictiony a model for the composition of the nucleus of the Panhellenic assembly.[16]

If some cities of mainland Greece—coinciding at least partially with the communities represented in the Hadrianic Amphictiony—might be recognized

13. For the activity and administrative structure of the Panhellenion, see Oliver 1970 and Spawforth and Walker 1985.

14. So Jacquemin 1991, 230.

15. Spawforth 1999, 342.

16. Weir 1998, 153–56.

as "charter" members of the Panhellenion (and still more will perhaps be identified on the basis of new finds), it is worth considering the relationship they maintained with other communities in the organization. The first thing to note is that for the most part it is a matter of, on the one hand, mother-cities involved for various reasons in ancient colonial expeditions, and, on the other, colonies situated in Greece itself,[17] or in Asia Minor, Cyrenaica, and Crete.[18] In the ideology of the Panhellenion, the relationship between mother-city and colony is in fact the fundamental tool for the validation of a community's Hellenic status.[19] The reason for this is easy to determine. From the phraseology adopted in the extant inscriptions that relate to the Panhellenic league, it can be stated that the element appealed to most frequently in championing the Hellenic background of a community is that of consanguinity. In fact, the ideology of the Hadrianic Panhellenion seems to return to a definition of the concept of *genos* in terms of ancestral blood ties; this echoed an archaic and classical conception that in the fourth century B.C.E. had been complemented by the use of the word as "species" or "type": Plato (*Resp.* 501e) referred to philosophers as a *genos*.[20] Direct descent from Greeks is therefore a crucial element in proclamations of an exclusive ethnic identity on the part of civic communities admitted to the Panhellenic league.

In an inscription dating to the Antonine period,[21] the community of Cibyra, admitted to the Panhellenion, declares itself simultaneously a colony of Sparta, a *syngenes* of Athens, and a friend of the Romans. The inscription expresses, on the one hand, Cibyra's affiliation to the *genos Hellenikon* (line 6), predicated on direct filiation from Spartan colonists and, on the other, a general kinship-based affinity with Athens and good relations with Rome. During the late Hellenistic and Roman periods the concept of *syngeneia* had come to assume a more extensive and generic character with respect to its previous meaning, eventually denoting simply some kind of relationship between similar communities.[22]

The most explicit document for the potency with which the idea of filiation was invested within the orbit of the Panhellenion is certainly the letter from Hadrian to Cyrene, datable to 134/5.[23] Joyce Reynolds' edition clarifies the results of the intervention of the emperor, who had been called upon to settle a dispute between Cyrene and another city of Cyrenaica—almost certainly Ptolemais-Barke.[24] The controversy turned in fact on the

17. E.g., Epidauros, an Ionian colony, or Perinthus, the colony of Samos.

18. On the various foundation traditions for the cities of Asia Minor, see the important contribution of Strubbe (1984–86). For some examples of controversial affiliations, see the discussion below.

19. Jones 1996b, 34–35.

20. For the use of *genos* in Herodotus and Thucydides, see Jones 1996a; on the new use of the term in the fourth century B.C.E., see Jones 1999b, 15.

21. Oliver 1970, no. 6. A better edition appears in *OGI* 2.497; cf. Curty 1995, 204–5; Follet 1996, 195.

22. Musti 1963. Curty 1995, 261 (precisely in regard to the Panhellenion) speaks of a relationship of vertical filiation.

23. The best edition can be found in Reynolds 1978, 117–21 (of which Oliver 1981, no. 120, does not entirely take account).

24. Oliver 1979.

status of this community within the Panhellenion, and in particular with respect to Cyrene itself. An earlier reading of the text, which is very fragmentary, interpreted the outcome of the controversy to be the exclusion of Ptolemais from the Panhellenion on the grounds of the dominance of the indigenous Libyan element over the Greek element in the community. This interpretation was based on the doubtful translation of the term *ithageneis* (line 10), applied to the inhabitants of Barke, as meaning an autochthonous population. Nevertheless, on the basis of a more nuanced reading, Christopher Jones has demonstrated that Ptolemais-Barke was effectively admitted to the Panhellenion, but that its claims to possess within the organization a weight equal to that of Cyrene were deemed unjustified by the imperial administration.[25] In the text of the inscription, Cyrene's greater authority is asserted through explicit appeal to its *genos Akhaion kai akribos Dorion* (line 10),[26] whereas the inhabitants of Barke, although they too are Greek by birth (*ithageneis Hellenes*), possess a lesser status because their community received the additional name of Ptolemais as a result of Macedonian domination.[27] According to this reading, *Hellenes* is juxtaposed with *ithageneis* in the more convincing sense of "authentic Greeks," referring to the inhabitants of Ptolemais-Barke. It is, then, always around the concept of *eugeneia*—in the sense of direct filiation from Greek colonists—that discussions on the admissibility of a community into the Panhellenion, as well as its prestige within the league (a reflection of the number of votes assigned to each city), revolve. In the case of Ptolemais-Barke, its Macedonian refoundation does not challenge the Hellenic status of the community, and consequently its admissibility, but it does interfere to a certain degree with attempts to trace a direct filiation from the Cyrenean colonists led by the brothers of Arcesilas II (Hdt. 4.160.1). The city must therefore be content with only one vote within the league, as opposed to the two assigned to Cyrene (line 12).

The notion of civic *eugeneia* recurs implicitly in all the epigraphic documents that inform us about the regulations regarding admission to the Panhellenion.[28] Thus, in the Athenian decree of the Panhellenes concerning Magnesia ad Maeandrum, a colony of the Magnesians of Thessaly, explicit reference is made to the historical alliance of the city with the Ionians, with the Dorians, and with their Aeolian blood brothers in Asia Minor, specifically said to be of the same *genos* as the Magnesians;[29] the founder, Leucippus, actually belongs to the lineage of Aeolus, and thus has connections with Thessaly. Similar preoccupations are expressed by the Phrygian city of Synnada:[30] the affiliation of this city with the Panhellenic league

25. Jones 1996b, 47–53.

26. Cf. Philostr. *V S* 1.21 for the use of "Achaeans" to mean "Greeks" generally.

27. See below (n. 39) for the analogous case of Mantineia.

28. For the idea of civic *eugeneia* in the context of Asia Minor, see the discussion in Strubbe 1984–86, especially 254.

29. Kern 1900, no. 66; *IG* 2^2.1091; Sakellariou 1958, 106–16; Oliver 1970, no. 5; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 92; Curty 1995, 107–8; cf. Strubbe 1984–86, 265; Prinz 1979, 112–21.

30. See the bibliography cited below (notes 31–33).

appears plausible enough,[31] and it may be that it is precisely in the period of its participation that a genealogical myth came to be elaborated that traced the city's foundation back to the *eugenestatos demos*—that is, to both Athens and Sparta.[32] The same belief is reflected on coins from Synnada between the second and third centuries that simultaneously recall the city's Dorian and Ionian origins.[33]

Next, among the cities of Asia Minor admitted to the Panhellenion there are some Macedonian colonies founded by Alexander's successors, such as Apameia, Thyateira, and perhaps Eumeneia itself.[34] It should be noted that it was in the second century that Macedonia was included for the first time among the members of the Delphic Amphictiony[35]—thus confirming an historical Greekness that some had already recognized in the fifth century B.C.E. through the eponymous ancestor Macedon. According to Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4.74), the Macedonians were descendants of Aeolus, and it was presumably this tradition that the Macedonian colonies resurrected in the Hadrianic period to guarantee their Hellenic status and, with it, their admission to the Panhellenion.[36] As Getzel Cohen has demonstrated, the founding of Macedonian colonies in Asia—especially the earlier settlements of Seleucus I and Antiochus II—was actually the work of a group of ethnically homogeneous Macedonian colonists who maintained a privileged status within their communities even when, probably in a later period, they had been joined by elements of the indigenous population.[37] The relationship between the two groups within the city was apparently marked by spatial segregation, to which there corresponded a socioeconomic and political domination by the Greek component.[38] The enduring ethnic integrity of the founding group thus justified, in the Roman period, the pretense to authentic Greekness on the part of these communities of Asia Minor and was clearly expressed by their admission to the Panhellenion, even if within that organization the Macedonian colonies perhaps played a less significant role than was the case with the older Hellenic foundations.[39]

31. Contra the doubts of Jones 1996b, 39–41 (reconsidered in part in Jones 1999a, p. 14, n. 40).

32. *MAMA* 6.376. Thus, Spawforth and Walker 1986, 89. But for others, the invention of this Doro-Attic ancestry should be connected with the Hellenic League of Plataea: see Robert and Robert 1972, p. 397, no. 139. Attempts to reconcile the two interpretations are made by Strubbe (1984–86, 281–83) and Nafissi (1995).

33. Robert 1950, 90; cf. Strubbe 1984–86, 269–70; Nafissi 1995, 120–21.

34. Apameia: Cohen 1995, 281–85 (with bibliography); Ball 2000, 159. Eumeneia: the participation in the Panhellenion of this Attalid foundation in Phrygia has been proposed by Weiss 2000, on the basis of monetary legends. Thyateira: see the bibliography cited below (n. 41), together with Cohen 1995, 238–42 (with previous bibliography).

35. In the fourth century, in fact, Philip II dominated the Amphictiony by virtue of his ascendancy over Thessaly, not because of his position in Macedonia.

36. Edson (1958) has argued that the Roman sources applied the ethnic "Macedonian" not only to the Seleucid dynasty that ruled over these territories in the Hellenistic period, but also to the (largely non-Greek) populations resident there. See, however, the criticism of Musti 1966, 111–38.

37. Cohen 1978, 30–33; 1991, 48–49.

38. Briant 1978, 89, 92.

39. Consider the recent interpretation of the status of Ptolemais-Barke with respect to that of Cyrene within the Panhellenic league: see above. Similar preoccupations might perhaps also explain Hadrian's decision to allow the Arcadian city of Mantineia to readopt its classical toponym, abandoning the name Antigoneia that had been given to it by the homonymous ruler in the Hellenistic period: Paus. 8.8.12.

To bolster civic prestige, there were sometimes attempts to trace the foundation of a city back to eponymous heroes who were closely tied to ancestral Greece.[40] According to Pliny (*HN* 5.115), Thyateira was originally called Pelopia, and already in 1893 Michel Clerc saw in this name an *a posteriori* reconstruction designed to connect the city more intimately with Greece.[41] Finally, the Greekness of some Hellenistic foundations in Asia Minor was on occasion derived ultimately from colonists who had arrived from Greece itself: if Laodiceia is supposed to have received Ionian colonists (see below), Eumeneia boasted Argive ancestry and explicitly declared itself to be an Achaean city.[42] Nevertheless, the inclusion in Hadrian's Panhellenic league of the Phrygian city, hypothesized solely on the basis of a numismatic legend that mentions Hadrian Caesar Olympios Panhellenios, is not unproblematic. The cult of Hadrian Panhellenios was widespread, especially after the death of the emperor, and was not limited to those cities that belonged to the league. Furthermore, among other member-cities a comparable monetary inscription has never been attested.[43]

In the list of Panhellenic cities we also find cases of members that, strictly speaking, should have been excluded from the ranks of Greek cities: one example is Aizanoi in Phrygia. A tradition actually attributed its foundation to Azan, son of Arcas,[44] yet the Arcadians—to whom, through Telephus, the foundation of Pergamum itself was credited—were an ethnic group that was technically extraneous to the Hellenic genealogy.[45] It is worth stressing, on the other hand, that in antiquity the mythical genealogy of Arcadia was assimilated to that of Thessaly through the figure of the hero Elatus, another son of Arcas but also the representative of the Lapiths of Thessaly. The well-attested mythical and genealogical links between the Arcadians and Thessalians could then have been at the root of the admission of Aizanoi to the assembly of Panhellenic cities.[46] Alternatively, it may simply be the case that the geographical location of Arcadia within the heart of historical Greece was in and of itself sufficient in the second century to guarantee full Hellenic status to Arcadian colonies in Asia Minor. It may not be coincidental that it is precisely in the second century that a cult to the founder is epigraphically attested at Aizanoi.[47]

Finally, among the examples of the genealogical "balancing act" through which certain cities—especially those in Asia Minor—attempted to obtain

40. On the cult of Hellenistic sovereigns as founders, see Habicht 1970, esp. 37 (Cassander, founder of Thessalonica) and 82 (Seleucus Nicator, founder of the cities of Apameia on the Orontes and Thyateira); see also Cornell 1983 and Leschhorn 1984. On the role of the colonial founder as ancestor of the polis, see Malkin 1987, esp. 241–66.

41. Cf. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Thyateira. See Clerc 1893, 9–10; see now Strubbe 1984–86, p. 282, n. 174. On the importance of the figure of Pelops, see below.

42. Weiss 2000.

43. Cf. Willers 1990, 58–60. Furthermore, the choice of Artemis Ephesia for the reverse type of this coinage finds no explanation within the context of the ideology of the Panhellenion.

44. Paus. 8.4.3; see Strubbe 1984–86, p. 261, n. 41 (with bibliography).

45. Hall 1997, 47. On the different versions relating to the origin of Telephus, see Scheer 1993, 71–95.

46. For the relevant bibliography, see Curty 1995, p. 121, n. 97.

47. Koerte 1900, 398–401.

admission to the Hellenic community, is the extremely interesting case of Sardis, the historical capital of Lydia.[48] The city, which down to the Hellenistic period preserved its own distinct Lydian identity and its own unique language (Hdt. 1.94), was progressively Hellenized after the conquest of Antiochus III in 213 B.C.E.[49] Strabo could in fact declare the Lydian language dead, even as he identified the Lydians as one of the non-Greek *ethne* of Asia Minor (12.1.3). The situation in the later imperial age is illustrated by a conspicuous series of inscriptions, dating to the second and third centuries, that communicate the official titles of the city: Sardis is proclaimed to be autochthonous, sacred to the gods, and the first *metropolis* of Asia, all Lydia, and Hellas.[50] The appeal to autochthony is intended to connote both the city's great antiquity and its Lydian origins:[51] in fact, it is to the second and third centuries that a series of coin issues can be dated that, together with the names of some civic tribes, glorify ancient Lydian kings such as Manes/Masdnes and Asies,[52] alongside the hero Pelops, who, according to a tradition already known to Pindar (*Ol.* 1.24), was precisely of Lydian origin.[53] Later genealogical reconstructions presented Pelops as the grandson of Tmolus and son of Tantalus.[54] The figure of Pelops, eponymous hero of the most famous region of Hellas, was central to the thematic elaboration of Sardis' Greekness: indeed, the characterization of the city as the mother-city or first city of Hellas actually depends upon the Lydian origin of the hero who became the fortunate suitor of Hippodamea and gave his name to the Peloponnese.[55] The relationship between Lydia and mainland Greece is, then, uniquely articulated through an instance of "reverse colonization,"[56] in which it is not Asia Minor that is colonized by Greeks, but the Peloponnese—and, by extension, Hellas itself—that is treated as an Asian foundation.[57] But even in this case, the ultimate motive for the celebration of the tradition is to establish blood ties between Sardis and the heart of historical Hellas.

An analogous and extremely instructive case is offered by the city of Smyrna. Here the appeal to autochthony was combined with the glorification of the city's Hellenic identity, and again this was achieved through the appropriation of the figure of Pelops.[58] Perhaps in open competition with Sardis, Smyrna nevertheless gained definitive recognition of its Greek character during the Antonine age by hypothesizing its refoundation by Theseus,

48. On Sardis' membership of the Panhellenion, see the inscription on the Athenian acropolis (Oliver 1970, no. 45), to which should be added a document from Sardis itself: Herrmann 1993a, 231. On Lydian ethnicity in the Roman period, see now Spawforth 2001.

49. Gauthier 1989, 157–70.

50. Buckler and Robinson 1932, nos. 12–13, 63–66, 68–70; *BMC* Lydia, p. 249, no. 89. On the titles, see Herrmann 1993b, 233–66, with a possibly new example at 249.

51. Robert 1937, 303.

52. E.g., *BMC* Lydia, p. 268, no. 178; *LIMC* 6 (1992), p. 352, no. 2 (s.v. Manes); Herrmann 1993b, 239–43.

53. *IN* 62.41. For his representation on coinage, see Weiss 1984, p. 198, n. 20 and table 2.1.

54. Scholiast to Eur. *Or.* 5; Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90.10); Scherling 1940, cols. 849–50.

55. Remarked by L. Robert (communication cited in Herrmann 1993b, 241).

56. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.55: *habe missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen*; see also a late antique epigram cited by Jones 1994, 220–21.

57. Cf. Strabo 7.7, where Pelops is said to be Phrygian.

58. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.56.

the Athenian hero par excellence.[59] So, in his speech honoring the city, Aelius Aristides (*Or.* 17.5) declares Smyrna to be autochthonous and extremely ancient, but he also records that it was forced to admit colonists and welcomed natives from the "other continent"—that is, European Greece. In doing this, continues Aristides, the city became fused "in a divine way" with the Greeks beyond the sea through the provision and reception of colonists—respectively, Pelops, who gave his name to the Peloponnese, and the Athenian sons of Erechtheus. Theseus belonged in fact to the house of Erechtheus, but on his mother's side he was descended from Pelops himself (Plut. *Thes.* 3.1–2).[60]

EUGENEIA VS. EUGLOTTIA

Although the theme of ancestral Greekness was essential to qualify for admission to the Panhellenion, other fundamental prerequisites were good relations between the civic communities and Rome and possible benefits received from Hadrian. The decrees of Magnesia and Cibyra in fact list these two factors after proclaiming the Greek origins of the cities,[61] and the employment of the same order in both texts might suggest that the inscriptions replicate the official formula of documents concerning admission. For the intellectual community that Philostratus defines as Second Sophistic, however, these last two prerequisites did not have the same power as the previous criterion, and it is precisely around this concept of authentic Greekness that contemporary debate revolved.

The opposition between Greeks and barbarians is a frequent *topos* of rhetorical works in the Greek language during the second century and is probably an expression of the archaizing mentality of the period, in its explicit appeal to the contradistinction between Greece and Persia. But the criteria on which this distinction is based in the Second Sophistic are rather novel, obliquely reflecting contemporary preoccupations concerning above all the position of Greece within the Roman world. In the second century, the debate centers naturally on what it means to be Greek, or rather on the possible dominance of cultural over natural considerations. One can be Greek by birth but also by education, thanks to the acquisition of *paideia*; this was expressed above all by the use of literary Atticism (*euglottia*), but also through the practice of traditionally Greek athletic and religious activities. The concept of an eminently cultural quality to Greekness is a legacy of the late classical period: in fact, one finds it from the time of Herodotus (8.144.2) and again, with greater emphasis, in the famous definition of Isocrates (*Paneg.* 50), for whom Hellenes are those who possess Athenian culture, not common blood. This represented a fundamental shift in respect to the mentality of the archaic and early classical periods, which privileged the ethnic component of Greek identity, articulated precisely around the concept

59. Herrmann 1993b, p. 243, n. 43.

60. See the discussion in Sakellariou 1958, 223–34; see also Herodotus (1.145), who claims that some of the Ionians of Asia Minor originated in the Peloponnese.

61. Magnesia: Kern 1900, no. 66; *IG* 2^2.1091; Oliver 1970, 5. Cibyra: see the bibliography cited in n. 21 above.

of consanguinity.[62] It is, then, hardly surprising to find this broader (but no less elite) definition of Greekness in the classicizing literary current of the second century.

Most studies of the Second Sophistic insist rightly on the importance of *paideia* as the fundamental ingredient of intellectual status in the middle imperial period. It is not my intention to challenge this assumption, which finds support in a variety of well-known literary and epigraphic passages of the period on which it is unnecessary to dwell here.[63] Rather, I want to direct attention to some indications of tension within the literary production of the Second Sophistic that might be interpreted as indicating contested conceptions of Greekness—either guaranteed by birth or endowed through education in Greek culture. In fact, it is surely wrong to treat the Second Sophistic as a monolithic and ideologically homogeneous whole. In fact, the very diversity in the national background of its protagonists gave rise to attitudes that did not always concur on the question of whether Greekness was defined by culture or by birth.

This is actually the crux of the opposition between the ideology of the Panhellenion and certain fringes of the Second Sophistic, and it emerges most clearly in the writings of Favorinus of Arles. In a well-known passage from the Corinthian Oration (25–27), dedicated to a community entirely refounded by Caesar as a Roman colony, this sophist of Gallic origin puts himself forward as an example of how one can be Greek not only by *genos* but also by *paideia*. The gods have employed Favorinus to demonstrate to the natives of Hellas that in this matter culture is not inferior to birth; to the Romans obsessed by their own dignity, that one should not neglect education; and to the Celts, that even barbarians can aspire to Greek culture.[64] Favorinus' oration is dated after his famous argument with Hadrian and his fall from grace,[65] and one can glimpse in his words a critique of the Panhellenion's ideology, which, as we have seen, was predicated decisively on the dominance of blood over culture in the acquisition of Greekness. Mention has been made of Favorinus' Gallic origins: like Lucian of Samosata, he belonged to that group of intellectuals who were of ethnically disparate origins but were endowed with a Hellenistic education and outlook, to whom an exclusive enterprise such as the Panhellenion—hardly surprisingly—proved unwelcome. The theme of the purity of Hellenic blood could not fail to be unpopular with those who explicitly attached themselves to Isocrates' cultural conception of Greekness.

Some confirmation for the existence of varying positions within the Second Sophistic on the theme of Greekness, with important consequences for the conception of the Panhellenion, comes from an analysis of the activity of the greatest sophist of Asia Minor, Polemon of Laodiceia. Philostratus' life is the main source of biographical information for this personality.[66]

62. Hall 1997, 40–51; 2002.
63. See especially Bowersock 1969; Bowie 1974, 1991; Swain 1995; Schmitz 1997, esp. 195.
64. Gleason 1995, 8–20.
65. Swain 1989, 150–58; see also the bibliography cited in n. 69 below.
66. Philostr. *V S* 25; Stegemann 1952; Gleason 1995, 21–54; Stertz 1993, 624–26; Fein 1994, 236–41.

A native of Phrygian Laodiceia, one of the cities in Asia Minor that derived its own Greekness from its Macedonian foundation (in which Ionian colonists probably also participated),[67] the sophist could at a personal level boast of his own descent from the last king of Pontus, Polemon II. An arrogant yet sophisticated man, he was blessed with exceptional rhetorical abilities that warranted the deference shown to him by Herodes Atticus himself (Philostr. *V S* 536–39). Polemon expended extraordinary effort on his favorite city—Smyrna, the seat of his school. This city, where the sophist was showered with the highest civic and sacerdotal offices, emerged in a short period of time as the center of cultural life in Asia Minor. Thanks to the generosity of Hadrian and to the petitions of Polemon, Smyrna was also the beneficiary of an imposing building program, including a temple in honor of Zeus Polieus or Akraios that competed with the Athenian Temple of Olympian Zeus in terms of style and dimensions.[68] Imperial favor sanctioned Smyrna's triumph over her rival, Ephesus, whose cause was championed by the Gallic Favorinus and by Dionysius of Miletus, two intellectuals who enjoyed a rather different fortune at the hands of the emperor. The hostility of Polemon towards Favorinus—entirely reciprocated—assumed virulent heights in his writings, where the eunuch of Arles emerges as a model of immorality and physical decadence and becomes the paradigm for the usurpation of Hellenism on the part of barbarians.[69] Naturally, competition for Hadrian's favor was not entirely unconnected with these attacks, but other comments that can be traced in Polemon's work confirm how dear the theme of a uniquely Greek racial purity was to him.

The extant corpus of Polemon's works is very limited: unfortunately, we do not possess the text of the speech he wrote for the inauguration of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, and the two declamations that have come down to us are of little use for our purposes.[70] Of the greatest interest are some passages from his *Physiognomica*, probably to be dated between 133 and 136.[71] The treatise has survived in an almost complete Arabic translation, datable to 1356,[72] as well as in a Greek epitome of the fourth century attributed to a certain Adamantios,[73] and in an anonymous Latin treatise, also datable to the fourth century.[74]

The second century was, along with the late antique period, the age that witnessed the greatest *floraison* of physiognomic studies in the Aristotelian

67. Strabo 11.13.6. For the hypothesis of Ionian colonization, cf. *MAMA* 6.18, examined in Robert 1969, 325. On the close links between Polemon's family and his native city, see Jones 1980, 375.

68. Philostr. *V S* 531; cf. *IGRom.* 4.1431. On Hadrianic Smyrna, see most recently Boatwright 2000, 157–62.

69. *Physiognomica* 1.160.10–11; cf. *Anonymous Latin Physiognomist* 2, 57–58. For a polemic reference by Polemon to Favorinus' sexuality, see in Förster 1893, p. 160, lines 10–11; cf. *Anonymus de Physiognomia liber* 2, 57–58 (André 1981). The violent disagreeement between Polemon and Favorinus involved Hadrian himself, but there is some debate as to the precise causes and consequences of the emperor's intervention against the Gallic sophist. In addition to the bibliography cited above (n. 65), see Barigazzi 1993, 556–81; Gleason 1995, 4–20, 103–58; Fein 1994, 241–45. The earlier extensive bibliography is collected in Stertz 1993, p. 624, n. 59.

70. Reader 1996.

71. Von Premerstein 1908, 49–50; cf. Gleason 1995, 29–30.

72. A Latin version is given by G. Hoffman in Förster 1893, 98–293.

73. Förster 1893, 296–426; 1900.

74. Cited in n. 69.

tradition.[75] In Polemon, the standard moralistic comments about external appearance are enriched by an abundance of ethnographic examples drawn from eyewitness observation and profoundly influenced by widespread social prejudices.[76] As in other works of the genre, the overall intent is largely polemical: the author avails himself of his observations to denigrate his own enemies, to praise the emperor Hadrian, to exalt his own nobility, and above all else to defend the privilege of authentic Greekness as a paradigm for his own racial typology. This last theme appears most notably in paragraph 35 of the *Physiognomica*, preserved in the medieval Arabic manuscript and translated into Latin by Georg Hoffman (the Latin title of the paragraph is precisely *De Graecis et eorum genere puro*).[77] After having described in the previous paragraphs the populations of the north, south, east, and west, Polemon here proceeds to define the authentic Greeks as a pure race, since no other *genus* has been mixed with them (1–5). The polemical intent is clarified later within the paragraph (5–10): in fact, many foreigners have recently arrived and established themselves in Greece, attracted by the comfortable life, the climate, the culture, the customs and the local institutions; but these are thoroughly distinct from the genetically pure Greek who is *moderatus* in his physical appearance and endowed with a natural intelligence (11–21).

In this passage, then, we find an explicit theorization of the fundamental difference between the Greek by birth and the Greek by cultural choice, together with a declaration of the former's physical and moral superiority. That it was Polemon himself who applied, in the first person, these rigorous precepts is made clear in an important passage from Philostratus, where it is recorded that his school at Smyrna attracted many young men from both the continent and the islands: "nor was it a matter of a dissolute and promiscuous crowd, but one that was select and purely Hellenic" (Philostr. *V S* 531). This marks a difference from the pupils of Scopelianus who also included Assyrians, Egyptians, Cappadocians, and Phoenicians (518), or those of Heraclides of Lycia who numbered, alongside "Greeks of Europe and many of Asia and the East," also "Ionians, Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, and Egyptians" (613).[78] The same attitude on Polemon's part is also revealed in the account of his refusal to meet at Smyrna a prince who originated from the Crimea, a geographical region that was semi-barbarian even if it possessed widespread Greek culture (Philostr. *V S* 535).[79] The ideological principles that informed the selection process for the Panhellenion are, then, evidently present in the work of Polemon, whose familarity with the emperor Hadrian in the years immediately preceding the creation of the league

75. Evans 1941, 97–103; Gleason 1995, 30–54.

76. Mesk 1933, 51–56.

77. In Förster 1893, 240–42.

78. The same attitude towards Hellenized barbarians is found in Philostr. *V S* 553, where the language of Athens is said to be corrupted by the presence of too many students from "Thrace, Pontus, and other barbarians lands," in contrast to the rural Attic dialect, which had kept itself pure.

79. On the marginal position of the Black Sea in the orbit of Asiatic Greekness, see Braund 1997.

leads one to suspect that the Asian sophist had played a role of the utmost importance in its elaboration.

The competitive and often hostile attitude of the philhellene Hadrian towards sophists and other intellectuals is recurrent in the literary sources:[80] the best-known episode is naturally that which culminated in the execution of the architect Apollodorus of Damascus, although among the more fortunate victims of Hadrian's intolerance should be counted the already mentioned Favorinus and Dionysius of Miletus.[81] However, equally well known is the protection that Hadrian accorded to certain sophists and contemporary philosophers,[82] among whom the names of Herodes Atticus and Polemon of Laodiceia stand out. Hadrian was particularly attached to the latter—insofar as this was possible for a ruler whose character was difficult and solitary. Ancient authors and Polemon himself describe the long journeys he undertook together with the emperor through the eastern provinces between 123 and 126, as well as the hunting parties of which both were so enamored. Polemon's extraordinary intellectual merits and royal ancestry actually allowed him to enjoy a considerable intimacy with the "lord of thirty legions"[83] in precisely those years that preceded the foundation of the Panhellenic League, during which its conception and the choice of criteria for admission were probably elaborated. Since it was among Polemon's circle, and more generally in the orbit of the Greeks of Asia Minor, that an eminently ethnic conception of Greekness was particularly widespread, the analogous formulas that we have encountered in the context of the Panhellenion's ideology could actually have derived their inspiration in the sphere of the Asiatic Second Sophistic. One apparent difficulty in assessing Polemon's own role in the elaboration of the Panhellenic ideology lies in the absence of Laodiceia and Smyrna—respectively, his city of birth and the seat of his school—from the present list of member cities; but our evidence about membership is entirely derived from chance epigraphic finds, and new discoveries are constantly extending our knowledge in this field. It is certainly interesting that it was Polemon who was entrusted by Hadrian with the task of proclaiming in 131/2 the inauguration speech for the Athenian Temple of Olympian Zeus, an event that coincided with the founding of the Panhellenic league.[84]

A formulation of the principles of the Panhellenic league among the Greeks of Asia Minor might at first seem surprising. But according to Philostratus' reconstruction it was precisely there that intellectuals constituted the bulk of exponents of the Second Sophistic movement, in terms both of numbers and of authority.[85] In fact, V. A. Sirago has pointed out that

80. Cassius Dio 69.3.4–4.1; SHA *Hadr.* 15.10.

81. SHA *Hadr.* 15.12–13; Philostr. *V S* 489–90; Swain 1989; Gleason 1995, 146–47.

82. André 1993.

83. SHA *Hadr.* 15.12–13.

84. Philostr. *V S* 533. For the chronological coincidence, cf. *IG* 4^2 1.384 (from Epidauros); see Oliver 1970, no. 38.

85. Also cf. Aristid. *Or.* 3.737.

according to Philostratus the first two generations of this intellectual current—between the end of the first century and the Hadrianic age—were recruited almost exclusively from men who originated, or were active, in Asia Minor.[86] To the first generation belong Nicetes of Smyrna, Isaeus of Syria, Scopelianus of Clazomenae, and Dio of Prusa; to the second belong Dionysius of Miletus, Lollianus of Ephesus, Marcus of Byzantium, and Polemon of Laodiceia, along with significant exceptions represented by Secundus of Athens and Favorinus of Arles. It is only from the time of Marcus Aurelius, and above all the Severans, that one witnesses an increase in the numbers of sophists drawn from different regions and consolidating their position in Athens, but the Asiatics still remain the most represented group. If this intellectual current had always regarded Athens with nostalgia for its glorious classical past, Smyrna was in reality the most vibrant intellectual city of contemporary Greekness: it was here that the Second Sophistic was born and it was from here that the ideal model of Hellenism was presented to the Roman world.

It was also in this cultural environment that the elaboration of erudite reconstructions flourished, designed to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Hellenic *genos* among the Greek cities of Asia Minor—a characteristic typical, of course, of frontier mentalities.[87] One of the strategies adopted in this climate of "retrospective Hellenism"[88] was in fact the claim of foundation on the initiative of the gods, heroes, or founders of historical Greece—an unimpeachable guarantee of civic *eugeneia*.[89] Cities could be praised according to their *genos*: in an interesting passage, the third-century sophist Menander of Laodiceia explicitly mantains that an Hellenic city should derive from either Dorian, Ionian, or Aeolian foundations.[90] Even if many of these civic traditions were already in circulation at least during the Hellenistic age, a large number of them seem to have been elaborated only in the course of the second century:[91] Hermogenes of Smyrna, for example, wrote around the middle of the century a work in five volumes on the foundation of Greek cities in Asia, Europe, and the islands.[92]

A survey of the Asiatic cities currently included in the Panhellenic list seems to suggest that it was often the smallest and less relevant communities who appealed to claims of pure Greek descent in order to be admitted to that potentially prestigious organization. The consolidated effort towards the integration of some communities of Asia Minor within the Hellenic genealogy during the Roman period may also have been prompted by a general perception of an opposition between European and Asiatic Greece. From a Roman point of view, Asia Minor was situated at the limits of the civilized world. Cicero, in his defense of L. Valerius Flaccus (62–66; cf. 100), com-

86. Sirago 1989, 36–43.
87. On the cultural frontier of the east in the Roman period, see Millar 1993.
88. The expression is that of Robert 1977, 111.
89. For a detailed list, see Strubbe 1984–86; Scheer 1993.
90. *Treatise* I, 353.5–359.15: see Russell and Wilson 1981, 47–49; also Spengel 1856; Strubbe 1984–86, 266.
91. Strubbe 1984–86, 280.
92. Petzl 1982, 536; Bowie 1974, 186–87.

pares the Greeks of Asia unfavorably with those of Europe: having praised Athenian civilization and Spartan military courage and institutions, he then expatiates on the faithlessness and greed of the Greeks of Asia. Although Cicero elsewhere is not sparing in his criticism of the inhabitants of mainland Greece,[93] he appears in this passage to latch onto the traditional opposition between Asia and Europe: mainland Greece, often considered part of the east and therefore corrupt and decadent, is in this speech reintegrated into a European matrix and distinguished from its Asiatic offshoots.[94] It was perhaps in reaction to prejudices such as these that Asiatic philhellenism arose, diverting attention towards the contrast between Greek and non-Greek, and in particular those populations of Asia or the eastern Mediterranean that could not demonstrate their affiliation to the Hellenic genealogy. From this perspective, basing the criteria of Greekness on *genos* actually offered enormous strategic advantages compared with more inclusive definitions of Greekness based on culture (*paideia*). Only those communities that could confirm a blood tie with the centers of mainland Greece—that is, European Greece—had the right to become members of this limited club of authentic Hellenism.

Yet the inevitable consequence of this formulation was the implicit recognition of the superiority of mainland Greece, and then of the regions that could demonstrate a direct link with it. It is not by chance that the Lydian Pausanias in his *Periegesis* concentrated uniquely on the monuments of ancestral Greece, and in his digression on the population movements towards Ionia in Book 7, he insists above all on specifying the links that the region maintained with the motherland.[95] The Panhellenic ideology elaborated within the circle of the Greek cities of Asia Minor ultimately determined that authentic Greekness should derive only from the historical centers of Hellenism, among which Athens naturally assumed the most important role.[96] The Hadrianic League of Greek cities, though born in the heart of the Asiatic sophistic movement, could not then fail to find in Athens its natural base and in Hadrian its obvious champion.

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93. Balsdon 1979, 30–58.
94. Vasaly 1993, 198–205.
95. Moggi 1996.
96. Hall 1997, 51–56.

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