

Arrian the epic poet

We know of several Greek translators of works originally written in Latin. Of non-Christian, purely literary material, we know of six.¹ First, there is Claudius' powerful freedman, Polybius, who turned Homer into Latin prose and Vergil into Greek prose (Seneca *Consol. ad Polyb.* 8.2, 11.5). Then, under Hadrian we have Zenobius 'the sophist', who translates Sallust's *Histories* and 'so-called Wars' (*Suda* Z 73). The translation into Greek of Hyginus' *Fabulae* can be dated precisely, for its unknown author tells us that he copied it up on 11th September 207 (*CGIL* iii 56.30ff.). Similarly, the extant translation of Eutropius' *Breviarium* by Paianios, probably a pupil of Libanius, can be dated securely to about 380. The translation of the same by Capito (*Suda* K 342), which survives in excerpts, is placed with some confidence at the beginning of the sixth century. The date and identity of the last of our translators, 'Arrian the epic poet', who rendered the *Georgics* of Vergil (*Suda* A 3867), is unclear.

On Polybius, nothing much need be said; one suspects that his paraphrases were limited in scope. Paianios, and to some extent Capito, offer useful guidelines to what was meant by translation.² Zenobius is more interesting. The *Suda* tells us that he 'taught in Rome at the time of the emperor Hadrian', and addressed a 'birthday celebration' (γενεθλιακόν, *FGrH* 200) to the emperor. It has been pointed out that his translation of Sallust fits his acquaintance with Hadrian well, since Sallust was, of course, a favourite model in the age of Latin archaism. Hadrian may have instigated the project of translation.³ Equally interesting is the translation of Hyginus. The surviving extract is found in the *Hermeneumata Leidensia* as a school text, which was not its original purpose, and has been provided

with a running translation in Latin. We will not be surprised that a Second Sophistic Greek should have taken the trouble to translate a Roman handbook of mythology, if it is remembered that Hyginus as he stands today (and presumably also in AD 207) contains no Roman myths at all.⁴

Arrian is mentioned only by the *Suda* (and in the derivative notice in Eudocia *Violarium* 155 [115 Flach]). According to the lexicon he produced a μεταφρασις of Vergil's *Georgics*, wrote an Ἀλεξανδριός in twenty-four books (*FGrH* 153 F 15a), and composed εἰς Ἀττάλον τὸν Περγαμηνὸν ποιήματα. It has been surmised that Arrian is a conflation. One Arrian translated the *Georgics*, another wrote on Alexander and dedicated poetry to Attalus of Pergamum (usually taken to be Attalus I Soter).⁵ The division is unnecessary: unless the *Suda* is obviously muddled (as it seems not to be here), it is better to build on what it says rather than to attempt to undermine it. We can perfectly easily take the translator of Vergil with the epic poet of Alexander. The rendition of Vergil was also done ἐπικῶς.⁶ Hexameter verse was clearly Arrian's forte. But where does this leave 'the poems to Attalus of Pergamum'?

Attalus I Soter could be indicated, if we take εἰς Ἀττάλον to mean not 'to Attalus', but 'about Attalus' or perhaps 'in honour of Attalus'. This meaning of εἰς is found in the title of Philostratus' *VA* (Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον) and in numerous lemmata of the *Anth. Pal.*⁷ It is true that Hellenistic subjects are usually avoided in the Greek literature of the empire, and Hellenistic monarchs are cited primarily as deterrents.⁸

⁴ On this translation see Reichmann (n.1) 51; H. Rose, *CQ* xxiii (1929) 96-9; id., *Hygini Fabulae* (Leiden 1933) 172ff; A. C. Dionisotti, *JRS* lxxii (1982) 89-90 on the significance of the date for the other *Hermeneumata*; see also the remarks of E. L. Bowie on Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in ancient society* (London 1974) 189-90.

⁵ A. Meineke, *Analecta Alexandrina* (Berlin 1843) 370-1; *RE* ii 1229-30 ('mehrere Dichter'); Christ-Schmid ii.2, 673; A. Adler, *Suida Lexicon* v (Leipzig 1938) 137; *Kl. Pauly* i 605; H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin-New York 1983) 207-12. It is possible that the *Alexandrias* of Adrianos mentioned by Stephanus Byz. (s.v. Astraea and Saneaia) is that of Arrian (Meineke 371; Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 208-9; cf. *FGrH* 153 F 15bc; the work is perhaps correctly ascribed to the sophist Hadrian by S. Rothe, *Kommentar zu ausgewählten Sophistenviten des Philostratos* [Heidelberg 1989] 125—cf. *I. Ephesos* v 1539.13 Μούσαισι μέλων, Philostratus *VS* 590). It is suggested that one of the Arrians should be connected with the Arrian who wrote an epigram in epic style on the Sphinx, which is of imperial date (Meineke, *RE*; denied by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons; text in E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* [Paris 1969] 129).

⁶ We know of one other translation of the *Georgics*, a juxtalinear fragment (Pack [n.1] no. 2936) on a 5th cent. papyrus, which interprets and translates the Latin; it clearly has nothing to do with Arrian; see E. M. Husselman, in *Studi Calderini e Paribeni* ii (Milan 1957) 453ff.

⁷ Cf. B. P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C.* (Paris 1971) 189, E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* ii 16.2 (1978) 1665.

⁸ Bowie (n.4) 170ff., 179, 184; D. A. Russell, *Greek declamation* (Cambridge 1973) 107. Deterrents: Plutarch *Aristides* 6, *Demetrius* 1 ff.; Favorinus *On fortune* (Ps.-Dio of Prusa lxivv) 22; Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15.

¹ I should like to thank Ewen Bowie for his numerous invaluable contributions. It has not been possible to incorporate work published later than spring 1990.

Fundamental to the subject are V. Reichmann, *Römische Literatur in griechischer Übersetzung*, *Philologus* Suppl. xxxiv.3 (Leipzig 1943) on non-literary, official, and literary translations (MSS, epigraphy, papyri), and E. Fisher, *YCS* xxvii (1982) 173ff. on literary translations, and Christian material including use of the Fourth Eclogue (MSS, papyri). There were also glosses and juxtalinear interpretations, of which we have papyrological evidence for Cicero, Juvenal, Sallust, Terence, and Vergil (most texts in R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinorum* [Wiesbaden 1958]; see generally R. Pack, *The Greek and Latin literary texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* [Ann Arbor 1965] nos. 2917-52 with P. Mertens, in *Miscellanea papirologica R. Roce-Puig* [Barcelona 1987] 189-204), and the sub-literary running translations for school use ascribed to Dositheus Magister (*CGIL* iii); these areas are discussed by Reichmann and Fisher. Note also R. Häussler, *RhM* cix (1966) 339-55 on the false notion of a Greek version of Asinius Pollio's *Histories*.

² Polybius: B. Baldwin, *AJP* xcvi (1976) 361 suggests reasonably that the translation of Vergil was restricted to the *Aeneid*; Paianios/Capito: Reichmann (n.1) 62-87.

³ *Kl. Pauly* v 1493 (cf. *RE* xix 11), though note *SHA Hadr.* 16.6 *Sallustio Caesium praetulit*. Cf. Christ-Schmid, ii.2, 694, 879f. on Zenobius' other work. One cannot imagine one of Philostratus' sophists translating Latin literature.

However, Attalus I was famed for his virtue and commitment to Greece (Polybius xviii 41; Livy xxxiii 21.1-5). An epic on him might have appealed to at least one second century Greek. The illustrious C. Iulius Severus of Ancyra, *cos. suff. ca.* 138, *procos. Asiae* 152-3, lists an Attalus among his regal ancestors.⁹ Severus is connected with the literary scene through his close friend, the rhetor Claudius Pardalas, who is lionized by Aelius Aristides (27), and in turn lauds the valetudinary sophist to Severus (Aristides 87).¹⁰ Severus' brother, Iulius Amyntianus,¹¹ might be canvassed as the Amyntianus who *inter alia* dedicates an Alexander-history to M. Aurelius (Photius *Bibl. cod.* 131; *PIR*² A 574). If Arrian the epic poet moved in these circles, he might easily have worked on Alexander and Attalus I (as well as Vergil). Further, if Amyntianus is the *dioiketes* attested in Egypt in 146/7,¹² nothing prevents Arrian's authorship of the Sphinx poem.

The alternative, preferable, explanation of εἰς Ἄτταλον depends on taking it in the more obvious sense of 'to Attalus'. This, indeed, should be its meaning in the *Suda*'s entry (M 1296) for another epic poet, Musaeus of Ephesus, who wrote a ten book *Perseid* καὶ εἰς Ἐυμένη καὶ Ἄτταλον, no doubt the brothers Eumenes II and Attalus II, with whom one will assume he was contemporary.¹³ If εἰς does mean 'to', our Attalus will be an imperial contemporary of Arrian. Prominent Attali are discovered in Aphrodisias (*PIR*² C 796, 798), Smyrna/Phocaea (C 797), Pergamum (see below), and Xanthus (C 799). The man to whom Arrian may have addressed poems is the Attalus of Pergamum who is named in at least one inscription found in that city (*IGR* iv 413-16). This Attalus presents himself to the world as a gentleman poet. From his house in Pergamum comes a couplet on a herm celebrating his hospitality and good living (*IGR* iv 416), which in diction and allusion is strikingly epic.¹⁴ He is also the subject of another

couplet from a herm in his house (*IGR* iv 415), which advertises his consular rank and his local priesthood of an unknown goddess.¹⁵

Attalus is either Ti. or C. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus.¹⁶ It is suggested that Ti. is either the father or the brother of C.¹⁷ If Ti. is the father,¹⁸ C. is clearly the poet we seek on the basis of a fragmentary couplet from the territory of Pergamum, in which a son named Attalus honours a paternal namesake.¹⁹ If Ti. is the brother of C., the inscription would refer to either Ti. or C. and an unknown father. That would be odd, since we would expect a celebration of homonymy between both distinguished sons and their father. Ti. Paterculianus lived very probably until he was sixty-five or so, and met his death in 219 at the behest of Elagabalus.²⁰ There is no evidence to suggest that C. Paterculianus, who was consul and governor of Bithynia (see below), led a much shorter life. It looks rather as though we are dealing with one son and one father (with Ti. the father and C. the son). The suggestion that C. is the poet is strong on another ground. The poetic texts *IGR* iv 415, 416 from Attalus' house are found within approximately 200m of an honorary inscription from the upper gymnasium (*IGR* iv 414), which commemorates C. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus. Major benefit accrues from associating these texts. The Attalus named in *IGR* iv 415 is a consul (ὑπάτος). He is clearly the same man as the Claudius Attalus Paterculianus who is described as ὑπατικός and ἡγεμὼν Βειθυνίας on a third century *tit. hon.* of an unknown descendant (*ILS* 8836). In contrast to C., Ti. may well have been prevented from reaching the consulate.²¹

What is the chronology of C. Paterculianus (and hence of Arrian the epic poet)? Barbieri originally suggested that his father, Ti. Paterculianus, was the son or descendant of P. Claudius Attalus (*PIR*² C 797), who was identified with Attalus the son of the sophist M. Antonius Polemon (*cf.* Philostratus

⁹ *IGR* iii 173 = *OGI* 544; the Attalus in question is Attalus II Philadelphus (*cf.* H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* [Göttingen 1979] 47), but this does not invalidate the argument (Attalus II himself very probably claimed the attention of an epic poet, Musaeus; see below). For Severus' career see *PIR*² I 573; Halfmann no. 62.

¹⁰ On Pardalas see Chr. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon* viii.3 (Berlin 1969) 142. For other members of Severus' philoprogenitive family who may have had literary/sophistic links, see Halfmann (n.9) on his nos. 26 (C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus), 42 (C. Iulius Fronto), 63 (C. Iulius Bassus), 72 (Cn. Claudius Severus Arabianus), 101 (Cn. Claudius Severus).

¹¹ *PIR*² I 147; Halfmann (n.9) 152.

¹² W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* xv 123; he would not of course be a senator (not necessarily a difficulty, despite his brother's attainment).

¹³ Cf. E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids* (Ithaca 1971) 408, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (n.5) 560-1.

¹⁴ *IGR* iv 416 ὦ φίλοι, ἐσθίετε βρώμην καὶ πίνετε οἶνον Ἄττάλου εὐφροσύνοις τερπόμενοι θαλαίαις. *Cf. Od.* xi 603, xii 23. Attalus' house (W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxii [1907] 167-89, pl. xiv; A. Conze, *Altertümer von Pergamon* i.2 [Berlin 1913] 286-90; W. Radt *Pergamon* [Köln 1988] 120-4, 177) is positioned between the lower *agora* and the terraced gymnasium.

¹⁵ Ἄτταλος οὗτος ὁ τήνδε θεῶν πανυπείροχον εἰσας Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτος πρόσπολος ἐστὶ θεῶς.

Cf. H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxii (1907) 364 no. 117 'II. oder III. Jahrh.'; Hepding clearly meant this date to apply also to his nos. 116 (*IGR* iv 414)—see below—and 118 (*IGR* iv 416)—see n.14.

¹⁶ Ti.—Halfmann (n.9) no. 125, P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n. Chr.)* (Amsterdam 1989) 202, *PIR*² C 795 (Pergamene domicile is unattested; but see below); C.—Halfmann 196, Leunissen 169, *PIR*² C 800.

¹⁷ G. Barbieri, *L'albo senatorio da Settimo Severo a Carino* (Rome 1952) no. 140 (Ti.) with 590 addenda, no. 142 (C.) with 590 addenda.

¹⁸ Cf. Halfmann (n.9) 196; *id.*, *Tituli v (Epigrafia e ordine senatorio ii)* (Rome 1982) 626; Leunissen (n.16) 169.

¹⁹ *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv (1899) 184 no. 142 παιδὸς ὁμωνυμῆ γε... | Ἄττάλου ἐστὶ πατήρ

²⁰ Cass. Dio lxxix 3.5, 4.3; Halfmann (n.9) 195-6; see below.

²¹ Halfmann (n.9) 195; Leunissen (n.16) 202. Note that *IGR* iv 413, another poetic text on a herm of Attalus from the Pergamene countryside, is dated by Hepding (n.15) 365 n.1 to the first half of the second century, and therefore belongs (if at all) to an earlier generation of the family (with which has been connected the Pergamios who commemorates setting up in the house of Attalus during the Hadrianic era at the earliest a copy of Alcamenēs' Hermes Propylaios [see n.41]).

VS 609). The link between Paterculianus and Polemon is attractive.²² Polemon's family produced 'many consuls' until the time of Philostratus (VS 530). One might see Ti. Paterculianus' governorship of Thrace (cf. below) in the context of marriage links between Polemon's ancestors and the Thracian royal house. C. Paterculianus' governorship of Pontus-Bithynia might echo the family's rôle as kings of Pontus. There are, however, serious problems. Barbieri made his conjecture in the belief that the praenomen of Ti. was P., and withdrew it following publication by Mitford of a correction of his earlier mistaken reading.²³ Since Barbieri Jones has argued plausibly that P. Claudius Attalus is not in any case a son of the sophist.²⁴ Jones notes that the Laodicean coinage naming 'P. Claudius Attalus' is from the 140s and is thus twenty or so years earlier than other testimonies to Polemon's son, which name him as 'Attalus'. Jones' other objection to the identification concerns nomenclature. We would expect Polemon's son to be M. Antonius Attalus, not P. Claudius. And even if we assume that the full name was something like P. Claudius M. Antonius Attalus, it is odd, as Jones notes, that P. Claudius Attalus in Laodicea does not advertise his connection with the family of Antonius Polemon, which was the foremost in the city and whose ancestors were enfranchised and awarded the kingdom of Pontus by Mark Antony.

It might still be possible to take P. Claudius Attalus as the son of Polemon. Polemon's Attalus must have been born by 118 (see below), and so the argument from the chronology of the Laodicean coinage is not inevitable. Further, the nomen Claudius is found in a Claudia Zenonis of Laodicea, who seems to belong to an earlier generation of the family.²⁵ If Claudius Attalus was the son of Polemon, it is, however, difficult on chronological grounds to sustain a link between him and Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus. Polemon died in 144, aged 56.²⁶ If he was born in 88, his son Attalus must have arrived by about 118, if not earlier.²⁷ Ti. Paterculianus was *leg. aug. pr. pr.* of Thrace under Commodus, ejected from the senate by Severus in 193, restored by Caracalla, and finally became *procos.* of Cyprus in 217-8 under Macrinus (Cass. Dio. lxxix 3.5). Given his Cypriot office, he is very unlikely to have been born before 150 (Stein and Grosso are clearly right in placing his governorship of Thrace towards the end of Commodus'

reign).²⁸ Paterculianus' birth date looks a little late for affiliation with Claudius Attalus. If we interpose a generation of Polemon's family, he will not have been born before 165, and this would leave him too young to fulfill the important governorship of Thrace.

The known descendants of Polemon tend to confirm this picture. His son's daughter, Callisto (cf. *PIR*² C 797), born perhaps 145, married Flavius Rufinianus, who was *cos. suff.* under Commodus,²⁹ and therefore born 140-5. Their progeny was L. Flavius Hermocrates, the sophist, who was married briefly to the unlovely daughter of another sophist, Aelius Antipater, the *ab epist. gr.* of Severus (*PIR*² A 137). The marriage took place in 195 or 198/9.³⁰ Hermocrates lived only till 25 or 28 (Philostratus VS 612), and must have been born c.175.³¹ In sum, Callisto was not the sister of Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus,³² nor was Hermocrates his cousin.

If this is correct, a casual fact emerges: since C. Paterculianus is Ti.'s son, we must suppose that he was born about 175-80. Chronology and enmity towards his father make it difficult to envisage him as consul under Septimius Severus, as has been asserted.³³ A date in the earliest years of Severus Alexander is more acceptable. Scrutiny of the *tit. hon.* (ILS 8836), which offers two details of Paterculianus' career, adds support and reveals a sophistic connection. The honorand is unknown, but she is the daughter of a man called Philip ὁ κρᾶτιστος ὑπατικός. Philip must be C. Iulius Philippus (*PIR*² I 458), consul under Septimius Severus.³⁴ The *ignota* is described as niece

²² Halfmann (n.9) 45, 196; *id.* (n.18) 626, where Halfmann notes the connection with the Flavii Damiani (on which see below).

²³ Barbieri (n.17) no. 140 with 590 addenda; T. B. Mitford, *ABSA* xlii (1947) 230.

²⁴ C. P. Jones, *GRBS* xxi (1980) 374-7.

²⁵ Reference at Halfmann (n.9) 162-3.

²⁶ Philostratus VS 543; R. Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici* i (Leipzig 1893) lxxv n.4; W. Stegemann, *RE* xxi.2 (1952) 3121-2.

²⁷ He lived longer than his father, if he is really the Attalus who brought about the death of C. Arrius Antoninus in ca. 188 (*SHA Commodus* 7.1); T. D. Barnes, *Historia* xviii (1969) 383-4.

²⁸ A. Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (Sarajevo 1920) no. 29; F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodus* (Turin 1964) 523-4; A. R. Birley, *BJ* clxix (1969) 274; cf. Leunissen (n.16) 290; the date will be about 189/90, which leaves room for another known office-holder under Caracalla (W. Eck, *ZPE* xlii [1981] 231-2). Active service into old age was not of course unknown: e.g. the governor of Egypt who took up office in his 69th year (O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek horoscopes* [Philadelphia 1959] 86-7), or Gordian I who became *prof. Afric.* in his 79th year; but the probability must be against it (so Grosso). Grosso is also right to distance Ti. Paterculianus from the Claudius Attalus who was *procos.* of Crete and Cyrene (identification is accepted by Halfmann [n.9] no. 125; cf. Leunissen 298), if the tenure of that Attalus is put correctly in the 170s on a comparison with a text from the same site dated 172-5 (R. G. Goodchild and J. M. Reynolds, *PSBR* xxvi [1958] 32-3, 37); the office is not mentioned by Cassius Dio. *l.c.*

²⁹ Halfmann (n.9) no. 138; Barbieri (n.17) no. 446; Leunissen (n.16) 146-7.

³⁰ Philostratus VS 608-12; *PIR*² F 285; Habicht (n.10) 76-9.

³¹ 180, proposed by Barnes (n.27) 384 is probably too late for the marriage. Hermocrates lived beyond 200: H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres* ii (Paris 1960) 611-12.

³² As Halfmann (n.9) 45 assumes.

³³ *PIR*² C 800; *Kl. Pauly* i 1210; Barbieri (n.17) no. 142; Leunissen (n.16) 169 suggests Severus or Caracalla, Halfmann (n.18) 626 'wohl unter Caracalla', but a consulship under Caracalla seems too early, if Paterculianus was born 175-80. Paterculianus' governorship of Pontus and Bithynia is also usually placed under Severus (cf. also Birley [n.28] 279; B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* i [Göteborg 1984] 251 no. 58).

³⁴ Barbieri (n.17) no. 309; Leunissen (n.16) 166.

(ἀδελφιδῆ) of Flavius Antoninus, Flavius Damianus, and Flavius Phaedrus. These brothers are sons of T. Flavius Damianus of Ephesus, the sophist, who was born c.135 and died at the age of seventy (*VS* 605-6). All were consuls in the Severan period,³⁵ and they were therefore born about 160-5. The mother of the *ignota* and wife of Iulius Philippus is one of their two sisters, probably Flavia Phaedrina (*PIR*² F 433) rather than Flavia Lepida (F 427). She will have been born about 170 as one of the last of Damianus' six children.³⁶ Her daughter will have been born about 195-200. The unknown honorand is described also as kin of an Attalus, who cannot be identified,³⁷ and as 'daughter of a cousin' (ἀνεψιαδῆ) of Claudius Attalus Paterculianus. The cousin of C. Paterculianus is more likely to be her mother, Flavia Phaedrina (Lepida), than her father,³⁸ since Philippus would surely have been named, whereas her mother is not (*cf.* ἀδελφιδῆ above). Paterculianus, then, is closely connected with the family of Damianus. The ancestry of this family was ἔλλογιμώτατον, and Philostratus tells us that its descendants 'are all honoured with membership of the senate' (*VS* 605).³⁹

We are left with a gentleman poet of Pergamum, C. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus, born c.175-80 into a family with an important sophistic link. He has a taste for epic verse,⁴⁰ and also for *objets d'art*: from his house come several works, including a copy of the Hermes Propylaios by Alcámenes, and a head of a formidable woman, who is alleged to be his wife.⁴¹ Paterculianus is a most suitable patron for our epic poet, Arrian. We may take 'poems to Attalus of Pergamum' in its natural sense, and attach Arrian to him. It might even be imagined that the Pergamene couplets attributable to Paterculianus were done by his client poet.⁴² If Arrian flourished about 210-20, we will not wonder at his work on Alexander, who was revered by the Severan dynasty as never before.⁴³ If he is unusual for his translation of Vergil's *Georgics*, he is typical of his age in all other respects.

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³⁵ Barbieri (n.17) nos. 231, 239, 244; Leunissen (n.16) 192.

³⁶ Damianus' other child died adolescent: *PIR*² F 253.

³⁷ Μενυλλίου Ἀττάλου ὑπατικοῦ ἀνθυπάτου Ἀσίας (*cf.* Barbieri [n.17] no. 370); H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxv (1910) 481 compares the Ἰουλίᾳ Μενυλλεῖνα and her father Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Πατέρκλος, who appear on an inscription in honour of Hadrian from Lydia (*BCH* xi [1887] 480 no. 60).

³⁸ E. Groag, *JÖAI* x (1907) 297-8 'vermutlich war sie von Vaters Seite mit [Paterculianus] verwandt'.

³⁹ On the Roman citizenship of the Flavii Damiani, *cf.* Bowie (n.7) 1670-1; on the notable connections of Damianus's spouse, Vedia Phaedrina, see Halfmann (n.9) nos. 84, 84a, 84b; G. W. Bowersock, *Greek sophists in the Roman empire* (Oxford 1969) 28. Note that the unknown honorand died young: no husband is named, and Cagnat's suggestion that her inscription dates to the first quarter of the third cent. (*cf.* Hepding [n.15] 364-5) is clearly correct.

⁴⁰ *JGR* iv 416 (quoted n.14); *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv (1899) 184 no. 142 (quoted n.19); *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904) 176 no. 21 a hexameter fragment from an architrave in Attalus' house: ΙΚΑΝΕ ΟΝΕΙΔΑΘΕΜΙΣ (ικανέτων· εἰ δ' ἀθεμιστώως [ἀθεμιστῶ]).

⁴¹ On the art of the house see Dörpfeld (n.14) 184-6, Hepding (n.15) 387-91; the noticeable improvements to the house in terms of construction and decoration belong 'vielleicht im II. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert' (189). Alcámenes' Hermes: *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904) 179-86 (180: inscription Hadrianic or later); F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon* vii.1 (Berlin 1908) 48ff. no. 28; woman's head: *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904) 190-1; Winter, *Alt. v. Perg.* vii.2 (1908) 237 no. 287; and Winter vii.2 226-7 nos. 268-71 on other artefacts mentioned by Hepding.

⁴² For a roughly contemporary example of poems on herms to amuse friends, *cf.* Aelian's signed elegaic poems (Kaibel *Ep. gr.* 1084-5); see E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* ii 33.1 (1989) 244-7.

⁴³ F. Millar, *A study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1963) 151, 214-18, A. R. Birley, *The African emperor. Septimius Severus* (London 1988) 108, 135f., 137.