

to push interpretation further. If these figures are understood as a fiction of Archilochus', we are fitting the *ainos* within a consistent but fictional drama conveyed in the biographical tradition, and as a result come to a greater appreciation of the poet's exploitation of the genre. If, however, we consider that actual individuals were the poem's target, then we may say that metaphorical death through invective might well correspond to character assassination.<sup>44</sup> As an attendant result, we gain insights both into how the poet can exploit genre and tradition in the service of an aim—an aim which may be generically the job of *iambos*—and into what the conception of the power of invective, and more generally poetry, was for the archaic poet and his society.

The question of the reality of these characters remains unresolved. As Slings writes, 'the major stumbling-block will always be our almost complete ignorance of the extralinguistic context of the poem at the time of its performance. The problem of the 'I' is often our problem'.<sup>45</sup> Beyond a doubt there is an elegant parallelism between the events in this *ainos* and those recorded by the tradition. Either we may say that this parallelism represents a fictional drama, which generations of audiences and clever readers of Archilochus have created and/or fostered, or rather that there is an element of history behind this drama, which the poet, supremely clever, has explored and exploited in the traditional forms of poetry available to him. The choice remains open.

ELIZABETH IRWIN

Girton College, Cambridge

### 'Joint sacrifice' at Iasus and Side

The institution of *sunthusiâ*, 'joint sacrifice', appears in many forms in Graeco-Roman antiquity, but takes a special shape in the period of the Roman empire. After a brief outline of the practice, I address particular problems in inscriptions of Iasus in Caria and Side in Pamphylia.<sup>1</sup>

In the Hellenistic period, the verb *sunthûein* and its related nouns, *sunthutês*, *sunthusiâ*, are mainly used in two senses. In the private sphere, devotees of particular gods or groups of gods may form standing associations of 'joint sacrificers', sometimes with common ownership of property. In the public one, a community, or sometimes another kind of association, may send envoys to sacrifice at a festival held by a second such group; when this happens, those sent may be called either *theôroi*, the usual name of sacred envoys in this period, or *sunthutai*. The overlapping of the two terms is shown in an inscription of the second century BC from Hermione in the Argolid. When the city of Asine resolves to send *sunthutai* to Hermione in order to sacrifice to the latter's Demeter Chthonia, Hermione reciprocates by appointing a *theârodokos* 'to receive the *sunthutai* who come to the sacrifice of the Chthoneia'. In this second sense, the importance accorded to sacrifice marks it out as the constitutive element of the occasion, the one item that could not be omitted.<sup>2</sup>

In the Roman period, this group of words seems not to be found in reference to private associations.<sup>3</sup> By contrast, the public or communal sacrifice which corresponds to the second sense above continues, but under a different aspect. Now 'joint sacrifice' is usually associated with the emperors and imperial benefaction. The occasions include the establishment of a new festival

<sup>1</sup> I have used the following special abbreviations: *ANRW* = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*; *IGSK* = *Inscriptionen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*; *OMS* = L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* 1-7 (Amsterdam 1969-90); *Bull. épigr.* = *Bulletin épigraphique*, appearing annually in *REG*. This subject was an abiding interest of L. Robert, whose last and fullest discussion is in *CRAI* (1982) 228-9, 232-5 = *OMS* 5.791-2, 795-8; the most important additions are by S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge 1984) 126-8, M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien, Vestigia* 39 (Munich 1988) 198-200, and P. Weiss, *Chiron* 21 (1991) 362-4; the article by S. Karwiese, 'Synthysia', *LIMC* 7.1 (Zurich & Munich 1994) 829-30, is incomplete. I am grateful to Glen Bowersock and to two anonymous referees for *JHS*.

<sup>2</sup> Hermione: O. Curty, *Les Parentés légendaires entre cités grecques, Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 20 (Geneva 1995) n. 2 (*JG* iv.679.14-17; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1051). Cf. C. Michel, 'Théôroi', *Daremberg-Saglio* 5 (1912) 208-11; F. Poland, 'συνθύται', *RE* 4A.1462-3; L. Ziehen, 'θεωροί', *RE* 5A.2239-44. Sacrifice: L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 465 = *Documents d'Asie Mineure, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 139 bis (Paris 1987) 161, 'Le sacrifice est l'élément essentiel de la fête, le seul qui ne puisse manquer'.

<sup>3</sup> In the charter of the Iobacchoi of Athens, of the second century AD, the genitive *συνθυσίας* surely means 'appointment as a (public) *sunthutês*', not 'appointment to a college of sacrificers': *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1109.134 (J.H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East [Hesperia Suppl.* 13, Princeton, New Jersey 1970] n. 17, with further bibliography).

<sup>44</sup> In this scenario it is not necessary to think that a broken marriage-agreement was the sole, primary, or even the literal cause for grievance with the figure known as Lycambes. It may, for instance, be a metaphor for some other kind of treachery, or have a synecdochal connection to a larger betrayal by that figure.

<sup>45</sup> Slings (n.1) 16.

for the imperial cult,<sup>4</sup> the dedication of an aqueduct financed by the emperor,<sup>5</sup> and the grant of the title of 'mêtropolis'.<sup>6</sup>

Certainly 'joint sacrifice' not directly connected with imperial generosity must have continued in the period of the principate, though the evidence is sparse. Thus a generous couple at Oenoanda, when establishing a *panêguris* with artistic and athletic contests, invites the other cities of Lycia, and in addition Termessus in Pamphylia and Cibyra in Asia.<sup>7</sup> A series of inscriptions from Stratonicea in Caria records invitations sent by a priest of Hecate to 'kindred' cities, summoning them to 'good cheer' (*euphrosûnê*) in the goddess's sanctuary at Panamara. In neither case do the texts in fact use the word *sunthusia*, but such a joint sacrifice must surely have taken place.<sup>8</sup>

The connection between appointment as a *sunthutês* and the emperors is illustrated by the career of local notables. Thus four inscriptions from Sparta, all carved on the walls of the theatre, enumerate the offices of citizens who, among their other services, served as *sunthutai*. One was 'sunthutês at the Actia', the ancient festival in honour of Apollo of Actium, which Augustus reorganized as a festival of the newly founded Nicopolis, where it was first celebrated in or about 28 BC.<sup>9</sup> A second went to Naples, and thus to the contest of the Sebasta founded by Augustus and first held in 2 AD.<sup>10</sup> A third was 'sunthutês to Naples and Puteoli', thus to the Sebasta and to the Eusebeia founded by Antoninus Pius to honour the memory of Hadrian.<sup>11</sup> The last of the four inscriptions honours a 'sunthutês to Rhodes'. In view of

<sup>4</sup> Thus in third century Aphrodisias: C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (JRS Monographs 6, London 1993) 182-7.

<sup>5</sup> Thus at Pergamum under Marcus, Aristid. 53; C.P. Jones, *Arch. Anz.* (1991) 111-13.

<sup>6</sup> At least, it seems likely that this is the occasion behind a celebrated letter of Antoninus Pius to Ephesus, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 849 (C. Börker and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos 5* [JGSK 15 (Bonn 1980)] 1489-90; J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors* [Philadelphia 1989] 135 A-B). Ephesus appears to have acquired this title early in the reign of Pius: G.W. Bowersock in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1982-83* (Bonn 1985) 78 n. 7 = *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire* (Goldbach bei Aschaffenburg 1994) 374. Note also the Ephesian coin struck under Pius, and depicting the personified Synthisiâ: R.E. Hecht, *Num. Chron.* ser. 7, 8 (1968) 28 with pl. 8.4; Weiss 363 (n.1) with pl. 3.3.

<sup>7</sup> Curty (n.2) n. 80 (IGRR iii.489; OGIS 566). Cf. the foundation of Julius Demosthenes at Oenoanda, *SEG* 28.146-2.68-87.

<sup>8</sup> For the texts, Curty (n.2) n. 70; on this dossier see also L. and J. Robert, *Claros I: décrets hellénistiques* (Paris 1989) 53-5.

<sup>9</sup> A.M. Woodward, *ABSA* 26 (1923-5) 166-7 B9 (*SEG* 11.494). Actia: E. Reisch, *RE* 1.1213-14; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (Paris 1949) 121; L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome 1953) 205-6; M.L. Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitolinus: storia e protagonisti dall'istituzione domiziana al IV secolo* (*Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica* 54, Rome 1993) 24-8.

<sup>10</sup> A.M. Woodward, *ABSA* 27 (1925-26) 234 (*SEG* 11.501); Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* [n. 3] n. 20). On the Sebasta: Robert, *CRAI* 1970.9 = *OMS* 5.650, with earlier bibliography; Caldelli (n.9) 28-37.

<sup>11</sup> A.M. Woodward, *ABSA* 27 (1925-6) 226 (*SEG* 11.500). Eusebeia: Robert, *Rev. Phil.* ser. 3, 4 (1930) 37 = *OMS* 2.1137; M.W. Frederiksen, *RE* 23.2052; Caldelli (n.9) 43-5.

the Dorian connections of Sparta and Rhodes, this person might have travelled to one of the standing festivals of the other city, of which the most famous is the Halieia in honour of the Sun God. But Rhodes was also the object of Antoninus Pius' generosity after the great earthquake of 142, and the Spartan might have travelled there when some imperial gift was being celebrated.<sup>12</sup>

Other texts suggest a close connection between citizens who went as ambassadors to the emperors and also served as joint sacrificers. Two such inscriptions are from the island of Rhodes, and both use the older expression *theôros*, perhaps from that conservatism which struck observers of Rhodian manners such as Dio Chrysostom. In the earlier of the two, from the reign of Augustus, Eupolemos son of Basileides is honoured for 'going as ambassador to (Augustus) four times, for having been sent as *theôros* to Actium and to Alexandria and going as ambassador', (the text here breaks off). Andrew Erskine has plausibly argued that, just as 'Actium' refers to the Actia of Nicopolis in Epirus, so 'Alexandria' refers to the quadriennial festival established by Augustus at Egyptian Nicopolis, the site of his victory over Antony just east of Alexandria; other texts refer to this as the 'Sebasta' or the 'Sebasteios agon'.<sup>13</sup> In the Flavian period, a citizen of Lindos called Flavius Aglaochartus '(went) as ambassador to Rome and the emperors free of charge, to proconsuls and legates of the Romans and procurators of the Augusti, to Achaea, Asia and Lycia on several occasions, (was) thought worthy of most favourable answers, and (was) also a *theôros* at the contest held in Naples'.<sup>14</sup> At Colossae in Phrygia, an unnamed honorand '(proved his usefulness, e.g.) in services to the emperors and acted as *sunthutes* on the occasion of (the grant of) the second temple (of the Augusti in Ephesus, e.g.)'.<sup>15</sup>

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Two newly published inscriptions from Iasus in Caria honour a certain M. Aurelius Daphnus and his wife, Aurelia Sarapias. Since both texts mention 'the three Augusti' (τῶν Σεββῶν) their likely date is between 209 and 211, though a slightly later one is perhaps not excluded.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *IG* v.1.47 = Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius* (n.3) 48. Pius and Rhodes: *Hist. Aug., Pius* 9.1; for an inscription mentioning him as the city's 'founder and saviour', C.P. Jones, *CQ* 40 (1990) 514 n.4.

<sup>13</sup> V. Kontorini, *Ανεκδοτες Επιγραφες Ροδου* (Athens 1989) 2 no. 65 (*SEG* 39.752; *Ann. épigr.* 1991.1515); A. Erskine, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 273. For the *agôn* at Nicopolis by Alexandria, Cass. Dio 51.18.1 (6.48 Cary); A. Balland and C. le Roy, *Rev. Arch.* (1984) 345; E.G. Huzar, *ANRW* ii.10.1 (Berlin & New York 1988) 630, with further bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos: fouilles de l'acropole, 1902-1914: inscriptions* (Berlin & Copenhagen 1941) 2 n. 384 B; a further fragment was added by C. Habicht, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 113-20 (*SEG* 30.668).

<sup>15</sup> *IGRR* iv.870; the translation in the text follows the supplements of L. Robert in J. des Gagniers *et al., Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée, Campagnes 1961-1963* (Québec & Paris 1969) 277-8, εἰς κυριακάς [χρεῖας εὐχρηστος γενόμενος?] κ(αί) συνθύσας τῶι δευτέρῳι να[ῶι τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν Ἐφέσοις ?].

<sup>16</sup> First published by G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Rendic. Accad. Linc.* ser. 9.4 (1993) 265-9; the best texts and discussions are now *SEG* 43.718-19 (R.A. Tybout and H.W. Pleket).

Daphnus' name and other attributes are given in the accusative case, though no dedicant is specified. Among his other benefactions, he had 'served with distinction (?) as high priest of the (three) Augusti in his ancestral city, and on the occasion of the erection of the statues made a distribution of mellow wine (in payment) for the stephanephorate (?) to those offering joint sacrifice' (ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐπ[ι]φ[α]νῶς τῶν Σεβββ. ἐν τῇ [έ]αυ[τοῦ] πατρίδι, ἐπὶ τε τῇ [ἀνα]στάσει τῶν ἀνδριάντων[ν] οἰνοδοσίαν σαπροοδώ[ν] στεφανηφορίας τοῖς συνθύσασσι (ποιησάμενον), lines 13-19).<sup>17</sup> Aurelia Sarapias was priestess of Artemis, and had been 'the first high-priestess of the (three) Augusti in her ancestral city'. In her case, it is stated that the council 'honoured her with the erection of a statue from its own funds in front of the building (πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου) of her husband, Aurelius Daphnus.<sup>18</sup>

The word στεφανηφορίας in line 18 of the first inscription has caused problems. Pugliese Carratelli took it to mean 'crowning' (though the word seems never to have this sense): the *SEG* editors suggest that Daphnus 'provided a gift of wine and wreaths', but even if the word could have this sense there is no conjunction to translate 'and'. The word στεφανηφορία should surely designate the office of *stephanêphoros*, which other inscriptions show to have been highly coveted at Iasus. One such, discussed by Adolf Wilhelm and Louis Robert, concerns a benefactor who gave a sum of five thousand *denarii* as a *summa honoraria* for the privilege of holding the office, ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς στεφανηφορίας ἀναλωμάτων πάντων.<sup>19</sup> Now in Greek of the Hellenistic period and later, the simple genitive is used in a variety of senses indicating purpose or aim, and can often be translated 'for the sake of', 'on account of', with verbs of paying and the like simply 'for': thus τῆς ζμυρνῆς μηθένα πλεῖον πράσσειν τῆς μνάς ἀργυρ(του) (δραχμῶν) μ', 'for the myrrh ... no one shall exact more than 40 drachmae of silver for a mina-weight'.<sup>20</sup> Here, therefore, the simple genitive can be translated 'in payment for' or 'on account of' the stephanephorate.

The statues in line 16 were taken by the first editor, Pugliese Carratelli, to be those of the three emperors Severus, Caracalla and Geta. While that might be right, the reference comes in rather abruptly, and Pleket has plausibly suggested that they are the statue of Daphnus

<sup>17</sup> I restore ἐπ[ι]φ[α]νῶς (line 13) in place of ἐπ[ι]κοινῶ-νῶς (Pugliese Carratelli) or ἐπ[ι]κοινῶς (Pleket), of which the first is unattested, the second exceedingly rare: compare for example *JGRR* iii.382 (J. Nollé and F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Selge* [*IGSK* 37, Bonn 1991] 20a, ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐπιφανῶς. On στεφανηφορίας, see below.

<sup>18</sup> I take ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς to refer to the Council's funds, not to the honorand's.

<sup>19</sup> A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge* 4 (Vienna 1915) 49-52 = *Akademischeschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Leipzig 1974) 1, 223-6; L. Robert, *REG* 70 (1957) 362-3 = *OMS* 3.1479-80. The inscription is now W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (*IGSK* 28, Bonn 1985) 248.12-15.

<sup>20</sup> *PTeb* 35.3, cited by E. Maysner, *Gramm. Gr. Pap.* ii.2.1 (Berlin & Leipzig 1933) 192. For similar genitives in inscriptions, G. Nachmanson, *Eranos* 9 (1909) 31-43; A. Wilhelm, *Glotta* 14 (1925) 70-1, 74-5 ('zur Bezeichnung der Bestimmung und Zugehörigkeit').

beneath which the text is carved, and the statue of his wife, which would have stood nearby. It may be proposed that Aurelius Daphnus, whether or not he was still high-priest of the Augusti, paid 'for the stephanephorate' by giving a gift of wine to 'those offering joint sacrifice'; the occasion celebrated the inauguration either of his own and his wife's statues, or (less probably) of those of the three reigning emperors. Since the text goes on to mention his generosity to the people and the councillors on the same occasion, the 'joint sacrificers' seem to be, not his fellow-citizens, but rather guests from elsewhere, just as the priest of Hecate at Panamara invited 'kindred' cities to his *euphrosûnê*. *Sunthusiâ* will then be associated in this text either with the erection of imperial statues, or with statues of a couple who had served as high-priest and -priestess of the emperors.

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An inscription from Side in Pamphylia, first published by G.E. Bean, consists of 'three joining fragments of a limestone slab [with] right edge only preserved'. It honours, in the nominative case, a person whose last name was Spartiaticus. He appears to have had two Roman names, perhaps T(itus) F(lavius) rather than I(ulius) F(lavius). The tops of both letters are broken away, and the first could as easily be tau as iota.<sup>21</sup>

The date cannot be before the Flavian era, since the honorand is grandson of a Flavius (line 4). The script is sober, with squarish letters having only slightly marked serifs and with generous interlinear spacing. Bean's no. 147, from the reign of Claudius, has similar lettering and layout (though the alpha has a straight and not a broken bar); his no. 107, honouring the poet Paion of Side from the reign of Hadrian or Pius,<sup>22</sup> is similar in some ways, but there the lettering is more crowded, the lower loop of the beta is larger than the upper, and the circle of the phi is not, as here, equal in size to an omicron. A date some time around the turn of the first and second centuries seems indicated.

Among his other public offices and benefactions, Spartiaticus was apparently a priest of the reigning emperor, of whose name and titles only Αὐτοκράτορος[----Σεβ]αστοῦ πατρὸς πα[τρ]ίδος are preserved (lines 3-4). In addition, he 'began to ---- the theatre ----, [went as ambassador (?)] three times to the emperor, --- the Panathenaic contest' ([----]I τὸ θέατρον ἤρξατο ..... ἐπρέσβευσε] δὲ καὶ γ' πρὸς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα, -----] Παναθηναϊκὸν ἀγῶνα, lines 10-12). After this mention of the emperor, Bean began a new clause, and supplied [ἡγωνοθέτησεν δὲ τὸν]; 'in a city where Athena is so prominent it is natural that Panathenaic games should be celebrated, though this is the first actual mention of them at Side'.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> G.E. Bean, *Side Kitabeleri: the inscriptions of Side* (Ankara 1965) 189, with pl. 25.83, whence *Ann. épigr.* 1966. 480. For other texts naming the honorand in the nominative at Side, Bean, 111, 112, 127, 146. Bean gives the letters before Σπαρτιατικός in line 1 as iota phi, without further comment; *Ann. épigr.* resolves them as Ἰ(σὺλιος) Φ(λάουιος); for T(τος) Φ(λάουιος), *Inscr. Cret.* 1, Lyttos n. 55 (*CIG* 2583; *JGRR* i.979).

<sup>22</sup> On this person, L. Robert in *Stele: Tomos eis mnemen N. Kontoleonos* (Athens 1977) 10-20 = *OMS* 7.578-88.

<sup>23</sup> Bean (n.21) 70.

That silence is disturbing, and accordingly Jeanne and Louis Robert proposed a different solution. 'Avec la mention des trois ambassades à Rome, l'inscription mentionne un autre voyage du personnage; il a été envoyé représenter la ville, comme συνθύτης (théore) "au concours Panathénaique", le glorieux concours que célébraient les Athéniens et que mentionnent tant d'inscriptions grecques à l'époque impériale'.<sup>24</sup>

The suggestion that Spartiaticus had travelled as a *sunthutês* (possibly a *theôros*, as on Rhodes) is excellent, and it would fit more easily after the mention of his three embassies to the emperor. It is also true that the Athenian Panathenaea are the only contest of this name of any permanent renown, so that when athletes or musicians mention their victories in the so-called 'sacred' or 'crowned' contests of the Greek world, the simple 'Panathenaea' suffices without any indication of place.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, even in the imperial period, though less often than in the Hellenistic, Panathenaea are found in cities with a prominent cult of Athena, and it seems unusual, perhaps unexampled, for the Athenian Panathenaea to be called 'the Panathenaic contest' outside of Athens.<sup>26</sup>

We have seen that *sunthutai* are frequently associated with imperial events; for example, three of the four *sunthutai* at Sparta went to contests founded by the emperors. Now one emperor is associated with a contest called in Greek 'Panathenaea', though it had only a short life. There are two principal texts. After discussing Domitian's Capitolia, which became one of the great contests of the empire,<sup>27</sup> Suetonius continues: *celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Mineruae, cui collegium instituerat, ex quo sorte ducti magisterio fungerentur ederentque eximias uenationes et scaenicus ludos, superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina*. Cassius Dio gives a very similar account: 'he worshipped Athena most among the gods, and for this reason celebrated the Panathenaea greatly, and in so doing gave contests (*agônes*) of poets, prose-writers and gladiators almost yearly in his Alban villa'.<sup>28</sup> Domitian's cult of Athena is well known from texts and artifacts, and excavation of his Alban villa has revealed both the theatre

and the amphitheatre in which these contests took place.<sup>29</sup>

If Domitian is the emperor here, it will follow that the text omits his title of *Germanicus*, which usually follows *Augustus*. The very few exceptions include an inscription from Phaselis, dated to 93/94, which omits the title while giving the rest of Domitian's titulature in full. In the present text, the supplement Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Δομετιανού Σεβ]αστοῦ πατρὸς πατρ- (δος would yield 34 letters in line 3, as against 37 tentatively restored by Bean in line 1.<sup>30</sup>

It may be proposed, then, that—as the Roberts suggested—Spartiaticus did travel as a *sunthutês*, but not to Athens; indeed, there seems to be no mention of a *sunthutês* going to any of the festivals of old Greece in the imperial period, with the possible exception, discussed above, of the Spartan who may have gone to the Halieia of Rhodes.<sup>31</sup> Instead, so it is here suggested, Spartiaticus' three missions to the emperor are connected with the Quinquatria which Domitian held annually at his Alban villa. A possible restoration of the inscription from Side would then be: [ἐπρέσβευσε] δὲ καὶ γ πρὸς τὸν Αὐ[τοκράτορα συνθύων εἰς (συνεορτ- ἄζων) τὸν] Παναθηναϊκὸν ἀγῶνα, giving 38 or 39 letters in line 12, as against Bean's 41 (future participles would give 39 letters with both verbs). For the construction, a letter of Hadrian to Ptolemais-Barca may be compared, θ[αυμαζέ]ω ὅτι μηδέποτε ἐν τῷ ἔμπρο- σθεν χρόνῳ διαπέμψαν[τες ἀλλὰ] συνθύσαντες εἰς τὸν τῶ[ν Καπετω]λίτων ἀγῶνα νῦν πρῶτον ἀπεστείλατε.<sup>32</sup>

CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

Harvard University

<sup>24</sup> J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1968.545.

<sup>25</sup> In the index of Moretti (n.9), the only Panathenaea are those of Athens.

<sup>26</sup> Cyzicus: *IGRR* iv.144, as revised by A. Wilhelm in W.H. Buckler and W.M. Calder (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (Manchester 1923) 419-27 and *JOAI* 24 (1929) 188-91 = *Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* 1 (Leipzig 1984) 664-7. Ilion: L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* ser. 3, 3 (1929) 130 = *OMS* 2.1096 (*SEG* 17.628B; first century AD); possibly *CIG* 3620 (after 212). Sardis: J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (Paris 1950) 8. Note also the 'Panathenaic themis' at Selge in Pisidia: Nollé and Schindler (n.17) nn. 46-50. Supposed Panathenaea at Demetrias in Thessaly are due to a misreading of the text: *SEG* 29.340.

<sup>27</sup> On these, Robert, *CRAI* 1970.7-8 = *OMS* 5.648-9; Caldelli (n.9).

<sup>28</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 4.4, on which see the useful discussion of G.W. Mooney, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum Libri vii-viii* (London, New York, Toronto & Dublin 1930, repr. New York 1979) 527-8; Cass. Dio 67.1.2, 8, 316 ed. E. Cary (Loeb). In his only other use of the expression τὰ Παναθηναῖα (54.28.3, 6, 356 ed. Cary), Dio again means the Latin *Quinquatria*; cf. C. Habicht, *CP* 86 (1991) 226-8 = *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit* (Munich 1994) 261-3.

<sup>29</sup> For the coins, Mattingly-Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* 2 (1926) 151; Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* 2 (1930) lxxxv-lxxxvi; K. Scott, *Rev. Arch.* ser. 6, 6 (1935) 69-72; L. Morawiecki, *Klio* 59 (1977) 185-93; J.-L. Girard, *ANRW* ii.17.1 (Berlin & New York 1981) 233-45. His *legio I Minervia* belongs in the same context (E. Ritterling, *RE* 12.1420-1), as does his archonship of Athens (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1996; cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* [Oxford 1958] 509-10, on the 'startling novelty'). On his *Quinquatria*, O. Henschel, *RE* 24.1159-60; Morawiecki, 188; Girard, 239-40. Theatre and amphitheatre: G. Lugli, *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 45 (1917) 68-70, with map facing 78; Lugli, *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 46 (1918) 40-57.

<sup>30</sup> *TAM* ii.3.1186 (the best text). For the omission of *Germanicus*, A. Martin, *La Titulature épigraphique de Domitien* (*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 181, Frankfurt am Main 1987) 185-6.

<sup>31</sup> Note that Heliodorus makes Theagenes lead a *theōriā* of the Aenianes to Delphi: *Aeth.* 2.34.

<sup>32</sup> *SEG* 28.1566.81-2 (J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* [n. 6] 124).