THE WORLD OF THE PANHELLENION
II. THREE DORIAN CITIES*

By A. J. SPAWFORTH AND SUSAN WALKER

(Plates III–IV)

INTRODUCTION

The first part of this study (hereafter Panhellenion I)[1] considered the nature of Hadrian's Panhellenion by looking at its known membership and activities and its social context, and reviewed the impact of the league's foundation on Athens, its capital city, and Eleusis, Attica's most prestigious sanctuary.

Here we concentrate on three Dorian member-cities: Sparta and Argos in the province of Achaia, and Cyrene in Crete-and-Cyrene. In doing so we sometimes need to go beyond the evidence relating specifically to the Panhellenion, since certain features of Greek city-life under the Antonines are best explained in the larger framework of Hadrian's initiatives in the Greek world: in particular a pre-occupation with civic origins, relations of kinship (*syngeneia*) and recognition through 'diplomacy' of the historic primacy of Achaia's most famous cities. In the archaeology of Cyrene and Argos it is possible to discern, as at Athens, a phase of urban development which owed its impetus to Hadrian and which, at Cyrene, embraced a marked archaism of style.

I. SPARTA

In the period from the Flavians to the Severans, civic life at Sparta displayed a marked vitality. A characteristic of the Antonine age was the considerable expansion in the city's ties with Greek and Hellenized communities overseas. This development contrasts with Sparta's less expansive role on the Greek stage earlier in the principate, when her formal relations with other Greek cities were largely confined to the province of Achaia.[2]

In all but one instance, these overseas ties are recorded in Spartan inscriptions, the texts in question mostly belonging to two profusely documented categories in Spartan epigraphy, records of civic careers and catalogues of annual boards of magistrates. The ties take forms familiar to the student of Greek inter-city relations in the Hellenistic and Roman periods—the despatch of 'sacred' and judicial embassies, the tenure of local office by foreign notables, and the agreement of concord (*homonoia*) between cities. Significant in Sparta's case are, firstly, the chronology of these ties, all belonging to the post-Hadrianic period and clustering in the reign of Pius (though the two principal categories of document are also well attested at Sparta in the period before the 140s); and secondly, the location of the other cities involved—in Magna Graecia, Africa and Asia. Along with their date, the nature of these ties suggests that their larger dynamic was the antiquarian and panhellenic mood characteristic of the Greek civic mentality in the post-Hadrianic period, a mood which found its institutional focus in Hadrian's Panhellenion and conferred a new prestige on Greece's most historic cities.

A. *Ties of kinship*

First, a group of cases in which a claim to kinship (*syngeneia*) with Sparta seems to have prompted 'diplomatic' activity.

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Abbreviation:
Oliver = J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East, Hesperia* Suppl. XIII (1970).

[1] A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The World of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis', *JRS* LXXV (1985), 78–104.

[2] Spartan history under the principate will be explored fully by A. Spawforth in a forthcoming book with Paul Cartledge on Hellenistic and Roman Sparta and Laconia.

Synnada. Between about 133 and 140 a notable from Phrygian Synnada in the province of Asia, Tib. Claudius Attalus Andragathus, made a dedication at Sparta in connection with his city's claim to a Spartan ancestry. The activity of Andragathus at Athens and Plataea in the same period was discussed in Panhellenion I (pp. 91–2). His ties with Greece apparently stemmed from his involvement in Synnada's application for membership of the Panhellenion, the evidence for which requires some elaboration.

Admission to the league partly depended on a city's ability to adduce a Greek origin (Panhellenion I, 82). In Synnada's case, the city supported its application by claiming to be founded jointly from Athens and Sparta. This claim was advertised on Synnada's coinage, which includes issues bearing variously the inscriptions Συνναδέων Ἰώνων, Δωριέων Ἰώνων Συνναδέων and Συνναδέων Δωριέων. Of the issues which bear imperial portraits and so can be readily dated, the earliest, significantly, belong to the reign of Pius.[3] The foundation-legend to which these coins refer is alluded to in a fragmentary copy of a Synnadan decree, set up at Athens, which makes reference to Λακεδαιμο[ν---- ἀπο]ικίαν ἀγαγο[ντ----] γὴν Ἀττική[ν----] and Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακε[δαιμονίων]. The decree also records benefactions conferred on Synnada and mentions both Hadrian and a Claudius Attalus.[4] As the Roberts saw, the appearance at Athens of this Synnadan decree can be linked with the Panhellenion.[5] It recalls a fragmentary text also found on the Acropolis which has been identified as a decree of the city of Thyateira in the province of Asia. In accordance with a decree of the Panhellenion, this text records the benefactions which Thyateira received from the league's founder.[6] Following P. Graindor, then, the συνέδριον in the Synnadan decree can be identified with the council of the Panhellenion, and Synnada's benefactor with the emperor Hadrian: as in the case of Thyateira, Synnada had been successful in her application to join the Panhellenion, likewise arranging for the setting up at Athens of a record of the emperor's benefactions, together in Synnada's case with an account of her foundation-legend.[7]

The decree contains the instruction that its inscription at Athens was to be entrusted to a Claudius Attalus, who is named elsewhere in the text together with—but before—a certain Claudius Piso Tertullinus.[8] These two belonged to a family prominent at Synnada at least since the reign of Claudius, from whom it probably received the Roman franchise.[9] An inscription from Synnada records its leading members under Hadrian and Pius: Attalus Andragathus, his brother Piso Tertullinus, an Asiarch, and the latter's son, also called Claudius Attalus;[10] both these last appear on Synnadan coins in the office of *prytanis* or eponymous magistrate, Piso under Pius and Attalus under Pius and L. Verus, when he also served as *logistes* of his native city.[11] This younger Attalus cannot, as has been thought,[12] be the Attalus of the Athenian text, who was named before Piso and was evidently his senior: Attalus Andragathus seems to be in question here. Accordingly, the embassy bearing Synnada's decree to Athens comprised these two brothers. As for its date, the inscription's reference to Hadrian and the fact that Andragathus was archon at Athens in 140/1 suggest that it belongs, along with the admission of Synnada to the Panhellenion, to the years immediately after the league's foundation in 131/2.[13]

[3] Undated: B. V. Head, *BMC Phrygia* (1906), 396, nos. 22 and 26; 397, nos. 28–9. Dated: A. M. Woodward, *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* II (1953), 870, 8a–b (Pius and Gordian III); Head, op. cit., 405, no. 66; 406, nos. 69–73 (Gallienus). See too Steph. Byz., s.v. Σύνναδα, with the remarks of L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (1935, repr. 1962), 252 n. 1. For the contents of Robert's promised book on the foundation-legends of Synnada and other cities, which regrettably did not appear before his death, see *Hellenica* VIII (1960), 90–1.

[4] Five fragments are presently attested: A = *IG* III, 55; B = *IG* II², 1075 (these two were first associated by P. Graindor, *REG* XXXI (1918), 227–37); C, D and E: respectively D. Geagan, *TAPhA* CIII (1972), 158–60, a (= *IG* II², 2291c), b and c. Foundation-legend: fragments D and B respectively.

[5] *REG* LXXIX (1966), 357–8, no. 144.

[6] Oliver, no. 50.

[7] Graindor, art. cit. (n. 4), 229.

[8] Frag. B, 15–16: καὶ [ἐπιμελείσθω---- τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆ]ς στήλης Κλ. Ἄτταλος [----]. Frag. A, 13–14: [τοὺς πολ]ίτας ἡμῶν Κλαύδι[ό]ν τε Ἄτταλ[ο]ν [.]Ν[----καὶ]Κλ. Πείσωνα Τερτυλλεῖνον. Geagan, art. cit. (n. 4), 154 n. 53 plausibly suggested the restoration Ἄτταλ[ο]ν [Ἀ]ν[δράγαθον].

[9] See *BMC Phrygia*, 398–9, nos. 35–6.

[10] *MAMA* VI, no. 374.

[11] Refs. at *PIR*² C 797, where the *logistes* is wrongly identified with the sophist P. Claudius Attalus of Phocaea: see Buckler and Calder, *MAMA*, ibid.

[12] J. and L. Robert, art. cit. (n. 5), 358–9, no. 144.

[13] Archonship: Panhellenion I, 91.

The mission of Andragathus to Sparta is recorded in a fragmentary Spartan inscription, now lost, in which he is named (ll. 3–4: Κλαύδιος/Ἄ[ττα]λος Ἀνδ]ράγαθος) as the dedicator there of a statue of Athena (ll. 4–5: Ἀθηνᾶν|Π[?ο/λιάδα]). Although the exact restoration of the text presents difficulties, its subsequent references to 'Synnadan colonists' (l. 5:[Συ]ν̣αδέων ἀποίκων) and to Thynnarus (l. 6:Θυννάρῳ), Synnada's eponymous oecist, make clear that the context of this dedication was Synnada's claim to be a Spartan foundation; perhaps the statue depicted the Synnadan Athena Polias, whose cult-statue appears on the city's coinage.[14] Andragathus was serving at the time as priest of the Concord of the Greeks at Plataea, as he was when he held the archonship at Athens; so his dedication at Sparta can be placed late in the reign of Hadrian or early in that of Pius.

It seems clear that his mission to Sparta was part of a larger assertion by Synnada of its allegedly Greek foundation, on the occasion of the city's application for admission to the Panhellenion. In Sparta's case, Andragathus perhaps accompanied the dedication with the negotiation of a formal 'renewal' (*ananeosis*) of the kinship between the two cities, as in the case of Argos and Cilician Aegeae (see below). The role attributed to Andragathus in the dedication from Sparta, along with the evidence from Athens, strongly suggests that he and his family were instrumental in promoting Synnada's ties with the Panhellenion and old Greece at this time.

Alabanda. The inscribed career of a Spartan magistrate, Eudocimus son of Damocrates, records his service as ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα. This mission is listed (and presumably fell) after the term of Eudocimus as 'announcer' (*katangeleus*) of a new Spartan festival, the Eurycleia, founded in 136/7.[15] Alabanda was a Carian city in the province of Asia and of some importance, the seat of a proconsular assize; the mission of Eudocimus must have been prompted by an Alabandan request to Sparta for the dispatch of a judicial embassy. There is some ambiguity in the meaning of *xenokrites*: it might indicate that the cases which Eudocimus judged were limited to those involving foreigners; or it may refer to his status as a 'foreign' judge, one requested from another city.[16] His Alabandan embassy belongs to a succession of judicial missions involving Sparta and Asian cities, the significance of which is considered below. Of interest here is the fact that Roman Alabanda claimed a Spartan ancestry. This claim is not found in the account of the city's foundation-legend preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, who records that the city's eponymous oecist, Alabandus, was a native Carian.[17] But its existence can be inferred from the inscription Ἀλαβανδέων Λακεδαιμονίων on Alabandan coins issued under Philip (244–9), showing that the city's developed foundation-legend advertised a mixed ancestry, partly native, partly Greek.[18] In the Hellenistic period and under the principate, kinship between cities was sometimes associated with, and perhaps served as a pretext for, a request for 'foreign' judges.[19] Alabanda's claim to a Spartan ancestry had evidently already been established by the reign of Pius, its active assertion at that date presumably underlying the city's request for a Spartan tribunal.

Rhodes. The inscribed career of the Spartan magistrate Spendon son of Spendon records that prior to serving at Athens as a Spartan Panhellene he held the post of συνθύτ[ης] ἰς Ῥόδον.[20] In Greek inscriptions of the principate, the term συνθύτης supplants that of θεωρός to describe a 'sacred' ambassador, one who represented his city at a foreign festival.[21] Here the Haleia are presumably meant, a Rhodian festival enjoying

[14] *IG* v, 1, 452 with p. 303, *add. et corr.*; *SEG* xi, *add. et corr.* 771; J. and L. Robert, *REG* lxvii (1954), 131–2 n. 118; Geagan, art. cit. (n. 4), 153–4 n. 4; S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècles* (1976), 192 n. 8. The name and titles of Andragathus appear here (ll. 1–4) as [Ὁ ἱερεὺς τ]ῆς Ὁμονοίας τῶν/[Ἑλλήνων] καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου/[Διὸς Ὀλ]υμπίου Κλαύδιος Ἄτ/[ταλος Ἀνδρ]άγαθος, the lengths of these four lines being evidently shorter than earlier commentators have allowed. Coins: Head, *Historia Numorum*², 686.

[15] *SEG* xi, 491, 3–5 with A. Spawforth, *ABSA* lxxiii (1978), 251–2.

[16] Woodward, *ABSA* xxvi (1923–5), 180; S. Jameson, *ANRW* ii, 7, 2 (1980), 852.

[17] Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλάβανδα.

[18] T. Mionnet, *Supplément* vi, 443, no. 42; *BMC Caria*, p. xxx. Note too Alabanda's *syngeneia* with Carystus: *IG* xii, 9, 4, ll. 7–8.

[19] D. Musti, *ASNP* xxxii (1963), 235 with n. 22. In the early principate, note Le Bas-Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines* . . . (1870, repr. 1972), 358a, ll. 1–2.

[20] *IG* v, 1, 47 (Oliver, no. 48), 4–5.

[21] L. Robert, *CRAI* 1970, 6.

'ecumenical' status in the second and third centuries.[22] A more accurate dating of Spendon's mission depends on the identity of the *bouagos* 'Aristeas', the coeval Spartan under whom Spendon served his term in Sparta's ephebic training (ll. 1–2: συνέφηβος Ἀριστέος): the only other *bouagos* of this name hitherto attested is C. Pomponius Aristeas (I), who held office at Sparta under Pius.[23] If, as seems likely, one and the same man is in question, the *floruit* of Spendon can be assigned to the same period. The fact that Rhodes was devastated by earthquake, probably in 142, does not necessarily provide a closer indicator of date, since an anonymous speech delivered at Rhodes on this occasion specifically records that the disaster spared the locality where the Haleia were celebrated.[24]

The initiative for this embassy was presumably Rhodian, since Sparta's official representative is unlikely to have appeared at the Haleia uninvited. The motive for such an invitation is unknown; no other links are attested between the two cities under the principate. Sparta and Rhodes could be felt to enjoy a tie of kinship, however, in the sense that both were Dorian foundations. In the post-Hadrianic age this connection was remembered: it was noted by the sophist Aelius Aristides when he reminded the Rhodians in his speech to them 'on concord' that they and the Spartans were 'of the same tribe';[25] for the Athenian historian P. Herennius Dexippus, writing a century later, the island had even been settled by 'Lacedaemonians'.[26] Now the recollection of ties of kinship was a pronounced feature in the ideology of the Panhellenion, of which Rhodes was a member.[27] Traditionally, moreover, the Greeks viewed religious festivals as fitting occasions for the celebration of such ties.[28] It is attractive to see the presence of a 'sacred' ambassador from Sparta at the Haleia, along with the Rhodian invitation which underlay this mission, in the context of an assertion by Antonine Rhodes of her kinship with Sparta.

Tarentum. The inscribed career of the Spartan magistrate Callicrates son of Apellacon records the post of πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Τάραντα. He performed this embassy when he was at least middle-aged, since he had previously held the senior magistracy of πρέσβυς συναρχίας. The latter post fell in the patronomate of Tib. Claudius Nicias, who held office early in the reign of Pius; so the embassy to Tarentum, Sparta's old colony, can be placed *c.* 145–50. Although the text makes no allusion to the motive for this mission, it was evidently an effusive episode, to judge from the warm welcome which Callicrates received at Tarentum, including the conferment of 'very great honours' and the offer (which the Spartan ambassador virtuously refused) of 'gold in no small quantity'.[29]

Contact between Sparta and Tarentum is well attested down to the early Hellenistic period, after which the sources fall silent until the post-Hadrianic period. Given its date and ceremonial nature, the mission of Callicrates can probably be understood as an initiative by Sparta, a member of the Panhellenion, to 'renew' the tie of kinship with her colony. An echo of this renewed tie between the two cities can perhaps be found in a recently published tombstone for an Alexandrian athlete, M. Aurelius Serenus *qui et* Heliodorus, who retired to Tarentum following his term at Severan Sparta as secretary of the city's athletic *xystos*.[30]

Cyrene. In the years around 150 Sparta's eponymous patronomate was conferred on D. Cascellius Aristoteles, a notable from Cyrene. Behind this episode was the claim of

[22] cf. L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (1953), nos. 50, 59, 77, 79 and 84.

[23] *IG* v, 1, 495. On this Spartan family see now A. Spawforth, *ABSA* LXXX (1985), 239–43.

[24] [Ps.] Arist. XXV, 32 (Keil): καὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν Ἀλι⟨εί⟩ων ἀγῶνα ποιήσετε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον μεμένηκε σῶν οὗ ποιήσετε. Date of earthquake: see C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (1968), 15–16 n. 44.

[25] Arist. XXIV, 24 (Keil): τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν ἀποβλέψατε, ὁμόφυλον ὑμῖν οὖσαν ...

[26] *FGH* II, A 463, 9.

[27] As is implied by the archonship of the Rhodian M. Cocceius Timasarchus: Panhellenion I, 87.

[28] cf. Isoc., *Paneg.* 39–44.

[29] *IG* v, 1, 37b, 12–17 (*SEG* XI, 481): Καλλικράτης Ἀπελλάκωνος, πρέσβυς / συναρχείας ἐπὶ Νεικία, πρεσβευτὴς εἰς / Τάραντα, καὶ τειμηθεὶς ταῖς μεγίστα[ις] / [[ΤΑΙΣ]] τειμαῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ διδομέ[ν]/ου οὐκ ὀλίγου οὐ προσήκατο, καθὼ[ς / ἐ]μαρτυρήθη. Nicias: K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (1949), 466.

[30] L. Gasperini, 'Un buleuta alessandrino a Taranto', *Alessandria e il mondo ellenico-romano. Studi in onore di A. Adriani* (1984), 476–9, where (477 n. 8) *IG* v, 1, 37b is wrongly assigned to the reign of Commodus. For foreigners as xystarchs at Sparta see L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* (1966), 100–5; Moretti, op. cit. (above n. 22), no. 84c, l. 27.

Cyrene, a member of the Panhellenion, to a Spartan ancestry. See further pp. 96–100 below, where the patronomate of Aristoteles is considered alongside other evidence for the vigorous assertion by late Hadrianic and Antonine Cyrene of its Dorian civic tradition.

B. *'Cultural' ties*

Although the following cities are not known to have claimed Spartan origins, the prestige of Sparta's past seems in most, if not all, cases to have provided the momentum for these contacts with Antonine Sparta.

Puteoli and Naples. The career-inscription (Pl. III, 1) of a future Panhellene from Sparta, C. Iulius Arion, records his post as 'sacred ambassador to Neapolis' (συνθύτης ἰς Νέαν πόλιν), a duty which he discharged after a civic embassy to M. Gavius Maximus, praetorian prefect at Rome from 138 until about 158; so his visit to Neapolis belongs to the reign of Pius.[31] He was not Sparta's only ambassador to the bay of Naples in this period. At much the same time, another career-inscription (Pl. III, 2) records that a magistrate called Varius Phosphorus served as 'sacred ambassador to Puteoli (and) Neapolis' (συνθύτης Ποτιόλους, Νέαν πόλιν), presumably visiting the two cities on the same journey to Italy.[32] This visit took place after Phosphorus had held a post in his native Sparta in a year when the deified Lycurgus was eponymous *patronomos*.[33] Two patronomates of the god are attested in Antonine Sparta, one under Pius, the other under Marcus or Commodus, the later of the two being distinguished in inscriptions as τὸ β'.[34] In the absence of this enumeration in the career-inscription of Phosphorus, the earlier patronomate seems to be in question there; so his Italian mission can be placed in the mid-second century.

These sacred embassies were occasioned by the celebration of agonistic festivals: the Sebasta at Neapolis and at Puteoli the Eusebeia, founded by Antoninus Pius in memory of Hadrian; both were 'sacred and ecumenical' festivals of the first rank, so well known that in agonistic texts, as here, they were sometimes referred to simply by the name of the host-city.[35]

No other evidence exists to connect Sparta with these Campanian cities under the principate. Although neither is known to have been a member of the Panhellenion, both cities had remained firmly within the orbit of Greek culture;[36] as such, they could well have been responsive to Hadrianic developments in Greek cultural and political life best attested further east. As with the Spartan embassy to the Rhodian Haleia at about this time, the Spartan embassies to Campanian festivals will have been undertaken at the invitation of the host-cities. The prestige of a Spartan presence in the age of the Panhellenion appears to supply the motive.

Ephesus. As well as Aristoteles of Cyrene, two other overseas Greek notables held the Spartan patronomate in the reign of Pius. Spartan inscriptions twice refer to the *patronomos* Τιτιανός, holding office in the early Antonine period. His name is otherwise unknown at Sparta, nor is he attested in any other Spartan post; it is possible, then, that he was a foreigner. A. M. Woodward attractively proposed his identification with the Ephesian senator C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus, of whose personality and tastes nothing is known, but who had close ties with Greece. He served as quaestor of Achaia in about 150, and his brother, another Demostratus, married into the Athenian élite.[37] When

[31] *SEG* XI, 501 (Oliver, no. 2) with E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* (1939), col. 71.

[32] *SEG* XI, 500, 4.

[33] ibid. l. 3: συνπατρονόμος θεῷ Λυκούργῳ.

[34] First patronomate: *IG* V, 1, 66 (*SEG* XI, 524), 13; 67, 2; *SEG* XI, 496, 5; 497, 2; 500, 3; dated by Woodward, art. cit. (n. 16), 191, 'not later than the middle of the second century', by Chrimes, op. cit. (n. 29), to *c.*140/1. Second patronomate: *IG* V, 1, 45, 2–5; thought by Woodward, *ABSA* XXVII (1925–6), 227 to be in question in *SEG* XI, 500 (but with no good reason).

[35] Robert, art. cit. (n. 21), 10 with n. 6.

[36] See e.g. the remarks of J. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (1970), 142–52; A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae* (1983), esp. ch. 1. For Puteoli in the second century see D'Arms, *JRS* LXIV (1974), 104–24.

[37] *IG* V, 1, 39, 34; *SEG* XI, 498, 5–6; Woodward, *ABSA* XLIII (1948), 257–8, suggesting a date for this patronomate of *c.*155; Chrimes, op. cit. (n. 29), 466 proposed one *c.*166/7. For the senator see *PIR*² C 1044; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (1979), 161–2, no. 73. Athenian tie: *IG* II/III², 4071 with the emendation of l. 17 by Groag, op. cit. (n. 31), col. 119.

Greek cities conferred their eponymous magistracy on a foreign notable, the motive often seems to have been to reward (or invite) benefaction by the person concerned: such, for instance, is probably the explanation of the patronomate of Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes of Athens, father of the sophist, whose ties with Sparta were close.[38] The precise circumstances in which Demostratus (if correctly identified) held the same office remain conjectural. But he would not have been the only Ephesian notable to have held a civic magistracy in Greece at this time: a recently published inscription shows that M. Tigellius Lupus, who served as Ephesian ambassador at the dedication of the Olympieion in 131/2, subsequently received the Athenian citizenship and held the Athenian office of herald of the *boule* and *demos*.[39] Generally speaking, it is attractive to see in both episodes the reflection of a benevolent interest in old Greece's most historic cities among members of the Ephesian élite in the wake of the Panhellenion's foundation.

Pergamum. At much the same time Spartan inscriptions attest the patronomate of a certain Χάραξ; again, no other local office can be associated with this *patronomos*, nor is his name otherwise known at Roman Sparta. His identification by Woodward with the Pergamene senator and man of letters, A. Claudius Charax, suffect consul in 147, therefore seems reasonably assured, especially since this same man is known to have been honoured by another Peloponnesian city, the Roman colony of Patrae, which set up a statue of him in his native Pergamum.[40] Apart from his senatorial career, which seems to have begun under the patronage of Hadrian, Charax was the author of a lost work in forty books, probably called *Greek and Italian History* (Ἑλληνικαὶ καὶ Ἰταλικαὶ Ἱστοριαί). The popularity of this work is reflected in the number and varied provenance of the surviving fragments;[41] it was evidently widely read in late antiquity and the Byzantine period. A new study of the fragments suggests an antiquarian work of universal scope rather than a narrative history, with an interest in local mythology of the kind shown by those works on 'colonies, foundations of cities and ties of kinship' to which Polybius refers.[42] Such an emphasis makes the work of Charax very much a product of his age, articulating the same preoccupation with the local traditions of Greek cities as can be found in the milieu of the Panhellenion.[43]

Although his Roman career did not, it seems, include provincial posts in Achaia, the honours paid to Charax by Patrae and Sparta suggest the presence of this Pergamene notable in Greece; in the case of Patrae, he would probably have known the city from his journeying between Asia and Italy. Patrae's dedication closes with the words τὸν συγγραφέα, implying that the honorand's literary activity had prompted this honorific act; his work perhaps illuminated favourably the Roman colony's Greek past.[44] In Sparta's case, one might speculate that his antiquarian interests caused Charax to visit the city, in common with other lettered Greeks of his time, such as Pausanias and (probably) Lucian.[45] An act of benefaction by this rich Pergamene, prompted by admiration for Sparta's past, might then account for his honorific tenure of the city's eponymate.

Smyrna. In the reign of Commodus the city of Smyrna struck local coin issues celebrating 'concord' (*homonoia*) with the cities of Athens and Sparta respectively. In the latter's case, two issues are in question, their reverses bearing the legend Σμυρ(ναίων) Λακεδαι(μονίων) ὁμό(νοια) and scenes which include a standing figure of Ares evidently representing Sparta. The Athenian and Spartan issues should be considered in tandem,

[38] See A. Spawforth, *ABSA* LXXV (1980), 203–8.

[39] Herald: Panhellenion I, 91 n. 74. Ambassador: *IG* III, 485, where Μάρκου Τιγελλίου / [Λούπου] can be restored in ll. 6–7.

[40] *IG* V, 1, 71, col. iii, b, ll. 18 and 25 with Woodward, *ABSA* XLIII (1948), 258–9; C. Habicht, *MDAI(I)* IX/X (1959–60), 109–25. On Charax see now the excellent monograph by O. Andrei, *A. Claudius Charax di Pergamo* (1984).

[41] *FGH*, no. 103.

[42] Polyb. IX, 1, 4; 2, 1–2.

[43] See the concluding remarks of Andrei, op. cit. (n. 40), 121–37.

[44] Habicht, ibid. (n. 40).

[45] For Lucian's familiarity with the Sparta of his day see *Salt.* 10–12; *Anach.* 38. On Pausanias, see now C. Habicht, *Pausanias's Guide to Ancient Greece* (1985).

since they were coined during the term in office of the same eponymous magistrate of Smyrna, the *strategos* Aelius Heracleides, whose name they all bear.[46]

Smyrna, one of the three leading cities in the province of Asia, is not attested as a member of the Panhellenion.[47] But the association of Smyrnaean notables with the antiquarian and 'panhellenic' tendencies of the late Hadrianic and Antonine periods can, none the less, be documented. Such an influence has been detected in the rhetoric of the sophist Aelius Aristeides, a citizen of Smyrna;[48] another Smyrnaean sophist, Antonius Polemo, at Hadrian's request delivered the oration at the dedication of the Olympieion in 131/2;[49] and to the Antonine period may well belong the honorific term of a third prominent Smyrnaean, C. Claudius Valerius Licinnianus, as alytarch of the Olympia at Elis.[50] In the case of the ties with Athens and Sparta advertised in the *homonoia*-coinages, the attractive suggestion has been made that they were brought about through the personal initiative of Aelius Heracleides, the member of the Smyrnaean élite in whose *strategia* these issues were struck.[51]

C. *'Foreign' judges*

Lastly, we must consider a series of occasions when Antonine Sparta sent out or requested 'foreign' judges.

Samos. One of these occasions has already been discussed: Sparta's despatch to Alabanda of the *xenokrites* Eudocimus son of Damocrates. Immediately before this mission, early in the reign of Pius, Eudocimus served as δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ Σάμου.[52] The term *dikastagogos*, familiar from Hellenistic decrees for 'foreign' judges, described a local official who met and escorted back to his native city, there looking after their interests as a kind of 'master of ceremonies', the members of a judicial tribunal requested from another city.[53] Here, the city of Samos had evidently complied with such a request from the Spartans.

'Asia'. The inscribed careers of the Spartan magistrates Isochrysus son of Isochrysus and Eutychus son of Eutychus record that both served as δικασταγωγὸς ἀπὸ Ἀσίας, the former in about 150, the latter perhaps not many years later.[54] It is unclear in these cases whether Sparta requested tribunals from individual cities in the province of Asia or from the Asian *koinon*.

In sum, along with a further two *dikastagogoi*, whose destinations are unclear,[55] inscriptions show that Sparta requested 'foreign' judges at least five times within a period of some twenty-five years (*c.* 138–63), as well as despatching a *xenokrites* to Alabanda within the same period. In the Hellenistic period, Sparta, Alabanda and Samos were among the dozens of cities on both sides of the Aegean associated with the then widely documented practice of employing foreign tribunals to hear civic and sometimes federal litigation.[56] With the advent of Roman rule and the development of proconsular

[46] R. Pera, *Homonoia sulle monete da Augusto agli Antonini* (1984), 110–15, who puts to one side the single coin of Smyrna, reported by Mionnet, *Description* III, 233 n. 1306, commemorating *homonoia* with Athens in the *strategia* of Heracleides, but evidently bearing the name and portrait of M. Aurelius.

[47] Panhellenion I, 81.

[48] Notably in his Panathenaic speech, for which see J. H. Oliver, *The Civilizing Power* (1968).

[49] Philostr., *VS* 533.

[50] *IGRR* IV, 1436 with the remarks of H. Pleket, *ZPE* XX (1976), 9–15.

[51] Pera, ibid. (n. 46).

[52] *SEG* XI, 491.

[53] See R. Meister, *JÖAI* XXVII (1932), Beiblatt 243; L. Robert, 'Les juges étrangers dans la cité grecque', *Xenion. Festschrift für P. J. Zepos* (1973), 765–82.

[54] *SEG* XI, 493, 6 (Isochrysus), dated ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀριστοτέλους, Aristoteles holding office *c.*148/9: Chrimes, op. cit. (n. 29), 366. Eutychus: *IG* V, 1, 39 (*SEG* XI, 526), 7–10, his previous post falling ἐπὶ Κασ(κελλίου) Ἀριστοτέλους, who held office probably *c.*150–60 (see below, section on Cyrene).

[55] *SEG* XI, 496, 4–5 (early in the reign of Pius) and *IG* V, 1, 819, re-edited by L. Robert, *BCH* LII (1928), 417–18, and dating shortly before the Parthian war of 163–6. The destination of this *dikastagogos* was restored by R. as Θε[ττταλίας].

[56] e.g., Sparta: *SEG* XI. 468–9 and 472; *Klio* XV (1918), 33–4, no. 54 and XVIII (1923), 284–5, no. 37; Alabanda: *IG* XII, 9, 4; Samos: L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (1960), 204–13; *SEG* I, 363; C. Habicht, *AM* LXXII (1957), 233–41. Generally, see Robert, art. cit. (n. 53).

jurisdiction, the importance of 'foreign' judges in civic life seems to have declined; but inscriptions show that in parts of Asia Minor, at any rate, their use remained a routine matter under the principate, no doubt for the hearing of minor cases which Roman governors, already overburdened with administrative duties, would not wish or have time to judge.[57] The appearance of 'foreign' judges at Antonine Sparta offers further evidence for the survival of this institution into the imperial period. Nevertheless, it is striking that these judicial missions involving Sparta cluster in the reign of Pius, especially as Spartan career-inscriptions from the earlier principate make no mention of *xenokritai* or *dikastagogoi*. Given the preponderance of overseas localities involved, perhaps these missions were made remarkable and worthy of record by virtue of their long range. If so, they can be placed in the context of the intensified exchange between cities on either side of the Aegean in the wake of the Panhellenion's foundation. This explanation is particularly persuasive in the case of Alabanda, with its claim to a Spartan ancestry (above). Sparta's request for a judicial embassy from Samos also strikes an antiquarian note, given the ancient friendship between the two cities.[58]

D. *The prestige of Sparta*

Dio of Prusa classified Sparta with Athens and Argos as the 'first and most famous' (πρῶται καὶ ἐνδοξότατται) of the Greek cities.[59] This view, echoed by other educated Greeks of the Roman period,[60] was based on the distinguished place of the three cities in Greek myth and history, and was reflected in Sparta's case by the recurrence of Spartan themes in the literature and rhetoric of the Greek 'renaissance'.[61] Greeks living under Roman rule would also have been aware of, and probably influenced by, the favourable response among Romans to the Spartan 'myth', itself largely conditioned by the alleged resemblances between ancient Sparta and the idealized past of Rome.[62]

In the post-classical period, Sparta also emerges in Greek historiography as a leading 'mother-city', the alleged founder of a series of cities in central and south-western Asia Minor. The earliest of these claims to a Spartan ancestry, that of Pisidian Selge, appears in Polybius, the remainder in sources from the Roman period.[63] That they cannot be explained solely in terms of the (hypothetical) settlement of Spartans in Asia Minor[64] is suggested by the appearance among Hellenized Jewry in the third or second centuries B.C. of a claim to kinship between Jews and Spartans.[65] To modern scholars this claim is manifestly an invention, but it would not necessarily have been so to Hellenistic Greeks, who were avid readers of works on genealogy, origins of cities and inter-city ties of kinship (*syngeneiai*), even though some Greek intellectuals disapproved of such literature and questioned its veracity.[66] A full analysis of these Spartan *syngeneiai* is beyond our scope now. But any such undertaking would have to take into account the generally blurred line between 'true' and 'false' in Greek perceptions of the past;[67] the desire of Hellenized

[57] The best evidence comes from a series of dedications in the sanctuary of Zeus Osaga in Mylasan territory by visiting judicial embassies: Le Bas-Waddington, op. cit. (n. 19), nos. 349; 351 = A. W. Persson, *BCH* XLVI (1922), 415–16, no. 201; 352; 358; 353–6 = Meister, art. cit. (n. 53), Beiblatt, d, f, h, i, k; G. Doublet and G. Deschamps, *BCH* XIV (1890), 620 ff., nos. 19–21 = Meister, loc. cit., a, b, c. Two of these dedications (Le Bas-Waddington, 358 and Meister, a) are firmly dated respectively by the proconsulships of Caesennius Paetus (93/4) and the historian Tacitus (*c.*112/13): W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasien bis Hadrian* (1970), 144, 146.

[58] See P. Cartledge, 'Sparta and Samos: a Special Relationship?', *CQ* n.s. XXXII (1982), 243–65.

[59] *Or.* XLIV, 6.

[60] cf. Strab. VIII, 6, 18, classing Sparta and Argos as the 'most famous' (ἐνδοξότατται) of the Peloponnesian cities.

[61] Briefly, E. Bowie in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society* (1974), 172; E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* II (1971), 168–264.

[62] Note the remarks of R. Baladié, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon* (1980), 290–5.

[63] Selge: Polyb. V, 76; Strab. XII, 7, 3; H. Gaebler, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXXIX (1929), 294–5 with pl. iii, no. 6 (*homonoia* between Selge and Sparta under Decius); Cibyra: Panhellenion I, 82; Nysa: Strab. XIV, 1, 46; Amblada: H. von Aulock, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*, *MDAI(I)* Beiheft 19 (1977), 22–3 and 59–63; Sagalassus: Woodward, art. cit. (n. 3), 870, no. 7; Tabae (?): Steph. Byz., s. v. Τάβαι; L. Robert, *La Carie* II (1954), 88 with n. 7; Alabanda and Synnada: see above.

[64] As suggested by Woodward, art. cit. (n. 3), 879–83 (see the remarks of Robert, loc. cit. (n. 14)).

[65] I Macc. XII, 7–8 and 19–23.

[66] Polyb. IX, 1, 4. Cf. Asclep. Myrl., *ap.* Sex. Empir., *adv. gramm.* I, 252–3, categorizing genealogy as 'false history'.

[67] See, for instance, the remarks of E. Gabba, 'True History and False History in Classical Antiquity', *JRS* LXXI (1981), 50–62.

communities in the eastern Mediterranean to mask their non-Greek origins with an invented Greek pedigree; and the use of kinship by eastern communities as a diplomatic tool in relations both with Hellenistic kings and later with Rome.[68] In the east, the prestige of a Spartan ancestry might have been enhanced by Sparta's friendship with the Ptolemies during their period of thalassocracy in the third century B.C., and later by the high standing of Sparta with Rome.

E. *Hadrian and Sparta*

Finally, it is relevant to consider the evidence for Hadrian's interest in Sparta. He visited the city twice,[69] held the Spartan patronomate[70] and made a gift to the Spartans of Cythera and perhaps other territories;[71] in return, the Spartans dedicated altars to him as their σωτήρ, εὐεργέτης and κτίστης.[72] A Hadrianic document also records a tentative plan to give the Spartans a seat on the Delphic Amphictyony. The text, an imperial letter to the Delphians of 125, mentions a recent recommendation to the Senate that the extra votes on the league's council enjoyed by the Thessalians should be 'distributed to the Athenians and Spartans and the other cities, so that the council may be a common one of all the Greeks . . .'.[73] This echoes Hadrianic panhellenism so precisely that its authors (a senatorial commission?) were surely acting in accordance with the emperor's known views. However, it was never carried out,[74] Sparta within a decade finding a place instead in the new league of the Panhellenion, whose foundation represented a far more ambitious intervention in Greek affairs than a mere expansion of the Amphictyony at Delphi.

II. CYRENE

As a result of the Jewish revolt of 115, large numbers of Cyrene's Greek population were massacred, the city itself devastated, and the surviving inhabitants left demoralized.[75] This experience provided the background and the spur to the developments at Hadrianic and Antonine Cyrene which we consider now. The evidence of buildings and inscriptions shows that Hadrian, followed by Cyrene's Greek élite, promoted the physical and moral regeneration of the city. In keeping with Hadrianic activity generally, this revival was based on an archaizing assertion of the Greek traditions of Cyrene.

A. *Hadrian and Cyrene*

Hadrian's active role in the city's restoration, notably through patronage of public works, reform of local law and (probably) steps to repopulate the city are now well attested.[76] Of central importance for an understanding of this role is the inscription from Cyrene recently re-edited, with the addition of new fragments, by J. Reynolds. This text, a dossier of imperial documents relating to Cyrene's civic status, includes excerpts of communications between Hadrian and the city. The earliest, an imperial letter of 134/5, provides the oldest

[68] Below, n. 123. Note the diplomacy of Lampsacus with Rome in 196/5 B.C.: *SIG*³, 591 with R. K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus* (1984), no. 4, n. 3.

[69] In 124/5 and 128/9: *IG* V, 1, 32a, 9–12; 486, 5–9; *SEG* XI, 492, 5–6 and 8–9; 630; see J. Bingen, *BCH* LXXVII (1953), 642–6.

[70] *IG* V, 1, 32b, 13–14; 33, 5; 1314b, 26; *SEG* XI, 489, 5.

[71] Spawforth, art. cit. (n. 15), 251–2. L. Robert conjectured that Roman Sparta owed her possession of Cretan Caudus (*SEG* XI, 494, 1) and Messenian Corone (*IG* V, 1, 34 (*SEG* XI, 479), 11; 36 (*SEG* XI, 486), 24–5; 44 (*SEG* XI, 486), 7–8; *SEG* XI, 495, 5–6) to 'faveurs d'Hadrien': *Hellenica* I (1940), 112.

[72] *IG* V, 1, 381–404; D. Evangelidis, *Arch. Eph.* 1911, 198, nos. 4–5; *SEG* XI, 763 and XIII, 256. J. H. Oliver also proposed to identify Hadrian as the author of a fragmentary Roman document addressed to the Spartans: *IG* V, 1, 21, with Oliver, *Hesperia* XXXIX (1970), 332–6 and *AJPh* C (1979), 548–9. The resumption of Sparta's bronze coinage under Hadrian would also have required the emperor's permission: S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier* (1978), 81.

[73] A. Plassart, *Fouilles de Delphes* III, 4 (1970), 70–83, no. 302, col. ii, ll. 1–6.

[74] Paus. X, 8, 4 omits Sparta from his list of the league's membership in his day; see G. Daux, *Recueil Plassart* (1976), 66 and 77.

[75] See now S. Applebaum, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene* (1979).

[76] P. M. Fraser, 'Hadrian and Cyrene', *JRS* XL (1950), 77–90, and J. M. Reynolds, 'Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican cities', *JRS* LXVIII (1978), 111–21. For the archaeological evidence see R. G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia* (1971).

evidence for Cyrene's membership of the Panhellenion, to which the city had been admitted within three years of the league's foundation.[77] The third document, comprising extracts from an edict or perhaps a speech addressed by Hadrian to the Cyrenaeans, includes an exhortation to the citizens of Cyrene (the local élite in particular?) 'to come together and repopulate your city and become not only residents but also founders (οἰκιστάς) of your fatherland'[78]—imperial sentiments the spirit of which seems to be echoed in the activities of Cyrenaean notables discussed below.

Of particular interest here are Hadrian's references in these documents to Cyrene's noble Spartan pedigree, claimed by the city on the grounds that it had been colonized from Dorian Thera, itself a Spartan foundation. Hadrian twice mentions this ancestry, when he refers to the 'recollection' of Cyrene's 'ancient nobility' (l. 16: ἀνάμνησιν τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας) and to the city's 'Achaean, and to be precise, Dorian, race' (ll. 9–10: γένος Ἀχαιὸν καὶ ἀκρειβῶς Δώριον).[79]

In the third document the text alludes to [....Λ]ακωνικῶν (l. 38), τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις (ll. 39–40), Δωριέων γὰρ ἀνθρώπω[ν] (l. 42) and [Λα]κωνικὴ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἄσκη[σις] (ll. 42–3). These references all occur in a lacunose section of the text, the exact thrust of which remains conjectural. Before the publication of the new fragments, L. Robert proposed to see a reference to Spartan participation (otherwise unattested) in the repopulation of Cyrene after the Jewish revolt;[80] in the light of the augmented text, it has now been suggested that Hadrian may here have been discussing his known activity at Cyrene as a law-giver (νομοθέτης), the references to things Spartan perhaps indicating that he had based this legislative activity on the laws of Sparta—at any rate in theory.[81]

This inscription provides one of the clearest examples of Hadrian's association of local tradition with contemporary needs in his interventions in the affairs of Greek cities,[82] a juxtaposition of past and present also central to the ideology of the Panhellenion. After Hadrian's death, Cyrenaean notables were active at home and abroad in ways best understood in terms of this archaizing assertion of the city's Hellenism. Two local families in particular deserve consideration, the Cascellii and the Claudii Magni.

B. *The Cascellii*

The Cascellii were a family of local notables perhaps descended from a successful Roman *negotiator* settled at Cyrene. In 68/9 an evident connection of the family, M. Antonius Cascellius, served as eponymous priest in the sanctuary of Apollo; the family maintained its social standing into the early third century, when two Cascellii passed through the local ephebic training.[83]

The best-documented member of the family is D. Cascellius Aristoteles, who can be closely associated with the rehabilitation of Cyrene under Hadrian and the Antonines. Either he or a close relation can be identified with the Δέγμος Κασκέλλ[ιος----] in a Cyrenaean inscription listing benefactors (Hadrian among them) who responded to an appeal by 'mother Cyrene' for material aid.[84]

[77] Reynolds, art. cit., 113, ll. 2–12.

[78] ibid., ll. 29–30: συνελθεῖν καὶ συναυξῆσαι τ[ὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν καὶ οὐ μόνον ο]ἰκήτορας ἀλλὰ/καὶ οἰκιστὰς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος.

[79] For the problematic meaning here of Ἀχαιόν see Reynolds, art. cit. (n. 76), 116. Perhaps the Laconian colonists of Thera were later believed to have included elements from Laconia's pre-Dorian—that is, Achaean—population.

[80] *Hellenica* XI–XII (1960), 547 n. 5.

[81] Reynolds, art. cit. (n. 76), 118–19, referring to an unpublished fragment from Cyrene containing the words ἀγωγὰν καὶ σοφ[ίαν], παιδέας and παρὰ Λακεδαιμο[νίων], which on palaeographical grounds she tentatively assigned to a date 'a good deal earlier than Hadrian', but which she now considers to be Hadrianic (personal communication).

[82] See in this sense Andrei, op. cit. (n. 40), 135–6 n. 58, pointing also to signs of literary interest in Cyrene's history in the same period.

[83] Priest: *CIG* III, 5144, ll. 14–15 = G. Oliverio, *Documenti antichi dell'Africa Italiana* II: *Cyrenaica* I (1933), 98–9, no. 64, and *IGRR* I, no. 1030 = Oliverio, op. cit., 224, no. 4, ll. 8–9; this priest is to be distinguished (see G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAA* XXXIX–XL (1961–2), 359, stemma II) from a homonym in Oliverio, op. cit., 285, no. 11. Ephebes: *SEG* IX, 128, 28 and 46, respectively the Cascellii Gemellus and Atticus. Note Cicero's acquaintance M. Cascellius, a Roman resident in Asia and usually understood as a businessman: *ad Q. fr.* I, 2, 3; *RE* 3. 2 (1892), col. 1637, no. 5; T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* (1971), 199 n. 2. *Negotiatores* at Cyrene: J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* LII (1962), 98, no. 4, ll. 6–7 with commentary.

[84] G. Oliverio, *ASAA* XXXIX–XL (1961–2), 246, no. 44, and 258, 70 *bis*, with 257, no. 69, with the remarks of Reynolds, art. cit. (n. 76), 118.

As with M. Antonius Cascellius in an earlier generation, Aristoteles was also connected with the local cult of Apollo, Cyrene's patron-deity, whose sanctuary had been destroyed in 115. Like other notables, he contributed towards the rebuilding of the temple by paying for a column (see below). As an elderly man, under Commodus, he served as eponymous priest of Apollo, in the year when the reconstruction was completed and the temple reconsecrated (Pl. IV, 1).[85] His role on this occasion, at which he was assisted by his homonymous son, is commemorated in the following epigram, inscribed on a block from the sanctuary (Pl. IV, 2).

Καὶ πρότερόν σοι, Φοῖβε, τεὸν δωμήσατο νηόν
Θήρης ἐκπεμφθεὶς Βάττος Ἀριστοτέλης·
καὶ νῦν ἐκ πολέμοιο χαμαιριφῆ Ἀπόλλωνι
στῆσεν ὑπ' εὐσεβίης νηὸν Ἀριστοτέλης.

In ancient days too, Battus Aristoteles, sent out from Thera, built your temple for you, Phoebus. And now, in piety, Aristoteles has raised up to Apollo the temple destroyed by war.[86]

With an archaizing comparison typical of the time, the action of Aristoteles is compared with that of the sanctuary's alleged founder, Battus Aristoteles, the city's Theran oecist—from whom, it seems, the later Aristoteles derived his *cognomen*.[87]

Before this, Aristoteles formed ties with Sparta, Cyrene's mother-city. As Woodward saw, he can be identified with the Κασκέλλιος Ἀριστοτέλης who served as eponymous *patronomos* in the mid-second century.[88] In view of the Cascellii attested at Ephesus, Woodward was uncertain as to the home-city of this *patronomos*; but the evidence for other Cascellii at Cyrene, as well as the activities there of Aristoteles himself, should leave the matter in no doubt.[89] L. Robert was surely correct to place the Spartan eponymate of Aristoteles in the general context of the kinship between Cyrene and Sparta, a civic ancestry which had been emphasized by Hadrian and had qualified Cyrene for admission to the Panhellenion.[90] Actual contact between the two cities is not attested in the earlier principate.[91] It is possible, then, that the foundation of the Panhellenion prompted renewed ties between them, in the formation of which Aristoteles perhaps played a leading role—comparable, for instance, to that of Tib. Claudius Attalus Andragathus in the diplomacy between Synnada and Sparta a decade or so earlier (see above). His gifts to Cyrene imply that Aristoteles was a rich man by local standards; he might also have been a benefactor of Sparta.

C. *The Claudii Magni*

Three homonyms are in question, representing three generations of this family and each bearing the names Tib. Claudius Jason Magnus. Approximate dates of birth are calculated at *c.*110, 140 and 170.[92]

Although its Roman citizenship may have derived from Claudius, the family's local prominence is first attested under Hadrian, when Jason Magnus (I) was already active in civic affairs, to judge from the apparent reference to him (its context obscure) in one of Hadrian's communications with the city.[93] This Magnus, who may have been a Roman knight, served for four years at Athens as archon of the Panhellenion, between 157 and

[85] *SEG* IX, 173, with L. Robert, *Hellenica* I (1940), 11–13:
[--] Μ. Αὐρηλίου [[Κομμόδου]] Ἀντωνείνου
[Σε]βαστοῦ Δ. Κασκέλλιος Ἀριστοτέλ[ης]
[ἱε]ρεὺς καλλιέτης καὶ
[.] Κασκέλλιος Ἀριστοτέλης ΝΑΝ[--]
[ἐφ'] ὧν ὁ νεὼς ἐγένετο καὶ ἀφ[ιερώθη].

[86] *SEG* IX, 189 = G. Oliverio, art. cit. (n. 84), 230, no. 9b, 9–12.

[87] Compare the inscription on the Arch of Hadrian at Athens, discussed in Panhellenion I, 93.

[88] *IG* V, 1, 39, 24–5; 69, 1; 70, 1; 71, col. iii, 9–10, 13, 19, 22, 26, 30; *SEG* XI, 554 (cf. 526). Identification: Woodward, art. cit. (n. 37), 258. Date: id., 258 (*c.*150); Chrimes, op. cit. (n. 29), 467 (*c.*162/3).

[89] Woodward, ibid. The Cascellii at Ephesus (*SIG*[3] 833, 14) and Blaundus (*SEG* XIV, 617) probably also derived their *nomen* from a Roman businessman; see above, n. 83.

[90] Robert, op. cit. (n. 80).

[91] But note *IG* V, 1, 5, a Spartan proxeny decree of mid-Hellenistic date for a Cyrenaean.

[92] L. Bacchielli, *Arch. Class.* XXXI (1979), 158–64, drawing on L. Robert, *AEphem* 1969, 30–4, and L. Moretti, *Epigraphica* XXXI (1969), 139–43.

[93] Reynolds, art. cit. (n. 76), 114, l. 54 with p. 119: [--Κλα]ύδιον Ἰάσ[ονα--].

161.[94] This distinction was a source of pride to his family at Cyrene and was commemorated by the archon's son, Jason Magnus (II), by means of an over-life-size statue of his father, which the council of the Areopagus permitted him to erect at Athens, probably in the Agora.[95]

Jason Magnus (II) seems to have borne the *signum* 'Leocrates'. Another son of the archon, to judge from his names, can be recognized in a certain Tib. Claudius Aristomenes Magnus *qui et* Pericles.[96] The assertion through nomenclature of racial and cultural Greekness seems to have been a feature of aristocratic society in second-century Cyrene, to judge from the *cognomen* of D. Cascellius Aristoteles (cf. also Tib. Claudius Battus below). The appearance of the names of famous Athenian leaders of the fifth century B.C. among the Claudii Magni perhaps reflects an interest in Athenian history on the part of Jason Magnus (I)—a fitting cultural pursuit for an archon of the Panhellenion.[97]

Jason Magnus (II) was active in support of the gymnasium and civic cults at Cyrene He may have served as gymnasiarch there, since at some stage in his local career he occupied an official residence, the so-called House of Jason Magnus, which extended over an entire *insula* in the centre of the city near the *xystos* of Hermes and Heracles, thought to be the gymnasium given to the Cyrenaeans by Hadrian.[98] The house contained several imperial portraits and two heads thought to represent Jason Magnus himself.[99] The architectural decoration included figured capitals adorned with heads of Battus and of the reigning emperor Commodus, whose portrait was subsequently deliberately destroyed.[100]

Like D. Cascellius Aristoteles, his older contemporary, Jason Magnus (II) also served as eponymous priest of Apollo, an office evidently the preserve of the most distinguished local families. On this occasion, he supervised the reconstruction of a lesser shrine within the sanctuary, the funding for which was drawn from sacred revenues (see below). He, too, donated a column for the rebuilt temple of Apollo,[101] and is associated with the embellishment of two other civic buildings: he paid for two marble basins set in public baths adjacent to the sanctuary of Apollo—the 'Terme della Medusa', reconstructed under Hadrian; and he is named (although the context is unclear) in the inscription recording the dedication, between 185 and 192, of a cult statue of Zeus in the huge temple to the east of the city.[102]

Tib. Claudius Jason Magnus (III), evidently the son of the eponymous priest, has been identified with the Μάγνος Κυρηναῖος recorded by Sex. Iulius Africanus as winner of the men's foot-race (*stadion*) at Olympia in 189.[103] Under the Roman empire, victory in this event was still the crowning achievement of an athlete's career. Naturally the victory of Magnus attracted commemoration in his native Cyrene: in accordance with a vow to Hermes, patron of athletes, 'for the safety and victory of Tib. Claudius Jason Magnus', a well-to-do (and no doubt favoured) family slave paid for a mosaic pavement in the shrine of Hermes in the 'House of Jason Magnus'.[104]

Magnus must have been a champion athlete of more than merely local standing. It is probably no coincidence that at Sparta too in this period champion athletes are found

[94] Panhellenion I, 99–100.

[95] A. S. Benjamin, 'Two dedications in Athens to archons of the Panhellenion', *Hesperia* XXXVII (1968), 338–44; Oliver, 101, no. 10.

[96] G. Oliverio, *ASAA* XXIII (1961), 363, no. 46 = Robert, art. cit. (n. 92), 30–4, and Oliverio, ibid., 237–9, nos. 25b and 26.

[97] Note too the somewhat later Cyrenaean called M. Iulius Cocceianus Peithagoras Plato: J. M. Reynolds, *Libyan Studies* VI (1974–5), 21–3. For archaizing fashions in nomenclature at this time see E. Bowie in Finley (ed.), op. cit. (n. 61), 199–200.

[98] Bacchielli, art. cit. (n. 92). P. Mingazzini, *L'Insula di Giasone Magno a Cirene* (1966); Reynolds, art. cit. (n. 76), 118.

[99] Bacchielli, art. cit. (n. 92), 161. Some sculptures are now in the collections of the British Museum: A. Smith, *BM Cat. Sculpture* II, nos. 1463 (Pius), 1464 (Marcus), 1465 (Lucius Verus), 1466 (torso of Hadrian). See most recently J. Huskinson, *Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum*, *CSIR* II, 1 (1975), nos. 73, 77, 79 and 70 respectively. A portrait of the elder Faustina is in Cyrene Museum: E. Rosenbaum, *Cyrenaican Portrait Sculpture* (1960), no. 48; for those identified as Jason Magnus, see nos. 68 and 69.

[100] Bacchielli, art. cit. (n. 92), 161, tav. lxiii, 1. See also S. Stucchi, *Architettura Cirenaica* (1975), 297, fig. 305 and 326, fig. 339.

[101] See n. 96.

[102] *SEG* IX, 161 = Moretti, art. cit. (n. 92), no. 5. On the baths, see Goodchild, op. cit. (n. 76), 128–33. On the temple, see R. G. Goodchild, J. M. Reynolds, C. J. Hetherington, *PBSR* n.s. XIII (1958), 35 = Moretti, ibid. The interior of the cella was at this time adorned with an order of Corinthian columns enveloping the cult statue in an apparently deliberate evocation of the earliest use of the order.

[103] See L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (1957), 168, no. 889 with Moretti, *Epigraphica* XXXI (1969), 139–43, no. 7.

[104] Moretti, art. cit., no. 6. See Bacchielli, art. cit. (n. 92), 163.

among the local élite: the classic examples are the P. Aelii Damocratidas and Alcandridas, father and son and kinsmen of a Spartan senator, of whom the son, like Magnus, won the men's foot-race at Olympia.[105] Under the empire, educated Greeks and Romans commonly associated Dorians in general with physical courage (*andreia*) and Sparta itself with gymnastic activity;[106] this perception also seems to have played a part in the cultivation of the past by the élites of both Sparta and Cyrene in the second century.

D. *Architectural archaism in the sanctuary of Apollo*

Cyrenaean notables were also involved with building activity in this sanctuary. Generally speaking, as at Athens, imperial patronage of building at Cyrene was substantially reduced after Hadrian's death, when local benefactors resumed the role of architectural patron.

Cyrenaeans, including Aristoteles and Jason Magnus (II), paid for individual columns in the rebuilt temple of Apollo (above). The shrine in the sanctuary whose rebuilding was supervised by the same Jason Magnus was dedicated in 176–80, in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[107] When approached from the entrance to the sanctuary, the shrine appeared as the first of a line of modest structures facing in towards the temple of Apollo from the southern edge of the *temenos*.[108] To the east was a flight of steps leading up to the fountain of Apollo. The shrine occupied a commanding position, emphasized by its site on a high podium approached by flights of steps which enveloped the *pronaos* on three sides. Column bases and shafts survive, and the dedication was inscribed on two epistyle blocks of poros limestone. Within the temple the floor was dedicated by another priest of Apollo, M. Aurelius Euphranor.[109]

Another patron of buildings within the sanctuary was Tib. Claudius Battus, named after Cyrene's oecist. He restored the temple of Isis and the temple of Apollo Nymphagetes, both probably located near the shrine dedicated by Jason Magnus (II);[110] he also dedicated a cult statue of Artemis, whose shrine lay within the same sanctuary.[111] The statue was paid for by several women who served as priestesses of the goddess.[112] These dedications were made on behalf of the proconsul Numisius Marcellianus probably during the reign of Caracalla.[113]

Along with D. Cascellius Aristoteles (above), these men donated and dedicated buildings by virtue of their tenure of the priesthood of Apollo. All their buildings were of the Doric order, in use in the sanctuary since the Archaic period. Some of the architectural decoration was in marble. Many blocks were salvaged from other buildings and were drastically recut.[114]

As in contemporary work at Eleusis,[115] Doric was used at Cyrene in combination with Roman features such as podia. Doric capitals were set on both fluted and unfluted column shafts, which often had Attic-Ionic bases. In some cases Doric capitals and epistyles were topped by Ionic cornices.

It has been thought that the innately conservative architects of Cyrene were finally unable to resist the arrival of the Corinthian order. Pressures for its acceptance are thought to have been both aesthetic (the increasing interest shown by Antonine sculptors in the

[105] See A. Spawforth, 'Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some Prosopographical Notes', *ABSA* LXXX (1985), 247–8.

[106] e.g. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (1981), 1, 354, 12 and 19–20; Cassius Dio LIII, 27; [Dio Chrys.], *Or.* XXXVII, 27; Plut., *Lyc.* 20. 5.

[107] *SEG* IX, 172; see Oliver, 101. The marked emphasis on Apollo *Ktistes* in inscriptions of this period is a new development.

[108] Goodchild, op. cit. (n. 76), 109–28; fig. 13, no. 14.

[109] Pugliese Carratelli, art. cit. (n. 83), 361.

[110] Temple of Isis: *SEG* IX, 174 = L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (1969), 336, no. 805. See Goodchild, op. cit. (n. 76), 122. Temple of Apollo Nymphagetes: *SEG* IX, 175; Goodchild, loc. cit., cautions that the inscription is not necessarily *in situ*.

[111] Goodchild, 127, 8; fig. 13, no. 26.

[112] *SEG* IX, 176.

[113] E. Groag, *RE* XVII, 2, 1400, s.v. N. Marcellianus = *SEG* IX, 174, 175 with p. 121.

[114] For this and the observations made in the following paragraph see Stucchi, op. cit. (n. 100) under discussions of the individual sites, and the remarks made in the general discussion of architecture at Cyrene in this period, pp. 318–29. See also J. B. Ward-Perkins, *PBSR* n.s. XIII (1958), 193 on the second-century temple in the Caesareum at Cyrene.

[115] See Panhellenion I, 102–3.

effects of light and shade[116]) and economic.[117] In the Antonine and Severan periods the trade in white and coloured marbles reached its greatest extent. Now almost every Mediterranean city without local marble quarries could import marbles, usually cut to a standard size and shipped in certain combinations for use in architectural decoration, free-standing and relief sculpture, and for sarcophagi.[118] Formal patterns of trade seem to have been established; Cyrene's major source of marble seems to have been mainland Greece and the Cyclades; the stone was probably shipped through the Piraeus.[119]

Pentelic marble, quarried far from the sea, must have been relatively expensive; thus cost and availability may have been factors influencing the reuse of stone in Antonine buildings at Cyrene. It is important to note that no Corinthian elements (e.g. column capitals) seem to have been reused, and it may have been impossible for the Cyrenaeans to obtain new and partially prefabricated Doric elements which did not conform to contemporary standard sizes.[120]

The difficulties created by the retention of non-standard Doric in an age of virtually universal standard Corinthian suggest, however, that its use was a matter of conscious choice rather than of cost or blind conservatism. As late as *c.*200, the Cyrenaeans commissioned a monument of remarkable contradictions in style. This took the form of a propylon marking the entrance from a main street to a stepped alley leading down to the Agora. The column capitals were the latest Corinthian fashion, with 'wind-blown' acanthus leaves. But the frieze above them, the only example of Roman historical relief known from Cyrene, commemorated an eastern victory of the Roman emperor Septimius Severus in allegorical fashion, the style of the frieze derived from the friezes of the great classical temples of mainland Greece and Asia Minor. As in third-century mythological sarcophagi, some of the figures were given portrait heads, thus equating the leaders of the day with heroes of the past. This monument presents a striking contrast with 'Roman historical reliefs' on the arch dedicated to the same emperor in his native city of Lepcis Magna in the neighbouring province of Tripolitania.[121]

The patrons of architecture at Cyrene thus deliberately chose to reject current fashions in their reconstruction of the sanctuary of Apollo. No other locality in Cyrene was so closely associated with the city's Dorian tradition as this sanctuary of the patron of the city's founders. Whatever its immediate reasons, the use of the Doric order in the reconstructed shrines gave lasting expression to a historic identity of fundamental importance to Antonine Cyrene's Greek community.

III. ARGOS

For educated Greeks and Romans in the second century A.D., the renown of Argos was based in part on the continued celebration there of two venerable *agones*, the Heraea and the Nemea, this last being one of the four festivals of old Greece making up the prestigious 'ancient circuit' (ἀρχαία περίοδος). More generally, the Roman city's fame was based on the distinguished role attributed to Argos in Greek myth and history, which by the Roman period had come to include the alleged settlement of Argives on a string of sites in southern Asia Minor.[122] As in the case of Sparta, a literal interpretation of the

[116] Stucchi, op. cit. (n. 100), 244. F. Sear, *Libyan Studies* VI (1974–5), 9, supports Stucchi's view for buildings at Sidi Khrebish.

[117] Ward-Perkins, art. cit. (n. 114), 194.

[118] J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*[2] (1982) contains many references to the impact of the marble trade upon provincial architecture. See also S. Walker, *AA* 1979, 103–29. Ward-Perkins's articles on detailed aspects of the marble trade are collected in a forthcoming volume.

[119] Ward-Perkins, op. cit. (n. 118), 368, who observes, 'it would not be surprising if further research were to reveal architectural links, too, with Athens and with mainland Greece'.

[120] Walker, art. cit. (n. 118), on the export of Pentelic marble elements. See J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (1942), 197 and 203 for exploitation of the Pentelic marble quarries at this period.

[121] D. E. Strong, *Libyan Studies* IV (1972–3), 27–35, pls. VII–X. Some of his identifications are disputed by A. Bonanno, *Libyan Studies* VIII (1976–7), 19–25.

[122] For foreign *agonistai* in the Nemea and also the Heraea of Roman times see Moretti, op. cit. (n. 22), nos. 58–60, 62–3, 65–8, 71–2, 74–7, 79–81, 87–90. Argive 'colonies': e.g. (in addition to Aegeae, considered below) Rhodes and Cilician Soli: Polyb. XXI, 24; Aspendus: Strab. XIV, 4, 2 with R. Stroud, 'An Argive Decree from Nemea concerning Argos', *Hesperia* LIII (1984), 192–216, esp. 199–202; Mallus: Arr., *Anab.* II, 5, 9; Strab. XIV, 5, 16; Tarsus: Strab. XIV, 5, 12; L. Robert, *BCH* CI (1977), 96–116; Curium: Strab. XIV, 6, 3. Note too the local coinages discussed by Robert, ibid. 116–18.

evidence cannot satisfactorily explain the prominence of post-classical Argos as a *metropolis*. As well as the desire of Hellenized cities in Anatolia to acquire good Greek pedigrees, consideration should also be given to the practice of 'kinship' diplomacy between cities and kings in the Hellenistic period; Alexander, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, who at different times controlled all or part of the south coast of Asia Minor, all claimed descent from the kings of Argos.[123]

From the Flavian period onwards, Argos, like a number of other regional centres in Achaia, shows signs of an increasing prosperity. Local politics and society were dominated by a patriotic élite, its members in touch with the outside world[124] but also steeped in civic tradition.[125]

Argos attracted benefactions from Hadrian, who added a horse-race to the programme of the 'winter Nemea'[126] and made a costly dedication at the Heraeum.[127] Characteristically of this emperor, however, he left his greatest mark on Argos as a patron of building.

A. *Hadrianic and later building at Argos*

As at Athens, Hadrian endowed Argos with a water-supply from an external source; the aqueduct terminated in an elaborate nymphaeum constructed high above the city on the slopes of the Larissa.[128] The grotto-like building, apparently fronted by an Ionic portico, may reflect the form of the Athenian terminal reservoir, the ruins of which were radically rebuilt in the nineteenth century.[129] At Argos the emperor was portrayed standing over the water outlet, naked but for his sword and *paludamentum*.[130] Hadrian is also known to have financed the rebuilding of the theatre at Argos after its total destruction by fire.[131] Also reminiscent of the pattern of architectural patronage at Athens is the expansion of endowments made in the Antonine period by private citizens. None of these is known to have held office in the Panhellenion. It is, however, worth summarizing the urban development of the centre of Argos in the later second century A.D., as revealed in the programme of systematic excavations by the École Française d'Athènes, since here too the provision of new or enlarged service buildings and the preservation of venerable shrines and monuments—the latter an outstanding theme in Pausanias' account of his visit to the city—typify contemporary interest in the centres of old Greece.[132]

In an inscription found in the Argive Agora, the father of Tib. Claudius Antigonus and Tib. Claudius Menecles, the former known from other texts, is said to have 'brought the waters down from above', perhaps a reference, in the elliptical language typical of the

[123] For instances of such diplomacy note Arr., *Anab.* II, 5, 9 (Mallus and Alexander) and A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (1979), 118, citing an unpublished Hellenistic inscription which refers to diplomacy, on the basis of alleged *syngeneia*, between Dorian Cytinium and the Ptolemies and Seleucids.

[124] See U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (1954), 162–74. Outside links: Kahrstedt, ibid., 78, with Spawforth, *ABSA* LXXIX (1984), 248–58 *passim* (Epidaurus); *SEG* XVI, 258b and *ILS* 8863 with J. H. Kent, *Corinth 8. III. The Inscriptions 1926–1950* (1966), no. 224 (Corinth); Spawforth, *JHS* CII (1982), 274–5 (Methone).

[125] Note the intrusion of figures from local mythology into the language of civic administration: e.g. the Argive *gerousia* styled as ἡ ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας καὶ Λυγκέος (*IG* IV¹, 579; *SEG* XVI, 259; W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* XLVII, old series (1919), 263 ff., no. 28), the bestowal of Περσέος καὶ Ἡρακλέος τιμαί (*IG* IV¹, 606, 15–16; *BCH* XXVIII (1904), 260, no. 2), and the civic title 'new Hypermestra' borne by an Argive matron (*SEG* XVI, 259). Note too the Roman statues of Hypermestra (*IG* VI¹, 656) and Danaus, the last paid for by a local notable (Vollgraff, art. cit., 165–6, no. 12; for Tib. Claudius Antigonus see *BCH* CII (1978), 784). Local families also claimed descent from Perseus and Phoroneus: Spawforth, art. cit. (n. 105), 251–2.

[126] Paus. VI, 16, 4.

[127] Paus. II, 17, 6.

[128] Aqueduct: W. Vollgraff, *BCH* XLIV (1920), 224; P. Aupert, *BCH* CVII (1983), 849–50. Nymphaeum: Vollgraff, *BCH* LXVIII–IX (1946), 397–400, nos. 7–8; *BCH* LXXXII (1958), 516 ff. See also R. Ginouvès, *Laodicée du Lykos: le Nymphée* (1969), 141, and *Le Théâtron à Gradins Droits et l'Odéon d'Argos* (1972), 234–6, and a brief survey by S. Walker in the forthcoming proceedings of a conference held at the Society of Antiquaries of London in March 1985, entitled *Rome in the Greek World: an archaeological approach*.

[129] See Panhellenion I, 98.

[130] For the statue type, see M. Wegner, *Das Bildnis des Kaisers Hadrians* (1956), 105, 115–16; Taf. 14b. For a similar statue found in a Hadrianic nymphaeum at Perge, Pamphylia, see (with recent bibl.) J. Inan–E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *Römische und frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Turkei* (1979), 95–7, no. 45 with Taf. 38. 1, 39. 2, 40. 1–2.

[131] Vollgraff, art. cit. (n. 128, 1946), no. 9, 401, fig. 3.

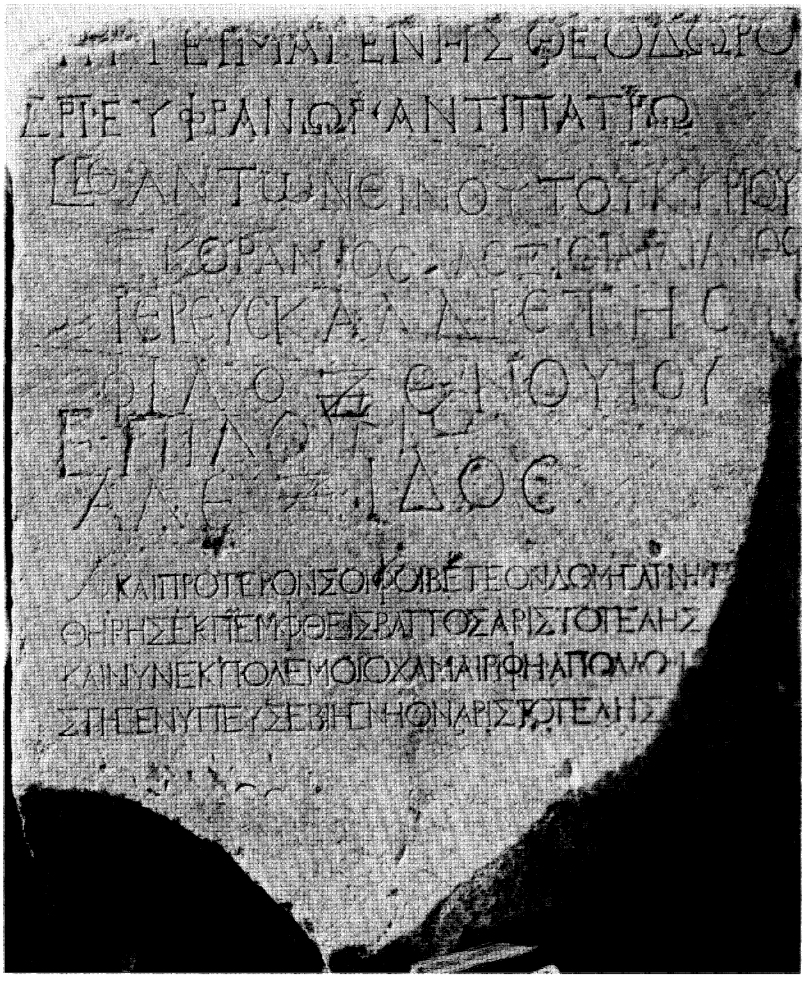
[132] Paus. II, 19, 4–24, 6. For Pausanias's attitudes in general see now Habicht, op. cit. (n. 45), esp. 124 ff. Much of the following summary is based upon preliminary reports of excavations in the section of *BCH* devoted to 'Rapports sur les travaux de l'École Française en Grèce'. The buildings and inscriptions in question are now undergoing detailed study by the excavators.

(1)

(2)

(1) SPARTA: THE INSCRIBED CAREER OF C. JULIUS ARION (*SEG* XI. 501). *Photo A. Spawforth.* (2) SPARTA: THE INSCRIBED CAREER OF VARIUS PHOSPHORUS (*SEG* XI. 500). *Photo A. Spawforth.*

(1)



(2)

(1) CYRENE: CONSECRATION OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (*SEG* IX. 173). *Photo Department of Libyan Antiquities.* (2) CYRENE: EPIGRAM FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO (*SEG* IX. 189). *Photo Department of Libyan Antiquities.*

period, to the extension of the Hadrianic water-system to the lower part of the town. Three baths are mentioned in the text; it is not certain whether two of them may be identified with the imposing structure beside the theatre and with the large baths excavated to the south of the Agora.[133] Also within the Agora, a square plinth surmounted by a small *quadrifrons* set over a water-jet was given by members of the Tiberii Julii family.[134] Claudia Olympia, daughter of a certain Tib. Claudius Tychicus, an official of the Nemean (?) Games in the second or early third century A.D., built or equipped a bath in fulfilment of a promise made by her father.[135] Again, the site is unidentified.

Other works of the period excavated in the monumental centre of Argos but not so far associated with individual donors, imperial or private, include a circular building surrounded by a colonnade set within a rectangular *peribolos*; this structure, built on the northern side of the Agora but apparently unaligned with the other buildings in it, was equipped with underground passages which could be flooded with water. An inscription on the entablature of the colonnade refers to waterworks of various types, all of which are represented within the Hadrianic system. The building is dated by numismatic evidence to the late Hadrianic period.[136]

To the south of the rotunda, overlooking the Hellenistic *dromos* with which it is exactly aligned, was found the richly furnished grave of an unknown person. The grave has no apparent association with the rotunda, but is roughly contemporary in date. Some distance to the west a small shrine was built over an earlier base, perhaps that supporting the famous group of the wolf and the bull, which depicts a legend associated with the foundation of Argos.[137] The building of the shrine may be linked with redevelopment of the Agora in the early third century: the construction of the fountain given by the Tiberii Julii entailed the destruction of one end of the *dromos*; at the same time, the classical portico on the south side of the Agora was extended to reach a building known as the 'salle hypostyle'.[138] On the south-west slopes of the Larissa, the Odeion was modified and redecorated. Here the musical and poetic contests of the Nemeia took place, events represented emblematically in the newly laid mosaic floors of the orchestra.[139]

B. *Argos and Aegeae*

A famous 'mother-city', Argos was naturally enrolled in Hadrian's Panhellenion.[140] An Argive inscription shows that Argos too became caught up in the mushrooming of 'diplomatic' activity between cities which seems to have followed the league's foundation. This important text, little known before its recent re-edition by L. Robert,[141] preserves a letter from Argos to the Cilician city of Aegeae, along with an Argive decree in honour of the famous sophist P. Anteius Antiochus, a notable of Aegeae, both occasioned by the antiquarian activities of Antiochus at Argos: on an extended visit to the city he gave a public (and no doubt rhetorical) exposition of the Argive pedigree claimed by Aegeae, which he based on the mythical wanderings of the Argive hero Perseus, and went on to negotiate a formal 'renewal' (*ananeosis*) of the ties between the two cities, departing from Argos with a letter from the Argive authorities to those of his native city. The date can be assigned to the late Hadrianic or Antonine period, since the youthful Antiochus, as Philostratus records, was taught at Ephesus by Dionysius of Miletus, a beneficiary of Hadrian.[142]

[133] *BCH* CII (1978), 784, E 92; 782, fig. 19. For the baths near the theatre, see most recently *BCH* CVI (1982), 637–43, and for those near the Agora, *BCH* CVII (1983), 849–53; plan, p. 848, and CVIII (1984), 846–9.

[134] *BCH* XCIX (1975), 703; C (1976), 753; CI (1977), 672–3.

[135] *IG* IV, 593; for Tib. Claudius Tychicus, see *SEG* XVI, 253.

[136] *BCH* LXXVIII (1954), 160 ff.; LXXXI (1957), 663 ff.; XCIX (1975), 73; C (1976), 753; CI (1977), 672–3; CII (1978), 798.

[137] For the grave, see *BCH* CII (1978), 677–8. For the shrine, *BCH* CIV (1980), 694; 697, fig. 8. Plut., *Pyrrhus* 32, 8; Paus. II, 19, 6.

[138] M. Piérart–J.-P. Thalmann, *Etudes Argiennes*, *BCH* Suppl. (1980), 459–60. See also *BCH* CV (1981), 904–6.

[139] Ginouvès, op. cit. (n. 128, 1972), 133–41 (mosaics); 203–4 (date); 204–9 (function).

[140] Panhellenion I, 85–6, nos. 32 and 42.

[141] W. Vollgraff, *BCH* XXIII (1904), 421–4, no. 6 = L. Robert, *BCH* CI (1977), 119–32.

[142] Philostr., *VS* 568 and 524; see I. Avotins, *CalStClassAnt* IV (1971), 67–71 and Robert, art. cit. (n. 141), 125.

The interest of this inscription lies not least in its detailed account of a particular type of Greek diplomatic activity, the 'renewal' of kinship between cities, examples of which are known from the Hellenistic period;[143] in the life-time of Antiochus similar 'renewals', we have suggested, underlay the exchanges between Sparta and certain overseas cities. In the case of Argos and Aegeae, membership of the Panhellenion is not known to have extended to Cilicia and so cannot be readily adduced to explain the initiative of Antiochus. The claim of Aegeae to an Argive ancestry, which seems to have predated the Antonine period, was probably in part a function of the city's rivalry with its much larger and more important neighbour, Tarsus, which also purported to be 'Argive'.[144] The laborious activity of Antiochus at Argos perhaps reflects the desire of a rich and mobile easterner, whose own culture was Greek, to have his native city accepted as 'truly' Greek. Given his dates, however, and his evident familiarity with the Aegean world, this activity should also be placed in the context of the pre-occupation with civic pedigree which characterized the milieu of the Panhellenion.

CONCLUSION

It was suggested in Panhellenion I that the significance of the Panhellenion lay chiefly in its provision of a new outlet for the social and political ambitions of upper-class Greeks. Discussion of Antonine developments at Sparta, Cyrene and Argos indicates that the league's importance should also be sought on the 'ideological' plane. Its terms of reference emphasized the recollection of foundation-legends, ties of kinship, and the historical primacy of certain centres in old Greece. The Greek cities were traditionally pre-occupied with questions of civic origin (which they perceived largely in genealogical terms). When Hadrian founded the Panhellenion, he transformed this civic pre-occupation, at least indirectly, into a Roman concern, thereby encouraging a contemporary perception of the Greek past and the Roman present as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. For some non-Greek cities in the province of Asia, membership of the Panhellenion gave official legitimacy to local claims, some of long standing, to a Greek foundation. In a general sense, the post-Hadrianic mushrooming of civic 'diplomacy', based on kinship or the desire to form ties with the *endoxotatai poleis* of Greece, suggests that the phenomenon of Greek cultural archaism in the second century A.D. requires reappraisal: stimulated by Hadrianic policies, recollection of the past should be viewed as a dynamic element in Greek urban life under the Antonines.[145]

One effect—and probable purpose—of Hadrian's interventions in Greek affairs was to redress the balance in terms of contemporary importance between the provinces of Achaia and Asia. In uniting these (and other) provinces within the Panhellenion, Hadrian acknowledged that cultural and historical eminence were as deserving of imperial recognition as economic and political muscle.

After Hadrian's death, the special place of Greek culture within the Roman empire continued to be acknowledged by his Antonine successors, under whom the Panhellenion enjoyed its heyday. The evidence discussed here suggests that, once established, the league maintained its own momentum in the field of civic 'diplomacy'. By the Severan period, the focus of imperial interest had shifted to the frontier-provinces, notably those of North Africa. In addition, the propertied classes, which dominated Greek urban politics, now found themselves under increasing financial pressure from burdens imposed by the central government. In such a changed climate, it is hardly surprising that the evidence for the league's functioning falters: the latest known official, the *antarchon* M. Aurelius Alcamenes, held office in 209/10.[146]

[143] Note especially *IG* XII, 9, 4, ll. 7–8 (Carystus and Alabanda); also Strab. IX, 4, 2.

[144] cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIII, 51; XXXIV, 10; above, n. 122.

[145] Note the remarks of Andrei, op. cit. (n. 40), 132 ff., together with the review by A. Spawforth below.

[146] Panhellenion I, 85.

Nevertheless, as late as the mid-third century the cities of Achaia and Asia were engaged in 'diplomacy' along lines characteristic of the Antonine period.[147] In a larger sense, the cultural cohesion of the Greek world and its continued attachment to the classical past, so marked a feature of the third century and again of late antiquity,[148] must surely be considered in the light of earlier imperial support for the Greek cities and their traditions. When Bishop Synesius of Cyrene vaunted his family's Spartan ancestry, he echoed a local pride in the past which a Roman emperor and a Roman institution had done much to reinforce two centuries previously.[149]

University of Newcastle upon Tyne
Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum

[147] Without attempting a complete survey, note the coins struck by Tabae (in 235–8) and Selge (in 249–50) celebrating *homonoia* with Sparta: respectively E. Babélon, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington* (1898), 428, no. 7052 with Robert, loc. cit. (n. 63); H. Gaebler, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXXIX (1929), 294–5 with pl. III no. 6; also the *homonoia* with Delphi commemorated by Side under Valerian I: *BMC Lycia* 297, no. 128 with the observations of P. Weiss, *Chiron* XI (1981), 322. Note too the continuing reference to *syngeneiai* on the third-century coinages, as in the case of Alabanda (above n. 18).

[148] For the third century see F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: the Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions', *JRS* LIX (1969), 12–29; also the remarks of L. Robert, art. cit. (n. 21), 17.

[149] *Epp.* LVII (ed. J.-P. Migne), 76.