

THREE FOREIGNERS IN ATTICA

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I. JULIUS NICANOR

SEVERAL ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS, one of them published only very recently, mention a Julius Nicanor, the "New Homer and New Themistocles:" in several of them these words have been erased.¹ Nicanor is also mentioned by Dio Chrysostom and Stephanus of Byzantium. He is therefore a person of interest, though the evidence concerning him has caused various difficulties.

First, "New Homer and New Themistocles." These words were correctly explained as long ago as 1863 by Karl Keil.² Keil adduced a passage of Dio's *Rhodian Oration*, in which Dio is urging the Rhodians not to abandon their Hellenic traditions as the Athenians have done.³ "They have called so-and-so 'Olympian,' who is not even their fellow-citizen by birth, but a mere Phoenician, and not one from Tyre or Sidon but from a certain village on the mainland, who depilates his arms too, and wears headbands;⁴ and so-and-so, that very sloppy poet who once displayed his

I am very grateful to Glen Bowersock and Simone Follet for their comments, and to Louis Robert for generous advice and discussion; for acknowledgements relating particularly to the third of these notes, see below, n. 60. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated. The *Bulletin épigraphique* of J. and L. Robert, which usually appears annually in *REG*, will be abbreviated as "*Bull.*" followed by the year and the number of the item.

¹IG 2² 1069 line 6, 1723 line 4 (see below), 3786–3789. The titles are deleted in 3786, 3788, and 3789, that is, on three of the four extant statue-bases.

²K. Keil, *RhM* 18 (1863) 56–62, esp. 59–62 (cited below as Keil). On this learned and sympathetic scholar, see L. Robert, *ArchEph* 1969.34; *Études déliennes* (Paris 1974 [*BCH* Suppl. 1]) 468–472, 489; *Opera Minora Selecta* 4 (1974) 270.

³Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.116. οἱ γὰρ τὸν δεῖνα μὲν Ὀλύμπιον κεκλήκασιν οὐδὲ φύσει πολίτην ἑαυτῶν, Φοίνικα δὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἀπὸ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κώμης τινὸς [ἧ] τῆς ἡπείρου, καὶ ταῦτα πιττούμενον τοὺς βραχίονας καὶ περιδήματα φοροῦντα· τὸν δεῖνα δὲ τὸν εὐχερῆ λίαν ποιητὴν, ὃς καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ποτε [κάνθαδε] ἐπεδείξατο, οὐ μόνον χαλκοῦν ἐστάκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Μένανδρον· λέγειν δὲ εἰώθασιν οἱ διασύροντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Νικάνορος εἰκόνης, ὃς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα ἐωνήσατο.

⁴On the title "Olympian," L. Robert, *Stele: Tomos eis Mnemen Nikolaou Kontoleonos* (Athens 1977, cited below as Robert, *Stele*) 15 n. 43. Dio may also have remembered that the Athenians had awarded it to Pericles, Plut. *Per.* 39.2. περιδήματα seems to be a *hapax legomenon*, which LSJ, following Stephanus, translate "bands," Cohoon in the Loeb "stays;" headbands are presumably meant, cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) s.v. περιδεμα.

art before you too, they have not only set up in bronze, but actually beside Menander. Critics of the city also tend to mention the epigram on the statue of Nicanor, who bought Salamis for them.”⁵ At the time, which is probably the reign of Vespasian,⁶ the first two of the three appear to be still alive; hence they are referred to anonymously, and the relevant verbs are in the perfect tense. The Phoenician apparently cannot be identified; the poet, as was observed by Koumanoudis in 1862, is probably a Pergamene, Q. Pompeius Capito, the base of whose statue has been found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens close by a base of Menander.⁷ Nicanor, whom Dio names explicitly and refers to in the aorist tense, is evidently the “New Homer and New Themistocles,” for there must be a connection between “New Themistocles” and his purchase of Salamis.⁸ The words “New Homer and New Themistocles” cannot be Dio’s “epigram,” since this should have been in verse; nevertheless, that controversial epigram must have had something to do with the achievements of Nicanor that earned him his grandiose titles.

Keil also explained, though his explanations have not always been remembered, the meaning of these titles. “New Homer” shows that Nicanor had pretensions as a poet, probably but not certainly a poet of epic. A great benefactor of Rhodiapolis in Lycia, a “doctor, historian, and poet of the works of Medicine and Philosophy,” was similarly “inscribed” as the “Homer of medical poetry.”⁹ The relevant inscription does not make it clear who “inscribed” him, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was the Rhodiopolites themselves, since they set up the inscription and are the subject of the sentence.¹⁰ Not long ago an inscription of Side revealed another “New Homer,” Aelius Paion, who again was a generous benefactor of his city.¹¹ These titles, like Nicanor’s, probably began as a shouted acclamation of the people, designed to flatter a wealthy citizen: these cries often compared someone to his great forerunners, “New

⁵ἐπιγράμμα should mean “epigram” and not “inscription,” which would be ἐπιγραφή, cf. sections 9, 11, 28 of the same speech; thus correctly Robert, *Stele* 15, as opposed to Cohoon in the Loeb.

⁶A. D. Momigliano, *JRS* 41 (1951) 150–153 = *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome 1975) 971–975.

⁷*IG* 2² 3800 and references there.

⁸This was first observed by Keil, 59–60.

⁹*TAM* 2.910 (*IGR* 3.733), adduced by Keil, 62. On this inscription see now Robert, *Stele* 14. The “statue of Education” with which the poet was honored (lines 8–9) presumably resembled those representing the personified Wisdom, Virtue, and Learning of another literary benefactor, Celsus of Ephesos: J. Keil in *Forschungen in Ephesos 5 I: Die Bibliothek* (Vienna 1945) 71–72, nos 8, 9, 11 (*Bull.* 1953.176).

¹⁰For the “inscribing” of benefactors by cities, see below.

¹¹G. E. Bean, *Side kitabeleri: The Inscriptions of Side* (Ankara 1965) no. 107. On this man see now the full study by Robert, *Stele* 10–20.

Socrates," "New Theophanes."¹² Thereafter a motion might be passed for these acclamations to be made official,¹³ perhaps by inscription on the roll of the city's benefactors;¹⁴ and henceforth it would regularly follow the person's name almost as if it were part of it.

Nicanor's title of "New Homer" has been invoked in connection with a statue base from Athens which bears this inscription:¹⁵

'Ιλιάς ἡ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρ[ου]
πάροστατις ἱδρυμαι τῶι με τεκόντι νέω[ι.]

The "new father" of the *Iliad*, it has been suggested, is Nicanor, who perhaps prepared an edition of the poem, or even composed the *Ilias Latina*.¹⁶ It is true that Nicanor was honored with a statue bearing a tasteless epigram, but that statue cannot be the one referred to here. The last words of the present epigram should mean, not "my new father," but "him who fathered me when he was young," and they were convincingly explained by the first editor, Homer Thompson. The base bearing the epigram was found about forty metres from where statues of the personified *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were discovered in 1869, and the traces on the base exactly fit the statue of the *Iliad*. Homer was often thought to have composed the *Iliad* in his vigorous youth, and the *Odyssey* in his old age: "Longinus" gives eloquent expression to this belief.¹⁷ There should therefore have been a statue of Homer between the two representing his poems, and other works of art are known in which the poet is shown flanked by his two "daughters." Another argument against associating this group with Nicanor lies in their date. From the letter-forms and the find-spots of the statues and the base, it is plausible to associate them with the Library of Pantainos built about A.D. 100,¹⁸ whereas Nicanor lived about a century earlier.

Keil also explained the title "New Themistocles:" for buying Salamis

¹²Lucian *Peregr.* 12 (Socrates); *IG* 12 (2) 235, cf. 5 (2) 151 (Theophanes). Cf. *Bull.* 1951.85 *ad fin.*; L. Robert in *L'épigramme grecque* (Geneva 1968 [Entretiens Hardt 14]) 260–261, 264–266.

¹³Note the fine inscription from Tlos for a benefactress called Lalla, in return for whose generosity "the city shouted to the priest of the Augusti at the electoral assembly so that he would introduce a motion for Lalla to be called 'mother of the city:'" Ch. Naour, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 265.

¹⁴For this "inscription" of benefactors, cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 47.17, Apul. *Met.* 3.11.

¹⁵First published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 62–65.

¹⁶A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 317–319.

¹⁷[Longin.] 9.11–15, with the commentary of D. A. Russell, "*Longinus*" *On the Sublime* (Oxford 1964) 95–96.

¹⁸Thus Thompson, (above, n. 15) 64. Raubitschek, (above, n. 16) 317 n. 3, admits this difficulty, but suggests that the statue of the New Homer was later moved to the Library and there flanked with newly carved statues of the two poems: this seems strained.

and giving it back to Athens, Nicanor was equated with the statesman whose name was immortally linked with the island and the Persian defeat there.¹⁹ It seems likely that this benefaction, as well as Nicanor's poetry, formed the subject of the epigram that Dio and others criticised. These criticisms explain the erasure which Nicanor's pompous titles have undergone in several inscriptions: at some time, moved by shame or by the bidding of others, the Athenians tried to remove them, and probably also the offensive epigram. This is not a *damnatio* or the result of Nicanor's political disgrace, for if it had been his name too would have been removed. Another Athenian inscription not far away in time shows a benefactor's titles erased from an inscription set up in his honour.²⁰

Next, Nicanor's place of origin. Since Dio couples him with a Phoenician and a wandering poet, it might be surmised that he too was not an Athenian by birth. This is confirmed by a notice in Stephanus of Byzantium, or rather in the abbreviated and interpolated text which is all that now remains of his *Ethnika*.²¹ "Hierapolis, a city between Phrygia and Lydia, with many springs of warm water, so called from having many sanctuaries. Second, a city of Crete. Third, a city of Syria, which is also Hierapolis with an O. Fourth, a city of Caria."²² The ethnic is 'Hieropolitai',²³ whence Nicanor the New Homer, and Publius and Serapion the Stoics, and very many other Hieropolitans." Although the text does not indicate which of the several cities with the name was Nicanor's, it is generally and rightly agreed to be the Hierapolis of northern Syria, best known as the cult-centre of the goddess Atargatis.²⁴ It was also a notable caravan-city, and some of its sons could easily have amassed enormous fortunes before moving to more "Hellenic" places. A colony of Hiero-

¹⁹Keil 59–60. L. Robert plans to show in his article on Nicanor (below, n. 30) that the "Roman" whose name was substituted for that of Themistocles on a statue at Athens (Paus. 1.18.3) was Nicanor: *Bull.* 1962.137 *ad fin.* That would give point to Dio's mention of Nicanor in the *Rhodian*, since the whole speech concerns the practice of reinscribing statues to honor Romans.

²⁰J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 392 (an improved and amplified text of *IG* 2² 3580), lines 12–14; the deletion was explained by J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1974.108. [τε] should clearly be restored instead of [τα] in line 13.

²¹Steph. Byz. pages 327–328 Meineke, 'Ιεράπολις, μεταξύ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας πόλις, θερμῶν ὑδάτων πολλῶν πλήθουσα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερὰ πολλὰ ἔχειν. β' Κρήτης. γ' Συρίας, ἥ καὶ 'Ιεροπόλις διὰ τοῦ θ. δ' Καρίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ιεροπολῖται, ἀφ' οὗ Νικάνωρ ὁ νέος Ὀμηρος καὶ Πόπλιος καὶ Σαραπίων Στωικοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείστοι 'Ιεροπολῖται.

²²There was no such city, and this must be a confusion with the first-named Hierapolis: thus Robert, *Stele* 15 n. 43.

²³On the formation of this ethnic, see Robert in L. Robert and A. Dupont-Sommer, *La déesse de Hiéropolis Castabala (Cilicie)* (Paris 1964) 17–22.

²⁴On this, Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* 4 (1924) 733–742; further bibliography in A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (Oxford 1971) 567; add now R. A. Stucky, *Syria* 53 (1976) 127–140.

politans is found on Delos in the late second century B.C.:²⁵ a wealthy man from the same city can readily be imagined in the Athens of the early empire.

The question of Nicanor's origin has been clouded by confusion with a homonym from Alexandria. Suetonius records among the philosophic teachers of Augustus a certain Areius and his sons Dionysius and Nicanor.²⁶ Areius, whose name is distinctively Egyptian,²⁷ was an eminent Stoic from Alexandria, and was partly responsible for the young Caesar's sparing the city in 30 B.C.²⁸ His second son must be the "C. Julius Nicanor, son of Areius" known from a base in Athens which was first properly published by Paul Graindor in 1927.²⁹ Graindor identified this Nicanor with the New Homer, and he has been widely followed. But J. and L. Robert have pointed out that the son of Areius was Alexandrian, the New Homer Syrian, so that they must be distinct.³⁰

Lastly, the date of the Syrian Nicanor. It has usually been assumed, even by those who did not identify the two Nicanors, that the Syrian as well as the Alexandrian lived under Augustus. A newly published inscription, however, has been thought to suggest a later date.

The chief evidence for an earlier one concerns Salamis. This belonged to Athens until Sulla's siege, but ceased to do so from that time at least until the 30's B.C. Strabo, however, writing not later than the early years of Tiberius, states that "now the Athenians have the island, though previously they quarrelled with the Megarians about it." Dio, probably speaking under Vespasian, seems to regard Nicanor's benefaction as an event of some time ago. The conclusion towards which this evidence converges is that he flourished approximately in the reign of Augustus.³¹

Two Athenian inscriptions support this inference, though only indirectly. One of them includes a decree providing for the restoration of Attic sanctuaries, and also a list of those restored; among these are a sanctuary founded by Themistocles before the battle of Salamis, the headland on which stood the trophy erected by him after the battle, and the communal grave of the fallen. On archaeological and other grounds this inscription

²⁵P. Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne* (Paris 1916) 252-270, 411-426; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 37 (1960) 246-247 (*Antiquités Syriennes* 78).

²⁶Suet. *Aug.* 89.1, *eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium*.

²⁷L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937) 140-141.

²⁸Sources in *PIR*² A 1035; add G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 33-34, 39-41, L. Robert, *CRAI* 1969.52.

²⁹P. Graindor, *BCH* 51 (1927) 275-276 no. 43 (*JG* 2² 3785).

³⁰*Bull.* 1955.79, mentioning an unpublished study of the Syrian by L. Robert; cf. Bowersock, (above, n. 28) 96 n. 5. The two Nicanors are confused, and the present passage of Dio misinterpreted, in *PIR*² I/J 440.

³¹P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo 1927) 8-10, citing Str. 9.394.

has been placed in the reign of Augustus.³² It would well suit a time when a "New Themistocles" had recently redeemed the island; however, it must be admitted that Nicanor is not named. Another Athenian decree, which is very fragmentary, mentions Nicanor and Salamis at several points, and appears to have been passed soon after the repurchase.³³ The decree begins with the words ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Κ[: it is reasonable to suppose that this is Augustus, and that the phrase continued with something like κ[αὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου]³⁴. However, the final kappa might be the first letter of Κ[λαυδίου], even though that would produce a very unusual order of Claudius' names.³⁵

The chief argument for a later date is provided by a discovery of M. Mitsos, who has recently added an important fragment to an inscription long since known.³⁶ It is a catalogue of magistrates, of which the crucial lines were restored by Mitsos as follows:

στρατηγὸς [ἐπὶ τὰ] ὄπλα 'Ιούλιος
Νικάνωρ, νέος ["Ὀμηρο]ς καὶ νέος Θεμισ[τοκλῆς,]
16 κῆρυξ τῆς ἐ[ξ 'Α]ρ[είου π]άγου βουλῆς Τ[ί]τος (?)
Θε[ο] . .]νης Παιανιεύς.

Now E. Kapetanopoulos has pointed out that a Tiberius Claudius Theogenes of Paiania is known from several inscriptions dated to the third quarter or so of the first century: Kapetanopoulos reasonably assumes that this man is identical with the Theogenes of Paiania who was herald of the Areopagus in 61/62.³⁷ He therefore proposes restoring his name in line 17, and thus putting the activity of Nicanor in the reign of Nero: it will have to follow that Athens lost Salamis again after the recovery of it mentioned by Strabo. Kapetanopoulos supports this date by another argument. In the already mentioned decree honouring Nicanor he is called ἀγωνοθέτης Σεβαστῶν ἀ[γώνων]. Now elsewhere a prominent Athenian of the reigns of Claudius and Nero, Tiberius Claudius Novius, is called πρῶτος ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀγώνων: hence, it is argued, Nicanor must have been agonothete later than Novius.³⁸

³²IG 2² 1035, now re-edited by Gerald R. Culley, *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 207–223; see esp. lines 45 (sanctuary), 33–34 (trophy and *polyandron*). On the date, Culley 221–223; *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 282–298, esp. 290–291.

³³IG 2² 1069; for new fragments, Benjamin D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 68–71 no. 13; cf. Culley, *Hesperia* 44 (1975) 220.

³⁴Thus Keil, 57, 64.

³⁵Cf. W. Dittenberger, *EphEp* 1 (1872) 114–117.

³⁶IG 2² 1723; M. Mitsos, *ArchEph* 1972.55–57, with Plate 13.

³⁷E. Kapetanopoulos, *RivFC* 104 (1976) 375–377. Tib. Claudius Theogenes: IG 2² 3185, 3449, 3538. The herald Theogenes: IG 2² 1990. A Theogenes, again without Roman names or demotic, is now found as archon in the reigns of Gaius or Claudius, *Bull.* 1976.178.

³⁸Nicanor: IG 2² 1069 line 7. Novius: IG 2² 3270.

However, Kapetanopoulos' proposal creates various problems. He suggests restoring the end of line 16 as τ[ὸ β'] or T[ιβ Κλ.]. Yet the first is excluded by the fact that there is no other recorded instance of a man being herald of the Areopagus twice. As for the second, the hoplite general in the Neronian Theogenes' year is already known to have been Tiberius Claudius Novius (IG 2² 1990 line 3). An attractive way out of the difficulty has been suggested to me by Simone Follet: the τ[] at the end of line 16 could be the last syllables of Θεμιστ[οκλῆς] for which there was not enough room at the end of line 15.³⁹ This Theogenes of Paiania would then be the father or (more likely) the grandfather of the herald of 61/62. As for the title ἀγωνοθέτης Σεβαστῶν ἀγώνων, it is to be remembered that such contests were not necessarily recurrent: a Pergamene of the first century A.D. devised a festival of the "Sebastoi Soteres" there, without there being any sign that the event was, or was intended to be, held more than once.⁴⁰ That this was also true of Nicanor's games is perhaps suggested by the absence of the definite article, "agonothete of Augustan games:" Tiberius Claudius Novius was the "first agonothete of the Augustan games."⁴¹

It seems therefore preferable to assume that the Theogenes of the new fragment is someone other than the Neronian one, and to retain an Augustan date for Nicanor the Syrian. His career well fits what is known of Augustan Athens. In 22/21 B.C. the emperor had to forbid the Athenians to sell their citizenship.⁴² An epigram of the poet Automedon, which is presumably also of Augustan date, satirizes both this practice and the Athenians' tendency to shower titles such as "Triptolemos" on even the most illiberal benefactors: Louis Robert has juxtaposed this epigram with the honours decreed to Nicanor of Hierapolis.⁴³

II. SERAPION THE STOIC

The poet Serapion is known from the writings of his friend Plutarch, some Athenian inscriptions, and a quotation from his poetry in Stobaeus.

³⁹S. Follet by letter: to judge by the photograph, the conjecture would fit the traces. Compare the way in which the word νεανισκάρχης is divided between two lines in Mit-sos, (above, n. 36) no. 4 line 11 (Plate 16).

⁴⁰Ch. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8.3: *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Berlin 1969) no. 36.

⁴¹A similar point is made by Daniel J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (Baltimore 1967 [*Hesperia* Suppl. 12]) 134.

⁴²Dio Cass. 54.7.2, cf. Bowersock (above, n. 28) 106.

⁴³*Anth. Pal.* 11.319 = A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge 1968), Automedon no. v; L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* (Amsterdam 1974) 93; and above, n. 12, 265.

He has been much discussed in the past few decades:⁴⁴ the present note is mainly concerned with his place of origin.

It is usually taken for granted that Serapion was an Athenian. All the many inscriptions concerning him and his relatives have been found in Athens; he was certainly resident there, and Plutarch describes a dinner given there by Serapion after the Dionysia as the victorious *choro-didaskalos* of his tribe Leontis.⁴⁵ Yet Plutarch himself, who was of the same tribe, had been enrolled in it by public act (*demopoietos*), as he mentions on this very occasion;⁴⁶ the agonothete of the same Dionysia, also present at this dinner, was a prince from Commagene;⁴⁷ Plutarch's teacher Ammonius, to judge by the references of his pupil and by inscriptions, might be thought indigenously Athenian, and yet he is said by Eunapius to have been Egyptian.⁴⁸ Hence it is conceivable that Serapion too was not Athenian by birth.

Plutarch's friend was a Stoic. An interlocutor in the dialogue *On the oracles of Delphi* rallies him for "bringing in your Stoa" to solve every philosophical problem (400b); and an Athenian inscription to be discussed later calls him a "Stoic philosopher." Now it will be remembered that Stephanus of Byzantium mentioned three distinguished Hieropolitans, "Nicanor the New Homer and Publius and Serapion the Stoics." Publius seems impossible to identify, but perhaps not Serapion. No Stoic of the name is known other than Plutarch's friend;⁴⁹ and that he enjoyed some literary repute outside the pages of Plutarch is shown by the quotation in Stobaeus (3.10.2, p. 408 Hense). It may therefore be that, like Plutarch himself, he was an Athenian only by adoption, and that like Nicanor he was originally from Hierapolis in Syria.

It is now generally agreed that Serapion is also the honorand of the so-called "Serapion Monument" from the Asclepieum at Athens.⁵⁰

⁴⁴Note especially James H. Oliver, *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (Baltimore 1949) 243-246; R. Flacelière, *REG* 64 (1951) 325-327. I use the customary modern spelling of his name, though "Sarapion" is better attested.

⁴⁵Residence: Plut. *de E Delph.* 384e, *de Pyth. or.* 396d. Dinner: Plut. *Quaest. conviv.* 628a-b.

⁴⁶Plut. *Quaest. conviv. ibid.* Plutarch's use of the plural does not show that others of the company were also *demopoietoi*, since he regularly uses the authorial "we" in this work as in others. On the possibility that he belonged to Serapion's deme, Cholleidai, C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 71 (1966) 207.

⁴⁷Plut. *Quaest. conviv. ibid.*; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971) 59.

⁴⁸Eun. *VS* 454; Jones (above, n. 46) 205-213.

⁴⁹The philosopher Serapion of *POxy* 42.3069 might conceivably be a Stoic, but he is obviously an Oxyrhynchite.

⁵⁰On this object, see especially J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 91-122; W. K. Pritchett, *AJP* 59 (1938) 343-345; Oliver, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 306-311, and above, n. 44, 243-246; P. Amandry, *BCH* 100 (1976) 43-44. On the identification of the honorand as Plutarch's friend, Oliver and Flacelière (above, n. 44).

This was in fact a three-sided base that originally supported a tripod. When first set up, it had on its principal face an inscription in honor of "Serapion of Cholleidai," of which the first seven lines are as follows:⁵¹

- [Σαραπίων]α Χολλείδην π[οιητήν - -]
 [- και φι]λόσοφον Στωικ[όν - - -]
 Κο. Στά[τιος πυρφόρ]ος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως Χολλεί-
 4 δης, IE[ca 11] θεοῦ, τὸν αὐτοῦ πάππον
 ἀνέθ[ηκεν και τὸ ποιή]μα αὐτοῦ ἀνέγραψεν
 κα[θ' ὑπομνηματισμὸν Ἀρειοπ]αγειτῶν.
 ΔΕ[ca 12]ΩΡΟΣ ἤρχε.

At a subsequent date, probably in the first decade of the third century, inscriptions were added on the two other faces, one of them containing Sophocles' *Paeon*, the other a list of *paianistai*.⁵²

Another inscription still in the Asclepieum evidently refers to members of the same family. This was on the base of a statue of a Q. Statius Themistocles of Cholleidai, whose father was Q. Statius Glaucus, priest of the "Saviour God" Asclepios. The statue was set up by Themistocles' second cousin T. Flavius Glaucus of Marathon, a poet, rhetor, philosopher, and *advocatus fisci*, "next to their common great-grandfather Q. Statius Serapion, whose also is the tripod nearby."⁵³ Though this last phrase might suggest that Q. Statius Serapion was the dedicator of the tripod-base, it seems more natural to take him to be the owner of the tripod which the base supported; in other words, Q. Statius Serapion should be identical with Serapion of Cholleidai.⁵⁴ It is no difficulty that he is merely called Serapion on the Monument, and Q. Statius Serapion on his great-grandson's base.⁵⁵ Men of letters who were also Roman citizens, such as Plutarch or the sophist Polemo, are usually known only by their Greek names in literature. In inscriptions, where the inscription commemorates them as men of letters, or when it is set up by themselves for private purposes, they may similarly appear merely as "Plutarch"

⁵¹I give the text of Oliver, (above, n. 44) 243, except for lines 4 and 7, which I leave unrestored; for possible supplements, see below. On lines 1-2, see below, n. 55.

⁵²See especially J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 91-113. The catalogue of *paianistai* is dated by the archonship of Munatius Themison, probably of the early third century: J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 322-323, 41 (1972) 141.

⁵³*IG* 2² 3704, reproduced by Oliver (above, n. 52) 92 and (above, n. 44) 247. Note especially lines 14-17, παρ[ὰ] τὸν κοινὸν πρόπαππον Κόιντον Στάτιον Σαραπίωνα, οὗ καὶ ὁ πλῆσιον οὗτος τρίπους.

⁵⁴This was denied by Oliver, (above, n. 44) 244: however, he seems now to accept it, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 395.

⁵⁵S. Follet suggests that lines 1-2 of the Serapion Monument are incorrectly restored, and that Serapion might have appeared with his *tria nomina*: if that were right, then the following argument would be unnecessary.

or "Polemo:" elsewhere, especially when the inscription is of a formal or official nature, they may be mentioned more correctly with the Roman *gentilicium* or full nomenclature.⁵⁶

As for the dedicator of the base, the grandson of Serapion whose name is suppressed for reasons of hieronymy, it is tempting to identify him with Q. Staius Glaucus, the father of Q. Staius Serapion. Glaucus was almost certainly a grandson of Serapion, and he was active in the cult of Asclepius. If this is right, *ιε[ρεὺς Σωτήριος] θεοῦ* is the evident restoration in line 4 of the Serapion Monument.⁵⁷ The chronology and interrelationships of Glaucus' well-known family are too complicated and uncertain to be usefully discussed here: but if the Serapion Monument belongs roughly to the first half of the second century, as seems reasonable,⁵⁸ then Glaucus' son and his son's cousin, Q. Staius Serapion and T. Flavius Glaucus the poet, should have flourished roughly in the latter part of the same century, not, as is usually assumed, in the middle of the third.⁵⁹

III. AELIUS ARISTIDES

In 1927 W. Wrede observed and photographed an inscribed altar at the chapel of Ayios Elias on Mount Pentelicon, not far from the famous monastery of Pendéli.⁶⁰ W. Peek communicated the photograph and a

⁵⁶Plutarch: contrast the statue of Hadrian set up by the Amphictyons, *Delph.* 3 (4) 472 (*Syll.*³ 829a) with *Syll.*³ 843, 844b, 845. Polemo: contrast the list of official promises, *IGR* 4.1431 lines 35–36, with his own dedication, Habicht (above, n. 40) no. 33. Cf. C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 74 (1970) 238 on the name "Hippodromus" at Aidepsos, J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1973.375, pages 141–142, on "Heraclides" at Erythrai, Robert, *Stele* 17, 20 n. 71, on the various styles of the poets Paion of Side and Nestor of Laranda; and see further below, p. 232.

⁵⁷Thus Oliver in 1936; in 1949 (above, n. 44) he restored *ιε[ρὸν εἶναι τοῦ] θεοῦ*, which seems improbable.

⁵⁸The honorand, Serapion the Stoic, was a friend of Plutarch: in addition, S. Follet suggests to me that the archon in line 7 might possibly be (Λεύκιος?) Μέμμιος — *pos* of 127/128 (*IG* 2² 2040).

⁵⁹The later date depends on two identifications: (i) of the Asiarch Claudius Themistocles, the father-in-law of Q. Staius Glaucus the priest of Asclepius (*IG* 2² 3704), with the Claudius Themistocles, not called an Asiarch, who honoured the future emperor Pupienus at Ephesos (*OGIS* 518; *ILS* 8839); (ii) of the poet Flavius Glaucus with (Flavius) Glaucus, nephew of a hierophant of the same name (*IG* 2² 3632, 3709): the hierophant appears to have flourished in the early third century (see now S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* [Paris 1976] 262–267). Neither of these identifications seems beyond doubt.

⁶⁰I am very grateful to E. Erxleben for giving me details about the discovery of the stone to be discussed below, and for lending me the print of Wrede's photograph now in the files of *IG*; the negative (Attica 142, Inventory Year 1927) is in the files of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, to which, and especially to K. Kilian, I am

text to J. Kirchner, the editor of *IG* 2², who incorporated it as no. 4531 in volume 3, part 1, which appeared in 1935. The following text may be proposed:

[Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ]
[Τῷ(ι)εἰσι]κα[ι]
[Τελε]σφόρ[ω]
4 [Ἀρι]στείδης
εὐ[ξ]ήμενος.

The only major change from Kirchner's text is that his begins at the second line of the above. That may be right, for dedications to Hygieia and Telesphoros alone are attested.⁶¹ But since the stone is very worn, and since mention of Asclepios is to be expected, his name probably stood in a missing first line.⁶² From the script, Kirchner proposed a date in the second or third century A.D. It is striking that he proposed this date, and Peek supplied the name [Ari]stides, apparently without any *arrière-pensée*: for there are reasons to think that the dedicant is none other than the famous rhetor Aelius Aristides.

In 1937, Louis Robert published inscriptions from two altars (of which one had been lost), set up by an Aristides on a hill in Mysia and dedicated respectively to Dike and Nemesis and (probably) to Isis and Serapis: Robert convincingly identified the hill with the Hill of Atys in the same region on which Aristides set up several altars in consequence of a dream.⁶³ Even more similar to the present altar is a recently published one from Mytilene, which bears the inscription Ἀριστείδης Ἀσκληπιῷ σωτήρι εὐχὴν: J. and L. Robert have recognized the dedicant again to be Aristides.⁶⁴ It has also been proposed that Aristides made a dedication to Asclepios at Epidauros which is inscribed with the names P. Aelius [- - -]des:⁶⁵ but against this proposal is the fact that in all his other known dedications he styles himself, with a proud simplicity, "Aristides."⁶⁶

Not only the name Aristides, but also those of the gods honored, connect this altar with the rhetor. He mentions a tripod which he had set up

very much obliged for supplying me with the print shown here (facing page). I am also very grateful to Eugene Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for his topographical advice, and above all to my colleague, M. B. Wallace, for his enthusiastic and unstinting help in tracking down the negative and attempting (unfortunately in vain) to find the stone *in situ*.

⁶¹*IG* 4².1.562, 570 (Epidauros).

⁶²I owe this suggestion to S. Follet.

⁶³Aristides *Or.* 49.41; Robert (above, n. 27) 216–220.

⁶⁴S. Charitonidis, *Hai epigraphai tes Lesbou: Sympleroma* (Athens 1968) no. 33; *Bull.* 1970.422, 1971.102, Robert, *Stele* 7–8.

⁶⁵*IG* 4².1.577; this suggestion was made by C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Amsterdam 1968) 87 n. 90.

⁶⁶Cf. Robert, (above, n. 27) 216–217; above, n. 56.



IG 2² 4531 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athen,
Neg. No. Attika 142)

at Pergamon in honor of the same three divinities (*Or.* 50.46). Hygieia and Telesphoros may have had a temple of their own there as the son and daughter of Asclepius.⁶⁷ The mysterious child-god Telesphoros is closely associated with Pergamon: Aristides himself calls him the "Pergamene" (*Or.* 48.10), and the city seems to have invented his cult about the year 100, after which it became widespread.⁶⁸

Aristides had been a student in Athens, and visited the city at least once again, when he delivered the speech later published as the *Panathenaicus*.⁶⁹ That would have been a suitable occasion for him to set up the present altar. Near the end of his long illness, he had dreamed that he would travel again, and achieve great success in Athens and Italy (*Or.* 52.3): once back in Attica, he might well have made an offering to three gods so closely associated with his cure and with Pergamon. It is not known whether the site of his altar was already consecrated before his visit, as was the sanctuary on the Hill of Atys in Mysia,⁷⁰ but that may be suspected: several visitors have been struck by its green trees and the cool streams which flow there even in high summer.⁷¹

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⁶⁷E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Würzburg 1940) 145, 158–159.

⁶⁸Cf. Paus. 2.11.7, an oracle according to which the Pergamenes were bidden to call the god by this name. On Telesphoros generally, Frazer ad loc.; J. Schmidt in Roscher, *Lex.* 5 (1916–1924) 309–326; J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore 1945) 2.89 n. 50; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 31; M. Guarducci, *RendLinc.* ser. 8, 27 (1972, publ. 1973) 365–370. On his cult at Pergamum, Ohlmutz, (above, n. 67) 159–163; in Attica, Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960) 125.

⁶⁹Aristides and Athens: A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique . . .* (Paris 1923) 117–118, 148–149. The *Panathenaicus* is dated precisely to August 155 by Behr, (above, n. 65) 87–88, and to 165–170 by J. H. Oliver, *The Civilizing Power: A study of the Panathenaic discourse of Aelius Aristides* (Philadelphia 1968) 33–34. Boulanger, *op. cit.* 148, wisely leaves the date open.

⁷⁰Robert (above, n. 27) 218.

⁷¹Cf. J. P. Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece* (New York 1913) 160: "there is ample shade of waving trees and plenty of falling water, in the midst of deep ["steep" in earlier editions] slopes wooded with fir—a cool and quiet retreat in the fierce heat of summer." Though the name "Telesphoros" (which long antedates the god) is common in Attica, note a L. Cornelius Telesphorus of the deme Pentele, *IG* 2^a 2208 line 24.