

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 12, 1997

1997

WILEY-VERLAG



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H O L Z H A U S E N

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Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an:

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien. Beiträge in deutscher, englischer, französischer, italienischer und lateinischer Sprache werden angenommen. Disketten in MAC- und DOS-Formaten sind willkommen.

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Auslieferung:

Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Kandlgasse 19–21, A-1070 Wien

Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Umschlag: IG II² 2127 (Ausschnitt) mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Epigraphischen Museums in Athen, Inv.-Nr. 8490, und P.Vindob. Barbara 8.

© 1997 by Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Wien

Eigentümer und Verleger: Verlag A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Kandlgasse 19–21, A-1070 Wien.

Herausgeber: Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber,
c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte, Universität Wien, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 1, A-1010 Wien.

Hersteller: Druckerei A. Holzhausens Nfg. GmbH, Kandlgasse 19–21, A-1070 Wien.

Verlagsort: Wien. — Herstellungsort: Wien. — Printed in Austria.

ISBN 3-900518-87-4

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ANDREW P. GREGORY

A New and Some Overlooked Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate*

Tafel 7

In 1990 John Nicols published in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* an article which discussed the status of patrons of the Greek cities during the early empire¹. Nicols argued that under Augustus there was a distinct change in the regulation of the patronage of communities in the east: only communities of Roman citizens were allowed civic patronage (either senatorial governors or locals of equestrian status) while peregrine communities were now prohibited from finding patrons from their own senatorial governors. As a result there was a noticeable decline in the numbers of civic patrons in the east until the early second century: „only after 135“, asserts Nicols, „do we begin to find in the epigraphic record unambiguous cases of peregrine communities acquiring civic patrons“. The sole exceptions to this pattern during the first century A.D., apparently, were Bithynian communities (Nicomedia and Nicaea) which, Nicols argued, were exempt from the ruling of Augustus on the grounds that civic patronage in that particular province was regulated by the *Lex Pompeia*².

Nicols' argument is essentially based on two things: a passage of Dio which mentions some kind of decree by Augustus and the fact that there are relatively few extant inscriptions from the first century A.D. which honour senatorial patrons. Dio relates that Augustus, in *ca.* A.D. 11/12, „also ordered the provinces not to bestow any honours upon a person assigned to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after his departure; this was because some governors by arranging beforehand for testimonials and eulogies from their subjects were causing much

* This note was written while staying at the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara in Spring 1995; my research was funded by an Institute travel grant and in particular by a Study Abroad Studentship from the Leverhulme Trust. I would like to express gratitude to both institutions for their generous support, and to all the staff of the Institute in Ankara for their warm hospitality. I would also like to thank R. S. Bagnall, R. A. Billows, W. V. Harris, S. Mitchell, and especially C. Eilers, for constructive comments. Above all I am grateful to Ender Varinlioğlu of Ankara University for allowing me to publish the Stratoniceia inscription, providing me with a photograph of his squeeze, and for untold kindnesses during my stay in Turkey. Needless to say I remain solely responsible for all errors.

¹ J. Nicols, *Patrons of Greek cities in the Early Principate*, ZPE 80 (1990) 81–100. Nicols includes several cases not mentioned in L. Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques*, Paris 1957.

² Nicols (above, n. 1) 89–91. The relevant cases are nos. 3, 9, 10 and 11 in Nicols' list. Quote, p. 84.

mischief³. The context here suggests only a measure against the abuse of gubernatorial power but Nicols has suggested that a ruling on civic patronage was included in this decision because it was one of several honours from non-citizen communities which challenged the unique position of the emperor as patron and benefactor across the empire. As far as citizen communities were concerned, according to Nicols, their own municipal charters regulated the co-optation of patrons and so their affairs were left untouched. Adding to the work of Harmand, and careful to distinguish between civic patrons proper and those other city benefactors who were recognized as *euergetai*, *sôteres* and so on, Nicols drew up a list of early imperial civic patrons whose status as *patrônes* can be fully substantiated. The epigraphic evidence, as presented by Nicols, does seem to show a 'decline' in numbers of patrons of Greek cities after Augustus (seventy-two cases for the period 90 B.C.–A.D.11/12 and eleven cases for the period A.D. 13–117)⁴. The only valid instances of civic patronage after A.D. 11/12, Nicols argues, are from citizen communities (i.e. Roman colonies and municipia). A pattern of 'decline' in the first century seems apparent, but is it to be associated with an outright ban by Augustus? And are we justified in claiming that Augustus' measure against gubernatorial corruption, as recorded by Dio, included measures about eligibility for the office of patron?

In fact in his catalogue of city patrons Nicols missed two inscriptions of Julio-Claudian date, one from the island of Cos honouring M. Aemilius Lepidus and another from Attaleia in Pamphylia honouring M. Calpurnius Rufus. I draw attention to these inscriptions because they directly challenge the thesis that after the reign of Augustus there could be no senatorial patrons of cities of peregrine status in the Greek east. I propose here that Nicols' thesis be abandoned or at least radically rethought. In addition I publish a new epigraphic fragment from Stratoniceia in Caria which appears to lend further support to the contention that there was no such measure by Augustus concerning civic patronage in the east.

* * *

1) Honorific inscription for M. Aemilius Lepidus⁵.

- 1 ὁ δᾶμος Μᾶρκον Αἰμίλιον
- 2 Λέπιδον τὸ δεύτερον ἀνθύ-
- 3 πατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα
- 4 καὶ εὐεργέταν.

This inscription set up by the people of Cos honoured M. Aemilius Lepidus (*cos.* A.D. 6) as their patron and *euergetês*. Lepidus was appointed proconsul of Asia in A.D. 26, a full twenty years after he held the consulship, and as this inscription attests

³ Cass. Dio 56. 25. 6: καὶ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπ-αλλαγῆναί σφας τιμὴν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προ-παρασκευαζόμενοι πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν (translation adapted from Loeb).

⁴ Nicols (above, n. 1) 83, Table 1.

⁵ AE (1934) no. 87. I thank Claude Eilers especially for bringing this text to my attention.

he was in Asia for at least two years⁶. This Coan inscription thus dates to A.D. 27/8, and the date, together with Lepidus' status as provincial governor, provides a compelling challenge to Nicols' hypothesis. Indeed, it reveals that the city of Cos directly contradicted the order which Dio records namely that provincial communities refrain from honouring governors while still in office.

Also overlooked by Nicols was an inscription from the *kale* of Antalya (ancient Attaleia), in southern Turkey, which was originally published by E. Bosch in 1947 and republished by George Bean in 1958.

2) Honorific inscription for L. Calpurnius Longus⁷.

1 ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν
 2 Λεύκιον Καλπούρνι-
 3 ον Λόγγον, υἷον Μάρ-
 4 κου Καλπουρνίου Ῥού-
 5 φου τοῦ πάτρωνος
 6 τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν,
 7 εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκα.

In this inscription the community of Attaleia honoured L. Calpurnius Longus, the son of the patron of the city, M. Calpurnius Rufus⁸. The man who concerns us, the city patron Rufus, is known from another inscription from the Antalya *kale*, also published by Bosch and then again by Bean.

2a) Honorific inscription for M. Calpurnius Rufus⁹.

1 ὁ δῆμος
 2 Μᾶρκον Καλπούρνιον
 3 Μάρκου υἷον Ῥούφον,
 4 πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντι-
 5 στράτηγον Τιβερίου
 6 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σε-
 7 βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ

As the second inscription makes clear the city patron, M. Calpurnius Rufus, was also a *legatus pro praetore* (πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον) under Claudius, and

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 56. 2. Cf. R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford 1986, 132. Lepidus may even have had a third year in Asia, as C. Eilers has argued in *Tyche* 10 (1995) 9–12.

⁷ G. E. Bean, *Inscriptions in the Antalya Museum*, *Belleten* 22 (1958) 29, no. 15 = E. Bosch and S. Atlan, *Antalya kitableri*, *Belleten* 11 (1947) 94, no. 11 (Antalya Museum Inv. no. 417). Cf. SEG 17 (1960) no. 568; AE (1972) no. 610

⁸ For Calpurnius Longus at Attaleia see also K. G. Lanckoronski (ed.), *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens I*, Vienna 1890, 161, no. 17, not noticed by Bosch or Bean.

⁹ Antalya Museum Inv. no. 420. Bean (above, n. 7) 26, no. 11; Bosch & Atlan (above, n. 7) 94, no. 10.

appears to be the very first Roman senator from Pamphylia¹⁰: Rufus clearly came from Attaleia, for his mother, Caecilia Tertulla, was priestess of Iulia Augusta (Livia) and of Roma in the city. This was undoubtedly a position of great distinction. (The family's special position within the city is illustrated by the inscription above honouring his son, L. Calpurnius Longus, and by another honouring his daughter-in-law, Longus' wife)¹¹. It has been suggested that Calpurnius Rufus may owe his advancement to his being the descendent of Italian immigrants and not, strictly speaking, a native Pamphylian¹². Nevertheless, whatever his origin, Rufus was the first provincial from this region to reach senatorial rank.

Which province was Calpurnius Rufus *legatus* of? Of course it is not clear which province he governed since the inscription from Antalya is fragmentary. But Bosch restored in line 7 of the inscription the phrase [Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας], and since his publication, scholars such as Syme, Jameson, Eck, and Halfmann have all assumed that Calpurnius Rufus was *legatus pro praetore* of Lycia-Pamphylia; he is most likely to have succeeded Q. Veranius in the post, perhaps ca. 47/8–53/4 A.D.¹³. An homonymous senator is mentioned in a funerary inscription from Ephesus (now in the British Museum); and it has been suggested that he is to be identified with the Pamphylian Rufus¹⁴. But we should differentiate between M. Calpurnius Rufus the *legatus pro praetore* from Attaleia and the homonym at Ephesus who held successive legateships in various eastern provinces, ending with a post as *legatus proconsulis* in Asia¹⁵.

What emerges from this material is that a Roman senator from Pamphylia came to be appointed patron of Attaleia in Pamphylia before, during, or just after the reign of Claudius. Attaleia was of course a peregrine community and although M. Calpurnius Rufus was a man of local extraction he was also of senatorial rank¹⁶. Whether or not he was governor of Lycia and Pamphylia, his rank and the date of the inscription

¹⁰ On Calpurnius Rufus see B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. –284 ap. J.-C.)*, Istanbul, Paris 1989, 59–60, no. 45; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, Göttingen 1979, 101, no. 2; W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 85, no. 110a; S. Jameson, *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) 117–118. On the family see most recently G. Camodeca, *Una nuova coppia di consoli del 148 e il proconsul Achaiae M. Calpurnius Longus*, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 235–240.

¹¹ Longus' wife: Bean (above, n. 7) 29, no. 16. Caecilia Tertulla: *Ann. scuola arch. Atene* 3 (1921) 11 = *AE* (1922) no. 2 = *SEG* 2 (1924/25) no. 696. See also R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen 1975, 181–194.

¹² Cf. Rémy (above, n. 10) 60, following Jameson (above n. 10), and Eck (above, n. 10).

¹³ The single exception to this identification was H. G. Pflaum in Robert, *BE* (1948) 199. See R. Syme, *Consulates in Absence*, *JRS* 48 (1958) 3, n. 29; Syme, *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, Oxford 1995, ed. A Birley, 271; Jameson (above, n. 10); Eck (above, n. 10); and Halfmann (above, n. 10) 101, no. 2.

¹⁴ See Robert (above, n. 13) 199; Rémy (above, n. 10) 60. Cf. Groag, *PIR*² C 313. The inscription is *CIL* III 6072 = *I. Ephesos*, no. 631.

¹⁵ See now W. Eck, *L. Marcus Celer M. Calpurnius Longus Prokonsul von Achaia und Suffektkonsul unter Hadrian*, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 97–106. Cf. Halfmann (above, n. 10) 101, 149, no. 60.

¹⁶ Jameson (above, n. 10) 125, notes that Attaleia gained colonial status, probably in the 3rd century A.D.

fers²⁰. On the basis of the lettering the inscription could perhaps be dated to the first-century A.D. and thus it seems plausible to interpret M. Iunius Silanus as the consul of A.D. 46, who was proconsul of Asia in A.D. 54. (An alternative identification could be M. Silanus, *cos.* 25 B.C., who served as governor in 20s B.C.)²¹. According to this new inscription the ancestors of Silanus (cf. l. 3) appear to have been patrons of the city. The Iunii Silani certainly had ancestral ties of patronage with nearby Carian Mylasa (above n. 19). If our identification of M. Silanus as the consul of A.D. 46 — the great-great-grandson of the praetor of 77 B.C., honoured by Mylasa — is correct, then the new Stratoniceia inscription would also strengthen the case against Nicols' argument for a complete ban by Augustus on Greek *poleis* having city patrons after A.D. 11/12.

* * *

Nicols has claimed that Augustus' measures went further than Dio suggests, by arguing that the decline in epigraphic instances of senatorial civic patrons of non-citizen communities indicates that the princeps made an outright ban on civic patronage of non-Roman cities in the east. Not only is this explanation unjustified and unnecessary but even Dio's testimony may be suspect. That in a systematic ban by Augustus provincial communities were only prohibited from coopting the governor who was currently in office in their province or who had recently left the province, is clearly ruled out by the case of M. Aemilius Lepidus. Rather than interpolating material into Dio we might even call into question his accuracy about this so-called measure of Augustus. Could Dio have confused the identity of the author of the decision which he attributed to Augustus? Could the „Caesar“ have in fact been Julius Caesar, whose own *lex Iulia de repetundis* may well have dealt with governors who organized laudatory decrees on their own behalf²²?

Moreover, alongside the two exceptions, and a possible third, presented here, the four inscriptions attesting civic patronage at Nicaea and Nicomedia in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods might appear not as an anomaly to be explained away by obscure clauses of the *Lex Pompeia* (as suggested by Nicols) but as further instances of ordinary peregrine communities (as with our Coan, Pamphylian and Carian examples) freely choosing senators and senatorial governors as their patrons²³.

The „decline“ in the number of Roman senatorial patrons of Greek cities in the immediate post-Augustan period is probably due to the realization by both senators and provincial communities of the radical new position of the princeps as patron and benefactor. The unchallenged political dominance of Augustus, at the very least his *auctoritas*, meant that senators were chary of eliciting honours which detracted from him but also were themselves naturally obscured in the provinces by the greater figure

²⁰ I am grateful for Prof. Varinlioğlu for sharing with me his own observations about this text.

²¹ Suggested by C. Eilers. It was the father of the *cos.* of 25 B.C. who was honoured at Mylasa. Cf. Syme (above, n. 5) 191, n. 27. For M. Silanus *cos.* A.D. 46 see PIR² J 833; Hohl, *Iunius (Silanus)* 176, RE 10 (1918) 1099.

²² A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration*, London 1993, 105, n. 40.

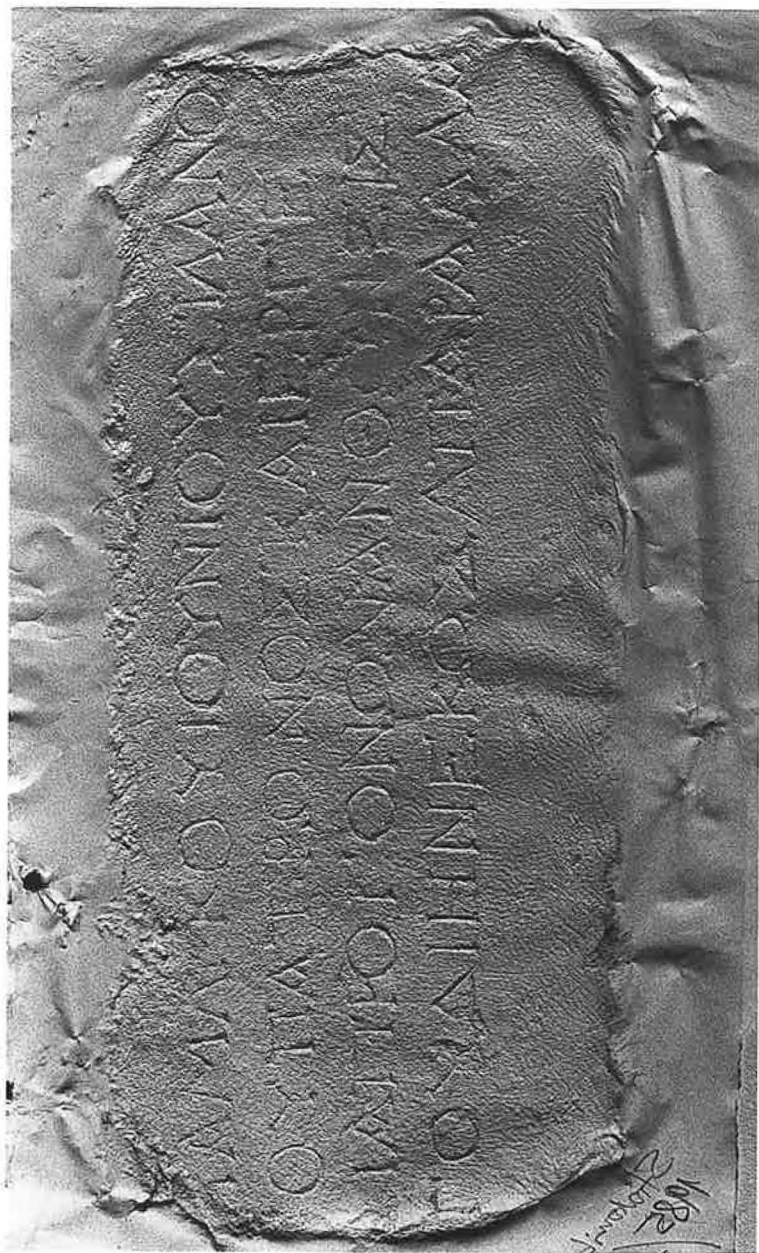
²³ The references to the Bithynian examples are given by Nicols. See above, n. 2.

of the *Sebastos*. And on a simply practical note the increase in instances of civic patronage after Trajan could be said to reflect the general increase in numbers of inscribed documents in the second and early third centuries A.D., the spread of the so-called „epigraphic habit“.

Whatever the correct interpretation of this difficult material, it is clear that we should not automatically shy away from identifying a Roman senator as a potential civic patron of a Greek city. Nicols has wisely exhorted us not to restore too casually the word *πάτριωνα* in Greek inscriptions of the early Principate, nevertheless our inscriptions from Cos, Attaleia and possibly Stratoniceia from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius do indicate that civic patronage was actively pursued by at least some *poleis* at that time.

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