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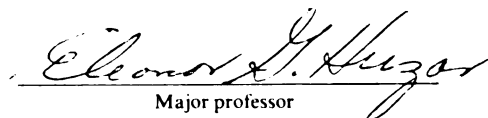
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Italians in Greece from 260 to 27 B.C.

presented by

Martha Joanna Payne

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**APETAΣ ENEKEN:
HONORS TO ROMANS AND ITALIANS IN GREECE
FROM 260 TO 27 B.C.**

**By
Martha Joanna Payne**

**A DISSERTATION
Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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1984

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1984

ABSTRACT

APETAΣ ENEKEN: HONORS TO ROMANS AND ITALIANS IN GREECE FROM 260 TO 27 B.C.

By

Martha Joanna Payne

From the mid-third century B.C. to 27 B.C. Romans and Italians were involved in Greek affairs as magistrates or businessmen. This dissertation examines the cultural and historical impact surrounding honors awarded Romans and Italians in Greece and the Islands. The honors were: statues, awards of proxeny status, crowns, honorific titles and certain cult honors, i.e., festivals, and altars. The bulk of the material is epigraphical, taken from decrees and statue base inscriptions. Lists I-V, in the Appendix, catalogue this evidence: List I - Grants of Statues to Romans and Italians (246 total); List V - Roman and Italian Proxenoi (total of 62); Lists II-IV provide information from statue base inscriptions: List II - Honorific Titles; List III - Specific Motives; List IV - Artist Signatures.

Chapter One studies the form, content and geographic location of statue base inscriptions. The inscriptions indicate that Greeks adopted both the Roman system for recording names and occasionally the Roman practice of recording an honoree's religious offices. A change in the geographic concentration of honorific statues in the first century suggests that powerful Roman leaders wished to signal Roman domination over Greece by having statues erected in sanctuaries less connected to Greece's past glory than Delphi or Olympia. The increase of statues in Athens indicates the city's final recognition of Rome as a world leader.

Chapter Two concerns the relationship of proxeny, patronage, honorific titles and cult honors. The Greeks made Romans proxenoi and recorded them as patrons on statue base inscriptions. While most of the proxenoi were civilians, all of the patrons were magistrates. Proxeny status had little meaning for Roman magistrates, but for Italian civilians living in Greece the status was probably useful. Greeks may not have quickly understood the obligations required of them by their Roman patrons. Honorific titles and cult honors awarded to Roman magistrates were important factors in developing the concept of the Roman Emperor as universal benefactor, savior and god.

In an attempt to discover the reasons for the awards of statues and proxenies, chapters Three through Five present the historic events surrounding the awards. While some awards were given in gratitude for actions on the grantor's behalf, others, were given in gratitude for donations to a god, or to flatter someone visiting the area.

Optimis parentibus

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ABBREVIATIONS

Complete bibliographical information for the various corpora of Greek Inscriptions may be found in the Bibliography.

<u>AE</u>	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
<u>AD</u>	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>AM</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung</u>
<u>ANRW</u>	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II Principat Band 7.1</u>
<u>BCH</u>	<u>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</u>
<u>BCAR</u> , <u>BMIR</u>	<u>Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale de Roma e Bullettino del Museo dell'impero Romano</u>
<u>BEFAR</u>	Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
<u>BSA</u>	<u>The Annual of the British School at Athens</u>
<u>BSR</u>	<u>Papers of the British School at Rome</u>
<u>CAH</u>	<u>The Cambridge Ancient History</u>
<u>Chiron</u>	<u>Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</u>
<u>CIL</u>	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</u>
<u>CPh</u>	<u>Classical Philology</u>
Daux, <u>Delphes</u>	Daux, G., <u>Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu'à la paix romaine 191-31 av. J.C.</u> BEFAR, fasc. 140. Paris: De Boccard, 1936.
Durrbach, <u>Choix</u>	Durrbach, F., <u>Choix d'Inscriptions de Délös</u> , vol. I. Paris, 1921-1922; rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1977.

<u>FD</u>	<u>Fouilles de Delphes</u>
Ferguson, <u>HA</u>	Ferguson, William Scott, <u>Hellenistic Athens: an Historical Essay</u> . London: Macmillan, 1911.
Head, <u>HN</u> ²	Head, B.V., <u>Historia Nummorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics</u> 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
<u>Hesperia</u>	<u>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</u> .
<u>Historia</u>	<u>Historia: Revue d'histoire ancienne</u> .
<u>IC</u>	<u>Inscriptiones Creticae</u>
<u>ID</u>	<u>Inscriptions de Délos</u>
<u>IG</u>	<u>Inscriptiones Graecae</u>
<u>IGR</u>	<u>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas Pertinentes</u>
<u>IO</u>	<u>Die Inschriften von Olympia</u>
<u>JHS</u>	<u>Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>
<u>JRS</u>	<u>Journal of Roman Studies</u>
<u>Klio</u>	<u>Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</u>
Larsen, <u>GFS</u>	Larsen, J.A.O., <u>Greek Federal States, Their Institutions and History</u> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
<u>Latomus</u>	<u>Latomus. Revue d'études latines</u>
Magie, <u>RRAM</u>	Magie, David, <u>Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century After Christ</u> , 2 vols. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950.
Mason, <u>Greek Terms</u>	Mason, Hugh J., <u>Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis</u> . American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 13. Toronto: Hakkert, 1974.

<u>NIE</u>	<u>Peek, W., Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros</u>
<u>MRR</u>	<u>Broughton, T. Robert S., The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, no. 15, 2 vols. 1951, 1952; rpt. 1968.</u>
<u>OGIS</u>	<u>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</u>
<u>PACA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the African Classical Association</u>
<u>Praktika</u>	<u>Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, edited by Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Karl Mittelhaus and Konrat Ziegler, Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1893-.</u>
<u>REA</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes Anciennes</u>
<u>REG</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes grecques</u>
<u>RendPont</u>	<u>Atti della Pontifica Accademia Romana di archeologia (serie III) Rendiconti</u>
<u>RFIC</u>	<u>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica</u>
Rostovtzeff, <u>SEHW</u>	<u>Rostovtzeff, M., The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941.</u>
<u>SEG</u>	<u>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</u>
<u>SGDI</u>	<u>Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften</u>
<u>SIG³</u>	<u>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3rd edn.</u>
<u>ZPE</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</u>

INTRODUCTION

This study discusses literary and inscriptional evidence for honors awarded to Romans and Italians on mainland Greece and the islands. The material spans a period from the beginning of Roman involvement in Greece to the incorporation of Greece into the Roman Empire, c. 260 to 27 B.C. The honors are statues, proxeny status, crowns, honorific titles, and games.

During the period in question, the Roman and Italian status in Greece evolved from that of visitor to ruler. The Greek response to the presence of these foreigners varied according as Roman/Italian actions corresponded with individual interests. Since the ancient historian's view of these attitude fluctuations was often limited to recording political events, honorific inscriptions are useful for broadening the picture. These inscriptions indicate that the Roman/Italian presence not only affected Greece politically and economically but even penetrated the fabric of Greek culture. While the honors awarded Romans and Italians were traditional Greek honors, the epigraphic evidence discloses certain changes of text and content in honorific inscriptions which reflect the growth of Roman/Italian influence in Greece. The purpose of this study is to identify these changes and to evaluate them within their historical context as indicators of the Roman/Italian impact on Greek life.

Previous authors have treated honors to Romans and Italians in Greece either by discussing them as individual honors or by using them as evidence for history, but none has examined the honors as an entire body within the historical context. Since there are so many honors and

since they are inter-connected, the study of the honors as a whole and their relationships to each other and to the history of the era was merited. Despite my individual emphasis, the works of five authors have provided especially useful guide lines for the present study.

An early thorough article by M.K. Welsh¹ discusses the history of honorific statues in Greece although a catalogue would have enhanced the work. Welsh distinguishes between public and private statues, and further differentiates between public statues of individuals dedicated to gods and those public statues not dedicated to gods.² By her definition, the only true honorific statues were those which had been publicly donated and had no dedication to a divinity. However, she does not consider the public statues in Athens without dedications to gods yet placed in sacred areas. These were statues erected on the Athenian Acropolis or in the Athenian Agora,³ which may have had some general dedicatory intent. Because Welsh's distinction seems to be inadequate, her criteria for distinguishing honorific statues are not followed in the present study. The many statues of Romans which were public donations with dedications to the gods, and the many from private donors, in this study are all considered honorary. Those statues, either publicly or privately donated, which were dedicated to the gods have been identified in Chapter I, "Dedications to the Gods". Those statues erected by private individuals, with or without dedication to the gods, are discussed in Chapter I, "Donors - Private".

In another important work, Günther Gerlach⁴ systematically examines all honorific inscriptions from the time of their earliest appearance on to the Imperial period. He studies the development of the form of the inscriptions by discussing the names of donor and honoree and the

standard formulae for the motives. But many more inscriptions have been unearthed since his study was published in 1908, and a revision including these recent inscriptions is in order.

Two collections of statue base inscriptions for Romans have been made, but one limited the area of study to Asia Minor, and the other limited the time to the period after 146 B.C. and the area of study to Macedonia. Klaus Tuchelt has assembled inscriptions from statue bases of Roman magistrates in Asia Minor during a period covering the Republic and the age of Augustus.⁵ His thorough work provides a catalogue of statue base inscriptions arranged according to location and serially numbered within each location. Tuchelt reproduces the text of the inscriptions, offers some restorations, and gives the measurements of the stones which make up the bases. In an Appendix he provides a useful chronological list citing the main points in the inscriptions, e.g., honoree, donor, official title, honorific title, and motive. His list was a partial model for the lists compiled in the present study.

Tuchelt treats the form of the texts, and the types of recipients. That discussion and Gerlach's influenced my section on form and content. Tuchelt also describes types of statue bases and statues, an analysis which is not within the scope of the present examination. Tuchelt considers honorific titles and cult honors, but he does not discuss the proxeny status. A study of Romans awarded proxeny in Asia Minor and the comparison of the honors awarded Romans in Asia Minor and Greece would be an interesting study in the future.

Th. Sarikakis has compiled a catalogue of Roman magistrates of the province of Macedonia.⁶ By limiting his work to that area he necessarily

begins the study at 146 B.C. Sarikakis organizes his material by separating the magistrates according to office, e.g. proconsul, proprætor. In addition, he includes a section for Incerti. Sarikakis cites statue base inscriptions and literary references for most of the entries in his catalogue. Although the author cannot make full citations in every case, the work as a whole is useful as a source of reference. Sarikakis also summarizes known historical evidence, referring to the epigraphical and literary works cited for each individual.

For a detailed examination of Greek views of the Romans, primarily from the historical point of view, Bettie Forte's work is valuable.⁷ She cites primary (including inscriptional) and secondary sources within parameters from the beginning of Roman involvement in Greece to the close of the Severan period. While Forte's work is a useful historical survey, occasional inaccuracies appear in epigraphical citations.⁸

My extensive debts to other authors will become apparent in the endnote citations and in the Bibliography at the end of the text. Where pertinent, the Bibliography will be annotated.

The most frequently given honor, to judge from the available evidence, was the honorific statue.⁹ Since all but two of these statues have disappeared, we know of their existence only from literary testimony and from their extant bases. Literary testimony concerning statues occasionally reports the events leading up to the awarding of a statue, and thus explains why the award was given.¹⁰ However, as welcome as literary testimony is, it differs in kind from the information provided by an inscription on a statue base. Such inscriptions record varied data: the donor and recipient of a statue, any appropriate military and honorific titles

of the honoree, sometimes the name of the sculptor, and often a dedication to the gods. But the reasons for erecting the statues, the motives, are usually given only in brief formulae such as might have appeared in the decree awarding the statue, e.g., ἀρετῶς ἔνεκεν , rather than in the detail possible in literature.¹¹ A substantial body of modern literature attempts to determine possible motives. Since there are only 6 literary references to honorific statues of Romans or Italians in Greece, but 246 statue base inscriptions, the inscriptions provide the main source for this study.

Inscriptions are also the prime source of information for the other honors. Honorific titles, as recorded on statue base inscriptions and in proxeny decrees, were the next most frequent award after statues (119 awards). The award of proxeny (62 awards), is known from proxeny decrees. Crowns were awarded both in proxeny decrees (7 awards), and in separate honorific decrees (7 awards). Both inscriptions and literary evidence provide the information for honorific games.

Because honorific statue base inscriptions are abundant, the evidence which they provide comprises the major part of this study. The texts have in most cases been adequately edited, and I have not re-edited them. An appendix provides a full list of Roman and Italian recipients of statues known from statue base inscriptions (List I), and a list of Roman and Italian proxeny recipients (List V). Other lists (List II – Honorific Titles; List III – Specific Motives; List IV – Artist Signatures) in the appendix give types of information ascertained from the statue base inscriptions. A reference number to the comprehensive List I is cited with each entry. Throughout this study, I have transcribed into Latin characters both Roman

names and many Greek words from the inscriptions. To save space, I have adopted the Roman convention of abbreviating Roman names even though they are not abbreviated in the Greek. The translations of the donors in the Lists are my own. Through square brackets I have indicated major restorations in the inscriptions, i.e. three or more letters missing; those interested in the minor texts restorations, i.e., one or two missing letters, should consult the originals. Brackets around English words which are translations of the donors, indicate that these are restorations in the Greek original.

The material has been divided into four periods: Period I: 260–200 B.C., Period II: 200–146 B.C., Period III: 146–88 B.C., Period IV: 88–27 B.C. Few honors appear in Period I, so that period has no subdivisions. For the other periods in which significantly more honors were awarded the following scheme has been devised: Periods II, IV – chronological arrangement of honors; Period III – division according to whether statues were public or private donations. A summary of the historical events occurring when each honor was awarded introduces each Period and, where needed, its subdivisions.

Within each Period most honorees have been entered chronologically according to List I, which is printed in bold-face, and pertinent notations for the other Lists are placed below the List I entry, e.g.

List I.5	Gytheon:	195	T. [T.(f.) Quinctius].
	Aristainos		(Flamininus)

List II.1	<u>soter</u>
------------------	--------------

Some honorees received the proxeny only, and the more important proxeny recipients are given a main entry within the discussion of statue recipients, and are entered according to List V, which is printed in bold-face. Less

Important proxeny recipients are discussed together either at the end of a Period subdivision or at the end of a whole Period. Following each List entry is a discussion of specific historical events involving the honoree and speculation as to why the award(s) were given. Where appropriate, citations are grouped according to the following categories: honoree with multiple awards; kinship; profession; honorees on the same mission. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise noted.

Notes – Introduction

¹ M.K. Welsh, "Honorary Statues In Ancient Greece," BCH 11 (1904-1905) 32-49.

² *Ibid.*, pp.33f.

³ Several statues of Romans were erected on the Acropolis which was a sacred area: List I.41, 51, 120, 159, 177, 181, 182, 211, 221, 244. Several were also erected in the Athenian Agora: List I.102, 113, 118, 121, 128, 193, 211, 225, 233. The Agora was a sacred area delimited by boundary stones and lustral basins (*perirrhanteria*) which indicated that certain profane activities were prohibited. On the Agora cf. R.E. Wycherly, The Stones of Athens (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 33.

⁴ Günther Gerlach, Griechische Ehreninschriften (Halle, a.S.: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1908).

⁵ Klaus Tuchelt, Frühe Denkmäler Roms In Kleinasien, Teil I, Rom und Promagistrate, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 13, 1979.

⁶ Th. Sarikakis, Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μάκεδονίας Μέρος Α' Ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδρυσέως τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Αὐγούστου (148-27 π.Χ.) Thessalonike, 1971.

⁷ Bettie Forte, Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 24, 1972.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77, n. 116, Forte names Metellus Macedonicus as the honoree of SIG³ 631 (ID 1604bis) = List I.35. The honoree was actually L. Caecilius Q.f. Metellus Calvus. On the same page, same footnote, Forte states that a statue of Mummius with the ten members of the Senate commission (SIG³ 676 IO 319 = List I.28) was granted by the Elaeans. Elaea was a Roman naval base in Epirus. The donor of the Inscription was Ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἑλιῶν, the city of Elis, located near Olympia, which donated several other statues of Romans in Olympia (List I.20, 54, 55, 179).

On pp. 105f., n. 30, Forte states that the honoree of SIG³ 700 was Q. Antonius. The honoree was actually M. Annius.

⁹ In modern Greece, the erection of statues or busts of famous modern Greek political or literary figures is still a popular practice. In front of the Old Palace in Athens is a lively equestrian statue of the hero Th. Kolokotronis (1770-1843). A copy of the same statue and one of J. Kapodistrias (1776-1831), the first president of Greece after liberation from Turkish rule, can be seen in Nauplion. (Stuart Rossiter, The Blue Guide to Greece, 4th edn. [Benn: London, 1981], p. 272). Herakleion boasts a statue of the former prime minister of Greece (early 20th century) E. Venezelos, a native of Crete. The city also displays busts of the painter El Greco and the poet Katanzakis.

¹⁰ Cf. Chapter III, for a literary notice of a statue of A. Postumius Albinus; Chapter V for literary notices concerning statues of Lucullus, Atticus, Brutus and Cassius.

¹¹ Cf. Chapter I, "Motives."

Chapter I

Honorary Statue Base Inscriptions: Form, Content, and Geographic Location

Introduction

Several types of honorary statues are found in the Greek world. They fall into the following categories: statues in sanctuaries for victors of Pan-hellenic games, statues in sanctuaries dedicated to divinities, statues in public places donated by public bodies, and statues in public or private places donated by individuals. With these statues Greeks honored not only other Greeks but also foreigners, including Romans and Italians. Most of the statues to Romans and Italians were public donations, some were private, but none were for victors in games.¹ While few statues of Romans and Italians are now extant, the inscriptions from many statue bases remain, and they provide valuable information about the statue donors and recipients. This chapter discusses both the origin of honorary statues and the form, content and geographic locations of the dedicatory inscriptions found on the bases of statues honoring Romans and Italians.

I. History of Honorific Statues

Originally, Greeks considered statues prerogatives of the gods and did not create statues honoring men lest angry gods mete out punishment for man's presumption and hybris.² Consequently, the earliest known statues were cult statues. When the Greeks began to erect statues of individuals in the seventh century B.C., they placed them in sanctuaries, often dedicating them to the gods as a means to prevent divine wrath. The earliest known statues of individuals were kouroi and korai. The

kouroi were statues of standing, nude youths used either as votive offerings³ or as grave monuments.⁴ Korai were statues of standing, draped women dedicated to female divinities.⁵

There are several early examples of statues representing and honoring specific humans in sanctuaries. One example (beginning of the sixth century B.C.) is the pair of statues of Kleobis and Biton at Delphi. The Argives set up these statues to honor the young men posthumously for a pious deed.⁶ Statues of living men were also found in sanctuaries. At Delphi from the fifth century B.C. there was a statue group of Argive heroes and one of Lacedaemonian generals.⁷ These statues honor their human models, but they are also votive offerings and as such revere the divinity as much as they honor the individual.⁸

The earliest public statues of humans not in sanctuaries were in Athens. They honored posthumously the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogelton. The Athenians erected the statues in the Agora in 510 and replaced them in 477. In addition, the Athenians accorded these men cult worship. So great was the reverence for Harmodius and Aristogelton that for many years it was strictly forbidden to place other statues next to their statues.⁹ In the fifth century the grant of a public statue was so rare and great an honor that, to our knowledge, it was granted only once.¹⁰ The recipients were Kimon and his colleagues, who had conquered the Persians at the Strymon River (476–5 B.C.). The Athenians restricted the honor, however, because the statues were herms rather than full-sized statues, and the honorees were not allowed to have their names inscribed on the bases.¹¹ Not until the fourth century did the next known statue appear; it was a statue of Konon erected in the Agora of Athens. This

was the first truly honorific statue because it was a full-sized statue set up while Konon was still living.¹² In the fourth century and later, publicly sanctioned statues became frequent, as Athenians honored generals, statesmen, playwrights, and eminent foreigners with public statues.¹³ Thus, by the time the Romans appeared in Greece, the practice of setting up honorific statues of living men was an established tradition.

II. Honorific Statue Base Inscriptions to Romans and Italians

From the beginning of the second century to 27 B.C. there were at least 246 statues in Greece erected to honor Romans (or Italians). Like other things made of bronze or marble,¹⁴ they were usually turned into weapons or masonry; only two of the marble statues remain.¹⁵ How are we so well informed about these moulded or graven men (and women) from that bygone day? We know about them from inscriptions carved onto statue bases or plaques – minor monuments which speak like tombstones, telling of figures long since perished.

A. Form

1. The Donor's Name

Honorary inscriptions engraved on statue bases were necessarily brief. Usually nothing more was provided than the name of the body granting the honor, and the name of the honoree, accompanied by his official title and often an honorary title. Also included in many inscriptions were reasons for granting the honor (hereafter called the "motives"), sometimes a dedication to a god or gods, and occasionally the signature of the artist who created the statue. Although not every element appears in each

inscription, the following inscription to C. Julius Caesar dated to 48 B.C. provides a good example of the developed form.

IGR IV 928, Chios = List I.192

5 Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
Γαίον Ἰούλιον Γαίου υἱὸν Καίσαρα
τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα
καὶ ὕπατον τὸ δεύτερον
τὸν πατρῶνα τῆς πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν
θεοῖς.

The forms of both privately and publicly dedicated inscriptions were approximately the same. The main difference lay in the position of the dedicator's name in the text. All but four public dedications placed the name of the donor before that of the honoree, as in the case of the inscription to Julius Caesar noted above. However, the inhabitants in three areas placed the public donor's name at the end of the inscription, (List I.13, 127 – Polyrrenia, Crete; I.46 – Europos, Macedonia) and one placed it just after the name of the honoree, (List I.156 – Beroia). Most private inscriptions, (32 out of 45) positioned the name of the grantor directly after that of the honoree,¹⁶ but this was not a uniform practice, (13 out of 45).¹⁷ From this evidence one concludes that, at least for Roman/Italian honorees, a loose convention existed in Greece whereby public inscriptions recorded the donor's name first and private inscriptions recorded the honoree's name first.

2. The Name of the Honoree

The name and title of the honoree could appear in the nominative, the accusative, or the dative case. All but 29 of the 246 inscriptions recorded the granting body in the nominative, the name for the honoree in the accusative, with the verb of honoring understood.¹⁸ In the few Greek

inscriptions in which the name of the honoree appeared in the nominative (List I.14, 29, 90, 202), neither the honoring body nor the motive for the award was noted, e.g.: List I.14 (IG II² 4099)

Δέκμος Κοσούτιος/ Ποπλίου/ Ῥωμαίος.

Roman honorary inscriptions used nominative and dative cases for the name of the honoree more frequently than did Greek ones.¹⁹ An example using the nominative is CIL I 538 from Aquileia dated 179 B.C.: "L. Manlius L.f./ Alcidinus Triv. vir/ Aquileiae coloniae/ deducendae." An example using the dative is CIL I² 724 from Alba Fucentis: "L. Cornelio L.f. Sul[lae]/ Felic[ei] dictato[ri]/ publice statuta." For those instances in Greece where the name of a Roman was recorded in either nominative or dative, it is possible that the honoree requested the Roman format. However, in some instances the dative case may have been chosen for another reason. The dative case indicates that the statue was dedicated to the honoree. Hence, the choice of this case may have been intended to show the honoree special deference.

Several inscriptions cite the name of the honoree in the dative case. These are the inscriptions to C. Valerius Triarius, Q. Caecilius Metellus, Pompey, Caesar and M. Titius (List I.123–125, 129, 136–149, 195–196, 228). The inscriptions to Metellus and Titius were dedicated by Italian or Roman traders living in Greece and were written in Latin; the other inscriptions were from Greeks and were written in Greek.

None of the three inscriptions to C. Valerius Triarius which give his name in the dative case (List I.123–125) is on a statue base. Two (List I.124, 125) are on bases which had no statues and were therefore honorific markers rather than honorific statue bases. The third (List I.123)

was inscribed on a Doric temple architrave built into the defensive wall Triarius had constructed on Delos (cf. Chapter V). The architrave had been reused for the dedicatory inscription. In all three instances the inscriptions serve a double purpose, both as building inscriptions and as dedications honoring the leader of the project. Dedicating the construction to the builder rather than to a god was an honor corresponding to giving Triarius the heroic title soter, a title the Athenians gave him on a statue base inscription in Delos (List I.126).²⁰

Pompey had several honorific inscriptions in Mytilene (List I.136–150). All but one (List I.150) recorded his name in the dative. The people of Mytilene esteemed Pompey highly, as we know both from the quantity of inscriptions in his honor and from the fact that they gave him the honorific titles Savior, Benefactor and Founder (soter, euergetes, ktistes).²¹ Indeed, two of the inscriptions are on altars (List I.137, 146), the citizens may have worshipped Pompey as a hero. (See Chapter V for details on Pompey's actions.)

The inscriptions for Caesar with his name in the dative also come from Mytilene (List I.195, 196). One of these inscriptions is also on an altar (List I.195), which may indicate that the people of Mytilene considered themselves nearly as indebted to Caesar as to Pompey. Pompey had restored the city's freedom, but Caesar spared the city from destruction even though it had openly supported his opponent, Pompey, in the Civil War. Hence the city had good reason to worship Caesar almost as zealously as it worshipped Pompey.²²

Greek honorific statue base inscriptions usually followed the Roman practice of recording the honoree's tria nomina and patronymic: (father's

name) – praenomen = first name, nomen = second name, cognomen = last name. Of course the tria nomina would not be pertinent for Romans with only two names: Q. Coponius, List I.22; L. Mummius, List I.28, 29, 30; Sex. Pompeius, List I.41). An example of the full Roman name is: Gaius Julius Gaii filius Caesar. However, the names recorded by the Greeks did not always follow Roman practices. First, while Romans commonly abbreviated their praenomina and patronymics, e.g., C. Julius C.f. Caesar, Greeks recorded these names in full: Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Γαίου υἱός²³

Second, when the patronymic was given,²⁴ it was sometimes indicated by the Greek method of putting the father's name in the genitive but without a word meaning "son"²⁵ Τίτος Τίτου, or sometimes by the Roman method of putting the father's name in the genitive plus υἱός – "son": Τίτος Τίτου υἱός.²⁶ While the Greek practice occurred throughout the second century, it predominated only in the early years (cf. List I.1–5, 14, 17–20, 23–26 passim). By the end of the second century, the Roman method had become standard (cf. List I.43 passim). Since Roman influence in Greece had greatly increased in the second century, the Greeks may have wished to please the representatives of the new power by following Roman convention. Greeks used this form only for Roman citizens, however, and continued to use their own method when honoring citizens of Greek heritage, (cf. IG II² 3799, 128–9 A.D. – Ἀσυλον Ζήγωνος Στειριλέα but IG II² 3800, 128–9 A.D. – Κόλιντον Πομπηίων Κονίντου υἱὸν Κολλεῖνον Καπίωνα.

Third, the earliest inscriptions placed the patronymic after the praenomen, and before the nomen (cf. List I.1, 2, 4, 5, 12 – all to Flamininus: e.g. List I.1 Τίτον Τίτου Κοί[γκ]τιον = Titus, son of Titus,

Quinctius; the Roman format would have been T. Quincius T.f.) and some proxy decrees show the same kind of arrangement (List V.1, 21.c.d, 28, 31, 38). However, the Roman custom of placing the patronymic after the nomen was quickly adopted and continued throughout antiquity (cf. List I.9, 10 – M. Acilius; I.11 – Flamininus).²⁷

Fourth, the earliest inscriptions do not record the honoree's cognomen even if the honoree had one. The inscriptions neither for Flamininus nor for Glabrio record cognomina. But later, recording all three names, if applicable, became standard.

These last two practices illustrate that the Greeks did not at first properly understand the Roman tria nomina. Greek names consisted of three parts: name, patronymic, ethnic or deme, e.g. Agasias Menophilou, Ephesian. The indicator of personal individuality was the first name.²⁸ At first, the Greeks recorded Roman names in the Greek manner as can be seen in instances where the patronymic fell directly after the praenomen, and the cognomen was omitted. In some inscriptions Greeks recorded only the Roman praenomen, as in List I.7, 8, in the dedications at Delos (ID 442B I. 85 Λεύκου...Ῥωμαίου; Τίτου...Ῥωμαίου), and in Plutarch's Life of Titus, where Flamininus is referred to throughout as "Titus". However, for honorific statue base inscriptions, the Roman preference for all three names quickly prevailed. The Roman convention may have been adopted at first because Roman honorees had requested this form. Later, with the increase of Roman power and influence in Greece, out of deference to the representatives of Roman power, Greeks followed the Roman format.

Roman influence on the form of statue base inscriptions can also be

seen in inscriptions on which the name of the grandfather is indicated along with the patronymic (List I.100, 224). List I.106 is especially instructive, for it is a bilingual inscription on which the grandfather's name was recorded in the Latin version but not in the Greek:

[C. Fabiu]m C.f. Q.n. Hadrianum
Γάλον Φάβι[ον] Γάλου υἱὸν Ἀδριανόν.

B. Content

1. Donors

a. Public

Statue base inscriptions provide some insight into the composition of the population of Greece during the time period in question since they indicate the presence of foreign residents. The statues were donated by public bodies and private citizens, but, as we shall see, some of the donors were foreigners rather than Greeks. Most honorary statues to Romans in Greece (201 out of 246 or 82%) were from public donors, from towns or leagues. A town awarded statues, either in the name of the townspeople, the demos, (103 out of 246 or 42%),²⁹ or in the name of the town itself, the polis, (22 out of 246 or 10%).³⁰ Presumably, the distinction between demos and polis was merely a matter of preferred nomenclature since the polis represented the people (demos) of the town. Certain towns regularly used demos (e.g., Cos – List I.1; Athens, – List I.1, 102, 108, 113, passim; Samos – List I.153, 161–166; Oropos – List I.170, 198, 212), whereas others used polis (e.g., Polyrrenia – List I.13, 126; Delphi – List I.9, 11, 47; Elis – List I.20, 28, 54, 55). Rarely did public bodies stop using one term and begin to use another. In one late instance (46 B.C.) at Olympia, Elis offered a statue in the name of the

demos (List I.199) instead of its more usual term polis.

Occasionally, more than one public body of a town jointly granted statues, for example, the demos and boule at Samothrace, Chios and Megara (List I. 155, 192, 232). In the period after Sulla, Athens presented statues either in the name of the demos, as she had previously, or in the name of the boule of the Areopagus (List I.218) Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ[ε] Ἀρχαίου Πάγου, or in the name of demos and the boule from the Areopagus (List I.120, 169) Ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐξ Ἀρχαίου Πάγου, sometimes also including the boule of 600 (List I.159). Including the Areopagus in these inscriptions no doubt reflected the change in the Athenian constitution brought about by Sulla, who restored the Areopagus to a position of power.³¹

Public bodies other than cities also awarded statues to Romans. Leagues (koina) made fifteen known grants. The majority of these are at Delphi, with dedications from the following leagues: List I.10, 158 – Amphiclyonic; I.22, 33 – Phocian; I.32 – an unknown league; I.95 – Aetolian. At Olympia, the Achaean League made dedications both by itself (List I.17, 117) and in conjunction with Roman settlers (List I.62, 63). There are separate dedications at Larissa from the Thessalian and Athamanian Leagues (List I.3, 92), while at Hypata are found those from the Aetolian League (List I.27, 94). A dedication from a league of several peoples – Boetians, Euboëans, Locrians, Phocians and Dorians (List I.225) – is found at Athens.

The league dedications give some insight into Roman influence in Greece. Although most of the dedications were granted by traditional Greek leagues, two were granted by such leagues combined with other peoples. At Olympia a new league, the League of Achaeans and Romans

settlers (Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐγκαίουστων) presented statues to Cn. Egnatius and his son (List I.62, 63 - 100-70 B.C.). Apparently, the group of Romans settled in the area was large enough to make the Achaeans take note of it and include it in the League. No longer as powerful as they had been in the second century, the Achaeans may have been pleased to add the Roman settlers to their ranks in hopes of attracting favorable attention from Rome.

Another league of combined peoples which appeared in Athens c. 34-33 granted a statue to M. Junius M.f. Silanus (List I.225). Previously the members of this league had constituted their own individual leagues and had placed honorific statues in those sanctuaries which were the sacred seats of their leagues - as the Phocians had done at Delphi (List I.33). Athens may have been the seat of the combined league because it was centrally located for all the groups represented. Athens was a city Rome had long respected and was thus a natural center for the League from the Roman point of view. Combining the individual groups to form one league may have occurred on Rome's orders. Perhaps Rome was trying to consolidate various political elements in Greece even before making Greece a province. It was easier for Rome to work with a leader of a united body in a central location than with several leaders in several locations.³²

In other parts of Greece various Greek public bodies other than leagues combined with Roman settlers in an area to award honorific statues. At Beroia, the Beroians and Roman settlers erected a statue to Calpurnius Piso (List I.156). At Olympia, (second half of the first century B.C.), the polls of Elis and Roman settlers awarded a statue to P. Alfius Primus (List I.179). In Delos, c. 84-80, the people of Athens and the

Italians and Greeks trading in the island granted a statue to Lucillus (List I.106).

The statue base inscriptions on the Greek mainland dedicated by Greeks and Romans testify to a continuation on mainland Greece of a settlement pattern already established on Delos. Romans/Italians living on Delos co-operated with Greeks in joint projects yet retained their identities as distinct nationalities (cf. Chapter V). This can be seen in the identification of each group in Delian statue base inscriptions, (e.g., List I.106). Likewise, the Romans/Italians who settled in Berola and Elis retained their national identities and occasionally joined with the Greeks to erect a statue. From these inscriptions we cannot not know if the separation of nationalities also indicates that the Romans/Italians had independent political structures in their new homes. Undoubtedly, there was some intermarriage between the two groups, but full political and cultural blending probably did not occur until the Empire.

Some inscriptions cite the people who gave the award but name no specific public body. This is the case for the following: Hyampolitans (Hyampolis, List I.25), Delians (Delos, List I.82, 86), Oropians (Oropos, List I.100), Berolians and Roman settlers (Berola, List I.156), and Demetrians (Demetrias, List I.160). The reason for the lack of public bodies authorizing the statues in these instances is unknown.

b. Private

There were many private donations of statues to Romans, coming from either individuals, groups of people, or corporations. Some of the individuals who donated statues (Aristainos, Praýlos and King Antiochus VIII)

In the second century were wealthy political leaders. Both Aristainos and Praÿlos erected statues of Flamininus (List I.4, 12). Aristainos was strategos of the Achaeans in 196–5³² and Praÿlos was strategos of the Thessalians in 189.³⁴ Although both men set up the statues in their own names, the reasons given for the statues reflect their political influence since they also record gratitude on behalf of public bodies (Praÿlos, on behalf of the city of Scotussa,³⁵ and Aristainos on behalf of the Achaeans³⁶). King Antiochos VIII was the ruler of an entire country and had plentiful resources for such projects (I.42).

Two other private donations on the Greek mainland are of interest: the donations from Damon of Thessalonike (List I.34) and Chrysothemis of Athens (List I.157). Damon erected a statue to Q. Caecilius Metellus. The reason for granting the statue as stated on the statue base inscription was "because Metellus had been kind to him (Damon) and to his fatherland, and to the other Macedonians and other Greeks."³⁷ Damon was undoubtedly wealthy since he erected a statue. His expression of thanks to Metellus on behalf of so many others may indicate that he was a political leader in Thessalonike with whom Metellus had had some contact.

The statue given by Chrysothemis (List I.157) is interesting in two ways. First, it is the only example of a statue given by a woman to a Roman. The statue honored Cicero's friend, T. Pomponius Atticus (cited in the inscription as Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus – the name he took after he was adopted by his uncle), whose philosophy teacher, Phaldrus, was the father of Chrysothemis.³⁸ Second, according to Cornelius Nepos, Athenians erected several statues to Atticus and his wife, Pilia, after they left Athens,³⁹ however, this inscription is the only archaeological testimony

verifying Nepos' statement.

Most private statue donations to Romans are on Delos. After Rome made Delos a free port in 167, the island became a flourishing commercial community populated by Greeks, peoples from the East, and Italians.⁴⁰ From the statue base inscriptions we know the names of many individual Greeks statue donors cited as friends of the honorees, but without information concerning their occupations. However, because of the known commercial activity of Delos, it is safe to suggest that most of these men were businessmen or traders, wealthy men who could afford the expense of erecting statues.⁴¹

Non-Greeks, i.e., Italians or Romans permanently settled in the area, sometimes honored Romans with statues. These donors were primarily involved in commerce as bankers, money lenders, slave traders, or traders in other commodities.⁴² On Delos they usually granted statues in conjunction with Greeks and other foreign businessmen.⁴³ Presumably the expense of a statue prohibited these particular people from individually underwriting statues.

Many Italians dedicated statues of Romans or fellow Italian businessmen in the Agora of the Italians, built for their gatherings at the end of the second century B.C. The structure was an open-air rectangular enclosure with rectangular or semi-circular niches for statues built into the walls.⁴⁴ Among the men honored were: List I.52 - C. Cluvius, I.59 - C. Ofellius, I.79 - C. Marius, I.90 - Pompeius Rufus, I.91 - Munatius Plancus, I.103 - A. and P. Gabinius (Fig. 1).⁴⁵

Italian traders were also established in the Northern Peloponnese at Aigion and Argos. Aigion had an Italian population at the beginning of

the first century.⁴⁶ However, Italians did not settle in Argos until after the sack of Delos in 69, when they emigrated from Delos and continued their commercial activity in Argos.⁴⁷ Italians in these areas set up three known statues to Romans. Two of the inscriptions were written in Latin (List I.115 – Argion; 129 – Argos), one in both Latin and Greek (List I.131 – Argos).

When Italians and Greeks dedicated statues jointly, the language of the dedication was usually Greek (exceptions – List I.91, 106).⁴⁸ However, statues dedicated by Italians alone tended to be in Latin (List I.85, 115, 129, 228) although sometimes they were in both languages (List I.79, 131). The use of Latin instead of Greek in these inscriptions indicates that Italians living in Delos tended to establish their own communities where Latin was spoken.⁴⁸

Private corporations also awarded statues. As with the private donations of individuals, most of the known corporation dedications are on Delos. The Poseidonists of Berytus made two dedications, one to the banker M. Minatius Sex.f. (List I.36 – Delos) who may have been one of their members, and the other to a commander, Cn. Octavius (List I.87 – Delos). A corporation organized in Pompey's honor, the Pompeiasts, granted a statue in conjunction with the demos of Athens to Pompey the Great (List I.133 – Delos). At Delphi, the Dionysian technitai of Isthmia and Nemea granted a statue to P. Cornelius Lentulus (List I.39).

Three statues dedicated to C. Valerius Triarius were from private sources. They were from groups of sailors from Asia Minor who had helped him build a defensive wall around Delos after the pirate raid of 69 B.C. (List I.123 – Smyrniots; 124, 125 – Milesians).

In summary, statues for Romans in Greece came from various sources. All the donors except one (List I.157) were men. The majority of donations were from public bodies, demos, polis or koinon. While there were a few private donations from individuals in the second century there were many in the first century. Of these the majority have been found on Delos, many from wealthy traders or businessmen, both Greek and Italian.

The appearance of Roman/Italian resident donors suggests the beginning of an international community in Greece which would continue to grow after the establishment of the Roman Empire.

2. Recipients

a. Military Personnel

Roughly 75% of the Roman/Italian statue recipients were men who were in Greece as army commanders and magistrates. This percentage is not surprising considering the extent of Roman military involvement in Greece during the period under consideration. Many of these statue recipients had their magisterial titles recorded on the inscriptions labeling the statues, cf. Table 1.

TABLE 1: RANKS OF ROMANS GRANTED STATUES

(Names of those men are cited who have multiple occurrences of the same title, or more than one title)

Title	Honoree	Quantity	List I Number
1. <u>Strategos</u>		15 citations for	
<u>Hypatos</u>		10 men:	
(consul)	- Flamininus		I.1, 2, 5
	- Glabrio		9, 10
	- Mummius		28, 29, 30
	- Other		17, 34, 35, 60, 64
			66, 82.

Title	Honoree	Quantity	List I Number
2. <u>Strategos anthypatos</u> (proconsul)		14 citations for 3 men:	
	- Q. Caecilius Metellus		I.24, 25.
	- Minucius Rufus		46, 47.
	- Other		42, 44, 52, 67, 80, 83, 109.9, 158, 188.
3. <u>Anthypatos</u> ⁴⁹ (proconsul)		11	I.109.2, 130, 153, 156, 159, 201, 208, 209, 210, 233, 244.
4. <u>Strategos</u> (praetor)		5	I.16, 19, 20, 32, 87.
5. <u>Hypatos</u> ⁵⁰ (consul)		8 citations for 3 men:	
	- P. Servilius Isauricus		I.116
	- Caesar		I.190, 192, 193, 204, 205, 206.
	- Other		I.185.
6. <u>Autokrator</u> (dictator)		42 citations for 12 men:	
	- Sulla		I.96.
	- Lucullus		I.114.
	- P. Servilius Isauricus		I.116.
	- Q. Caecilius Metellus		I.127, 128.
	- Pompey		I.133, 135, 136, 137, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152.
	- Caesar		I.189, 190, 191, 192, I.193, 196, 197, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206.
	- Octavian		I.234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243
	- M. Licinius Crassus		I.241, 242.
	- Other		I.155, 169, 217, 222.

Title	Honoree	Quantity	List I Number
7. <u>Imperator</u> (imperator)		3 citations for 2 men:	
	- Sulla		I.97.
	- L. Licinius Murena		I.109.3, 110.
8. <u>Presbeutes</u> (legatus)		14 citations for 8 men:	
	- C. Billienus		I.57.
	- Q. Bratius Sura		I.92, 93.
	- A. Terentius Varro		I.109.5, 111.
	- C. Valerius Triarius		I.122, 123, 124, 125, 126.
	- Other		I.22, 33, 79, 180.
9. <u>Presbeutes kai</u> <u>antistrategos</u> (legatus) (propraetore)		8 citations for 7 men:	
	- Q. Fufius Calenus		I.198, 199.
	- Other		I.78, 134, 160, 179, 184, 223.
10. <u>Tamias</u> <u>antistrategos</u> (quaestor propraetore)		3	I.40, 43, 65.
11. <u>Tamias</u> (quaestor)		6 citations for 5 men:	
	- Billienus		I.50, 53, 69.
	- Lucullus		I.56 I.94, 95
12. <u>Antitamias</u> (proquaestor)		6	I.71, 88, 105, 109.4, 117, 225.
13. <u>Antitamias kai</u> <u>antistrategos</u> (proconsul)	Faustus Cornellus Sulla	1	I.186

As one can see from surveying the titles of the recipients, the majority of the men (61) were in high commands as generals, as reflected in the titles consul, proconsul, or dictator. In times of war, local populations apparently wished to flatter allied foreign military commanders by erecting portrait statues to honor them, thus ensuring their good will.

The statues to Metellus Macedonicus exemplify this flattery. On his march South to Macedonia, three areas (Hyampolis, Megara, Hypata) through which he passed erected statues in his honor: List I.25, 26, 27, possibly wishing to assure Macedonicus that they were not allied with the Achaeans against whom the Romans were fighting.

There are also a number of lower ranking recipients (30 men) – legatus, quaestor, and proquaestor. These men were honored because they had offered gifts in sanctuaries (List I.22) or because they had performed a military duty for which benefitted a community in other ways. (List I.92, 93; 94, 95; 111, 122–126). Apparently there are no statues to ordinary soldiers.

Usually, a donor commissioned a statue while an official was still in office or not long after his term ended. However, since it took some time to carve statues it is probable that statues were erected only after the honoree had returned to Italy. Nevertheless, the dedicatory inscription bore the title the recipient had held at the time a statue had been authorized. By commissioning a statue for a current office-holder, the donors may have hoped for further benefactions while the man was still in office. Tuchelt notes that those statues without a military title may indicate that the donor erected the statue after the magistrate's duties were over.⁵¹ This fact may be relevant to Tuchelt's area of study, Asia Minor, but in Greece so many inscriptions of known magistrates lack titles, that Tuchelt's theory applies only with difficulty.⁵²

At least one statue in Greece was certainly erected long after the official, M. Antonius, had been in the province (List I.82), as we know from the presence of a title. In addition to the title strategos hypatos, a title

Antonius held when he was proconsul of Cilicia from 102-100,⁵³ the inscription also names Antonius as censor – (timetes). The censor was a person whose functions were carried out in Rome, and Antonius did not hold that office until 97, after his tenure in the East.⁵⁴ Possibly, there was some delay in the erection of the statue so, after inquiry, the donors added Antonius' most recent title to the inscription.

The M. Antonius Inscription as noted, gives a past office along with a current one. The use of both titles reflects some influence of Roman customs in Greece. In Rome, an important man's cursus honorum included titles of all offices held, as tituli on his bust in his house. These indicated that he was a worthy descendant of his ancestors whose busts also adorned the Roman house.⁵⁵ The Greeks were perhaps not as status conscious as the Romans. At any rate they did not practice the custom of recording all of a man's past offices on his statue base. Rather, they recorded only the present office or, as in the case of the Antonius inscription, the present office and the office Antonius held when the statue was erected.

Four other men had statue base inscriptions with titles which had no direct meaning for the Greeks erecting the statue: P. Cornelius Lentulus, Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, C. Julius Caesar and C. Caellius Rufus. The inscriptions of Lepidus and Caesar recorded both religious and military titles. The military titles reflected each man's official duty while he was in Greece. Each man also held a religious office whose Roman duties and religious function probably had little significance for the Greeks. Lentulus was called augor (Greek for the Latin augur), but had no military title recorded (List I.216). Lepidus was anthypatos and augor (List I.233).

Caesar had the Greek transliteration of pontifex maximus – archiereas (List I.189, 191–193, 195, 196, 197, 200, 204, 205, 206) or archiereas megistos (List I.206 – on a statue base of Caesar's wife) – along with various combinations of hypatos, autokrator or diktator. The religious title may indicate that the honoree had some say about what was to be placed on the inscription. For Caesar this seems particularly true if, as Raubitschek maintains, either Caesar or his partisan, Theopompus, instigated the erection of the statues.⁵⁶ C. Caellius Rufus (List I.160) was honored both as presbeutes kal antistrategos, his current office, and as apodedelgmenos de kal demarchos, tribune of the plebs, elect – an office he was going to hold in Rome after he left Greece. He must surely have requested that the second title be included on the statue base inscription.

In addition to the official titles, an honoree could also be awarded an honorific title indicative of his action on behalf of the statue donor (cf. List II): soter, euergetes, ktistes, or patron. Such titles went almost exclusively to military personnel, and their significance will be discussed in Chapter II.

b. Civilians

1) Relatives of Military Personnel

Statues of Roman women and relatives of magistrates existed in Greece, but they probably did not appear before the beginning of the first century B.C. The first Roman woman known to have a statue erected in her honor was either the wife or daughter of Q. Muclius Scaevola (List I.81). The 21 other women so honored were also related to military personnel on duty in the area – wives, mothers, or daughters.⁵⁶ Although 20 out of the 22 statue bases honoring women, cf. *infra*, give no motives

for the awards, the presence of a pertinent male relative's name and title in three instances, (List I.153, 183, 205), suggests that these women were honored because of their relationship to these important men.⁵⁸ In two instances, however, the woman's own actions were rewarded: Magilia (List I.175 "because of the virtue and discretion she showed"), and Paullina (List I.230 "on account of her piety to the god").⁵⁹ While the inscription to Paullina suggests that she made a donation to a deity, the inscriptions for the other women are as bland and uninformative as the general motives provided for most male honorees. Statues honoring women were probably erected in order to curry further favor with their relatives, the Roman officials.

Occasionally, Greeks honored other male family members of magistrates. None of these men was honored because of his own actions but because of the actions of the magistrate.⁶⁰ An example of this is List I.215 where Brutus' uncle, Hortensius, is honored "because of Caepio's (Brutus) benefaction to the city."...διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καιπῶνος εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας...

We cannot always be certain that family members honored with statues had actually been in the area where the statue was erected. Two statues in Samos honored Q. Cicero's wife, Pomponia. Q. Cicero was in Asia Minor twice, once from 61–58 as proconsul of Asia and again as legate to his brother, Marcus, who was proconsul of Cilicia in 51–50.⁶¹ At neither time did his wife accompany him, perhaps in part because of the instability of their marriage.⁶² Quintus may have commissioned the statues of Pomponia in hopes of future reconciliation with her. One statue (List I.153) may date to the time of his proconsulate. The other (List

I.162), as it was part of a family group, may date to a visit to Samos he and his brother made in 51.⁶³

Those family members honored at the same time and the same sanctuary as a magistrate (except for Q. Cicero's wife, Pomponia, and M. Cicero's wife, Terentia) may also have been present in the area. This was certainly true for Sulla and Metella at Oropos (List I.98, 99), and was also probable for the following: Cn. Calpurnius Piso and Paulla Popillia at Oropos (List I.213, 214), Caesar and Calpurnia at Samos (List I.205, 206), M. Junius Silanus, and Crispina at Thespieae (List I.226, 227), and possibly also for Octavian and Livia at Eleusis (List I.234, 235), and Kea (List I.238, 239). Statue bases for father and son probably indicate the son's presence as well: Cn. Egnatius Cn.f., and possibly one for his son of the same name at Olympia (List I.62, 63).⁶⁴ Q. Cicero and his son, Quintus (List I.163, 161), M. Cicero and his son, Marcus (List I.164, 165); Q. Fufius Calenus and possibly his son at Olympia (List I.199).

For some relatives, literary information assists us. Plutarch informs us that Metella Caecilia was with her husband, Sulla, in Athens. When Sulla's troops were besieging Athens, the Athenians (in particular Aristonicus) mocked Metella from the walls.⁶⁵ Both Sulla and Metella were honored in the Amphiaraiion at Oropos (List I.98, 99). Since that sanctuary is not far from Athens, it is quite likely that Sulla and Metella visited it together.

We also know that the sons of Q. and M. Cicero were with their fathers during Cicero's magistracy in Cilicia in 51.⁶⁶ Possibly they accompanied their fathers on a trip to Samos. At that time the Samians decided to honor the entire family (including the absent Pomponia and

Terentia)⁶⁷ by putting up their statues on a semicircular base called an exedra.⁶⁸

2) Other Civilians

There were a number of private recipients of statues who were not related to military personnel. Most of the known statues are on Delos (List I.23, 36, 58, 59, 61, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77) with others at Athens (List I.14, 113, 157) and Abdera (List I.18). Since Delos had more extended dealings with Romans through the private sector than did the rest of Greece, it is perhaps not surprising that so many statues to private individuals exist there.

Although the men commemorated had various occupations, most were involved in some form of commerce. D. Cossutius (List I.14) was the architect whom Antiochus IV Epiphanes hired to build the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens.⁶⁹ M. Minatius Sex.f. (List I.36), L. Aufidius (List I.72, 73), and Marcius Gerrhanus (List I.75–77) were bankers.⁷⁰ Vicerius, Orbius, Ofellius, Selus, and Claudius (List I.23, 58, 59, 61, 74) were probably involved in commerce. Ap. and L. Saufelius and Atticus (List I.113, 157) were also businessmen as well as students of Epicurean philosophy.⁷¹

In comparison to the numerous proxeny decrees granted to civilians in this period, 39 out of 62 awards, (cf. Chapter II, and List V) only 16 out of 246 statues were awarded to civilians. Although many non-Roman Italians granted statues, few Italians received statues. However, many Italians received the proxeny. Hatzfeld comments that the proxeny was one of the greatest honors an Italian in Greece could receive,⁷² and the

archaeological evidence proves him correct. Yet, statues were reserved for even more important people, namely Roman magistrates and their dependents.

3. Reasons for the Award (Motives)

Statue base inscriptions could include a statement noting the reason why a particular person was honored, i.e., the "motive." We know of two types of motive: one indicating an honoree's general kindness to a donor, and one stating specific actions of an honoree on behalf of a donor. Seventy-four of the 246 inscriptions have a general motive, cf. n. 73, and eleven have specific motives, cf. List III.

a. General Motives

The first type of motive noted the general goodwill of the honoree to the donor, for example "on account of his (the honoree's) virtue - aretas (or aretas) heneken. The first part was a noun of general goodwill plus the preposition heneka or heneken ("on account of").⁷³ The Greeks used the following nouns: arete (virtue), eunoia (goodwill), euergesia (benefaction), kalokagathia (nobleness, goodness), hagnotes (integrity), dikalosyne (justice), eusebia (piety), andragathia (bravery), sophrosyne (prudence, discretion). Arete was the preferred noun, appearing 59 times out of the 74 inscriptions with general motives. It appeared either alone⁷⁴, with eunoia⁷⁵, or euergesia⁷⁶, or with other nouns.⁷⁷ These same nouns could also appear alone.⁷⁸

The second part of the phrase designated the recipient of the benefaction, usually the donor of the statue, with the words els auton.⁷⁹

Sometimes the donor indicated that other men or groups had benefitted from the honoree's aid as he had.⁸⁰ By citing the other recipients of benefaction the donor undoubtedly gained a certain amount of prestige within his community.

If an honoree had also been awarded an honorific title, usually no motive for the award was included since the honorific title alone indicated the type of action the honoree had taken on behalf of the statue donor. For example, an euergetes (Benefactor) was rewarded for his benefaction (euergesia), a soter (Savior) for having saved a city, and a ktistes (Founder) for founding a city. The titles Savior and Founder were given out only by public bodies.

It is interesting to note that of the 22 known inscriptions which denoted a man as euergetes, (List II.E) three also include a general motive.⁸¹ Since that title was non-specific in indicating the type of benefaction, the Greeks may have wished in these instances to give somewhat more information.

A general motive appears eight times with men called patron.⁸² As noted in the section on Honorific Titles,⁸³ the title patron was one adopted from the Romans. Because the term was foreign to Greece, for clarity, the Greeks may have thought it useful occasionally to specify further the actions of these men.

A fragmentary decree authorizing the erection of a statue for M. Minatius Sex.f., (List I.36 = ID 1520) provides a clue as to why so many statue base inscriptions had either general motives or no motives at all. In addition to recording provisions for inscribing the decree and for placing the inscribed stele, the decree outlines in some detail specific

actions by which Minatius earned the award (II.2-20). Following these statements was the inscription to be recorded on the statue base,

including general motives: II. 27-31

"Τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτ[]-

ων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων
 ἀνέθηκεν Μάρκον Μινάτιου Σέξτου Ῥωμαῖον τραπεζίτη-
 [v] τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ ε[ὕ]νομίας, ἧς ἔχω[v]
 [δ]ιετέλει εἰς τὸ [κ]οινόν."

The general motives of the statue base inscription with the decree summarize the specific motives preceding them, and there was no need to repeat them. The longer decree was recorded in an area accessible to those wishing further information about the honoree.⁸⁴

Three other fragmentary decrees for statues of Romans or Italians exist of which two (List I.18, 93) record the wording for the statue base inscription. The third (List I.7) is so fragmentary that this portion of the inscription is missing.⁸⁵ List I.93 is missing the sections which would record specific motives. List I.18 refers to some actions of the honorees in behalf of Abdera's freedom: II. 36f. [προστάτην? γενόμενον τῆς]/ ἐλευθερίας τῇ πόλει ἡμῶ[v].. Possibly both inscriptions once had more information on the honorees' actions.

b. Specific Motives (List III)

Specific acknowledgment of the honoree's services occurred in the notation of the honoree's title of office and in an actual statement of what the honoree had done. Gerlach claims that noting an honoree's office in itself indicated an honoree's service.⁸⁶ However, there may have been other reasons for indicating the title. It is true that the honoree was normally able to accomplish whatever good works he did through the office

he held at the time. Yet, from the viewpoint of the status-conscious Roman, inclusion of the title of office must also have been greatly desired, if not essential.⁸⁵ The title proclaimed to posterity that the honoree had reached a particular rung of the cursus honorum. The title was thus both an indirect indication of services rendered and a public record that the honoree had held a specific office.

Infrequently, an inscription noted what the honoree had actually done to deserve the award of a statue. The specific reasons for an award are varied: patronage (List III.10), conquest of an enemy (List III.3, 4, 9), work on behalf of freedom (List III.1), construction of a defensive wall (List III.5), or provision of oil for a gymnasium (List III.11). Many motives refer to military activities. This is perhaps not surprising given the number of wars fought during the period (cf. Historical Sections, Chapters III – V).

The most interesting set of specific motives is the set for Minucius Rufus, (List III.3a,b; 4). By erecting statues in Minucius' honor two different areas, Delphi in Greece and Europos, in Macedonia, celebrated his conquest over invading barbarian tribes. The Delphi inscription (List III.3a,b) is bilingual: "...having conquered the Gauls, Scordisti, the Bessi and the remaining Thracians in war..." The Europos inscription (List III.4) is in Greek only, but its wording is almost exactly the same as the Greek version in Delphi, (same translation but compare the Greek given in List III.3a and III.4). These similarities suggest that Minucius may have had a hand in dictating what was inscribed. The Latin inscription on Minucius' base at Delphi plus a Latin dedication to Apollo by his brother, Quintus, at the same sanctuary⁸⁸ are strong indications that the two men were in Delphi when the decision to honor M. Minucius was made. Perhaps the

people of Europos sent envoys to Minucius at Delphi. Upon learning that Minucius' statue was to be erected there, they may have decided to award him a similar honor in Europos, even copying the Greek inscription either on their own initiative or at Minucius' suggestion. Minucius would not have considered it necessary to have a bilingual inscription at Europos because not many Romans would come to that Macedonian town. Delphi, however, was an internationally renowned sanctuary, long known to Romans.⁸⁹ Minucius could have requested that the inscription on his statue base be in both Latin and Greek to prevent Roman visitors from missing the memorial to his achievements.

4. Dedications to Gods

Statues of humans erected in sanctuaries were often dedicated to the presiding deity.⁹⁰ As noted above,⁹¹ the practice of erecting statues of living men developed slowly because statues had been used only for gods and heroized dead. Fears of divine retribution from offending the divine and semi-divine by erecting statues and thus committing acts of hybris must not have existed in every instance, however, since not all statues of living persons had dedications to a god.

Seventy-nine out of 246 statues of Romans, roughly 32%, had dedications to one or more gods. As one would expect, the statues were dedicated to the deities indigenous to particular sanctuaries. The statues at Delphi were to Apollo⁹² or Pythian Apollo.⁹³ Those at Olympia were to Zeus⁹⁴ or Olympian Zeus.⁹⁵ At Delos the dedications were to Apollo⁹⁶ or to Apollo, Artemis and Leto⁹⁷. At the Amphiaraion at Oropos they were to Amphiaraus⁹⁸ or Amphiaraus and Hygieia.⁹⁹ The dedications in the

Heraion at Samos were to Hera.¹⁰⁰ At the Museion at Thespieae, the dedications were to the Muses.¹⁰¹ At various sanctuaries the dedications were "to the gods" (tois theois).¹⁰² There were also dedications to various other deities corresponding to the sanctuary.¹⁰³ Thus it is clear that dedicating an honorific statue to a god was still a popular practice, even in the late Hellenistic period.

5. Artist Signatures (List IV)

In antiquity it was a common practice for the artist who sculpted a statue to record his name on the statue's base. Twenty-three inscriptions for Romans have this notation. These artist signatures are of three types: signature of the original artist for the statue of a Roman, signature of the original artist for the statue of a Roman plus the signature of an artist who restored the statue, and signature of an artist from an earlier period whose base and possibly statue had been reused for a Roman.

Of the 24 artist signatures recorded 17 are those of sculptors who made statues intended for the Romans honored in the dedicatory inscriptions, (List IV.1–14, 18, 19, 22). Few of these sculptors were men of any known importance; only three artists seem to have enjoyed a certain amount of fame: Philotechnos Heroidou, Dionysios and Timarchides, Agasias Menophilou, an Ephesian. Philotechnos Heroidou (List IV.4), who sculpted a statue of a Roman on Samos, was also a sculptor of statues on Delos. One of his works was of Antiochos Philopator prior to his ascension to the Seleucid throne.¹⁰⁴ Dionysios and Timarchides, (List IV.9), uncle and nephew, came from a family of established Athenian artists whose works were known in both Greece and Rome.¹⁰⁵ Agasias

Menophilou, an Ephesian, was a very active sculptor on Delos. Not only was he the sculptor of six statues of prominent Romans and Italians (List IV.7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14), but many of his works were also set up in the Italian Agora.¹⁰⁶ Patently, he was a favorite with the Italian and Roman community of Delos.

Two of the known works of Agasias were destroyed in the sack of Delos in 88 but were later restored (List IV.7, 14). The restorer was Aristandros, son of Scopas, a Parian who may have been a descendant of the famous Scopas. Evidently, the inhabitants of Delos sufficiently respected the men they had originally honored to have their damaged statues repaired.

Several artist signatures testify to a practice common in the first century B.C. – that of reusing the base of an older statue for a new statue or re-dedicating (perhaps even reworking) an older statue for a current honoree. Many of the statues to Romans at Oropos bear the signatures of artists of the fourth to third centuries B.C. (List IV.15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24) as does a statue base for Pompey the Great at Mytilene (List IV.20).

Artist signatures are not the only evidence of this practice, however. Erasures or earlier inscriptions on the same base also testify to reuse. At Oropos, several statue bases of Romans also bear proxeny decrees dating from the third century (List I.99, 116, 213, 214). Statues at Olympia (List I.17), Tenos (List I.130), Mytilene (List I.150) and Kea (List I.197) show evidence that the name of the original honoree was erased and that of the current honoree inscribed in its place. Traces of an older statue on the base of Cn. Pompelus Strabo in Athens (List I.51) show that this base was

reused. Another statue in Athens (List I.216) and one in Chalkis (List I.112) bear the unaltered inscriptions to the first honorees as well as the inscriptions to the most recent ones. One sees a similar practice on a base for Caesar at Demetrias (List I.202) which also bears a dedication to another Roman, C. Caelius Rufus (List I.160). While an honoree would certainly notice that his statue was not an original, perhaps having a reused statue did not disturb him and he was content just to have been honored at all.

Reusing older statues or statue bases was a practical measure for saving money, which was important because Greece was economically strained in the first century B.C. Reuse of an older statue was also a quick way to honor a visiting Roman dignitary.¹⁰⁷ Since statue bases were often reused after the original statue had been destroyed or damaged, those men whose statues were restored were doubly honored. We do not know what distinguished the two men, C. Billienus (List I.57; IV.7) and L. Munatius Plancus (List I.91; IV.14), who were so honored. Billienus had two other statues erected to him on Delos (List I.49, 56), and Plancus' statue had duplicate dedicatory inscriptions on the same base. These facts suggest that both men were sufficiently influential in the Delian community that restoring their statues was deemed necessary.

C. Geographic Location (Fig. 2, Map)

Statues were erected to Romans throughout Greece and the islands in areas where particular Romans had been active (cf. the History Sections). At most sites there were only one or two statues, but in some areas – in particular the sanctuaries – there were sufficient concentrations to merit

examining the quantity of statues in relation to the times the statues were erected. These areas are: Athens, Eleusis, Delos, Delphi, Olympia, Oropos, Thespiæ, and Samos, cf. Table 2.

TABLE 2: GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS OF STATUES FOR ROMANS/ITALIANS

(The date II-I B.C. indicates the date cannot be determined more precisely):

Date	Place	Quantity	List I Number
200-140	Athens	1	I.14.
	Delos	3	I.23, 35, 36.
	Delphi	7	I.9, 10, 11, 22, 31, 32, 33.
	Olympia	4	I.17, 20, 28, 34.
	Samos	1	I.38.
	Oropos	0	
	Thespiæ	0	
	<u>Other</u>	<u>12</u>	
	Total	28	
140-100	Athens	2	I.41, 51.
	Delos	18	I.37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 67, 69.
	Delphi	3	I.39, 47, 65.
	Olympia	2	I.54, 55.
	Samos	0	
	Oropos	0	
	Thespiæ	0	
	<u>Other</u>	<u>4</u>	
	Total	29	
II-I c.	Athens	0	
	Delos	3	I.67, 72, 73.
	Delphi	0	
	Olympia	3	I.62, 63, 68.
	Samos	0	
	Oropos	0	
	Thespiæ	0	
	<u>Other</u>	<u>2</u>	
	Total	8	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>List I Number</u>
I c.	Athens	24	I.102, 108, 113, 118, 120, 121, 128, 159, 169, 177, 181, 182, 193, 200, 211, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 225, 233, 244.
	Eleusis	6	I.157, 174, 220, 229, 234, 235.
	Delos	33	I.74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 111, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 133, 171, 180, 183, 185, 190, 201, 215, 242, 243, 246..
	Delphi	4	I.95, 158, 172, 173
	Olympia	5	I.80, 117, 199, 207, 237.
	Samos	18	I.134, 135, 153, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 175, 176, 178, 194, 205, 206, 210, 230, 231.
	Oropos	10	I.98, 99, 100, 101, 116, 170, 198, 212, 213, 214.
	Thespieae	8	I.93, 96, 168, 204, 226, 227, 236, 245.
	<u>Other</u>	<u>53</u>	
	Total	161	

One notes from the figures a dramatic increase in the number of statues erected in the first century over the number erected in the second. The increase reflects the increase of Roman involvement in Greece during the first century; but something else is apparent. In the early second century several statues were erected at the old internationally famous sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia, which were natural tourist attractions for philhellenic Romans like Flamininus and Aemilius Paullus as well as other Romans. The mid to end of the second century begins to show some interesting changes: Delphi and Olympia have fewer statues than before, but Delos' statues increase from three to sixteen. The first century shows

startling changes: Athens now has twenty-four statues; Delos, thirty-three; Samos, eighteen. Three sanctuaries which never had statues of Romans now boast significant quantities: Eleusis, six; Oropos, ten; Thespieae, eight. But Olympia has five and Delphi only four.

The increase of Roman statues at Delos is the most readily explained: it is attributable to Delos' exceptional connections with Rome. As discussed in the History Sections (Chapter IV, "Private Grants"), through Rome's intervention, Delos became the commercial center of the Aegean and was settled by many Italians and Romans. The statues dedicated on Delos were both to the island's Italian and Roman settlers (List I.48, 58, 59, 61, 72-77; cf. supra "Recipients" B.2) and to Roman military officials (remaining statues on Delos from List I). Some officials may have used the island as a supply depot during the wars in the East, and may have had a special interest in Delos because of the large Italian population. Hence they visited the island more frequently than they visited other areas of Greece. Because commerce made Delos' residents on the average wealthier than those of the rest of Greece, a large number of statues of Roman visitors could be erected.

One notes that the flurry of Delian statues drops off after the island was raided by pirates in 88, and from 65-27 B.C. only ten statues to Romans are known (I.133, 171, 180, 183, 185, 201, 215, 242, 243, 246; cf. Chapter V). For Delos this was a period when both population and wealth declined rapidly and so significantly that she never recovered her former status. Given Delos' weakened economic condition it is surprising that any statues at all were erected in the later period. The presence of these later statues suggests that Delos retained greater importance and prosperity

than has usually been thought..

Why the statue density in other areas changed is not so readily apparent. However, it is noteworthy that the increases of Roman statues at Athens, Oropos and Thespieae all began around the time Sulla was in the East.

During the second century, Athens had supported Rome and had showed her loyalty and respect for the new power by constructing a speakers' platform for Romans in the Agora.¹⁰⁸ But she honored individual Romans only occasionally with proxeny (List V.24) or statues (List I.14, 41, 51). In the war with Mithridates, however, having overthrown the forces loyal to Rome, Athens joined sides with the Pontic king, and for that disloyalty she was severely punished. The victorious Sulla damaged much of the city and destroyed its walls. However, he reorganized the city's constitution along the oligarchic lines which assured a pro-Roman government. But Sulla aided Athens by restoring Athenian control of Lemnos, Imbros, and Delos (cf. Chapter V.A.1).¹⁰⁹ Athens thanked Sulla for the islands by instituting games and erecting statues in his honor, and later Romans also profitted from the city's new submissive pro-Roman attitude. From the Sullan period on many Roman visitors were awarded statues in Athens or Eleusis. Sulla's punishment of the city had taught her not only that Rome was the new master of the Aegean whose dictates were to be obeyed, but also that the favor of individual Romans was to be cultivated.¹¹⁰

Oropos and Thespieae were in close proximity to Athens; and while it is possible that Athenian influence prompted the erection of statues to Romans in those sanctuaries, there is also another possibility. Sulla

visited the Amphiarraion at Oropos and gave the sanctuary a grant of land, the revenues of which were to go toward games celebrating Roma. The statues to Sulla, his wife and followers may have set the precedent for erecting statues to later Roman visitors.¹¹¹ Although Sulla's gift gave the sanctuary a financial boost, the Amphiarraion was still too poor to erect new statues to her benefactors and had to reuse older statues and bases (cf. List IV.15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24).

Another sanctuary which drew Sulla's attention was Thespieae. Thespieae was the traditional home of the Muses and as Sulla fancied himself a writer, he made a dedication there, for which he received an honorific statue (List I.96). Caninius Gallus, a follower of Caesar, was the next Roman visitor who received a statue (List I.168), and there was also a statue of the dictator (List I.204). The supporter of M. Antony, M. Junius Silanus and his wife (List I.226, 227) visited Thespieae, as did Octavian (List I.236) and M. Licinius Crassus (List I.245). It is possible that these people visited the sanctuary in part because they knew that an earlier, famous Roman had been there.

The increase in the number of statues at Samos may be in part due to the increased number of Romans in Asia, which became a Roman province in 129 B.C. Samos is near Asia, and Roman governors of Asia or Cilicia may have passed through the Heraion at Samos on the way to or from Italy (cf. Chapter V, commentary to List I.161-166).

Sulla and those after him may have wished to signal a break with the old Greek order and the onset of a new one. Delphi and Olympia, with their statues of famed Greek leaders, symbolized the glory of Greece. Sulla patronized old sanctuaries with lesser reputations and in a small way

made them sanctuaries for Romans. One notes especially Oropos whose games honoring Roma may have attracted Roman visitors. Romans continued to visit the more famous sanctuaries (cf. *supra* for statues, List V for proxenies at Delphi) but apparently not as frequently as they once had. Greece's glory and way of life were past; A new Roman order was coming, symbolized by the re-establishment by Romans of older sanctuaries as gathering places for Romans in Greece.

Summary

Greeks readily honored prominent Romans with statues, a practice which developed from the practice of honoring the gods. Since few statues of Romans now exist, the inscriptions from the statue bases or the decrees granting the statues supply us with the information concerning their existence. Roman influence on the inscriptions is evident when statue base inscriptions are in Latin or when the inscriptions are bilingual. Bilingual or Latin inscriptions were often erected by Italians living in Greece and these inscriptions indicate that those Italians had adopted the Greek custom of erecting statues. Roman influence is subtler when aspects of Roman customs appear. Such is the case when titles of duties carried out in Rome, or religious titles appeared in the inscriptions. These titles could have had no meaning for the Greeks and normally would not have been included. In these instances undoubtedly the Roman honoree had requested the inclusion of the titles. While Greeks infrequently recorded these titles, they often noted a Roman as their patron, intending this to be an honorific title. Because the custom of patronage was one similar to the Greek custom of proxy, as will be

shown in the discussion of Proxeny (Chapter II), the title patron may have had some meaning for the Greeks. The joining of these Roman elements with the Greek practice of erecting public statues for important men was one step toward the merging of Greek and Roman cultures which began during the Republic and continued during the Roman Empire.

The change in the geographic locations where statues of Romans were erected may have signalled a shift of power in the world. Athens, after its destruction by Sulla, erected many statues to Romans, and in doing so she acknowledged Rome's supremacy. Sulla patronized sanctuaries other than the famous sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia. By patronizing less important sanctuaries and making them important for Romans visiting Greece, Sulla showed the break with the old Greek past and the onset of the new Roman order.

Notes - Chapter I

¹ Romans competed in athletic contests in Greece as is seen from a victory list from Chalkis dating to the end of the second century B.C., IG XII 9 952. Included in the list are five Roman victors. To date no inscriptions from victory statues to Romans have been found.

² G. Klaffenbach, Griechische Epigraphik, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1966), p. 65

³ E.g., the kouros from Sounion - c. 615-590 B.C. G.M.A. Richter, Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths, 3rd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1970), p. 30, figs. 40-41.

⁴ E.g., Kroisos of Anavysos - 540-520 B.C.. Richter, Kouroi, pp. 118f., figs. 395-398.

⁵ E.g., the koral from the Athenian Acropolis. G.M.A. Richter, Koral: Archaic Greek Maidens (London: Phaidon, 1968), pp. 5f.

⁶ Richter, Kouroi, pp. 33, 49f., figs. 78-83. Herodotus I.31.

⁷ G.M.A. Richter, The Portraits of the Greeks, vol. I (London: Phaidon, 1965), p. 4.

⁸ M.K. Welsh, "Honorary Statues in Ancient Greece," BSA 11 (1904-1905) 33f.

⁹ R.E. Wycherly, The Stones of Athens, pp. 73-75.

¹⁰ C. Habicht in Gottmenschen und griechische Städte, 2te Auflage, Zetemata, Heft 14 (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 207, interprets Demosthenes 20 (Leptines) 70 as an indication that, among profane honors, receipt of a statue was the highest.

¹¹ R.E. Wycherly, The Athenian Agora III Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, (Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957), p. 94, no. 261.

¹² M.K. Welsh, BSA 11 (1904-1905) 39f. Cf. Wycherly, Agora III, p. 67.

¹³ Richter, Portraits, p. 5. Cf. J. Breckenridge, Likeness: A Conceptual History of Ancient Portraiture (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 111.

¹⁴ For evidence of bronze statues cf. List I.18 = Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard, BCH 37 (1913) 125f., no.3, I.16

¹⁵ Both in Delos: C. Billienus - List I.49. cf. J. Marcadé, Au Musée

de Délos: Etude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde basse découverte dans l'île, BEFAR fasc. 215 (Paris: de Boccard, 1969), pp. 134, 329, p. LXXV. C. Ofellius Ferus - List I.59. cf. T. Homolle BCH 5 (1881) 39, pl. 12.

¹⁶ List I.23, 37, 40, 44, 47, 49, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 61, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 86, 88, 91, 103, 106, 107, 111, 123, 124, 125, 180, from Delos. List I.4 from Corinth. List I.109 - Rhodes; 129, 131 - Argos;. As most private inscriptions are found on Delos, it is natural that there are many examples from that island in this category

¹⁷ Name of the grantor first: List I.12 - Scotussa; 34 - Damon from Thessalonike, inscription at Olympia; 36, 42, 45, 77, 87, 104, 105 - Delos; 115 - Aigios; 157 - Athens; 39, 173 - Delphi.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Gerlach, Griechische Ehreninschriften (Halle, a.S.: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1908), p. 1. Cf. CIL I 533 to L. Cornelius Scipio, I 538 to L. Manlius Acidinus - in the nominative; ILS I 870-874, passim - all in the dative.

¹⁹ James Egbert, Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions, revised ed. (Chicago: American Book Co., 1923), pp. 243, 245. The inscription of List I.228 is in Latin. Set up by Roman citizens in Mytilene, it has this format.

²⁰ Franz G. Maler, Griechische Mauerbauinschriften, Band I, Texte und Kommentare (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1959), p. 170. Triarius' name in List I.126 is in the accusative.

²¹ Cf. List II.A.2-7; B.12-15; C, D; E.14.

²² Cf. Chapter V, "Period IV."

²³ Only one inscription records an abbreviated praenomen - List I.25. A dedication from L. Julius Caesar (IG XII 8 232) uses an abbreviation, but in both this inscription and in List I.25, the praenominal abbreviations are restored. Cf. List I.48, 107, 111, 131, 201 = bilingual inscriptions where the Latin abbreviates the praenomina but the Greek does not.

²⁴ The Patronymic is not given in the following Greek inscriptions: List I.20, 31, 41, 79, 83, 84, 127, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 156, 157, 173, 179, 184, 195, 196, 200, 202, 204, 207, 216, 217, 218, 226, 231, 232, 244. Most of the Mytilene inscriptions to Pompey and Caesar with the names in the dative case are without the patronymic - List I.138-148; 195, 196.

²⁵ List I.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 42. On List I and in the History chapters I have placed parentheses around "f." and cognomina when they are not recorded in the inscriptions but are necessary for clarity: Τίτος τίτου κολύκτιος - T. T.(f.) Quinctius (Flamininus).

²⁶ List I.9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 27, 32, 33, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, *passim*.

²⁷ Proxeny, List V.21, demonstrates that Greeks were not entirely comfortable with the Romans practice. Of the four Roman names listed there, two have patronymics which follow the nomen and in two have patronymics which follow the praenomen.

²⁸ Cf. W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, 2te Auflage (Berlin: Weidman, 1966), p. 506.

²⁹ Square brackets around these and other List numbers in these footnotes indicate major restorations in the original text of the words under consideration. List I.1, 5, 16, [18], 21, 26, 35, 38, 43, 51, 56, 60, 66, [67], 78, [80], [93], 102, [106], 108, 112, 114, 116, 118, 121, [126], 128, 130-5, 150-3, [153], [161-3], 164, [165-6], [168], 170, 171, 174-6, [176], 177, 181, [183], 184, 186, 188, [189-90], 191, [193], 197-200, 203, [204], 205, [206], 208-220, [221], 222, [226], 227, 230, [231], 233-6, 238-46.

³⁰ [2], 9, [11], 13, 15, 19, [20], 24, 28, 31, 46-7, 50, [54-5], [65], 70, [71], [97], 179, 187, 223, 224.

³¹ D.J. Geagan, The Athenian Constitution After Sulla, Hesperia Suppl. 12 (1967) 32f.

³² G.W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 91 & 93, notes that once Greece became a Roman province, Emperors favored Greek leagues. Augustus revitalized the League of the Lacedaemonians as the League of Free Laconians, and under Caligula the League of Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phocians and Dorians formed a new group with the Achaean League becoming the League of Achaeans and Panhellenes.

³³ J. Bousquet, "Inscriptions grecques concernant des Romains," BCH 88 (1964) 609.

³⁴ E. Mastrokostas, "Inscriptions de Locride et Thessalie," REA 66 (1964) 309.

³⁵ SEG XXIII 412 II. 3f. [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας/ [τ]ῆς εἰς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

³⁶ SEG XXII 214 II. 3f. ἀρετᾶς ἔνε[κα καὶ εὐεργεσίας τᾶς]/ εἰς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς.]

³⁷ IO 325 II. 5-7 ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατε/λει εἰς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς/ Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας.

38 A.E. Raubitschek, "Phaldrus and his Roman Pupils," Hesperia 18 (1949) 102 = List I.157.

39 Cornelius Nepos, Atticus III.2 "Quamdiu affuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur restitit, absens prohibere non potuit. Itaque aliquot ipsi et Pilliae locis sanctissimis posuerunt.."

40 A.J.N. Wilson, Emigration From Italy in the Republican Age of Rome (New York: Manchester University Press, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1966), pp. 5, 99f., 102. Cf. Chapter, IV for more information concerning Delos, the commercial community and the Romans honored there.

41 List I.40 - Dionysios Dionysiou, Sphettios; 44 - Dionysios Nikonos, Athenian; 45 - Nikon and Diogenes Dionysiou, Hermaphilos and Dionysios Hermaphilou, all sons of Dionysios Nikonos, Athenians; 49 - Midas Zenonos, Herakleos; 74 - Hermon Agathokleou, Elatean; 103 - Gorgias Damoxenou, Herakleos and Ariston Gorgiou, Athenians; 107 - Hermolcus and Apollonius Apolloni f., Melians. I.23, 58 = from "friends," no other designation.

42 Wilson, p. 5. An example of traders in other commodities are the Olearii - oil merchants - who donated a statue to the elder C. Julius Caesar, List I.85. Cf. Chapter IV, "Commerce."

43 List I. 53, 72, 75, 76, 91, 104, 105, 106, 111. The ethnic origin of the donors of List I.52, 57, 77, 180 is not identified. Rather, the statues are dedicated in general terms as from "those working in Delos" (no. 52) or "merchants and shipowners living in Delos" (no. 180). Presumably Italians are included in these groupings. Cf. Chapter IV, "Delos and Foreigners."

44 Wilson, p. 118.

45 Two statue bases from the Agora of the Italians have no specific niche to which they may be assigned: List I.45 - West side of the Agora; I.75 - East side of the Agora.

46 J. Bingen, "Inscriptions d'Achaïe," BCH 78 (1954) 84. D. van Berchem, "Les Italiens d'Argos. Un post scriptum," BCH 87 (1963) 322.

47 D. van Berchem, "Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos," BCH 86 (1962) 312.

48 Cf. W.S. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, an Historical Essay (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1911), 355.

49 This title is a later, shortened form of strategos anthypatos. Cf. H.J. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, a Lexicon and Analysis, American Studies in Papyrology vol. 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), pp. 2,

1160f.

⁵⁰ This is a later, shortened form of strategos hypatos. Cf. Mason, Greek Terms pp. 2, 159.

⁵¹ Klaus Tuchelt, Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien, Beiträge zur archäologischen Überlieferung aus der Zeit der Republik und des Augustus Teil I. Roma und Promagistrate, Istanbul Mitteilungen, Beiheft 23 (1979) 65.

⁵² List I. 3, 4, 11-13, 15, 21, 26, 27, 29, 31, 39, 41, 45, 51, 54, 55, 70, 84-6, 89, 91, 98, 100-2, 104, 106, 107, 108, 115, 118, 120, 121, 129, 131, 132, 138-145, 149, 154, 163, 164, 167, 168, 170-3, 187, 194, 195, 207, 211, 212, 213, 215, 218, 226, 229, 232.

⁵³ T. Robert S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic, vol. I (New York: American Philological Ass'n, 1951), pp. 568, 572, 576.

⁵⁴ Broughton, MRR vol. II (New York: American Philological Ass'n, 1952), p. 6.

⁵⁵ J.E. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy (1927) elogia pp. 93-104.

⁵⁶ A.E. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar," JRS 44 (1954) 73, 75.

⁵⁷ Wives: List I.81, 99, 112, 153, 162, 165, 175, 206, 208, 209, 214, 219-221, 224, 227, 230, 234, 239.
Mothers: List I.183
Daughters: List I.176, 177, 181, 182.

⁵⁸ Cf. List I.153 for Pomponia, I. 3f. ...εὐε]ργεσίας ἐνεκεν τῆς/ [τοῦ ἀν]θυπάτου Κοίν[του].
List I.183 - Minucia, II.4f. [---διὰ τὰ]ς ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς εἰ[ς]/ τὴν πόλιν [εὐε]ργεσίας.
List I.206 - Calpurnia, II.7-9 ...διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός/ αὐτῆς καὶ γεγομένην περὶ [τὴν πόλιν...]

⁵⁹ List I.175 for Magilla, II.3-5 ...ἀρετῇ/ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διαφέρει-/ σαν...
List I.230 for Paullina, I.4f. εὐσεβίας/ χάριν τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.

⁶⁰ List I.215 - Q. Hortensius Q.f., uncle of Caepio (Brutus) - "Κοίντον Ὀρτήσιον Κοίντου υἱὸν, τὸν θεῖον Καίπιωνος". Other examples are: List I.161 - Q. Cicero, son of Q. Cicero; 166 - M. Cicero, son of the orator; 210 - P. Servilius Isauricus, father of P. Servilius Isauricus.

⁶¹ MRR II.621.

⁶² F. Münzer, "Q. Tullius Cicero" (31), RE VII² (1943) 1290, 1300.

⁶³ Cicero, ad Familiares III.8.4; Att V.19.2; 20.1.

⁶⁴ Cf. F. Eckstein in Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia VI von Emil Kunze mit Beiträgen von F. Eckstein, H-V. Herrmann, A. Mallwitz, H. Walter, Winter 1953-4 and 1954-5 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter and Co., 1958), p. 216. Eckstein maintains that the Greeks would not have put two statues of the same man next to each other. Cf. commentary in Chapter V.

⁶⁵ Plutarch, Sulla 4.12; 13.1.

⁶⁶ M. Cicero, son of Cicero - Cicero, Att V 9.3. Q. Cicero, son of Q. Cicero - Att V 20.9.

⁶⁷ That Cicero's wife, Terentia, was not along is deduced from Cicero Att VI 1.10 where Cicero comments that he has written to her and to Tullia, their daughter.

⁶⁸ List I.161-166. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, "Die Exedra der Ciceronen," AM 68 (1953) 63ff. The authors of this article postulate the existence of statues and inscriptions for Cicero's brother, wife and son. Inscriptions exist only for Pomponia, Q. Cicero's son, and Cicero. The authors suggest a possible arrangement of the statues, p. 74, Abb. 2.

⁶⁹ Fabricius "Cossutius" RE, 4 (1901) 1673. Cf. Wilson pp. 96f. for a discussion of Cossutius and other Cossutii on Delos and Paros.

⁷⁰ For Minatius cf. M.N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions at Cairness House," JHS 54 (1934) 150f. and 151 no.45.

⁷¹ Cf. Raubitschek, Hesperia 18 (1949) 100, 102. Wilson, p. 162 for Saufelius; p. 168 for Atticus.

⁷² Hatzfeld, Les trafiquants... p. 298.

⁷³ Different regions preferred one form to the other: heneka Athens - 41, 108, 113, 159, 216-8, [222]; Eleusis - 174, 220, 229; Delos - 59, [79]; Olympia - [20], 55, [155]; Delphi - [32], [95]; Others - 1.[4], [25], 78, 109, [151], 184, 210, 241. heneken Athens - 219, 245; Delos - [23], 36, 37, 42-4, 48, [56], 57, [67], 75-7, [104], 105, 171; Olympia - 17, 28, 34, [68], 237; Delphi - [10], 11, 22, [47]; Thespiae - 96, 168, [204], 244; Others - [2], 12, 27, 46, [112], [130], 153, 160, 188, 192, 194, 232.

⁷⁴ List I.38, 41, 55, [75], 104, 113, 159, 160, 174, [192], 216, 219, 220.

⁷⁵ List I.12, 19, [20], 22, 27, 32, 34, 42, 46, 78, 95, 108, 151, 184, 194, 217, 218, 229, 237, 244, 245.

⁷⁶ List I.[4], 9, [10], [11], 28, 47, 68, 79, 222, 232.

⁷⁷ kaloKagathia - List I. [1], 17, 48, 67, 76, 114, 241; dikalosyne,

katharlotete - I.80; dikaosyne, eusebeia - I.105; andragathia, eunoia - I.96; eusebeia - I.171; sophrosyne - I.175; dikaosyne, andragathia - I.204.

78 hagnotes - List I.[2]; eunoia, euergesia - I.25, 109, 188; euergesia, kalokagathia - I.37; diakiosyne - I.23, 44; euergesia - I.56, 57, 89, 153, 183, 215; dikaosyne, eunoia - I.112, 168; eunoia - I.210; eusebeia - I.230; kalokagathia - I.77.

79 List I. 10, 11, 19, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 57, 59, 77, 78, 96, 108, 151, 210, 218, 237.

80 Benefactions to himself and other Greeks - List I.17, 194. Benefactions to himself and certain others: to the donor, allies, and the Greeks - I.1; to the donor and the Achaeans - I.4; to the donor, the sanctuary, and the city (Delphi) - I.9; to the donor and the city (of Scotussa) - I.12; to the donor, his fatherland, other Macedonian, and other Greeks - I.34.

81 List I.2 - [ἀν]νόγητ[ος ἔνεκεν τὸν αὐτᾶς]/ [εὐ]εργέτ[αν].

List I.46 - εὐεργέτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας

List I.114 - εὐεργέτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς

82 List I.32, 48, 78, 114, 184, 192..

83 Cf. Chapter II, "Honorable Titles."

84 List I.18 I. 29f makes provisions for inscribing the decree and for setting it up next to the statue. I.36 II. 81f. makes provisions to inscribe the decree on a stele and for placing the stele in the courtyard of the Poseidonias Establishment.

85 IG XII 9 233 (List I.7) for Flamininus at Euboea, now in the Chalkis Museum: II c.

-----ἐλινύειν καὶ θύ[ειν]
[καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν (?) Ἑρετριεῖς πάντα]ς ἐπὶ τοῖς γε[γε]-
[νημένοις καὶ στήσαι τ[ο]ν ὑπατον Ῥωμ[αί]-
[ων...ἐν τῷ ναυί τῆς Ἀ]τέμιδος.

86 Gerlach, p. 62.

87 Hence, perhaps the occasional inclusion of religious offices not pertaining to a man's work in Greece, Caesar as pontifex maximus (archiereas), for example. This title is "recognized as significant for Caesar's own notion of his position." A.E. Raubitschek, JRS 44 (1954) 73. Cf. Chapter V for discussion of inscriptions for Caesar.

88 SIG 710 D = ILS 4047 = CIL I² 269.

89 Appian, Ital 8 reports that an embassy came to Delphi from Rome in the third century B.C..

- ⁹⁰ A.G. Woodhead, The Study of Greek Inscriptions, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1981), p. 42.
- ⁹¹ Supra pp. 10f.
- ⁹² List I.9, [10], [11], 47.
- ⁹³ List I.22, 31, [32], [33], 39, 65, 95, 158, 172, 173.
- ⁹⁴ List I.20.
- ⁹⁵ List I.34, 55, 68, 179, 199, 237.
- ⁹⁶ List I.35, 40, 44, 45, 58, 59, 73, [74], 76, 88, 107, 180, 215.
- ⁹⁷ List I.37, 49, 72, 77, 82, 86, 104, 105, 126, [133], 171, 183, 240, 242, (List I. 243 = to Leto only).
- ⁹⁸ List I.98, 100, 116, 170, 198, 212, 213, 214.
- ⁹⁹ List I.99, 101.
- ¹⁰⁰ List I.38, 175, 176, 194, 230.
- ¹⁰¹ List I.96, [226], 227.
- ¹⁰² List I.15 - Acraephia; 25 - Hyampolis; 109 - Rhodes; 117 - Olympia; 168 - Thespieae; 186 - Elatea; 192 - Chios; 204 - Thespieae; 224 - Patras; 225 - Athens.
- ¹⁰³ List I.130 - Poseidon and Amphitrite (Tenos); [157] - Demeter and Kore (Eleusis); 187 - Hermes and Herakles (Corcyra).
- ¹⁰⁴ J. Marcadé, p. 78 = ID 1547, 1548.
- ¹⁰⁵ Marcadé, p. 79. Th. Homolle, "Statue de Caius Ofellius. Sur une oeuvre signee des artistes Dionysios et Polyclès," BCH 5 (1881) 392f.
- ¹⁰⁶ Marcadé, p. 127 note 4. Agasias may also have sculpted the group of Eros, Anteros and Nike dedicated by a Roman on Tenos - IG XII 5 917 (= List V.37) cf. Marcadé p. 81 n. 9.
- ¹⁰⁷ H. Blanck, Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römer (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1969), pp. 100, 105f.
- ¹⁰⁸ R.E. Wycherly, The Athenian Agora vol. III Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (The American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Princeton, New Jersey, 1957), p. 46 no. 99.
- ¹⁰⁹ From the time of Sulla on, most statues to Romans on Delos were dedicated by the demos of Athens, often in conjunction with someone

else: List I. 106, 126, 133, 171, 183, 215, 246.

¹¹⁰ It is possible that Athens had erected more statues to Romans in the second century and that the statues were destroyed in the Sullan rampage. The three second century bases come from the Olympeion area (List I.14) and the Acropolis (List I.41, 51) which may not have been damaged.

¹¹¹ Cf. Chapter V, commentary to List I.98-101. A.G. Gossage ("The Comparative Chronology of Inscriptions Relating to Boiotian Festivals in the First Half of the First Century B.C.," BSA 70 [1975] p. 134, n. 50) suggests that Sulla may have given financial aid for other Boeotian festivals. Gossage notes (p. 116) that both Thespieae and Akraiphia re-instituted festivals around 80 B.C. Since both areas erected statues to Sulla (List I.96, 97) the statues may well have been in gratitude for Sullan financing of the festivals.

Chapter II

Proxeny, Patronage, Honorific Titles and Cult Honors

Introduction

The Greeks awarded Romans several kinds of honors other than statues: rights of proxeny, crown, honorific title or epithet, and games or festivals. These honors were often granted in conjunction with one another, e.g., a proxenos might also be awarded a crown and the title of Benefactor (euergetes), or a person granted an honorific title might also have games or a festival held in his honor, or someone granted an honorific statue might also be given honorific titles (cf. List II). This chapter will examine these honors. As with the statue bases these honors, at least the evidence of them which survives to us, were inscribed in stone. The examination of each honor will include a description of the honor as well as a discussion of the relationship of the recipients to the honor and the relationship of the honors to one another.

I. Proxeny

In the period between the mid-third century B.C. and 27 B.C. Greeks granted the proxeny status to sixty-nine Romans and five Italians.¹ For the purposes of this study the proxeny is important because of its connections both with other honors bestowed on Romans/Italians in Greece, and with the Roman institution of patronage. While both statue base inscriptions and proxeny decrees often recorded that a recipient had been named euergetes, statue base inscriptions sometimes recorded that an honoree had been awarded the honorific title patron. The patron

represents one part of the patronage system, to which the institution of proxeny was related, and the presence of the term on statue base inscriptions gives evidence that the institution of patronage was entering Greece in this period.

Proxeny status was a form of public or private hospitality extended to individuals or groups. As a public grant, proxeny was extended by a Greek state (or league) to another state (or league) or to an individual citizen of another state.² Proxeny status could also be established between individuals and private corporations such as the Dionysiac or Isthmian technitai.³

Originally, the proxenos was an individual acting on behalf of certain foreigners in his own city, i.e., pro xenos.⁴ His function arose because of the "exclusiveness of Greek city life."⁵ Within Greek states any foreigner was considered to be an enemy, and consequently he had no access to the rights and privileges which citizens of the state enjoyed. Therefore, he had to rely on a citizen of the state, whether personal friend or state appointed proxenos, to represent him in any legal, religious or commercial transactions. In return for these services, a proxenos received certain rights and privileges when he was in the state he aided as proxenos, e.g. freedom from taxation, right of entrance to and exit from a harbor, right to sit in front seats at festivals, precedence in consulting the council, (see below for full list and discussion).

The proxeny status could also be given to a foreigner as an award for services rendered and in expectation of further services. In this case, the award was presented either on the initiative of the state governing body or after a foreigner had applied for the award, having listed his

services in the application.⁶ The proxeny could also be a state liturgy whereby a state assigned proxeny status to one of its own citizens, and that person would look after any foreigner who had neither a private guest-friend nor a proxenos for his own state.⁷ This study will consider only the proxeny given as an award. Whether or not liturgical proxenoi existed in any Greek state specifically for Romans must remain a subject for future study.

A. Types of Proxeny Records

Three types of inscriptions recording Romans as proxenoi have come down to us: proxeny decrees, short proxeny citations, and simple lists. The decree is the most common, with twenty-seven examples.⁸ There are thirteen short citations⁹ and three lists.¹⁰ The standard decree records the names of the presiding magistrates, the name of the proxenos, often the general reasons for the honor, and the honors and privileges awarded. Most of these elements can be seen in the following example, FD III 4 427 L 10 (List V.20a): Invocation to Good Fortune (l. 1); names of the presiding magistrates (ll. 2–3); names of the men who made the motion for the award (ll. 4–6); opening formula (l. 6); praise, award of proxeny and benefactor status (ll. 6–7); listing of rights and privileges (ll. 8–10).

[θεός] τυχ[ά].
 [Ἀρχοντος Ξένωνος τοῦ Ἀτεισίδα, βου]λευόντων Δεξικράτεος, Κλεοδάμ[ου],
 [Ξένωνος, ἔδοξε ταῖ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐ]ν ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ σὺμ ψάφοις
 ταῖς ἐννόμοι[ς].
 [ἐπειδὴ Ἦρως Εὐδώρου; Δαμοσθέ]νης Ἀρχέλα ποτιπορευθέντες ποτὶ
 τὰν ἐκκλη-
 [σίαν διελέγην περὶ Μάρκου Αἰμ]υλίου Λεπέδου Ῥωμαίου, ἀπολογιζόμενοι
 ἃν ἔχει
 [αἵρεσιν πορὶ τε τὰν πόλιν καὶ] πάντας Δελφούς. δεδόχθαι ταῖ πόλει,
 ἐπαινέσαι

[Μάρκον Αιμύλιον Λέπεδον] ῥωμαῖον καὶ εἶμεν αὐτὸν πρόξενον κα[ὶ]
 [εὐεργ]έταν
 [τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πόλιος, α]ὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ
 προμαν-
 [τελαν, προδικλαν, ἀτέλεια]ν, ἀσυλίαν, προεδρίαν ἐμ πάσι τοῖς
 ἀν[ώ]νοις, οὓς
 [ἃ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ τᾶλ]λα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ
 εὐερ[γ]έταις.

The short citations form a category between decrees and lists. Like proxy lists they record the barest essentials – the name of the recipient, the award, and sometimes a statement that the award also applies to the recipient's descendants. However, unlike proxy lists, each recipient of the honor was given a separate citation of the award. The short citation was the form usually used in Crete. An early example is IC II III 5 from Aptera dating 189 B.C. (List V.21):

[ἔδ]οξε τᾷ β[ω]λ[ᾷ] κα[ὶ] τῷ δ[άμω]ι κοσμιοντῶν τῷ]-
 [ν] μετὰ τυχαμένους τ[οῦ] ----· Λεύκιον Κορνῆ]-
 λιον Ποπλίου Σκιπλῶνα [στραταγὸν ὕπατον ῥωμαῖ]-
 ῶν καὶ Πόπλιον Κορνῆλ[ιον Ποπλίου Σκιπλῶνα καὶ]
 5 Γναῖον Γναίου Κορνῆλ[ιον Σκιπλῶνα Ἰσπανὸν]
 καὶ Λεύκιον Μάρκου Αἰμ[ύλιον Ῥήγιλλον προξένος]
 καὶ εὐεργέτας ἡμεν αὐτὸς καὶ [ἐκγονα].

Here the standard opening formula is given (ll. 1-2), then a list of the honorees (ll. 2-6), and finally the honors (ll. 6f). The motives (i.e., the reasons for the honor), are not listed, nor are the presiding magistrates or any other awards beyond the titles of proxenos and euergetes. Later, short citations from Crete (dating to the first century B.C.) follow a similar pattern but they are even briefer, also omitting the introductory formula, as in the following example: IC IV 213 A, Gortyn c. 31 B.C. (List V.55)

Μ. Μινύκι[ος] ῥο[ῦ]φος]
 Γορτυνίων [πρόξενος]
 αὐτὸς κα[ὶ] ἐγγονοί].

Lists of a sanctuary's proxenoi served an important function in antiquity. Greeks recorded proxeny decrees at random throughout their sanctuaries, a practice which is well exemplified by the proxenies for Romans at Delphi: List V. 33 (128–7 B.C.) is on the wall of the Athenian treasury; List V.33 (50 B.C.) is on the polygonal wall below the Apollo temple; List V.3 (205–3 B.C.), List V.20a (189 B.C.) and List V.27 (168 B.C.) are inscribed in an exedra located in the sanctuary. Clearly proxeny lists provided convenient central records for officials who might wish to identify the proxenos of a certain area.

There are only three instances of lists in which Romans or Italians are named proxenoi: IG IX 1 17 I. 51 – Thermon (List V.1); SIG³ 585 – Delphi (List V.5, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20b, 23); IG XII 3, Suppl. 1300 B. I. 52 – Thera (List V.35). The most important of these lists is SIG³ 585 (edd. Wescher–Foucart n. 18). For the purposes of this study its importance lies in two factors: the large number of Romans and Italians listed (ten Romans, three Italians; the other lists have only one Roman or Italian each), and the fact that many of the Romans listed are well-known historical figures such as T. Quinctius Flamininus and L. and P. Cornelius Scipio. The list provides a chronological record of those awarded proxeny at Delphi from 197 to 148 B.C. because the names of the presiding magistrates were recorded before the names of each proxenos.

Because the proxeny decree for one of the Romans on the list is extant, FD II 4 427 = SEG I 147 (List V.20a) for L. Aemilius Lepidus – SIG³ 585 I.122 (List V.20b), we may surmise that proxeny decrees had

been written out for each honoree on the list. For the sake of brevity, the list records none of the privileges a proxenos might receive. However, from the decree for Lepidus in which these privileges are recorded (List V.20a), we assume that the other Roman proxenoi received similar privileges.

The existing epigraphic material indicates that in the second century only one man (plus a possible second man) was both granted a statue and made proxenos of the same city. Delphi gave these honors to T. Quinctius Flamininus (List I.12 - statue; List V.18 - proxy). If the honoree of proxy decree SIG³ 608 (List V.14) was M' Acilius Glabrio, then he too received both statue (List I.9) and proxy. In the first century at Gortyn, granting both proxy and a statue was a common practice (List V.50-62 = proxy decrees on individual statue bases). The implications of this combination of honors will be discussed in other sections.¹¹

B. Descendants

Often the proxy was granted not only to a particular man but also to his descendants.¹² Almost all of the proxy decrees to Romans include this provision.¹³ This practice undoubtedly assured the future good will of certain individuals to a particular state since they would be entitled to all the rights and privileges of their ancestors. It was hoped that the descendants would provide benefactions as their ancestors had.

C. Rights and Privileges

Since the duties necessitated considerable interaction with other members of a community, it was necessary for the proxenos to be someone who could get things accomplished. As a result, the most logical proxy recipients were rich men, who probably had substantial influence within a community to expedite their tasks. In addition, rich men had enough money to feed and house visiting foreigners.¹⁴ The duties of the proxenos himself were not listed in the decree nor was there any other formal written statement outlining his duties. Perhaps the duties were so embedded in the tradition of the institution that no written statement was considered necessary.

In the state for which he was proxenos the proxy holder received special rights and privileges in return for his services. Since not every proxenos received every right or privilege available, and different states granted different rewards, it was essential to list in the decree those which were granted. Table 3 tabulates the rights and privileges from the entry on List V.

TABLE 3: RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO ROMAN/ITALIAN PROXENOI¹⁵

Amount	List No.	Right or Privilege	Translation
15	V.4, 7, 8, 9,10, 11, 20a, 21, (22), 25, 31, 38, (45, 46, 49)	1. Εὐεργέτης	- Title of. Benefactor

() = already proxenoi and euergetai at time of present decree.

Amount	List No.	Right or Privilege	Translation
12	V.3, 14, 20a, 27, 32, 33, 34, 36, 42, 44, 51, 52.	2. Προμαντεία	- Precedence in consulting an oracle (sanctuaries only).
11	V.3, 14, 20a, 27, 33, 34, 38, 42, 44, 49, 51.	3. Προεδρία	- Right to sit in the front rows of seats at theatrical performances and games.
10	V.3, 14, 20a, 27, 33, 34, 42, 44, 51, 52.	4. Προδικία	- Priority in seeking justice.
3	V.9, 11, 38.	5. Πρόσοδον	- Right to present oneself to the tribunal without an intermediary.
13	V. 3, 12, 14, 20a, 25, 27, 32, 33, 34, 42, 44, 51, 52.	6. Ἀσυλία	- Guarantee against seizure in war and peace.
12	V.3, 12, 14, 20a, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34, 42, 44, 52.	7. Ἀτέλεια	- Tax exemption.
2	V.14, 27.	8. Θεωροδοκία	- Reception of sacred ambassadors (sanctuaries only).
11	V.4, 25, 38, 41, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62.	9. Πολιτεία	- Citizenship.
6	V.13, 25, 26 30, 31, 32.	10. Ἀσφάλεια	- Personal security.
14	V.4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38.	11. Ἑνκτησις	- Right to own property and houses.

Amount	List No.	Right or Privilege	Translation
8	V.3, 4, 11, 22, 24, 34, 38, 60.	12. Στέφανος	- Crown.
1	V.34	13. Ἴσοπολιτεία	- Equality in civic rights.
1	V.13.	14. Ἐπινομία	- Right of pasturage.
2	V.12, 30.	15. Ἐπιγαμία	- Right to marry a woman from the community.
1	I.18	16. Εἰσπλους Ἔκπλους	- Right to have entrance and exit from a harbor.

In the seventh through fifth centuries B.C. the proxeny was rarely granted and it was considered as a valuable award. However, in subsequent years, not only was proxeny granted more frequently but more privileges were included. Both the frequency with which the award was granted and the addition of privileges may have devalued the status of proxenos from a position with actual duties to that of honorific title. For the decrees of the later period (late Hellenistic-Roman), it is questionable whether the honoree knew he had duties to assume when he accepted the title.¹⁶ On the other hand, whenever he was present in the state for which he was proxenos, he undoubtedly took advantage of the rights and privileges granted him. Famous statesmen and generals such as Flamininus or Aemilius Paullus who were well informed about Greek culture doubtless knew what duties were involved, but would hardly have expected to perform the duties on a daily basis unless they had established a patron-client relationship with a particular Greek.

Many of the privileges granted a proxenos (and often his offspring)

had immediate advantage for him when he visited the state for which he was proxenos. Promanteia, proedria, prodikia, and prosodon gave an honoree priority in consulting an oracle or local administration, and front row seating at games and festivals. Asylla and asphaleia gave the recipient security in time of war or other troubles. Ateleia, eisplous and ekplous gave him commercial advantages. The latter rights – right to sail in and out of a harbor – were not granted to any Romans in a proxyeny decree but were granted to a Roman in an honorific decree – C. Apustius, at Abdera (cf. "Stephanos" section of this chapter). A Roman visitor could easily use any of these rights. These privileges brought tangible, useful advantages to the recipient, because the position of proxenos required potentially real obligations. In addition, the proxyeny status always enjoyed an honorific character,¹⁷ since it conferred on the recipient a special position in the community. However, it is difficult to imagine that many Roman proxenoi took advantage of rights and privileges implying a permanent life in Greece: politeia, enktesis, epinomia and epigamia. The following is a discussion of those rights and privileges which require some explanation.

Euergetes (Benefactor).

The title of Benefactor was usually granted along with the proxyeny. The title indicated that the recipient had already done things to benefit the community in question. He probably listed these benefactions if he had applied for the award of proxyeny or for that of euergetes which itself could be granted by a separate decree.¹⁸ In the present collection of Roman proxenoi the following statistics emerge. In the second century B.C., of

the fifty-four proxenoi (List V.1-40) ten were directly granted the title euergetes along with the status of proxenos through the phrase ...εἶναι αὐτὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέταν... (List V.4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 20a, 21, 25, 31, 38). Eight men (List V.3, 14, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 36) were not granted the title directly, but it was implied in formulae such as (ἔδωκαν) πάντων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾷ πόλιος.

In the first century B.C., of the twenty-two proxenoi, four were made euergetai directly (List V.45, 46, 49a & b), and three have the title implied from the formula (List V.42, 51, 53). Through the formula, the granting state gave the honoree the honors granted to other proxenoi and euergetai, in addition to specific rights and privileges noted in the decree. Such formulae indicate that proxenoi and euergetai shared some of the same benefits.

However, euergetai were eligible for special benefits not open to those without the title. Indeed, the title euergetes probably conferred considerable prestige in the honoree's home community, first, because it was one used for gods and heroes; second, because it may have qualified the honoree for certain cult honors in the awarding state, e.g. races named in his honor (cf. Section III of this chapter).

Politeia (Citizenship)

Only three citizenship grants to Romans were given specifically by citizenship decrees. The first is IG IX 2 1 from Heracleia Trachiniae in Thessaly to Sex. Cornelius M.f. dating to the beginning of the first century. Along with the citizenship, Sex. Cornelius also received enktesis, a useful grant if Sextus planned to stay in the region. The second decree, dating

sometime after the mid-first century B.C., was to Q. Munatius Maximus, a centurion, and his offspring in Gortyn (IC IV 220). Maximus is the only known low-ranking Roman military official to receive citizenship from a Greek city. He may have been a Roman soldier who settled in Crete after the wars against the Cretan pirates fought in the first century, cf. Chapter V. The third inscription was also from Gortyn, to Cn. Octavius Cn.f. Votiria Laicus (IC IV 221 C), who seems to have been a civilian.

The remaining citizenship grants were given along with the proxeny decree. Although the combination of proxeny and citizenship was never granted in Athens, it occurred frequently in other areas.¹⁹ Thus the fact that Romans were given both grants was not unusual.

If both proxeny and citizenship were truly functional, they could not have been granted together, for they would have been mutually exclusive. A man granted proxeny in a city could not be a citizen of that city and still be proxenos. As citizen of the city he was expected to live there, not in his former home. Hence he would not have been available to perform the duties expected of him as proxenos in his former home city. Two factors explain the anomaly of the joint issuance. First, when granted together citizenship and proxeny were potential rather than active rights. The recipient then chose to activate one and retained the title of the other. Second, as the practical aspects of proxeny disappeared and proxeny became more honorific in character, the anomaly of granting proxeny and citizenship together also faded.²⁰ Third, the nature of citizenship granted to foreigners changed with time. In the fifth century B.C. granting citizenship was uncommon in Greece. The practice increased gradually in the fourth century, becoming very common by the

second and first centuries.²¹ By the end of the second century, wealthy foreigners could easily purchase Athenian citizenship.²² However, citizenship so readily available was not as highly esteemed as it once had been. The fact that so few Romans enjoyed citizenship in Greek states, as recorded in the extant decrees, may be indicative of its debased value.

Another example supports the argument that Greek citizenship was no longer as valuable as it once had been. T. Pomponius Atticus lived in Athens about twenty years (c. 86–65 B.C.) before returning to Rome. While in Athens, Pomponius aided the citizens of his adopted city,²³ and because of his love for Athens he took on the cognomen "Atticus". Grateful for Atticus' aid, the Athenians offered him citizenship, which he refused. By accepting the offer, he could have lost his Roman citizenship, which he valued more than the now devalued Athenian citizenship.²⁴ Atticus' example illustrates that at the same time that the importance of Athenian citizenship was declining, the value of Roman citizenship was growing. Roman citizenship in the first century was as highly prized as Athenian citizenship had been in the fifth. Perhaps a sign of its value is the fact that Roman citizenship was not awarded to many Eastern Greeks until late in the Republic.²⁵

Other Roman citizens, like Atticus, may have refused citizenship in Greek states, taking proxeny status instead. Many of the rights and privileges granted along with the proxeny could help visiting Romans resolve some troublesome problems – i.e., prosodon, ateleia, eisplous, ekplous.²⁶ Proxeny with its accompanying privileges gave Romans the necessary advantages without posing a threat to their Roman citizenship.

By the middle of the first century B.C. conditions had changed

sufficiently so that dual citizenship was acceptable in some instances. This can be seen from the grants of proxeny and citizenship to Romans at Gortyn, Crete and by the presence of Romans in Athens possessing Athenian citizenship. Nine grants of proxeny and citizenship to Romans in Gortyn date from the late first century B.C. In 67 B.C. Crete may have become a Roman province²⁷ with Gortyn as the capital. That Gortyn granted its citizenship to Romans may indicate that Rome allowed a certain amount of political autonomy in her provinces and no longer disenfranchised those citizens who accepted citizenship in states under her control.

Even in areas not completely under Roman control Rome may have tolerated Greek citizenship for certain Romans. Cicero in pro Balbo 12.30 records that at that time (56 B.C.) Romans who were participating in activities lived in Athens (not then a Roman province), which implied that they had acquired Athenian citizenship (acting as judges, or sitting as a member of a tribe in the Areopagus): "...vidi egomet nonnullos....homines nostros cives Athenis in numero iudicum atque Areopagitarum certa tribu, certo numero..." As Osborne suggests, these men were probably Italian negotiatores who had acquired Athenian citizenship as a convenience to aid them in expediting their commercial ventures in the Aegean.²⁸ Individuals with citizenship both in a Greek state and in Rome provided an impetus to the further development of the dual citizenship found throughout the Roman world in the Imperial period.²⁹

Enktesis (Right to own land and houses)

This right was granted to twelve known Romans³⁰ and two Italians³¹ as part of the rights and privileges of a proxeny decree. There is also an instance of enktesis granted along with a decree of citizenship – to Sex. Cornelius M.f. IG IX 1 I.9 dating to the beginning of the first century from Heracleia Trachiniae, Thessaly.

Enktesis was an honor at first awarded infrequently,³² but by the second century it became a privilege granted to almost all proxenoi.³³ From existing records we know that fourteen of the thirty-eight Romans/Italians given proxeny in the second century were also given enktesis, (cf. List of Rights and Privileges, no. 11). It is interesting to note, however, that in the first century the practice may have declined. None of the Roman proxenoi of that period also received enktesis. Indeed, only one Roman (the one named in IG IX 2 1 – not a proxenos) received enktesis in the first century.

Epinomia (Right of pasturage)

Pasturage rights naturally would be awarded only to someone who planned to stay in the area for an extended period of time. The only Roman granted this right, Sextus Orfidienus, was also granted the right to own land in the same area, Chyretiae (List V.13). He served under M. Baebius Tamphilus in Thessaly and was in charge of Chyretiae as prefect in 191 B.C.³⁴ These responsibilities no doubt entailed an extensive official stay for him and his staff, so the right to pasture animals on Chyretian territory would have been useful.

Epigamia (Right to marry a local woman)

The grant of epigamia apparently went to civilians: a Quintius T.f. at Larissa in 191 (List V.12) and the Flavii, father and son, at Gonnos (List V.30a & b) in the first half of the second century B.C. These men may have been former soldiers who decided to remain in Greece, or possibly they had been Italian camp-followers or even traders. Perhaps they married local women and settled in Greece or took their wives back to Italy. Gschnitzer points out that epigamia was a rare grant in any case. He gives only two examples – one is the example from Gonnos, the other was to a non-Roman in a decree of Kotyra in Laconia (IG V 961, I.13), but Gschnitzer seems to have overlooked the example from Larissa.³⁵

Theorodokia (Reception of sacred ambassadors)

This privilege was granted only twice (List V.14, 27) to Romans or Italians. Those who received the grant of theorodokia were known as theorodokol. These officials took charge of hospitably receiving theoroi (sacred ambassadors) from other states during festivals, and also traveled to other states to announce forthcoming festivals. Theorodokol were selected either by the host community from citizens of foreign states or by a state from its own citizens.³⁶ This award could occur either in conjunction with a proxeny decree or as a separate decree.

Among known Roman proxenoi only one is attested as having been given the right of theorodokia – the honoree (possibly M' Acilius Glabrio) of SIG³ 608 at Delphi (List V.14). In addition, an Italian had been awarded this right at the same sanctuary, L. Hortensius from Brundisium (List V.27). Since these two grants were early (191 and 189 B.C.), the

honorees may actually have had some functions as theorodokoi. Perhaps these men had performed some particular service for the sanctuary and thus received the awards.

Stephanos (Crown)

Before the Romans came to Greece, the award of a crown was common for various kinds of activities. Crowns of leaves were a type of prize for athletic contests. The kind of crown awarded varied from sanctuary to sanctuary according to the plant favored by the resident deity or hero: e.g., Delphi – laurel for Apollo; Nemea – wild celery or parsley for Opheltes; Isthmia – pine or wild celery for Poseidon or Palaemon.³⁷ Athenians also used gold or olive crowns as civic awards for certain groups or individuals, for example, for the ephebes (cf. IG II² 3210, 296–5 B.C.) or for men who had successfully completed a term in public office.³⁸ The civic bodies of other cities also awarded crowns for services rendered.³⁹

Crowns awarded as civic honors were represented on the same stone as the decree recording the award. They were either carved in relief or painted around the name of the recipient.⁴⁰ As far as is known, the only crown decrees for a Roman which depict the crown on the same stone are those for Scipio Africanus (List V.22),⁴¹ and on a proxeny decree for a Sicilian with Roman citizenship (List V.3). In the latter case a crown was inscribed on the decree but there was no mention of the crown in the decree itself.

States awarded crowns to citizens and foreigners in gratitude for benefactions or meritorious actions. These awards were granted alone or

in conjunction with grants of proxeny. It is in the latter connection that many of the crowns granted to Romans occurred and, following Greek tradition, the type of crown varied from state to state (List V.4 – gold; 11 – laurel; 22 – laurel; 23 – laurel; 24 – olive; 34 – Pythian; 38 – olive; 60 – gold).⁴² Seven Roman or Italian recipients of crowns received the award through separate decrees authorizing both crowns and awards normally associated with the proxeny. Rarely was the crown awarded separately (cf. below, a and b). The decree awarding a crown to Scipio Africanus states that he had already been named proxenos and euergetes of Delos (List V.22).⁴³ Some Romans were awarded crowns in addition to statues, and sometimes in addition to honors normally associated with the proxeny but without the proxeny itself, cf. Table 4.

TABLE 4: CROWNS GRANTED ROMANS/ITALIANS SEPARATE FROM PROXENY

a.	Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard <u>BCH</u> 37(1913) 124f., no. 2	Abdera	post 189 (?166 or 146)	M. Vallius M.f.	Gold crown
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Other awards: Praise, access to council and people after sacrifices, proedreia, proclamation of the honors.

b.	<u>ID</u> 461 Aa, II.82-3	Delos	171	L. Hortensius	Crown
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No other awards

c.	Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard <u>BCH</u> 37(1913) 125f., no. 3, II. 2-24f. cf. M. Holleaux <u>BCH</u> 38(1914) 65, II. 25f. for partial, improved text.	Abdera	?168	P. Apustlus C.f. (?M. Apustlus)	Gold crown
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Additional honors: praise, proedria at Games of Dionysos, public announcement of the honors.⁴⁴

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| d. | Ch. Avezou,
Ch. Picard
<u>BCH</u> 37(1913)
125f., no. 3
II.1-24, 28-end
full text
cf. M. Holleaux
<u>BCH</u> 38(1914)
II.12-38, 41-43
for partial, improved text. | Abdera | ?168 | C. Apustius | Gold
crown |
|----|--|--------|------|-------------|---------------|

C. Apustius was apparently the father of P. Apustius (c. above).

Gaius was awarded praise, which was to be publicly announced, a bronze statue, and many honors ordinarily associated with the grant of proxeny: politeia, eisplous, ekplous, asylia, aspondeia, ephodos to the boule and the demos first after public sacrifices (prosodon). Both Apustii will be discussed in greater detail in the historical commentary on the statues (Chapter III - cf. List I.18).

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| e. | ID 1520 =
M. Tod, <u>JHS</u>
54(1934)141-3
143-159 for
translation and
commentary | Delos:
<u>Koinon</u> of
Poseidonians
of Berytus | 140's | M. Minatius
Sex.f. | Gold
crown |
|----|--|--|-------|-----------------------|---------------|

This is the only example of a crown awarded to a Roman by a private group. Minatius, as a member of the koinon, gave the group such substantial benefactions that his rewards were concomitantly great and included a statue. Minatius' deeds will be discussed further in the historical commentary (Chapter IV, List I. 36) and his other honors listed in the discussion of "Cult Honors" (section III.B of this chapter).

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------|-----|---------------|----------------|
| f. | <u>SIG</u> ³ 700 | Letae | 117 | M. Annus P.f. | Olive
crown |
|----|-----------------------------|-------|-----|---------------|----------------|

M. Annus was named benefactor of Letae and received a crown as well. In addition he was to be honored along with other benefactors at

horse races held in their honor. More details will be given about Annlus in Chapter IV. (List I.41 – Sextus Pompeius).

g.	A. Plassart	Thespieae	98–	Q. Braetius	Gold
	<u>Mélanges</u>		87	Sura	crown
	<u>Picard</u>				
	p. 830 no.11				

In addition to a gold crown, Braetius also received a statue. Further information concerning Braetius' actions can be found in the historical commentary to List I.93 (Chapter V).

One other crown granted to a Roman is known, but only from literary sources. Both Livy and Polybius state that the Ambracians gave a crown to M. Fulvius Nobilior after the city had surrendered to him in 189 B.C.⁴⁵ Fulvius also possessed gold crowns weighing 200 pounds which he displayed in his triumph over the Aetolians and Cephalaria.⁴⁶ Like the Ambracian crown, these may have been gifts from conquered cities, perhaps given more from fear and a desire to placate Nobilior than from a desire to honor him. Or, these crowns may have been booty from the war. No reference in Livy or Polybius states whether the Ambracian crown was also displayed in the triumph.⁴⁷ In view of Fulvius' harsh treatment of Ambracia (Polybius, 21.32.2–14), that crown surely was given to pacify the rampaging general.

It is interesting to note that all the crowns granted except the one at Gortyn date in the second to early first centuries B.C. Perhaps the expense of these awards made them economically impossible to give, or, as there are so many statues, perhaps the Greeks saw that the Romans preferred that award.

D. Proxeny Recipients

In her article "Honorary Statues in Ancient Greece," M.K. Welsh maintains that up to Roman times only great men were granted the honor of having a portrait statue erected for them. There were naturally more proxenies, crowns and honorary decrees than there were publicly erected statues.⁴⁸ Although she does not define them, the author presumably understands "great men" as political and military leaders, and "Roman times" as the end of the Republican period into the Empire.

Welsh's theory about the recipients of statues is substantiated by the present study. In both the second and first centuries B.C. the inscriptions from statue bases granted to Romans indicate that the honorees of statues were almost exclusively military personnel and many were political leaders (e.g., Flamininus, Glabrio, Q. Caecilius Metellus, Mummius, Q. Mucius Scaevola, Pompey, Caesar). On the other hand, while there were military and political leaders who were granted the proxeny status there were many civilians who also received that grant, particularly in the first century B.C. From List V one notes the following: third to second century - approximately sixteen proxenies were granted to military men, (List V. 74, 77, 13, 714, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 724, 25, 28, 33, 38, 40) and twenty-three to civilians, (List V.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 23, 26, 27, 30, 731, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 739, 41); in the first century - three proxenies to military, (List V.45, 46, 54) and eighteen to civilians, (List V.42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 752, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62).

Welsh's statement that more proxenies than statues were granted does not, however, fit the evidence for the honors paid to Romans. In the second century the known statue bases outnumber the proxeny grants:

seventy bases to fifty-four proxenies. In the first century the number of statue bases increases to 176 while only twenty-one proxenies are known. Possibly Romans (military persons in particular) were not impressed by being granted the status of proxenos of a Greek city. A statue by contrast was something tangible and visible. It was something the Romans understood, since they were accustomed to seeing portrait statues of their ancestors in their homes in Rome. Perhaps the ratio of military to civilian awards in the first century reflects the fact that Greeks themselves no longer considered the award of proxyeny an important one. If they had considered it important, they would have granted it to more Roman generals and other military people.

II. Patronage

The purpose of this section is to give a brief discussion of patronage and to compare patronage with proxyeny, to which it was distantly related. This will provide an opportunity to uncover possible ways in which the Greeks understood patronage, or at least the patronus. Examination of the term patron as a honorific title appearing on statue bases along with other honorific titles will continue in section III.

A. The Term Patron on Statue Base Inscriptions

Patronage was a distinctly Roman institution whose subtleties the Greeks may not have fully understood because no corresponding Greek institution existed. Since no Greek institution could exactly represent either the Roman institution itself or its members, the Greeks created a new word, πάτρων , for patronus.⁴⁹ The Greek term πάτρων , occurs on

thirty-three statue bases of Romans either in combination with the honorific title euergetes (List II.F) or alone (List II.G).

B. Definition and Discussion

The term patronus, patron, indicated one member of a two-party relationship comprising the institution of patronage. The other member was known as the cliens, client. Patronage was a personal arrangement between two private citizens or between a private citizen and a state. The relationship was based on the moral (and therefore extra-legal) concept of fides (faith).⁵⁰ Because it was a private agreement having an extra-legal base, no contracts were drawn up; rather, the relationship was arranged by verbal agreement.

In addition to fides the patron-client relationship was based on power and on protection. It was a relationship between people who were not equals in power, wealth, or social standing. The concept of power and protection in the relationship arose from the term pater (father) from which was derived the term patronus, (the dominant member of the relationship). In the early period of Rome's existence, a father as head of the family (pater familias) had the power of life or death over all family members, including slaves.⁵¹ The power of the patronus, on the other hand, was restricted, and did not include the power of life or death over his subordinates (the clientes). As the pater familias protected family members, so the patronus protected those in his care.

By the second and first centuries B.C. patron-client relationships could be established in several ways: 1. surrender 2. application, 3. manumission. Surrender involved the surrender of an enemy community to

a commanding officer. Application involved non-Romans or non-Roman communities seeking out a Roman citizen to act as protector or representative in political and legislative activities (a function similar to that of a proxenos in Greece); this applied whether the non-Roman lived in Rome or not. Manumission concerned a freed slave whose former owner became the ex-slave's patron.⁵²

Patronage-clientage by surrender demonstrates the power within patronage. The power of the general and his army brought a surrender. The general had the right to do what he wished with the fallen community. Yet, since the community had put itself into his hands and trust, he was morally bound not to misuse his power, and was thus not free to plunder a town which had surrendered.

Badian has shown that a community which surrendered to a Roman did not automatically become a client of the conqueror,⁵³ as is maintained by Harmand and Neuhauser.⁵⁴ Whether a surrendered community became a client rested in part on the nature of patronage as a private agreement, at least during the Republic. When a community surrendered to a Roman, the surrender was to him in his official capacity as representative of the Roman state, not to him as a private citizen. Hence, while acting in an official capacity, a commander could not immediately institute a patron-client relationship at the time of the surrender. The Roman official arranged a temporary relationship which could become permanent contingent on the approval of the Roman Senate. As the representative of the Roman state, a general could choose one of several temporary options for the disposition of the community: declare the community free, incorporate it into Roman territory, or enter into amicitia or other agreement with it.

Once official arrangements had been made, the Roman commander might privately arrange a patron-client relationship. As we shall see, it was precisely the private nature of the relationship which might have been a source of misunderstanding between Greeks and Romans.

In a careful study of the men for whom the title patron is attested on statue bases in Greece and Asia Minor, Harmand shows that patronage could be established by any promagistrate, not just by a commanding officer.⁵⁵ Of those designated as patrons on statue bases in Greece whose official title is also given, nine have a title of high command,⁵⁶ six have titles of lesser functions.⁵⁷ The remaining bases either do not state the honoree's office or the office is missing due to the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions. Harmand is thus correct in stating that any formal promagistracy could lead to patronage of a particular area.⁵⁸

As an example of a patron by conquest, Harmand cites Aemilius Paullus as patron of the Lusitanians, Ligurians, and Macedonians by right of his conquests of 189, 182 and 168.⁵⁹ Plutarch states that at Aemilius Paullus' funeral in Rome representatives of the Lusitanians, Ligurians, and Macedonians served as pallbearers. These men considered Aemilius Paullus the benefactor and savior of their respective countries because he had been kind to them at the time of the conquests and had looked after their interests afterward.⁶⁰ This was exactly the kind of protective action a patron was supposed to take for his clients. Thus, Harmand assumed that a patron-client relationship had been arranged, although there is no direct reference to Paullus as patron in the Plutarch passage. There Paullus is euergetes and soter but not patron.⁶¹ Harmand may have read more into the passage than Plutarch intended and if Paullus was indeed patron of

the peoples mentioned, the patronage came about through his private negotiations, rather than by right of conquest. We will return to this passage when discussing the honorific title soter.

Of the statue bases with the word patron, one (List I.38; II.G.2) gives evidence of patronage by application. It is an inscription in the Heraion at Samos on a base to Gnaeus Domitius Cn.f. dated c. 129. In response to the Samian request for aid to the Artemis Tauropolis sanctuary, the Senate appointed Cn. Domitius as patron of Samos (cf. List II.G.2).⁶²

On a Samian statue base to a later Domitius (List II.F.17, 733-31 B.C.), the honoree is designated as patron because of an ancestor's patronage: I. 3 ...διὰ προγόνων η[άτρωνα].... Doubtless this referred to the man named patron of Samos in List II.G.2. Apparently Greeks understood the hereditary nature of patronage just as the Romans did. Thus to ensure future favor, Greeks set up statues to descendants of patrons as patrons themselves,⁶³ just as they extended the proxy to the descendants of a proxenos.

Among men noted as patrons on Greek statue bases, two men seem to have become patrons through the process of manumission. L. Aufidius was granted a statue by a man who may once have been his slave (List II.F.5). Because some of the donor's name is missing this remains a conjecture. Probably the donor was a Greek who took on his master's name after manumission. In the case of the donors of a statue to Q. Tullius Q.f. ...pus, the patron-freedman status is clear (List II.G.3). All three of the donors are recorded as Tullius' freedmen. They have taken their master's name as praenomen and nomen and each man used his Greek name for the cognomen, e.g., Q. Tullius Q.I. Aristarchos.

Both the statue base to Aufidius and the one to Tullius come from Delos where a number of Roman customs such as the relationship between former master and freedman had been adopted through the influence of the large Italian population. In no other part of Greece at this time is there a known statue base to a Roman recording the patron-client relationship established through manumission, perhaps because that Roman custom had not yet penetrated the rest of Greece.

C. Proxeny and Patronage Compared.

The institutions of proxeny and patronage show similarities and dissimilarities to one another. Proxeny, like patronage, was established between parties of unequal capabilities in power and protection. In proxeny the state had more power than the individual. The state also had superior resources in protection since it could guarantee an individual safety or freedom from actions of the state itself or of other states so long as the individual remained in the state where he was proxenos - i.e., freedom from taxes (ateleia), safety from seizure in war and peace (asylia), and personal security (asphaleia). In patronage, the patron had the superior capabilities in power and protection.

Both proxeny and patronage involved the mutual grants of benefactions or services between their members. Through proxeny, a state provided benefits to the individual who often had already performed a service for the state. The state both hoped for future benefactions (perhaps monetary) from the proxenos and expected him to perform the duties required of him on the state's behalf in his own home.⁶⁴

In patronage, a patron granted benefactions (food, land, money, and

legal counsel) and in return expected loyalty and favors from his client (helping elect the patron to public office or supporting the patron's political views).⁶⁵ The system of patronage emphasized the inequalities between men since the patron recognized and fostered his superiority over his clients. While the client could give favors useful to the patron, these favors were never thought equal to those the patron gave the client.

Because benefactions were inherent in both proxy and patronage, the term euergetes could be applied to proxenoi⁶⁶ and patrons.⁶⁷ In proxy, the more powerful member, the state, granted the title euergetes along with the title of proxenos to the weaker member, the individual, who had given the benefactions. When the euergetes title appeared in conjunction with patron on statue base inscriptions to Romans in Greece, as in the proxy, the titles were for individual (rather than state) benefactors. But in contrast to proxy, the weaker member, the cliens (often a state) granted the title to the stronger, the patronus (an individual representing a more powerful state – in this case, Rome).

Proxy differed from patronage in the following ways. First, proxy was never arranged between conqueror and conquered or between master and freedman. It could, however, be set up through the application of an individual to a state. One example of this arrangement is in List V.24 where L. Hortensius applied for the honor in Athens (IG² 907 II. 7f.). Second, proxy, was a public rather than a private institution, and this necessitated the drawing up of public documents (proxy decrees) to formalize the arrangement. As we have seen, no documents were drawn up between patron and client.

Because of the similarities between the two institutions, the Greeks

may have thought of a patron as a substitute for the proxenos. By the late second and first centuries B.C. the term proxenos had little meaning and importance beyond its significance as an honorary title,⁶⁸ and as a reward for benefactions given, but without actual expectation of future services.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, because the memory of the functions of proxenos remained in the minds of the Greeks, they awarded the proxeny status to several military Romans in hopes of Roman services for Greeks in Rome, (cf. List V.4, 6, 13, 14, 16-22, 24, 25, 28, 33, 38, 40, 45, 46, 54). While the system of proxeny had served Greeks well in the period before Roman intervention, a Roman proxenos was of little use to a Greek in Rome. Romans, not realizing that there were obligations attached to the status of proxenos, could not have performed the expected duties as proxenoi. Only if the Romans made the Greeks they met in Greece their clients would they aid the Greeks in Rome because they knew that aid from a patron was expected.

The history of patronage in Greece suggests that the Greeks began using the term patron as an honorific title and had no real conception of the ramifications of actual patronage. The first record of the word patron on Greek epigraphical texts dates from 166 B.C. (SIG³ 656) at Abdera. The king of Thrace threatened to incorporate the Teian colony of Abdera into his kingdom. Abdera looked to Rome for help but had no representative there to plead her case. Since Teos, the mother city, did have representatives in Rome, Teos sent ambassadors to seek aid for her colony. The ambassadors returned bringing back a document which designated as patron the Romans who helped Abdera win the case.⁷¹ Greeks may have considered that the Roman patrons had done no more

than what proxenoi would have done, and considered them as proxenoi.

Some twenty years later (146–140 B.C.) the first known occurrence of patron on a statue base to a Roman (List II.G.1) appears. As Greeks recognized that it was useful to accept Romans as patrons, they began to use the term patron on statue bases both as an honorific title like euergetes, soter, or ktistes (cf. section III.A of this chapter) and to note their relationship to these men. In the early period of contact with the Romans, the Greeks may have comprehended the term only as a substitute for proxenos and euergetes since, from the Greek vantage point, the patron provided the same services a proxenos would, i.e. assistance with government affairs in another state, as in the instance at Abdera. After long contact with Romans and Roman culture the Greeks eventually understood all the obligations involved in the patron–client relationship. By the Imperial period, the term patron and the institution of patronage had become so firmly established in Greece that it replaced the Greek institution of proxeny.⁷¹

The ready acceptance by the Greeks of the term patron may have engendered some problems between Greeks and Romans. Although the Greeks understood a patron as a functional substitute for the proxenos, before the time of Augustus, the Greeks did not understand their obligations to a patron. Romans understood that gratitude was a key element of patronage. Out of gratitude a client was obliged to do favors for his patron and to support him in political affairs. However, the Greeks perceived gratitude as something which could be shown through tangible rewards such as honorific statues, and proxeny grants. There were no strings attached to receiving benefactions, i.e. the recipient was not obliged

to follow the dictates of his benefactors. When one recalls the fierce pride Greeks had in their individual, independent city-states, it is understandable that the concept of moral obligations to a benefactor was unknown to them.

For the Romans gratitude entailed different responsibilities. Once a Roman aided someone, the recipient was in his debt and was obliged to carry out any reasonable wishes.⁷² For a Roman (especially a Roman official) in a foreign land any significant benefit to another could potentially constitute the beginning of a patron-client relationship if he so desired. Two factors become apparent: 1) even though the patron-client relationship was a private one, the Roman state was necessarily involved when its officials were aiding foreigners, and 2) Greeks did not realize that they were considered the junior partners in a relationship of stronger and weaker members.

We have seen that in the instances of patronage by surrender a Roman general did not automatically become the patron of a defeated community; that step was taken privately after formal negotiations defining the relationship of the defeated state to Rome. But although a Roman official may have set up a patron-client relationship as a private transaction, his status as representative of the Roman state affected the nature of the relationship. The Senate decided the fate of a conquered people, and if these people were allowed to be free, it was thanks to the Roman state, not to the man who carried out the orders. Even Flamininus as instigator of the "Freedom of Greece" policy could not have put the policy into effect without Senate approval. Although Flamininus received Greek honors (statues, proxeny, etc.) for that policy, Rome expected more.

Those states, which were not yet her provinces, yet with whom Rome had drawn up treaties or whom she had left free after conquest, Rome considered as obligated to her and owed her obedience because of their gratitude. In this respect, from the perspective of the Roman state, such peoples were Rome's clients.

Undoubtedly, the Romans expected their overseas "clients" to respond to them in approximately the same way as their clients at home. While that might not mean financial support from the overseas client, it surely meant supporting Rome's position on contested issues. The Greeks were probably unaware of this responsibility toward their patron since it was neither announced, nor written down, nor was it a concept familiar to them. Yet the Romans tacitly assumed that this aspect of the relationship was understood.

Rome, therefore, faced problems with Greeks after Flamininus' freedom of Greece proclamation of 196. The Romans granted the Greeks freedom from garrisons and tributes, abuses which had been associated with the royal domination of Philip V of Macedon. To the Romans, this freedom meant "freedom from a king", an important liberty to the Romans because of their own hatred of royal rule. To the Romans, the fact that they had left Greece free put the Greeks in a position of gratitude and bound them to the Romans with invisible moral bonds such as those which bound a client to a patron. Even though the Greeks were physically free (i.e., no troops or taxes), from the Roman viewpoint they were not free to do what they pleased if those actions conflicted with the dictates of Rome.⁷³ The Greeks, on the other hand, continued to see themselves as equals, or in some respects even superiors, to the Roman "barbarians" and believed they

could do as they wished without Roman intervention unless intervention was requested.⁷⁴

Philopoemen and the Achaeans typify the Greek failure to understand the need to acquiesce to Roman desires. In 191 the Achaeans were granted a treaty with Rome. But not understanding the full implications of the treaty, the Achaeans, under Philopoemen's leadership, began to act as Rome's equals, showing no inclination to obey Rome's warnings and advice.⁷⁵ Their independent attitude became apparent when Metellus unsuccessfully sought to appeal a decision of the Achaean League leaders.⁷⁶ The Romans considered this Achaean show of independence as ungrateful, perhaps even treacherous, and it may have been one of the factors leading to the Achaean-Roman War. The Romans won the war and, in vengeance, took 1,000 Achaean leaders as hostages to Rome in 167.

Thus, while high-ranking Romans were pleased to be honored by Greek cities and thanked for their services through statues, grants of proxy, crowns, etc., this type of gratitude was insufficient. Such honors expressed gratitude to individual Romans, but since most officials came to Greece as representatives of the Roman state, their actions on behalf of the state bound the Greek states to Rome. The only gratitude satisfactory to Rome was that expressed by heeding Roman dictates in state affairs.

III. Honorific Titles (List II) and Cult Honors

Of the 246 statue base inscriptions to Roman men and women, 91 record honorific titles for 56 men. Compared to the number of statues given, the honorific titles were less frequently given and they distinguished

the recipients from other Romans given statues. This section will identify and discuss the titles, the cult honors which were often associated with them, and the significance of the titles in relation to the recipients.

A. Honorific Titles

Σωτήρ, κτίστης, ευεργέτης and πάτρων were the titles (epithets) commonly awarded to Romans. The first three were old Greek epithets. The title πάτρων was a more recent title, used only after the Romans entered Greece.

The older titles applied to gods and heroes corresponding to the manner in which these beings had served humanity. Protective or saving powers were noted by soter, as in Zeus Soter or Athena Sotera.⁷⁷ A mythical founder of a city became ktistes, like Apollo Ktistes at Cyrene.⁷⁸ One who bestowed benefactions of a general nature became evergetes, like Apollo Evergetes.⁷⁹

These titles were also applied to living men, in particular to Hellenistic monarchs who had been deified (e.g., Ptolemy Soter; Antigonos and Demetrios Soteres). Because of their wealth and power, Hellenistic kings, almost like gods, could perform services beyond the capabilities of ordinary men. Thus these men merited comparison with the gods and were given divine titles or epithets. In later times when Rome entered the Greek world with her armies, Roman power replaced that of the Hellenistic monarchs. Although Rome had no single leader whom the Greeks could honor, her generals embodied Rome's collective power. These men became the recipients of the titles or epithets formerly applied to Hellenistic kings.⁸⁰ The titles evergetes and soter were the earliest known

honorific titles given to Romans: both were given to Flamininus in 198 and 195 B.C., respectively (List II.E.1, II.A.1).

Among the terms soter, ktistes and euergetes there was a hierarchy with soter the highest and euergetes the lowest.⁸¹ This hierarchy is reflected in the frequency of the titles and in their combinations with one another on statue base inscriptions. Soter appears in combination with euergetes twenty-eight times (List II.B)⁸² with euergetes and ktistes five times (List II.C), one time with ktistes (List II.D), and on its own nine times (List II.A). Ktistes never appears by itself but always in conjunction with soter, or soter and euergetes. The six instances of ktistes are all for Pompey. (List II.C, D; cf. Chapter V). The infrequency of the use of ktistes ranks it at least as high as soter, with which title it always appears. Both soter and ktistes were titles given to rulers or strong military leaders,⁸³ and were given out only by public bodies.

Patron appears with euergetes (List II.F) or by itself (List II.G). It resembles soter and ktistes because it also appears to have been given primarily to high ranking leaders,⁸⁴ and thus has the same rank as those two titles.

The title euergetes differs from its high ranking relatives in several ways. 1. The title was awarded to any benefactor whether public leader or private citizen.⁸⁵ 2. The title could be awarded both by private groups or individuals and by public bodies.⁸⁶ 3. The title could also be given to people awarded the status of proxenos.⁸⁷ 4. The title is a general one referring to any kind of benefaction given rather than to a specific type of benefaction (i.e., saving, founding ,or protecting). However, anyone who performed specific tasks earning the award of soter or ktistes had done a

benefaction and hence the recipient of either title might also be called euergetes. It is not surprising that the more generally applicable title, euergetes, is found on the majority of bases where honorific titles occur.⁸⁸

The frequency with which the same titles were given to the same powerful men in the mid-first century is noteworthy: soter eight times (List II.A.8, 9; B.16-21); Pompey - soter sixteen times (List II.A.2-7, B.12-15, C, D); Pompey - ktistes six times (List II.C, D); L. Calpurnius Piso - patron three times (List II.G.8-10). Certainly the inflated use of these titles corresponded to the power these men (Caesar and Pompey in particular) were acquiring in the East at the time. Yet frequent usage must have diminished the significance of the titles as honors in the minds of the givers,⁸⁹ just as overuse had diminished the value of the proxeny in their minds.

The heroic title of soter may have been the first title Greeks gave Roman patroni. We have seen how Harmand deduced Aemilius Paullus' patronage of the Ligurians, Lusitanians and Macedonians although Paullus was called soter and euergetes rather than patron.⁹⁰ To the Greek-speaking world a man who had protected someone was entitled to be called soter, while for the Romans such a man was a patronus. Those peoples not yet familiar with the Roman word would have applied their own term to hail such a man as Paullus. Indeed, it was not until after Rome became more firmly entrenched in Greece that the title patron occurs on statue base inscriptions.

The title πάτωρ is the Greek transliteration of the Latin patronus. The Greeks recognized the word as one that had no equivalent in their own world, hence the transliteration instead of translation.⁹¹ Evidently the

Greeks understood the protective element of the patron-client system because in literature patronus was occasionally translated as prostates, meaning "protector" or "guardian."⁹² If this had been the only way Greeks perceived the term patronus, they would not have transliterated it in inscriptions but would have used prostates in all cases.

The title πατρων was given only to Romans and it appeared regularly only after Roman power began to be firmly established in Greece, i.e., after the Romans defeated the pretender to the Macedonian throne, Andriscus (146 B.C.). In contrast with soter, ktistes and euergetes, the title patron was not applied first to gods and then to mortals, but was given only to mortals. In the Greek world the title implied that patronage had been established only when it was used on statue bases when the statue was given to a former master by a freedman, (List II.F.5, II.G.3), or when the title was given by Italians, (List II.G.15), cf. section II of this chapter.

The Greeks apparently considered those men patrones who were benefactors chosen for specific tasks. For example, the Samians requested the Senate to send them someone to aid them in affairs of the temple of Athena Tauropolos (List II.G.2). That man was duly called patron: IGR IV

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Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων Γναίων Δομέτιον
Γναίου υἱόν, τοῦ δοθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς
συνκλήτου πάτρωνος τῷ δήμῳ,
ὑπὲρ τε τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος
τῆς Ταυροπόλου, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν
τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν, Ἡρηι.

B. Cult Honors

Cult honors were occasionally given to those awarded honorific titles or epithets. While linked to the worship of divine and semi-divine beings,

honorific titles in themselves were not an indication that a living human was considered a god.⁹³ Even cult honors such as games, festivals, and altars did not assure a mortal a place among the gods since these accoutrements were also found in the veneration of heroes;⁹⁴ at most these honors assured a mortal's position among the heroes. The distinction between gods and heroes is clear by definition – gods were immortals who had never been human. Heroes were deceased mortals who were venerated because of strange circumstances surrounding their deaths.⁹⁵ Gods were worshipped by day at temples, and they had songs (paeans) sung in their honor. Heroes were worshipped at night at their tomb sites where a small temple or shrine had been built.⁹⁶ The main distinction between worship of a god and that of a hero seems to have been the paean; no paeans were sung to honor a hero.⁹⁷

Awarding cult honors to a living mortal became a common practice after the death of Alexander the Great, and most noticeably cult honors were given to Hellenistic kings.⁹⁸ Men so honored were identified as heroes and were revered as gods only when they were so designated in inscriptions.⁹⁹

Hellenistic kings bequeathed honorific titles, cult honors, occasional deification, and other legacies to Roman generals. Recipients of the titles soter, ktistes, and euergetes had the possibility of receiving cult honors.¹⁰⁰ Those designated patron apparently were not considered eligible – at least there is no record of cult honors for patrones in second to first centuries B.C. Greece. Probably the non-Greek term was in no way linked to gods or heroes. Thus, a patron could not have been a part of traditional Greek religious ceremonies. A review of the Romans who received any of

the three Greek titles reveals the following: 1. Greeks honored few Romans with cult honors which included festivals; 2. Greeks honored euergetai in a manner different from that in which they honored soteres or ktistai; and 3. Flamininus and Caesar received the highest honors of those Romans who received honorific titles or cult honors, but their honors differed. The following elaborates these points.

1. Romans Receiving Festivals In Their Honor.

Few Romans received cult honors even if they had received honorific titles. The most frequent cult honor granted was a festival named for the honoree. Only seven Romans received cult honors including a festival in Greece: T. Flamininus, Q. Mucius Scaevola, M. Minatius Sex.f., Sulla, Pompey, M. Antony, and M. Junius Silanus. Each honoree may have had other cult honors in addition to the festival, which will be noted where they are applicable. The following were honored by public institutions: (M. Minatius Sex.f. was honored by a private group and will be treated along with the discussion of euergetai).

a. Flamininus had two festivals – one at Gythelon,¹⁰¹ where he had also been called soter (List II.A.1), and another at Argos.¹⁰² As we shall see, Flamininus received even further honors.

b. Q. Mucius Scaevola was governor of the Roman province of Asia in the early first century. His management of the province was so exemplary that it became a model for other Roman governors. He was noted for his unselfishness and for protecting provincials from overly greedy tax farmers.¹⁰³ To recognize his virtues the residents of Asia established a quinquennial festival called the Mouktelea held in conjunction

with a Sotireia festival. That the Moukleia was still celebrated in 42 B.C. testified to the sincerity of the provincials' feelings toward their former governor.¹⁰⁴ In Olympia a statue of Scaevola whose base recorded him as soter and euergetes referred to the festival.¹⁰⁵ The degree to which provincials esteemed Muclius is further emphasized by two facts: 1. Muclius' statue was donated not by just one city in Asia but by both the demoi in Asia and the rural tribal areas (ethne); 2. the statue was erected in an international sanctuary rather than in Asia proper so that people other than those in Asia could see how Scaevola had been honored.¹⁰⁶

c. Athens honored Sulla with a festival which included sacrifices, as is known from IG II² 1039, l. 57 ...ἔθουσεν δὲ καὶ τὰ συλλεῖ[α]. Raubitschek has suggested that the festival, the Sylleia, was a temporary one, merely a renaming of the Thesela during the period of Sulla's dictatorship. Raubitschek bases his conclusion on the fact that, like the Thesela, the Sylleia had torch races and dedications of herms by winning ephebes.¹⁰⁷ Also, whereas one festival occurs in the victory dedications, the other does not. Sulla had returned control of the Islands Lemnos, Skyros and Delos to Athens and had thus partially restored Athens' former power. Evidently, the Athenians equated Sulla's action with some of those of Theseus, founder of Athens, since the Athenians put Sulla in the category of "Second Founder" and honored him as ktistes.¹⁰⁸

d. Pompey was awarded still other kinds of honors. He was hailed as ktistes, soter and euergetes of Mytilene many times over. He had returned the status of "free state" to that city in 62 B.C., an action which rightfully earned him the title of "Founder."¹⁰⁹ Because one of the inscriptions in Pompey's honor was inscribed on a small marble altar (List

I.137, II.C.2), apparently there were sacrifices to him. The inhabitants of Mytilene also renamed a month after Pompey.¹¹⁰

Perhaps the most interesting of Pompey's honors at Mytilene was the festival held in his honor when he arrived on the island, and at which literary contests took place where the subject was Pompey's military victories.¹¹¹ Theophanes, a native of Mytilene, arranged the festival, perhaps before Pompey decided to return the city to free status. Hence, it is possible that Theophanes intended the festival to flatter the visiting general in the hopes that Pompey would change Mytilene's status. After the festival, Pompey made the city free again, the city declared him ktistes, and later set up statues of him recording the new title. Although there is no evidence that the festival became an annual event after Pompey left the island, as one might expect if it had been intended as an honor for the new ktistes of the city, nevertheless the statues and their inscriptions, and the month named for Pompey became the permanent reminders of his generosity.

Despite all these honors there is no indication that Pompey was called a "god," possibly because he forbade deification,¹¹² or the city did not think that step was necessary. After all, the city's real hero was Theophanes, who had drawn Pompey's attention to Mytilene's plight. Mytilene did not forget the efforts of her native son but deified him after his death,¹¹³ and named him "Founder" along with Pompey (cf. IG XII 2 163 B).¹¹⁴

Cult honors to Pompey are found in one other location. On Delos several private citizens banded together to form the association of Pompelasts in Pompey's honor. They and the Athenians on the island

erected a statue of Pompey (List I.133), but little else is known of the association's other activities. The members of the association were probably involved in trade and were thus grateful to Pompey for ridding the sea of pirates (cf. Chapter V, commentary to List I.132, 133).

e. When Antony visited Athens after the battle of Philippi, he increased Athens' domain by giving her control over several islands (Aigina, Keos, Ikos, Peparethos, and Skiathos), and he restored power to the oligarchy. Although there are no known records that Antony received any honors in 42 B.C., he and Octavia were rewarded during their stay in the city in 39/8 B.C. When Athens named them theoi euergetai, it called Antony the New Dionysos and hailed Octavia as Athena Pollas. Later Athens, to accommodate Antony, may have called Cleopatra the New Isis. Athens celebrated rites to Antony in his role as New Dionysos, and ephebes participated in games of the Panathenaic Antonela (cf. IG II² 1043, II. 22f.).¹¹⁵ All these honors proved temporary. Once Octavian came to power, Athens prudently discontinued the Antonela and conveniently forgot her recently named deities.

f. IG IX 916, I.49 records a priest for M. Junius Silanus. Silanus had been quaestor proconsule in 34–32 B.C. (MRR II.557) and had received at least two statues in Greece (List I.225, 226 – Athens, Thespiæ) and his wife, Crispina received one (List I.227 – Thespiæ). One of the statues Silanus received was given to him by several groups of Greek peoples including the Euboeans (List I.225). Although there are no records of other awards to Silanus, the priesthood in the Euboean city of Chalkis indicates that he had been deified there. We have no record of Silanus' actions in that area but they must have been remarkable to have earned

him such high honors.

2. Cult Honors for Euergetai.

a. There are seven examples of private citizens who were awarded the euergetes title - List II.B.25; II.E.5; II.E.6; II.E.11; II.E.15; II.F.11 The Poseidonlasts of Berytus granted the title to two men - to M. Minatius Sex.f., one of their members (List II.E.5), and to Cn. Octavius (List II.E.9). The award to Minatius is the most interesting because he received honors nearly equalling honors given to those who had earned higher titles. He received praise, a statue placed in the courtyard of the Poseidonlasts' meeting place or elsewhere, a painted portrait, a seat at the Poseideia next to the Sacrificer, a front seat (proedria) at the other meetings of the group, a day to be celebrated in his honor following the Apollonia festival to which he might bring two guests, a gold crown, announcement of the crown at the Poseideia, announcement of the crown on the day celebrated in his honor, announcement of the crown at monthly meetings, one guest at the procession, exemption from the duties and expenses of the club, and an ox to be led in his honor at the Apollonia procession with an inscribed banner on the ox saying it was in his honor, placement of the decree on a stone stele, and erection of the stele in the courtyard, paid for by the treasurer of the Poseidonlasts. Minatius had given the association a considerable amount of money to help build the Poseidonlast Club house,¹¹⁶ so the honors he received were concomitantly great. Although he received no festival in his honor, such as was sometimes given soteres or ktistai, the celebration of a day in his honor was an award of almost equal prestige. Undoubtedly, the awards he received were

about all a man could receive from a private group.

b. As previously mentioned there was a hierarchy of honorific titles: soter and ktistes ranked higher than euergetes. If Greek public bodies also awarded cult honors to a recipient of an honorific title, they selected honors befitting the title. For the higher ranking titles, festivals, sometimes with games, were named in honor of specific individuals. Such were the games for Flamininus at Gythelon and Argos or the Moukleia for Mucius Scaevola in Asia.¹¹⁷

Euergetai were also honored with festivals but not the privilege of a specific festival named in their honor. Rather, cities apparently honored all their euergetai together at one event. An example of this kind of festival appears in a decree naming M. Annius as benefactor of Letae, Macedonia in 117 BC. The city proposed to honor Annius at annual horse races in the month of Daisios when it sponsored games for its other benefactors: SIG³ 700 l. 39f.¹¹⁸

...τ[θεσαι αὐτῷ[ι/ ἀγ]ῶνα ἱππικὸν καθ' ἔτος ἐν τῷ
Δαισιῳ μηνί ὅταν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέ/ταις οἱ
ἀγῶνες ἐπιτελῶνται

At these general festivals, cities recognized specific men individually by naming certain events in their honor. After the games officials drew up victory lists for each event and included the name of the man in whose honor an event had taken place. The following is a victory list from a metope at Eretria:

Λευκίου [Μ]όμμιου
Στάδιον
Βιοτόκλης
Βιόττου

Ἀρτέμιδος
Στάδιον
Πύρρος
Ζωβίου

*Blottokles, son of Blottos won the stadium race honoring L. Mummius:

Pyrrhus, son of Zolus won the stadium race honoring Artemis". P. Themelis maintains that this inscription referred to L. Mummius, the sacker of Corinth.¹¹⁹ If Themelis is correct, this event was the only known event in Greece held in honor of the sacker of Corinth.

Since a city probably had several euergetai but few, if any, soteres or ktistai, it was more economical to honor all benefactors at one series of games rather than to establish individual festivals. Possibly private groups, such as the Poseidonists of Berytus at Delos, could afford to be more lavish for their benefactors, as has been seen in the awards to M. Minatius Sex.f.

3. Flamininus and Julius Caesar.

Flamininus and Julius Caesar received the highest awards from the Greeks, yet the kinds of awards each received were markedly different. The Greeks gave Caesar fourteen (or more) statues (List I.189-197, 200, 202-205). They awarded him the title soter eight times (List II.A.8, 9; B.16-21); euergetes at least twice in addition to the times when the title was awarded with the other titles (List II.B.16-21; E.20, 21; F.15), and patron at least twice (List II.F.15; G.13).¹²⁵ At least two communities hailed him "god" (Demetrias - List I.202, Kea - List I.203). Despite these titles, there is no record of any cult honors established for Caesar in Greece.

Flamininus, in contrast, received only eight statues (List I.1, 2, 4-8, 11, 12) of which only two hail him as soter (List II.A.1; B.1) and one as euergetes (List II.E.1). Despite the fewer statues for Flamininus, the Greeks overwhelmed him with an abundance of cult honors, but never directly named him a "god". Plutarch notes that in addition to being

named as Savior of Greece. Flamininus was honored in particular by the people of Chalkis. They wrote a paean hailing Roman fides and Flamininus as soter.¹²¹ perhaps viewing him as the embodiment of that Roman fides.

In addition to the paean, the people of Chalkis established a priesthood to Flamininus and dedicated a gymnasium to him and Herakles and a building called the Delphinion to him and Apollo.¹²² By placing Flamininus' name before that of the divinities the people of Chalkis may have given him additional honor. Flamininus is the only Roman from the Republican period for whom there is evidence that a building was erected in his honor. The fact that Flamininus was linked with Herakles and Apollo emphasized Chalkis' gratitude to him. Other parts of Euboea shared Chalkis' opinion. In Eretria a decree placed his statue in the temple of Artemis.¹²³ Flamininus is the only Roman general for whom there is testimony of sharing a temple with a god. All of these honors indicate that the people of Euboea considered Flamininus a god.

Flamininus enjoyed additional honors in other areas of Greece. In 195 B.C. he was allowed to preside over the Nemean Games at Argos.¹²⁴ He received crowns from the Greeks which he displayed in his triumph at Rome in 194 BC.¹²⁵ Flamininus' portrait appeared on an issue of gold staters from Macedonia. (Fig. 3a) and Flamininus was the only Roman to have this honor in Greece throughout the Republican period. The coin was probably not minted by the Greeks but by Romans who employed Greek artisans, possibly using the coin as pay for Roman soldiers, and honoring Flamininus' victory. This is deduced from the fact that Flamininus' name appears in Latin letters on the reverse of the coin. (Fig. 3b).¹²⁶

Since even Romans did not portray living men on coins at that time, Flamininus' honor is all the more remarkable.

It is clear that Greeks esteemed Flamininus more than Caesar. Caesar had more statues and honorific titles but no cult honors. Raubitschek surmises that the Greeks honored Caesar because they were told to do so by Caesar's Greek friend, Theopompus, as a response to the honors given Caesar in Rome after the Battle of Pharsalus.¹²⁷ The honors for Caesar reflected not an outpouring of true sentiment, but a response to political machinations. It is not surprising that there were no cult honors for Caesar.¹²⁸ E. Will comments that men called "gods" could not have been regarded in the same way as the Olympians.¹²⁹ Deified men must have held positions lower than the Olympians but higher than the heroes. Will refers to Hellenistic kings, but the statement seems to fit Caesar as well.

The differences in honors to Caesar and Flamininus may be due to the circumstances in which each man was active in Greece. Flamininus commanded an army to free Greece from Macedonian rule, and Rome was involved with Greek affairs as an ally rather than as a potential master. Thus, Flamininus' declaration of Greece's freedom was deemed a boon to Greece and elicited outpourings of genuine gratitude represented in the many "divine" honors given him. Caesar, however, fought for different reasons. While Flamininus had fought with Greeks against Macedonians and other Greeks to ensure Greek independence, Caesar fought with Romans against other Romans to assure his own position at Rome and in the world. The honors given him were granted at the instigation of his friend rather than on the voluntary initiative of Greek states. Thus it is

understandable that the awards to Caesar were less important than those given to Flamininus.

While the cult honors given from genuine appreciation of a Roman's efforts sometimes continued long after the honoree's departure (e.g., honors to Flamininus at Gytheon, honors to M. Scaevola in Asia), those given out of flattery were often temporary, lasting only so long as a particular commander was in the area (e.g., honors to Sulla, Pompey, Antony). These awards marking a man as semi-divine pointed the way toward the deification of Caesar and Augustus in Rome at the time of their death (note Octavian's title as "son of the god" on statue bases List I.235-238, 240-243) and the deification of the living Augustus in the East (cf. Octavian as theos on the Kean statue base List I.238).

Notes – Chapter II

- ¹ Italians: List V.3, 5, 15, 16, 26, 27.
- ² P. Monceaux, "Proxenia," Daremberg-Saglio IV p. 732.
M. Walbank, Athenian Proxenes of the Fifth Century B.C. (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, 1978), p. 4 notes that the first Athenian proxenes recorded on stone or bronze date from the late seventh to the early sixth centuries B.C.
- ³ F. Gschnitzer, "proxenos," RE Supplb. 13 (1973) 666.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 632.
- ⁵ M. Walbank, Athenian Proxenes, p. 2.
- ⁶ IG II² 907, II. 7f. for L. Hortensius = List V.24.
- ⁷ Monceaux, pp. 733f. F. Gschnitzer, 636.
- ⁸ List.V. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 42, 47, 50, 51, 53. (47 and 50 are fragmentary decrees in which proxeny was probably awarded).
- ⁹ List V.21, 28, 41, 54–62.
- ¹⁰ List V.1, (5, 6, 14–20, 23 = all on one list), 37.
- ¹¹ Cf. Chapter III, commentary to List I.9, 10 (Glabrio), and List I.11, 12 (Flamininus). For Gortyn cf. end of section I of this chapter.
- ¹² Gschnitzer 688. M. Walbank, Athenian Proxenes, pp. 10–23 for a catalogue of Vth century B.C. Athenian proxenes. Roughly one-half of the total number of proxenes granted also had a provision for the honoree's descendants.
- ¹³ Of the known decrees for Romans, the following have the provision: List V.7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 44, 54–62. The only proxeny decree for a Roman without the provision is List V.51 for T. Varienus Sablinus. The decree is in good condition and most of the expected elements are present, with only the closing formula missing. Perhaps Varienus had no descendants so this provision was deemed unnecessary.
- ¹⁴ Monceaux, p. 734. M. Walbank, Athenian Proxenes, p. 3.
- ¹⁵ This is a complete list of known privileges given to Romans. The list is compiled from extant proxeny decrees to Romans. These and other awards granted may be found in Monceaux, pp. 735, 738 and H. Bouvier, "Honneurs et recompenses à Delphes," ZPE 30 (1978), pp. 101f. The sequence of awards in the decrees varied from one period to the next.

Position within the text indicated order of importance: cf. Bouvler, pp. 106f. and my List V.

¹⁶ L. Harmand, Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques des origines au bas-empire, Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Clermont IIIème Série fasc. 2 (Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 1957), p. 63.

¹⁷ Gschnitzer, 659.

¹⁸ M. Walbank, Athenian Proxenes, p. 5. Plutarch Moralia cites three decrees for requests for statues from fourth and third century Athens. Two, (A' 850 F; B' 851 D), note that those applying for the award have earned it in part due to their benefactions. In each case the services are listed: e.g...εὐεργέτη καὶ συμβούλῳ γεγόντι πολλῶν καὶ τῶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν τε οὐσίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν.... In other decrees the services are absent cf., IG II² 907 (List V.24) Athens, for a Roman who may be L. Hortensius.

¹⁹ M.J. Osborne, "Attic Citizenship Decrees: A Note," BSA 67 (1972) 152.

²⁰ Ibid., and notes 94, 99. Cf. W.W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization (New York: New American Library, 1961), p. 84 on the potential nature of citizenship.

²¹ M.J. Osborne, "Honors for Sthorys (IG II² 17)," BSA 65 (1970) 168.

²² M.J. Osborne, "Athenian Grants of Citizenship," Ancient Society 7 (1976) 120, 123. Cf. Idem, BSA 67 (1972) 129-158 for a study of a change in the formula for granting citizenship in Athens. The change of formula reflects the change in the character of the grant.

²³ Cornelius Nepos, Atticus II.4, Atticus gave loans to the state without excessive interest; II.6, he distributed grain to the populace. For more on Atticus cf. Chapter III, commentary to List I.157.

²⁴ Cornelius Nepos, Atticus III.1, "...civemque facere studerent; quo beneficio ille uti noluit, quod nonnulli ita interpretantur eum noluisse amittere civitatem Romanam, alla ascita." Cf. also Cicero pro Balbo 30 for loss of Roman citizenship by accepting citizenship of another state "...cum ignorarent, si illam civitatem essent adepti hanc se perdidisse." Cf. A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 292.

²⁵ A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, pp. 291, 306-310. Pompey's friend, Theophanes of Mytilene, was one of the few Eastern Greeks granted Roman citizenship in the Late Republic. Cf. IG XII 2 150. Theophanes became Cn. Pompeius Ierota f. Theophanes. SIG³ 585, II. 279-281 (List V.23) records a proxeny to Nikanoros Menekrateos Romaios who may have been a native Greek or possibly a Sicilian as was Neon

son of Leon, Syracusan, Roman of SEG I 146 (List V.3).

26 Osborne, BSA 67 (1972) 152, n. 97.

27 There is no certain evidence that Crete became a Roman province before 27 B.C. when Crete and Cyrene together formed a province. Appian BC III.8 states that after the murder of Caesar, Brutus and Cassius were given charge of Crete and Cyrene. My thanks to Dr. Martha Baldwin of the University of California at Davis for drawing my attention to this point and for sending me a copy of Chapter I of her dissertation, "Fasti Cretae et Cyrenarum: Imperial Magistrates of Crete and Cyrenaica During the Julio-Claudian Period." University of Michigan, 1983.

28 Osborne, Ancient Society 7 (1976) 132.

29 Cf. J.H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia 11 (1942) 29f.

30 List V.4, 9, 13, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31 a & b, 32 a-c, 33, 38.

31 List V.26, 27.

32 For example, at Delphi enktesis was not awarded in the fourth century, and in the third only six times out of 282 proxeny awards; cf. Bouvier, ZPE 30 (1978) pp. 102-5. M. Walbank, Athenian Proxeny pp. 10-23, catalogue of fifth century B.C. Athenian proxeny decrees, enktesis awarded four times out of 94 proxenies. J. Pecirka, The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions, Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historia Monographia XV (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1966), p. 138, shows enktesis granted 34 times in the fourth century, four times in the fourth to third centuries, eight times in the third century, four times from the third century to the first half of the second.

33 Gschnitzer, 717.

34 T.R.S. Broughton, Magistrates of the Roman Republic I (1951; rpt. Cleveland, Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1968), p. 355.

35 Gschnitzer, 717.

36 Georg Busolt, Heinrich Swoboda, Griechische Staatsbunde, 2ter Teil, Darstellung einzelner Staaten und der zwischen staatlichen Beziehungen (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), p. 1250.

37 G. Hussey, "Greek Sculptured Crowns and Crown Inscriptions," in Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens I (1886-1890), (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1892), p. 137. Oscar Broneer, "The Isthmian Victory Crown," AJA 66 (1962) 259.

38 For an example of crowns awarded to the outgoing prytany and certain members of the prytany cf. Sterling Dow, Prytaneis, Hesperia, Suppl. 1 (1973) 3f.

39 Hussey, p. 139.

40 Ibid., p. 137. T.L. Shear, Jr., Kallias of Sphettos, Hesperia, Suppl. 17 (1978) 7, n. 3 notes that wreaths on Athenian decrees were generally painted until c. 125 B.C. For a discussion of inscribed crowns (wreaths) on Athenian decrees cf. S.V. Tracy, The Lettering of an Athenian Mason, Hesperia, Suppl. 15 (1975), pp. 101-109. Tracy (p. 108), notes that most inscribed crowns were painted gold.

41 M. Holleaux, BCH 28 (1904) pl. XII shows the crown on the left and on the right, a stick leaning diagonally to the left. The stick represented the derivation of the cognomen Scipio from scipio "staff" - Charlton Lewis, Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary (1879; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), s.v. "scipio" p. 1644.

42 The first editor of the inscription in List V.4, A.S. Arvanitopoulos, maintained that the honoree was Flamininus. B. Helly, Gonnoi I, p. 115, the most recent editor, states that while the honoree was probably not Flamininus, he was at least of consular rank. Flamininus certainly received crowns from Greek cities. Livy, 34.52.8 reports that in Flamininus' triumph at Rome in 194 B.C. among other items displayed on the third day of the procession were 114 gold crowns from the cities of Greece - "tertio die coronae aureae, donae civitatum, tralatae centum quattuordecim." Indeed, Flamininus had been near Gonnoi for his conference with Philip V at the mouth of the Tempe Vale - Polybius, 18.36.1; Livy, 33.13.1, 2. From this information it would not be surprising if Gonnoi had indeed given Flamininus a gold crown. Cf. Chapter III, commentary to List V.4.

43 F. Dürnbach, Choix des inscriptions de Délos, (Paris, 1921-22; rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1977), p. 83 postulates that the honors granted to Scipio were granted in 193 B.C. when he stopped at Delos on his way to Asia and left a gold crown as a votive offering (ID 442 B. I. 102). However, G. Colin (Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ, BEFAR no. 94 [Paris: Thorin, 1905], p. 267 n.1), may be more correct. Colin maintains that Scipio left the votive in 193 and was granted the proxeny at that time. On a second trip to Delos, perhaps when returning to Rome from the tour of duty in Asia, he was granted a crown.

44 Another decree awarded further honors to this man but the honors are unknown, cf. Ch. Avezou & Ch. Picard, "Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace," BCH 37 (1913) 127 no. 4; M. Holleaux, "Note sur deux décrets d'Abdère," BCH 38 (1914) 63 (= Etudes d'Épigraphie et d'histoire grecques, tome I, p. 277), for improved text.

45 Polybius, 21.30.10; 22.13.10; crown worth 150 talents. Livy, 38.9.13 states that the crown weighed 150 pounds. F.W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 86 notes that the crown was not necessarily a real crown. Rather, it was a gift of precious metal coined or uncoined which was given as a mark of homage.

46 Livy, 39.5.14.

- 47 Evan T. Sage, trans., Livy, vol. XI, Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 232, n.1.
- 48 Welsh, BSA 11 (1904-1905) 48.
- 49 H.J. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), p. 7. Translitterating Latin words for distinctly Roman institutions, such the priestly colleges, was not unusual – cf. List I.216, 233 where the Latin augur becomes Greek augor.
- 50 E. Badian, Foreign Clientelae (264-70 B.C.), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 10.
- 51 W. Neuhauser, Patronus und Orator, Commentationes Aenipontanae XIV (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1958), pp. 20, 22.
- 52 Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p. 6 and n. 1. Neuhauser, pp. 36f.
- 53 Badian, Foreign Clientelae, pp. 7-9.
- 54 Harmand, pp. 20f. Neuhauser, p. 43 for their view that a patron-client relationship was established between conquering general and conquered people at the very moment of surrender.
- 55 Harmand, pp. 36-48. Cf. Badian, Foreign Clientelae, pp. 157f.
- 56 List II.F.8 - αὐτοκράτορ
 II.F.14 - δικτάτορ ἀπο[δεδειγμένος τ]ὸ τρίτον
 II.F.15 - [ὑ]πατος [τε τὸ τρίτον] καὶ δικτάτορα ἀπο[δεδειγμένων τ]ὸ τρίτον
 II.G.1 - στρατηγός
 II.G.4 - στρατηγός ὑπατος
 II.G.9 - αὐτοκράτορ
 II.G.10 - ἀνθυπατος
 II.G.13 - αὐτοκράτορ τὸ τρίτον ὑπατον
 II.G.17 - αὐτοκράτορ
- 57 List II.F.2 - πρεσβεύτης
 II.F.4 - ἀντιταμίας
 II.F.6 - πρεσβεύτης καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος
 II.F.9 - ἀντιταμίας
 II.F.10 - πρεσβεύτης
 II.G.12 - πρεσβεύτης καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος
- 58 Harmand, p. 39.
- 59 *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁰ Plutarch, Aemilius Paullus, 39.8 οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύτεροι συνκοινοῦθον, ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν Αἰμίλιον εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῶν πατρίδων (9) οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἐκράγησε καιροῖς ἡπλῶς πᾶσι καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπηλλάγη χρησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἀεί τι πράττων ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κηδόμενος ὥσπερ οἰκείων καὶ διετέλεσε.

⁶¹ *supra* n. 60 ...ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν Αἰμίλιον εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα..

⁶² For further information on Domitius cf. Chapter IV, commentary to List I.38.

⁶³ Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p. 156.

⁶⁴ Cf. Part I.C – "Rights and Privileges" of this chapter.

⁶⁵ Cf. Plutarch, Romulus 13.8.

⁶⁶ Cf. Part I.C.1 of this chapter – "Euergetes".

⁶⁷ As used on statue bases – List II.F.

⁶⁸ Harmand, p. 73.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 57.

⁷⁰ G.W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 12, n.4.

⁷¹ Harmand, p. 73.

⁷² Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p. 10. On p. 5 Badian notes that in the patron-client relationship, the obligations of the client were spelled out by the patron.

⁷³ A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 178. Cf. pp. 178–181 for an examination of civitas foederata and civitas libera and their development. Cf. also J.A.O. Larsen, Greek Federal States (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 398. Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p. 74. M. Holleaux, "Rome and Macedon: The Romans Against Philip," CAH VIII (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 194. Cf. also B. Forte, Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 24 (1972), pp. 26f. for a comparison of Greek and Roman concepts of liberty.

⁷⁴ M. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 193.

⁷⁵ Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p. 86.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 89–90. Polybius, 12.10.12.

- 77 Dornseiff, "soter," RE III² (1927) 1212.
- 78 Prehn, "ktistes," RE 11 (1922) 2084.
- 79 Jessen, "euergetes" (1), RE 6 (1909) 978.
- 80 F. Taeger, Charisma: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes, Band II (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960), p. 40.
- 81 Taeger, Charisma Band I (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1957), p. 257.
- 82 List II.B.25. A statue to Caesar in Olympia was given by an individual rather than by a public group. A certain[Λικί]νιος calls Caesar as εὐεργέτην along with another honorific title. The editors of the text restore σωτήρα. This restoration seems unlikely because this would be the only incidence of an individual granting the title σωτήρ. A preferable restoration is πάτρωνα for the following reasons: 1. there are examples of individuals awarding the title in Greece - List II.F.5, 11; G.3. 2. in all examples the donors have Latin names transliterated into Greek - II.B.25 Λικίνιος for Licinius; II.F.5 - Λεύκιον Αὐφίδιον for Lucius Aufidius; II.F.11 - Πόπλιος or Publius; II.G.3 - Κοῖντος Τύλλιος for Quintus Tullius. Publius and Licinius were probably native Italians rather than Romanized Greeks but Aufidius and the Tullii were clearly freedmen. At Olympia a group of Roman settlers had been established in the early first century (List I.62, 63) and the man honoring Caesar may have been one of these settlers. 3. Native Italians would not necessarily have been familiar with the term σωτήρ, but they would have known πάτρων for patronus.
- 83 Christian Habicht, Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte, (München: Ch. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 158.
- 84 Cf. supra, notes 56, 57.
- 85 List II.E.5, 11, 15 = private recipients, the remainder are public figures. Cf. Taeger, Charisma I, p. 258. Arthur Darby Nock, "Soter and Euergetes" in Arthur Darby Nock, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, vol. II, edited by Z. Stewart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 725.
- 86 List II.E.5, 6, 9, 11, 15 = private grantors.
- 87 Cf. Section I.C.1 of this chapter.
- 88 72 occurrences of euergetes out of 90 inscriptions, cf. List II.B, C, E, F.
- 89 Flamininus, for example, had only two honorific titles on statue bases; yet of all the Roman leaders given honorific titles, he was esteemed the highest by the Greeks, cf. end of this chapter.
- 90 Harmand, p. 14. Cf. supra, note 60.

- 91 H.J. Mason, Greek Terms, p. 7.
- 92 Liddell, Scott, Jones, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th edn. (rpt. 1949; Oxford: Clarendon Press) s.v. προστάτης. Cf. Mason, Greek Terms, p. 5; for examples v. Mason p. 81 s.v. προστάτης
- 93 Nock, p. 720. The first Greek to be worshipped as a god in his lifetime was Lysander; he was worshipped at Samos with a paean, altars and sacrifices - Plutarch, Lysander 18.4.
- 94 Taeger, Charisma I, p. 257. Cf. Pausanias, II.2.1 for a temple and tomb of Palaimon at Isthmia.
- 95 For example, Palaimon at Isthmia - cf. Pausanias, I.44.7, 18; II.1.3.
- 96 Lily Ross Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, American Philological Ass'n Monograph 1 (Middletown, Conn.: A.P.A., 1931), pp. 7, 11.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 98 *Ibid.*, p. 28. Taeger, Charisma I, p. 259.
- 99 Taeger, Charisma I, p. 258. Actual deification apparently occurred for Antigonos and Demetrios whom the Athenians called "Savior Gods" and for whom they appointed a priest.
- 100 Habicht, p. 157.
- 101 S.B. Kougeas, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Γυθείου. Σύμβολαι εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Λακονικῆς κατὰ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς αὐτοκρατίας," Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 17f. A festival which was still celebrated in the time of Tiberius. Gytheion also had hailed Flamininus soter List III.A.1.
- 102 G. Daux, "Concours de Titela dans un décret d'Argos," BCH 88 (1964) 569-576. The festival was still being held in the first century BC.
- 103 F. Münzer "Muclius" (22) RE 16 (1933) 437f. D. Magle, Roman Rule in Asia Minor I (Princeton: University Press, 1950), pp. 172-174. Cf. Chapter IV, commentary to List I.80.
- 104 OGIS 439. Cf. IO 325 and Chapter IV, commentary to List I.80.
- 105 OGIS 438.
- 106 K. Tuchelt, Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien Teil I Roma und Promagistate, Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft 23 (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wachsmuth, 1979), p. 66.
- 107 Cf. IG II² 2989 - dedication of an ephebe who had won the Theseia torch race. Cf. IG II² 4117 - a Sylleia torch race dedication. A.E. Raubitschek, "Sylleia" in Studies in Roman Economic and Social

History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton, F.C. Bourne and J.N.A. Fine (Princeton: University Press, 1951), pp. 51f.

108 Raubitschek, "Syllela", pp. 49-57. No honorific title is recorded on the base of Sulla's statue in Athens = SEG XXIV 214 (additions to IG II² 4103 - List I.108).

109 Cf. Chapter V, commentary to List I.136-150.

110 IG XII 2 59, I.18. Cf. Taeger, Charisma II, p. 48.

111 R. Laqueur, "Theophanes" RE V² (1934) 2092f.

112 Taeger, Charisma II, pp. 47f. L.R. Taylor p. 39 states that Mytilene "halled him (Pompey) as a god..." but this is contrary to the inscriptional evidence since the title theos is lacking.

113 Cf. Tacitus, Annales VI.18 and IG XII 2 163 B, I. 1f.

114 IG XII 2 163 B where the titles σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης are given to Theophanes:

θεῶ Διὶ [Ἑ]λε[υθε]-
 ρίῳ φιλοπάτριδι
 θεοφάνη τῷ σω-
 τῆρι καὶ εὐεργέ-
 τῳ καὶ κτιστῷ δευ-
 τέρῳ τῆς πατρίδος.

115 Daniel J. Geagan, "Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture I. 86 B.C. - A.D. 267," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II Principat 7.1 hrsg. Hildegard Temporini (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1979), p. 377. Cf. also A.E. Raubitschek, "Octavia's Deification at Athens," TAPA 77 (1946) 146-150. On pp. 148 and 149, n. 10, Raubitschek suggests that the Antonela may have been named for Antony because he was a gymnasiarch.

116 M.N. Tod, "Inscriptions from Cairness House," JHS 54 (1934) 141-159 for text and translation of what is also ID 1520. Cf. Chapter III I, commentary to List I.36, and section I.C.6.e of this chapter.

117 Cf. "Cult Honors" 1. of this chapter.

118 Annlus also received an olive crown. Cf. section I. "Stephanos" letter f. of this chapter. For more on Annlus' activities cf. Chapter IV, commentary on List I.41 (Sextus Pompeius). Cf. also A.D. Nock, "Σύνταξις θεός," HSCP 41 (1930) 53, n. 3. On p. 53, Nock notes that statues of euergetai might be placed in a temple but such an act did not indicate these men had been deified.

119 Themelis, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Ἑρετριᾶς," Praktika 1976 (1978) A' 84f. J. & L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," REG (1979) 467, no. 350. A.K.

Orlandos. Ἔργον 1976 (1977) 21 maintains that the games were held for Flamininus' brother, Lucius.

120 Cf. supra note 89 for discussion of IO 365.

121 Plutarch, Titus 16.7

Πίστιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων σέβομεν
τῶν μεγαλευκτοτάτων ὄρκοις φυλάσσειν·
μέλπετε κοῦραι
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν Τίτον θ' αἶμα Ῥωμαίων τε Πίστιν·
ἤϊτε Παιάν
ὦ Τίτε σῶτερ.

For more on Chalkis and Flamininus cf. Chapter III, commentary to List I.8.

122 Plutarch, Titus 16.6. In Chalkis a marble statue base was found with the names of two men called the gymnasiarchs for "Titus the Savior and Benefactor". Either the base held a statue of Flamininus and was set in the gymnasium, as the editor of IG states, or it held statues of the two gymnasiarchs listed in the inscription. In any case, the base gives support to the existence of the gymnasium mentioned by Plutarch. IG XII 9 931 (List I.8).

Ἀριστόμαχος
Ἀριστοκλείδου
Ἀμφικράτη[ς]
Εὐρυνόμου
5 Τίτῳ Σωτήρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ
γυμνασιαρχησάντες.

123 IG XII 9 233 (List I.7).

124 Plutarch, Titus 12.2; Livy, 34.41.1f.

125 Livy, 34.52.8 - 114 crowns; cf. supra note 48. Flamininus dedicated crowns at Delos (ID 439 a, l.77; 442 b, ll. 85f.; 1429 a, ll. 21f.)

126 H. Gundel, "Quinctius" (45) RE 14 (1963) 1076. A.A. Boyce, "The Gold Staters of T. Quinctius Flamininus in History," in Hommages a Albert Grenier ed. by Marcel Renard. Collection Latomus, vol. 58 (Bruxelles: Berchem, 1962), pp. 342-350.

127 A. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar," JRS 44 (1954) 74f. Cf. Chapter V, commentary to List I.189ff.

128 Even the title theos for Caesar may have carried little weight in Demetrius. The title is on a statue base previously occupied by another Roman official, C. Caellus Rufus - List I.160.

129 E. Will in F.W. Walbank, The Hellenistic World (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981), pp. 217f.

Chapter III

Honorific Statue Base Inscriptions: Historical Circumstances. Periods I, II: c. 260–146 B.C.

Introduction

The following three chapters serve varied functions: to provide a summary of the historical events when honors were given; to fit individual statues base inscriptions and other honors with those events; to suggest possible reasons why the honors were awarded. The identity of the honoree is often uncertain for one or more reasons: because the inscription recording the name is fragmentary; because there is no extant record of the honoree's deeds in a particular area; because the honoree is not known otherwise than in these inscriptions; because the Roman practice of naming sons after their fathers makes it difficult to determine which man is the recipient of a particular award. Because of these difficulties, for many honorees, the reasons presented for the awards are speculative.

Period I: c. 260–200 B.C. Romans and Italians in Greece Prior to the Second Macedonian War

Italians and Romans came sporadically to the Balkan peninsula during the fourth century B.C. They first arrived in small numbers either to consult the oracle at Delphi and to give votive offerings,¹ or for trade.² However, prior to 230 B.C. when the Senate sent envoys to Illyria, there was no official contact between the government of Rome and the governments of the Balkans.³ With the establishment of official relations between the regions, Romans and Italians traveled to Illyria and Greece in

Increasing numbers as traders.⁴

Contact between the areas increased when Rome went to war against Illyria, (229–228, 220–219 B.C.) to stop Illyrian pirates from hindering trade on the Adriatic. Now soldiers as well as traders went East. In these wars Rome defeated the Illyrians and gave them a treaty of amicitia, through which Illyria remained free but under Roman supervision and protection. This was the same settlement Rome used in Greece after the Second Macedonian War.⁵

Illyria's status as Rome's protectorate brought Rome into its first conflict with Philip V of Macedon, resulting in the First Macedonian War (215–205 B.C.). Philip had allied himself with Hannibal, who was waging war in Italy. Naturally, Rome was leery of this arrangement, fearing that Macedonian reinforcements might aid the Carthaginian in Italy. Therefore, when Philip attacked Illyria, Rome quickly arranged to defend her new protectorate, perhaps somewhat relieved to divert Philip's attention from Italy.

For the First Macedonian War Rome formed an alliance (212 B.C.) with Aetolia, Sparta, Elis and Messene.⁶ Although Rome provided naval forces for her allies, Roman aid was inconsistent. In 207–206 B.C., when Rome felt that the war in Greece was not as critical as the one in Italy, she withdrew her troops, leaving the Aetolians almost helpless.⁷ The battered Aetolians were forced to sign a peace treaty with Philip, an action the Romans perceived as a breach of the Roman–Aetolian treaty and a termination of their alliance.⁸ In turn, the Aetolians never forgave the Romans for withdrawing troops at a time of crisis.⁹

The removal of Roman troops encouraged Philip to threaten Illyria

once more, for he thought that the Romans would not again interfere in Eastern affairs. Philip miscalculated the Roman interest in the East, however, and Roman troops returned to Greece in defense of the Roman protectorate. No fighting took place because Rome was not yet ready for heavy involvement in Greece as she was still battling against Carthaginian forces in Italy.¹⁰ Since Rome did want Philip's attentions drawn away from Illyria, she agreed to peace terms with Philip in 205 (Peace of Phoenice), in which each side made minor concessions.

The two decades following the First Macedonian War brought extensive Roman involvement in Greek political affairs. At last freed from fighting wars at home, Rome saw Greece as a potential defense against invasion from Macedonia, and aimed to keep her friendly to the Roman cause. Rome therefore readily embroiled herself in the Second Macedonian War (200-196 B.C.), and sent Greece large contingents for combat on land and sea. It was in this period, when Romans were staying longer in Greece and demonstrating Rome's power, that Greeks awarded leading Romans some of their highest honors - honorific statues, as well as proxenies and other honors.

The earliest honor awarded to a Roman was a proxeny to L. Olcalus at Thermon in 262 (List V.1). It is perhaps a reflection of later Roman-Aetolian antagonism that Olcalus was the only Roman awarded an honor by the Aetolians. In 250 Delphi honored the Canusian, Bouzos, with a proxeny (List V.2). Toward the end of the century at Delphi, there was another proxeny and a crown for a Syracusan, Neon, who was also a Roman citizen (List V.3). All three men were private citizens. Olcalus may have come to Greece for trade while Bouzos and Neon came in part

to worship at the sanctuary at Delphi.

The first statue of a Roman in Greece was one honoring a soldier: to Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse. In his biography of Marcellus Plutarch notes that a statue of Marcellus had been erected in Rhodes in the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos. In addition he cites a passage from Poseidonius which recorded an epigram for Marcellus on the base of the statue. (Plutarch, Marcellus 30.6¹¹):

Οὗτός τοι Ῥωμῆς ὁ μέγας, ξένε, πατρίδος ἄστος,
 Μαρκέλλος κλεινῶν Κλαύδιος ἐκ πατέρων,
 ἐπτάκι τὰν ὑπάταν ἀρχὰν ἐν Ἄρῃ φυλάξας,
 ὃ πολὺν ἀντιπάλων ἐγκατέχευε φόνον.

This statue was an anomaly compared to the later statues erected to Romans in Greece, for several reasons. First, later statues were usually erected during the honoree's lifetime, but the statue of Marcellus seems to have been set up after his death in 208.¹² Second, this is the only statue base inscription for a Roman which is written in verse. The other inscriptions are written in prose. Third, most later statues were set up after a Roman had actually been in a certain area. There is no evidence that Marcellus ever traveled to Greece or Rhodes. However, despite this fact, it is known that Marcellus sent statues and paintings which he captured from Syracuse as dedications to the gods both at Lindos and Samothrace (Plutarch, Marcellus 30.6). Perhaps the grateful people of Lindos awarded him a statue in thanks for his donations.¹³

Period II: 200–146 B.C. The Second Macedonian War to the Destruction of Corinth. (List I.1–22, 24–34, 64, 70, 71)

No less than six major wars occurred within this period of 56 years, with three taking place within a span of twelve years (200–188 B.C.). The

first subsection discusses that active era including the Second Macedonian War (200–196), the war against Nabis of Sparta (196–194), and the war against Antiochos and the Aetolians (191–188).

A. 200–188 B.C.

1. 200–196 B.C. The Second Macedonian War: Philip V

Rome entered the Second Macedonian War at the behest of Rhodes and Pergamon,¹⁴ who complained that Philip's armies had been attacking their territories. Technically, injury to these countries should not have precipitated Roman involvement, for neither was a Roman ally, and Rome had no true grievance against Philip.¹⁵ In their appeal for help, Rhodes and Pergamon successfully played on Rome's fear. Realizing that Italy had only recently driven out the Carthaginian forces (201 B.C.) the two powers cited a pact between Philip and Antiochos which convinced the Romans that these rulers might wish to invade Italy, and thus precipitate another period of struggle in that war-weary nation.¹⁶ Perceiving the need to formulate an Eastern policy, the Senate decided both to free Greece from Philip's power and to bring it under Roman influence. The Senate thought that in gratitude for her freedom Greece would no longer be open to Philip and Antiochos for use against Italy.¹⁷

In her campaigns, Rome had the support not only of Pergamon, Rhodes, Athens, and a reluctant Aetolia, but also eventually, the Achaean League and Boeotia, both long-time supporters of Macedon. Although the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 ended hostilities between Rome and Philip, the Roman settlement of Greece had far reaching consequences involving the Romans even more deeply in Greek affairs.

At the Tempe Valley Flaminius and representatives of the Greeks supporting the Roman side met with Philip. To the dismay of the Aetolians who desired Philip's destruction, Flaminius announced that Philip would become an ally of Rome. Flaminius further angered Aetolia by refusing her claim to many of her territories acquired by Macedon (Larissa, Pharsalus, Echinus, and Thessalian towns), and granting her only Phthiotic Thebes.¹⁸ Rome, apparently desiring to leave a balance of power in Greece, wished to check Aetolian growth by leaving Philip on the throne and preventing Aetolia from acquiring more territory.¹⁹ However, Rome only fanned Aetolian hatred against her, a hatred remaining from the First Macedonian War when Aetolia believed that Rome had abandoned her. By the end of the decade Rome was at war with Aetolia.

Despite the growing hostility of the Aetolians, the Senate approved the arrangements made at Tempe, and in May, 196 sent out ten commissioners to aid Flaminius in settling affairs in Greece.²⁰ In June or July of 196 at the Isthmian Games, Flaminius announced the policy which made him the hero of most of the Greek world. He proclaimed the Senate's wish that Greece be free from Macedonian control and promised to remove all Roman troops, including those stationed at Acrocorinth, Chalkis, and Demetrias (the "Fetters of Greece"). This policy of freedom was basically the same policy that Rome had followed for Illyria after the Illyrian War - i.e., Greece was now free, but under Roman protection.²¹ The Greeks cheered Flaminius and thanked Rome for her aid, not realizing that since their freedom had been guaranteed by Rome, Rome would readily embroil herself in Greek affairs again if events in Greece were not to her liking.²²

The honorific statues in this period are primarily to one Roman, Flamininus. Although the Greeks gave him many honors, including the privilege of his portrait on a gold stater,²³ archaeological efforts have produced only two statues associated with Flamininus from this period; other awards came later.

List I.1	Cos [<u>demos</u>]	198	T. T.(f.) Quinctius (Flamininus) [<u>strat]egos hypatos</u>
List IV.1	...machos, Parian (sculptor)		

Paton and Hicks²⁴ report that as a satellite of Rhodes, Cos probably supplied ships for the Rhodian fleet aiding the Romans. In return for Coan service, Flamininus may have given the Coans special favors.

The inscription suggests other possible motives for the award. The inscription noted Flamininus' virtue, nobility of character and goodness to Cos itself, to the alliance with Rhodes and to Greece. (ll. 3-6): ...ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα/ [καὶ καλοκα']γαθίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτον/ [καὶ τὸς σ]μμάχος καὶ τὸς/ [Ἔ]λλανας. The statement may refer to the Freedom of Greece proclamation which guaranteed the freedom of both mainland Greece and the Islands. In addition, Flamininus may have granted to Cos the status of civitas libera (i.e., paid no taxes), a status which Cos retained throughout the Republic.²⁵ If the latter supposition is true, Cos's gratitude to the peerless general was entirely justified.

List I.2	Phanotea <u>polis</u>	198-194	[T. T.(f.)/ Qul]nctius (Flamininus) <u>[strategos hypatos]</u>
List II.E.1			<u>euergetes</u>

Phocis was an area that Roman troops controlled by 198. One of the first Phocian cities entered was Phanotea, which Flamininus' forces occupied while they were marching to winter headquarter at Anticyra.²⁶ Occupation of Phanotea was strategically advantageous, for the town was situated at the southern border of Phocis on the road leading to Delphi from the East,²⁷ giving the Romans control of an entrance into central Greece.

The Phanoteans called Flamininus Benefactor so we may presume that Flamininus treated the inhabitants well after capturing their city.²⁸ One benefaction may have been a special favor. Roman troops were quartered in other cities of Phocis, but Flamininus may have exempted Phanotea from that burden.²⁹ Another suggestion is that Flamininus returned property to Phanotea which the Romans had confiscated. He granted this favor some years later for Chyretiae in Perhaebia, a measure designed to win the support and gratitude of the wealthy classes,³⁰ who held the power in Phanotea. As Flamininus specifically mentioned Phocis in the Freedom of Greece proclamation,³¹ the statue may date from just after that announcement. However, the inscription from Flamininus' statue, as restored, notes Flamininus' benefaction specifically to Phanotea without referring to the rest of Phocis. Thus the inscription is best dated to the period just after the Romans took the city.

List V.4 Gonnos ?196-5 Unknown Roman
[?Flamininus]

A fragmentary proxeny decree found in Gonnos may pertain to Flamininus. The first editor, A.S. Arvanitopoulos, identified the honoree as Flamininus.³² Based on an examination of the existing letters in the inscription, a more recent editor, B. Helly urges caution in accepting Arvanitopoulos' restoration since, as he sees it, the remaining letters of the inscription do not fit Flamininus' name.³³ Nevertheless, Helly admits that the honoree was an important Roman,³⁴ no doubt formulating this conclusion from the kinds of honors awarded: gold crown, the title of proxenos and benefactor, citizenship for him and his descendants, and the right to own land in Gonnos. Despite Helly's arguments questioning the honoree as Flamininus, his edition of the inscription does not fill in all of the lacunae, and since historical evidence shows that Flamininus was in the vicinity of Gonnos, the honoree might indeed be Flamininus.

When Flamininus and Philip met for a conference, it was at the entrance of the Tempe Valley, very near Gonnos.³⁵ At that time Flamininus may have had an opportunity to visit the city. Gonnos was one of the Greek cities declared free at the Isthmian Games, and it played an important role in the Perhaebelian League which Flamininus formed.³⁶ Perhaps the citizens of Gonnos granted proxeny status to Flamininus as a gesture of appreciation for the actions he took which benefitted them so much.

List I.3 Larissa: ?197 M. Caecilius L. (f.) Metellus
Thessalian koinon

This inscription and its statue were probably erected to Metellus

because he helped Flaminius in the formation of the Thessalian League. The editor of the inscription, Arvanitopoulos, states that the Thessalian League was formed in 197, and the statue noted here honored Metellus for some unknown deed about that time.³⁷ Larsen³⁸ and Holleaux³⁹ place the organization of this league and others in 194 when Flaminius was leaving Greece and visiting various cities along the way. 194 is the more feasible date since the organization of leagues did not occur until after the war. Broughton suggests that Metellus was a member of the commission of ten men sent to Greece in 196 to assist Flaminius in setting Greek affairs in order.⁴⁰ But he proposes no specific date for the formation of the Thessalian League. The commissioners were in Greece from the spring of 196 through the latter part of that year.⁴¹ If Metellus was one of these men, perhaps he stayed behind after the other commissioners left in order to help Flaminius with other responsibilities. More likely, he returned to Rome with the members of the commission, then went back to Greece after reporting to the Senate, and was one of the men with Flaminius at the time the league was established.

2. 196-194 B.C. The War Against Nabis and the Spartans.

The Roman proclamation of a Greece free from Macedonian and Roman troops did not, however, bring peace to the country. Rome had not taken account of the hostilities existing between individual Greek cities and leagues. Almost immediately after the end of the Second Macedonian War a controversy arose between Sparta and the Achaean League concerning the possession of Argos.

During the war Philip V had held Argos, a city which had long been

a Macedonian ally. Recognizing that his forces could not hold the city easily, Philip gave Argos to the Spartan king, Nabis, in hopes of ensuring his loyalty, a tactic which failed. Instead of supporting Philip, Nabis joined Rome and the other Greeks in fighting the Macedonian. The combined Spartan and Roman armies attacked Macedonian-occupied Corinth and once Macedonian troops were ousted, Flamininus entrusted Corinth to the Achaean League. The League also wanted possession of Argos since it had once been a member of the Achaean League, but Nabis refused to surrender the city.⁴² Flamininus, however, wanted Argos freed since Spartan possession of it made his proclamation of total Greek freedom valid in theory only.

In 195, with Flamininus present, a Pan-Hellenic conference met at Corinth. At the meeting a strong pro-Roman Achaean leader, Aristainos, proposed war against Nabis and Sparta for the purpose of freeing Argos. Except for the Aetolians, the Greeks readily agreed, since they were eager to weaken or destroy Nabis whose socialist reforms in Laconia and his piracy at sea were disagreeable to them.⁴³ As this fitted in with his plans, Flamininus concurred with the motion.

The joint effort of Achaeans, Romans and their new ally, Philip V, wrested from Spartan control not only Argos but also some towns along the coast of Laconia.⁴⁴ Argos once again joined the Achaean League. Flamininus entrusted the Laconian coastal towns to the League, but they did not become members.⁴⁵ For the time being the struggle between Sparta and Achaea had been settled.

Following the war with Nabis, Argos was the site of the Nemean Games of 195. As a special honor Flamininus was allowed to preside

over the games. Here Flamininus repeated his proclamation freeing Greece, and he also proclaimed Argos and the Laconian towns free. Argos quickly demonstrated her gratitude to Flamininus by establishing a festival, the Titela, in his honor in 195 or 194. An honorific decree for an Argive dating to 100 B.C. referred to this festival, indicating that the festival was celebrated many years after it was instituted.⁴⁶ As Nabis had terrorized the inhabitants of Argos, freedom from his tyranny was deeply appreciated⁴⁷ and the honor to Flamininus indicated genuine thanks. Although there are no statues of Flamininus from Argos, they probably existed but are no longer extant.

List I.4	Corinth: Aristainos [Timokades] [Dymaios]	196-5	T. [T.(f.) Quinctius] (Flamininus)
List I.5	Gytheon	195	T. T.(f.) Quinctius (Flamininus) <u>strategos hypatos</u>
List II.A.1			<u>soter</u>

The statue of Flamininus at Corinth (List I.4) is interesting because it was the first statue of a Roman given by a private citizen. The donor, Aristainos, was the Achaean leader who had helped bring Achaia to the Roman side in the second war against Philip.⁴⁸ Although Aristainos provided for the statue from his own resources, it is likely that he gave the statue in part because of the political events occurring at the time. Restoration of the last line of the inscription suggests that Aristainos donated the statue also on behalf of the Achaean League.⁴⁹ Certainly, both Aristainos and the league had reasons to be grateful to Flamininus:

through Flaminius' work Corinth became Achaean, and Flaminius had approved Roman aid in the war against Nabis. Aristainos' selection of Corinth as the site for the statue was entirely appropriate because of the meetings at Corinth between Flaminius and the Greeks.⁵⁰

The statue from Gytheon (List I.5) reflects gratitude for freedom from a hostile power. Gytheon was one of the Laconian coastal towns under Spartan control. Roman forces commanded by L. Quinctius Flaminius attacked Gytheon but were unable to take her until Titus Flaminius appeared with reinforcements. In the course of the fighting one of the town's towers and a section of wall were destroyed.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the people of Gytheon were grateful for their freedom from Sparta. They erected a statue of Titus Flaminius and called him Savior. In addition, they organized a festival in his honor which continued to be celebrated into the time of Tiberius.⁵²

3. 192-188 B.C. The War Against Antiochos and the Aetolians

In the spring of 194 Flaminius ordered the removal of Roman garrisons from Acrocorinth, Chalkis and Demetrias. As he and the Roman forces marched out of Greece, they passed through these and other cities, and at that time Flaminius organized leagues for the Thessallians, Perhaebalians, Magnetes and Euboeans who had all formerly been under Macedonian control.⁵³ No Roman troops were left in Greece nor were any Greek cities subject to Roman taxes. In theory the Greeks were free and were expected to be stable enough to handle their own affairs. Yet since Rome had bothered to organize leagues for some areas and to change boundaries for others, we know that Rome tacitly expected the

Greeks to adhere to her dictates. However, the plan for Greek self-sufficiency failed because Rome left behind no agency to supervise affairs and to keep peace among the contentious Greeks.⁵⁴ Not long after Roman forces had left, the cities and states resumed quarrelling.

These quarrels arose in part from Aetolian and Achaean League dissatisfaction concerning the Roman distribution of territory. The Aetolians resented the fact that Rome had abandoned them during the First Macedonian War, and had refused to destroy Philip and to return territories Aetolia considered rightfully her own at the end of the Second Macedonian War. Achaean also had grievances against Rome, but the conflict between Rome and Achaean did not arise until later. Although Rome had given Achaean Corinth and Argos at the end of the War against Nabis, she did not join Sparta, Elis or Messene to the League.⁵⁵ These were territories which the Achaean League wanted and eventually acquired despite Roman precautions.

The dissatisfaction of the Aetolian League brought the League into conflict with Rome not long after Roman troop withdrawal. In 194 the Aetolians negotiated an alliance with Nabis against Rome. According to plan in the fall of 193, Nabis attacked Gytheon,⁵⁶ but apparently failed to take the city. He attacked again in the spring of 192 and this time captured it. The attack on Gytheon and Spartan raids into Achaean territory incited the Achaeans to wage war against the Aetolians and Spartans. Fighting continued until a truce was imposed by Flamininus, who along with three other Romans had returned to Greece to rally support for Rome.⁵⁷

Further Aetolian intrigue renewed hostilities. In 192 the Aetolians

treacherously murdered their recent ally, Nabis, and attempted to take over Sparta. Since they had assumed that the Spartans would welcome the removal of the tyrant king, the Aetolians were surprised at the hostile Spartan reaction when they tried to take over the city. In the ensuing battle between Aetolians and Spartans, the Achaeans, led by their general Philopoemen, entered Sparta and ended the fighting. By treaty Philopoemen brought an unwilling Sparta into the Achaean League.⁵⁸

Unhappy with this outcome the Aetolians invited the ambitious King, Antiochos, to come from Syria for the purposes of freeing Greece from the Romans and arbitrating between Rome and Aetolia.⁵⁹ Members of the Greek lower classes, in particular, supported Antiochos because they knew of his wealth and expected to receive money from him. They assumed that this would give them the edge against the wealthy classes which Rome supported.⁶⁰

Antiochos entered Greece in the fall of 192 and promptly occupied Demetrias. Eventually, he moved to Chalkis and used that city as the base of his operations. However, Antiochos did not gain as much support in Greece as he had hoped. He distributed no largesse to the masses to win their favor, nor did he bring as large an army as the Aetolians had expected. Since he wished to arrive at a settlement with the Romans through peaceful means rather than through military engagements, he brought with him only a small army, but his desire for a peaceful settlement lost him what Greek support he did have. When negotiations with Rome failed, Antiochos moved to more aggressive tactics. Now barred from Chalkis, he attacked and captured the city, a victory which won him the alliance of the rest of Euboea, Boeotia, and Epirus.

Philip V might have joined forces with Antiochos against Rome had the ancient rivalry between the two monarchies not been so strong. Not only was Antiochos allied with Philip's enemies, the Aetolians, but Antiochos also had attacked and won Thessaly, which Philip had once controlled. Thus, when the Romans offered Philip Demetrias and any town he could wrest from Antiochos and the Aetolians, Philip sided with Rome.

With aid from Macedonian troops Rome reconquered Thessaly and forced Antiochos into Central Greece. At Thermopylae in 191, the Roman army, led by the consul M' Acilius Glabrio, defeated Antiochos and the Aetolians forcing Antiochos to retreat to Asia.⁶¹ Although Antiochos' efforts in Greece had failed, he nevertheless continued to fight the Romans in Anatolia. It was not until 189 near Magnesia ad Sipylum that Roman forces, led by L. Scipio, defeated Antiochos completely.⁶² In 188, Antiochos signed a peace treaty – Peace of Apamea.

Rome's victory over Antiochos brought on several changes in Greece and Asia Minor as Rome dealt with her enemies. The Aetolian League signed a treaty with Rome subordinating it to Rome and thus making the League politically impotent. Aetolia had to give up much of her territory: Cephallenia, Oeniadae, property and houses in Delphi as well as control over Delphi and the Amphiclyonic League.⁶³ Ambracia was also freed from Aetolian control but the freedom was dearly bought. The city's captor, M. Fulvius Nobilior, took as booty from Ambracia many paintings and statues to adorn his triumph.⁶⁴ In addition the city gave him a gold stephanos (crown) worth 150 talents. This was not an actual crown but a gift of precious metal given as a mark of homage, or, in this case, in supplication.⁶⁵ Not every enemy city was treated so harshly, however.

While Rome could have punished Chalkis for harboring Antiochus, nevertheless Flamininus interceded on the city's behalf and prevented actions of retribution.⁶⁶ As we shall see, Chalkis showed her appreciation for this boon.

Rome rewarded her supporters. The Achaean League gained as members the long desired cities of Messene and Elis. Sparta, already a member since 192, endured changes imposed by the League. The Achaean League ordered and carried out demolition of Sparta's walls and replaced the laws of Lycurgos with those of the League.⁶⁷ Rome rewarded Rhodes for her assistance in supplying ships by giving her some former Seleucid lands on the mainland of Asia Minor.⁶⁸ Further events surrounding the gift had consequences which will become apparent in the discussion of Period III.

Rome also had to deal with her new ally, Philip V. Philip had captured several towns in Greece as well as the districts of Magnesia and Perhaebela, considering these his reward for assisting Rome. However, Rome reneged on her promises of territory to Philip. Rome could not allow the Macedonian king to keep these areas if she were to stand behind her "Freedom of Greece" policy. Bitterly resenting Rome's breach of faith, Philip became Rome's enemy once more.⁶⁹

List I.9	Delphi: <u>polis</u>	191-0	M' Acilius C.f. (Glabrio) <u>strategos hypatos</u>
List I.10	Delphi: [Amphictyonic] <u>[koinon]</u>	191-0	M' [Acilius C.f.] (Glabrio) <u>[strategos hypato]s</u>

Previously under Aetolian control, the Amphictyonic League, Delphi and

the sanctuary of Apollo became autonomous in 191 through the agency of M^r Acilius Glabrio.⁷⁰ In appreciation for the grant, Glabrio received two statues in the Sanctuary of Apollo, one from the city of Delphi (List I.7) and the other (List I.8) possibly from the Amphictyonic League. If the name of the statue donor has been correctly restored on the dedicatory inscription.

The statue from the city of Delphi (List I.7) depicted Glabrio on horseback,⁷¹ and the base of the statue served to record two documents pertaining to the Roman grant. One of these documents was a letter from Glabrio to the Delphians restoring to them property and houses confiscated from the Aetolians.⁷² The other inscription was a letter from C. Livius Salinator, the consul of 188, to the Delphians.⁷³ The letter outlined the fate of Delphian envoys sent to Rome to obtain a Senatorial decree ratifying Glabrio's grant. On the return trip to Greece the envoys were killed, and two more envoys were sent to notify the Senate that Delphi planned to institute games and sacrifices honoring Rome.⁷⁴ The embassy also informed the Senate of the fate of the previous envoys and requested help in apprehending the murderers. In reply, the Senate determined that M^r Fulvius Nobilior (consul 189), who was still in Greece, was to find and punish the culprits; the Aetolians were to return anything they had removed from Delphi and the Delphians were given approval to expel any undesirables, i.e., Aetolians and Aetolian supporters. Copies of the Senate decree, lost in the murder of the envoys, were given to the new envoys to deliver to Delphi.⁷⁵

List V.14 Delphi 191-0 ?[M' Acilius C.f. Glabrio]

On the statue base for Acilius Glabrio is a fragmentary proxeny decree, possibly to a Roman.⁷⁶ Pomtow, the first editor, identified the honoree as Glabrio.⁷⁷ Daux questions this identification since Glabrio's name is not on a Delphian proxeny list (SIG³ 585) dating 197-165 where many Romans are listed. Daux considers the proxeny a "banal" honor, one not needed for a man given an honorific statue.⁷⁸ He notes that the archon date on which Pomtow based his conclusion need not be limited to 191-0 since the name of the archon is fragmentary and may belong to periods for which archon names are not extant.⁷⁹ While Daux's arguments are plausible with reference to the archon date, the possibility still remains that the archoship may well date to 191-0 as Pomtow suggested. As for being a banal honor, Harmand suggests just the opposite. He notes that if Pomtow's date is correct, Glabrio may be the honoree, and the proxeny was special testimony thanking him for the benefit conferred on the city, the sanctuary and the Amphictyonic League.⁸⁰

Since the name of the honoree of the proxeny decree is missing, his identity cannot be established with certainty. However, three points suggest that Glabrio was indeed the honoree. First, Daux states that Glabrio's name was not on the proxeny list dating 197-165 and therefore he could not have been the honoree. However, not every person granted proxeny status at Delphi in those years was recorded on that list. L. Hortensius of Brundisium was granted the distinction of proxeny status in 168,⁸¹ yet his name is not on the list.⁸² It is therefore possible that for some reason Glabrio's name was omitted as was that of Hortensius.

Second, Flamininus had received both statue and proxeny at Delphi for his gifts to the sanctuary and for the Freedom of Greece.⁸³ Glabrio's gift to Delphi was as important as Flamininus' had been – the gift of autonomy. Perhaps the Delphians thought that Glabrio had earned awards as high as those won by Flamininus – two statues and the proxeny status.

Third, the proxeny decree is on the base of Glabrio's statue, as are other inscriptions pertaining to Glabrio's gift to Delphi and the circumstances tied to it. Thus, including a proxeny decree for Glabrio on his statue base would be entirely appropriate.

List V.5. 6. 15. 16. 17. 19. 20

In the period between 195 and 188 Delphi honored several Romans and Italians with the proxeny status. In 195–4 the proxeny went to Blattos, son of Matourius, Canusian, and Q. Veturlus (spelled _____), a Roman (List V.5. 6). Dittenberger suggests that these men came to Delphi with Flamininus.⁸⁴ This theory may be true; however, it is also possible that the men were private citizens, perhaps even merchants, visiting the sanctuary.⁸⁵ In 195–4 the Aetolians controlled the sanctuary and since Rome and Aetolia were not on the best of terms, it might have been difficult for a Roman soldier to receive an honor, but not so difficult for an Italian or private citizen.

The later proxenies (191–188 = List V.15. 16. 17. 19. 20) granted after Delphi had been freed from Aetolian control, could more readily have been for soldiers in the retinue of Glabrio or Flamininus; however, nos. 15 and 16 (Salsios and C. Statorius) were probably merchants.⁸⁶ Especially noteworthy is the proxeny to M. Valerius Muttones and his four sons (List

V.17). Muttone was an African who had deserted Hannibal and valiantly served the Romans during the Second Punic War. As a reward he and apparently his sons (all designated "Romans" in the decree) were given Roman citizenship. Ever loyal, he and his sons continued to fight for Rome in Greece.⁸⁷ We know nothing further of the two Italians from Apulia (List V.15, 16) or of the Roman L. Acilius, son of Caeso (List V.19). But M. Aemilius Lepidus (List V.20) was praetor in 191 and became consul in 187.⁸⁸ Apparently Delphi's gratitude for her regained freedom extended to many Roman visitors.

List I.11	Delphi: <u>[polls]</u>	191-0 or 189-8	[T. Quinct]ilius T.[f.] (Flamininus)
List V.18	Delphi	189-8	T. Quinctilius T.f. Flamininus

The city of Delphi honored Flamininus at least twice – once with an equestrian statue (List I.9)⁸⁹ and again with a decree of proxeny (List V.18). He may also have received a marble portrait statue. A marble head of a bearded male found at Delphi has been tentatively identified as a portrait of Flamininus. (Fig. 4).⁹⁰ In view of the many gifts Flamininus made to the sanctuary, more than one statue in his honor is possible. After the proclamation at Isthmia, Flamininus dedicated several valuable items to the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi: silver shields and his own shield inscribed with a verse commemorating his actions (Plutarch, Titus 12.11⁹¹):

Ζηνὸς ἰὼ κραιπναῖσι γεγαθότεσι ἵπποσύναισι
 κοῦρου, ἰὼ Σπάρτας Τυνδαρίδαι βασιλεῖς,
 Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὅμιν ὑπέρτατον ὤπασε δῶρον
 Ἑλλάνων τεύξας παῖσιν ἐλευθερίαν.

and a gold crown inscribed with a dedication to Apollo (Plutarch, Titus 12.12⁹²):

Τόνδε τοι ἄμβροσίοισιν ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἔθηκε
 κεῖσθαι Λατοῖδα χρυσοφαῖ στέφανον,
 ὃν πόρεν, Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας. ἀλλ' Ἐκάεργε
 ἄλκᾳ τῷ θεῷ κύδος ὄπαξε Τίτῳ.

The proxyeny was granted in 189–8 when Flaminius was a censor in Rome. Dittenberger suggests that at that time Flaminius may have given some assistance to legates from Delphi in Rome,⁹³ and the proxyeny was awarded in recognition of that service. The Delphians may have wished to honor Flaminius earlier both in thanks for Greece's freedom and for the gifts he bestowed upon the sanctuary when he visited it in 196. However, as the sanctuary was under Aetolian control until 191, honors for the Roman general were not possible. Once freed from Aetolian censure, the Delphians could honor whom they wished.⁹⁴

List I.6	Eretria	194–191	[?Flaminius]
List I.7	Eretria	II c.	T. (Quinctius Flaminius) <u>Hypatos</u>
List I.8	Chalkis	II c.	Titus
List II.B.1			<u>soter.</u> <u>evergetes</u>

Activities involving the island of Euboea in the Second Macedonian War and in the War against Antiochos earned Flaminius many honors there, especially at Eretria and Chalkis. Both cities were pro-Macedonian during the Second Macedonian War. Roman troops captured Chalkis in 200 and Eretria in 198. The Romans were particularly harsh in their treatment of Chalkis, for they burned the city and massacred the

inhabitants.⁹⁵ Eretria was also burned and much of its art work was taken but no massacre is recorded.⁹⁶

After Greece was declared free in 196, a Roman garrison remained at Chalkis just as similar garrisons remained in the other two "Fetters of Greece," Acrocorinth and Demetrias. Undoubtedly, Flamininus thought it would be to Roman advantage to leave Roman troops temporarily in areas strategically located and known to have supported Philip. But, in 194, Flamininus withdrew the Roman forces from these areas as well as from other parts of Euboea (Oreos and Eretria) where troops had been stationed, and left Greece. At that time he also arranged for reconstituting the Euboean League.⁹⁷ In gratitude for the removal of troops, the Euboeans instituted games in honor of the goddess Roma – the Romalia. The games were sponsored by the League and were celebrated at Chalkis, which was the capital city.⁹⁸ These were the earliest honors to Roma on mainland Greece.⁹⁹

Two years later, in 192, Antiochos took over Chalkis and used it as the base for his operations. Plutarch reports an incident which arose just after Antiochos had been defeated in 191. At that time Flamininus and Glabrio disagreed on the punishment for Chalkis. Angered at the citizens for receiving Antiochos, Glabrio wished to punish them. Flamininus, however, intervened on behalf of Chalkis.¹⁰⁰ Mellor comments that here one must use caution in accepting Plutarch entirely. In the Syrian Wars 21, Appian states that Glabrio pardoned Chalkis. Possibly Plutarch was biased against Glabrio for authorizing the sack of Coronea, near Plutarch's home, Chaeronea.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the honors the city showered on Flamininus indicate that Flamininus had done something valuable for

Chalkis. Perhaps the honors were partially in thanks for reconstituting the Euboean League. As capital of the League, Chalkis was in a position to gain financially from the influx of other Euboeans when meetings of the League took place.

Plutarch reports the following divine honors for Flamininus at Chalkis: a gymnasium dedicated to Flamininus and Herakles, a Delphinion dedicated to Flamininus and Apollo, a priesthood established to Flamininus, and a hymn written in his honor praising him as Savior.¹⁰² Physical evidence of these honors exists today. A marble base found at Chalkis records the names of two gymnasiarchs who dedicated a statue to Flamininus as soter and euregetes (List I.8, II.B.1). The statue probably stood in the gymnasium dedicated to Flamininus.

Eretria also honored Flamininus although not with so many honors as Chalkis had. A second century B.C. fragmentary inscription (List I.7) records a decree ordering a statue of Flamininus to be placed in the temple of Artemis at Amarynthos.¹⁰³ To have a statue placed inside the temple of a god was a high honor indeed! Another fragmentary inscription (List I.6) from Eretria reads: TIT[---] TITO[---]. The excavator of Eretria, P. Themelis, suggests that the inscription pertains to Flamininus.¹⁰⁴ Possibly, the inscription was from a statue base, although the piece is too fragmentary to be certain.

Flamininus may have acted on Eretria's behalf as he had for Chalkis. Since Roman forces had burned Eretria in 198, when these same troops marched out of the city in 194, the citizens' relief must have been considerable. Honoring the man who had accomplished this troop removal was indeed appropriate.

List I.12	Scotussa:	189-8	T. T.(f.) Quinctius
	Praÿlos Pholxinou		(Flamininus)

The donor of this statue, Praÿlos, was the second private individual to dedicate a statue of a Roman. Like Aristainos, Praÿlos was a political leader – strategos of the Thessalian League 190-189. The editor of the statue inscription, E. Mastrokostas, suggests two possible reasons why Praÿlos honored Flamininus with a statue. Flamininus gave Scotussa local territory which the Romans had captured just as he had done for Chyretlae, another Thessalian town,¹⁰⁵ and Flamininus helped Praÿlos to be elected strategos.¹⁰⁶ Since the motive given for the statue noted Flamininus' "virtue and right-mindedness to him (Praÿlos) and the city of Scotussa" II. 3-4 [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας/ [τ]ῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, both reasons may be correct.

Daux notes that like Flamininus, Praÿlos was also honored with proxeny status at Delphi (SIG³ 585 I. 113). Daux postulates that both men were honored in the same year, and that there may have been a link between the proxenies at Delphi and the statue of Flamininus at Scotussa.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps Flamininus had something to do with Praÿlos receiving the proxeny in Delphi.

List I.13	Polyrrhenia,	?189	Cn. Cornelius Cn.f.
	Crete		Scipio Hispanus

List II.E.2	<u>euergetes</u>
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List V.21	Aptera, Crete	c.189	a. [L. Corne]llus P.(f.) Scipio <u>[strategos hypatos]</u> b. P. Cornel[ius P.(f.)] [Scipio]. c. Cn. Cn.(f.) Cornel[ius] [Scipio Hispanus] d. L. M.(f.) Aem[ilius] [Regillus]
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The identity of the honoree of the statue at Polyrrenia is uncertain. The first editor of the inscription, J.L. Myres, maintained that the honoree was the man who went to Carthage as praetor in 139.¹⁰⁸ This position is followed by Münzer,¹⁰⁹ and the editors of IGR: Cagant, Toutain and Jouguet.¹¹⁰ Only Münzer attempts to explain the visit to Crete: as a visit Scipio made after completing the affairs in Carthage. The visit must have been unofficial as there is no literary testimony for an embassy to Crete.

Guarducci, the editor of the IC, maintains that this Scipio was the same man honored in a proxeny decree from Aptera, Crete (List V.21.c), dating to the same period as the statue. The decree honored four prominent Romans: L. Cornelius Scipio, his brother P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, and L. Aemilius Regillus.¹¹¹ Both L. and P. Cornelius Scipio fought against Antiochos in Asia Minor and L. Scipio defeated the Seleucid king at Magnesia in 189. As praetor classis Regillus had been in charge of the naval operations of that war and had defeated the king's fleet at Myonnesos. These men travelled back to Italy together and during the voyage stopped off at Crete. There they met Hispanus, cousin of the Scipios, who happened to be in the area and shared in the proxeny at Aptera. The proxeny decree is the only testimony to their stop in Crete.¹¹² Possibly they stopped off to see how their colleague, Q. Fabius Labio, was faring with his campaign in the area. Another possibility is that Hispanus was a legate under L. Scipio and that

all four men were travelling together.¹¹³ If so, perhaps Polyrrhenia erected statues to the others in the party as well.

B. 171–167 B.C. The Third Macedonian War: Perseus

1. Period Before the War and the War Itself

The period between the Rome–Antiochos war and the Third Macedonian War was uneasy. Philip acquired more territory for Macedonia through military action, raised the level of prosperity for Macedonia and successfully fought back barbarians who threatened to invade from the North. However, Philip's territorial acquisitions in Thessaly roused complaints from the Thessalians, bringing Roman intervention once again. In 185 a Roman commission sent to Greece ordered Philip to remove his garrisons from most of the Thessalian areas he had occupied, and by so doing Macedonia was restricted to its ancient boundaries. A second commission investigated the case of two Thracian cities, Aenus and Maronea, which Philip occupied and Eumenes of Pergamon claimed. Influenced by the cities' complaints concerning Macedonian garrisons and lack of free speech, yet somewhat uncertain as to whether Macedon or Pergamon was in the right, the commission turned the matter over to the Senate. The Senate ordered the Macedonian garrisons removed and freed the cities, giving them to neither claimant since the Macedonian border did not traditionally include the contested cities and there was no real justification for giving the cities to Pergamon. Although these orders angered Philip, he reluctantly obeyed, since he was not yet prepared for another war against the Romans.¹¹⁴

We cannot know if Philip actually planned a war, for he died in 179

before armed conflict came about. His son, Perseus, the new Macedonian king, might have ruled in peace, but from the time of his succession he was considered an enemy of Rome. Perhaps his reputation had been tarnished by his part in the murder of his philo-Roman brother, Demetrius, who had been popular at Rome. However, it is certain that during a visit to Rome in 172, Eumenes, Perseus' enemy, encouraged any suspicions the Romans had about Perseus' military activities.¹¹⁵ An accident involving Eumenes sparked the war. Near Delphi, a falling rock struck Eumenes and he almost died. Once recovered, Eumenes accused Perseus of having instigated an attempt on his life. Whether or not the accusation was valid, it was sufficient provocation for Rome to declare war on Perseus.¹¹⁶

List I.14 Athens 175 D. Cossutius P.(f.)

The inscription honors a civilian rather than a military leader. Cossutius was a Roman architect employed by the philhellene, Antiochos Epiphanes of Syria, to build the superstructure for the unfinished temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens. The foundations had been laid in the fifth century during the regime of Peisistratus but construction had been abandoned after the overthrow of the Peisistratidae. The statue of Cossutius must have been erected near the temple, for that is where the inscription was found.¹¹⁷ This is the first example in Greece of a statue honoring a Roman civilian, and it is the earliest example of a statue of a Roman in Athens.

List I.15	Acraephia	171-167	P. Cornelius L.f. Lentulus
List II.B.2			<u>soter kai</u> <u>euergetes</u>
List I.16	Coroneia	c.170	P. or Q. [Muclius] Q.f. S[caevola] <u>[stra]tegos</u>

During the Third Macedonian War three Boeotian cities, Hallartus, Thisbe, and Coroneia remained loyal to Macedon while the rest of Boeotia sided with Rome. In 171 the Romans, led by Lucretius Gallus, besieged Hallartus and the city capitulated. In revenge for the city's loyalty to Macedon, the Romans murdered many citizens, sold the survivors into slavery, looted the city, and gave the territory of Hallartus to Athens. The lesson was not lost on Thisbe, for when Roman troops threatened her, she surrendered easily and the Romans enslaved only the pro-Macedonian citizens. Coroneia held out but was either captured or capitulated without a fight.¹¹⁸

As a tribunus militum under P. Licinius Crassus in 171, Lentulus supervised military actions in Boeotia. He besieged Hallartus until he was relieved by a superior officer, the praetor Lucretius Gallus, who, as noted above, destroyed the city.¹¹⁹ The editor of the Acraephia inscription, M. Feyel, proposes several explanations why Acraephia honored Lentulus with a statue (List I.15). Lentulus either prevented the pro-Roman city from being destroyed by its pro-Macedonian neighbors, or he protected the city at a later date (167) when he was in Greece as legatus under Aemilius Paullus.¹²⁰ However, one further suggestion of Feyel's seems most feasible. In 171 Lentulus may have interceded with the Roman authorities on behalf of Acraephia to prevent the city from suffering the same fate as

Haliartus. Given the fact that Roman troops had destroyed a city only ten miles southwest of Acraephia. It is possible that Lentulus protected Acraephia from a Roman attack. The city may have been suspected of pro-Macedonian leanings since it was located so close to a known pro-Macedonian city. Indeed, since the statue inscription hails Lentulus as Savior and Benefactor, Lentulus' actions for the city were undoubtedly as important as Feyer indicates.¹²¹

The Coronela inscription (List I.16) is fragmentary and there are questions concerning the identity of the honoree. The entire inscription reads:

Ὁ δῆμο[ς-----]κοίντου
υἱὸν Σ[-----στρα]τηγὸ[ς].

The honoree of the inscription may be associated with an inscription from Thisbe. After Thisbe surrendered to Roman forces, city envoys traveled to Rome to obtain rulings on certain political and legal situations arising from the surrender. A senatus consultum concerning these affairs (IG VII 2225 = SIG³ 646) shows that the Romans repealed some of the harsh orders against the city. Thisbean territory, declared ager publicus after the surrender, was now restored to the city, as were harbors, revenues, and mountain pastures.¹²² A reference to Coronela at the end of the inscription suggests that an embassy from Coronela was in Rome at the same time on a similar mission.¹²³ One of the Roman witnesses in the Thisbe document was a P. Mucius Scaevola (IG VII 2225 I.15). The editor of the Coronela honorific inscription, S. Lauffer, suggests that P. Mucius Scaevola may have been the honoree of the statue base inscription.¹²⁴ Scaevola may have been one of the senators who aided the Coronelan embassy in Rome. The embassy from Coronela (or at least the pro-

Roman party) won fairly good treatment for the city judging from a fragmentary inscription (SC de Coronaels) which has several lines similar to the SC de Thisbensibus.¹²⁵

Lauffer mentions a P. Mucius who was legatus in the Roman army in Greece in the same period. However, two points argue against this suggestion. First, that Mucius Scaevola was not P. Mucius, but Q. Mucius.¹²⁶ Second, to complete the title in the inscription Lauffer proposes the term ὑποστράτηγος as the Greek equivalent of legatus. This is a valid equivalent, but it is not found in inscriptions. Rather, it is a literary term used in particular by Dio Cassius.¹²⁷ The standard term for legatus in all of its senses, military and non-military (i.e., envoy), was πρεσβεύτης.¹²⁸

Lauffer's suggestion that the honoree was P. Mucius Q.f. Scaevola, a senator aiding the Coroneians in Rome is a good one. The title of the honoree may be στρα]τηγός[ν]/ [ὑπατον Ῥωμαίων]. In 179 P. Mucius Q.f. Scaevola was praetor urbanus and in 175 consul, which was his last public office.¹²⁹ If he was the witness mentioned in the Thisbe decree of 170, he had not been consul for five years. Perhaps in the Coroneia inscription the Greeks meant to give him extra honor by using the title of consul, στρατηγός ὑπατος even though he no longer held that office.

The next two honors to be discussed, proxenies, tie in with the difficulty Rome had in controlling her commanders who often made unreasonable demands on the Greek allies or, as we have seen in the case of Hallartus, looted and destroyed Greek cities.

In 170 the praetor commanding the Roman fleet, L. Hortensius, captured Abdera when the city did not grant his request for a large amount of grain and 10,000 denarii. Hortensius sacked the city and sold its citizens into slavery.¹³⁰ This was not his only violent deed for he also mistreated the people of Chalkis.¹³¹ Once Hortensius was again in Rome, the Senate charged him with unnecessary cruelty to Abdera and made whatever restitutions it could.¹³²

Despite these heinous actions, Hortensius may have been the recipient of a proxeny in Athens. The decree granting the award is badly damaged at the place where the honoree is named, so it is uncertain who the recipient was, other than that he was a Roman named Lucius.¹³⁷ The decree is interesting for two reasons. First, it is the only extant Republican period proxeny decree from Athens for a Roman. Second, the honoree was also awarded an olive crown which he seems to have earned on his own merits: II. 3-5 στεφανῶσ[αι αὐτὸν θαλλο]ῦ σ[τ]εφάνῳ εὐνοίας ἔ[νε/κεν τῆς] π[ρὸς] Ἀθηναίους. But the other honors granted him, proxeny and enktesis, were honors which he had requested: ...δεδῶ[σθαι/ δέ αὐτῷ κ]αὶ [πρ]οξε[ν]ί[αν] καὶ γῆς καὶ ο[ί]κ[ου] ἔγκτησιν αἰτήσα[μέν]οι... This is the only known example of a Roman having requested these honors although requesting honors was a common practice among Greeks.¹³⁴

An inscription from Delos (ID 461 Aa II.82f.) may provide insight into identifying the honoree of the proxeny decree. The Delos inscription records that in 169 money was designated for a crown for L. Hortensius. As commander of a naval squadron, Hortensius may have briefly docked his fleet at both Delos and at the Pelraeus, the port of Athens. In 169

Delos was still enjoying her independence from Athens, yet there may have been a link between the two cities. It is possible that the Delian crown for Hortensius prompted the motion for a crown for him in Athens, and gave him the idea to request further honors in that famous city. We cannot be sure what actions Hortensius performed to win the crowns but possibly he gave donations to the local sanctuaries. That the awards were given out of fear lest the cities suffer the fate of Abdera and Chalkis seems unlikely, for Athens was a strong Roman ally and Delos was neutral, so threats from a Roman commander would have been both unnecessary and self-defeating.¹³⁵

List V.25 Argos: 170 Cn. Octavius Cn.(f.)
 Achaean kolon

In 170, A. Hostilius Mancinus, the Roman commander in Greece, sent an embassy to the Greek states to announce a decree of the Senate designed to check excessive demands and actions of Roman commanders. The decree stated that Greek states were to grant only those requests of Roman commanders which had been approved by the Senate. Two of the envoys, Popilius Laenas and Cn. Octavius, met with the Achaeans in Argos to deliver the message.¹³⁶ In gratitude the Achaean League awarded the proxeny, citizenship, and several attendant privileges to Octavius. A similar decree may also have existed for Popilius.¹³⁷

Achaean sympathy for Octavius may also have been due to the fact that he, like Flamininus, spoke Greek and endeared himself to the Achaeans. As we shall see, his knowledge of Greek was useful at the end of the war.¹³⁸

List I.17	Olympia: Achaean <u>kolonon</u>	?169	Q. Marcius L.f. Philippus <u>strategos hypatos</u>
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List IV.2	Andreas and Aristomachos (sculptors)
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Q. Marcius Philippus, the consul of 169, commanded operations in Greece that year. As commander he had two noteworthy encounters with the Achaean League. When Philippus and his army entered the Balkan peninsula, they had to make a difficult mountain march to reach the south coast of Macedonia. On the march they met an Achaean embassy, led by Polybius, which came to inform the consul of Achaean willingness to aid the Romans with troops. But by the time the information was conveyed, the journey to Macedonia had been completed and Philippus refused the offered aid.¹³⁹ Polybius remained with Philippus while the other members of the embassy returned to Achaia to make their report.

Shortly thereafter, Appius Claudius Centho, commander in Illyria and Epirus, asked the Achaeans to send him 5,000 men. When Philippus heard of the request, he sent Polybius back to Achaia recommending refusal. Rather than reporting Philippus' orders, Polybius cited the Senate's decree that Greek states were not to grant requests from Roman commanders unless the requests had Senate approval. As a result, the Achaeans did not send the troops, although Claudius' demand had not been excessive.¹⁴⁰

Q. Marcius Philippus was honored with an equestrian statue (List I.17). The editor of the Philippus inscription, Emil Kunze, connects the erection of the statue with the first incident mentioned above.¹⁴¹ However, the second incident mentioned above, may have been a more appropriate occasion for the honor. If the Achaeans had set up the statue before or

after sending the embassy, it would have been a mark of pure flattery, perhaps stemming from fear of the general's anger. It is true that the honorific inscription was tampered with, for the name of Philippus and title were inscribed in a rasura, thus indicating that Philippus either replaced a previous Roman,¹⁴² or the cutter made mistakes which could be corrected only by completely erasing the name and title.

Philippus was honored for his "virtue, nobility of character and goodness to the Achaeans and other Greeks": II. 2-4 ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ καλοκα'γαθίας τᾶς εἰς αὐ/τους καὶ τοῦς ἄλλους Ἑλλανας. Even if the statue had been originally intended for someone else, the motive fit Philippus well in the context of the second incident. By dissuading the Achaeans from sending troops to Claudius, Philippus spared those men who would have gone to fight and perhaps die. Since Polybius had acted in concert with Philippus in his report to the Achaeans, perhaps he instigated the erection of the statue.

List I.18 Abdera 168 [C.] Apustius M.f.
 [demos]

Two decrees from Abdera may have been linked to Hortensius' sack of that city.¹⁴³ One is a fragmentary decree honoring P. Apustius C.f. for whom the exact nature of the honors is unknown since the decree breaks off just before the honors are listed.¹⁴⁴ The other decree (List I.18) is more complete and informative. It records honors including a statue for C. Apustius M.f. and further honors for P. Apustius who seems to have been his son.¹⁴⁵

We are fortunate to have the decree awarding the statue, for neither the statue nor its base is extant. The decree awarded the following

honors (II. 19–34): proedria at the Games of Dionysos for Galus, gold crowns each for Galus and Publius,¹⁴⁶ and a gilt inscribed statue worth 200 Alexanders for Galus. The decree was to be inscribed and put in the sanctuary of Dionysos near the statue of Soterichos, and the statue was to be set up in a place whose name began θεσσ...¹⁴⁷ The decree also records the inscription which would be put on the statue base (II. 35–41). The statue base inscription was unusually long for it listed several additional honors for Galus which were commonly found in grants of proxeny: citizenship (politeia restored), right of port entry and exit (eisplous, ekplous) inviolability of person and goods (asyleia), right to act without a treaty (aspondela), and entry into the boule and demos first after the public sacrifices (ephodon).

Uncertainty surrounds the identity of the Apustil and the date of the decrees. That the men were involved in commerce in some way is suggested by the provisions for port entry and exit, something which would be valuable to merchants. According to the decree, the Apustil helped guarantee the freedom of Abdera, II. 36f. [...γενόμενον τῆς/ ἐλευθέριας τῇ πόλει ἡμῶ]ν.... The guarantee of freedom may have been linked with one or two historical events concerning Abdera: the sack of Abdera in 170 or the attempt of the Thracian king, Kotys, to acquire the city in 166. Possibly the Apustil gave Abdera money after the sack of 170, or, if they were in Rome at the time, they may have complained about Hortensius' brutality. If, as Avezou and Picard suggest, they were members of the plebeian gens of Apustil,¹⁴⁸ they may have had some influence in the Senate when Hortensius was reprimanded. The honors to the Apustil may have stemmed from their part in gaining restitutions for the city and

freeing the Abderites Hortensius had enslaved.¹⁴⁹

The other event occurred a few years later. In 166 Kotys of Thrace made overtures to gain possession of Abdera claiming that, because of its location in Thrace, the city was rightfully his. Frightened, the Abderites called on their mother city, Teos, for aid. As Teos had representatives in Rome, she used these men to present Abdera's case before the Senate and won the city's freedom.¹⁵⁰ In Rome the Apustil may have acted with the Telians on behalf of Abdera.¹⁵¹ If so, they would have acted as Abdera's patrons, so perhaps one may read [πάτρωνα γενόμενον] for Galus in line 36.¹⁵² In gratitude, the Abderites gave the honors recorded in the decree just noted.

The statue decree for C. Apustilius is of interest for a number of reasons. First, it is one of the few known incidences in the Republic of a statue granted to a Roman who was not linked to military or administrative activities. Statues of non-government men appear occasionally in the later Republic, but they are out-numbered by those of administrative and military people.¹⁵³ The proxeny was an honor more commonly awarded to non-government Romans and Italians.¹⁵⁴

Second, the decree for C. Apustilius is one of only four extant honorary decrees awarding statues to Romans. The other decrees are to Flamininus (List I.7), M. Minatilius (List I.35), and Q. Braetilius Sura (List I.90).

Third, as noted above, the Abderites awarded C. Apustilius several privileges normally given a proxenos, and these honors were to be recorded on the base of his statue. The notation of similar privileges does not occur in other extant statue base inscriptions. Either similar

privileges were not generally awarded to those granted statues or, if they were awarded, they were not recorded on statue base inscriptions.

Perhaps these privileges demonstrate that Apustius' actions for Abdera were of exceptional value since they seem not to have been awarded to other Romans who received statues. It is interesting to note, however, that despite the fact that Apustius was cited as having guaranteed the freedom of Abdera, there is no mention of giving him the honorific title soter which one might expect for such an action. Perhaps this title would only be given to a ranking military officer of the caliber of a Flamininus.

Fourth, the decree indicated that the statue was to be gilt (epichryson l. 28). The statue must have been made of metal, probably bronze, since marble statues would not have been painted gold. The decree is the only evidence that statues of Romans in Greece could have been gilt since no gilt statues now exist.

Fifth, the cost of the statue is noted as 200 Alexanders, and this is the only instance where an item of cost is mentioned. After the death of Alexander the Great many cities minted coins modelled on Alexander's coin type: obverse - head of young Herakles wearing a lion-skin; reverse - Zeus seated on a throne, left, holding an eagle in his outstretched right hand and a sceptre in the left.¹⁵⁵ The coins were very common in the Hellenistic period on into the first century B.C. and cannot aid in dating the inscription more precisely.¹⁵⁶

2. Roman Disposition of Macedonia at the End of the Third Macedonian War

Various Roman generals carried on the war in both Greece and Illyria, for the Illyrian king, Gentius, had allied himself with Perseus. War

continued in both regions until the spring of 168. At that time in Illyria the praetor, L. Anicius Gallus, defeated and captured Genthius at Scodra, and somewhat later in Greece the consul of 168, L. Aemilius Paullus, defeated Perseus at Pydna. Perseus was not captured at Pydna, but escaped to Samothrace where his family was located. Finding his former allies now opposing him, Perseus surrendered to Cn. Octavius, who turned him over to Paullus.¹⁵⁷

As before, the Senate organized commissions to work with commanding officers in settling affairs in Illyria and Macedonia – five men went to Illyria to work with Anicius and ten men went to Macedonia to work with Aemilius Paullus.¹⁵⁸ Illyria was divided into three sections and Macedonia into four. Following previous policy, the people of both areas were declared free but they were required to pay a tribute to Rome.¹⁵⁹ As we shall see, Rome also imposed other restrictions on Macedonia to prevent her from again becoming a great power in the future.

Paullus continued his command in Greece as proconsul for 167. While awaiting the arrival of the Senate commission, Paullus and his sons toured Greece. One stop was Delphi, where Paullus sacrificed to Apollo. There he saw an unfinished pillar honoring the Macedonian king, Perseus, who had visited the sanctuary in 174. Impressed by the monument, Paullus requested that a statue of himself be erected in place of that of the conquered king.¹⁶⁰ The caretakers of the sanctuary duly complied.

The pillar of Aemilius Paullus, once located in front of the Southeast corner of the Apollo temple, now no longer stands there.¹⁶¹ In the museum at Delphi are many large fragments of the pillar on which are recorded several later proxeny decrees to Romans¹⁶² and a Latin

Inscription commemorating Paullus' victory over Perseus and Macedonia. (FD III 4 36):

L. Almillus L.f. Inperator de rege Perse
Macedonibusque cepet (sic)

The pillar once supported a statue of Paullus on a rearing horse.¹⁶³ Around the top of the pillar was a bas-relief frieze depicting scenes from the battle of Pydna.¹⁶⁴ The victory monument honored Paullus, but it was not a dedication voluntarily offered by Greeks. Rather it was in part the victor's booty altered according to his request.¹⁶⁵ Although this was not a true Greek honorific monument, it is possible that the Amphictyonic League or the city of Delphi had erected another monument in Paullus' honor. Since there were two statues of Eumenes II in the sanctuary, two statues of Paullus may also have existed.¹⁶⁶

In 167, after his tour of Greece, at Amphipolis with the ten commissioners in attendance, Paullus announced the Senate's decisions concerning Macedonia. The state was now to be divided into four separate regions. Each region had a republican form of government and its own capital: Region I - Amphipolis; Region II - Thessalonike; Region III - Pella; and Region IV - Pelagonia.¹⁶⁷ Rome installed polearchs as the main administrators of local communities.¹⁶⁸ Rome forbade intermarriage between citizens of different regions and restricted trade, and closed the mines, whose riches had enabled Perseus and other Macedonian monarchs to build their power. In theory, these divisions and regulations could have succeeded if the Macedonians had been content. However, the divisions and regulations split the Macedonians apart. Despite the regional differences among the peoples, the inhabitants of the area considered themselves a single Macedonian people, and the divisions ran counter to

this feeling of unity.¹⁶⁹ As we shall see, their discontent caused Rome difficulties and brought on another Macedonian War.

Following the assembly at Amphipolis the commissioners separated and went to different parts of Greece to deal with the Macedonian allies. One group of supposed allies was composed of certain Achaeans. Despite Achaea's support of Rome early in the war, 1,000 Achaeans, including Polybius were suspected of complicity with Macedon because they had not complied with Roman wishes as much as Rome would have liked. These men were consequently sent to Rome where they awaited a trial which never took place. The surviving hostages were allowed to return to Greece only in 151. Thanks to his Roman captivity, however, Polybius became well acquainted with Rome and the Romans (including Scipio Aemilianus). Polybius later wrote a history which is our best source for events of the period because he was present when many of the events he describes occurred.¹⁷⁰

Rome also punished Rhodes for suspected complicity with Perseus and took away the territories on the mainland of Asia Minor which she had allotted her earlier.¹⁷¹ The consequences of this action pertain to the rise of Delos' power and will be discussed in Chapter IV.

List 1.19	Echinos	168-7	Cn. Octavius Cn.f. <u>strategos</u>
List 1.20	Olympia: <u>[polis]</u> of Elis	?167	Cn. Octa[vius] <u>[strategos]</u>

During the war against Perseus, Cn. Octavius was praetor in charge of the fleet (praetor classis). The Echinos inscription (List 1.19) called Octavius strategos nautikou, which was a description of his role as praetor

classis rather than a transliteration of the Latin title.¹⁷² Livy (44.21.3) records that Octavius was in the area of Echinus (more specifically, he was in Oreos, Euboea, which was across the water and about 20 miles East of Echinus) and Demetrias, which was also not far North East of Echinus.¹⁷³ Possibly he also stopped at Echinus, and the people there may have set up a statue to flatter him.

Following the battle of Pydna, Octavius with his fleet pursued Perseus to Samothrace and there accepted his surrender. Octavius sent Perseus and his family to Aemilius Paullus and eventually joined Paullus at Amphipolis. When the decisions of the Senate concerning Macedonia were passed on to the Greeks, Octavius translated into Greek what Paullus announced in Latin.¹⁷⁴ On his return to Italy, Octavius may have passed through Olympia where the Ellians erected a statue (List I.20) possibly to flatter the man who had captured Perseus.

In addition to the statue base inscriptions and the Achaean proxeny (List V.25) Octavius is known in an inscription from Delos. On the island he dedicated a laurel crown to Apollo (ID 1429 A col.1 ll.11ff). Holleaux maintains that this dedication came not at the time when Octavius was praetor classis in 168-7 but when he was an ambassador to Greece and the Orient in 164. The inscription calls him hypatos which is an abridgement for strategos hypatos, consul. In according him that title, the Delians ignored the fact that Octavius was no longer consul.¹⁷⁵

List I.21	Amphipolis <u>demos</u>	?167	Cn. Domitius Cn.f. Ahenobarbus
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List II.E.3	<u>euergetes</u>
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The most recent editor of this inscription, Carl Schuler, submits that

the honoree of the inscription was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, praetor of 170 and one of the ten commissioners sent to aid Aemilius Paullus.¹⁷⁶ Since we know both that a Cn. Domitius was indeed one of the ten and that he was with Paullus at Amphipolis when Paullus read the decree concerning Macedonia,¹⁷⁷ Schuler's supposition is plausible.

Domitius was noted as evergetes in the inscription. The title and the statue may have been awarded for some specific action or were mere flattery for a commissioner. Undoubtedly, statues existed both for the other members of the commission and for Aemilius Paullus, but only evidence for Domitius' statue remains.¹⁷⁸ Amphipolis surely benefited from the Roman arrangements because she became the capital of the region of Macedonia I, so rewards for the men who made this possible would have been in order.

C. 149–148 B.C. The Fourth Macedonian War: Andriscus

The period following 167 was one of unrest in Macedonia. The four Macedonian republics were unaccustomed to democracy and were without leaders capable of making the new system work. Consequently, factions and quarrels arose. In response, Rome sent envoys to the troubled area to attempt to quell the discontent and to unite the factions. One aspect of the pacification was the reopening of the mines in 158. Nevertheless, this action and others provided only temporary solutions. In 149 the Macedonians welcomed as king a man named Andriscus who claimed to be a son of Perseus. Rome, so long anti-monarchical, would not tolerate the presence of a king in an area where she had abolished that form of government. Andriscus' incursions into Thessaly in 149 sparked the Fourth

Macedonian War since the Romans returned to Greece with a small force, (one legion) to march against him. However, the Romans underestimated Andriscus and their troops were defeated. The next commander, the praetor Q. Caecilius Metellus, had a larger army and was more successful. Late in 148 Metellus defeated Andriscus and brought an end to the revolt.

This time the Romans did not grant freedom to Macedonia since they saw that Macedonia was unfamiliar with self-government along republican lines. Instead, Rome abolished the four divisions of Macedonia and made it into one Roman province for which Thessalonike became the capital. To administer the province Rome provided a governor, who also had under his jurisdiction Illyria, Epirus, and those parts of Greece which had sided with Perseus.¹⁷⁹ To facilitate official and military communication between Illyria and Macedonia, Rome saw to the construction of the Via Egnatia which ran from Epidamnos to Thessalonike. The road also made trade easier and thus helped the area to prosper economically.¹⁸⁰ Although the Macedonians were happy to be united again, Macedonia was no longer a free state; local assemblies met but the governor and Rome handled external affairs.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the willingness of the Macedonians to follow Andriscus suggests that they were probably more comfortable living under the leadership of one man than under the democratic society the Romans had organized in 167.

Although Metellus may have made the arrangements for the organization, he seems not to have been the man who officially organized Macedonia as a province. There is no evidence that commissioners came to him to help him in the organization, and the presence of commissioners was a necessary prerequisite for provincial organization. After the war

against Andriscus. Metellus had to squelch an uprising of another pretender to the Macedonian throne, and not long thereafter he was involved in fighting the Achaeans. For one or more of the following reasons, the organization of Macedonia as a province may have been left to Mummius and the commission which came to help him organize Achaia. Perhaps there had not been enough time to send a commission to Metellus before hostilities broke out in Greece; there had been political maneuvering in Rome favoring Mummius; the Senate had desired to send only one commission for settling both areas.¹⁸²

List I.24	Thessalonike <u>polis</u>	148	Q. Caeci[lius Q.(n). Metellus] <u>strategos a[nthypatos]</u>
List II.B.3			<u>so[ter]. [euergetes]</u>
List I.34	Olympia: Damon, son of Nikanor, from Thessalonike	143	Q. Caecilius Q.(f.) Metellus <u>strategos hypatos</u>

Metellus may have used Thessalonike as his headquarters during the war against Andriscus. If so, he and his men would have generated business for the city. Although Metellus may not have officially organized Macedonia, he may have suggested both that Thessalonike become the capital of the new province and that she be given the status liberae condiclonis.¹⁸³ two arrangements which benefitted the city greatly. As capital, Thessalonike became a large, wealthy city¹⁸⁴ prospering in the trade along the Via Egnatia. As a city liberae condiclonis, she may have been free from paying taxes to Rome. If these conjectures are true, then the statue (I.24) and the appellations soter and euergetes which she gave Metellus would have been warranted.

The statue of Metellus at Olympia (List I.34) was donated after Metellus' return to Rome. Damon, a leading citizen of Thessalonike, had possibly received some special favor from Metellus or some position working along with Romans in administering Macedonia. The reason given for the grant of the statue was Metellus' "virtue and rightmindedness to Damon, to Damon's fatherland (Thessalonike), the rest of the Macedonians, and the other Greeks" (II. 5-7):

ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατε-
 λεῖ εἰς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας.

This may refer to other benefits Metellus may have bestowed on the city (e.g., making the city the provincial capital and giving her the status liberae condicionis), and Macedonia and may also refer to his conquests in the war against the Achaeans. The fact that the statue was erected in Olympia rather than in Thessalonike was an additional honor, since more people (i.e., Romans in particular) would see the statue at Olympia than at Thessalonike.

D. 146 B.C. The Achaean War

On the heels of the Fourth Macedonian War came the war of the Romans and the Achaeans. Unlike the previous wars in which Rome had been engaged against a ruling monarch, this war was directed against a ruling group – the Achaean League. However, a familiar problem sparked the war: the struggle of a city to regain its liberty from a stronger power. Rome saw that the League was forcing individual cities to associate with it. This situation not only created friction but also ran counter to the principle of liberty which Rome had tried to achieve in Greece. Rome therefore

involved herself in another Greek war. The result of the war was a temporary dissolution of the League for the sake of the freedom of individual cities.¹⁸⁵

A conflict between Sparta and Achaea triggered the hostilities between Rome and Achaea. In 148 Sparta, ill-content as a member of the Achaean League, seceded. Viewing the secession as a power loss, Achaea sent troops to invade Spartan territory and they defeated the defending Spartans. With forces occupied in other combat zones including Macedonia, Rome made no effort to intervene militarily. Metellus had been given orders to keep an eye on Greece while he was in Macedonia, and upon learning of the unrest to the South, he sent ambassadors to Greece to forestall further attacks.¹⁸⁶ As a result of the embassy the Achaean leader, Diaeus, agreed to a truce and to await the arrival of ambassadors from Rome. However, the later Roman embassy quashed any hopes Diaeus had for a decision favoring Achaea. In 147, L. Aurelius Orestes, leader of the Senate embassy, announced the Senate orders to detach Sparta and several other cities including Argos and Corinth from the Achaean League. Incensed at the orders, the Achaean leaders raised a cry of protest,¹⁸⁷ and with the support of Boeotia, Euboea, Phocis and Locris, whose leagues had also been dissolved by the Romans,¹⁸⁸ the Achaean League went to war against Rome in 146.

The first Roman general to engage the Achaean allies in combat was Metellus, who was now free from entanglements in Macedonia. From Macedonia Metellus moved his troops through central Greece, successfully defeating the Achaeans and their allies. He continued in command until he was succeeded by the new consul, L. Mummius, who ended the war by

defeating the Achaeans at the Isthmus.¹⁸⁹

As before, a commission of ten arrived from Rome to aid the commander in settling affairs in Greece and Macedonia.¹⁹⁰ One message the commission brought was that the Greeks needed a warning for trying Rome's patience. The warning came in the form of destruction: Corinth, site of so many meetings of the Achaean League, was sacked, and razed and its population sold into slavery; Thebes and Chalkis had their walls dismantled. Satisfied with these scapegoats, the Romans did little damage to other Greek cities.¹⁹¹ The other arrangements Rome made were not so harsh. Greece was not made a Roman province, but it was made a Roman protectorate under the supervision of the governor of Macedonia. In general, the freedom declared for Greece in 196 was still in effect,¹⁹² but not every region enjoyed this freedom equally. Areas whose inhabitants had been active in fighting Rome in the Achaean War (e.g., the Corinthia, Boeotia, and Euboea) were treated almost like provinces and were taxed by Rome.¹⁹³ Although the cities in the restricted areas were still autonomous, Rome made some constitutional changes by placing the upper classes in charge of local administration. All areas had to take direction from Rome through the authority of the governor of Macedonia.¹⁹⁴ Rome dissolved all federal leagues but apparently restored them a short time later.¹⁹⁵ Rome must have limited the autonomy of these reconstituted leagues to some extent since after 146 Athens was the only state in Greece allowed to issue money.¹⁹⁶ Rome's intervention in Greek affairs was now almost complete as she was now dictating not only which forms of government could exist but also whether or not a state could issue coinage. Yet it was more than 100 years before Greece

officially became a Roman province.

List I.25	Hyampolis	146	[Q. Caecilius] Q.(f.) Metellus <u>[strategos anthy]patos</u>
List IV.3	[Eubouildes Eu]cheiros, Athenian (sculptor)		
List I.26	Megara	146	Q. Caecilius Q.(f.) Metellus <u>euergetes</u>
List II.E.4			
List I.27	Hypata: Ainian <u>kolnon</u>	146	Q. Caecilius Q.f. Metellus

During the war against the Achaeans Metellus engaged in considerable military activity in central Greece. He defeated the Achaeans at Scarpheia and Chaeronela,¹⁹⁷ then occupied Thebes which had been deserted by its inhabitants. Pausanias reports that Metellus treated Thebes well. He neither burned sanctuaries, destroyed property, killed nor took prisoner any remaining Thebans.¹⁹⁸ From Thebes, Metellus marched into Phocis and won a battle against those Achaeans who had recently arrived from the Peloponnesos.¹⁹⁹ After the battle in Phocis, Metellus proceeded into Megara which surrendered without a fight.²⁰⁰ From here he marched to the Isthmus, where he learned of Mummius' arrival, and then returned to Macedonia with his troops.²⁰¹

The Inscription in Hyampolis (List I.25), the capital of the district of Aenela, noted Metellus' euergesia while the Inscription from Megara (List I.26) called him euergetes. From Metellus' exemplary behavior toward the Thebans, one may deduce that he treated the citizens of these two cities in a similarly generous manner. The statues from these cities may have been set up in gratitude and relief that Metellus did not harm them.

Granted, neither city was in Euboea or Boeotia which had sided with the Achaeans, but, as we have seen in the case of Hortensius and Abdera, Roman commanders in the past had thought nothing of harming even cities friendly to Rome.

Hyampolis may have had another reason for honoring Metellus. Pausanias notes that Metellus fined the Thebans for armed invasion of Phocis.²⁰² Perhaps the punishment of the Theban transgressors was the benefaction referred to in the statue base inscription. As the capital of Phocis, Hyampolis would undoubtedly have benefitted from receiving the fine. As the capital it was also appropriate to erect a statue of Phocis' benefactor there.

On the return march to Macedonia Metellus may have passed through Hypata, the capital of the Aenian League. The Aenians may have put up his statue (List I.27) to flatter him either before or after he passed through. Metellus' kind actions toward Thebes and his sense of fairness toward Hyampolis indicate that all the places which honored him with statues may have done so from a genuine sense of appreciation of the Roman commander's character.

List I.28	Olympia: Elis	146	L. Mummius L.f. <u>strategos hypatos</u>
List I.29	Thebes	146	L. Mummius <u>strategos hypatos</u>
List I.30	Argos: <u>demos</u>	146	L. [Mummius] L. (f.) <u>s[trategos] hypatos</u>

Despite the fact that Mummius burned Corinth, he performed many useful services in Greece. Indeed, Mummius cannot take the entire blame

for the destruction of Corinth since, like Aemilius Paullus whose troops ravaged Epirus in 167, he acted on the orders of the Senate rather than his own initiative.²⁰³ Later, as proconsul in Greece in 145,²⁰⁴ Mummius served the Greeks admirably. He acted as arbiter for Kleonae and Argos to resolve a dispute concerning the location of the Nemean Games. Since the end of the third century B.C. the games had been held in Argos. Mummius returned the games to Nemea but gave Argos partial control of them.²⁰⁵ Perhaps in gratitude for allowing her to retain partial control of the games, Argos may have erected a statue in his honor (List I.30). Mummius provided for the continuation of the Isthmian Games, replaced Corinth with Sicyon as the city in charge, and made repairs in Isthmia.²⁰⁶ In addition, Mummius settled a border dispute between Sparta and Messene.²⁰⁷

Mummius also made dedications at various sanctuaries throughout Greece: Amphiaralon (IG VII 433); Thebes (IG V 2478); Thesplae (IG VII 1808); Tegea (IG V 2 77); Epidauros (IG IV² 2 306, NIE 47); Aulis (SEG XXV 541).²⁰⁸ These dedications were made while he was touring Greece, a tour perhaps undertaken in emulation of Aemilius Paullus.²⁰⁹ In addition to these dedications Mummius also adorned the temples at Delphi and Olympia.²¹⁰ Polybius is our only source for Mummius' dedication at Delphi of which there is no extant physical evidence, although there are both literary and archaeological testimonia for the dedications at Olympia. Pausanias records that Mummius placed twenty-one gilt shields on the unadorned metopes of the Zeus temple.²¹¹ Mummius also erected two statues of Zeus: one next to the temple and another next to the Altis wall.²¹² Philipp suggests that in giving the gifts at Delphi and Olympia

Mummius was consciously emulating Flamininus, as is particularly apparent from the dedications of shields by Flamininus at Delphi and by Mummius at Olympia.²¹³

Olympia seems to have been a favorite for Mummius, for in addition to the statues of Zeus and the temple adornments he dedicated two other statues whose bases and inscriptions are extant (IG 278, 280).²¹⁴ Holes in the cover plates of the bases indicate that the dedications were bronze statues of rearing horses which were either equestrian statues of Mummius,²¹⁵ representations of the Dioscuri, or two horses without riders.²¹⁶ W. Koenigs favors the Dioscuri representation, arguing that the base type is one often used for sculpture of mythical subjects. He also maintains that the statues were older dedications from another sanctuary which Mummius brought to Olympia and rededicated in his own name.²¹⁷ The idea of rededication of older statues is a feasible theory, for Mummius rededicated other older statues in various sanctuaries.²¹⁸

In thanks for his dedications and good works, the Greeks also honored Mummius. Polybius praised Mummius' conduct and noted that Mummius was honored in the cities he visited. (39.6.1-3):

...ταῖς ἐξῆς ἡμέραις ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πόλεις τιμώμενος ἐν ἑκάστη καὶ τυγχάνων τῆς ἀρμοζούσης χάριτος. εἰκότως δὲ τιμᾶσθαι συνέβαινε αὐτὸν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ'ἰδίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἀνεστράφη καὶ πρῶτος ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι, μέγαν καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην ἐξουσίαν.

Both Mummius and Metellus may have been honored at Athens by being made honorary magistrates. In two series of coins the names "Quintus" and "Lucius" appear in conjunction with that of a Greek magistrate.²¹⁹ If Mummius and Metellus were indeed made honorary magistrates, they were the only Romans from the Republican period to have had this honor.

The other physical evidence of Greek honors to Mummius are an inscribed metope from Eretria suggesting games in his honor (Chapter II, "Cult Honors"), and statue bases from Olympia (List I.28), and Thebes (List I.29), both of which may have been granted in part because of the dedications Mummius gave their respective sanctuaries. The base from Olympia once depicted Mummius on a rearing horse, a common type of honorific statue for persons of high rank. However, cuttings in the cover plate indicate that Mummius and the horse were not the only figures: a figure also stood in front of the horse. Siedentopf suggests that the figure was a running groom or herald holding the horse's bridle.²²⁰ Philipp postulates that the figure may have been an enemy fleeing from the victorious Mummius who was swinging back a weapon. Philipp thinks that there is nothing odd about the Eleians setting up a representation in which the enemy figure was Greek. Possibly the Eleians made the figure a Corinthian or another one of their own enemies. Or, at Mummius' request, the Eleians rededicated an older votive monument.²²¹

List I.64	Corinth	II c.	Unknown <u>strategos hypatos</u>
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Two factors point to dating this inscription to the second century B.C.. First, Corinth was razed in 146 and not recolonized until 44. Although recent excavations reveal inhabitation of the site by squatters in the period

between 146 and 44.²²² the population was not large enough to make Corinth the prominent commercial and religious center she once had been. As the residents of Corinth in that period would not have been wealthy, they could not have afforded funds to erect a statue for a Roman general. Hence, this inscription probably belongs to the period before 146. Second, the title strategos hypatos was used in the second century inscriptions but toward the end of the century it appeared less frequently and eventually disappeared entirely.²²³ Any one of the commanders before 146 could have been the recipient of this inscription and its statue, but since Flamininus was a frequent visitor to Corinth, and had been honored with a statue there (List I.4) perhaps the honor was for him.

List I.22	Delphi: Phocian <u>kolon</u>	? pre 150	Q. Cop[on]lus Q.f. <u>presbeutes</u>
List I.31	Delphi: Phocian <u>kolon</u>	c.146	(A.) Po[stumius Al]binus
List II.F.1			<u>patro[n, eu]ergetes</u>
List III.1			
List I.32	Delphi: Unknown <u>kolon</u>	?146	Unknown <u>strategos</u> <u>patron</u>
List I.33	Delphi: Phocian <u>kolon</u>	?146	Unknown son of Marcus <u>presbeutes</u>
List II.F.2			<u>patron, euergetes</u>

List I.70	Tegea	II or I	Q. Baebius Q.f.
List II.F.3			<u>patron</u>, <u>euergetes</u>
List I.71	Tegea	II or I	Q. [?Baebius] Q.f.
	<u>[polls]</u>		<u>anti[tamias]</u>
List II.F.4			<u>patro[n]</u>, <u>euergetes</u>

Of the remaining statue base inscriptions from this period, one (List I.31) belongs to a man who was on the commission sent out to aid Mummius in settling affairs in Greece and Macedonia, and the other honorees may also have been commission members. Since three of the statues (List I.31, 32, 33) were set up in Delphi one is tempted to think that some members of the commission accompanied Mummius on his visit to that sanctuary. These inscriptions are early records of the use of the term patron (patronus) in Greek inscriptions (List I.31, 33, 70, 71). They provide evidence that the Romans were now importing some of their cultural institutions (i.e., the patron – client system) into Greece along with an orderly system of government.²²⁴ If the other men were also members of the commission, they may have been honored for the benefits granted in the course of the organization process.

Not all the names of the members of this commission are recorded, but Albinus was one of the men whose name is known. Thus, of the men honored with statues in this group, Albinus (List I.31) is the only one who was certainly a commission member. Because of the honor in Delphi and a statue at the Isthmus, he may have been the leader of the commission.²²⁵ The statue at Delphi is an equestrian statue, appropriate for honoring a man of high position such as the chairman of a Senate commission.²²⁶ The statue at the Isthmus is no longer extant, but Cicero

reports that Atticus had seen it (Cicero, ad Att. 13.32):

Postumum autem culus statuam in Isthmo meminisse te dicis.
Aulum nesciebam fuisse is autem est <consul> cum <L.>
Lucullo fuit...

Polybius notes that Albinus was so well versed in Greek culture and language that he even wrote poetry and a history in Greek.²²⁷ Perhaps the Greeks wished to honor and flatter a commissioner who was sympathetic to their ways.

The exact date and identity of the honoree of List I.22 are uncertain. From the inscription we know that he was a legate (presbeutes) and that the Phocian league honored him. The title of legate would be fitting for a member of the commission who perhaps held no higher office at the time. Since the name of the honoree is fragmentary, both Coponius and Cosconius have been suggested as possible restorations for the name, with Coponius being the more likely. Broughton,²²⁸ who is followed by Mason,²²⁹ places the date of the inscription before 150, as does Siedentopf.²³⁰ Pomtow, however, suggests the date 140 and that the statue was in thanks for reestablishing the Phocian League.²³¹

If the honoree was not a member of the commission for Mummius in 146, perhaps he was a Senate envoy in the period after Pydna and prior to the Fourth Macedonian War. We know that several embassies went over to Greece and Macedonia in that period but we do not know the names of all of the individuals.²³² At least we may think that the honoree was an important individual for the League gave a valuable honor – an equestrian statue.²³³

The identities of the other men honored in Delphi (List I.32, 33) and their activities are unknown or uncertain. The man named Patron and

Benefactor of the Phocian League (List I.33) may have been given these titles for aiding in restoring the Phocian League. His title, presbeutes would have been appropriate for a man who had no high office at the time. The other man (List I.32) who was called strategos may have been L. Licinius Murena who was on the commission of 146 and had been praetor the previous year.²³⁴ He was granted an equestrian statue, undoubtedly in deference to his high rank.²³⁵

The identity of Q. Baebius, honored in Tegea, (List I.70, 71) and the date of the inscription are also uncertain. From the inscription we do know he was a proquaestor (antitamis) and was called Patron and Benefactor of the city. Several scholars have given the inscription a date in the second century B.C., but as we shall see, a first century date is also possible. Münzer suggests that the honoree was Q. Baebius Sulca, an ambassador to Macedonia and Alexandria in 173.²³⁶ Harmand maintains that the honoree was one of the ten commissioners sent to regulate Greece in 146.²³⁷ This latter conjecture may be based on the fact that Mummius made a dedication at Tegea (IG V 2 77) and at the time Baebius may have been among his retinue. Broughton states that Baebius was proquaestor in Greece, possibly in the second century,²³⁸ but Broughton makes no attempt to link the honoree either to Baebius Sulca or the commission of 146.

Of all the suggestions, those of Broughton seem to hit closest to the mark. The main difficulty with Münzer's and Harmand's theories lies in the rank of the honoree as proquaestor. If the honoree was Baebius Sulca, then the Tegean inscription must refer to a visit to Tegea before the embassy of 173. Around 175 Baebius Sulca was praetor.²³⁹ Following

the cursus honorum, a man was quaestor and sometimes proquaestor before becoming praetor. One would not normally become quaestor after having held the higher office even if one had bypassed that step in the ladder. In addition, the honorees in the first half of the second century either currently held or had held high ranking offices: i.e., consul, or praetor. The earliest example of a quaestor accorded a statue was a man given a statue by a friend in Delos in 119 B.C. (List I.40). However, this man held the proconsular Imperium since he was called tamias, antistrategos (quaestor propraetore).²⁴⁰

In the early days of Rome's involvement in Greece the men sent out as generals or ambassadors to areas outside Italy were currently consuls, praetors or proconsuls, propraetors, or had held one of these offices. These were the leaders with whom the Greeks came into contact and then honored with statues. As Rome's dominion grew, so did her need for men with Imperium to act as provincial governors or to fight wars. To fill this need, Rome commissioned lower ranking men or even privati with proconsular or propraetorian Imperium²⁴¹ – hence the appearance in the late second to the early first century in Greece of statues of men holding offices lower than consul or praetor. But this Baebius is a proquaestor – a man without Imperium. The first securely dated statues to any Roman without Imperium are to Lucullus c. 87 (List I.94, 95). These statues call Lucullus tamias – quaestor. The first securely-dated statue to a proquaestor is one to a man named Publius dating to sometime before 88 (List I.88). Given these facts, this Baebius seems not to be Baebius Sulca since if the honoree had been praetor, it is likely the honorific inscription would have recorded that rank, the higher, instead of the lower.

proquaestor. Even if Baebius had been a low ranking member of the commission of 146, an inscription in his honor would probably have borne the title presbeutes as is recorded for the inscription of Postumius Albinus at Delphi (List I.31). While the Baebius inscription may date to the late second century, and thus be the first record of antitamias on a statue base inscription, it is more probable that the inscription dates to the early first century where there is secure record of a statue for an antitamias (List I.105).

E. Proxenoi

There were several other Roman or Italian proxenoi in the period 200–146 (List V. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 23, 26 – 30). Some of the honorees were known Roman magistrates or soldiers (List V.4, 17, 18–22, 24, 25,) while others were merchants established in cities: Larissa (List V.12; Chyretiae (List V.13); Delos (List V.9, 10, 11); Gonnos (List V.29, 30), or visiting sanctuaries: Delphi (List V.27); Dodona (List V.26). The decree to four men at Klerus (List V.28) seems to have been for soldiers from around the time of the Third Macedonian War.

Conclusion

The period from 200–146 was marked by wars and increasing Roman involvement in Greek and Macedonian affairs. The period ended with the subjugation of Macedonia to Rome and its organization as a Roman province. Statues awarded in the period were primarily to high ranking Roman military men – generals such as Flamininus and M. Metellus or legates such as Coponius and the honoree of List I.33. Rarely were

statues awarded to private citizens: the statues to Cossutius and Apustius are the only examples (List I.14, 18).

The statues to Flamininus are especially interesting because in the period from 200–189 only four of the thirteen statues awarded were not to him (List I.3, 9, 10, 13). Three factors may help to explain this phenomenon. First, Flamininus endeared himself to the Greeks not only through the announcement of a free Greece but also because he was a philhellene who spoke Greek and appreciated Greek culture.²⁴² Second, Flamininus enjoyed his role in Greece and through the network of his political friends in Rome was able to prolong his command until he had arranged affairs to his satisfaction.²⁴³ As a result, few other Roman commanders came to Greece until later when Flamininus no longer dominated military affairs in Greece. Thus, there were few statues to other Roman generals. Third, Flamininus tended to support the aristocratic elements in Greek society – people who were wealthy and controlled local governments.²⁴⁴ Thus, statues whether from individual leaders like Aristainos or Praylos, or from town governments, may in part have been in thanks for Flamininus' support of the aristocracy.

The proxeny decrees awarded also reflect the turbulence of the period, for many proxenies were awarded to military personnel as well as to those not involved in military affairs. Unlike honorific statues, the proxeny award was given more frequently to ordinary people than to persons with power, as is shown by the fact that of the twenty-eight proxenies from the period, sixteen were given to civilians (List V.5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31)

Statues seem to have been given in appreciation for services

rendered - as in the case of Acilius at Delphi, M. Metellus at Larissa, and Muclius Scaevola at Coroneia. However, some statues may have been given just to flatter a general who was passing through - Scipio Hispanus at Polyrrenia, Q. Metellus at Megara and Hyampolis. Other statues may have been given in appreciation for votive offerings - Flamininus at Delphi or Mummius at Thebes and Olympia. In Chapter IV we shall see how some of these tendencies change with the passage of time.

Notes - Chapter III

¹ Livy. 5.14.2-4 - embassy to Delphi, 398 B.C. Livy. 5.25.4-10 - Camillus collects funds for a krater as an offering to Apollo at Delphi in thanks for Roman victory at Veii in 396 B.C.

² M. Holleaux, "The Romans in Illyria", CAH VII, p. 824

³ Ibid., p. 823.

⁴ A.J.N Wilson, Emigration From Italy In the Republican Age of Rome (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), p. 87. Wilson points out there had been a long tradition of trade between Western Greeks and the motherland. For native Italians in Greece cf. J. Hatzfeld Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'orient hellénique, BEFAR, no. 115 (Paris: deBoccard, 1919), p. 17.

⁵ J.A.O. Larsen, "Was Greece Free Between 196 and 146 B.C.?", CPh 30 (1935) 198f.

⁶ Ibid., p. 199f.

⁷ M. Holleaux, "Macedon and Rome: the Romans Against Phillip" CAH VIII, Rome and the Mediterranean 218 - 133 B.C. (Cambridge, 1970), p. 132.

⁸ Larsen, CPh 30 (1935) 200.

⁹ Holleaux, CAH VIII p. 136.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 135.

¹¹ This was, o stranger, once Rome's star divine
Claudius Marcellus of an ancient line;
To fight her wars seven times her consul made
Low in the dust her enemies he laid.

Plutarch's Lives, trans. John Dryden, rev. A.H. Clough (Modern Library: New York, 1932), p. 388.

¹² M. Holleaux, Στοιχεινὸς Ὑποπόριος: Etude sur la traduction en grec du titre consulaire BEFAR no. 113 (1918s.p. 65.

¹³ F.Jacoby, FGrH II C (Zeltgeschichte), Kommentar zu nr. 64-105 postulates that Poseidonius included the encomium to Marcellus in his work because of his own personal connections with the Marcelli. Poseidonius came to Rome in 87 as an ambassador. In 51, when a descendant of Marcellus was consul, a pact between Rome and Rhodes was renewed, (p. 154). Poseidonius may have met the younger Marcellus while both were in Athens, (p. 190). Nevertheless, the reason for the Rhodian statue of the older Marcellus remains a mystery.

¹⁴ In a recent monograph, Christian Habicht has convincingly shown that the events in Athens and Attica at the time did not influence Rome's decision to wage war against Macedon. The Senate had made that decision in February, 200 before Athenian envoys arrived in Rome (late February, 200) complaining of Philip V's actions against them. Athens did not declare war against Philip until April of that year. Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit, Hypomnemata, Heft 73 (1982) 156. Ancient reports of an Athenian embassy to Rome in the Fall of 201 are annalistic fiction. *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 157. Cf. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 161 n.2.

¹⁵ Attalus, although not allied with Rome, had been included in the Peace of Phoenice; in principle he was justified in asking for aid from Rome. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 156; cf. pp. 157f.

¹⁶ J.A.O. Larsen, Greek Federal States, Their Institutions and History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 378f.

¹⁷ M. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 158. Flamininus' eventual proclamation of Greece's freedom verbalized one part of the Senate's policy.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176f.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 182.

²¹ Larsen, CPh 30 (1935) 200f., 209.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²³ Cf. Chapter II, "Honorific Titles." Cf. F. Chamoux, "Un Portrait de Flamininus à Delphes," BCH 89 (1965) 214-216 who compares the coin portrait with a marble head from Delphi. Cf. A.A. Boyce "The Gold Staters of T. Quinctius Flamininus in History" in Hommages à Albert Grenier ed. Marcel Renard. Coll. Latomus, vol. 58 (1962) pp. 342-350, pl. LXX for a discussion of the coins' history and the controversy about whether the coins were struck by Greeks or Romans. Boyce (p. 350) maintains that the coins were probably designed by Greek artists under Roman authority.

²⁴ W.R. Paton and E.L. Hicks, Inscriptions of Cos (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891) p. xxvi.

²⁵ S.M. Sherwin-White, Ancient Cos, Hypomnemata Heft 51 (1978) 131. Sherwin-White (p. 131 n. 259) also comments that since the dedicator of the statue is not preserved in the inscription, we cannot know if the dedication was public or private. The statement is justifiably made; but since only three statues in this period were made by private citizens. (List I.4, 12, 33) it seems reasonable to assume that the Coan dedication was public.

²⁶ Larsen, GFS, p. 388.

- 27 Pausanias, X.35.8.
- 28 G. Klaffenbach "Eine neue Ehrenstatue für T. Quinctius Flaminius," Chiron 1 (1971) 168.
- 29 Larsen, GFS, p. 398.
- 30 Cf. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 192 (195-4 B.C.). Cf. R.K. Sherk, Roman Documents From the Greek East (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 211-213.
- 31 Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 182.
- 32 "θεσσαλικά Ἐπιγραφαί," , AE (1912) 66f. no. 92.
- 33 B. Helly, Gonnoi t.II Les Inscriptions (Adolf Hakkert: Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 21f. no. 20. Cf. also my Chapter II, note 48.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 35 Polybius, 18.36.1. Livy, 33.13.1 & 2. Livy, 35.10.1 reports that Gonnos was located at the entrance of the Tempe Valley twenty miles from Larissa: "Oppidum Gonnoi viginti milia ab Larisa abest in ipsis faucibus saltus quae Tempe appellantur, situm."
- 36 Helly, Gonnoi, t.I La cité et son histoire, p. 81.
- 37 A.S. Arvanitopoulos "θεσσαλικά Ἐπιγραφαί" , AE (1910) 375.
- 38 Larsen, GFS, p. 405.
- 39 M. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 192 states that Flaminius "gave a constitution to the Thessalian towns." This probably refers to the creation of the League.
- 40 T.R.S. Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic (1951; rpt. Cleveland: American Philological Ass'n, 1968), p. 337. Cf. F. Münzer "Caecilius" (73, 76), RE Suppl. III (1918) 222. B. Forte, Rome and the Romans as the Greeks Saw Them, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 24 (1972), pp. 23f. n. 38 suggests that Metellus received the award soon after Flaminius declared the Freedom of Greece.
- 41 Holleaux, CAH VIII, pp. 182, 189.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 172. Larsen, GFS, p. 400.
- 43 Larsen, GFS, p. 401. Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 189.
- 44 Holleaux, CAH VIII, pp. 190f.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 191. Larsen, GFS, p. 403.

46 G. Daux "Concours des Titela dans un décret d'Argos." BCH 88 (196) 569-576.

47 Polybius, 13.7. M. Cary, A History of the Greek World From 323-146 B.C. (Macmillan: New York, 1939), p. 92.

48 Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 170.

49 SEG XXII.214 = J. Bousquet. "Inscriptions grecques concernant des Romains." BCH 88 (1964) 607-9, fig. 1. restores the last line: εἰς τε αὐ[τὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαίους]. Bousquet restores Aristainos' patronymic as Tymokades and his home as Dyme. J. Deininger, "Nachtrag zu Aristainos von Megalopolis und Aristainos von Dyme." Historia 15 (1966) 511 restores the last line as: εἰς τε αὐ[τὸν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῷ Ἀχαιῶν]. Deininger maintains that the home of the Aristainos in this inscription ought to be Megalopolis which is in accordance with the ancient literary reports. The Aristainos of Dyme was a different individual. Cf. Deininger, "Aristainos von Megalopolis und Aristainos von Dyme." Historia 15 (1966) 376-380.

50 Gundel "Quinctius" (45), RE 24 (1963) 1031f. For a conference held at Corinth just prior to the withdrawal of Roman troops cf. Livy, 34.50.9.

51 Livy, 34.29.6.

52 S.B. Kougeas, "Ἐπιγραφικὰ ἐκ Γυθείου. Σύμβολαι εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Λακονικῆς κατὰ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς αὐτοκρατίας," Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 17-25 giving a list of festivals for early Roman imperial personages: Augustus, Tiberius, Julia (Tiberius' wife), Germanicus, Drusus. Flamininus is also listed.

53 Holleaux, CAH VIII, pp. 190 -192. Larsen, GFS, p. 405.

54 Larsen, GFS, p. 399. Cf. Larsen, CPh 30 (1935) 205, 209. On p. 205 of the CPh article Larsen notes that declaring Greece free had been a policy of Hellenistic rulers. However, foreign policy had not been dictated solely by the ruler. The rulers and Greek leaders worked together. In places where there were no leagues, a ruler had some other means of control either through proclamation or through an agent. Had Rome implemented procedures such as these, she might have avoided later difficulties.

55 Larsen, GFS, p. 404.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 408.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 410f. Holleaux, "Rome and Antiochos." CAH VIII, pp. 202f. MRR I.351.

58 Larsen, GFS, p. 413.

- 59 Ibid., p. 412.
- 60 Holleaux, CAH VIII, pp. 197f., 205f.
- 61 Ibid., pp. 208-215.
- 62 Ibid., pp. 223f.
- 63 Ibid., p. 227. Larsen, CPh 30 (1935) 204.
- 64 Margrit Pape, Grlechlische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom (Diss. Hamburg: 1975), p. 12, notes that Fulvius did not plunder the city, so the city must have voluntarily handed over its valuable art treasures.
- 65 Livy, 38.9.13. Polybius, 21.30. F. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius, vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 86 = to Polybius, 20.12.5.
- 66 Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 235.
- 67 Larsen, GFS, p. 446.
- 68 Holleaux, CAH, p. 232.
- 69 Ibid., p. 235.
- 70 G. Daux, Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Etolia jusqu'à la paix romaine 191-30 av. JC. BEFAR, no. 140 (Paris: de Boccard, 1936), pp. 258, 260, 266.
- 71 Cf. H.B. Siedentopf, Das hellenistische Reiterdenkmal (Stiftland-Verlag K.G.: Waldsassen/Bayern, 1968), pp. 113f. Katalog II.75.
- 72 Sherk, pp. 221-224, no. 37 = SIG³ 609-610.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 225-228, no. 38. = SIG³ 611.
- 74 Cf. R. Mellor, Θεὸν Ῥώμην. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World, Hypomnemata Heft 42 (1975), p. 100 reports that this was not the first time a Romaia had been established at Delphi; an earlier one had been instituted after the defeat of Antiochos at Thermopylae.
- 75 Daux, Delphes, p. 228, n. 2.
- 76 SIG³ 608 = List V.13.
- 77 H. Pomtow, "Delphische Neufunde IV. Die Befreiung Delphis durch die Römer," Klio 16 (1920) 121 no.16.
- 78 Daux, Delphes, p. 229. The proxeny list is SIG³ 585 where

Glabrio's name has been inserted - no. 25a.

79 Daux, Delphes, p. 228 n.2

80 L. Harmand, Le Patronat sur les collectivités publiques des origines au bas-empire: un aspect social et politique du monde romain (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1957), p. 70.

81 FD III 4, 427 L 31 = SEG I 148 (List V.27).

82 Cf. SIG³ 585, II. 291-306 and p. 103 for 168-7 B.C.

83 Cf. Harmand, p. 70. Flamininus proxeny - List V.18; statue - List I.11. For Flamininus' gifts to the sanctuary, cf. History II.

84 Dittenberger, SIG³ 585, p. 91, note to no. 8.

85 J. Hatzfeld, Les Trafiquants, p. 26

86 Dittenberger, SIG³ 585, p. 93, note to nos. 26, 27.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 93, note to nos. 32-36.

88 MRR II.526. Cf. Dittenberger, SIG³ 585, p. 95, no. 48.

89 Sledentopf, p. 114, no. 77. Sledentopf deduced the position of the horse from the arrangement of holes in the cover plate. The horse was stepping forward with the right front hoof raised. F. Chamoux, BCH 89 (1965) 220 maintains that the statue was not equestrian because the hole for the main support is not in a position that would allow an equestrian statue; it is in the center, whereas an equestrian statue would have the main support to the right or left of center.

90 Chamoux, pp. 216, 222ff.

91
Ye Spartan Tyndarids, twin sons of Jove,
Who in horsemanship have placed your love,
Titus, of great Aeneas' race, leaves this
In honor of the liberty of Greece.

Plutarch's Lives, John Dryden trans., rev. by A.H. Clough, p. 458.

92
This golden crown upon thy locks divine,
O blest Latonia's son, was set to shine
By the great captain of the Aenean name.
O Phoebus, grant the noble Titus fame!

Plutarch's Lives, John Dryden trans., rev. by A.H. Clough, p. 458.

93 Dittenberger, SIG³ 585, pp. 94f. note to no. 46.

94 Daux, Delphes, p. 593.

95 W.P. Wallace, The Eubolan League and Its Coinage, American

Numismatic Society Notes and Monographs no. 134 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1965), p. 38.

96 Livy, 32.16.17. L. Flamininus and his fleet made the conquest. Pape, p. 9.

97 W.P. Wallace, p. 39.

98 Ibid., p. 40. Mellor, p. 99. L. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Athènes et de la Grèce centrale VIII. Les concours Romala a Chalcis," AE 1969 (1970) 48. Robert, p. 49, notes that the games existed from at least the mid second century to just after Sulla.

99 Mellor, p. 99. The next oldest were the Romala at Delphi instituted after the defeat of Antiochos and the Aetolians. Mellor, pp. 100f. Cf. History II p. 19.

100 Plutarch, Titus 16.1-4.

101 Mellor, p. 99, n. 462.

102 Plutarch, Titus 16.7. Cf. Chapter II note 126 for quote.

103 Cf. W.P. Wallace, p. 41, n. 85.

104 P. Themelis, "Ἀνασκαφὴ Ἑρετρίας," Praktika 1977 (1980) A', p. 35.

105 E. Mastrokostas, "Inscriptions de Locride et de Thessalie," REA 66 (1964) 310. Cf. Sherk, no. 33 which is a letter from Flamininus to the Chyretians = IG IX 2 338.

106 E. Mastrokostas, REA 66 (1964) 309.

107 G. Daux, "Notes de lecture," BCH 89 (1965) 302.

108 J.H. Myres, "Inscriptions From Crete," JHS 16 (1896) 181, no.6.

109 F. Münzer, "Cornellus" (347), RE 4 (1901) 1493.

110 Cagnat, Toutain and Jouguet, IGR I 954.

111 Guarducci, IC II, III 5, p. 21, c. 189 B.C. The proxeny decree calls L. Cornelius a consul even though his term was up. It was common for Greeks to take liberties with Roman titles. IC II, III p.22. But one notes that the title was restored. Cf. Chapter II, "Proxeny," for other honors to P. Scipio.

112 M.N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions," Greece and Rome 1 (1931) 164f.

113 MRR I.358; II.462. Both Scipios, Q. Fabius Labeo and Regillus had given gifts to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos: ID 442B II. 100, 102-

104. For a good survey of Cretan-Roman relations in the II c. B.C., cf. Stylianos Spyridakis, Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete, University of California Publications in History, v. 82 (1970), pp. 59-68. Rome played an active role in settling disputes between cities in Crete as well as combatting pirates.

114 P.V.M. Benecke, "The Fall of the Macedonian Monarchy," CAH VIII, pp. 247-254.

115 Ibid., pp. 254-256.

116 Ibid., p. 258.

117 Fabricius, "Cossutius", RE 1 (1901) 1673f. Vitruvius VII.15 notes Cossutius as "...magna sollertia scientiaque summa civis Romanus Quossutius..". Cf. E. Rawson, "Architecture and Sculpture: the Activities of the Cossutii," BSR 43 (1975) 36-38 for the activities of D. Cossutius in Athens and Antioch.

118 Larsen, GFS, pp. 464f. R.M. Errington, "Senatus consultum de coronaels and the Early Course of the Third Macedonian War," RFIC NS 102 (1974) 84.

119 F. Münzer, "Cornelius" (202), RE 4 (1901) 1374. MRR I.417.

120 M. Feyel, "Inscriptions inédites d'Akraiphia," BCH 79 (1955) 421. Cf. MRR I.430.

121 Feyel, p. 421, followed by J.M. Fossey, "The Cities of the Kopaïs in the Roman Period," in ANRW II 7.1, pp. 557, 559.

122 Sherk, p. 30, no.2.

123 Ibid., p. 33.

124 S. Lauffer, "Inchriften aus Bolotien," Chiron 6 (1976) 17.

125 Errington, p. 80.

126 MRR I.417, 419.

127 H.J. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis, American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 13 (Hakkert: Toronto, 1974) p. 154 and cf. p. 96 s.v. ὑποστράτηγος.

128 Ibid., p. 153.

129 MRR II.593.

130 Livy, 43.4.8-13.

131 Livy, 43.7.5-8.

- 132 MRR I.420. Cf. also Larsen, GFS 467.
- 133 J. Pecirka, The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis In Attic Inscriptions, Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historia Monographia XV (Universita Karlova: Prague, 1966), pp.119f. discusses IG II² 907.
- 134 F. Gschnitzer, "proxenos," RE Suppl. 13 (1973) 685. Cf. Chapter II, "Proxeny."
- 135 Benecke, CAH VIII, p.293. Cf. Pecirka p. 120 on the crown to Hortensius in Delos.
- 136 Larsen, GFS, p. 468.
- 137 P. Charneux, "Rome et la confédération achalenne (Automne 170)," BCH 81 (1957) 189. Cf. Larsen, GFS, p. 468 n.3.
- 138 Charneux, pp. 187f.
- 139 Larsen, GFS, p. 471. Cf. Polybius, 28.13.1-8. Livy, 44.3-5. P. Marchetti, "La marche du calendrier romain et la chronologie à l'époque de la bataille de Pydna," BCH 100 (1976) 418 n. 60 suggests that the fact that only Octavius was honored may indicate that only he went to Argos while Popilius went to another city.
- 140 Larsen, GFS, p. 472. Benecke, CAH VIII, p. 266. Polybius, 28.13.7-14.
- 141 W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold, Inscripfen von Olympla, col. 443f. Cf. Siedentopf, p. 102, no.47.
- 142 Dittenberger, SIG³ 649.
- 143 M. Holleaux, "Note sur deux décrets d'Abdère," Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques, t.I (Paris, E. DeBoccard, 1938) pp. 281, 284 dates the decrees to the time Macedonia became a province - 146 B.C. The original editors, Ch. Avezou and Ch. Picard, Inscriptions de Macédoine et de Thrace, BCH 37 (1913) 134 and M. Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 762 place the date around the period of the war of Rome against Perseus.
- 144 Avezou and Picard, BCH 37 (1913) 134 no.4. Holleaux, Etudes I, p. 277.
- 145 Avezou and Picard restore the son's name as "Marcus." Holleaux, Etudes I, p. 229 restores "Publius."
- 146 Cf. nos. 2 and 3 in the discussion of crowns in Chapter II, "Proxeny."
- 147 There are two possibilities for location. Holleaux, Etudes I,

p.281. prefers Thessalonike, suggesting that C. Apustius lived there. Avezou and Picard, p. 133, also suggest Thessalonike and an alternative: the statue may have been located in a sanctuary at Abdera called the Thessalonikeion after Philip II's daughter for whom Thessalonike was named. This sanctuary would have followed the custom of other cities – primarily in Asia Minor – for cults of the divine Alexander and his family.

148 Avezou and Picard, p. 134.

149 *Ibid.*, pp. 131f.

150 E. Poltler, Am. Hauvette, "Décret des Abderitains trouvé à Téos," BCH 4 (1880) 47–59 = SIG³ 656.

151 Avezou, Picard, p. 132.

152 The end of line 36 is variously restored. Avezou and Picard, p. 126 ...¹Ρ[ωμαίων, παραίτιον γενόμενον τῆς ?]. Holleaux, Etudes I, p. 279 ...¹Ρ[ωμαίων προστάτην? γενόμενον τῆς...]. is a valid translation of the Latin patronus and appears regularly in inscriptions and literature (Mason, Greek Terms, p. 81f. s.v. and p. 152) but the term has administrative overtones. The term first appears in Greek inscriptions in the second century B.C. (cf. List II.F, G and Mason, Greek Terms, p. 75 s.v. πάτρων) and may be a word more suitable to private actions. Cf. my Chapter II, "Patronage."

153 Cf. Chapter I, "Recipients."

154 Cf. Chapter II, "Proxeny."

155 B.V. Head, Historia Numorum² (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 226.

156 Conversation with Dr. John H. Oakley, of the College of William and Mary, 1 August, 1982. Cf. Head, HN², pp. 227f. Abdera minted no autonomous coinage after Philip II incorporated her into his empire, thus the Alexanders mentioned in the Apustius decree were not of Abderite origin. Head, HN², p. 256.

157 Benecke, CAH VIII, pp. 267–272.

158 MRR I.435 "Legates, Ambassadors" a. = Illyria; b. = Macedonia.

159 Benecke, CAH VIII, p.273. Cf. Larsen CPh 30 (1935) 204.

160 Livy, 45.27.6f. Polybius, 30.10.2. Plutarch, Aemilius Paullus 28.2. F.W. Walbank, Commentary on Polybius, v. III., p. 432, follows Daux, Delphes, pp. 318f. Perseus' monument may not have been very far along in construction. Recent scholarship maintains that only a base of orthostates for the pillar were completed when Paullus saw it. Paullus saw to the erection of the pillar on top of the orthostate base. Anne Jacquemin and Didier LaRoche, "Notes sur trois piliers delphiques," BCH

106 (1982) 210f.

161 Cf. Margrit Jacob-Felsch, Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen (Stiftland-Verlag K.G.: Waldsassen/Bayern, 1969), p.99.

162 List V.42, 44, 48.

163 Siedentopf, p. 23 and p. 11, Katalog II.71. Cf. H. Kähler, Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (Verlag Gebr. Mann: Berlin, 1965), p. 10. On p. 11, Kähler suggests a restoration of the statue, which is illustrated on the title page of his book.

164 The frieze is now displayed in the courtyard of the museum at Delphi. Cf. Kähler, pp.13-19, for a discussion and interpretation of the figures; p. 34, for line drawing of his interpretations. On p. 17, Kähler maintains that one of the figures on horseback (his fig. 14), is a portrait of Aemilius Paullus, a position supported by G. Hafner, "Ein Bildnis von L. Aemilius Paullus," Jahreshefte der österreichischen archäologischen Instituts 48 (1967) 5-15. However, Jacquemin and LaRoche do not accept this thesis for two reasons. One, the fragment belongs on the back face of the monument rather than on the front face as Kähler maintains. Two, the attire of the warrior is Macedonian rather than Roman and the warrior's adversary is Roman. BCH 106 (1982) 212, fig.9. The identification of the warriors has been a subject of controversy. Cf. Kähler, pp. 25-33 who identifies the figures individually and also gives the identification presented by other scholars.

165 Kähler, p. 8. Kähler rightly notes that Paullus' action with regard to this monument is in one sense parallel to an action of the earlier victor, Flamininus, who had his portrait put on Macedonian coins.

166 M. Guarducci, "Le offerte dei conquistatori Romani al santuari della Grecia," RendPont 13 (1939) 52. Guarducci (p. 100) believes there may even have been two pillars for Aemilius Paullus. She follows theories that the fragmentary "rosette pillar" also supported a statue of Paullus. More recent scholarship theorizes that the pillar fragments bearing rosettes (Guarducci's "rosette pillar") belong to the Aemilius Paullus pillar rather than to a separate monument. Jacquemin and LaRoche, BCH 106 (1982) 208.

167 Benecke, CAH VIII, pp. 273f.

168 C. Schuler, "The Macedonian Politarchs," CPh 55 (1960) 91-94, points out that Rome either set up this system of government or reformed an already existing system to give the politarchs men the main power.

169 Benecke, CAH VIII, pp. 274f. Cf. Larsen, GFS, pp. 295ff. A. Giovannini (Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ, [Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1978] 101), suggests that under the Roman aegis the Athenian New Style coinage bearing a wreath and other stephanophoric coinages appeared about this time. The coins

commemorated Rome's victory over Perseus and the submission of Greece to a new order. On p. 94, he notes that the crown on the coins may represent the many crowns presented to Paullus by Greek states. These crowns figured in Paullus' triumph, cf. Plutarch, Aemilius Paullus 34.3. O. Morkholm, ["Chronology and Meaning of the Wreath Coinage of the early 2nd Century B.C.," Quaderni ticinesi num.ant.cl. 9 (1980) 145-158] refutes Giovannini's theories on the grounds that the stephanophoric coinages did not appear simultaneously all over Greece and Asia Minor as Giovannini maintains. Rather they appeared at different times in different areas, and the wreath was merely a fashionable form of decoration which could be used or not according as a city pleased (pp. 154, 158). Cf. J. and L. Robert ("Bulletin Epigraphique," REG 94 [1981] p. 377f., no. 116) review Giovannini's position in light of Morkholm's article. My thanks to Dr. John H. Oakley of the College of William and Mary for his views on the subject. Conversation 6 July, 1980.

170 Larsen, GFS, pp. 483-485. Benecke, CAH VIII, pp. 300-302.

171 M. Rostovtzeff, "Rhodes, Delos, and Hellenistic Commerce," CAH VIII, pp. 630f.

172 L.J. Bliquez, "Gnaeus Octavius and the Echinaloi," Hesperia 44 (1975) 433.

173 MRR I.428. J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," REG 82 (1969) 470f., no. 329.

174 Livy, 45.29.3.

175 M. Holleaux, Strategos Hypatos, p. 158. Octavius was consul in 165 - MRR II.595.

176 C. Schuler, CPh 55 (1960) 94f.

177 Livy, 45.29.1. Cf. MRR I.435.

178 Schuler, CPh 55 (1960) 95. On p. 96, Schuler notes that Mithridates of Pontus captured and probably destroyed Amphipolis in 87. Possibly the Pontic king vented his hatred of the Romans on the monuments to the Romans at that time.

179 Benecke, CAH VIII, pp. 275-277.

180 J.A.O. Larsen, "Roman Greece," in T. Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, ch. IV (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938) 303.

A bilingual (Greek and Latin) milestone found near Thessalonike on the line of the Via Egnatia provides some interesting information. The inscription, dating to the second half of the second century BC., records a name, Cn. Egnatius C.f., title, procos. (anthypatos), and distance, 150 stades. The presence of Egnatius' name confirms the origin for the name of the road. Egnatius was the proconsul under whose direction the construction of the road began. C. Romiopoulou, "Un nouveau millaire de

la Via Egnatia." BCH 98 (1974) 813-816. The Greek version of Egnatius' title may provide the earliest inscripational evidence for the shortened form of the title strategos hypatos (cf. Mason, Greek Terms, pp. 160f.).

181 Benecke, CAH VIII, p. 277.

182 M. Gwyn Morgan, "Metellus Macedonicus and the Province Macedonia," Historia 18 (1969) 422-446. Morgan argues that Metellus may have requested a commission after crushing the revolt of the second pretender in 147, but the Senate refused the request, possibly due to the disturbances in Achaea which necessitated further military action. Other high ranking senators wanted to earn booty in a war as Metellus had already done; that is why Metellus was not allowed to continue the war in Achaea. Cf. pp. 433, 437 and 440.

183 Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 759.

184 Morgan, Historia 18 (1969) 438, n. 78. Pllny, NH 4.38. The other city with this status was Amphipolis.

185 Benecke, CAH VIII, p. 297. Larsen, GFS, p. 500.

186 Morgan, Historia 18 (1969) 433.

187 Benecke, CAH VIII, pp. 302-303.

188 *Ibid.*, pp. 296, 303.

189 *Ibid.*, pp. 303f.

190 Polybius, 34.4.1. Pausanias, VII.16.9. Cf. Morgan, p. 441.

191 Larsen, "Roman Greece," pp. 305f.

192 Larsen, GFS, pp. 498f.

193 Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 749.

194 Larsen, GFS, p. 499. Cf. R. Bernhardt, "Der Status des 146 v. Chr. unterworfenen Teils Griechenlands bis zur Einrichtung der Provinz Achaia," Historia 26 (1977) 62-73 for a discussion of the status of conquered areas of Greece from 146-27 B.C.

195 Larsen, "Roman Greece," p. 308; GFS, p. 300.

196 P. Gardner, The British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Peloponnesos (London, 1887), p. xlv.

197 Larsen, "Roman Greece," pp. 305f.

198 Pausanias, VII.15.4 & 6.

- 199 Polybius, 38.16.4-9. 39.1.111. Larsen, GFS, p. 497.
- 200 Pausanias, VII.15.11.
- 201 F. Münzer, "Mummius" (7a), RE 16 (1933) 1197. Benecke, CAH VIII.p. 303. Morgan, Historia 18 (1969) 436 n.72, remarks that there was a feud between Mummius and Metellus which caused Metellus to march South on his own initiative in hopes of settling the Achaean war before Mummius arrived. But the passages Morgan cites as evidence (Pausanias, VII.15.1-11; 16.1 and Florus, 1.32.4), show not so much a feud as a rivalry. On learning that Mummius was to come to carry on the war, Metellus marched south to the Isthmus, fought along the way and tried to arrange a settlement with Diaeus. The settlement attempt failed. By then Mummius was also near the Isthmus and sent Metellus back to Macedonia. Feud is, perhaps, too strong a term. Florus must be suspect with reference to certain facts: in 1.32.3 he says that Metellus was consul and that he fought in Elis at the Alpheus River. Metellus was propraetor at the time and as far as is known did not cross into the Peloponnesos where Elis is located.
- 202 Pausanias, VII.14.7.
- 203 Münzer, "Mummius" (7a), RE 16 (1933) 1200-1202.
- 204 MRR I.470.
- 205 D.W. Bradeen, "Inscriptions From Nemea," Hesperia 35 (1966) 328f. = SEG XXIII 180.
- 206 H. Philipp, "Zu den Basen des L. Mummius in Olympia," AM 94 (1979) 200. Polybius, 39.6.1
- 207 IO 52, 54, 55.
- 208 Cf. Guarducci, RendPont 13 (1937) 56-58.
- 209 Polybius, 39.6.1. Philipp, AM 94 (1979) 202.
- 210 Polybius, 39.6.1.
- 211 Pausanias, V.10.5.
- 212 Pausanias, V.24.4 and 8.
- 213 Philipp, AM 94 (1979) 196f.
- 214 IO 279 and 281 are on the same base, but they are early Imperial rededications, whose text is the same as IO 278 and 280. IO 320-324 are inscriptions naming Mummius and four of the ten commissioners who aided him in organizing Greece and Macedonia: L. Licinius Murena, A. Postumius Albinus, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, and A. Terentius Varro. The inscriptions identified figures on a base erected

during the Empire, and once held statues of all ten commissioners. As the names of only five of these commissioners are known, the loss of the other inscribed names is to be regretted. Cf. Siedentopf, p. 102, Kat. II.49.

215 E. Kunze, IO no. 278 and 279.

216 Siedentopf, p. 104.

217 W. Koenigs, "Zu den Basen des L. Mummius in Olympia," AM 74 (1979) 215.

218 Philipp, AM 74 (1979) 202ff. Cf. H. Blanck, Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1962), p. 106.

219 B.V. Head, British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins vol. XI Attica, Megaris, Aegina, R.S. Poole, ed. (Bologna, 1963), p. xvii, series lxvi; p. iii, series xci.

220 Siedentopf, p.62. Cf. also p. 102 Kat II.48.

221 Philipp, AM 94 (1979) 198.

222 Charles K. Williams II, "Corinth Excavations of 1980," Hesperia 50 (1981) 27.

223 H.J. Mason, Greek Terms, p. 158.

224 Cf. Chapter II, "Patronage."

225 Cf. Münzer, "Postumius" (31), RE 22 (1953) 905.

226 Siedentopf, pp. 24, 115; Kat. II.49.

227 Polybius, 31.1.3f.

228 MRR I.482; 550f, 558.

229 Mason, Greek Terms, p. 153.

230 Siedentopf, p. 115; cf. p. 24.

231 H. Pomtow, "Die Römerstatuen in Delphi," Klio 17 (1921) 162.

232 MRR I.438 - embassy in 165, head = T. Sempronius Gracchus, other members unknown. MRR I.439 embassy in 164 - C. Sulpicius Gallus, M. Sergius . I.441 - embassy on 163 - Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, L. Aurelius Orestes.

233 Siedentopf, p. 115, Kat.II.78.

234 MRR I.467, 463.

235 Harmand, p. 40., dates these two inscriptions at 62-61, the same date assigned to a proxeny of L. Tillius (or Tullius) = List V.47. But Harmand gives no reasons as to why the statue base inscriptions should be dated to the same period as the proxeny.

236 Münzer, "Baebius" (53), RE Supplb. 3 (1918) 192. Cf. Klebs "Baebius" (40), RE 1 (1896) 2731.

237 Harmand, p. 74

238 MRR II.480.

239 MRR I.402.

240 Mason, Greek Terms, p. 108 states that the honoree was called antitamlas (proquaestor). This may be possible since the first line of the inscription is incomplete, but that addition would leave little room for the rest of the honoree's name. Cf. Chapter IV.

241 W.F. Jashemski, The Origins and History of the Proconsular and the Propraetorian Imperium to 27 BC, Studia Historica 30 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1966), pp. 64, 91f.

242 Holleaux, "Rome and Macedon: The Romans Against Philip," CAH VIII, p. 169. Cf. E. Badian, T. Quinctius Flaminius: Philhellenism and Realpolitik, Lecture for the U. of Cincinnati, 1970 pp. 45-7.

243 Holleaux, CAH VIII, p. 172.

244 John Briscoe, "Flaminius and Roman Politics, 219-189 B.C.," Latomus 31 (1972) 33. Flaminius reorganized Thessaly along the lines of a timocracy. When he gave property back to the Chyretians, he was giving it back to the upper classes who had owned it originally. Cf. *supra*, footnote 105.

Chapter IV

Period III: 146-88 B.C. The Destruction of Corinth to the First Mithridatic War (List I.23, 35-63, 65-69, 72-88, 103, 107)

Introduction

During the wars which marked Period II, victorious Roman generals despoiled Greece and Macedon of their art treasures and wealth, proudly displaying these items in opulent triumphs. Some of the wealth they donated to Rome and thus sowed seeds which matured into some of her future splendor.¹ In Greece the wars had ravaged both the land and the men who tilled it, thus bringing on a shortage of food and manpower.² Depopulation in Thessaly and Macedon reached such chronic proportions that Philip V granted land to Thracian settlers in an attempt to repopulate the areas.³

The second period was characterized by war and poverty in Greece and Macedon; in contrast, the third was marked by only a few isolated battles and by nascent prosperity. As steward of both Greece and Macedonia, Rome assumed the responsibility of peacekeeper either through arbitrating disputes between cities or individuals or fighting off barbarians and pirates. Greeks no longer fought either Romans or other Greeks and could now concentrate on rebuilding what the events of the previous period had destroyed.⁴

In organizing the presentation of the material the period 146-88 must be treated differently from that of 200-146. The previous period was divided according to the wars because they occurred in sequence and thus

provided a convenient chronological arrangement. Because most of the men given honorific statues or other honors were linked to the wars, it was possible to categorize the statues and honors chronologically according to the appropriate war. However, from 148-88 no major wars demarcated chronological divisions, nor were the statues and other honors awarded for reasons necessarily linked with military activities. The period is marked both by an increase in the number of statues given to Romans/Italians and by an increase in the number of statues given by private individuals. Therefore, the statues have been grouped according to whether they were donated by public institutions or by private citizens. Public grants have been divided according to the reasons for which they were given - either because the honoree visited the area and performed some unknown peacetime service or because he fought off barbarians or pirates. Private grants have been divided according to whether they were given by individuals, or by groups or associations. Each subdivision will follow chronological order. Because most of the private statues were awarded on the Island of Delos, a brief history of that Island for the late Hellenistic period will be given.

A. Public Grants

1. General Motives

This division includes statues granted to Romans for various reasons, some of which are difficult to determine. Many of the honorees have military titles and are readily identified by name so we know that they had something to do with the Roman administration of Greece and Macedon. Some have honorific titles: Savior and Benefactor - List II.B.4, Benefactor -

There are uncertainties about this inscription. The first is its actual origin. The inscription and statue were dedicated by the demos of Athens but the inscription was found on Paros. Since Athens did not have any cleruchs on Paros, Homolle thinks that the inscription and its statue were carved on Delos, where Athens did have a colony, and then for some reason taken to Paros.⁵

Also uncertain is the identity of the honoree. Suggested identities are L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus, consul of 142, or L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus, consul of 117. The title of the honoree, strategos hypatos, indicates that he was consul at the time of the honor. Dittenberger⁶ favors the earlier date, thus Calvus, since the title strategos hypatos was used more frequently in the earlier part of the second century B.C. than in the later. Dittenberger's position is attractive for two reasons. First, on statue base inscriptions the title occurred six times from the early to mid-second century, (List I.1, 2, 5, 10, 34, 37). Second, Diadematus was not involved in the East,⁷ but Calvus was an ambassador to the East with Sp. Mummius and Scipio Africanus Minor in 140.⁸ The embassy probably

List IV.4 Philotechnos Heroidou (sculptor)

Apparently the younger Domitius felt a sense of responsibility to the Samians and continued the patronage the earlier man had begun. The older Domitius must also have assisted the inhabitants of Ephesus while on duty in Asia Minor, for he was also designated as patron of that city.¹¹

Prostaenna in Pisidia was a region on the Southeast border of the Roman province of Asia, which had been established in 131. When M. Antonius was quaestor propraetore in Asia in 112,¹² he may have

performed a service for the inhabitants of Prostaenna. Antonius' actions may have had something to do with the six ambassadors listed at the end of the inscription. Possibly the ambassadors had been sent to him from Prostaenna to obtain a ruling concerning a local dispute. Whatever Antonius' service, it was meritorious enough to have had a statue placed in the international sanctuary of Delos; perhaps another statue was placed in Prostaenna.

List I.50 Thessalonike 105 Cn. Servilius Cn.f. Caepio
tamias

This inscription is not on a statue base but is part of an epistyle found near the Porta Cassandreotica in Thessalonike. The editor of the inscription, Carl Edson, does not speculate from what structure the fragment came. Possibly it was from the nearby gate, Porta Cassandreotica. As Servilius was quaestor in Macedonia c. 105¹³ he may have had something to do with acquiring the funds necessary to build the gate. In recognition of his service, the city of Thessalonike placed his statue above the gate's epistyle.¹⁴

List I.51 Athens 104-93 Cn. Pompeius Sex.f. Strabo

At some time between 104 when Pompeius was quaestor and 89 when he became consul,¹⁵ Pompeius was propraeor of a province, possibly Macedonia,¹⁶ and at that time probably visited Athens. Possibly he served as propraeor after he had been praetor around 92.¹⁷ Earlier, his father, Sextus Pompeius, had been given a statue (List I.41), hence the statue of the son may have been erected in part out of respect for the father. Since the base on which the statue stood was reused for Pompeius, the

statue may have been set up on short notice of Pompeius' arrival in Athens.

List I.55	Olympia:	Pre 100	C. Servilius Vatia
	Ells	or	
	<u>[polls]</u>	75-50	

Whether C. Servilius Vatia was the father of P. Servilius Isauricus is uncertain. Münzer and Broughton maintain that he was and that he commanded a province, possibly Macedonia, sometime before 100.¹⁸ Dittenberger and Purgold (the editors of IO) and Siedentopf maintain that Servilius was not Isauricus' father but his cousin, and they date the inscription to the first century B.C.¹⁹ Whatever his identity, Servilius must have been fairly important since the dedication at Olympia was an equestrian statue rather than that of a standing man, and was appropriate for a man of high rank. The inscription bears no military title and gives only a general motive (arete).

List I.54	Olympia:	?101	[C.] Marius C. [f.]
	<u>polls</u> of Ells		

List I.60	Argos	?100	C. Marius <u>strategos hypatos</u>
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List I.79	Delos:	post 99	[C. Marius]
	Italians carrying on business in Alexandria		[legat]us, <u>[presbeu]tes</u>

List IV.12	Agasias Menophilou,
Ephesian (sculptor)	

The first two inscriptions (List I.54, 60) may date to just after Marius' victories over the Cimbri and Teutoni in Italy because List I.54 gives

Marius' title strategos hypatos, consul, the office he held at the time of the victory.²⁰ The last inscription of this group (List I.79) is from the Italian Agora, (Fig. 1) and has a later date, so technically it belongs to the "Private" category in this study, for the donors were probably Italian merchants.²¹ It has been placed here for the purpose of discussing its date with that of the other two. In 97, as an ambassador, Marius traveled to Asia Minor to pay a vow to the Magna Mater,²² and it is possible that he passed through Egypt on his journey. There he performed some service for the Italians living in Alexandria for the inscription states that he was given the statue "because of his virtue and benefactions", (l. 2):

[virtut]is beneficium ergo; (l. 6) ...ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσιῶν [ἔνεκα].

For two reasons I propose that the inscriptions List I.54, 60 date to the period of the embassy rather than to 101-100. First, most Greeks erected statues to Romans with whom they had had some direct contact, either when the Roman was in Greece or when the Greeks had met him in Rome. If the Greeks did not know Marius it seems improbable that they would have celebrated his remote victory by setting up his statues. Second, although usually Greeks recorded the current office of an honoree on inscriptions, they sometimes recorded a previous office, for example the dedications of L. and P. Cornelius Scipio at Delos (ID 442B, p.167 note on II.101, 102). While a similar situation may have occurred in the case of List I.54, given by Greeks, it seems unlikely that Italians, who erected List I.79, would have followed the practice unless they listed all of Marius' titles in the manner of a Roman elogium. Hence, the Delian inscription (List I.79) lists only Marius' current title presbeutes. It seems probable that Marius went to Asia Minor by way of Greece and Egypt, stopping at the

famous sanctuary of Olympia on the way and also visiting Argos. The statue at Olympia (List I.54) may have been in thanks for gifts and the one in Argos (List I.60) just honoring him as a passing Roman official

List I.62	Olympia: <u>kolnon</u> of Achaean and Roman settlers	100-70	Cn. Egnatius Cn.f.
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List I.63	Olympia: <u>[kolnon]</u> of Achaean and [Roman settlers]	100-70	[Cn. Eгна]tius Cn.f.
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The donors of these inscriptions, the league of Achaeans and Roman settlers, were members of a league made up of Achaeans and a corporation of Roman citizens. The Romans were probably in the Olympia area to do business, and for the purposes of legal and religious unity they formed a conventus civium Romanorum, whose founder may have been Egnatius.

We are uncertain of Egnatius' identity. Because the inscription records no official title, we do not even know if Egnatius was in Olympia as a private citizen or if he had been sent by the Senate. He may have been the Cn. Egnatius expelled from the Senate in 70 B.C. F. Eckstein reasonably postulates that the honorees in the two inscriptions were not the same man. Rather IO 333 (List I.63) may have been inscribed for the son of the honoree of IO 938 (List I.62), and both statues stood side by side in front of the Echo Hall.²³ Both bases once held equestrian statues, and enough remains of the base on which inscription List I.62 is recorded to know that the horse was in a walking pose.²⁴

List I.65 Delphi II c. ΙΙΟΣ[---]ΟΝ[---]ΔΙΟΝΙΑΙΟΝ
tamias antistrategos

Th. Sarakakis suggests that the name of the honoree in this fragmentary inscription was Postumius Dionillius.²⁵ The title tamias kai antistrategos, which the honoree held, is equivalent to quaestor propraetore or quaestor proconsule. The two other examples of the same title on statue base inscriptions date from the end of the second century B.C. (List I.40, 43), so dating this inscription to that time is feasible. Quaestors of this rank often served in provinces as representatives or substitutes for governors.²⁶ Dionillius probably served in Macedonia, and possibly he passed through Delphi and gave the sanctuary a gift.

List 1.66 Delos: ?II c. Galus, [strategos] hypatos
 [demos of Athens]

Ust 1.67 Delos: Il or I c. Gn[alus].
[demos of ?Athens] stra[tegos ?anthypatos]

List 1.68 Olympra II-I c. [Galus. Q. [f.]

All of the inscriptions mentioning these men are fragmentary. Thus we are uncertain who these three men are except that the honorees of List I.66 and 67 were a consul and proconsul (or proprætor) respectively. Perhaps these men had passed through Delos and had given gifts to the sanctuary. As Athens then controlled Delos, she provided the appropriate rewards. Possibly the honoree of List I.68 also was a Roman magistrate passing through Olympia, who made offerings to Zeus and received a statue as his reward.

List I.78	Karthlieros, <u>demos</u> Cos	Beg. 1 c.	M. Popilli[us M.] f. Laenas <u>presbeutes antistrategos</u>
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Popillius was a legatus propraetore (presbeutes antistrategos), possibly to the East, who was probably also the honoree of an inscription at Magnesia ad Meandrum in Asia Minor. At some point in his mission, Popillius stopped at Cos to pay his respects to the sanctuary of Asclepius and received a statue.²⁷ His daughter, Paulla Popillia, may have been the woman honored at a later date in Oropos (List I.214).²⁸

List I.80	Olympia	98-7 or 94-3	Q. [Muclius P.f.] Scaevola <u>[strate]gos anthypatos</u>
List II.B.4			<u>soter kal [euergetes]</u>

List I.81	Cos	98-7 or 94-3	Wife or daughter of Q. Muclius Scaevola
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Q. Muclius Scaevola was honored with a statue in Olympia (List I.80) by Greeks and other peoples in Asia Minor who had benefitted from his rulings. As governor of Asia (more likely in 94-3 than 98-7²⁹) he effected reforms against rapacious and uncontrolled Roman tax collectors. In addition, he enforced the law and wrote an edict clarifying various laws.³⁰ In gratitude the provincials also set up his statue in Pergamon (OGIS 437 = IGR IV 297) and instituted games in his honor.³¹

Scaevola and his family probably visited the sanctuary of Asclepius on Cos during their stay in Asia, for there one finds an inscription honoring his wife or daughter (List I.81).³² This person has the distinction of being the first Roman woman known to have been honored with a statue in Greece.

List I.83	Samothrace <u>[p]o[lls]</u>	94-3 or 69-7	L. Julius Caesar <u>[s]trate[gos a]nth[yp]atos</u>
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The L. Julius Caesar honored in this inscription also dedicated an offering to the Great Gods in the Cabiri Temple on Samothrace.³³ Apparently, in gratitude for the gift, the Samothracians awarded him a statue.

Scholars have maintained that this L. Julius Caesar was the consul of 90 who governed Macedonia as propraetor in 94.³⁴ However, recent scholarship suggests that the honoree of the Samothracian statue was not the consul of 90 but a younger man, L. Julius Caesar, the consul of 64. The supposition for a younger Caesar was first presented by D.M. Lewis. In arguing against M. Thompson's dating for Athenian New Style Coinage, Lewis discussed a New Style tetradrachm overstruck by a quaestor, Aesillas. As there are also coins of a Caesar as praetor in Macedonia marked with AESILLAS Q. on the reverse, it was thought that Aesillas had been quaestor under the older Caesar in 94-3. But Lewis notes that the tetradrachm with the Aesillas overstrike is much later, dating to a period after Sulla. Another series of coins is die-linked to the overstrike series, therefore also dates to the period after Sulla, but is without an obverse legend. This series bears a reverse legend noting a Sura as legatus proquaestore. Sura was thought to be Q. Braetius Sura, the legate of C. Sentius 93-87. Lewis suggests that this man was P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, consul of 71 and brother-in-law of L. Julius Caesar, consul of 64.³⁵

In a later article, H.B. Mattingly agrees with Lewis' hypothesis and convincingly presents fresh numismatic evidence supporting the later Caesar as propraetor of Macedonia. Mattingly discusses the circumstances under which Sura might have been taken to Macedonia as the legate of his

brother-in-law. In addition, Mattingly notes that Aesillas initially served as quaestor under Caesar, but died in service and that to replace him Caesar made Sura legatus proquaestore.³⁶

These ideas are intriguing, and it is odd that neither Lewis nor Mattingly discusses the title legatus proquaestore to support his arguments. The title is unusual, the more normal one being legatus propraetore.³⁷ The title suggests replacement, a legatus standing in for a quaestor as Mattingly states and as occurred in 80 when Cn. Dolabella replaced his dead quaestor, Mallcolus, with his legate, Verres, and made him legatus proquaestore.³⁸ If Verres was the first legatus proquaestore appointed in an emergency situation in 80, then it would not be surprising to find another one (Lentulus Sura) only a few years later. The title strategos anthypatos, which Caesar bears here, need not have ended with Sulla, as Broughton maintains.³⁹ Caesar as consul of 64 may have been strategos anthypatos in 69–7. Based on these additional facts, Mattingly's case that the statue base inscription to Caesar on Samothrace honored the propraetor of Macedonia in 69–7 seems sound.

List I.84	Delphi:	pre 91	Marcellus Claudius
	<u>polis</u>		(M. Claudius Marcellus)

List II.G.5	<u>patron</u>
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The editor of this inscription, B. Haussoulier, thinks that the honoree was the Marcellus sent to Delphi in 173 as an envoy to the Aetolian League.⁴⁰ If this were true, then this inscription would be the first in Greece to bear the honorific title patron. The term first appears in Greek inscriptions in 166, (cf. discussion of the history of Abdera and Thrace in Chapter III), and since the first honorific inscriptions with this title do not

appear until the 140's.⁴¹ It seems that the envoy of 173 is not a likely candidate. A more appropriate person may be M. Claudius Marcellus who was curule aedile in 91. He was a friend of the orator L. Licinius Crassus and traveled with him in Greece.⁴² As part of their tour they could have stopped in Delphi where the Delphians honored at least one of them, Marcellus, possibly in thanks for gifts to the sanctuary.

List 1.86	Delos:	c.91	C. Julius [C.] f. Caesar
	Dellians		

List II.G.6 patron

The honoree was the father of the Dictator who was proconsul of Asia sometime in the first decade of the first century B.C.⁴³ While neither the editors of ID nor Durrbach specify the dates more closely, Badian dates the inscription 92-1 and Broughton dates it to 91.⁴⁴ The date of the inscription is determined in part from the name of the dedicators. The "Dellians" dedicated the inscription and its now missing statue. This group of people may have broken from Athenian control at some point before Delos was sacked in 88,⁴⁵ and apparently formed their own government, and dedicated statues, otherwise the inscription would have been in the name of the demos of Athens or in that of one of the private groups inhabiting the island. The same term is also found in an inscription for a statue of M. Antonius (ID 1700 = List I.82). Laidlaw maintains that the term "Dellians" represents only some of the inhabitants of Delos, perhaps those who escaped forced exile in 166 when the Athenians took control of the island. Or the "Dellians" may be descendants of those exiled in 166 who had returned to Delos through the good offices of Caesar and Antonius.⁴⁶ An action of restoration would surely have

merited the title patron, a title which both Caesar and Antonius held. Both men also received statues; and as Caesar in addition made a dedication at Delos (ID 1847), his statue may have been erected partially in thanks for the dedication.

Caesar was patron of two other areas in the East: Samos and Alabanda in Caria. We know of Caesar's patronage of Samos not through an inscription for him, but from an inscription for the Dictator, dated 48 (List I.194; List II.F.14). The inscription identifies the Dictator as the son of the benefactor and patron of the city: SEG XIV 557 II. 2-4 [ὁὖν τοῦ] [εὐ]εργέτου καὶ πάτρωνος/ τῆς πόλεως. The statues and honorific titles testify to the elder Caesar's good works in the East.

2. Officials Fighting Barbarians or Pirates

a. Barbarians

For years the kings of Macedon had vigilantly protected Macedon and Macedonian possessions in Thrace from raids of nearby barbarian tribes. However, once the Romans removed the monarchy, nothing prevented barbarians from invading. The rise of the pretender, Andriscus, sparked the first invasions. In his revolt, Andriscus had the support both of the Thracians already living in Macedon and of the more barbarous Thracians living outside Macedonian boundaries, who invaded Macedon to aid him. Following the precedent established by those tribesmen, later Thracians and other barbarian tribes (Dardanians and Celts – Scordisti) invaded Macedon after Andriscus' defeat. As a result, Roman commanders in Macedon were often engaged in fighting barbarian invaders in the later second century and well into the first century B.C.⁴⁷ Although not every commander in

Pompelus was killed in action in a campaign against barbarian Celtic and Thracian tribes in Macedonia. Groebe speculates that since Athens was linked to the province of Macedonia when Pompelus was killed, the inscription and statue honored Pompelus' actions in that battle.⁴⁸ If so, this may be a rare example of an honorific statue in Greece awarded posthumously.⁴⁹ However, it is more likely that the statue was set up at a time when Pompelus visited the city on his way North, and was thus erected to flatter him as a visiting Roman official.

Our knowledge of Pompelus and his actions comes to us from an inscription (SIG³ 700) honoring M. Annlus. M. Annlus was Pompelus' quaestor who took over the command when Pompelus fell, retrieved the body of his commander and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. A few days later he defeated the barbarians in battle.⁵⁰ As a reward for his heroism the people of Letae, near the probable battle site, granted the honors of an olive crown and annual equestrian games to be held in his honor when games for other benefactors were held.⁵¹

List III.3

Perhaps while returning from the battle, M. Minucius and his brother, Quintus, visited the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and each presented an offering to the god.⁵³ During or prior to the visit, the Delphians learned of Minucius' victory and erected two statues (List I.47) in recognition of his accomplishment and possibly in thanks for his gift. Although the barbarians did not invade Greece as far South as Delphi, the Delphians may have feared them nonetheless. In 279 B.C. Gauls had ravaged the city and sanctuary badly, branding the Delphians with the fear of future attacks. Thus Minucius' victory may have been as important to the Delphians as to the Europeans since in the minds of the Delphians it had prevented another barbarian attack on Delphi.⁵⁴

All three statue bases of Minucius bore inscriptions giving the specific reasons why Minucius was honored (List III.3, 4): "because of his victories over the Gauls, Scordisti, Bessi and other Thracians." The inscriptions at Delphi are unique in that one was in Latin and the other in Greek, and

the Greek version was very similar to the Greek inscription from Europos (cf. List III.3, 4a). The Delphi inscriptions come from two bases. The Latin version was on a pedestal base which once held a statue of Minucius on a walking horse. In contrast, the Greek inscription was on a stepped base which once held a statue of Minucius riding a rearing horse.⁵⁵ Although it is unusual to have two statues of one man at the same sanctuary, it is not unheard of. Flamininus seems to have had two statues at Delphi, and Minucius' victories over a distant but dreaded enemy could have earned him a similar honor.

b. Delos, Rhodes, and Pirate Attacks

For centuries Delos served the Greek world as a religious center. The birthplace of Artemis and Apollo, Delos was a sanctuary ranking in importance with Delphi, Olympia, and Dodona. During the fifth century and most of the fourth, Athens oversaw the island's affairs; but from 314 to 167-6 Delos was independent.⁵⁶ In 167-6 when Rome arbitrarily returned Delos to Athenian care and made the island a free port, both Delos and the entire Aegean region were profoundly affected. Since she was a free port, Delos attracted commercial ships from other ports in the Aegean and quickly became more renowned for commerce than for religion.

The effects on Delos were incidental results of the drastic measures Rome took against Rhodes at the end of the Roman war against Perseus. In the course of the war Rhodes had sent an embassy to mediate between Perseus and Rome. Unfortunately, the Rhodian embassy arrived after the Roman general, Aemilius Paullus, had defeated Perseus. Consequently Rhodian attempts to gloss over the error offended Roman sensibility. As a

result, the Romans perceived that Rhodes had acted on Perseus' order and sought to punish Rhodes. In a broader view, Rome meted out punishment because Rhodes, a prosperous state, had acted independently of Rome not only on this occasion but on others as well.

The punishment came in two forms: freeing Rhodian possessions on the mainland of Asia Minor from Rhodian control, and making Delos a free port.⁵⁷ Rhodes had relied on revenues from her mainland possessions as well as on duty from vessels using her harbors. After the mainland areas were taken from her control, she no longer had income from these sources. As Delos was now a free port, vessels no longer stopped at Rhodes to unload their wares, but went to Delos where duty was not charged.⁵⁸ Rhodes' loss of income was rapid but the island was not completely ruined by Rome's machinations. Rostovtzeff notes that amphora handle stamps indicate that Rhodian commerce was as wide-spread as before 167-6, but not as great in volume.⁵⁹ However, the drop in Rhodian revenue was sufficiently significant that Rhodes could no longer support the large navy which had long policed the seas for pirates. Without the navy on patrol, pirates from Cilicia and Crete had almost free run of the Aegean.⁶⁰

Pirate activity, in turn, benefitted the growth of Rhodes' nemesis, Delos, for piracy provided one of the main commodities handled at Delos – slaves. Pirates brought their captives to the island where they sold them to middlemen who subsequently shipped them to Italy for further sale to wealthy Italians.⁶¹ For many years Rome tolerated acts of piracy because piracy made Delos and her Italian inhabitants prosper. Not until late in the second century when complaints about pirate ravages became

overwhelming (coming even from Delos), did Rome begin to take action. One commander in Period III who dealt with pirates was awarded a statue. More serious Roman commitment to eliminating pirates took place after the First Mithridatic War and will be treated in the next period. Discussion of the history of Delos will continue within the sub-section on Private Grants.

List I.82	Delos: Dellans	c.97	M. Antonius M.f. <u>strategos hypatos. timetes</u>
List II.G.4			<u>patron</u>

Antonius served in the East twice. In 113-112 as quaestor and proquaestor, and in 102-100 as praetor and proconsul in Cilicia.⁶² As proconsul Antonius successfully waged a campaign against the Cilician pirates and through his conquest laid the foundation for what would later become the Roman province of Cilicia.⁶³ Antonius traveled to both Athens and Rhodes and may have stopped in Delos on his voyage between the two ports. Possibly in recognition of his service as pirate destroyer, the Delians erected a statue to him as their patron. The inscription records two titles for Antonius - strategos anthypatos (proconsul) and timetes (censor). Antony was censor in 97.⁶⁴ Since censors carried out their duties in Rome, Antony was not in Delos at the time the statue was erected. Perhaps the statue honored him both for his past dealings with the pirates and for any courtesies in Rome he may have shown the Delians at the time he was censor.⁶⁵

An alternative date for the inscription may be some twelve years later. Antonius died in 87, murdered by the Marian party. Ferguson thinks that the inscription may be dated after Antonius' death, perhaps to 85-4, arguing that Sulla may have been instrumental in having a memorial to

Antonius set up just as he had seen to the erection of statues to his colleague in the consulship, Q. Pompeius Rufus⁶⁶ (List I.89, 90).

Although this is an interesting theory, it seems more likely that the Delians erected the statue of Antonius on their own initiative. As we have seen, in fighting the pirates Antonius had served the Delians on at least one occasion so the Delians had real reason to honor him, needing no suggestions from Sulla.

B. Delos and Private Grants

By far the largest number of honorific statues to Romans was awarded by private citizens either as individuals or as groups and most of these statues were on Delos. In an earlier section⁶⁷ it was noted that on Delos many statues to Romans were given by Italians living on the island, often in conjunction with other foreigners as well as Greeks. Delian history explains the presence of numerous Italians and why so many more statues to Romans appear on Delos than anywhere else in Greece.

1. Delos

a. Delos and Athens

When Rome gave Delos to Athens, the Athenians sent out a group of cleruchs to colonize the island. The presence of the cleruchs caused problems, however, since the island was small and there seemed to be insufficient amounts of land for both cleruchs and native Delians. Pragmatically, to make space for the cleruchs, the Athenians forced most of the native Delians to move.⁶⁸ The displaced Delians settled in Achaia where they became citizens and claimed damages from the Athenians.

Since the Athenians did not readily comply, through the Achaeans the Delians gained rights of reprisal against Athens and as compensation seized Athenian properties in Attica. The ensuing reciprocal pillaging of Attic and Achaean territories lasted several years until both Athens and Achaia sent ambassadors to Rome for a decision from the Senate. Finally in 157, the Senate upheld the arrangements of the Achaeans on behalf of the Delians, thus ending the dispute.⁶⁹

b. Delos and Foreigners

The Athenian cleruchs were not the only ones to inhabit Delos. They were joined by people from the East (Syrians, Egyptians, and natives of Asia Minor), and Italians from the West.⁷⁰ Epigraphic evidence shows an Italian presence on Delos before the mid-second century, but Italians were few in number and their stay transitory.⁷¹ In the early second century Roman commanders visited Delos to present dedications to the Apollo temple. A temple inventory dating 179 B.C. records offerings from L. and T. Quinctius Flamininus, A. Attilius Serranus, C. Livius Salinator, P. and L. Cornellus Scipio, and C. Maellus.⁷² After the destruction of Corinth in 146, the foreign population on Delos increased, and Italians comprised the largest group of foreigners on the island. Many Greek, Oriental, and Italian traders had lived in Corinth for business purposes. Once Corinth was destroyed, they moved to Delos to continue their activities.⁷³ So great was the influx of these other elements into Delos that after the mid second century the Athenian cleruchs were virtually absorbed into the mass of foreigners.⁷⁴ The last honorific decrees of the Athenian cleruchs date c. 145, and in 125 there began a new series of decrees granted by a

mixed group of people.⁷⁵

The new group comprised Athenians,⁷⁶ Romans (Romaioi), Greeks, and other foreigners of varying status and occupations (i.e., settlers, sojourners, merchants, shipmasters, and bankers). Various combinations of these people presented honorific statues to Romans as we know from statue base inscriptions. The variations in the formulae heading each inscription, indicate that the new international group was an informal association rather than a recognized administrative body.⁷⁷ As we have seen, descendants of Delian exiles broke from Athenian control and were restored to the island in the 90's. These "Delians" dedicated at least two statues to Romans (List I.82, 86).⁷⁸ As an administrative body the "Delians" were a short-lived entity, for the honorific inscriptions in the 80's and later are again from the international group and from the demos of Athens. As noted above, the honorific inscriptions from the mixed body in Delos included "Romans" (Romaioi), but these people were not necessarily Roman citizens. Hatzfeld notes that Delian Greeks did not differentiate people from Italy according to status. Thus, all these people, whether slave or free, possessor of Roman citizenship or not, were called Romaioi.⁷⁹

The language of the Delian honorific inscriptions is interesting. All but seven are in Greek. Three are bilingual (List I.79, 107, 111), four are in Latin (List I.85, 90, 91, 106). The inscription of List I.105 is unusual for the donors were the demos of Athens in conjunction with the Italians and Greeks trading on the island. Despite the fact that two of the three donors were Greek, the inscription is in Latin. The inscription honors Lucullus for his work in 84-82. Possibly the idea for the statue originated

in Athens, thus explaining the presence of the demos.

c. Delos and Commerce

Although the slave trade was the major commercial industry of Delos,⁸⁰ other activities were also important to the business community. One of the prominent businesses was banking, which entailed both money lending and currency exchange; the latter was an essential activity for an international port. Italians were particularly prominent in banking, and there are several statue base inscriptions for Italian bankers.⁸¹

Other goods besides slaves were handled at Delos: spices, unguents, glass, wine, oil,⁸² grain,⁸³ and art works. Trade in these items increased especially after Asia was made a Roman province (131 B.C.) and Romans began exploiting Asia's wealth. Delos' location in the Aegean provided a point suitable for transferring Asian goods to Italy.⁸⁴ The expansion of Roman influence in the East and the increase of trade from the East to Italy may partially explain why so many Italians went to Delos – they knew they could make money there. So long as goods flowed from Asia Minor to Italy, Delos flourished, but when the trade routes shifted to the South in the late first century B.C., Delos, now crippled from pirate ravages, declined and eventually faded completely.⁸⁵

2. Private Grants

To expedite the discussion of inscriptions given privately, the following sub-categories have been established: Grants from Individuals or Friends; Grants from Groups or Associations; Grants from People Associated with Bankers. Most, but not all, of the inscriptions come from Delos.

a. Grants From Individuals or Friends

All of the inscriptions in this category are from Delos. Perhaps individual inhabitants of the island were so wealthy that they could afford to erect statues honoring their important friends. The earliest inscription from a friend dates to around 134, the latest to 85, spanning the peak of Delian prosperity and going into the beginning of Delos' decline. The latest inscription technically belongs to Period IV, but since it is the only one from that Period, I have incorporated it with the others of Period II.

List I.23	Delos:	150	[L.] Vicerius Ti. [f.]
	?friends	125	

L. Vicerius was probably an Italian or Roman businessman living on Delos. His friends erected the statue to him because of his justice to them. He is known only from one other inscription on the island (ID 1732 I.6) in which he was called a Hermaist (member of a group dedicated to the worship of Hermes).

List I.37	Delos:	?134	P. [Cornelius P.f. S]cipio
	L. Babullius		A[fricanus] (Minor).
	T. (f.) <u>Romaios</u>		<u>[s]trategos [h]ypa[ros]</u> , friend

Probably friendship between these two men dated to 140 when Scipio, as a member of a commission to Egypt and Asia, may have visited Delos.⁸⁶ Scipio was consul II in 134,⁸⁷ and this inscription calls him strategos hypatos (consul), hence the dating of 134. Babullius, undoubtedly one of the early Italian businessmen living on Delos, noted Scipio's benefactions to him in the inscription. Perhaps they were services performed during Scipio's trip East in 140 or when Scipio had returned to

Rome. The inscription is in Greek, although the dedicator bore a distinctly Latin name and calls himself Roman.

List I.40	Delos: Dionysios Dionysiou, Sphettios	c.119	Marcus <u>tamias kai antistrategos</u>
List I.69	Delos	II-I c.	Marcus Se... <u>tamias</u>

Although the full name of the honoree of List I.39 is unknown, some suggestions for his identity are the following. Ferguson proposes that the honoree may have been M. Antonius. Antonius visited Athens and Rhodes in 103-2 and may have met the dedicant of the Delian statue at that time.⁸⁸ However, in 103-2 Antonius was no longer quaestor proconsule or propraetore (tamias kai antistrategos) as is the honoree of this inscription.⁸⁹ We have seen that Antonius was quaestor proconsule or propraetore in 112, and the city of Prostaenna in Pisidia honored him with a statue in Delos at that time (List I.43).⁹⁰ Anyone honoring another with a statue would record the honoree's highest title in the statue base inscription. The inscription of List I.40 records the lower ranking title (tamias kai antistrategos) but not the higher (Greek equivalent of proconsul). If the inscription does honor M. Antonius, it must date from the time of his term as quaestor proconsule in 112 rather than to 103-2 when he visited Rhodes and Athens as proconsul.

There is another possibility for the identity of the honoree of List I.40. He may be the same man honored in List I.69. That inscription is also fragmentary but the beginning to the honoree's nomen is given as Se... Since we have no clue to the nomen of Marcus in List I.40, he may have

had a nomen beginning with Se-. A quick glance through the index of careers to Broughton's Magistrates on the Roman Republic reveals many Romans with nomina beginning with Se- (e.g., Sempronius, Sergius, Servius, Servilius), and any one of them may fit. However, until more information comes to light (i.e., more of the inscription, or more from ancient authors giving the location of a quaestor M. Se- in Delos) all this remains pure speculation.

The first line of the inscription of List. I.40 is fragmentary: Μαρκ[ov--]/ταμλαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον. Mason partially restores the title in lines 1-2 as [ἀντι]ταμλαν. With this restoration he cites this inscription as the first example of the use of antitamias as the Greek translation for proquaestor and he notes that it may be found in context with antistrategos.⁹¹ However, the information from the rest of the inscription argues against the restoration of [ἀντι-] at the end of the first line. First, adding [ἀντι-] would leave little room in the inscription for more of the honoree's name. The name may have been a short one like Annlus or Sergius but then there would have been no room for cognomen or patronymic, parts of the name Greeks usually included.⁹² Second, the combination tamias kai antistrategos given in the inscription occurs two other times on statue base inscriptions, and as both are from the second century B.C., the use of that title in this inscription is consistent. In contrast, Antitamias appears on the same types of inscriptions seven times and all occurrences date to the first century.⁹³ The combination antitamias kai antistrategos appears for certain only once on statue base inscriptions, on List I.186 dated 49 B.C. Hence Mason's hypothesis that the term antitamias first appears in 119 B.C. as the translation for

proquaestor and in combination with antistrategos seems too early.

List I.42	Delos: King [Antiochos] Epiphanes Philometor [Kallinikos] and [Queen] Cleopatra	?c.116	Cn. Papir[us Cn. (f.) Car]bo <u>strate[gos anthypatos]</u>
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The date of this Inscription is debated. Durrbach submits that Carbo helped with arbitration in Syria. In 113 Antiochos Cyzicene deposed his brother, Antiochos Philometor and two years later, as proconsul, Carbo may have helped Philometor regain his throne.⁹⁴ Broughton postulates that Carbo was governor of Asia as praetor or propraeitor c. 116 and the Inscription was set up then.⁹⁵ The king and queen set up Carbo's statue in an internationally-known sanctuary where many Romans and others would see the honor given to Carbo.

List I.44	Delos: Dionysios Nikonos, Athenian	?post 110-9	Ser. Cornelius Ser.f. Lentulus <u>strategos anthypatos</u>
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List I.45	Delos: [Nikon] and Diogenes [Hermophil]os and Dionysios Hermophilou, All sons of Dionysios Nikonos, [Athen]ians	post 110-9	Ser. Cornelius Ser.f. [Lentul]us
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Dionysios Nikonos was epimelete in Delos in 110-9 and as a leading official of Delos may have entertained Lentulus in his home. The dedicants of List I.45 were all sons of Dionysios; the younger two were adopted by Dionysios' brother.⁹⁶

The exact identification of Lentulus is uncertain. From List I.44 we know he was praetor proconsule (strategos anthypatos). Broughton

proposes that Lentulus was a proconsul of Asia in the late second century B.C.⁹⁷ Foucart suggests that Lentulus governed Macedonia or Asia.⁹⁸ As Magie's list of governors of Asia has a gap between M' Aquilius, governor of 129-6, and the governors of 120-119, Lentulus may have governed Asia during that period.⁹⁹

In both inscriptions, Lentulus was noted as both friend and guest-friend of the donors so he may have enjoyed the donors' hospitality in their homes. Possibly the statues were in thanks to the Roman magistrate who had honored the family by staying in their home. Since List I.44 notes Lentulus' justice to Dionysios, ...δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν, Lentulus may have expedited either a judicial matter for Dionysios or some other affair requiring an official opinion.

List I.48	Delos:	post 108	[Q. Tullius] Q.f. ...pus
	Q. Tullius Q.l.		
	Aristomachos		
	Q. Tullius Q.l.		
	Alexander		
	Q. Tullius Q.l.		
	Heracleio		

List II.G.3 patron

Three freedmen of Tullius erected a statue of their former master and hailed him as their patron. Although there are statues erected to former Roman masters by Greek freedmen (List I.61, 73) in Greece, this is the only statue base inscription on which the former master was specifically called patron, thus denoting the relationship of patron and clients established between former master and former slaves. All other designations of patron in Greek statue base inscriptions are from men who had never been enslaved (cf. Chapter II, "Patronage").

Tullius was a businessman on Delos rather than a passing magistrate. His cognomen may have been Paapus, a cognomen found in Campania, an area whose industry had links with Delian commerce.¹⁰⁰ The statue base of this inscription once stood with its statue in a private house, probably a house belonging to Tullius himself.

List I.49	Delos: [Midas] Zenonos. Herakleios	107-6	C. Billienus Cf. <u>strategos anthypatos</u>
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The dedicant, Midas, son of Zeno, was a wealthy Romanophile who dedicated other things at Delos.¹⁰¹ As praetor proconsul (strategos anthypatos) in 107-104, the honoree, Billienus, noted as the friend of Midas, may have governed Asia.¹⁰²

Unusually, the statue which this inscription identified is preserved. (Fig. 5). It is one of two extant honorific statues of Romans, the other is the statue of List I.59, (Fig. 6). The Billienus statue is one of the oldest extant cuirassed marble statues and is the oldest extant statue of a Roman magistrate. The head, arms and left leg to the knee are missing. The figure stands in an attitude of command with his right leg resting against the prow of a ship. He wears a short tunic covered by an undecorated cuirass; a cloak drapes over the shoulders and down the back. His legs are bare but the extant right foot wears a sandal. The ship prow supporting Billienus gives rise to speculation that Billienus was involved in a naval battle – possibly against Cretan or Cilician pirates. Marcadé speculates that the statue was erected around 100¹⁰³ although Billienus would have been praetor proconsule before then.¹⁰⁴

This statue and others were badly damaged in 88 BC when pirates

sacked the island. But afterwards A. Atollenus A.f. Veillanus saw to the repair of the statue as is noted in a Latin inscription recorded above the original Greek dedication. Since Billienus had other statues on Delos (List I.56, 57) and since this statue was repaired, Billienus must have been well respected on Delos.

- | | | | |
|-----------|--|-------|----------------|
| List I.58 | Delos:
friends | c.100 | L. Orblus M.f. |
| List IV.8 | Agasias Menophilou,
Ephesian (sculptor) | | |

Orblus was a private citizen of Delos, and his name has been recorded in other inscriptions from the island.¹⁰⁵ In 88 he may have led an expedition against invading Athenians.¹⁰⁶ We do not know who Orblus' "friends" were who dedicated the statue. Probably they were wealthy or important Delians since the sculptor hired to execute the statue was Agasias Menophilou of Ephesus who carved statues of several important Roman officials on Delos (List IV.7, 11, 12, 13, 14) as well as that of the prominent Delian banker, Maralus (List IV.11). Orblus may also have contributed to the construction of the Italian Agora, for niche 10 on the West side of that structure records his name in a mosaic (cf. Fig. 1); perhaps the niche once had a statue of Orblus as well.

- | | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|------------------------|
| List I.61 | Delos:
C. Selus Cn. (l.)
Aristomachos | c.100 | Cn. Selus Cn.f., Roman |
|-----------|---|-------|------------------------|

The honoree, Cn. Selus, was a businessman who probably came from lower Italy, as had many other Italian and Roman businessmen on Delos.¹⁰⁷ Selus' freedman, C. Selus Cn.l. Aristomachos, erected a statue

of his former master. Possibly he erected a second statue on the same base for on the bases are the remains of a second inscription:

Γνα[τον Σήιον-----]
 Γα[ος Σήιος Γναίου -]
 τὸν[-----Ἀπόλλωνι].

The position of the second inscription in relation to the first is not noted in ID. Possibly the last line of the second inscription can be restored as [έατοῦ πάτρωνα. Ἀπόλλωνι]. As C. Selus Cn.l. Aristomachos dedicated a statue of his mother, Cleopatra Philostrateou, to Syrian Aphrodite (ID 2245) c. 103-2, we may presume that the statue of Cn. Selus dates to around the same period.

List I.74

Delos:	?Early	?Cl[audius] Ap.f.
[Hermon]II c.		
[Aga]thokleou.		
[?Elatean]		

This inscription is fragmentary and the praenomen of the honoree is missing. Given the fact that the patronymic of the man is Applus and that Applus was a favorite name among the gens Claudii, the honoree was probably an Applus Claudius. No military title designates the honoree as a Roman official, thus he may have been either a private citizen or an official. If Claudius was an official, he may have been either the proconsul of Macedonia and Thrace in 77-76, or the proconsul of Cilicia in 53-1, or proconsul in Greece in 49-48.¹⁰⁸ He could have visited Delos during his period of office and have become acquainted with Hermon at that time.

List I.88	Delos:	Pre 88	Publius.
	A. Fabius L.f. B...		<u>an[tilta]mias</u> , friend

The fragmentary nature of this inscription leaves the identity of the proquaestor (antitamias) Publius and his Italian friend, Fabius, uncertain. The now lost statue was probably erected before Delos was sacked in 88 because after 88 the population and prosperity of the island shrank drastically and few individuals erected statues to Roman friends (List I.103, 107). Although Italian, Fabius had the inscription recorded in Greek, as an earlier Italian had done on another inscription (List I.37). However, ties between dedicant and honoree may have originated in Italy and have been renewed in Delos. Not enough of the inscription remains to reveal if Publius was a Roman official or an Italian transplanted to Delos.

List I.103	Delos:	c.85	A. and P. Gabinius A.f.
	Gorgias		
	Damoxenou.		
	Herkleios and		
	Ariston Gorgiou.		
	Athenians, friends		

Badian notes that P. Gabinius succeeded C. Sentius as praetor in Macedonia in 88 and may have been active in fighting the northern barbarians.¹⁰⁹ A. Gabinius served as tribunus militum under Sulla c. 86 and had an important role in the battle of Chaeronea.¹¹⁰ Possibly he and his brother met in Delos and there became acquainted with the dedicants of this inscription and its statue. These statues were erected in niche number 105 on the South side of the Italian Agora, (Fig. 1).

List I.107	Delos: Hermolcus and Apollonius Apolloni f., Mellians	784	C. Fabius Hadrianus C.f. Q.n.
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List II.E.11

euergetes

The C. Fabius Hadrianus of this bilingual Inscription may have been the Fabius who was praetor in Africa in 84, and who was later burned alive in Utica because of his harshness to the inhabitants.¹¹¹ We can only speculate where he met the Mellian brothers who set up his statue on Delos – on Delos or perhaps even on Melos. The Mellians hail him as benefactor, so he must have performed some service on their behalf.

b. Grants from Private Groups or Associations

Private groups and associations also awarded statues to Romans both on Delos and on mainland Greece. Because so many different trades, religious beliefs, and nationalities formed the population of Delos, Delian residents gathered into various groups or associations according to trade, religious preference or nationality to promote their own particular interests. An example of a group of traders is the Olearii – olive oil purveyors (List I.85). Those who worshipped Hermes, Apollo or Poseidon united as Hermaists, Apolloniasts or Poseidonasts.¹¹² The Poseidonasts of Berytus formed an ethnic group separate from the other Poseidonasts, who were Italians, and built a "club house" for themselves and their activities (List I.36, 87). The Italians held their functions in a large, open courtyard surrounded by niches and exedrae. This structure was known as the Italian Agora and statues of many Romans and Italians once adorned it.¹¹⁸

Trade associations or guilds were not unique to Delos. On the

Greek mainland the Dionysiac technitai (artists) of Isthmia and Nemea formed a guild to protect their interests. Although other such guilds existed (i.e., Dionysiac technitai from Attica) the guild of Isthmia and Nemea was the only one on mainland Greece to award a statue to a Roman.

1) Miscellaneous Groups or Associations

List I.36	Delos: <u>koinon</u> of Poseidoniasts of Berytus merchants, shipowners, warehousemen	140's	M. Minatius Sex.f.
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List II.E.5	<u>evergetes</u>
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The drafters of this inscription were merchants, shipowners, and warehousemen who had come from Berytus to Delos after their city was destroyed c. 145–138. They formed an association in Delos and from their patron god, Poseidon, they were known as the Poseidoniasts of Berytus.¹¹⁴ For religious and commercial activities they built a "club house" with meeting places and storerooms. As warehousemen, some of the members acted as middlemen so the "club house" was a convenient place to store goods before transfer.¹¹⁵ A banker, M. Minatius Sex.f. (Italian rather than Phoenecian in origin), who was perhaps one of the members of the association, gave a generous donation to the association to complete construction of the building, to repay loans and to use for general purposes. His generosity was perhaps sparked because the Poseidoniasts were good clients of his bank. In gratitude for the contribution, the Poseidoniasts granted Minatius several honors which this inscription records.¹¹⁶

Among the many honors given Minatius was a statue which could be put in the courtyard of the Poseidoniast establishment or anywhere else Minatius wished except in sanctuaries or stoas. In addition Minatius had the honor of a painted portrait which could be put in the temple wherever he wished.¹¹⁷ Although neither statue nor portrait nor their bases now exist, the decree gave the dedicatory inscriptions which were to identify them. From those citations we know that Minatius was also hailed as euergetes. The additional honors (crown, proclamations in his honor, and special seat at festivals), recognized him as benefactor and brought him great prestige among his peers. For details on the other honors, see Chapter II, "Proxeny – stephanos" and "Honorific Titles".

List I.39 (SIG³ 704 B)	Delphi: Dionysiac <u>technitai</u> of Isthmia and Nemea	128	P. Cornelius P.f. Lentulus
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List II.E.6	<u>euergetes</u>
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List V.33 (SIG³ 704 C)	Delphi	?128–7 ?118–7	[?P. Cornelius] P. (f. Lentulus) ?Cn. Cornelius Sisenna
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These two inscriptions are two of three documents about which there has been some controversy. Interestingly, the documents pertain to an ancient quarrel, one between the Dionysiac technitai of Athens and the Dionysiac technitai of Isthmia and Nemea. In the mid-second century competition between the Attic artists and those from other areas became so stiff that the Isthmian–Nemean guild tried to exclude Attic artists from performing at International games by disputing the Athenians' credentials. An appeal made to a P. Cornelius, the Roman governor of Macedonia,

produced a senatus consultum uniting the two guilds in hopes of ending the conflict. Unfortunately, this solution failed.¹¹⁸

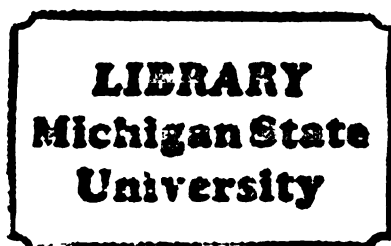
In 118-7 Cn. Cornelius Sisenna, governor of Macedonia, met with representatives of both guilds. At this meeting the Isthmian-Nemean group agreed to pay a fine in recompense for their actions against the Athenians. A few years later a second senatus consultum was passed reaffirming the provisions of the first and the agreements of the earlier meetings. Finally, in 112, acknowledging the failure of all previous measures, a third senatus consultum was passed favoring Athens. This last decree (SIG³ 705) is the primary source of information for the quarrel, since it summarizes the actions prior to its passage.¹¹⁹ As testimony to their victory, the Athenians had this decree inscribed on a wall of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.

The controversy concerning the decree and the two other inscriptions revolves around the identity of the P. Cornelius who united the two guilds. Pomtow suggests that the P. Cornelius Lentulus, who received the honorific statue at Delphi (List I.39) is the same P. Cornelius recorded in the SC and the Cornelius (praenomen unknown) honored with a proxeny by the city of Delphi (List V.33).¹²⁰ Cornelius' decision to unite the two guilds may have pleased the Isthmian-Nemean artists, perhaps because they thought they would gain control over the Athenians, hence they honored Cornelius with a statue, and the Delphians honored him with a proxeny. Pomtow may be correct but since the names in neither proxeny decree nor SIG³ 705, are complete (e.g., SIG³ 704 C - praenomen and part of nomen restored; 705 - lacks nomen), it is possible that another man is intended.¹²¹ For the P. Cornelius in SIG³ 705 two other candidates are

possible: P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (cos. 138) and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos. 147, 134).¹²⁷ However, it is more likely that the man referred to was a man who held office in Macedonia rather than in Rome at the time he made the decision, thus the man referred to in 705 may be Lentulus. At a time of crisis a magistrate in Macedonia was more accessible than one in Rome and we do not know that representatives of the guild went to Rome at that time.¹²³ Thus P. Cornelius Lentulus would be the honoree of the statue and the P. Cornelius referred to in SIG³ 705.

The Isthmian-Nemean guild had given Lentulus a statue for his decision to unite their guild with the Athenians, and the Delphian proxeny (List V.33) could have been motivated by the same reason. However, the proxeny may have been given later, to someone else. Sherk states that in 125 the Amphictyonic Council began showing favoritism to the Athenian guild of technitai.¹²⁴ Given this favoritism and the close link between the city of Delphi and the Amphictyonic Council, a Roman decision favoring the Athenian guild (or at least detrimental to its rivals), would have pleased both the Amphictyonic Council and the city of Delphi. Thus, by awarding a proxeny, Delphi may have been thanking Cornelius Sisenna for the decision of 118-7 which fined the Isthmian-Nemean guild for its actions against the Athenians. In conclusion, P. Cornelius Lentulus, the honoree of SIG³ 704 B (List I.39), was the P. Cornelius referred to in SIG³ 705, but the honoree of the proxeny SIG³ 704 C (List V.33), was probably Cn. Cornelius Sisenna.

THESIS
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p. 2





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List I.52	Delos: Those working and living in Delos	c.104	C. Cluvius L.f. <u>strategos anthypatos</u>
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The exact identity of C. Cluvius is uncertain, but from the Greek title (strategos anthypatos) given him we know that he was proconsul, possibly of Macedonia or Asia.¹²⁵ Cluvius' statue once stood in a large niche in the West side of the Italian Agora (Fig. 1, nos. 15, 16). The niche had two parts: a semicircular exedra at the back, fronted by a rectangular vestibule having a portico with pilasters to right and left and two columns between the pilasters. The statue may have stood at the back of the exedra and was identified by an inscription not on the statue base but on the front face of the threshold.¹²⁶ As the niche is in the center of the West side and is the largest chamber of that side, Cluvius must have been an important person to the Italians on Delos. Cluvius may have been passing through Delos and the statue was set up to flatter him. He may have contributed to the construction of the Italian Agora so that the statue was erected in gratitude for the contribution. Although the nationality of the statue donors is not recorded, they were probably Italians, since the statue was set up in the Italian Agora.

List I.53	Delos: Italians and Greeks	c.102	L. Cornelius Ser.f. Lentulus <u>tamias</u>
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List IV.6	Demostratos Demostratou, Athenian (sculptor)
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L. Cornelius was probably the son of the Servius Cornelius Lentulus honored with statues by Dionysios and his sons (List I.44, 45). Durrbach dates this inscription about twenty years after those to Servius.¹²⁷ But if

Servius had come to Delos as an older man, he could have had a grown son who also went to the island just a few years after his father.

Broughton states that L. Cornelius was quaestor (tamias) c. 100 B.C.¹²⁸

Lucius may have arranged with the Italians and Greeks on Delos for provisions or ships during the war against the Cilician pirates, which was waged c. 102 under the command of M. Antonius.¹²⁹ The honor on Delos may have been for giving Delians work and for Cornelius' part in the war against pirates.

List I.59	Delos: Italians	c.100	C. Ofellius M.f. Ferus
List IV.9	Dionysios Timarchidou and Timarchides Polykleous, Athenians (sculptors)		

The statue, (Fig. 6) marked by this inscription is the second of the two extant statues of Romans in Greece (cf. List I.49, Fig. 5). The head of the statue is missing but the torso and most of the limbs are in relatively good condition. It is a Praxitelean type of male figure in a contraposto stance, nude except for a cloak draped over the back and shoulders; the end of the cloak drapes over the figure's left arm. The contraposto stance combined with semi-nudity gives the figure a heroic look.¹³⁰ The statue was in niche number 18 of the Italian Agora. The niche shared a wall with the Cluvius niche and had a mosaic floor in the vestibule (Fig. 1).¹³¹

Münzer states that Ofellius was head of the Roman and foreign colony on Delos.¹³² That Ofellius was a wealthy merchant rather than a Roman magistrate, can be deduced from the fact that he had no official title in this statue base inscription.¹³³ Ofellius' gift to the Italians was financial

aid for building and decorating the Italian Agora. A building inscription on a cornice of the Italian Agora records his name.¹³⁴ Ofellius may have given money for the construction of the entire West portico and in gratitude the Italians showed their appreciation by erecting his statue within the same building.¹³⁵

List I.56 Delos: ?pre 100 [C.] Billienus [C.f.]
demos [of Athens] tamias
 [those settling]
 [in the island]

ID1632 = I.56 'Ο δῆμος [ὁ Ἀθηναίων]
 καὶ οἱ τὴν ν[ῆσον κατοικούντες... 6-8 letters]
 Βιλλιήνον[-----]
 ταμίαν [Ῥωμαίων-----πρεσ]-
 βεύσαντ[α-----εὐ]-
 εργεσίας [ἔνεκεν-----]
 ἐπὶ ἐπιμελήτ[ου-----]

My partial restoration of ID 1632 'Ο δῆμος [ὁ Ἀθηναίων]
 καὶ οἱ τὴν ν[ῆσον κατοικούντες, Γαίον]
 Βιλλιήνον [Γαίου υἱὸν-----ἀντι]-
 ταμίαν [Ῥωμαίων-----πρεσ]-
 βεύσαντ[α ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐ]-
 εργεσίας [τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέθηκεν].
 ἐπὶ ἐπιμελήτ[ου-----].

List I.57 Delos: ?pre 100 C. Billienus C.f.
 Those working presbeutes
 in Delos

List IV.7 Agasias Menophilou, sculptor
 Aristandros Skopa, restorer

Billienus is known primarily through Delian inscriptions. He may have been the Billienus who Cicero notes was a good orator and who would have become consul had his candidacy not occurred at the time of Marius' successive consulships.¹³⁶ From ID 1854 (List I.49) we know that he was praetor proconsule c. 107¹³⁷ or c. 100.¹³⁸ ID 1632 (List I.56) records

that Billienus was quaestor or proquaestor, probably about two years before his praetorship – c. 109.¹³⁹ ID 1710 (List I.57) calls him legate (presbeutes). Since ID 1632 says that he was acting as legate while he was [?pro]quaestor (ταμλαν [Ῥωμαίων.πρεσ]βεύσαντα) . ID 1710 may date to the same period as ID 1632.

Inscription List I.57 came from the Agora of the Italians,¹⁴⁰ so the dedicators were probably Italians. The other Inscription, List I.56, is interesting in that the demos of the Athenians, an official administrative body, dedicated it in conjunction with the non-official elements of Delian society, "those settling the island." As mentioned above, dedications from the Athenian cleruchs on Delos ceased about 145, indicating that they were no longer the dominant administrative force on the island. Instead, an international group including the cleruchs formed some sort of loose administrative body (but still under Athenian control) for Delos, and this group now made dedications. Athenian control of the island seems to have disappeared altogether from the 90's into the 80's when inscriptions appeared dedicated in the name of the Delians. At some time in the 80's Athens regained control. Again dedications of inscriptions were made in the name of the demos of Athens but now were combined with the composite group of foreigners living on the island.¹⁴¹ Therefore, it is probable that List I.56 dates later than the date assigned it by the editors (pre 100). Perhaps the Billienus of that inscription was a Billienus dating later than the 80's B.C.

Whatever the date, Billienus must have done a great service to have merited a statue not only from the Italian residents of Delos but from the Athenians as well. The statue connected with List I.57 was restored after

the destruction of the Island in 88, as we know from the name, inscribed on the base (List IV.7), of the artist who restored the statue. The Islanders must have respected Billienus considerably to have seen to the restoration of one of his statues.

List I.87	Delos: <u>kolnon</u> of Poseldonlasts of Berytus, merchants, shipowners, warehousemen [in Delos]	90	Cn. Octavius Cn.f. <u>strategos</u>
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List II.E.9	<u>euergetes</u>
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The honoree of this inscription, Cn. Octavius, since he was either the consul of 87 or the consul of 128. Broughton and Münzer maintain that Octavius was praetor in 90 and consul in 87.¹⁴² Badian prefers to identify Octavius with the earlier man, basing his argument on the Greek spelling of Octavius, Ὀκτάλιος which was an older form of the name and should therefore indicate an earlier inscription.¹⁴³ However, since the spelling Oktalos is found in all periods of Attic inscriptions,¹⁴⁴ Badian's argument seems less tenable. Badian also does not cite examples to prove his point. Thus it is probable that the honoree was the younger man. Münzer submits that the ties of the Octavii with Berytus went back to the Cn. Octavius who was the captor of Perseus, was in Syria in 162 and may have made contact with Berytus at that time.¹⁴⁵

The statue of Octavius was found near the Poseldonlasts' "club house" so the statue probably stood in that building.¹⁴⁶ The dedication of a statue of a Roman magistrate by this group shows the group's pro-Roman inclinations. It was sound policy for the Poseldonlasts of Berytus to have good relations with important Romans who could further the group's

Interests.¹⁴⁷

2) Grants from Those Associated with Bankers

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------|--|
| List I.72 | Delos:
[Athenians].
Romans.
other [?foreign].
merchants, shipowners.
and those
working in the bank | II-I c. | L. Aufidius L.f. |
| List I.73 | Delos:
L. Aufidius L.f. | II c. | L. Aufidius |
| List II.F.5 | | | <u>patron. euergetes</u> |
| List IV.10 | [---] (sculptor) | | |
| List I.75 | Delos:
[Italians]
and Greeks
carrying on business
[in Delos] | Beg.I c. | [Maralus Gerrila]nus (sic)
Maralou [f.] |
| List I.76 | Delos:
Athenians,
Romans and other
Greeks living in Delos.
merchants and shipowners | Beg. I c. | [Maralus Gerl]llanus
Maralou f. |
| List I.77 | Delos:
Merchants and
those working in
the Tetragonal Agora | Beg. I c. | Maralus Gerillianus
Maralou f. |
| List IV.11 | Agasias M[enophilou].
[Ephesi]an (sculptor) | | |

Aufidius and Gerillianus were prominent bankers who must have done something extraordinary since the many inscriptions testify that they received honorific statues. Nearly all the associations and commercial people of Delos honored Gerillianus so the range of his contacts was

broad. Gerillanus' wealth was considerable enough to last after Mithridates' forces attacked Delos in 88. He was one of the men who contributed funds to help rebuild the Italian Agora which had been badly damaged (ID 2612 I.8)¹⁴⁸ One of Gerillanus' statues (List I.75) was placed somewhere on the East side of the Italian Agora¹⁴⁹ and may have been erected to honor him for his contributions after the devastation.

L. Aufidius, however, did not remain on Delos, perhaps leaving the Sacred Island before the sack of 88. The inscription on the statue donated by his freedman (List I.73) records that the statue was erected after Aufidius had left Delos.¹⁵⁰ Aufidius emigrated to Tenos where he loaned money to the citizens at lower than usual rates of interest. In gratitude, the Tenelians rewarded him with unknown honors.¹⁵¹ Perhaps the various peoples of Delos honored him for the same kind of generosity (List I.72).

C. Proxenos

Very few proxenies to Romans appear in this period, but there are several points of interest concerning them. Only three of the honorees were Roman magistrates (List V.33, 38, 40), the others were resident Italians, merchants, or travelers (List V. 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44). The following were some of the more interesting proxenos. Here, the List V number is given with the name of the proxenos, and the information which makes each one interesting follows. List V.33: ?P. Cornelius P.f. Lentulus. Cornelius may have been a rare recipient of a statue as well as proxy.¹⁵² The decree is from Delphi and we have seen that at Delphi Flamininus had been awarded both with proxy and a

statue.¹⁵³ List V.37: Pandusinus. This inscription is not from a proxeny decree but from a bilingual dedication for a statue group from Pandusinus who recorded his status as proxenos of Tenos.¹⁵⁴ Pandusinus is the only known Roman proxenos of a Greek state whose status is identified by a dedication which a Roman has made. List V.38: Q. Calpurnius Q.f. Calpurnius was given proxeny, citizenship and a crown in addition to other rights and privileges commonly awarded a proxenos. Calpurnius may have been praefectus classis sometime prior to 100 B.C. His father may have been Q. Calpurnius, consul of 135, who was also active in Greek affairs.¹⁵⁵ List V.41: Cn. Tudicius and his wife Megon. While this inscription is the third known instance of proxeny and citizenship to a Roman (others are List V.25, 38), it is the first known instance from Crete and is predecessor to a practice which became common on Crete in the late Republic.¹⁵⁶ This inscription is the only known proxeny decree for a Roman and his wife. Although Tudicius' wife was Greek, she was not a native of Olus, otherwise she would not have been awarded the proxeny status.

Conclusion

There is a marked change in the number of statues and proxenies awarded in the period from 146–88 B.C. Twelve proxenies were awarded in this period to fifteen people (List V.31–44) while in the preceding period thirty proxenies were awarded to forty-two people (List V.1–30). This period had fifty-two statues (List I.35–63, 65–69, 72–91, 103, 107), whereas the previous period had thirty-seven (List I.1–34, 64, 70, 71). While most of the proxenies awarded in the third period were to civilians,

most of the statue recipients were Roman magistrates associated with provincial government or military activities.¹⁵⁷ Apparently Greeks recognized that Roman magistrates were more flattered by statues than by proxenies. However, the proxeny status with its attendant rights and privileges may have been more useful to a traveling merchant than a statue was. And, as statues were the more expensive honor, they were reserved for more important people. The increase of statues may be attributed to the increase in Roman involvement in Greece in both an official and unofficial capacity. This increase was such that Roman magistrates even began bringing members of their families along with them. The third period had the first recorded statue for a Roman woman, (List I.81), the wife or daughter of a Roman magistrate, and more statues of women will appear in the fourth period.

Most striking was the increase in the number of statues erected on Delos, from one in the second period (List I.23; but four proxenoi from Delos - List V.9, 10, 11, 22) to thirty-three in the third.¹⁶³ Over one-half of the statues to Romans or Italians from the third period were erected on Delos. This period marked the high point of Delian prosperity, and residents of Delos, Greeks as well as Italians, could well afford the expense of a statue for Roman magistrates looking out for their interests. This was the only period in which freedmen erected statues to their former masters, and all were on Delos: List I.48, 61, 73. Delos was so prosperous that even freedmen could afford this luxury.

Notes: Chapter IV

¹ Magrit Pape, Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom. Von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit (Diss. Hamburg, 1975), pp. 9–19 discusses the booty of Flamininus, Glabrio, Nobilior, Aemilius Paullus and Mummius. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 616.

² Rostovtzeff, SEHW II, pp. 616f., 739.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 633.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 750.

⁵ Th. Homolle, "Inscriptions de Délos relatives a des personnages romains." BCH 3 (1879) 158.

⁶ W. Dittenberger, SIG³ 681, n.2.

⁷ Cf. F. Münzer, "Caecilius" (93), RE 3 (1899) 1213. F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Délos (Paris, 1921–1922; rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1977), p. 242, no. 152 notes that there is no reason to prefer one man over the other as the honoree.

⁸ MRR I.480f.; cf. p. 481, n. 2 for a discussion of the date.

⁹ Durrbach, Choix, p. 160.

¹⁰ MRR I.505. Münzer, "Domitius" (20), RE Supplb. 3.349.

¹¹ P. Hermann, "Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus – Patronus von Ephesos und Samos." ZPE 14 (1974) 257. A later Roman, M. Pupius Piso Frugi, was patron of Samos and another community in Asia Minor – Miletus, cf. A. Rehm, Milet I.3, pp. 269f., no. 173 – Miletus; IGR IV 1709 (List I.133, II.F.9) – Samos.

¹² MRR I.539.

¹³ MRR II.556.

¹⁴ Carl Edson, the editor of IG X, suggests that Servilius may be linked with the Pons Servilli, a bridge on the West part of the Via Egnatia.

¹⁵ MRR II.604

¹⁶ Fr. Miltner, "Pompeius" (45), RE 21 (1952) 2254.

¹⁷ MRR II.18, and p. 19, n. 3.

¹⁸ Münzer, "Servilius" (91), RE II² (1923) 1811f. Broughton, MRR

II.465. 620.

¹⁹ W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold, Die Inschriften von Olympia, col. 452, no. 329. H.B. Siedentopf, Das hellenistische Reiterdenkmal (Stiftland Verlag K.G.: Waldsassen/Bayern, 1968), p. 28.

²⁰ Cf. Dittenberger, Purgold commentary to IO 326. P. Charneux, "Chronique de fouilles et découvertes archéologique en Grèce en 1956," BCH 81 (1957) 684.

²¹ A statue of a wounded warrior (National Museum Inventory 247) was once associated with ID 1699 (List I.79), cf. C. Picard, "Le guerrier blessé de l'agora des Italiens à Délos," BCH 56 (1932) 491-530. J. Marcadé, having examined the base with the inscription, the statue and excavation notebooks, has concluded that the statue did not go with this base and inscription - Au musée de Délos BEFAR, fasc. 215 (Paris: deBoccard, 1969), pp. 112-127.

²² MRR II.8.

²³ F. Eckstein in Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia VI von Emil Kunze et al., Winter 1953/4 und 1954/5 (Berlin: Walter DeGruyter & Co., 1958), pp. 214-216. Cf. MRR II.490 and Suppl. 23.

²⁴ Siedentopf, pp. 104f. Katalog II.52a, b. Siedentopf dates both bases 80-75 BC.

²⁵ Th. Sarikakis, Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μακεδονίας. Μέρος Α' (Thessalonike, 1971), p. 173.

²⁶ Mason, Greek Terms, pp. 105, 107. F. Papazoglou, "Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la province de Macédoine," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt II. Principat 7.1 (Berlin: Walter DeGruyter, 1979), p. 310.

²⁷ F. Münzer, "Das Konsulpaar von 139 v. Chr.," Klio 24 (1931) 333f., no.1. Information about the statue from Cos given to Münzer by R. Herzog. For the statue at Magnesia cf. K. Tuchelt, Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien Teil I. Magnesia a.M.⁰¹ Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft 23 (1979). = Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander hrsg. Otto von Kern (1900; rpt. Berlin: Degruyter, 1967), p. 114, n. 123.

²⁸ Münzer, "Das Konsulpaar," p. 338. Cf. MRR Suppl., p. 49.

²⁹ E. Badian, "Q. Muclius Scaevola and the Province of Asia," Athenaeum 34 (1956) 104-110 prefers 94/3 BC. Cf. Badian, "Notes on Provincial Governors From the Social War to Sulla's Victory," PACA 1 (1955) 10; Broughton, MRR Suppl., p. 42.

³⁰ E. Badian, Athenaeum 34 (1956) 114.

³¹ F. Münzer, "Muclius" (22), RE 16 (1933) 438. Cf. Chapter "Cult

Honors."

³² F. Münzer, "Muclius" (21), RE 16 (1933) 433; "Muclius" (22), RE 16, 439. Cf. Badian, Athenaeum 34 (1956) 116.

³³ IG XII 8 232 [Λ] Ἰούλιος [ἀνθυπα]-
τος Μακεδονίας θε[οῖς]
μεγάλους εὐχαμένους.

The abbreviation of the Roman praenomen, Lucius, was common in Latin but unusual in Greek in this period. Greek abbreviations of Roman praenomina were common during the Empire.

³⁴ MRR II.13, and 14, n.2. Badian, PACA 1 (1958) 2.

³⁵ David M. Lewis, "The Chronology of the Athenian New Style Coinage," Numismatic Chronicle 2, ser. 7 (1962) 296-299. M. Thompson refutes Lewis in "Athens Again," Numismatic Chronicle 2, ser. 7 (1962) 329-331, basing her refutation in part on testimony given her by T.R.S. Broughton. But Broughton's comments (pp. 329f.) although tending to favor Thompson, suggest that a later Caesar or a later Sura are possible. Cf. Mason, Greek Terms, pp. 160f. and my List I.158, 188 for instances of strategos anthypatos after Sulla.

³⁶ H.B. Mattingly, "L. Julius Caesar, Governor of Macedonia," Chiron 9 (1979) 147-167.

³⁷ presbeutes kai antistrategos was common after Pompey, cf. List I. 78, 134, 179, 184, 199, 223. Cf. Mason, Greek Terms, p. 153.

³⁸ G. Wesenberg, "proquaestor", RE 23 (1957) 837.

³⁹ Thompson, Numismatic Chronicle ser. 7, 2 (1962) 329f.

⁴⁰ B. Haussoulier, BCH 6 (1882) 449 no.78. Followed by Münzer "M. Claudius Marcellus" (223, 224), RE 3 (1899) 2758. Note the transposition of the name order - cf. List I.167 Gallus Caninius for Caninius Gallus, and Chapter I.

⁴¹ List II.F.1, 2; .G.1. Cf. Chapter III - commentary to List I.18, for a discussion of Roman intervention preventing Thrace from taking over Abdera.

⁴² Münzer, "M. Claudius Marcellus" (227), RE 3 (1899) 2760. Cf. MRR II.21.

⁴³ Commentary to ID 1701. Cf. F. Durrbach, Cholx p. 229 no. 146.

⁴⁴ E. Badian, PACA 1 (1958) 10, 16 and Appendix. T.R.S. Broughton, MRR II.22.

⁴⁵ W.A. Laidlaw, A History of Delos (Oxford: Blackwell, 1933) 263. Cf. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1911), p.

452 who says that the period was 85-84 BC.

⁴⁶ Laidlaw, p. 264. Cf. *supra* on the history of Delos. Cf. Magle, RRAM I.283.

⁴⁷ Rostovtzeff, SEHHW II.58f. H. Last, "The Wars of the Age of Marius," CAH IX (1932) 107-110 for a survey of Roman action against barbarians. Cf. F. Papazoglou, ANRW II 7.1, pp. 312-321 for a fuller survey including quotations from ancient sources.

⁴⁸ P. Groebe, "Eine athenische Ehreninschrift des Sex. Pompeius, des Grossvaters des Triumvirs," AM 34 (1909) 406. SIG³ 700 honoring Pompeius' quaestor cites the opponents as Galatol ethnoi - the Scordisti were Celts.

⁴⁹ Another example may be a statue erected to M. Antonius in Delos - List I.82.

⁵⁰ L. Duchesne, "Une Invasion Gauloise en Macédoine en l'an 117 avant Jésus-Christ," Revue Archéologique 21ème série 29 (1875) 13. Papazoglou, ANRW II 7.1, p. 312 dates the occurrence of these events in 119 B.C. Cf. also MRR I.527 n.3.

⁵¹ SIG³ 700 II. 39f. Cf. Chapter II, "Proxeny - Stephanos" no. 5.

⁵² Rostovtzeff, SEHHW II.759.

⁵³ FD III 5, p. 311 no.2 - Marcus (as restored). SIG³ 710 D - Quintus.

⁵⁴ Georges Daux, Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle depuis l'abaissement d'Étolie jusqu'à la paix romaine 191-1 av. JC. (Paris: E. deBoccard, 1936) BEFAR no. 140 p. 598 followed by Papazoglou, ANRW II 7.1, p. 314.

⁵⁵ C. Vatin, "Les Monuments de M. Minucius Rufus à Delphes," BCH 91 (1967) 406. Earlier, apparently not knowing of the existence of the second monument, G. Daux, Delphes p. 597, suggested the possibility of two monuments. Cf. Siedentopf, pp. 24 and 115, Kat. II.80. Aemilius Paullus may have had two statues - cf. my Chapter III. For more information on the Latin Inscription cf. Chapter I.

⁵⁶ M. Rostovtzeff, "Rhodes, Delos and Hellenistic Commerce," CAH VIII, p. 642.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 630, 643. Cf. Polybius 29.19; 30.4 for the Rhodian embassy in Rome; 30.31.4-10 for the loss of mainland possessions and Delos as a free port.

⁵⁸ F.W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius, v. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 459 on Polybius, 30.31.2. Even as a free port Delos probably charged harbor dues but no customs dues - W.S. Ferguson, HA p. 329.

59 Rostovtzeff, SEHHW II.776. Polybius 30.36.12 reports that a Rhodian embassy came before the Roman Senate in 165/4. Before Delos was a free port, the income from harbor dues was 1.000.000 dr.; afterwards (only 2-3 years later) the income was 150.000 dr. F.W. Walbank, Commentary, p. 459 notes that these figures do not represent gross income but what was paid to the tax farmer.

60 Rostovtzeff, SEHHW II.85; CAH VIII, p. 631.

61 A.J.N. Wilson, Emigration From Italy In the Republican Age of Rome (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1966), pp. 104f.

62 MRR II.531.

63 Klebs, "Antonius" (28), RE 1 (1894) 2591.

64 MRR II.6. Cf. D. Magle RRAM I.283. On the term "Dellans" cf. *supra* comments to List I.85 (= C. Julius Caesar). Ferguson, HA p. 431 n.1, states that Antonius was probably made patron in 102.

65 Cf. Durrbach, Choix, p. 227. Cf. Chapter I, for comments on the use of past and present offices on a Greek honorific inscription.

66 Ferguson, HA, pp. 452, 452 n.2, 453f. believes that ID 1843 (my List I.39) may also be to Antonius. Cf. p. 396, n.2.

67 Cf. Chapter I, p.

68 Ferguson, HA, p. 321.

69 *Ibid.*, p.324.

70 Rostovtzeff, CAH VIII, p. 647.

71 Cf. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant a Délos mentionnés les Inscriptions d'Ile," BCH 36 (1912) 102 for testimony of an Italian artisan named Νούλος in the mid-third century. Cf. Chapter III for comments on early Italian proxenoi on Delos (= List V.9, 11). Cf. also Ferguson, HA, p. 359; Laidlaw, pp. 201, 211.

72 ID 442 B. Cf. also ID 1429 A for a commentary on the dating of the dedications, in particular those of the Scipios. Cf. M. Guarducci, "Le offerte dei conquistatori Romani ai santuari della Grecia," RendPont 13 (1937) 47-50.

73 Ferguson, HA, p.321.

74 Laidlaw, p. 194. Ferguson, HA, pp. 379f. maintains that the slave revolt in Delos in 130 B.C. precipitated the dissolution of the cleruchy in that year.

75 Wilson, p 113. Cf. Laidlaw, pp. 190-192 who comments that the last decrees of the Athenian cleruchy date 131 and the slave revolt in 130 dissolved the cleruchy. But as the first decrees of the new international group appeared in 126, it may have taken a few years to reorganize after the revolt, and this explains the time gap between the end of the decrees of one group and the beginning of those of the next.

76 Private citizens rather than members of the demos of Athens. The demos of Athens also erected statues on Delos, sometimes alone (List I.66, 67), but later often in conjunction with others (List I.56, 126, 133, 171, 183, 242, 246). Since the Athenian cleruchs had been absorbed into the general population, those inscriptions granted by the demos of Athens probably originated from Athens herself.

77 Laidlaw, p.192. Wilson, p.113, presents a list of five common formulae compiled by Roussel, Délos colonie athenienne BEFAR, fasc., 111 (Paris, 1916) p.51.

Some of the formulae from my List I are the following:

I.52 - Those working and living on Delos

I.57 - Those working in Delos

I.54, 75, 91, 111 - Italians and Greeks

I.72 - Athenians, Romans and other foreign merchants and shipowners and those working in the bank

I.76 - Athenians, Romans and other Greeks living in Delos, merchants and shipowners

I.104, 105 - Athenians, Romans living in Delos, and sojourning merchants and shipowners.

78 Laidlaw, pp. 263f. Pausanias, III.23.4 differentiates between Dellians and foreigners ... ἐφόνευσε μὲν τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦντας τῶν ξένων, ἐφόνευσε μὲν δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Δηλίους.

79 J. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 (1912) 132 notes that the term or Italicel was used only in inscriptions from the Italian Agora.

80 Supra, with "Pirates".

81 Italian bankers - List I.36, 72, 73, 75-77. Cf. Chapter I, "Recipients" 2. Ferguson, HA p. 403, n.5, notes that only one Bank on Delos was not owned by an Italian - cf. ID 1724 - Philostratos Philostratou, a banker from Naples who was originally from Ascalon.

82 Ferguson, HA, pp. 406f.

83 J.A.O. Larsen, Greek Federal States (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 350f.

84 Ferguson, HA, p. 381.

85 Laidlaw, pp. 269f. - Delos faced competition from the growing ports of Puteoli and Ostia; she also lost trade due to the fact that Egypt and Syria began communicating directly with Rome.

86 Durrbach, Cholx. p. 160. The inscription is no. 94. Münzer, "Cornelius" (335), RE 4 (1901) 1452 notes that Rhodes and Greece were included in Scipio's Itinerary, so a stop at Delos is feasible.

87 MRR I.490.

88 Ferguson, HA. p. 396, n.2.

89 MRR I.568 = 102 BC.

90 MRR I.539. Cf. *supra*, comments on List I.43.

91 Mason, Greek Terms. p. 108.

92 ID 1603 for M. Antonius II. 2-3...Μάρκον/ Ἀντώνιον Μάρκου υἱόν.
e.g., ID 1845 (List I.44) II. 1f. Σέρουιον Κορνήλιον Σερούιου/ υἱόν Λέντλον.
An example of just praenomen and nomen IG II² 4100 (List I.41):
Ὁ δῆμος/ Σέξτον Πομπήϊον.

93 Cf. Chapter I, no. 11 - tamlas, 12 - antitamlas.

94 Durrbach, Cholx. p. 201, no. 121.

95 MRR I.530. Cf. also W. Kroll, "Papirius" (37), RE 28 (1949) 122.

96 Durrbach, Cholx. p.209.

97 MRR I.480.

98 P. Foucart, "Στρατηγὸς Ὑπατος, Στρατηγὸς Ἀνθύπατος,"
RPh NS 23 (1899) 263f.

99 Magie, RRAM II.1579f.

100 Münzer, "Tullius" (17), RE² 7 (1939) 804.

101 P. Roussel, "Note sur les inscriptions de Délos en l'honneur de C. Billienus," BCH 33 (1909) 444. Midas also dedicated a bench in the Italian Agora and an exedra in the temenos of Aphrodite Hagne.

102 MRR I.553.

103 J. Marcadé, p. 329, pl. LXXV "Billienus" BEFAR no. 215. Cf. Tuchelt, p. 97, Abb. 7 for a line drawing of the extant portions of the statue plus restorations.

104 Tuchelt, p.96.

105 ID 1736, 1742, 1743, 2404, 2577.

106 Ferguson, HA. pp. 445f. and p. 445, n.1. Cf. Chapter V.

- 107 Münzer, "Selus," RE² 2 (1921) 1120. Cf. Wilson, pp. 105f.
- 108 MRR I.547 = Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Ap.n. Pulcher (296), Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Ap.n. Pulcher (297).
- 109 Badian, PACA 1 (1958) 3-6.
- 110 Münzer, "A. Gabinius" (10), RE 7 (1910) 424.
- 111 MRR II.60. Münzer, "Fabius" (81, 82), RE 6 (1909) 1771.
- 112 J. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 (1912) 153-157.
- 113 List I.52, 59, 79, 90, 91, 103. Cf. Laidlaw, pp. 202f. Ferguson, HA, pp. 398f.
- 114 Ferguson, HA, p. 391. Laidlaw, p. 214, notes that Berytus might have been Phoenician Laodice.
- 115 Laidlaw, p.213.
- 116 M.N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions at Cairness House," JHS 54 (1934) 145; In this article (pp. 140-159) Tod gives text, translation and commentary of what is also ID 1520. Ll. 1-20 outline Minatius' gifts to the Poseidonasts. Ferguson, HA, p. 391, states that the building was under construction by 112-111, but Tod, p. 159, notes that construction may have started earlier. Cf. also R. Bogaert, Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques (Leyden: A.W. Sijthof, 1968), p. 188.
- 117 Tod, JHS 54 (1934) 149 = ll. 23-27. Tod, p. 150, comments that the privilege of selecting the placement for statue and portrait increased the honor.
- 118 Ferguson, HA pp. 370f., dates the unification at 138 or 134. Cf. SIG³ 705 ll. 20f. for P. Cornelius.
- 119 R.K. Sherk, Roman Documents From the Greek East (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 90-93 and A. Pickard-Cambridge, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens 2nd edn., rev. by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 288-291 outline the contents of SIG³ 705. S.V. Tracy, "Notes on the Pythais Inscription 184-219 (FD nos. 3-56)," BCH 99 (1975) 196 notes that as a consequence of winning the dispute, Athens may have renewed the Pythais and sent a delegation to Delphi in 106/5 B.C.
- 120 H. Pomtow in SIG³ 704 B, n. 3.
- 121 SIG³ 704 C, l.3 ---]λίου 'Ρωμαί[ωι]...
SIG³ 705, l. 21 ...τὸ δό[ν]μα/ συγκλή[τ]ου τὸ Ποπ[λίου Κορ]νέλιο[υ],
 [ἐ]ν ᾧ ἔδοξεν...
 Cf. Daux, Delphes, p. 362, n.1.

- 122 Sherk, p. 91.
- 123 Cf. Broughton, MRR I.507, n.1.
- 124 Sherk, p. 92.
- 125 MRR I.560.
- 126 E. Lapalus, Exploration archéologique de Délos, fasc. XIX L'Agora des Italiens (Paris: De Boccard, 1939), pp. 41, 45. Fig. 5, nos. 15, 16. Lapalus, p. 45, maintains that Agasias Menophilou and Aristandros Skopa worked on the Cluvius statue. The inscription recording these two artists (ID 2494) is separate from the Cluvius statue (ID 1679). Marcadé, pp. 56, 57, notes the information about the artists in his list of artists on Delos, but he questions the connection with Cluvius.
- 127 Durrbach, Cholx, p. 209.
- 128 MRR I.576.
- 129 D. van Berchem, "Les Italiens d'Argos. Un post-scriptum," BCH 87 (1963) 323f.
- 130 Th. Homolle, "Statue de Calus Ofellius. Sur une oeuvre signée des artistes Dionysios et Polyclès," BCH 5 (1881) 395. Cf. Marcadé, p. 118. Cf. Chapter I, "Artist Signatures".
- 131 Lapalus, p. 55.
- 132 Münzer, "Ofellius" (10), RE 17 (1937) 2041.
- 133 Durrbach, Cholx, p.211.
- 134 SEG I 334 B and CIL I² 2232, Ad. p. 36.
- 135 Durrbach, Cholx, p. 212. Lapalus, p. 56.
- 136 Cicero, Brutus 47, 175.
- 137 MRR I.551.
- 138 Durrbach, Cholx, p. 240.
- 139 J.E. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy, 2nd edn. (London, 1927; Chicago: Ares, 1974), p.110.
- 140 Durrbach, Cholx, p. 239. Exact location not stated.
- 141 Cf. Laidlaw, pp. 263–265 and my List I.56 (?late II c.), 106, 126, 133.

- 142 Broughton, MRR I.26. Münzer, "Octavius" (20), RE 17 (1937) 1814.
- 143 Badian, PACA 1 (1958) 18 n.162. The same spelling is found in IO 934 dating c. 170-167. That man was an ancestor of the honoree of ID 1782.
- 144 Leslie Threaght, The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions, vol. I Phonology (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1980), p. 446.
- 145 Münzer, "Octavius" (20), RE 17 (1937) 1814.
- 146 Laidlaw, p. 213.
- 147 Durribach, Cholx, p. 198.
- 148 Bogaert, p. 189.
- 149 Cf. notes to ID 1727 in ID.
- 150 ID 1728, l. 3 ...τραπιζ[ιτε]ύσαντα ἐν Δήλῳ...
- 151 In a decree for his son: IG XII 5, 860, l.18 (List V.50)
...παραχῆμα τᾶς καθεύσας τιμᾶς αὐτ[φ]....
Discussion of this decree will be found in Chapter V.
- 152 Cf. discussion for List I.38.
- 153 Cf. Chapter III, discussion for List I.11.
- 154 The statues were of Eros, Anteros and Nike, carved by Agasias Menophilou who had carved statues of Romans on Delos. Cf. Chapter I, "Artist Signatures".
- 155 MRR I.541. Cf. F. Münzer, "Calpurnius" (17a), RE Suppl. III (1918) 229f.
- 156 Cf. Chapter II, "Proxeny".
- 157 Non-military or official: List I.36, 48, 58, 59, 61, 762, 763, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77.
- 158 List I.35, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91. But note, there are no Delian proxeny grants to Romans or Italians in this period.

Chapter V

Period IV: 88-27 B.C. First Mithridatic War to the Incorporation of Greece as a Roman Province (List I.89-102, 104-106, 108-246)

Introduction

Historically, Period IV was marked by frequent wars which brought Romans into Greece either to fight against outside powers such as Mithridates, or to fight their own compatriots in the Civil Wars. Because most of the wars occurred sequentially, as in Period II, they again provide convenient chronological divisions around which to group discussion of most statue base inscriptions. However, not all the inscriptions fit exactly into this chronology. Those variant inscriptions will be discussed under the heading "Miscellaneous."

Honorary inscriptions and statues from this period represent the loyalties of the Greek cities and leagues to the Romans or their attempts to please them. Because the Romans were more heavily involved in Greece in the fourth period than in the second and third, there is a larger number of statue base inscriptions to Romans: 233 in Period IV (List I.94-246), in contrast to fifty-nine in Period III (List I.35-93), and thirty-four in period II (List I.1-34). Although there are also proxenies from Period IV, they are few and most of them come from Crete (List V.44-62).

A. The Period Between 88 and 82 B.C.

1. 88-85 B.C., The First Mithridatic War; 83 B.C., Sulla in Athens

a. The First Mithridatic War

The Romans fought Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus in Asia Minor

the $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -action on $\mathbb{R}^n$ is given by $(x_1, \dots, x_n) \mapsto (-x_1, \dots, -x_n)$. The quotient space $\mathbb{R}^n / \mathbb{Z}_2$ is homeomorphic to $\mathbb{R}^n$ and the map $\pi: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n / \mathbb{Z}_2$ is given by $\pi(x) = [x]$.

11

Let $\mathcal{H}$ be a Hilbert space and let $\mathcal{H}^*$ be its dual space. The natural pairing between $\mathcal{H}$ and $\mathcal{H}^*$ is given by $\langle x, y \rangle = (x, y)$ for $x \in \mathcal{H}$ and $y \in \mathcal{H}^*$.

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and Greece, with the first actions taking place in Asia Minor. During the second century (133 B.C.), Rome had inherited the kingdom of Pergamon, which became the Roman province of Asia (131 B.C.). In the process of making Asia a province, Rome also established relations with the other kingdoms of Asia Minor: Bithynia, Cappadocia, Pontus and Galatia.

Although nominally connected to Rome as independent allies, these kingdoms were really Rome's vassals. The rulers resented their vassal status, but only Mithridates attempted to establish himself and his kingdom as a power equal to Rome. Scheming with Nicomedes of Bithynia, Mithridates took over Paphlagonia and Galatia and then plotted to control Cappadocia. When Nicomedes betrayed him by marrying the queen of Cappadocia and becoming its ruler, Mithridates dethroned the Bithynian and reinstated Cappadocia's former king, Ariarathes VII (101-0 B.C.). However, a split between Ariarathes and Mithridates brought on a struggle for the Cappadocian throne and a call for Roman intervention from Nicomedes. Rome supported another claimant, Ariobarzanes, as ruler of Cappadocia, temporarily spoiling Mithridates' dreams of an Anatolian empire (92 B.C.).

Mithridates did not remain inactive, however. He continued to intervene in the affairs of his neighbors by putting his own favorites on the thrones of Bithynia and Cappadocia. Occupied with the Social War in Italy, Rome could not prevent Mithridates' actions. Once the Social War ended, however, Rome sent a commission to Asia Minor to restore the rightful monarchs. In addition, the commission encouraged the kings to invade Pontus, in order to ensure receiving money promised them by the Bithynian king. This invasion goaded Mithridates to retaliate. His forces captured and murdered one of the commissioners, M. Aquilius, and invaded

the Roman province of Asia. As if these affronts were not enough, Mithridates further infuriated Rome by inciting the murder of 80,000 Roman and Italian inhabitants of Asia (88 B.C.). Full scale war was now inevitable.¹

Mithridates' first involvement in Greece was with Athens. For many years Athens had been ruled by an aristocracy, which was the form of government favored by the Romans. In time, however, fewer and fewer wealthy men ran the government, gradually making the Athenian government an oligarchy. The masses of Athenians resented the loss of democratic government and even more resented the fact that many citizens were financially indebted to the rulers. Although wishing to be rid of the oligarchs, the citizens could do nothing as long as Rome held sway in the East.²

Mithridates' successes in Asia encouraged the Athenians to believe that a change in government could be accomplished. The democratic elements sent a philosopher, Athenion,³ to Mithridates' court. Triumphant, Athenion returned with glowing reports of Mithridates' wealth and promises from the king to rid Athens of the hated oligarchs. With the king's backing, Athenion claimed to restore Athens' democracy, but actually became dictator of the city (89-88 B.C.). Athenion's harsh dictatorship brought on a general exodus of wealthy people and government confiscation of their property.⁴

In 88-7, under the leadership of a general named Apellicon, the Athenians invaded Delos, which had remained pro-Roman. Because the invasion was poorly organized, the invaders were easily defeated in a surprise counter-attack led by a man named Orblus.⁵ Following this

failure both Athenion and Apellicon disappeared from leadership.⁶

An Epicurean philosopher, Aristion, replaced Athenion as Athens' ruler. He had arrived with advance Pontic forces led by Mithridates' general, Archelaus. Their journey to Athens was significant, for, while sailing from the East, the troops stopped at Delos and stole the sanctuary treasury. In addition, the Pontic forces wreaked havoc by destroying or damaging many statues honoring Romans and Italians and by slaughtering some 20,000 inhabitants of Delos and nearby islands.⁷ These devastating attacks spelled the beginning of Delos' decline.

Once on the mainland, Archelaus and his troops secured South Greece while other Pontic forces marched North. For a time, the Roman governor of Macedonia, C. Sentius, commanded Roman retaliation. In addition to battling Pontic troops in the North, Sentius sent a Roman division South with his quaestor, Q. Braetius Sura, in charge as legate. Sura drove the enemy troops from the Thessalian coast and then moved into Boeotia. There he defeated Pontic forces in three battles, and forced them to cease besieging Thesplae. Braetius' activity in Southern Greece ended abruptly, however, when Lucullus, Sulla's subordinate, arrived and sent Braetius back to Macedonia. Sulla was now proconsul in charge of the war against Mithridates and wished to fight without the aid of another commander's assistant (87 B.C.).⁸

In the summer of 87 Sulla arrived in Greece with an army but without sufficient funds or military support to conduct the war. The hostile Marians held power in Rome at that time, and had refused to meet Sulla's requirements. To compensate for his financial deficiency, Sulla robbed the temples of Delphi, Olympia and Epidauros of their treasures;⁹ then, to

conserve money, he garrisoned his soldiers in cities instead of establishing army camps.¹⁰ In 87-86 Sulla sent Lucullus to the pro-Roman Eastern maritime states to raise a supporting fleet.¹¹

Meanwhile, Sulla besieged Athens and the Piraeus, and in March of 86 he entered Athens. Sulla was ruthless in his punishment of the Athenians; he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants while his soldiers pillaged the city. Only Aristion and his followers were temporarily safe, holding out on the Acropolis. Having captured all of Athens except the Acropolis, Sulla marched into Boeotia, leaving C. Curio in charge of the operations in Athens.¹² Sulla was victorious in battle at Chaeronea as were Roman troops in Northern Greece. Sulla then returned to Athens and captured the Piraeus. Learning of these victories, Aristion surrendered to Curio. Sulla ordered the execution of Aristion and his partisans but punished other Athenians no further. Marching back to Boeotia, Sulla then defeated Archelaus and his Pontic troops at Orchomenos, thus bringing an end to hostilities in Greece.¹³

Later in 86, Sulla carried operations against Mithridates into Asia Minor, and defeated Mithridates in several campaigns before the king finally agreed to peace in 85. The peace terms for the disloyal province of Asia were brutal. Sulla charged an enormous war indemnity and put Lucullus in charge of the province's finances and L. Licinius Murena in charge of the province itself.

Satisfied with his successes, Sulla sailed back to Greece, where he spent several months before returning to Rome in 83.¹⁴ During his stay in Greece Sulla made restitutions to the sanctuaries whose treasures he had recently robbed by giving them one-half of the territory of Thebes

which had supported Mithridates.¹⁵

Inscriptions of This Period.

List I.89 Delos: ?Pre 88 [Q. Pompe]ius Q. [f.] Rufus
Unknown donors

List IV.13 Agasia[s Men]oph[ilou].
Ephesian (sculptor)

List I.90 Delos c.88 Q. Pompeius Q.f. Ruf(us)

Rufus was Sulla's colleague in the consulship of 88 and was assassinated in 87 by supporters of Marius. The Latin inscription in his honor (List I.90) was inscribed on the front face of the threshold of niche no. 25 of the Italian Agora (Fig. 5). The niche was once closed by a grill,¹⁶ and the statue probably stood at the rear. The inscription has a Latin format with name and title of office of the honoree in the nominative case.¹⁷ Possibly Sulla had the inscription and its statue erected in honor of his slain colleague.¹⁸ However, the editors of ID note that the word "COS" in the inscription was added to an already existing inscription. Hence the statue and inscription could have been set up when Rufus visited Delos before his consulship, then Sulla added "COS" on visiting the island in 84.¹⁹

The existence of the Greek inscription (written in standard Greek format with the honoree's name in the accusative) (List I.89) from unknown donors suggests that Rufus did indeed visit Delos since Greeks or Italians in Greece erected few statues to Roman magistrates who had not visited a specific area. This inscription was also found in the area of the Italian Agora. Thus the dedicators were probably Italian merchants and traders. Inscription List I.89 notes Rufus' euergestas, so possibly Rufus had

performed some service or favor for these people when he passed through sometime prior to 88.

List I.91	Delos: Italians and Greeks who trade in Delos	c.88	L. Munatius C.f. Plancus
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List IV.14	Agasias Menophilou, Ephesian (sculptor) Aristandros Skopa, Parian, restorer
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Italian and Greek traders in Delos placed two Latin inscriptions having the same wording on a statue base for Munatius. The statue once stood in niche no. 68 of the Italian Agora (Fig. 5) and once had a mosaic in front of it. A grill once barred the entrance to the niche. As with many other statues of Romans, Plancus' statue was destroyed in 88-7 by Mithridates' troops. Even though the statue was later restored, it did not survive into our era as did the Billienus statue which was also destroyed and restored (List I.57; IV.7).²⁰

The inscriptions record no military title for Plancus but he probably was the Munatius Plancus who fought for Sulla at Chaeris in late 87. Plancus must have visited Delos before 87, however, since his statue was destroyed in 88-7.²¹ It is uncertain what services Plancus performed. Possibly he contributed money for decorating the Italian Agora.

List I.92	Larissa: Athamanian [<u>koinon</u>]	93-87	Q. Braetius Sura <u>presbeutes</u>
List II.B.5			[<u>soter</u> , <u>euergetes</u>]

Braetius Sura was the legate to the governor of Macedonia, C. Sentius, and he was sent South to fight troops of Mithridates.²² Even

prior to his southern journey. Sura may have been battling Mithridates' allies. Barbarians raided Macedonia and Thessaly and it is suspected that Mithridates had incited them to do so. Sura may have defended Athamanian territory against these barbarians who threatened the area after pillaging Dodona.²³ Thus the Athamanian League set up a statue in Sura's honor, and hailed him as Benefactor and Savior in thanks for his actions in their defence.²⁴

List I.93 (decree)	Thesplae [<u>demos</u>]	93-87	Q. Braetius Sura [<u>presbe</u>]utes
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As the only city in Boeotia which did not ally with Mithridates, Thesplae received punishment for not following the lead of the others – Archelaus besieged the city. Having marched South, Sura raised the siege of Thesplae and defeated the Pontic troops in Boeotia. In gratitude for their safety, the citizens of Thesplae erected a statue honoring Sura.²⁵ Neither the statue nor its base is now extant but the decree ordering the erection remains and contains the wording for the honorific inscription (ll. 4-8). In addition the Thespians awarded Sura a gold crown (l. 10) and the privilege of front row seats (proedria) for him and his descendants at games (ll. 11f), honors usually granted to a city proxenos (cf. Chapter II, "Proxeny").

List I.94	Hypata: Ainlan <u>kolnon</u>	?87	L. Licinius L. [f.] Lucullus <u>tamias</u>
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List II.E.10			<u>ever[getes]</u>
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List I.95	Delphi: [?Ainlan] <u>kolnon</u>	?87	[?L. Licinius] L.f. (Lucullus) <u>tamias</u>
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In 87 Lucullus came to Greece with an advance force for Sulla, and,

after Sulla arrived served as quaestor (tamias) in charge of Sulla's mint in Greece. At the end of 87, Sulla sent Lucullus, who was still quaestor, to gather a fleet.²⁵ Since the inscriptions from Hypata and Delphi record Lucullus' office as quaestor, they undoubtedly date to 87, for in 86 Lucullus became proquaestor (antitamias).²⁷

Lucullus seems to have earned a special place in the hearts of the Aiolians, for they erected a statue to him in the capital of their league, Hypata (List I.94), and possibly another in Delphi (List I.95). The statue in Delphi is equestrian but it is not certain whether the statue in Hypata is also.²⁸ Siedentopf suggests that the Aiolians erected the statues because Lucullus lessened the amount the Aiolians had to contribute to the war effort.²⁹

Plutarch, (Cimon 2.1-2), records that a statue of Lucullus was erected in Chaeroneia. The statue is not extant but Plutarch's account details the events leading up to the honor. The commander of a Roman cohort in Chaeroneia was murdered, and as a result, the Romans blamed the entire city and expected to punish it. At the time Lucullus was in the area, and the Chaeroneians asked him to investigate the matter. Indeed, upon investigation, Lucullus found the city innocent, and thus prevented any Roman retribution. In thanks for Lucullus' intervention the city placed a stone (?marble) statue of him in the market near a statue of Dionysos:

Plutarch, Cimon 2.2

Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τότε σωθέντες εἰκόνα τοῦ Λευκόλλου
λιθίνην ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν ἀνέστησαν·

Miltner maintains that the incident occurred in 80 when Lucullus was returning to Rome, although the statue was not erected until later.³⁰

However, one factor argues against this view. The war in Greece ended in 86, so there would have been few Roman cohorts, if any, in the area. Also, after 86 Lucullus was occupied with affairs in Asia Minor rather than in Greece. Since Lucullus spent considerable time in Greece in 87 when he was quaestor, it seems reasonable that the Chaeroneia statue dates to around that time.

During the First Mithridatic War Sulla's sphere of activity in Greece was primarily in Boeotia and Athens.³¹ He occupied Chaeroneia and the area around it, and both major battles which Sulla won, Chaeroneia and Orchomenos, were in Boeotia.³² Sulla received six statues in Greece: three in Boeotia, two in Athens, and one in Rhodes. His only honors in Asia Minor (ILS 8771) were a bronze statue and a gold crown in Halicarnassus.³³ In discussing the statues of Sulla, where pertinent, statues to those subordinates who may have accompanied him to a particular area at a particular time will also be included.

List I.96	Thesplae:	?86	L. Cornelius Sulla
	<u>demos</u>		<u>autokrator</u>

In addition to the statue erected to Braetius Sura (List I.93) the people of Thesplae set up one to Sulla. Sulla's troops declared him imperator (autokrator) in 86 in honor of his victories over Mithridates' army. This title appears on the Thesplan statue base despite the fact that the Senate did not confirm the acclamation because Sulla had been declared a public enemy. The people of Thesplae could not have known of the formalities to make the title official, so recorded it, undoubtedly at the request of the soldiers or even Sulla himself.³⁴

Pausanias (IX.30.1) notes that on Mt. Helicon, near Thesplae, Sulla dedicated a statue of Dionysos by Myron to the Muses. Sulla had taken the statue from Minyan Orchomenos, probably after his successful battle there. Guarducci comments that since Sulla wrote Greek verse it is not surprising that he dedicated a statue to the Muses.³⁵ In addition to the statue dedication Sulla may have seen to it that Thesplae remained free after the war. Thus the statue of Sulla erected by the Thespians may have been in gratitude both for Sulla's offering to the Muses and the freedom of their city.³⁶

List I.97	Acraephia:	786	L. [Cornelius L.] f. Sulla
	<u>polis</u>		<u>Imperator</u>

List II.B.6	[<u>soter</u>] <u>euergetes</u>
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The inscription and statue from Acraephia may have been set up because Sulla reinstated the celebration of two old festivals in the area. J.M. Fossey proposes that through Sulla's agency the Acraephians were allowed to celebrate the Ptoia again, a festival honoring Ptoian Apollo which took place at the Ptoion sanctuary near Acraephia. Possibly through Sulla's intervention the contests honoring Zeus Soter (the Soteiria), were held again for the first time after the Mithridatic War.³⁷ The editor of this inscription restores the honorific title soter which is also found on a statue base of Sulla at Oropos (List I.98).³⁸ If Sulla was instrumental in reinstating the Soteiria then perhaps he was called soter to correspond with the very festival he helped reestablish.

List I.98	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	86-81	L. Cornelius L.f. Sulla Epaphroditus
List II.B.7			<u>soter</u> <u>euergetes</u>
List IV.15	Telsikrates Thoniou (sculptor IV-III c.)		
List I.99	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	86-81	Metella Caecilia, wife of L. Sulla Epaphroditus

After the war against the Achaeans (146 B.C.), Rome imposed taxes on Boeotia. However, for the Boeotian city of Oropos Sulla abolished these taxes by giving Oropian territory, including harbors, to the sanctuary of Amphiaraus located at Oropos. Since sanctuaries had been declared tax-free, land given to a sanctuary would enjoy the same tax-free status. Sulla stipulated that the income from these lands was to be used for celebrating games and sacrifices honoring both Amphiaraus and Rome's victory. It is unclear whether these games and sacrifices to Rome were established before or after Sulla became interested in the sanctuary.³⁹ The stipulation in the grant makes it seem that Sulla established the games. But Sherk argues that the games to Rome had been organized by the sanctuary before Sulla noticed them, and that it was the games which brought the Amphiaraion to Sulla's attention. Sulla was interested in theatrical performers so he would favor the musical and gymnastic contests already celebrated at the Amphiaraion.⁴⁰ Once Sulla returned to Rome, the Senate confirmed his grant to the sanctuary, much to the chagrin of the publicani (80 B.C.). When publicani later (73 B.C.) attempted to collect taxes from the sanctuary, the Senate upheld its original decision.⁴¹ The inscription and statue to Sulla (List I.98) were undoubtedly given in gratitude for his gift.

Sulla's wife, Metella Caecilia, was also honored at the sanctuary (List I.99). We know from Plutarch (Sulla, VI.12; XIII.1) that Metella was with Sulla in Athens so she probably traveled with him to the Amphiaraiion. To flatter her husband even more, the Oropians also set up a statue to her. Metella's is the first known statue of a Roman woman on mainland Greece.

Both the statue bases were bases of older statues rededicated for Sulla and Metella. The artist signature on the base of Sulla's statue dates to the end of the fourth century B.C., and Metella's statue base was inscribed with a proxeny decree dating to an earlier period (IG VII 373).⁴²

Reused statue bases to two other Romans at the Amphiaraiion may also date to the period when Sulla visited the sanctuary. These are statue bases to Sulla's lieutenants, C. Scribonius Curio and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

List I.100	Oropos	?86 or ?75-72	C. Scribonius C.f. Curio
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List II.G.7			<u>patron</u>
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List IV.16	Xenokrates (sculptor - end III c.)		
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Scholars contest the date of this inscription and its now missing equestrian statue. Petrakos dates it to 88,⁴³ whereas the editors of IG give a date of 75-72 when Curio was proconsul in Macedonia and fighting barbarians.⁴⁴ Blanck identifies Curio as one of those in Sulla's entourage.⁴⁵ When Sulla left Athens to fight in Boeotia, Curio continued the siege of the Acropolis until Aristion surrendered. Thus, it would not be surprising to find Curio with Sulla in Oropos after the victory. Perhaps then, this inscription may date to the time when Sulla visited the sanctuary.

List I.101	Oropos:	?86-81	Cn. Cornelius Cn.f. L.n.
	<u>demos</u>	?78-70	Lentulus
List II.F.7			<u>patron.</u> <u>euergetes</u>
List IV.17	Herodos Sthennidos,		
	Athenian (sculptor - III c.)		

The date of this inscription and its missing equestrian statue is variously given. Lentulus was consul in 72.⁴⁶ Blanck thinks that Lentulus was with Sulla during Sulla's period in Greece and was honored with a reused statue at the same time as Sulla.⁴⁷ Siedentopf judges that the statue was awarded later, perhaps in 70.⁴⁸ Petrakos states that the statue was awarded sometime between 78 and 70.⁴⁹ Of these proposals Blanck's suggestion seems most persuasive. A passage in Cicero (Brutus 311) reports the return to Rome of the Lentuli among others who were apparently with Sulla;⁵⁰ our Lentulus could have been one of those Lentuli. If Lentulus was with Sulla, he could have visited the Amphiaralon and received a statue and the honorific titles Patron and Benefactor in return for a donation.

It is interesting to note that while both Curio and Lentulus were given the honor of reused equestrian statues, Sulla's reused statue was one of a man on foot. In the first century B.C. priests at the Amphiaralon probably reused whatever statues were available at the time without considering the importance of the person receiving the honor. Reuse of a statue was practiced both for speed and economy, i.e., if an important person was arriving and there was no time to sculpt a new statue, or if the area giving the award was short of funds, older statues were rededicated and sometimes even reworked to fit the current honoree.⁵¹ The extensive reuse of older statues in the Amphiaralon at the time of Sulla may

indicate that the sanctuary and city were in financial difficulty, thus increasing the gratitude of the city for Sulla's grant. Six more statues reused for Romans were erected in the sanctuary (List I.116, 170, 198, 212, 213, 214); so apparently Sulla's donations did not completely ease the financial crisis.⁵²

The honorary titlature is also interesting. Sulla was called Savior, but the other two men were called Patrons. Certainly the people of Oropos considered Sulla a patron as well, both because of his grant and because he later acted on their behalf as their patron in Rome. But he was given the higher title of Savior, which may encompass the meaning of Patron. The title also indicates the degree of the Oroplians' gratitude since through his grant Sulla had partially relieved their financial burden.

List I.102 Athens 86-81 Q. Lutatius Q.(f.) (?Catulus)

This unfinished inscription in the Athenian Agora is on the lowest of four drums of an unfluted column on top of which would have stood a statue.⁵³ Possibly the honoree was a contemporary and friend of Sulla who went with him to Greece in 87-6 to escape the Marians. If so, then work may have begun on the statue and inscription c. 84-3 when Sulla returned to Athens after the First Mithridatic War. However, the Athenians may not have considered Catulus a figure of sufficient importance to finish the work when Catulus returned to Rome with Sulla. Or perhaps the column had a flaw and another column was made in his honor.⁵⁴

Sulla passed through Delos at some point during his duty in the East, probably after Mithridatic War I and he made at least three

dedications on the island (ID 1851, 1852, 1853). A metric epigram (ID 1853) may refer to Sulla's care of those orphaned in the massacre of 88-7.⁵⁵ Despite these dedications and his concern for the inhabitants of the island, we know of no statue erected to Sulla on Delos. Perhaps a statue existed but was destroyed either in the pirate raid of 69 or at some later date.

Three statue base inscriptions to Romans associated with Sulla exist on Delos. The men honored were active in the East as Sulla's lieutenants. They may have visited the island to pay their respects and make dedications, thus earning the right to honorific statues.

List I.104	Delos: Athenians, Romans and other Greeks living on Delos, sojourning merchants and shipowners	85-78	T. Manilius T.f.
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The honoree of this inscription was probably T. Manilius Torquatus who was active in the East under Sulla's command.⁵⁶ This inscription and the inscriptions List I.105 and List I.111 are possibly the last inscriptions dedicated by the collective body of the diverse Delian population. In the years after the sack of Delos in 88-7 honorific inscriptions on the island were often dedicated by the demoi of Athens in conjunction with others.⁵⁷ These later inscriptions indicate that Athens had taken a stronger role in the life of the island after Sulla had restored Delos to her control, and that relatively normal life continued after the ravaging of 88-7.⁵⁸

List I.105	Delos: 85-78 Athenians, Romans and other Greeks living in Delos, sojourning merchants and shipowners	M' Aemilius M'. Lepidus <u>antitamias</u>
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The inscription to M' Aemilius Lepidus notes his "virtue, justice and piety." As Lepidus' office in this inscription is proquaestor, he was probably the M' Aemilius Lepidus honored with a statue in Priene as proquaestor.⁵⁹ If so, perhaps he was proquaestor in the province of Asia after Lucullus left in 80.⁶⁰

List I.106	Delos 84-80 <u>P[opulus]</u> <u>[Athe]niensis</u> Italians and Greeks trading in the island	[L. Licinius L.f.] Lucullus proq(uaestor)
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In the years following the attack of Apellicon on Delos Lucullus commanded Sulla's fleet as proquaestor and had great success in defeating Mithridates' forces in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁶¹ Undoubtedly, the inhabitants of Delos were delighted to have the sackers of the island removed from the area. In appreciation of Lucullus' work, they may have set up this inscription with a statue. The inscription is on a marble cornice which served as the base for the statue. Perhaps the dedicators reused a fragment of a building destroyed in the sack of 88-7. The inscription is in Latin although Greeks and Athenians are co-donors with the Italians. The form of the inscription is Greek, i.e., the name of the honoree is in the accusative instead of the nominative.

b. 83 B.C. Sulla in Athens

List I.107 Athens: 83 [L.] Cornelius L.f. Sulla
 demos

Despite the harsh punishment Sulla gave Athens when he captured the city in 86, Athens honored him on his return in 83. Athens honored him justifiably, for Sulla restored to her control the islands of Delos, Lemnos and Imbros.⁶² In addition to erecting a statue of Sulla, Athens instituted games in his honor, the Sylleia.⁶³ About the same time, Athens issued a silver coin bearing images of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogelton. Ch. Habicht postulates that because Sulla overthrew the tyrant Aristion, Sulla was equated with the tyrannicides, so that their images on the coin honor Sulla and his accomplishments. Habicht also suggests that the Athenians may have given Sulla even greater honor by allowing his statue to be set up in the Agora next to those of the tyrannicides, an honor otherwise given only to Antigonos and Demetrius in 307 and Brutus and Cassius in 44.⁶⁴ These honors did not prevent Sulla from taking spoils from the city, among them columns from the unfinished temple of Olympian Zeus, to use in the Capitollum in Rome.⁶⁵

2. 83–82 B.C. The Second Mithridatic War

Following the conclusion of the First Mithridatic War, Mithridates occupied himself in reorganizing his kingdom and suppressing revolts in Colchis and Cimmerian Bosphorus. However, Mithridates' plans to attack the Bosphorans did not please the Roman governor of Asia, Licinius Murena. Using Mithridates' plans as a pretext for war, Murena marched into Cappadocia and attacked, pillaging some 400 villages for his own profit. Mithridates appealed to the Senate to restrain Murena but, in spite of the

Senate's order to desist. Murena continued his unjustified rampage. Eventually, Mithridates drove the Roman forces out of Cappadocia, but the fighting ceased only through a direct order from Sulla to end hostilities. Despite his ignoble actions, Murena received the title imperator and a triumph in Rome.⁶⁶

List I.109	Rhodes: Dionysios Lysania	82	1. L. Cornellius L.f. [?Sulla] <u>strategos anthypatos</u> 2. L. Cornellius L.f. Lentulus <u>anthypatos</u> 3. L. Licinius L.f. Murena <u>imperator</u> 4. L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus <u>antitamlas</u> 5. A. Terentius A.f. Varro <u>presbeutes</u>
List IV.18	Ploutarchos Hellodorou, Rhodian (sculptor)		
List V.45	Rhodes	82	L. Licinius L.f. Murena <u>proxenos</u> , <u>euergetes</u> of Rhodes
List V.46	Rhodes	82	A. Terentius A.f. Varro <u>proxenos</u> , <u>euergetes</u> of Rhodes

The inscription of List I.109 was on a statue base honoring five Roman magistrates and an unknown legate, who may have been Rhodian. Presumably statues of all six men stood on the base. Although the honor was a private dedication, two of the Romans, Murena and Varro are noted as proxenoi and euergetai of the city of Rhodes (List V.45, 46). This is the only known instance outside Crete where a Roman was recorded as proxenos on a statue base. The inscription is dated to 82 because of the title imperator recorded for Murena.

All but one of the Romans named in the inscription were in the East

In 82. If the first Roman named in the inscription was Sulla,⁶⁷ he was no longer in the East, but was dictator and proconsul in Rome,⁶⁸ and commanded the other Romans fighting in the Second Mithridatic War. Perhaps that is why he was included in the inscription with the others. Lentulus may have been proconsul in Asia in 82.⁶⁹ Under Murena, Lucullus was proquaestor in Asia. He collected fines imposed on the province after the First Mithridatic War.⁷⁰ Varro was legatus under Murena and led an apparently successful expedition against pirates in 82.⁷¹

Since only Varro and Murena were awarded the proxeny status and the honorific title euergetes, these honors may have been due to some action they both performed – perhaps in connection with Varro's pirate expedition. Both men may have come to Rhodes at that time and would have been rewarded for having reduced the number of pirates at sea.

Rhodes had remained loyal to Rome during the First Mithridatic War, and as a result Rome rewarded her by extending Rhodian territory on the mainland and in the islands.⁷² Magie notes that Rhodian deputations came to Lucullus, and he may have remitted some of the fine which Sulla may have imposed on territory which the Rhodians had newly acquired.⁷³ Perhaps these statues commemorate some aspect of the deputation. The Rhodian citizen who set up the statues may have been a member of the deputation, who honored those Roman commanders he may have contacted in the course of his mission.

List I.110	Messene: <u>polls</u>	82-81	Licinius L.f. Murena <u>Imperator</u>
List II.E.12			<u>euergetes</u>

Murena governed Asia after Sulla left the East, and he proved to be

greedy and self-seeking. In 84 he waged an ineffective war against the pirates of the Mediterranean.⁷⁴ Then in 83-2 without Senate approval, he launched a campaign against Mithridates due to his own desire for a triumph. Despite the illegality of the war, Murena was called imperator in 82 as is recorded on this inscription, and was later awarded a triumph.⁷⁵ The Greek transliteration of the Roman title imperator in this inscription and in List I.109.3 (also for Murena) is unusual. Normally the Latin imperator was expressed by the Greek equivalent autokrator.⁷⁶

Murena spent most of his time in the East in Asia Minor. On the voyage back to Rome he may have passed through Messene and granted some favors to its citizens thus earning both a statue and the title euergetes.

List I.111	Delos: Italians and Greeks dwelling in (Greek) trading in (Latin) Delos	82-1	A. Terentius A.f. Varro [<u>legatus</u>]. [<u>presbeutes</u>]
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As noted above, Varro was a legate of Murena and may have commanded a fleet.⁷⁷ The Italians and Greeks of Delos may have honored Varro for his work against pirates in the area. Another possibility is that Varro had increased the profits of these people by obtaining supplies or ships from them.⁷⁸

B. The Period Between 82 and 62 B.C.

1. 72 B.C. Campaigns Against Barbarians

For nearly twenty years a modicum of peace prevailed in Greece, the only battles taking place in Macedonia. There the Roman governors still

fought incursions of barbarians who were supported by Mithridates. Not until Mithridates' power was destroyed could Romans hope to achieve permanent success. Once L. Lucullus had crippled Mithridates' power, M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (L. Lucullus' brother), defeated the Bessi and Dardani, and devastated their northern homeland between the Haemus and Danube Rivers, plundering even cities on the coast of the Black Sea. For the balance of the first century B.C., barbarian attacks disturbed Macedonia and Greece only on occasion and Romans warded them off (cf. List I.154-156; 244, 245).⁷⁹

List I.118	Athens:	72-71	M. Terentius M.f.
	<u>demos</u>		Varro L[ucull]us

This inscription and its statue may have been erected to honor Varro Lucullus' achievements in defeating the Bessi and Dardani in Macedonia and Thrace. Varro Lucullus may have visited Athens after these conquests and was then awarded the honor.⁸⁰

List I.119	Demetrias	?72-71	[?M. Terentius Varro Lucullus]
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The name of the honoree of this fragmentary metric inscription is missing, but reasonably there are two candidates. Corbato maintains that the honoree is probably Varro Lucullus, honored for his victory against the Bessi in 71.⁸¹ J. and L. Robert note, however, that the inscription might honor M. Minucius Rufus for his defeat of barbarians in 109-107. The Roberts make this suggestion based on the fact that both Delphi and Eupeiros honored Rufus for victories, so an honor from another city would not be surprising.⁸² Varro Lucullus seems preferable as the honoree because the battles he fought were not quite so far North of Demetrias as

Rufus' were. While the barbarian attacks of 109 may not have threatened the people of Demetrias, the attacks of 72 may have posed a more immediate threat.

2. 74-67 B.C. The Third Mithridatic War: Phase 1 - Lucullus.

While Greece remained peaceful, Asia did not. Near the end of the 70's B.C. Rome and Mithridates came into conflict for a third time. Although the war did not expand to mainland Greece, it affected some of the Greek islands, in particular Delos, which was raided by pirates in Mithridates' service in 69. The death of King Nicomedes of Bithynia sparked the Third Mithridatic War. Because the king died without an heir, the Romans made Bithynia a province, something Mithridates could not tolerate. He invaded Bithynia, killing many Romans, an action which demanded Roman retaliation. This time Mithridates drew support from his powerful son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia. L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurellus Cotta, the consuls of 74, commanded the Roman legions, Lucullus in Asia and Cotta in Bithynia. Cotta and his troops were at first defeated but the remnants later joined Lucullus' army. Through perseverance, skill, and aid at sea by the legate, C. Valerius Triarius, Lucullus and Cotta reduced the coast of Paphlagonia (73 B.C.). From there the Romans proceeded to besiege and capture several important Pontic towns to the East, Amisus (71 B.C.), Amasia, and Sinope (70 B.C.), thus capturing Pontus.⁸³

The capture of Pontus did not end the war, for Mithridates fled to Tigranes in Armenia. Eager to end the war, Lucullus made a daring march into Armenia and captured Tigranocerta, the Armenian capital (69

B.C.). Lucullus was not destined to capture the Pontic and Armenian kings, however. Even though he won several battles, two factors doomed him to failure. First, his men rebelled because they were discontented with his discipline and long, hard campaigns. Second, in Rome Lucullus lost senatorial support for the war because some of his measures were unpopular with the Senate. In 71 in Asia Lucullus had revised the crushing indemnity Sulla had imposed on the province and curtailed extortions of money lenders by fixing a rate of interest at 12%. Because these reforms decreased the income the equestrians earned from taxes, that class forced the Senate to recall Lucullus. In 68 the consul for the year, Q. Marcius Rex, was given command of Cilicia, which had been part of Lucullus' command. Lucullus continued to fight in Armenia throughout 68 and 67 but without the support of the Roman armies in Bithynia and Cilicia. As a result he was forced to retreat, losing much of Cappadocia and Pontus to Tigranes and Mithridates. The first phase of the Third Mithridatic War ended in Roman defeat despite the successes earlier in the war.⁸⁴

List I.114	Andros:	74-67	L. Licinius L.f. Lucu[llus]
	<u>demos</u>		<u>autokrator</u>
List II.F.8			<u>patron. euergetes</u>

Since this inscription records Lucullus' title as Imperator, the inscription must date after some of his successful battles in the East, possibly at a time when he was returning to Rome. Lucullus may have stopped off at Andros which is off the coast of Attica and would have been a convenient resting place prior to continuing a journey to mainland Greece. It is uncertain what service or benefaction Lucullus performed for

Andros to earn the honorific titles Patron and Benefactor.

List I.120	Athens:	71	L. Licinius L.f. Lucul[us]
	<u>demos</u> and		
	[<u>boule</u> of the]		
	[Areo]pagus		

List I.121	Athens:	71	L. Licinius L.f. Lucul[us]
	<u>demos</u>		

During the war against Mithridates, Lucullus captured the city of Amisus (72–71 B.C.).⁸⁵ and although he allowed his soldiers to plunder the city he then had it rebuilt. In addition he gave the city its freedom and added land to its territory.⁸⁶ Many Athenians had emigrated to Amisus during the First Mithridatic War, and those who survived the devastation of 72–71 Lucullus helped return to Athens by giving them money for the journey.⁸⁷ Perhaps the statues to Lucullus in Athens were in appreciation for assisting the Athenians of Amisus. The statues may have been erected after the battle in 71 or when Lucullus returned from Asia in 67–66 and possibly visited Athens on his journey to Rome.⁸⁸

List I.115	Aigion:	c.74	P. Rutillius P.f. Nudus
	Italians		q(uaestor)
	who trade		
	at Aigion		

Rutillius Nudus served as legate under M. Aurelius Cotta and fought at Chalcedon.⁸⁹ Prior to that battle, as quaestor, Nudus may have been in charge of organizing a fleet for Cotta. In that capacity he probably used the services of those Italian traders living on the Northern Peloponnesos. The traders could provide everything for him from ships to food and equipment.⁹⁰ In appreciation of the fact that Nudus had used their

services. the Italians honored him with a Latin inscription and a statue.

List I.130	Tenos:	68-7	L. Quinctius L.f. Rufus
	<u>demos</u>		<u>anthypatos</u>
List II.B.11			<u>soter. euergetes</u>

Quinctius Rufus is known only from this inscription, one which had been reused to honor him.⁹¹ Rufus may have been proconsul of Macedonia c. 68 or 67⁹² and must have done something special for Tenos to merit the title Savior. Perhaps he was involved in actions against the last of Mithridates' forces somewhere near Tenos. Or he may have protected the island against the pirates who devastated Delos in 69.

3. Campaigns Against Pirates

In the latter part of the second century B.C. the number of pirates in the Mediterranean grew to disturbing levels. At the time no maritime nation was strong enough to hold them in check. Rhodes, in decline, had no large navy, nor did Egypt or Syria. Rome did little or nothing to aid the situation despite the complaints from merchants and traders whom the pirates attacked. Rome's inaction was partly due to her deference to Italian and Roman slave traders.⁹³ Eventually, responding to desperate pleas, Rome finally sent out M. Antonius in 102 (List I.82). Although he had some success in expelling pirates from their base in Cilicia, the pirates merely moved operations to Crete and Isauria. In 100 a Roman law excluded pirates from all Mediterranean ports, including Delos. The pirates then allied themselves with Mithridates and under his protection expanded their operations.⁹⁴

Rome sent a series of generals against the pirates but their

effectiveness was limited. Murena in 84 and Terentius Varro in 82 had some minor success.⁹⁵ Servilius Vatia successfully fought Isaurian brigands and pirates (78–74 B.C.). M. Antonius fought Cretan pirates ineffectively and he extorted even more wealth from the provincials than the pirates had (73–71 B.C.)⁹⁶. When in 69 pirates sacked Delos, an island which had no fortification, a Roman legate, C. Valerius Triarius had a wall built around the island to protect it in the event of future attacks.⁹⁷ Rome sent Q. Caecilius Metellus to deal with Cretans who provided a base for many pirates. Metellus' brutal campaign (69–7 B.C.) ended in the surrender of Crete, and Rome added Crete as another province in her growing empire.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, pirate raids from other bases continued.

Pompey, however, given a special command and an extraordinary commission, subdued the pirates throughout the Mediterranean (67 B.C.). From then on pirates no longer posed a serious threat to maritime travel.⁹⁹ The gratitude of the natives to the Roman leaders appears in the next series of inscriptions. Not surprisingly, all the statue base inscriptions honoring Romans for their actions against pirates come from areas whose trade was most seriously affected by pirate ravages: island and coastal communities – areas which relied heavily on trade for their survival.

List I.116

Oropos:
demos

c.74

P. Servilius C.f. Isauricus
hypatos, autokrator

List II.E.13

euergetes

List I.210	Samos:	46-44	[P.] Servilius C.f. I[sauricus].
	<u>demos</u>		father of the proconsul
			P. [Servilius] P.f. Isauricus

As proconsul of Cilicia 78-74, Servilius fought Isaurian brigands on land and pirates by sea, bringing Cilicia, Pamphilia and Isauria under Roman control as provinces.¹⁰⁰ In honor of his victories, he was given the cognomen "Isauricus," which his male offspring also used. Despite increased Roman control the pirates rose again expanding their activities to the West coast of Italy.¹⁰¹

The inscription for Servilius in Oropos (List I.116) is on a reused base, and dates after the time Servilius took the cognomen Isauricus and was hailed Imperator, i.e., 75-74.¹⁰² Possibly Servilius visited Greece and the Amphiaralon on his return to Rome. He may have presented a gift to Amphiaralus and thus merited the title of Benefactor.

The second inscription to Servilius (List I.210) once identified a statue erected in 46-44 when his son, also P. Servilius Isauricus, was propraetor and then proconsul of Asia.¹⁰³ The honor to the father may have come about at the son's request. Although the statue honors the father because of the son's services, the services of the father as pirate-fighter may also have been remembered.¹⁰⁴

List I.117	Olympia:	73-1 or	Q. Ancharius Q.f
	Achaean <u>kolnon</u>	65	<u>antitamas</u>

List II.F.9	<u>patron.</u> <u>euergetes</u>
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The exact identity of this man is uncertain but he may have been a legate of M. Antonius Creticus in 73-1 and as such was also proquaestor.¹⁰⁵ Another possibility is that he was proquaestor in 65.¹⁰⁶ Ancharius' designation as Patron and Benefactor indicates that he

performed services for the Achaean League.

List V.49	Gytheon	71	Nemerius and M. Cloatius sons of Nemerius. already <u>proxenoi</u> , <u>euergetai</u>
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During the wars against the Cretan pirates in 73–2, M. Antonius demanded heavy contributions from Greek cities in the Peloponnese in order to maintain his campaign. Some cities such as the Laconian city of Gytheon, which may have been one of Antonius' naval bases, were nearly crushed by the financial drain. To meet Antonius' demand, Gytheon took out several loans from the Cloatili brothers (Roman businessmen) at high interest rates (48% compound, gross annual interest). When the loan came due the Gytheans could not pay and appealed to outside arbiters appointed by a Roman legate, and a compromise was arranged. The Cloatili lowered the interest rate to 24% simple interest in return for certain privileges from the Gytheans (possibly the right of entrance and exit in the harbor for Italian merchants). In relief and gratitude the Gytheans conferred praise and privileges (proedria – other privileges unknown) on the Cloatili who had previously been named proxenoi and euergetai of the city, as is known from this fragmentary honorary decree.¹⁰⁷ Since the Cloatili made concessions only under force it seems that not every benefactor performed services voluntarily.

List V.50	Tenos	70–60	L. Aufidius Bassus
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A decree from Tenos honors yet another Roman businessman. L. Aufidius Bassus was the son of L. Aufidius, the banker honored with statues on Delos (List I.72, 73). The elder Aufidius emigrated from Delos

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to Tenos in the early first century B.C. During the period of the Mithridatic Wars and the pirate war, when Greek cities like Gytheon had to contribute to the Roman war effort, the elder Aufidius had lent the Teneans money, but at a lower than normal rate of interest. For that boon the Tenians gave him honors recorded in this honorific decree for his son (II. 10–19). Later, when the loan was overdue, Aufidius' son, Bassus, generously renounced part of the debt and lowered the interest rate. In spite of the new arrangements, the city was still unable to pay; so Bassus lowered the interest rate again and arranged new financing. We do not know if Bassus ever received the money due him, but the grateful citizens of Tenos honored him through an honorific decree.¹⁰⁸ As the decree breaks off at the point just before the honors were listed, we do not know what the honors were. They may have been proxy status, title of Benefactor and other honors attendant with a proxy – possibly even a statue. Bassus seems to have been less greedy than the Cloatili brothers in Gytheon since he apparently made concessions without pressure from outside authorities.

List I.122	Delos	c.69	[C. Valerius [C.f. Triarius <u>presbeutes</u>]
List I.123	Delos: Symnolots fighting with him on the island (tower dedicated to him)	c.69	C. Valerius C.f. Triarius <u>presbeutes</u>
List I.124	Delos: Milesians fighting with him on the island (wall dedicated to him)	c.69	C. Valerius C.f. Triarius <u>presbeutes</u>

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List I.127	Polyrrhenia: <u>polis</u>	69–63	[Q.] Cae[cilius] (C.f.) [Met]ellus <u>autokrator</u>
List II.B.9			<u>soter</u>, <u>euergetes</u>
List I.128	Athens: <u>demos</u>	post 69	Q. Caecilius C.f. Me[tellus] [<u>autokrator</u>]
List II.B.10			<u>euergetes</u>, [<u>soter</u>]
List I.129	Argos: Italians who trade in Argos	68	Q. Caecilius C.f. Metellus Imperator

Metellus fought Cretan pirates who were based in Cydonia.

Polyrrhenia, also located in western Crete, was not an enemy of Rome but of Cydonia.¹¹² In 68 Metellus won an engagement off the coast of Cydonia and proceeded to besiege that town and others.¹¹³ The next year he captured several Cretan towns. He was harsh in his punishments, and many towns would have preferred to surrender to Pompey, who was also fighting pirates in 67, but Metellus did not allow this.

Metellus had several honors marking his achievements in Crete. He assumed the cognomen "Creticus", and in 67 his troops hailed him as Imperator. He also received three honorific inscriptions. As the title Imperator is recorded on all three inscriptions, the inscriptions may date to around 67. The inscriptions from Polyrrhenia and Athens (List I.127, 128), honor Metellus' work against the pirates. In addition Polyrrhenia may have appreciated the fact that Metellus had fought against its enemy, Cydonia. Metellus may have used the services of the Italian traders in Argos for outfitting his troops. Thus the Latin inscription from Argos (List I.129) may be in thanks for his business¹¹⁴ and also for reducing the number of

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A coin from Gortyn, Crete may also be in honor of Metellus. The coin shows the helmeted head of Roma facing right and to the upper right is an elephant head which may refer to campaigns of Metellus' ancestors. Metellus did not conquer Gortyn; the city may have surrendered to him not long after his arrival. Once the war was over Metellus stayed in Crete to organize it as a new Roman province with Gortyn as capitol, and Gortyn may have honored him with the coin at that time.¹¹⁵

List I.131	Argos: Italians who trade in [Argos]	67	Q. Marcius Q.f. Rex
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In 67 Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Cilicia as proconsul to supersede Lucullus and to fight pirates in the area. On the way to Cilicia Marcius may have passed through Argos and, like other Roman commanders, (e.g., Rutilius Rufus, Cecilius Metellus) may have purchased supplies from the Italian traders living there. In gratitude the traders set up this bilingual inscription to identify a statue erected in his honor.¹¹⁶

List I.132	Iulis, Kea: <u>demios</u>	67	Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus
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List II.B.12			<u>euergetes</u> , <u>soter</u>
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List I.133	Delos: <u>demios</u> of Athens and [<u>synodos</u>] of Pompeiasts	65	[Cn.] Pompeius Cn.[f.] [Magnus] <u>autokrator</u>
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While Metellus successfully battled Cretan pirates, Marcius Rex fought the pirates in Cilicia ineffectively. As a result Cilician pirates preyed on ships in the entire Mediterranean. As Rome relied heavily on imported

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grain for food. roaming pirates threatened to decrease this supply drastically. Drastic situations require drastic measures, and the Gabinian Law of 67 gave powers to a commander such as none had held before. Pompey was the commander; he had a three year command for the whole Mediterranean, with authority equal to that of provincial governors in the coastal areas. He had a staff of twenty-four legates with praetorian Imperium and two quaestors. In 66 Pompey assigned his legates to separate sections of the Mediterranean and, through jointly coordinated attacks, rid the entire Mediterranean Sea of pirates in only three months.¹¹⁷

Both the inscriptions noted here honor Pompey for his success against the pirates, making the Mediterranean safe for travel between Eastern and Western parts of the sea. Naturally, travel safety was highly important for the traders on Delos, since goods stolen by pirates meant lost profits. On Delos a special association formed in Pompey's honor in 67 – the Pompeiasts. Jointly with the demos of Athens, which would also appreciate a pirate-free sea, the Pompeiasts erected a statue of their hero in 65 (List I.133).¹¹⁸ Perhaps the organization did not have sufficient funds for a statue until several years after the group was founded. Pompey may have visited Kea in the course of his campaign hence the statue erected in his honor there (List I.132).

4. 66–62 B.C. The Third Mithridatic War: Phase 2 – Pompey

With the pirates so handily removed Rome could now concentrate on completing the task of defeating Mithridates and Tigranes. The command fell easily to the victor of the pirate wars – Pompey. Through the

Manilian Law of 66. Pompey's command in the Mediterranean was expanded to include command of Cilicia, Bithynia, and Pontus.

Once Pompey learned of the commission he took over command from Lucullus, who gave up his position unwillingly. Pompey then set forth peace terms for Mithridates but as the king found them unacceptable, the negotiations failed. Again Rome and Mithridates were at war, and Roman forces led by Pompey now clearly had the advantage, for Pompey had a larger army and support from the Parthians who had recently formed an alliance with Rome. At the battle of Nicopolis Pompey defeated the Pontic troops, but Mithridates escaped. The king sought refuge with Tigranes, but when this was denied him, he fled to Colchis.

In the meantime, the Parthians had besieged Artaxata, capital of Greater Armenia. Although Tigranes broke through the siege with a small army, he eventually met with Pompey's forces. Tigranes surrendered rather than risk certain defeat.¹¹⁹ Rome had defeated one king, but the other was still at large.

Content to let a Roman blockade of Black Sea ports deal with Mithridates, in 65 Pompey turned his attention to other areas in Anatolia and in the Middle East. Pompey first attacked and conquered two semi-barbarian tribes living in the Caucasus region. In the next year Pompey went to Amisus on the Pontic coast and made provisional settlement of Asia Minor. Here, having just squelched a rebellion of a son, Mithridates requested permission to become a vassal of Rome in Pontus. Pompey demanded the king's submission, and Mithridates refused.

Pompey then moved into Syria where, in 64, he restored order from the chaos caused by a struggle for the throne between two Seleucid

princes. In 63 Pompey settled the succession problem in Palestine by placing Hyrcanus on the throne. In chagrin, the loser, Aristobulus, prepared for war in Jerusalem. Pompey besieged and captured the city, the last of his Eastern military accomplishments.¹²⁰

Meanwhile, to the North, Mithridates prepared his forces to march on Italy. But his ambitions were greater than his subjects would tolerate. An insurrection rose which he suppressed, yet a later rebellion, led by his son Pharnaces, cost Mithridates his life. Besieged in the citadel of Panticapaeum, Mithridates committed suicide in 63. Rome's dread enemy had finally been eliminated. Pompey returned to Anatolia to reorganize the region and to make settlements before returning to Italy in 62.¹²¹

List I.134	Samos: <u>demos</u>	?63	M. (Pupius) Piso [Frugi] <u>presbeutes</u>
List II.F.10			<u>patron</u> , [<u>euergetes</u>]
List III.6			
List I.135	Samos:	?63	Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus
List II.B.13	<u>demos</u>		<u>euergetes</u> , <u>soter</u>
List III.7			

During the period of reorganizing Asia, Pompey stayed at Amisus. In the same period he may also have concerned himself with the affairs of cities and islands on the West coast of Asia Minor. Both Pompey and one of his legates, M. Pupius Piso, were honored with inscriptions and statues in Samos (List I.135, 134) and Miletus. While Pompey (now hailed emperor for the third time) did not visit either of these cities, his legate, Piso, was there acting on Pompey's behalf and fulfilling his orders. Rehm

postulates that the Milesian honors were dedicated because through Pompey the Games of Dionysos were restored at Miletus, activities which Rome previously had abolished as punishment for the city's following Mithridates.¹²²

The motives for the two Samian awards (List III.6, 7) indicated that each man "in times of distress had brought about a return of the proper order to the city." The end of the war against Mithridates and the elimination of pirates on the sea signalled the end of a long period of turbulence in the Eastern Aegean and an end of Roman requisitions for supplies from Greek cities. As pirates had attacked Samos (Plutarch, Pompey 24.6), the award of statues showed the Samians' gratitude that the pirates had been controlled and the struggle with Mithridates had ended. In addition, through Piso, Pompey may have granted some concession to Samos as he had at Miletus and the statues were in appreciation for that.

List I.136	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus <u>autokrator</u>
List II.C.1			<u>soter</u> , <u>euergetes</u> , [<u>ktistes</u>]
List I.137 (altar)	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus <u>autokrator</u>
List II.C.2			<u>euergetes</u> , <u>soter</u> , <u>ktistes</u>
List I.138	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
List II.B.14			<u>soter</u> , <u>euergetes</u>
List I.139	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pom[pe]lus Magnus
List II.B.15			<u>soter</u> , [<u>eue</u>]r[<u>getes</u>]

List I.140	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Magnus
List II.A.2			<u>soter</u>
List I.141	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Magnus
List II.A.3			<u>soter</u>
List I.142	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Magnus
List II.A.4			<u>soter</u>
List I.143	Mytilene	62	[Cn.] Pompeius
List II.A.5			<u>soter</u>
List I.144	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Magnus
List II.A.6			<u>soter</u>
List I.145	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Magnus
List II.A.7			<u>soter</u>
List I.146	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus
			<u>autokrator</u>
List I.147	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus
List II.C.3			<u>soter</u>, <u>euergetes</u>, <u>ktistes</u>
List I.148	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus
			<u>autokrator</u>
List II.C.4			<u>soter</u>, <u>euergetes</u>, <u>ktistes</u>
List I.149	Mytilene	62 or 36–5	Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus
			<u>autokrator</u>
List II.C.5			<u>euergetes</u>, <u>soter</u>, <u>ktistes</u>

List I.150	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus <u>autokrator III</u>
List II.D.1			<u>soter.</u> <u>ktistes</u>
List III.8			
List IV.20	Dorotheos Hegesandrou, Olynthian (sculptor – IV c.)		

During the reorganization of Asia Minor, Pompey had occasion to visit Mytilene in Lesbos and to do the city a favor. In 80 at the end of the second Mithridatic War, Mytilene refused to surrender to Lucullus and his army because it feared punishment for handing over the Roman legate M^r Aquillius to Mithridates in 88. As a result, Lucullus besieged and captured the city taking booty and slaves. In addition, Lucullus took away all of Mytilene's rights and made it subject to taxes collected by Roman publicani. Mytilene suffered under this burden until 62 when Theophanes, a friend of Pompey who was also a native of Mytilene, interceded on the city's behalf. Theophanes requested that Pompey visit Mytilene on his return from the war in Asia Minor, and Pompey complied. When Theophanes asked Pompey to restore Mytilene to her former status as a free city, Pompey also agreed, much to the citizens' delight.¹²³

In genuine gratitude for the gift of freedom, Mytilene honored Pompey in several ways. The city held poetic contests in the theater whose theme concerned Pompey's victory over Mithridates and Tigranes.¹²⁴ The city also set up numerous statues to Pompey hailing him Savior, Benefactor, and Founder. All the statue base inscriptions except one (List I.150) merely state Pompey's name and title(s) in the dative case. Thus, the inscriptions are dedicated to Pompey and may indicate that the city deified him.¹²⁵ List I.150 states Pompey's name in the accusative, the standard

Greek form for a statue base inscription, and provides other information (i.e., motive) as well.

Pompey continued to maintain an interest in Mytilene even after 62. About 55 a decree passed the Senate concerning Mytilenean lands.¹²⁶ Evidently, the publicani wished to continue taxing Mytilene and had attempted to do so. An embassy from Mytilene came to complain of this injustice and probably sought Pompey's assistance in the matter. Although Pompey was not cited as patron in any of the statue base inscriptions in Mytilene, the city must have looked to him as her savior and patron. Pompey was the presiding magistrate at the meeting of the Senate when the vote concerning Mytilenean territory came up, and he probably presented the embassy to the Senate. The Senate voted in favor of Mytilene, confirming the city's right to be excluded from the publicani contracts.¹²⁷

The date of one inscription from Mytilene, List I.149, has been contested: Dittenberger in SIG³ 752 dates it at 63, R. Laqueur in the RE article on Theophanes places it at 36-5. The inscription to Pompey is on a base with two other inscriptions honoring "founders": Theophanes, Pompey's friend, and Potamon. Laqueur notes that the inscription calls Theophanes theos, a title which was not given to him until after his death. Potamon did not play an active role in the life of the city until c. 47-5. Thus, Laqueur correctly notes that both of these men were honored after 63-2. Laqueur postulates feasibly that the base and statues were erected around 36-5, when Pompey's son, Sextus, was on the island. The statue to the older Pompey was in memory of him and his benefactions.¹²⁸

The SC concerning Mytilenean lands indicates that Pompey continued

to work on behalf of Mytilene even when he was back in Rome.

Undoubtedly there were other things Pompey did for Mytilene, of which we now have no record. Thus at a date later than 62 when Pompey was in Lesbos, a statue honoring him along with two important local city benefactors was appropriate.

List I.151	Thebes	62	Cn. [Pompeius Cn.] f. M[agnus]
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List III.9

List I.152	Demetrias:	c.62	Cn. Pompeius Cn. [f.] <u>autokrator</u> III
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List II.E.14			<u>euerg[etes]</u>
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On returning to Italy in 62, Pompey may have passed through Thebes and Demetrias. These cities may have granted him honorific inscriptions and statues merely because he was a visiting Roman dignitary or in appreciation for his work which cleared the Mediterranean of pirates.

5. Miscellaneous

Several honorees from this period either cannot be precisely identified or they were given statues for reasons not connected with military actions. The following statue base inscriptions are for honorees of this type.

List I.112	Chalkis: <u>demos</u>	c.80	Paulia Titinia L. [f]. (wife or mother) of L. Gra(n)ius
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List I.183	Delos: [<u>demos</u>] of Athens and those living on the island	I c.	Minucia M. [Minucii] f., mother of Quintus
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Paulia Titinia received the honor of a reused statue, apparently earned on her own merits rather than on the merits of the man with whom she was connected, her son or her husband, for the statue was given "...because of her justice and her rightmindedness.." [δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκ[εν/ καὶ εὐνοίας τ]ης .¹²⁹ Paulia was connected with a family of Roman negotiatores living in Chalkis¹³⁰ and she was the only known Roman woman from the merchant class to receive an honorific statue in Greece. The other women receiving this honor were all from the class of military officers.

The exact identity of Minucia is unknown. She was honored because of her son's benefactions rather than her own: II. 4-5 [...διὰ τῶ]ς ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς εἰ[ς/ τὴν πόλιν εὐερ]γες[ας].

Her son may have been a Roman officer or a Dellian resident.

List I.113	Athens: [<u>demos</u>]	78	[Applus] and [Lu]cius Ap.f. Saufelus
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Applus and Lucius Saufelus were wealthy businessmen of the equestrian order. Both men lived in Athens for an extended period. While both brothers studied under the Epicurean philosopher, Phaldrus, who was also the teacher of Cicero's friend, Atticus,¹³¹ only Lucius wrote philosophical works.¹³² From the demos of Athens both brothers received honorific statues or herms whose inscriptions were placed on a single base. On the same base L. Saufelus donated a statue of Phaldrus which was placed between his own statue and that of Applus.¹³³ On a separate

base, Applus dedicated a statue or herm of Phaldrus (Agora Inventory I 5485). Perhaps the demos of Athens honored the Sauffell for benefactions¹³⁴ made to the city and for the statues they had erected of one of her well-known philosophers.

List I.157	Eleusis: post 56 [Chrysothemis], daughter of Phaldrus	[Q. Caecili]llus Pom[ponianus] [Atticus], friend and <u>euergetes</u> of her father. [Phaldrus]
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List II.E.15	[<u>euergetes</u>]
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Another pupil of Phaldrus was T. Pomponius Atticus who lived in Athens many years and set up a statue of his teacher (IG II² 3899). Atticus was a great benefactor of Athens, and the city expressed its gratitude by offering him citizenship and erecting statues of him. For fear of losing his Roman citizenship Atticus refused Athenian citizenship and out of modesty refused to allow statues to be set up so long as he lived in Athens. Once Atticus left the city, Athenians set up many statues of him and his wife, Pilia,¹³⁵ but physical evidence of only one statue now exists (List I.157). Phaldrus' daughter, Chrysothemis, erected a statue of Atticus in Eleusis in honor of her father's friend and benefactor, after Atticus had been adopted by his uncle Caecilius (58 B.C.), as indicated by the name in the inscription.¹³⁶

C. 62-50 B.C. The Period Before the Civil Wars

In the period before the Roman Civil Wars there were no major wars in Greece requiring Roman intervention. Generally the period was peaceful, interrupted only by a few battles against barbarians in the North. Statues in this period were set up for a variety of reasons. Because of

this diversity the statue base inscriptions will be presented in straight chronological order without breaking them into chronological sub-groups.

List I.153	Samos: <u>[dem]os</u>	61-58	[Pomp]onia T.f., wife of Q. Cicero who is <u>anthypatos</u>
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See List I.161-166 (51-50 B.C.) for discussion of this inscription.

List I.154	Amphipolis: <u>demos</u>	57-55	L. Calpurnius Piso
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List II.G.8			<u>patron</u>
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List I.155	Chora (Samothrace): <u>boule, demos</u>	57-55	[L. Calpurnius] L. [f.] [Pis]o <u>autokrator</u>
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List II.G.9			<u>patron</u>
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List I.156	Berola: Berolans and Romans possessing property	57-55	L. Calpurnius Piso <u>anthypatos</u>
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List II.G.10			<u>patron</u>
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Although M. Terentius Varro Lucullus had defeated barbarian tribes in Macedonia in 72-1, the barbarians in Thrace threatened the province later. In 57 L. Calpurnius Piso went to Macedonia as proconsul with unlimited Imperium to fight barbarians.¹³⁷ Piso remained in the province until 55 when he was recalled.

Once Piso was back in Rome, Cicero bitterly attacked him for embezzling funds given him, taxing free cities in Achaëa, and robbing and extorting from the inhabitants of his province.¹³⁸ In his commentary on Cicero's In Pisonem, R.G.M. Nisbet notes that not all of Cicero's charges were entirely justified. Cicero was hardly impartial since Piso was his

enemy, and Piso, who had been sent to the province on the authority of the plebeians rather than that of the Senate, faced Senate hostility. Lacking Senate support, Piso seems to have been short of the funds necessary to carry on the war. As a result he was forced to apply some of the measures which Cicero noted but which were also measures Sulla had used when he found himself in a similar situation: Piso did not, however, rob sanctuaries to raise money. We have seen that free cities in Greece were not free from supplying Roman commanders' needs on demand, as in the case of Gytheon in 72 (forced to give money for the pirate wars), and through the lex Clodia Piso's authority to tax these cities had been specifically approved. In spite of the accusations, Piso had defeated the barbarians in Thrace and he was hailed Imperator (List I.155). The area was free from trouble for many years afterwards. While returning to Rome, Piso visited the three cities which gave him honorific inscriptions and statues in gratitude for defeating the marauding barbarians.¹³⁹

List I.158	Delphi:	55	Q. Ancharius Q.f.
	Amphictyon <u>kolnon</u>		<u>strategos anthypatos</u>

Ancharius was proconsul of Macedonia 55-4,¹⁴⁰ and earlier, as proquaestor, he was honored at Olympia (List I.117). During his tenure as proconsul, he may have passed through Delphi and made a dedication and the Amphictyonic League erected a statue to mark the occasion.

List I.159	Athens:	53-1	Galus [Cos]conius C.f.
	<u>boule ex</u>		<u>anthypatos</u>
	<u>Arelopagou</u> and <u>boule</u> of 600		

Because the first three letters of the nomen of the honoree are

missing in this inscription, there is some doubt as to the honoree's identity. Oscar Broneer suggests that the honoree was C. Orconius, a man honored with proxeny status at Delphi (List V.44).¹⁴¹ Broughton, however, rejects this theory, maintaining that no person of that name held a prominent office during the Republic. Broughton convincingly identifies the honoree as C. Cosconius, the proconsul of Macedonia of 53-1.¹⁴² The inscription and statue were probably set up to honor Cosconius upon his visit to Athens sometime during his tenure.

List I.160	Demetrias	52-1	C. Caellus C.f. Rufus <u>presbeutes, antistrategos</u> <u>apodedelgmenos de kai</u> <u>demarchos</u>
List II.E.16			<u>euergetes</u>

A statue base inscription from Demetrias has several unusual features. First, the base is in the shape of a Doric column capital rather than the standard rectangular base. Possibly it crowned an honorific column similar to the honorific column for Catulus in Athens (List I.102). Second, the dedicants, the Demetrians, used it as a statue base for two different Romans – originally for a bronze statue of Caellus Rufus and later for a marble statue of Caesar (List I.202).¹⁴³ Third, the combination of titles on Caellus' inscription occurs on no other honorific inscription in Greece during the Republic. While the combination presbeutes kai antistrategos (legatus propraetore) appears on other first century B.C. honorific inscriptions,¹⁴⁴ the title apodedelgmenos kai demarchos (tribune of the plebs designate) is unique and suggests that Caellus himself requested that the title be recorded. Since Caellus is called euergetes, he had done some favor for Demetrias either in Greece or as a promise to aid the city

once he got back to Rome. In return for the favor, he may have requested that his statue be set up.

Raubitschek notes that Caellius' statue may have been replaced by Caesar's just after Caesar's victory at Pharsalus, a move designed to please or placate Caesar. As tribune of the plebs in 51, Caellius had moved actively against Caesar; so Demetrias judged that it was politically astute to remove Caellius' statue and replace it with one of Caesar.¹⁴⁵ However, Raubitschek's hypothesis is unconvincing. Caellius' voting record in Rome, if anything, favored Caesar. Cicero (ad fam. VIII.8.6ff.) records that as tribune of the plebs, Caellius vetoed a senatus consultum which was disadvantageous to Caesar.¹⁴⁶ It is also difficult to see how the citizens of Demetrias could have known Caellius' political orientation. Perhaps once Caesar was victor at Pharsalus, the Demetrians decided to grant him a statue. Caellius' statue may have been removed from its base not because Caellius was known to be Caesar's enemy but because the citizens lacked funds to purchase both a new statue and a new base. They replaced a statue of one Roman with that of another rather than replace a statue of one of their native benefactors with Caesar's. This idea seems attractive, especially since Caellius may have requested his own statue. Caellius was esteemed in Demetrias but not enough to prevent the citizens of the city from replacing his statue.

List I.153

Samos:
demos

61-58

[Pom]ponia T.f.,
wife of the anthypatos
Quintus (Cicero)

List I.161	Samos	51-0	Q. Tullius Q.f. Cicero
List I.162	Samos	51-0	[Pomponia], wife of Q. Tullius M.f. Cicero
List I.163	Samos	51-0	[Q. Tullius M.f. Cicero]
List I.164	Samos	51-0	M. Tullius M.f. Cicero (father)
List I.165	Samos	51-0	Terentia, wife of M. Tullius Cicero
List I.166	Samos	51-0	M. Tullius M.f. Cicero (son)

The demos of Samos erected several statues honoring members of the Cicero family. In the Sanctuary of Hera the Samians set up an exedra bearing statues not only of the brothers Q. and M. Cicero but also of their wives and sons (List I.161-166).¹⁴⁷ In addition, a second statue of Q. Cicero's wife, Pomponia (Atticus' sister), existed (List I.153), and either at Samos or Ephesos there was an imago clipeata (relief portrait bust or head on a shield or circle) portrait of Quintus.¹⁴⁸

Both brothers worked on Samos' behalf. M. Cicero aided the Samians during the trial against Verres.¹⁴⁹ Q. Cicero, during his tenure as governor of Asia in 61-58, had damaged cities rebuilt, including Samos, which pirates had sacked in the 70's B.C., and Halicarnassos which was still in disrepair from its partial destruction by Alexander the Great.¹⁵⁰ Thus the Samians had good reason to honor both men.

In 51-50 M. Cicero governed Cilicia, and his brother served as his legate.¹⁵¹ Both men took their sons on the journey to broaden the boys' education.¹⁵² On the way to Cilicia in 51, the party stopped at Samos,¹⁵³ and the exedra was probably set up just after that visit. Neither of the wives was along, but their statues may have been set up at the Ciceros' request. The separate statue of Pomponia (List I.153) was

probably set up earlier, that is during Q. Cicero's magistracy, and Q. Cicero probably suggested its erection. This is indicated from the motive given for her statue: "because of the benefaction of the proconsul Quintus"

11. 4f. ...εὐε]ργεσίας ἔνεκεν τῆς/ [τοῦ ἀν]θυπάτου Κο[ν[του]....

Pomponia's statue thus exists not due to her own good works but because of those of her husband. The reference to Q. Cicero's benefactions in the statue base inscription to his wife suggests that the Samians erected a separate statue to Quintus as well.

List I.167	Epidauros: <u>polis</u>	751	Gallus Cani[nius] (L. Caninius Gallus)
List I.168	Thesplae: <u>[demos]</u>	51	L. Caninius C. [f. Gallus]
List II.G.11			<u>patron</u>

Caninius Gallus visited Greece as a private citizen with Cicero in 51.¹⁵⁴ Undoubtedly he visited Thesplae and Epidauros at that time and made dedications at the respective sanctuaries, thus meriting the inscriptions and statues in his honor. Plassart suggests an alternative theory, that Gallus visited these areas when he was praetor of Achaëa prior to 44.¹⁵⁵ However, the lack of evidence that Gallus held such a post gives the theory little credibility.¹⁵⁶

At Epidauros the Gallus inscription (List I.167) shares a base with another honorific inscription. Unfortunately, the latter inscription is so fragmentary that we know only that the honoree was the father of someone whose name is also missing. Possibly this inscription also pertained to Caninius Gallus.

- | | | | |
|---------------------|---|------|---|
| List I.169 | Athens:
<u>demos</u> and the
<u>boule</u> of the
Areopagos | c.50 | Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Pulcher
<u>autokrator</u> |
| List II.E.17 | | | <u>euergetes</u> |
| List I.170 | Oropos:
<u>demos</u> | c 50 | Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Pulcher |
| List IV.21 | Agatharchos Dionysiou,
Boeotian (sculptor – III-II c.) | | |

An inscription linked with reconstruction of an edifice in Eleusis is that to Ap. Claudius Pulcher in Athens. Claudius was proconsul of Cilicia in 53–51 just before Cicero held that magistracy. Prior to departing for his province Claudius vowed to rebuild the smaller Propylea at Eleusis. When his term of office ended, he visited Athens and Eleusis and oversaw the beginning of the project. Claudius did not live to see the project's completion, but two of his nephews undertook the task and commemorated both Claudius' efforts and their own on an architrave of the building.¹⁵⁶ In appreciation for Claudius' work the Athenians erected a statue of him in Athens (List I.169).¹⁵⁸

In Athens there is an imago clipeata once placed on the Philopappus Hill. Dondas identifies the portrait as that of Claudius. However, Dondas indicates that the portrait was made after Claudius' death in 48 because the particular type of tendrils on the central rim of the shield was used for portraits of the dead, which were executed in high relief.¹⁵⁹ If the imago clipeata is posthumous, it may have been set up at the time Claudius' nephews completed construction of the Propylea in Eleusis. Perhaps the nephews requested it, and the Athenians willingly complied with their benefactors' request.

The statue of Claudius in the sanctuary of Amphiaralos at Oropos (List I.170) may also be linked to different actions of Claudius in Attica.¹⁶⁰ Mason and Wallace suggest that this statue dates to 61 when Claudius was in Greece in an unofficial capacity, since the inscription records no official title.¹⁶¹ Claudius took many statues and paintings from Greece to use for games should he be elected aedile, but perhaps his noted religiosity kept him from plundering the Amphiaralaion.¹⁶² Possibly the statue there was merely in gratitude for his not plundering, especially since neither honorific title nor general motive is given in the inscription. Of the seven inscriptions to Roman men from that sanctuary (List I.98, 100, 101, 116, 170, 212, 213), Claudius' is the only one lacking an honorific title. Like those of the other Romans, however, his inscription was on a reused base and the statue may have been reused as well.

List I.171	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and those living on the island	c.50	L. Audius L.f. Flamma
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This inscription praises the honoree for his virtue and piety toward the sanctuary (I.4f ...ἀρ[ε]τ[ῆ]ς ἔνεκεν καὶ/ εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ [ε-ρὸν], possibly in thanks for a contribution to the Apollo temple. Flamma was probably an Italian living on Delos rather than a Roman magistrate.¹⁶³

List I.172	Delphi: <u>polis</u> of A[---]	c.50	C. Pollio C. (f.)
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List II.E.18	<u>euergetes</u>
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List I.177	Athens:	50–	Aeficia Calvina,
		I c.	daughter of
			M. Aeficius Calvinus

The women honored in these statue base inscriptions are connected with M. Aeficius Calvinus, eparch. The women are Magilla, his wife, and Aeficia Calvina, his daughter. Aeficius seems to have been a wealthy merchant of the equestrian order living in the East, who had been appointed eparchos (praefectus) by an Eastern governor.¹⁶⁷ Compared to the numerous statues of men in Greece the statues of women are few (22 statues of women, 224 statues of men), and statues of women whose husbands or fathers were not linked to the military are rarer still (only one other – List I.112 for Paulla Titinia). Undoubtedly, Aeficius' wealth allowed these women to make rich dedications in Samos and Athens so they received honorific statues in thanks.¹⁶⁸ Possibly Aeficius visited these areas with his wife and daughter, so a statue of him may also have existed in both places.¹⁶⁹

List I.178	Samos	50–	Unknown
List II.F.13			[patr]on, [euergetes]

Although the honoree of this fragmentary statue base inscription is unknown, suggestions about his identity are possible. Several women were honored with statues on Samos (List I.153 – Pomponia, 175 – Magilla, 176 – Aeficia Calvina, 230 – Paullina), for whom there is no record of statues to the men with whom they were connected. Women honored with statues usually were so honored because of their husbands' or fathers' merits rather than their own,¹⁷⁰ and frequently there was also a companion statue of the man to whom the honored women were linked.¹⁷¹ Hence

It seems feasible that the honoree of this inscription may have been the man linked to one of the women honored at Samos for whom no statue is attested.

List I.179	Olympia: Ells and Roman settlers	50– end 1 c.	P. Alfius Primus <u>presbeutes</u> , <u>antist[rates]gos</u>
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Primus was *legatus propraetore* for the proconsul of Achaëa, and the inscription honoring him dates to the late Republican or early Augustan period.¹⁷² Primus probably visited the sanctuary at Olympia and was honored as a visiting Roman dignitary, who may also have made a dedication.

Earlier in the first century, in conjunction with the Achaean League, Roman settlers around Ells had dedicated honorific inscriptions to Cn. Egnatius (List I.62, 63). The later inscription (List I.179) testifies that the community of Romans living around Olympia was still flourishing.

List I.180	Delos: Merchants and shipowners living [in Delos]	50– end 1 c.	? Appuleius ---f. <u>presbeutes</u>
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The precise identity of Appuleius is unknown and the location of the inscription is unusual. The inscription is on the back of a rectangular *exedra* which once held a statue dating to the mid-second century B.C. The Roman honoree may have been L. Appuleius who was a legate in the East in 156 B.C., and hence his statue was contemporary with the other statue. However, it is difficult to imagine that an *exedra* would have held statues of two different people which faced in the opposite direction.¹⁷³ Also, the Appuleius statue was donated by commercial groups in Delos

which did not begin to dedicate public statues on Delos until the latter part of the second century B.C. In the mid second century B.C. only Athenian cleruchs erected public statues.¹⁷⁴ Appuleius' statue probably dates to mid – end of the first century B.C., and it reused a base which once held an older statue.

The Roman honoree may be M. Appuleius, a legate in 43 who as proquaestor of Asia the previous year, had turned troops and public money over to Brutus in Euboea. It is possible that, after receiving the troops and money, Brutus named Appuleius his legate to continue serving in the East.¹⁷⁵

List I.181	Athens: <u>demos</u>	post mid 1 c.	Licinia, daughter of L. Licinius Lucullus
List I.182	Athens: [<u>boule</u>] of the <u>Areo[pagos]</u> . <u>demos</u>	post 1 c.	Cethegilla, daughter of ?Ce[thegillus]
List I.183	Delos: [<u>demos</u>] of Athens, and those living on the island	1 c.	Minucia, M. [Minucii] f. mother of Quintus

For lack of evidence, these three inscriptions cannot be dated more precisely. Licinia (List I.181) was a daughter of Lucullus by his first wife, Clodia, whom he married in 75. Licinia was probably born after her father went to Asia to fight Mithridates.¹⁷⁶ Once grown, Licinia may have visited Athens where the Athenians honored her with an inscription and a statue out of respect for her famous father whom they had honored earlier (List I.120, 121)

The identity of Cethegilla (List I.182) is more elusive. She may have been a daughter of a Cethegus (? a Cornelius Cethegus) rather than a Cethegillus as is restored in the inscription.¹⁷⁷ The inscription is dated to post mid first century B.C., and there is no other testimony for Cethegilla from that period. However, in the second century A.D. an inscription in Mytilene (IG XII 2 237) honors a Cornelia Cethegilla, daughter of M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus (cos. 127 or 150 A.D.) and descendant of Pompey's friend Theophanes, Pompeia Agripinilla. The honoree from Mytilene was probably named after a grandmother who was a Cornelia Cethegilla.¹⁷⁸ Possibly the Cethegilla of the Athenian inscription was a forebearer of the later woman.

The inscription for Minucia (List I.183) may date to the triumphal period. The inscription does not have the complete name of her son, so we cannot know the name of her husband, who would have had a similar name. Minucia was in Delos because she was traveling with her son, and the statue was erected because of her son's benefactions rather than her own: II. 4f. [---διδ τὰ]ς ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς εἰ[ς/ τὴν πόλιν εὖερ]-
 γεσ[α]ς... Possibly Minucia was the daughter of M. Minucius Thermus who was propraetor of Asia in 80. Thus she may also have been linked to Delos through her father.¹⁷⁹

List I.184	Cos: <u>demos</u>	I c.	...cius Balbus (?C. Pacclius C.f. Balbus) <u>[pres]be[u]tes, antistrategos</u>
List II.G.12			<u>patron</u>

Another uncertain honoree is Balbus, who was honored at Cos in the first century B.C. Balbus may be C. Pacclius C.f. Balbus named as praetor

Pompelus may have governed Asia or Macedonia as *propraetor* or *proconsul* at some time before the Civil Wars. Pompelus may have been a military tribune c. 89, who is mentioned in a decree of Cn. Pompelus Strabo.¹⁸¹ Otherwise we have no information concerning this man's identity.

The years before Greece became in name what she had long been in fact, a Roman province, were again years of fighting in various parts of mainland Greece and the islands. Now the fighting involved not Greek against Greek, or Greek against Roman, but Roman against Roman. Rome's sphere of influence had grown so great that the power struggles of her leaders were no longer confined to Italy. To have a chance at supremacy, contestants went to the provinces hoping to gather more supporters and supplies, and perhaps even to prevent supplies from going to the enemy. There were many statues of Romans presented in this period, given both from flattery of the current Roman leader and from sincere appreciation for actual benefactions. It is likely that most Greeks did not sympathize with any of the fighting Romans. The Romans made

demands for money and materials, and if a city refused, it was attacked¹⁸². As we shall see, the statues erected to Romans were for supporters of one party or another, depending on who was in a particular area.

The wars involved were those of Pompey and Caesar (49–44 B.C.); Caesareans against the murderers of Caesar (44–42 B.C.); Antony against Octavian (42–31 B.C.). The final brief period after the wars covers the years from 31 (Actium) to 27 B.C. Where possible, the honorees have been grouped with the leaders they supported.

1. 49–44 B.C. Pompey Against Caesar

Pompey and Caesar were the first to carry their civil warfare beyond Italy into the Greek world. Badly outnumbered in troops by Caesar in Italy, Pompey crossed to Greece to acquire military and financial support. Gaul was firmly Caesar's, and although Pompey had legions in Spain, he judged that if he moved West he would be cut off from Italy by the long sea voyage and overland by Caesar's control of Gaul. Greece, however, was close to Italy and did not support Caesar. Since Pompey controlled the Roman fleets, Caesar could attempt a naval crossing only at the risk of meeting Pompey's ships.¹⁸³ In 49, Pompey crossed over to Greece leaving Caesar in Italy to consolidate his hold. Before following Pompey, Caesar first fought and defeated Pompeian forces in Spain. Undeterred by his legate, Curio's defeat in Africa and the loss of ships and cohorts in Illyricum, Caesar sailed to Greece in 48.¹⁸⁴ There Caesar's run of bad luck continued briefly, when Pompey defeated him at Dyrrachium. However, a few months later, Caesar defeated Pompey decisively at Pharsalus.¹⁸⁵

Pompey sought refuge first in Mytilene, then in Alexandria where he was treacherously murdered.¹⁸⁶

The victorious Caesar fought no more battles on the soil of Greece, but continued fighting the remnants of Pompey's forces in Africa, Spain, Alexandria, and Asia Minor. Caesar's major victories at Thapsus in 46 and at Munda in 45¹⁸⁷ clinched his right to rule as head of the Roman state. The dictator's control of the Mediterranean ended only with his murder in 44.

a. Followers of Pompey

List I.186	Elatea: <u>demos</u>	c.49	Faustus [Cornellus L.] f. Sulla Epaphroditus <u>a[ntitamias]</u> , <u>antistrategos</u>
List II.E.19			<u>euergetes</u>

Faustus Sulla was quaestor in Rome in 54 and in 49–44 served in Greece as proquaestor propraetore for Pompey, his father-in-law, and was thus with Pompey in Macedonia during Pompey's fight against Caesar.¹⁸⁸ This statue base inscription probably dates to 49 or 48 before Caesar's victory at Pharsalus. It seems unlikely that after the battle, the Elateans would have erected a monument honoring a man who had supported the losing side.

List I.187	Corcyra: <u>polis</u>	?49	M. Cal[purnius] C.f. Bibulus
List II.F.13			<u>patron</u> , <u>euergetes</u>

In 49 Bibulus held the high command of Pompey's fleet and used Corcyra as the fleet's headquarters.¹⁸⁹ Bibulus probably spent a fair amount of time in Corcyra and his benefactions to the inhabitants earned

him the titles Patron and Benefactor recorded on the base of an honorific statue.

List I.188	Karystos (Euboea): <u>demos</u>	c.48	Ap. Claudius Ap.f. [Pulcher] [<u>strat</u>]egos <u>anthypatos</u>
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Ap. Claudius Pulcher died in Euboea, a strategically important area which he had been holding for Pompey while he had proconsular Imperium for Greece under Pompey's command.¹⁹⁰ Lucan presents the tale that Claudius consulted the Oracle at Delphi to learn the outcome of the Civil War and heard his own death predicted – he would die in Euboea.¹⁹¹ Mason and Wallace maintain that Claudius died at Karystos, but the Karystians had erected his statue before his death. Probably Claudius gave something to the city since the statue base inscription notes Claudius' benefaction (euergesia).¹⁹²

b. Caesar and his Followers

List I.189	Megara: <u>de[mos]</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar <u>archiereas</u> , <u>diktator</u>
List II.B.16			[<u>euerges</u>]es, <u>soter</u>
List I.190	Delos: [<u>demos</u>] of Athens	48	C. Julius [C.f. Cae]sar <u>archiereas</u> , <u>auto[krator]</u> [<u>hypo</u>]tos II
List II.B.17			[<u>soter</u> , <u>euerg</u>]etes
List I.191	Chios: <u>demos</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar <u>hypatos</u> , <u>archiereas</u> <u>diktator</u> II
List II.B.18			<u>euergetes</u> , <u>s[oter]</u>

List I.192	Chios: <u>demos</u> and <u>boule</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar <u>archiereas</u> , <u>autokrator</u> <u>hypatos</u> II
List II.G.14			<u>patron</u>
List I.193	Athens: [<u>demos</u>]	48	C. Julius C. [f. Caesar] [<u>archiereas</u>], <u>autokrator</u> <u>hypatos</u> [II]
List II.B.19			[<u>soter</u>], <u>eu[ergetes]</u>
List I.194	Samos		C. Julius Caesar [son (<u>uios</u>)] of the
List II.F.14			<u>euergetes</u> , <u>patron</u>
List I.195	Mytilene	c.48	C. Julius Caesar <u>archiereas</u>
List II.B.20			<u>euergetes</u> , <u>soter</u>
List I.196	Mytilene	c.48	C. Julius Caesar <u>archiereas</u> , <u>autokrator</u>
List II.A.8			<u>soter</u>
List I.197	Karthala (Kea): <u>demos</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar <u>archiereas</u> , <u>autokrator</u>
List II.B.21			<u>soter</u> , <u>euergetes</u>
List I.200	Athens: <u>demos</u>	47	C. Julius Caesar [<u>autokrator</u> , <u>a]rchiereas</u> <u>diktator</u> [II]
List II.B.24			<u>soter</u> , <u>euergetes</u>
List I.202	Demetrias	c.46	C. Julius Caesar <u>autokrator</u> , <u>theos</u>

List I.203	Karthela (Kea): <u>demos</u>	46	C. Julius C.f. Caesar <u>theos</u> , <u>autokrator</u>
List II.A.9			<u>soter</u>
List I.204	Thespieae: <u>[dem]os</u>	46	[C. Julius Caesa]r <u>archiereas</u> , <u>hypatos</u> [III] <u>diktator apodedeigmenos</u> III
List II.F.15			[<u>patron</u>], <u>evergetes</u>
List I.205	Samos: <u>demos</u>	46	[C. Julius] C.f. Caesar [<u>autokrator</u>] III, <u>hypatos</u> [<u>archiereas</u>]
List II.E.21			[<u>eue</u>]rgetes
List I.206	Samos: <u>[demos]</u>	46	[Calpurnia L. Calpurnii] [Pisonis f.], wife of C. Julius Caesar, <u>autokrator</u> , <u>hypatos</u> III, <u>archiereas</u> <u>megistos</u>
List I.207	Olympia: [Lici]nius	?46	C. J[ull]us Cae[sar]
List II.B.26			[<u>soter</u>], <u>euer[getes]</u>

Greeks in Asia Minor and Greece, especially in island communities, honored Caesar with a profusion of statues. Some statues date after Caesar's victory at Pharsalus, others after the victory at Thapsus. It is not certain that Caesar actually visited all the areas where statues in his honor were set up or whether he was there at the time of their erection. Examples are the statues from 48 at Chios (List I.191, 192). While Caesar may have visited Delos on his way to Egypt in pursuit of Pompey, it is doubtful that he would have gone by way of Chios since that island was off his route. Caesar was called Patron of Chios (List I.192, II.G.14), but his patronage may date from his earlier trips East, either in 81-72 when

he went East to escape Sulla or in 76–74 when he studied with Apollonius Molon at Rhodes. The Chians were glad to have a defender in Rome,¹⁹³ so the Chios Inscription may date to the Civil War period and may have served as a means to flatter a patron who had succeeded so well in his political aspirations.¹⁹⁴

Inscriptions from Megara (List I.189), Delos (List I.190), Athens (List I.193), Samos (List I.194), and Kea (List I.197) were from statues erected after the battle of Pharsalus.¹⁹⁵ One Athenian Inscription (List I.200) dates to 47 when Caesar visited Athens and gave the city money to build what is now known as the Roman Agora.¹⁹⁶ Other inscriptions from Samos (List I.205, 206) date to 46, prior to the battle of Thapsus. At that time Caesar made a donation to the city for which he was called Benefactor, and both he and his wife, Calpurnia, received statues.¹⁹⁷ The inscription from Thesplae (List I.204), a second inscription from Kartheia (List I.203), and one from Demetrias (List I.202) are also from the year 46 after the battle of Thapsus.¹⁹⁸

Raubitschek has an interesting theory about these inscriptions and the statues once associated with them. He postulates that the statues were erected at the suggestion of one of Caesar's supporters (perhaps Theopompus) as a propaganda ploy, implied in part by the fact that several inscriptions record both Caesar's many military titles and the title pontifex maximus (archiereas). Greek honorific inscriptions do not usually record religious titles (exceptions List I.216, 233 – augor) indicating that Caesar wished to be known for his relation to the gods as a priest as well as for his official activities. Caesar could have suggested his wish for statues in Greece with these titles to a subordinate who then instigated

the erection of statues in Greek states.¹⁹⁹

While many statues may have been erected through instigation of Caesar's supporters, half of the statues (eight out of sixteen) seem to have been set up out of real gratitude to Caesar. Athens set up two statues of Caesar (List I.193, 200). One statue (List I.193), set up in 48, may have been in gratitude for the fact that after Pharsalus Caesar pardoned the city for having sided with Pompey.²⁰⁰ The other statue (List I.200), as we have seen, was in appreciation for the grant of money for the new Agora, and possibly also in appreciation for the status of liberum oppidum which Caesar granted Athens in 47. At the same time Caesar also gave the status liberum oppidum to Thespieae and Megara (Pliny, NH, IV.7.25), which honored him with statues (List I.189, 204). Caesar made donations to Samos for which he and Calpurnia received statues (List I.205, 206). The statues to Caesar in Mytilene (List I.195, 196) are also tokens of gratitude. Plutarch records that after Pharsalus, in the course of his flight to Egypt, Pompey passed through Mytilene, the city he had freed, and in which he was fondly remembered. Although invited to stay in the city, Pompey refused and advised the city fathers to obey Caesar.²⁰¹ The city fathers followed Pompey's counsel, and Caesar treated Mytilene well, not only then but also afterwards. Some time later, when envoys from Mytilene complained that not every citizen was bearing his share of the taxes, Caesar decided in the city's favor.²⁰² Hence, the statues to Caesar in Mytilene may be in thanks to Caesar for his fair treatment. As with most of the inscriptions to Pompey from Mytilene, those to Caesar are in the dative case. One of the inscriptions (List I.195) is on an altar, thus showing the extent of reverence to Caesar – he was apparently worshipped

in Mytilene even though he was not called a god.

The statue of Caesar at Olympia (List I.207) was dedicated by a Roman and came from the roof of the temple of Zeus. Caesar gave privileges to certain individuals in Greece after the Civil War,²⁰³ and the dedicant may have received some of those privileges. Perhaps Licinius was one of the Romans who had been living around Olympia from the beginning of the first century B.C. (List I.62, 63; 79). Although the inscription has been restored with Caesar as soter of Licinius, patron may be a preferable restoration. soter was regularly used by cities to honor a particular benefactor (cf. List II.A, B), but not by individuals as Licinius was honored.

Caesar's grants to various cities in the East were undoubtedly motivated by his own political needs. To maintain his position as leader of the Roman state, Caesar depended on the support of the East. Thus the statues granted were part of a circle - Caesar helped the East in order to ensure that the East supported him. In thanks for benefactions, and in response to the request of one of Caesar's supporters, Theopompus, the cities set up Caesar's statues.

Not all Caesar's grants were completely beneficial, however: for by colonizing Corinth, Caesar brought on the further decline of Delos. As a strong competitor for trade between East and West, and better located, Corinth took commerce away from Delos.²⁰⁴ Significantly, the statue of Caesar on Delos dates prior to Corinth's colonization in 44, and there are no other known statues of him on the island. Corinth may once have had statues of Caesar, perhaps honoring him as second founder, but to date no statue base inscriptions to him have been found.

Statues of Caesar's Followers

List I.198	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	c.48	Q. Fufius Q.f. Calenus <u>presbeutes</u>, <u>antistrategos</u>
List II.B.22			<u>soter</u>, <u>euergetes</u>
List IV.23	Simalos (sculptor – III c.)		
List I.199	Olympia: <u>demos</u> [?Elis] [?Thebes and] [Orchomenos]	c.48	Q. Fufius Q.f. Calenus <u>pres[beutes]</u>, <u>antistrategos</u> ?[<u>autokrator</u>]
List II.B.23			[<u>soter</u>, <u>patron</u>], <u>euergetes</u>

As legatus propraetore in charge of Achaëa for Caesar in 48, Q. Fufius Calenus had considerable dealing with the inhabitants of central Greece. In a recent article A.N. Oikonomedes suggests why the citizens of Oropos honored Calenus²⁰⁵ and presents a new reading for the statue base inscription at Olympia (List I.199).²⁰⁶ Oikonomedes maintains that through Calenus' efforts Oropos regained her autonomy from Athens in 48, an autonomy which lasted until c. 42. Calenus' efforts on behalf of the Oropians earned him a reused statue at the Amphiaralon.²⁰⁷

The inscription at Olympia is more puzzling, however. Dittenberger, the first editor of the text (IO 330), suggested that the base held a statue of Calenus and his son since there were two honorific texts apparently with the same name. However, based on a re-examination of the texts, Oikonomedes suggests that two groups of people, the Thebans and the people of Orchomenos, erected a statue to Calenus. They combined resources to erect an equestrian statue and then indicated their collaboration in the statue base inscription. Three different texts are on

the base: one text commemorating the joint statue erection, then below it to the right and left, separate texts from each group, honoring Calenus.²⁰⁸ Oikonomedes maintains that this honor may have resulted from Calenus' first march into Achaea, c. 48, at which time several cities, including Thebes and Orchomenos, welcomed him.²⁰⁹ Possibly Calenus helped these cities regain control of the port of Oropos, claimed by Attica and Boeotia, but then held by Athens which supported Pompey. Thus in Olympia these two cities commemorated the liberation of Oropos with a statue to its liberator.²¹⁰

Oikonomedes' explanation of the statues in Oropos and Olympia seems reasonable, but questions remain about the restorations he makes for the Olympia inscription. Oikonomedes restores autokrator as one of Calenus' official titles and patron as one of the honorific titles. He gives no ancient source to verify that Calenus was ever hailed Imperator, nor does the inscription from Oropos record that title. Hence, the restoration autokrator is questionable. With reference to the honorific titles, if Oikonomedes' restoration is correct, Calenus would be the only known Roman in Greece honored with a statue and the three titles soter, euergetes, and patron. Although this combination is possible, it has no precedents and hence must remain questionable.

List I.208

Cos:
demos

c.46

Junia D.f.,
wife of
Servilius P.f. Isauricus,
anthypatos

List I. 209	Mytilene: <u>demos</u>	c.46	Junia D. [Junii] Silani f., wife of P.[Servilius], <u>[anthy]patos</u>
List I.210	Samos: <u>demos</u>	46-44	[P.] Servilius C.f. I[sauricus], father of the <u>anthypatos</u>. P. [Servilius] P.f. Isauricus

P. Servilius P.f. Isauricus was a loyal Caesarian, and as consul in 48, after the battle of Pharsalus he named Caesar Dictator for the second time.²¹¹ From 46-44 Servilius governed Asia as proconsul. Taking a genuine interest in the welfare of the provincials, he saw to the restoration of their temples, ancestral laws, and their general recovery after the war. In Asia the grateful cities erected statues to him and members of his family.²¹² Servilius' concern extended to cities on the Greek Islands; for example, he saw to the restoration of a statue on Tenos (IG XII 5 917).²¹³ In return, the cities may have erected statues in his honor. Although no statues or statue base inscriptions for him from Greece now exist, as in Asia, there are statues for members of his family: two for his wife Junia (List I.208, 209), and one for his father (List I.210). Junia seems to have accompanied her husband to Asia, for at Cos she made a dedication at the Asklepeion.²¹⁴ The statue to her on that island (List I.208) reflects the island's gratitude to her for the dedication and is not mere flattery for the wife of a military official. Perhaps the statue to Junia at Mytilene (List I.208) was also erected because of her own merits. The statue to Servilius' father at Samos (List I.210) may have been erected at Servilius' request (cf. also List I.210 with List I.116).

2. 44–42 B.C. The War Against the Tyrannicides.

Caesar's assassination in 44 touched off hostilities – first between Caesar's supporter, Antony, against the assassins, Brutus and Cassius; second, between the rivals for Caesar's power, Antony, and Octavian, who was Caesar's legal heir. Forced to flee Rome due to the unexpected ill-will of the Roman masses against them, Brutus and Cassius nevertheless enjoyed a period of relative freedom first in Italy and then in Asia Minor and Greece. The Senate made them curators of the grain supply in Asia to keep them out of Rome. But this duty did not suit their ambitions. By the end of 44 Brutus had moved illegally into Macedonia and Cassius to Syria; through Cicero's negotiations these provinces were then legally assigned to them.²¹⁵

In the meantime, Octavian and Antony jostled for power. Antony was declared a public enemy, but Octavian realized that he needed Antony's support to consolidate his position as Caesar's heir. In the spirit of calculated reconciliation, in 43 Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus formed the Second Triumvirate, and in the winter of 42 Antony and Octavian marched in pursuit of Brutus and Cassius to avenge Caesar's murder. Antony's forces, which included those of Octavian who was ill, proved too strong for those of the tyrannicides, and at Philippi both Brutus and Cassius died at their own hands when they found themselves defeated.²¹⁶

List 1.211	Athens:	44–3	[Q. Servilius Q. [f.]
	<u>demos</u>		[Caepio] Brutus

Dio Cassius reports that when Brutus and Cassius entered Athens after the murder of Caesar, the Athenians hailed them as tyrant-slayers and erected statues in their honor. The honor was all the greater since

List IV.24 **Thoinias Telsikratou.**
Sikyonian (sculptor - IV-III c.)

On his way North from Athens Brutus visited the Amphiaralon and probably made a dedication. Oropos honored him with a reused statue and called him Savior and Benefactor, possibly because he had murdered the tyrant, Caesar. Although Oropos may have been autonomous in 44-3 it had been controlled by Athens in the past (and was again by 42), and some Athenian influence may have lingered. As the Athenians had already honored Brutus, the people of Oropos may have wished to emulate Athens by also honoring the tyrannicide.

List 1.214	Oropos: demos	44-3	Paulia Popillia M.f., wife of Cn. Plso
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An ardent republican. Piso served under Pompey in Spain as proquaestor in 49.²¹⁸ True to his beliefs, Piso later joined Brutus and Cassius in the conspiracy against Caesar and with them fled to Greece after Caesar's murder.²¹⁹ Since a statue of Brutus stood in the

Amphiaralon, testifying to Brutus' visit. It is easy to imagine that some of his supporters accompanied him on that pilgrimage. Piso was one of these men, and he also brought his wife, Paula Popillia, into exile, for honorific inscriptions from statue bases of both people (List I.213, 214) stood in the Amphiaralon. Paula Popillia was the daughter of M. Popillius Laenas who had been honored at Cos at the beginning of the first century B.C. (List I.78).

List I.215	Delos:	43	Q. Hortensius Q.f.,
	<u>demos</u> of Athens		uncle of Caepio (Brutus)
	and those living		
	on the island		

In 44-3 Q. Hortensius, Brutus' uncle, held command of Macedonia, but the Senate gave Brutus supreme command of Greece, Illyria, and Macedonia.²²⁰ The base on which the inscription for Hortensius was recorded was part of a pedestal of several statue bases, and a statue of Brutus once stood to the right of the Hortensius statue. Indeed, Hortensius was destined to be second to his nephew both in command and in the honors he received. The inscription honoring Hortensius states that the honor was due to Brutus' benefactions rather than to those of Hortensius: II. 3. ...διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καιπλώνος εἰς τὴν πόλιν/ εὐεργεσίας.. Raubitschek suggests that Brutus' benefactions to the Athenians may well have been democratic constitutional reforms granted in 44/3.²²¹

List I.216	Athens:	43	P. Cornelius Lentulus
	<u>demos</u>		(Spinther)
			<u>augor</u>

After the murder of Caesar, Lentulus sided with Brutus and Cassius

and went to Asia as a quaestor under the command of Trebonius. In 43 the Senate made Lentulus proquaestor proprætor in Asia. When Senate supported troops murdered Trebonius, Lentulus fled to Brutus, who was then in Macedonia. Later Lentulus reoccupied Asia; and after the term of his appointment expired, he served as a legate of Brutus and Cassius. Loyal to the tyrannicides to the end, Lentulus fought and died at Philippi.²²²

The honorary statue and inscription on a reused base to Lentulus at Athens may have been set up to him when he fled to Brutus in 43. This inscription recording Lentulus' religious title, augur (Greek, augor), is unusual. The only other statue base inscriptions recording Roman religious titles are those of Julius Caesar, recording him as Pontifex Maximus (I.189, 191-3, 195, 196, 200, 204-6), and the statue base of Paullus Aemilius (List I.233) who is also augor.

3. 42-31 B.C. The Struggles Between Octavian and Antony - Actium

The history of this period is tangled, involving broken pacts, fighting in Italy, Sicily, Illyricum, Asia Minor, and Greece. Although the deaths of Brutus and Cassius ended one civil war, the tensions between Antony and Octavian, the main rivals for Caesar's position as head of state, were such that until another civil war actually broke out in 32, only an unstable truce existed. Twice mutual suspicion brought Antony and Octavian to the brink of war which was only narrowly avoided by agreements first at Brundisium (40 B.C.) and later at Tarentum (37 B.C.).

Following the terms of the agreement forming the Second Triumvirate, the triumvirs went to the areas assigned them. Antony marched to Asia in

41 to reorganize states in that area. Lepidus went to his assignment in Africa, and Octavian managed affairs in Italy. At home Octavian's troubles began when in 40 he was forced to fight Antony's ambitious wife, Fulvia, and Antony's brother, L. Antonius in the Perusine War. Octavian defeated L. Antonius and Fulvia readily, but suspected that Antony had plotted the revolt.²²³ Fulvia fled to Antony in Athens expecting Antony's gratitude for her opposition to Octavian. Instead, Antony repudiated her for endangering the truce with Octavian. Devastated, Fulvia remained in Greece while Antony returned to Italy, where he found himself barred from entry at the port of Brundisium. Octavian and Antony would have gone to war then but for the news that Fulvia, a chief cause of the Perusine War, had died. This allowed Antony to negotiate for peace, which was agreed on in 40 at Brundisium. In token of the renewed friendship, Octavian gave Antony his sister, Octavia, in marriage. In addition, the two generals divided the territories of the empire - Antony took the East, Octavian the West and Lepidus remained in Africa.²²⁴

While a temporary accord existed between Antony and Octavian there was still the threat of Pompey's son, Sextus Pompeius. Pompeius had escaped the proscriptions of 43 and now, as a pirate, prevented grain ships from reaching Italy. To pacify Pompeius, Octavian and Antony summoned him for a conference at Misenum in 39. They gave him command of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, provided that he would stop his raids - an offer which Pompeius quickly accepted.²²⁵

Antony returned East to continue his command and with Octavia spent the winter of 39-38 in Athens. During that time Sextus Pompeius renewed his pirate raids and Octavian requested help from Antony. Antony arrived

with ships which Octavian refused, much to Antony's chagrin. Only Octavia's intercession prevented war. Through the Peace of Tarentum of 37 Antony and Octavian pledged mutual assistance for their various projects and renewed the Triumvirate for five years. Antony returned to Greece to prepare for campaigns in Parthia, but now tired of Octavia, he sent her back to Italy. Later in the year he married Cleopatra at Antioch.²²⁶

In the meantime, Octavian fought and defeated Sextus Pompeius, suppressed Lepidus' attempted uprising in Africa and removed him from his position as triumvir.²²⁷ Later Octavian fought in Illyria while Antony fought against the Parthians in Syria and Asia Minor.²²⁸

Now the other rivals for power, Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus, had been removed, and soon the latent mistrust and suspicion between Octavian and Antony brought them into real conflict for control of the empire. Antony had angered Octavian by preferring Cleopatra to Octavia, but not until 34 did Antony's actions provide ammunition for Octavian's campaign against him. In that year, Antony celebrated a triumph in Alexandria (until then the triumph had been celebrated only in Rome) and divided up portions of the Eastern empire among his children by Cleopatra. Octavian spread the word through Italy that Antony intended to make Alexandria the capital of the empire and to make the foreign woman, Cleopatra, his co-ruler, which were actions the Romans could not tolerate. By 32 when Antony officially divorced Octavia, Octavian had the full support of the Roman people. In 31 he declared war on Cleopatra rather than on both Antony and Cleopatra, since it was easier to gain support against a foreigner than against a Roman citizen.²²⁹ Indeed, so strong was the

sentiment against Cleopatra that it even infiltrated Antony's camp. When Cleopatra joined Antony in Asia Minor, several of his followers requested that he send her back to Egypt. Antony refused, and as a result a number of his supporters defected to Octavian (cf. List I.223 – L. Sempronius Atratinus, I. 225, 226 – M. Junius Silanus, I.228, 229 – M. Titius). At Actium Octavian's forces led by M. Vipsanius Agrippa easily defeated Antony in a naval battle. Antony and Cleopatra took flight to Egypt and left Octavian the master of the Roman Empire.²³⁰

The honorific inscriptions from this period are nearly all for partisans of Antony, as one might expect since his forces spent more time in that area than did those of Octavian. Antony himself enjoyed extraordinary honors which were granted in 39–8 in Athens. In addition to being honored with statues set up to him and probably Octavia, Antony served as a gymnasiarch and was hailed as the New Dionysos as he had already been hailed further East. Octavia was called Athena Polias, and Antony was even betrothed to Athena Parthenos. The Panathenaea of 38 bore the name Antonela in Antony's honor.²³¹ Antony's honors did not long survive Actium, however, for Octavian (probably while on tour of Greece after Actium) ordered the destruction of decrees passed in Antony's honor in Greek cities and most assuredly ordered the destruction of Antony's statues as well.²³² Hence, there are no extant honorific decrees or statue base inscriptions for Antony.

List I.217

Athens:
demos

43–33

C. Cocceius Balbus
autokrator

Cocceius Balbus was consul suffectus in 39. He may have been praetor, legate or promagistrate under Antony in Greece in 42 when he

received the title Imperator recorded in this inscription. Like other legates of Antony, C. Sossius and P. Ventidius, Balbus may have fought in Asia Minor and thus earned the title. Whether the inscription and statue were set up before or after Balbus' consulship is uncertain.²³³

List I.218	Athens: <u>boule</u> of the Areopagus	42-0	L. Marcius Censorinus
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L. Marcius Censorinus was in Macedonia with Antony at the battle of Philippi. After the battle, Antony appointed him proconsul of Macedonia and Achaia and gave him six legions to use against the invading Illyrian Parthini. In 40 Censorinus expelled these barbarians and in the next year celebrated a triumph ex Macedonia.²³⁴ The honorific inscription to him in Athens says nothing about his victory to the North but notes "his virtue and rightmindedness to the people:" I. 3 ...[ἀρετ]ῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τ[ὸν] δῆμον.... Possibly Censorinus passed through Athens on the return to Rome in 40 and made a donation or performed a service for which the Athenians set up the inscription and statue.

List I.219	Athens: <u>demos</u>	42-31	Sempronia L.f. wife of L. Gellius Poplicola
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List I.220	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>		Sempronia L.f., wife of L. Gellius Poplicola
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List I.221	Athens: <u>d[emos]</u>	42-31	Sempronia Atratinia, [L. Sempronii] [Atra]tina f., wife of L. Gellius Poplicola
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During the wars between Antony and Octavian it is conceivable that for safety's sake members of the family of an opposition party member left

Italy following their male relatives. This may well have been the case with Sempronla and the other women honored in this period (Censorina – List I.224, Crispina – I.227, Paullina – I.230). Indeed, Sempronla would have been in double danger had she stayed in Italy, for both her husband and brother were on the side opposing Octavian. Her husband, L. Gellius Poplicola, had befriended Brutus and Cassius and fled with them after Caesar's murder. Later he joined Octavian and Antony and then followed Antony to Greece. After his consulship in 36, Poplicola remained loyal to Antony and commanded a wing of Antony's fleet at Actium.²³⁵ Sempronla's brother, L. Sempronius Bestia Atratinus also supported Antony (cf. List I.223).²³⁶ Sempronla was probably in Greece with her husband and brother. She received three statues, possibly for donations to Athens and to Eleusis.²³⁷

List I.222	Eleusis:	?40	L. Munatius L.f. Plancus
	<u>demos</u>		<u>autokrator</u>

As proconsul of Transalpine Gaul from 44 to 43, Plancus was declared Imperator in honor of his expeditions into Raetia.²³⁸ Because this title appears on the inscription at Eleusis as the Greek autokrator, J. Kirchner, the editor of the inscription in IG, dates the inscription to the period of Plancus' proconsulship of Gaul. However, at that time Plancus had not yet visited Greece, and there is no evidence indicating that some friend or relative visiting the area instigated the erection of Plancus' statue in 44–43. We must look for an alternative date. In 40 after the Perusine War, Plancus fled to Antony in Athens with Antony's wife Fulvia. Subsequently, in the same year Plancus was assigned to Asia as proconsul.²³⁹ An inscription from Gaetae, Italy (CIL X 6087) testifies that

Plancus was twice hailed Imperator. Although he may have earned the title a second time from victories in Asia in 40, Münzer notes that he may have earned it from victories in the Armenian campaign of 34.²⁴⁰

Therefore, the Eleusis inscription may date to either 40 or 34. Plancus may have visited Eleusis to make gifts and sacrifices in hopes of ensuring a successful outcome to Antony's plans. Since the inscription notes Plancus' "benefaction" (euergesia), the statue was probably in thanks for the gifts and sacrifices.

List I.223	Hypata: <u>polis</u>	39-7	L. Sempronius Bestia f. Atratinus <u>presbeutes</u> , <u>antistrategos</u>
List II.E.22			<u>euergetes</u>

List I.224	Patras: <u>polis</u>	39-7	[Cen]sorina [Censorini] f., [wife] of Atra[tinus].
List II.F.15			[<u>pat</u>]ron, [<u>euergetes</u>]

L. Sempronius Bestia f. Atratinus, was the son of L. Calpurnius Bestia and as a child was adopted into the Sempronius family. After the battle of Philippi, Atratinus became a partisan of Antony, as his brother-in-law, L. Gellius Poplicola, had before him (Poplicola married Sempronia, cf. List I.219-223). Atratinus served Antony in Greece as legatus propraetore. At that time he seems to have visited Hypata and performed some service for the city for which he received a statue (List I.223), and the title Benefactor. Shortly before the battle of Actium, Atratinus defected to Octavian and was later rewarded with the governorship of Africa.²⁴¹

Atratinus seems to have brought his wife, Censorina, with him to Greece, for a statue base inscription honoring her in Patras attests to her

presence there (List I.224). Both husband and wife may have spent time in Patras, for the inscription honors Censorina because she was the wife of the city's Patron and Benefactor.

List I.225	Athens: <u>kolnon</u> of Boiotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phocians, Dorians	34-3	M. Junius M.f. D.n. Silanus <u>antitamlas</u>
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List II.B.27			<u>soter</u> , <u>euergetes</u>
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List I.226	Thesplae: <u>de[mos]</u>	34-3	M. [Junius Silanus]
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List I.227	Thesplae: <u>demos</u>	34-3	[Cris]pina, wife of M. Junius [Sil]anus
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Silanus was also a partisan of Antony. As proquaestor, Silanus had charge of Greece and probably Macedonia until Antony arrived from the East in 32.²⁴² However, once Antony arrived in Greece with Cleopatra, Silanus defected to Octavian just before the battle of Actium (Plutarch, Antony 59.2).

Silanus was honored at Athens by a league from various states in Central Greece (List I.225). We do not know why the league erected his statue or why it hailed him Savior and Benefactor, nor do we know why the league was formed.²⁴³ An inscription from Chalkis (IG XII 9 916, I.4) mentions a priest of Marcus Silanus. Possibly whatever action merited him the titles Savior and Benefactor in Athens also earned him a priesthood in Chalkis, especially as the Euboeans were members of the league recorded in Athens.

The Thespians also honored Silanus with an honorific inscription and

statue (List I.226). On the same statue base the Thespians further placed an inscription and statue of Silanus' wife, Crispina (List I.227). Both Silanus and Crispina may have given dedications to the Muses and therefore were rewarded with statues.

List I.228	Mytilene: Roman citizens who trade in Mytilene	?34	M. Titius L.f <u>Proco(n)s(ul),</u> <u>praef(ectus) class(is),</u> <u>co(n)s(ul) desig(natus)</u>
List II.G.15			<u>patronus</u>
List I.229	Eleusis	?32	M. Titius L.f.
List I.230	Samos:	32	Paullina Fabii Maximii f., wife of M.Titius L.f.,
List II.G.16			<u>patron</u>

M. Titius was the nephew of L. Munatius Plancus and like his uncle favored Antony during the struggle of the 30's B.C. Antony placed Titius in charge of watching Sextus Pompeius after Octavian had defeated Pompeius in 36 B.C., and Pompeius was wintering in Lesbos (36-5 B.C.). As governor of Asia (35-4 B.C.) Titius captured Pompeius and put him to death, although unauthorized to do so. During his governorship Titius had contact with the Roman citizens of Mytilene, who honored him with a statue whose base was inscribed in Latin (List I.228).

The other inscriptions are dated after Titius' governorship. In 32 Antony briefly made his headquarters at Samos; so his supporters and their families were with him there. Titius' wife, Paullina, was honored with a statue at Samos (List I.230) for "her piety to the sanctuary" II. 4f. . . . εὐσεβείας/ χάριν τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. Evidently she had made a

dedication. As her husband was noted as Patron of the city, Titius undoubtedly once also had a statue and inscription in Samos. Additionally, Titius was honored with a statue at Eleusis (List I.228). As he, like Plancus, eventually defected to Octavian, it is possible that the Eleusis statue can be dated after the defection on Titius' return to Rome in 32. In 31 Titius was consul suffectus and fought against Antony's forces at Actium.²⁴⁴

List I.231 Samos: 32-31 Cn. D[omitius]
 [demos]

List II.F.17 p[atron. euergetes]

List III.10

P. Herrmann proposes that Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was the honoree of this statue base inscription. In 32 Domitius was in Antony's camp at Ephesos and probably followed Antony when he moved his base to Samos. The inscription hails Domitius named as patron of the city "through his ancestors" (List III.10), and he may well have been honored because of this connection. Probably the first Domitius as patron of Samos was the man honored with a statue in IGR IV 968²⁴⁵ (List I.38). The younger man may also have been the honoree of a statue in Ephesos where a statue base inscription notes that the honoree is "patron through his ancestors."²⁴⁶ As noted above, Domitius had been in Ephesos with Antony. Like Plancus and Silanus, Ahenobarbus went over to Octavian, but, unlike the others, not until after the battle of Actium.²⁴⁷

E. 31-27 B.C. Actium - The Incorporation of Greece as a Roman Province

This period has only a few statues, some for Octavian and Livia and his followers, and one statue for Crassus, who defeated barbarians. No specific event characterized the period or unified the statues granted. The period was predominantly an interim stage before Greece joined Macedonia and Crete as a Roman province.

List I.232	Megara: boule. demos	31-30	T. Statillus Taurus
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Statilius Taurus commanded forces in Illyricum from 34 to 33, and in 32 he received charge of Octavian's land forces against Antony.²⁴⁸ At the battle of Actium he and M. Titius defeated Antony's cavalry.²⁴⁹ Possibly Statilius traveled with Octavian to Athens after the battle. At that time he may have passed through Megara, so the citizens erected a statue of him to flatter him in recognition of his victory.

List 1.233	Athens: demost	31-22	Paullus Aemilius L.f. Lepidus anthypatos. augor
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Paulus Aemilius Lepidus had been consul suffectus in 34 and sometime before he was censor, was made proconsul, possibly of Macedonia or Asia.²⁵⁰ During that period of office he passed through Athens where the Athenians honored him with an inscription and statue. The inscription records Aemilius' religious title as augur (augor). This inscription and the ones to P. Cornelius Lentulus (List I.216 also from Athens) and the inscriptions to Caesar recording his title as pontifex maximus²⁵¹ are the only statue base inscriptions to Romans in Greece which record Roman religious titles.

List I.234	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>	31-27	Livia Drusilla, wife of <u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> (Octavian)
List I.235	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> <u>theou louliou ulos</u> (Octavian)
List II.B.28			<u>soter. euergetes</u>
List I.236	Thesplae: <u>demos</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> (Octavian)
	List II.B.29		<u>soter. euergetes</u>
List I.237	Olympia: Achaian <u>kolnon</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator. Kalsar</u> (Octavian) <u>theou ulos</u>
List I.238	Iulis. Kea: <u>demos</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> (Octavian) <u>theos. theou ulos</u>
List I.239	Iulis. Kea <u>demos</u>	31-27	Livia. wife of <u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> (Octavian)
List I.240 (altar)	Thera: <u>demos</u>	31-27 (?30)	<u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> (Octavian) <u>theou ulos</u>
List I.241	Thera: <u>demos</u>	31-27 (?30)	<u>Kalsar. theou ulos</u> (Octavian) <u>autokrator V (sic). hypatos IV</u>
List I.242	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and those living on the island	31-27 ?30	<u>Autokrator Kalsar</u> <u>theou louliou ulos</u>

List I.243	Delos:	31-27	<u>Autokrator</u> <u>Kaisar</u>
	Artorius	730	<u>theou</u> <u>ulos</u>

After Actium Octavian traveled to Athens where he became an initiate in the Eleusinian Mysteries (Dio Cassius 51.4.1). From there he sailed to Samos before pursuing Antony and Cleopatra to Egypt.²⁵² Once he had eliminated these enemies, Octavian returned to Greece in 30 and founded the city of Nicopolis at the site where he had set up his camp for the battle of Actium. Nicopolis was a Greek city rather than a Roman colony, with its inhabitants drawn from other towns in Acarnania and Epirus.²⁵³ Octavian returned to Italy in 29 and began consolidating his power at home.²⁵⁴ In 27 he made Greece the Roman province of Achaia.

Just as Julius Caesar was honored with statues in Greece after his victories, so was his adopted son, Octavian. The statue base inscriptions in Greece pertaining to the future Roman emperor date to the period after Actium. All the inscriptions note him as son of a god²⁵⁵ and hail him as autokrator (imperator), a title he was awarded for the sixth time after Actium; as no inscription calls him Sebastos (Augustus), which he made an official part of his name in 27, the inscriptions all date prior to that time.²⁵⁶

Undoubtedly the inscription at Eleusis dated to the time when he was initiated into the Mysteries (List I.234). Since Octavian traveled East from Athens in 31, it is possible that the inscriptions (List I.239, 240) from Kea are from that date. The statues of Livia (List I.234, 239) may indicate that she was with Octavian during the campaign, but it is equally possible that Octavian requested a statue in her honor. It is interesting to note that a Kean statue (List I.238) is the only one of this series to call Octavian

"god" (theos). As Keans from another city, Kartheleia, had previously given this designation to Caesar (List I.203), perhaps the people of Iulis believed that his adopted son was also worthy of the honor. Only the statue base inscription from Thesplae (List I.236) gives Octavian honorific titles – Savior and Benefactor. Thesplae had also honored Caesar with a statue and titles (List I.204, II.F.15). Octavian may have stopped at Olympia after he founded Nicopolis and may have given donations there. The remaining inscriptions may date to 30. The inscriptions from Thera are interesting. Inscription List I.240 is on a cylindrical altar decorated with bucrania, triglyphs, and metopes. The other inscription (List I.241) records Octavian's official title, consul IV (30 B.C.) but incorrectly gives the title of Imperator for the fifth time (p[emptos]).²⁵⁷

List I.244	Athens: <u>demos</u>	30–28	M. Licinius M.f. Crassus <u>anthypatos, autokrator</u>
List I.245	Thesplae:	30–28	M. Licinius Crassus <u>autokrator</u>
List II.G.17			<u>patron</u>

In 30 M. Licinius Crassus was consul as the colleague of Octavian who was consul for the fourth time. Afterwards Crassus went to Macedonia as proconsul. When the barbarian Bastarnae invaded Macedonia, Crassus drove them out, killing their king. He spent the rest of his command pacifying Moesian and Thracian tribes and making the borders of Macedonia safe by establishing client relationships with barbarian kingdoms along the boundaries. For these deeds Licinius received a triumph at Rome in 27 B.C. and the honor of statues in Athens and Thesplae.²⁵⁸ Both statue base inscriptions record Crassus as

autokrator (Imperator), a title any victorious Roman general during the Republic might receive from his army, and which was usually confirmed by the Senate in Rome. However, in Rome this title and the right to deposit the spolia opima (the armor of a king slain by a Roman general) in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius were both denied him. Octavian had now assumed the name Augustus and was still cautiously taking more power from the Senate, but he had not yet clarified his role in the government. Although Augustus declared that he had restored the Republic he could not risk having any sort of rival, such as might arise in the form of a victorious general like Crassus. To avoid this risk, Augustus declared his position as commander-in-chief of all Roman armies, thus making Crassus a subordinate. Since only the high commander could claim the privilege of being called Imperator and the right of the spolia opima, Crassus, as Augustus' subordinate, was ineligible.²⁵⁹ From that point on, no Roman commander other than the emperor received the title Imperator in Greek honorific inscriptions.

List I.246	Delos Athenians and those living on the island, and athletes	c.30	C. Fannius C.f. [Cae]plo
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List.III

The exact identity of this man is uncertain. He may have been the C. Fannius who was a partisan of Sextus Pompeius and after Pompeius' death joined Antony in the East.²⁶⁰ Possibly this man fought with Antony at Actium and escaped to Delos after the battle. Fannius made a donation of oil to the gymnasium (List III.11) and for that reason received

a statue.

F. Proxeni

Several proxenies from this period have already been noted: L. Licinius Murena – List V.45; A. Terentius Varro – V.46; the Cloatili brothers – V.49; L. Aufidius Bassus – V.50. Almost all the proxenies granted in this period are to men who were neither soldiers nor had high magisterial rank, and there are only three military people who received proxenies (List V.45, 46, 54). Powerful men such as Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar now received statues as a standard form of honor, and the proxeny status was considered less important. The combination of proxeny, citizenship, and statues awarded Romans in the recently made (69 B.C.) Roman province of Crete (List V.54–62) show a synthesis of cultures which was to continue into the Roman Empire.

Conclusion

The fourth period in this study is marked by several tendencies dependant on the political situation in Italy. There powerful individual commanders arose, men like Sulla, Pompey and Caesar; and it was to these men and their followers fighting in Eastern campaigns that many of the statues were set up. Because power bred rivalry and produced conditions in Rome which were unbearable for the family of a powerful man, his family sometimes traveled with him. As a result, there are now many statue bases of women who were with their husbands: List I.98, 99 – Sulla, Metella; I. 208, 209 – Junia, I.213, 214 – Calpurnius Piso, Paulla; I.219–221 – Sempronla, wife of Poplicola, sister of Atratinus (List I.223);

I.226, 227 - Junius Silanus, Crispina: I.229, 230 - M. Titius, Paullina.

There were few honors to private citizens, notably because Delos had declined so badly that few private citizens had the wealth for such extravagances. There was a marked increase in the tendency to use older statue bases (and perhaps their statues) over again - primarily at Oropos. This practice may indicate the general decline of prosperity of Greece brought about by long years of war. And finally, there was a startling increase of statues to Roman military leaders in Athens. The city had now recognized that her safety was due to the good will of Roman generals and was only too ready to flatter them in order to ensure it.

Notes: Chapter V

¹ H. A. Omerod, "Mithridates' Advance in Asia Minor and Greece," section V of chapter V CAH, vol. IX (New York: the Macmillan Co., 1962), pp. 234-242.

² W. S. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1911), pp. 436f.

³ The name of this man is contested. Omerod, "The War in Greece," section VI of ch. V CAH IX, p. 244, n. 4, prefers Aristion. Ferguson, HA, p. 447, maintains that the name was Athenion and that Aristion appeared later. Ferguson's view seems more tenable if for no other reason than that two schools of philosophy were represented: Athenion, the Peripatetic, and Aristion, the Epicurean. Cf. Ferguson, HA, pp. 445f.

⁴ Ferguson, HA, pp. 444f. Omerod, "The War in Greece," sec. VI of ch. V CAH IX, p. 244.

⁵ This man is probably the honoree of List I.57; cf. Chapter IV.

⁶ Ferguson, HA, pp. 445f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 444f. and p. 444, n. 1. Pausanias, III.23.3-4

⁸ Omerod, *Ibid.*, p. 245. J.A.O. Larsen, "Roman Greece" in T. Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. IV (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), p. 424. Cf. MRR II.47, 48.

⁹ Plutarch, Sulla 12; Pausanias, IX.7.5. Omerod, *Ibid.*, p. 246. Cf. M. Guarducci, "Le offerte dei conquistatori Romani al santuari della Grecia," RendPont 13 (1937) 41f. H. Blanck, Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1969), p. 106.

¹⁰ M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 940 f.

¹¹ Omerod, "The Invasion of Asia Minor," sec. VIII of ch. V CAH IX, p. 258.

¹² MRR II.55

¹³ Omerod, "The War in Greece," sec. VI of ch. V CAH IX, pp. 249-254.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 259f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 250f. Pausanias, IX.17.6. Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 718.

¹⁶ E. Lapalus, Exploration archéologique de Délos, fasc. XIX L'Agora

des Italiens. Ecole française d'Athènes (Paris: De Boccard, 1939), p. 51.

17 James C. Egbert, Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions, (Chicago: American Book Co., 1923), p. 243. From the period of Sulla, Latin honorary inscriptions have the name of the honoree in the dative case, thus giving the inscription a dedicatory form. Egbert, p. 245.

18 F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Délos (Paris, 1921-22; rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1977), p. 237, n.1

19 Ferguson, HA, p.453, for the date of Sulla's visit.

20 Lapalus, p. 51.

21 MRR II.51. J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Délos," BCH 36 (1912) 121, suggests that the restored statue was set up c. 85 B.C.

22 MRR II.15.

23 Omerod, "The War in Greece," sec. VI of ch. V CAH, IX p. 244. Th. Sarikakis, Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μακεδονίας. Μέρος Α' Ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδρυσέως τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέχρι τῶν χρόνων τοῦ Αὐγούστου (148-27 π.Χ.) I, p. 157.

24 Line three of the inscription is restored as: [...τὸν ἑαυτοῦ] [σωτῆρα καὶ ε]ὐεργέτην. Although this is a feasible restoration, [πάτρωνα] instead of [σωτῆρα] may be an alternative.

25 A. Plassart, "Décrets de Thespies," Mélanges Picard (1949), p. 831, n. 2. Omerod, *Idem*, p. 245.

26 MRR II.47

27 MRR II.55

28 H.B. Siedentopf, Das hellenistische Reiterdenkmal (Waldsassen/Bayern: Stiftland-Verlag K.G., 1968), p. 27, n. 45.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

30 Millner, "Licinius" (104) RE 13 (1926) 379f.

31 Fröhlich, "Cornelius" (392) RE 4 (1900) 1539.

32 *Ibid.*, 1540.

33 Plutarch, Sulla 6.12; 13.1.

34 A. Plassart, "Fouilles de Thespies et de l'Hieron des Muses de l'Hélicon: Inscriptions (6e article)," BCH 50 (1926) 437. A similar situation occurred later, cf. List I.244, 245 - L. Licinius Crassus.

35 M. Guarducci, RendPont 13 (1937) 58. Blanck, pp. 106f., notes that rededicating a statue taken as booty was a quick way for a general to make an offering at a favored sanctuary.

36 A. Plassart, BCH 50 (1926) 438.

37 J.M. Fossey, "The Cities of the Kopais in the Roman Period" in ANRW II 7.1, p. 559. Fossey's assumption of the restored Ptoion support A.G. Gossage, ("The Comparative Chronology of Inscriptions relating to Boiotian Festivals in the First Half of the First Century B.C." BSA [1975] 134 n. 50), who suggests that Sulla gave aid to other Boeotian festivals in addition to those at Oropos.

38 N. Pharaklas, "Ἐπιγραφὸν βᾶθρον ἐξ Ἀκραΐωνιον " AD 23 (1968) A', p. 294.

39 R.K. Sherk, Roman Documents From the Greek East (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 136f. Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 748. Cf. R. Mellor, Hypomnemata Heft 42 (1975) 106.

40 Sherk, pp. 136f. Larsen, "Roman Greece," p. 365.

41 Sherk, p. 138.

42 Blanck, p. 71. Cf. Chapter I, "Artist Signatures."

43 B. Petrakos Ἵ Ὡρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, 1968, p. 160, no. 19 = SEG XXV 496.

44 Cf. commentary to IG VII 331. MRR II.99.

45 Blanck, p. 41.

46 MRR II.116.

47 Blanck, p. 72.

48 Siedentopf, p. 129.

49 Petrakos, p. 165 no.28 = SEG XXV 496.

50 Cf. also Cicero Brutus 306.24. A.E. Douglas, M. Tullii Ciceronis Brutus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), Commentary, p. 222, notes that it is not known if Lentulus and Sura were with Sulla or in Rome at the time. Münzer "Cornelius" (208 a, b), RE 4 (1901) 1380 interprets Brutus 311 as an indication that Lentulus was with Sulla in Greece.

51 Blanck, pp. 99, 105.

52 List I.170, 198, 212 = List IV.21, 23, 24. List I.116, 213, 214 have older proxeny decrees inscribed on them.

- 53 Other Romans honored in Athens with statues on columns before 27 B.C. are: List I.217 - Cocceius Balbus, 233 - Paullus Aemilius Lepidus. For a discussion of these types of monuments, including a list of all persons awarded them, cf. A.A. Rupprecht, Jr., "Roman Honorary Columns," in Papers of the American School of Classical Studies 1956-1957.
- 54 B.D. Merritt, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia 23 (1954) 254f.
- 55 Durrbach, Choix, p. 239, no. 149.
- 56 MRR II.493. Münzer "Manilius" (40) RE 14 (1928) 1162; cf. "Manilius" (85) col. 1210.
- 57 List I.56, 106, 126, 133, 171, 182, 241. Cf. Chapter IV, note 96.
- 58 Durrbach, Choix, p.243.
- 59 F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen ed., Inscriptionen von Priene (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1906), no. 244.
- 60 MRR II.86.
- 61 He attacked Samos and also drove Pontic troops out of Chios. In a naval battle near Tenedos he put to flight Mithridates' admiral, Neoptolemos. Miltner, "Licinius" (104), RE 13 (1926) 378. MRR II.58, 61 passim.
- 62 Ferguson, HA, p. 454.
- 63 IG II² 1039, I.57. A. Raubitschek, "Sylleia" in Studies in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 49-51 suggests that the Sylleia was a temporary renaming of an older festival, the Theseia. Cf. Chapter II, "Cult Honors."
- 64 Ch. Habicht, "Zur Geschichte Athens in der Zeit Mithridates VI," Chiron 6 (1976) 140-1.
- 65 Ferguson, HA, p. 455.
- 66 Omerod, "The Second Mithridatic War" sec.II of ch. VIII CAH IX, pp. 353f.
- 67 The identification is uncertain since the cognomen is missing. MRR II.73, n. 5
- 68 MRR II.66, 69.
- 69 Münzer, "Cornelius" (195), RE 4 (1900) 1370. MRR I.68. Cf. Holleaux, Strategos Hypatos, p. 37.
- 70 D. Magle, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 238.

- 71 Rostovtzeff, SEHHW II, p. 948. Cf. List I.111.
- 72 Magle, RRAM I, p. 233.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- 74 *Ibid.*, pp. 240f.
- 75 Münzer "Licinius" (122), RE 13 (1926) 445.
- 76 H.J. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions, American Studies in Papyrology vol. 13 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), pp. 118f.
- 77 MRR II.72. Durrbach, Choix, p. 245.
- 78 Cf. D. van Berchem, "Les Itallens d'Argos. Un post-scriptum," BCH 87 (1963) 323.
- 79 Omerod, "The Third Mithridatic War: the Conquest of Pontus," sec. IV of ch. VIII CAH IX, pp. 357f.
- 80 Miltner, "Licinius" (109) RE 13 (1926) 416.
- 81 C. Corbato, "Un Inscrizione di Demetriade," RFIC, NS 31 (1953) 135-42.
- 82 J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," REG 68 (1955) no.136a.
- 83 Omerod, "The Third Mithridatic War: the Conquest of Pontus," sec. IV of ch. VIII CAH IX, pp. 358-365.
- 84 Omerod, "Lucullus' Invasion of Armenia," sec. V of ch. VIII CAH IX, pp. 365-371.
- 85 MRR II.118.
- 86 T.R.S. Broughton, "Roman Asia" In T. Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. IV (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), p. 528.
- 87 Münzer, "Licinius" (104), RE 13 (1926) 393.
- 88 D. Peppas-Deimouzu, "'Επιγραφική Συλλογή," AD 29 (1973-4) [1979] B' Chronika, p. 16 dates the inscription to the period of Lucullus' quaestorship and proquaestorship (87-80 B.C.). However, the inscription from Andros dating 74-67 B.C. indicates that Lucullus was again in Greece sometime during or after the Third Mithridatic War. Lucullus could easily have visited Athens at that time and received the honorary statue and inscription.
- 89 MRR II.101, 105.

- 90 D. van Berchem, BCH 87 (1963) 323. J. Bingen, "Inscriptions d'Achaïe." BCH 78 (1954) 84f.
- 91 H. Gundel, "Quinctius" (52). RE 24 (1963) 1102. The inscription was recorded on a rasura.
- 92 MRR. Suppl., p.53.
- 93 Omerod, "The Pirates of Cilicia," sec. I of ch. VIII CAH IX, pp. 350f. Broughton, "Roman Asia" p. 519.
- 94 Ferguson, HA, p. 431. Broughton, Roman Asia, p. 520.
- 95 Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 948. Omerod, *Ibid.*, p.352.
- 96 Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 951. Omerod, *Ibid.*, p.355.
- 97 Ferguson, HA, p. 454. Magie, RRAM II, p. 1209, n. 20.
- 98 Omerod, "The Climax of Piracy: the Achievement of Pompey," sec. VI, ch. VIII CAH IX, p. 375.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p.372. Broughton, "Roman Asia," pp. 523f.
- 100 Münzer "Servilius" (93). RE II² (1921) 1813.
- 101 Magie, RRAM I, pp. 290f.
- 102 Holleaux, _____, p. 37. The stone bears proxeny decrees for Greeks from an earlier period (IG VII 245-247) plus the name of the man for whom the base was first used (IG VII 248).
- 103 MRR II.298.
- 104 Cf. W. Martini, "Samos 1970," Archäologischer Anzeiger 86 (1971) 231f.
- 105 MRR II.112, and 115, n. 5.
- 106 MRR II.158.
- 107 Ch. LeRoy, "Richesse et exploitation en Laconie au 1er siècle av. JC.," KTEMA 3 (1978) 261-266. For a less critical view of the Cloatli cf. R. Bogaert, Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques (Leyden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1968), pp. 100f. The Cloatli housed and fed certain Roman officials in their home, thus relieving the city of that burden. Cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, pp. 951f.
- 108 Bogaert, pp. 192-196.
- 109 Ferguson, HA, p. 454.

110 List I.122 = ID 1857 I. 4 - a tower; List I.123
= ID 1856 I. 13 built into the wall; the inscription is
recorded on a Doric architrave, which may have been a remnant of the
pirate sack.

111 F.G. Maier, Griechische Mauerbaupinschriften, Bd. I Vestigia 1
(1959) 170.

112 M. Guarducci, Inscriptiones Creticae II p. 252.

113 MRR II.139.

114 D. van Berchem, "Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos,"
BCH 86 (1962) 302.

115 J. Friedländer, "Metellus Creticus in Gortyna," Zeitschrift für
Numismatik 10 (1883) 119-120.

116 D. van Berchem, *Ibid.*, p. 302. H. Last, "The Commands of
Pompey" CAH IX, p. 348. Münzer "Marcius" (92) RE 14 (1930) 1583f.
Magie, RRAM II, pp. 1178f., no. 39 suggests that the honors from Argos
may be to an older member of the Marcii family.

117 Last, *Ibid.*, pp. 345-348.

118 Durrbach, Cholx, p. 252.

119 M. Cary, "Pompey's Campaigns in 66 BC," sec. VII, ch. VIII CAH
IX, pp. 372-279.

120 Last, "Pompey's Later Campaigns" sec. VIII, ch. VIII CAH IX, pp.
379-383.

121 Last, "Pompey's Settlement of the East" sec. X, ch. VIII CAH IX,
pp. 390f. Cf. MRR II.169, 176.

122 A. Rehm in Das Delphinion in Milet, edited by G. Kawerau and
A. Rehm (Georg Reimer 1914; rpt. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967), pp. 269-271,
no. 173.

123 Magie, RRAM I, pp.245f. 365. MRR II.43.

124 Fr. Millner, "Pompeius" (31a), RE 21 (1952) 2117f.

125 List I.137 is on an altar. Cf. Chapter II, "Honorific Titles."

126 Sherk, no. 25 = IG Suppl. to v. XII, p. 208.

127 Sherk, p. 144 = Commentary to Sherk no. 25.

128 Laqueur, "Theophanes" (1), RE V² (1934) 2093f.

129 Another honorific inscription dating mid second century B.C. is on another side of the base = IG XII 9 910.

130 J. Hatzfeld, Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'orient hellénique, BEFAR 115 (Paris: de Boccard, 1919), p. 70 and n. 4 for Hatzfeld's restoration of the inscription.

131 A. Raubitschek, "Phaldrus and his Roman Pupils." Hesperia 18 (1940) 101.

132 Münzer, "Saufelus" (5), RE II² (1921) 255f.

133 M. Mitsos,
AD 20 (1965) A' p. 80.

134 Raubitschek, Hesperia 18 (1940) 102.

135 Cornelius Nepos, Atticus III.2 - cf. Chapter II, note 28.

136 Raubitschek, Hesperia 18 (1949) 102. Atticus was an initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries, thus the location of the statue at Eleusis was appropriate. For Atticus' adoption cf. Cicero, Ad Att. III.20. Atticus was T. Pomponius before the adoption and became Q. Caecilius Pomponianus afterward.

137 MRR II.202.

138 Cf. Cicero, In Pisonem. Münzer "Calpurnius" (90) RE 3 (1899) 1388.

139 R.G.M. Nisbet, M. Tullii Ciceronis In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio. Text and Commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), Appendix I "Piso's Proconsulship of Macedonia 57-55 B.C.," pp. 172-180. In Pisonem 89 notes that Piso went to Samothrace, Thasos, Thessalonike and Beröia before leaving Greece. H. Bloch, "L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus in Samothrace and Herculaneum," AJA 44 (1940) 488 notes that Piso gave a dedication in Samothrace. To date the inscription from Amphipolis has not been published, but it may have had the following form:

Ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀμφιπολειτῶν
Λεύκιον Καλπόρνιαν Λευκίου
υἱὸν Πείσωνα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
πάτρωνα.

140 MRR II.218.

141 O. Broneer, "Some Greek Inscriptions of Roman Date From Attica." AJA 36 (1932) 394.

142 MRR II.233, n. 1.

143 A.S. Arvanitopoulos, "Θεσσαλικά Ἐπιγράμματα," Polemon 1

(1929) 202. The inscription for Caesar is on the right side adjacent to the Caellus inscription.

144 Cf. Chapter I. p. .

145 A. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar." JRS 44 (1954) 66f.

146 D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares, vol.I (Cambridge: University Press, 1977), pp. 404f. - commentary to VII.8.6, I.15. Shackleton-Bailey (p. 405) submits that the man whose statue was displaced at Demetrias was probably not the tribune of 51 B.C., but a man of the same name who sided with Pompey.

146 List I.162, 164, 165 are postulated. For a line drawing of the probable arrangement of the statues on the base cf. K. Dörner and G. Gruben, "Die Exedra der Ciceronen," AM 68 (1953) 74 Bellagen 11, 12B.

148 Macrobius, Saturnalia, II.3.4

Nec Q. Cicero fratri circa similem mordacitatem pepercit. nam cum in eas provincia quam ille rexerat vidisset clipeatam imaginem eius. In gentibus lineamentis usque ad pectus ex more pictam - erat autem Quintus ipse staturae parvae - ait: frater meus dimidius maior est quam totus.

G. Dondas, "Applius Claudius Pulcher" in Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀλάνδου, vol. II (Athens, 1969), pp. 123f. notes that the first imago clipeata was found on Delos and it was of Mithridates (102-1 B.C.).

149 M. Schede, "Aus dem Heraion von Samos." AM 44 (1919) 33.

150 Cicero, ad Quintum fratrem, I.1.25 "...urbis complures dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unum Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum, per te esse recreatas:..." Cf. D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, Cicero Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum (Cambridge: The University Press, 1980), p. 154 = commentary to ad Quintum fratrem, I.1.25, 56. Machteld Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor," AJA 62 (1958) 98f., notes that Q. Cicero was honored with a statue at Klaros.

151 MRR II.248, 245.

152 For the presence of the younger M. Cicero at Athens cf. Cicero, ad Atticum V.9.3: at Laodicea ad Atticum V.2.10. For the presence of the younger Q. Cicero in Asia, cf. ad Atticum V.20.9.

153 Cicero, ad Atticum V.13.1.

154 Cicero, ad Familiares II.8.3.

155 A. Plassart, BCH 50 (1926) 438.

156 F. Münzer, "Caninius" (3) RE 3 (1899) 1477.

- 157 CIL 1² 2 775
[Ap. Claud]us Ap. f. Pulche[r] propylum Cere[ri]-
[et Proserpi]nae co(n)s(ul) vovlt
[im]perato[r coe]pl: Pulcher Clau]dius et Rex
Mar[cius fec]erun[t ex testam(ento)].
- 158 Münzer, "Claudius" (297). RE 3 (1899) 2853.
- 159 Dondas, pp.121-137.
- 160 Dondas, p. 135, n. 46.
- 161 H.J. Mason and M.B. Wallace, "Applius Claudius Pulcher and the Hollows of Eubolia." Hesperia 41 (1972) 134.
- 162 Münzer "Claudius" (297). RE 3 (1899) 2853.
- 163 Cf. J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Délos." BCH 36 (1912) 18, no. 3. J. Marcadé, Au Musée de Délos BEFAR 215 (Paris: de Boccard, 1969), p. 67 notes that the formula identifying the dedicators of the inscription and statue is a formula found on Delos from the early first century B.C. (cf. my List I.55, 125), hence the date of the inscription may be earlier than mid first century B.C. as Hatzfeld suggests.
- 164 MRR II.533.
- 165 G. Collin, Fouilles de Delphes, tome III. Epigraphie fasc. 4 Monuments des Messeniens, de Paul-Émile et de Prusias (Paris: de Boccard, 1930), p. 285 rejects the SEG I.154 restoration of Ἀμ[φ]λοχων Ἀργεος] on epigraphical grounds.
- 166 Münzer "Pinarlus" (8). RE 20 (1950) 1399.
- 167 E. Rawson, "M. Aeficius Calvinus and his Grammaticus (Suetonius, de gramm. 3)." Liverpool Classical Monthly 4 (1979) 53-55. On p. 57, Rawson reviews and rejects arguments of J.H. Oliver ["Augustan, Flavian and Hadrianic praefecti lura dicundo," American Journal of Philology 84 (1963) 162f.] who dates the inscriptions in the Augustan period. She also notes that an eparch (praefectus) was usually a man of equestrian rank appointed for military tasks. The job was often given to businessmen and had little or nothing to do with military duties. In her arguments concerning the dating of the inscriptions Rawson makes no note of the fact that in the Samian inscription for Aeficia (List I.176) Aeficia is also noted as the wife of someone whose name is missing. This unknown may have been another man of the same rank as Aeficius or he may even have been a Roman magistrate.
- 168 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 169 J.H. Oliver, American Journal of Philology 84 (1963) 162.

- 170 Cf. Chapter I.
- 171 List I.98 - Sulla, I.99 - Metella; I.162 - Pomponia, I.163 - Q. Cicero; I.164 - M. Cicero, I.165 - Terentia; I.205 - Caesar, I.206 - Calpurnia; I.213 - C. Calpurnius Piso, I.214 - Paulla Popillia; I.226 - M. Junius Silanus, I.227 - Crispina; I.234, 238 - Octavian, I.235, 239 - Livia.
- 172 MRR, Suppl. p. 4.
- 173 F. Durrbach, Cholx, p. 148.
- 174 Ferguson, HA p., 354.
- 175 MRR II.327, 482, 532.
- 176 Münzer, "Licinia" (186), RE 13 (1926) 498. Münzer "Clodia" (67), RE 4 (1901) 107.
- 177 Cethegilla as a name for daughters among the Cethegi cf. Groag, "Cethegilla." RE 3 (1899) 2012.
- 178 Münzer, "Cornelia Cethegilla" (432), RE 4 (1901) 1599.
- 179 Münzer, "Minucia" (70), RE 15 (1932) 1974. Few Minucii in the later period had the praenomen Marcus.
- 180 MRR, Suppl., p. 45; cf. MRR II.483.
- 181 Fr. Miltner, "T. Pompilius" (21, 22), RE 21 (1952) 2060. Cf. MRR II.35 and 38, n. 14.
- 182 Rostovtzeff, SEHOW II, pp. 991, 1016.
- 183 F.E. Adcock, "The Seizure of Italy," CAH IX, pp. 644f.
- 184 Adcock, "Ilerda and Massilia," CAH IX, pp. 648-651. "Curio in Africa," CAH IX, pp. 651-653.
- 185 Adcock, "The Campaign of Dyrrachium," CAH IX, pp. 659-662. "Pharsalus," CAH IX, pp. 662-667.
- 186 Adcock, "Caesar at Alexandria," CAH IX, pp. 667f.
- 187 Adcock, "The Campaign in Africa," CAH IX, p. 687. "Munda," CAH IX, pp. 702-4.
- 188 Münzer, "Cornellus" (337), RE 4 (1901) 1515. MRR II.261, 557.
- 189 Münzer, "Calpurnius" (25), RE 3 (1899) 1369. Cf. MRR II.261.
- 190 MRR II.261.

- 191 Lucan, Pharsalia, V.194-197
 Effugis ingentes, tanti discriminis experts,
 Bellorum Romane, minas, solusque quietem
 Eubolci vasta lateris convalle tenebis.

Lucan, Pharsalia, V.230-236

Secreta tenebis

Litoris Eubolci memorando condite busto,
 Qua maris angustat fauces saxosa Carystos
 Et, tumidis infesta colit quae numina, Rhamnus,
 Artatus rapido fervet qua gurgite pontus
 Euripusque trahit, cursum mutantibus undis
 Chalcidicas puppes ad iniquam classibus Aulin....

- 192 H.J. Mason, and M.B. Wallace, Hesperia 41 (1972) 131-3 and 131, n.9.

- 193 M. Holleaux, Στοιχεινός Ὑπατος, p. 129.

- 194 Ibid., p. 130.

- 195 A.E. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar," JRS 44 (1954) 74.

- 196 Ibid., p. 69.

- 197 Ibid., pp. 72f.

- 198 Ibid., pp. 74, 74, n. 26 and 75. The first line of Caesar's inscription on the Karthala base (I.203) is in a rasura.

- 199 Ibid., p. 73. On p. 75, Raubitschek suggests that Caesar's friend, Theopompus of Knidos, may have instigated the honors for Caesar, possibly from Delphi.

- 200 Ibid., p. 66.

- 201 Plutarch, Pompey, 75.4-5 (Teubner edn.).

- 202 Rostovtzeff, SEHWW II, p. 971.

- 203 Ibid., p. 998.

- 204 Ibid., p. 997.

- 205 A.N. Oikonomedes, "Defeated Athens, the Land of Oropos, Caesar and Augustus. Notes on the sources for the history of the Years 49-27 B.C.," Ancient World 2 (1979) 97-99.

- 206 Ibid., p. 99, fig. 3.

- 207 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 208 *Ibid.*, p. 98. Olkonomedes restores Imperator as an additional title for Calenus in the Olympia inscription. However, in his text Olkonomedes gives no source verifying that Calenus had that title; Imperator is not recorded in the Oropos inscription.
- 209 *Ibid.*, p. 97. Cf. Caesar, Bellum Civile, III.56.
- 210 Olkonomedes, p. 99.
- 211 MRR II.272.
- 212 Magle, RRAM I, pp. 416f.; II, p. 1207, n. 42.
- 213 Cf. List V.37 – the statue group was originally dedicated by C. Pandusinus, a proxenos of Tenos.
- 214 W.R. Paton, E.L. Hicks, The Inscriptions of Cos (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), no. 206.
- 215 MRR II.320, 321. M.P. Charlesworth, "The Avenging of Caesar," CAH, vol. X (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), p. 15.
- 216 *Ibid.*, pp. 19–23.
- 217 Dio Cassius, 47.20.4. R.E. Wycherly, The Athenian Agora, vol. III, Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957), p. 95, no. 262. Cf. Plutarch, Brutus 24.1. Wycherly, pp. 65, 93, notes that the only others allowed this honor were Antigonos and Demetrias.
- 218 MRR II.542.
- 219 Münzer, "Calpurnius" (69), RE 3 (1899)1392.
- 220 MRR II.345. Durrbach, Cholx, no. 168.
- 221 A.E. Raubitschek, "The Brutus Statue in Athens," in Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di Epigrafia greca e latina, 1957 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1959), p. 17.
- 222 MRR II.344, 364. Münzer, "Cornelius" (239), RE 4 (1901) 1398f.
- 223 MRR II.371.
- 224 M.P. Charlesworth, "The Avenging of Caesar," CAH X, p. 29. "The Triumvirs," CAH X, pp. 41–44.
- 225 M.P. Charlesworth, "The Triumvirs," CAH X, pp. 45f. "Brundisium and Misenum," sec.II, ch.III CAH X, pp. 45f. MRR II.388.

- 226 W.W. Tarn, "Antony and Octavia," sec. V. ch. II CAH X. pp. 51-55. Cf. MRR II.396.
- 227 MRR II.399f.
- 228 MRR II.406f.
- 229 M.P. Charlesworth and W.W. Tarn, "The Break," sec. V. ch. III CAH X. pp. 90-99.
- 230 MRR II.422f.
- 231 W.W. Tarn, "Antony and Octavia," CAH X. pp. 52f. Cf. Dio Cassius, 48.39.2. Velleius Paterculus, 2.82.4. Appian, Bellum Civile, 5.76.
- 232 W.W. Tarn, "Octavian in the East," sec. I. ch. IV CAH X. p. 112.
- 233 MRR II.549; Groag, "Cocceius" (3), RE 3 (1899) 129, Supplb. 7 (1940) 90.
- 234 MRR II.588. M.P. Charlesworth, "The Avenging of Caesar," CAH X. p. 26.
- 235 Münzer, "Gellius" (18), RE 7 (1910) 1004f.
- 236 MRR II.389.
- 237 The statue base of inscription List I.221 also contains an inscription to the Emperor Claudius (54-51 AD) IG II² 5179, II. 4-6, who apparently restored Sempronia's statue.
- 238 MRR II.329.
- 239 MRR II.382. Münzer, "Munatius" (30), RE 16 (1933) 549. W.W. Tarn and M.P. Charlesworth, "The Break," sec. V. ch. III CAH X. p. 97. note that in 31 B.C. Plancus went over to Octavian.
- 240 Münzer, "Munatius" (30), RE 16 (1933) 548.
- 241 Münzer, "Sempronius" (26), RE II² (1923) 1367f. MRR II.389, 615. *Infra* note 225.
- 242 MRR I.412, 416.
- 243 Münzer, "Iunius" (172), RE 10 (1919) 1096, notes that either Silanus' activity in Central Greece under Antony was more important than is currently known, or he was again in Greece at a later date with a higher position. H.S. Jones, "The Princeps," CAH X. pp. 146f. notes that Silanus later became proconsul of Asia under Augustus. If so, the Athenian inscription and the priesthood may date to that time.
- 244 MRR II.420. R. Hanslik, "Titius" (18), RE VI² (1937) 1560ff.

245 P. Herrmann, "Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heralon von Samos." AM 75 (1960) 138.

246 P. Herrmann, "Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus – Patronus von Ephesos und Samos." ZPE 14 (1974) 257f.

247 MRR II.421.

248 MRR II.419. 662.

249 MRR II.422.

250 v. Rohden, "Aemilius" (82), RE 1 (1894) 565f. Sarikakis.

p. 1, suggests that Aemilius was proconsul between 33 and 32 B.C. However, Papazoglou, ANRW, II 7.1, p. 309, n. 29 rejects this idea.

251 Cf. Discussion of List I.216.

252 W.W. Tarn, "The Actium Campaign," sec. IV, ch. III CAH X, p. 106.

253 F. Schober, "Nikopolis" (2), RE 17 (1936) 516.

254 M.P. Charlesworth, "The First Citizen," sec. III, ch. IV CAH X, p. 119.

255 M.P. Charlesworth, "The Avenging of Caesar," CAH X, p. 22, notes that Octavian had been known as divi filius since 42 B.C. However, Broughton does not note the title as being given until 41 B.C. – MRR II.371.

256 M.P. Charlesworth, "The First Citizen," sec. III, ch. III CAH X, p. 122 states that Octavian had been using imperator unofficially as a praenomen since 39 B.C. and that he officially assumed it in 29 B.C.

257 For the divine honors to Augustus and his house in Greece and the East (mostly post 27 B.C.) cf. Lily Ross Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, Philological Monographs – American Philological Society no.1 (APA: Middletown, Conn., 1931) Appendix II, pp. 270–277.

258 M.P. Charlesworth, "Wars in the West and the Balkans," sec. II, ch. IV CAH X, pp. 116f.

259 M.P. Charlesworth, "The First Citizen," sec. III, ch. IV CAH X, p. 125.

260 Münzer, "Fannius" (9), RE 6 (1909) 991f.

Conclusion

An examination of traditional Greek honors awarded to Romans and Italians in Greece has revealed that, as Roman involvement in Greece increased, Romans indicated their preferences for particular kinds of honors and generated certain changes in those honors. The statue and honorific title became the awards preferred for Roman military personnel and their dependents, proxeny was most common for Italian or Roman civilians, a crown was given to either military personnel or civilians, and cult honors were granted to outstanding Roman military personnel. Because a statue was the most frequent honor, statue base inscriptions serve both as the core of this study and as the springboard for examining other honors. Through Tables 5 and 6, found at the end of the "Conclusion," the quantities of proxenies and statues given to Romans and Italians are shown, and the kinds of people, i.e., military, civilians, women, who received the awards throughout the era under discussion.

Chapter one discusses the history of honorific statues and three aspects of statue base inscriptions: form, content, and location. During the period in which statues were awarded to Romans and Italians, each of these aspects showed changes apparently prompted by the honoree. The form of the inscriptions showed changes in the way the name and titles of the honoree were recorded. These were changes which brought the inscriptions in line with the Roman manner of recording name and title. First, in the early second century, Greeks moved the patronymic from a position following the praenomen (first name), to a position following the nomen (the middle name), thereby changing from Greek practice to the

Roman practice. Second, during the second century, again following Roman custom, Greeks added the word ulon to the patronymic. Third, occasionally in the later first century, Greeks added the name of the honoree's grandfather to the patronymic. Fourth, Greeks sometimes recorded titles of the honoree which had little to do with the honoree's duty in Greece, e.g., Roman religious titles or titles of an honoree's future offices in Rome.

The changes in the kinds of donors and recipients of statues are changes of content. While the changes made in the form of the inscriptions reflect the general increase of Roman power and influence in Greece, the changes in the types of donors and recipients reflect fluctuations in the political climate. Throughout the period, the primary statue donors were Greek public bodies, and the primary recipients were Roman military personnel. However, Roman intervention which contributed to the rise of Delos allowed not only many private donors, but several private recipients as well. With the decline of Delos, the numbers of private donors and recipients dwindled.

In the first century a new group of recipients appears - the female relatives of military personnel (Table 6). Some women may have accompanied their husbands to Greece during the terms of the magistracies abroad, while others may have made the journey out of necessity. Political contests in Italy at the time may have forced some women to join their outlawed male relatives in Greece. Other honored women were not in Greece, but their statues may have been set up at the request of their husbands. Since most of the statue base inscriptions examined in this study were to Roman military personnel, most statue base

inscriptions of Romans found in future excavations should honor this same group.

The locations of the statues seem to have changed as Rome exerted her influence in Greece. During the second century statues were set up in random locations throughout Greece when a Roman happened to visit a particular area. While there were several statues of Romans at Delphi and Olympia, the numbers do not indicate that Romans considered those sanctuaries as religious centers for Romans in Greece. During the period under discussion several sites erected a number of statues of Romans for several reasons. Because of its large Italian population, Delos had many statues of Romans. The first statues of Romans in Oropos and Thesplae were to Sulla and his followers, perhaps because Sulla wished to establish a precedent by visiting these sanctuaries, whose reputations were less well known than those of Delphi or Olympia. He may have wished to encourage other Romans to visit these sanctuaries, rather than the sanctuaries whose traditions were so strongly bound to the Greek past. Thus, Sulla may have established Oropos and Thesplae as religious centers linked to Rome's present and future glory. The marked increase in the number of statues at Athens occurred only after Sulla's punishment of the city and signaled Athens's recognition of Roman mastery.

The second chapter deals not only with the other honors awarded Romans (proxeny, crowns, honorific titles and cult honors), but also with the Roman institution of patronage. In the early period of Roman involvement in Greece, the proxeny was the honor given most frequently to Romans and Italians, military and civilian alike (Table 5.2; Table 6.1, 2). Unlike recipients of the other awards, who received the awards only for

services rendered, the recipients of proxeny status once had served an official function – to care for certain foreigners in their home towns. In return, the proxeny recipient received certain privileges in the town granting the proxeny. By the time Romans and Italians received the proxeny, proxeny had lost most of its functional role and had become largely honorific, i.e., an award for services rendered. From 200–27 the proxeny changed still further. Because of the sharp decline in the number of military recipients after 146 and the decline in the award of proxeny altogether (Table 5), it is evident that proxeny status was no longer considered an important award. The Roman institution of patronage slowly replaced the proxeny for certain transactions between Rome and Greece. But for transactions within Greece, Roman and Italian civilians may have found the proxeny useful and were pleased to become proxenoi on occasion. By the late first century, only Gortyn gave the award to Italians or Romans on a regular basis, and this fact indicates that the proxeny had become simply a vestigial relic from Greece's past glory.

The honorific titles soter, ktistes, and euergetes, as they were recorded in statue base inscriptions, were awarded only to Roman magistrates and indicated that a Roman had performed particular benefactions which earned him a statue. The title patron appeared on statue base inscriptions as an honorific title in the mid-second century B.C., but to the Greeks it may not have had the functional meaning by which the Romans understood it. However, as the Greeks began to understand and adopt the patronage system in the first century B.C., the title patron came to have the full meaning of patronus.

Recipients of the titles soter, ktistes, and euergetes were often

honored further by a variety of cult honors which linked them to the heroes and gods. While cult honors brought the honoree close to divinization, they did not indicate that the honoree was considered a god unless this was specifically stated. Once Rome united her conquests under one man, the cult honors and titles formerly accorded to Roman generals were adopted by the supreme leader, the Roman Emperor.

Chapters three through five examine the historical events during the time the honors were awarded and the possible reasons for giving the awards. The chief recipients of the awards were military personages whose exploits are known through various sources, as well as those who were less well known, or even otherwise unknown (Tables 5, 6). For many Romans, awards were given in sincere appreciation of specific benefactions such as freedom from outside oppressors. However, the increase in the statues through the years and the lack of information concerning many Roman recipients or their actions lead one to speculate that many statues were erected merely to flatter representatives of Rome, the expanding international power, as they passed through the area. Certainly the destruction which some of Rome's military leaders wrought on Greece would have roused fears. Presenting a military leader with an honor might prevent further destruction.

The significance of the statues and other honors to Romans and Italians, then, lies in the fact that the changes they exhibit show Roman influence on Greek culture, and simultaneously reflect occurring historic changes. Rome entered Greece for two main reasons, officially to free Greece from what Rome perceived was outside control, and unofficially to ward off what Rome perceived were potential threats to Rome herself. Yet

eventually, contrary to the official reason for her involvement, Rome gained control of both Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. Greeks altered the forms of the inscriptions to suit the Roman recipients and added a new honorific title, patron, to the old repertoire. As Greece submitted to Rome both in the form and content of the honors she gave Rome's generals and lieutenants, so did she yield to Rome as her new political master.

TABLE 5: PROXENIES TO ROMANS AND ITALIANS

M = Military

C = Civilian

	Date	List V	Awards	Recipients:	M	C
1.	260-200	1-3	33	3	0	3
2.	200-189	4-22	19	26	17	9
3.	188-146	23-31	9	14	6	8
4.	146-88	32-42	11	14	3	11
5.	88-82	43-46	4	4	2	2
6.	82-62	47-51	5	6	0	6
7.	62-50	52-54	3	3	1	2
8.	50-27	55-62	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL			92	78	29	49

TABLE 6: STATUES TO ROMANS AND ITALIANS

M = Military

C = Civilian

W = Women

	Date	List I	Awards	Recipients	M	C	W
1.	260-200		1	1	1	0	0
2.	200-189	1-13, 64	14	4	4	0	0
3.	188-143	14-34, 70-71	23	15	13	2	0
4.	142-88	35-63 65-69 72-91	54	42	33	8	1
5.	88-83	92-108	17	12	11	0	1
6.	82-62	109-152	44	18	15	2	1
7.	61-50	153-174	22	15	12	2	2
8.	49-44	175-210	36	18	11	0	7
9.	44-31	211-231	21	16	11	0	5
10.	31-27	232-246	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL			246	147	116	14	18

FIGURES

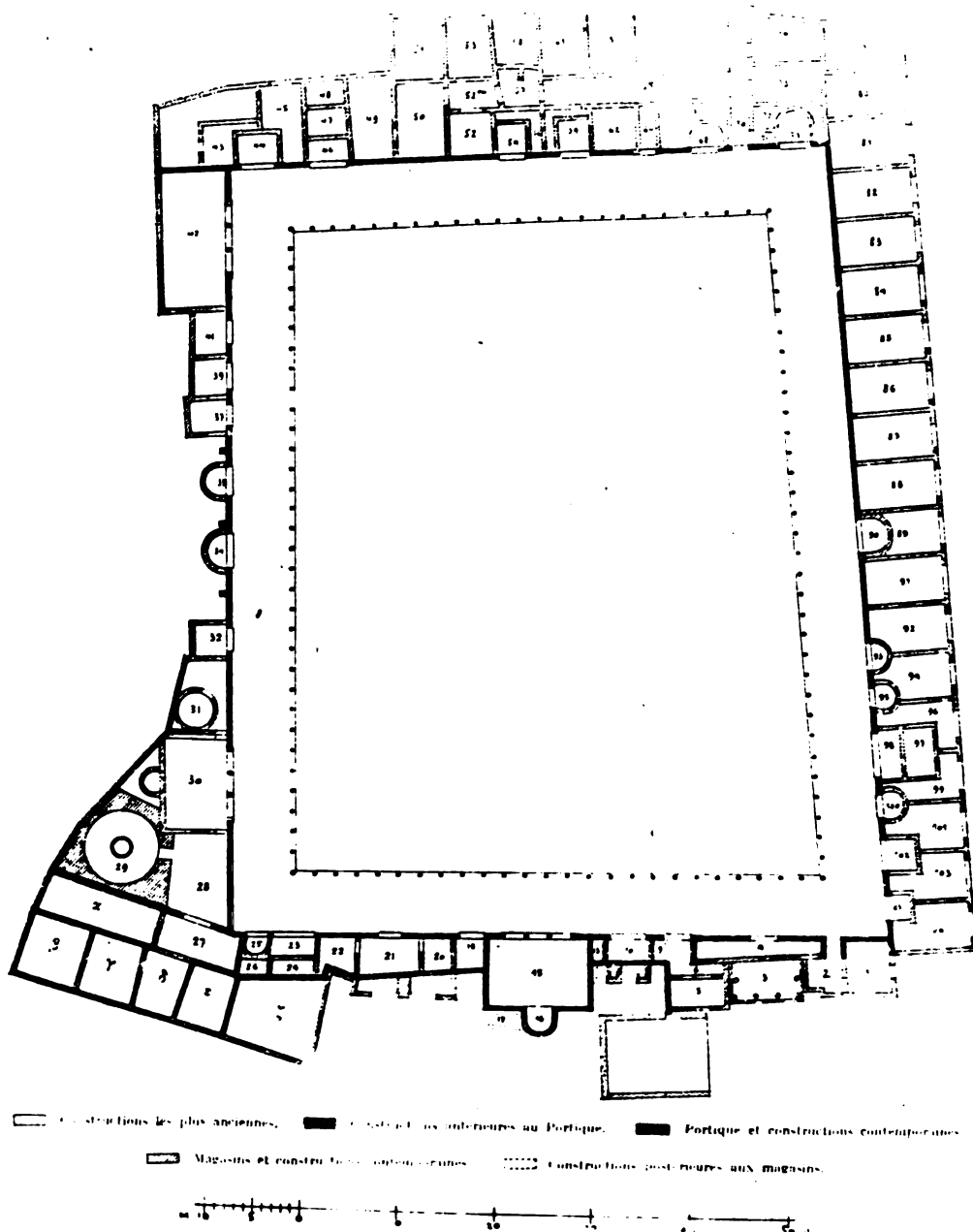


Figure 1. The Italian Agora. E. Lapalus, Exploration archéologique de Délos Fascicule XIX L'Agora des Italiens (Paris: De Boccard, 1939)

KEY

Niche 16	C. Cluvius L.f.	List 1.52	ID 1679
Niche 18	C. Offellus Ferus	List 1.59	ID 1688
Niche 25	Q. Pompelius Rufus	List 1.90	ID 1848
Niche 39	?C. Marius	List 1.79	ID 1699
Niche 68	L. Munatius Plancus	List 1.91	ID 1696-7
Niche 105	A & P. Gabinus	List 1.103	ID 2002

Figure 2. Map of Greece and the Greek Islands.
Based on Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity,
Nicholas G.L. Hammond, ed. Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes
Press, nos. 12-14





Figure 3. Gold stater, 196 B.C. a. Obverse, portrait of Flamininus



b. Reverse, winged Nike with wreath; legend: "T. QUINCTI."
J.P.C. Kent, Roman Coins (New York: Harry Abrams, 1978),
plate 9, Figure 23



Figure 4. Marble head in the Delphi Museum: ?Flamininus.
Photographed by Christine Renaud



Figure 5. Statue of C. Billienus and statue base with ID 1854.
Photographed by Martha J. Payne

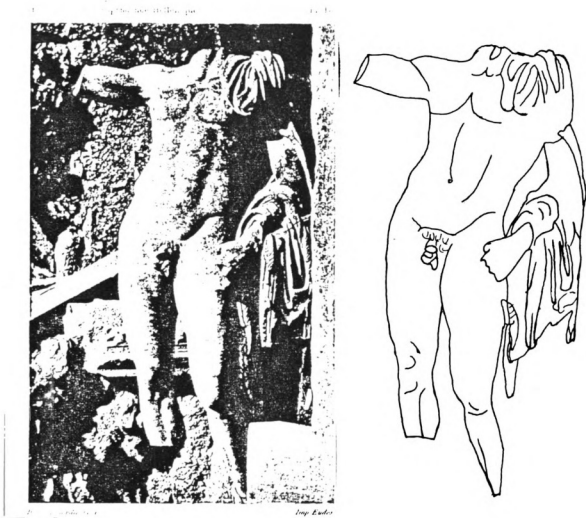


Figure 6. Statue of C. Offellus Ferus, Delos. BCH 5 (1881) plate 12.
Line drawing of the same by Martha J. Payne

APPENDIX: THE LISTS

LIST I: GRANTS OF STATUES TO ROMANS AND ITALIANS

Key

S Hy = Strategos Hypatos
 S A = Strategos Anthypatos
 S = Strategos
 I = Imperator
 T = Tamias
 At = Antitamias
 T As = Tamias kai Antistrategos

Hy = Hypatos
 A = Anthypatos
 Au = Autokrator
 P = Presbeutes
 P As = Presbeutes kai Antistrategos

* = Reused base

(f.) or (name) = Not present in inscription

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
1. <u>IGR</u> IV 1049	Cos: [<u>demos</u>]	198	T. T.(f.) Quinctius (Flamininus) S Hy
2. G. Klaffenbach <u>Chiron</u> 1(1971)267f.	Phanotea: <u>polis</u>	198– 194	[T. T.(f.) Qui]nctius (Flamininus) [S Hy]
3. A. S. Arvani- topoulos <u>AE</u> (1910) 374 no. 22	Larissa: Thessalian <u>koinon</u>	?197	M. Caecilius L.(f.) Metellus
4. <u>SEG</u> XXII 214	Corinth: Aristainos [Timokades] [Dymaios]	196–5	T. [T.(f.) Quinctius] (Flamininus)
5. <u>IG</u> V 1 1165	Gytheon: <u>demos</u>	195	T. T.(f.) Quinctius (Flamininus) S Hy
6. P. Themelis <u>Praktika</u> 1977(1980)A' 35	Eretria	194– 191	? Flamininus
7. <u>IG</u> XII 9 233 (decree)	Eretria	II c.	[Titu]s (Quinctius) (Flamininus) Hy
8. <u>IG</u> XII 9 931	Chalkis: Aristomachos Aristokleïdou, Amphikrates Eurynomou, gymnasiarchs	II c.	Titus, <u>Soter</u> and <u>Evergetes</u> (Flamininus)

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
9. <u>SIG</u> ³ 607	Delphi: <u>polis</u>	191-0	M ^r Acilius C.f. (Glabrio) S Hy
10. <u>SEG</u> XXII 465	Delphi: [Amphictyonic] [<u>koinon</u>]	191-0	M ^r [Acilius C.f.] (Glabrio) [S] Hy
11. <u>SIG</u> ³ 616	Delphi: [<u>polis</u>]	191-0 or 189-8	[T. Quinct]ilius T. [f.] (Flamininus)
12. <u>SEG</u> XXIII 412	Scotussa: Prašlos Phoxinou	189-8	T. T.(f.) Quinctius (Flamininus)
13. <u>IC</u> II XXIII 13 (<u>IGR</u> I 954)	Polyrrhenia (Crete): <u>polis</u>	?189	Cn. Cornelius Cn.f. Scipio Hispanus
14. <u>IG</u> II ² 4099	Athens	175	D. Cossutius P.(f.)
15. <u>SEG</u> XV 331	Acraephela: <u>polis</u>	171- 167	P. Cornelius L.f. Lentulus
16. <u>SEG</u> XXVI 553	Coronela: <u>demos</u>	c.170	?[P. Muclius] Q.f. S[caevola] [S] (?S Hy)
17. <u>IO</u> 318 = <u>SIG</u> ³ 649	Olympia: Achaean <u>koinon</u>	?169	Q. Marcius L.(f.) Philippus S Hy
18. Ch. Avezou, Ch. Picard. <u>BCH</u> 37(1913) 125f., no.3, ll. 27-9. Cf. M. Holleaux <u>BCH</u> 38(1914) 63-70 for improved text. (decree)	Abdera: [<u>demos</u>]	168	[C.] Apustius M.f.
19. <u>SEG</u> XXV 642	Echinos: <u>polis</u>	168-7	Cn. Octavius Cn.(f.) S
20. <u>IO</u> 934	Olympia: Ells [<u>polis</u>]	?167	Cn. Octa[vius] [S]
21. <u>SEG</u> XXIV 580	Amphipolis: <u>demos</u>	c.167	Cn. Domitius Cn.f. Ahenobarbus

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place: Donor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
22. <u>SEG</u> I 151	Delphi: Phocian <u>koinon</u>	?pre 150	Q. Coponius Q.f. P
23. <u>ID</u> 2011	Delos: ?friends	150– 125	[L.] Vicerius TI.(f.)
24. <u>IG</u> X 2 134	Thessalonike: <u>polis</u>	c.148	Q. Caecilius [Q.(f.) Metellus] S [A]
25. <u>SEG</u> III 414	Hyampolis: [Hyampolitans]	146	Q. [Caecilius] Q.(f.) Metellus [S] A
26. <u>IG</u> VII 3490	Megara: <u>demos</u>	146	Q. Caecilius Q.(f.) Metellus
27. <u>IG</u> IX 2 37	Hypata: Ainian <u>koinon</u>	146	Q. Caecilius Q.f. Metellus
28. <u>IO</u> 319	Olympia: Ells. <u>polis</u>	146	L. Mummius L.(f.) S Hy
29. <u>IG</u> VII 2478a	Thebes	146	L. Mummius L.(f.) S Hy
30. <u>SEG</u> XXX 365	Argos: <u>demos</u>	146	L. [Mummius] L.(f.) S HY
31. <u>SEG</u> I 152	Delphi: <u>polis</u>	c.146	(A.) Po[stumius Al]binus
32. <u>FD</u> III 4 470 = <u>SEG</u> I 150	Delphi: Unknown [<u>koinon</u>]	?146–5 (?140)	Unknown S
33. <u>SEG</u> I 149	Delphi: Phocian <u>koinon</u>	?146	Unknown <u>presbeutes</u> son of Marcus = M.f. P
34. <u>IO</u> 325 = <u>IG</u> X 2 1031	Olympia: Damon Nikanoros Macedonian of Thessalonike	143	Q. Caecilius Q.(f.) Metellus S Hy
35. <u>ID</u> 1604bis = <u>IG</u> XII 5 270	Paros (Delos): Athens <u>demos</u>	post 142 (c. 140)	L. Caecilius Q.(f.) Metellus (Calvus) S Hy

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
36. <u>ID</u> 1520 = M.N. Tod <u>JHS</u> 54 (1934) 141-143 (decree)	Delos: <u>koinon</u> of Poseidonasts of Berytus	140's	M. Minatius Sex.f.
37. <u>ID</u> 1842 (Greek)	Delos: L. Babullius Ti.(f.)	?134	[P. Cornelius P.] (f.) Scipio A[fricanus] (Minor). friend S Hy
38. <u>IGR</u> IV 968	Samos: <u>demos</u>	c.129	Cn. Domitius Cn.f.
39. <u>SIG</u> ³ 704 B	Delphi: <u>koinon</u> of Dionysian <u>technetai</u> of Isthmia and Nemea	128	P. Cornelius P.(f.) Lentulus
40. <u>ID</u> 1843	Delos: Dionysios Dionysiou Sphettios	c.119	Marcus... <u>tamias kai</u> <u>antistrategos</u> friend
41. <u>IG</u> II ² 4100	Athens: <u>demos</u>	118-7	Sex. Pompeius
42. <u>ID</u> 1550	Delos: King [Antiochus] Epiphanes Philometor [Kallinikos] and [Queen] Cleopatra	?c.116	Cn. Pap[irius] [C.(f.) Ca]rbo S [A]
43. <u>ID</u> 1603	Delos: Prostaenna in Pisidia <u>demos</u>	112	M. Antonius M.f. T An
44. <u>ID</u> 1845	Delos: Dionysios Nikonos. Athenian	?post 110-9	Ser. Cornelius Ser.f. Lentulus guest-friend and friend S A

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place: Donor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
45. <u>ID</u> 2000	Delos: [Nikon] and Diogenes Dionysiou, [Hermaphil]os and Dionysios Hermaphilou, all sons of Dionysios Nikonos, Athenians	post 110-9	Ser. Cornelius Ser.f. [Lentul]us, guest-friend and friend
46. S.Kougeas. <u>Hellenika</u> 5(1932)5	Europos (Macedonia): <u>polis</u>	109-107	[M. Minucius] Q.f. [Rufus] [S A]
47. <u>FD</u> III 1 526 <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 692	Delphi: <u>polis</u>	109-7	M. Minucius Q.[f. Ru]fus S A
48. <u>ID</u> 1802 (Bilingual)	Delos: Q. Tullius Q.l. Aristarchus, Q. Tullius Q.l. Alexander, Q. Tullius Q.l. Herakleio	post 108	[Q. Tullius] ...pus Q.f.
49. <u>ID</u> 1854	Delos: [Midas] [Ze]nonos Herakleos. A. Attiolenus A.f. saw to the restoration	107-6 c.88	C. Billienus C.f., friend S A
50. <u>IG</u> X 2 135	Thessalonike: <u>polis</u>	105	Cn. Servilius Cn.f. Caepio T
51. * <u>IG</u> II ² 4101	Athens: <u>demos</u>	104-93	Cn. Pompelus Sex.f. (Strabo)
52. <u>ID</u> 1679	Delos: those working and living on Delos	104	C. Cluvius L.f. S A
53. <u>ID</u> 1694	Delos: Italians and Greeks	c.102	L. Cornelius Ser.f. Lentulus T

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
54. <u>IO</u> 326	Olympia: [Ells] <u>polls</u>	101	[C.] Marlus C. [f.]
55. <u>IO</u> 329	Olympia: Ells [<u>poll</u>]s	pre 100 or 75-50	C. Servilius Vatia
56. <u>ID</u> 1632	Delos: <u>demos</u> of [Athens] and [those settling] [in the island]	?pre 100	(C.) Billienus (C.f.) T
57. <u>ID</u> 1710	Delos: Those working in Delos	?pre 100	C. Billienus C.f. P
58. <u>ID</u> 2001	Delos: Friends	c.100	L. [O]rbius M.f.
59. <u>ID</u> 1688 (Greek)	Delos: Italians	c.100	C. Ofellius M.f. Ferus
60. <u>SEG</u> XVII 148	Argos: <u>demos</u>	c.100	C. Marlus C.f. S Hy
61. <u>ID</u> 2013	Delos: C. Selus Cn.(l.)	c.100	Cn. Selus Cn.f.
62. <u>SEG</u> XVII 197 (cf. <u>IO</u> 938)	Olympia: <u>koinon</u> of Achaeans and Roman settlers	100-70	Cn. Egnatius Cn.f.
63. <u>SEG</u> XVII 198 (cf. <u>IO</u> 333)	Olympia: [<u>koinon</u>] of Achaeans and [Roman settlers]	100-70	[Cn. Egna]tius Cn.f.
64. J.H. Kent <u>Corinth</u> VIII.3 p.16, no.48, pl.7	Corinth	II c.	Unknown <u>strategos</u> <u>hypatos</u>
65. <u>FD</u> III 4 247	Delphi: [<u>polls</u>]	II c.	ΙΙΟΣ[---]ΟΝ[---]ΑΙΟΝΙΙΑΙΟΝ T As

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
66. <u>ID</u> 1608	Delos: [Athens] <u>demos</u>	?II c.	Galus [S] Hy
67. <u>ID</u> 1607	Delos: ?[Athens] [<u>demos</u>]	II or I c.	Gnalus... S ?[A]
68. <u>IO</u> 362	Olympia	II-I c.	[Galus]. Q. [f.]
69. <u>ID</u> 1844	Delos	II or I c.	Marcus Se.... T
70. <u>IG</u> V 2 146	Tegea: <u>polis</u>	II or I c.	Q. Baeblius Q.f.
71. <u>IG</u> V 2 147	Tegea: [<u>polis</u>]	II or I c.	Q. Q.f. (Baeblius?) A[t]
72. <u>ID</u> 1729	Delos: [Athenian]. Roman and other [foreign] merchants and shipowners and those working in the bank	II-I c.	[L. Au]fl[dius]
73. <u>ID</u> 1728 (Greek)	Delos: L. Aufidius L.(?l.)	II-I c.	L. Aufidius L.f.
74. <u>ID</u> 2004	Delos: [Hermon] [Aga]thokleou. ?[Elatean]	?Early I c.	?[Cl]audius Ap.[f.]. friend
75. <u>ID</u> 1727	Delos: [Italians and] Greeks carrying on business [in Delos]	Beg. I c.	[Maralus Gerrila]nus (sic) Marall [f.]
76. <u>ID</u> 1726	Delos: Athenians. Romans and other Greeks living in Delos. merchants and shipowners	Beg. I c.	[Maralus Geri]llanus Marall f.

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
77. <u>ID</u> 1725	Delos: Merchants and those working in the Tetragonal Agora	Beg. 1 c.	Maraius Gerillanus Maraii f.
78. F. Münzer <u>Klio</u> 24(1931)333f. no. 1	Karthieros (Cos): <u>demos</u>	Beg. 1	M. Popillius [M.]f. Laenas P An
79. <u>ID</u> 1699 (Bilingual)	Delos: Italians carrying on business in Alexandria	post 99	?[C. Marius] [P]
80. <u>OGIS</u> 439 = <u>IO</u> 327	Olympia: [Demoi and] [ethne], friends of Rome [in Asia] and [other Greeks] who celebrate the <u>Soteiria</u> and <u>Mucieia</u>	98-7 or 94-3	Q. [Mucius P.f.] Scaevola S A
81. F. Münzer <u>RE</u> 16(1933) 433 "Mucius" 21. 439 "Mucius" 22	Kos	98-7 or 94-3	Wife or daughter of Q. Mucius Scaevola
82. <u>ID</u> 1700	Delos: Dellans	97	M. Antonius M.f. S Hy. <u>timetes</u>
83. <u>IG</u> XII 8 241 = <u>IGR</u> I 845	Samothrace <u>po[llis]</u>	94-3 or 69-7	L. Julius Caesar S A
84. B. Haussoulier <u>BCH</u> 6(1882)449 no. 78 = <u>SIG</u> ³ 774A	Delphi: <u>polls</u>	pre 91	Marcellus Claudius (M. Claudius Marcellus)
85. <u>ID</u> 1712 (Latin)	Delos: Olearii	91-89	C. Julius C.f. Caesar
86. <u>ID</u> 1701	Delos: Dellans	c.91	C. Julius [C.] f. Caesar

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
87. <u>ID</u> 1782	Delos: <u>koinon</u> of Posedoniasts of Berytus [in Delos]. merchants and shipowners and warehousemen	90	Cn. Octavius Cn.(f.) S
88. <u>ID</u> 1846 (Greek)	Delos: A. Fabius L.(f.) B...	pre 88	Publius ...nion. friend At
89. <u>ID</u> 1849	Delos: Unknown	?pre 88	[Q. Pompei]us Q. [f.] Ru[us]
90. <u>ID</u> 1848 (Latin)	Delos	c.88	Q. Pompeius Q.f. Ruf(us) co(n)s(ul)
91. <u>ID</u> 1695, 1696 (Latin) = <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 830, <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 831	Delos: Italians and Greeks who trade in Delos	c.88	L. Munatius C.f. Plancus
92. <u>IG</u> IX 2 613	Larissa: Athamanian [<u>koinon</u>]	93-87	Q. Braetius ...f. Sura P
93. A. Plassart <u>Mélanges Picard</u> p.830 no.1. I.1 (decree)	Thesplae: [<u>demos</u>]	93-87	Q. Braetius ...f. Sura P
94. <u>IG</u> IX 2 38	Hypata: Ainian <u>koinon</u>	?87	L. Licinius L. [f.] Lucullus T
95. <u>SEG</u> I 153	Delphi: ?[Ainian] <u>koinon</u>	?87	[L. Licinius] L.f. (Lucullus) T
96. A. Plassart <u>BCH</u> 50(1926) 437f., no. 73	Thesplae: <u>demos</u>	?86	L. Cornelius L.f. Sulla Au
97. N. Pharaklas <u>AD</u> 26(1968)A' 293f., pl. 129-130	Acraephela: <u>polis</u>	?86	L.[Cornelius L.] f. Sulla I

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place: Donor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
98. * <u>IG</u> VII 264	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	86-81	L. Cornelius L.f. Sulla Epaphroditus
99. * <u>IG</u> VII 372	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	86-81	Metella Caecilia, wife of L. Sulla Epaphroditus
100. * <u>IG</u> VII 331	Oropos: Oropians	86 or 75-72	C. Scribonius C.f. Curio
101. * <u>IG</u> VII 311	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	86-1 or 78-70	Cn. Cornelius Cn.f L.n Lentulus
102. <u>SEG</u> XIV 136	Athens: <u>demos</u>	86-81	Q. Lutatius Q. [f.] (?Catulus)
103. <u>ID</u> 2002	Delos: Gorgias Damoxenou, Herakleos and Ariston Gorgiou, Athenians	c.85	A. and P. Gabinus A.f., friends
104. <u>ID</u> 1660	Delos: Athenians, Romans and other Greeks living in Delos, sojourning merchants and shipowners	85-78	T. Manilius T.f.
105. <u>ID</u> 1659	Delos: Athenians, Romans and other Greeks living in Delos, and sojourning merchants and shipowners	85-78	M ^r Aemilius M ^r . Lepidus At
106. <u>ID</u> 1620 (Latin) = <u>CIL</u> I ² 714	Delos: <u>P[opolus]</u> <u>[Athe]niensis</u> , Italians and Greeks trading in the island	84-80	[L. Licinius L.f.] Lucullus proq(uaestor)

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place: Donor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
107. <u>ID</u> 2009 (Bilingual) = <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 718 (<u>CIL</u> III 12.277)	Delos: Hermolcus and Apollonius Apolloni f., Mellians	784	C. Fabius C.f. Q.n. Hadrianus
108. <u>SEG</u> XXIV 214 cf. <u>IG</u> II ² 4103	Athens: <u>demos</u>	83	[L.] Cornellus [L.] f. Sulla
109. <u>IG</u> XII 1 48	Rhodes: Dionysios Lysania	82	1. L. Cornelius L.f. ?[Sulla] S A 2. L. Cornelius L.f. Lentulus A 3. L. Licinius L.f. Murena I 4. L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus At 5. A. Terentius A.f. Varro P
110. <u>IG</u> V 1454	Messene: <u>polis</u>	82-81	L. Licinius L.f. Murena I
111. <u>ID</u> 1698 (Bilingual) = <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 738	Delos: Italians and Greeks dwelling in (Greek) trading in (Latin) Delos	c.82	A. Terentius A.f. Varro [P]
112. * <u>IG</u> XII 9 911	Chalkis: <u>demos</u>	c.80	Paulla Titinia L.f., wife or mother of L. Gra(n)lus
113. <u>SEG</u> XXIII 117 = <u>IG</u> II ² 3897	Athens: <u>demos</u>	c.78	[Applus Sauf]lus Ap.f. and [Lu]cius Sauflus [Ap.f.]
114. J.and L. Robert, <u>REG</u> 83(1970) 426. no. 441	Andros: <u>demos</u>	74-67	L. Licin[us] L.f. Lucu[llus] Au
115. J. Bingen <u>BCH</u> 78(1954) 82-5 no. 2 (Latin)	Aiglon: Italian traders	c.74	P. Rutillius P.f. Nudus q(uaestor)

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
116. * <u>IG</u> VII 244	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	c.74	P. Servilius C.f. Isauricus Hy. Au
117. <u>IO</u> 328	Olympia: Achaean <u>koinon</u>	73-1 or 65	Q. Ancharius Q.f. At
118. <u>SEG</u> XIV 135	Athens: <u>demos</u>	72-1	M. [T]erentius M.f. V[arro] Lu[cullu]s
119. <u>SEG</u> XII 307 cf. <u>IG</u> IX 2 1135	Demetrias	?72-1	?M. Terentius M.f. Varro Lucullus
120. <u>IG</u> II ² 4104	Athens: <u>demos</u> and [<u>boule</u>] [of the] [Areo]pagus	71	L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus
121. <u>IG</u> II ² 4105 cf. <u>SEG</u> XXIX 179	Athens: <u>demos</u>	71	L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus
122. <u>ID</u> 1858	Delos	c.69	[C. Va]lerius [C.f.] [Tri]arius [P]
123. <u>ID</u> 1857	Delos: Smyrniots fighting with him on the island	c.69	C. Valerius C.f. Triarius P
124. <u>ID</u> 1856	Delos: Milesians fighting with him on the island	c.69	C. Valerius C.f. Triarius P
125. <u>ID</u> 1855	Delos: Milesians fighting with him on the island	c.69	C. Valerius C.f. Triarius P
126. <u>ID</u> 1621	Delos: [<u>demos</u> of] [Athens and] [those living] [on the island]	c.69	[C. Va]le[r]ius C.f. Triarius P

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
127. <u>IG</u> II, XXIII 14 = <u>IGR</u> I 955	Polyrrhenia (Crete): <u>polls</u>	69-63	[Q.] Cae[cilius] [Met]ellus Au
128. <u>IG</u> II ² 4107	Athens: <u>demos</u>	post 69	Q. Caecilius C.f. Me[tellus] [Au]
129. <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 746 (Latin)	Argos: Italians who trade in Argos	68	Q. Caecilius C.f. Metellus I
130. * <u>IG</u> XII 5 924	Tenos: <u>demos</u>	68-7	L. Quintlus L.f. Rufus A
131. <u>IG</u> IV 604 (Bilingual) = <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 747	Argos: Italians carrying on business [in Argos]	67	Q. Marcius Q.f. Rex
132. <u>IG</u> XII 5 627	Iulis (Kea): <u>demos</u>	67	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus
133. <u>ID</u> 1641	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and [<u>synodos</u>] of Pompelasts [in Delos]	65	[Cn.] Pompelus Cn. [f.] [Magnus] Au
134. <u>IGR</u> IV 1709 cf. A. Rehm, <u>Milet</u> I,3 p.270 for restoration	Samos: <u>demos</u>	63	M. (Puplus M.f.) Plso Frugi P As
135. <u>SIG</u> ³ 749 R cf. A. Rehm, <u>Milet</u> I,3 p.270 for restoration	Samos: <u>demos</u>	63	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus Au
136. <u>IG</u> XII 2 140 = <u>IGR</u> IV 49	Mytilene (Lesbos)	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus Au
137. <u>IG</u> XII 2 141 = <u>IGR</u> IV 50	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus Au

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
138. <u>IG</u> XII 2 142 = <u>IGR</u> IV 51	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
139. <u>IG</u> XII 2 143	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pom[pe]lus Magnus
140. <u>IG</u> XII 2 144 = <u>IGR</u> IV 52	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
141. <u>IG</u> XII 2 145 = <u>IGR</u> IV 52 bis	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
142. <u>IG</u> XII 2 146	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
143. <u>IG</u> XII 2 147 = <u>IGR</u> IV 53	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
144. <u>IG</u> XII 2 148	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus
145. <u>IG</u> XII 2 149	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus
146. <u>IG</u> XII Suppl. 39	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus. Au
147. <u>IG</u> XII Suppl. 40 = <u>SEG</u> III 693	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus Au
148. B.C. Petrakos, AD 22(1967) B' 461 (pub. 1969)	Mytilene	62	Cn. Pompelus Magnus Au
149. <u>IG</u> XII 2 163 A = <u>IGR</u> IV 55	Mytilene	62 or 36-5	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus
150. * <u>IG</u> XII 2 202 = <u>IGR</u> IV 54	Mytilene: <u>demos</u>	62	Cn. Pompelus Cn.f. Magnus Au III
151. <u>IG</u> VII 2492	Thebes	62	Cn. [Pompelus Cn.] f. M[agnus] Au

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
152. <u>IG</u> IX 2 1134	Demetrias: <u>demos</u>	c.62	Cn. Pompelius Cn. [f.] Au III
153. P. Herrmann, <u>AM</u> 75(1960) p.128 no.29	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	61-58	[Pomp]onia T.f. wife of Q. Cicero A
154. M.E. Caskey, <u>AJA</u> 85(1981) 456f.	Amphipolis: ? <u>demos</u>	57-55	L. Calpurnius L.f. Pliso
155. H. Bloch, <u>AJA</u> 44(1940) 487	Chora (Samosrace): [<u>demos</u>] and [<u>boule</u>]	57-55	[L. Calpurnius] L. [f.] [Plis]o Au
156. J.M.R. Cormack, <u>AJA</u> 48(1944) 76f.	Beroia: Berolans and Roman property owners	57-55	L. Calpurnius Pliso A
157. <u>SEG</u> XXIII 117 cf. <u>IG</u> II ² 3513	Eleusis: [Chrysothemis], [daughter of] [Phaldrus]	post 56	[Q. Caec]ilius Pom[ponianus] [Atticus] (= T. Pomponius Atticus), [friend]
158. <u>FD</u> III 4 254	Delphi: Amphictyon <u>koinon</u>	55	Q. Ancharius Q.f. S A
159. <u>IG</u> II ² 4106	Athens: <u>demos</u> and <u>boule</u> of the Areopagus and <u>boule</u> of 600	53-51	C. [Cos]conius C.f. A
160. A.S. Arvani- topoulos, <u>Polemon</u> 1(1929-33) 424a	Demetrias: Demetrians	52-51	C. Caellus C.f. Rufus P As <u>apodedelgmenos</u> <u>de</u> <u>kai demarchos</u>
161. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, <u>AM</u> 68(1953) pp. 63f., 74, no.1	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	51-0	Q. Tullius Q. [f.] Cicero

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
162. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, <u>AM</u> 68(1953) pp. 63f., 74, no.II	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	51-0	[Pomponia] wife of Q. Tullius (M.f.) [Cicero]
163. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, <u>AM</u> 68(1953) 74, no.III (postulated)	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	51-0	[Q. Tullius M.f.] [Cicero]
164. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, <u>AM</u> 68(1953) 64, no.III, 74, no.IV = <u>SEG</u> I 381	Samos: <u>demos</u>	51-0	M. Tullius M.f. Cicero (father)
165. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, <u>AM</u> 68(1953) 74, no.V (postulated)	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	51-50	[Terentia], [wife of M. Tullius] [M.f. Cicero]
166. F.K. Dörner, G. Gruben, <u>AM</u> 68(1953) 74, no.VI (postulated)	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	51-50	[M. Tullius M.f.] [Cicero] (son)
167. <u>IG</u> IV ² 631	Epidauros [<u>polis</u>]	?51	Gallus Caninius (L. Caninius Gallus)
168. A. Plassart <u>BCH</u> 50(1926) 438, no.74	Thesplae: [<u>demos</u>]	51	L. Caninius C. [f. Gallus]
169. <u>IG</u> II ² 4109	Athens: <u>demos</u> and <u>boule</u> of the Areopagus	c.50	Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Pulcher Au
170. * <u>IG</u> VII 428	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	c.50	Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Pulcher
171. <u>ID</u> 1631	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and those living on the island	c.50	L. Audlus Flamma L.f.

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
172. <u>FD</u> III 4 251 <u>(SEG I 154)</u>	Delphi: A[---] <u>polis</u>	c.50	C. Pollio C. [f.]
173. <u>FD</u> III 4 252 <u>(Greek)</u>	Delphi: Publius and Unknown	c.50	C. Pol[lio]
174. <u>IG</u> II ² 4108	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>	c.50	T. Pinarus T.f.
175. <u>SEG</u> I 388	Samos: <u>demos</u>	50 - end I c.	Magilla, wife of M. Aeficius Calvinus, eparch
176. P. Herrmann <u>AM</u> 75(1960) 139 no.34 pl. 47.2	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	50 - end I c.	[Aeficia Calvina], daughter of M. Cal[vinus], [eparch]; wife of unknown
177. <u>IG</u> II ² 4243	Athens: <u>demos</u>	50 - end I c.	Aeficia Calvina, daughter of M. Calvinus
178. P. Herrmann <u>AM</u> 75(1960) 139, no.33	Samos: <u>?demos</u>	50- end I c.	Unknown <u>patron</u> and <u>euergetes</u> of the city
179. <u>IO</u> 335	Olympia: <u>polis</u> of Ellis and Roman settlers	50- end I c.	P. Alfius Primus P As
180. * <u>ID</u> 1702	Delos: Merchants and shipowners living [in Delos]	50- end I c.	? Appuleius ...[f.] P
181. <u>IG</u> II ² 4233	Athens: <u>demos</u>	post mid I c.	Licinia, daughter of Lucullus
182. <u>IG</u> II ² 4232	Athens: <u>boule</u> of the Are[opagus] and <u>demos</u>	post mid I c.	Cethegilla, daughter of ?Ce[thegillus]
183. <u>ID</u> 1630	Delos: [<u>demos</u>] of Athens and those living on the island	I c.	Minucia M. [Minucii] f., mother of Quintus ...

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
184. G. Patriarca, <u>BCAR</u> 60(1932) <u>BMIR</u> p. 4, no.2.	Cos: <u>demos</u>	I c.	...cius Balbus (?C. Pacclius C.f. Balbus) [P] As
185. <u>ID</u> 1862	Delos	?I	... Pompeius T.f. Hy
186. <u>IG</u> IX 1 143	Elatea: <u>demos</u>	c.49	Faustus [Cornelius L.] f. Sulla Epaphroditus A[t]. As
187. <u>IG</u> IX 1 722	Corcyra: <u>polis</u>	?49	M. Cal[purnius] C.f. Bibulus
188. H.J. Mason, M.B. Wallace, <u>Hesperia</u> 41(1972) 128-140	[Karystos] (Euboea): <u>demos</u>	c.48	Ap. Claudius Ap.f. [Pulcher] [S] A
189. <u>IG</u> VII 62 cf. <u>SEG</u> XIV 380	Megara: [<u>demos</u>]	48	C. Julius [C.f. Cae]sar [<u>diktator</u>] <u>archieras</u>
190. <u>ID</u> 1587 cf. <u>SEG</u> XIV 502	Delos: Athens [<u>demos</u>]	48	C. Julius [C.f.] Caesar <u>archiereas</u> Au. Hy II
191. <u>SEG</u> XIV 561 cf. <u>IGR</u> IV 929	Chios: <u>demos</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar Au. <u>archiereas</u> <u>hypatos</u> <u>diktator</u> II
192. <u>IGR</u> IV 928	Chios: <u>demos</u> and <u>boule</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar <u>archiereas</u> Au. Hy II
193. <u>SEG</u> XIV 121	Athens: [<u>demos</u>]	48	C. Julius C. [f. Caesar] [<u>archiereas</u>], Au Hy [II]
194. <u>SEG</u> XIV 557 = <u>IGR</u> IV 970	Samos: ?[<u>demos</u>]	48	C. Julius C. Caesar
195. <u>IG</u> XII 2 151 = <u>IGR</u> IV 57	Mytilene	c.48	C. Julius Caesar <u>archiereas</u>
196. <u>SEG</u> XXVII 484	Mytilene	c.48	C. Julius Caesar <u>archiereas</u> , Au

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
197. * <u>IG</u> XII 5 556	Karthala (Kea): <u>demos</u>	48	C. Julius C.f. Caesar Au. <u>archiereas</u>
198. * <u>IG</u> VII 380	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	c.48	Q. Fuflus Q.f. Calenus P An
199. <u>IO</u> 330	Olympia: ?[Ellis] <u>demos</u>	c.48	Q. Fuflus Q.f. Calenus, who is P An, ? and one for his son, Q. Fuflus Q.f. (P. An. [Au])
(<u>SEG</u> XXIX 421 = variant reading)	?([Thebes and] [Orchomenos])		
200. <u>SEG</u> XIV 122 = <u>IG</u> II ² 3222	Athens: <u>demos</u>	47	C. Julius Caesar [Au]. <u>archiereas</u> <u>diktator</u> [II]
201. <u>ID</u> 1859 (Bilingual) = <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 733	Delos: Unknown	47 or 45	C. Rabirius C.f. A
202. <u>SEG</u> XIV 474	Demetrias	c.48	C. Julius Caesar Au <u>theos</u>
203. <u>IG</u> XII 5 557	Karthala (Kea):	46	C. Julius C.f. Caesar Au. <u>theos</u>
204. <u>SEG</u> XIV 383 cf. <u>IG</u> VII 1835	Thesplae: <u>demos</u>	46	[C. Julius Caesa]r <u>archiereas</u> . Hy [III] <u>diktator apode[delgmenos]</u> III
205. <u>SEG</u> XIV 558	Samos: <u>demos</u>	46	[C. Julius] C.(f.) Caesar [Au]. Hy III. [<u>archiereas</u>]
206. <u>SEG</u> XIV 559 = <u>SEG</u> I 382	Samos: [<u>demos</u>]	46	[Calpurnia L.] [Calpurnii Pisonis f.]. wife of C. Julius Caesar, who is Au. Hy III. <u>archiereas megistos</u>
207. <u>IO</u> 365 (Greek)	Olympia: [Lici]inius	?46	C. Julius Cae[sar]
208. G. Patriarca, <u>BCAR</u> 60(1932) <u>BMIR</u> p. 3, no.1	Cos: <u>demos</u>	c.46	Junia D.f., wife of P. Servilius P.f. Isauricus A

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
209. <u>IG</u> XII Suppl. 60	Mytilene: (Lesbos) <u>demos</u>	c.46	Junia, daughter of Decimus [Junius] Silanus, wife of P. [Servilius] who is A
210. J.-P. Michaud, <u>BCH</u> 95(1971) p. 1036	Pythagorio (Samos): <u>demos</u>	46-44	[P.] Servilius C.f. I[sauricus], father of P. [Servilius] P.f. Isauricus, who is A
211. <u>SEG</u> XVII 75	Athens: <u>demos</u>	44-3	[Q. Servi]llus Q. [f.] [Caepio] Brutus
212. * <u>SEG</u> XVII 209 = <u>IG</u> VII 383	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	44-3	Q. Caepio Q.f. Brutus
213. * <u>IG</u> VII 268	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	?44-3	Cn. Calpurnius Cn.f. Piso
214. * <u>IG</u> VII 305	Oropos: <u>demos</u>	?44-3	Paulla Popillia M.f., wife of Cn. Piso
215. <u>ID</u> 1622	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and those living on the island	43	Q. Hortensius Q.f. uncle of Caepio (Brutus)
216. * <u>IG</u> II ² 4102	Athens: <u>demos</u>	44-3	P. Cornelius Lentulus <u>augor</u>
217. <u>IG</u> II ² 4110	Athens: <u>demos</u>	43-33	C. Cocceius Balbus Au
218. <u>IG</u> II ² 4113	Athens: <u>boule</u> of the Areopagus	42-0	L. Marcius Censorinus
219. <u>IG</u> II ² 4230	Athens: <u>demos</u>	c.41-31	Sempronia L.f. wife of L. Gellius Poplicola
220. <u>IG</u> II ² 4231	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>	c.41-31	Sempronia L.f., wife of L. Gellius Poplicola

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
221. <u>IG</u> II ² 5179	Athens: <u>demos</u>	c.41-31	Sempronia Atratina, daughter of [L. Sempronius] [Atra]tinus. wife of [L. Gellius] [Poplicola]
222. <u>IG</u> II ² 4112	Athens: <u>demos</u>	40	L. Munatius L.f. Plancus Au
223. <u>IG</u> IX 2 39	Hypata: <u>polis</u>	39-7	L. Sempronius Bestia f. Atratinus P An
224. <u>SEG</u> XXX 433	Patras: <u>polis</u>	39-7	[Cen]sorina, daughter of [Censorinus] [wife] of Atratinus
225. <u>IG</u> II ² 4114	Athens: <u>kolon</u> of Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians, Phocians, Dorians	34-3	M. Junius M.f. D.n. Sllanus At
226. <u>IG</u> VII 1852	Thesplae: <u>de[mos]</u>	34-3	M. [Junius Sllanus]
227. <u>IG</u> VII 1851	Thesplae: <u>demos</u>	34-3	Crispina, wife of M. Junius [Sll]anus
228. <u>CIL</u> III Suppl. 7160 (Latin)	Mytilene: Roman citizens who trade in Mytilene	?34	M. Titius L.f. <u>Proconsul</u> , <u>praefectus classis</u> , <u>consul designatus</u> , <u>patronus</u>
229. <u>IG</u> II ² 4202	Eleusis	?32	M. Titius L.f
230. <u>SEG</u> I 383 <u>IGR</u> IV 1716	Samos: <u>demos</u>	32	Paullina, daughter of Fabius Maximus, wife of M. Titius L.f.
231. P. Herrmann <u>AM</u> 75(1960) 138 no.32 pl. 47.1	Samos: <u>[demos]</u>	?32-31	Gnatus ?D[omitius]

Inscription	Place: Donor	Date	Honoree
232. <u>IG</u> VII 86	Megara: <u>demos</u> and <u>boule</u>	31-30	T. Statilius Taurus
233. <u>IG</u> II ² 4115	Athens: <u>demos</u>	31-22	Paullus Aemilius L.f. Lepidus A. <u>augor</u>
234. <u>SEG</u> XXIV 212 II. 1-4	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>	31-27	Livia Drusilla, wife of <u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> (Octavian)
235. <u>SEG</u> XXIV 212 II. 5-9	Eleusis: <u>demos</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>theou louliou uios</u> (Octavian)
236. <u>IG</u> VII 1836	Thespieae: <u>demos</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>theou uios</u> (Octavian)
237. <u>IO</u> 367	Olympia: Achaian <u>kolnon</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>theou uios</u> (Octavian)
238. <u>SEG</u> XIV 537	Iulis (Kea): <u>demos</u>	31-27	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>Theos, theou uios</u> (Octavian)
239. <u>IG</u> XII 5 628	Iulis (Kea): <u>demos</u>	31-27	Livia, wife of <u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> (Octavian)
240. <u>IG</u> XII 3 469	Thera: <u>demos</u>	31-27 ?30	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>theou uios</u> (Octavian)
241. <u>IG</u> XII 3 470	Thera: <u>demos</u>	31-27 ?30	<u>Kaisar, theou uios</u> Au V. Hy IV (Octavian)
242. <u>ID</u> 1588	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and those living on the island	31-27 ?30	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>theou louliou uios</u> (Octavian)
243. <u>ID</u> 1589	Delos: Artorius	31-27 ?30	<u>Autokrator Kaisar</u> <u>theou uios</u> (Octavian)

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place: Donor</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
244. <u>IG</u> II ² 4118	Athens: <u>demos</u>	30-28	M. Licinius M.f. Crassus A. Au
245. A. Plassart, <u>BCH</u> 50(1926) 441, no.78	Thesplae: <u>demos</u>	30-28	M. Licinius Crassus Au
246. <u>ID</u> 1623	Delos: <u>demos</u> of Athens and those living on the island, the habitués of the gymnasium	c.30	C. Fannius C.f. Caepio

LIST II: HONORIFIC TITLES

(List) = my List I

Restorations for these titles are indicated in the text

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree
A. <u>Σωτήρ</u>			
1. <u>IG</u> V 1165	Gytheon	c.195	Flamininus
(List I.5)			
2. <u>IG</u> XII 2 144	Mytilene	62	Pompey
(List I.140)			
3. <u>IG</u> XII 2 145	Mytilene	62	Pompey
(List I.141)			
4. <u>IG</u> XII 2 146	Mytilene	62	Pompey
(List I.142)			
5. <u>IG</u> XII 2 147	Mytilene	62	Pompey
(List I.143)			
6. <u>IG</u> XII 2 148	Mytilene	62	Pompey
(List I.144)			
7. <u>IG</u> XII 2 149	Mytilene	62	Pompey
(List I.145)			
8. <u>SEG</u> XXVII 484	Mytilene	48	Caesar
(List I.196)			
9. <u>IG</u> XII 5 557	Karthala: Kea	46	Caesar
(List I.203)			

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
B. <u>Σωτήρ, Εὐεργέτης</u>			
1. <u>IG</u> XII 9 931 (List I.8)	Chalkis	II c.	Flamininus (? <u>post mortem</u>)
2. <u>SEG</u> XV 331 (List I.15)	Acraephia	171-167	P. Cornelius Lentulus
3. <u>IG</u> XII 2 134 (List I.24)	Thessalonike	c. 148.	Q. Caecilius Metellus
4. <u>OGIS</u> 439 = <u>IO</u> 327 (List I.80)	Olympia	98-7 or 94-3	Q. Muclius Scaevola
5. <u>IG</u> IX 2 613 (List I.92)	Larissa	93-87	Q. Braetius Sura
6. N. Pharaklas, <u>AD</u> 26(1968)A' 293 f. (List I.97)	Acraephia	? 86	Sulla
7. <u>IG</u> VII 264 (List I.98)	Oropos	86-81	Sulla
8. <u>ID</u> 1621 (List I.126)	Delos	c. 69	C. Valerius Triarius
9. <u>IC</u> II XXIII 14 (List I.127)	Polyrrhenia	69-63	Q. Caecilius Metellus
10. <u>IG</u> II ² 4107 (List I.128)	Athens	69-63	Q. Caecilius Metellus
11. <u>IG</u> XII 5 924 (List I.130)	Tenos	68-7	L. Quinctius Rufus

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree
12. <u>IG</u> XII 5 627 (List I.132)	Iulis (Kea)	67	Pompey
13. <u>SIG</u> ³ 749 B (List I.135)	Samos	63	Pompey
14. <u>IG</u> XII 2 142 (List I.138)	Mytilene	62	Pompey
15. <u>IG</u> XII 2 143 (List I.139)	Mytilene	62	Pompey
16. <u>IG</u> VII 62 (List I.189)	Megara	48	Caesar
17. <u>ID</u> 1587 (List I.190)	Delos: Athens <u>demos</u>	48	Caesar
18. <u>SEG</u> XIV 561 (List I.191)	Chios	48	Caesar
19. <u>SEG</u> XIV 121 (List I.193)	Athens	c. 48	Caesar
20. <u>IG</u> XII 2 151 (List I.195)	Mytilene	48	Caesar
21. <u>IG</u> XII 5 556 (List I.197)	Karthala (Kea)	48-46	Caesar
22. <u>IG</u> VII 380 (List I.198)	Oropos	c.48	Q. Fufius Calenus
23. <u>IO</u> 330 (List I.199)	Olympia: ?Ells <u>demos</u>	c.48	Q. Fufius Calenus

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
24. <u>SEG</u> XIV 122 (<u>IG</u> II ² 3222) (List I.200)	Athens	c. 47	Caesar
25. <u>IO</u> 365 (List I.207)	Olympia: Licinius	mid I c.	Caesar
26. <u>SEG</u> XVII 209 (<u>IG</u> VII 383) (List I.212)	Oropos	c. 44	Q. Caeplo Brutus
27. <u>IG</u> II ² 4114 (List I.225)	Athens	34-3	M. Junius M.f. D.n. Silanus
28. <u>SEG</u> XXIV 212 (List I.235)	Eleusis	31-27	<u>Autokrator</u> <u>Kaisar</u> (Octavian)
28. <u>IG</u> VII 1836 (List I.238)	Thesplae	31-27	<u>Autokrator</u> <u>Kaisar</u> (Octavian)
C. <u>Σωτήρ, Εὐεργέτης, Κτίστης</u>			
1. <u>IG</u> XII 140 (List I.136)	Mytilene	62	Pompey
2. <u>IG</u> XII 2 141 (List I.137)	Mytilene	62	Pompey
3. <u>IG</u> XII Suppl. 40 (List I.147)	Mytilene	62	Pompey
4. B.C. Petrakos <u>AD</u> 22(1967)B' <u>Chronika</u> (pub. 1969)461 (List I.148)	Mytilene	62	Pompey

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree
5. <u>IG XII 2 163a</u> (List I.149)	Mytilene	62 or 36-5	Pompey
D. <u>Σωτήρ, Κτίστης</u>			
1. <u>IG XII 2 202</u> (List I.150)	Mytilene	62	Pompey
E. <u>Εὐεργέτης</u>			
1. <u>G. Klaffenbach</u> <u>Chiron</u> 1(1971)167 (List I.2)	Phanotea	198 - 194	Flamininus
2. <u>IC II XXIII 13</u> (List I.13)	Polyrrhenia	? 189	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus
3. <u>SEG XXIV 580</u> (List I.21)	Amphipolis	c. 167	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus
4. <u>IG VII 3490</u> (List I.26)	Megara	146	Q. Caecilius Metellus
5. <u>ID 1520</u> (List I.36)	Delos: Poseidoniasts of Berytus	140's	M. Minatius Sex. f.
6. <u>SIG³ 704 B</u> (List I.39)	Delphi: Dionysian <u>technitai</u> of Isthmia and Nemea	128	P. Cornelius Lentulus
7. <u>S. Kougeas</u> <u>Hellenika</u> 5(1932)5 (List I.46)	Europos	109- 107	M. Minucius Rufus
8. <u>ID 1608</u> (List I.66)	Delos	II-I c.	Galus

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree
9. <u>ID</u> 1782 (List I.87)	Delos: Poseidoniasts of Berytus	90	Cn. Octavius
10. <u>IG</u> IX 2 38 (List I.94)	Hypata: Aenian <u>koinon</u>	?87	L. Licinius Lucullus
11. <u>ID</u> 2009 (List I.107)	Delos: Hermolcus and Apollonius, Apolloni f., Melians	I c.	C. Fabius Hadrianus
12. <u>IG</u> V 1454 (List I.110)	Messene	82 - 81	L. Licinius Murena
13. <u>IG</u> VII 244 (List I.116)	Oropos	74	P. Servilius Isauricus
14. <u>IG</u> IX 2 1134 (List I.152)	Demetrias	c. 62	Pompey
15. A.E. Raubitschek <u>Hesperia</u> 18(1949)102 (cf. <u>IG</u> II ² 3513) (List I.157)	Athens: Chrysothmis, daughter of Phaldrus	post 56	T. Pomponius Atticus
16. A.S. Arvanitopoulos, <u>Polemon</u> 1(1929-33)202 no. 424a. (List I.160)	Demetrias	52-51	C. Caellus Rufus
17. <u>IG</u> II ² 4109 (List I.169)	Athens	c. 50	Ap. Claudius Pulcher
18. <u>FD</u> III 4 251 (List I.172)	Delphi	50	C. Pollio C.f.

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
19. <u>IG</u> IX 1 143 (List I.186)	Elatea	c.49	Faustus Sulla
20. <u>ID</u> 1587 (List I.190)	Delos	48	Caesar
21. <u>SEG</u> XIV 558 (List I.205)	Samos	46	Caesar
22. <u>IG</u> IX 2 39 (List I.223)	Hypata	39-7	L. Sempronius Bestia f. Atratinus
F. <u>Πάτρων, Εὐεργέτης</u>			
1. <u>SEG</u> I 152 (List I.31)	Delphi	? 146	Postumius Albinus
2. <u>SEG</u> I 149 (List I.33)	Delphi	? 146	Unknown son of Marcus
3. <u>IG</u> V 2 146 (List I.70)	Tegea	II or I c.	Q. Baebius Q.f.
4. <u>IG</u> V 2 147 (List I.71)	Tegea	II or I c.	Quintus (?Baebius) Q.f.
5. <u>ID</u> 1728 (List I.73)	Delos: L. Aufidius L.l.	II - I c.	L. Aufidius L.f.
6. F. Münzer, <u>Klio</u> 24(1931)333 f. no. 1 (List I.78)	Karthieros (Cos)	Beg. I	M. Popillius Laenas
7. <u>IG</u> VII 311 (List I.101)	Oropos	86-1 or 78-7	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>
8. J. and L. Robert, <u>Bull</u> 83(1970) 426 no. 441 (List I.114)	Andros	74-67	? Lucullus
9. <u>IO</u> 328 (List I.117)	Olympia	c.73-1 or 65	Q. Ancharius Q.f
10. <u>IGR</u> IV 1709 cf. A. Rehm, <u>Milet</u> 1.3 p. 270 for restoration (List I.134)	Samos	c. 63	M. Pliso (M. Pupius M.f. Pliso Frugi)
11. <u>FD</u> III 4 252 (List I.173)	Delphi: Publius and Unknown	c. 50	C. Pollio C.f.
12. P. Herrmann <u>AM</u> 75(1960) 139 no. 33 (List I.178)	Samos	50- end 1 c.	Unknown
13. <u>IG</u> IX 1 722 (List I.187)	Corcyra	? 49	M. Calpurnius Bibulus
14. <u>SEG</u> XIV 557 (List I.194)	Samos	48	C. Jullius Caesar (Statue of Caesar but <u>patron</u> is his father)
15. <u>SEG</u> XIV 383 (List I.204)	Thesplae	46	Caesar
16. <u>SEG</u> XXX 433 (List I.224)	Patras	39-37	Censorina, wife of Atratinus who is <u>patron</u> and <u>euergetes</u>

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree
17. P. Herrmann <u>AM</u> 75(1960) 138 no. 32 (List I.231)	Samos	?32-31	Cn. Domitius, <u>patron</u> , descendant of the original <u>patron</u> .
G. <u>Πάτρων</u>			
1. <u>FD</u> III 4 470 = <u>SEG</u> I 150 (List I.32)	Delphi	? 146-5 ? 140	Unknown
2. <u>IGR</u> IV 968 (List I.38)	Samos	c. 129	Cn. Domitius Cn.f.
3. <u>ID</u> 1802 (List I.48)	Delos: Q. Tullius Q.l. Aristarchos Q. Tullius Q.l. Alexander Q. Tullius Q.l. Herakleio	post 108	Q. Tullius Q.f. ...pus
4. <u>ID</u> 1700 (List I.82)	Delos	97	M. Antonius M.f.
5. B. Haussoulier <u>BCH</u> 6(1882) 449 no. 78 (List I.84)	Delphi	pre 91	Marcellus Claudius
6. <u>ID</u> 1701 (List I.86)	Delos	c. 91	C. Julius Caesar
7. <u>IG</u> VII 331 (List I.100)	Oropos	c. 86	C. Scribonius Curio
8. M.E. Caskey <u>AJA</u> 85(1981) 456 f. (List I.154)	Amphipolis	57-55	L. Calpurnius Piso

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree
9. H. Bloch <u>AJA</u> 44(1940) 487 (List I.155)	Samothrace	57-55	L. Calpurnius Piso
10. J.M.R. Cormack <u>AJA</u> 48(1944) 76 f. (List I.156)	Berloa	57-55	L. Calpurnius Piso
11. A. Plassart <u>BCH</u> 50(1926) 438 no. 74 (List I.168)	Thespiæ	51 or 44	L. Caninius Gallus
12. G. Patriarca, <u>BCAR</u> 60(1932) <u>Bull Mus Imp</u> <u>Rom</u> p. 4 no.2 (List I.184)	Cos: <u>demos</u>	I c.	...cius Balbus (?C. Paccius Balbus) P An
13. <u>IGR</u> IV 928 (List I.192)	Chios	48	Caesar
14. <u>IG</u> VII 268 (List I.213)	Oropos	? 44	Cn. Calpurnius Piso
15. <u>CIL</u> III Suppl. 7160 (List I.228)	Mytilene	c. 34	M. Titius L.f., patron of Roman citizens trading in Mytilene
16. <u>SEG</u> I 383 (List I.230)	Samos	32	The <u>patron</u> is M. Titius, husband of the honoree of the statue, Paullina, daughter of Fabius Maximus
17. A. Plassart <u>BCH</u> 50(1926) 441 no. 78 (List I.244)	Thespiæ	30-28	M. Licinius Crassus

LIST III: SPECIFIC MOTIVES

(List) = my List I

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree	Motive
1. <u>SEG</u> I 152 II.3 f. (List I.31)	Delphi	c.146	A. Postumius Albinus	...ὕπερ τᾶς Ἑλλ[α]- [νων ἐλευ/θερ]ίας...
2. <u>IGR</u> IV 968 II.4-6 (List I.38)	Samos	c.129	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus	...ὕπερ τε τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς/ Ἀρτέμιδος/ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν/ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν..
3. S. Kougeas <u>Hellenika</u> 5(1932)5 II.2 f. (List I.46)	Europos	109- 107	M. Minucius Rufus	...νικήσαντα τὸ[ν] πρὸς Γαλάτας Σκορδ[ί]στας] καὶ Βέσσους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς θρᾷκας πόλεμον..
4. a. <u>FD</u> III 1 526 II.2-4	Delphi	109- 107	M. Minucius Rufus	...νική]σαντα τὸν πρὸς/ [Γαλάτας Σ]κορδίστας [καὶ] [τὸ]ν πρὸς Βέσσους/ [καὶ] [τοὺς λ]οιποὺς θραῖ[κας] [π]όλεμον...
b. <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 692 II.3-5 (List I.47)	Delphi	109- 107	M. Minucius Rufus	...Gallais Scordistais et Bessais [reliquesque Thracibus] [devictis]s...
5. <u>ID</u> 1621 II.4 f. (List I.126)	Delos	c.69	C. Valerius Triarius	...τὸν [τὴν νῆσον τε]χι- σάμενο[ν]...
6. <u>IGR</u> IV 1709 cf. A. Rehm, <u>Milet</u> I.3 p. 270 for restoration (List I.134)	Samos	763	M. Plao	...διαπεπραγμέν[ον ἐν δυσχε]- [ρέσει]/ καιροῖς ἐπισ[τροφὴν] [τῶν προση]/κόντων τῇ(ι) π[ό]λει δικαίων.

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree	Motive
7. <u>SIG</u> ³ 749 B cf. A. Rehm, <u>Milet</u> I.3 p. 270 for restoration (List I.135)	Samos	763	Cn. Pompeius Magnus	...παραι/[τήσει ἐπι]- [στροφὴν πεποιημένον]/ [περὶ τῶν προσηκόντων] [τῇ πόλει/ δικαίων].
8. <u>IG</u> XII 2 202 II.4-7 (List I.150)	Mytilene	62	Pompey	...κατα/λύσσωτα τοῖς κατασχόντας/ τὰν οἰκη- μέναν πολέμοις καὶ/ κατὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.
9. <u>IG</u> VII 2492 II.3 f. (List I.151)	Thebes	62	Pompey	...]χησαν[τα καὶ...] σαντα,...
10. P. Herrmann <u>AM</u> 75 (1960)138 no. 32 (List I.231)	Samos	740-	Cn. Domitius	διὰ προγόνων π[άτρωνα]/ [τῆς πό]λεως κα[ὶ] εὐέρ-/ [γέτην-----]
11. <u>ID</u> 1623 (List I.246)	Delos	c.30	C. Fannius Caepio	...προνοηθέντ[α] τοῦ/ ἀλγίματος.

LIST IV: ARTIST SIGNATURES

Key

* = Reuse of older base

(date) = date of artist

(List) = my List I

Inscription	Place	Date	Artist
1. <u>IGR</u> IV 1049 (List I.1)	Cos	198 Parian	---machos.
2. <u>IO</u> 318 List I.17	Olympia	169	Andreas and Aristomachos from Argos
3. <u>SEG</u> III 414 (List I.25)	Hyampolis	146	[Euboulides Eu]cheiros. Athenian
4. <u>IGR</u> IV 968 (List I.38)	Samos	c.129	Philotechnos Heroldou
5. <u>FD</u> III I 526 <u>CIL</u> I ² 2 692 (List I.47)	Delphi	109- 107	Menekrates and Sopatros. Thebans
6. <u>ID</u> 1694 (List I.53)	Delos	c.102	Demostratos Demostratou. Athenian
7. <u>ID</u> 1710 (List I.57)	Delos	pre 100 post 87	Agasias Menophilou. Ephesian made it. Aristandros Skopa. Parian restored it.
8. <u>ID</u> 2001 (List I.58)	Delos	c.100	Agasias Menophilou. Ephesian
9. <u>ID</u> 1688 (List I.59)	Delos	c.100	Dionysios Timarchidou and Timarchides Polykleous. Athenians
10. <u>ID</u> 1728 (List I.73)	Delos	II-I c.	[---]

Inscription	Place	Date	Artist
11. <u>ID</u> 1725 (List I.77)	Delos	Beg. I c.	Agasias M[enophilou]. [Ephesi]an
12. <u>ID</u> 1699 (List I.79)	Delos	post 99	Agasias Menophilou, Ephesian
13. <u>ID</u> 1849 (List I.89)	Delos	? pre 88	Agasia[s Men]oph[ilou] Ephesian
14. <u>ID</u> 1696,7 (List I.91 = <u>ID</u> 1695, 1696)	Delos	pre 88 post 87	Agasias Menophilou, Ephesian made it. Aristandros Skopa, Parian restored it.
15. <u>IG</u> VII 267 (List I. 98 = * <u>IG</u> VII 264)	Oropos	(IV–III c.) 86–81	Telsikrates Thoiniou
16. <u>IG</u> VII 332 (List I.100 = * <u>IG</u> VII 331)	Oropos	(end III c.) 86	Xenokrates
17. <u>IG</u> VII 315 (List I.101 = * <u>IG</u> VII 311)	Oropos	(III c.) 86–81 or 78–70	Herodorus Sthennidos, Athenian
18. <u>IG</u> XII 1 48 (List I.109)	Rhodes	82	Ploutarchos Hellodorou, Rhodian
19. <u>ID</u> 1855 (List I.125)	Delos	c.69	Parthenos
20. * <u>IG</u> XII 2 202 (List I.150)	Lesbos	(IV c.) 62	Dorotheos Hegesadrou, Olynthian

Inscription	Place	Date	Artist
21. <u>IG</u> VII 429 (List I.170 = * <u>IG</u> VII 428)	Oropos	(III– II c.) c.50	Agatharchos Dionysiou. Boeotian
22. <u>IG</u> VII 382 (List I.198 = * <u>IG</u> VII 380)	Oropos	(III c.) c.48	Simalos
23. <u>IG</u> VII 384 (List I.212 = * <u>SEG</u> XVII 209, <u>IG</u> VII 383)	Oropos	(III c.) 44–3	Thoinias Telsikratou. Sikyonian

LIST V: ROMAN AND ITALIAN PROXENOI

Additional rights and privileges or other honors. If any, listed below each entry.

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree	Military (M) or Civilian (C)
1. <u>IG</u> IX 1 17 I.51	Thermon	c.262	L. L.(f.) Olcalus	C
2. Harmand, p. 58 no. 1	Delos	250	Bouzos, Canusian	C
3. <u>SEG</u> I 146	Delphi	205-3	Neon son of Leon, Syracusan, Roman	C
<u>Euergetes, promanteia, proedreia, asyilia, ateleia, crown.</u>				
4. A.S. Arvanito- poulos <u>AE</u> (1912)66f. no. 92 = B. Helly <u>Gonnoi</u> II p. 21f. no. 20.	Gonnos	?196-5	? <u>Romaios</u> (? Flamininus)	?M
<u>Praise, gold crown, euergetes, polliteia, enktesis.</u>				
5. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 I.13f.	Delphi	195-4	Blattos, Matourou (f.), Canusian	C
6. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 I.16f.	Delphi	195-4	Q. Veturlus Q.(f.)	C
7. <u>IG</u> VII 4127	Acraephia	Beg. II c.	C. Octavius T.(f.)	?M
<u>Euergetes.</u>				
8. J. Hatzfeld <u>BCH</u> 23(1899)92f.	Acraephia	Beg. II c.	M. Novercinus L.f.	C
<u>Euergetes.</u>				
9. <u>IG</u> XI 4 757	Delos	Beg. II c.	M. Sextius M.(f.) Fregellanus	C
<u>Praise, euergetes, enktesis, prosodon.</u>				

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>	<u>Military (M) or Civilian (C)</u>
10. <u>IG</u> XI 4 808	Delos	Beg. II c.	Sotius Theodorou (f.), Roman	C
<u>Euergetes.</u>				
11. <u>IG</u> XI 4 809	Delos	Beg. II c.	Marcus P.(f.)	C
Announce. <u>euergetes. enktesis. prosodon.</u> laurel crown				
12. A.S. Arvanito- poulos <u>AE</u> (1910)345 no.3	Larissa	191	Quinctus T.f.	C
Praise. <u>epigamia. enktesis. ateleia. asylla</u>				
13. A.S. Arvanito- poulos <u>AE</u> (1917)2 no. 301	Chyretiae	191	Sextus M.f. Orfidlenus	M
<u>Asphaleia. enktesis. epinomia</u>				
14. <u>SIG</u> ³ 608	Delphi	191-0	?[M' Acillius C.f.] (Glabrio)	?M
Praise. <u>[promanteia. proedeia. prodikia. asylla. atelei]a. theorodokia</u>				
15. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 II. 64f.	Delphi	191-0	Salsios Tagullius Tagulliou f., Argyrlippan (= Arpi)	C
16. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 II. 69f.	Delphi	191-0	C. Statorius C.f., Brundusian	C
17. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 II. 86-8	Delphi	191-189	M. Valerius Muttones and his 4 sons: Publius, Galus, Marcus, Quintus	M
18. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 I. 116	Delphi	189-8	T. Quinctius T.f. Flamininus	M
19. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 I. 119	Delphi	189-8	L. Acillius Caesonis f.	M

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>	<u>Military (M) or Civilian (C)</u>
20. a. <u>FD</u> III 4 427 L10 = <u>SEG</u> I 147 b. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 I.122	Delphi	189-8	[M. Aem]ilius M.f. Lepidus	M
Praise. <u>euergetes</u> . <u>promanteia</u> . <u>prodikla</u> . <u>ateleia</u> . <u>asylla</u> . <u>proedria</u> .				
21. <u>IC</u> II III 5 p.21	Aptera, Crete	c.189	a. [L. Corne]lius P.(f.) Scipio b. P. Cornelius [P.] (f.) [Scipio] c. Cn. Cn.(f.) Cornelius [Scipio Hispanus] d. L. M.(f.) Aem[ilius] [Regilius]	M
<u>Euergetai</u> .				
22. <u>IG</u> XI 4 712	Delos	c.189	P. Cornelius P.f. Scipio (Africanus)	M
(Already <u>proxenos</u> and <u>euergetes</u>) announce. laurel crown.				
23. <u>SIG</u> ³ 585 II. 279-281	Delphi	173	Nikanoros Menekrateos, Roman	C
<u>enktesis</u> .				
24. <u>IG</u> II ² 907	Athens	170	L. ?[Hortensius]	?M
Praise. olive crown. <u>enktesis</u> .				
25. <u>SEG</u> XVII 255	Argos: Achaean <u>koinon</u>	170	Cn. Octavius Cn.(f.)	M
Praise. <u>euergetes</u> . <u>politeia</u> . <u>empain</u> (= <u>enktesis</u>) <u>asphaleia</u> . <u>ateleia</u> . <u>asyleia</u> .				
26. <u>SGDI</u> 1339	Dodona	c.170	C. Rennius Dazupou f., Brundusian	C
<u>Atelēia</u> . <u>enteleia</u> . <u>asphaleia</u> . <u>enktesis</u> .				
27. <u>FD</u> III 427 L31 = <u>SEG</u> I 148	Delphi	168	L. Hortensius. Brundusian	C
<u>Promanteia</u> . <u>proedria</u> . <u>prodikla</u> . <u>asylla</u> . <u>ateleia</u> . <u>theorodokla</u> .				

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree	Military (M) or Civilian (C)
28. <u>IG</u> 2 258	Kierus, Thessaly	168	a. M. L.(f.) Perpenna b. M. C.(f.) Popillius c. Q. M.(f.) Pactumilus d. L. Plau- (?)	M
29. A.S. Arvanito- poulos <u>AE</u> (1912)67f no. 93 = B. Helly, <u>Gonnoi</u> II p. 51f. no. 47	Gonnos	200 - 150	?C. Galelus (or ?Atalelus)	C
30. A.S. Arvanito- poulos <u>AE</u> (1912)64 no. 91 = Helly, <u>Gonnoi</u> II pp. 47-9 no. 42, pl. VII	Gonnos	200 - 150	a. C. Flavius C.(f.) Apollonius b. C. Flavius C.(f.) Bucco (son of C. Flavius) (Apollonius)	C
<u>Enktesis, epigamia, asphaleia.</u>				
31. <u>IG</u> IX 1 ² 208	Actlum	c. 150	a. P. P.(f.) Acillius b. L. P.(f.) Acillius	?C
<u>Euergetes, asphaleia, enktesis.</u>				
32. <u>SGDI</u> 2691	Delphi	150 - 100 or c. 50	a. C. Mannius b. L. Mannius c. Cn. Mannius Gnalou Manniou f.	C
<u>Promanteia, asyleia, asphaleia, enktesis.</u>				
33. <u>SIG</u> ³ 704C	Delphi	128-7 or	[P. Cornelius P.f.] (Lentulus)	M
<u>Promanteia, prodik[ia, asyia, ateleia], enktesis, [proed]reia.</u>				
34. <u>FD</u> III 3 142 = <u>SEG</u> I 160	Delphi	103 or 97	P. Carsulelus (or Farsulelus) Rufus	C
<u>Praise. Promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asyia, ateleia, Isopolitela, Pythian crown.</u>				
35. <u>IG</u> XII 3 Suppl. 1300B 1.52	Thera	c. 100	Unknown son of Publius	C

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree	Military (M) or Civilian (C)
36. <u>SEG</u> XVIII 189	Delphi	c. 100	Q. Alflus Q.f.	C
Praise, <u>promantela</u> .				
37. <u>IG</u> XII 5 917	Tenos	c. 100	C. Pandusinos Cn.f	C
38. <u>IG</u> XII 5 841	Tenos	late II c.	Q. Q.(f.) Calpurnius	M
Olive crown, <u>euergetes</u> , <u>politela</u> , <u>enktesis</u> , assigned to phyle and phratry, <u>proedria</u> , <u>prosodon</u> .				
39. <u>FD</u> III 3 256 <u>FD</u> III 3 257	Delphi	II c.	M. Mammius ...Mammius	?C
40. Daux, <u>Delphes</u> p. 585, no. 27.	Delphi	II	L. Acillius, <u>apogonos</u>	?M
41. <u>SEG</u> XXIII 551	Olus, Crete	II-I c.	Cn. Tudicius M.f., Horatia and his wife, Megon Dionysiou	
<u>politela</u> .				
42. <u>FD</u> III 4 44 = <u>SEG</u> I 162	Delphi	91	M. Cafranius M.f. Gallus	C
Praise, <u>Promantela</u> , <u>prodikia</u> , <u>asylla</u> , <u>ateleia</u> , <u>proedreia</u> .				
43. Daux, <u>Delphes</u>	Delphi	100– 50	D. Junius D.f.	C
44. <u>FD</u> III 4 46 = <u>SEG</u> I 164	Delphi	86 or 66	C. Orconius (?Cosconius)	C
Praise, <u>promantela</u> , <u>prodikia</u> , <u>asylla</u> , <u>ateleia</u> , <u>proedreia</u> .				
45. <u>IG</u> XII 1 48 I.5f. (List I.109.3)	Rhodes	82	L. Licinius L.f. Murena	M
(Already <u>proxenos</u> and <u>euergetes</u>) statue.				
46. <u>IG</u> XII 1 48 I.9f. (List I.109.5)	Rhodes	82	A. Terentius Varro	M
(Already <u>proxenos</u> and <u>euergetes</u>) statue.				

<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Honoree</u>	<u>Military (M) or Civilian (C)</u>
47. <u>SGDI</u> 2688	Delphi	80 – 55	L. Tillius	C
Decree breaks off just before honors listed.				
48. J. Hatzfeld <u>BCH</u> 23(1899)67 no.1	Delphi	c. 76	C. Voconius C.f.	?C
49. <u>IG</u> V 1 1146	Gytheon	71	a. Nemerius Cloatius b. M. Cloatius. sons of Nemerius	C
(Already <u>proxenoi</u> and <u>euergetai</u>) praise. <u>proedria</u> .				
50. <u>IG</u> XII 5 860	Tenos	70 – 60	L. Aufidius Bassus	C
Praise. The decree breaks off at the point of listing honors: proxeny and other honors were probably given.				
51. <u>FD</u> III 4 45 = <u>SEG</u> I 165	Delphi	66	T. Varlenus (or Varius) Sabinus	C
Praise. <u>promanteia</u> , <u>prodikia</u> , <u>asyllia</u> , <u>proedreia</u> .				
52. <u>SEG</u> I 168	Delphi	c. 50	unknown son of Lucius	?C
<u>Promanteia</u> , <u>prodikia</u> , <u>asyllia</u> , <u>ateleia</u>				
53. <u>IG</u> IX 2 1292	Olooson (Perhaebia)	I c.	L. Acutius L.f.	C
Praise for him and his offspring; all other things which are granted to other <u>proxenoi</u> in war and peace for him and his offspring.				
54. <u>IC</u> IV 215 C	Gortyn	Mid I c.	C. Lutatius Crispus	M
<u>Politeia</u> .				
55. <u>IC</u> IV 213 A	Gortyn. Crete	c. 31	M. Minucius Rufus	C
56. <u>IC</u> IV 213 B	Gortyn	c. 31	M. Livius M.f	C
<u>Politeia</u> .				

Inscription	Place	Date	Honoree	Military (M) or Civilian (C)
57. <u>IC</u> IV 216	Gortyn	I c.	P. Granlus. Sporli f. Collina Rufus	C
<u>Politela.</u>				
58. <u>IC</u> IV 221 A	Gortyn	I c.	M. Antonius Crtonis f. Crto	C
<u>Politela.</u>				
59. <u>IC</u> IV 221 B	Gortyn	I c.	P. Marcius P.f. Tromentina	C
<u>Politela.</u>				
60. <u>IC</u> IV 222 A	Gortyn	I c.	L. Furlus L.f. Falerna Celsus (chorus director)	C
<u>Politela.</u> gold crown.				
61. <u>IC</u> IV 222 B	Gortyn	I c.	... Babullus T.f. ...deus (comic actor)	C
<u>Politela.</u>				
62. <u>IC</u> IV 222 C	Gortyn	I c.	Q. Gavius (set placer)	C
<u>Politela.</u>				

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