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ABSTRACT

Pathways to Power

Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire

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THE WORLD OF CIVIC ELITES: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Interest in social elites is nothing new as it goes back to the nineteenth century, when scholars began to become interested in the role of great families and in compiling prosopographies. In the twentieth century, our knowledge was further increased by new evidence and sociological approaches. This allows one to place individuals in the institutional context of the daily functioning of their *res publica* and in turn within the Empire. The article by M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni gives us some idea of the methods and results of the considerable research efforts made in this direction for the western part of the Empire. Despite this extraordinary effort, the matter is certainly far from exhausted, above all in relation to the cities of the eastern part of the Empire whose traditions and institutional realities make up a context so different from that of the cities of the West. It is the belief that progress is still to be made, I would say, that has led us to organise this meeting. On behalf of all the participants, I must offer my warmest thanks to the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene and particularly to the Director of this venerable institution, Professor Greco, for having offered us the opportunity to work together on these questions and for financing the publication of the proceedings of this meeting.

The idea that the Roman authorities sought, just as the Hellenistic monarchs before them had, the support of the *possidentes* both for conquest and for the consolidation of their power in the East is one universally accepted¹. For their part, the leading members of the cities – whose authority had been contested and threatened during the Hellenistic period – found in Rome a faithful and unexpected ally. Thus it was that an understanding and collaboration, based on a reciprocity of interests, arose between Greek and Roman elites². This relationship evolved and assumed a new form as local elites from the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty

¹ On the attitude of the prominent members of Greek cities towards Roman domination in general, see BRISCOE 1967; BRUNT 1976; QUASS 1982. ALCOCK 1993, 19 and n. 23 has rightly stressed the various views of scholars regarding the role of Rome in a process termed the ‘oligarchisation’ of power. This is characterized by the strengthening of the privileges of the *boule* and the parallel diminishing of the power of the *demos*: TOULOU MAKOS 1967 and BERNHARDT 1985 underplay this development while STE. CROIX 1981, 518-521 and 523-529, speaks of “the destruction of Greek democracy”.

² Cf. GALTUNG 1971; PAYNTER 1982, 171-178.

onwards became gradually more integrated into the Empire, thanks to their possession of the *civitas romana* and their tenure of imperial priesthoods. The close link between citizenship and the imperial cult became a key point in the strategy of these urban groups who strove to diminish the distance that separated the elites from high Roman positions³. And so, from the first century A.D. onwards, the number of Greeks or Greek-speaking inhabitants of the East who attained equestrian rank continued to grow. The doors of the Senate opened a little later, particularly for individuals originating from the rich cities of Asia Minor⁴. The promotion of members of rich families to the highest positions in the Empire passed gradually through three or four interrelated strata of power, that is, local, regional, provincial and imperial⁵. What initially concerned local aristocracies was the consolidation of the power and influence of their families at the local level. If this aim was attained and if the family enjoyed good luck, influence and the requisite relations with other noble Greek or Roman families in the city, the province or the Empire, then some of its members could rise to a higher level, that is, to provincial or imperial responsibilities.

The organisers of this conference have taken care to focus on two main, interdependent themes. The first concerns elites and cults, and particularly the relationship between great local families and the imperial cult. The second concerns the world of the elites, that is, their depiction in literature, epigraphy and sculpture and the areas in which they were active. As regards the first topic, two provinces are considered from a geographic point of view, Achaia (F. Camia, M. Kantiréa) and Asia, in particular the city of Ephesus (F. Kirbihler). In each case, the social standing of priests, and the meaning of holding priesthoods for their career and their socio-political ascent are well analysed. The imperial cult, as is demonstrated (A. Lo Monaco, M. Galli) displays some peculiarities, especially during the reigns of philhellenic emperors such as Nero or Hadrian. Under these emperors Greeks enjoyed privileged relations (Chr. Hoët-van

³ The gradual incorporation of local elites into the Roman system was the cornerstone of the new imperial policy. The members of elite families form the link between city and emperor: see BOEHME 1992, 246-247.

⁴ See QUASS 1982. For Greeks or eastern Greek speakers who acquired senatorial or equestrian rank, see WALTON 1929; HALFMANN 1979; HALFMANN 1982; DEMOUGIN 1999. Unfortunately, there is no similar study on other eastern Roman provinces. For an interesting comparison of the careers of the C. Iulii of Sparta (from the family of Eurycles) and of the Claudii of Athens, see WOLOCH 1969.

⁵ On this, see FERNOUX 2004, 479; F. Camia (in this volume).

Cauwenberghe), even after death and despite *damnatio memoriae* (e.g. Nero). Local traditional cults, however, even in the context of a colony such as Corinth, are considered equally worthy of attention (A. Hupfloher). This topic suffers from a lack of regional studies and syntheses tracking the influences and, indeed, the modes of cultural interpenetration in imperial times.

The second group of contributions concerns the world of provincial elites and their relationship to their community of origin and the areas in which they acted. The vocabulary used to refer to the prominent is examined (N. Giannakopoulos, S. Zoumbaki), as is the way in which they presented themselves in works of sculpture (E. Voutiras) and likewise the areas in which their euergetic activity took place (A.-V. Pont, A. Farrington).

Greek cities, in following their own traditions and adapting them to the new circumstances, attempted thereby to cultivate direct and privileged relations with the reigning emperor. The character of these links was not the same as the ties manifested by the cities of the West. This point is mentioned by Chr. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, who stresses the difficulties we have in estimating the impact of *consecratio* of an emperor at Rome. It is difficult in Greek lands to distinguish between the decision on the part of the city to deify the emperor, taken while an emperor was still alive – which was current practice in Greek cities – and such a decision made after his death, upon the Senate proclaiming him *divus*. On the other hand, as far as the application of *damnatio memoriae* is concerned, the situation seems clearer. The impact of *damnatio memoriae* can be measured in the West through concrete actions, such as the total destruction of monuments, the damage they suffer from hammer blows or even simply through their reuse. The reactions on the part of Greek cities to such decisions were varied, especially in the case of philhellenic emperors who had given them privileges. That is not to say, of course, that the elites were unaware that they had to show loyalty to the current emperor. They knew, however, that one could, without any real risk, be simultaneously both *philokaisar* and *philopatris*.

Several contributions are concerned with the imperial cult itself (F. Camia, F. Kirbihler, M. Kantiréa) and its close relationship with civic elites. Price's study opened up this area, and did so in a very original manner⁶.

⁶ PRICE 1984.

Further research, whether regionally-based or focused on particular aspects of the cult, have since enriched our knowledge of the topic with new levels of awareness regarding the introduction of rituals, their adaptation and the perception of this cult by Greeks⁷.

The holding of a priesthood was, of course, not the only path that led to the highest positions of the Empire (F. Camia), but despite everything it remained the royal road to this goal. This explains the fact that the dignitaries of the imperial cult were descendants of great families of notables, who originated either from the capital of the province or from neighbouring cities. This is the case both in Achaia (F. Camia) and in Asia – in Ephesus (F. Kirbihler), to be precise. Elites made use of their generosity in various areas despite the considerable sums required to finance them. This expenditure, closely linked to the exercise of high offices (*summa honoraria*), increased their social prestige and popularity. At some great cities like Ephesus, athletic games and gladiatorial combats evidently particularly attracted the attention of the elite. Its members headed religious processions or occupied prominent positions at other ceremonies that took place on the occasion of the provincial assembly meeting (F. Kirbihler).

The close relationship between the imperial cult and civic elites is illustrated by the concrete example of a notable from Sicyon (M. Kantiréa). The combined scrutiny of an honorific inscription from Delphi and of another found between Sicyon and Corinth allows one to restore the complete name of Tib. Claudius Polycrates, a descendant of the famous general Aratos, high-priest and Helladarch of the Achaean *koinon* (2nd c. A.D.) and friend of Plutarch. It is likely that the worship of the *Augusti* was either established or reorganised at Sicyon during the reign of Nero, immediately after the proclamation of the Isthmian Games. What is more revealing, however, is the proximity of the areas assigned to the traditional heroic cult of Aratos and the area later dedicated to the cult of the emperors. The topographical ritualisation of these cults reflects the decision of the Romanised Sicyonian family of the descendant of Aratos to integrate Roman political power into its own symbolic value system.

A. Lo Monaco et M. Galli draw our attention to particular aspects regarding the Imperial cult during the reigns of Nero and Hadrian respectively. The study of depictions of Nero on statuary connected with his cult in Greece allows one to reconsider the question of the imperial cult under

⁷ KANTIRÉA 2007; CAMIA 2007.

Nero and to demonstrate that, contrary to what is said by the literary sources, the Greeks piously preserved his memory and that his image certainly did not undergo *damnatio memoriae* (A. Lo Monaco). The iconographical choices made regarding imperial honorific statues in Greece are dictated by their context and their erection. Thus statues wearing breastplates were placed inside temples, next to local divinities worshipped there, or in *Sebasteia* beside images of members of the imperial family that had been recently deified. Statues of another type (*togatus* and *capite velato*), an artistic expression of the concept of Rome, were set up in another context, for instance the gymnasium, e.g. at Eleusis. It would seem that beginning in the reign of Nero, a new artistic language developed and attracted notice during the various displays and activities held at Eleusis.

That the Greeks regarded Hadrian with affection is unsurprising. What is interesting is the fact that members of the local aristocracy took particular care, during the organisation of ritual performances, to tie their traditional mode of behaviour to the symbols of imperial power – in particular, to the ritual performance of the *enkomion*, which was linked to the person of the *princeps* (M. Galli). The description of the dedication ceremony of the *Olympieion*, given by Philostratus in his *Life of the Sophists*, is an example that shows very clearly the fundamental role played by the cult of the emperors in the celebration of local cults in the Greek provinces of the Empire. The presence of the emperor himself at the *Olympieion* during religious festivals enacted the memory of Greek traditions. Furthermore, the arrival and entrance of Hadrian into Ephesus, in A.D. 124, was solemnly celebrated by the whole population, under the leadership of the ephebes, in accordance with traditional patterns of ritual practices. A similar degree of engagement on the part of the local elite in favour of Hadrian is suggested by various pieces of evidence from Delphi, the Argive *Heraion* and the *Asklepieion* at Pergamon. The programmatic series of statues of the emperor wearing a breastplate, together with the typical depiction of Athena with the Lupercal group, offer a clear indication of the strategic role of the aristocracy in Greek cities in preserving the memory of the philhellenic Hadrian.

The development of the imperial cult, however, did not remove or decrease the importance of local cults. In fact, it renewed them, even in the context of colonies. Proof of this is the fact that their ritual pantheon does not give the same impression of an homogeneity dominated by Roman tradition. In particular, at Corinth, A. Hupfloher draws attention to a great diversity comprising in part old local and deeply rooted cults and, on the other hand, divinities introduced at a later date. The titles of the officeholders of these cults combine elements of eastern and western origin at

the same time. Similar observations may be made regarding the neighbouring colony of Patras in Achaia⁸.

The erection of a statue as a token of esteem in return for a service rendered or hoped for belonged to a Greek tradition that had flourished as never before during the Hellenistic period. Erection of statues continued to constitute the most prestigious of the honours given by cities or by the prominent to the Romans. Honorific dedications retained their original character to a great degree, but they did not remain completely ignorant of the new Roman context⁹. Many of the portrait statues represented local elites, members of wealthy families who had contributed to the prosperity of their cities – and enhanced their own prestige – through benefactions and public service. These portrait statues and their inscribed bases recorded and celebrated the generosity and good works of these civic benefactors towards their fellow citizens. Portrait statues were the most prestigious among a series of primarily symbolic awards given in exchange for services to a city (e.g. the Vedii Antonini at Ephesus)¹⁰. The portrait of Herodes Atticus, the best-known of the prominent Greeks, presents the celebrated sophist both as philosopher and as citizen and a man of politics. The fact that all these copies derive from spots where Herodes Atticus possessed properties means that these statues were erected as private monuments. According to E. Voutiras a portrait in the Royal Ontario Museum may be a second portrait of Herodes Atticus. If this hypothesis is confirmed, then Herodes Atticus will have been the only prominent Greek in the Empire for whom more than one portrait type was created.

If the desire of super-elites in Greek cities was their elevation to the highest positions in the Empire, their bonds to their cities of origin nevertheless remained powerful and were expressed in two ways. On the one hand, euergetism extended in diverse areas and assumed a proverbial copiousness. On the other hand, cities increased their honours and their expressions of recognition for their rich citizens through the use of terms that stressed their excellence and primacy (S. Zoumbaki). Up to the 3rd c. A.D. the term *proteuontes* was merely a honorific title indicating the superior social position of the person who bore it. Only after the end of the 3rd c. A.D. did it acquire a narrower meaning, since it then came to be linked with tangible offices and competencies. The term often appears in papyri,

⁸ HERBILLON 1929; OSANNA 1996, 65-131; PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANI 2004.

⁹ HØJTE 2002.

¹⁰ DILLON 1996, 272-274.

in contexts both religious (namely, Christian) and secular, for example in juridical texts and in the novellae of Justinian. The responsibilities assumed by the *proteuontes* concerned appointment to offices or liturgies, the exclusive prerogative of the *boule* under the High Empire.

In the same area, the spread of the titles υἱὸς βουλῆς, υἱὸς δήμου, and υἱὸς πόλεως in inscriptions from Asia Minor expressed a link, not with imperial power, but with the city towards which those who bear the titles felt an almost familial devotion (N. Giannakopoulos)¹¹. The career, however, of many of such men showed a close attachment to Rome, too, since they held priesthoods of the imperial cult and were otherwise involved in a variety of activities that displayed their loyalty to the emperor. These titles, which show the way in which the prominent defined their position in civic life, are indications of the recognition and excellence of the best citizens, as well as an indication of the priority assigned to the city itself.

The final point to be raised here concerns the areas in which euergetism was deployed by the prominent. The proliferation of honorific inscriptions in the cities of the Roman East was largely connected with the increasing importance of civic euergetism. There was a standard repertoire of benefactions in the Roman East, which includes building activities, gifts of statues for civic processions, distributions of money, foundations for athletic competitions and contributions to the food supply of the city¹². Building was certainly the area for euergetic activity on the part of the prominent during the High Empire. However, at Aphrodisias (A.-V. Pont), it was not necessarily associated with obligations arising from the tenure of magistracies (*summa honoraria*). Unlike the cities in her neighbourhood, Aphrodisias seems also to have offered an alternate model of the mechanisms of euergetism and the social behaviour of civic elites.

From the third century A.D., an increasing change can be seen in the object of funds destined for euergetism. Greek-style athletic contests and occasionally Roman-style games and festivals and celebrations, too, were paid for, as great families employed these occasions to show themselves in public during the festivities that lasted several days and were followed by banquets¹³. This aspect of euergetism brings to mind the games of Lycia,

¹¹ On this see now CANALI DE ROSSI 2007. For Aphrodisias, see SMITH 1998.

¹² SCHMITZ 1977, 101; VAN NIJF 2000, 23-24.

¹³ This trend is illustrated by the euergetic activity of Demosthenes of Oenoanda at the beginning of the second century A.D.: ROGERS 1991. The celebration of festivals from the Severan period onwards gradually replaced public building as a major indicator of status for cities of Asia Minor: BORG – WITSCHERL 2001.

Pamphylia and Pisidia during the second-third century A.D. These are termed *θέμυδες* and are not linked to any particular divinity (A. Farrington). The rarity of the term *θέμυς* outside these areas indicates that local elites were particularly interested in what the games offered. The relatively late appearance of these ceremonies shows either that these areas adopted the values of Hellenism later than others or that we have here just a new type of euergetism that attracted elites, as in other areas.

There is no doubt that the papers present here bring new nuance to the complex relations of civic elites with their city of origin and with the central power in Rome. They also show mechanisms continually renewed and adapted by Rome, with the aim of consolidating her own power and the efforts of local prominent individuals to exploit this relationship with Rome, in order to derive the greatest possible profit both for their city and for themselves. On behalf of all those taking part in the conference, I have the pleasure of thanking once more Professor Greco and the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene for having offered us the opportunity to focus our thoughts on these topics.

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