

ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 63



ROMAN PELOPONNESE III **SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE:** **CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION**

Edited by
A. D. RIZAKIS, Cl. E. LEPENIOTI

ATHENS 2010
DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD - 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS

Cover illustration: Head of city goddess (*Tyche*) of Sparta
(Sparta Archaeological Museum inv. no. 7945; photo courtesy of O. Palagia)

Maps: Yvonne-Dominique Rizakis

Layout: Dionysia Rosgova

ISBN 978-960-7905-54-3

© The Nationale Hellenic Research Foundation

Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity

48 Vasileos Constantinou Ave., GR – 116 35 Athens – tel.: 0030. 210 72 73 673-4

Printed by: Έργαστήριο Χαρακτικής Ήλίας Ν. Κουβέλη
Aghiou Pavlou 26, Athens – Tel.: 0030 210.82 39 095

ROMAN PELOPONNESE III

SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE:
CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION

ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

63

A. D. RIZAKIS, CL. E. LEPENIOTI (eds)

ROMAN PELOPONNESE III
SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE:
CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION

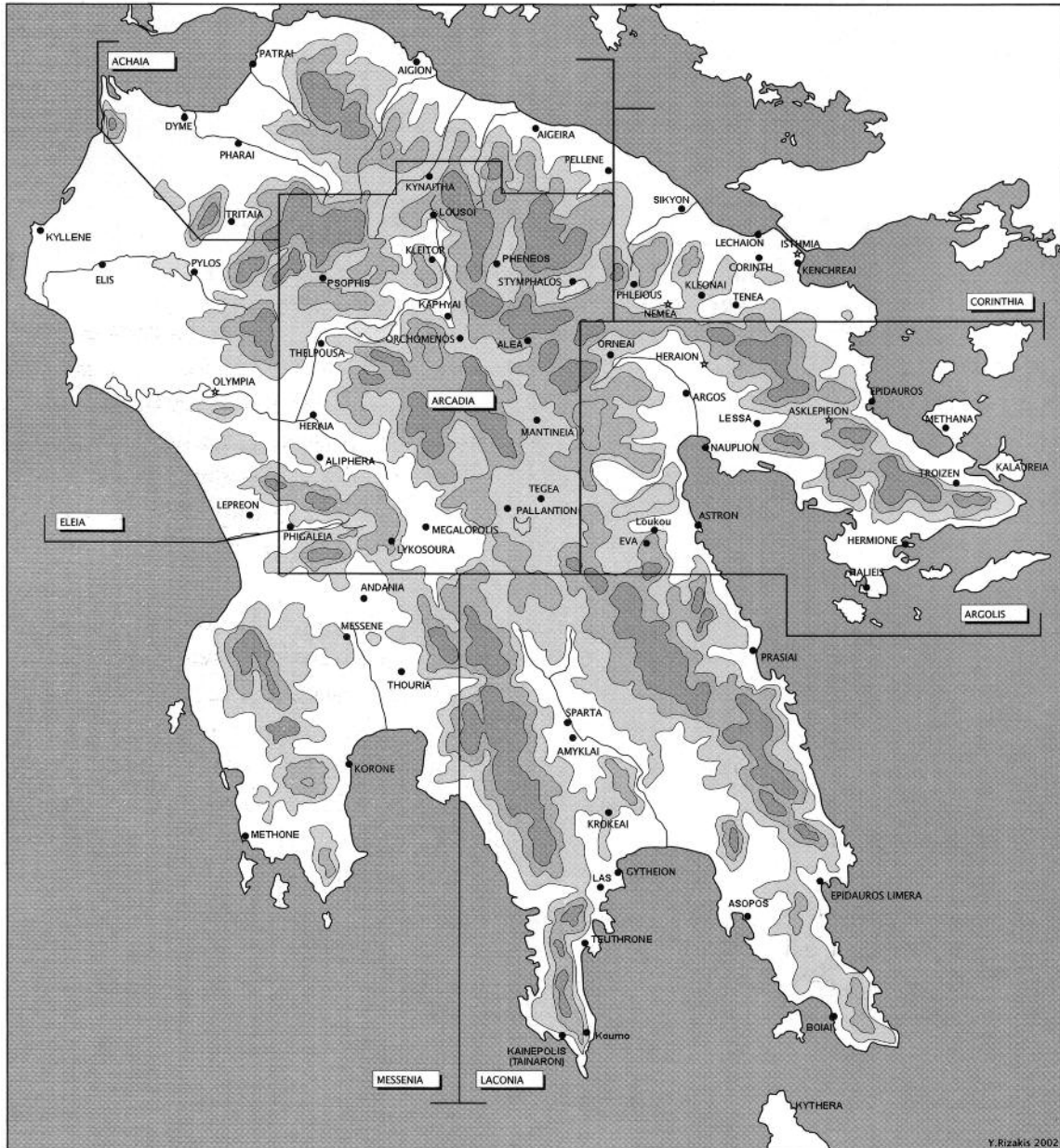
ATHENS 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Geographical map of the Peloponnese	viii
Preface	ix
A. D. Rizakis, Peloponnesian cities under Roman rule: the new political geography and its economic and social repercussions	1
M. Piérart, Argos romaine: la cité des Perséides	19
P. Marchetti, L'épigraphie argienne et l'oligarchie locale du Haut-Empire	43
J. Roy, Roman Arkadia	59
G. Steinhauer, C. Iulius Eurycles and the Spartan dynasty of the Euryclids	75
P. Themelis, The economy and society of Messenia under Roman rule	89
S. B. Zoubaki, Elean relations with Rome and the Achaean Koinon and the role of Olympia	111
A. D. Rizakis, <i>Colonia Augusta Achaïca Patrensis</i> . Réaménagements urbains, constructions édilitaires et la nouvelle identité patréenne	129
D. G. Romano, Romanization in the Corinthia: urban and rural developments	155
Chr. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Mécanismes d'acquisition et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine dans le Péloponnèse sous le Haut-Empire	173
O. Salomies, Roman <i>nomina</i> in the Peloponnese: some observations	193
N. M. Kennell, Citizen training systems in the Roman Peloponnese	205
D. Stewart, The rural Roman Peloponnese: continuity and change	217
I. Touratsoglou, Coin production and coin circulation in the Roman Peloponnese	235
V. Di Napoli, Entertainment building of the Roman Peloponnese: theatres, <i>odea</i> , and amphitheatres and their topographical distribution	253
M. Vitti, P. Vitti, Trasmissione ed adattamento delle tecniche costruttive romane in Peloponneso: il caso di Trezene	267
M. Jost, Chr. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, La vie religieuse en Arcadie à l'époque du Haut-Empire	291
A. Lo Monaco, Feasts and games of <i>paidés</i> in the Peloponnese of the Imperial period	309
M. Melfi, Rebuilding the myth of Asklepios at the sanctuary of Epidauros in the Roman period	329

J.-S. Balzat, Prosopographie des prêtres et prêtresses des Dioscures de la Sparte d'époque impériale	341
M. E. Hoskins Walbank, The cults of Roman Corinth: public ritual and personal belief	357
F. Camia, M. Kantiréa, The imperial cult in the Peloponnese	375
Y. Lafond, Concours et identité civique dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II ^e s. av. J.-C. - III ^e s. apr. J.-C.)	407
A. Farrington, The origin of victors in the Isthmian games	421
O. Palagia, Sculptures from the Peloponnese in the Roman Imperial period	431

GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE PELOPONNESE



- PATRAI: ancient city settlement
- Loukou: modern city settlement
- * Sanctuaries

The internal borders of the Peloponnese as depicted on the map are an approximation only, as their precise location varied over time.

PREFACE

This volume completes an initiative that started a few years ago as part of the Southern Greece programme of the Institute of Greek and Roman Antiquity at the National Hellenic Research Foundation. The objectives of this programme were to publish two volumes that included a complete prosopography of individuals living in Peloponnesian cities and bearing Roman names, and to collect in a third, separate volume a set of comprehensive studies that offer a commentary on the prosopographical material in the two volumes published so far (2001, 2004) and on the literary and archaeological sources.

The twenty-four contributors to this volume discuss various aspects of the political, social and economic life of the cities during Roman rule, thereby filling a large lacuna in this important period of Greek history. They also shed light on the development of Greece's relationship with Rome and its progressive integration into the Roman system. This regional approach to the relationship with central authority confirms the wide range of intervention on the part of Rome in the various provinces and its adaptation to local conditions. This policy facilitated interaction between Greek and Roman worlds and the values which each professed and served.

Each contribution is preceded by an abstract in English and followed by a selective bibliography of the abbreviated titles cited within it. Tables and figures are presented within each text. At the beginning of this volume the reader will find a general map of the Peloponnese showing the main sites for each region. In order to facilitate the use of the present volume, the editors have reserved the right to standardize the system of quotations and abbreviation according to the following rules: the orthography of ancient sites follows, as a rule, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, while modern sites are written in italics. Ancient literary sources are abbreviated according to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third ed., revised). Journals are cited according to the abbreviations used by *Année Philologique*, while epigraphic collections are abbreviated according to the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. The transcription of Greek and Latin texts, where necessary, has also been made according to the Leiden system rules of *SEG*.

I should note that this effort would not have been possible without the kind participation of the contributors in the creation of this volume, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them warmly for the generosity with which they responded to our invitation, the quality of their contributions and their excellent spirit of cooperation during the preparation of this volume. Warm thanks are also due to Claudia E. Lepenioti, who collaborated with me to achieve the best possible result for this publication, and to the Institute's Director for including it in the *Meletemata* series.

PELOPONNESIAN CITIES UNDER ROMAN RULE: THE NEW POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REPERCUSSIONS

Athanasios D. Rizakis

Abstract: The indifference of Rome and the woeful consequences of the civil wars drove the cities of the Peloponnese to economic bankruptcy and social despair during the Republican period (146-31 B.C.). Augustus attempted to overturn this situation with emergency administrative measures that ushered in radical changes to the political geography, the spatial distribution of the population and of wealth, the existing social hierarchy and the relationship between town and country. Roman interventions in the political and social spheres, which were supported by the ruling elites of the cities, set the foundations for a new political and economic course, which started to bear fruit during the Flavian period. The Romans did not intervene in the religious sphere and left the cities free to organise their traditional religious affairs, which underwent a revival in the 2nd c. A.D. They did, however encourage an emperor worship that was systematically associated with Greek traditional divinities at cult places and festivals. The Romanisation of the upper classes in particular was especially apparent in names, architecture and construction techniques, although its effects on institutions, religion and other manifestations of social life were more subtle. The accumulation of public and private wealth, peaking in the 2nd c. A.D., meant increasing investment and construction work that gave many cities a monumental appearance. This system started to crumble from the mid-3rd c. A.D., and the crisis affected not only the cities' political and economic spheres, but also the values upon which the new religion was to invest.

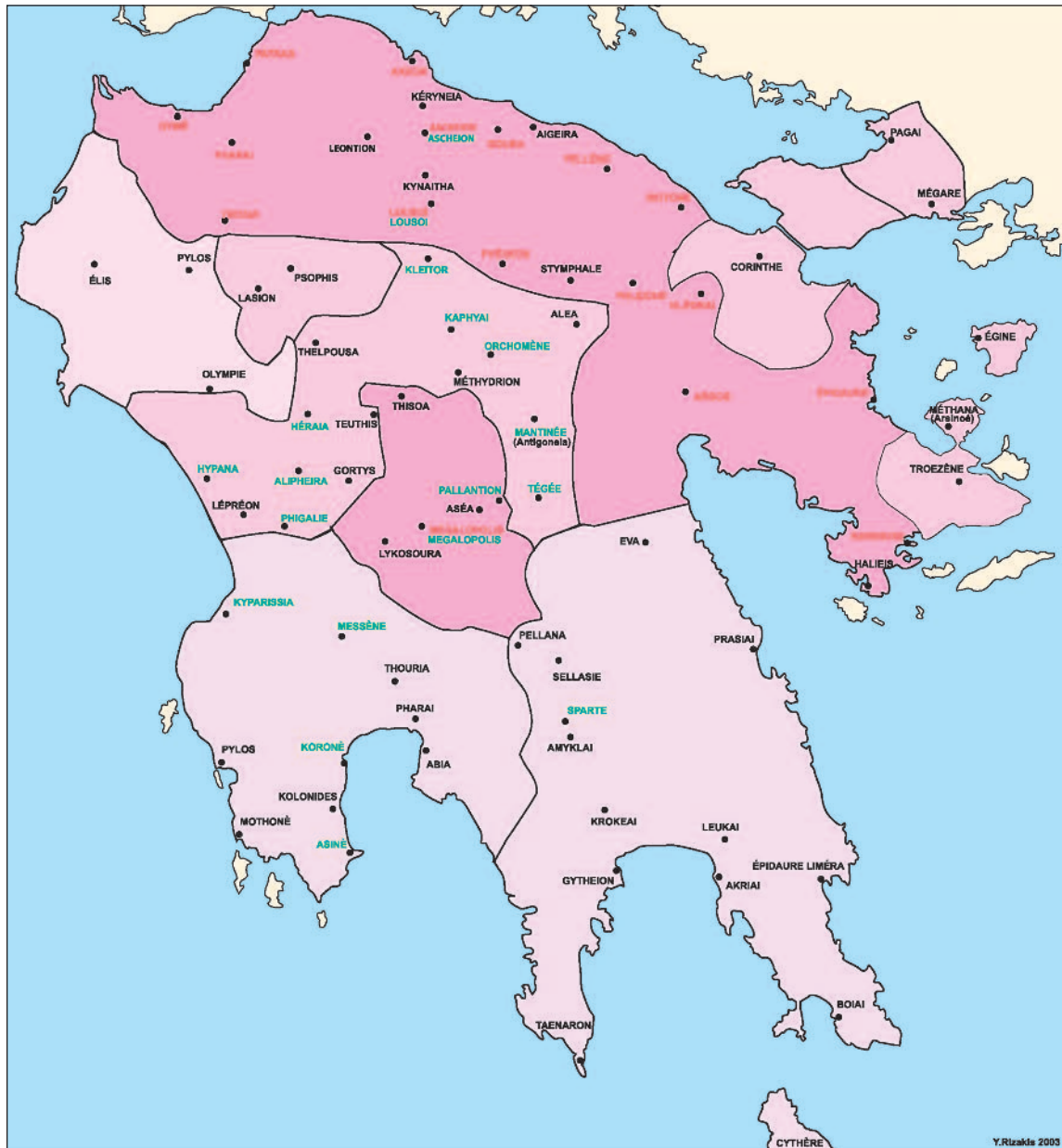
The Roman domination that was imposed on the Peloponnese after the desperate end of the so-called Achaean War (146 B.C.) overturned the political, economic and, in part, social balance that Rome had itself imposed since the early 2nd c. B.C., supporting the expansion of the League throughout the peninsula. As is well known, this expansion took place even at the expense of the most faithful allies (e.g. Sparta, Messene and Elis), since Rome judged that this would better serve its

own expansionist plans in the future (**Map 1**).¹ With the crushing and dissolution of the League, Rome put a definitive end to the political unification of the peninsula, restoring the fragmentary administration shared amongst dozens of small cities that had existed before the foundation of the *koinon*.

According to the new policy, the fate of each city was regulated separately. A section of the *chora* of Corinth and the properties of the resistance leaders were confiscated.² Cities that had been

1. Messene's importance declined, to the benefit of the smaller Messenian cities, which had now gained their autonomy by joining the Achaean League (see Themelis, *infra* p. 92 n. 30 and Rizakis forthcoming a esp. ns 14, 22-24 and 33). On the other hand, Rome did not encourage Sparta's expansionist plans in Laconia, and it appears that the Laconian cities preserved their autonomy (for further developments see *infra* p. 6 n. 30). On relations between the Achaean League and the Romans in this period see the bibliography compiled by A. D. Rizakis in "Αχαϊκή ιστοριογραφία: απολογισμός και προοπτικές της έρευνας", in Rizakis 1991, 54 n. 22. See also H. Nottmeyer, "Römische Gebietspolitik im 2. Jhd. v. Chr. am Beispiel des Achaïschen Koinons", in C. Schubert, K. Brodersen (eds), *Rom und der griechische Osten: Festschrift für Hatto H. Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 1995, 199-208 and Rizakis forthcoming a *passim*.

2. The largest section of the *chora* of Corinth that had been confiscated (Zonar. IX. 1) was ceded to the *polis* of



- Achaia between 210 and 207 B.C.
- Areas acquired by the Achaean League until 194 B.C.
- Areas acquired by the Achaean League until 191 B.C.

Map 1. The territorial situation in the Peloponnese in 191 B.C. reflecting the expansion of the Achaean League at the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C.

friendly to Rome, such as Sikyon, Sparta, Messene and Epidaurus, were proclaimed free, a status that put them at the top of the peninsula's new political and administrative hierarchy.³ The new organisation, however, also favoured certain other cities which nonetheless paid tribute, for example, Patrai and Argos: the former was perhaps made the centre of the reorganised Achaean League and the latter of the newly-formed *Koinon Argolikon*.⁴ The upgrading, for example, of Patrai, which was the only port of communication with the west after the destruction of Corinth,⁵ was done primarily at the expense of Aegium, the historical capital of the Achaeans, as well as of neighbouring Dyme. This city's feelings of enmity towards Rome, well-known from the past, had been violently expressed just a year after the destruction of Corinth (144/43 B.C.) with an open rebellion, the pitiful result of which

is described in a unique inscription.⁶ Rome showed complete indifference for the fate of the remaining cities, and systematically undermined their political and economic roles.

Roman rule and the administrative reorganisation of the Greek peninsula were not accompanied by changes in the economic organisation of the cities, and the unification of the Mediterranean economy that the Romans had achieved did not – with very few exceptions⁷ – have the favourable consequences envisioned by Polybius in the aftermath of the defeat.⁸ The defeat of 146 B.C. and its dramatic consequences, in combination with Rome's indifference, destabilised the cities that had taken an active part in the military conflict.⁹ There were many reasons for this. Indemnities, if they existed, were not heavy but the stolen booty represented a much heavier burden.¹⁰ Although it was not stable

Sicyon (Strab. VIII. 6, 23), whereas the remaining section still appears in 63 B.C. as public land, the so-called *ager publicus*; cf. Cic., *Leg. agr.* I. 2, 5 and II. 51. The political leaders of the League who had survived and the partisans of the popular faction were condemned to death and their properties confiscated and put up for sale by the *tamias* (*quaestor*); see Polyb. XXXIX. 4; Zonar. IX. 31. According to Pausanias (II. 2, 2) the Isthmian Games were held under the auspices of Sikyon until Corinth took over their organization, cf. Farrington, *infra* p. 422 ns 7-8.

3. The greatest privilege that could be bestowed upon a city was to provide it with a treaty defining its relations with Rome in better terms and making them permanent, as it was always uncertain for how long an ordinary grant of freedom or immunity would be recognised. Only Epidaurus (*IG IV* 1², 63, ll. 5-6) and Troezen (*IG IV*, 791, ll. 5-6) were allied cities (*σύμμαχοι*) of Rome (ca 112 B.C.). Amongst the free cities only the case of Sparta is certain (Strab. VIII. 5, 5) while Mothone in Messenia was granted freedom by Trajan (Paus. IV. 35, 3) and Pallantion in Arcadia was declared a *civitas libera et immunis* by Antoninus Pius (Paus. VIII. 43, 1). Cf. Roy, *infra* p. 60. These good relations with the Romans have led some to postulate that *immunitas* had also been bestowed in the case of Elis, cf. Zoumbaki, *infra* p. 115 n. 30.

4. On the promotion of Patrai, see Schwertfeger 1974, 49-51; Rizakis 1987/88, 28. The information on the various leagues provided by the sources of the Republican and Imperial periods are fragmentary and vague. On the Achaean League in these periods, see Ul. Kahrstedt, "Zwei Probleme im kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland", *SO* 28, 1950, 66-75; Schwertfeger 1974; Martin 1975, 384-410. On the *Koinon Argolikon* as testified in the later 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., see Martin 1975, 438-97 and Piérart 1976, 157-58.

5. On this issue, see Accame 1946, 153-56; Schwertfeger 1974, 28-40, 60-61, 74-75, and Rizakis 1987/88, 27-33. The obvious benevolence shown towards Patrai may also be due to her friendly attitude towards Rome, as alluded to in the letter addressed by the proconsul of Macedonia to the Dymaeans in 144/43 B.C.; see Rizakis 2008, 54-60 no. 5, ll. 10-11. On the upgrading of the port of Patrai in this period, see A. D. Rizakis, "Le port de Patras et les communications avec l'Italie sous la République", *CH* 33. 3-4, 1988, 453-72 = *id.*, "Il porto di Patrasso e la comunicazione con l'Italia durante l'era repubblicana", in N. Moschonas (ed.), *Studi di storia Italo-ellenica*, Athens 1998, 25-38.

6. See Rizakis 1987/88, 23-26 and *id.* 2008, 54-60 no. 5.

7. The new political geography imposed by the Romans, seems to have, at least in the beginning, had a positive effect on the economic life of those cities that were favoured through the reorganization of the old Greek *poleis*. The most renowned examples are Messene (Rostovtzeff 1957, 754; Piérart 1976, 159; W. A. McDonald, G. R. Rupp Jr (eds), *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition. Reconstructing a Bronze Age regional environment*, Minneapolis 1972, 92), Thouria (Rizakis 2001, 81) and Patrai (see *supra* n. 5).

8. Polyb. XXXIX. 5.

9. On the economic consequences of the Achaean War until the end of the Republican era, see Larsen 1938, 304-06, 323-25 and generally pp. 422-35; Baladié 1980, 306-08.

10. Achaea was obliged to pay a compensation of 200 talents to Sparta although, according to Pausanias (VII. 16, 10), it was exempted from this obligation a few years later. Cf. Larsen 1938, 306; Accame 1946, 147-48.

or permanent, taxation also periodically damaged the cities' weak economies.¹¹ Worst of all, no effort was made to reorganise agriculture and revive industry, which declined rapidly due to the marginalisation of the political and economic roles of the Peloponnesian cities. The dissolution of the Achaean League and the termination of the minting of the League's triobols after 146 B.C.¹² as well as the abolishing of the privileges of land-holding and intermarriage,¹³ which the Achaeans had enjoyed in all the Peloponnesian cities, were doubtless serious blows for regional trade and the economy in general. The destruction of Corinth, an important Peloponnesian commercial and industrial centre, was a heavy blow for international relations and no substitute could be found to play a similar role

since the centre of trade in the Mediterranean had by now shifted to Delos, Alexandria and the large ports of Asia Minor.¹⁴

The economy of the cities of the Peloponnese during this period was based, just as in other Greek cities, on agriculture, which was suffering primarily from a reduction in the number of agricultural workers and the abandonment of the land. This was an old phenomenon, but this time it had explosive consequences, described in all the sources and confirmed by surface surveys as well as by the archaeological finds.¹⁵ The situation worsened even further in the early 1st c. B.C., with the explosion in piracy, the Mithradatic wars and the subsequent civil wars, leading to a deep recession, the main features of which were a gradual reduction in agricultural and

11. On the taxation system in this period, see R. M. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to empire: the development of the Roman imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 15, Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford 1995, 59-65.

12. The relative indifference of specialists to this issue can be explained primarily by the absence of meaningful sources. See, for example, Chapter Eight ("Roma e la monetazione greca dopo il 146") in Accame 1946, 111-23, cf. the reflections of Martin 1975, 539-41. Interest was raised by Chr. Boehringer's study of the *Poggio Picense* coin hoard ("Zur Geschichte der Achaïschen Liga im 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. im Lichte des Münzfundes von Poggio Picense [Abruzzen]", in Rizakis 1991, 163-70), but the discussion which followed has not been concluded, see the bibliography in Rizakis 2008, 288 n. 123 and Zoumbaki, esp. *infra* pp. 116-17 ns 36-39. For the circulation of coins, see A. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce au IIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, Basel 1978; I. Touratsoglou, H. Tsourti, "Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία των τριωβόλων της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας στον Ελλαδικό χώρο: η μαρτυρία των «θησαυρών»", in Rizakis 1991, 171-84; P. Agallopoulou, *Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών, 14 π.Χ. - 268 μ.Χ.*, PhD, University of Ioannina, Athens 1994; M. Lacakis-Marchetti, "À propos du monnayage achéen et des trésors qui le font connaître", in *ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου*, Athens 1996, 147-56; M. Oikonomidès, M. Lakakis-Marchetti, P. Marchetti, "Le trésor de Zougra (IGCH 261) et la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au IIe siècle", in G. Moucharte et alii (eds), *Liber amicorum Tony Hackens*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2007, 370-433; Chr. Flament, P. Marchetti, *Le monnayage argien d'époque romaine (d'Hadrien à Gallien)*, ÉtPélop 14, Athens forthcoming; I. Touratsoglou, *infra* p. 239 n. 9.

13. Polyb. XXXIX. 5, 2-3; see also Paus. VIII. 30, 9; cf. A. D. Rizakis, "La double citoyenneté dans le cadre des états-fédéraux: l'exemple du *Koinon* Achéen", in *Citoyennetés multiples dans l'Orient romain, Actes du colloque international organisé à Tours, 6-7 novembre 2009* (forthcoming). Useful information is provided by the letter of the proconsul Q. Fabius Maximus to the Dymaeans, *Syll.*³, 684; Rizakis 2008, 54-60 no. 5; cf. Larsen 1938, 308-09; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius III*, Oxford 1979, 734-35.

14. Cf. J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain*, Paris 1966, 121-22.

15. Polybius (XXXVI. 17, 5-7, cf. Balladié 1980, 308 n. 8) understood this phenomenon and attempted to explain it as the result of social phenomena: selfishness and the low birth-rate led to a general population decline. Strabo (VIII. 7, 3 and esp. on Arcadia VIII. 8, 1. Cf. Baladié 1980, 301-03 esp. ns 5 and 6) and later Plutarch (*Mor., De Def. or.* 413f-414a), however, linked the demographic decline to the continuous wars. On this view see Larsen 1938, 418-19; Höet-van Cauwenbergh 1997/98, 101-03 and Bresson 2007, 233 n. 108 who, *loc. cit.*, 64-65, provides a table with the results of several surveys conducted in Greece which demonstrates, despite some regional variations, an almost general demographic decline during the last phase of the Hellenistic age and the early Imperial period. This interpretation, accepted by the majority of modern historians, has been questioned by S. Alcock (1993, 24-29 and 89-91) who argues that the impression given in the literary sources can be deceptive, simply because here we are not dealing with a demographic haemorrhaging, but with a planned spatial redistribution of the population. This view is not convincing for the late Hellenistic period, although it is valid for the early Imperial period (in respect to Corinth, see *infra*, p. 6 n. 27 and Romano, *infra* pp. 168-71; cf. also M. and P. Vitti, *infra* p. 268 n. 5).

industrial production as well as in trade, on a regional and much broader scale.¹⁶

This decline was not halted by the presence and economic activities in the 1st c. B.C. of Italian and Roman merchants who had settled in many Peloponnesian cities (Patrai, Aegaeum, Argos, Gytheion, Messene, Kleitor, Megalopolis, Elis).¹⁷ The economic activities of these groups revived some sectors and created wealth for the emigrants, but the added value to the economy of the cities was undoubtedly minimal.¹⁸ This was due not only to the non-existent participation of the indigenous population or to the predatory nature of the Roman *negotiatores*, who had exclusive control of the mainly commercial and banking activities in the East,¹⁹ but also to the fact that the Peloponnesian cities did not produce enough of a surplus for large-scale exports. As such, they could not compete due

to size, resources and location with other areas that were more fertile or more active, nor could they benefit from the new markets and opportunities offered by trading within the Mediterranean context, newly expanded by the Roman conquests.²⁰

Within the general climate of instability and decline that prevailed during this period, the cities also had to face the overwhelming presence or passage of the Roman army,²¹ the extra contributions demanded by the generals, misappropriation of all types,²² as well as the profit-seekers and loan sharks amongst the Roman bankers, who exploited the cities' survival needs and contributed to depleting even the last sources of wealth.²³ The economic recession and lack of liquidity²⁴ made lending difficult, and on several occasions became too great a burden for the suffering local economy, which was heading toward bankruptcy.²⁵ The situation was so dire

16. Industrial production and commercial exchanges had shown some signs of recovery by the end of the 2nd c. B.C. in certain commercial centres such as Patrai, where artefacts indicating the existence of workshops for the production of craft objects have been found (see I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 32, 1977, *A Mel.* 283-84 and *AD* 33, 1978, *A Mel.* 383; Rizakis 1987/88, 32; *id.* 1998a, 23-24; Rizakis, Petropoulos 2006, 18-19, 21 and figs 12-15), as well as artefacts indicating commercial contacts with the west (Rizakis, Petropoulos 2006, 21 and fig. 18).

17. Hatzfeld 1919, 76-82 and 149-50; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1992, 106-27; S. Zoumbaki, "Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes", *Tekmeria* 4, 1998-99, 112-59; Rizakis 2001, 83-84.

18. It is, however, difficult to estimate the importance of their activities and their impact on the local economies, even in the cases of cities such as Delos, for which we have rich source material (Larsen 1938, 359).

19. Hatzfeld 1919, 197-256; Larsen 1938, 359; Andreau 1999, 48-49.

20. There was no single empire-wide market for all goods, but local markets were connected together around the Mediterranean, see P. Temin, "A market economy in the Early Roman Empire", *JRS* 91, 2001, 181. Unfortunately the absence of regional studies does not allow us to know to which extent exchanges were based on reciprocity.

21. The marching through and especially the sojourn of Roman troops in a town was so economically disastrous that the cities did everything in order to avoid it. In some cases even the possibility of such an unwelcome visit could provoke great agitation. See, in this respect, an inscription from Epidaurus (*IG* IV 1², 66), dating to 74 B.C., because of the reference in l. 25 to M. Antonius as τοῦ ἐπὶ Κρητῶν στραταγῶ.

22. Even free cities were not excluded from contributions and exactions; see Larsen 1938, 310-11.

23. See P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire. Economy, society, and culture*, London 1987, 43-44; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1992, 99-101; Rizakis 2001, 83.

24. Although coins were generally used for transactions throughout the Roman empire (see C. Howgego, "The supply and use of money in the Roman world 200 B.C. to A.D. 300", *JRS* 82, 1992, 1-31) many cities ceased to mint coins, something which had a negative impact on the circulation of goods. It was not possible to compensate for this problem of the domestic market by the extraordinary issuing of bronze coins, as several cities did from the beginning of the 1st c. B.C. onwards (to the bibliography gathered in Rizakis 2001, 81 ns 117-18 we should now add J. A. W. Warren, *The bronze coinage of the Achaian Koinon. The currency of a federal ideal*, London 2007). As a result, citizens resorted to the use of older coins which had to be countermarked by the city's own issuing authority in order to be revaluated for the new era. These practices reflect, according to I. Touratsoglou (*infra* pp. 239-40) the lack of sufficient metal and the economic difficulties faced by the cities in general. The coin hoards which were discovered in the Peloponnese demonstrate that here, just as throughout the whole of Greece between 146 and 31 B.C., Athenian tetradrachms were used for international trade, until they were entirely substituted by the denar, brought into general use at the beginning of the imperial period (*FD* III 2, 139; Rizakis 2001, 81 and n. 116; Touratsoglou, *infra* p. 242 ns 19-21).

25. Although the interest rate in the mid-2nd c. B.C. had been about 7%, in the 1st c. B.C. it rose to 24% or even 48% mainly due to the great financial difficulties of the cities and consequently doubts as to their ability to pay off loans. J. Andreau (1999, 90-94) does not believe in the existence of legal restrictions (legal limits on the interest

that the generosity of the elite had no long-term effect.²⁶ By the end of the so-called republican period the demographic and economic crisis in most Peloponnesian cities was to take on such dramatic dimensions²⁷ that it would require the direct political intervention of Rome in order to prevent the collapse that was threatening its own system.

The first measures for the demographic and economic revival of the Greek peninsula were to be taken by Caesar (44 B.C.) although their completion was made possible by Octavian, whose victory at Actium (31 B.C.) ushered in a long period of peace and stability. Rome expressed, for the first time, a genuine interest in the fate of these cities and attempted a new administrative and economic reorganisation in order to facilitate a rapid exit

from chronic decline and their successful integration within the new imperial class. The recipe was simple. In place of the political fragmentation of the previous period a more centralised model was now introduced, which favoured certain large regional centres (Corinth, Patrai, Argos, Messene, Sparta and, to a much lesser degree, Megalopolis, Mantinea, Tegea, Sicyon and Elis), which were granted political and economic privileges in order to respond better to their new role (**Map. 2**).²⁸ Their demographic growth was encouraged or even imposed²⁹ as was the expansion of their territory and, as such, their cultivable land. Cities such as Corinth and Patrai as well as Sparta benefitted in particular, and the latter two were endowed with territorial possessions,³⁰ which were obliged to pay an annual tax

rate). The most characteristic example is the extremely high interest rate on the loan the *polis* of Gytheion received from the *Cloatii* brothers in 71 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 748; cf. Larsen 1938, 373 and Rizakis 2001, 83). For the economic consequences of the lack of liquidity, see Larsen 1938, 328-30 and 333-34.

26. Many civic honorary decrees, especially from Laconia and the Argolis, shed light on this situation; see the comment on such inscriptions in honour of individuals who have distinguished themselves by their benefactions in Lafond 2006, 56-58.

27. Depopulation affected the urban and, most of all, the population outside the urban zone, resulting in the gradual desolation of many regions. On this process, see Rostovtzeff 1957, 254; Larsen 1938, 465-67; Baladié 1980, 307-21. The rare archaeological finds from this period confirm this picture (Piérart 1976, 159). Also indicative is the situation that prevailed, according to Servius Sulpicius Rufus (Cicero, *Fam.* IV. 5, 4), in the cities of the Corinthian Gulf three years after Julius Caesar's victory at the battle of Pharsala in Thessaly (48 B.C.). His description, regardless of any exaggerations (he compares the towns to corpses: *oppidum cadavera*), portrays a gloomy reality. This image became a commonplace one which did not correspond to reality and was repeated in dramatic tones, as can be seen, for example, in a passage by Seneca (*Ep.* 91. 10) who wrote in the mid-1st c. A.D.: *Non vides, quemadmodum in Achaia clarissimarum urbium iam fundamenta consumpta sint nec quicquam exstet, ex quo appareat illas saltim fuisse?* Such statements have led to an excessively pessimistic picture of the situation in the Peloponnese during the late Hellenistic period, which recent archaeological excavations suggest should be partly revised or, at least, evaluated in a more nuanced way. See *supra* p. 4 n. 15 and *infra* p. 10 n. 47.

28. Larsen 1938, 471-72; Alcock 1993, 129-31 and 143-45; Rizakis 1996, 256-57; *id.* 2009, 17-18.

29. Through the synoecism of the adjoining *komai* or redistribution of the population by transferring inhabitants from one region to an urban nucleus in another region. See Larsen 1938, 469-71; Alcock 1993, 96-105; Lafond 2006, 291; Rizakis 2009, 19.

30. This expansion far exceeded the dimensions of an average Greek *polis*. The *territorium* of the *Colonia Patrensis* comprised the entire western part of Achaia and part of Southern Aitolia and the cities of Western Locris except for Amphissa. See Ul. Kahrstedt, "Die Territorien von Patrai und Nicopolis in der Kaiserzeit", *Historia* 1, 1950, 549-61; Alcock 1993, 160-64; Rizakis 1996, 279-85; Höet-van Cauwenberghe 1997/98, 51-53; Rizakis 2009, 20-21. The Emperor Augustus honoured his ally and personal friend Eurycles, *ob virtutem*, with the bestowal of the *civitas Romana*. He also entrusted him with hegemony over Sparta (Strab. VIII. 5, 1 and 5, 5; cf. Baladié 1980, 293), simultaneously vesting both Eurycles and Sparta with a set of privileges and territories that had, except for Kythera, previously formed part of Messenia (see Cass. Dio LIV. 7, 2 on Kythera and Paus. III. 26, 7 and IV. 31, 1-2 on Kardamyle and Thuria; cf. G. W. Bowersock, "Eurycles of Sparta", *JRS* 51, 1961, 112-13; S. E. Alcock "Archaeology and imperialism: Roman expansion and the Greek city", *JMA* 2.1, 1989, 87-135, esp. 110-11; Chr. Böhme, *Principes und Polis. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsform des Augustus über bedeutende Orte in Griechenland*, Munich 1995, 78 n. 5; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 97-98, 101, 139 and in particular G. Steinhauer, "The Euryclids and Kythera", *Archaeology* 19-20, 2006/07, 199-206 and Steinhauer, *infra* p. 81). At the same time, however, Augustus separated from Lacedaemon the Laconian cities, to form the so-called League of the Free Laconians (κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλευθερολακόνων), see Steinhauer, *infra* p. 84. See also Martin 1975, 438-97.



Map 2. Major urban centres in mainland Greece with an indication of important Greek cities and the Roman foundations in Achaea, Epirus and Macedonia.

(*vectigalia*) to the metropolitan city upon which they were dependent (*civitates adtributae*).³¹

The new metropolitan cities, which competed against each other,³² were the backbone of the new administrative organisation of the province of Achaëa, the engines upon which the economic revival and prosperity of the province were based, as they were located along the maritime and land trade routes, thus securing Roman domination and facilitating administrative and economic control from Rome (**Map. 3**).³³ The nucleation that took place at the beginning of the imperial period was not long in bearing fruit. This recovery became more apparent during the Flavian period, specifically during the reign of Domitian, and concerned all sectors of the economy.³⁴ For the first time after many decades there was an increase in agricultural output that was due not only to an increase in cultivable land but perhaps also to the introduction of new crops and the specialisation or intensification of production primarily in the suburban zones.³⁵

These latter practices are observed primarily in the context of the colonies, where the presence of a large number of *villae rusticae* served the food supply needs of the new urban colossi in the best possible way.³⁶ The presence of cellars with *pithoi*, agricultural tools and storage and auxiliary spaces (wells, oil- and wine-presses) which were found in each farmstead indicates that their basic destination was rural and that there was specialised production connected to the domestic market. A similar organisation of production can be observed in Sparta where, despite the differences in the planning model, intensification of agricultural activities can also be observed in the countryside near the city with the aim of providing a better food supply with a shift of agricultural production from a small single farmstead-based one to estate-based structures run by human labour dependent on an elite that was resident in the *polis*.³⁷

The economic revival of the cities permitted the concentration of wealth and a further rise in de-

31. On the nature of this dependency, see P. Biundo, "Terre di pertinenza di colonie e municipi fuori del loro territorio: gestione e risorse", *CG* 14, 2003, 131-42; *ead.*, "Agri ex alienis territoriis sumpti. Terre in provincia di colonie e municipi in Italia", *MÉFRA* 116, 2004, 371-436. On the dependency of the Aetolian and Locrian towns on Patrai and for its legal character, see Rizakis 1996, 279-85.

32. The competition between the cities to be first in rank created, as elsewhere, tensions or even overt enmities, considerably disturbing the harmonious coexistence between these *metropoleis*. The most renowned controversy is that between Argos and Corinth as to how the imperial cult should be financed. See A. J. S. Spawforth, "Corinth, Argos and the imperial cult: Pseudo-Julian, Letters 198", *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 211-32 and esp. 223 sqq. As far as the Peloponnese is concerned, the province's central points of administration and commerce were Patrae, Corinth, Sparta and Argos which is most obviously reflected by the density of population and the expansion of their *chorai*, which far exceeded the dimensions of an average Greek *polis*. See, for example, Rizakis, 1992/93, 440-41.

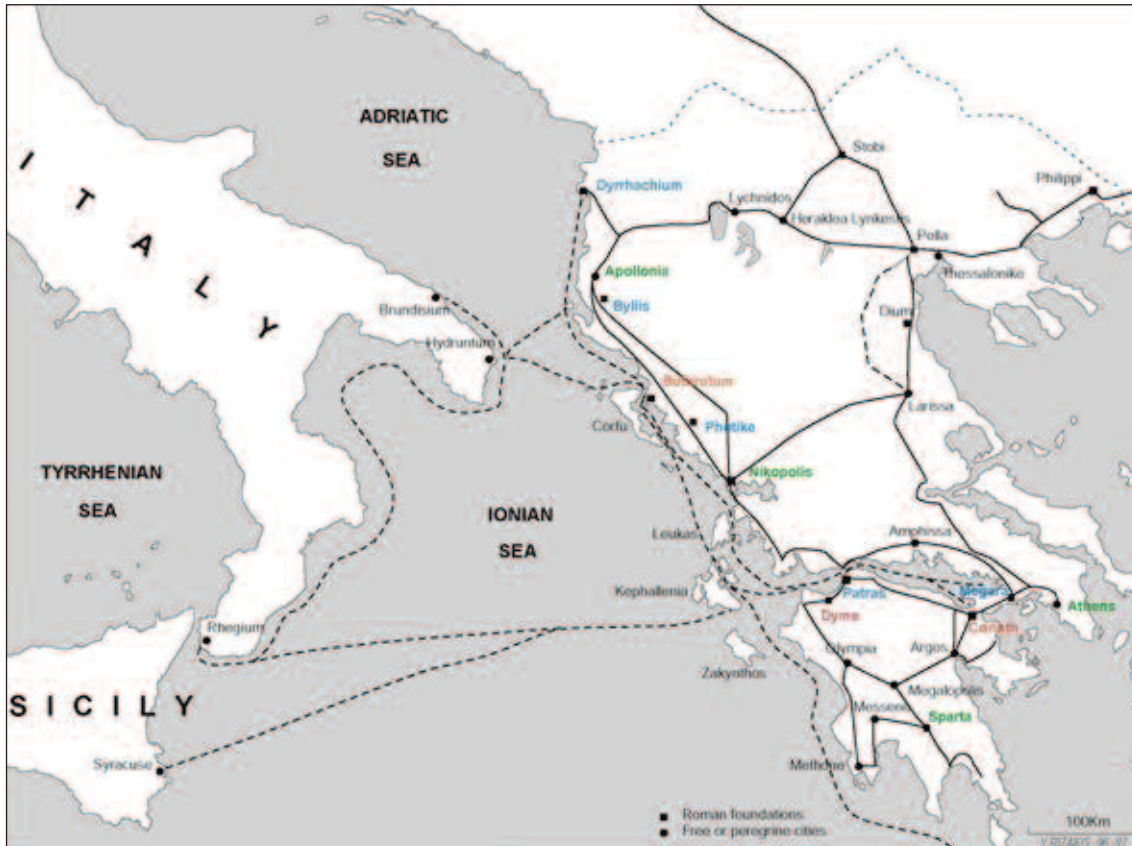
33. The list of predominant cities remained nearly unchanged until the end of late antiquity. See A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria picta: contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Rome 1967; G. D. R. Sanders, I. K. Whitebread, "Central places and major roads in the Peloponnese", *ABSA* 85, 1990, 333-61 and esp. fig. 2, p. 339 and pl. 4, p. 433; A. Avramea, *Le Péloponnèse du IV^e au VIII^e siècle. Changements et persistances*, Paris 1997, 107-19.

34. On the effects of nucleation, see Alcock 1993, 96-117; on recovery under the Flavii, Rizakis, *infra* pp. 135-39.

35. Piérart 1976, 160-61; Alcock 1993, 80-85. On crops, see Baladié 1980, 175-85. Economic rationalism was not unknown in some provinces (e.g. Egypt; see D. Rathbone, *Economic rationalism and rural society in third-century AD Egypt: the Heroninos archive and the Appianus estate*, Cambridge 1991), but we do not know to what extent technological advances made agriculture more profitable; cf. K. Greene, "Technological innovation and economic progress in the Ancient world: M. I. Finley reconsidered", *Economic History Review* 53, 2000, 29-59.

36. The best-known example is that of Patrai (Petropoulos 1994). On the *villae rusticae* discovered in the *territorium* of Corinth, see R. M. Rothaus, "Urban space, agricultural space and villas in Late Roman Corinth", in P. N. Doukellis, L. G. Mendoni (eds), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques, Actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 mai 1992*, Paris 1994, 391-96 and recently Aslamatzidou forthcoming and, more generally, Alcock 1993, 59-60.

37. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 170; G. Shipley, "The Survey Area in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods", in W. G. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel (eds), *The Laconia survey. Continuity and change in a Greek rural landscape I, Methodology and interpretation*, *ABSA Suppl.* 26, London 2002, esp. 288-97 and 326-337. For farms and *villae rusticae* of this period, see Rizakis, forthcoming b. It is generally believed that the yield and productivity of the agricultural economy during both antiquity and the Middle Ages were relatively low (1:4); see Bresson 2007, 176-78. Even so, it is certain that in some periods, e.g. the imperial period, profit was much higher than at other times.



Map 3. The main land and maritime routes in the Ionian Sea in the Imperial period.

mand for various essential goods as well as luxury goods. This enabled the development of a variety of industrial activities, some of which were not focused solely on the city population but were also intended for export.³⁸ One example was the flourishing textile industry in Patrai, which, according to Pausanias,³⁹ was concentrated in the hands of women, who used the flax grown in the plains of Elis as their raw material. The archaeological finds in-

dicate that a part of the production was carried out in factories in the city, and another part in the *villae rusticae*.⁴⁰ Similar and other types of activities were developing in many cities,⁴¹ which once more found themselves engaging in regional and international trade and, of course, producing a profit,⁴² contributing in this way to the development of transactions in the Mediterranean area. The concentration of wealth from various agricultural, industrial and

38. The discovery of a number of coins in some *villae rusticae* is the best proof that they were integrated into economic networks and the money-based economy. In this respect an analogy can be made with the large *villae rusticae* in Macedonia during the classical and Hellenistic periods, in contrast with those in Attica and the Peloponnese in previous periods (Bresson 2007, 158-59).

39. Paus., VII. 21, 14; cf. Alcock 1993, 80.

40. This can be seen in the large number of shuttles found in the *villae rusticae* in the territory of Patrai; see Petropoulos 1999, 42; Rizakis, Petropoulos 2006, 27. For other handicraft activities in the colony of Patrae and the corresponding workshops, see Petropoulos 1994 and *id.* 1999.

41. For handicraft production and workshops in Sparta, Argos and Corinth, see Piérart 1976, 160-61 and the bibliography cited in Rizakis, *infra* p. 148 n. 117. For the economic resources of Arcadia and Messenia under the Roman Empire, see Roy, *infra* esp. p. 71 and Themelis, *infra* pp. 89-106 *passim* respectively.

42. This transpires from the literary and epigraphical sources as well as from the circulation of coins and the archaeological finds in a certain region, and calls for further research.

commercial activities for the first time made it possible to implement large-scale urbanistic interventions, water supply installations, and construct roads and fine public and private buildings,⁴³ all contributing to the improvement of urban and regional infrastructure which gave the Peloponnesian *metropoleis* a monumental aspect unknown before.⁴⁴

The impressive picture of the Peloponnesian *metropoleis* during this period is reflected in Pausanias' descriptions – he visited them just after the middle of the 2nd c. A.D. – and is confirmed by the surviving remains and the more recent archaeological finds. This image of grandeur and wealth, reflecting the ostentatious nature of the local ruling class as well as the prosperity and generosity of the empire,⁴⁵ is in complete contrast to the picture of abandonment and decline presented by the small Peloponnesian centres. This contrast is clearly due to the downgrading of their political and economic role since the beginning of the imperial period. This fact further widened the chasm that separated them from the large centres with their privileges,⁴⁶

impressing Pausanias who was nostalgic for their glorious past, and exacerbated the phenomenon of *agri deserti*, in areas such as Arcadia, where Dio Chrysostom observed huge territories empty of people where the only activity was animal husbandry.⁴⁷ The pastoral economy indeed characterised many areas, primarily in Arcadia and Laconia. This primarily involved the rearing of sheep, goats and cattle for both dairy products and wool; we do not, however, know who processed or traded this wool.⁴⁸

The political and spatial reorganisation initiated by Augustus and his successors did not usher in any changes in land ownership, or the political and social rights of the free and tributary Peloponnesian cities. This, of course, was not the case in the context of the colonies (Corinth, Dyme, Patrae), whose foundation not only changed the political and economic geography of the broader region but undermined the traditional social hierarchy and the status of land ownership, as a large area of land was confiscated and divided amongst the colonists (**Maps 4** and **5** and Romano, *infra* p. 163 **fig 9** and p. 165

43. Although there is a vast range of individual studies on such development, we lack an overall critical assessment of it and its consequences for the local economy. See in general Piérart 1976, 161.

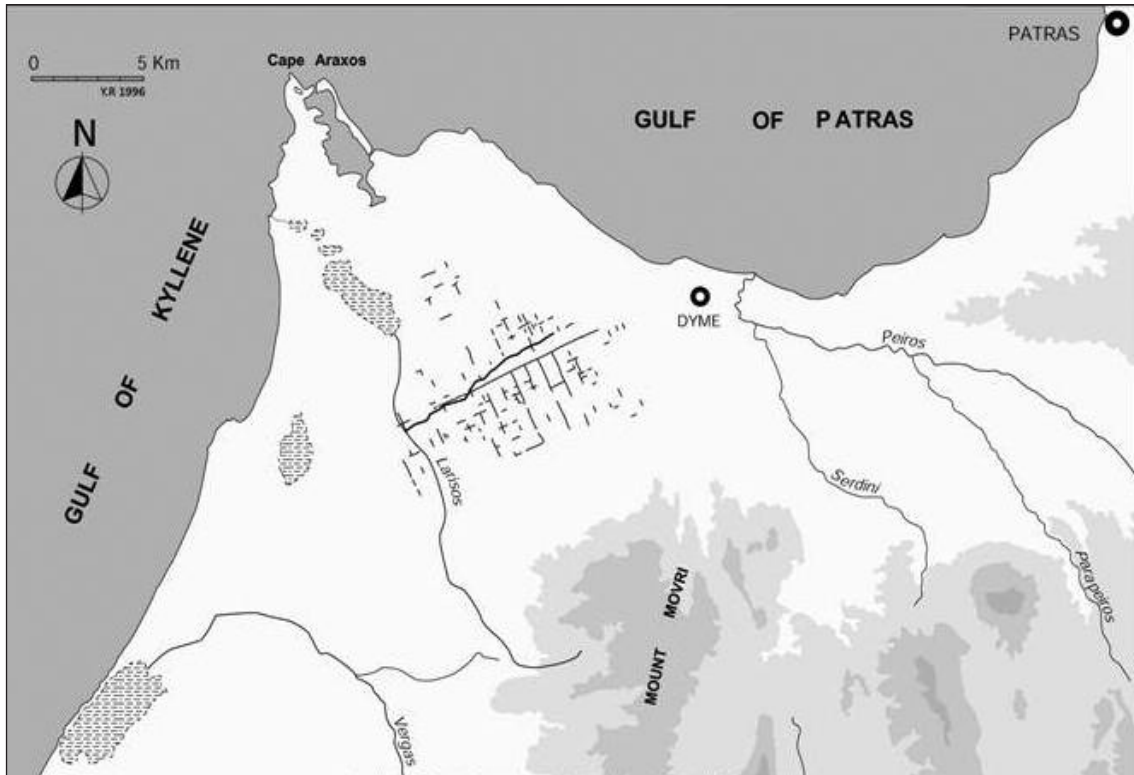
44. A. G. Vlachopoulos (ed.), *Αρχαιολογία. Πελοπόννησος*, Athens 2010 (forthcoming).

45. The wealthy, powerful families would gather in the large urban centres, which benefitted primarily from the redistribution of land and wealth (Alcock 1993, 114-15 and 160-64). Imperial generosity was most evident under Hadrian and his immediate successors, see Piérart 1976, 163-64. The ideal of the *princeps euergetes* (see Aristid., *Or. to Rome* 98-99) functioned as a prime example to be followed by local aristocrats. For the moral concepts which characterized the *ethos* of a commendable citizen, see for instance F. Quaß, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1993, 77-78. For the reference to moral values from the late Hellenistic period until the Severan period, see Lafond 2006, 55-73.

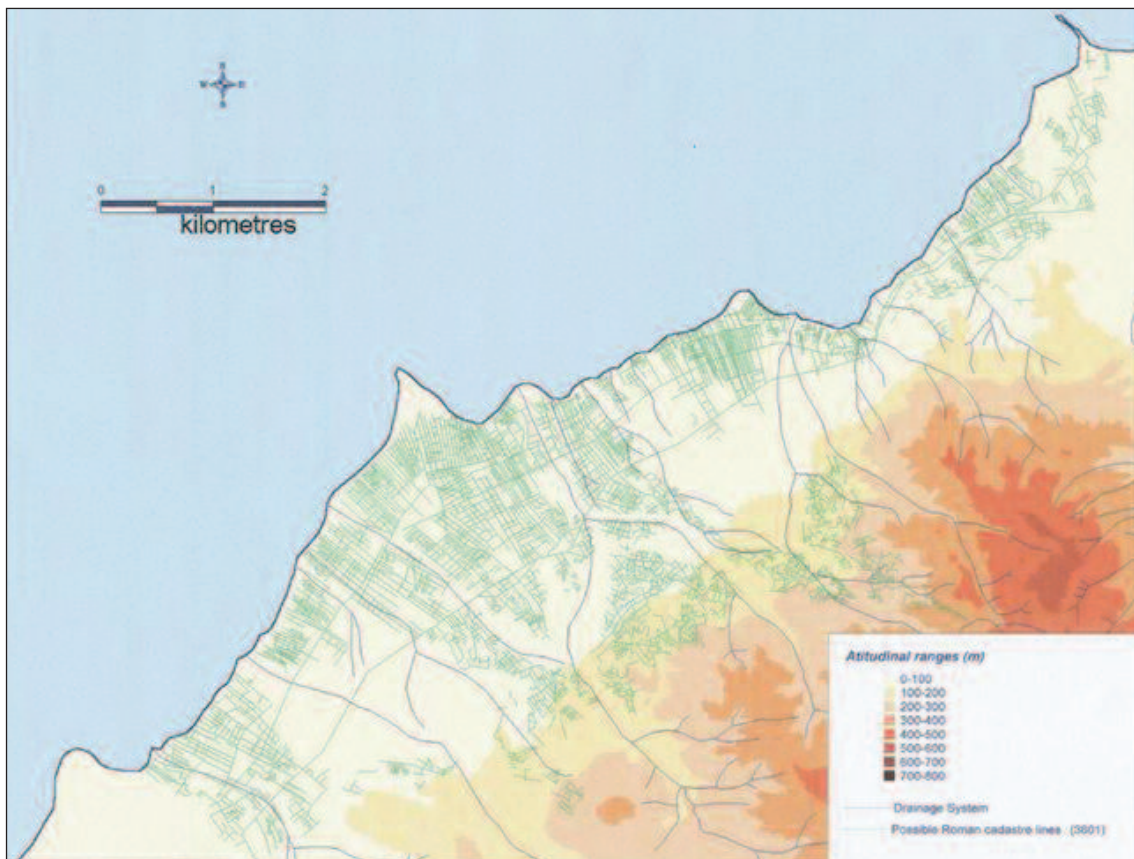
46. Only Megalopolis, Mantinea and Tegea in Arcadia stood out, although they never developed into centres of major economic importance, see Roy, *infra* pp. 62-65. On the depopulation of the territory of many Peloponnesian towns, see the critical approach to the literary sources taken by Alcock 1993, 24-32. For the devastation of Arcadia in particular, see Larsen 1976, 472-74; Baladié 1980, 316-20 (towns which disappeared and those which survived on the basis of numismatic evidence from the period).

47. Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXIII. 25 (cf. Baladié 1980, 303 n. 11). On the *agri deserti* and the desolation of the Peloponnesian countryside, see the results of surface surveys in Alcock 1993, 40-46 (see also *supra* p. 4 n. 15, p. 6 n. 27 and n. 46). The impression of devastation that one gains when studying the ancient literary sources is, however, exaggerated. See Roy, *infra* p. 59 and Stewart, *infra* esp. pp. 220-21 who, inspired by S. Alcock (*supra* p. 4 n. 15), stresses that the picture which results from the evidence gathered in field research is not uniform for all regions of the Peloponnese and by no means corresponds to the impression garnered from the literary sources, which portray the situation in overly simplistic terms. In certain areas, primarily Arcadia and Laconia, the expansion of cattle-raising at the expense of the agricultural cultivation (Piérart 1976, 161; Baladié 1980, 186-95; Rizakis 1992/93, 444) is explained either by the abandonment of the land and a lack of manpower or by the concentration of landed property, the anticipated profits from this activity and perhaps also by tax relief (Alcock 1989, 27-28; *ead.* 1993, 87-88).

48. At the *Theoxenia* games in Pellene, held in honour of Apollo, celebrated woollen chitons were awarded as prizes (see the bibliographical references in Rizakis 2008, 259 and 348 n. 72). Although in imperial times these chitons were replaced by a monetary sum (Strabo VIII. 7, 5), this should not be taken to mean that the pastoral economy of Pellene had declined in importance. On the pastoral economy of this period see C. R. Whittaker, *Pastoral economies in Classical antiquity*, Cambridge 1988; *id.*, *Land, city and trade in the Roman Empire*, Aldershot 1993.



Map 4. Cadastral traces in the plain of the colony of Dyme.



Map 5. Superimposition of Patras' linear elements over the altitudinal ranges and the draining system.

fig 10).⁴⁹ Within the new Roman order of the colonies the old inhabitants were downgraded politically, economically and socially to second-class free individuals with no political rights. In legal terms they were classed as part of the inferior category of *incolae* who all of a sudden had become, so to speak, *peregrini* in their own homeland.⁵⁰ These political and social consequences were alleviated in the 2nd c. A.D. with the extension of Roman citizenship rights, mixed marriages, and the decline of upper-class families. An interesting case in this respect is the social mixture of the colony of Patrae during the time of Pausanias' visit.⁵¹

The new order favoured the rich families in all instances, strengthening the trend towards large land ownership and widening the social gap between the haves and the have-nots, a tendency which had become apparent already in the Hellenistic period.⁵² At the same time they sought to gain the rights of the Roman citizen (*civitas Romana*) which, until the early 3rd c. A.D., comprised the most important social distinction between the free inhabitants of the empire. The granting of this right, done sparingly at first, was made easier after Claudius' reign,⁵³ so that gradually throughout the 2nd c. A.D. most members of the leading class of each city were

49. This was achieved through land surveys for cadastral registers, with the aim of facilitating control in general and in land taxation procedures by the Roman administrators in particular, especially from the Late Republican period onwards. In 44 B.C., at the foundation of a colony of veterans by Caesar in Corinth, the land was divided into rectangular units (*centuriatio*) and the lots attributed to the colonists; see Romano, *infra* esp. pp. 155-58. A different example of the reorganisation of an urban space and its surrounding *chora* is that of Dyme. Here, the first structural reorganisation according to the Roman pattern took place in response to the needs of settling defeated pirates by Pompey in 67 B.C. The foundation of a colony by Caesar at Dyme in 44 B.C. and the *deductio* of Patrae by Augustus called for further land planning procedures which were carried out by land surveyors, (*agri*)*mensores* or *gromatici*. Confiscations resulted in the downgrading and social marginalisation of the old inhabitants. For the cadastres of Patrae and Dyme, see A. D. Rizakis, "Cadastres et espace rural dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse", *DHA* 16.1, 1990, 259-80; P. N. Doukellis, "Ρωμαϊκές επεμβάσεις στο αγροτικό τοπίο της Αχαΐας", in Rizakis (ed.) 1991, 223-24; Rizakis 1992/93, 444-46; *id.*, "A G.I.S. Database to process Roman Cadastre and Settlement", in F. Vermulen, M. de Dapper (eds), *Geoarchaeology of the Landscapes of Classical Antiquity, International Colloquium Ghent, 23-24 October 1998*, Leiden 2000, 161-65 (in collaboration with M. Petropoulos, A. Vasilopoulos and N. Evelpidou); *id.*, "Étude géo-archéologique et détection de cadastre par des technologies software", in M. Clavel-Lévêque, A. Orejas (eds), *Atlas historique des cadastres d'Europe II*, Commission européenne, Action Cost G2, Luxembourg 2002, Dossier 6T (in collaboration with N. Evelpidou, A. Vassilopoulos and E. Verikiou).

50. On the different status of *coloni* and *incolae* equivalent to ἄποικοι and πάροικοι, see the remarks of the mid-2nd c. A.D. Roman jurist Sex. Pomponius in *Dig. L.* 16, 239.2; further Hyg. *grom.* 45 n. 37 (Th. 140) and 59 n. 53 (Th. 143); cf. A. D. Rizakis, "*Incolae-paroikoi*. Populations et communautés dépendantes dans les cités et les colonies romaines de l'Orient", *REA* 100, 1998, 599-617.

51. Only from the 2nd century onwards and especially through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* did the Greek *paroikoi* become Roman *cives* and gain the same judicial status as the *coloni*. Despite the interpretation offered by Pausanias (VII. 18, 7: "He [Augustus] granted freedom to the Patraeans, and to no other Achaeans; and he also granted all the other privileges that the Romans are accustomed to bestow on their colonists", transl. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb) in an enigmatic passage on the adaptation of the social roles in Patrai, there is no doubt that this testimony reflects the social structure of the colony of Patrae in Pausanias' day rather than at the time of the Emperor Augustus (Rizakis 1995, 167 no. 252, 4; *id.* 1996, 309-10; *id.* 2009, 10).

52. The presence of this urban elite can be identified in the literary sources and is confirmed archaeologically by the impressive *villae urbanae* that have been discovered in the urban context and the *villae rusticae* in the countryside, as well as by the imposing tomb monuments (for the example of Patrae, see Rizakis, *infra* pp. 139-40 n. 63). For large land properties in Peloponnesian cities, see R. Baladié, "Les grands domaines dans le Péloponnèse sous le Principat d'Auguste", in *Acts of the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy II, Athens 3rd-9th October 1982*, Athens 1987, 35-38; Alcock 1993, 55-56, 71-80 (landholding families), 85-88 (wealthy families); Rizakis 1995b, esp. 226-27.

53. On the spread of Roman citizenship throughout the Peloponnese, see Höet-van Cauwenberghe, *infra* pp. 173-90 *passim* and on Argos see also Marchetti, *infra* pp. 43-56 *passim*; more generally J.-L. Ferrary, "Les Grecs des cités et l'obtention de la '*civitas Romana*'", in P. Fröhlich, Chr. Müller (eds), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique*, Geneva 2005, 51-75.

Roman citizens.⁵⁴ Thanks to their great wealth, prominence and their political connections, the most prominent members of this class were able, from the mid-1st c. A.D., to exercise the important office of the high priest of the imperial cult, and to extend their political activities beyond the narrow limits of the city⁵⁵ to the Province and even the empire by being able to enter the equestrian class and, two or three generations later the senatorial.⁵⁶

The aristocratic families held the monopoly of wealth and power as they formed, until the 1st c. A.D. at least, the municipal council, the *ordo decurionum*. The survival of distinguished families from the Peloponnesian cities for a duration of greater than one century is a particularly rare phenomenon.⁵⁷ The renewal of the members of the *ordo decurionum*, despite the obstacles presented by the leading classes of the cities, was unavoidable and was done sometimes at a faster and other times

at a slower pace. The composition of the *ordo decurionum* was expanded after the Flavians, when we encounter new families who did not belong to the original core. Renewal of membership was sped up from the mid-2nd c. A.D., as new members were being proposed for the *ordo decurionum* who were not nobles of aristocratic lineage but belonged to the newly rising social classes. This change in the social composition was done gradually and with no external interventions. On the one hand, the decline and disintegration of the old families led to their biological ageing and death, whilst on the other hand the dynamism and adaptability of the new elite helped bring them to the forefront.

The influence of Roman conquest and rule on the religious and political life of the Peloponnesian cities is indisputable. Of course, the Romans did not intervene in the religious sphere and left the cities free to organise their traditional religious life.

54. See Chr. Höet-Cauwenberghe, “Diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine: notes sur les gentilices impériaux en Laconie et en Messénie», in A. Chastagnol, S. Démougin, C. Lepeley (eds), *Splendissima civitas. Études d’histoire romaine en hommage à François Jacques*, Paris 1996, 138-39 and *ead.*, *infra* esp. p. 189.

55. Eurycles and his descendants, for example, saw to the extension of their sphere of influence not only to adjacent towns in Laconia but also to neighbouring regions such as Arcadia (see Baladié 1980, 329; Alcock 1993, 78; A. D. Rizakis, “Supra-civic landowning and supra-civic euergetic activities of urban elites in the Imperial Peloponnese”, in *Being Peloponnesian. Cohesion and diversity through time, International conference, University of Nottingham, 31 march-1 april 2007*, forthcoming ns 11-16 (electronic version published in http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csp/events/pelo09_abstracts.php). Eurycles’ extraordinary ambitions provoked the vehement reaction of the old aristocratic families, in particular the descendants of Brasidas, who did all they could to ensure that Eurycles and his sons fell into disfavour with the emperor by accusing them of being responsible for the *stasis* or *tarache* that broke out at Sparta, resulting in their exile. See G. W. Bowersock, “Eurycles of Sparta”, *JRS* 51, 1961, 115-17; *id.*, “Augustus and the East: the problem of the succession”, in F. Millar, E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus. Seven aspects*, Oxford 1984, 176-78; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 100-01, 107 and Steinhauer, *infra* p. 83 n. 35, p. 84 n. 40, p. 85 n. 43.

56. The members of the equestrian and senatorial classes were exceptionally few in number; see A. D. Rizakis, “Ηγετική τάξη και κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση στις πόλεις της Πελοποννήσου κατά την αυτοκρατορική εποχή”, in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes. Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen«*, Athen 5.3.-7.3.1998, Athens 2001, 188 ns 53-56; S. Zoumbaki, “The colonists of the Roman East and their leading groups. Some notes on their entering the equestrian and senatorial ranks in comparison with native elites”, *Tyche* 23, 2008, 164-69. As R. Syme (“La richesse des aristocraties de Bétique et de Narbonaise”, *Ktéma* 2, 1977, 373-80; cf. M. Corbier, “City, territory and tax”, in J. Rich, A. Wallace-Hadrill [eds], *City and country in the Ancient world*, London - New York 1991, 211-39 esp. 223) observed, rich cities with vast territories at their disposal were the first to send senators to Rome while Roman colonies where land had been allocated originally in equal plots did not create the right conditions of social differentiation for the emergence of a very rich elite.

57. Characteristic examples are those of the family of C. Iulius Eurycles (see Spawforth 1978, 261; cf. also *RP* II, LAC 455; LAC 460-62; LAC 468-70; LAC 509 and *stemma* VIII on p. 586), the Memmii Pratoles at Sparta (see Spawforth 1985, 194 tab. 1; cf. *RP* II, LAC 560; LAC 573-577 and LAC 579 and *stemma* VII on p. 585; see also Balzat, *infra* pp. 346-48), the family of Claudius Aristomenes (*RP* II, MES 130-31 and MES 136), the Claudii Saethidae in Messene (*RP* II, MES 142; MES 145; MES 150; MES 156-57 and *stemma* XVI on p. 592; for both families see moreover Themelis, *infra* pp. 89-106 *passim*) and the Vettuleni in Eleia (see S. Zoumbaki, “Zu einer neuen Inschrift aus Olympia: Die Familie der Vettuleni von Elis”, *ZPE* 99, 1993, 227-32; *ead.*, *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Meletemata 32, Athens 2001, B 6-13 with *stemma* on p. 248; *RP* I, EL 332-40 and *stemma* XV on p. 540).

They did not react to the introduction or reorganisation of certain religious phenomena, such as the Mysteries at Andania in Northern Messene,⁵⁸ and neither did they prevent the introduction of new cults, of which we can distinguish the Roman cults found only in the colonies as well as the eastern ones which flourished everywhere and became much more widespread.⁵⁹ One of the cults which developed as a reaction to the new political context was emperor worship. The rich and varied evidence, above all epigraphic, of the imperial cult in the Peloponnesian cities reveals how the Roman emperors were systematically associated with Greek traditional divinities in cult places and festivals, in an effort to represent imperial power in a more intelligible way through the integration of the emperors into the religious and cultural world of the Greek cities. The political and social significance of the imperial cult is also revealed in the Peloponnesian cities by the family extraction and social standing of those individuals, members of the

civic aristocracies, who assumed the office of priest of the emperors and *agonothetes* of the imperial contests, as well as by the privileged links some of them had with Roman power. These links were made manifest by the possession of the *civitas* and also by admission into the equestrian or senatorial order, although this was only in very few cases.⁶⁰

The hypothesis that during this period the great panhellenic *agones* declined and were downgraded to purely local events is not at all confirmed.⁶¹ On the contrary, there is much evidence to indicate that the Romans showed particular interest in the continuation of the agonistic festivals, such as the Isthmian, Nemean and, of course, the Olympic *agones*⁶² and that they took particular care to preserve the privileges of “the artists of Dionysus from the Isthmus and Nemea”.⁶³ In addition to the three most celebrated *agones* of the so-called “ancient circuit” (*archaia periodos*), other agonistic festivals, both traditional and new, were celebrated in several Peloponnesian cities.⁶⁴ Sparta, for exam-

58. On the cults and agonistic festivals connected with Greek deities worshipped in Peloponnesian *poleis* in the Hellenistic and also in the Imperial period, see Lafond, *infra* pp. 407-18 *passim*. On the mysteries see Paus. IV. esp. 1, 8-9; 2, 6; 17, 10; 33, 6 (in his day they were celebrated at the *Karneiasion*, whereas Andania itself was in ruins). The most important epigraphic evidence is *IG V 1*, 1390, a detailed regulation of the cult practices drafted in about 91 B.C. on the occasion of a reform; cf. N. Deshours, *Les Mystères d'Andania. Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire religieuse*, Bordeaux 2006; N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians. Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge 2008, 92-94, 264, 299; Themelis, *infra* esp. p. 93 n. 34. A revival of many old cults and cult practices can be observed in the 2nd century during a time of vague nostalgia, as we can see in Pausanias' description and the numismatic and figurative iconography, cf. the evidence of Melfi, *infra* esp. pp. 331-39. On the sacred landscape of the cities in this period, see the interesting remarks of Alcock 1993, 172-214.

59. Piérart 1976, 164. Some were already known from the Hellenistic period, see e.g. Jost, Höet-van Cauwenbergh, *infra* p. 301 ns 102-03. For evidence on the imported cults of oriental deities such as Isis, Sarapis, Cybele and Mithras in Corinth and Patrae, see Hoskins Walbank, *infra* p. 368 n. 58 and Rizakis, *infra* p. 148 n. 115 (Sarapis); Palagia, *infra* p. 435 n. 19 (Mithras) respectively. The worship of Mithras and Isis is testified for Aigion, see E.-I. Kollia, “Eine Kultgrotte des Mithras in Aigion. Aspekte der Mithras-Verehrung in Achaia”, *MDAI(A)* 118, 2003, 397-447; A. G. Vordos, E.-I. Kolia, *Αιγιάλεια. Αρχαίες πόλεις και μνημεία*, Patras 2008, 66-67 figs 33-34 (a small subterranean cult chamber which was interpreted by the excavator E.-I. Kolia, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, as a *Mithraeum*, so far unique in Greece. This belonged to a private house and was dated to the end of the 2nd or first half of the 3rd c. A.D.). For a private dedication to Isis attributed to the 2nd/3rd c. A.D.), see Rizakis 2008, 183-84 no. 124. The identification of a large building in front of the theatre at Argos has been interpreted by P. Aupert as a Domitian temple for the cult of Sarapis-Asklepios, although this is doubted by Piérart, *infra* pp. 33-34 ns 129-30; cf. also M. and P. Vitti, *infra* p. 268 ns 6-7. On Egyptian influence on the cult of Asklepios in Epidauros in the Hadrianic period, see Melfi, *infra* pp. 334-35 n. 44.

60. Alcock 1993, 181-88 and 198-99; Camia, Kantiréa, *infra* esp. pp. 389-97 ch. IV. On the Peloponnesian *equites* and *senatores*, see also *supra* p. 13 n. 56.

61. On panhellenic sanctuaries during this period, see Alcock 1993, 189-91.

62. Piérart 1976, 164; on Olympic Games see the bibliography cited by Zoumbaki, *infra* p. 119 n. 54.

63. Piérart 1976, 158; Ferrary 1988, 189 n. 228 (Dionysiac *technitai*); Spawforth 1989.

64. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 184. A useful catalogue per region is to be found in Y. Lafond, “Les concours locaux dans le Péloponnèse”, in *Preliminary Publication of the XIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Rome, 18-24 September 1997*, Rome 1997, 235-41; cf. also Lo Monaco, *infra* pp. 309-26 *passim* and for Arcadia Jost, Höet-van Cauwenbergh, *infra* pp. 291-307 *passim*.

ple, emerged as an important agonistic centre, where next to traditional festivals such as the *Carnea*, the *Hyacinthia* and the *Gymnopaediae*,⁶⁵ new contests were reorganised, such as the *Leonidea*, or introduced *ex novo*, such as the *Urania* in honour of Zeus *Uranios*,⁶⁶ and the *Euryclea*, named after the famous Spartan notable and Roman senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus.⁶⁷ The introduction and diffusion of imperial festivals as well as gladiator fights and wild-beast shows was a direct consequence of Roman domination. While the former were celebrated in several places throughout the whole of the Peloponnese,⁶⁸ *munera gladiatoria* and *venationes* are attested only in the Roman colonies of Corinth and Patrae.⁶⁹

If we exclude the colonies, the Romanisation of the cities of the Peloponnese was limited to the field of personal names,⁷⁰ architecture and construction techniques. The colonies of Corinth and Patrae played a major role in the spread of western architecture, with the construction of amphitheatres intended for Roman spectacles, baths and

aqueducts, which offered hitherto unknown comforts, as well as temples with crepidomas raised on podiums and to which only one stairway led, from the east.⁷¹ These colonies also played a leading role in spreading the techniques of Roman architecture throughout Greece and the Peloponnese in general.⁷² The results are well known, and concern the mass prevalence of brick wall construction (*opus testaceum*) as opposed to stone structures.⁷³

In contrast with architecture and building techniques, the effects of Roman rule were less noticeable in other aspects of the social life of the Greek cities and, in particular, on their internal structure. In general, the Peloponnesian cities – with the exception of the colonies, which used Latin⁷⁴ and whose institutions imitated the Roman prototypes – preserved as a rule their traditional cults, traditional customs and traditional institutions and offices⁷⁵ and essentially also their particular artistic identity.⁷⁶ Yet, as M. Piérart observes,⁷⁷ the survival of the ancient institutions does not mean that they were preserved in full. The cities had a limited au-

65. These, all linked to the worship of Apollo, were “Classical Sparta’s three principal religious festivals, all three of which were still celebrated in the Imperial age”, see Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 193.

66. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 185-86, 192.

67. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 110-11, 186-87; *RP* II, LAC 462. See also Lafond, esp. *infra* p. 413.

68. See Camia, Kantiréa, *infra* pp. 382-88 ch. IIIa.

69. Corinth: Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXI. 121; Apul., *Met.* X. 18. See also Camia, Kantiréa, *infra* pp. 588-89 ch. IIIb. Patrae: Rizakis 1998, no. 53 (2nd-3rd c. A.D.); cf. *RP* I, ACH 190. Corinth was the only city in the province of Achaëa known to possess a proper Roman amphitheatre, while gladiatorial games in the colony of Patrae were carried out in the so-called stadium-theatre, see Di Napoli, *infra* p. 258 n. 37 and p. 259 ns 40-41; Rizakis, *infra* p. 137 n. 49.

70. *RP* I, pp. 40-41 and II, pp. 26-29 Introduction; Chr. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, “Onomastique et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine en Arcadie”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athens 1996, 207-14; S. Zoumbaki, “Choosing a new name between Romanisation and persistence: the evidence of Latin personal names in the Peloponnese”, in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d’Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Études 21, Bordeaux, 145-59; see further Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, *infra* pp. 173-90 and Salomies, *infra* pp. 193-202.

71. Piérart 1976, 161; M. and P. Vitti, *infra* esp. p. 278 ns 44-47.

72. Roman influences on the countryside were much smaller. This is not, of course, due to any resistance that may have arisen to a presumed attempt at Romanisation, but simply to the lack of interest on the part of the elite, who channelled the necessary economic funds that they had to the urban centres, as their political and social status could better be promoted here.

73. Piérart 1976, 162; Rizakis, *infra* p. 145 n. 133. M. and P. Vitti, *infra* p. 267 n. 1 provides a list of the most important Peloponnesian sites where brickwork has been traced.

74. On the spread of Latin, see A. D. Rizakis, “Le grec face au latin. Le paysage linguistique dans la péninsule balkanique sous l’Empire”, in H. Solin, O. Salomies, U.-M. Liertz (eds), *Acta colloquii epigraphici latini, Helsinki 3-6 Sept. 1991, CommHumLitt* 104, 1995, 373-91.

75. Cf. here the evidence for the maintenance of the *ephebeia* and its significance in the context of Roman military service in Kennell, *infra* esp. pp. 215-16 ns 106-13.

76. For the artistic aspect cf. for example, Palagia, *infra* pp. 231-43.

77. 1976, 163.

tonomy and their every move had to be approved by the Roman governor or the emperor.⁷⁸

Epilogue

The administrative measures of Augustus and his successors brought change not only to the political geography of the peninsula, imposing the dominance of certain *metropoleis* as well as the spatial distribution of the population and wealth, but also the prevailing social hierarchy and the relationship between *polis* and *chora*. Although during the period of freedom this relationship was relatively equal, a new hierarchical structure was now established, with the aim of transferring the agricultural surplus of the *chora* to the areas where power was concentrated and where the privileged social groups resided.⁷⁹ The creation of large, over-concentrated urban centres of consumption changed the structure of economic production as well as the strategy of agricultural production, as the main aim of agricultural and industrial production was to supply the city. This intensified the already existing trend for urbanisation and the gradual abandonment of the countryside, exacerbating the phenomenon of the *agri deserti* for small marginalised communities in particular and the growth of animal husbandry.

The Romans showed an interest in the continuation of the traditional panhellenic agonistic contests and encouraged the creation of new ones that would respond to the new conditions. The Romans did not intervene in the religious sphere, and left the cities free to organise their traditional religious life, which underwent a renaissance in the 2nd c.

A.D. They did not react to the introduction or re-organisation of certain religious festivals, such as the Mysteries at Andania in Messene. The Roman cults stood out amongst the new imported cults, which were to be encountered only in the colonies, as did the eastern cults, which flourished everywhere and became much more widespread.

One of the cults which developed as a reaction to the new political context was emperor worship, which was systematically associated with Greek traditional divinities at cult places and festivals. Emperor worship privileged the links between civic elites with the emperor and the imperial cult whose priesthoods they performed, increasing the prestige of the leading men and their families within their local contexts and setting the conditions for one's career beyond the civic frontiers.⁸⁰ Romanisation, in particular of the upper classes, was undoubtedly felt in the field of personal names,⁸¹ architecture and construction techniques. The effects were less noticeable on institutions and aspects of social life. In general, the Peloponnesian cities – with the exception of the colonies, which used Latin and whose institutions imitated the Roman prototypes – preserved their traditional cults, customs and institutions.

Social organisation everywhere copied the Roman model of a pyramidal structure at the top of which were the members of the local aristocracy, who formed the membership of the municipal council, the *ordo decurionum*, and who sought, from the beginning of the imperial period, to acquire the rights of Roman citizenship, which would help them advance politically and socially. The limited eco-

78. The encounter between tradition and novelty and the combination of both elements as observed in all aspects of human life in the Peloponnese during the period covered by this collective volume were decisive in the selection of its title. Cf. the remarks of G. Steinhauer, “Παρατηρήσεις στην πολεοδομία της Ρωμαϊκής Σπάρτης”, in W. G. Cavanagh, C. Gallou, M. Georgiadis (eds), *Sparta and Laconia from prehistory to pre-modern. Proceedings of the Conference held in Sparta, organised by the British School at Athens, the University of Nottingham, the 5th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the 5th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities 17-20 March 2005*, BSA St. 16, Exeter 2009, 276-77 with n. 46.

79. Alcock 1993, 117-18. This claim is valid in principle, but the view of the “parasitic polis”, which operates merely as a consumer centre and exists at the expense of the countryside beyond the urban area, is no longer tenable and should be abandoned. Various manufacturing activities were developing during this period (metallurgy and textile processing, leather, clay, production of luxury goods such as perfumes) and it is likely that this range of production did not supply only the territory around the town but was distributed within a broader network of exchange. This brought enough profit in order to pay for those basic goods that had to be imported, above all grains and oil (cf. Bresson 2007, 199). On the concept of the “consumer city”, see J. Rich and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *City and Country in the Ancient World*, London - New York 1991, chap. XV-XVII.

80. Lafond, *infra* pp. 412-18; Camia, Kantiréa, esp. *infra* pp. 379-88.

81. See *supra* p. 12 n. 53.

conomic abilities of the cities, however, explain the small number of individuals from them to enter the equestrian or senatorial ranks. The decline of the traditional local aristocracy coincided with the general decline of the system and general prosperity, which had started to break down in the 3rd century when the continuous military clashes and political and economic instability further slowed production, encouraged profiteering and intense inflationary pressures, and undermined social cohesion. The destruction of the Peloponnesian cities by the Herulian invasion (A.D. 267) was the final blow. The crisis affected not only the political and economic spheres (definite end to minting coins) but also the values (in which the new religion was to invest), something which had a negative effect upon efforts to put an end to the decline. The transient recovery noted in many Peloponnesian cities during the 4th c. A.D. was not to last long, and the 6th century brought the final end to antiquity, as after this period most Peloponnesian cities were to disappear forever from the political map of the peninsula.

Athanasios D. Rizakis

Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity (I.E.R.A.),
The National Hellenic Research Foundation,
Athens, Greece

Bibliography

- Accame (S.), 1946: *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto*, Roma.
- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- Andreau (J.), 1999: *Banking and business in the Roman world*, Cambridge, 48-49.
- Aslamatzidou (Z.), forthcoming: "Roman farmhouses in the Corinthia: the Loutraki case", in *Farms and rural economy in Greece during the Roman period, International workshop held at the Archaeological Museum of Patras, April 23rd and 24th, 2010*.
- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris.
- Bresson (A.), 2007: *L'économie de la Grèce des cités (fin VIe-Ier siècle a. C.)*. I, *Les structures et la production*, Paris.
- Cartledge (P. A.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities*, London - New York.
- Chrimes (K. M. T.), 1949: *Ancient Sparta: A reexamination of the evidence*, Manchester.
- Deshours (N.), 2006: *Les Mystères d'Andania: études d'épigraphie et d'histoire religieuse*, Paris.
- Ferrary (J.-L.), 1988: *Philhellénisme et impérialisme: aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate*, BÉFAR 271, Rome.
- Hatzfeld (J.), 1919: *Les trafiquants dans l'Orient grec*, Paris.
- Höet-van Cauwenberghe (Chr.), 1997/98: *Rome et la société provinciale du Péloponnèse sous le Haut-Empire (31 avant J.-C.-235 après J.-C.)*, unpubl. PhD University of Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C. - III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Larsen (J. A. O.), 1938: "Roman Greece", in T. Frank (ed.), *An economic survey of ancient Rome* IV, repr. New York 1975, 259-498.
- Luraghi (N.), 2008: *The Ancient Messenians. Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge.
- Marchetti (P.), Kolokotsas (K.) (eds), 1995: *Le Nymphée de l'Agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique*, Paris.
- Martin (D. G.), 1975: *Greek leagues in the later second and first centuries B.C.*, PhD Princeton, Ann Arbor University Microfilms 1983.
- Nottmeyer (H.), 1995: *Polybios und das Ende des Achaierbundes. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-achaischen Beziehungen ausgehend von der Mission des Kallikrates bis zur Zerstörung Korinths*, Munich 1995.
- Petropoulos (M.), 1994: "Αγροκίες της Πατραϊκής", in P. N. Doukellis, L. G. Mendoni (eds), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques, Actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 mai 1992*, Paris, 405-24 (in Greek with an English abstract).
- , 1999: *Τα εργαστήρια των ρωμαϊκών λυχαριών της Πάτρας και το Λυχομαντείο*, Athens.
- Piérart (M.), 1976: "Ο έλλητισμός στη Χερσόνησο του Αΐμου: Πελοπόννησος", in G. Christopoulos, I. Bastias (eds), *Ιστορία του Έλληνικού Έθνους. Έλλητισμός και Ρώμη (30 π.Χ.-324 μ.Χ.)* VI, Athens, 157-65.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1987/88: "Η ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στην Πελοπόννησο και η Αρχαϊκή Συμπολιτεία", *Acts of the Third International Congress on Peloponnesian Studies* (Kalamata, 8-15 September 1985), Athens, 2-36.
- (ed.), 1991: *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens.
- , 1992: *Paysages d'Achaïe I. Le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale*, Meletemata 15, Athens.
- , 1992/93: "Ρωμαϊκές επεμβάσεις στο ύστικό και άγροτικό τοπίο τῶν πόλεων τῆς Πελοποννήσου", *Acts of the Fourth International Congress on Peloponnesian Studies (Cortinith 9th-16th September 1990)* I, Athens, 433-48.
- , 1995a: *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Meletemata 20, Athens.
- , 1995b: "Grands domaines et petite propriété dans le Péloponnèse sous l'Empire", *Du latifundium au lati-*

- fundo. Un héritage de Rome, une création médiévale ou moderne?*, *Actes de la Table ronde internationale du CNRS, Bordeaux 17-19 décembre 1992*, Paris, 219-38.
- 1996: “Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires”, *DHA* 22.1, 255-324.
- 1997: “Roman Colonies in the province of Achaia: Territories, Land and Population”, in S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, 15-36.
- , 1998a: *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras. Épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 25, Athens.
- , 1998b: “*Incolae-paroikoi*. Populations et communautés dépendantes dans les cités et les colonies romaines de l’Orient”, *REA* 100, 599-617.
- , 2000: *Paysages d’Achaïe II. Dymé et son territoire. Actes du colloque international: Dymaia et Bouprasia, Katô Achaïa, 6-8 octobre 1995*, Meletemata 29, Athens.
- , 2001: “La cité grecque entre la période hellénistique et l’Empire”, in R. Frei-Stolba, Kr. Gex (eds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l’occasion du 60e anniversaire de P. Ducrey, Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998*, Bern - Berlin - Bruxelles, 75-96.
- , 2008: *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athens.
- , 2009: “La colonie de Patras en Achaïe dans le cadre de la colonisation augustéenne”, in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell’età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, Tripodes 8, Athens, 17-38.
- , forthcoming a: “*H Realpolitik της Ρώμης και η θλιβερή τύχη της Μεσσήνης στην περίοδο που ακολουθεί μετά τον δεύτερο Μακεδονικό πόλεμο (196-182 π.Χ.)*”, in P. Valavanis et alii (eds), *Πλόες στην Κλασική Αρχαιολογία, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Πέτρο Θέμελη*, Athens.
- , forthcoming b: “The system of *villae rusticae* and the new form of rural exploitation and relations between city and countryside”, in *Farms and rural economy in Greece during the Roman period, International workshop held at the Archaeological Museum of Patras, April 23rd and 24th, 2010*.
- Rizakis (A.), Petropoulos (M.), 2006: “Ancient Patrai”, in Tr. E. Sklavenitis, K. Sp. Staikos (eds), *Patras: from ancient times to the present, Collective volume*, Athens, 2-57.
- Rizakis (A.), Touratsoglou (I.), 2008: “L’économie du Péloponnèse hellénistique: un cas régional”, in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d’Épameinondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Ét. 21, Bordeaux, 69-82.
- Rostovtzeff (M. I.), 1957: *The social and economic history of the Roman Empire*, rev. ed. by P. M. Fraser, Oxford.
- RP I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Schwertfeger (Th.), 1974: *Der Achaïsche Bund von 146 bis 27 v. Chr.*, Munich.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1978: “Balbilla, the Euryclids and memorials for a Greek magnate”, *ABSA* 73, 249-60.
- , 1985: “Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes”, *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1989: “Agonistic festivals in Roman Greece”, in S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek renaissance in the Roman Empire, Papers from the 10th British Museum Classical Colloquium, London 1986*, BICS Suppl. 55, London, 193-97.

ARGOS ROMAINE: LA CITÉ DES PERSÉIDES

Marcel Piérart

Abstract: The medium-sized city of Argos made its living from agriculture and stockbreeding. The Argive democracy possessed a large public land, allotted on rent and administered by the *phylai*. The allotment system survived the political regime imposed by the Romans shortly after 146 B.C. Argos was then obliged to adopt a new constitution. A board of *synedroi* ruled the city, in collaboration with the *archontes*. Most pro-eminent magistrates were the *agoranomos* (market supervisor), the *tamias* (treasurer), and the *grammateus* (secretary). At their side, the *gymnasiarch* was responsible of the three *gymnasia* of the city. In imperial times, the political power was in the hands of propertied families, who possessed large estates. Their members had family ties in several cities of Greece. They obtained more often the Roman citizenship. They took charge of the organization of the Panhellenic games (Argive *Heraia* and Nemean games) and assumed important offices in the cult of the emperors. These families could claim to a mythical origin: Argos, the city of the Perseids, had been the homeland of famous Greek heroes and remained proud of its origins.

En faveur de la cité des Argiens, celui qui voudrait la glorifier pourrait citer bien des faits, anciens et nouveaux. Dans la guerre contre Troie, c'est à elle qu'appartient la plus grande part de l'action, comme ce fut le cas plus tard, dans la guerre médique, pour les Athéniens et les Lacédémoniens. [...] Mais ces faits semblent être d'une antiquité bien lointaine. Depuis lors, le retour des Héraclides, l'honneur d'avoir formé le lot réservé à leur aîné, l'envoi d'une colonie chez les Macédoniens, le maintien, malgré le voisinage si proche des Lacédémoniens, d'une liberté et d'une indépendance ininterrompue, attestent un courage dont la grandeur n'est pas ordinaire. [...] Plus tard, elle obéit aux Romains en alliée plutôt qu'en pays conquis et elle jouit, me semble-t-il, comme les autres cités, de la liberté et de tous les droits que leurs maîtres ont toujours accordés aux villes de la Grèce.¹

Le texte placé en exergue, en dépit des problèmes qu'il pose,² résume admirablement la façon dont

l'historiographie ancienne se représentait l'histoire d'Argos: la gloire passée du temps des dieux et des héros, les luttes récurrentes avec Sparte, les liens de parenté qui l'unissaient aux souverains de Macédoine, descendants d'Héraclès et de Téménos. Les avantages que la cité retira de leur bienveillance furent considérables: Argos put rentrer en possession de la Thyréatide et même d'une grande partie de la Cynourie.

Cette belle amitié se brisa cependant lors de la deuxième guerre de Macédoine. Contraint de se rapprocher de Nabis de Sparte, Philippe V lui céda Argos «en prêt, jusqu'à la victoire³». Nabis dut rendre Argos en 195. T. Quinctius Flaminius, vainqueur, présida, vers la fin de l'automne, les Concours Néméens dont on avait dû différer le déroulement à cause de la guerre.⁴ Après les souffrances qu'ils avaient connues, l'enthousiasme des Argiens libérés fut tel qu'ils votèrent à Flaminius des honneurs exceptionnels: des concours furent créés qui

1. Julian., *Ep.* 198 (Bidez).

2. Cf. ci-dessous p. 31 et n. 106.

3. Liv. XXXII. 38, 2: *uelut fiduciarium dare ut uictori sibi restitueret [...] si quid aduersi accidisset, ipse haberet.*

4. *Id.* XXXIV. 41.

portaient son nom (*Titeia*). On les célébrait encore un siècle plus tard.⁵ Après ces événements, la cité ne sortira plus guère de l'ombre pour nous: l'histoire d'Argos à l'époque romaine est presque entièrement tributaire des sources archéologiques, des inscriptions et des monnaies. Elle n'aurait rien d'exceptionnel, nous le verrons, si le souvenir vivant de sa gloire passée ne continuait de lui assurer au-delà de ses frontières un prestige certain.

Le cadre géographique, économique et social

Située dans le Péloponnèse nord-oriental, à 40 kilomètres de Corinthe, Argos est l'une des plus anciennes villes de Grèce. À la lisière occidentale d'une plaine alluviale de près de 250 km² bornée à l'est et à l'ouest par des masses montagneuses et ouverte au sud sur le golfe d'Argolide, le site d'Argos est dominé par deux collines de hauteur inégale: la Larissa, piton escarpé haut de près de 300 mètres, et la colline du Prophète Élie appelée conventionnellement 'Aspis', mamelon rocheux dont l'altitude n'atteint pas 90 mètres. La ville antique s'est développée au pied de la plus haute des deux collines.⁶

Le voyageur qui se rendait de Corinthe à Argos par la grand-route qui traversait le Péloponnèse pouvait, au moment où, au sortir de la passe du Trétos, il s'apprêtait à descendre dans la plaine, l'embrasser toute entière du regard. Au nord, à l'est et à l'ouest, les montagnes en délimitent clairement les contours.⁷

A l'extrémité sud de la plaine de Cléonai, la chaîne du Trétos départage les eaux entre le golfe de Corinthe et celui d'Argos. A l'est, se trouve le massif de l'Arachnaion. Bien que le nom d'Argolide ait désigné, dès l'Antiquité, l'ensemble de la péninsule à laquelle se rattache le bassin argien, la montagne, aride et désolée, a séparé de ce côté deux régions culturellement et politiquement distinctes: le territoire argien proprement dit et

l'Aktè, tournée en partie vers le golfe Saronique. A l'ouest, se dressent les montagnes imposantes d'Arcadie: le Lyrkeion, l'Artémision et la barrière du Ktésias.⁸

La plaine d'Argos est parcourue par plusieurs rivières qui drainent les eaux des montagnes. Ce ne sont pas des cours d'eau pérenne, mais des fleuves torrentiels, dont les crues peuvent, après de fortes pluies, être brutales. Les deux plus importants sont l'Inachos et le Charadros (appelé Xérias de nos jours). Tous deux ont leur source dans les montagnes qui marquent la frontière entre l'Arcadie et l'Argolide.⁹ Les petits torrents qui drainent le massif de l'Arachnaion n'atteignent pas, le plus souvent, la mer. Du point de vue morphologique, l'Argolide au sens étroit du terme comprend non seulement la plaine, mais l'ensemble des régions irriguées par les rivières dont les atterrissements la constituent. Pour la délimiter, il suffit de suivre la ligne de partage des eaux.¹⁰

Une particularité hydrogéologique du Péloponnèse contribue à former le paysage argien. Dans de nombreuses plaines intérieures emprisonnées par les montagnes, les eaux ne peuvent s'écouler que par des orifices souterrains, les katavothres. Plusieurs de ces résurgences karstiques formaient encore naguère dans la partie sud-ouest de la plaine argienne, entre Kephalaria et Myli (où se trouvait le site de Lerne) une région marécageuse au sol très détrempe.¹¹

Deux observations permettent de compléter notre connaissance du paysage hydrographique argien. Strabon soulignait déjà l'importance de la nappe phréatique pour l'approvisionnement de la ville en eau.¹² Il y a un demi-siècle encore, les puits fournissaient l'essentiel de l'eau utile. C'est dans la moitié sud de la plaine, où la nappe est à faible profondeur, que ceux-ci étaient les plus abondants.¹³ D'autre part, dans la partie sud-ouest de la plaine, une lagune asséchée aujourd'hui la coupait de la mer.¹⁴

5. SEG 22, 1967, 266. Cf. ci-dessous pp. 24-25.

6. Piérart 2003, où l'on trouvera la bibliographie.

7. Lehmann 1937, 1-2; Frazer 1922, 231-32.

8. Philippson, 1892, 93-119 (péninsule).

9. Baladié 1980, 70.

10. Lehmann 1937, 5; 50-54; Baladié 1980, 70.

11. Lehmann 1937, 55; Baladié 1980, 103-13; Piérart 2003, 49 n. 4 (avec la bibliographie).

12. Strab. VIII. 6, 7-8; cf. Baladié 1980, 113-15; Piérart 1992, 119-27.

13. Lehmann 1937, 55-56; 114 fig. 27. pl. IV, 1.

14. Arist., *Hist. an.*, 601b, 33-602a, 11; cf. Lehmann 1937, 29-31; Baladié 1980, 112.

Grâce à ces observations et aux informations de Pausanias, nous pouvons fixer avec assez de précision le tracé des frontières politiques d'Argos à l'époque romaine. À l'est, la route d'Argos à Épidaure franchit l'*Arachnaion* avant d'arriver à Lessa, dans le territoire d'Épidaure.¹⁵ Au sud, le territoire comprenait aussi la Thyréatide, qu'une montagne sépare de l'Argolide proprement dite, une plaine fertile drainée par la rivière d'*Aghios Andreas* et le Tanos.¹⁶ En s'enfonçant, le long de la rivière du Tanos, dans le massif du Parnon on atteignait le lieu-dit Ἐρμαῖ λίθου, où était la frontière commune entre les cités d'Argos, de Sparte et de Tégée.¹⁷ Deux routes conduisaient en Arcadie, l'une à Tégée, en passant par Hysiai,¹⁸ ruinée du temps de Pausanias, et une autre à Mantinée.¹⁹ Une autre voie conduisait à Ornéai, par où l'on atteignait le territoire de Phlionte.²⁰ Au nord du Trétos, la cité de Cléonai, détachée d'Argos à l'époque de la Confédération achéenne, est demeurée indépendante, mais la vallée de Némée continuait d'appartenir aux Argiens.²¹

La géographie physique fournit le cadre qui nous aide à situer les ressources naturelles qui fournissaient l'essentiel des revenus de la cité. Les chevaux qui faisaient sa fierté et sans doute aussi les boeufs de ses hécatombes étaient élevés dans les pâturages détrempés du sud ouest de la plaine.²²

Pausanias signalait les oliviers de la Thyréatide, dont il vantait la fertilité.²³ R. Baladié fait encore allusion à la petite vigne d'Argos, qui donnait un raisin blanc et se contentait des terrains pauvres: elle aurait été cultivée dans les régions les plus sèches de la plaine.²⁴ D'une manière générale, nous sommes très mal informés sur la vie économique de la cité à l'époque romaine: ni Strabon ni Pausanias ne sont très prolixes sur les aspects économiques des régions qu'ils décrivent. Sans doute, comme le notait R. Baladié, Argos représentait aux yeux des auteurs anciens une cité moyenne «où les cultures habituelles aux pays de la Méditerranée orientale se rencontraient dans des proportions qui n'attiraient l'attention dans aucun sens²⁵». Le principal débouché de la ville sur la mer était le port de Nauplie.²⁶ Les marais et les lagunes qui la séparaient de presque tout son littoral ne l'encourageaient pas à avoir une vocation maritime.²⁷

Pendant la période classique, pourtant, la cité avait été capable de nourrir une population nombreuse et, grâce à une exploitation habile des terres communes, de maintenir un régime démocratique efficace.²⁸ À l'époque romaine, elle ne semble pas avoir échappé, comme le reste de la Grèce, à la dépopulation qui frappa le Péloponnèse. Celle-ci allait de pair avec la concentration croissante de la terre entre les mains de quelques grandes fa-

15. Paus. II. 25, 10. Sur les routes et les frontières d'Argolide chez Pausanias cf. Piérart 2009.

16. Le Mont *Zavitsa*, qui s'appelait sans doute Parparos dans l'antiquité: Plin., *HN* IV. 17. Cf. Philippon 1892, 480-88; Baladié 1980, 77-78.

17. Paus. II. 38, 7. Sur l'histoire des frontières aux époques hellénistique et romaine, cf. Piérart 2001a; Kritzas 2006, 429-30.

18. Paus. II. 24, 7; VIII. 7. L'expression ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστὶ πόλεως ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι n'est pas entièrement dépourvue d'ambiguïté, mais Paus. VIII. 54, 7 indique qu'en venant de Tégée, on franchissait la frontière avant d'arriver à Hysiai.

19. Paus. II. 24, 7-25, 4.

20. *Id.* II. 25, 5-6.

21. *Id.* II. 15, 3.

22. Baladié 1980, 188, 194; Piérart 1992, 125.

23. Paus. II. 38, 4.

24. Baladié 1980, 181, influencé par les commentateurs de Virgile. Il s'agit de l'*argitis minor*, chantée par Verg., *G.* II. 99, et décrite par Plin. *HN* XIV. 35 et Columella, *Rust.* III. 2, 21, 27. Mais on en fait aujourd'hui un nom grec apparenté à ἀργός «blanc brillant»: Erren 2003, 339.

25. Baladié 1980, 174, qui pense à l'ensemble du Péloponnèse.

26. Des vestiges d'installations portuaires (?) signalent encore le site de Téménion, à cinq kilomètres d'Argos, où l'on disait que les Héraclides débarquèrent, avec les Doriens, à la conquête du Péloponnèse. Cf. Dorovinis, 1998. Il n'est pas sûr cependant que le site, entouré de marécages, fût encore exploité à l'époque romaine.

27. Il faut noter toutefois qu'avant la reconstruction de Corinthe et la réhabilitation du *diolkos*, le trafic d'Italie vers l'Orient a pu emprunter la route de Sicyone à Argos, cf. van Berchem 1962, 306; Baladié 1980, 258.

28. Kritzas 1992; Piérart 1997.

milles.²⁹ Pausanias nous apprend que, dans un premier temps, les Romains interdirent aux Grecs d'acquérir des biens au-delà des frontières de leur propre cité, mais qu'ils rapportèrent cette mesure par la suite.³⁰ Les études prosopographiques ont effectivement montré que, dès le premier siècle de notre ère, les plus grandes familles, qui n'hésitent pas à se réclamer des héros mythiques les plus prestigieux, ont tissé des liens qui dépassent largement le cadre des cités et sont prêtes à jouer un rôle au niveau de la province tout entière.³¹ En traversant la Thyréatide, Pausanias pouvait ainsi voir la splendide villa d'Hérode Atticus, dont il ne souffle mot.³² Une épitaphe du III^e siècle de notre ère salue un Gellius Carpos d'Athènes, résidant en Thyréatide, où il était *πραγματευτῆς τῆς Θυρεατικῆς χώρας*.³³ Toute la Thyréatide devait former alors un seul domaine.³⁴

Avant l'époque impériale, les Grecs étaient encore peu nombreux à obtenir la *civitas Romana*.³⁵ Le mouvement d'intégration s'accéléra sous l'Empire, surtout sous le règne de Claude.³⁶ Dès la fin de l'époque hellénistique, des Italiens et des Romains installés en Grèce sont venus grossir les rangs de cette aristocratie foncière.³⁷ L. Cornelius Ingenuus, gymnasiarque argien de l'époque d'Auguste, devait être des leurs.³⁸

Il y eut aussi, comme dans de nombreux endroits, des commerçants venus de Rome et du reste de l'Italie. Les deux dédicaces latines qu'ils nous ont laissées concernent le consul de 69 av. J.-C., C. Métellus, qui s'est emparé de la Crète, et son beau-

frère, Q. Marcius Rex, consul en 68 et chargé de réduire les pirates de Cilicie.³⁹ Ce n'est pas un hasard. D. van Berchem a bien montré que la présence de ces trafiquants à Argos n'était pas forcément un signe de la prospérité de la ville, mais plutôt de son importance stratégique. Sur les routes du Péloponnèse, Argos possédait une position clé que la destruction de Corinthe n'a fait que renforcer. Par la mer, il était facile de gagner la Crète depuis le Golfe de Nauplie en naviguant d'île en île jusqu'à La Canée. Ces magistrats romains avaient fait d'Argos leur base et l'on trouve naturellement des commerçants italiens dans le sillage de leurs armées. Mais la présence de ces derniers paraît avoir été sans influence sur le commerce local.

Il est très difficile d'évaluer le degré de prospérité d'Argos à l'époque impériale et, à plus forte raison, de dessiner la courbe de son évolution sur le plan économique. Quelques observations indirectes livrent des indices permettant de tenter d'esquisser un cadre général. Argos est une ville moyenne qui ne paraît jamais avoir été tentée par les grandes entreprises commerciales. L'intérêt que lui accorde Strabon, qui ne l'a pas visitée,⁴⁰ tient davantage à son passé prestigieux qu'à son importance économique: les inscriptions étudiées dans la section suivante prouvent les difficultés financières dans lesquelles la ville se débattait à la fin de l'époque hellénistique. La fin des guerres civiles n'a sans doute pas ramené tout de suite la prospérité et les équilibres économiques ont dû rester fragiles. Les chroniques font état d'une fa-

29. Baladié 1980, 301-330. Selon lui, le fléchissement démographique dans le Péloponnèse a précédé le développement de grands domaines qu'il a rendu possible.

30. Paus. VII. 16, 9-10.

31. Cf. Spawforth 1985; Piérart 2001b; *RPI* et II.

32. Entre Neris et Eua. Ses ruines s'étendent au pied du monastère de *Loukou*, au lieu-dit *Kolones*, cf. Faklaris 1990, 100-04. Une mise au point bibliographique sur les fouilles récentes dans *SEG* 49, 1999, 370.

33. *SEG* 13, 1956, 261, ll. 4-7.

34. J. et L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1954, 117; cf. *RPI*, ARC 84. Le *nomen* Gellius, s'il renvoie aux propriétaires, comme le suggèrent les Robert pourrait suggérer que la *villa* avait changé de mains au III^e siècle.

35. Signalons à Argos des M. Antonii (*RPI*, ARG 18-19) et des Cn. Pompeii, (*RPI*, ARG 205 et 207-09), dont les ancêtres ont pu rendre des services à l'époque de la lutte de Rome contre les pirates; cf. *SEG* 50, 2000, 361 (dédicace d'un agoranome pour Pompée le Grand).

36. Cf. Rizakis 2007, 186, 192-93.

37. Baladié 1980, 326-28.

38. Cf. ci-dessous p. 27 n. 72.

39. *CIL* I², 716 et III, 531 (*ILS* 867); cf. van Berchem 1962.

40. Il est à Corinthe en juillet 29 av. J.-C. et ne pénètre pas dans le Péloponnèse, qu'il ne connaît que par des sources dont les principales, Artémidore et Apollodore, remontent à la deuxième moitié du II^e s. av. J.-C.: Baladié 1980, 13-14, 251.

mine qui s'abattit sur la Grèce au début du règne de Claude⁴¹ et des inscriptions en portent la trace, en Béotie et en Arcadie.⁴² Il est raisonnable de penser qu'Argos ne fut pas épargnée. L. Robert a parlé d'«une misère générale d'où émergent quelques rares fortunes», tout en mettant en garde contre le danger d'étendre ces remarques à toutes les époques et, ajouterons-nous, à tous les lieux.⁴³

L'étude récente de la céramique romaine par C. Abadie livre un premier cadre géographique et chronologique qui nous permet d'évaluer la prospérité relative d'Argos à cette époque.⁴⁴ La place respective de la céramique commune et des céramiques fines dans les dépôts, bien qu'elle soit difficilement quantifiable, indique que la céramique commune domine encore pendant une bonne partie du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C.: «Ce n'est, semble-t-il qu'au cours de la seconde moitié du I^{er} siècle, voire même à la fin de cette période [...], que l'on assiste à un renversement de tendance et que les céramiques fines paraissent aussi fréquentes et même plus fréquentes [...] que les céramiques communes. [...] Seule la période qui va de la fin du I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C. à la fin du II^e siècle est caractérisée par une présence majoritaire de la céramique fine sur la céramique commune⁴⁵».

Argos est, jusqu'à la seconde moitié du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., un site à peu près autosuffisant, dont le marché ne s'étend guère au-delà du Nord-Est du Péloponnèse. Il faut attendre la deuxième moitié du siècle pour apercevoir un revirement: les échanges lointains s'intensifient pendant cette période; les goûts évoluent, les tables se garnissent de produits plus raffinés, signe de l'intervention des grandes familles romanisées et des Romains installés à Argos.

Un des signes les plus clairs de la rupture qui s'amorce dans la seconde moitié du I^{er} siècle est la reprise des constructions publiques. Peu de travaux sont attribuables à la basse époque hellénistique. C'est vraisemblablement au début de l'Empire que le monument à colonnade qui bordait l'agora au nord (**K**)⁴⁶ fut détruit, à l'exception de sa façade

ouverte au sud, et remplacé par un imposant édifice qui en respecta scrupuleusement l'orientation. Il abritait probablement depuis l'époque hellénistique des ateliers de nature diverse ou des boutiques. Le nouveau bâtiment semble avoir été destiné lui aussi, au moins dans un second temps, à des activités artisanales ou commerciales.

Des travaux d'une certaine ampleur ont considérablement modifié l'aspect de l'édifice qui bordait l'agora au sud (**P**) dans le courant du premier siècle de notre ère. À l'intérieur du bâtiment, les structures classiques ont été détruites et remplacées par une cour rectangulaire de 35,70 × 17 m, avec des stoaes larges de ± 4,40 m, stylobate compris, dans laquelle on a proposé de reconnaître la palestre d'un des trois gymnases d'Argos, qui sont connus notamment par une inscription de l'époque d'Auguste trouvée dans le bâtiment (**PG**). Ces travaux ont entraîné la rectification de l'angle sud-est du bâtiment et, probablement, des transformations de sa partie ouest, actuellement hors des limites de la fouille.

Un réaménagement au moins partiel de la piste de course de l'agora (**S**) vers le milieu du premier siècle de notre ère va sans doute de pair avec l'érection de la palestre. Mais les blocs de la ligne de départ pourraient appartenir à un état plus ancien. La ligne de départ était formée de blocs à rainures, dont cinq sont demeurés en place. Elle comptait seize couloirs de 0,965 m répartis en deux groupes séparés par un espace médian de 0,22 m. La piste, de l'arête interne des blocs de départ à l'axe du repère des 300 pieds, trouvé en bordure du regard des égouts (**E**), mesure 89 m. Sous sa forme achevée, elle ne fut sans doute pas en usage fort longtemps. Les travaux d'installation d'une canalisation ont entraîné le démontage d'une partie des blocs de la ligne de départ, à la place desquels on disposa, pour la protéger, des stèles inscrites posées face contre terre, où étaient gravés quelques-uns des plus beaux décrets de la haute époque hellénistique. Dans toutes ces constructions, les matériaux utilisés restent modestes. Les remplois

41. G. Syncellus, *Eclog. chronogr.* 630, p. 405 (Mosshammer); Jer., *Chron.* I, p. 181 (Helm).

42. Akraiphia: Robert 1969 [= 1935]; Lycosoura: *IG V* 2, 516 (*Syll.*³ 800).

43. Robert 1969, 288 [= 1935, 447].

44. Abadie 2007, 257-72.

45. Abadie 2007, 257.

46. Cf. **fig. 2**. Les monuments de l'agora sont désignés par les lettres adoptées dans Pariente, Piérart, Thalmann 1998, 211-31. Pour l'ensemble du site, cf. **fig. 1** (Piérart 2003).

abondent. Il faudra attendre la fin du I^{er} siècle pour voir la ville se couvrir de monuments prestigieux qui exaltent l'image que les élites veulent donner d'elles-mêmes et de la cité dont elles assument désormais seules la charge.⁴⁷

Pour conclure: les contraintes géographiques qui pèsent sur la cité d'Argos ne la tournaient guère vers le commerce et les échanges. Sa prospérité et son rayonnement d'autrefois étaient dus à l'habileté de sa politique, l'intelligence du système d'exploitation des terres publiques et sacrées dont elle s'était dotée avec la démocratie, la maîtrise technique de ses artisans. Elle n'étendait guère son regard au-delà du Péloponnèse du Nord-Est et des frontières dont elle disputait la possession à ses voisins. L'ouverture vers le monde romain, qui se dessine dans le dernier versant du I^{er} siècle de notre ère, apparaît bien davantage comme le résultat de l'action d'une minorité de familles qui concentrent désormais entre leurs mains l'essentiel des richesses, des pouvoirs et des honneurs. Ces familles ont très tôt conclu entre elles des alliances et des mariages qui leur ont permis de dépasser le cadre des cités: elles sont les principales bénéficiaires des institutions mises en place lors de la conquête.

Le cadre institutionnel: la cité

Les fouilles de l'agora ont livré les vestiges d'une statue équestre érigée à Argos en l'honneur du consul romain L. Mummius en 146 av. J.-C.⁴⁸ Polybe expliquait que Mummius, parcourant les cités après le départ de la commission sénatoriale, y reçut, à juste titre, «les honneurs et les témoignages de reconnaissance qui convenaient en la circonstance⁴⁹». Un autre document encore inédit trouvé à Argos appartient à la période de la conquête romaine. Il s'agit d'une série de lettres adressées aux cités achéennes par L. Mummius et par son successeur Q. Fabius Maximus concernant le renouvellement des privilèges accordés aux

technitai dionysiaques de l'Isthme et de Némée, contraints de s'installer à Argos après la destruction de Corinthe.⁵⁰

Les inscriptions postérieures à 146 permettent d'entrevoir des changements importants dans les institutions politiques d'Argos. Ils se reflètent dans l'apparition de formulaires nouveaux qu'on lit dans les quelques textes que nous possédons:

(1) L'oracle rendu aux Messéniens sur les Mystères d'Andania vers 92 av. J.-C. est gravé conformément au décret des magistrats et des synèdres (ψάψισμα τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ συνέδρων). L'opération est datée par le secrétaire des synèdres (ἐπιγραμματέος τῶν συνέδρων).⁵¹

(2) Un décret récompensant un notable nommé Augis date d'après l'écriture de 100 av. J.-C. environ. La formule, très contournée, qui l'introduit montre les mêmes instances à l'œuvre.⁵² Augis, qui a fait un prêt sans intérêt pour le concours des *Titeia*, a traité avec les nouveaux magistrats de questions d'argent. Il vaut la peine de reproduire le texte en entier, car il permet d'entrevoir le fonctionnement de l'institution:

(Stèle d') Augis

Les archontes et les synèdres en fonction sous Archédamos ont proposé eux-mêmes d'exposer au peuple la question des honneurs à décerner à Augis fils d'Aristomédès, Argien, et d'agir selon cette décision (Οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδ[ά]μου ὡς διαλέγωντι τῷ δάμῳ περὶ τιμᾶν Αὐγί [Α]ριστομήδεος Ἀργεῖωι, ὡς δὲ κα δόξει οὕτω τέλλητα[ι], | ποτήνεγκαν αὐτοί^ν); attendu qu'Augis, fils d'Aristomédès, Argien, homme de bien dévoué à la cité et empressé pour notre peuple, ne cesse de se montrer serviable en toute occasion; que s'étant présenté au *synèdrion* (εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον), il a rappelé tous les services qu'il avait rendus au peuple pour les besoins communs et pressants; qu'à la demande des synèdres (ἀξιωθεῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συνέδρων) il a prêté d'importantes sommes d'argent au cours de la présente année et des années antérieures;

47. Voir ci-dessous pp. 33-36.

48. Piérart, Thalmann 1980, 275-78 (*SEG* 30, 1980, 365).

49. Polyb. XXXIX. 1 (trad. D. Roussel).— Sur la mainmise des Romains sur le Péloponnèse en général, Argos en particulier, cf. Ferrary 1978, 770-73 et *id.* 1988, 186-209; Kallet-Marx 1994, 57-96. On suivra le point de vue de Ferrary plutôt que Kallet-Marx, dont l'étude est bien documentée mais sous-estime l'importance des remaniements imposés aux cités grecques.

50. Cf. *SEG* 31, 1981, 307 (cf. aussi *SEG* 48, 1998, 405).

51. *Syll.*³ 735.

52. Daux 1964 (*SEG* 22, 1967, 266). On reproduit, pour l'essentiel, la traduction de Migeotte 1984, no. 20.

et que maintenant, un besoin d'argent ayant surgi, il a versé dix mille drachmes aux hiéromnémons et au trésorier pour le concours des *Titeia* ([τ]οῖς τε ἱερομνάμοισι καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Τιτεῖων), à notre demande et sans intérêt, demeurant fidèle à lui-même et aux services qu'il avait précédemment rendus au peuple; afin donc qu'il soit clair que le peuple d'Argos et les synèdres (καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι) remercient et honorent les hommes de bien et les bienfaiteurs du peuple; il a plu au peuple et aux synèdres (ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις): d'accorder l'éloge à Augis fils d'Aristomédès, Argien, pour la générosité et le dévouement qu'il montre à la cité en toute occasion, de le récompenser par une statue de bronze et de [proclamer dans les concours] où l'on décerne une couronne ainsi que⁵³ dans les [Grands *Titeia* et dans les *Héraia*], dans les Concours Néméens, Olympiques et Pythiques, que le peuple d'Argos récompense [Augis fils d'Aristomédès, Argien] d'une statue de bronze pour sa valeur [et son dévouement envers lui; d'élever] la statue à l'endroit [le plus en vue; de confier le soin de] la proclamation [--- | ---].

L'intitulé, sans parallèle réel, est sans doute l'œuvre d'un secrétaire maladroit qui maîtrisait mal la langue administrative. Il montre cependant que l'initiative est désormais entre les mains des synèdres et des magistrats, qui agissent de concert. Comme il arrivait en pareil cas, Augis s'est rendu en personne auprès des magistrats pour faire rapport sur les bienfaits qu'il avait accomplis en faveur de la cité. Les magistrats et les synèdres ont décidé de lui accorder les honneurs qu'il méritait et présenté la proposition au peuple. Le décret montre que les synèdres s'occupent directement des finances de la cité et décident d'emprunter les sommes nécessaires. Le versement du prêt accordé pour les *Titeia* est fait directement aux magistrats du culte (les hiéromnémons) et au trésorier. Le décret est voté par le peuple et les synèdres. La formule hortative et la formule de résolution (à l'indicatif aoriste) montrent que les synèdres occupent désormais la place du conseil et qu'il ne reste au peu-

ple qu'à ratifier un décret proposé par eux et les magistrats. Le mot *synédriion* désigne le local où ils se réunissent et tient lieu de *bouleutèrion*.

L'essentiel des responsabilités se trouve désormais entre les mains d'un collège de synèdres qui agissent de concert avec les magistrats pour proposer des décrets et qui s'occupent des questions financières et des relations extérieures. Ils ont un secrétaire, dont le nom sert à identifier les documents.

Des institutions semblables, attestées par des formules identiques, apparaissent à la même époque dans beaucoup d'autres cités du Péloponnèse, pour ne pas parler du reste de la Grèce.⁵⁴ Cela ne saurait être l'effet du hasard et révèle sans doute une volonté commune. On pourrait être tenté d'y voir la griffe de la Confédération achéenne. Mais le décret en l'honneur de Cn. Octavius, l'un des commissaires envoyés en Grèce en 170 av. J.-C. ne paraît pas encore les connaître.⁵⁵ Pausanias rapporte que «quand arrivèrent ceux qui étaient chargés de délibérer avec lui, [Mummius] était en train de mettre fin aux gouvernements démocratiques et d'établir des magistratures fondées sur la fortune⁵⁶». Il faut peut-être reconnaître dans l'institution des synèdres la marque de la commission sénatoriale, qui donna aux cités une constitution dont Polybe fut chargé d'expliquer à ses compatriotes les bienfaits. Les synèdres auraient formé un conseil restreint d'allure oligarchique qui aurait pris la place de la boulè. Ils agissaient de concert avec les magistrats et, ensemble, ils détenaient l'essentiel des pouvoirs. Le but de ces réformes n'était pas uniquement de remettre le pouvoir entre les mains des possédants: il permettait d'identifier clairement les responsables des décisions prises et ce n'est pas un hasard si, vers la même époque, se multiplient les listes énumérant les notables qui ont fait des propositions.⁵⁷

La rareté des décrets gravés dans la pierre nous contraint d'attendre la fin du II^e s. apr. J.-C. pour retrouver les synèdres.⁵⁸ La lettre des Argiens à Aigeiai de Cilicie contient l'intitulé suivant: [Ο δᾶμος τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ ἡ βουλὰ καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι ... Il semble que la boulè et le collège des synèdres for-

53. Cette traduction intègre les remarques de Charneux 1990, 412-13.

54. On se contentera, pour faire bref, de citer le cas de Messène et de renvoyer à l'article de Fröhlich 1999, 229-42.

55. *SEG* 16, 1959, 255.

56. VII 16, 9.

57. Cf. notamment l'inscription inv. no. E 81 (Prêtre 2003/04; cf. *SEG* 55, 2005, 409).

58. *SEG* 26, 1976-77, 426. Sur ce texte, cf. ci-dessous p. 37 et n. 146.

maient alors deux institutions distinctes.⁵⁹ W. Vollgraff pensait que les synèdres étaient les magistrats à la tête du *koinon Argolikon* dont l'existence est attestée par Pausanias. Après la découverte du décret relatif à la gravure de l'oracle pour les Messéniens, il proposa de dater la création de ce *koinon* de la basse époque hellénistique, une hypothèse qui a connu un certain succès, mais que le simple examen des formules employées suffit à réfuter.⁶⁰

L'existence d'une institution appelée βουλή à l'époque impériale ne saurait toutefois être mise en doute. Dans les textes de cette époque, la βουλή, seule ou avec le δήμος, signe de nombreux décrets. Beaucoup d'inscriptions honorifiques portent la mention Ψηφίσματι Βουλῆς, en clair ou sous la forme abrégée ΨΒ.⁶¹ Fréquente dans les dédicaces d'Argos comme dans celles de Corinthe et des villes d'Argolide, cette formule est en fait la traduction du latin *D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)*, qu'on trouve en premier lieu dans les inscriptions latines de Corinthe.⁶² Elle indique parfois que le conseil a donné son accord pour l'érection de la statue, à la demande de ceux qui en supportaient les frais.⁶³ Il est probable que les synèdres de l'époque impériale, héritiers de ceux de la basse époque hellénistique, constituaient une sorte d'émanation ou d'exécutif d'un conseil qui était l'équivalent à Argos – et dans d'autres cités – de l'ordre des décurions.

Une lettre d'Agrippa trouvée à Argos atteste l'existence, dès le début de l'Empire, d'un autre conseil dont le nom complet paraît avoir été ἡ γερουσία ἢ ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας.⁶⁴ Dans plusieurs cités du Péloponnèse, des conseils appelés γερουσία sont connus à date ancienne comme un rouage politique. À Éphèse, comme plus tard à Athènes, la *gerousia* s'occupait de l'administration de biens sacrés et de l'organisation de fêtes et de spectacles. C'est sans doute à cette deuxième ca-

tégorie qu'appartenait celle d'Argos. Agrippa, qui emploie pour la désigner le mot σύστημα, prétend avoir créé pour elle les conditions de sa survie et avoir contribué à restaurer son ancienne dignité en lui rendant la plupart de ses droits. On ne sait quand ce collège fut créé. Il existait encore un siècle plus tard.⁶⁵

Le décret en l'honneur d'Augis rappelle les nombreux prêts accordés par l'évergète: il témoigne des difficultés financières que connaissaient des cités comme Argos à cette époque. Un autre texte inédit de la fin de l'époque hellénistique apporte des lumières intéressantes sur la gestion des biens publics. Le personnage honoré a exercé, parmi d'autres, les fonctions d'adjudicataire de la terre publique et sacrée (δωτινατήρ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ δημοσίας χώρας).⁶⁶ Grâce à sa gestion, «en collaboration avec le trésorier», les revenus que la cité tirait chaque année de l'exploitation du domaine public s'accrurent de plus d'un talent. Le décret rappelle aussi les démarches que le personnage accomplit pour faire restituer des terres sacrées aux divinités qui en étaient propriétaires. Une clause du décret précise qu'«il prit soin d'enregistrer les parcelles à la suite les unes des autres, conformément à la façon dont le territoire avait été autrefois loti par les Anciens et distribué en parcelles à louer, dont l'enregistrement était dispersé dans plusieurs endroits». Ch. Kritzas a brillamment montré que le décret faisait référence à la mise en place par la jeune démocratie argienne, vers 460 av. J.-C., d'un système d'exploitation des terres sacrées. Le magistrat fit rassembler en un document unique des données remontant, semble-t-il, à la cadastration du V^e siècle, qui étaient dispersées. L'entreprise rappelle notamment celle dont les tables de bronze d'Héraclée de Lucanie ont conservé le souvenir.⁶⁷ Le gain de l'opération, un peu plus d'un talent par

59. Lafond 2006, 92.

60. Vollgraff 1904, 421 et *id.* 1909, 176-78. Sur le *koinon* au II^e siècle, cf. ci-dessous p. 32.

61. Par exemple *IG IV*, 593, 594, 609, 610.

62. Lafond 2006, 91-94.

63. Par exemple *SEG 14*, 1957, 316: les honneurs décernés par les Milésiens à leur concitoyen, C. Iulius Bassus, héraut et acteur, sont précédés de la mention ψηφίσματι βουλῆς Ἀργείων.

64. Oliver 1989, 3.

65. *IG IV*, 579; *SEG 16*, 1959, 259 (*SEG 17*, 1960, 149). Cf. Oliver 1958. Comme ce fut aussi le cas d'autres cités, elle avait un patron (*prostatès*).

66. Kritzas 1992, 237 (*SEG 41*, 1991, 282). La formule, qui évoque l'*ager publicus Romanus*, surprend. On se souviendra que les années qui suivirent la destruction de Corinthe sont celles où la question agraire était virulente à Rome.

67. *IG XIV*, 645.

an, apparaît cependant comme modeste au vu de la complexité de l'entreprise.

Ces deux textes montrent aussi l'importance du trésorier, qui apparaît seul désormais et devait concentrer entre ses mains la gestion des finances publiques. Les difficultés que connaissent les cités à cette époque expliquent aussi la place qu'occupe désormais la fonction d'agoranome. On a déjà mentionné la dédicace de l'agoranome [A]ris[t]agoros pour Pompée le Grand.⁶⁸ Vers la même époque, un personnage nommé Sōikratès, fils de Ménandros, a fait ériger, pour ses confrères agoranomes, une tribune dont les vestiges ont été mis au jour dans l'extension tardive du grand portique de l'agora où ils étaient employés.⁶⁹

Σωϊκράτης Μενάνδρου ἀγορανομῶν καὶ
γραμματεῶν καὶ ταμειῶν τὸ δεῦτερον
τὸ βῆμα τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις.

Tite-Live décrit Antiochos IV qui, *Romano more, sella eburnea posita ius dicebat*.⁷⁰ On voit que, dans la période qui suivit la destruction de Corinthe, les notables d'Argos ne restèrent pas non plus insensibles au vent de la mode qui soufflait de Rome. L'emploi du participe présent, au lieu de l'aoriste, pourrait indiquer que Sōikratès cumulait les fonctions de secrétaire, de trésorier et d'agoranome – trois magistratures qui apparaissent comme les piliers de la nouvelle constitution – au moment où il fit la dédicace, mais on n'exclura pas une maladresse de style.⁷¹ Nous ne savons pas non plus si cette construction est un acte d'évergétisme ou si elle a été financée par la cité.

Comme dans la plupart des cités de l'époque, la fonction de gymnasiarque était une des plus im-

portantes et plusieurs inscriptions y renvoient. Le texte le plus instructif à ce sujet est une dédicace du peuple argien en l'honneur de L. Cornelius Ingenuus, qui date de la fin de l'époque hellénistique ou du début de l'époque impériale. En plus des trois fonctions qu'on vient d'énumérer, il a accompli celle de gymnasiarque dans les trois gymnases d'Argos (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ γυμνασίοις). En reconnaissance de ses mérites, la cité lui a conféré les τιμαὶ ἀγωνοθετικάι, dans lesquelles P. Charneux reconnaissait, à l'imitation de Rome, des *ornamenta* municipaux.⁷² C'était le droit, conféré à vie, de paraître dans les cérémonies publiques avec le manteau de pourpre et la couronne d'or.⁷³

Ce même personnage avait été honoré par une association appelée οἱ Λεεῖται.⁷⁴ M. Fraenkel a vu dans celle-ci une association professionnelle. Nous connaissons pour l'époque romaine plusieurs associations professionnelles ou religieuses. Il n'est pas toujours facile de distinguer entre elles, car les associations professionnelles ont souvent un sanctuaire et un culte, tels ces forgerons auxquels on a volé la statue d'Héphaïstos, leur patron.⁷⁵ Mais les dernières décennies qui ont précédé l'Empire ne paraissent pas avoir été une période de grande activité économique dans le pays. Les guerres civiles, avec les armées qui déferlaient sur la Grèce et vivaient de ses ressources, détruisaient des villes, incendiaient des ports et se livraient au pillage, ne favorisaient pas le commerce. Plutôt qu'une association professionnelle, on verra dans les Λεεῖται une des associations qui fréquentaient les gymnases, comme les Spatoléastai, les Phaénistai et les Delphidastai que nous voyons apparaître ailleurs

68. Cf. ci-dessus p. 22 n. 35. On lira [A]ris[t]agoros, et non Aristagoras, comme l'écrit *SEG*, 50, 2000, 361. W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 47, 1919, 260-61 no. 27, l. 5 lisait . ΠΙΣ . ΑΓΟΡΟΣ et restituait [Ἀ]ρισ[τ]άγορος, forme sous laquelle le nom a été repris dans *LGPN* III.A, 55 s.v. Ἀριστάγορος (1). Le nom est porté par un habitant de Cythère honoré à Délos à l'époque de l'indépendance (*IG* XI 4, 636, ll. 3 et 9): Ἀριστάγορος Σωτηρίσκου Κυθήριος. C'est aussi l'exemple cité par Bechtel, *HPN*, 19. Le martelage de l'inscription à la pointe rend la lecture de la première partie du nom très difficile, mais les dernières lettres du nom, ΓΟΡΟΣ, se lisent parfaitement.

69. *SEG* 50, 2000, 360 (où Σωϊκράτης).

70. Liv. XLI. 20.

71. Cf. *SEG* 13, 1956, 244 cité ci-après: ἀγορανομήσαντα καὶ γραμματεῦσαντα καὶ ταμειῦσαντα δις. L'emploi du pluriel τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις dans *SEG* 50, 2000, 360 ne signifie pas qu'il y avait un collège d'agoranomes: l'auteur de la dédicace pouvait penser à ses collègues successifs.

72. Charneux 1953, 401 *contra* Pleket 1957, 141-43.

73. Cf. J. et L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1958, 233.

74. *IG* IV, 607.

75. *SEG* 42, 1992, 273 bis.

dans des contextes liés au gymnase.⁷⁶ La mention la plus récente de ces associations est une inscription en l'honneur de l'empereur Titus.⁷⁷ À l'époque impériale, ce sont surtout les *tribus* qui votent des décrets de ce genre.⁷⁸

Les charges les plus dispendieuses étaient celles de gymnasiarque et de président des concours (agōnothetēs), qui obligeaient à fournir l'huile des gymnases et des concours. Les inscriptions agonistiques prouvent qu'Argos n'a pas cessé, pendant la basse époque hellénistique, d'organiser les concours triétés des *Héraia* et des *Néméia*.⁷⁹ Dès 195 av. J.-C., des *Titeia* étaient venus s'y ajouter.⁸⁰ Nous ignorons quand ils ont cessé d'être célébrés.

La vivacité des concours, en dépit des difficultés, est encore attestée par la présence à Argos, dès 146, des *technitai* dionysiaques de l'Isthme et de Némée. Après la destruction de Corinthe, une partie d'entre eux s'installa à Argos où, à la demande des Romains, ils reçurent un sanctuaire pour leurs réunions.⁸¹ Les Romains confirmèrent les privilèges que les Rois et les cités conféraient à ces compagnies d'acteurs: la libre circulation des biens et des personnes et l'exemption des taxes. Les inscriptions d'Argos de l'époque romaine nous ont livré des listes de *technitai*.⁸² Elles nous montrent aussi la vie de l'association, ses magistrats, ses réunions, les cultes des bienfaiteurs qu'on y célébrait.⁸³ Dans le courant du I^{er} s. av. J.-C., un conflit violent éclata à propos de Delphes entre la compagnie d'Athènes et celle de l'Isthme et de Némée. Il dut être arbitré par le Sénat de Rome. La compagnie d'Athènes l'emporta.⁸⁴

Argos continua d'organiser, à l'époque impériale, quatre grands concours internationaux par période: tous les deux ans avaient lieu en alternance les Héraia et les Nemeia et les Sébasteia et les Nemeia.⁸⁵ Plus tard vinrent s'y ajouter des Antinoeia. À partir de la fin du I^{er} siècle et au cours des siècles suivants, dans les listes de victoires, le concours en l'honneur d'Héra est appelé ἡ ἐξ Ἄργου ἀσπίς («le bouclier d'Argos»). L'agonothète porte alors le titre d' ἀγωνοθέτης Ἡραίων καὶ Νεμείων ou Σεβαστείων καὶ Νεμείων, ou encore Ἀντινοείων ἐν Ἄργει. Il était entouré de toute une série de magistrats agonistiques: les dix hellanodices, les commissaires (εἰσαγωγεῖς), les secrétaires et le xystarque, nommé par l'empereur, qui avait autorité sur les athlètes pendant le concours.⁸⁶

Certaines des magistratures en place au cours des siècles précédents continuent à fonctionner après 146 av. J.-C. Des hiéromnémones sont attestés dans le décret pour Augis. Le décret concernant la gravure de l'oracle pour les Messéniens énumère le personnel de l'oracle: le prêtre d'Apollon *Pythaeus*, deux προμάντιες, la prophétesse, appelée elle aussi πρόμαντις, le τυρόφορος et deux secrétaires (γροφέες).⁸⁷ Ces fonctions religieuses existaient bien entendu déjà auparavant.

À l'époque impériale, nous ne connaissons plus guère les magistratures que par des inscriptions honorifiques, qui se bornent le plus souvent à les énumérer. Parmi les magistrats, on trouve, à côté des agoranomes, des magistrats chargés de l'approvisionnement du blé, des commandants des éphèbes, des magistrats du culte. Il semble qu'il y ait encore

76. *Delphidastai* ou *Delphidōtai*: IG IV, 608 (le texte doit être corrigé), inv. no. E 84 (Curty, Piérart 2009); *Phaenistai*: Vollgraff 1903, 260 no. 1; *id.* 1919, 169-70 no. 24; *Spatolēastai*: IG IV, 581; SEG 53/1, 2003, 293.

77. IG IV, 584 (SEG 48, 1998, 409): où l'on écrira, ll. 4-5: [---]ης Ἀλεξάνδρου γυμνα[σιάρχ]ήσας, ὑπὲρ Ἀ<ε?>εῖτας; cf. IG IV, 589: ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν; 612: ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν.

78. Cf. ci-dessous n. 123.

79. Amandry 1980.

80. SEG 22, 1967, 266; cf. ci-dessus ns 5 et 52.

81. Cf. ci-dessus p. 24 n. 50.

82. Vollgraff 1919, 252-58 no. 25; SEG 13, 1956, 248.

83. IG IV, 558: 114 av. J.-C. (Le Guen 2001 I, 190-97 no. 36).

84. Cf. Le Guen 2001 I, 98-112 no. 12.

85. Cf. Amandry 1980, 229-33.

86. Cf. Charneux 1956, 609.

87. On notera la différence de dialecte entre le nom du secrétaire des synèdres (γραμματεύς) et les magistrats «traditionnels» (γροφέες). L'emploi de γροφεύσαντα, IG IV, 609, l. 8 est un «dorisme» intentionnel forgé sur γραμματεύσαντα; cf. aussi, au II^e ou au III^e siècle, SEG 16, 1959, 253, où le titre de γροφεύς apparaît à côté de γραμματεῖς.

eu des stratèges.⁸⁸ Le tableau qui se dégage de ces énumérations contraste vivement avec le nombre et la variété des magistratures qui étaient en fonction à l'époque classique.⁸⁹ Pourtant, il ne permet guère de distinguer Argos des autres cités de l'époque: hormis peut-être dans le cas de la gérousie, on n'y décèle pas de volonté d'affirmer l'identité de la cité par le rétablissement, réel ou supposé, d'institutions ancestrales, comme ce fut le cas à Sparte ou à Athènes. À Argos, les élites, qui, à travers les inscriptions honorifiques, dessinent les contours de l'image qu'ils veulent transmettre à la postérité, mettent surtout l'accent sur leur rôle dans l'organisation des concours panhelléniques et au sein des institutions fédérales ou provinciales.

Le cadre institutionnel: la province et les ligues

Selon Pausanias, les Romains commencèrent par dissoudre la Confédération achéenne, puis, pris de remords, la restaurèrent.⁹⁰ Un décret de Dymé, où le proconsul de 144 av. J.-C. dut s'occuper de troubles civils fomentés par des gens qui s'en prenaient à «la constitution rendue par les Romains aux Achéens», prouve que l'intervention de Rome dans les institutions eut lieu aussitôt après la destruction de Corinthe.⁹¹ D'autre part, la nouvelle inscription d'Argos montre qu'une union (syntélie) des cités continue à avoir vie aux yeux des Romains. Sans doute les pouvoirs politiques des institutions centrales ont-ils été supprimés, les Romains préférant traiter directement avec les cités. Pour le reste, ils ne s'opposèrent probablement pas au maintien de la Confédération. Ils ne le firent pas non plus dans le cas des autres confédérations de Grèce continentale.

Pausanias ne précise pas quand la Confédération achéenne fut restaurée. Il n'en décrit pas non plus l'extension. Quelques inscriptions, provenant

toutes d'Olympie, en attestent apparemment l'existence pendant la basse époque hellénistique, mais on ne sait ce qu'elle représentait.⁹² L'idée, plausible en soi, que les Romains auraient accepté la reconstitution d'une confédération limitée au Péloponnèse du Nord ne repose en fait que sur un document unique, une dédicace de soldats de cités achéennes à leur officier.⁹³ Il n'est guère imaginable non plus que la Confédération achéenne ait pu continuer à battre monnaie après 146.⁹⁴ Les monnaies à fleur de coin trouvées dans des trésors postérieurs à cette date, notamment en Italie, devaient faire partie du butin emporté ou avoir été thésaurisées.⁹⁵ Rien ne permet d'ailleurs de penser qu'Argos ait fait partie de ce *koinon* avant l'époque impériale. Des relations entre Argos et la Confédération ne réapparaissent pas dans nos sources avant le I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., à une époque où cette dernière ne joue plus qu'un rôle limité.⁹⁶

Quel qu'ait été le sort des confédérations grecques pendant la période qui sépare la destruction de Corinthe de la fin des guerres civiles, il est raisonnable de penser qu'une réorganisation profonde a eu lieu au début de l'Empire, peut-être déjà sous Auguste, et sans aucun doute avec l'assentiment de l'empereur.

En 35 ou peu après, grâce à l'initiative de T. Statilius Lamprias et T. Statilius Timocratès, deux membres d'une importante famille d'Épidaure qui avait des liens avec Argos, les Achéens (οἱ Ἀχαιοί) ont érigé une exèdre pour P. Memmius Regulus, qui fut gouverneur de la province d'Achaïe de 35 à 44 apr. J.-C.⁹⁷ Vers le même moment, grâce au dossier très riche d'Épaminondas d'Akraiphia, nous apprenons qu'à la mort de Tibère, se tint à Argos, sous la présidence d'un Argien, qui portait sans doute le titre de stratège, une assemblée (σύνοδος) regroupant Achéens, Béotiens, Locriens,

88. *IG* IV, 590, l. 19; cf. *IG* V 1, 1417 (*RP* II, MES 225 et 227): στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης τῶν Ἀργείων πόλεως. La date n'est pas assurée. Lafond 2006, 150 semble considérer la fonction comme achéenne.

89. Voir la liste reprise ci-dessous en annexe. Pour l'époque classique voir Kritzas 2006.

90. Paus. VII, 16, 9-10.

91. *Syll.*³ 684. Kallet-Marx 1995, 129-53; Rizakis 2008, 54-60 no 5. Ici aussi nous adoptons le point de vue de Ferrary, plutôt que celui de Kallet-Marx 1994, 72-82 et *id.* 1995, 129-53.

92. Voir en particulier *IvO* 328; cf. Bowersock 1992, 92.

93. *SEG* 15, 1958, 254 (= Moretti, *ISE* 60); Schwertfeger 1974, 27-40.

94. Cf. Campanelli 1991; Boehringer 1991.

95. Cf. Touratsoglou, Tsourti 1991.

96. *IvO* 420.

97. *IG* IV² 1, 665. Le personnage honoré par cette inscription, P. Memmius Regulus, a gouverné la Grèce de 35 à 44 apr. J.-C.: Groag 1939, 25-30.

Eubiens et Phocidiens.⁹⁸ Elle avait pour but de prêter serment au nouvel empereur et de fêter son accession au trône. La cérémonie eut lieu en présence du gouverneur et de son conseil. Lorsqu'il fut question de constituer l'ambassade qui devait porter à l'empereur le décret voté à cette occasion, la plupart des Béotiens présents se refusèrent et l'on alla jusqu'à agiter la menace d'une sécession des Béotiens. Épaminondas d'Akraiphia proposa de conduire, à ses frais, la délégation des Béotiens, ce qui nous a valu un échange de documents qu'il fit graver dans sa propre cité. Ceux-ci sont éclairants pour la reconstitution du cadre institutionnel.

La réponse de Caligula est adressée Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκείων καὶ Εὐβοίων τοῖς κοινῶν.⁹⁹ On y verra la mention la plus officielle: en effet, selon un usage bien décrit par J.-L. Ferrary, les rédacteurs, pour faire bref, utilisent des expressions simplifiées: Ἕλληνες ou Πανέλληνες.¹⁰⁰ La générosité d'Épaminondas d'Akraiphia lui a valu notamment un décret séparé des Thébains qui donne le texte de l'inscription qui devait figurer sur son portrait: [Ο] | δῆμος Θηβαίων Ἐπαμεινώνδαν Ἐπαμειν[ώνδ]ου, πρεσβεύσαντα | κατὰ δωρεὰν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ [Β]οιωτῶν | ἔθνους πρὸς | [τὸν Σε]βαστὸν Καίσαρα Γερμανικόν, ἀρετῆς | [ἔνεκα]. Ici les *Achéens* désignent par synecdoque l'Assemblée générale tout entière.

Un décret en l'honneur de T. Statilius Timokrates, qui en a été le secrétaire après la proclamation de la liberté des Grecs par Néron à Corinthe, contient la formule ἔδοξε τῷ Παναγαϊκῶν συνεδρίῳ, tandis que l'inscription honorifique correspondante énumère simplement les «peuples» au nominatif: Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Φωκεῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῖς καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς.¹⁰¹ Les Doriens, absents dans les documents d'Akraiphia, sont venus s'y ajouter.¹⁰²

On a là, semble-t-il l'ensemble des «peuples» à qui s'adressait le message de l'empereur. Les flottements qu'on observe dans la désignation de ces institutions fédérales doivent nous mettre en garde contre une interprétation trop rigide des termes utilisés. Les mots ont pu, selon les époques, recouvrir des réalités différentes.

Dans ses remerciements, l'empereur, «se souvenant de la gloire passée de chacun des peuples de Grèce», confirme l'existence de la ligue qui les rassemble. On peut penser toutefois que des rassemblements comme celui qui se tint à Argos étaient exceptionnels. L'échange de correspondance auquel donna lieu l'affaire de l'ambassade dans laquelle Épaminondas d'Akraiphia s'est illustré montre en effet que les κοινά existent séparément, avec leurs magistrats, leur secrétaire et leur propre agenda. Ils peuvent donc se réunir ou agir séparément. Désignés à plusieurs reprises comme ἔθνη, ils regroupent des πόλεις, dont les délégués, dans l'Assemblée générale, sont présentés comme des *ambassadeurs* chargés de porter les lettres de vœux de leur propre patrie. Bien qu'un doute puisse subsister sur l'extension de leur confédération, il est raisonnable de penser que les Achéens d'*IG IV*² 1, 665 représentent uniquement la confédération péloponnésienne.¹⁰³

Cette «ligue des ligues» survit à la proclamation de la liberté des Grecs par Néron à Corinthe mais disparaît par la suite.¹⁰⁴ On a vu dans cette disparition une conséquence de l'intervention de Vespasien. Selon Pausanias, «après Néron en effet sous le règne de Vespasien, les Grecs furent entraînés dans une guerre civile (ἐς ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν), et Vespasien leur imposa d'être à nouveau soumis à un tribut et d'obéir à un gouverneur¹⁰⁵».

Il est possible que ce soit à l'époque de la reprise en mains de la Grèce par Vespasien que re-

98. *IG VII*, 2711; cf. Holleaux 1938, 161-63.

99. *IG VII*, 2711, 22-23.

100. Cf. Ferrary 2001.

101. *IG IV*² 1, 80-81. Sur la date, ci-dessous n. 104.

102. Cf. aussi *Syll.*³ 767. L'absence des Doriens, comme les réticences des Béotiens, pourraient être due à des difficultés matérielles; cf. ci-dessus n. 41.

103. Puech, 1983, 24 souligne l'ambiguïté, entretenue avec soin par les intéressés, entre le *koinon* d'Achaïe et la province homonyme.

104. *IG IV*² 1, 81 (*SEG* 35, 1985, 304 et 41, 1991, 296). Sur la date de l'inscription, cf. Levy 1991, 194.

105. Paus. VII. 17, 4; cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 8, 4: *Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, libertate adempta, item Thraciam, Ciliciam et Commagenen, dicionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redegit*. Il est possible que le décret *IG IV*² 1, 80-81 en l'honneur de T. Statilius Timokrates, fasse allusion aux difficultés survenues en Grèce à ce moment-là.

monte un document curieux transmis dans la correspondance de l'empereur Julien.¹⁰⁶ Il s'agit d'une lettre de recommandation, auprès d'un magistrat romain, de deux ambassadeurs argiens venus se plaindre de ce qu'Argos soit obligée de payer une contribution aux Corinthiens, alors que les Éléens et les Delphiens en ont été dispensés à cause des frais que représente l'organisation des concours panhelléniques dont ils ont la responsabilité. A. Spawforth a proposé de la mettre en rapport avec le culte impérial qui aurait été fondé par la «jeune ligue achéenne» en 54 apr. J.-C.¹⁰⁷ Mais le texte insiste sur le fait que les contributions sont destinées non à des institutions provinciales, mais *aux Corinthiens*, qui ont reçu récemment une colonie romaine. Il est tentant d'y reconnaître la *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthensis* installée par Vespasien:¹⁰⁸ les cités de Grèce auraient pu avoir été contraintes de contribuer à cette opération, d'autant plus que Corinthe, au même moment, fut affectée par un violent tremblement de terre. Argos aurait cherché à être exemptée de ce tribut.¹⁰⁹

Un siècle plus tard, T. Statilius Timokratès Memmianus, qui appartient à la famille des Statilii, est honoré par la ville d'Argos, «sa patrie», pour son action aussi bien au niveau provincial que dans la cité proprement dite:¹¹⁰

Ἄ πόλις ἅ τῶν Ἀργείων
 Τ(ίτων) Στατίλιον Λαμπρίου
 ὕδὸν Τιμοκράτη Μεμμιανόν, Περσέος καὶ
 5 Διοσκούρων ἀπόγονον,
 τὸν ἑλλαδάρχαν καὶ ἀρχι-

ερέα διὰ βίου τῶν Ἑλλάνων,
 στρατηγήσαντα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
 10 [γ'], ἀγωνοθέταν Ἡραίων
 καὶ Νεμείων καὶ Σεβαστείων
 καὶ Νεμείων καὶ Ἀντινοείων
 ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Ἀντινοείων
 ἐν Μαντινείᾳ καὶ Ἀσκλαπειῶν
 15 ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, καὶ ἀμφικτύονα καὶ
 ἑλλαδάρχαν ἀμφικτυόνων
 καὶ Πανέλληνα καὶ ἑλληνοταμίαν
 καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα καὶ
 20 στρατηγήσαντα τρίς καὶ ταμειύσαντα
 καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα ὑπὲρ
 τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν
 Ἑλλάνων πρὸς τε τὰν
 25 σύγκλητον καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ λόγους
 καὶ ἔργοις πολετευσάμενον
 ἄριστα καὶ φιλοτειμήτατα,
 ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα.

Cette inscription déploie devant nos yeux la palette des fonctions qu'un notable pouvait exercer au-delà des frontières de sa cité. Timokratès a été helladarque et grand-prêtre à vie des Hellènes. On reconnaîtra sans peine dans ces fonctions les charges désignées dans des inscriptions de Corinthe sous la forme ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἑλλαδάρχης ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συνεδρίου διὰ βίου.¹¹¹ Il fut, à trois reprises, stratège des Achaïens. Il fut aussi agonothète des concours d'Argos, d'Épidaure et de Mantinée, Amphiction et helladarque des Amphictions à Delphes.¹¹² Il fut encore membre du

106. Ci-dessus p. 19 n. 1.

107. Spawforth 1994, avec la bibliographie.

108. Cf. Romano 2003, 298-99.

109. L'argumentation repose principalement sur le fait que les cités d'Élis et de Delphes ont été exemptées de cet impôt à cause des concours dont elles ont la charge, alors qu'Argos devait le payer. L'opposition dans la lettre entre les *venationes* et les concours helléniques paraît surtout rhétorique: l'auteur oppose aux traditions hellénistiques, pour lesquelles Argos consent d'énormes sacrifices financiers, les mœurs nouvelles introduites par les colons romains. Dans le cadre du culte impérial le financement de tels spectacles relevait de liturgies et non de taxes. S'autoriserait-on, d'ailleurs, en s'adressant à un magistrat romain, des propos aussi impertinents s'il s'agissait du culte impérial?

110. *IG IV*, 590.

111. *Corinth VIII*, 1, nos 80-81; cf. aussi *VIII*, 3, no. 138.

112. Cf. *IG IV*, 589: Archenous, fils d'Eukratès, a été agonothète des *Pythia* «après la restauration des droits de sa patrie dans l'Amphictionie (Paus. X, 8, 3)». Boeckh, *CIG I*, 1121, pensait qu'Argos fut réintégrée au conseil après la bataille d'Actium. Lefèvre 1998, 309 date l'événement de l'époque d'Hadrien. Le fait qu'Archenous n'ait pas la citoyenneté romaine plaiderait plutôt pour une date haute. Il est clair toutefois que des magistratures continuent sous l'Empire à être attribuées à des Grecs qui n'ont pas la *civitas Romana*: au II^e siècle encore, Cn. Pompéius Kalléas est *eisagôgeus* de l'agonothète Gorgilos, fils de Ménéklys: *SEG* 16, 1959, 258 (c). Les membres des grandes familles qui ont accédé au statut de citoyen romain tendent à occuper le devant de la scène.

Panhellénion, dont il fut hellénotame.¹¹³ À Argos, il a été agoranome, stratège à trois reprises et trésorier. Comme ambassadeur, il a représenté sa cité et les Grecs auprès du Sénat et des Empereurs.

Selon B. Puech, «Timocratès fut le dernier magistrat du *koinon* originaire d'Argolide. Lorsque, dans les dernières années du règne de Marc-Aurèle, Pausanias rédige sa description de l'Arcadie, l'Argolide ne fait plus partie de l'assemblée achéenne: elle a sa propre assemblée fédérale, dans laquelle certaines cités limitrophes de l'Arcadie sont spontanément venues se ranger¹¹⁴». Puech place l'ambassade de Timocratès entre 161 et 169 à cause de la mention des empereurs au pluriel. Spawforth, qui n'évoque pas la question de l'ambassade, fixe la naissance de Timocratès vers 150 ou 160, ce qui en ferait un bien jeune ambassadeur et mettrait sa carrière après la visite de Pausanias.¹¹⁵

L'existence, à l'époque romaine, d'une Confédération d'Argolide n'est connue que par Pausanias: «Les gens de Stymphale ne sont plus classés avec les Arcadiens, mais ils appartiennent à la Confédération argienne, où ils sont entrés volontairement (ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν συντελοῦσι μεταστάντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἐθελονταί)¹¹⁶». Cette traduction a été contestée par D. Knoepfler¹¹⁷ qui remarque, non sans raison, que de telles expressions ne permettent pas de préjuger de la nature de l'État concerné. Mais la manière dont le Périégète s'exprime, quelques lignes plus loin, à propos d'Aléa ne laisse guère planer de doute sur le sens qu'il donne à l'expression: Μετὰ δὲ Στύμφαλον ἔστιν Ἀλέα, συνεδρίου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργολικοῦ μετέχουσα καὶ αὕτη (Paus. VIII. 23, 1). Vingt-sept des vingt-huit autres mentions du mot συνεδρίον dans la *Périégèse* désignent, sans l'ombre d'un doute, des

ligues, le plus souvent d'ailleurs la Confédération achéenne.¹¹⁸ Dans un seul cas, le mot est employé pour définir la gérousie de Sparte: «A Sparte la gérousie est le conseil suprême de l'État¹¹⁹». Cette ligue était bien vivante à l'époque de Pausanias: en traitant de Tritaia, il écrit: «encore aujourd'hui, il y a des Arcadiens qui sont membres de la Confédération argienne¹²⁰». Au III^e siècle encore, Claudia Tyché exerce des fonctions religieuses à la fois au sein du *koinon* des Achéens et du *koinon* des Arcadiens.¹²¹ Il faut laisser la question ouverte. Quelle que soit la date de sa naissance, il n'est pas possible en effet de dire si c'est en tant qu'Argien que Timokratès exerçait des charges au sein de la Confédération achéenne, ou grâce à son appartenance à une autre cité qui en était membre.

La cité et ses bienfaiteurs

Les magistratures de la cité, les concours, les cérémonies provinciales ou panhelléniques sont les lieux naturels où se déploient les activités des bienfaiteurs. Argos ne se distingue guère sous cet angle des autres cités. Pendant les premières décennies de l'occupation romaine, les bienfaiteurs – des magistrats en charge – s'efforcent de redresser les finances publiques et combent, par des avances, des prêts sans intérêt ou des dons plus importants, les carences de l'administration. A partir de l'époque impériale la générosité des riches est de plus en plus sollicitée. Elle éclate lors des concours et des fêtes dont ils sont l'occasion. Les banquets publics, les hécatombes, les distributions d'huile et d'argent sont les exploits les plus souvent mis en avant par les inscriptions honorifiques. Ces bienfaits s'étendent aux citoyens, aux autres hommes libres et même aux esclaves.¹²² Les honneurs que les bien-

113. Cf. Védus Prophantos d'Argos, ancien agonothète des *Némeia*, Panhellène, nommé à Athènes sur la base d'une statue par laquelle l'Aréopage a honoré, à sa demande, sa fille Védia Io; cf. Follet 1976, 133.

114. Puech 1983, 29.

115. Spawforth 1985, 255-58.

116. Paus. VIII. 22, 1 (trad. Madeleine Jost).

117. Knoepfler 2001, 7.

118. Paus. III. 26, 8: Eleuthérolaconiens. *Id.* X. 8, 1-3: l'Amphictionie de Delphes.

119. *Id.* III. 11, 2: ἡ μὲν δὴ γερούσια συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίους κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας.

120. *Id.* VI. 12, 9.

121. *IvO* 473, 474.

122. Banquets publics: *IG* IV, 597 (ἐστίασαντά τε πανδημεὶ πάντ<α>ς ἐλευθέρους καθ' ἕκαστον ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δύο); 602 (δημοθoinαί);– hécatombes: *IG* IV, 602 (καὶ θύσαντα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἑκατόμβην); 606;– distributions d'huile: *IG* IV, 597 (τό τε ἔλαιον θέντ[α] ἐν παντὶ γυμνασίῳ καὶ βαλανείῳ ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ προΐας ἄχρι ἡλίου δύσεως παντὶ ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ δούλῳ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων); 602; 606;– distributions d'argent: *IG* IV, 597 (καὶ δόντα ἐπὶ δις τοῖς μὲν πολεῖταις κατ' ἄνδρα δην(άρια) δ', τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀν[ὰ] δην(άρια) β'); 602 (διανομαί).

fauteurs reçoivent en contrepartie émanent souvent des quatre *tribus* traditionnelles,¹²³ auxquels s'ajoutent, telle une cinquième colonne, les Romains qui résident à Argos:¹²⁴ les subdivisions de la population continuent à servir de cadre à l'administration de la cité.

Les empereurs louent et encouragent les gestes qui concourent à l'embellissement des cités. Les constructions publiques l'emportent à leurs yeux sur les largesses qu'attendent des bienfaiteurs les populations.¹²⁵ À partir des Flaviens, avec le retour de la prospérité, Argos, grâce à la générosité des grandes familles, prend un nouveau visage.

L'espace qu'occupait l'agora d'Argos était limité par trois portiques, habillant ou non des bâtiments plus complexes.¹²⁶ Sur les vestiges d'un édifice dont seul le plan des fondations a été partiellement conservé, fut érigée vers la fin du premier siècle de notre ère au plus tôt une tholos octostyle en marbre de plus de 7 m de diamètre, inscrite dans un quadrilatère de 16 m de côté (**R**). Dans le sous-cœur du monument était aménagée une crypte. Selon Marchetti et Kolokotsas,¹²⁷ le premier monument d'époque romaine (et sans doute son prédécesseur hellénique) était un «nymphée» où s'accomplissaient des rites nuptiaux. Nous pensons

que le monument relevait en fait de l'architecture funéraire. Il comportait un tombeau (cénotaphe) surmonté d'un édifice à colonnes, destiné sans doute à abriter une statue. Il pourrait s'agir du tombeau du fondateur mythique d'Argos, Danaos, connu par les sources de Strabon sous le nom de Palinthos. Tout près de lui se déroulaient des compétitions athlétiques.¹²⁸ Ce monument luxueux, haut de plus de dix mètres, dominait l'agora.

Devant le théâtre, le long d'une rue qui le reliait à l'agora, un grand bâtiment très bien conservé attirait déjà le regard des premiers voyageurs qui nous ont laissé des descriptions d'Argos. Dans son dernier état, il s'agissait d'un établissement de bains (**Fig. 1, thermes A**). Érigé à l'extrême fin du I^{er} siècle, ou au début du siècle suivant, il comprenait, à l'origine, à l'ouest une salle à abside voûtée renfermant une crypte où l'on a retrouvé trois sarcophages, séparée par trois pièces disposées selon l'axe nord-sud, d'une cour bordée de colonnades. Sa destination fait l'objet de discussions. Pour P. Aupert, il s'agirait d'un temple consacré au culte de Sarapis-Asclépios érigé sous Domitien.¹²⁹ Nous y verrions plutôt un monument privé à la gloire d'une des grandes familles qui occupaient désormais le devant de la scène.¹³⁰

123. *Hylleis*: IG IV, 596; SEG 35, 1985, 270; *Hyrnathioi*: IG IV, 600-02; SEG 35, 1985, 271 et 50, 2000, 362; *Pamphylai*: IG IV, 597-99. La quatrième *tribu*, les *Dymanes*, n'est pas attestée à ce jour dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale.

124. IG IV, 606.

125. *Syll.*³ 849. Reynolds 2000 (SEG 50, 2000, 1096, ll. 34-35).

126. Pariente, Piérart, Thalmann 1998, 216-17 et figs 4-5. Cf. ici les **figs 1 et 2**.

127. Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995 *contra* Piérart 1999.

128. Strab. VIII. 6, 9; Paus. II. 20, 6; Hsch., s.v. *Σθένια*; cf. Piérart 1998b, 189-90.

129. Cf. Aupert 1985, 1994.

130. La publication attendue du monument permettra d'apprécier cette hypothèse à sa juste valeur. Si les tombeaux aménagés dans la crypte datent, comme il semble, du premier état, nous aurions affaire à un ensemble comparable à celui qu'évoque l'échange de lettres entre Pline et Trajan au sujet de Dion de Pruse (Plin., *Tra.* X. 81, 6-7): «Dion seul m'a remis son mémoire, joint à cette lettre. Je me suis transporté sur le lieu: on m'y a montré votre statue dans une bibliothèque. Quant à l'endroit où la femme et les fils de Dion sont enterrés, c'est une grande cour, enfermée de galeries (*Dion dedit, quem huic epistulae iunxi. Ipse in re praesenti fui et uidi tuam quoque statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis in area collocatum, quae porticus includitur*)». L'inscription en lettres de bronze qui devait, d'une manière ou d'une autre, expliquer le premier état, honore un personnage qui a été notamment ἀρχιερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβ[αστῶν] (SEG 45, 1995, 257), qu'on rapprochera, plutôt que d'IG II² 3538, de *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 68 (au sujet de C. Iulius Spartiaticus): *archieri domus Aug. [in] perpetuum*, dont il est la traduction exacte. Cf. aussi IG II², 1990, l. 5: κα[ὶ ἀρχι]ερέως τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν (Tib. Claudius Novus, 61/62 apr. J.-C.); IG V 1, 1172, ll. 5-7: κ[αὶ ἀρχιερέα] τοῦ τῶν [Σεβαστῶν] [οἴκου δι]ὰ βίου (C. Iulius Eurykles Herklanos, Gytheion, règne de Trajan). Voir Kantirea 2001. Le personnage pourrait avoir été le premier (?) Argien à avoir exercé cette fonction au sein du *koinon* des Achéens. S'il en était ainsi, on comprendrait mieux que, le bien étant resté dans la famille, des thermes aient pu, beaucoup plus tard, être offerts à la ville. De telles générosités avaient lieu à Argos aussi: on sait qu'au II^e ou au III^e siècle, des thermes ont été offerts à la ville, par testament, par un notable appelé Tiberius Claudius Tychikos, dont la fille Claudia a accompli les vœux

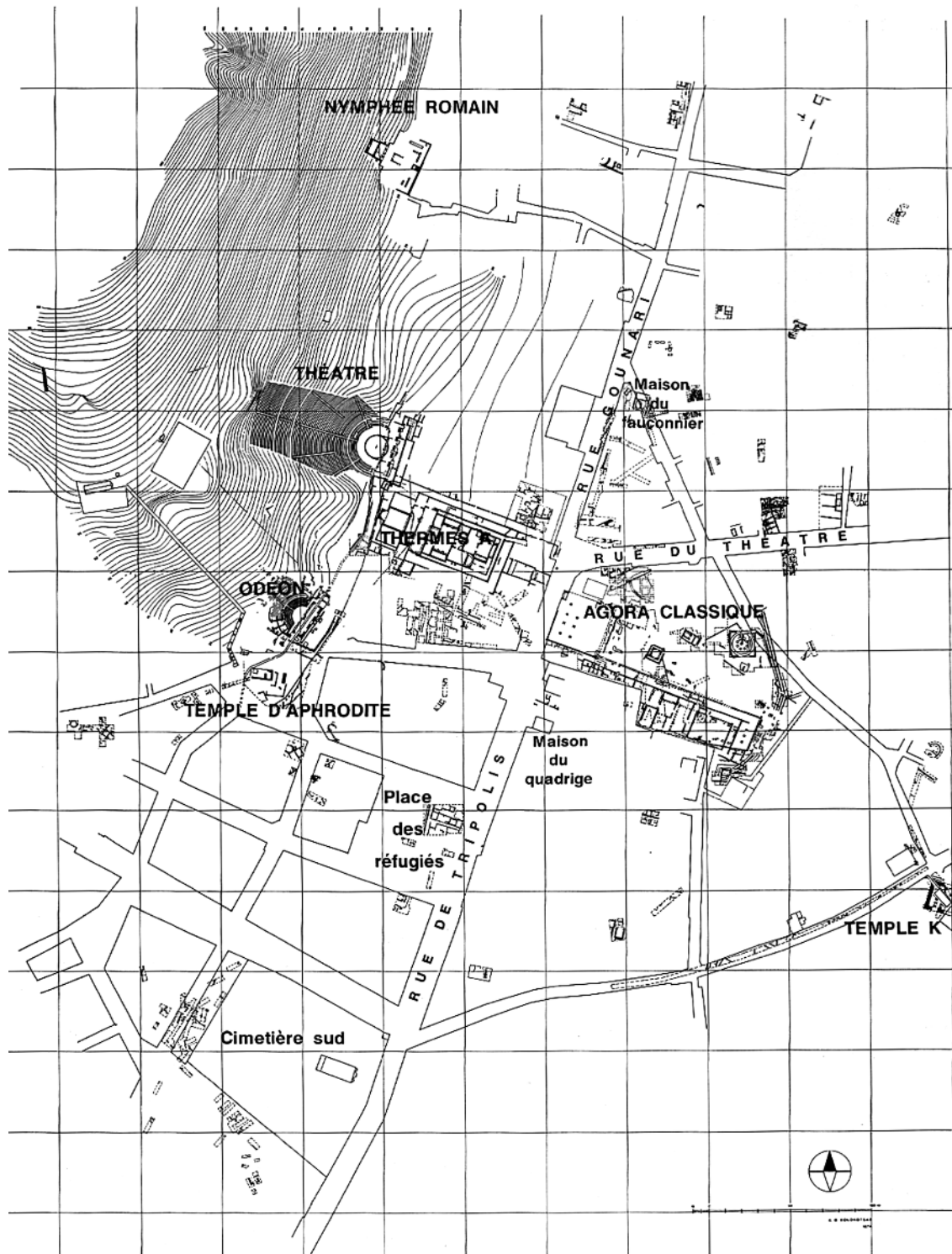


Fig. 1.— Le centre de la ville d'Argos à l'époque impériale (dessin K. Kolokotsas. ÉFA).

(IG IV, 593, cf. Piérart 1974, 776-79; Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 198 n. 63). Le nom de Tychikos pourrait être restitué dans l'inscription aux lettres de bronze, où l'on pourrait cependant lire aussi le nom de [M. Antônios] Achaïkos (Aupert 1994, 73), ou d'un personnage dont le nom ne nous a pas été transmis.

Au début du II^e siècle, un théâtre couvert ou odéon est érigé sur l'ancien lieu de réunion de l'assemblée. De plan rectangulaire, il sera transformé une première fois dans le dernier tiers du II^e siècle. La mosaïque qui en ornait l'orchestra contenait des motifs rappelant les concours qui s'y déroulaient: les *Némeia*, dont le prix était une couronne d'ache et les concours en l'honneur d'Héra, dont le prix était un bouclier.¹³¹

Le grand théâtre hellénistique fut entièrement réaménagé dans le second quart du II^e siècle. On construisit un édifice scénique de type italique avec une estrade (*pulpitum*). Le front de scène était orné de niches alternativement rectangulaires et semi-circulaires. En plus des représentations dramatiques et musicales, le grand théâtre fut aussi aménagé pour des combats de gladiateurs.¹³² Les grands concours panhelléniques dont Argos garde la primauté rythment désormais le déroulement de la vie publique.

Patrie mythique de Persée, d'Héraclès et de tant d'autres héros, la cité d'Argos ne pouvait manquer de s'attirer les faveurs d'Hadrien, qui la visita lors de son premier grand voyage en Grèce, en 124/5, peut-être en décembre ou en janvier. Il déposa des offrandes précieuses dans le sanctuaire de l'Héraion, ajouta une épreuve de course aux Concours Néméens d'hiver, assumait les frais de restauration d'un sanctuaire d'Héra en ville et fit construire un aqueduc qui amenait en ville l'eau captée dans les montagnes, à 30 kilomètres de là. L'aqueduc se terminait par une fontaine (**Fig. 1, nymphée romain**), où se dressait la statue de l'empereur, dans l'attitude d'un héros antique (Diomède [?]). De là, l'eau était ensuite distribuée en ville dans des fontaines ou des bains publics.¹³³

Sur l'agora, une construction tétragone de 6,35 m de côté, ressemblant à un tombeau, mais qui servait de fontaine (**Fig. 2, C**), se composait d'un socle carré en blocage revêtu de briques, au-dessus duquel quatre piles d'angle en brique laissaient subsister une ouverture de 2,35 m de chaque côté. L'édifice était entièrement plaqué de marbre et

entouré d'un bassin de marbre également. Des fragments de la dédicace, gravée sur le placage, permettent d'attribuer cette construction à une famille de Tiberii Iulii.¹³⁴ Les indices recueillis dans la couche constitutive du sol correspondant au monument invitent à dater sa construction de la seconde moitié du II^e siècle au plus tôt. La tholos située au centre de l'agora fut transformée elle aussi en fontaine vers la même époque.¹³⁵ Dans une ville chaude en été, la multiplication des monuments hydrauliques permettait aux bienfaiteurs de contribuer à l'embellissement de la ville tout en améliorant le confort de ses habitants. Des thermes furent installés dans le grand bâtiment près du théâtre (**Fig. 1, thermes A**). L'ensemble s'étendait sur 84 m de long. Les trois pièces bordant la stoa ouest et la salle à abside furent conservées, mais l'intérieur de la cour reçut des installations somptueuses ornées de nombreuses statues: à un vestiaire, succédaient trois piscines froides et, plus à l'est, trois piscines chaudes. L'édifice fut complété par l'adjonction de palestres couvertes à l'ouest et flanqué à l'est d'un escalier monumental. Ces travaux pourraient avoir été exécutés sous Gordien III (238-244).¹³⁶

Tous ces monuments ont été offerts par des membres des familles riches, qui essayaient d'imiter la générosité de l'empereur en les finançant. Sur leur activité, nous possédons, en plus des monuments, le témoignage des inscriptions. L'un d'entre eux est honoré avec ses fils pour avoir amené l'eau d'en haut et pour avoir embelli de statues d'empereurs et de héros l'agora et les trois gymnases.¹³⁷ En échange de leurs bienfaits, les évergètes recevaient des honneurs prodigués par la cité. Au pied de la tholos, le long de la piste de l'agora, ont été mis au jour les restes de la tombe d'un bienfaiteur de la cité, anonyme pour nous, qui avait reçu les honneurs de l'inhumation sur l'agora (**Fig. 2, RT**). Des feuilles d'or avaient été répandues sur le défunt: le bienfaiteur était assimilé aux héros fondateurs.¹³⁸ C'est dans ce contexte qu'il

131. Cf. Ginouvès 1972.

132. Cf. provisoirement Moretti 1993, 17-23.

133. Cf. Piérart 1995.

134. Cf. Pariente, Piérart, Thalmann 1998, 219.

135. Cf. ci-dessus n. 127.

136. Cf. Daux 1953, 459 (cf. *BullÉpigr* 1955, 102); Piérart 1974, 782 n. 25.

137. *SEG* 28, 1978, 396.

138. Marchetti 1995, 17. L'inscription *IG* IV, 609 contient une allusion à des honneurs posthumes accordés à un évergète, ll. 14-16: καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ [τ]εμῆ[θ]έντα ταῖς μεγίσταις τεμαῖς.

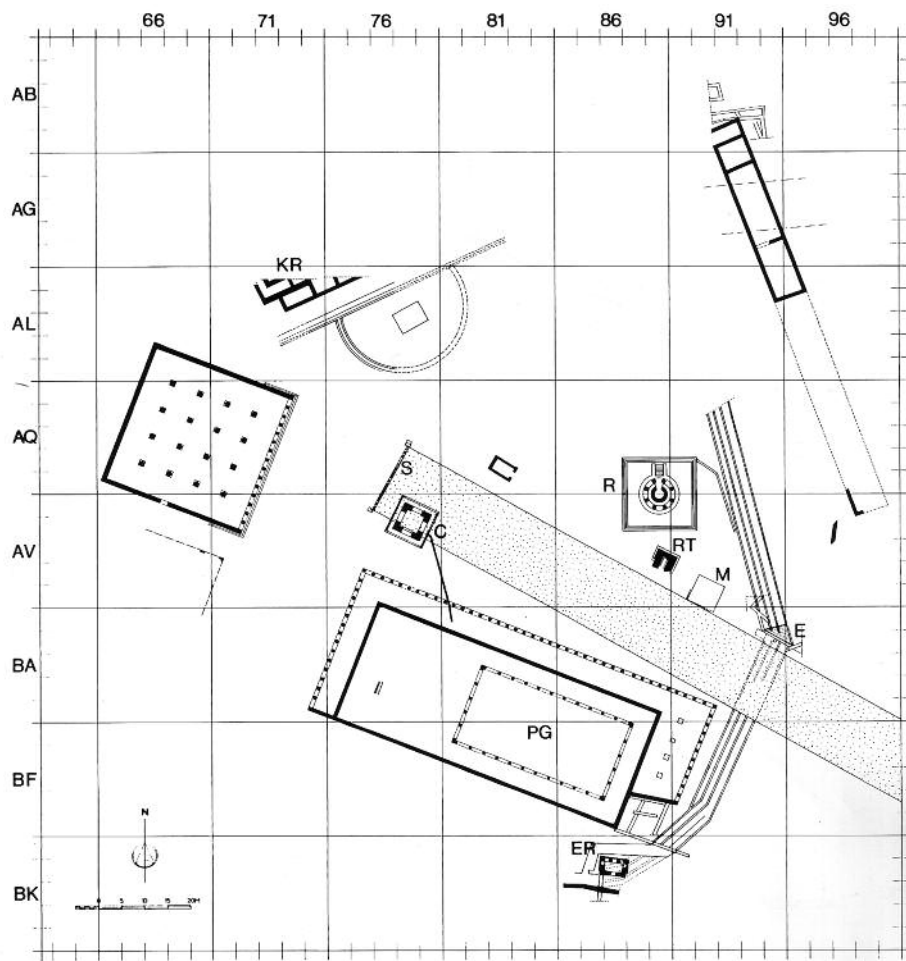


Fig. 2.— Plan d'ensemble de l'agora, avec indication des principaux monuments remaniés ou construits à l'époque du Haut-Empire: **C.** Nymphée carré. **E.** Grand égout collecteur. **K.** Édifice romain bordant l'agora au nord. **P.** Portique classique en pi. **PG.** Cour intérieure rectangulaire (palestre du gymnase de l'agora). **R.** Tholos romaine. **RT.** Tombe d'un dignitaire d'époque impériale. **S.** Ligne de départ de la piste de course de l'agora (*dessin Yvonne Rizakis, ÉFA*).

faut replacer «les honneurs de Persée et d'Héraclès», connus par quelques inscriptions, décernés aux évergètes les plus généreux.¹³⁹

La cité et son passé

Les honneurs de Persée et d'Héraclès sont des honneurs héroïques associés au droit à la chrysochorie et à la pourpre. Ce titre, propre à Argos, mérite un commentaire. Héraclès est pratiquement absent des récits et des monuments locaux. Persée connaissait un certain succès dans la littérature et dans l'iconographie, à cause notamment de sa lutte pour délivrer Andromède, mais son culte restait can-

tonné à Argos et à Sériphos.¹⁴⁰ Le silence relatif des Argiens sur Héraclès n'est pas facile à expliquer. Si le héros a pu pâtir de la condamnation des Téménides, l'amitié d'Argos avec la Macédoine et le prestige dont il jouissait auprès des empereurs auraient dû contribuer à le réhabiliter. De fait, la massue d'Héraclès apparaît sur les monnaies d'Argos à l'époque achaienne et, à l'époque impériale, on conférait à la fois aux bienfaiteurs les honneurs de Persée et d'Héraclès. Face à l'intérêt que les voisins d'Argos témoignaient à Héraclès, la préférence des Argiens pour Persée ne peut être attribuée au hasard. Héraclès était thébain autant qu'argien.

139. *IG* IV, 586, ll. 6-8 et 606, ll. 15-17; Vollgraff 1903, 260-61 no. 2.

140. Cf. Piérart 1992, où l'on trouvera l'essentiel du matériel.

Persée était un des grands héros de la Grèce, pourfendeur de monstres et fondateur de cités, mais c'était avant tout le propre ancêtre mythique des Argiens.¹⁴¹ Comme le rappelle Pausanias, les Héraclides, en fin de compte, sont des Perséides.¹⁴²

Pausanias dresse un portrait précieux de la cité d'Argos qu'il a visitée vers le milieu du II^e siècle de notre ère.¹⁴³ Les lieux de mémoire qui jalonnent les itinéraires qu'il parcourt rappellent à ses lecteurs les faits glorieux du passé. Aux visiteurs assez curieux pour s'enquérir de ses monuments, Argos donnait d'elle-même une image forte, celle d'une cité qui possédait une histoire très ancienne et très prestigieuse, capable de rivaliser avec les cités grecques les plus illustres, Sparte et Athènes. Ses héros, chantés par les poètes grecs et latins, compétaient parmi les plus connus du monde habité.

Ce ne sont pas toujours les exploits dont on parlait le plus qui y laissèrent le plus de traces. Phoroneus et sa lignée furent des héros civilisateurs, mais la fondation de la cité était rapportée à Danaos, dont le tombeau était au centre de l'agora. Persée, fondateur mythique de Mycènes, s'illustra à Argos dans sa lutte contre les troupes mixtes de Dionysos. Entre la guerre de Thèbes et celle de Troie, les Argiens ont donné, dès l'époque archaïque, la préférence à la première. La seconde, qui mettait en valeur Diomède, leur permit de donner une touche universelle aux récits de la fondation des sanctuaires des collines, qui s'inscrivaient déjà dans des traditions dont s'inspirèrent les aèdes homériques: le héros y consacra le *Palladion* qu'il ramenait de Troie. L'action de tous ces héros à Argos était originale; leurs exploits, nouveaux, destinés à la seule Argos. Leur sollicitude distinguait la cité parmi d'autres et justifiait le renom qu'elle s'était acquis dès les temps les plus reculés.

Pausanias de son côté, un Grec d'Asie mineure, accepte l'idéologie qui sous-tend la création du Panhellénion à Athènes et la consacre dans le rôle de Prytanée de la Grèce. Les prétentions des Ar-

giens, lorsqu'elles s'éloignent de la *communis opinio* l'étonnent et finissent par l'agacer:¹⁴⁴

Je ne suis pas d'accord avec les propos suivants qu'ils tiennent. Les Argiens prétendent qu'il y a à Argos un tombeau de Déjanire, la fille d'Oïneus, une tombe d'Hélénos et que la statue d'Athéna ramenée de Troie, où elle avait été la cause de la prise de la ville, se trouve chez eux. Il est évident que le Palladion – c'est ainsi qu'on appelle la statue – a été emporté en Italie par Énée. Nous savons que la mort de Déjanire est arrivée à Trachis et non à Argos et sa tombe se trouve près d'Héracléa de l'Œta. J'ai déjà raconté l'histoire d'Hélénos ailleurs. [...] Il n'échappe même pas aux exégètes argiens que tout ce qu'ils disent n'est pas toujours vrai, mais ils le disent quand même: car il n'est pas facile d'amener la plupart des gens à croire le contraire de ce qu'ils pensent.

C'est un autre sophiste qui devait rendre justice aux Argiens. P. Anteiou Antiochus, dont Philostrate¹⁴⁵ a conservé le souvenir dans ses *Vies des Sophistes*, vint à Argos, vers 170 apr. J.-C., renouveler la parenté ancestrale de sa cité avec la ville du Péloponnèse.¹⁴⁶ Il demanda aux autorités la permission d'exposer dans l'endroit le plus en vue de la ville, le temple d'Apollon Lycien, le résultat de ses recherches, la preuve «des justes liens» qui unissaient les deux villes. Les Argiens, flattés, lui accordèrent avec plaisir l'autorisation qu'il demandait et écrivirent aux magistrats d'Aigeiai pour les informer de leurs décisions.

L'inscription n'est pas complète, mais nous en lisons assez pour savoir quelle preuve a découverte le sophiste: il raconta aux Argiens comment Persée, le fils de Danaé, dans son expédition contre les Gorgones, s'en vint en Cilicie, en apportant la statue de la déesse ancestrale. L. Robert, puis P. Chuvin, ont étudié la diffusion de la légende de Persée dans les villes de Lycaonie et de Cilicie, notamment de Tarse, où le héros apportait l'*aphidruma* d'Apollon *Lykeios*.¹⁴⁷ Nous ne savons pas quand

141. La tombe de Déjanire (Paus. II. 23, 5), comme celle de Prométhée (*id.* II. 19, 8) sont probablement des inventions des érudits hellénistiques ou romains.

142. Paus. II. 18, 7.

143. Cf. Piérart 1998a.

144. Paus. II. 23, 5.

145. Philostr., V S II. 4.

146. Le texte a été souvent reproduit. En dernier lieu: Puech 2002, 68-74 no. 10. Nous adoptons ici la date haute fixée par l'éditrice.

147. Robert 1977, 88-132 [= 1987, 46-90]; Chuvin 1981, 305-26.

ces récits furent élaborés. À la fin du IV^e s. av. J.-C., les habitants d'Aspendos et de Soloi de Cilicie se considéraient déjà comme des parents des Argiens, une prétention que ces derniers rappelèrent dans des décrets.¹⁴⁸

Tous les Grecs n'adhéraient donc pas aux réserves de Pausanias. La cité de Milet obtint des Argiens l'autorisation d'ériger une statue en l'honneur d'un de leurs compatriotes, héraut et acteur tragique vainqueur dans de nombreux concours et Thessalonique fit sans doute de même: le prestige des concours argiens, qui comportaient des épreuves gymniques et musicales, et la fierté de leur passé continuaient d'assurer aux Argiens, au sein de la Grèce et de l'Empire, une position enviable.

Marcel Piérart

Université de Fribourg (Suisse)

Appendice. Liste des magistrats argiens d'époque romaine

agonothète: **IG** IV, 586 (ἀγωνοθετήσαντα); 587 ([ἀγωνοθέτην Σεβαστ]είων καὶ Νεμείων; 589 (ἀγωνοθέτην Ἡραίων καὶ Νεμείων ἀποδειχθέντα); 590 (ἀγωνοθέταν Ἡραίων καὶ Νεμείων καὶ Σεβαστείων καὶ Νεμείων καὶ Ἀντινοείων ἐν Ἄργει); 602 (ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Σεβαστείων καὶ Νεμείων); 606 (ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Σεβάστεια καὶ Νέμεια); V 1, 1417 (ἀγωνοθέτης [Σεβ]αστείων καὶ Νεμείων); **SEG** 16, 1959, 258 (ἀγωνοθέτου); 35, 1985, 270-71 (ἀγωνο[θε]έτου); 36, 1986, 339 (ἀγωνο[θετ]ήσαν[τα – Ἡραῖα] καὶ Νέμεια δις κατ[ὰ τὸ ἐξῆς (?)]); 45, 1995, 257 (ἀγων[οθέτης Ἡραίων καὶ] Νεμείων τὸ β' [?]); 50, 2000, 362 (ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Σεβάστεια καὶ Νέμεια τὸ β'); J. et L. Robert, **BullÉpig** 1958, 233 (ἀγωνοθε[τοῦντος] Νέμεια)

agoranome: **IG** IV, 590 (ἀγορανομήσαντα); 605 ([ἀγορανομ]ήσαντα); 606 (ἀγορανομήσαντα); 609 (ἀγορανομήσαντα); **SEG** 11, 1950, 334 (ἀγορανομῶν); 13, 1956, 244 (ἀγορανομήσαντα); 50, 1990, 360 (ἀγορανομῶν, ἀγορανόμοις); 361 (ἀγορανομῶν)

archéphēbos: **IG** IV, 589 (ἀρχεφηβεύσαντα)

*archiereus**: **SEG** 45, 1995, 257 (ἀ[ρχιερεὺς] διὰ βίου τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβ[αστῶν])

archē (en général): **IG** IV, 602 (ἄρχαντα); 609 (κληθέντα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀρχήν); **SEG** 22, 1967, 266 (οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδ[ά]μου); **SEG** 55, 2005, 409 (τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις])

dikastai: **SEG** 41, 1991, 282 (τοῖς δικασταῖς)

dōtinater: **SEG** 41, 1991, 282 (κατασταθεὶς καὶ δωτινατῆρ τᾶς ἱερᾶς καὶ δαμοσίας χώρας)

eisagōgeus: **IG** IV, 594, 4 (ἰσαγωγέα); **SEG** 16, 1959, 258 (εἰσαγωγέα); 35, 1985, 270-271 ([εἰ]-σαγωγέα)

gerousia: **IG** IV, 579 (γερόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ); **SEG** 16, 1959, 259 (γερουσία ἢ ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας); W. Vollgraff, **Mnemosyne** 47, 1919, 263 no. 27 [cf. **SEG** 17, 1960, 145] (γερόντων, γέρουσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Δαναοῦ καὶ Ὑπερμήστρας)

grammateus/gropheus: **IG** IV, 589 (γραμματεύσαντα); 606 (γραμματεύσαντα); **SEG** 13, 1956, 244 (γραμματεύσαντα); **SEG** 16, 1959, 253 (γραμματέων)/**IG** IV, 609 (γροφεύσαντα); **SEG** 16, 1959, 253 (γροφέως ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀγῶνων)

gymnasiarque: **IG** IV, 584 (γυμνα[σιαρχ]ήσας); **SEG** 13, 1956, 244 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα); 53/1, 2003, 293 (γυμνασιαρχήσας); **Curty, Piérart** 2009, 185 [date incertaine] ([γυμνα]σίαρχος)

hellanodices: **IG** IV, 587 (οἱ ἔλληνοδικοί); **SEG** 16, 1959, 253 ([ἐλλ]ανοδικούντων)

hiéromnémons: **SEG** 22, 1967, 266 (ἱερομνάμοσι)

hiérophante: **IG** IV, 606 (ἱεροφαντήσαντα)

sitônēs: **IG** IV, 609 (<σ>ιτων<ή>σαντα)

stratēgos: **IG** IV, 590 (στρατηγήσαντα τρίς); V 1, 1417 (στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ἀργείων πόλεως)

synēdres: **SEG** 22, 1967, 266 (οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδ[ά]μου, συνέδρων, συνέδροις); 55, 2005, 409 (συνέδρων [?]; τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις])

synēdrion: **SEG** 22, 1967, 266 (τὸ συνέδριον)

tamias: **IG** IV, 589 (ταμιεύσαντα); 590 (ταμιεύσαντα); **SEG** 13, 1956, 244 (ταμιεύσαντα); 22, 1967, 266 (ταῖ ταμίαι); 41, 1991, 282 (τοῦ ταμία)

xystarque: **SEG** 16, 1959, 253 (ξυσταρχοῦντος).

148. Cf. Stroud 1984 (**SEG** 34, 1984, 282).

* Il s'agit plus probablement d'une fonction du *koinon* des Achéens que d'une fonction argienne, comme le suggère Aupert 1994, 75.

Bibliographie

- Abadie (C.), 2007: *La céramique romaine d'Argos (fin du II^e siècle avant J.-C. – fin du IV^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Ét. Pélop. 13, Athènes.
- Amandry (P.), 1980: «Sur les concours argiens», in *Études Argiennes, BCH Suppl.* 6, 211-54.
- Aupert (P.), «Un Sérapieion argien?», *CRAI*, 151-75.
- , 1994: «Une base de la “Domus Augusta” domitienne à Argos?», in J. M. Pailler, R. Sableyrolles (éds), *Les années Domitien*, Pallas 40, Toulouse, 69-78.
- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon*, Paris.
- Bechtel (F.), 1982: *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, 1^{ère} éd. Halle a. d. Saale 1917, repr. Hildesheim - Zürich - New York.
- Berchem van (D.), 1962: «Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos», *BCH* 86, 305-13.
- Boehrer (Chr.) 1991: «Zur Geschichte der Achaïschen Liga im 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr. im Lichte des Münzfundes von Poggio Picenze (Abruzzen)», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athen, 163-70.
- Bowersock (G.), 1965: *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford.
- Campanelli (A.), 1991: «Il Ripostiglio monetale di Poggio Picenze», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athènes, 155-62.
- Charneux (P.), 1953: «Inscriptions d'Argos», *BCH* 77, 387-403.
- , 1956: «Inscriptions d'Argos», *BCH* 80, 598-618.
- , 1990: «En relisant les décrets argiens», *BCH* 114, 395-415.
- , 1992: «Sur un décret des forgerons d'Argos», *BCH* 116, 335-43.
- Chuvin (P.), 1981: «Apollon au trident et les dieux de Tarse», *JS*, 305-26.
- Curty (O.), Piérart (M.), 2009: «Un gymnasiarque argien de la basse époque hellénistique», in O. Curty (éd.), *L'huile et l'argent*, Paris - Fribourg, 183-202.
- Daux (G.), 1953: «Les fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes à Argos (1952-1953)», *CRAI*, 455-63.
- , 1964: «Concours des Titeia dans un décret d'Argos», *BCH* 88, 569-76.
- Dorovinis (V. K.), 1998: «Téménion, le port antique d'Argos: mentions chez les auteurs anciens et modernes et indications sur son emplacement depuis la fin du XVIII^e siècle», in A. Pariente, G. Touchais (éds), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme*, Recherches Franco-Helléniques 3, Paris - Athènes 1998, 291-313.
- Erren (M.), 2003: *P. Vergilius Maro Georgica*, Bd. II, *Kommentar*, Heidelberg.
- Faklaris (P. V.), 1990: Αρχαία Κυνουρία. Ανθρώπινη δραστηριότητα και περιβάλλον, Athènes.
- Ferrary (J.-L.), 1978: *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen 2. Genèse d'un empire* (sous la direction de C. Nicolet), Paris.
- , 1988: *Philhellénisme et impérialisme: aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate*, Rome.
- , 2001: «Rome et la géographie de l'hellénisme: réflexions sur “hellènes” et “panhellènes” dans les inscriptions d'époque romaine», in *Papers & Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens VII*, Helsinki, 19-35.
- Frazer (J. G.), 1965: *Sur les traces de Pausania: à travers la Grèce ancienne* (tr. de l'anglais), 1^{ère} éd. Paris 1922, Paris.
- Fröhlich (P.), 1999: «Les institutions des cités de Messénie à la basse époque hellénistique», in J. Renard (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse. Archéologie et histoire*, Rennes, 229-42.
- Ginouvès (R.), 1972: *Le théâtre à gradins droits et l'odéon d'Argos*, Ét. Pélop. 6, Athènes, 83-215.
- Groag (E.), 1939: *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Vienne - Leipzig.
- Helm (R.) (éd.), 1913 et 1926: *Eusebius Werke 7. 1 et 2. Die Chronik des Hieronymus: Hieronymi Chronicon*, Leipzig.
- Kallet-Marx (R. M.), 1994: *Hegemony to Empire. The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford.
- , 1995: *Quintus Fabius Maximus and the Dyme affaire* (Syll.³ 684), *CQ* 45, 129-53.
- Kantirea (M.), 2001: «Remarques sur le culte de la domus Augusta en Achaïe de la mort d'Auguste à Néron», in *Papers & Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 7*, Helsinki, 19-35.
- Knöpfel (D.), Piérart (M.), 2001: *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000*, Neuchâtel 2001.
- Kritzas (Ch.), 1992: «Aspects de la vie politique et économique d'Argos au V^e siècle avant J.-C.», in M. Piérart (éd.), *Polydipsion Argos, BCH Suppl.* 22, Athènes - Fribourg, 231-40.
- , 2006: «Nouvelles inscriptions d'Argos: les archives des comptes du trésor sacré (IV^es. av. J.-C.)», *CRAI*, 399-434.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C. – III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Lefèvre (F.), 1998: *L'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique: histoire et institutions*, Paris.
- Le Guen (B.), 2001: *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, 2 vols, Nancy.
- Lehmann (H.), 1937: *Argolis. I. Landeskunde der Ebene und ihrer Randgebiete*, Athènes.
- Levy (B.), 1991: «When did Nero liberate Achaia and Why?», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums*

- Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989, Meletemata 13, Athènes, 189-194.
- Marchetti (P.), Kolokotsas (K.), 1995: *Le nymphée de l'agora d'Argos: fouille, étude architecturale et historique*, avec une contribution de C. Abadie-Reynal, ÉtPélop 11, Athènes.
- Migeotte (L.), 1984: *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, Paris - Québec.
- Moretti (J.-Ch.), 1993: *Théâtres d'Argos*, avec la collaboration de S. Diez, Sites et monuments 10, Athènes.
- Mosshammer (A.) (éd.), 1984: *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, Leipzig.
- Oliver, (J. H.), 1958: «Gerusiae and Augustales», *Historia* 7, 472-96.
- , 1989: *Greek constitutions of early Roman emperors from inscriptions and papyri*, Philadelphia.
- Pariente (A.), Piérart (M.), Thalmann (J.-P.), 1998: «Les recherches sur l'agora d'Argos: résultats et perspectives», in A. Pariente, G. Touchais (éds), *Argos et l'Argolide. Topographie et urbanisme*, Recherches Franco-Helléniques 3, Paris - Athènes 1998, 211-31.
- Philippson (A.), 1892: *Der Peloponnes*, Berlin.
- Piérart (M.), 1974: «Les inscriptions», *BCH* 98, 774-82.
- , 1992: «“Argos assoiffée” et “Argos riche en cavales”. Provinces culturelles à l'époque proto-historique», in M. Piérart (éd.), *Polydipsion Argos*, *BCH* Suppl. 22, Athènes - Fribourg, 119-55.
- , 1995: «L'empereur Hadrien et Argos. Une dédicace partiellement inédite d'un temple d'Héra (SEG XI, 340)», in R. Frei-Stolba (éd.), *Römische Inschriften: Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen: Festschrift für Hans Lieb zum 65. Geburtstag*, Basel, 71-85.
- , 1997: «L'attitude d'Argos à l'égard des autres cités d'Argolide», in M. H. Hansen (éd.), *The Polis as an urban centre and as a political community. Symposium August, 29-31 1996*, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4, Munksgaard 321-51.
- , 1998a: «L'itinéraire de Pausanias à Argos», in A. Pariente, G. Touchais (éds), *Argos et l'Argolide Topographie et urbanisme*, Recherches Franco-Helléniques 3, Paris - Athènes 1998, 337-56.
- , 1998b: «Omissions et malentendus dans la “Périégèse”: Danaos et ses filles à Argos», in V. Pirenne-Delforge (éd.), *Les Panthéons des cités des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias*, *Kernos* Suppl. 8, Liège, 165-93.
- , 1999: «Les puits de Danaos et les fontaines d'Hadrien», in J. Renard (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse. Archéologie et histoire*, Rennes, 243-68.
- , 2001a: «Argos, Philippe II et la Cynourie (Thyréatide): les frontières du partage des Héraclides», in R. Frei-Stolba, Kr. Gex (éds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire du Pierre Ducrey* (Lausanne 20-21 novembre 1998), Berne - New York, 27-43.
- , 2001b: «Des héros et des hommes. Les habitants d'Argos en quête de leur identité», in A. Barzanò, C. Bearzot, F. Landucci, L. Prandi, G. Zecchini (éds), *Identità e valori. Fattori di Aggregazione e fattore di crisi nell'esperienza politica antica*, Bergamo, 16-18 dicembre 1998, Rome, 20-38.
- , 2003: «Genèse et développement d'une ville à l'ancienne: Argos», in M. Reddé, L. Dubois, D. Briquel, H. Lavagne, F. Queyrel (éds), *La naissance de la ville dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 49-70.
- , à paraître 2009: «Le réseau routier d'Argolide et la Périégèse de Pausanias. À propos d'un ouvrage récent», *REA* 111.
- Piérart (M.), Thalmann (J.-P.), 1980: «Nouvelles inscriptions argiennes (I)», in *Études Argiennes*, *BCH* Suppl. 6, 255-78.
- Pleket (H. W.), 1957: Three Epigraphic Notes, *Mnemosyne* 10, 141-46.
- Prêtre (Cl.), 2003/04: «Une nouvelle mention des synédres dans une inscription argienne inédite», *Tekmeria* 8, 71-84.
- Puech (B.), 1983: «Grands-prêtres et helladarques d'Achaïe», *REA*, 5-43.
- , 2002: *Orateurs et sophistes dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale*, Paris.
- Reynolds (J. M.), 2000: «New Letters of Hadrian to Aphrodisias: Trials, taxes, Gladiators and an Aque-duct», *JRA* 13, 5-20.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 2007: «Les Ti. Claudii et la promotion des élites péloponnésiennes», in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Neronia VII. Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce. Hellénisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C. Actes du VII^e Colloque International de la SIEN (Athènes 21-23 octobre 2004)*, Coll. Latomus 305, Bruxelles, 183-95.
- , 2008: *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athènes.
- Robert (L.), 1969: «Études sur les inscriptions et la topographie de la Grèce centrale», *OMS* I, Amsterdam, 279-93 (1^{ère} éd. *BCH* 59, 1935, 438-52).
- , 1977: «Documents d'Asie Mineure», *BCH* 101.1, 88-132.
- , 1987: «Documents d'Asie Mineure», *BÉFAR* 239, 46-90.
- Romano (D. G.), 2003: «City Planning, Centuriation and Land Division in Roman Corinth. *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis & Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*», in C. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (éds) *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896-1996*, *Corinth* XX, Princeton N. J., 279-91.
- RP I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athènes 2001.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athènes 2004.

- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1985: «Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical Notes», *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1994: «Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial Cult. Pseudo-Julian, Letters 198», *Hesperia* 63, 211-32.
- Schwertfeger (Th.), 1974: *Der Achaïsche Bund von 146 bis 27 v. Chr.*, Munich.
- Touratsoglou (I. P.), Tsiourti (H.), 1991: «Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία των τριωβόλων της Αχαϊκής συμπολιτείας στο Ελλαδικό χώρο· η μαρτυρία των «θησαυρών»», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athen, 171-88.
- Vollgraff (W.), 1903: «Inscriptions d'Argos», *BCH* 27, 260-79.
- , 1904: «Inscriptions d'Argos», *BCH* 28, 420-29.
- , 1909: «Inscriptions d'Argos», *BCH* 33, 171-200.
- , 1919: «Novae inscriptiones Argivae», *Mnemosyne* 47, 161-70.

L'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARGIEENNE ET L'OLIGARCHIE LOCALE DU HAUTE-EMPIRE¹

Patrick Marchetti

Abstract: The prosopographical collections *Roman Peloponnese* I and II lead us to reinvestigate for each site the cases of Peloponnesians who received Roman citizenship. The present study, which limits itself to the city of Argos, reviews the main evidence on Argives who became Romans and on Romans who lived in Argos, a city that already relatively early welcomed communities of Italic residents (who are sometimes unduly confused with authentic Argives). The main *gentilicia* attested in the local oligarchy are examined (*Antonii, Iulii, Pompeii*, etc.). This enables us to raise the question of the origins of the Tiberii Iulii as well as to identify with great probability the senator of Lesbos, Pompeios Makreinos, among the Pompeioi who were honoured at Argos, and to establish a connection between Sextos Pompeios Markianos and the mighty Spartan family of the same name. Special attention is given to the most important family of local oligarchs, the Tiberii Claudii, who deployed a very typical political activity. Stemming from ancestors who had probably been accorded Roman citizenship by the Emperor Claudius, they were in charge of the maintenance of gymnasia and of the administration of the cults, and were involved in a restoration of civil institutions and in the development of the cult of emperor worship – in one word: they followed a very coherent line of action.

De rares textes épigraphiques permettent, plus sommairement il est vrai qu'en d'autres cités péloponnésiennes, d'identifier à Argos quelques familles intégrées à la citoyenneté romaine et, en leur sein, celles qui constituent l'oligarchie inféodée au pouvoir romain, peu nombreuses au final, dès lors que l'on exclut de l'enquête les autres riches et puissantes familles d'Argolide, d'Épidaure² en particulier, si proches de leurs contemporains spartiates et athéniens. Si l'on veut toutefois procéder avec quelque méthode, il convient de résister à la tentation de globaliser ou de conclure

trop rapidement de l'analyse des cas particuliers. Plusieurs périodes doivent aussi être distinguées dans ce que l'on pourrait appeler la "romanisation" d'Argos et bien des pièges sont à éviter.

1. Remarques préalables sur les noms attestés dans l'épigraphie argienne

1a. À l'époque impériale, les personnages honorés dans les différentes cités des provinces grecques en général et péloponnésiennes en particulier se signalent rarement par leurs "ethniques". Preuve qu'ils sont avant tout provinciaux, comme en témoignent du

1. Cette étude a tiré parti d'une lecture attentive de Jean-Sébastien Balzat qu'il m'est particulièrement agréable de remercier ici pour cet inestimable service. Je lui dois notamment de précieuses informations bibliographiques et le bénéfice d'une enrichissante discussion. Je reste, bien entendu, seul responsable des positions et des analyses ici présentées. Nous ferons naturellement référence ci-dessous, à maintes reprises, aux recueils, très utiles, rassemblés par A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea (I)/Cl. Lepenioti (II), *Roman Peloponnese* I et II (*Meletemata* 31, 2001 et 36, 2004), cités désormais sous la forme abrégée *RP* I et II suivi du nom de la région (ARG = Argolide, COR = Corinthe, EL = Élide, LAC = Laconie, MES = Messénie, ARC = Arcadie), qui nous dispensent de multiplier les renvois bibliographiques que nous avons donc strictement limités.

2. Abondamment étudiées par Spawforth 1985, 248-58 pour Épidaure, qui, de manière significative, n'a intégré à ses enquêtes aucun personnage issu de l'oligarchie locale d'Argos. On n'y trouve, en effet, rien de comparable, pour les débuts du principat, aux Cornélii et Statilii d'Épidaure ou aux Iulii, Memmii et Voluseni de Sparte.

reste l'extension territoriale de leurs générosités³ et les honneurs qu'ils reçoivent ici et là. Ce qui complique l'identification des stricts représentants de l'oligarchie locale car, les limites du territoire étant poreuses, on doit s'attendre *a priori* à y retrouver actifs plus d'un personnage venu des cités voisines,⁴ tel – pour Argos – **M. Antonios Achaïkos**, au *cognomen* révélateur.⁵

Un personnage de ce nom est attesté dans l'épigraphie argienne du II^e siècle apr. J.-C.,⁶ mais aussi à Corinthe à la même époque.⁷ L'un "et" l'autre ont pris en charge les frais de statues du *procurator Augusti* Titus Prifernius Paetus, *alias* A. Pomponius Augurinus.⁸ Ils sont exactement contemporains et ont été l'un "et" l'autre agonothètes, le "Corinthien"⁹ notamment pour des *Kaisarea*, *Ne-*

rouanea, *Traiana* ainsi que des *Isthmia* - *Caesarea*,¹⁰ tandis que l'"Argien" est mentionné comme agonothète, à côté d'un Tib. Klaudios, dans une inscription qui célèbre les fils de Gn. Pompéios Kléosthènes.¹¹ Rien ne permet d'imaginer qu'ils puissent s'agir de deux personnages différents.¹² Le M. Antonios Achaïkos honoré à Argos est évidemment identique au "Corinthien" du même nom et la seule question qui se pose à son propos est de déterminer s'il est argien *plutôt* que corinthien, encore que la double appartenance ne soit pas à exclure. Dans ce cas précis et compte tenu du *cognomen* et de la tribu à laquelle il appartient,¹³ il est raisonnable de voir en lui un descendant, à la troisième ou quatrième génération, d'un affranchi installé à Corinthe aux premiers temps de la colonie,

3. Leurs actes d'évergétisme, en effet, ne se cantonnent pas à une seule cité, comme l'enseigne, parmi bien d'autres exemples, une intéressante inscription trouvée à Argos même, en l'honneur de T. Statilius Lamprias Memmianus (*IG IV*, 590, cf. *RPI*, ARG 247), par laquelle on l'honore pour des charges d'agonothète accomplies à Argos au bénéfice des *Heraia*, *Nemeia* et *Sebasteia*, puis des *Nemeia* et *Antinoeia*, à Mantinée pour les *Antinoeia* et à Épidaure pour les *Asclepieia*. Sur le personnage, voir les remarques prospectives de A. J. S. Spawforth 1985, 255-57.

4. Un autre bel exemple de tels échanges de bons procédés entre cités voisines est celui de Tiberios Ioulios Klaudianos, fils de Sianthès, cf. *RPI*, ARG 144 (voir texte *infra*, 2c) : il s'agit d'un Épidaurien, honoré comme tel à Épidaure (*IG IV*² 1, 453 et 660; *IG IV*, 1176-77) et remercié par la tribu argienne des *Pamphyloi*, qui lui offre une statue, en le présentant comme prêtre du culte impérial (local) et agonothète des *Sebasteia* (locales) célébrées conjointement avec les *Nemeia*, cf. *RPI*, ARG 144 no. 3 (inédit).

5. À Corinthe, un tel *cognomen* ne pouvait qu'évoquer le surnom de L. Mummius, le vainqueur de la ligue achéenne (F. Münzer, *RE* XVI. 1 [1933] 1203 *add.* 7a, s.v. *Mummius*). Il fut ensuite porté, notamment, par la petite-fille ou petite-nièce du consul qui détruisit Corinthe, Memmia Achaica (Suet., *Galb.* III. 4), qui épousa le consul de 5 av. J.-C., Ser. Sulpicius Galba, union de laquelle sont issus deux fils, le consul de 22 apr. J.-C. et le futur empereur Galba. Son frère, Mummius Achaicus, fut légat et honoré en cette qualité à Olympie, à l'époque d'Auguste (*RPI*, EL 285 et Groag 1939, 99-100). Le *cognomen* est celui d'un Corinthien cité par Paul, dans *1 Ep. Cor.* 16-17 (*LGNP* III.A, 87 s.v. Ἀχαϊκός [8]), qui pourrait être le grand-père de notre M. Antonios Achaikos. Le *cognomen* se retrouve encore ailleurs, voir e.g. *RPI*, EL 285 et 318.

6. *RPI*, ARG 18, Mitsos 1952, 32 (Antonios 3).

7. *RPI*, COR 53.

8. D'après les restitutions de J. H. Kent, voir *RPI*, COR 53 [2].

9. Dans *RPI*, COR 53 no. 1, le mot «agonothète» est restitué, mais la mention des concours entraîne *ipso facto* sa restitution.

10. Il aurait aussi reçu les honneurs de l'agonothésie, ce qui étonne, pour le moins, mais est-on réellement autorisé à le reconnaître dans le texte *RPI*, COR 53 no. 1?

11. Charneux 1956, 610 = *RPI*, ARG 18 no. 2. Ses fonctions d'agonothète à Argos (pour les *Sebasteia* et *Nemeia*) ont été confirmées par un nouveau texte édité en 2000 (*BCH* 124, 2000, 495 [cf. *SEG* 50, 2000, 362] et *RPI*, ARG 18 no. 3).

12. Il est particulièrement malencontreux de voir séparés l'"Argien" et le «Corinthien» dans *LGNP* III.A, 87 s.v. Ἀχαϊκός nos 1 et 6, où, d'autre part, les seules références anciennes, d'époque hellénistique, renvoient à l'Arcadie.

13. Sa tribu, l'Aemilia, qui est celle des Corinthiens, convient idéalement à un colon de la première heure, dans une colonie qui fut, on le sait, surtout peuplée au départ d'affranchis. Et le lien de certains affranchis avec Marc Antoine ne surprend pas. Trois d'entre eux se retrouvent parmi les *duoviri* de la colonie, cf. Spawforth 1996, 170. Dès 100 av. J.-C., le grand-père de M. Antoine était déjà célébré sur le territoire de la future colonie dans une inscription (*Corinth* VIII.2, 1 = *RPI*, COR 46) qui devait se dresser à l'Isthme (par où M. Antonius fit passer sa flotte quand il reçut le commandement de la guerre contre les pirates ciliciens, comme le rappelle l'épigramme qui vante ses exploits), à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une dédicace *post eventum* érigée par les colons au cours des années du triumvirat, avant 31 av. J.-C. La *rasura* du nom est, en tout cas, symptomatique.

plutôt que d'identifier le fondateur de la lignée à un argien naturalisé par le triumvir, comme il en existe certainement.¹⁴ Restituer son nom¹⁵ dans l'unique dédicace argienne relative à la maison impériale est, en tout cas, un pis-aller.

Ib. Il n'est pas aussi aisé qu'il y paraît d'identifier les "Romains" d'Argos. Plusieurs, quand ils sont honorés ou mentionnés dans des inscriptions argiennes, ont pu préférer conserver leur identité grecque plutôt que d'afficher leurs noms romains,¹⁶ à preuve ce Démétrios fils de Démétrios qui à la fin du I^{er} s. av. J.-C., malgré son nom, se dit "Romain",¹⁷ ou, encore à la fin du II^e siècle, un Aristodamos fils de Gaios, dans une liste d'hellanodices publiée par P. Charneux,¹⁸ précisément remarquable par le mélange des formules onomastiques qu'on y lit: "Grecs" et "Romains" d'Argos s'y côtoient de manière symptomatique. Beaucoup d'autres dont le nom ne nous est connu que sous la forme d'un prénom latin restent énigmatiques.¹⁹ Par ailleurs, les gentilices impériaux ne sont pas toujours aussi sûrement "identifiables" que nous pourrions le croire. Il est des Tib. Claudii attestés dès l'époque augustéenne,²⁰ des frères qui reçoivent séparément la citoyenneté romaine et finis-

sent ainsi par s'appeler l'un T. Octavius Longinus, l'autre Tib. Claudius [.].at[.].es,²¹ des descendants de Cn. Cornelii Pulchri qui peuvent se dire fils d'un Tiberios,²² dont la sœur est une Calpurnia Frontina,²³ des Tib. Iulii dont l'histoire est plus complexe qu'il y paraît et dont le nom ne doit pas s'analyser mécaniquement comme la preuve d'une concession d'un droit de cité romaine remontant à l'empereur Tibère.²⁴ Non moins surprenant est un nom du type de Ioulios Agrippas.²⁵ En un mot, la prosopographie de ces Grecs romanisés n'est pas un parcours sans risques. Quand on ne dispose que du nom sans les éléments qui permettraient une identification précise et la découverte des liens généalogiques, le doute s'impose, plus que la certitude. Les *cognomina*, mais aussi les *praenomina* peuvent relever de modes, surtout dans des familles où plusieurs fils sont issus d'un même couple dont père et mère proviennent de deux grandes familles. Trop de situations particulières doivent nous rendre prudents dans la reconstruction prosopographique.

Ic. Très tôt les Argiens ont honoré les Romains, comme en atteste le nombre de dédicaces et de textes honorifiques²⁶ qui les concernent aux II^e et I^{er} siècles: dès 195 av. J.-C., les Argiens avaient,

14. Voir infra, 2*b*, les Marci Antonii argiens.

15. Comme l'envisage Aupert 1994, 73 (voir ci-dessous n. 108). Par contre, il n'est pas impossible qu'on en retrouve un descendant à Messène dans une liste de noms copiée par Cyriaque d'Ancône, cf. *RP* II, MES 16 (*IG* V 1, 1408, l. 2).

16. La nomenclature des Grecs romanisés, il est bon de le rappeler, à la suite notamment de Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, reste instable, fluctuante au gré des documents, surtout à époque ancienne.

17. Dans un texte édité par Vollgraff 1919, 262, cf. *RPI*, ARG 121.

18. Charneux 1956, 604-10.

19. Ils sont nombreux pour Argos, dans *RPI*. Voir à ce propos les remarques de Rizakis 1996 et Zoumbaki 2008.

20. Par exemple, celui que l'on trouve dans une inscription de Messène, *IG* V 1, 1434, cf. Migeotte 1985, 605 n. 19 (= Migeotte 1992, no. 22), ou à Olympie, voir Rizakis 1996, 186 et *RP* I, EL 138.

21. Cf. Spawforth 1994, 437.

22. *RPI*, ARG 117 et *app.* p. 531 *stemma* IV; voir aussi *RP* I, COR 227-28.

23. *RPI*, COR 131; voir *IG* IV, 1600.

24. L'histoire de Tiberios Ioulios Klaudianos, dont la famille est connue depuis le III^e s. av. J.-C. (cf. *IG* IV² 1, p. XXV, corrigeant *IG* IV, p. 264) est, en effet, assez complexe et il est heureux que les auteurs de *RP* aient corrigé, pour l'époque romaine, le *stemma* proposé par Fr. Hiller de (sic) Gaertringen (voir *RP* I, *app. stemma* IV où l'on a supprimé la filiation qui reliait Tib. Klaudios Nikotelès à Tib. Ioulios Sianthès, avec renvoi aux travaux de H. Box, *sub* ARG 153). Expliquer le nom de Tib. Ioulios Klaudianos par l'adoption d'un Tib. Claudius dans une famille de Iulii est nettement plus convaincant que supposer une concession du droit de cité par Tibère. De ce Klaudianos il faut rapprocher Tib. Ioulios Sianthès (*RP* I, ARG 153), son père, et probablement son frère, [Tib. Ioulios] Règlos, (*RPI*, ARG 233), cf. ci-dessous n. 68.

25. Personnage honoré à Épidaure au III^e siècle (*RP* I, ARG 140), qui n'est pas nécessairement le même que le stratège de *koinon* achéen honoré à Olympie (*IvO* 487 = *Syll.*³ 893).

26. À quoi l'on pourrait ajouter des textes où des représentants du pouvoir romain interviennent dans des affaires intérieures, comme celui relatif à la fameuse querelle des *technites*, toujours inédit (voir J.-L. Ferrary, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 185-86).

dans l'enthousiasme de leur "libération", institué des jeux pour commémorer l'action de Titus Flamininus;²⁷ puis ils célébrèrent: en 169, Cn. Octavius²⁸ et d'autres membres de l'ambassade adressée à la ligue achéenne, A. Hostilius Mancinus²⁹ et C. Popilius Laenas;³⁰ dès 146 (?) Lucius Mummius;³¹ ensuite, en 98/7 av. J.-C., Caius Marius;³² puis le consul de 69/8 Q. Caecilius Metellus³³ et son beau-frère, le consul de 68/7 Q. Marcius Q. f. Rex³⁴ et, peu après, Pompée le Grand.³⁵ Et l'on ne peut que clore cette liste en évoquant la lettre adressée, en 16/5 av. J.-C., par Agrippa à la gérusie «issue de Danaos et d'Hypermnestre»,³⁶ texte réellement exceptionnel.³⁷ Ces documents occupent une place proportionnellement non négligeable dans l'épigraphie de ce temps et révèlent ainsi que les Argiens ont été attentifs à entretenir très tôt des liens étroits avec les puissants de l'heure. On n'est donc pas surpris que des *negotiatores*³⁸ aient choisi de s'y installer au lendemain des destructions dont ils furent victimes à Délos à l'époque des guerres mi-

thridatiques, faisant ainsi d'Argos, dès le I^{er} s. av. J.-C., un milieu plus que d'autres perméable à la "romanisation". Et cette politique n'a pas cessé sous l'Empire, même si les documents sont alors moins nombreux.³⁹

2. Un essai de prosopographie argienne

2a. En marge du groupe des *negotiatores* italiens,⁴⁰ on trouve à Argos, à la fin du I^{er} s. av. et à l'époque augustéenne, des personnages porteurs des *tria nomina*,⁴¹ qui, plutôt que des Argiens romanisés, sont peut-être de simples "Romains" résidents qui devaient, comme à Messène,⁴² constituer un groupe non négligeable et particulièrement bien intégré ainsi que l'attestent les documents par lesquels ils honorent les Argiens de souche.⁴³ Au groupe de ces résidents appartient probablement **L. Cornelius Ingenuus**⁴⁴ dont les *tria nomina* purement latins,⁴⁵ non accompagnés d'un patronyme, s'accordent assez mal avec une origine argienne. Les fonctions de gymnasiarque, d'agoranome, de secrétaire et de

27. Cf. G. Daux, "Concours des *Titeia* dans un décret d'Argos", *BCH* 88, 1964, 569-76. Ce concours avait un équivalent à Gytheion, cf. en dernier lieu Balzat 2008, 340 (le texte, la *lex sacra* de Gytheion, dans Oliver 1989, no. 15).

28. *RPI*, ARG 197. Pour la date du décret et le sens à donner au titre de Cn. Octavius, nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre étude dans *BCH* 100, 1976, 402-76, de laquelle nous ne trouvons rien à retrancher, même si l'on a mis quelque mauvaise volonté à en assimiler l'analyse. On s'obstine, en effet, à maintenir une date manifestement erronée pour la bataille de Pydna, sur base de synchronismes artificiels, pourtant aisés à démonter.

29. Cf. *RPI*, ARG 25.

30. Cf. *RPI*, ARG 218.

31. Sous la forme Leukios Mommios Leukiou (*RPI*, ARG 194 no. 1). Comme il reçut l'appellation d'Achaïcus à la suite de son triomphe (voir ci-dessus n. 5), les textes qui l'honorent en Grèce ne mentionnent évidemment pas ce titre.

32. Cf. *RPI*, ARG 187. À la même époque on célébrait à Corinthe le grand-père de M. Antoine, cf. ci-dessus n. 13.

33. Lorsqu'il fut chargé de la lutte contre les pirates, qui lui valut le surnom de Creticus, cf. *RPI*, ARG 66. Il est alors honoré, en latin, par les *Italici quei Argeis negotiantur*. Sur ce texte, voir le commentaire pertinent de van Berchem 1962, 305-07.

34. *RPI*, ARG 182. Il est honoré par les mêmes *Italici quei negotiantur Argeis*, cf. van Berchem 1962, 307 et *id.*, 1963, 323-24.

35. *RPI*, ARG 210, à compléter par M. Piérart, *BCH* 124, 2000, 492 (photographie), cf. *SEG* 50, 2000, 361.

36. Oliver 1989, no. 3; J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, BÉFAR 253, Rome 1984, 422, et *RPI*, ARG 265.

37. Cf. Marchetti, Kolokotsas, 195; Marchetti 1993, 217-18.

38. Van Berchem 1962, 305-13 et *id.*, 1963, 322-24.

39. Cf. *RPI*, ARG 213 (T. Prifernius Paetus, honoré par M. Antonius Achaïcus, texte voir *supra*, 1a), 263 (M. Vettulenus Civica Barbarus, consul en 157, qui fut aussi honoré à Olympie et à Athènes), *IG* IV, 584 (Vespasien).

40. Ce sont ces *negotiatores* qui honorent Q. Caecilius C. f. Metellus et Q. Marcius Q. f. Rex, ci-dessus, ns. 33-34.

41. Cf. Mendoni 1996, 184-85.

42. Le détail de l'*oktôbolos eisphora* est à cet égard instructif, cf. en dernier lieu, Migeotte 2008, 236 (n. 22, plusieurs références utiles).

43. Notamment le plus important d'entre eux, Tib. Klaudios Diodotos, l'ancêtre de la lignée des Tib. Claudii d'Argos, voir ci-dessous, 2e et, pour le texte, *IG* IV, 606 (repris *RPI*, *ap.* ARG 88).

44. *RPI*, ARG 111. Pour le *cognomen*, voir I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina*, Rome 1982, 314.

45. Le *cognomen* paraît révélateur de son origine italienne.

trésorier,⁴⁶ qu'il a exercées ne doivent pas surprendre chez un Italien: les mêmes résidents romains, dans un autre texte, n'hésitent pas à décerner au personnage qu'ils remercient les honneurs de Persée et d'Héraklès ainsi que la *chrysophoria* accompagnée de la pourpre.⁴⁷ L'intégration de ces résidents à époque ancienne était manifestement totale, à l'exemple de leurs équivalents athéniens⁴⁸ ou messéniens, ainsi que le révèlent, à Messène par exemple, leur contribution aux travaux de restauration du gymnase⁴⁹ ou la «générosité» des frères Cloatii à Gytheion.⁵⁰

Dans le même groupe des résidents on épinglera aussi, malgré son *cognomen*, **M. Perperna Hymnos**, dont le nom trahit clairement l'origine étrusque.⁵¹

2b. À côté d'eux, pour l'époque ancienne (fin I^{er} s. av./début I^{er} s. apr. J.-C.), il faut d'abord s'intéresser aux Marci Antonii et plus particulièrement à **Markos Antonios Aristokratès**, fils d'Anaxiôn.⁵² Le *praenomen* et le *nomen* renvoient clairement à Marc Antoine, tandis que le nom du père, Anaxiôn, est bien attesté à Argos⁵³ et que le *cognomen*

évoque le nom d'un rhéteur connu par Plutarque pour avoir été l'ami du triumvir.⁵⁴

Aristokratès est un nom très répandu, aussi abondamment attesté dans le Péloponnèse qu'à Athènes.⁵⁵ Le fils d'Anaxiôn, toutefois, est incontestablement un citoyen d'Argos, comme le prouvent le nom de son père et le contenu de deux inscriptions argiennes⁵⁶ qui émanent, directement ou indirectement, d'une association locale de *spatoleastai*.⁵⁷ L'une le vénère comme «fondateur» et «héros» en lui donnant les *tria nomina*, l'autre est la dédicace d'une statue qui lui fut offerte en leur nom par le gymnasiarque Marcus Antonius Fustus, clairement un affranchi. Dans cette dernière inscription, bien qu'il soit le personnage honoré, Aristokratès ne figure que sous son seul nom grec, d'où l'on peut penser que Markos Antonios Aristokratès doit probablement sa citoyenneté romaine au triumvir. Cela suffit-il à nous assurer qu'il est aussi le rhéteur dont parle Plutarque?⁵⁸ Le fait qu'il fut honoré d'une statue par le peuple athénien,⁵⁹ dans une inscription qui ne laisse aucun doute sur son identité, plaide en ce sens, dans la

46. Voir le texte de l'inscription qui l'honore dans P. Charneux, *BCH* 77, 1953, 400-03. Il ne doit pas être fortuit, qu'à cette date haute, on ne lui ait décerné à Argos «que» les honneurs de l'agonothésie ni qu'il soit par ailleurs aussi honoré par une association professionnelle. Une autre inscription qui le concerne émane, en effet, des *λεεῖται* (*IG* IV, 607), des «ponceurs»? Sur cette association, voir quelques informations rassemblées par Mendoni 1996, 185 n. 17.

47. Texte cité *RPI*, ap. ARG 88 (voir ci-dessus n. 43) à propos de Tib. Klaudios Diodotos. Voir aussi *RPI*, ARG 268 pour la *chrysophoria*, honneur également décerné vers la même époque au Messénien Aristoklès, voir Migeotte 1997, 57-59.

48. Cf. S. Follet, «Les Italiens à Athènes (II^e s. av. J.-C.-I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.)» in Chr. Müller, Cl. Hasenohr (éds.), *Les Italiens dans le Monde grec (II^e s. av. J.-C.-I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.): circulation, activités et intégration, Actes de la Table-ronde, Paris, 14-16 mai 1998*, Paris 2002, 82-84.

49. Migeotte 1985, 605. Voir aussi leur participation à l'*oktôbolos eisphora*, en dernier lieu Migeotte 2008.

50. *Id.*, 1984, no. 24.

51. Mendoni 1996, 185, cf. *RPI*, ARG 203.

52. *IG* IV, 641, cf. *RPI*, ARG 19.

53. Cf. Mitsos 1952, 27.

54. Plut., *Vit. Ant.* 69. Plutarque est toutefois très laconique, en nous apprenant sans plus qu'au lendemain d'Actium deux amis seulement partageaient la solitude du vaincu: un rhéteur grec, du nom d'Aristokratès, pour lequel il ne fournit pas d'ethnique, et Lucilius, un Romain.

55. Comparer *LGP* II, 56-57 et III.A, 62-63 s.v. Pour Argos, voir aussi Mitsos 1952, 40-41.

56. À celle signalée dans *RPI*, ARG 19 (*IG* IV, 581) il faut ajouter un texte tout récent: *SEG* 53/1, 2003, 293.

57. Le mot avait été corrigé dans *IG* IV, 581 et la correction est confirmée par le nouveau texte *SEG*, *loc. cit.*

58. Comme le proposaient J. Kirchner dans les *IG* II² 3889, à la suite de A. Lippold (*RE* XII. 2 [1925] 1997-998, s.v. *Leochares* [3]) et P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, Le Caire 1927, 236, d'où Mendoni 1996, 185 et *RPI*, ARG 19. Pour Aristokratès chez Plutarque voir *Vit. Ant.* 69 (cf. J. Brzoska, *RE* II. 1 [1895] 941, s.v. *Aritokrates* [22]).

59. Voir *IG* II² 3889. Je suis étonné du lemme de *RPI*, ARG 19: ce serait le grand-père de M. Antonios Aristokratès qui serait le rhéteur et ce serait son fils qui serait honoré à Athènes! Les trois personnages distingués là n'en sont qu'un en réalité.

mesure où les liens privilégiés qui unissaient Antoine à Athènes⁶⁰ invitent à rechercher son ami rhéteur à Athènes plutôt qu'à Argos. Par ailleurs, la fonction de gymnasiarque du dédicant argien, M. Antonius Faustus, serait bien en accord avec une telle profession. On reste, néanmoins, perplexe devant le lien privilégié qui s'établit entre Markos Antonios Aristokratès et les *spatoleastai*,⁶¹ hapax que l'on interprète comme désignant des ouvriers du cuir.⁶² Si l'Aristokratès argien était bien un rhéteur, on attendrait plutôt, en effet, que ces *spatoleastai* aient quelque lien avec cette qualité du dédicataire.⁶³

Quoiqu'il en soit, on se doit de souligner que des **Marci Antonii**, probablement issus d'affranchis de Marc Antoine ou de Grecs naturalisés par lui, sont bien attestés à Argos, comme ils l'étaient aussi à Corinthe.⁶⁴ À côté de Markos Antonios Aristokratès et de Marcus Antonius Faustus on en retrouve un troisième ou un descendant des précédents en la personne de Markos Antonios Sil[as]imos,⁶⁵ mais on n'ira pas plus loin et l'on se gardera bien d'identifier trop vite comme argien de vieille souche le Markos Antonios Achaïkos, honoré par

la tribu des *Hyrnathioi* au début du II^e siècle, dont nous avons traité plus haut (voir *supra*, 1a).

2c. À côté des Marcii Antonii, des Iulii, attestés tardivement, pourraient inviter à faire remonter l'octroi du gentilice à époque haute, à Jules César pour des C. Iulii, ou aux descendants d'un Grec honoré à l'époque de Tibère par l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine pour des Tib. Iulii. Mais il convient d'y regarder de plus près. Nous excluons ici de l'enquête les C. Iulius Capito et C. Iulius Maximus,⁶⁶ connus par une inscription dont la localisation est trop vague (entre Argos et Epidaure) pour que nous puissions voir dans ces Iulii des personnages certainement installés à Argos. N'y sont en réalité attestés de manière incontestable que des **Tiberii Iulii**.⁶⁷ avant tout Tib. Ioulios Klaudianos (I^{er} s. apr. J.-C.), issu d'une famille d'Épidaure⁶⁸ qui fut à Argos prêtre du culte impérial, mais dont la mère est Klaudia Laphanta⁶⁹ et qui n'est Ioulios que par adoption; Tib. Ioulios Epaphrodeitos,⁷⁰ dont le nom est livré dans la liste d'hellanodices de la fin du II^e siècle, dont nous avons déjà parlé (voir *supra*, 1b); un Tib. Iou[lios --- (?)] honoré comme evergète;⁷¹

60. Après la défaite il avait même espéré qu'Octave le laisserait s'y retirer pour qu'il pût y finir ses jours en simple particulier (Plut., *Vit. Ant.* 72, 1).

61. *SEG* 53/1, 2003, 293. Il est d'autres associations semblables attestées à Argos, tout aussi énigmatiques: des *Leitai* (voir ci-dessus n. 46), des *Phaénistai* (dérivés du nom Phaënos, voir W. Vollgraff, *BCH* 27, 1903, 260 no. 1 et Vollgraff 1919, 270), des *Dephidastai* (*IG* IV, 608).

62. *Leather-dresser*, dans *LSJ* s.v. *σπατοληαστής*. On interprète le mot à partir d'un autre hapax, *σπάτος*, mot d'origine béotienne qui, d'après une scholie à Aristophane (Pax 48), signifierait «peau», «cuir».

63. La lecture *σπατο-* dérive d'une correction de Boeckh à partir de *στλτο-* que proposait la copie de Fourmont. La nouvelle inscription d'Argos confirme le bien-fondé de la correction de Boeckh, comme le souligne A. Oikonomou-Laniado, *Argos paléochrétienne: contribution à l'étude du Péloponnèse byzantin*, BAR Intern. Ser. 1173, Oxford 2003, 68-69.

64. Voir Spawforth 1996, 170. Ci-dessus, n. 13.

65. *IG* IV, 641, cf. *RPI*, ARG 20.

66. *RPI*, ARG 143 et 150. On doit aussi exclure de cette étude la *Ioulitia* de *RPI*, ARG 155, car ce *cognomen* est bien attesté chez les Claudii.

67. Ce qui contraste fortement avec Sparte et fait ressortir, de ce point de vue, la situation particulière de cette dernière où C. Iulius Euryklès constitue un cas, atypique pour le Péloponnèse, d'une étroite relation *personnelle* entre le personnage naturalisé et la famille impériale, qu'il faut replacer dans de plus justes perspectives, voir Balzat 2005 et *id.* 2008.

68. Son père, Tib. Ioulios Sianthès, un personnage important, de haute noblesse, y est bien connu, cf. *RPI*, ARG 153. Pour Klaudianos, ci-dessus n. 4. Sianthès eut probablement deux fils, au moins: Tib. Ioulios Klaudianos et [---] Règlos (*RPI*, ARG 233), dont nous savons que le nom du père s'achevait en -OOY (*IG* IV, 586), ce qui est très probablement la finale de [ΣΙΑΝ]ΘΟΥ (cf. Zoumbaki 2008, 153): Règlos serait donc le second fils de Sianthès/Sianthos, autrement dit le frère de Tib. Ioulios Klaudianos et aurait, comme son frère, été honoré par les Argiens, ce qui confirmerait les liens très particuliers que cette famille d'Épidaure entretenait avec Argos.

69. *RPI*, ARG 76, voir aussi *app.* p. 531 *stemma* IV.

70. *Op. cit.*, ARG 145.

71. W. Vollgraff, *BCH* 27, 1903, 264 no. 11; *RPI*, ARG 152 date l'inscription du tournant du I^{er} et II^e s. apr. J.-C. Ne serait-elle pas plus récente?

des Tib. Iulii, enfin, dont le nom devait se lire dans une dédicace inédite (gravée à la fin du II^e s.⁷²) trouvée dans des remblais provenant de la fontaine carrée de l'agora. Leur nomenclature particulière qui associe le *praenomen* Tiberios⁷³ et le gentilice Ioulios ne doit pas s'interpréter trop mécaniquement comme impliquant l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine par l'empereur Tibère. Elle pourrait tout autant indiquer, par exemple, que l'ascension de ces Tib. Iulii a pu être favorisée, comme celle des Cn. Pompeii (*infra*), par leur intégration à une famille de Claudii.⁷⁴ Et en l'espèce, si l'on met à part Tib. Ioulios Klaudianos, qui vient d'Épidaure, force est de constater que les Tib. Iulii sont absents de l'horizon proprement argien au I^{er} siècle, quand nous voyons les Tib. Claudii si présents. À époque ancienne, les Iulii puissants dans le Péloponnèse ne sont pas argiens, mais surtout spartiates, épidauriens et, accessoirement, corinthiens, ces derniers d'ascendance moins vénérable, toutefois, que les précédents.⁷⁵

2d. Qu'en est-il des **Pompeii**?⁷⁶ Il est difficile de retracer leur histoire pour ce qui concerne les **Cn. Pompeii**, en raison de la date des documents qui les mentionnent: des textes honorifiques adressés à Gn. Pompéios Kléosthènes⁷⁷ et une triple dédicace, du début du II^e siècle, qui honore ses trois fils (Kléosthènes, Diodotos et Kalléas).⁷⁸ Si leurs ancêtres sont d'anciens affranchis de Pompée le Grand – qui, de son vivant, fut honoré à Argos d'une statue⁷⁹ – ou s'ils descendent de familles qui lui doivent la citoyenneté, comme les célèbres Cn. Pompeii de Lesbos,⁸⁰ on conviendra alors qu'ils auraient mieux résisté que d'autres et auraient en

deux ou trois générations réussi leur ascension avant d'intégrer le "clan" des Tib. Claudii suite, notamment, au mariage de Gn. Pompéios Kléosthènes avec une Klaudia Philomathia.⁸¹ Est-ce un hasard si c'est à ce moment seulement qu'émergent les Cn. Pompeii d'Argos? On ne peut, spontanément, que les rapprocher de **M(arkos) Pompéios Ch(a)reinos** (?),⁸² honoré à Argos par la tribu des *Hymnathioi*, en qualité d'évergète *ek progonôn*. On évitera toutefois d'enregistrer trop vite la forme restituée du *cognomen*, à partir d'une bien fragile copie de Fourmont, qui signalait: .X (2 lettres dont la première n'a pu être déchiffrée) avant KREINON, ce qui convient assurément beaucoup mieux à une restitution du type **MA-KREINON** qu'à celle proposée dans les *IG* (**XA**[?]**PEINON**). Nous aurions alors ici un **M. Pompéios Makreinos**, autrement dit un homonyme du célèbre sénateur originaire de Lesbos ou, mieux, le sénateur lui-même,⁸³ un personnage exceptionnel à tous égards, mais pas un argien. Il ne doit pas être fortuit que le sénateur ait aussi été honoré à Tégée.⁸⁴ Qu'il soit vénéré comme issu d'une famille d'évergètes ne nuit pas au rapprochement, car la formule *ek progonôn* ne doit pas s'entendre dans le contexte argien, mais en référence à la tradition d'évergétisme de la famille, en tous lieux où elle se manifeste. On s'épargnera donc, au final, de bien inutiles spéculations sur l'origine d'un M. Pompéios «argien». Par contre on ne manquera pas de relever ce témoignage de l'intérêt porté à la cité par un lesbien d'aussi haute naissance. Il s'agit là d'une preuve tangible de l'attrait que la cité d'Argos, aux origines si nobles, exerce au début du II^e siècle sur les cités d'Asie Mineure.

72. Si on la rattache à l'édifice, cf. le rapport de fouilles dans *BCH* 101, 1977, 673. Il semble que les fragments en soient (provisoirement?) perdus.

73. Qui est celui de l'empereur Tibère, certes, mais avant tout des Tib. Claudii qui l'ont transmis à l'empereur, lequel le conserva après son adoption dans la famille julienne.

74. À la manière du Tib. Ioulios Sianthès d'Épidaure (*RPI*, ARG 153).

75. Puisque issus d'affranchis, cf. Spawforth 1996, 170.

76. *RPI*, ARG 205-11. Il est remarquable qu'en Argolide le gentilice ne soit attesté qu'à Argos.

77. *IG* IV, 609 et Vollgraff 1919, no. 28.

78. Charneux 1956, 610-14, cf. *RPI*, ARG 205, 208-09.

79. Cf. *supra*, 1c avec n. 35.

80. Voir entre autres Buraselis 1996, 59.

81. Cf. *RPI*, ARG 207 no. 2 et ARG 78; Charneux 1956, 612. Il n'est pas fortuit que le *cognomen* d'un des trois fils de Kléosthènes soit identique à celui du plus important des Tib. Claudii d'Argos (Diodotos, voir *infra*, 2e).

82. Voir *IG* IV, 601. *RPI*, ARG 206.

83. Dont la carrière est l'exemple même de la grande carrière impériale, cf. *PIR*² P 628 (voir aussi 627 et 629).

84. *RPI*, ARG 138.

Dans le **Sextos Pompéios Markianos**, petit-fils d'Aristokratès,⁸⁵ lui aussi honoré par les tribus des *Pamphyloï* et des *Hyrnathioï* comme évergète *ek protonôn*, on propose de voir⁸⁶ le petit-fils du Markos Antonios Aristokratès, fils d'Anaxiôn (voir *supra*, 2b), dont une statue, nous le savons désormais,⁸⁷ se dressait à Argos. Rapprochement hâtif à vrai dire: outre que d'autres Aristokratès argiens nous sont connus,⁸⁸ attestant la popularité du nom, il faut avant tout rendre compte de la formule onomastique: comment un Sex. Pompéios Markianos pourrait-il être, sans autre forme de procès, le petit-fils d'un Markos Antonios Aristokratès? Ne doit-on pas d'abord relever que les Sextii Pompeii formaient une puissante famille à Sparte, dont A. J. S. Spawforth⁸⁹ a analysé une branche? L'un d'eux fut probablement *aussi* citoyen de Tégée. Il est d'autant moins absurde de rapprocher le personnage honoré à Argos de ces Sextii Pompéii-là qu'un Pompéios Aristokratès,⁹⁰ qui fut prêtre à Lykosoura⁹¹ et qui pourrait descendre d'une famille de Mégalopolis, est attesté au II^e siècle⁹² et qu'on retrouve d'autres Aristokratès

éminents à Sparte, dans la famille des Voluseni, ainsi L. Volusenus Aristokratès II⁹³ et III. Or, les alliances entre Voluseni et Pompeii sont fréquentes, avec transferts de *cognomina*,⁹⁴ par ailleurs, le premier L. Volusenus Aristokratès étant parfois désigné par son seul *cognomen*, on en a déduit qu'il devait être le premier de sa lignée à avoir reçu la citoyenneté,⁹⁵ à l'époque de Tibère, quand les Memmii et Statilii devinrent, eux aussi, citoyens romains. On comprendrait que les descendants de ce (futur Volusenus) Aristokratès, parmi lesquels on trouve des Pompeii, tinsent à souligner leur lien avec cet éminent ancêtre, comme a pu le faire Sex. Pompéios Markianos. L'intérêt que ces familles pouvaient porter à la ville d'Argos est bien documenté: la nièce de L. Volusenus Aristokratès II, Memmia Pasichareia,⁹⁶ est née dans une famille d'Épidaure⁹⁷ qui faisait remonter ses origines à Persée, héros éminemment argien.⁹⁸ Il est donc tout naturel de rechercher les connexions de Sex. Pompéios Markianos du côté des Sex. Pompeii de Sparte,⁹⁹ lesquels sortent de l'anonymat à l'époque antonine. Mais nous devons aussi consta-

85. *RP I*, ARG 211 nos 1-2.

86. Voir *ibid.*

87. Depuis la découverte de la dédicace, cf. ci-dessus n. 63.

88. Voir ci-dessus n. 55.

89. Spawforth 1985, 244-45.

90. *RP II*, LAC 618.

91. *IG V 2*, 543 (cf. *RP I*, ARC 135 et Spawforth 1985, 223). Voir déjà dans les *IG V 2*, 544 et 621 le *stemma* qui relie les Voluseni aux Pompeii et le transfert du *cognomen* des Voluseni aux Pompeii. Voir aussi la base publiée par Spawforth 1994, 437-38, en l'honneur de la femme de Pompéios Aristokratès, Octavia Agis, fille d'Octavius Longinus et de Ioulia Nicon, qui se dit descendante d'Héraklès et de Lycurgue. Le père de notre Pompéios Aristokratès serait bien Pompéios Damainetos (voir *IG V 2*, 544, Spawforth 1985, 222-24, et *RP II*, LAC 618, ainsi qu'à la fin du volume II, p. 589 le *stemma XIII*), comme le confirmerait un document nouveau (information due à J.-S. Balzat).

92. À la même époque que le Sextos Pompéios Markianos d'Argos, qui se dit descendant d'Aristokratès, ce qui pourrait faire de Pompéios Aristokratès le plus âgé des petit-fils d'Aristokratès auquel se rattachent ces Sextii Pompeii.

93. Dont T. Statilius Lamprias était le neveu, Spawforth 1985, 217. Le plus ancien Aristokratès connu à Sparte est celui qui, à l'époque du triumvirat (?), signa les émissions monétaires de la ville, cf. S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, *Die Munzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, Berlin 1978, 159.

94. Un tel rapprochement prend d'autant plus corps si l'on tient compte de ce que les représentants des familles influentes du Péloponnèse interviennent régulièrement dans l'épigraphie argienne, où l'on n'a pas manqué, par exemple, d'honorer les Statilii (*RP I*, ARG 241, 243, 247 et 254 no. 2, voir ci-dessus n. 3) ou les fils de Tib. Ioulios Sianthès (ci-dessus n. 68).

95. Spawforth 1985, 217.

96. Cf. *RP II*, pp. 580-81 *app. stemma I*: Statilia Teimosthenis (*RP I*, ARG 242), la mère de Memmia Pasichareia (*RP I*, ARG 189 et II, LAC 543), était la sœur de L. Volusenus Aristokratès II (cf. *RP I*, ARG 266).

97. Elle était la sœur de T. Statilius Lamprias, à ce titre la destinataire du décret de consolation que lui adresse la ville de Sparte à la mort prématurée de son frère (*IG IV² 1*, 85-86).

98. *IG IV² 1*, 86, ll. 12-13.

99. Étudiés, eux aussi, assez rapidement, par Spawforth 1985, 244-45.

ter que le *cognomen* Markianos, rarissime dans le Péloponnèse,¹⁰⁰ est porté par un Sextos Pompéios dans un décret de Mytilène qui honore Sextos Pompéios Ouala Markianos notamment pour avoir été «stratèges des Romains», outre qu'il fut aussi trésorier et démarche.¹⁰¹ Cette connexion supplémentaire, inattendue, entre Argos et Mytilène est d'autant plus intéressante à relever que la restitution du *cognomen* Makreinos de M. Pompéios (voir *supra*) témoigne d'un intérêt réel porté à Argos par la famille de cet éminent sénateur lesbien, sans qu'il soit pour autant nécessaire de voir dans le Sex. Pompéios Markianos honoré à Argos un citoyen de Mytilène: on peut sans peine rendre compte de l'intrusion du *cognomen* dans la famille des Sex. Pompeii péloponnésiens par les rapports incontestables qui se sont noués entre les grandes familles de Lesbos et celles du Péloponnèse, dans le contexte particulier des propagandes panhelléniques. Le *cognomen* «Markianos» en est, en réalité, une confirmation.

2e. On en vient alors à constater que mis à part de rares Marci Antonii, l'élite locale, de souche incontestablement argienne, à laquelle fut octroyée la citoyenneté romaine, est essentiellement consti-

tuée de **Tiberii Claudii**,¹⁰² dont l'histoire s'inscrit dans un mouvement plus large qui concerne toute l'Achaïe et le Péloponnèse en particulier. Le premier à recevoir la citoyenneté, Tib. Klaudios Diodotos,¹⁰³ est certainement apparenté au personnage éminent qui se rendit en ambassade à Rome auprès de Caligula, car tout nous invite à identifier celui qui finira par s'appeler Tiberios Klaudios Diodotos avec l'argien Diodotos mentionné dans la célèbre inscription d'Akraiphia,¹⁰⁴ à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un frère de celui dont le nom grec se terminait en [---]eus. Il apparaît dans l'épigraphie argienne comme l'un des tout premiers agonothètes des *Sebasteia* qui remplacèrent les *Kaisareia*, leur fondateur probablement, circonstance qui indique clairement le rôle de premier plan joué par ce Tiberios Klaudios Diodotos dans le développement nouveau du culte impérial à Argos et, par conséquent, comme relais essentiel du pouvoir central, autrement dit un membre tout à fait éminent de l'oligarchie argienne au milieu du I^{er} s. de notre ère. Tout le désigne donc comme un des ancêtres de la «dynastie» argienne des Tiberii Claudii,¹⁰⁵ avec Tib. Klaudios Antigonos,¹⁰⁶ connu pour avoir offert une statue de Danaos.¹⁰⁷ C'est le nom d'un

100. *LGN III.A*, 288 s.v. Μαρκιανός (2) ne trouve à citer pour le Péloponnèse qu'un nom sur des lampes corinthiennes, avant de renvoyer à l'Illyrie et à l'Italie du Sud, mais il faut y ajouter *RP I*, COR 347 (C. Iulius Markianos). Il est par contre bien attesté à Athènes à l'époque impériale et ailleurs, comme on s'en avise en ouvrant les autres volumes du *LGN s.v.* On relèvera encore que dans l'un des décrets qui le concernent (*IG IV*, 600), si la tribu des *Hynathioi* le loue pour sa générosité, en précisant qu'il s'inscrit ainsi dans une tradition familiale (*ek progônôn*) comme la même tribu l'avait fait à propos de M. Pompéios Makreinos, elle ne manque pas de souligner qu'il est evergète «de la ville», formule lapidaire qui convient mieux à un non-argien qu'à un citoyen du cru.

101. *SEG 45*, 1995, 1088. Je remercie vivement J.-S. Balzat d'y avoir attiré mon attention.

102. Mais sans accaparer de manière exclusive toutes les fonctions, comme le révèle la permanence, à côté de noms romains, de noms purement grecs dans une liste d'hellanodices du II/IIIe siècle, cf. Charneux 1956, 605, ou encore le nom des agonothètes sous lesquels sont honorés les Pompeii (deux s'appellent Tib. Klaudios et M. Antonios Achaïkos [c'est le personnage étudié *supra*, 1a], le troisième est un Gorgilios fils de Ménéklès, Charneux 1956, 610-11).

103. *RP I*, ARG 88.

104. *IG VII*, 2711 = Oliver 1989, no. 18, où on lit, l. 2: [---]eus Diodotou A[r]geios: la finale en -eus – lecture de Oliver – montre bien que la famille, à ce moment, n'a pas encore reçu la citoyenneté romaine. C'est en qualité de *stratèges* du *koinon* des Achéens, Béotiens, Locriens, Eubéens et Phocidiens que le fils de Diodotos prit la tête de cette ambassade au nouvel empereur Caligula, c'est dire son importance.

105. Et à ce titre plus ou moins contemporain de Klaudia Kallistonika qui offrit une statue de l'empereur Néron (*RP II*, LAC 216).

106. Sur cet éminent agonothète, voir l'important article de West 1928, 258-67, et Mitsos 1952, 105. Tib. Klaudios Antigonos a aussi restauré (plutôt qu'«offert», comme le pensent Spawforth, Walker 1986, 102), avec son frère Tib. Klaudios Ménéklès (ou Xénoklès) les statues d'empereurs et de héros de l'agora, ainsi que les trois *balaneia* (voir *RP I*, ARG 84 no. 2). Dès que l'on cherche à identifier leur père, le nom de Tib. Klaudios Diodotos surgit, spontanément oserait-on dire.

107. *RP I*, ARG 84 no. 1. La base qui portait la dédicace a été retrouvée maçonnée dans un mur tardif à l'intérieur de la Salle hypostyle (Vollgraff 1919, 166 no. 12). Elle ne s'y trouvait donc pas là «*in situ*» comme pourrait le laisser entendre la notice de *RP*, qui interprète erronément une indication, il est vrai ambiguë, de M. Piérart, J. P. Thalmann,

troisième membre de la même famille, bien connu lui aussi, qui doit, selon toute probabilité, être restitué (Tib. Klaudios Tychjikos¹⁰⁸) dans l'inscription monumentale trouvée dans les Thermes, laquelle constitue le témoignage majeur sur l'instauration d'un culte argien rendu à la maison impériale. Un autre texte important¹⁰⁹ associe enfin le nom des Tib. Claudii à la consécration ou à la restauration¹¹⁰ de statues d'empereurs et de héros sur l'agora. On peut difficilement imaginer, à partir des inscriptions qui nous les font connaître, une action plus cohérente que celle des Tib. Claudii argiens.

Les Claudii romains étaient, dès l'époque républicaine, actifs dans le milieu des *negotiatores* et les antiques patrons de plusieurs cités grecques, Sparte¹¹¹ et Pergame¹¹² notamment. C'est dire l'intérêt qu'ils devaient spontanément porter aux grandes cités du Péloponnèse ou d'Asie Mineure en particulier. Rien d'étonnant donc à retrouver

d'innombrables Tib. Claudii disséminés dans toute la partie orientale de l'Empire.¹¹³ On peut sans risque faire remonter à Claude surtout, éventuellement à Néron,¹¹⁴ les fondateurs de la plupart de ces lignées¹¹⁵ par octroi «impérial» de la citoyenneté romaine, un octroi si massif toutefois qu'il est aussi l'expression d'une politique à grande échelle, qu'on n'a pas manqué de mettre en parallèle avec sa contrepartie occidentale, telle qu'elle est exposée dans la célèbre table claudienne de Lyon.¹¹⁶ À Sparte c'est la famille qui se dit issue de Brasidas, qui reçoit à ce moment la citoyenneté romaine,¹¹⁷ au lendemain d'une éclipse temporaire des Iulii, qui avaient été si puissants sous Auguste avant que ne soit banni C. Iulius Euryklès.¹¹⁸ On doit aussi associer l'émergence des Tib. Claudii en Grèce avec le changement institutionnel majeur qui mènera à la fin du gouvernement exceptionnel de P. Memmius Regulus¹¹⁹ et à la réorganisation d'une

BCH 102, 1978, 784, qui signalaient par cette expression que la base se trouvait encore, au moment de la rédaction de la notice, sur place dans la salle hypostyle. Cet édifice n'en doit pas moins être identifié avec le *mnéma* de Danaos, comme on peut aisément l'établir, nonobstant la prudence excessive de J.-Fr. Bommelaer, J. des Courtils, *La Salle hypostyle, ÉtPélop* 10, Athènes 1994, 45-46, voir Marchetti 1994, 134.

108. Et non celui de [M. Antonios Achajikos, comme l'envisage P. Aupert (ci-dessus n. 15 et ci-dessous n. 127). L'installation du culte impérial à Argos ne peut logiquement qu'être imputée à un membre de la famille des Tib. Claudii à laquelle appartient le Diodotos agonothète et probable fondateur des *Sebasteia* qui constituent un développement particulier de ce culte impérial, dont un texte laconien permet de restaurer idéalement l'ambiance, cf. Oliver 1989, no. 15. La famille de Tib. Klaudios Tychikos n'est, certes, connue que tardivement. Le plus ancien Klaudios Tychikos attesté est, au II^e siècle, un G. Klaudios Tychikos, fils de Tib. Klaudios Tychikos, honoré par deux textes similaires (voir *RP I*, ARG 105), d'après M. Piérart, *BCH* 109, 1985, 355-56. Un autre est nommé, à la fin du siècle, dans la liste des hellanodices (Charneux 1956, 604-10), que *RP I*, ARG 104 identifie au père de Gaïos Klaudios Tychikos et probablement de Klaudia Olympia (*RP I*, ARG 77), qui ne peut évidemment pas être le même personnage que celui dont le nom est restitué dans la base des thermes (comme le propose *RP I*, ARG 104 no. 4). Il ne peut s'agir là que d'un descendant direct de l'ancêtre de cette famille que fut le prêtre (le premier?) de la maison impériale au I^{er} siècle, qui appartenait très probablement à la même génération que Tib. Klaudios Diodotos. Rien ne nous oblige à descendre la dédicace des thermes à l'époque de Domitien (comme le propose Aupert 1994, 75-76, dont il est strictement impossible de vérifier les conclusions en cette matière). Une telle base *doit* être liée à l'instauration du culte impérial, parallèlement à la création des *Sebasteia* et *doit* donc remonter au règne des empereurs claudiens, à Claude ou à Néron. Et rien n'indique qu'elle ait été "martelée", contrairement à ce que prétend Aupert, *loc. cit.* Elle fut démontée lors de la transformation de l'édifice – un gymnase voué au culte impérial à partir des Claudiens – en thermes.

109. Le texte se lit *ap. RP I*, ARG 93.

110. C'est le texte qui mentionne les deux frères Antigonos et Ménéklès (ou Xénoklès), cf. ci-dessus n. 106.

111. Suet., *Tib.* 6, 1. Cf. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, 140-41.

112. *I. Pergamon* II, 409.

113. Voir pour le Péloponnèse Rizakis 1996.

114. Ses réticences en la matière sont bien connues, à l'inverse de son prédécesseur.

115. Les seuls qu'il faille exclure sont ceux, très rares, dont les *nomina* sont attestés avant le règne des Claudiens, cf. *supra*, *ib.*

116. Voir Rizakis 1996, 186.

117. Voir *RP II*, LAC 274-77.

118. Là-dessus, en dernier lieu, Balzat 2005 et *id.*, 2008.

119. Lui-même à mettre en relation avec l'émergence de nombreux Memmii en Grèce, notamment ceux de Messène.

province d'Achaïe.¹²⁰ Sans qu'il y ait nécessairement, en tous lieux, une stricte coïncidence entre l'octroi de la citoyenneté et l'installation, en 44, d'un nouveau gouverneur en Achaïe,¹²¹ la circonstance n'en était pas moins favorable à la définition d'une nouvelle politique impériale, pour le Péloponnèse notamment. Il appert que cette nouvelle politique, dans le prolongement de ce que l'on observait déjà à Argos dès l'époque augustéenne,¹²² se fondait sur un vaste mouvement de rénovation des traditions,¹²³ dont on n'a pas encore pris, loin s'en faut, toute la mesure. Un tel intérêt pour le passé correspond parfaitement à ce que l'on sait des deux empereurs claudiens¹²⁴, auquel s'ajoute aussi une attention particulière accordée aux tra-

vaux hydrauliques, ce qui relativise considérablement le rôle d'Hadrien en ce domaine: les Tib. Claudii d'Argos n'ont certainement pas attendu ce dernier,¹²⁵ dont certes l'aqueduc argien est bien connu, pour, à l'exemple des empereurs qui leur avaient octroyé la citoyenneté romaine, s'intéresser de près à ce type de travaux. Et pour peu que l'on tienne compte de la date des principaux édifices restaurés à Argos au I^{er} siècle,¹²⁶ il ne fait aucun doute que c'est aux Tib. Claudii qu'il faut attribuer la responsabilité du vaste programme qui, en tous lieux, reconstruit le passé, sans l'altérer. Que les gymnases évoluent en thermes¹²⁷ est on ne peut plus banal, rien de plus qu'une simple mise au goût du jour, mais que l'on réédifie avec une crypte

120. Les honneurs rendus à Épaminondas (Oliver 1989, no. 18) révèlent clairement que les limites de la province ne se sont pas diluées, voir *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

121. Il n'est pas fortuit qu'à partir de Claude, de hauts personnages issus de cités de la province assument, enfin, des fonctions à Corinthe et s'impliquent activement dans la vie de la colonie, promue capitale, cf. Spawforth 1996, 174, non sans susciter l'irritation des Argiens, cf. l'intéressante étude de A. J. S. Spawforth, «Corinth, Argos and the Imperial Cult: Pseudo-Julian, *Letters* 198», *Hesperia* 63, 1994, 211-32.

122. À cet égard la lettre d'Agrippa à la gérusie argienne (Oliver 1989, no. 3) constitue un document exceptionnel, mais on doit aussi garder en mémoire l'action précoce des résidents romains en faveur des gymnases et d'autres activités traditionnelles, cf. texte *supra* 2a.

123. La relance de la Constitution de Lycurgue à Sparte par les Tib. Claudii Brasidae est on ne peut plus caractéristique. Ce qui nous oblige à faire remonter l'octroi de la citoyenneté à Claude, qui appréciait les Spartiates (Cass. Dio LX. 7), dans la mesure où Néron était connu pour ne pas approuver Lycurgue et avait préféré Messène à Sparte (Suet., *Ner.* 29 et Paus. VII. 17).

124. Cf. provisoirement A. Gaheis, *RE* III. 2 (1899) 2828-29 et 2831, s.v. *Claudius* [256], avec réf. aux sources antiques.

125. Contrairement à ce qu'affirme, avec beaucoup de légèreté, pour ne pas dire de désinvolture, M. Piérart, dans *La Lettre de Pallas* 3, 1995, 8, que les rédacteurs du *SEG* (voir 45, 1995, 256) et, à leur suite, ceux de *RP* ont relayé sans beaucoup de discernement, tant il est évident que l'auteur de cette contre-hypothèse n'a jamais pris la peine de lire l'étude dont il conteste les résultats! Il n'est pas le seul.

126. Voir l'inventaire dans Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 191-95 et, pour comparer avec ce qui existait, Marchetti, Rizakis 1995, 454-60. Pour le contexte, voir Marchetti, 2001a.

127. À cet égard comparer la mention des *tria balaneia* restaurés par Tib. Klaudios Ménéklès et son frère Antigonos (ci-dessus n. 106; le texte dans *BCH* 102, 1978, 784, repris dans *RP* I, ap. ARG 84 no. 2) avec celle des trois *gymnasia* dans la dédicace en l'honneur de L. Cornelius Ingenuus (ci-dessus, n. 46; le texte est repris dans *RP* I, ap. ARG 111) est particulièrement instructif. Entre les deux textes se place le décret honorifique (*IG* IV 606, repris dans *RP* I, ap. ARG 88) qui remercie Tib. Klaudios Diodotos (père [?]) d'Antigonos et de Ménéklès) pour ses générosités envers les «gymnases et *balaneia*», expression idéalement intermédiaire entre la mention des gymnases au I^{er} s. av. J.-C. et celle des *balaneia* ensuite. Si l'on rapproche cela de la construction des premiers grands thermes de Rome sous l'empereur Néron, à l'emplacement du précédent *gymnase* d'Agrippa, il est difficile de ne pas situer l'évolution qui mène du gymnase au *balaneion* dans le sillage direct de la «grande» politique impériale, même si l'aménagement du premier état des «grands» thermes d'Argos est encore celui d'un gymnase (la restitution de l'édifice pour la maquette de *L'Espace grec: 150 ans de fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes* [Paris, 1996], mis à part la cour en contrebas du portique périmétrique – qui est une hérésie imposée par P. Aupert – est on ne peut plus claire à cet égard; voir aussi le plan, limpide, dans Aupert 2001, 450-51), un gymnase dont la restauration pourrait bien dater de Claude ou de Néron (malgré Aupert 1994, 75-76, voir ci-dessus n. 108) et qui fut aussi dédié, comme cela est banal, au culte impérial, ainsi qu'en fait foi la dédicace retrouvée dans les remblais du «second état», celui qui correspond aux thermes. Voir pour un premier état des hypothèses de P. Aupert, Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 194 n. 28 et 198 n. 63, puis Aupert 1994 et *id.* 2001.

le nymphée au cœur de l'agora, là où il se dressait depuis l'époque classique, est on ne peut plus significatif d'une volonté de ranimer tout ce qui de près ou de loin touche à la légende des Danaïdes et de restaurer, fût-ce superficiellement, les rituels qui en étaient inspirés.¹²⁸ Et telle est bien la raison essentielle de la présence massive de cette légende chez Pausanias ou dans le monnayage argien d'époque antonine.¹²⁹

Pour bien comprendre ce qu'implique l'exercice de l'agonothésie, qu'il ne faut pas séparer chez ceux qui l'exercent d'une prise en charge des cultes,¹³⁰ mais aussi l'importance du rôle exceptionnel joué par Tib. Klaudios Diodotos, il suffit de lire les attendus du décret¹³¹ qui l'honore:¹³² on l'y remercie, en effet, d'avoir fait bénéficier de ses largesses les¹³³ «gymnases et bains»,¹³⁴ en y distribuant l'huile aussi bien aux hommes libres qu'aux esclaves, mais aussi d'avoir offert une hécatombe à Zeus Néméien. Et ce sont les Romains installés à Argos qui honorent ainsi leur *épitropon évergète* et l'agonothète héréditaire (*ek pappôn*) en décrétant pour lui les honneurs de Persée et d'Héraklès¹³⁵ et la *chrysophoria meta porphuras* à vie!

Rien de cela n'est banal! Et moins que tout les honneurs dits «de Persée et d'Héraklès» qui font se profiler en filigrane le substrat traditionnel de la restauration et qui, mieux que tout, révèlent qu'elle se déploie, en un effort coordonné, au niveau des deux grandes cités doriennes de Sparte et d'Argos – l'association de l'argien Persée au spartiate Héraklès¹³⁶ n'est pas fortuite évidemment – et ceci certainement en plein accord avec les autorités romaines comme en atteste la participation exceptionnelle des «Romains résidents à Argos» aux honneurs décernés à Tib. Klaudios Diodotos, comme l'avaient fait leurs prédécesseurs d'époque augustéenne en l'honneur d'un des leurs, L. Cornelius Ingenuus (voir *supra*, 2a). La continuité qui se lit de l'un à l'autre par le biais des «Romains résidents à Argos» confirme évidemment que Tib. Klaudios Diodotos doit bien être le premier argien naturalisé sous Claude. Le décret qui l'honore est donc un document essentiel pour saisir la nature particulière de la restauration d'Argos, mais aussi de Sparte, dont les échos, de part et d'autre, sont si nets chez Pausanias. Dans le cas d'Argos, cette restauration s'inscrit directement dans le prolonge-

128. Comme on le vérifie aisément en rassemblant tout ce qui concerne la légende, cf. Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 191-99.

129. Pour le monnayage, voir l'ouvrage de Ch. Flament, P. Marchetti, déposé pour publication à l'ÉfA, à paraître dans les *ÉtPélop*.

130. La concentration des cultes dans les mains de quelques familles éminentes est un phénomène bien attesté ailleurs, en tout premier lieu à Sparte, cf. A. Hupfloher, *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta*, Berlin, 2000, ns 70-84 (Pomponia Kallistonikè), 125-38 (Tib. Klaudioi), 187-211 (Sekstos Eudamos), qui reste toutefois bien en-deça de ce que l'on peut en tirer. J'invite à confronter ce travail avec Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 211-13 et Marchetti 1996.

131. *IG IV*, 606 (le texte est repris *RPI*, ap. ARG 88).

132. Les formules se retrouvent dans *IG IV*, 597, décret en faveur de Onésiphoros Onésiphorou qui fut agonothète des *Heraia* et *Nemeia* (banquets, distributions de deniers ...) et que remercie sa tribu des *Pamphyloi*. On retrouve encore le même schéma dans *IG IV*, 602, par lequel la tribu des *Hymathioi* remercie Tib. Klaudios Tertios Flavianos (*RPI*, ARG 89), qui fut agonothète des *Sebasteia* et *Nemeia*.

133. Le pluriel est d'autant plus significatif qu'habituellement les évergètes/agonothètes/gymnasiarques sont honorés par les membres d'un seul gymnase. Ces gymnases/*balanieia* étaient au nombre de trois (ci-dessus n. 127). Chacun regroupait les membres d'une tribu, ce qui explique (e.g. *IG IV*, 597) que ce soit chaque fois une tribu qui remercie ses bienfaiteurs, comme celle des Pamphyloi pour l'agonothète Onésiphoros, honoré pour avoir fourni l'huile *ἐν παντί γυμνασίῳ καὶ βαλανείῳ* (non pas à tous les gymnases et bains, mais à toutes les personnes qui fréquentaient le gymnase/*balanieon* de la tribu des *Pamphyloi*).

134. Sur le sens de cette expression, voir ci-dessus n. 127.

135. Sur ces honneurs éminemment caractéristiques, cf. Marchetti, Kolokotsas, 1995, 196-97.

136. À l'époque romaine, en effet, chacune des deux cités a honoré de manière privilégiée l'un et l'autre héros. Héraklès était tenu pour l'archégète de la cité de Sparte (Xen., *Hell.* VI. 3, 6), rejoint en cette qualité, à l'époque romaine, par Lycurgue, comme l'enseigne le texte publié par Spawforth 1994, 437-38, un décret de la cité qui met en perspective la présence conjointe d'Héraklès et de Lycurgue au Plataniste (Paus. III. 14, 8). Lycurgue était toutefois déjà présent sur les monnaies de Sparte dès le I^{er} s. av. J.-C., cf. S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 93), 40-41. Pour l'ambiance de la restauration à Sparte, voir P. Cartledge, A. J. S. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities*, Londres - New York 2002², 105-114 avec ns aux pp. 252-53.

ment de l'intérêt porté à la ville dès l'époque d'Auguste: les échos que trouvent les légendes argiennes dans les *Odes* d'Horace ne sont pas fortuits, pas plus que la décoration du temple d'Apollon *Palatin* avec les statues des Danaïdes,¹³⁷ pas plus que la définition même de l'Apollon palatin.¹³⁸ L'action précoce des résidents romains d'Argos a certainement constitué un excellent tremplin pour attirer l'attention des érudits romains d'abord, puis du *princeps* et de ses ministres ensuite, sur la glorieuse cité d'Argos où se dessina l'identité dorienne du Péloponnèse.¹³⁹

Le fait que d'autres Tib. Claudii sont encore attestés relativement tard démontre que la lignée initiée, dès les règnes de Claude et Néron,¹⁴⁰ notamment en la personne de l'agonothète Tib. Klaudios Diodotos,¹⁴¹ est restée vivace, au point que nous pouvons conclure, sans risque, que les Tib. Claudii sont bien les plus authentiques représentants de l'oligarchie argienne du Haut-Empire.¹⁴² On ne manquera donc pas de relever certains *cognomina* intéressants dans cette famille: Klaudia *Olympia* et Tib. Klaudios *Tychikos*, qui révèlent sans aucun doute des liens privilégiés avec certains cultes, tels ceux de Zeus Olympien et de Tychè, comme l'apprenait aussi l'hécatombe offerte par Tib. Klaudios

Diodotos en l'honneur de Zeus Néméen. Autant d'indices qui confirment que l'oligarchie de ce temps s'impliquait massivement dans la gestion des cultes civiques, à Argos comme à Sparte. D'autre part, les honneurs que reçoit à Argos un Tib. Klaudios messénien¹⁴³ ou le rôle qu'y tiennent les membres de la famille des Sianthès d'Épidaure¹⁴⁴ ne sont pas fortuits et témoignent de ce que les Tiberii Claudii du Péloponnèse sont étroitement solidaires. De même il n'est pas anodin que les Tiberii Claudii absorbent, par adoption¹⁴⁵ ou mariage, les descendants d'autres familles, parmi lesquels des Tiberii Iulii, comme le révèle le *cognomen*, mais aussi des Cn. Pompeii qui ne sont à vrai dire connus que pour trois fils d'un même père, Gn. Pompéios Kléosthènes,¹⁴⁶ devenus *eisagôgeis* sous différents agonothètes, dont un Tib. Klaudios. Et on retrouve, sans surprise, ces Cn. Pompeii impliqués dans des mariages avec des femmes issues des Claudii,¹⁴⁷ ce qui confirme bien le caractère "dominant" des Tiberii Claudii à Argos dès lors que l'on se trouve dans le cercle étroit de l'oligarchie locale. Leur prééminence, enfin, explique aussi la quasi-absence de gentilices impériaux plus tardifs,¹⁴⁸ mis à part, bien entendu, les Aurelii qui ne sont pas significatifs.

137. Voir Marchetti 1993, 217-18.

138. Voir *id.*, 2001b.

139. Comme on peut l'établir sans trop de peine en déchiffrant Pausanias, cf. Marchetti 2008.

140. Là-dessus, cf. Kolokotsas, Marchetti 1995, 197-99, où l'on n'hésite pas à leur attribuer l'impulsion à l'origine des grands travaux de restauration qui caractérisent la deuxième moitié du I^{er} siècle.

141. Dont West 1928, 260-61, n'hésitait pas, à juste titre, à dater la citoyenneté du règne de Claude.

142. Leur émergence marque un intéressant mouvement au niveau de l'élite locale. Le parallèle qui s'établit avec la ville jumelle d'Épidaure ne peut qu'être souligné: là aussi la citoyenneté romaine des Tiberii Claudii est un fait bien attesté (cf. Spawforth 1985, 248-58, Mendoni 1996, 188), même si les Statilii et les Cornélii peuvent s'y prévaloir d'une citoyenneté plus ancienne, probablement plus individualisée, moins directement articulée à une politique impériale.

143. Voir *RP I*, ARG 90 et 91. Sur ce messénien, voir *RP II*, MES 150. Il s'agit d'un personnage particulièrement important, sénateur et fils du premier sénateur messénien Ti. Claudius Frontinus (*RP II*, MES 142), d'où les propriétés que possède la famille à Abellinum en Italie (voir *ibid.*).

144. Cf. ci-dessus ns 4, 24 et 67-68.

145. Un bel exemple en est fourni par *IG IV*, 602 (Tib. Klaudios Tertios Flavianos, fils de Flavios Tertios, *RP I*, ARG 89, honoré comme *prostatès* par la tribu des *Hyrnathioi*).

146. Cf. texte *supra* 2d.

147. Gn. Pompéios Kleosthènes, dont les trois fils sont honorés, n'est autre que l'époux d'une Klaudia Philomathia que célèbre comme une nouvelle Hypermnestre la gérusie issue de Danaos, Lyncée et Hypermnestre (Charneux 1956, 612 et *RP I*, ARG 207 no. 2). Un texte peut-il être plus limpide? Cette Klaudia Philomathia se situe bien dans la descendance directe des premiers Tib. Claudii, par le sang autant que par les titres de noblesse. Tout du programme de restauration entamé par les Tib. Claudii, dans la continuité ouverte par Agrippa, est, en effet, lié au personnage de Danaos.

148. De rares Flavii: Gaios Flavios Alexandros = *RP I*, ARG 128, et Flavios Tertios = *RP I*, ARG 129, que rien ne distingue particulièrement, ainsi qu'un L. Aelius Camus, *RP I*, ARG 7. Le seul Flavios à avoir fait carrière a été adopté par un Tib. Klaudios: Tib. Klaudios Tertios Flavianos (*IG IV*, 602, *RP I*, ARG 89), cf. ci-dessus n. 145.

2f. La restauration à laquelle procédèrent les Tib. Claudii est le socle d'une politique impériale qui sera solennisée en quelque sorte, sous Hadrien, par la fondation du **Panhellénion**. C'est alors que plus d'une cité d'Asie Mineure se découvrira des liens de parenté avec la vénérable cité d'Argos, ainsi Aigeai, qui revendiquera une origine argienne dans un document célèbre,¹⁴⁹ en la faisant reposer précisément sur Persée, le héros qui à l'époque impériale est le véritable parangon de la cité dorienne. Le texte illustre mieux que tout discours l'esprit du *Panhellénion* et fait écho aux savantes conférences des rhéteurs de ce temps. Il faut aussi verser à ce dossier un autre document, provenant d'Eumeneia de Phrygie.¹⁵⁰ On ne manquera pas d'y inclure aussi, désormais, comme un témoignage de l'intérêt porté à la "noblesse" d'Argos, les générosités de personnages aussi célèbres que le sénateur M. Pompéios Makreinos (voir *supra* 2d). On doit attendre que la poursuite des fouilles et surtout la reprise de l'exploration de l'agora, dont il reste à dégager plus de la moitié, amèneront d'autres découvertes de ce genre et d'autres preuves de l'attrait qu'en raison de son passé Argos exerçait sur les puissants oligarques du Haut-Empire, d'où qu'ils viennent.

P. Marchetti

Professeur aux FUNDP (Namur)
et à l'UCL (Louvain-La-Neuve)

Bibliographie

- Aupert (P.), 1994: «Une base de la *domus Augusta* domitienne à Argos», *Pallas* 40-41, 69-77.
- , 2001: «Architecture et urbanisme à Argos au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.», in J.-Y. Marc, J.-Ch. Moretti (éds.), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le II^e siècle av. J.-C. et le I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française d'Athènes et le CNRS, Athènes 14-17 mai 1995, BCH Suppl. 39, Athènes, 439-54.
- Balzat (J.-S.), 2005: «Le pouvoir des Euryclides à Sparte», *LEC* 73, 289-301.
- , 2008: «Les Euryclides en Laconie», in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*, Colloque de Tours 6-7 octobre 2007, Ausonius Ét. 21, Bordeaux, 335-50.
- Berchem van (D.), 1962: «Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos», *BCH* 86, 305-13.
- , 1963: «Les Italiens d'Argos. Un post-scriptum», *BCH* 87, 322-24.
- Buraselis 1996: «Stray Notes on Roman Names in Greek Documents», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 Sept. 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athènes, 55-63.
- Charneux (P.), 1956: «Inscriptions d'Argos (suite)», *BCH* 80, 598-618.
- Groag (E.), 1939: *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Vienne - Leipzig.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (Chr.), 1996: «Diffusion de la citoyenneté: notes sur les gentilices impériaux en Laconie et en Messénie», in A. Chastagnol, S. Demougin, C. Lepelley (éds.), *Splendidissima Civitas. Études d'histoire romaine en hommage à François Jacques*, Paris, 133-49.
- , 2008: «Les princesses de la famille impériale et le Péloponnèse sous les Julio-Claudiens», in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*, Ausonius Études 21, Bordeaux, 121-44.
- Marchetti (P.), 1993: «Recherches sur les mythes et la topographie d'Argos, I. Hermès et Aphrodite», *BCH* 117, 211-23.
- , 1994: «Recherches sur les mythes et la topographie d'Argos, II. Présentation du site, III. Le téménos de Zeus», *BCH* 118, 131-60.
- , 1996: «Le "dromos" au cœur de l'agora de Sparte: les dieux protecteurs de l'éducation en pays dorien», *Kernos* 9, 155-70.
- , 2001a: «Rapport de synthèse: édifices et complexes architecturaux», in J.-Y. Marc, J.-Ch. Moretti (éds.), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le II^e siècle av. J.-C. et le I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.*, BCH Suppl. 39, Athènes, 137-54.
- , 2001b: «Le substrat dorien de l'Apollon Palatin. De Rome à la Grèce et vice versa», in J.-Y. Marc, J.-Ch. Moretti (éds.), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le II^e siècle av. J.-C. et le I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française d'Athènes et le CNRS, Athènes 14-17 mai 1995, BCH Suppl. 39, Athènes, 455-71.
- , 2008: «Les dieux et héros du dromos dorien I. Réflexions sur les références légendaires de l'espace civique de Sparte et d'Argos chez Pausanias», *ARG* 10, 85-113.
- Marchetti (P.), Kolokotsas (K.), 1995: *Le Nymphée de l'agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique*, *ÉtPélop* 11, Athènes.
- Marchetti (P.), Rizakis (Y.), 1995: «Recherches sur les

149. Cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 115, 1977, 120-32, et Charneux, *BCH* 1991, 310 n. 80; Spawforth, Walker 1986, 101-04.

150. Voir P. Weiss, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 617-39 (*SEG* 50, 2000, 347 et 1245).

- mythes et la topographie d'Argos, IV. L'agora revisitée», *BCH* 119, 437-72.
- Mendonni (L. G.), 1996: «Η διάδοση των Ρωμαϊκών ονομάτων στην Αργολίδα (1ος αι. π.Χ.-3ος αι. μ.Χ.)», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athènes, 183-90.
- Migeotte (L.), 1984: *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, Québec - Paris, 1984.
- , 1985: «Réparations de monuments publics à Messène au temps d'Auguste», *BCH* 109, 597-607.
- , 1992: *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Genève - Québec, 1992.
- , 1997: «La date de l'oktôbolos eisphora de Messène», *Topoi* 7.1, 1997, 51-61.
- , 2008: «L'organisation de l'oktôbolos eisphora de Messène», in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*, *Ausonius Ét.* 21, Bordeaux, 229-43.
- Mitsos (M.), 1952: *Αργολική Προσωπογραφία*, Athènes.
- Oliver (J. H.), 1989: *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 178, Philadelphia.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 2007: «Les Ti. Claudii et la promotion des élites péloponnésiennes», in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Neronia VII. Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce. Hellenisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C. Actes du VII^e Colloque International de la SIEN (Athènes 21-23 octobre 2004)*, *Coll. Latomus* 305, Bruxelles, 183-95.
- RP I: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Kantirea (M.), *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)* Meletemata 31, Athènes, 2001.
- RP II: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Lepenioti (Cl.), *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athènes, 2004.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1985: «Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some Prosopographical Notes», *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1994: «Excavations at Sparta: the Roman Stoa, 1988-91. The Inscriptions», *ABSA* 89, 433-41.
- , 1996: «Roman Corinth: The formation of a Colonial Elite», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athènes, 167-82.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), Walker (S.), 1986: The World of the Panhellenion II. Three Dorian Cities», *JRS* 76, 88-105.
- Vollgraff (W.), 1919: «*Novae Inscriptiones Argivae*», *Mnemosyne* 47, 160-70 et 252-70.
- West 1928: «Achaean Prosopography and Chronology», *CPh* 23, 258-69.
- Zoumbaki (S.), 2008: «Choosing a new name between romanisation and persistence: the evidence of latin personal names in the Peloponnese», in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Colloque de Tours 6-7 octobre 2007*, *Ausonius Ét.* 21, Bordeaux, 145-59.

ROMAN ARKADIA

James Roy

Abstract: There was some economic decline in Roman Arkadia, though Pausanias' reports of widespread ruins need to be read with caution. The region had fourteen large cities and three small ones; of these Tegea and Mantinea were certainly prosperous, Megalopolis less so. Major secondary settlement (*komai*) disappeared, except in the outer reaches of Megalopolitan territory, while *villae rusticae* developed, and surface survey has shown a range of other rural settlement. The region's economic resources were exploited and some Arkadian families were wealthy. Nevertheless Arkadians did not figure prominently outside Arkadia. However, some leading families from elsewhere, notably Sparta, took an interest in Arkadia, and Romans, too, settled in the region or had connections there. Evidence of intervention by the imperial administration is sporadic.

The fullest description of Roman Arkadia preserved from antiquity is that of Pausanias Book VIII, and is based on Pausanias' own extensive travels in the area in the 2nd c. A.D. He has a clear notion of what constitutes Arkadia: it can be defined as the territories of Alea, Aliphera, Heraia, Kaphyai, Kleitor, Kynaitha, Lykosoura, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pallantion, Pheneos, Phigalia, Psophis, Stymphalos, Tegea, and Thelpousa. In fact in Pausanias' day both Stymphalos and Alea were separated from Arkadia and attached to the Argolid (VIII. 22, 1; 23, 1), but Pausanias nonetheless considers both cities Arkadian and includes them in his description of Arkadia. In this paper Roman Arkadia is taken to be the region as defined by Pausanias, and the period treated will run roughly from the age of Augustus to the 3rd c. A.D. Unless otherwise specified, dates refer to the Christian era.

Before Pausanias Strabo (VIII. 8, 1-2), writing under the emperor Augustus, had described Arkadia as being in a state of desolation, in which it was barely possible to see even physical traces of former towns like Mantinea, Orchomenos, Heraia, Kleitor, Pheneos, Stymphalos, Kaphyai, and Kynaitha. It is obvious from archaeological and epigraphic finds, as well as from the text of Pausanias,

that Strabo grossly exaggerated the decline of Arkadia, perhaps influenced by difficulties felt in the area during and immediately after the Roman civil wars of the 1st c. B.C.¹ Likewise the statement of Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 33, 25), at the beginning of the 2nd century, that the River Ladon ran through an Arkadia in a state of devastation, is also exaggerated. As will become clear, there is little doubt that there was decline in Roman Arkadia, but less severe than Strabo and Dio suggest. To determine how serious it was we have literary evidence (and above all Pausanias' description), inscriptions, coins, and other archaeological evidence. The body of archaeological information on Roman Arkadia is growing steadily, but still leaves some areas little explored, and the known inscriptions are very unevenly distributed across the region. Our understanding of the situation in Roman Arkadia, although improving as more evidence becomes available, is still very patchy.

Two trends that are observable already in Hellenistic Arkadia continued to affect the region in the Roman period. One was a decline in population, and the other the absorption of smaller, previously separate, communities by their larger neighbours in Arkadia. The best analysis of the de-

1. See Baladié 1980, 316-21, though he is too lenient to Strabo.

cline in population is by Forsén.² He suggests that the disappearance in the early 2nd c. B.C. of opportunities for mercenary service in the Seleucid kingdom forced a reduction, probably a severe reduction, in the rate of reproduction in Arkadia, leading to a lasting reduction in population as compared with the classical and early Hellenistic periods.

The other trend is the domination of small communities by larger neighbours, which had been going on in Arkadia since the archaic period. However, while in the classical and early Hellenistic periods there are several known examples of a small community, even when fully incorporated into a larger neighbour, detaching itself and resuming an independent existence, after the mid-2nd c. B.C. there is no further evidence of a small community breaking away again in this way.³ Most of Arkadia in the Roman period was thus divided into fourteen fairly large territories, each belonging to one of the *poleis* listed above. Alongside them only three small *poleis* survived. In the border-area between southwestern Arkadia and Triphylia (which belonged to Elis) Aliphera had somehow managed to survive as a separate city-state.⁴ Pausanias visited it, and describes it as a small *polis* (VIII. 26, 5-7). Lykosoura was still a *polis* in Pausanias' day: he considers it to be the oldest city in the world, but says that it has few inhabitants (VIII. 38, 1). Inscriptions show that the decrees of Lykosoura were lodged in the archives of Megalopolis (IG V 2, 515C, 516, 544), and, no doubt because of its celebrated sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura seems to have existed as an enclave within Megalopolitan territory, heavily dependent on Megalopolis. Pallantion had existed as an independent *polis* until the 2nd c. B.C., when it joined as a member of the Achaian League.⁵ Some time after that it became a village of Megalopolis, or possibly of Tegea: it lay between the two (Paus. VIII. 44, 1-7). Antoninus Pius then raised it from the status of *kome* to

that of independent *polis*, free and exempt from tax, because it was believed that Arkadians from Pallantion led by Evander had founded a settlement on the Palatine at Rome (Paus. VIII. 43, 1-2). Only Aliphera, Lykosoura, and Pallantion among the smaller communities of Arkadia had succeeded in preserving an independent existence: the others had all been swallowed by a larger neighbour. The settlement pattern in Roman Arkadia was thus made up of fourteen city-states, each with a central town and an extensive territory, and the three small cities that still survived.

Ruined buildings and settlements

Much has been made of the number of buildings and even entire settlements reported as ruined or deserted by Pausanias. Pritchett 1999 devotes a chapter to the subject, with lists of the places about which Pausanias uses the term 'ruins' (*ereipia*) and of those, fewer in number, about which he uses the term 'deserted' (*eremos* or related terms).⁶ Pritchett tabulates by region the references to ruins, and they are by far most frequent in Pausanias' description of Arkadia: the term is used 36 times for Arkadia, with Boiotia (13 occurrences) and Elis (11) in second and third places. Many of the passages record ruins seen in the countryside, but several refer to particular ruined buildings, often temples, within Arkadian towns: the number of such cases in Megalopolis is striking. This evidence suggests that numerous Arkadian settlements had decayed, but it needs to be analysed more closely.

Not all the ruins mentioned by Pausanias indicated recent decay. For instance at VIII. 12, 7 Pausanias correctly identifies ruins on a hill (modern *Gourtsouli*) north of the later town of Mantinea as Ptolis, the early – archaic – site of Mantinea: it is entirely understandable that the archaic settlement, abandoned in favour of the site in the plain, had over the centuries fallen into a state of ruin. Other

2. B. Forsén in Forsén and Forsén 2003, 269-71.

3. Roy 2008.

4. It was captured by Philip V in 219 B.C. (Polyb. IV. 78), but it is not clear what he did with it. Nonetheless from 199 B.C. it consistently appears in the limited surviving evidence as independent: see Roy 2000; Nielsen 2002, 444-46.

5. Nielsen 2002, 452-53.

6. Pritchett 1999, 195-222, with the list on ruins at pp. 197-200 and the list of deserted places at pp. 200-02. In this volume esp. pp. 291-93 Jost and Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, in their analysis of religion in Arkadia under the Early Empire, analyse in detail and evaluate the evidence for ruined or decayed temples and other religious buildings, and should be consulted for a fuller treatment of such questions than is possible in this chapter. They add items to Pritchett's lists.

sites, though not abandoned as early as Ptolis, may well have been deserted for centuries before Pausanias visited Arkadia. Kromoi (Kromnos), for instance was probably deserted from the early Hellenistic period.⁷

The case of Lousoi shows in a different way the need for caution in interpreting Pausanias' statements about abandoned second-order settlements. Pausanias says (VIII. 18, 8) that at Lousoi not even ruins of the former town survived in his day. Lousoi, formerly a *polis* in its own right, had passed under the control of Kleitor.⁸ The last known reference to the Hemerasia, the games held at Lousoi in honour of Artemis, is in A.D. 80.⁹ Archaeological investigation at Lousoi suggests that most buildings in the areas excavated were ruined or abandoned by the end of the 1st c., though there was limited later building and occupation.¹⁰ However analysis of more than a hundred diagnostic fragments of glass vessels found at the site has led to the conclusion that the types represented run from the 1st c. A.D. to the late third or early fourth without interruption. It thus appears that, despite Pausanias' statement to the contrary, there were people residing at Lousoi throughout the Early Empire, and that some of them were prosperous enough to be using glass vessels.¹¹ In addition, a preliminary analysis of the coins found during the excavations at Lousoi shows that the settlement continued to exist until at least the middle of the 3rd c. A.D.¹² It is in fact quite possible that Pausanias never visited Lousoi. Having described, as part of the territory of Pheneos, the site of the former Nonakris near the Styx, Pausanias went on (VIII. 18, 7-8) to speak of Lousoi, although it was on the other, *i.e.* western, side of the Aroanian Mountains (modern Mt. Chelmos) in the territory of Kleitor; and after Lousoi he described Kynaitha, an independent *polis* situated north of Lousoi (VIII. 19, 1-3). His text then returns to Pheneos to describe the road from there to the town of Kleitor (VIII. 19, 4). His

brief notice on Lousoi, like that on Kynaitha, is thus a departure from his normal practice in Book VIII on Arkadia of describing a major town and what was to be seen on the roads leading out of it, before moving on to the next town. Whatever his reason for attaching Lousoi and Kynaitha to his description of Nonakris in the northern territory of Pheneos, it was not because the two sites were easily accessible from Nonakris, and in fact he does not mention any road at all in the area of Lousoi or Kynaitha: although no traces remain of an ancient road across Mt. Chelmos from Nonakris to the valley of Kynaitha, there will no doubt have been one, probably for pack-animals, but it would have not provided an easy route.¹³ Pausanias evidently did not visit Lousoi and Kynaitha by the obvious route from Kleitor, and probably did not visit them at all, but gained his information about them elsewhere. In any case his statement that not even the ruins of Lousoi could be seen is clearly inaccurate, and it is possible that some other such statements about ruins and abandonment are equally unreliable.

Another consideration is that most of the abandoned sites that Pausanias refers to in his text lay on or near a road travelled by him and are mentioned as part of his account of the road. As noted above, Pausanias toured Arkadia by travelling from one major town to another and then going out from each town to visit whatever he thought worth seeing locally. He did not use this approach elsewhere in Greece, and the result is that he visited Arkadia more intensively than any other region and travelled a much greater distance on Arkadian roads than on any others. Consequently he was much more likely to see features in the landscape of Arkadia than elsewhere: as W. Hutton points out "*Pausanias spends more effort here [i.e. in Arkadia] than in any other book in describing the mountains, the major rivers and their tributaries, and other items of physical geography that give*

7. Paus. VIII. 34, 6. The abandonment has been confirmed archaeologically: Pikoulas 1988, 161-66 no. 121; Lloyd, Owens, Roy 1992, 190-94.

8. On Lousoi as a *polis*, see Nielsen 2004, 516-17. Kleitor gained control of Lousoi between ca 200 B.C. and the time of Pausanias, but it is impossible to say when: Pretzler 1999a, 76-77.

9. Moggi, Osanna 2003, 373.

10. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001.

11. Schauer 2005.

12. Oikonomides 2008.

13. Pikoulas 1999, 298-99 with no. 50 and p. 301.

shape to the land his narrative traverses. It can hardly be coincidental that Arcadia is also the territory in which the topographical pattern of his itineraries is laid out most explicitly and in the greatest detail.”¹⁴ It follows that Pausanias was more likely to see ruins in the Arkadian landscape than anywhere else, and allowance must be made for this in assessing his more numerous mentions of ruins in Arkadia.

The sheer number of ruined buildings and settlements reported by Pausanias in Arkadia certainly suggests decline, but, for the reasons mentioned, his reports need to be scrutinised carefully.

The main urban centres

Pausanias shows that within each territory, and with the possible exception of Stymphalos, the central town continued to exist and function in his day, and other evidence confirms this. Some towns, however, had clearly declined, while others, notably Tegea and Mantinea, were in a better state.

The evidence for the towns is very uneven. Inscriptions of the Roman period are rare except from Tegea, Mantinea, Megalopolis, and Lykosoura, and, while archaeological exploration is progressing, little is known about some sites. Pausanias varies greatly in the amount of coverage he chooses to give to the Arkadian towns: Alea, for instance, is dismissed in a few lines (VIII. 23, 1), although he has nothing derogatory to say about it. However, despite gaps in the evidence, there are indications that several towns were suffering some degree of decay. Stymphalos seems to have been in a poor condition.¹⁵ At Thelpousa Pausanias reports (VIII. 25, 3) that much of the town was deserted so that the agora, which had once been in the middle of the

town, was now at the edge. Nonetheless we know that M. Ulpius Eutychos, an imperial freedman of Trajan, rebuilt the agora,¹⁶ and a large section of wall survives from a Roman building now difficult to identify.¹⁷ At Kleitor in the Roman period masonry was removed from the theatre for use elsewhere: the theatre had presumably fallen out of use.¹⁸ The three very small poleis may well have been in decline, though the evidence is limited. Aliphera was, says Pausanias (VIII. 26, 5), a small *polisma*: many of its inhabitants had abandoned it when Megalopolis was founded, though it had always, he says, remained a *polis*,¹⁹ and its population was probably limited. At Lykosoura, although the cult of Despoina continued, Pausanias found that the inhabitants were few (VIII. 38, 1). At Pallantion Pausanias has nothing to say about the town itself or its monuments, recording instead that Antoninus Pius elevated it from the status of village to that of free and immune city (VIII. 43, 1-6).

There remain the three large cities about which we have fuller information: Tegea, Mantinea, and Megalopolis. Tegea was flourishing in Pausanias’ day. He devotes to it a long and detailed description (VIII. 45, 1-53, 10, including historical digressions). Pausanias’ account of the buildings within the town of Tegea mentions no sign of decay, though in Tegean territory along the road to Sparta he notes two ruined sanctuaries and a ruined temple (VIII. 53, 11). Inscriptions record various pieces of building work at Tegea in the Roman period.²⁰ Altogether the town of Tegea seems to have presented a prosperous appearance.

Pausanias devotes rather less space to Mantinea than to Tegea, but again the town seems to have been well-maintained.²¹ Building activity in the

14. See Hutton 2005, 83-126 for Pausanias’ patterns of travel in different regions, with pp. 91-95 on Arkadia. The quotation is from p. 92.

15. Williams 2005, esp. p. 400: cf. Paus. VIII. 22, 1-9.

16. *SEG* 11, 1950, 1124; see *RPI*, ARC 163.

17. See Jost 1986a, presenting the notes made on Thelpousa during visits in 1938 and 1939 by J. Roger, together with photographs taken by him.

18. Petritaki 2005, 355. On theatres generally in Arkadia in the Roman period see Di Napoli 2005 and *ead.*, *infra* p. 263 n. 68.

19. Paus. VIII. 27, 7: in fact Aliphera must for a time have belonged to Megalopolis, since Lydiadas, tyrant of Megalopolis, gave it to Elis (Polyb. IV. 77, 10).

20. *IG* V 2, 87 (an altar to the Great Mother); 127 (a bath-house and a stoa); 131 (columns).

21. Paus. VIII. 9, 1-12 gives a description of the town and its monuments, following an account of Mantinean history and traditions at VIII. 8, 4-12. On Mantinea in the Roman period see Tsiolis 2002, with detailed discussion of the town’s history, economic activity, and its buildings. See also Jost 1996 on women’s benefactions to the city.

Roman period is well attested epigraphically.²² One inscription records the construction in the 3rd c. of a *pronaos* for a synagogue, clearly for a Jewish community in Mantinea.²³ According to Pausanias a temple was built for the cult of Antinoos set up at Mantinea by Hadrian, and there was also a building in the gymnasium with statues of Antinoos (VIII. 9, 7-8). There is also archaeological evidence for the building of a *naiskos*, attached to a stoa, in the Roman period.²⁴ Pausanias mentions (VIII. 9, 6) a single ruin within the town, oddly the temple of Aphrodite Symmachia, a cult that commemorated Mantinea's support for Augustus at the battle of Actium. The overall impression of Mantinea in this period is certainly favourable.

Megalopolis presents a different picture. Pausanias describes at length the city of his day (VIII. 30, 1-32, 5): he had presented its history earlier at VIII. 27, 1-16. The main public buildings were apparently still functioning: Pausanias mentions, with no suggestion that they were in disrepair, four stoas, one of which housed the city's offices (VIII. 30, 6-7; 30, 10); the *bouleuterion* (VIII. 30, 9); a gymnasium (VIII. 31, 8); the theatre (VIII. 32, 1), and a stadion (VIII. 32, 3). In addition there were temples and sanctuaries of various gods: Zeus *Lykaios* (VIII. 30, 2); Tyche (VIII. 30, 7); Zeus *Soter* (VIII. 30, 10); the *peribolos* of the Great Goddesses, which included sanctuaries of various other deities and a building used for rites of initiation (VIII. 31, 1-8); Artemis *Agrotera* (VIII. 32, 4); Asklepios (*ibid.*); and Asklepios *Pais* (VIII. 32, 5). Alongside these, however, the sanctuaries of many gods were in a ruinous condition: the Mother of the Gods (VIII. 30, 4); Hermes *Akakesios* (VIII. 30, 6); Athene *Poliias* (VIII. 31, 9); Hera *Teleia* (*ibid.*); the Muses, Apollo, and Hermes (VIII. 32, 2); Aphrodite (*ibid.*); Ares (VIII. 32, 3); Dionysos (*ibid.*); and Herakles and Hermes (*ibid.*). In addition the *Thersilion*, the great assembly-hall in front of the theatre, was also in ruins (VIII. 32, 1). Pausanias is moved to follow

his description of the city with a passage (VIII. 33, 1-4) in which he says that Megalopolis has lost all its decoration and ancient prosperity, and is largely in ruins: he then compares it to Mykenai, Nineveh, Babylon, and other cities that have been reduced to nothing, reflecting on the mutability of human fortune. His judgement in that passage seems very sweeping, but there is no doubt that Megalopolis was in a much worse condition than Tegea and Mantinea. We have little evidence for building at Megalopolis in the Roman period: the agora was rebuilt on the orders of the emperor Domitian after it burned down (*IG V 2, 457*), and there is archaeological evidence of some limited work to accommodate a tribunal *ca* 200.²⁵ There might be some explanations other than decline to explain some of the city's appearance. It seems, for instance, that significant parts of the area within the city walls had never been built up.²⁶ It is also possible that some buildings had never been restored after the sack of the city by Kleomenes III of Sparta in 223 B.C., but Tsiolis and Lauter have separately presented various arguments which show that the Thersilion in particular was in use after 223 and so that its ruinous state in Pausanias' day must have been due to later decay.²⁷ Even if we suppose that not all the urban decay that Pausanias reports at Megalopolis was due to more or less recent decline, it is still clear that Megalopolis under the Antonines was a much less well-maintained town than Tegea and Mantinea, even if it was still equipped with the public buildings necessary to fulfil the functions of a Greek town.

There is considerable evidence that the poleis of Arkadia continued to function as such. Their territories were clearly delimited: Pausanias is careful to note both the frontiers between the Arkadian cities and their frontiers with their non-Arkadian neighbours.²⁸ They maintained their various local cults, and the contests attached to certain cults.²⁹ Interest in local myth and local history was suffi-

22. *IG V 2, 266* (megaron); 268 (market and another public building); 281 (stoa with *exedrai*).

23. *IG V 2, 295*; see *RPI*, ARC 28.

24. Lauter, Lauter-Bufe, Becker 2004, 319.

25. Lauter 1997, esp. p. 402.

26. Roy 2007.

27. Tsiolis 1995, 57-67; Lauter, Lauter-Bufe 2004, esp. p. 222. Lauter and Lauter-Bufe argue (p. 171) for a general rebuilding after the destruction by Kleomenes.

28. Lafond 2006, 143-44.

29. See article of Jost, Hoët-van Cauweberghe, *infra* pp. 291-308.

ciently strong to permit Pausanias to gather information on the places he visited: there have been particular studies on the traditions of Tegea and Mantinea, but Pausanias gives other local accounts, sometimes specifying that he had heard them from the inhabitants of the place concerned.³⁰ The officials of Arkadian *poleis* in the Roman period that happen to be recorded are tabulated (along with those of other Peloponnesian cities) by Lafond;³¹ among them there are at Megalopolis in the late second or early third century an *agoranomos* and an *agonothetes* of the *Lykaia kai Kaisarea*.³² Decrees passed by Peloponnesian cities are tabulated by Lafond, and include decrees from Lykosoura, Mantinea, Megalopolis, and Tegea.³³ Likewise he tabulates public dedications, and these include examples from Mantinea, Megalopolis, and Tegea.³⁴ Several lists of ephebes are preserved from Tegea, and one in particular shows an elaborate organisation of the ephebate with gymnasiarch, hypogymnasiarch, *archephebos*, oil-purveyor, secretary, doctor, barber, *paidotribes*, furnace-attendant, and branch-bearer (*spadeikophoros*), while yet more appointed officials of the ephebate are mentioned in various other texts, namely hunter (*kynegos*), *palaistrophylax*, linen-bearer (*sinдонophoros*), priest, and deputy-priest.³⁵ Ephebic texts of the Roman period are not preserved from other Arkadian cities, but Mantinea and Megalopolis had gymnasia, and a gymnasiarch is attested at Megalopolis in the Augustan period and others in the 2nd c. A.D.³⁶ At Megalopolis and Tegea the organ-

isation of the citizen-body by tribes (*phylai*) was still operating in the Roman period.³⁷ Under the Roman Empire no Arkadian coinage was produced until Mantinea struck several coins with the image of Hadrian's favourite Antinoos after Hadrian established a cult of Antinoos at Mantinea. During the Severan period bronze coinage was struck by Heraia, Kaphyai, Kleitor, Kynaitha, Mantinea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pheneos, Phigalia, Psophis, Tegea, and Thelpousa – in other words by all the larger Arkadian cities except Alea and Stymphalos: the smaller cities Aliphera, Lykosoura, and Pallantion produced no Severan coinage.³⁸ A die-link between a Severan coin of Psophis and another of Thelpousa suggests that these two cities may have collaborated in arranging the striking of certain coins.³⁹ When Diocletian's edict on prices was published copies were posted in Arkadia: it has been found at Kleitor, Megalopolis, Tegea, and Thelpousa.⁴⁰

The cities presumably also cooperated in the koinon of the Arkadians, although relatively little is known about this organisation. It is not certainly attested before the period of Hadrian. Coins struck at Mantinea in honour of the deified Antinoos bore a legend dedicating them to 'the Arkadians'.⁴¹ An honorific statue-base set up jointly by the *polis* of Megalopolis and the koinon of the Arkadians has lettering judged by Hiller von Gaertringen to be of the style of the first or second century (though he supposed that the koinon had not existed before Hadrian).⁴² Games held at Mantinea in honour of the Arkadians are attested on an inscription of

30. Pretzler 1999b (Tegea) and 2005 (Mantinea). See also e.g. Paus. VIII. 14, 2 and 6-7 (Pheneos); 24, 10 and 13 (Psophis).

31. Lafond 2006, 95-100 tab. 5.

32. *IG V* 2, 464: see *RPI*, ARC 69; *IG V* 2, 463: see *RPI*, ARC 155.

33. Lafond 2006, 86 tab. 4: see also Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 87-92.

34. Lafond 2006, 123-24 tab. 6.

35. *IG V* 2, 43-58. Of these *IG V* 2, 56-58 do not include wording identifying them certainly as lists of ephebes; if they are indeed such lists, the ephebate at Tegea continued into the 3rd century.

36. Gymnasia *IG V* 2, 268, ll. 18-20 (Mantinea) and Paus. VIII. 31, 8 (Megalopolis); gymnasiarchs at Megalopolis *IG V* 2, 515B.b, l. 15 and *SEG* 14, 1957, 347. On the gymnasia see Delorme 1960, 203 (Mantinea) and 233-34 (Megalopolis), and also 235-37 on possible gymnasia at Phigalia and Stymphalos.

37. *IG V* 2, 452 and 464 (Megalopolis), Paus. VIII. 53, 6 (Tegea): see Jones 1987, 132-42.

38. Head 1911, 444-56. There are good illustrations of many of these coins in Walker 2006, 322-421.

39. *op. cit.*, 398 no. 1689 and 420 no. 1767.

40. Lauffer 1971, 27 (Kleitor), 29 (Megalopolis) (cf. *SEG* 37, 1987, 345), 38 (Tegea); Petronotis 1973 (*SEG* 37, 1987, 355).

41. Head 1911, 445-46, Walker 2006, 355-58.

42. *IG V* 2, 465.

Sardis from A.D. 212-217.⁴³ At Tegea there was a common hearth of the Arkadians.⁴⁴ The only known Arkadarches of the koinon, clearly later than 212, was a Tegean, M. Aurelius Agathokles.⁴⁵ The only other known official of the koinon was Claudia Tyche, *hestia* for life of the koinon, honoured at Olympia in 212/3; she held both Kleitorian and Elean citizenship.⁴⁶ This evidence shows Kleitor, Mantinea, Megalopolis, and Tegea all involved in the koinon, and presumably other Arkadian communities were as well, although the koinon may have been dominated by a limited number of more powerful cities.

Villages

Within the territories of the larger Arkadian cities there were other smaller settlements. For a small number of these Pausanias uses the term *kome*.⁴⁷ He uses it for seven of the communities which were incorporated into Megalopolis and still survived in his own day: Gortys, Dipaia, Thisoa by Orchomenos, Methydriion, Teuthis, Kalliai, and Helisson (VIII. 27, 7). He may have confused Thisoa by Orchomenos with Thisoa in Kynouria, which he also later describes as a village of Megalopolis in his day (VIII.38, 3, wrongly locating it in Parrhasia: cf. VIII. 27, 4). He also employs the term to describe the status of Pallantion before it was elevated by Antoninus Pius to a *polis* (VIII. 43, 1). Finally he uses it of four settlements which were deserted in his day: Nestane (VIII. 7, 4) and Maira (VIII. 12, 7) in the territory of Mantinea, Paos (Paion) (VIII. 23, 9) in the territory of Kleitor, and Kaous (VIII. 25, 1) in the territory of Thelpousa. Some of these places certainly were cities in their earlier history, and only for Maira and Kaous is there no evidence to suggest at least that they may

have been.⁴⁸ The only other comparable place that may still have survived and for which he does not use *kome* is Thaliades in the territory of Kleitor, which had certainly been a *polis*: but it is not clear from Pausanias' only reference to the place whether it was still inhabited in his day.⁴⁹ His use of the term for settlement in Arkadia seems selective, and Jost concludes that '*il fait, semble-t-il, un usage assez cohérent de ce terme*'.⁵⁰

For other settlements that existed in his day Pausanias sometimes gives no indication of status, while in yet other cases he uses the term *chorion*. *Chorion* is however vague, and he clearly uses it also for places where there was no settlement. Ake for instance is so described, but then Pausanias says 'beside the *chorion* Ake there is another *hieron* called Koureion' (VIII. 34, 2-3); it is clear that Ake and Koureion were both religious sanctuaries. Phoizon, another *chorion*, was a stone monument (VIII. 11, 2). Jost notes that in three instances Pausanias uses the word to mean simply the location of a former *polis* now deserted.⁵¹ In other books however Pausanias does apply the word to significant settlements, though very rarely,⁵² and so some of his references in Book VIII may be to settlements.

Y. Pikoulas has proposed to identify some of the places described by the term *chorion* with sites where archaeological material was found by surface survey. A site west of Asea has been explored by both Pikoulas and the Asea Survey: it seems to have been big enough to be considered a village, and Pikoulas identified it with Athenaion (Paus. VIII. 44, 3).⁵³ Another, on the same road from Megalopolis to Tegea, was identified by Pikoulas with Aphrodision (Paus. VIII. 44, 2): he considered it a small settlement of some kind of the Roman period, while the Asea Survey suggested that it was

43. Buckler, Robinson 1932, 83-87 no. 79 B, l. 15.

44. Paus. VIII. 53, 9.

45. *IG* V 2, 132; *RPI*, ARC 23.

46. *IvO* 473 and 474; *RPI*, EL 119, where it is suggested that she will have been originally from Kleitor since the names of her parents are more common in Arkadia than in Elis.

47. See Jost 1986b and *ead.* 1999.

48. See the relevant entries in Nielsen 2004.

49. Paus. VIII. 25, 2: see Nielsen 2004, 533 on the *polis* Thaliades, and Jost 1986b, 149 on the possibility that it should be considered a *kome*.

50. Jost 1986b, 148.

51. Amilos (Paus. VIII. 13, 5), Haimoniai (VIII. 44, 1) and Lousoi (VIII. 18, 8): Jost 1986b, 146.

52. Agrai (Paus. I. 19, 6) and Nemea (II. 15, 2): Jost 1986b, 146 with n. 15.

53. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 107-09, 308 (Sites S47-61); Pikoulas 1988, 65-66 no. 18.

a Roman farm-house.⁵⁴ Pikoulas has also identified Phalaisiai, lying on the road from Megalopolis to Sparta, not far from Belemina (Paus. VIII. 35, 3), with a significant surface concentration of material extending from the classical period to the Roman.⁵⁵ The other is Gatheai, located on the road from Megalopolis to Messene and lying within the territory of Kromoi (Kromnos) (Paus. VIII. 34, 5), and identified by Pikoulas with a surface concentration of material continuing from the Hellenistic period into the Roman.⁵⁶ In Pausanias' day Kromoi itself was abandoned,⁵⁷ and Gatheai may have developed as a roadside settlement in the same area after the disappearance of Kromoi. If these identifications, which are very plausible, are right, then they suggest that the places for which in Book VIII Pausanias uses *chorion* were in some instances settlements that could be called villages, without being large enough to dominate their surroundings. They do not give reason to suppose that Pausanias' apparently selective use of the term *kome* overlooked other major second-order settlements: by his use of the term he evidently intended to convey that *komai* enjoyed a particular status.

It is striking that the only surviving *komai* that appear in Pausanias' account of Arkadia fall within the territory of Megalopolis. Nestane, Maira, Paos, and Kaous lay elsewhere but were deserted, and Pallantion had been elevated to the status of *polis*. Thaliades, if it did indeed survive as a village in the territory of Kleitor, would be the sole example of a *kome* outside Megalopolis, but Pausanias, as noted above, does not apply the term *kome* to it. While it is striking that Pausanias describes so many second-order settlements in the territory of Megalopolis as abandoned in his day, it is even more striking that such settlements had disappeared else-

where in Arkadia. Megalopolis had of course a much bigger territory than the other Arkadian cities, and it is notable that its surviving *komai* were all at some distance from the central town.

Presumably the surviving *komai* exercised some local functions under the overall authority of Megalopolis. Pausanias evidently believed that the villages of Megalopolis still in his day had recognisable territories: he mentions for instance within the overall territory of Megalopolis those of Dipaia (VIII. 30, 1) and Thisoa (VIII. 38, 9). He even mentions the territory of abandoned settlements: Trapezous (VIII. 29, 1), Lykaia (VIII. 30, 1), and Kromoi (Kromnos) (VIII. 34, 6). We know of no other territorial divisions within Megalopolis,⁵⁸ and so have no evidence for units other than the *komai* that might have served as the basis of local administration. On the other hand, as Jost has pointed out, we have no decree emanating from an Arkadian *kome*, and no coin struck by one.⁵⁹ As Jost has also pointed out, it is likely that these communities carried out rituals at their sanctuaries,⁶⁰ but even here there is little direct evidence. The one document that may be relevant is an inscription of the second or third century from Gortys on which the priest of Asklepios, M. Turpilius Philotas, recorded the construction of a stoa and a dining-room with three couches, paid for by the revenues of the god.⁶¹ Even in this case, however, we do not know whether the priest was appointed by Gortys or by Megalopolis. There is also the problem that in large parts of the territory of Megalopolis there were no surviving *komai*: if those that did survive exercised local responsibilities, then such responsibilities must have been managed differently in other parts of Megalopolitan territory.

54. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 112 (Site S79); Pikoulas 1988, 66-68 no. 20.

55. Pikoulas 1988, 124-25 no. 82.

56. Pikoulas 1988, 172-73 no. 131.

57. Paus. VIII. 34, 6. The abandonment has been confirmed archaeologically: Pikoulas 1988, 161-66 no. 121; Lloyd, Owens, Roy 1992, 190-94.

58. For what is known about internal subdivisions within Megalopolis, see N. F. Jones 1987, 135-38. A system of five *phylai* is attested at Megalopolis in the second and possibly 3rd c. A.D., but is unlikely to have been based on territorial districts.

59. Jost 1986b, 153. There are decrees and coins from some of these communities from the time when they had the status of *polis*, but nothing from the time when they were *komai*.

60. Jost 1986b, 153-54.

61. SEG 11, 1950, 1165; RPI, ARC 162. The baths at Gortys seem to have been in decline under the early Empire: see Ginouvès 1959, 145 and Jost 1985, 202-10.

Other rural settlement

There was naturally much other rural settlement besides the *komai*. The fullest examination of such settlement in Arkadia is the excellent study of Asea by Forsén and Forsén 2003, and it reveals a complex range of settlement from villages to small farmsteads.⁶² Earlier Y. Pikoulas had carried out an extensive survey of southern Megalopolitan territory, and some areas of Megalopolis had also been surveyed independently.⁶³ Originally a *polis* in its own right, Asea was at some time incorporated into Megalopolis, though possibly not before the 2nd c. B.C.⁶⁴ It then became a village (*kome*) of Megalopolis (Str. VIII. 3, 12). Settlement at the site of the town continued into the early Roman period, though decline began in the Hellenistic period and the settlement was probably already abandoned when Pausanias saw it and described it as ruined (Paus. VIII. 44, 3).⁶⁵ By that time large new Roman farmsteads, *villae rusticae*, were developing in the countryside around Asea, gradually replacing earlier rural settlement. The process of change was probably slow and gradual, but the direction of change is clear.⁶⁶ Pikoulas also discovered surface finds that could be interpreted as *villae rusticae* during his survey of southern Megalopolitan territory.⁶⁷ However the best-known example of a *villa rustica* in Arkadia in the Roman imperial period is a site excavated near modern Kalliani, in the territory of ancient Thelpousa. It was inhabited from the middle of the 1st c., and continued into the Late Empire. At its height it was an extensive and well-appointed establishment, evidently belonging to prosperous owners.⁶⁸

There was thus by the early Roman imperial period a decline in Arkadia generally, and particularly in Megalopolitan territory, of second-order settlement in villages in favour of developing *villae rus-*

ticae. Not all nucleated rural settlement disappeared, however. The Forséns in the Asea survey found surface remains of three sites that could be classified as villages, and all three existed already in the classical period and continued into the Roman period. One, lying south of Asea itself, may have been part of the urban centre of Eutaia: Eutaia was originally a Mainalian community separate from Asea, and, when Megalopolis was being founded, it was planned to incorporate Eutaia, with other Mainalian communities including Asea, into the new city (Paus. VIII. 27, 3). However Pausanias offers no further information on Eutaia, never mentioning it again during his account of his travels in Arkadia. If the Forséns' Site 91 is indeed part of Eutaia, then the settlement must have continued after the foundation of Megalopolis into the Roman period.⁶⁹ Another village lay west of Asea, and – as mentioned above – was identified by Pikoulas as Athenaiion, (Paus. VIII. 44, 3).⁷⁰ The third site lay northeast of Asea itself.⁷¹ In addition to these nucleated settlements, smaller sites were also found in all the surface surveys. Overall the evidence available at present on rural settlement in Roman Arkadia suggests a general, but not universal, decline in major second-order settlements, some second-order nucleated settlements and other smaller habitations continuing into the Roman period, and the development of new *villae rusticae* and occasional smaller sites.

Roman involvement in Arkadia

Roman involvement in Arkadia had of course begun before the Augustan period, and the Arkadian cities were involved in the Roman civil wars of the 1st c. B.C. In the final campaign leading to the battle at Actium all the Arkadians except Mantinea supported Antony against Augustus, who subsequently intervened in Tegea to have the ancient statue of Athena

62. The pattern suggested by Kahrstedt 1954, 128-62, dominated by relatively few large estates and '*Kolonendörfer*', is too simplistic.

63. Pikoulas 1988; Lloyd, Owens, Roy 1989 and *iid.* 1992.

64. B. Forsén in Forsén and Forsén 2003, 252-60.

65. *Op. cit.*, 260 (on the date at which decline began) and p. 306 (on the abandonment of the site).

66. *Op. cit.*, 308-11.

67. Pikoulas 1988, 89-90 (no. 43), 91-93 (no. 45), 118 (no. 72); see also p. 173 (no. 133): '*an agricultural establishment of the Roman period*'.

68. Eckstein, Meyer 1960.

69. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 120-21, 308 (Site S91).

70. *Op. cit.*, 107-09, 308 (Sites S47-61); Pikoulas 1988, 65-66 no. 18.

71. Forsén and Forsén 2003, 91-93, 308 (Sites S15-16).

Alea and the tusks of the Kalydonian boar removed from Tegea to Rome.⁷² The region subsequently settled into conventional acceptance of Roman rule, including imperial cult and numerous statues and dedications expressing loyalty to emperors.⁷³ Embassies were sent to Rome.⁷⁴ There is sporadic evidence of emperors or their agents taking action in Arkadia: Domitian rebuilt a stoa at Megalopolis destroyed by fire, and an imperial freedman rebuilt the agora at Thelpousa on behalf of Trajan.⁷⁵ Hadrian visited Arkadia himself. At Mantinea he restored the city's name, which had been changed to Antigonea in the later 3rd c. B.C., and set up a cult of his favourite Antinoos. He also built a new sanctuary for Poseidon *Hippios* around the old one, which was in ruins.⁷⁶ From Stymphalos he built an aqueduct to convey water to Corinth.⁷⁷ At Tegea his visit became the starting-point of an era for dating.⁷⁸ His successor Antoninus Pius elevated Pallantion from the status of *kome* to that of *polis* because of a belief that Arkadians from Pallantion had created a settlement on the Palatine Hill at Rome.⁷⁹ This scattered evidence shows simply an occasional awareness of Arkadia at the highest level of Roman imperial government, as does the report, which evidently reached Rome, that in the reign of Vespasian at Tegea, thanks to soothsayers, ancient vases were unearthed bearing an image that resembled the emperor.⁸⁰

Similarly there are a few glimpses of the Roman administration in Arkadia. In the first or second century Megalopolis honoured a *procurator Augusti*, apparently for work on the city's fortifications.⁸¹ At Lykosoura Epagathos, *tabellarius* of the emperor, possibly Hadrian, made a dedication.⁸² In the late 2nd or early 3rd c. M. Appalenus, of a prominent family in Corinth, was sent to Tegea as *logistes*.⁸³ Roman milestones have been found in the territories of Megalopolis and Tegea.⁸⁴ These are no more than glimpses of the Roman administration at work.

The spread of Roman citizenship among Arkadians has been analysed by Hoët-van Cauwenberghe.⁸⁵ The overall number of known cases is low compared with other regions. Before 212 by far the highest number within Arkadia is found at Tegea, followed by Kleitor and Mantinea: there are more moderate numbers at Megalopolis and Lykosoura, and possibly one example each at Thelpousa and Phigalia. Aurelii are found especially at Kleitor, though it should be noted that the relatively high figure is due to a single list of names: Aurelii also occur at Tegea and Mantinea.⁸⁶ Among the Arkadians with Roman citizenship there are 12 Iulii, 14 Claudii, 1 Flavius, and 1 Aelius. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe concludes that grants of Roman citizenship to Arkadians were most frequent under the Julio-Claudian emperors.⁸⁷

Some Romans took up residence in Arkadia. At Megalopolis in the Augustan period Romans de-

72. Paus. VIII. 8, 12; 46, 1.

73. On the imperial cult in Arkadia see article of Jost, Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, *infra* pp. 302-07. Statues and dedications *IG V 2*, 301-03 (Mantinea), 459 and 533; *SEG* 45, 1995, 342 (Megalopolis), *IG V 2*, 346 (Orchomenos), 124, 127, 130, 132, 1. 133-40 (Tegea).

74. *IG V 2*, 25 and 268.

75. *IG V 2*, 457 (Megalopolis); *SEG* 11, 1950, 1124 (Thelpousa).

76. Paus. VIII. 8, 12 (name), VIII. 9, 8 and VIII. 10, 1 (cult of Antinoos), VIII. 10, 2-3 (Poseidon *Hippios*).

77. Paus. VIII. 22, 3; Lolos 1997.

78. *IG V 2*, 50-52.

79. Paus. VIII. 43, 1-3.

80. Suet., *Vesp.* 7, 3.

81. *IG V 2*, 434-35.

82. *IG V 2*, 525; *RPI*, COR 340.

83. *IG V 2*, 155. See Spawforth 1974; *RPI*, ARC 8.

84. Pikoulas 1992-98.

85. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996; she excludes, rightly, Roman citizens from elsewhere who are attested in Arkadia, and persons using only a single Roman name. On Roman citizenship among Arkadians, see also Rizakis 2001. Individual cases are catalogued in *RPI*.

86. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, 209. The list of names from Kleitor is the inscription *SEG* 31, 1981, 347 + *SEG* 35, 1985, 350; see Pikoulas 1981 and 1985. Note that Arkadian Ti. Claudii are not significant enough to figure among the Peloponnesian Ti. Claudii discussed by Rizakis 2007, although (*op. cit.*, 186) Ti. Claudii represent roughly one quarter of those who obtained Roman citizenship in the eastern provinces before A.D. 212.

87. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, 209, 213-14.

scribed as conducting business (*pragmateuomenoi*) at Megalopolis joined with the *polis* itself in a decree honouring a local citizen, while at Mantinea (then Antigonea) Romans engaged in business there joined with the *polis* to honour a local man and his wife, both benefactors.⁸⁸ These are the only references to organised bodies of resident Romans in Arkadian cities,⁸⁹ but individuals are also found. In the Augustan period T. Arminius Tauriscus built a bridge and in return received as privileges epinomia and some right concerning acorns for as many animals as he might have throughout his life. While the precise nature of the privileges is disputed, they clearly concern pasture and food for animals, and show that the man was engaged in stock-raising. He may have been either a Roman holding land at Megalopolis or the freeman of such a person.⁹⁰ Two Latin tombstones at Kynaitha attest Paconia wife of Gemin- and C. Vireius Gallus: Zoumbaki suggests that both may have been connected with Romans active in business at Patrai.⁹¹ Several other Romans are attested in Arkadia but the nature of their economic activities or interests is not clear. One such is C. Asinius Felix: the fragmentary decree in his honour shows that he had an interest in the Roman festival of the *Rosalia*.⁹² Another is M. Pompeius Eisas Aelianus who erected a statue for the consular M. Pompeius Neos Epiphanes Macrinus and claimed him as his personal friend: he may have gained Roman citizenship with the assistance of his friend, or even been adopted by him.⁹³ Zoumbaki notes that several of the Romans known in Arkadia bore names that are otherwise rare in the Peloponnese.⁹⁴

Connections between Arkadia and the rest of the Peloponnese

Leading families from elsewhere in the Peloponnese that held Roman citizenship also took an interest in Arkadia, and may have owned land there. The Euryclids of Sparta were one such family. In the first century Megalopolis erected at Lykosoura statues with honorific inscriptions for C. Iulius Lakon and his sister Iulia Pantimia. Spawforth has argued that these are the children of the Euryclid C. Iulius Lakon, and that the family probably owned land in the Megalopolis basin.⁹⁵ Spawforth also argues that the dedication at Lykosoura by Iulius Epiphanes Philopappos, who described himself on his inscription as 'king', may have been made while he was visiting Euryclid connections in the area. Philopappos, who had Athenian and Roman citizenship and was consul suffectus in 109, belonged to the deposed royal family of Commagene and through his sister Iulia Balbilla was linked to the Euryclids.⁹⁶ Then *ca* 136/37 through his will C. Iulius Eurykles Herculanus gave to Mantinea and the god Antinoos a stoa with *exedrai*, and Spawforth suggests that the family also owned property there.⁹⁷

The base for a statue honouring the same man survives: it is commonly supposed that the statue was set up by Mantinea, but Spawforth suggests that it may be rather from Tegea.⁹⁸ Furthermore Spawforth suggests that M. Pompeius Neos Theophanes Macrinus, honoured at Tegea by his friend M. Pompeius Eisas Aelianus, may have inherited Euryclid land at Tegea.⁹⁹ The case for Euryclid links

88. *IG V 2*, 515Bb (Megalopolis) and *IG V 2*, 268 and 307 (Mantinea). Romans conducting business in Arkadia (and in the rest of the Peloponnese) are discussed thoroughly by Zoumbaki 1998/99: they are also reviewed more briefly in Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996.

89. Such references are no longer found anywhere in the Peloponnese after the reign of the emperor Claudius: Zoumbaki 1998/99, 153-54.

90. *IG V 2*, 456, a bilingual inscription; Zoumbaki 1998/99, 123-24; *RPI*, ARC 10.

91. Paconia: *CIL III*, 497 (1st c. B.C. or 1st c. A.D.); *RP I*, ARC 130; C. Vireius Gallus: *CIL III 1 Suppl.*, 7252 (528) (early 1st c. A.D.); *RPI*, ARC 171. See Zoumbaki 1998/99, 126-27.

92. *IG V 2*, 26 of the 1st or 2nd c.; *RPI*, ARC 12; see Zoumbaki 1998/99, 127.

93. *IG V 2*, 151 + *corr. ad* 151; *RPI*, ARC 137 (and 138, Theophanes).

94. Zoumbaki 1998/99, 127.

95. *IG V 2*, 541. The son is *RPI*, ARC 99, the daughter *RPI*, ARC 92, and the father *RPI*, ARC 107 = *RP II*, LAC 468. See Spawforth 1978, 252-54.

96. *IG V 2*, 524; *RPI*, ARC 103. See Spawforth 1978, 253.

97. *IG V 2*, 281; *RPI*, ARC 105. See Spawforth 1978, 255-56.

98. *IG V 2*, 311; in *IG* and at *RP I*, ARC 105 the statue is taken to be from Mantinea, while Spawforth 1978, 260 suggests Tegea.

99. Spawforth 1978, 255 n. 49.

with Tegea could be disputed, but there were certainly links with Megalopolis and Lykosoura and with Mantinea, and they could readily be explained by property owned in these areas.

Another Spartan family with links to Arkadia were the Voluseni. In the mid-2nd century Megalopolis and Lykosoura set up at Lykosoura a statue in honour of Volusena Iusta, daughter of Volusenus Aristokrates and wife of Pompeius Damainetos.¹⁰⁰ Roughly in the same period an inscription at Lykosoura was dated by the priesthood of Pompeius Aristokrates.¹⁰¹ Spawforth identifies Volusena Iusta and her father as members of the well-known Spartan family, and takes Pompeius Aristokrates to be the son of Pompeius Damainetos and Volusena Iusta. He leaves open the question of whether this family of Pompeii were a Spartan family that had acquired interests in the area of Megalopolis or a family of Arkadian origin that had had become domiciled at Sparta by the Antonine period.¹⁰² Since Spawforth wrote an inscription of the years 218-235 has been discovered at Tegea, the base of a statue set up by Tegea in honour of Sextus Pompeius Menophanes son of Theoxenos. The inscription on the base shows that this man, already known as a member of the Spartan family of Pompeii, was also a citizen of Tegea.¹⁰³ The inscription thus links the Pompeii, already associated with Megalopolis, to another area of Arkadia. A further connection between the Voluseni and Arkadia may be provided by a tombstone from Thelpousa of the 2nd or 3rd century commemorating a person called Volussian[-: the end of the name is lost and it is impossible to tell whether the ending should be masculine or feminine.¹⁰⁴

In 212/13 Elis erected two statues at Olympia in honour of Claudia Tyche, daughter of Tib. Claudius Tertullus and Aemilia Philoxena. Claudia Tyche was chief priestess for life of the cult of the emperor of the Achaian League and also *hestia* for life of the Arkadian koinon, and held citizenship in both Elis and

Kleitōr. It has been suggested that she may originally have been from Kleitōr since the names of her parents are commoner in Arkadia than in Elis.¹⁰⁵

Other connections are possible, but not proved. The Tadii were a leading family at Megalopolis in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Among them were two men, grandfather and grandson, called M. Tadius Teimokrates.¹⁰⁶ A very good photograph has been published of an inscription found at Olympia, though the text is still unpublished. It shows Messene honouring M. Tadius Lykortas son of M. Tadius Teimokrates; the honorand, who is honoured for his aristopoliteia, is presumably a Messenian.¹⁰⁷ The Messenian family obviously shared the name Teimokrates with the Megalopolitans, and the name Lykortas recalls the father of the Megalopolitan historian Polybius. Some connection between the Messenians and the Megalopolitans is likely, but unproven. Likewise the Messenian family of Flavii Polybii at Messenia, honoured at Olympia, might have a connection with the family of the historian Polybius at Megalopolis, but there is no evidence of such a link.¹⁰⁸

Conclusions

From the Augustan period into the 3rd c. Arkadia enjoyed political stability: in fact its political history in the period is unknown. Major intervention by the imperial authorities was rare. By this time Arkadia was divided into seventeen territories, each belonging to a city; of these fourteen were fairly large and the other three small. In the larger territories major second-order settlement disappeared except at Megalopolis, and even there it declined except in the outer reaches of the city's territory. The prosperity of the urban centres varied: Tegea and Mantinea remained flourishing towns, but elsewhere there were signs of urban decline. The towns nonetheless continued to function as administrative centres throughout the first three

100. *IG V 2*, 544: Iusta is *RP I*, ARC 172, her father *RP II*, LAC 621, and her husband *RP I*, ARC 136.

101. *IG V 2*, 543; *RP I*, ARC 135.

102. Spawforth 1985, 222-24 and 244-46 (on the *Pompeii* at Sparta).

103. *SEG 41*, 1991, 384; *RP I*, ARC 139.

104. *SEG 11*, 1950, 1130; *RP I*, ARC 174.

105. *IvO 473* and 474; *RP I*, EL 119.

106. *RP I*, ARC 154, 155, 156, 157, with *stemma I* on p. 529.

107. *BCH 108*, 1984, *Chron.* 769-70: the photograph is fig. 56 on p. 769. See also *RP I*, ARC 156. No *Tadii* are recorded for Messenia in *RP II*.

108. EL 209 and EL 210, the latter possibly the same man as *RP II*, MES 196.

centuries of the Empire, but they show little evidence of initiative or development.

Though sometimes regarded as a poor region, Arkadia offered economic opportunities. Much of Arkadia is mountainous, but there is good, fertile land in the valleys and basins among the mountains, and pasture not only for sheep and goats, for which Arkadia was famous, but also for larger animals. There was wood in the forests, and such other possibilities as herbs to be gathered on the hillsides.¹⁰⁹ Strabo (VIII. 8, 1) mentions plentiful pastures in Arkadia for horses and for donkeys used to breed mules. Romans arrived to exploit Arkadia's economic resources, and rich families from elsewhere in the Peloponnese, especially from Sparta, also showed interest in Arkadia. Arkadia had its own prosperous families too, but they do not seem to have played any significant role outside their own region. Thus, although villae rusticae appear as evidence that wealth was generated from Arkadia's natural resources, Arkadia under the early Empire had little part in the developments that the imperial period brought to the Roman colonies at Corinth and Patrai and to livelier Greek centres like Argos, Sparta, and Messene.¹¹⁰

J. Roy

University of Nottingham

Bibliography

- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris.
- Buckler (W. H.), Robinson (D. M.), 1932: *Sardis: Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis VII 1: Greek and Latin inscriptions 1*, Leiden.
- Delorme (J.), 1960: *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce*, BÉFAR 196, Paris.
- Di Napoli (V.), 2005: "The theatres of Roman Arkadia, Pausanias and the history of the region", in Østby 2005, 509-20.
- Eckstein (F.), Meyer (E.), 1960: "Eine Villa rustica bei Kalliani in Westarkadien", *MDAI(A)* 75, 9-67.
- Forsén (J.), Forsén (B.), 2003: *The Asea Valley Survey. An Arcadian mountain valley from the palaeolithic period until modern times*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae Series, Stockholm.
- Ginouvés (R.), 1959: *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie, ÉtPélop 2*, Paris.
- Head (B. V.), 1911: *Historia Numorum*², Oxford.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (C.), 1996: "Onomastique et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine en Arcadie", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquities, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athens, 207-14.
- Hutton (W.), 2005: *Describing Greece: landscape and literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*, Cambridge.
- Jones (N. F.), 1987: *Public organization in ancient Greece: a documentary study*, Philadelphia.
- Jost (M.), 1985: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie, ÉtPélop 9*, Paris.
- , 1986a: "Thelpousa d'Arcadie en 1938-1939", *BCH* 110, 633-45.
- , 1986b: "Villages de l'Arcadie antique", *Ktéma* 11, 145-58.
- , 1996: "Évergétisme et tradition religieuse à Mantinée au 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C.", in A. Chastagnol, S. Demougin, C. Lepelley (eds), *Splendidissima civitas: études d'histoire romaine en hommage à François Jacques*, Paris, 193-200.
- , 1999: "Les schémas de peuplement de l'Arcadie aux époques archaïque et classique", in T. H. Nielsen, J. Roy (eds), *Defining ancient Arkadia, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, 192-247.
- Kahrstedt (U.), 1954, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit: Kleinstadt, Villa und Domäne*, Bern.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C. – III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Lauter (H.), (1997): "Aus der Philipps-Halle in Megalopolis", *AA* 1997, 389-405.
- Lauter (H.), Lauter-Bufe (H.), 2004: "Thersilion und Theater in Megalopolis. Das Bauensemble im Licht neuer Forschungen", *AA* 2004, 135-76.
- Lauter (H.), Lauter-Bufe (H.), Becker (P.), 2004: "Die reifklassische Doppelstoa in Mantinea. Neue Daten", *MDAI(A)* 119, 317-38 with pls 76-79.
- Lloyd (J. A.), Owens (E. J.), Roy (J.), 1989: "Megalopolis under the Roman Empire", in S. Walker, A. Cameron (ed.), *The Greek renaissance in the Roman Empire*, Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Suppl. 55, London, 146-50.
- , 1992: "Two sites in the Megalopolis basin: suggested sites for Haemoniae and Cromnus", in J. M. Sanders

109. See Roy 1999, discussing the Arkadian economy in the classical and Hellenistic periods.

110. On the development of these cities from the late Hellenistic period see recently Rizakis, Touratsoglou 2008, 80-82.

- (ed.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ: Lakonian studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, 185-94.
- Lolos (Y.), 1997: "The Hadrianic aqueduct at Stymphalos", *Hesperia* 66, 271-314 with pls 66-76.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon (V.), 2001: "Lousoi nach hundert Jahren", in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen« Athen 5.3.-7.3.1998*, *JÖAI Suppl.* 38, Athens, 131-42.
- Moggi (M.), Osanna (M.), 2003: *Pausania, Guida della Grecia, Libro VIII: l'Arcadia*, Milan.
- Nielsen (T. H.), 2002: *Arkadia and its poleis in the archaic and classical periods*, *Hypomnemata* 140, Göttingen.
- , 2004: "Arkadia", in M. H. Hansen, T. H. Nielsen (eds), *An inventory of archaic and classical poleis*, Oxford, 505-39.
- Oikonomides (M.), (2008): "Τα ανασκαφικά νομίσματα των Λουσών. Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση", in D. Zaphreipoulou et al. (eds), *Amicitiae gratia, In memory of Αλκμήνης Σταυρίδη*, Athens, 93-96.
- Østby (E.) (ed.), 2005: *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 8, Athens.
- Petritaki (M.), 2005: "Κλείτωρ. Η πόλη υπό το φως των ανασκαφών. Γενική θεώρηση ανασκαφικών δεδομένων", in Østby 2005, 351-62 with map between p. 362 and p. 363.
- Petronotis (A.), 1973: "Un nouveau fragment de l'Édit de Dioclétien sur les prix, provenant de Thelpousa en Arcadie", *Ellenika* 26, 255-70.
- Pikoulas (Y. A.), 1981: "IG V 2 369 B", *Αρχαιολογία* 2, 107-13 with pls 1-2, repr. in Y. A. Pikoulas (ed.), *Αρκαδία. Σύλλογή μελετών*, Horos, Athens 2002, 77-87.
- , 1985: "Επιγραφές από την Αρκαδία", *Horos* 3, 85-91, repr. in Y. A. Pikoulas (ed.), *Αρκαδία. Σύλλογή μελετών*, Horos, Athens 2002, 153-61.
- , 1988: *Η νότια Μεγαλοπολιτική χώρα από τον 8ο π.Χ. ως τον 4ο μ.Χ. αιώνα*, Horos, Athens.
- , 1992-1998: "Miliaria Peloponnesi", *Horos* 10-12, 305-11.
- , 1999: "The road-network of Arkadia", in T. H. Nielsen, J. Roy (eds), *Defining ancient Arkadia, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, 248-319.
- Pretzler (M.), 1999a: "Die antiken Quellen zum Raum Pheneos-Lousoi", in K. Tausend (ed.), *Pheneos und Lousoi. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Topographie Nordostarkadiens*, Frankfurt a. M., 36-83.
- , 1999b: "Myth and history at Tegea – local tradition and community identity", in T. H. Nielsen, J. Roy (eds), *Defining ancient Arkadia, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, 89-129.
- , 2005: "Pausanias at Mantinea: invention and manipulation of local history", *CambrAJ* 51, 21-34.
- Pritchett (W. K.), 1999: *Pausanias Periegetes II*, Amsterdam.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 2001: "Les cités péloponnésiennes entre l'époque hellénistique et l'Empire: le paysage économique et social", in R. Frei-Stolba, K. Gex (eds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique, Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60^e anniversaire de Pierre Ducrey, Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998*, Bern, 75-96.
- , 2007: "Les Ti. Claudii et la promotion des élites péloponnésiennes", in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Neronia VII. Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce. Hellenisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C. Actes du VII^e Colloque International de la SIEN (Athènes 21-23 octobre 2004)*, Coll. Latomus 305, Bruxelles, 183-95.
- Rizakis (A.), Touratsoglou (Y.), 2008: "L'économie du Péloponnèse hellénistique: un cas régional", in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ét. Ausonius 21, Bordeaux, 69-82.
- Roy (J.), 1999: "The Arkadian economies", in T. H. Nielsen, J. Roy (eds), *Defining ancient Arkadia, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, 320-81.
- , 2000: "The frontier between Arkadia and Elis in classical antiquity", in P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen, L. Rubinstein (eds), *Polis and politics: studies in ancient Greek history presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his sixtieth birthday, August 20th*, Copenhagen, 133-56.
- , 2007: "The urban layout of Megalopolis in its civic and confederate context", in R. Westgate, N. Fisher, and J. Whitley (eds), *Building Communities: house, settlement and society in the Aegean and beyond. Proceedings of a conference held at Cardiff University, 17 – 21 April 2001*, British School at Athens Studies 15, London, 289-95.
- , 2008: "Interaction of large and small communities in Arkadia in the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic and Roman periods", in C. Gallou, M. Georgiadis, G. Muskett (eds), *Dioskouroi. Studies presented to W. G. Cavanagh and C. B. Mee on the anniversary of their 30-year joint contribution to Aegean Prehistory*, BAR International Series 1889, Oxford, 176-83.
- RP I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepeniotti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Schauer (C.), 2005: "Kaiserzeitliche Gläser aus Lousoi: zur Siedlungskontinuität in Lousoi während der römischen Kaiserzeit" II, 351-59 in B. Brandt, V.

- Gassner, S. Ladstätter (eds), *Synergia. Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzinger*, Vienna.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1974: "The Appaleni of Corinth", *GRBS* 15, 295-303 with pls 8-9.
- , 1978: "Balbilla, the Euryclids and memorials for a Greek magnate", *ABSA* 73, 249-60 with *stemma* following p. 260.
- , 1985: "Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes", *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- Tsiolis (V.), 1995: "El 'Thersilion' de Megalópolis: funciones y cronología", *Gerión* 13, 47-68.
- , 2002: *Mantineia-Antigonea. Aspectos históricos de una ciudad arcadia*, Toledo.
- Walker (A. S.), 2006: *Coins of the Peloponnesos. The BCD Collection. Auction LHS 96: May 8-9, 2006*, Zürich.
- Williams (H.), 2005: "The exploration of Roman Stymphalos, 1982-2002", in Østby 2005, 397-411.
- Zoumbaki (S.), 1998/99: "Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes", *Tekmeria* 4, 112-76.

C. IULIUS EURYCLE AND THE SPARTAN DYNASTY OF THE EURYCLIDS

Georgios Steinhauer

Abstract: The special position held by the Euryclids among the eminent families of Roman Greece was due to their constant presence on the Greek political scene over approximately two centuries, a period demarcated chronologically by two events: the heroic appearance of the first Eurycles in the founding battle of the Empire and the appointment of his last descendant as the first Greek in the Roman senate.

C. Iulius Eurycles, friend of Augustus and *hegemon of the Lacedaemonians* (Strabo VIII. 5, 1), has justly been called the ‘most notable personality in the history of Augustan Greece’ (Bowersock 1961, 112). The way in which Strabo refers to him in his brief account of Laconian history (Strabo VIII. 5, 5) is typical of the impression left by this strong personality on his contemporaries. To the degree that the meager historical information available allows us to reconstruct his career, it was marked by his triumphant appearance (Plut., *Vit. Ant.* LXVII. 1-4) alongside Octavian at Actium in 31 B.C., by the visit of Augustus to Sparta ten years later (Cass. Dio LIV. 7, 2), and by the incidents associated with his fall: his disastrous activity in 7 B.C. in the court of Herod (Joseph, *BJI*, 513-31 and *AJXVI*, 301-10), the crisis in Sparta and in Achaia, the trial before Augustus, his hasty departure and his death (Strabo VIII. 5, 5; Joseph, *BJI*, 531; Plut., *Mor. Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* 207f). These latter incidents were what chiefly engaged historiography.¹ On the contrary, the form, political base and civic programme of his rule in Sparta and Laconia do not appear to have been of the least concern, and even less so were the deeper reasons for his fall, points of par-

ticular interest in understanding the conditions that shaped Euryclean rule and imperial provincial policy in Greece more generally.

The conditions, required for Augustus’ friend to regenerate the state of the Lacedaemonians, had been created by the Spartans’ constant attachment to Rome during the previous two centuries and by their successful choices – in contrast to those of the Athenians – during the last Roman civil wars. It is regarded as self-evident that the friendship with Augustus as well as the hegemony, fortune and name of C. Iulius Eurycles were due to his presence, alone of all Greeks, on the side of the future emperor Augustus at the naval battle of Actium. The fact, however, that he appears to have pursued Antony’s flagship in his boat, seeking to avenge his father’s execution for piracy, creates grounds for suspicion of the possible role played by his father Lachares in the naval operations that had preceded the battle. The proposed link between the Euryclids’ earlier history and that of the Roman party of the *populares*, from which Caesar, too, originated, and personally with the dictator himself, is based on Eurycles’ father being the Lachares, *strategos* of the Lacedaemonian League in 76 or 75 B.C.,² whose

1. This article is a summary of my doctoral thesis (Steinhauer 1989), which is currently in the process of being published, and to which I refer the reader for further information about the unpublished inscriptions and a discussion of most of the issues touched upon here.

2. Sulla’s reinstatement of Sparta to the dominant position in Laconia may possibly explain the enormous amount of property owned by the Euryclids on Kythera, which Bowersock (1961, 116) suggests might have been the base of Lachares’ maritime piracy operations, and the title of *strategos* that he bears in the Gytheion inscriptions.

name is cited on two inscriptions from Gytheion. The first, *IG V* 1, 1146, regarding the brothers Nermerius and Marcus Cloatii, informs us of Iulius Caesar's visit to Gytheion in 74-72 B.C.; the second is an unpublished inscription in the local Museum regarding the honours voted (probably on the proposal of the *strategos*) to the tribune of the people (*tribunus plebis*) Sextus Titius, son of Sextus and friend of L. Appuleius Saturninus whose work he carried on, who had sought refuge in this city during the period of his exile by Sulla. To this Lachares and to the help of Caesar must be attributed the overthrow – in alliance with some of the local aristocracy (the priests of the triad of the Dioscuri and Helen, see below n. 24) – of the royal houses of Sparta that had led the Laconians to Pharsalos in 48 B.C.,³ the re-establishment of Spartan hegemony,⁴ as part of the preparations for Caesar's Parthian expedition, and probably also the democratic reform that can be discerned in the prescript of the decrees published during the period in question. Lachares' action resulted in the shift and subsequent firm dedication of Sparta to the Caesarean party, which is attested by the self-sacrifice of two thousand Lacedaemonians in the battle of Philippi (Plut., *Vit. Brut.* XLI. 8), his own beheading for "piratic" activity by Antony before Actium, and the presence of his son at the naval battle.

The form of Eurycles' rule is a controversial issue, with special interest for the history of Roman Sparta and imperial policy in Greece. Its description

as *epistasia* (Strabo VIII. 5, 5) – like the coinage minted "ἐπι Εὐρυκλέος" (a type customarily issued by archons, commanders or secretaries of Greek cities in the imperial period, by high priests of Augustus or by proconsuls, but never by tyrants or despots) – precludes any form of arbitrary power, either with the approval or tolerance of Augustus⁵ or without it.⁶ On the contrary, it is appropriate to governance that is closely dependent on the emperor, but alien to both the Roman *cursus* and the political organisation of the free city that retained its old name (see *IG V* 1, 1566, l. 2: Λακεδαιμονίων ἔφοροι καὶ ἁ πόλις). It is closer to the friends of the Hellenistic kings who administered autonomous Greek cities,⁷ especially to the first of them, Demetrius of Phaleron, whom Cassander appointed governor of Athens (317-307 B.C.), since the two men had a common non-constitutional character and a conservative programme focused chiefly on concern for order and the city's finances and on restoring the institutions of the ancestral polity. For the Spartans, he was the first citizen, whose great authority and political power in Sparta and in the cities of the League were due to his friendship with Augustus, a strong local party, his enormous wealth obtained from the booty of Actium, his exploitation of a large amount of property on Kythera and in Asopos (Lane 1962, 396-98) and probably elsewhere, as well as the porphyry quarries at Krokeai (Strabo VIII. 5, 7). The programme of the *epistasia*, in which we can already

3. The information from Appian (*B Civ.* II. 90): Λάκωνες ὑπὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσι τασσόμενοι, does not necessarily mean restoration of the dual monarchy, but rather the leading role of the great Spartan (royal) families that controlled the city. The regularity of minting and types of coinage issued by the Spartan mint, which went into operation immediately after Pharsalos (Grünauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 46-49 and 57-59, emissions nos 1-14, groups XIII-XV), prove the new prosperity brought about by the restoration of the Spartan hegemony and the internal peace that Lachares achieved between the two royal houses (represented by Heracles gr. XIV and Dioscuri gr. XV respectively) and the democratic party (symbolized by head of Athena gr. XIII). Typical of the democratic change in the cities of Laconia was the replacement on the decrees of Kotyrta and Geronthrai of the expression ἔδοξε τῷ πόλει (*IG V* 1, 962, ll. 13-14; 966, ll. 15-16 [Kot.] and *IG V* 1, 1110, l. 1; 1111, l. 1; 1112, ll. 9-10; 1113, l. 1 [Ger.]), by the democratic type ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ (*IG V* 1, 961, l. 8; 963, l. 6; 965, l. 4 [Kot.] and *IG V* 1, 1114, l. 23 [Ger.]). For further information about the meaning of the word *boule* in *IG V* 1, 11, l. 4, see Steinhauer 1989 (part I chap. 2) More generally about the role of Caesar in the revision of Sulla's regulations in a democratic direction, see Suet., *Iul.* 5; regarding Athens, see Geagan 1967, 114 (the democratic reaction).

4. Steinhauer 1988. Regarding the link with the *triumviri* (as a reward for Philippi), see Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 95.

5. W. W. Tarn in *CAH X*, 114; Bowersock 1961, 112; *id.*, 1984, 92; Bernhardt 1971, 184; Volkmann 1969, 63, 169 n. 4; *id.*, *Der Kleine Pauly* II (1967) 453, s.v. *Eurycles*.

6. Chrimes 1949, 170 ff.

7. Kjellberg 1921, 52; *Syll.*³ 787; Oliver 1953, 955. Kougeas 1928 hypothesizes that Eurycles was in essence already Augustus' procurator (as were his successors under Claudius, see below n. 42).

distinguish features of a later (1st c. A.D.) imperial city governor, the *praefectus imperatoris* and the *curator rei publicae*, expressed the emperor's paternal interest in financial management and the function of the institutions within the context of a broader plan for the material and moral reorganisation of the Greek world (Cass. Dio LI. 2, 1-3). Notwithstanding the above, the imposition of an imperial representative on a free city (*civitas libera et immunis*) and loyal ally of Augustus in the civil wars constitutes a historical paradox. The emperor's decision can only be explained by his confidence in Eurycles' ability to monitor the free cities of Achaia (Kjellberg 1921, 52) and to control maritime communications, which – after the destruction of Corinth – necessarily went through cap Malea and the ports of Laconia, as well as, on another level, by his recognition of the importance of the Spartan example to the revival of ancestral Roman ideals. The choice of timing – which, as can be seen from a combination of literary information and coinage,⁸ coincides with neither the world-shaking event of Actium nor the creation of the province of Achaia three years later – can be explained by the intention to regulate matters on the local level in the province's free cities, which appears to have been the object of Augustus' visit in 21 B.C. to friendly Sparta, as well as to ever restless Athens.⁹

The establishment of the *epistasia* characterises the changed style of Spartan political life that became particularly obvious in the following decade. A picture is provided, mainly by contemporary inscriptions, of systematic and transparent financial

management, of an ambitious state construction programme, and of the regeneration of civic and religious life and Lycurgan institutions, at the centre of which was Sparta's renowned *agoge*.

The successful reorganisation of public life, the prestige of political offices and the civic pride of its officials are documented by the first appearance of the epigraphic series of lists of archons (*gerontes*, *ephoroi* and *nomophylakes*),¹⁰ which, even though the lists were discontinued for the greater part of the 1st c. A.D., provided unique documentation of the chronology and face of Roman Sparta up to the crisis in the 3rd c. A.D. At the same time specific inscriptions were standardized. These inscriptions referred directly to the internal organisation of the political system, *i.e.* votive inscriptions of the victors in children's games¹¹ and lists of *thiasotai* (members of sacred associations). On the other hand proper organisation and transparency of the construction policy pursued by the *epistasia* are attested by the contemporary lists of *agoranomoi* and series of stamped bricks and terra-cotta tiles.¹² The evidence is supplemented by a number of imperial copies (*epistulae* and *subscriptions*)¹³ that shed light on the role of the emperor in the military and supreme judicial function of the *epistasia*. On the other hand, the contemporary interruption of documents by the state of the Lacedaemonians is likewise characteristic.

Of particular interest is the possibility of obtaining epigraphic documentation, especially from the aforementioned lists, of the "constituent initiative" by Eurycles to restore "ancestral customs", in the

8. We date the establishment of the Spartan *epistasia* to 21 B.C. based on the single overstriking of bronze coins by Sparta (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 63-70 and 76-77) which included the second-last issue by Eurycles, and therefore the *terminus ante quem* for dating all his coins, a total of eight (groups XXV-XXIX). The relatively short period that can be concluded from the limited number of eight obverse types, in my view, sets the maximum limits of the operation of Eurycles' mint between 23 B.C. and the date a little after the overstriking of the second-last issue, group XXV, and the last, group XXIX, dated to the visit of Agrippa in 16/15 B.C.

9. In addition to Cassius Dio (LIV. 7, 2-3) references to the ugly atmosphere that prevailed in Athens, which obliged Augustus to go to Aegina, are also cited by Plut., *Mor. Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* 207f, cf. Bowersock 1964, 120; Hoff 1989, 267-76.

10. *IG V 1*, 92 sqq.; Steinhauer 1998, 247-49.

11. The very few inscriptions referring to the children's contest from the 4th to the 2nd c. B.C. differ typologically from the rest of the series, which dates to just before Actium (*IG V 1*, 265, 260) and just after it (*IG V 1*, 297). The many stelae from the 1st c. B.C. belong to the last 20 years of the century.

12. Lists of *agoranomoi*: *IG V 1*, 124-27. Stamped bricks: H. J. W. Tillyard, *ABSA* 13, 1907, 191-96; A. M. Woodward, *ABSA* 30, 1928-30, 226-31. Stamped tiles: A. J. B. Wace, *ABSA* 30, 1928-29, 1929-30, 231-40; *IG V 1*, 870-912; *SEG* 11, 1950, 881-84.

13. Kennell, 1992a; Shipley, Spawforth 1995, 429-34; cf. *SEG* 45, 1995, 282 and 46, 1996, 398; *AnnÉpigr* 1995, 1401; *BullÉpigr* 1996, 204 (Ph. Gauthier).

“restorative” spirit of Augustus, but also of the need to adapt them to the new political and social order.¹⁴ The main feature of this political reform consisted of the organisation of the ruling Spartan class, corresponding to the classes of the *curiales* in Roman cities, into a body of some 300 citizens, from whose ranks were elected the members of the 32-member “government”, i.e. the so-called *Synarchia*, a joint council of the most important city offices, the “executive” authority responsible for protecting the laws (*ephoroi*, *nomophylakes*) and the now annual “lawmaking” authority of the *gerontes* (Steinhauer 1989). The conservative content and chronological period (between 48/46 B.C. and 30/20 B.C.) of the reform is attested by the semantic change that took place in the term *boule* between IG V 1, 11 (which retains the Lycurgan concept of the assembly of the *ekklesia* of the *demos*), and the *boule* (senatorial class) of the 1st-3rd c. A.D. On the contrary, the suggested identification of the imperial *boule* with either the *gerousia* alone (as in Bradford 1980, Kennell 1992b) or (as in Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 144) with the joint council of the *gerontes*, *ephors* and *nomophylakes* of imperial Sparta (in which we recognize the Spartan *Synarchia*) would have presupposed an oligarchic pattern, exceptionally narrow even by Spartan standards, that would have imposed the unthinkable lifelong exclusion of all the known “royal men” of Roman Sparta from decision-making processes, with the exception of the 7-8 years of their term in the *boule*. The existence of both an internal hierarchy independent of that of the *demos*, and the specific mechanisms for reproducing this hierarchy that follow the citizen from the period of his *agoge* (*bouagos*, *synepheboi*, *kasen*) to the end of his political career, is compatible in the sense of *ordo* attributed here to this senatorial class, and determines the

order in which posts are occupied at the three levels of the *cursus honorum* or succession of magistracies. The highest position of this class (and the supreme office of *patronomos*) was monopolized by the aristocracy of the first or royal houses that had the required special criteria of high (divine, royal etc.) origin and *aristopoliteia*. The tribal organisation of this *nobilitas* is recognizable in the topography of Roman monuments in Sparta;¹⁵ its function was to control the political system on all levels. The *nobilitas* controlled the renewal of the senatorial class by the enrollment either in family whorship groups or in the brotherhood process (*kasen*). The *nobilitas* controlled also the political system through the *patronomia*. The core of the senatorial class was the council of *gerontes*. This was at once the threshold of entrance to the *Synarchia* and – thanks to its lawmaking power and possibility of being re-elected up to five or six times that distinguish it from other *synarchies* – the forum in which a constant, and therefore effective influence was exercised on political affairs.¹⁶ It is thus not accidental that the president of the *gerontes* was, at the same time, president of the *Synarchia*.

The way in which the *demos* took part in the decision making process is not known, but it was certainly passive. The *obai* introduced in the 1st-2nd c. A.D. in the homonymous five villages (Pitana, Mesoa, Limnai, Kynosoura, Neapolis) may have been related to the military aspect of the *demos* organisation. As indicated by the form of *agoge* and by the numerical correspondence of the 15-member *oba ton sphaireon* (IG V 1, 674-88, SEG 11, 1950, 633) with the classical *syssitia* (common meals), this could have constituted the class of 15 new recruits from the homonymous villages, a fact that makes it possible to calculate the theoretical military force of the 40 classes (20- to 60-year-olds) of

14. For a discussion of the conflicting views of Chrimes 1949 (survival of classical institutions) and Kennell 1986 (Achaean Hellenistic origin), see Steinhauer 1989.

15. The graves of the Agiadae (Paus. III. 14, 2), and the myths and sanctuaries of Heracles have been located in the *oba* (ward) called Pitana (on the NW edge of the city), the graves of the Eurypontidae (Paus. III. 12, 8) and the most important sanctuaries of the Dioscuri (*Phoibaion*, house of the Dioscuri) in the *obai* Limnai and Kynosoura to the E/SE; the grave of Brasidas (Paus. III. 14, 1), the *Karneion* (Paus. III. 13, 3-5) and other cults of the Agiadae in the *oba* Mesoa. According to Herodot (IV. 149) the Agiadae were “an important clan in Sparta”, see also Paus. IV. 8, 11 (cf. Kiechle 1963, 60-65).

16. The senate lists thus provide the unique possibility of calculating the numerical force of the senatorial class. If we accept the recycling of generations every 20 years, i.e. 20 annual series of 23 elders who are re-elected on an average of 2-3 times, the number of members of the Spartan ruling (senatorial) class can be calculated between 200 and 300 men.

Spartans as 3,000 and the total population as approximately 12,000. The fact that we are not talking about a purely hypothetical military organisation, such as that of the Athenian *epheboi*, is shown by the presence of Laconian troops in Caracalla's Persian expedition.

Also associated with the military aspect of the regime is Strabo's description of Eurycles as *hegemon of the Lacedaemonians* (cited at the beginning of the present article), a term analogous to that of the Spartan kings as *archegetes* of the Lacedaemonians or the Macedonian king as head of the Greek cities. Eurycles may have held this title as early as Actium, where we find him in command of the united army and naval power of Sparta and the coastal cities of Laconia, and possibly also by his father at Philippi. The preservation after Actium of the military nature of Eurycles' authority, to which the title of *hegemon* refers (like the military purpose of the contemporary reorganisation of the Spartan *obai*), appears to be confirmed by the references "εις τὰς στρατιωτικὰς σοῖ χρείας" and "τὸ στρ[ατιωτικόν] or τὸ στρ[άτευμα]" of the fragmentarily preserved imperial *rescriptum* (see *supra* n. 13). The leadership status of Sparta was renewed every year ceremonially by the official procession at the Tainaria festival, which between 30 and 20 B.C. linked the city with the religious and political centre of the state at Tainaron.¹⁷ The interruption in 20 B.C. of the Tainaron lists and the striking absence from the contemporary Spartan inscriptions of any elected Spartan official, such as the classical

harmostai or the *epimeletai* of Kaudos (*SEG* 11, 1950, 494, l. 1) and of Koroneia (*SEG* 11, 1950, 486, ll. 7-8 and 495, ll. 5-6) of the 2nd c. A.D. can be used as an indication, but not proof, that the Laconian cities had been brought directly under Eurycles in 21 B.C. (when Kythera, was ceded to Sparta), on the basis of a *Personalunion* (see Kahrstedt 1922, 79), in which reference may have been made to his son Laco in A.D. 15 (*i.e.* after their definitive release from Sparta) as "κηδεμόνος τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν (Gytheion) φυλακῆς καὶ σωτηρίας" (Balzat 2008, 335). As well as controlling and protecting the ports and sea lanes, the *hegemon* of the Lacedaemonians also had to look after imperial financial interests in the quarrying of expensive Laconian marble and in the processing of porphyra,¹⁸ as well as Roman dealings in the major export harbours of Gytheion and Boiai.¹⁹ Likewise associated with this aspect of his authority, which anticipated the evolution of the hegemony into a *procuratio* in the 1st c. A.D., was the policy of uniting the smaller towns of Laconia²⁰ in the religious and civil centres of Apollo *Hyperteleatas* and of Poseidon *Tainarios*, especially creating around the latter a broader civic entity (Καινὴ Πόλις) capable of securing this crucial site in financial and military terms.

The leading position of Eurycles in Laconia and his influence in Achaia (Nicopolis [Strabo VII. 7, 6], Epidaurus [Peek 1969, 115 no. 253], Arcadia [IG V 2, 541-42, two honorary inscriptions for his grandchildren C. Iulius Cratinus and Iulia Pantimia]) and above all in Athens²¹ hint at an unofficial role of

17. This meaning of the *Tainaria* procession (cf. Hsch. IV, s.v. *Tainapriacs*, cod.) does not change even if we accept its explanation as a kind of litany at the Spartan sanctuary of Poseidon *Tainarios* (Kourinou 2000, 185-99).

18. The story of the exploitation of the marble quarries at Krokeai is typical (Strabo VIII. 5, 7): "And there are quarries of very costly marble – the old quarries of Taenarian marble on Tainaron; and recently some men have opened a large quarry in Taygetos, being supported in their undertaking by the extravagance of the Romans" (transl. H. L. Jones, ed. Loeb [1968]). Initially private property (probably Eurycles'), these quarries were brought under the *patrimonium Caesaris* in the reign of Domitian. See Chr. LeRoy, "Un relief des Dioscures à Krokéai", *BCH* 85, 1961, 206-15.

19. See statue bases with bilingual inscription from Gytheion: Kougeas 1928, 8-16: ll. 1-4 C(aium) Iulium Lacharis f(iilium) Eurycleum | cives Romani in Laconica | qui habitant, negotiantur | benefici ergo and below ll. 5-10: Γάιον Ἰούλιον Λαχάρους | υἱὸν Εὐρυκλέα Ρωμαῖοι | οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς πραγματευόμενοι τὸν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην. Boiai: A. Delivorrias, *AD* 24, 1969, B' 1 *Chron.* 140 (= *SEG* 29, 1979, 383): Ἄ πόλις καὶ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι | Γάιον Ἰούλιον Εὐρυκλῆ Λαχάρους υἱὸν τὸν αὐτῶν σωτήρα | καὶ εὐεργέταν. It is characteristic of Spartan civic pride that Eurycles' Roman name is mentioned only on inscriptions outside Sparta.

20. This is shown by the difference, noted by Pausanias (III. 21, 7), between the 24 initial cities of the Lacedaemonians and the 18 poleis of the Free Laconian state.

21. Beside the older (dating probably prior to Actium) statue of Lachares on the Acropolis, the statues of C. Iulius Eurycles and his son C. Iulius Deximachus were erected between 21 and 17 B.C. (*Syll.*³ 786-88), followed by the election of Laco to the archontate, the highest Athenian office (early in the 1st c. A.D. [*IG* II², 1069, ll. 1-2]).

more general supervision in the broader region of the Eastern Mediterranean. Light is shed on this role by Eurycles' mission to Palestine in 7 B.C., which was misinterpreted by contemporary historiography that echoed faithfully the anti-Eurycles prejudices of Josephus. The welcome, the planned character and ease of Eurycles' movements in the courts of Judea and Cappadocia, as well as the generous bribes he received from Herod and his sons, all constitute unequivocal indications of the authority with which his presence was invested. Augustus' friends are known to have played a significant role in foreign policy during the last decades of the kingdom, particularly after the death of Agrippa. Specifically, the assignment to Eurycles of the role of personal ambassador in this case was justified by the old bonds between him and Herod²² and by the traditional bonds of the Spartans with the Judaic nation. The occasion for the visit (cf. Joseph, *AJ XVI*, 273 and 301-31) must have been provided by preparations for the king's succession, in conjunction with significant dynastic developments in the region, which threatened to bring down the system of tributary frontier hegemonies, owing to the danger of their uniting under Alexander in a vast Judeo-Cappadocian hegemony that would have controlled the route connecting the Armenian borders with the Bosphorus (later, the empire's main road [J. G. C. Anderson in *CAHX*, 274]). That Eurycles' movements were in accordance with the emperor's plan can be demonstrated by the settlement of frontiers and of the provincial status of these two regions²³ that followed soon after as part of the preparations for Gaius' Parthian campaign.

During the thirty years and more of Eurycles' rule in the city of Sparta, it was natural that negative aspects would also come to light. The already visible prospect of the establishment of a heredi-

tary hegemony could not have been readily acceptable by an insular oligarchy like that of Sparta. On the other hand, the limited freedom to make decisions, which must have been felt cumulatively over time, led to disdain for political institutions, owing to indifference or passive reaction, as documented by the fact that publication of the lists of *gerontes* was discontinued briefly after the 1st c. B.C. That the *epistasia* would gradually slip into tyranny was inevitable after the death of Agrippa and the emperor's reduced interest in the region, a consequence of the contradictory features of rule over Spartan political groupings by Augustus' appointed representative, who was at the same time the leader of a political party. The form that Eurycles had sought to give to his rule was that of generalized patronage over the aristocracy and the people (probably inspired by the imperial model). However, the power of one man of disputed nobility and origin in an aristocratically structured city like Sparta necessarily required the support of at least part of the establishment. A start had already been made, on the eve of the battle of Philippi, by Lachares' alliance with the group of kinsmen headed by the priests of the Dioscuri, with which the Euryclids retained constant relations for three generations in the 1st c. B.C. and the 1st c. A.D.²⁴ His role in emperor worship and the possibility of brokering the grant of Roman citizenship, contributed significantly to broadening the political base of Eurycles' power in the form of patronage after Actium. This was how the personal dependence of the royal families was forged, who, as shown by their widespread use of the Roman *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* Gaius Iulius, constituted the core of the party of the Euryclids.²⁵

There are no explicit examples of similar political patronage of the common people of Sparta prior to Augustus' visit in 21 B.C. The way had of

22. Relations between Spartans and Jews: K. J. Rigsby, "The Brother People", *TAPhA* 110, 1990, 242-48. The friendship with Eurycles (notwithstanding what Josephus says in *AJ XVI*. 301) is shown by the common bonds with Agrippa (*IG V* 1, 374), the contribution of Herod to the establishment of Nicopolis and his visit, in 12 B.C., to Sparta, probably on his way to Rome (Joseph, *BJI*. 427).

23. R. D. Sullivan, "The dynasty of Cappadocia", *ANRW II* 7.2, 1158-59; M. Pani, *Roma e il re d'Oriente da Augusto a Tiberio*, Bari 1984, 66, 114-81.

24. Regarding the family of priests of the Dioscuri, see Spawforth, 1985, 193-214 (particularly 193-97). The absence of both Eurycles and his sons from the lists of diners at the annual banquets associated with the priestly family group proves that they did not belong to the Spartan family of priests of the Dioscuri. The fact that the genealogy of the Euryclids was five whole generations (150 years!) later than that of the descendants of Sidectas raises doubts even as to the family's Spartan origin.

25. See below n. 45. It is difficult to verify the number of Spartans with Roman citizenship in the age of Augustus and Tiberius owing, as noted earlier, to the omission of Roman names from inscriptions.

course been paved in 31 B.C. by Eurycles' extensive building policy, fed by the booty from Actium, and the hitherto unknown opportunities for enrichment and patronage dependencies that became thus possible. These were the "tyrannical projects" (the gymnasium, the enormous theater and probably the renovation of the Persian portico in Sparta, but also projects outside the city that aimed to broaden Eurycles' prestige in Laconia, such as the theater at Gytheion or a temple at *Kourno* to the north of Cape Tainaron,²⁶ which constituted the accusations of "luxury" that we encounter in Josephus' works. The real, material and socio-political prerequisites for a "populist" policy were however provided by the donation in 21 B.C. of Kythera. The island's revenues and the distribution to Spartan allotment-holders of the greater part of the island, which was in any event the property of Eurycles, allowed the traditional military organisation to be revived and common meals (*syssitia*) to be instituted, at the same time casting Eurycles in the role of protector and benefactor of the people of Sparta. It is possible that a contemporary list of *pediano-moi* may have alluded to the process of measuring the allotments, and the organisation of the above-mentioned *obai* was undoubtedly also linked to the reinstatement of the military organisation. Under these circumstances, the reference by Cassius Dio (LIV. 7, 2) to Augustus' participation, contemporary with the donation of Cythera, in the *συσσιτία*, *i.e.* the celebratory public banquet of the *syssitia* (= *pheiditia*) and the synarchies organized by the Spartans, may take on new meaning.

The most substantial step in the direction of expanding patronage policies – and the main reason for the confrontation with the Spartan aristocracy – must however have been the attempt to bring the allotment-holders (and perhaps also some well-to-do tradesmen) into the ruling (senatorial) class, very likely in an oblique way by registering them in groups of kinsmen, whose priests were among Eurycles' old allies and relatives. The fact is indirectly documented by the contemporary lists of persons taking part in the annual sacred banquets associated with the cult of the Triad of Helen and the Dioscuri (*IG V 1, 206-09*). His intervention in this exceptionally sensitive realm, particularly under Spartan conditions, inevitably led to a head-on collision with the entrenched Spartan aristocracy – *i.e.* the group of families, descendants and hereditary priests of Poseidon *Genethlios* and *Domateitas*, of Heracles *Genarchas*, Karneios *Boiketias* and *Dromaioi* and, in general, the older chthonian, nourishing and boy-rearing (*phylalmioi kai kourotrophoi*) divinities, guarantors of the reproduction of the community and protectors of the kindred class²⁷ – and, on the pretext of his involvement in the struggle over the imperial succession, to the fall of Eurycles.

The connection of intra-Spartan strife with dynastic disputes in Rome was deep-rooted and based on old patronage bonds existing since the 2nd c. B.C. between the Spartan aristocracy and the large, proud *gens Claudia* of Rome.²⁸ These were obviously the families that had welcomed and hosted Livia – with her first husband, Tiberius Nero, and their son,

26. T. Moschos, L. Moschou, "Kionia A", *Pelop.* 23, 1978/79, 72-114; a different chronology has been offered by J. E. and F. E. Winter, "The Date of the Temples near Kourno in Lakonia", *AJA* 87, 1983, 3-10 and *ibid.*, "The Temples at Kourno: a correction", *AJA* 88, 1984, 232.

27. Hupfloher 2000, 125-46 (see *e.g.* *IG V 1, 497*: Ἡ πόλις | Τιβ(έριον) Κλαύ(διον) Πρατόλαο[ν] | Βρασίδου ... προσδε[ξά]μένων τὸ ἀνάλωμα Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Αἰλίου |¹⁰ Πρατολάου τοῦ καὶ Δαμοκ|κρατίδου, ἱερέως κατὰ γένος Καρνείου Βοικέτα | καὶ Καρνείου Δρομαίου καὶ | Ποσειδῶνος Δωματαίτα |¹⁵ καὶ Ἡρακλέους Γενάρχα | καὶ Κόρας καὶ Τεμενίου | τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐλεῖ καὶ τῶν συναθ|ειδρυμένων θεῶν | ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἱεροῖς, καὶ Κλαυδίας Δαμοσθενείας, τῶν | παιδῶν and *IG V 1, 469, ll. 1-6*: Ἄ πόλις | Τιβ(έριον) Κλαυδίον Ἀριστοκράτη, εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόπατριν, |⁵ ἱερέα καὶ ἀπόγονον | Ποσιδῶνος, ...).

28. It is very likely that Sparta's inclusion among the *clientelae* of the Claudii (perhaps also the myth of their Spartan origin as Sabines) was the result of the old relations of this Spartan family with either Ap. Claudius Pulcher when he was active in Greece in 184/3 and 174/3 B.C., or C. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 177, *ensor* 169), probable friend of the Spartan commander Menalcidas, who was directly involved in the outbreak of the Achaean War. The link with the era of Augustus in this case is created by the name of Menalcidas son of Brasidas, a *geron* under the *patronomos* Menalcidas (*ca* 10 B.C.), and very probably the father of Eurycles' accuser at Augustus' court (see below n. 34), where he appeared as the sole descendant of the famous 5th-century B.C. *strategos*. The importance of the family is demonstrated by the fact that his descendant, the *vir praetorius* Tib. Claudius Brasidas, was the second Spartan senator after C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus (see Spawforth 1985, 227 ff.).

little Tiberius – when they sought refuge in Sparta after the defeat at Philippi and the war in Perusia. On his visit in 21 B.C., Augustus, as Livia’s husband, had sought and succeeded in gaining these families’ acceptance of the *epistasia*, thus temporarily ensuring internal peace.²⁹ Things changed with the prospect of Tiberius’ rise to the throne, and his obvious desire to cultivate the old *clientelae* of the *Claudii* systematically.³⁰ His close personal relations with Sparta, which he visited during his exile, contributed to reviving the old patronage relations with those priestly families that were later to constitute the core of the great “family” of Spartan *Tiberii Claudii*,³¹ in this way raising their hopes that the *epistates* would be dismissed and traditional order restored in the city.

The prolonged uncertainty over Augustus’ successor not unexpectedly had a decisive influence on the tension that had been mounting for decades among the Spartan ruling class, transforming the latent hostility between the Spartan parties into an open clash in successive stages. The period of Eurycles’ heyday, his absolute sovereignty in Sparta and his prestige in Achaia and Athens, which coincided with preparations for Gaius Caesar’s Parthian expedition, was abruptly cut off when the emperor’s

family plans collapsed: the death of the two young Caesars in A.D. 2 and A.D. 4; the banishment of Agrippa Postumus, younger son of Agrippa, in A.D. 7; and the physical (Cass. Dio LV. 33, 5 and 34, 2) and psychological collapse of the emperor himself, especially after P. Quinctilius Varus’ overwhelming defeat. A new dimension to the crisis arose with the profound contemporary social and financial turmoil that started with the revolt in Panonnia and evolved into abolition of the rule of law, into uprisings that necessitated the suspension of democratic processes in the cities and into generalized insecurity in the bandit-plagued countryside.³² This climate, in which the ancient squabbles of the old adversary parties in the Roman civil wars evolved into paroxysm, was also fostered by the unrest in Sparta.³³ The group around (Tiberius Claudius [?]) Brasidas that led the opposition against Eurycles – having acquired greater confidence in the restoration of its aristocratic honour after the party of the “Julians” was destroyed and a more conservative direction was taken in Rome – appealed to the emperor himself, perhaps with the tacit support of Tiberius. The audience, a moment of which is handed down by pseudo-Plutarch,³⁴ was in danger, as shown by Augustus’ reaction and Bra-

29. Cass. Dio LIV. 7, 2: καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοῖς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ συσσιτία ἐτίμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Λοιοῦα, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σὺν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ νιεῖ ἔφυγεν, ἐκεῖ διέτριπεν.

30. Tiberius appeared swiftly to claim the lost *clientelae*. In Rome he represented an entire list of Greek and Asian cities (Tralles, Thessaly, Laodicea, Thyateira, Chios) as well as King Archelaus of Cappadocia (cf. Levick 2002, 20). In Athens he was honoured as *εὐεργέτης ἀπὸ προγόνων*. Patronage also appeared early in Epidaurus. His worship at Nysa in Caria (*Syll.*³ 781), his presence in Thespies and his participation in the Olympic Games in 1 or more likely in 3 B.C. (*IVO* 220; *Syll.*³ 782) all date from the long years of his compulsory sojourn in Greece and the East.

31. Regarding this group of families, see Spawforth 1983, 224-41. The hypothesis that they owed their Roman citizenship to Tiberius before his adoption by Augustus, *i.e.* from the period of his exile in Greece, is a very attractive one (see *Syll.*³ 782: ... Ἀπολλ[ώ]νιος Ἀπολλωνίου υἱὸς Ἥλεῖος | ὁ καὶ Τιβέριος [Κλ.]αύδιος). The symbolic introduction of Tiberius in 40 B.C. to Spartan *agoge* (Suet., *Tib.* 6, 2: Lacedaemoniis publice, ..., demandatus) should be associated with the same families. On the contrary, the view (Bowersock 1984, 177) that an old friendship with Eurycles was renewed is totally unfounded.

32. Cass. Dio LV. 28, 1-2: Κὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις (A.D. 6) καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ γὰρ ληστὰι συχνὰ κατέτρεχον ... καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέριζον ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι καὶ αἰρετούς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν ἄρξαι.

33. There is the interesting case, owing to the many similarities with that of Sparta, of party disputes in Thessaly (Plut., *Mor. Praec. ger. reipubl.* 815d and an inscription from Gonnoi, see Helly 1973, I, 126 n. 2 and II, 141-43 no. 118; Kramolisch 1978, 124) that led to the brutal murder of Petraeus, son of the pro-Caesarean L. Cassius Petraeus, who was beheaded (like Lachares). Likewise associated with this murder was a trial of Thessalians before Augustus (Suet., *Tib.* 8, 1, see Bowersock 1984).

34. [Plut.,] *Mor. Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* 207f: Τῶν δὲ Εὐρυκλέος κατηγορῶν ἐνὸς ἀφειδῶς καὶ κατακόρως παρρησιαζομένου καὶ προαχθέντος εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον, “εἰ ταῦτά σοι, Καῖσαρ, οὐ φαίνεται μεγάλα, κέλευσον αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι μοι Θουκυδίδου τὴν ἐβδόμην” διοργισθεὶς ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσε· πυθόμενος δέ, ὅτι τῶν ἀπὸ Βρασιδίου γεγονότων ὑπόλοιπος οὗτός ἐστί, μετεπέμψατο, καὶ μέτρια νοουθετήσας ἀπέλυσε.

sidas' exasperating comment, of having an adverse result for Eurycles' accuser, as his charges appear to have been confined to rhetoric (with reference to Thucydides and his glorious ancestor) regarding tyranny and the diminished *dignitas* of the old Spartan families.

Inability to suppress the continuing turmoil in Sparta, however, obliged Eurycles to flee the city temporarily, and his name was deleted from the base of his statue in the theater that had just recently been completed. Justification of the revolutionary action (*neoterismos*) of overthrowing the emperor's confidant was undertaken, according to Josephus, by a new deputation bringing more serious charges that associated his name not only with the uprising in Sparta, but also with the more general unrest in the province and the financial and political oppression of the cities. We do not know whether this deputation actually took place or whether the emperor received it. In any event, there is no evidence that Augustus renounced his friendship (*renuntiatio amicitiae*). Suffice it to say that a rumour to this effect had been circulated, obviously by Tiberius' circle, which appeared to have been justified by the departure. Its denial was unnecessary, owing to the death of 70-year-old Eurycles immediately after his return to Sparta and before the turmoil ended.³⁵

We owe the dating of the crisis and the end of Eurycles, as well as its chronological association with the definitive prevalence of Tiberius in the struggle for succession (but not, as argued by Bowersock in 1984, with Tiberius' much earlier exile) and the unrest of the years A.D. 11-13, to the restoration of the monument to imperial concord (the epistyle and base of the statues of Augustus,

Tiberius and Livia have been preserved) that was dedicated on the acropolis of Sparta by C. Marius Q. f. Marcellus, ambassador of Augustus (*Ieg. Caesaris Augusti*) between A.D. 9 and 13, i.e. after Tiberius' adoption and before the joint rule of Augustus and his stepson. The mission of Marcellus whose selection from the circle of old *populares* and its object expressed Augustus' desire to restore harmony (which the monument to imperial concord symbolized) and to ensure Eurycles' smooth succession by his son Laco. In a number of imperial *rescripta* the name of the ambassador appears again; as shown by the preserved fragments, these inscriptions refer both to the settlement of outstanding judicial matters which arose from the recent crisis, and to the jurisdiction of the *epistates*. That these *rescripta* relate to Eurycles' succession seems a well founded hypothesis. Information about revolutionary acts (*res novae*) in Athens as well,³⁶ and the epigraphically documented contemporary presence there of the ambassador C. Marius Marcellus (in A.D. 10/11, and possibly again in 13/14³⁷), links the Spartan crisis with disturbances in the cities of Achaia and appears to confirm the charges against Eurycles (Joseph, *BJI*. 531), giving at the same time the measure of his influence on Greek affairs.

The emperor's intervention in Sparta ensured survival of the *epistasia* through the institutional limitations placed on the ambitions of Eurycles' successor; it was also the first step in the evolution of the institution (under Gaius Caligula or Claudius) into an imperial office. The parallel downgrading of political life in Sparta is proved by the continued indifference towards publication of the lists of archons and even honorary inscriptions into the

35. Information about Eurycles' exile and double trial is derived exclusively from Josephus (*BJI*. 531: δις γούν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στάσεως ἐμπλήσει τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις φυγαδεύεται and *AJ* XVI. 310: Εὐρυκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι παυσάμενος εἶναι μοχθηρός, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἀπεστερήθη τῆς πατρίδος). Strabo (VIII. 5, 5) confined himself to the charge of abusing his friendship with Augustus (which of course meant the *renunciatio amicitiae*) and his death: νεωστὶ δ' Εὐρυκλῆς αὐτοὺς (i.e. the Lacedaemonians) ἐτάραξε, δόξας ἀποχρησασθαι τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστασίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπαύσατο δ' ἡ παραχῆ (*al. codd. ἀρχή*) ταχέως, ἐκείνου μὲν παραχωρήσαντος εἰς τὸ χρεών, τοῦ δ' υἱοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν (*cod. φιλίαν*) ἀπεστραμμένον τὴν τοιαύτην πᾶσαν. ("But recently Eurycles has stirred up trouble among them, having apparently abused the friendship of Caesar unduly in order to maintain his authority over his subjects; but the trouble quickly came to an end, Eurycles retiring to his fate, and his son being averse to any friendship of this kind", transl. H. L. Jones, ed. Loeb [1968]), cf. Syme 1979, 476 n. 1.

36. It is to this trouble that Piso may also have been referring in his Philippic against the Athenians in A.D. 18 (*Tac., Ann.* II. 55).

37. Ehrenberg 1953, 339. The name of the second ambassador, Poppaeus Sabinus, was supplied by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia* 17, 1948, 41-42 no. 30).

following century, as long as the inherited authority of the Euryclids prevailed. But this does not mean that the state ceased to function. As proved by document *IG IV*² 1, 86 (Peek 1969, 29-31 no. 36), or as reported by the sophist Flavius Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius* (IV. 31, 2), the institutions continued to operate in a normal way, at least formally, even though the limits set by the presence of Laco made the usual political game, and the concomitant political ambitions, impossible.

Also linked with these regulations was the release from Spartan hegemony of the cities of the Lacedaemonians (who would now constitute the Free Laconian League) and those of Messenia. This event has been certainly dated to the period of joint rule (A.D. 13/14) or, at the earliest, after Augustus' adoption of Tiberius, by the lost inscription of Gytheion (*IG V* 1, 1160: [--- Σεβασ] | vac. τοῦ Καίσαρος [ὑδόν] | ἡ πόλις ἀποκατασ[τή]σαντα μετὰ τοῦ πατ[ρὸς] |⁵ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευ[θ]ερίαν) and one inscription from Messene (*IG V* 1, 1448 and *PAAH* 1990 [1993] 87-91 no. 6β with fig. 12 and pls 65-66a). The holding of games the very next year, in A.D. 15 in Gytheion, at the same time as the Caesarean Games in memory of Eurycles and in honour of Laco, indicates that good memories had been retained of the *hegemon*, benefactor of the nation (of the Free Laconians) and the city (Gytheion), while the description of Laco as κηδεμόνος τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ σωτηρίας τοῦ ἔθνους (*i.e.* τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων) καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν (*i.e.* τοῦ Γυθείου) ἐν πολλοῖς γενομένου (trustee of the protection and salvation of the nation [of the Free Laconians] and the city [of Gytheion]) (cf. a century later *IG V* 1, 1171, a civic honorary decree of Gytheion for Ti. Claudius Atticus: κηδεμόνα τοῦ ἔθνους) confirms that his leading position (in practice, if not in terms of the office of *hegemon*) was retained as protector of the state.

Despite the ease with which he had succeeded his father, Laco's position was much more precarious than that of Eurycles in many ways. The reasons should be sought in his different relationship

with the emperor, but primarily in Tiberius' antipathy to anything foreign to the aristocratic traditions of the regime, and in particular to the Euryclids. Typical of his disposition was the direct subjection of Achaia to the emperor, one of Tiberius' first measures in A.D. 15, in order precisely to protect the cities from the abuse of power (Tac., *Ann.* I. 76: *Achaia ac Macedoniam onera decrepantis levare in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit*), regarding which Eurycles had been accused in the recent past, as well as the settlement of frontier disputes with Messene in a manner unfavourable to Sparta (Steinhauer 1988). Laco owed the preservation of his authority, as Strabo states,³⁸ to his prudent policy, but his position was probably also enhanced by the marriage of his first-born son Argolicus to Pompeia Macrina, sister of Q. Pompeius Macer, who was *praetor* in A.D. 15, and a descendant of Theophanes of Mytilene, a friend of Pompey. However, the emperor's lack of faith in the powerful local families – particularly those linked to well-known names from the civil wars and Roman parties, such as the two related families of Mytilene and Sparta,³⁹ and perhaps on the pretext of the conspiracies associated with the fall of Sejanus – led to the ruin of the Macer family, to the exile of Laco (in A.D. 32) and confiscation of the Euryclids' property.⁴⁰ As can be concluded from an unpublished inscription in the Museum of Sparta, a significant role in the restoration of the aristocratic regime was again played by a member of the adversary Spartan family of the priests of Poseidon: the historian Aristocrates son of Hipparchos (probably the grandfather of Tiberius Claudius Aristocrates, priest of Poseidon), author of the *Laconica* and perhaps also a book on *Laconian Institutions*, and likely source of Josephus' information about the end of Eurycles, to which the staining of his posthumous reputation is exclusively due.⁴¹

After the rise of Caligula, the fact that imperial favour was recovered, possibly with the support of P. Memmius Regulus (governor of the province

38. Cf. *supra* n. 35 (discussion Bowersock 1984, 113-14).

39. Tac., *Ann.* VI. 18: *Datum erat crimini, quod Theophanen Mytilenaeum proavum eorum, Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset, quodque defuncto Theophani caelestis honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat* (cf. also *Syll.*³ 753).

40. It is not known what role Tiberius' avarice could have played in this (Suet., *Tib.* 49).

41. *FGrH* no. 591. Plutarch refers to him as his source for Laconian history (Plut., *Vit. Phil.* 16, 4, *Vit. Lyc.* 4, 6 and 31, 5). Josephus' detailed information about Eurycles' end cannot have been drawn from Nicolaus of Damascus, whose narrative goes up to 7 or 4 B.C. at the latest.

from A.D. 35 to 44), can be proved by the high offices held by Laco in the capital of the province, as *duomvir quinquenalis*, *curio*, *flamen Augusti* as well as *augur* and *agonothetes* of the Isthmian and Caesarean games at Isthmos in A.D. 39 and by restoration of Euryclid rule of Sparta, probably when the province returned to senatorial jurisdiction under Claudius. Typical of the now definitive inclusion of the Spartan hegemony in the Roman administration, according to the principles governing the policy of Claudius, was the title of imperial *procurator* in inscriptions found in Corinth accompanying the names of Laco (*Corinth* VIII.2, no. 67) and his son Spartiaticus (*Corinth* VIII.2, no. 68),⁴² the first member of the family to enter (as *eques equo publico*) the Roman *cursus*. The highest office in Achaia, which was held (according to *Syll.*³ 790) by the same C. Iulius Spartiaticus, as ἀρχιερεὺς Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γένους Σεβαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀχαΐας διὰ βίου πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος, *i.e.* head of the Council of the Achaean League, confirms the high status enjoyed by the family in the province of Achaia, which included the entire province apart from Sparta and the state of the Free Laconians. However, the history of the Euryclid family adventures does not end here. The epilogue to the ancient struggle with the aristocratic establishment was the exile of Spartiaticus, this time on the pretext of family strife over ridiculous issues,⁴³ to be followed by the final outburst of conservative

opposition which (if one can believe Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* (IV. 32, 3-4), among other archaic reactionary measures, imposed the exclusion of Spartan nobles from commercial activities, threatening to overthrow the socio-economic order of Roman Sparta that had been established by the Euryclids. Nero expressed his aversion to this extreme Lyncurgan regime (not to the decadent climate that had led to the exile of Spartiaticus) by his conspicuous absence from Sparta (and Athens) during his long stay in Greece in A.D. 66/7 (Cass. Dio LXII. 14, 3), and by the rebuke that followed, obviously after granting the Greeks their freedom (*Syll.*³ 814).

In the final attempt to revive the leadership status of the now "free" Sparta, and in the spirit of the imperial *imitatio Augusti*, a central role was played by another of the Euryclids, the great-great-grandson of Eurycles, who bore his name, C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus, no longer as *hegemon* of the Lacedaemonians, *epistates* or *procurator*, but as a senator and Spartan official. He followed in the footsteps (the intention is plain in the repetition of coin types⁴⁴) and even surpassed the model of his glorious ancestor on all levels: in the organisation of emperor worship (Paus. III. 11, 4-5),⁴⁵ in grandiose construction policy,⁴⁶ and in reinforcing the institutions of the ancestral Spartan state⁴⁷ in whose high echelons (*e.g.* *patronomia*) central positions were now held by members of old and new families who owed their Roman citizenship to the Euryclids,⁴⁸

42. Laco is referred to as *procurator* of Claudius, Spartiaticus of Claudius and Agrippina (*i.e.* before A.D. 55). However, it is not clear whether Sparta became a *provincia procuratoria*, which is to say the property of the emperor (Pflaum 1960/61, 63-68), or whether it just meant, as is more likely, that the authority of Laco as the emperor's representative was made official. The fact is that on the coins minted by Laco as *procurator* (Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 176-78 and pl. 23: gr. XXXVI) the obverse is now occupied by the bust of Claudius, and no coins were issued under Spartiaticus.

43. Plut., *Mor. De frat. amor.* 487f-488a (cf. E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* II, 131-91).

44. Regarding the revival of the currency type of the Dioscuri on horseback, see Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 81-82 and pl. 24: gr. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

45. Upon their establishment in 97 A.D., the *Urania* were combined with the worship of Nerva (*IG* V 1, 667: Σεβάστεια Νερουανίδεια Οὐράνια), Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 184-85 and 195-96. Regarding the establishment of emperor worship by the *epistates* C. Iulius Eurycles, see *op. cit.*, 99 and 184-85.

46. In addition to the baths reported by Pausanias, identified with those of "Arapissa" (A. J. B. Wace, *ABSA* 12, 1905/06, 407-14; Palagia 1989, 122), the large Roman portico was also attributed to C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus (see Waywell, Wilkes 1994, 377-432) as was the urban reorganisation of the city (Kourinou 2000, 129).

47. The political activity and influence of Eurycles Herculanus may be linked with the regeneration of the Spartans' civic pride, which is demonstrated by the reinstatement, after an interval of about a century, of the lists of archons and sometimes the entire *cursus honorum* of the archons, that now covered the passage-way (*parodos*) into the theater, *IG* V 1, 36 (= *SEG* 11, 1950, 480), *IG* V 1, 37 (= *SEG* 11, 1950, 481), *IG* V 1, 59 (= *SEG* 11, 1950, 521), *IG* V 1, 65 (= *SEG* 11, 1950, 523), *IG* V 1, 70-71 (= *SEG* 11, 1950, 526), *IG* V 1, 78, 85, 101, 105 and 109.

48. Persons named *Gaius Iulius* occupy first place numerically in the Roman portraiture of Sparta (*RP* II, LAC

and finally in the restoration, probably on the occasion of Trajan's Parthian expedition, of Spartan control in the region,⁴⁹ as documented by the presence of Spartan *epimeletai* on the island of Kaudos (SEG 11, 1950, 494, l. 1: about A.D. 125) and in Koroneia (SEG 11, 1950, 486, ll. 7-8 and 495, ll. 5-6), two positions of great significance in monitoring maritime trade routes and administrative and military channels between Kyrene, Italy and the East. This work was completed after the death of C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus in A.D. 136/37 by the annexation of Kythera (Steinhauer 2006/07). However, the duration of this last Spartan hegemony, like the one under Augustus, was brief. Ten years at most after the death of Hadrian, it aroused the violent opposition of the Free Laconians to Spartan expansionism,⁵⁰ at the very moment when, on the local political scene, senator Tiberius Claudius Brasidas, descendant of Eurycles' old rival, came to power. On the contrary, a descendant of Herculanus, C. Iulius Eurycles, known to us from some inscriptions from Sparta (RP II, 279-80 LAC 460) seems of no political significance.

G. Steinhauer

Honorary Ephor of Antiquities

Bibliography

- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris.
- Balzat (J. S.), 2008: "Les Euryclides en Laconie", in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*, Bordeaux, 335-50.
- Bernhardt (R.), 1971: *Imperium und Eleutheria. Die römische Politik gegenüber den freien Städten des griechischen Ostens*, Hamburg.
- Bowersock (G. W.), 1961: "Eurycles of Sparta", *JRS* 51, 112-18.
- , 1964: "Augustus on Aigina", *CQ* 58, 120.
- , 1984: "The problem of succession", in F. Millar, E. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford.
- Bradford (A. S.), 1980: "The *Synarchia* of Roman Sparta", *Chiron* 10, 413-25.
- Cartledge (P.), Spawforth (A.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities*², London - New York.
- Chrimes (K. M. T.), 1949: *Ancient Sparta: A re-examination of the evidence*, Manchester, repr. Westport, Connecticut 1971.
- Ehrenberg (V.), 1953: "Legatus Augusti et Tiberii Caesaris" in *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson II*, St. Louis, 938-44.
- Geagan (D. J.), 1967: *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 12, Princeton, N. J.
- Gitti (A.), 1940: "La condizione della città della Laconia e l'opera di Augusto", *Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* 2, 389-97.
- Gossage (A. J.), 1951: *The social and economic condition of the Province of Achaia from Augustus to Caracalla*, PhD London.
- Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann (S.), 1978: *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaemonier*, *Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine*, Berlin.
- Helly (B.), 1973: *Gonnoi I. La cité et son histoire. II. Les Inscriptions*, Amsterdam.
- Hoff (M. C.), 1989: "Civil disobedience and unrest in Augustan Athens", *Hesperia* 58, 267-76.
- Hupfloher (A.), 2000: *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter*, Berlin.
- Kahrstedt (Ul.), 1922: *Griechisches Staatsrecht I. Sparta und seine Symmachie, mit vier Exkursen über den Kretischen Staat, das Korinthische Kolonialreich, das Wesen des archaischen Staats, die Amphiktyonie von Delphi*, Göttingen.
- Kennell (N. M.), 1986: *The Public Institutions of Roman Sparta*, PhD Univ. Toronto 1985, Ottawa.
- , 1992a: "The synarchia at Sparta", *Phoenix* 46, 342-51.
- , 1992b: "IG V 1, 16 and the Gerousia of Roman Sparta", *Hesperia* 61, 193-202.
- Kiechle (F.), 1963: *Lakonien und Sparta. Untersuchungen zur ethnischen Struktur und zur politischen Entwicklung Lakoniens und Spartos bis zum Ende der archaischen Zeit*, *Vestigia* 5, Munich.
- Kjellberg (E.), 1921: "C. Iulius Eurycles", *Klio* 17, 49-58.
- Kougeas (S. V.), 1928: "Ἐπιγραφικὰ ἐκ Γυθείου συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Λακωνικῆς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἀτοκρατορίας", *Hellenika* 1, 9-16.

nos 400-511), among whom are some of the wealthiest contemporary Spartans, including, in addition to Herculanus, C. Iulius Agesilaus (IG V 1, 667) and C. Iulius Theophrastus (SEG 11, 1950, 492); cf. Gossage 1951, 238.

49. The data about preparations in the Peloponnese for the Parthian expedition, with which the inscription of Kythera (IG V 1, 380 [116/17]) must be linked, were collected by Baladié (1980, 273-77; cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 115-16. 191).

50. Antoninus, known for his respect for the policy of "his father", certainly confirmed the position of Sparta (IG V 1, 37) and was honoured for this by the Spartans as was no other emperor (e.g. IG V 1, 403, 407-45); however the situation was rapidly overturned. The borders of A.D. 170 are given by Pausanias (IV. 1, 1).

- Kourinou (E.), 2000: *Σπάρτη, Συμβολή στη μνημειακή τοπογραφία της*, Athens.
- Kramolisch (H.), 1978: *Die Strategen des thessalischen Bundes vom Jahr 196 v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der römischen Republik*, Demetrias 2, Bonn.
- Lane (E.), 1962: "An unpublished inscription from Laconia", *Hesperia* 9, 396-98.
- Levick (B.), 2002: *Tiberius the Politician*, London - New York, repr. of the rev. ed. 1999.
- Lindsay (H.), 1992: "Augustus und Eurycles", *RhMus* 135, 290-97.
- Oliver (J. H.), 1953: *The Ruling Power. A Study of the Roman Empire in the second century after Christ through the Roman oration of Aelius Aristeides*, TAPhS 43.4, Philadelphia.
- , 1973: "Imperial Commissioners in Achaia", *GRBS* 14, 190-97.
- Palagia (O.), 1989: "Seven Pilasters of Herakles from Sparta", in S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire, Papers from the 10th British Museum Class. Colloquium*, BICS Suppl. 55, London, 122-29.
- Peek (W.), 1969: *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidaurus*, Berlin.
- Pflaum (H.-G.), 1960/61: *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain*, Paris.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 2004: "Οικονομία και οικονομικές δραστηριότητες των ελληνικών πόλεων από την Πύδνα έως το Άκτιον", in *6th Hellenistic Pottery Meeting 2000*, Athens, 17-28.
- , 2007: "Les Ti.Claudii et la promotion des élites péloponnésienes", *Latomus* 27, 183-95.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II, Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia - Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Shotter (D. C. A.), 1971: "Julians, Claudians and the Accession of Tiberius", *Latomus* 30, 1117-123.
- Spawforth (A.), 1985: "Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes", *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- Steinhauer (G.), 1988: "Το πρόβλημα του Ager Denthaliatis", in *Ariadne* 4, 219-33.
- , 1989: *Γάιος Ιούλιος Ευρυκλής. Συμβολή στην ιστορία της ρωμαϊκής Σπάρτης*, PhD, Univ. of Athens.
- , 1998: "Unpublished lists of gerontes and magistrates of Roman Sparta", *ABSA* 93, 427-47.
- , 2006/07: Euryklids and Kythera, *MedArch* 19-20, 19-26.
- Syme (R.), 1979: *The Roman Revolution*, 1939, repr. Oxford - New York - Toronto - Melbourne.
- Touloumakos (J.), 1967: *Der Einfluß Roms auf die Staatsform der griechischen Stadtstaaten des Festlandes und der Inseln im ersten und zweiten Jhd. v. Chr.*, Göttingen.
- Volkman (H.), 1969: *Zur Rechtsprechung im Principat des Augustus: historische Beiträge*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 21, Munich.
- Waywell (G. B.), Wilkes (J. J.), 1994: "Excavations at Sparta: The Roman Stoa, 1988-1991", *ABSA* 89, 377-432.
- Weil (R.), 1988: Die Familie des Caius Iulius Eurykles, *MDAI(A)* 6, 10.
- Wide (S.), 1893: *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig.

THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF MESSENA UNDER ROMAN RULE*

Petros Themelis

Abstract: Messenia's geographical location, the fertile river valleys of Pamisos, navigable and abounding in fish together with its mild Mediterranean climate, mark it out as a region favoured by nature with a great variety of land and water animals, as well as with a wide range of agricultural products, olive oil being paramount. The sea brought the country into contact with the world of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic through its harbours, especially Kyparissia. Messenia's mercantile relations with Asia Minor are corroborated by inscriptions on the island of Proti and also by the number of coins from Asia Minor found on Messenian soil. Exports and imports into Messenia from the Adriatic multiplied after 146 B.C. and peaked in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, when Roman citizens established themselves in the city. The long *pax Romana* had distinguished Messene as a city with a high level of social and economic development. When Pausanias visited Messene (A.D. 155-160), the city was still an important political, economic, and artistic hub. Large opulent urban villas, large families, large estates characterize the local aristocracy during the later Roman empire. The city had the capacity to be supplied reliably by the agricultural and pastoral production of its countryside.

The economy constitutes an integral element of the life of an individual, a city, a state, an empire, and it is impossible for it to be examined independently in isolation from the cultural, political, social, and religious environment. Moreover, the economy is implicated in historical events and develops concurrently with its environment in the broader sense of the word, it is not static. In consequence, we will necessarily be moving within the historical framework of the period, collectively examining the relevant parameters beginning in the 4th c. B.C. in an attempt to sketch the economic profile of Messene and, to a certain extent, all of Messenia during the period of Roman rule

from 146 B.C. until the end of the 4th c. A.D.

We should take into consideration the fact that Messenia's geographical location on the west coast of the Peloponnesus, the fertile river valleys of the Pamisos in the southeast of the country, navigable and abounding in fish, and the *Valyra*, with its tributaries that crisscross the plain of *Stenyklaros* in the north, together with its mild Mediterranean climate, mark it out as a region favoured by nature with a great variety of land and water animals, as well as with a wide range of agricultural products, olive oil being paramount.¹ In addition to olive groves, vineyards and fig orchards continue to predominate in the plains of Messenia today.² In a

* Translated into English by Stephanie Kennell.

1. The Pamisos: Paus. IV. 34, 1. Cf. Tyrtaeus fr. 4. 3 (Diehl): Μεσσήνην ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀροῦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ φυτεύειν; Roebuck 1945.

2. The plain of Stenyklaros is included in the modern plain of *Meligala*, while the southernmost part of the Messenian plain is called Makaria or the plain of the lower Pamisos and Thouria (Strab. VIII. 4, 6). I do not know the etymology of the word *Meligala*, but the honey and milk that inevitably come to mind refer to divine food and to the produce of the earth with mythic dimensions. Besides, it is no accident that wild boars, cattle, cowherds, wild figs, wine, and other animals, plants, and products as well are constantly involved in the events of the Messenian wars in the elegant descriptions of Pausanias' fourth book on Messenian matters (IV. 4, 3 and 15, 6). For the climate of Messenia, see Jardé 1925, 109-12; Dikaiakos 1969. The fish of the navigable Pamisos: Paus. IV. 34, 1-2; Anagnostakis 2007, 51-56. Information about the production of wine in Messenia under Venetian rule, the quantities for local consumption and export, and their taxation can be found in the report of the superintendent Zacharia Bembo: Topping 1981.

Hellenistic-period cremation pyre at a hero shrine at Messene north of the Gymnasium, a great number of charred seeds from grapes (*vitis vinifera*), olives (*olea europaea*), pine nuts (*pinus pinea*), almonds (*amygdalus communis*), and chestnuts (*castanea sativa*) was found; they are currently being studied by a researcher from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.³ Comparable carbonized nuts and figs have also been found in child burials of the 2nd to 3rd centuries A.D. in grave monument 17 outside the Arcadian Gate.⁴ Pausanias (VI. 26, 6) notes that hemp, flax, and byssus were cultivated in neighbouring Elis and that a well-developed silk industry existed. The same products were clearly grown in Messenia as well. Indeed, the silk of Kalamata was famed for its quality, according to the testimonia preserved from the period of Venetian rule and afterwards.⁵

The sea that embraces the entire west and south sides of Messenia not only supplied its population with fish, but also brought the country into contact with the wider world of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic through its harbours of Pharai, Pylos, and

Kyparissia. In the forested mountains of Messenia, in addition to timber, there was always abundant game; hunters never lacked for wild boar, hares, red deer, and brown bears.⁶ On the hillsides and in the meadows grazed horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, which means milk, cheese, meat, wool, leather, and bone, while poultry and beekeeping were to be found in the courtyards of houses.⁷ The words of Plato can be taken as typical of Messenia's horses and other grazing animals: οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππων γε, οὐδ' ὄσα ἄλλα βοσκήματα κατὰ Μεσσήνην νέμεται.⁸ A variety of objects for everyday use – spoons, needles, pins, handles for utensils, and combs – were made from the dense shinbones of oxen; engraved and relief decorative plaques were produced as well. These bone objects, products of local workshops, were particularly popular throughout the period of Roman rule and late antiquity.⁹ Pigsties were certainly also in evidence. Pork, the local “female pig” (gourounopoula), was the Messenians' national food, especially in Roman times, as it indeed continues to be.¹⁰

Cereals did not abound, to be sure, for cultivable

The cultivated varieties of olives today, with 817,537 stremmata throughout all of Messenia, are the *koroneiki*, the *mavroelia*, and the *mastoeides*. The number of productive olive trees is estimated at 14,799,000 and annual production can rise to 50,000 tons; the number of olive producers is 60,000, indicative of a high degree of fragmentation among smallholders, while there are 250 olive presses.

3. Megaloudi 2005.

4. Themelis 1996a, pl. 55a.

5. The census of the properties of Nicola Acciaioli in the Morea refers frequently to Voulkano (Ithome) where, among other items, the production of silkworm cocoons (*cuculium sirici*), which was regularly taxed by the feudal lord, is also mentioned: Longnon and Topping 1969, 95-101. For silk, its importation, and its cultivation in Greece generally, see Richter 1929, 27-33. Six pieces of silk cloth found in a fifth century B.C. grave in the Athenian Kera-meikos are likely to have been made on Amorgos: Miller 1997, 77-79 with a review of the literature.

6. Themelis 1987, 103-04; *id.*, 2001, 84, pl. 51a. For bears see Comstock, Vermeule 1971, 147 no. 172, and 346-47 no. 486.

7. According to the archaeozoologist Günter Nobis, large cattle were raised in areas under Roman influence, while many bones of young horses were found in the area of the Asklepieion, along with bones of small birds of an indigenous species: Themelis 1987, 104. The production of traditional-type cheeses such as the Messenian *sfela* began in antiquity: see Gouin (1993, 1994) for the preparation of cheese at Ai Khanoum in Afghanistan and on Crete. A fair number of fragments of clay beehives, dating mainly from the Roman period, have come to light in the course of recent excavations at various locations around the city of Messene.

8. Plat., *Alc.* 1. 122d. It has been estimated that in the Messenian plains around Ithome approximately 1,000 horses, 2,100 mules and 1,500 donkeys were pastured: Roebuck 1945, 158. For the Messenian cavalry, see Polyb. IV. 15, 6 and V. 20, 1.

9. Themelis 1990, 66, pl. 37δ; *id.*, 1995, 68, pl. 20α-γ.

10. The increase in the consumption of pork in Roman times emerges from the study of the bones of animals found at Messene. According to the archaeozoologist G. Nobis, the pigs of Messene belong to a small indigenous breed that was very widespread in antiquity (Themelis 1987, 103-04). At Rome from the late Republic onward, and at Alexandria and Constantinople from the third and fourth centuries A.D. respectively, food was distributed, not only grain or bread, but also oil, cheap wine, and pork. The pork butchers (*suarii*) were supplied by the cities that had hogs or received money to purchase the meat.

level areas were of relatively small size. Nonetheless, the great number of circular and square millstones that has come to light in the course of our recent excavations indicates that every family ground its own wheat and barley and had its own flour and bread.¹¹ In periods of want – enemy invasion or famine – there seem to have been imports of wheat, mainly from Italy, through the involvement of the Messenian authorities.¹² The inscription *IG V 1, 1379* from Thouria, dated to the 1st c. B.C., gives details of the purchase of grain with public money and the distribution of the surplus to citizens through the involvement of civic officials. Every household had its own loom for weaving clothing and coverlets, as the thousands of loomweights of every type from the late Hellenistic and Roman periods that have come to light in the course of our recent excavations make plain.¹³ The local clay, although not of the best quality, offered the Messenians the basic material for making containers of every size and shape, ceramic objects and utensils for every place and purpose throughout Hellenistic and Roman times, as recent studies and analyses have shown.¹⁴ A Late Antique glass-making workshop has been identified in the area east of the Asklepieion.¹⁵

From remote antiquity, Messenia's agricultural wealth, "good to plough, good to plant", in the words of the poet Tyrtaeus, had been the principal goal of Sparta's policy of conquest.¹⁶ After losing the first war in the 8th c. B.C., many well-born Messenian landowners were compelled to abandon the fruitful valley of the upper Pamisos, while the mass of small farmers sunk into the helot class, with the obligation to hand over half of their harvest to the Laconians, the new lords of the Messenian land until the time of the liberation. All data relating to independent Messenia and its capital

Messene after 369 B.C. reveal a conservative society, economically self-sufficient and closed, behaving antagonistically and distrustfully towards neighbouring Sparta, in every period dependent on and adhering to the great powers, by whom it was led and dragged, incapable of exercising its own independent foreign policy, with a timocratic form of government and an economy based mainly on farming.¹⁷

The Hellenistic Prelude

The party of the philo-Macedonians and Philip II himself were rightly regarded as the second founders of the city after Epaminondas because they had made an essential contribution toward establishing Messene as a power to be reckoned with strategically and economically, at least in the Peloponnesus.¹⁸ In 335 B.C., Alexander restored the exiled Messenian philo-Macedonian aristocrats Neon and Thrasylochos, sons of Philiades, whom Demosthenes (*Or.* 17. 4) characterized as "tyrants". The truth is that, despite the benefits the Messenians obtained thanks to the policies of Philip II and Alexander, they subsequently followed an attitude of "deliberate seclusion".¹⁹ They took no part in Agis of Sparta's democratic uprising in 331 B.C., while also avoiding participation in the war of the Koinon of the Hellenes against Antipater in 323 B.C. Nevertheless, even they experienced the consequences of the political changes that Antipater imposed on the cities of the Peloponnesus, obliging them to restore the power of his partisans in their city and to reform their form of government on a timocratic basis. The Macedonian general had required, as a prerequisite for the right to vote and to win office, that individuals possess a fortune worth at least 2,000 drachmas, thereby depriving many citizens of their political rights.²⁰

11. The millstones and clay braziers comprise the object of a special study.

12. Roebuck 1945, 153.

13. Study of the loomweights by the archaeologist Eleni Ghika is currently in progress.

14. Giannopoulou 2004.

15. Themelis 2002b, 91-92.

16. See *supra* n. 1.

17. Rizakis, Touratsoglou 2005, 69-82; Luraghi 2008, 286-91 and 337-40.

18. Strab. VIII. 4, 8; Polyb. XVIII. 14. The period 330-290 B.C. found Messene at its most favoured, thanks to the intervention of Philip II of Macedon, who had neutralized the Spartan threat at the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. and restored the borders of the Messenian state as far as the river Neda, the mountains of Phigaleia on the north, and Taygetus on the east: Roebuck 1941, 57; Strab. VIII. 4, 6; Tac., *Ann.* IV.43; Paus. III. 26,3; Steph. Byz. s.v. Δεσθάλιοι.

19. Roebuck 1941, 58.

20. Finley 1988, 138; Roebuck 1945.

Agricultural wealth, a family's landed property, was the foundation of economic life and the prerequisite for the male members of Messenian society to take up public office, for the most part after the imposition of the timocratic government in 323/2 B.C. After the defeat of Antigonos and Demetrius at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C., the situation permitted the revival of an independent policy on the part of certain cities in the Peloponnese.²¹ Demetrius Poliorcetes' failed attempt to seize Messene in 295 B.C. basically brings the early period to a close.²²

In the economy and society of Messenia, war, mercenary soldiering, and piracy did not play the leading role they did in Crete and certain areas of central Greece.²³ The so-called Italo-Alexandrian "axis" that passed through Crete, especially that island's western half, seems to have included Messenia as well.²⁴ Crete's cultural and commercial ties with Messenia via Kythera and Antikythera are unquestionable and of great antiquity.²⁵ Transactions between Cretans and Messenians are also confirmed by a number of Cretan coins that have come to light at Messene during recent excavations.²⁶ The Messenians had direct commercial contacts with Alexandria, as becomes apparent from, among other things, the continual journeys of the Messenian wholesaler Nikagoras in the second half of the third century to the court of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-203 B.C.) at Alexandria to deliver sturdy Messenian warhorses (ἵππους ἄγειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καλοῦς τῶν πολεμιστηρίων) and arms that had been ordered from him.²⁷ One raid on Messenia by the Aetolians under the command of Dori-

machos in 221 B.C. had the capture of livestock as its objective, while a second raid struck the large estate of the Messenian Chyron, which was located near the city of Messene.²⁸

South of the temple of the goddess Messene was discovered an underground chamber built with carefully worked squared limestone blocks that has been identified as a treasury. A hermetically sealed underground construction, dark and absolutely safe, within which were kept the surplus from the city's treasures: talents of gold and silver, valuable objects and gold and silver coins, the product of taxes and the spoils of war.²⁹ The most significant testimony for this underground structure for treasure at Messene is provided by Plutarch, in his *Life of Philopoemen* (19), which acquires great historical worth through its relevance to the tragic death of the *strategos* of the Achaean League, Philopoemen of Megalopolis, "the last Hellene." The ambitious Messenian general Deinokrates and his like-minded fellows committed the fatal error of poisoning their captive, the old and ailing *strategos*, inside the underground treasury on the same night that they had shut him up there.

This unjustifiable and barbarous act, which took place in 183 B.C., marked the end not only of Messene's autonomy, but also of its military, political, and economic power. The Achaean League obligated the city to submit unconditionally, deprived it of its harbours, and removed parts of its border territories, distributing them between the Megalopolitans and the Spartans.³⁰ The northern Messenian cities of Endania (Andania) and Pylana were held by a League occupation force. The loss of Andania,

21. Roebuck 1941, 58-62.

22. Themelis 2004.

23. War as a way of acquiring wealth: Austin, Vidal-Naquet 1998, 237-41; Tarn 1952, 92-93; cf. Chaniotis 1987, 219-20.

24. Furtwängler 1997, 399; Zervoudaki 1997, 124.

25. Marinatos 1962; Themelis 1969b; Petrocheilos 1984, 127-31.

26. Sidiropoulos 1996 and 2002.

27. Plut., *Cleom.* 35. Nikagoras had welcomed Archidamos, the exiled brother of King Agis of Sparta, into his home at Messene: Polyb. V. 37; Plut., *Cleom.* 35; Roebuck 1941, 68. For the trade in horses, see Rostovtzeff 1922, 167-68. Bones of horses at Messene: see *supra* n. 7. The discovery of a bronze part of a horse's bit in the road which leads from the Asklepieion to the Stadium is a confirmation of Messenian horse-raising: Themelis 1998, 122, pl. 63β. For Messenian horse-breeders, see *id.*, 2007.

28. Polyb. IV. 3, 9-10 and IV. 4, 1. Roebuck 1945, 152.

29. Plato (*Plt.* 8. 548A) refers to ταμεία καὶ θησαυρούς, public or private, where gold and silver would be kept. Cf. Xen., *Vect.* 4. 7; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* XX. 9, 2 (ἀόρατος τοῖς πολλοῖς κατὰ γῆς κείμενος); Men., *Dys.* 257-58 (ed. Handley); Men., *Θησαυρός*.

30. Polybius also wrote a *Life or Encomium of Philopoemen*: Errington 1969.

with its very ancient and venerable sanctuary of Apollo *Karneios*, did grave damage not only to the religious but also to the economic life of Messene at that time, dramatically reducing the authority of the Messenian state.³¹ Only after the conquest of Greece by the Romans in 146 B.C. do the Messenians seem to have taken back Andania, with its fertile upland valley near the border with Megalopolis, along with the Dentheliatis, the border area in the southeast of the country that the Lacedaemonians had been claiming forcefully right from the beginning.³²

Adolf Wilhelm and subsequent scholars have dated the inscription concerning the Mysteries of Andania to 92/1 B.C. (*IG V 1*, 1390; *Syll.*³ 736).³³ They have maintained, mistakenly I think, that the Mnasistratus of this inscription, together with the Mnasistratus in the inscription about the oracle of the Argives (*Syll.*³ 735) and in the double-sided inscription *IG V 1*, 1532, of which one side has a catalogue of Messenian citizens contributing great sums, are one and the same person.³⁴ In any case, the inscription *IG V 1*, 1532 (Athens, Epigr. Mus. inv. no. 12461), which was found in 1905 built into the church of Agios Demetrios in the *Gourebeni* area of the district of *Garantza* in Andania, holds special interest, but it comes from the third century B.C. and has no chronological bearing on the

mentioned two inscriptions.³⁵ In line 23 of the second column of the three-column catalogue of contributions written on one side of this double-sided stele, Tod read [π]όλις Πυλανεών.³⁶ Pylana and other townships of Messene, including Andania, are mentioned in the fragments of one or more inscriptions (inv. nos 125, 145, 3541 + 6635) which came to light east of room ΓΓ in the west wing of the Asklepieion, where the archives of the secretary of the *synedroi* ought to have been housed.³⁷

Ll. 65-84 of the decree contained in the lengthy inscription of the year 182 B.C. concerning boundary disputes between Messene and Megalopolis describe a matter that was economic in character, directly connected with the expanses of land on Messene's borders and in particular with the area of the *Ἀκρειᾶτις χώρα*.³⁸ The Messenians had agreed with the Megalopolitans that the latter would have the use of the Akreiatis and would give the Messenians half the produce, the value of which had been set at the sum of two talents.³⁹

The Transition to the Roman Period

The prevailing view among certain historians that Messene at least until 100 B.C. "was unimportant and out of the trade streams" does not correspond to reality.⁴⁰ According to newer research data

31. Roebuck 1941, 104-05.

32. Tod 1913, 81-82; Roebuck 1941, 106-07.

33. Moretti 1987/88, 249; Deshours 1999, 475-76 and n. 73; Grandjean 1996, 691 n. 7.

34. The dating to the year 92/1 B.C. is based on the belief of scholars up to now that the year 55 referred to in the text of the inscription must be reckoned from 146 B.C. (the capture of Corinth). Nevertheless, all (except perhaps one) of the inscriptions of Messene take the year 31 B.C. as their chronological starting point; see Themelis 2007.

35. *Panathenaia* 1905, 94; this inscription is double-sided and dated to the 3rd c. B.C. The Mnasistratus who appears in the fourth line of the catalogue of contributors on one of the inscribed sides should somehow be disassociated from the Mnasistratus of the Mysteries inscription. The other inscribed side of the same stele preserves the text of a decree, hitherto unpublished, which Voula Bardani has recently transcribed. In this decree are mentioned, among other things, *ἱερὰ χρήματα*, a detail that reveals the close relationship between the stele's two sides and renders incontrovertible the early functioning of the sanctuary at Andania, despite the objections of Pirenne-Delforge 2009.

36. Tod 1926-27, 151-57 (*SEG* 11, 1950, 979).

37. Alcock 1993, 21 n. 26. Migeotte (1997) returns to the high dating of this inscription to between 70 and 30 B.C. without invoking any persuasive arguments in its favour, however; cf. Mulliez 1997, 98-99. Grandjean (2003, 251-52 and n. 53, 260 n. 82) believes that the *εἰσφορά* was military in nature and dates it to the years between 48 and 42 B.C., when Antony was travelling around the Peloponnesus to collect money; Themelis 1991, 106, pl. 70β; 1994, 77-78. For the archives of the secretary of the *synedroi*, see Coqueugniot 2005, 16-23. Tod (1905) maintained, rightly in my opinion, that the inscriptions are related to the collection of a tax on landed property.

38. See Themelis 2008.

39. In this agreement, reference is very likely made to the fragmentarily preserved text of a boundary determination between the Messenians and Megalopolitans dated to the 2nd c. B.C. (*IG V 1*, 1429), in which the phrase *τῶν καρπῶν ἀπόλα[υσις ---]* (l. 8) reveals much about the document's content. Cf. Ager 1996, no. 40; Magnetto 1997, no. 38; *SEG* 46, 1996, 2340.

40. Tarn 1952, 111-12.

based on the recent systematic excavations,⁴¹ a temporary economic downturn followed by a gradual decrease in Messene's population can be observed during the period that begins around the time when the city was forced to join the Achaean League in 183 B.C., whereas it seems to have ended during the period of Roman rule, before the reign of Augustus.⁴² In 183/2 B.C., the Achaean League petitioned the Roman Senate to impose an embargo on the export of grain and arms to Messene, with the intent of bringing the city to its knees economically.⁴³ The needs of the Messenian army for arms cannot possibly have been met by continued imports from Italy. At Messene, as in every independent state, local metalworking workshops operated utilizing imported metals and probably access to copper and iron mines.⁴⁴ Hundreds of lumps of iron and copper slag from metalworking workshops that have been found in various places around the city are now the object of scientific analysis in the laboratories of Demokritos concurrently with a search for iron mines, one of which was very likely located in the area of the modern village of Zerbisia, a short distance northwest of Messene, where there are abandoned manganese mines. At the same time that the metalworking workshops were in operation, there was also a working mint, established in the area of the Asklepieion at Messene, as evidenced by the discovery of bronze *petala* there.

The Messenians, as we have noted, were self-sufficient in the production of oil and local wine, which were stored and transported in locally-made

amphoras with pointed bases and unstamped handles.⁴⁵ The self-sufficiency of the Messenians in the matter of wine can be inferred indirectly from the discovery of a relatively small number of imported wine amphoras from the renowned production centres of antiquity. Out of the total of 124 imported wine amphoras that have come to light up to now at Messene, 66 come from Rhodes, 41 from Cnidos, and 7 from Cos, while one each is attributed to Corinth, Corfu, and Chios. The majority of the imported wine amphoras are datable to the early years of Roman rule, between 146 and 30 B.C.⁴⁶ The production of wine in Messenia must have been comparable to that of neighbouring Eleia, where at least in the region of Pisa, grapevines were systematically cultivated, according to Pausanias.⁴⁷

In regard to oil, among other things, the testimony of an inscription of the year A.D. 42 inscribed on the three central metopes of the Doric tetrastyle propylon of the Gymnasium of Messene (inv. no. 6661) presents a certain interest. A member of the powerful Spartan family of Gaius Iulius Eurycles, likely Spartiaticus, ἀνέθηκε ταῖ πόλει δη|νάρια μύρια εἰς τε | θυσίας τοῖς Σε|βαστοῖς καὶ εἰς | ἐλαίου παροχὰν | εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ | Γυμ[νάσι]α ἐπὶ | γραμ[ματ]έως Συ|νέδ[ρω]ν Μνασι|στ[ρα]ίου τοῦ | [Φίλο]ξενίδα.⁴⁸ Gaius Iulius Spartiaticus (*PIR*² I 587) served as the procurator of Nero and Agrippina, as well as high priest of the Koinon of the Achaeans in A.D. 54.⁴⁹ The name of the dedicant, Spartiaticus, grandson of the detested Eurycles the Spartan, has been scraped off, which bespeaks intentional *damnatio memoriae*.⁵⁰ Oil was not only

41. Orlandos 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976. Cf. Daux 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1965; Michaud 1970, 1971, 1972; Vanderpool 1963; Caskey 1971; Catling 1971/72; Themelis 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1997a.

42. The view that Messene flourished after 100 B.C. is based on the indirect evidence of expensive clothing for women and the like as provided by the famous inscription concerning the Mysteries of Andania and to its (erroneous) dating to the year 92/1 B.C. rather than to A.D. 24, as I maintain: Themelis 2007.

43. Polyb. XXIII. 9, 12; Roebuck 1941, 97 and n. 138.

44. Neesen 1989, 82-83; Jackson 1993.

45. Hom., *Il.* IX. 152, about "wine-filled" Methoni (Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσον). For the production of oil in general, see Hitchner 2002.

46. Zobolas, Tzamourani 2009 (unpublished study).

47. Paus. VI. 22, 1; Zoumbaki 2001, 47.

48. Themelis 2001c, 122-23. For Mnasistratus son of Philoxenidas, see Orlandos 1962, 102, pl. 106; Daux 1965; *SEG* 23, 1968, 206 and 208; *SEG* 38, 1988, 337.

49. Demougin 1992, no. 494; Balzat 2005, 291 and 298.

50. The dedication was performed just as Claudius assumed imperial authority, when the power of the Euryclids had been newly restored: Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 102-04. See also Bowersock 1961; Balzat (2005) shows that the authority of the Euryclids was not dynastic in nature.

a basic dietary element with particular economic value, but also had ideological significance for the institutions of the gymnasium and of the ephebate in the Roman period and earlier.⁵¹

Commercial contacts and relations with the West comprise, among other things, imports of vessels from Italy, which already begin to make their appearance from the end of the 4th c. B.C.⁵² The geographical factor also defines the orientation of neighbouring Eleia's commercial relations vis-à-vis the West, with the point of contact the harbor of Kyllene, which Pausanias fittingly describes as τετραμμένη τε πρὸς Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχομένη ναυσὶν ἐπιτήδειον.⁵³ The harbours of Pylos and especially Kyparissia played the same role for Messenia as that of Kyllene.⁵⁴ The beach of Kyparissia faced the western seas, familiar from the first, and the cities with which the Messenians had and continued to have strong political, friendly, and commercial ties even in the Roman period. Among these cities were Rhegium (mod. Reggio Calabria) and Messana (mod. Messina) as well as Kephallenia and Naupaktos, where many Messenians of the diaspora had taken refuge. The people of Leukas brought the sculptor Damophon of Messene by ship to Kyparissia to honour him after he had travelled to their island to make the cult statue of Aphrodite *Limenis*.⁵⁵

Between Kyparissia and Pylos lies the island of Proti, deserted at the time of the Peloponnesian War according to Thucydides, while during the period of Roman rule it sheltered a homonymous town (πολίχινον) commemorated by Strabo.⁵⁶ Of interest in regard to navigation in the Roman period is the fact that the merchant seamen passing through

who made port in the bay of Grammenos on the east side of the island, where they scratched their prayers for good sailing onto the rocks, came mainly from Asia Minor (Miletos, Smyrna, Ephesos, Assos, Seleukia), Lesbos, Athens, and Sicily.⁵⁷ Messenia's mercantile relations with Asia Minor, despite the difficulties caused by distance and the dangers involved in circumnavigating the Peloponnese and sailing through the Aegean, are corroborated not only by the inscriptions of Proti, but also by the number of coins from Asia Minor that have been found on Messenian soil. The isthmus of Corinth, despite Nero's impressive endeavour, had still not been breached.⁵⁸ It is possible that ships of small displacement continued to be dragged over the ancient *diolkos* road, which was constantly being repaired. The *diolkos* was a paved road, according to recent researches, used to transport various goods and heavy quarry stones from the Corinthian to the Saronic gulf loaded on charts dragged by horses or oxen.

Exports and imports of products into Messenia and western Greece from the Adriatic multiplied after 146 B.C., as was to be expected, and peaked in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, when Roman citizens and others established themselves in the city of Messene. They brought with them their own habits and preferences as regards vessels and utensils, which were produced by local workshops, with limited imports of fine terra sigillata pottery from Italy.⁵⁹ The Messenians had maintained friendly relations with the Romans from their initial contact. Emperors such as Tiberius, Claudius, and especially Nero, but also Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus were honoured with statues set up by the Messenians in the agora and the theatre.⁶⁰

51. Amouretti, Brun 1993; cf. Steinhauer 2008, 201-02 and 206-10.

52. Kaltsas 1983, 63-67, fig. 27 (*Gnathia*-type oinochoe).

53. Paus. VI. 26, 4; Strab. VIII. 337. Cf. Lepeniotis 1991, 386 for wine amphoras imported from Italy. Kyllene is the port from which the fugitive Messenians set sail for Zankle in Sicily during the rule of the tyrant Anaxilas: Paus. IV. 23, 1. Alcibiades disembarked at Kyllene, abandoning the Athenians on Sicily before he took refuge at Sparta: Thuc. II. 84 and VI. 88.

54. See *IG V* 1, 1421, a 3rd c. B.C. law from Kyparissia regulating maritime commerce, for the payment of a $\frac{1}{50}$ tax by merchants upon arrival and departure.

55. Themelis 1996b, 174-76.

56. Thuc. IV. 13, 3; Strab. VIII. 3, 23. Above the harbor of *Vourlia* is preserved part of the Classical-period fortifications that enclosed the little city of Prote, which was inhabited up to Strabo's time.

57. *IG V* 1, 1537-58; Valmin 1928, 45; Lyritzis 1973, 88-90; Grandjean 2003, 84-85.

58. Suet., *Ner.* 19; Alcock 1993, 141 and fig. 53.

59. Kaltsas 1983, 41-44, fig. 10.

60. *IG V* 1, 1448-52; Themelis 2009 (forthcoming). The great honours accorded to Nero were clearly owed to his proclamation of the freedom of Achaëa in A.D. 67: Alcock 1993, 16; Grandjean 2003, 250 n. 49.

Even Sulla and his general Murena were honoured with statues by the aristocrats of the city, who also undertook to cover the expenses involved.⁶¹ In the time of Augustus, a populous group of ephebes, recorded in the ephebic catalogues as the group of “Foreigners and Romans,” came to be added to the five tribes of Messene, which was being plagued by depopulation. In this new group of ephebes were included the offspring of families of Greek immigrants from cities in the Roman province of Achaëa, mainly the sons and grandsons of Roman colonists from Campania and other regions of Italy.⁶² The first phase of immigration from Italy must have taken place in the time of the late Republic, with the most likely region of origin being Campania, with which Messenian families such as the Saethidae maintained ties at least until the time of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161).⁶³ The ephebes of the “tribe” of the Foreigners and Romans were incorporated completely into the five Messenian tribes towards the end of the 1st c. A.D.⁶⁴

According to the numismatist Kleanthis Sidiropoulos, the question of the dating (shortly before or after 146 B.C.) of the coin issues bearing the names of archons on silver triobols, and of bronze mintings in the name of the archon Nikarchos remains uncertain for the time being. With the latter issues, the depiction of Zeus *Soter* (?) and the caduceus of Asklepios were introduced into Messenian coinage. Beginning in A.D. 27, Messene issued a new series of bronze coins bearing Herakles’ head and club. To cover the needs of everyday transactions, they continued to use the city’s old coins, as also happened in the interval after 146 B.C., only now they were countermarked with one or more images (Augustus’ head, eagle, tripod, monogram)

to certify their validity. At the same time as the countermarked coins, which continued to circulate throughout the 1st c. A.D., new series were also struck, with the head of the Tyche of Messene wearing a mural crown on the obverse and Zeus Ithomatas or Asklepios on the reverse. The last products of Messene’s mint, which come from the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211), are coins bearing a portrait of the emperor and the members of his family on the obverse and representations of Messenian divinities such as Zeus *Soter*, Artemis, Herakles, and Asklepios on the reverse. The economic life of Messene appears to continue generally unaffected by the administrative and monetary changes of three centuries; as regards the medium of exchange, it remained fixed in the use of bronze. It covered the absence of larger-denomination gold, silver, and alloy coins with a plethora of bronze coins of low buying power, sign of an inward-looking barter economy.⁶⁵

The historical evolution of Messene and of Messenia generally during the Roman period is characterized by peace and prosperity primarily of the upper social strata until approximately the end of the 4th c. A.D. The long *pax Romana* had distinguished Messene, particularly since the age of Augustus, as a city with a high level of social and economic development. The revival of the institution of the ephebate in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, and its continuation at least until the end of the 2nd c. A.D.,⁶⁶ the re-erection of copies of famous works of sculpture – among them the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, the Caserta-type Herakles, and a Hermes – in the remodeled and repaired Gymnasium, as well as the construction of the monumental tetrastyle propylon at the north end

61. Themelis 2001b, 205-06; Dohnicht and Heil (2004), unaware of the publication of this monument, refer only to my reports in *PAAH*. Sulla was also honoured at Sparta: Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 95. As well, Aidedpsos, which had developed into a cosmopolitan medical centre especially in later Roman times, was visited by Sulla, who came for treatment of the gout that was afflicting him.

62. Themelis 2001c; Grandjean 2003, 265-66.

63. Italian immigration during the Republican period and later on in Imperial times was experienced by many regions of mainland Greece and the islands, among them Athens, Delos, Boeotia, Crete and Macedonia. For Macedonia, see Rizakis 2002; Grandjean 2003, 256-58. For the Saethidae, see *infra*, at ns 127-32.

64. Themelis 1998/99, 66-67; Roman citizens were also inscribed in the ephebic catalogues at Athens and assumed public offices there: Vlachopoulos 2008, 152.

65. Gold and silver coins were the principal medium of exchange in inter-state commerce: Duncan, Jones 1998, 142 and 166.

66. The latest ephebic catalogue that has come from the palaestra of Messene is dated to the year A.D. 188. During the same period (1st-2nd c. A.D.), the institution of the ephebate was also revived at Sparta: Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 203; cf. Kennell 1995, 28-69.

of the west stoa of the Gymnasium and the construction of the monument of the Saethidae took place during the Julio-Claudian period. Members of the Messenian elite such as the Saethid Dionysios son of Aristomenes and others received heroic honours from their fellow-citizens after their deaths, at least from the 1st c. A.D., on, the time of Nero, and had the privilege of being allowed to build their opulent grave monuments inside the city next to public buildings.⁶⁷ The age of Augustus is a period in which, through the contributions of twenty-two affluent citizens, both Greeks and Hellenized Romans, repairs were made to buildings which had suffered damage, according to the noted inscription that was brought to light in Anastasios Orlandos' excavations of the Sebasteion and Asklepieion.⁶⁸ Repairs funded by citizens took place during the same period at the Fountain of Arsinoe, the Ekklesiasterion, the stoas of the Gymnasium, and the Stadium's seating, as we are informed by other inscriptions, inscribed for the most part on the monuments themselves. The damages to these buildings had most probably been caused by an earthquake that must have shaken Messenia in the final years of the emperor Augustus' reign. An earthquake must be what is denoted by the word ἀτόπων in l. 41 of the inscription *SEG* 41, 1991, 328 (cf. *SEG* 42, 1992, 344) of A.D. 14, which came to light in 1988 in the *Sebasteion* of the Asklepieion and, among other things, mentions the sending of an embassy of Messenians to the emperor Tiberius just when he had assumed his duties after the death of Augustus. The embassy sought the emperor's "mercy" (ἔλεος), most likely for the repairs of buildings that had been affected by the earthquake, by τὰ ἄτοπα, the "unseemliness" of Poseidon, the god of earthquakes who had shaken Messenia up.⁶⁹ The repairs which had been scheduled to occur in the reign of Augustus may not have been completed by reason of the small sum that had been

collected from the contributions of Messenian citizens, when it was judged necessary to seek supplementary funding from the Imperial treasury. Evidence exists (*IG* V 1, 691; *SEG* 11, 1950, 848) that Vespasian gave the Spartans financial support so that they could repair the buildings which had suffered damage, also as the result of an earthquake.⁷⁰

When Pausanias the periegete visited Messene in the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 155-160), the city was continuing to maintain most of the elements of its Hellenistic past and to be an important political, economic, and artistic hub.⁷¹ The capital city represented the centre of social, economic, and public life, functioning as a point of reference for the entire state, which corresponded approximately to the boundaries of the present-day nome of Messenia.⁷² Pausanias, absolutely devoted to the old religion, with no "annoyances of dogmatic doubts and firmly indifferent to the faith of the Christians",⁷³ could still admire the statues of divinities and historical figures by the great 2nd c. B.C. Messenian sculptor Damophon that adorned not only the Asklepieion but also the temples of Zeus *Soter*, the Mother of the Gods, and Artemis *Laphria* in their sanctuaries in the agora and at other locations around the city.⁷⁴ Though they were no longer performing their defensive duties, the city's impressive fortifications still prompted admiration and were compared to famous fortifications of the age, such as those of Babylon, Byzantium, and Ambrosos in Phokis (Paus. IV. 31, 5). None of the public buildings, religious or secular, were lying in ruins, as occurred in other regions of Greece; Arcadia constitutes the most typical example of this phenomenon: there, not only individual temples, theatres, stadiums and walls, but also entire towns and cities had been abandoned to the ravages of time, while many bases had lost their statues, as always according to the simple yet precise and

67. Themelis 2000b. For the according of heroic honours to citizens by their cities, see Price 1984, 50.

68. Migeotte 1985; 1992, 57-58.

69. Themelis 1988, 57-58; 1990a, 87-91. Cf. Grandjean (2003, 250), who thinks that the embassy petitioned Tiberius to help the Messenians in their dispute with Sparta over the frontier region of the Dentheliatis. The sense of the word ἄτοπα, however, compels rejection of her proposal. See also *IG* VII, 5 15, where the word ἀτόπημα denotes the earthquake that the gods sent.

70. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 105.

71. Habicht 1985, 48.

72. Alcock 1993, 216.

73. Papachatzis 1980, 12-13 n. 3.

74. For Damophon and his works in Messene and beyond, see Themelis 1996b, with a review of earlier literature.

quite evocative descriptions of Pausanias (VIII. 35, 7-9 and 44, 3). The periegete found even Megalopolis dramatically uninhabited, where melancholy ruins were seen in the place where splendid buildings once stood (VIII. 30, 1-5). The abandonment of Arcadia and especially of Megalopolis seems to have begun earlier on, as emerges from the description by Strabo (VIII. 8, 1). Depopulation was also characteristic of other regions of mainland Greece, such as Boeotia.⁷⁵

Pausanias mentions only the cult statues and the temples in the agora of Messene; he is not interested in the edifices of a political and commercial character which existed in the city. Nonetheless, thanks to the 1st c. A.D. inscription from the *Sebasteion* concerning repairs (*SEG* 23, 1968, 205, 207; *SEG* 35, 1985, 343), we know the names of three *stoai* that should be sought in the agora: the Παντόπωλις (“General Stores”) *stoa*, the *stoa* τοῦ Νικαίου (“of Nikaios”), and the *stoa* παρὰ τὸ Κρεωπώλιον (“by the meat market”).⁷⁶ The agora’s grocers and butcher-shops were, of course, supplied by the produce of the Messenian countryside. In the east wing of the agora’s north *stoa* operated the market inspectors’ office (*agoranomeion*), as shown by two good-sized stone weights in the shape of tables that were found in the area and were used for checking the weight of grain, legumes, and dried fruits and nuts sold by the merchants in the market.⁷⁷ A relatively large number of standard measures, some of them inscribed, has come to light at various spots in the agora.

A significant role in the economic life of the city of Messene and its communications with the out-

side world was also played by the laying-out of the oldest epigraphically attested Roman public road in the Peloponnesus in A.D. 115, during the reign of Trajan. This road led from Nikopolis to Messene, its course running along the west coast of the Peloponnesus.⁷⁸ A branch of this Roman road, which followed the track of an earlier ancient road, must have passed over the Classical-Hellenistic bridge on the river Valyra in the village of *Neochori* (Meligala) and ended at the Arcadian Gate of Messene.⁷⁹ The continuation of its course from Kyparissia toward Pylos is confirmed by the discovery of a milestone dated to A.D. 323-326 between *Vromoneri* (*Gargaliani*) and the *Romanos* river, roughly opposite the island of Proti.⁸⁰

Messene had managed to avoid collapse, as did Athens, which at that time was experiencing a second golden age owed mainly to Herodes Atticus and the enlightened emperor Hadrian with his new city.⁸¹ Under Roman rule, the city maintained certain privileges as well as the freedom to govern itself on the basis of its ancient institutions; Sparta did likewise.⁸² Messene retained its size and Hippodamian urban form until around the end of the 4th c. A.D. It should nevertheless be stressed that, despite the 9.5 kilometre long walls surrounding an expanse of 290 hectares, larger than the walled areas of Athens and Sparta, they enclosed within them huge expanses of open space that were larger than the built-up areas. This open space within the walls, free of buildings, *rus in urbe* (ἀγροὶ ἐν πόλει),⁸³ taking Pompeii as a parallel example,⁸⁴ encompassed the mountainous bulk of Ithome for woodcutting, quarrying, and grazing as well as flat expanses to

75. Papachatzis 1974, 9.

76. Migeotte 1985; cf. Müth 2007, 47-49.

77. Themelis 2009.

78. *Id.* 1969a; Pritchett 1980, 269; Alcock 1993, 121 fig. 39 (without reference to the excavation and its 1969 publication); Pikoulas 1992-98, 309; Axioti 1980, 189-91. Cf. Steinhauer 1992-98, 287; Zoumbaki 2001, 172-77.

79. For the bridge of *Mavrozoumaina*, which is still in use even today, see Stylianopoulos, 1953, 168, who also prints the inscription recording the bridge’s repair during the Ottoman period: Ἐκκενεύθη τὸ διοφίρι τῆς Μαρζούμυνα δι’ ἐξόδων ἐμοῦ Σινὰν Σουμπάσιου Καρτενοῦ. The ancient bridges over the river Eurotas: Kourinou-Pikoula 1992-98.

80. Pikoulas 1992-98, 307. Also from *Vromoneri* comes the inscription *IG* V 1, 1420, dating to the early years of Constantine the Great’s reign.

81. Paus. I. 20, 7. The role and personality of Herodes Atticus: Graindor 1930; Ameling 1983. Cf. Papachatzis 1974, 10-11; Habicht 1985, 62, 123, 131.

82. Cf. Rostovtzeff 1957, 135-51; Kennell 1995, 9-11.

83. The word translates into English as “the country (opp. to the city), lands, fields; a country-seat, farm, estate”: C. T. Lewis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1955, s.v. *rus*.

84. Greene 1986, 94-97.

the south, west, and east of the city centre for the cultivation of fields of fruit, olive trees, and grapevines and the keeping of domesticated animals, especially in the event of sieges.⁸⁵ The image presented by the urban area in antiquity, the wider area of the walled city, was not essentially different in appearance from the archaeological park of today, with its majestic ancient edifices, political and religious, towering above the olive groves, vineyards, and fields of fruits and vegetables. A great part of this open space inside the city, especially in the southern area around the Stadium, also comprised a relatively large number of graves and grave monuments.⁸⁶

Since the beginning of the fourth century, Messenia found itself powerless to hold back the progressive deterioration of its public buildings and sanctuaries, which were gradually abandoned to their fate; the Theatre became the first casualty. The final abandonment and collapse of the remaining public buildings is dated to after the great earthquake of A.D. 365, according to the data (coins and pottery) from the destruction layers that covered the ruins. Already in the first half of the 5th c. A.D., however, an extensive new settlement made its appearance east of the Asklepieion. It had little winding streets and houses of irregular shape that did not take the existing Hippodamian road network into consideration. The focus of the city and of the new faith was now represented by the majestic early Byzantine basilicas (at least three in number) located in the area of the agora and the theatre; around them formed the parishes, the small partially urban units with their cemeteries.⁸⁷

Fields and Land for Grazing

A Doric column drum of limestone with twenty shallow flutes, incomplete on the bottom, from the area southwest of the Asklepieion (inv. no. 15190, maximum height 0.97 m, diameter 0.49 m). A smoothed surface within an aedicula-shaped frame bears the following twenty-line inscription, letter

height 0.012-0.020 m, from the year A.D. 82.⁸⁸

Αγαθῆ Τύχη
 ἐπὶ γραμματέως
 Διονυσίου τοῦ
 Βαροίτα, ἔτους
 ΡΙΓ
 [οὔτ]ως ἐκκληρώθη-
 σαν ποιεῖν τὰς ἐπι-
 νομὰς οἱ συνελθόν-
 τες λέγοντες· *vacat*
 10 [--] Διονύσιος Βαροί-
 [τα -----]
 [---] Κριστόλας
 [---]ν ὁ ἔπαρχος
 [---]επο[. .]ουνίου ΕΒ
 [-----]λιανὸς
 [---]μάρχης *vacat*
 Ἀρχίλοχος Ἀφθ[ο]-
 νήτου ὁ ἀγορανό-
 [μος Ἐπαφρόδε[ι]-
 20 τος >.

The sense is provided, I believe, by the word ἐπινομαί, which can be understood as “right of pasturage” (*LSJ s.v. ἐπινομή*). The word ἐπινόμιον is also attested, which is interpreted as “payment for pasturage” using examples from Megalopolis and Messenia. The distribution of pasture land seems to have been done by officials from the capital who convened (συνελθόντες) for discussions where they would put forth their proposals: the secretary of the synedroi Dionysius son of Baroitias (head of the team), the (epimelete) Kristolas (a syncopated form of Κρατιστόλας), the governor (ὁ ἔπαρχος), the [---]μάρχης Archilochus son of Aphthonetus, and the agoranomos Epaphrodeitus son of Epaphrodeitus. According to the ephobic catalogue discovered in the Stadium of Messene (inv. no. 10905), Epaphrodeitus son of Epaphrodeitus had been an ephebe in the tribe of the Foreigners (Ξένοι) in the year A.D. 70.⁸⁹

Of particular interest as well is the lower part of

85. Cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 133, in reference to the city of Sparta: “The impression is created of an urban habitat in Roman times which continued to comprise, alongside public buildings and private dwellings, a fair amount of vacant plots, perhaps to be imagined as under cultivation in the form of market-gardens, orchards or vineyards.”

86. The filling-in of this area with urban planning blocks (*insulae*) is unauthorised: Müth 2007, 278-89.

87. Themelis 2002b; Lavvas 2002, 117-19; Saradi 2006, 385-406 and 422-26.

88. Oikonomakis 1879, 23, no. 13.

89. Makres forthcoming; Themelis 2000a, 90-92 (*SEG* 51, 2001, 472).

a limestone stele that came to light in the area of the agora in 2003 (inv. no. 13192, preserved height 0.50 m, preserved width 0.572 m, thickness 0.21 m).⁹⁰ It preserves a twenty-line inscription of the first century A.D. which refers to leases (?) of fields and areas for exploitation in the form of grazing and cultivation; some of them bear names relating to gods and heroes such as Ἄρτεμιταίων, Πυθαεῖον, and Ὑακίνθιον.⁹¹ A certain Baroitias son of Daiphobus (Βαροΐτας Δαϊφόβου) leased an ἀγρὸν ἐντὸς τήχους Λιμνᾶτι σὺν χωρίοις. Both the dating and the content of this inscription place it among the group of inscriptions related to the so-called ὀκτώβολος εἰσφορά mentioned above. It is possible that the Baroitias son of Daiphobus who leased the field was the father of Dionysius son of Baroitias, and that he had a second son named Daiphobus.

The Messenian Aristocracy

The north side of the block (insula) to the west of the road that leads to the propylon of the Gymnasium is occupied by a villa approximately 25 x 30 m in extent dating from the third to fourth centuries A.D.⁹² It follows the orientation of earlier buildings on the site and incorporates certain of their walls into its own architectural plan. The main entrance is located on the north side, accessible from the east-east road. This urban villa (*villa urbana*) has the typical form of Roman imperial villas and comprises twenty-six rooms. Some of them have been identified the vestibulum, fauces, impluvium, atrium, tablinum, storerooms, at least two atria with fountains, auxiliary areas to accommodate slaves, and also spaces with stone wine-presses for producing wine and millstones for grinding grain.⁹³ Room 4, floored with clay tiles, functioned as a family burial chamber, a sort of mausoleum, an integral part of the villa's structure but possessing its own separate entrance.

The more formal rooms have mosaic floors with

a variety of geometric designs composed of white, black, red, and green *tesserae*. The mosaic floor of the andron is preserved in good condition. Along its four sides runs a strip with large ivy leaves that abuts the base of the interior walls, followed by a wider band of cubes rendered in perspective surrounding a rectangular central panel which contains a scene employing multicoloured tesserae made of glass paste. It depicts a divine couple, Dionysus and Aphrodite, seated on a vaguely indicated couch; above them on the left is a small-sized male figure, almost floating, who holds the god's languidly outstretched right hand and kisses it reverently. Lower down in the panel appear the head of a wild boar and a tiller.

The iconography and interpretation of this scene are of immense interest because of the transitional period to which they belong, shortly before the final collapse of the Roman empire. The small figure of the mortal on the upper left can be identified with the owner of the villa, who gives thanks or makes supplication to Dionysos, god of wine but also of the sea and the companion of Ariadne. The boar's head and tiller in the lower part of the scene are suggestive of maritime commercial activities by the owner.⁹⁴ The manner in which the insignificant figure of the "humble" mortal, hanging in suspense, kisses the god's hand, outstretched in his direction, relates to questions of reciprocal influence that have as much to do with iconography as with ideology, between paganism and Christianity and including the contribution of educated Neoplatonists, who were also present at Messene. The pagan, god-fearing owner of this villa, as well as other aristocratic Messenians, did not shy away from choosing prominent locations in the city to build their opulent dwellings, places where only buildings of a political and religious character had previously stood.⁹⁵ According to the remarks made by Libanius (A.D. 314-393), in a provincial city such as Nicomedia – and obviously Messene as well –

90. Themelis 2003, 38.

91. Theophoric and heroic names are also found attached to the silver-mining areas around Lavrion: Themelis 1990/91.

92. *Id.* 2002b, 32-34 figs 14-16.

93. In the area of the Fountain of Arsinoe in the agora there was a water mill in operation since the 4th c. A.D. that was abandoned in the 6th c.; motion of the mill's overshot wheel (which was turned by falling water) was transferred by gears to the millstone inside the mill house: Sidiropoulos 2002, 104-05 figs 12-13.

94. Wealthy landowners possessed their own ships for transporting their produce: Cameron 1993, 191.

95. For the Athenian elite and its residences, see Karivieri 1994, 139 and n. 164.

96. Brown 1971, 29.

one could still find “well-born men” and “lovers of the Muses”.⁹⁶

West of the theatre and along the ancient road, two meters wide, sections of houses in the settlement came to light.⁹⁷ The structural remains that have been uncovered belong to opulent residences of the Roman period (second to fourth centuries A.D.) which are on top of earlier houses from the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Certain rooms from the last phase in the fourth century, mainly the andrones, have floors covered with multicoloured mosaics.

Another urban villa of large size, which takes in almost an entire city block, is located east of the Asklepieion. Two halls, amid a plethora of rooms and service areas, are distinguished by their size and the opulence of their construction. Their walls are veneered with marble revetment, while the floor of the more northerly hall is covered with rectangular limestone slabs that frame inlays of polychrome marble (*opus sectile*) in geometric combinations and the more southerly hall's floor holds multicoloured mosaics.⁹⁸ Of the coins which were found in the destruction layer, the latest are those of Constans and Constantius II (A.D. 346-350 and 346-361). They establish the chronological limit immediately after which the edifice was destroyed.⁹⁹ In the destruction layer was found a fallen marble statue depicting an Artemis of the *Laphria* type.¹⁰⁰ To the right and left of it were uncovered two additional statues, of which one is fragmentarily preserved and depicts Hermes (inv. no. 264),¹⁰¹ while the other, still intact, represents

a Roman emperor (inv. no. 263), most probably Constantius II. The emperor holds an orb in his left hand and has his right raised in a gesture of greeting.¹⁰² His entire right arm was made separately and attached to the shoulder by means of an inserted iron dowel. The conversion appears, in my opinion, to be “a change for the better” of the hierarchical status of the man that can be related to the change from the rank of co-ruler (Caesar) to that of the single absolute emperor, exactly as happened with Constantius II in 350 after the death of his brother Constans.¹⁰³ Stylistic aspects of the two statues lead one to conclude that they are works from the same local workshop. Certain deficiencies of proportion, together with the absence of corporeality, are due to the restrictions imposed by the fixed volume of the Hellenistic female statue that the local artist used as his basic material. The quarrying and transport of marble, especially in this period, was for readily understandable reasons virtually impossible. Quarries of grayish-white limestone did exist in the massif of Ithome. They were in operation until the later Roman empire, exploited for the production of architectural members; certain sculptures were also made from this local stone.

Large opulent urban villas with sculptural decoration, large families, large estates characterize the aristocracy of Messene during the later Roman empire.¹⁰⁴ The economic changes of the period had led to the destruction of many small and medium-sized landholdings, contributing to the development of the gigantic estates of the equestrian and especially the senatorial class.¹⁰⁵ Prosperity was based

97. Themelis 1987, 73-79 figs 1-4β and pl. 65.

98. *Opus sectile* wall and floor coverings: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1980, 4; cf. Ibrahim, Scranton, and Brill 1967, 268. Contemporary mosaic floors: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 169 no. 107; Kankeleit 1994, nos 20, 91 and 148.

99. Themelis 1989, 99-105; *id.*, 1990a, 57-62, fig. 2.

100. For this statue type, see Themelis 1989, 102-05.

101. For a head of Hermes from the age of the Antonines with comparable little wings on it, see Aurenhammer 1990, 30-32 pls 6-7.

102. Themelis 2002b, 26-27 fig. 5. Deligiannakis 2005, prefers to identify the statue as Constantine the Great, not as his son Constantius II.

103. Evans 1998, 47; L'Orange 1984. See also *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* VI, Athens 1976, 46 and 71 with figs; Brown 1971, 89-90 and fig. 64; cf. Hanfmann 1967, 344.

104. Large villas at Carthage and Mangersdorf: Percival 1976. Large propertied fortunes and the families of the later Empire: Whittaker 1983, 163-83; Papaioannou 2007.

105. Alföldy 1988, 334.

106. Rihll 2006 discusses the issue of slaves and the use of machinery in ancient Greece, maintaining that despite the distribution of labour, technological development was not curbed. Slaves who were adept craftsmen were paid and could buy their freedom. The expectation of freedom at some price would have been a strong incentive for slaves to increase their productivity, thus contributing to the development of tools and techniques.

mainly on agricultural cultivation by hired labourers and slaves¹⁰⁶ to produce grain and particularly olive oil, as occurred in regions of North Africa and Crete.¹⁰⁷ Seven agricultural establishments with villas or farmhouses dating from the 1st to the 2nd centuries A.D. have been identified in the district of Nichoria in southern Messenia in the context of surface surveys.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the presence of a reasonable number of urban villas shows that the urbanized centre of the city had not deteriorated, in contrast to other regions of the Roman empire, because it had the capacity to be supplied reliably by the agricultural and pastoral production of its countryside.¹⁰⁹ Another factor that should be taken into account is the fact that Messenia was located far from the battlefields of the North and the East. During the period when the Empire-wide fiscal crisis worsened, despite the efforts of Diocletian to stabilize the economy with his famous edict of A.D. 301, a *sextarius* (0.547 litres) of wine cost from 8 to 30 *denarii* and a *sextarius* of oil from 8 to 40 *denarii* depending on its quality, when a farm labourer's daily wage was 25 *denarii* and a woodworker's was 50, without reckoning in the raw oppression of demands for increased productivity and payment of taxes.¹¹⁰ Worthy of interest with regard to the greed of the powerful and the oppression of the rural population in the time of Caracalla is that emperor's intervention for the purpose of exempting poor farmers from the "bundle of taxes," the *μονοθεσμία*, which had been imposed by the councilors.¹¹¹

The opulent and monumental burial chambers with their marble sarcophagi situated outside the Arcadian Gate, where selected members of the Messenian aristocracy were interred, speak in their turn of the high economic status of this class in the

second and third centuries. On one sarcophagus from the time of Antoninus Pius, a pitched battle between horsemen and heroically nude infantry is depicted, obviously a Trojan War episode; on another, from the beginning of the 3rd c. A.D., are depicted scenes of a Homeric naval battle. They represent works of neo-Attic workshops, which flourished conspicuously in the period between A.D. 150 and 250, with exports of their products reaching even the most remote parts of the Roman empire.¹¹² The sarcophagi from Messene can be classed among the most significant examples of their kind.¹¹³ On the basis of the sepulchral inscriptions and numismatic evidence, the funerary edifices of the Arcadian Gate were used throughout the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. as well as in the early Byzantine period.

Analogous tendencies toward display for reasons of social influence, self-aggrandizement, and rivalry are manifested by the variety of imposing family "hero-shrines" built in a row behind the west stoa of the Gymnasium along the road to the Palaestra. Each has its own particular architectural form and each contains a different number of recesses for burials beneath its floor (seven, four, six, eight, and ten burials respectively). The predetermined number of burials, different for each monument, presents a puzzle. Only a family (or the state) would be in a position to know the number of dead from a single battle in advance so that it could determine how many interments its funerary constructions should hold.

The grave monuments next to the Gymnasium of Messene, however, do not appear to have been intended only for men who had died in battle. The size of each monument and the corresponding number of box-shaped recesses was probably proportional to the number of members that family

107. For the prosperity of Roman cities in North Africa and olive production, see Lepelley 1979. Cf. Cameron 1993, 31; Themelis 2002c, 66-80 (large two-storied urban villas in Crete containing luxury objects of ivory, glass, and metal). Large landholdings and sharecroppers: Kotula 1991. The economy in the fourth century: Morrisson and Lefort 1989; Pleket 1948. See also La Rocca, de Vos 2002, 40-85 for points of comparison between the early urban villas of Pompeii and Greek examples.

108. McDonald, Rapp 1972, 98-99; Alcock 1993, 63-71; Grandjean 2003, 257-58.

109. Farms and their economic dimension: Touratsoglou 2006, 59-60 n. 195 with copious bibliography.

110. Lauffer 1971. Part of Diocletian's edict is preserved on the back of an earlier inscription that was found at Kalamata and is now kept in the National Museum (*IG V* 1, 1359).

111. Oliver 1989, 515-18 no. 267; Steinhauer 2008, 199-200.

112. Giuliano 1962.

113. Kallipolitis 1958. For other Attic sarcophagi of the same period, see Koch 1993 (Laconia and Arcadia); Ciliberto 1996, 48, 66, pls 7d and 12f (northern Italy).

had and to its financial resources. Tomb monument K3, dated to the end of the 3rd c. B.C., with its peribolos, eight recesses in the floor, and lofty conical roof, which towered above the remainder of the constructions. The names of the first eight “heroized” dead, men and women, who were buried there are inscribed on the east side of the monument without patronymics.¹¹⁴ Beginning in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, members of the family of Aristomenes son of Dionysius and his descendants, with his more famous offspring Dionysius son of Aristomenes, were interred in the same recesses of monument K3, together with members of the family of Theon son of Niceratus, with its distinguished member Theon’s son Niceratus. These two families most likely belonged to the same clan and were members of the same tribe.¹¹⁵ The family of Niceratus does seem to have had ties of kinship with the all-powerful Saethidae as well.¹¹⁶

The latest members of the illustrious family of Dionysius son of Demetrius became known thanks to an inscription from the years A.D. 140-170 (inv. no. 15791, measuring 0.62 m by 0.935 m) found in 2007 used as building material in the stylobate of the basilica in the theatre:

Τιβ. > Κλαύδιον Γεμινιανόν, ἀρχιερέα, ὑὸν
Κλαυδίου
Κρισπιανοῦ > καὶ Αὐφιδίας Γεμίνης, ἀρετῆς
ἕνεκα.
ἐπὶ Κλαυδίων ἱερέος μὲν τοῦ
Ἰθωμάτου Διὸς Ἀριστομένους, γραμματέως δὲ <
Νεικηράτου, τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

The offices of the high priest of the *Augusti*, which Geminianus son of Crispianus and Aufidia Gemine held, as well as those of the priest of Zeus *Ithomatas* and of the secretary of the *synedroi*, which were held by his brothers Aristomenes and Niceratus, were the highest honours in the city assumed by these illustrious and wealthy landowners of Messene, who had the financial ability to fulfill their

obligations. As well, members of the same family had taken up military offices in the 1st c. A.D.¹¹⁷ Ti. Claudius Geminianus had served as *agoranomos* in 139 (inv. no. 13395).¹¹⁸ His brother Ti. Claudius Aristomenes, the priest of Zeus *Ithomatas* mentioned in the inscription above, had discharged the duties of *agonothetes* in 126 (inv. no. 1049 = *IGV* 1, 1469). The third brother, Tiberius Claudius Niceratus, along with their mother Aufidia Gemine, wife of Crispianus, are epigraphically attested here for the first time.

An inscribed base that once held a bronze statue of the emperor Claudius had been set up in the agora by the Messenian aristocrat Charidamus son of Kraton at a date between A.D. 42 and 54.¹¹⁹ The dedicant Charidamus son of Craton belonged to a prominent Messenian family, many members of which are known from inscriptions. His father Craton son of Archedamus served at a mature age as eponymous priest of Zeus *Ithomatas* in A.D. 11 and provided seventy denarii to cover the annual expenses of the cult activities related to the sacrifice of a bull in honour of the hero Aristomenes, according to the catalogue inv. no. 4200.¹²⁰ Seven years earlier, around A.D. 4, he held the office of gymnasiarch, while at a younger age, in 19 B.C., when he was between twenty and thirty, he performed the duties of assistant gymnasiarch (ὑπογυμνασίαρχος). In that same year (A.D. 4 [?]), Charidamus is recorded with his twin (?) brother Archedamus among the *trietirenes* (τριετίρηνες), the twenty-year-old graduated ephebes of the tribe of Aristomachis, with their father Craton as gymnasiarch, according to the inscription inv. no. 9829. Charidamus himself became gymnasiarch as a mature man in A.D. 30 (?), according to the ephebic catalogue inv. no. 2494, while his son Craton first appears on a list of twenty-year-old graduates of the tribe of Aristomachis in precisely the same year.¹²¹ At an advanced age, when he was about sixty, he set up a statue of the emperor Claudius in the agora

114. Themelis 1997a, 102-05 fig. 9, pls 57-59.

115. Themelis 1997a, 102-05; *id.*, 1998, 115-19, pl. 59; *id.*, 1999, 93-97; *id.*, 2000a, 97-98 fig. 6-7; *id.*, 2001a, 90-92. Messenian families who used the names Dionysius, Aristomenes and Crispianus: Spawforth 2002.

116. Habicht 1998.

117. Baldassara 2007.

118. Themelis 2003, 34.

119. Themelis 2005, 51-52; *id.*, 2009 (forthcoming).

120. Themelis 1992, 71-72; *id.*, 1997b, 146-47 (= *SEG* 49, 1999, 425).

121. Themelis 1992, 72-73; *id.*, 2001c, 121.

near the temple of the goddess Messana at his own expense. It is possible that he was holding the office of priest of Zeus *Ithomatas* at that time. Charidamus, whose daughter Damarchis (wife of Aristion son of Thalon) is honoured in a 1st c. A.D. inscription from the Gymnasium (inv. no. 12717), was probably the great-grandfather of Charidamus son of Craton.¹²²

The inscriptions of the Gymnasium containing ephebic catalogues were not written on uniform stelai fabricated as the occasion demanded, but on architectural elements incorporated into the building itself, for the most part on doorjambs and on columns belonging to the west stoa. This practice shows that the inscribing of ephebic catalogues was not an organized, systematic, or regulated procedure, not did it have as its aim the publication of acts of the state and of documents for the information of citizens. Discernible here too is a tendency to vainglorious competitive display, which should be attributed to the mentality of the local Messenian landowning aristocracy, made up of the affluent families of the Roman period and represented in the present case by the gymnasiarchs and assistant gymnasiarchs. These officials had a burning desire to glorify their successful terms of office and to immortalize them in stone, and to raise the profile of their *trietirenes* sons, whose names appear first in the catalogues, immediately after the name of their gymnasiarch father. The *trietirenes* of the affluent class, right after their graduation at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, could assume the duties of assistant gymnasiarch.

The gymnasiarchs frequently appear as sponsors and benefactors of the city, taking upon themselves the expenses of constructing or repairing buildings, of making and setting up statues in hon-

our of emperors, of providing oil for the gymnasia, and of ensuring salaries for the instructors of the youth, thus buying distinctions and honours both in their native city and abroad, according to the testimony of epigraphical texts.¹²³ In particular, the gymnasiarchy was an expensive liturgy and demanded financial capabilities that only wealthy citizens had at their disposal, who were also honoured for their manifold contributions by the city and by the ephebes-in-training themselves.¹²⁴ Typical of the benefactions to Messene bestowed by the city's gymnasiarchs in pursuit of enhanced social profile are the propylon of the Gymnasium, constructed by the gymnasiarch Charteles son of Philon and repaired by the gymnasiarch Dionysius son of Demetrius, as well as the repair of the main seating area of the Stadium by Thiotas son of Philinus.¹²⁵

One of the limestone bases set up in the orchestra of the theatre, to the left of the stone seat of the priest of Dionysus, bore a bronze statue of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). The dedicant, Tiberius Claudius Frontinus, son of Tiberius Claudius Saethida Caelianus I, high priest of the *Augusti* for life and Helladarch of the *Koinon* of the Achaeans, was the first Messenian senator in the reign of Hadrian.¹²⁶ In addition, he held the office of suffect consul under Antoninus Pius (*IG V* 1, 533 and 1455; *CIL X*, 1122-24). From Latin inscriptions, we know that the Messenian family of the Saethidae possessed great landed properties not only at Messene but also at Abellinum in Campania since the time of the emperor Nero and the *φιλόκασιπ* founder of the family Tiberius Claudius Saethida, great-grandfather of Tiberius Claudius Frontinus.¹²⁷ In the inscription mentioned above, Tiberius Claudius Frontinus is characterized for the first time as a Campanian. His cognomen, Φροντεῖνος Μάκερ

122. Themelis 2002a, 52.

123. Marrou 1961, 170.

124. Quass 1993, 286-92. 317-33; Giovannini 1993, 271. 597. The enthusiasm of wealthy gymnasiarchs/benefactors for ostentation and honorary awards was censured by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 66.1-3).

125. For the family of Dionysius son of Demetrius, which had kinship ties with the family of Niceratus son of Theon and probably with that of the Saethidae, see Themelis 2001a, 90-92. Cf. *SEG* 23, 1968, 203 and 204; *SEG* 43, 1993, 145. Thiotas son of Philinus: Themelis 1999, 91; cf. *SEG* 23, 1968, 221.

126. The same man is honoured on an inscribed base in the eastern apse of the theatre's *scaenae frons*: Themelis 2000a, 80-82. Pausanias makes reference to this Saethidas (*IV*. 32, 2), stating that heroic honours were paid to him by the people of Messene at his mausoleum south of the Stadium; cf. Luraghi 2008, 309-16. His senatorial rank: *PIR*² C 872; Halfmann 1979, 174, no. 93; *RP II*, MES *142.

127. A reconstruction of the family tree of the Saethidae family covering four or even five generations has already been proposed by Tod (1905, 43) and Kolbe (*IG V* 1, 1451, 1455a, and 512); *RP II*, MES *stemma XVI*.

(or Μάχερ), which represents the Latin *Macer* (lean, thin), appears in three ephobic inscriptions from Messene dating to the 1st c. A.D. (inv. nos 2494, 10905, 14610).¹²⁸

For the size of the Saethidae family fortune in landed property and moveable assets, we have no sources. Nevertheless, we do know that members of the Romanized senatorial class, and later on the equestrians and the curials, continued at least until the reign of Commodus to constitute the highest and most affluent social class, just as they did in the early Imperial period.¹²⁹ Despite the crisis, farming does not seem to have been affected. Upper-class Messenians managed gradually to buy small and middle-sized farms and to enlarge their *latifundia* in Messenia and in Italy. The liturgies (*munera*) of the members of the local upper classes had not yet become oppressive compulsory financial burdens.

An inscribed base with a Latin dedication that carried a bronze statue of the emperor Marcus Aurelius came to light south of the temple of Messene in the agora (inv. no. 15396). The inscription dates from between December 10th 163 and December 9th 164, during the period of Marcus Aurelius' eighteenth holding of the *tribunicia potestas*. The same emperor had been anointed *pontifex maximus* in A.D. 161 and acclaimed *imperator* for the second time in 163.¹³⁰ This is the second Latin inscription which has come to light at Messene, the first (inv. no. 12454) being for a statue of Faustina, Marcus Aurelius' wife, set up by the brothers Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus II and Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus next to that of her husband.¹³¹ The dedicants are sons of Ti. Claudius Frontinus, son of Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus I, high priest of the *Augusti* for life and helladarch of the *Koinon* of the Achaeans; their father's titles have already been mentioned. The first of these sons, Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus II, also served as high priest of the *Augusti* for life and Helladarch of Achaea, and was in addition chiliarch of the Third Galatian Legion, treasurer of the province of Sicily, augur, tribune of the *plebs*, and *patronus* of

the *Colonia Abellinatum*. The second son, Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus, was chiliarch of the Fourth Flavian Legion, treasurer and *propraetor* of Achaea.¹³²

In the theatre, before its abandonment at the end of the 3rd c. A.D., gladiatorial combats and other sorts of popular spectacles took place. Sculpture and above all bronze statues of distinguished Messenians and civic benefactors were set up around the orchestra, as shown by the inscribed bases that survive. One of these (inv. no. 13067) carries an inscription of the second century A.D. in honour of the philosopher Ti. Flavius [---]crates. This Messenian intellectual, who is termed the "new Plato," would have acquired the right of Roman citizenship as a member of the local oligarchy and would have enjoyed the favour of the Imperial court, as generally happened with academics of the period.¹³³ It is worth noting that two other Messenian philosophers are attested. The more ancient of the two was Euamerus, an adherent of the school of Cyrene and friend of Cassander (350-297 B.C.). He was followed by the famous Neo-Aristotelian Aristocles, who according to Eusebius (*Praep. evang.* 11. 2-3; 14. 18) was active around A.D. 180, likely a contemporary and opponent of the Neoplatonist mentioned above. One of Aristocles' students was the renowned Alexander of Aphrodisias, who taught at Athens between 198 and 221. Finally, the fact that in the first century A.D. the *τεχνῖται περὶ τὸν Διόνυσ[ον ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας | οἱ εἰς Ἴηλιν συμπορευόμενοι* (*IVO* 405) honoured the art-loving Messenian aristocrat [---]a as their proxenos and benefactor at Olympia presents a certain interest.

Particularly worthy of mention are οἱ *τεχνῖται εἰς τὰς χορτείας* in the well-known inscription regulating the Mysteries of Andania (*IG* V 1, 1390; *Syll.*³ 736). The priest at this Messenian sanctuary was obligated to record every available musician, flutist, and kithara-player and to determine where and when each would play, whether at the sacrifice, at the Mysteries, or at various other rituals.¹³⁴ The

128. Themelis 2000a, 90-92, l. 31, pl. 55.

129. Cass. Dio 52.19.4; Alföldy 1988, 282-83; Brunt 1990, 267-81.

130. Kienast 1990, 137-39, cf. 26-32.

131. Themelis 2002a, 45-46. A third Latin inscription from Messene is now lost: *CIL* III, 495.

132. For the family of the Saethidae, see also Baldassara 1999, 154-64; Luraghi 2008, 306-18.

133. Touloumakos 1972, 57-92.

134. Nordquist 1994, 88.

ἀπελεύθεροι οἱ μεταλλαγέντες ἐλεύθεροι, such as the *artistes* (τεχνίται), who also included the Dionysiac artistes (actors, musicians, composers, singers, and others), the Olympionikai, the craftsmen, and the rowers constituted a special class in Messenian society, according to the various categories of citizens who are referred to in the inscription about the so-called *oktobolos eisphora* (ὀκτώβολος εἰσφορά) of the first century A.D. (IG V 1, 1433).

P. Themelis

Prof. em. of Classical Archaeology

Bibliography

- Ager (S. L.), 1996: *Interstate arbitrations in the Greek world, 337-90 B.C.*, Berkeley.
- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- Alföldy (G.), 1988: *Ιστορία της ρωμαϊκής κοινωνίας*, Athens (Greek transl. A. Chaniotis, *Römische Sozialgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1975).
- Ameling (W.), 1983: *Herodes Atticus I. Biographie*, Hildesheim - Zürich - New York.
- Amouretti (M.-C.), Brun (J.-P.) (éds), 1993: *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée*, BCH Suppl. 26, Paris.
- Anagnostakis (E.), 2007: "Ολεum vero ex pauco. Ελιά και λάδι στην Πελοπόννησο κατά την ύστερη αρχαιότητα και τους πρωτοβυζαντινούς χρόνους", in Beneki 2007, 51-56.
- Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (P.), 1980: *Η τεχνική opus sectile στην εντοίχια διακόσμηση*. Thessaloniki.
- , 1987: *Σύνταγμα των Παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος II. Πελοπόννησος-Στερεά Ελλάδα*, Thessaloniki.
- Aurenhammer (M.), 1990: *Die Skulpturen von Ephesos I. Bildwerke aus Stein*, Vienna.
- Austin (M. M.), Vidal-Naquet (P.), 1998: *Οικονομία και κοινωνία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Athens (Greek tr. T. Koukoulios, *Économies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1992).
- Axioti (K.), 1980: "Ρωμαϊκοί δρόμοι της Αιτωλοακαρνανίας", AD 35, 1986, *Mel.* 186-205.
- Baldassara (D.), 1999: *Famiglie aristocratiche di Messene in epoca imperiale*, tesi di laurea Univ. Ca' Foscari, Venice.
- , 2007: "Famiglie aristocratiche a Messene nella prima età imperiale: Il contributo dell'epigrafia", *Studi in Ricordo di Fulvio Mario Broilo, Atti del Convegno, Venezia 14-15 ottobre 2005*, Padua, 25-36.
- Balzat (J.-S.), 2005: "Le pouvoir des Euryclides à Sparte", *EtClass* 73, 289-302.
- Bardani (V. N.), 2002: "Παλαιοχριστιανικές επιγραφές Μεσσηνίας", in Themelis, Konti (eds) 2002, 82-98.
- Beneki (E.) (ed.), 2007: "Ο δε τόπος ... ελαιοφόρος", η παρουσία της ελιάς στην Πελοπόννησο, Athens.
- Bowersock (G.W.), 1961: "Eurycles of Sparta", *JRS* 51, 112-18.
- Brown (P.), 1971: *The World of Late Antiquity: from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad*, London (Greek transl. E. Stamoulis, Athens 1998).
- Brunt (P. A.), 1990: "The Romanization of the local ruling classes in the Roman Empire", *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford, 267-81.
- Cameron (Av.), 1993: *The Late Roman Empire*, London.
- Cartledge (P.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of two Cities²*, London - New York.
- Caskey (M. E.), 1971: "News Letter from Greece: Messene", *AJA* 75, 308-10.
- Catling (H. W.), 1971/72: "Archaeology in Greece, 1971-72: Messenia. Messene", *AR*, 10.
- Chaniotis (A.), 1987: "Κλασική και Ελληνιστική Κρήτη", in N. M. Panagiotakis (ed.), *Κρήτη: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός I*, Heraklion, 173-284.
- Ciliberto (F.), 1996: *I sarcofagi attici nell'Italia settentrionale*, Bern.
- Comstock (C.), Vermeule (C.), 1971: *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston.
- Coqueugniot (G.) 2005: *Archives et Bibliothèques dans le monde grec - aspects matériels et architecturaux de 500 av. J.-C. à 100 ap. J.-C.* (PhD diss. Univ. de Lyon).
- Daux (G.), 1958: "Chronique des fouilles en 1957: Messène", *BCH* 82, 714-17.
- , 1959: "Chronique des fouilles en 1958: Messène", *BCH* 83, 636-39.
- , 1960: "Chronique des fouilles en 1959: Messène", *BCH* 84, 695-700.
- , 1961: "Chronique des fouilles en 1960: Messène", *BCH* 85, 697-703.
- , 1963: "Chronique des fouilles en 1962: Messène", *BCH* 87, 768-77.
- , 1964: "Chronique des fouilles en 1963: Messène", *BCH* 88, 734-42.
- , 1965: "Chronique des fouilles en 1964: Messène", *BCH* 89, 729-32.
- Deligiannakis (G.), 2005: "Two late-antique statues from ancient Messene", *ABSA* 100, 387-405.
- Demougin (S.), 1992: *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens (43 av. J.-C.-70 ap. J.-C.)*, Coll. EFR 153, Paris.
- Deshours (N.), 1989: *Les cultes messéniens*, Paris.
- , 1999: "Les Messéniens, le règlement des mystères et la consultation de l'oracle d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos", *REG* 112, 463-84.
- Dikaiakos (I. A. G.), 1969: *Τό κλίμα της Μεσσηνίας*, PhD diss., Univ. of Athens.
- Dohnicht (M.), Heil (M.), 2004: "Ein Legat in Messenien", *ZPE* 147, 235-42.

- Duncan-Jones (R.), 1998: *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge.
- Errington (R. M.), 1969: *Philopoemen*, London.
- Evans (J. A. S.), 1996: *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power*, London (Greek transl. V. Kouris, Athens 1998).
- Finley (M. I.), 1988: *Οικονομία και κοινωνία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, Athens (Greek transl. A. Panagopoulos, *Economy and society in ancient Greece*, London 1981).
- Furtwängler (A.), 1997: “Μεθοδολογικά προβλήματα χρονολόγησης”, *Δ' Επισημοτική Συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική κεραμική, Μυτιλήνη, Μάρτιος 1994*, Athens, 396-400.
- Giannopoulou (D.), 2006: *Οι πίθοι της Μεσσηνίας*, PhD diss., Univ. of Thessaloniki.
- Giovannini (A.), 1993: “Greek Cities and Greek Commonwealth”, in A. Bulloch *et al.* (eds), *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley, 265-86.
- Giuliano (A.), 1962: *Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici*, Rome.
- Gouin (Ph.), 1993: “La préparation familiale du fromage Tyromalama en Crète. Étude ethnoarchéologique”, *Techniques et culture* 22, 37-52.
- , 1994: “Sources, principes et techniques de l'archéologie des laitages”, in *Terre cuite et société: La céramique document technique, économique, culturel*, Actes des XIV^e Recontres Internationales d'Archéologie et Histoire d'Antibes 1993, Juan-les-Pins, APDCA, 147-60.
- Graindor (P.), 1930: *Hérode Atticus et sa famille: un milliardaire antique*, Cairo.
- Grandjean (C.), 1996: “Le kappa de l'inscription IG V 1, 1532 et les fractions du chalque en Messénie à l'époque hellénistique”, *REG* 109, 689-95.
- , 2003: *Les Messéniens: de 370/369 au I^{er} siècle de notre ère. Monnayages et histoire*, BCH Suppl. 44, Paris.
- (ed.), 1997: *De la drachme au denier, Topoi (Lyon)* 7.1.
- (ed.), 2008: *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien. Colloque de Tours 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux.
- Greene (K.), 1986: *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*, London.
- Habicht (Chr.), 1985: *Pausanias und seine “Beschreibung Griechenlands”*, München.
- , 1998: “Kleine Beiträge zur altgriechischen Personkunde”, *REA* 100, 487-94.
- Halfmann (H.), 1979: *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.*, Göttingen.
- Hanfmann (G. M. A.), 1967: *Classical Sculpture*, London.
- Hitchner (R. B.), 2002: “Olive Production and the Roman Economy: The Case for Intensive Growth in the Roman Empire”, in W. Scheidel, S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy*, Edinburgh, 71-83.
- Ibrahim (L.), Scranton (R.), Brill (R.), 1967: *Kenchreai, eastern port of Corinth: results of investigations by the University of Chicago and Indiana University for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens II: The panels of opus sectile in glass*, Leiden.
- Jackson (A. H.), 1993: “Hoplites and the Gods: The Dedication of Captured Arms and Armour”, in V. D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London - New York, 228-52.
- Jardé (A.), 1925: *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, BÉFAR 52, Paris.
- Kallipolitis (V. G.), 1958: *Χρονολογική κατάταξη των μετά μυθολογικών παραστάσεων σαρκοφάγων της ρωμαϊκής εποχής*, Athens.
- Kaltsas (N.), 1983: “Από τα ελληνιστικά νεκροταφεία της Πύλου”, *AD* 38, 1983, *Mel.* 1-77.
- Kankeleit (A.), 1994: *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken in Griechenland*, München.
- Karivieri (A.), 1994: “The House of Proclus' on the Southern Slope of the Acropolis: A Contribution”, in P. Castrén (ed.), *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267-529*, Helsinki, 115-39.
- Kennell (N. M.), 1995: *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*, Chapel Hill.
- Kienast (D.), 1990: *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt.
- Koch (G.), 1993: “Σαρκοφάγοι της ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορικής εποχής στην Αρκαδία και τη Λακωνία”, in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (eds), *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia: Proceedings of an International Conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, Oxford, 245-50.
- Kotula (T.), 1991: “Les grands domaines et l'esclavage face à la crise du III^e siècle”, *Eos* 79, 71-83.
- Kourinou-Pikoula (E.), 1992-98: “Μνᾶμα γεροντείας”, *Horos* 10/12, 259-76.
- La Rocca (E.), de Vos (M.), de Vos (A.), 2002: *Pompei³*, Milan.
- Lauffer (S.), 1971: *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin.
- Lavvas (G.), 2002: *Επίτομη ιστορία της αρχιτεκτονικής*, Thessaloniki.
- Lepelley (C.), 1979: *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire II*, Paris.
- Lepeniotes (Cl.), 1991: “Amphorenstempel aus Elis”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 379-87.
- Longnon (J.), Topping (P.), 1969: *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*, Paris.
- L'Orange (H. P.), 1984: *Das römische Herrscherbild, III.4: Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen 284-361 n. Chr.*, Berlin.
- Luraghi (N.), 2008: *The Ancient Messenians: Construc-*

- tions of Ethnicity and Memory, Cambridge.
- Lyrizis (S.), 1973: "Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία της Μεσσηνιακής νήσου Πρώτης", *Platon* 25, 88-119.
- Magnetto (A.), 1997: *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, commentato e indici II. Dal 337 al 196 a.C.*, Pisa.
- Makres (A.), forthcoming: "Xenoi in the Messenian Ephebic Lists", in *CISH, Sydney 3-9 July 2005.
- Marinatos (S.), 1962: "Die Wanderung des Zeus", *AA* 77, 903-16.
- Marrou (H.), 1961: *H ιστορία της εκπαίδευσης κατά την αρχαιότητα*, Athens (Greek transl. Th. Foteinopoulos, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1948).
- McDonald (W. A.), Rapp (G. R.) (eds), 1972: *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition: reconstructing a Bronze Age regional environment*, Minneapolis.
- Megaloudi (Fr.), 2005: "Burnt sacrificial plant offerings in Hellenistic times: an archaeobotanical case study from Messene, Peloponnese, Greece", *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 14, 329-40.
- Michaud (J.-P.), 1970: "Chronique des fouilles en 1968 et 1969: Messène", *BCH* 94, 984-89.
- , 1971: "Chronique des fouilles en 1970: Messène", *BCH* 95, 892-95.
- , 1972: "Chronique des fouilles en 1971: Messène", *BCH* 96, 60-66.
- Migeotte (L.), 1985: "Réparation de monuments publics à Messène au temps d'Auguste", *BCH* 109, 597-607.
- , 1992: *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Hautes études du monde greco-romain 17, Genève - Québec.
- , 1997: "La date de l' *oktobolos eisphora* de Messène", in Grandjean 1997, 51-61.
- Miller (M. C.), 1997: *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*, Cambridge.
- Moretti (L.), 1987-88: "Analecta Epigraphica," *RPAA* 60, 237-51.
- Morrisson (C.), Lefort (J.) (éds), 1989: *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin I. IVe-VIIe siècle*, Paris.
- Müller (Chr.), Hasenohr (Cl.) (éds), 2002: *Les Italiens dans le monde grec: II^e siècle av. J.-C. – I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.: circulation, activités, intégration. Actes de la table ronde, École Normale Supérieure*, Paris 14-16 Mai 1998, Paris.
- Müth (S.), 2007: *Eigene Wege: Topographie und Stadtplan von Messene in spätklassisch-hellenistischer Zeit*, Internationale Archäologie 99, Rahden/Westf. (PhD diss., Freie Univ. Berlin 2005).
- Mulliez (D.), 1997: "Le denier dans les actes d'affranchissement delphiques", in Grandjean 1997, 93-102.
- Neesen (L.), 1989: *Demiurgoi und Artifices: Studien zur Stellung freier Handwerker in antiken Städten*, Frankfurt a. M. - New York.
- Nordquist (G. N.), 1994: "Some notes on musicians in Greek cult", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence, International Seminar at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, 22-24 November 1991, Stockholm, 81-93.
- Oikonomakis (St.), 1879: *Ta Σωζόμενα Ιθώμης Μεσσηνίας και των πέριξ μετά χάρτου χωρογραφικού*, Kalamata.
- Oliver (J. H.), 1989: *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Mem. Am. Philosoph. Soc. 178, Philadelphia.
- Orlandos (A.), 1957: "Άνασκαφή ἐν Μεσσήνῃ", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 121-25, pls 53-58.
- , 1958: "Άνασκαφαὶ Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 177-83, pls 137-42.
- , 1959: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 162-73, pls 136-45.
- , 1960: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 210-27, pls 162-69.
- , 1962: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 99-112, pls 103-20.
- , 1963: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 122-29, pls 94-105.
- , 1964: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 96-101, pls 99-109.
- , 1969: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 98-120, pls 121-36.
- , 1970: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 125-41, pls 172-84.
- , 1971: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 157-71, pls 191-203.
- , 1972: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 127-38, pls 103-16.
- , 1973: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 108-11, pls 6-8.
- , 1974: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 102-09, pls 83-87.
- , 1975: "Άνασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *ΡΑΑΗ*, 176-77, pls 154-61.
- , 1976: "Νεώτεροι έρευναί εν Μεσσήνῃ, 1957-1973", in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, Tübingen, 9-38.
- Papachatzis (N.), 1974: *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις: Αττικά*, Athens.
- , 1980: *Παυσανίου Ελλάδος περιήγησις: Αρχαϊκά – Αρκαδικά*, Athens.
- Papaioannou (M.), 2007: "The Roman *Domus* in the Greek World", in R. Westgate, N. R. E. Fisher, J. Whitley (eds), *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and beyond: Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University, 17-21 April 2001*, ABSA Studies 15, Athens, 351-61.
- Percival (J.), 1976: *The Roman Villa*, London.
- Petrocheilos (I.), 1984: *Ta Κύθηρα από την προϊστορική εποχή ως την ρωμαιοκρατία*, Ioannina.
- Pikoulas (Y. A.), 1992/98: "Miliaria Peloponnesi", *Horos* 10/12, 305-11.
- Pirenne-Delforge (V.), 2009: "Mnasistratos, the «hierophant» at Andania (*IG* V 1, 1390 and *Syll.*³ 735)", in

- Essays in Honor of J. N. Bremmer*, Brussels, 1-12.
- Pleket (H. W.), 1984: "Urban Elites and the Economy in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire", *MBAH* 3, 3-36.
- Price (S. R. F.), 1984: *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.
- Pritchett (W. K.), 1980: *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* III, Berkeley.
- Quass (F.), 1993: *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens: Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Stuttgart.
- Richter (G.), 1929: "Silk in Greece", *AJA* 33, 27-33.
- Rihll (T. E.), 2006: "Men and machines: slavery and machinery in ancient Greece", *Ancient Greek Technology. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference (Athens, October 17-21, 2005)*, Athens, 761-68.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 2002: "L'Émigration romaine en Macédoine et la communauté marchande de Thessalonique: perspectives économiques et sociales", in Müller and Hasenohr 2002, 109-32.
- Rizakis (A. D.), Touratsoglou (I.), 2008: "L'Économie du Péloponnèse hellénistique: un cas régional", in Grandjean 2008, 69-82.
- Roebuck (C. A.), 1941: *A History of Messenia from 369 to 146 B.C.*, Chicago.
- , 1945: "A Note on Messenian Economy and Population", *CPh* 40, 149-65.
- Rostovtzeff (M. I.), 1957: *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols, Oxford.
- , 1922: *A Large Estate in Egypt in the third Century B.C.: A Study in Economic History*, Madison.
- Saradi (H. G.), 2006: *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and History and Historical Reality*, Athens.
- Sidiropoulos (Kl.), 1996: "Τα νομίσματα ως μάρτυρες της Μεσσηνιακής ιστορίας", *Παμμεσσηνιακή – Αφιέρωμα*, Athens, 1-7.
- , 2002: "Η νομισματική κυκλοφορία στην υστερορωμαϊκή και πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη: τυπικό παράδειγμα ή ιστορική εξαίρεση;", in Themelis, Konti (eds) 2002, 99-124.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: "Italian Elements among Roman Knights and Senators from Old Greece", in Müller and Hasenohr 2002, 101-08.
- Steinhauer (G.), 1992-98: "Τρία μιλιάρια από τη Λακωνία", *Horos* 10/12, 277-96.
- , 2008: "Αυτοκρατορική μέριμνα για την Τροιζήνα", in A. Matthaiou (ed.), *Μικρός Τερομνήμων. Μελέτες εις μνήμην Michael Jameson*, Athens, 193-210.
- Stylianopoulos (P. N.), 1953: *Ιστορία της Μεσσηνιας*, Athens.
- Tarn (W. W.), 1952: *Hellenistic Civilization*, New York.
- Themelis, 1969a: "Το μιλιάριον του Έπιταλίου", *AE Chron.* 16-17.
- , 1969b: "Μινωικά εξ Ολυμπίας", *AAA* 2.2, 248-56.
- , 1986: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 74-82.
- , 1987: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 73-104.
- , 1988: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 43-79.
- , 1989: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 63-122.
- , 1990: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 56-103.
- , 1990-91: "Ανάθημα Ευδότη", *Horos* 9/10, 77-82.
- , 1991: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 85-128.
- , 1992: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 60-87.
- , 1993: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 48-72.
- , 1994: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 69-99.
- , 1995: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 55-86.
- , 1996a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 139-171.
- , 1996b: "Damophon", in O. Palagia, J. J. Pollitt (eds), *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Cambridge, 154-85.
- , 1997a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 79-113.
- , 1997b: *Αρχαία Μεσσήνη*, Athens.
- , 1998/99: "Die Statuenfunde aus dem Gymnasion von Messene", *Nürnberg Blätter zur Archäologie* 15, 59-84.
- , 1998a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 90-126.
- , 1999: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 69-111.
- , 2000a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 75-106.
- , 2000b: *Ηρωες και ηρώα στη Μεσσήνη*, Athens.
- , 2001a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 63-96.
- , 2001b: "Monuments guerriers de Messène", in R. Frei-Stolba, Kr. Gex (eds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique, Actes du colloque international organisée à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire de Pierre Ducrey*, Lausanne 20-21 novembre 1998, Bern - Berlin - Bruxelles, 199-215.
- , 2001c: "Roman Messene, The Gymnasium", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman context: proceedings of a colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens*, May 21 and 22, 1999, Finnish Institute Papers and Monographs 7, Helsinki, 119-26.
- , 2002a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 21-55.
- , 2002b: *Ηρωες και ηρώα στη Μεσσήνη*, Athens.
- , 2002c: *Αρχαία Ελεύθερνα, ανατολικός τομέας*, Αθήνα.
- , 2002d: "Υστερορωμαϊκή και πρωτοβυζαντινή Μεσσήνη", in Themelis, Konti 2002, 20-58.
- , 2003: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 25-44.
- , 2004: "Πρώιμη ελληνιστική κεραμική από τη Μεσσήνη", *ΣΤ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Βόλος 17-23 Απριλίου 2000*, Athens, 409-38.
- , 2007: "Τα Κάρνεια και η Ανδανία", in E. Simantoni-Bournia et al. (eds), *Άμύμονα έργα. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Βασίλη Κ. Λαμπρινουδάκη*, Αρχαιολογία 5, Athens, 509-28.
- , 2008: "Κρίμα περί χώρας Μεσσηνίων και Μεγαλοπολιτών", in Y. A. Pikoulas (ed.), *Ιστορίες για την αρχαία Αρκαδία, Πρακτικά/Proceedings of the international symposium in honour of James Roy*, 50 χρόνια Άρκάς (1958-2008), Stemnitsa, 211-22.
- , 2009: "Die Agora von Messene", *Festschrift Burkhardt Wesenberg*, Regensburg (forthcoming).
- Themelis (P.), Konti (V.) (eds), 2002: *Πρωτοβυζαντινή*

- Μεσσήνη και Ολυμπία: Αστικός και αγροτικός χώρος στη Δυτική Πελοπόννησο, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Αθήνα 29-30 Μαΐου 1998, Athens.*
- Tod (M. N.), 1905: "Notes and Inscriptions from South-Western Messenia", *JHS* 25, 32-55.
- , 1913: *International Arbitration among the Greeks*, Oxford.
- Topping (P.), 1981: *Η παραγωγή λαδιού στη βενετική Μεσσηνιά* (Greek transl. A. Apostolaki-Papanikolopoulou), *Μεσσηνιακά Γράμματα* 3, Kalamata.
- Touloumakos (I.), 1972: *Συμβολή στην έννοια της ιστορικής συνειδήσεως των Ελλήνων στην εποχή της Ρωμαϊκής κυριαρχίας*, Athens.
- Touratsoglou (I. P.), 2006: *Η Ελλάς και τα Βαλκάνια πριν από τα τέλη της αρχαιότητας*, Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελληνικής Νομισματικής Εταιρείας 8, Athens.
- Valmin (M. N.), 1928: *Inscriptions de la Messénie*, Lund.
- Vanderpool (E.), 1963: "News Letter from Greece: Messene", *AJA* 67, 281-82.
- Vlachopoulos (A.), 2008: *Αρχαιολογία: Εύβοια και Στερεά Ελλάδα*, Athens.
- Whittaker (C. R.), 1983: "Late Roman trade and traders", in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, C. R. Whittaker (eds), *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, London, 163-80.
- Zervoudaki (E.), 1997: "Ραβδωτά αγγεία με έκτυπα εμβλήματα και μελανόγραφες υδρίες *Hadra* από τις συλλογές του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου", in *Ελληνιστική κεραμική από την Κρήτη*, Chania, 107-46.
- Zobolas (A.), Tzamourani (K.), 2009: *Οι ενσφράγιστες λαβές αμφορέων της Μεσσήνης*, unpubl. study, Athens.
- Zoumbaki (S. B.), 2001: *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit: Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf topographischer Grundlage*, *Meletemata* 32, Athens.

ELEAN RELATIONS WITH ROME AND THE ACHAEAN KOINON AND THE ROLE OF OLYMPIA*

Sophia B. Zoumbaki

Abstract: This paper discusses the relations of Elis with two main factors determining the fortunes of the Peloponnesian *poleis* from the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C. onwards, namely Rome and the Achaean League. The role of Olympia as a major centre of promulgation of important documents and erection of prominent monuments as well as an important “tool” of promoting not only Elis’ foreign relations but also the Achaean League’s affairs and Rome’s Eastern policy, is particularly stressed. The possibility that Olympia hosted the headquarters of the Achaean *Koinon* in some period, as it has been suggested by some researchers, is explicitly discussed in association with the question regarding the nature and the functions of a centre in the several phases of the *Koinon*’s life and with the parallel examination of the situation in other regional, over-regional and provincial *koina* of the Roman period.

The first indirect approach between Elis and Rome was made in the last years of the 3rd c. B.C., when Elis participated in the treaty of 212/11 B.C. between its ally, Aitolia, and the Romans.¹ The first official Roman delegation visited Olympia shortly afterwards in 208 B.C., during the 143rd Olympiad, led by Lucius Manlius (Acidinus), who had been sent to encourage Greeks from Sicily and Taras who had been banished by Hannibal to return home (Liv. XXVII. 35, 3-4). In 205 B.C. the Eleans were signatories to the treaty of Phoinike, where they appear among the *foederi adscripti* of Rome.² Only when the Aitolians’ ally, Antiochos of Syria, was defeated at Thermopylai was Elis forced to join the Aitolians’ rival, the Achaean League, in 191 B.C. (Liv. XXXVI. 35, 7).³ During this period, Rome and the Achaean League were the main factors de-

termining the fortunes of the Peloponnesian *poleis*. This paper examines the evolution of Elis’ relationship with both the Roman authorities and the League, beginning with its first approach to them and continuing through the entire Imperial period.

Elis as a member of the Achaean League

Elis remained a member of the Achaean League until shortly before the sack of Corinth. During this period, Olympia seems to have played a significant role within the League as the centre for the promulgation of its important documents. Thus, inscriptions referring to several arbitrations between members of the League or between the League and other – especially Peloponnesian – communities between 191 and 146 B.C. have been found in Olympia.⁴ Olympia was also shown respect by im-

* I am grateful to Prof. A. D. Rizakis and Dr I. Touratsoglou for useful discussions on several topics relating to the present paper and to Prof. P. Siewert for his critical reading of my manuscript.

1. Liv. XXVI. 22, 9-15. For the text of the treaty, see *IG IX*² 1. 2, 241; Sherk 1984, no. 2.

2. Liv. XXIX. 12, 14: *In has condiciones cum pax conveniret, ab rege foederi adscripti Prusia Bithyniae rex, Achaei, Boeoti, Thessali, Acarnanes, Epirotae, ab Romanis Ilienses, Attalus rex, Pleuratus, Nabis Lacedaemoniorum tyrannus, Elei, Messenii, Athenienses*. For parallel developments in Messenia during this period, see Rizakis forthcoming, n. 8.

3. Cf. Champion 2004, 128.

4. *IvO* 46, a boundary dispute between Megalopolis and Messene-Thouria which was settled by the Achaean

portant Romans, such as Aemilius Paulus who visited the Altis after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.) and was deeply impressed by Pheidias' statue of Zeus.⁵ The Eleans soon realized that the famous sanctuary could serve as a useful tool for promoting their relations with Roman magistrates: an honorific monument in Olympia was an ideal way for the Eleans to flatter powerful Romans. The first surviving example of such a monument is that erected in honour of the [στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων Cn. Octavius [- - -]⁶ by the *polis* of Elis in the first half of the 2nd c. B.C. This policy of honouring Roman rulers in Olympia would be consolidated in the years to come.

Olympia was also used to exhibit important monuments reflecting the League's relations with the Romans: for example, the Achaean League erected a statue in Olympia of the consul Q. Marcius Philippus on horseback, most probably in 169 B.C.⁷ It is possible that a second inscription of uncertain date can also be placed in this period: it is preserved on the base of an equestrian statue erected for Damo of Patrai, leader of the Achaean

contingent (Ἀχαιῶν) that fought the Gauls with the Romans, by the soldiers of 19 *poleis* of Achaia and Arcadia. The dating depends on the identification of the consul Cn. Domitius mentioned in the inscription with one of several consuls of that name who served between 192 and 96 B.C. The date 122 B.C. suggested by the first editor, E. Kunze, seems to have been abandoned by recent research on the basis of historical arguments; taking into account the overall picture of the epigraphic material from Olympia in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. in general, as well as epigraphic sources connected with the Achaean League, as discussed below, a date before 146 B.C. or in the early 1st c. B.C. would be a better match.⁸ Whenever it was erected, this inscription does not list Elis among the "Achaean".⁹

Elis and Rome after 146 B.C.

Elis' membership in the Achaean League was interrupted shortly before the sack of Corinth, when Elis and Messene dissociated themselves from the League and pulled out of the war after the defeat of Kritolaos.¹⁰ A group of federal bronze coins of Elis¹¹

League (cf. Ager 1996, no. 116 [shortly after 182 B.C.]; Harter-Uibopuu 1998, 53-72, nos 8-9 [182-167 B.C.] and cf. further Ager 1996, no. 135 [163 B.C.] as well as the inscription Ager 1996, no. 145 found in Thouria and dated to ca 150 B.C.). *IvO* 47, arbitration between the Achaean League and Sparta over Sparta's dispute with Megalopolis (Ager 1996, no. 137; Harter-Uibopuu 1998, 80-97, no. 11 [after 164 B.C.]; Camia 2009, 22-31, no. 2 [163-146 B.C.]). *IvO* 51 (Ager 1996, Appendix no. 31) could be regarded as an arbitration within the Achaean League. *IvO* 49 and 50 are compared by *IvO*-editors to other arbitrations conducted by the Achaean League, but their fragmentary condition makes it impossible to be certain, see Ager 1996, no. 69.

5. Polyb. XXX. 10, 6; Liv. XLV. 28, 5; Plut., *Vit. Aem.* XXVIII.

6. *IvO* 934; for Cn. Octavius in this text and for a general bibliography, see *RPI*, EL *291.

7. *IvO* 318; for Q. Marcius Philippus, see *RPI*, EL *259.

8. The first editor, Kunze 1956, 160-64, pl. 81 (*SEG* 15, 1958, 254) followed by some scholars, such as Schwertfeger 1974, 30-38 and Warren 2007, 154 no. 10, identify Cn. Domitius with the consul of 122 B.C., an identification which is called into question in *Bull'Épigr* 1976, 282. Moretti 1967, 153-54 no. 60 and *id.* 1990, 295-300 dates the text in question to the period of the Roman-Achaean alliance and identifies Cn. Domitius with the consul of 192 B.C. Kallet-Marx 1995, 79 and 352-53 rejects this date because of the letter forms, and does not exclude the candidates from 162 and 96 B.C. F. Canali de Rossi 2006, 244-56 (also a paper in *CIEGL* XIII in Oxford, September 4, 2007) recently argued in favour of Moretti's suggestion and identified the Gauls with Galatian mercenaries fighting for Antiochos III. For a further bibliography on the candidates that could be identified with the consul, see *RPI*, EL *177. Cf. below p. 7 n. 35.

9. It is unknown whether this text can be used as an indication of the extent of the League at the time of its erection, or whether it indicates that soldiers from a small area in the north-western Peloponnese were formally demanded by Rome from the League, cf. the scepticism about this text summarised by Warren 1999a, 104-05. The fact that the subject is not in this case τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, as in the aforementioned honorary inscription for Q. Marcius Philippus (see *supra* n. 7), but the genitive Ἀχαιῶν followed by a list of towns could indeed cast doubt on whether the whole *Koinon* should be understood from the text.

10. Polyb. XXXVIII. 16, 3: Ἡλεῖοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν, προσδοκῶντες τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου κίνδυνον. cf. Schwertfeger 1974, 15-16.

11. Elis as a member of the Achaean League minted silver and bronze coins bearing the legend ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΑΛΕΙΩΝ or the abbreviation A-F. Warren 1991, 151 argues that the Elean mint postdates the entry of the *polis* into the League and that it should be dated to 188 B.C., see also *ead.* 2007, 146.

which were later overstruck by the *polis* have been interpreted by P. R. Franke¹² as indicating a diplomatic move on the part of Elis to abandon the League so as not to arouse the anger of Rome. P. R. Franke goes further, regarding this accentuation of Elis' neutrality as an explanation for the *polis* not being punished by the conquerors and retaining the right to produce its own coinage after 146 B.C. and the dissolution of the Achaean League.¹³ Both arguments regarding the withdraw of Elis' federal coins and the existence of autonomous Elean coinage after 146 B.C. are, however, contradicted by other numismatists, who explain the countermark of the coins through their use in local circulation in a period of general poverty¹⁴ and date no Peloponnesian emissions immediately after 146 B.C.¹⁵

In any case, Elis seems to have enjoyed positive treatment from Rome, mainly owing to its admin-

istration of Olympia, which continued to attract Romans after 146 B.C. Roman magistrates not only respected the sanctuary of Zeus, they bolstered it on a symbolic level in order to promote their own propaganda in the East. We know from literary and epigraphic sources that Lucius Mummius dedicated 21 golden shields and other votive offerings, among them two statues of Zeus.¹⁶ Apart from two inscriptions (*IvO* 280-81) in which he appears simply as Λεύκιος Μόμμιος Λευκίου υἱός, in the other surviving texts (*IvO* 278-79) he is referred to as στρατηγός ὕπατος, which implies that the dedications are to be dated to 146 B.C. He is also called στρατηγός ὕπατος in the inscription on the honorific monument (*IvO* 319) erected to him by the *polis* of Elis in recognition of his ἀρετή καὶ εὐεργεσία towards Elis and the *Hellenes* – obviously in 146 B.C.¹⁷

In addition to L. Mummius, the ten legates who

12. Franke 1984, 22.

13. Franke 1984, 23: “Das Verhalten der Eleer erklärt auch, warum Elis als nahezu einzige Polis nach 146, nach der totalen Zerstörung Korinths und der Auflösung des Achäischen Bundes, weiterhin Münzen prägen durfte – solche mit dem Kopf des Zeus und dem Kranz aus wilden Olivenzweigen”. Franke's suggestion is accepted by Moustaka 1999, 159 in her study on the coins of the SE excavation area at Olympia, cf. no. 190 in Moustaka's catalogue, which is registered as a countermarked Elean coin of the Achaean League; cf. also Touratsoglou, *infra* tab. on p. 6 and p. 8 n. 12.

14. It has been observed that there are overstruck coins of more member-cities of the Achaean League and that this should be explained by the use of these coins in local circulation, given the general poverty of the period around 146 B.C., see Nicolet-Pierre 1992, 287-89; Warren 2007, 132 states further that the Elean countermarked coins were “in circulation in Olympia (and/or Elis)” and that they were overstruck “to relate them to the mainstream coinage of Olympia, whose bronze coinage would continue to be needed to the festival fair”. See Warren 2007, 131-32 for more countermarked coins from other regions, for similar cases from Elis in the 5th and 4th c. B.C.

15. The view that autonomous Elean coinage had continued to exist after 146 B.C. and, generally, that bronze coinage was produced on a vast scale in the Peloponnese in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. – is also accepted, apart from Franke 1984, by Moustaka 1999, 168, nos 181-84 (and nos 185-88 generally in the 2nd c. B.C.) and Crawford 1985, 126-27, who states that bronze coinage was generally produced in Greece after 146 B.C. A second group of scholars, however, argue that there are limited, if any, traces of Peloponnesian bronze coinage immediately after the Roman conquest. According to these studies, no Peloponnesian silver emissions and little bronze are to be found immediately after 146 B.C.; cf. for example Warren 1999a, 99-109; *ead.* 1999b, 375-93, on Elis esp. 381 concluding that “there appears to be an almost complete cessation of coin production, both silver and bronze, in the Peloponnese in the second half of the second century” and suggesting that the Peloponnese “may have reverted to a largely agrarian subsistence economy” immediately after the Roman conquest; the re-opening of the Peloponnesian mints in the 1st c. B.C. is linked with the presence of the *negotiatores* in Warren 1997, 112-13 and *ead.* 1999b, 382; *ead.* 2007, viii and 111, 175-76.

16. For the dedications to Mummius, see Polyb. XXXIX. 6, 1; Paus. V. 10, 5; 24, 4 and 8 and also *IvO* 278-281. Cf. Philipp, Koenigs 1979, 193-216; Tzifopoulos 1993, 93-100.

17. Philipp, Koenigs 1979, 193-216. Two of the preserved inscriptions, *IvO* 278 and 280, can be dated to immediately after the sack of Corinth in 146 B.C., since Mummius is mentioned as *consul*. Mummius also spent the following year in Greece, bearing the title *proconsul*. Two further inscriptions, *IvO* 279 and 281, are to be dated to the mid-1st c. B.C. or even later – this can be explained by a substitution of newer for older bases during a reorganisation of the monuments in the Altis, since dedications to Mummius in the late 1st c. A.D. make no sense (cf. *IvO*, col. 800 *add.* to col. 443 nos 320-24; Philipp, Koenigs 1979, 197 and 213-216). For L. Mummius and the relevant bibliography, see *RPI*, EL *284.

worked with him on the reorganisation of Greece after the Roman conquest were honoured at Olympia.¹⁸ The exact relationship between the ten-legate commission and Olympia is unknown, though as far as we know, the commission was not honoured in any other region of Greece. It is also noteworthy that Cicero expresses his wish in a letter to Atticus (XIII. 30, 3) to compose a political conference (πολιτικὸν σύλλογον, Greek in the Latin text) in which Mummius and the commissioners would appear as interlocutors. The dialogue would take place in Olympia. Despite the fictive nature of this work, it is worth noting that Olympia would provide the setting. Is this Cicero's invention, or did he know that Olympia had played a role at this time as a place where the ten-legate commission met and co-ordinated its activities? In regard on this question, it is interesting to note that Polybios, son of Lycortas of Megalopolis, was also honoured with a monument in Olympia by the Eleans at around this time.¹⁹ It is known that Polybios, after a number of years in the entourage of the young Scipio, son of the victor of Pydna Aemilius Paulus, was asked by L. Mummius and the ten legates to help the Greek cities accept the new *politeia* and legislation.²⁰ Polybios, as the first of a series of cultured Greeks linked with Romans, was a powerful person whom the Eleans had as much reason to flatter as they did Mummius and the ten legates.

A further possible indication of a positive atti-

tude on the part of Rome towards Elis is the fact that, at some time after the Roman conquest, the *polis* seems to have regained control over almost all the regions that had been either its satellites or under its full domination.²¹ When Elis joined the Achaean League in 191 B.C., the Elean territorium seems to have been limited to Koile Elis and Pisatis, since other regions which had formerly been under various forms of Elean control had already joined the League.²² The small *poleis* of Triphylia, which had joined the Achaean League as independent members in the late 3rd or early 2nd c. B.C. and had their membership confirmed by the Romans in 196 B.C., were incorporated into Eleia after 146 B.C.; no further indication of their independence has come to light. Elis was now a *polis* with a huge *chora*. It is not directly attested to in the written sources whether the image of the Elean *chora* still matched the situation described by Polybios with reference to Philip V's invasion in 219 B.C. – namely that Eleia “is much more thickly inhabited and full of slaves and farm stock than any other part of the Peloponnese”.²³ J. Roy is of the view that Polybios' wording suggests that this settlement pattern had continued to his day.²⁴ The lack of both an extensive archaeological surface survey and systematic intensive survey campaigns make it hard to reconstruct the image of the Elean *chora* after 146 B.C. using the archaeological remains that have so far come to light.²⁵ Stray

18. *IvO* 320-24. For the date of the pedestal, see *RP* I, EL *284, for the legates, the inscriptions for whom are preserved, see *RPI*, EL *249, *305, *320, *325. Their statues were placed on a large pedestal in the sanctuary, the date of which is disputed; it seems that the inscriptions are to be dated to the mid-1st c. A.D. as a result of a rearrangement of the sanctuary, cf. also n. 17 above. Kallet-Marx 1995, 91-92 ponders who might have dedicated this statue group and considers Sparta, Heraclea and Eretria to be likely candidates.

19. *IvO* 302.

20. Polyb. XXXIX. 5, 2-3 and Plut., *Vit. Phil.* XXI. On the new *politeia* and the role of Polybios, see Kallet-Marx 1995, 66, 73-74, 79-80.

21. Roy 1999, 166-67. On the satisfaction of similar claims made by Messene in the Messenian plain, cf. Rizakis forthcoming, p. 9 at n. 33.

22. Lasion and Psophis were given by Philip V to the Achaean League in 219 B.C.; the region of Triphylia, which – after several changes of status – was part of the Elean state in the mid-3rd c. B.C., passed on to the Achaean League in 199 B.C. at the latest, Polyb. XVIII. 47, 10; cf. Roy 1999, 165-67. On the independent *poleis*-members of the Achaean League, cf., for example, the catalogue of *nomographoi* from Aigion, Rizakis 2008, 168-70 no. 116 which contains the previous bibliography.

23. Polyb. IV. 73, 6-10: συμβαίνει γὰρ τὴν Ἠλείων χώραν διαφερόντως οἰκεῖσθαι καὶ γέμειν σωμαίων καὶ κατασκευῆς παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον, etc. (transl. W. R. Paton, ed. Loeb [1967]).

24. Roy 2008, 267-8.

25. According to Yalouris 1976, s.v. *Elis*, the majority of the ca 120 excavated and additional 160 located sites in Eleia which were known about in the mid-70's had been in continuous use between the Prehistoric and Byzantine periods. This would indicate that the Elean *territorium* was not abandoned, or at least not for a long time. Cf. Matzanas 2000, 319-40.

evidence²⁶ indicates that a considerable number of sites with extensive Roman remains, including cemeteries and baths, additional architectural ruins and a great deal of Roman pottery are to be found in Eleia outside Elis and the sanctuary of Olympia.²⁷ Although it is not always possible, given the extant evidence, to decide whether these sites are to be interpreted as villages, farmsteads or prominent villas, what is clear is that the Elean *chora* was not devastated and that, despite possible changes in the nature of settlement, it was still densely populated during the Roman period. In the context of the *pax romana*, the population of Eleia could seemingly return in safety to its country living and its previous occupations – mainly agriculture and cattle breeding, since Elis’ soil was extremely fertile.²⁸

Elis’ positive relations with Rome have led some researchers to accept that it enjoyed an *immunitas* status during the Republican period.²⁹ Since Delphi and Epidauros received the privileges of freedom and exemption from taxes due to the panhellenic sanctuaries they controlled, it is possible that Elis also enjoyed this privilege.³⁰ However, the only direct information is given in a letter found among the correspondence of the Emperor Julian but dated to the 1st/early 2nd c. A.D.³¹ in which Argos addresses the Roman authorities, probably the governor of Achaia, to complain *inter alia* about the immunity of Elis and Delphi (... οὔτε τὴν Δελφῶν οὔτε τὴν Ἡλείων ἀτέλειαν, ἧς ἡξιώ-

θησαν ἐπὶ τῷ διατιθένα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἱεροῦς ἀγῶνας ...), which it describes as having been bestowed in the distant past (ἀτέλειαν τὴν πάλαι δοθείσαν), perhaps in the Republican period. It is in any case unknown whether these *poleis*, perhaps Elis among them, retained this privilege into the Imperial age.

There is little in the way of concrete information on relations between the Eleans and the Roman authorities in the decades following Roman conquest. It is characteristic that no honorary inscriptions have survived erected by Eleans for Romans after the aforementioned monuments erected to L. Mummius and his collaborators, which dated from directly after 146 B.C., until the late 2nd c. B.C. This should hardly be regarded as an indication of bad relations between the two sides since, with the exception of the arbitration concerning Dentheliatīs³² and a private honorific monument for Caecilius Metellus, consul of 143 B.C., erected by Damo of Thessaloniki,³³ no documents have survived from Olympia which can be dated with certainty to the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. The next preserved inscriptions from the sanctuary have been dated to around the turn to the 1st c. B.C. (cf. e.g. *IvO* 397, 399, 400, 405). Honorary monuments to Roman magistrates erected by Eleans and foreigners alike have also been dated to ca 100 B.C. on.³⁴ The absence of epigraphic texts in Olympia in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. is perhaps an indication of the poverty and instability of the

26. Leaving aside the site of the Elean Pylos, which has been systematically investigated and published, Coleman 1986, stray evidence allows us to compile a list of sites with extensive Roman finds known from excavation reports, accidental finds and minor topographical studies and provides an impression of the settlement pattern of the Elean *chora* in the Roman period, see Zoumbaki 2001, 37-45.

27. Since it is not easy to positively identify private houses, because they were built of perishable materials (mainly clay tiles: on their use as building materials, see Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991, 326), the existence of Roman settlements has usually to be deduced from extensive Roman cemeteries, architectural remains and large amounts of other moveable Roman finds, especially pottery, which have been located.

28. On the Elean economy, see Zoumbaki 2001, 46-63, esp. for agriculture 47-56.

29. For the relevant bibliography dealing with the different viewpoints, see *op. cit.*, 161-66.

30. Schwertfeger 1974, 54 believes, despite the lack of relevant evidence, that Elis could have enjoyed a privileged status of this sort; on the immunity of Epidauros see *IG IV²* 1, 63; for Delphi, see Plin., *HN IV*. 3, 7; cf. Pouilloux 1980, 201-07. For the meaning of freedom and immunity under Roman rule, see Bernhardt 1977, 62-73, esp. 67.

31. Spawforth 1994, 211-32, with a bibliography on the chronology of the text.

32. *IvO* 52, cf. Ager 1996, no. 159; Camia 2009, 32-43 no. 3.

33. *IvO* 325 erected by Damo of Thessaloniki; for Q. Caecilius Metellus cf. *RPI*, *EL 97.

34. *IvO* 326 for C. Marius (after 101 B.C., cf. *RPI*, *EL 270), 329 for C. Servilius Vatia (74-50 B.C., cf. *RPI*, *EL 322), 330 for Q. Fufius Q. f. Calenus and his son (48/47 B.C., cf. *RPI*, *EL 216 and 217), 365 perhaps for C. Iulius Caesar (cf. also *IvO* at col. 477). The dedicator of *IvO* 327 for Q. Mucius Scaevola (ca 98 B.C., cf. *RPI*, *EL 283) is unknown, but it seems that it was not Elis; on this, cf. Santangelo 2007, 131 and n. 101.

period. Given the lack of inscriptions, it would be a striking exception if the aforementioned inscription which mentions Cn. Domitius were dated to 122 B.C., as the first editor and other researchers have argued.

Elis and Olympia in the restored Achaean Koinon

The inscription mentioning Cn. Domitius is the only document that is used to support the theory that the Achaean League was restored immediately after 146 B.C. In fact, our only information on the fate of the League after the Roman conquest is a passage in Pausanias referring to the leagues' abolition by the Romans and subsequent restoration "not many years thereafter".³⁵ Otherwise, knowledge must be drawn from the epigraphic texts and coinage – if it existed – of the restored League. The next preserved and dateable documents of the *Koinon* is from the period between the first quarter of the 1st c. B.C. and shortly before the foundation of the province of Achaia by Augustus; all of them were found in Olympia and include monuments to Roman magistrates and Greeks who were benefactors of the League. It should be noted that the general absence of epigraphic sources relating to the League until the first decades of the 1st c. B.C. – with the exception of the problematic Cn. Domitius inscription – is in line with the general lack of

epigraphic texts from Olympia in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C.

The study of federal coinage as a supplementary source of insights into the situation of the Achaean League after 146 B.C. turns out to be rather confusing, as the numismatists cannot agree on the chronology of Achaean federal coinage. Interest in the coinage of the Achaean League was revived by the study by Chr. Boehringer³⁶ which provoked a lively discussion among numismatists of the pro- and contra-camps. Based mainly on the evidence of the coin-hoard of *Poggio-Picenze*, Boehringer argues against the traditional view which dates no federal coinage to after 146 B.C., arguing for silver emissions after 146 B.C., but moving its substantial output, together with civic silver and a few bronze issues connected with them, to the late 2nd and the 1st c. B.C., which is to say to the Mithridatic Wars and Sulla's presence in the East. This view was well-received in some quarters,³⁷ but also elicited strong reactions from numismatists who argue that no coin-hoard including Achaean federal coins can be dated to after 146 B.C. apart from the 'suspicious' cases of *Agrinion* and *Poggio-Picenze*.³⁸

Given the present state of the evidence, there seems no way out of this dispute and no generally accepted view regarding the minting activity of the League after 146 B.C. It should, however, be noted

35. Paus. VII. 16, 9-10; cf. Sen., *Ben.* V. 16, 6. According to Larsen 1966, 109 the Achaean League was dissolved after the destruction of Corinth and a smaller confederacy was reconstituted a few years later. Schwertfeger 1974, 52-55, esp. 19 sqq. and 27 sqq. suggests that the League was not abolished and later re-organised; rather, it was already in existence in 146/5 B.C., though with a different constitution and members. Kallet-Marx 1995, 76-82 admits that Mummius and the senatorial commission did not formally dissolve the leagues, which had already collapsed, but did nothing to reconstitute them. Strauch 1996, 33 believes that the League acquired some new competences in relation to tax collection and recruiting soldiers prepared to join the Roman army. For a further bibliography on these problems, see Warren 2007, 175.

36. Boehringer 1991, 163-70. Cf. also Campanelli 1991, 155-61.

37. Price 1987, 95-103 did not accept the existence of silver Achaean League coinage after 146 B.C., but was later convinced by Chr. Boehringer's arguments. Cf. also Campanelli 1991, 155-61. For a continuation of this discussion and the relevant bibliography, see Boehringer 1997, 103-08. J. A. Warren, convinced by the arguments of Chr. Boehringer, re-examined the silver and bronze Peloponnesian coinage of the period in question, and concluded that the traditional chronology (146 to 31 B.C.) has to be abandoned for much of this coinage and a new date posited in the 1st c. B.C., see Warren 1997, 109-14, esp. for Elis 111 and n. 16 and *ead.* 1999a, 99-109; Warren 2007, viii and 111 n. 25 and 175 n. 488. In this framework, Benner 2008, esp. 17-19 accepts a "Fourth Period" in Achaean federal coinage represented in most of the League's *poleis*-members, 88-30 B.C. On p. 19 St. Benner states: "Warren's further analysis concluded that these issues [e.g. of 88-30 B.C.] began around 88 BCE, during the time of Lucullus and Sulla, and a few continued down to the time of, or just after, Actium in 31 BCE". Both authors assign issues of Aigeira, Aigion, Dyme, Elis, Epidauros, Kleitor, Pallantion, Patrai, Sikyon, Sparta, and Tegea to this "Fourth Period".

38. For different views on the chronology and contents of the hoards on which Boehringer's theory is based, see Touratsoglou-Tsourti 1991, 171-88; Lakakis-Marchetti 1996, 147-56; Oikonomides, Lakakis-Marchetti, Marchetti 2007, 379-434, esp. 415-17.

that even Boehringer, who does not doubt the existence of federal coinage after 146 B.C., observes that several towns including Tegea, Pallantion, Epidauros, Sparta and Elis seem to have only minted federal coinage in the first decades of the 1st c. B.C.; the years 146-88 B.C. also appear as a gap in the federal coinage of all the members of the League in the recently published catalogue by St. Benner.³⁹ It is thus remarkable that even those that argue for the existence of federal emissions after 146 B.C. rarely place them in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. This, in conjunction with the general lack of epigraphic evidence related to the Achaean League from the second half of the 2nd c. B.C., should lead us to reconsider the league's function after the Roman conquest, as there is no trace of the league's activity before the early 1st c. B.C.

The problem of dating the restoration of the Achaean *Koinon* will not be solved within the framework of this discussion. In any case, Elis does not seem to have been a member of the restored League immediately after 146 B.C. Boehringer suggests that Elis had no reason to join the League, since the *polis* enjoyed an exceptional status and dates Elis' penetration into the Achaean League to the first decades of the 1st c. B.C. and associates it with the difficulties caused by the Mithridatic Wars and Sulla's mistreatment of Olympia.⁴⁰ He argues that the period was characterized by a rich federal

coin series minted by Elis bearing magistrates' names in full; these emissions stopped shortly before the foundation of the province of Achaia.⁴¹

The Elean federal coins of the 1st c. B.C. led Boehringer to conclude that Elis succeeded Patras⁴² as the headquarters of the Achaean League in the period after Sulla. Similarly, G. Bowersock, basing his argument on the striking accumulation of monuments erected by the *Koinon* in Olympia and the absence of similar monuments in other regions which are attested or presumed members, had suggested earlier that Olympia was the headquarters of the *Koinon* during the 1st c. B.C.⁴³ As already mentioned, every epigraphic text of the Achaean *Koinon* from the early 1st c. B.C. to the foundation of the province of Achaia originates from Olympia. In the period 100-72 B.C., the Κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν together with the Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες erected two pedestals for statues in Olympia in honour of Cn. Egnatius Cn. f.⁴⁴ A further monument erected by the Achaean *Koinon* and dated to the first half of the 1st c. B.C. is a statue honouring the *proquaestor* Q. Ancharius Q. f.⁴⁵ The statue erected by the *Koinon* in honour of Octavian does not yet bear the title "Augustus", meaning that it is to be dated before 27 B.C. (*IvO* 367). A certain Mychon, son of Timok[- -] (*IvO* 401), the Elean Molossos, son of Molossos (*IvO* 415), and the Argive Kleogenes, son of Damoson

39. For Tegea, Pallantion, Epidauros and Sparta, see Boehringer 1991, 165-166. Cf. also the catalogue of Benner 2008, 35-104, in which the years 146-88 B.C. appear as a gap in the federal coinage of every member of the League. Some coin types dated generally to 167-30 B.C. are not well-represented in any of the hoards, and cannot therefore be dated more accurately, see Benner 2008, 19. According to this chronology, Aigeira, Aigion, Dyme, Elis, Epidauros, Kleitor, Pallantion, Patrai, Sikyon, Sparta, and Tegea minted federal coins between 88 and 30 B.C. Schwertfeger 1974, 41-60 doubts the membership of most of these towns in the restored League. Lakakis-Marchetti 1996, 155-56 only discusses the case of Sparta, which is to be excluded from the restored League.

40. Plut., *Vit. Sull.* XII; App., *Vit. Mith.* LIV and *B Civ.* I. 99; cf. Zoumbaki 2001, 159-60.

41. Clerk 1895, 16-7, nos 264. 36; 37 (Ἀπολλώνιος); 272. 44 (Θρακυλέων); 273. 45; 274. 46; 275. 47 (Κάλλιππος); 276. 48 (Νικέας); see also Thompson 1939, 119-120 and 140, nos 626-630 (Θρακυλέων). Gardner 1879, 266 discerns two Elean coin groups of the Achaean League, an earlier and a later one, both of which are to be dated in any case to the period 191-146 B.C. The earlier group bears magistrates' names such as ΛΥ, ΣΩ, ΣΩΣΙΑ, ΔΩ etc. on the reverse, the later one on the obverse, Ἀπολλώνιος, Δαμαίων, Ἐπίνικος, Θρασυλέων, Κάλλιππος, Νικίας, Πάντισος, Φιλομένιος, ΚΑ. On the contrary Boehringer 1991, 165-66 dates the latter series to the period between the Mithridatic Wars and the foundation of the province of Achaia.

42. That Patrai played this role after 146 B.C. has been suggested by Rizakis, 1987/88, 17-36 based on epigraphic and historical data indicating a dominant position for Patrai in the period after the sack of Corinth, and accepted by Boehringer 1991, 165-66 and Boehringer 1997, 106. This view is doubted by Warren 1999b, n. 59.

43. Bowersock 1965, 92.

44. *IvO* 333 (*SEG* 17, 1960, 198); 938+ Eckstein 1958, 214-16 (= *SEG* 17, 1969, 197); for Cn. Egnatius see *RPI*, EL *178. For Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες see Zoumbaki 1994.

45. *IvO* 328; cf. also *RPI*, EL *15.

and adoptive son of Soteles (*IvO* 420) were also honoured by the *Koinon* in Olympia.

However, Th. Schweretfeger rejects both the central role of Olympia and even the possibility of Elis being a member of the restored League; he does not regard the honorary inscriptions erected by the *Koinon* in Olympia – including the inscription to the Elean Molossos – as strong proof of Elis' membership.⁴⁶

It is true that we know very little about the League after the Roman conquest. At some unspecified time after 146 B.C., the League was resurrected, as Pausanias (see *supra* n. 35) states and the inscriptions bear witness to. The inscriptions merely show that the *Koinon* had already been restored by the early 1st c. B.C.; its limits, nature and activity are unknown. Our evidence is limited to the honorary monuments it erected; as we have already said, nothing is certain about the date of its coinage after 146 B.C. The question about the centre of the Achaean *Koinon* in the period after the Roman conquest is linked to further questions concerning the nature of this centre and the functions of the *Koinon* it hosted. For the period before 146 B.C., we know that the cult centre of the League was the sanctuary of Zeus *Amarius* in Aigion, and Pausanias states that the town still held federal assemblies in his day.⁴⁷ However Aigion was not a centre in the sense of a standard meeting point in the 2nd c. B.C., since – as the relevant known details reveal⁴⁸ – the meetings were held at different places.

As mentioned above, the panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia had always functioned as a place for 'publishing' documents and promoting ideas, policies and propaganda and was also used from 191 until 146 B.C. as an exhibition centre for the monuments of the Achaean League. The numerous monuments the Achaean *Koinon* erected in Olympia in the 1st c. B.C. are probably to be placed in a

similar framework and do not constitute strong enough arguments to prove Olympia's and Elis' central role in the league without further concrete evidence. The only role Olympia played with certainty during the 1st c. B.C. was thus that of the exhibition centre for the *Koinon*'s monuments. Epigraphic sources of the Achaean *Koinon* ceased to exist shortly before the foundation of the province Achaia; monuments of the *Koinon* are to be found again in Olympia several decades later.

Olympia and its relations with the Romans, the Achaean Koinon and the Panachaeian League of the 1st c. A.D.

Olympia continued to be afforded respect by Eleans and foreigners throughout the Imperial period. The sanctuary was incorporated into the Eastern policy of Roman magistrates and members of the imperial family, and the Olympic games in particular attracted important personalities who, on the one hand, profited from the prestige of the panhellenic sanctuary and its penteteric games and, on the other hand, added glamour to Olympia with their presence and provided the Eleans with the opportunity to cultivate useful personal relations with them. Ti. Claudius Nero, the future Emperor Tiberius, was the first member of the imperial family to take part in the Olympic games (most probably in 20 B.C.) and to obtain an Elean *clientela*.⁴⁹ Herodes, the king of Judaea, and Archelaos the king of Kappadocia, both of whom were close to Tiberius, were benefactors of Olympia: Josephus informs us that the former donated a bequest for financing the organisation of the Olympic games and was rewarded by the Eleans with the title of "eternal *agonothetes*", whilst the latter was honoured by Elis with a monument in the Altis.⁵⁰ Tiberius' adoptive son, Germanicus, and the Emperor Nero also won victories at the Olympic games and maintained personal

46. Schweretfeger 1974, 52-55.

47. Rizakis 2008, 160-65. Paus. VII. 24, 4.

48. Cf., for example, the assemblies of Elis by order of the consul M. Fulvius in 189 B.C. during a war between the Achaeans and the Lacedaemonians (Liv. XXXVIII. 32, 3), of Sicyon, see Polyb. XXIII. 17, 5-6; XXVIII. 13, 9; XXIX. 24, 6 and of Corinth, see Polyb. XXXVIII. 12, 2; on the meetings of the League, cf. also Errington 1969, 139, "of the seventeen recorded *synodoi* after the reform, four were held at Megalopolis, three at Corinth, two at Aegium, one at Sicyon, and seven at places unknown", and Walbank 1979, 137-38.

49. Zoumbaki 2007, esp. 162 for the date of Tiberius' Olympic victory.

50. On Herodes, see Joseph, *BJ* I. 426-27 and XVI. 149; cf. Pleket 1976, 1-18. On the inscription honouring Archelaos, see *IvO* 315.

ties with Eleans.⁵¹ A positive mediatory role was played by Roman magistrates including M. Vipsanius Agrippa and P. Memmius Regulus, who supported Olympia before Augustus and Caius respectively;⁵² Vaternius Pollio, M. Maecilius Rufus and the *procurator Augusti* C. Iulius Laco are honoured in Olympia by the Eleans for some unknown beneficial activity.⁵³ Fragments of a building inscription bearing the name of the Emperor Domitian found at the excavations of the SW part of the *altis* indicate further relations between Olympia and the imperial centre during the Flavian period.⁵⁴ Monuments to Roman magistrates were erected in Olympia throughout the first century of the Imperial period.⁵⁵

There is, however, as already mentioned, a remarkable gap in the 1st c. A.D. in the series of monuments of the Achaean League erected in Olympia, when no dedications were made by the *Koinon* and no further documents from Olympia

referring to it indirectly have come to light. The generally limited number of texts related to the *Koinon* in the 1st c. A.D. is striking⁵⁶ and the only preserved monument is a single large *bathron* derived from an honorary monument to the governor P. Memmius Regulus (A.D. 35-44) and his son Caius erected by the “Achaean” in Epidauros.⁵⁷ Although two further inscriptions, one from Athens and the other from Corinth, refer to the *archiereus* of the *Koinon* C. Iulius Spartiaticus, were not erected by it.⁵⁸

Otherwise, the Achaean *Koinon* is only attested to in the 1st c. A.D. as part of a wider union including Boiotians, Lokrians, Phokeians, Dorians and Euboians as well, when it appears either as part of a long title listing its component parts or in abbreviated forms such as *Panachaeans*, *Panhellenes* etc.⁵⁹ The exact date of the Achaean *Koinon*'s entry into this enlarged league is unknown.⁶⁰ In any case, the

51. Zoumbaki 2001, 167-69.

52. Zoumbaki 2001, 166-67 and 170.

53. *IvO* 334 (for M. Maecilius Rufus), 338 (for Vaternius Pollio), 426 (for C. Iulius Laco); cf. Zoumbaki 2001, 170.

54. See Wörrle 1995, 168 on the inscription, and Sinn 1992, 80; 1993, 153-57; 1994, 231-38; 1995, 162-68 for details of the excavation concerning the unearthed buildings.

55. Cf. monuments erected in honour of P. Alfius Primus (*IvO* 335, Augustan period), *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, see *RP* I, EL *12; Ap[pius - - -] (*IvO* 353, 1st/2nd c.), *RP* I, EL *49; A. Didius [Gallus] (*IvO* 914; *CIL* III 1 *Suppl.* 7247 = 12278, 1st c. A.D.), *RP* I, EL *176; [- - -] G[eminius] (*IvO* 349, 1st c. A.D.), *RP* I, EL *223; M. Maecilius Rufus, proconsul (*IvO* 334, before A.D. 67), *RP* I, EL *257; P. Memmius Regulus (*IvO* 337, A.D. 35-44), *RP* I, EL *227; [- - -] Mummius C. f. [Achaicus] (*IvO* 331, 1st c. A.D.), *RP* I, EL *285; Octavius [- - -] Janus (*IvO* 332, beginning of the 1st c. A.D.), *RP* I, EL *293; C. Vaternius Pollio (*IvO* 338, A.D. 35-44), *RP* I, EL *330.

56. On the Achaean *Koinon* in the 1st c. A.D., see Hupfloher 2007.

57. *IG* IV² 1, 665. The *bathron* preserves three inscriptions, two relating to the Roman magistrate and his son honoured by οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ and one stating that T. Statilius Lamprias, son of Lamprias, and T. Statilius Timocrates, son of Lamprias ὑπὲρ τοῦς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνέθηκαν.

58. The inscription from Athens (*IG* II², 3538) was erected during Nero's reign for C. Iulius Spartiaticus, son of Laco, ἀρχιερέα θεῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γένους Σεβαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς διὰ βίου πρῶτον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος by his friend Ti. Claudius Theogenes. The Latin inscription from Corinth (*Corinth* VIII.2, 68) concerns C. Iulius Spartiaticus, here called *primo Achaean* reflecting his supreme status as an *archiereus*; Cf. Spawforth 1994, 218 argues that this phrase means that Spartiaticus was the first high-priest of the imperial cult of the *Koinon*, as it arises from the aforementioned Athenian inscription; later Spawforth 1995, 225 corrected this view stating that *primo Achaean* is a honorific title bestowed by the League and comparable to πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων. C. Iulius Spartiaticus is regarded also by Larsen 1966, 112 and *id.* 1975, 451 n. 14 as the first high-priest of the imperial cult of the *Koinon*. Hupfloher 2007, 106-114, esp. 109 suggests that Spartiaticus was the high-priest not merely of the Achaean *Koinon* but also of the enlarged union of the Panachaeans.

59. Larsen 1966, 110-12; Oliver 1978, 185-91; Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 222-23; Hupfloher 2007, 101 sqq. This larger union appears under different names; its full definition was apparently Κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Φωκῆων καὶ Εὐβοέων (*IG* VII, 2711, ll. 1 and 23-24) or Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Φωκεῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῖς καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς (*IG* IV² 1, 80, ll. 1-3 and *IG* IV² 1, 81, ll. 16-17), but there are several abbreviated forms, such as Παναχαϊκὸν συνέδριον (*IG* IV² 1, 81, l. 14), Παναχαιοὶ (*IG* IV² 1, 81, l. 15), Πανέλληνες (ll. 10, 62), Ἑλλήνες (ll. 13-14: ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων], l. 15: τῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, l. 20: τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν Ἑ[λλήνων]).

60. Oliver 1978, 188 – following Larsen 1975, 450, Kahrstedt 1950, 71 and A. B. West, in *Corinth* VIII.2, p. 30 – dates the merger toward the end of the Tiberius' reign. West connects it with P. Memmius Regulus, which is also accepted by Oliver 1978, 188.

Achaean are not named in the earliest relevant document to have survived: an inscription erected by Athens honouring the *proquaestor* M. Iunius Silanus (34/33 B.C.).⁶¹ The Achaean *Koinon* is regularly recorded as a member of the larger union in the remaining relevant texts: the famous dossier of Epameinondas of Akraiphia dates from immediately after the ascension of Caligula (A.D. 37), an honorary inscription erected by Koroneia for Claudius and an inscription from Epidauros honouring the *grammateus* of the Panachaeans, T. Statilius Teimocrates (A.D. 67).⁶² The text for T. Statilius Teimocrates, which dates from Nero's reign, is the Panachaeian League's last preserved document. Thereafter, there are no further epigraphic traces of the Panachaeans. On the basis of the absence of sources, some scholars are of the view that this union only survived into Nero's reign, although J.A.O. Larsen is of the opinion that it continued to function under Hadrian.⁶³

Not one of the limited epigraphic attestations to the Achaean *Koinon* of the 1st c. A.D. and to the Panachaeans originates from Olympia. Olympia can thus hardly be regarded as the seat of the Achaean *Koinon*, even if it actually held this role during the preceding period. Equally unknown is the headquarters of the Panachaeian League. Two references in the aforementioned dossier of Epameinondas of Akraiphia reveal that this assembly met in Argos on one occasion, in the presence of the governor.⁶⁴ However, the wording τῷ ἀχθέντι ἐν Ἄργει seems to suggest that the meeting took place in Argos and not that Argos was the standard meeting point (otherwise, why should it be mentioned?). Consequently there is no strong argument for regarding Argos as the Panachaeian headquarters. The fact that the assembly was held in Argos as well as several particular details in the Akraiphia text, such as the prominent reference to the Achaean *Koinon* in the context of the Panachaeans and the title "Panachaeans" itself, would seem to indicate efforts on the part of the Achaean *Koinon* to play a leading role in the framework of the enlarged league.⁶⁵ A phrase in Teimocrates' aforementioned honorary decree recording that bronze images of him were to be erected ἐν τε τοῖς πανηγυριστηρίοις τῶν Πα[ναχαιῶν ἐν τε τῷ - - - τεμ]ένει καὶ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ may indeed indicate that there were more focal points of a religious nature in the framework of the union where common festivities took place.⁶⁶ Despite this reference to the πανηγυριστήρια of the Panachaeans, in the sense of centres of common respect and possibly common festivals, a collective imperial cult of the Panachaeian League, though assumed by certain researchers, is not directly attested to.⁶⁷

61. *Syll.*³ 767 = *IG* II², 4114.

62. For the dossier of Epameinondas of Akraiphia, see *IG* VII, 2711-712; for the inscription from Koroneia, see *IG* VII, 2878; for the inscription for T. Statilius Teimocrates, see *IG* IV² 1, 80-81 and *RPI*, ARG 252 for further bibliography and for a discussion of the date.

63. Oliver 1978, 187; Camia 2007, 141-42. For the view that the Panachaeian League survived into the 2nd c. and the reign of Hadrian, see Larsen 1966, 110 and 1975, 451-52 quoting also *IG* VII, 2509 referring to ... τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλαταιάς συνιόντων ... which, however, relates to the *Koinon* of the *Hellenes* in Plataiai, on which see Camia 2007, 180-85.

64. *IG* VII, 2711, l. 6: παρόντος καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ll. 100-01: ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Παν[ελλή]νων τῷ ἀχθέντι ἐν Ἄργει. The statement ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πανελλήνων συνεδρίῳ ἐν Ἄργει in *IG* VII, 2712, ll. 39-40, which refers to the same assembly, hardly seems to have a more general sense.

65. Puech 1983, 24; Spawforth 1994, 223; cf. also the arguments of Hupfloher 2007, 102 sqq.

66. Due to a gap in the text, we do not know the sites of the *panegyreis*, except for the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidauros; it is however possible that the famous panhellenic sanctuaries at least were named, as in the statement in Caligula's reply to the Panachaeans in *IG* VII, 2711, ll. 32-33 that honours to him should be limited to Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and Isthmos. Cf. Hupfloher 2007, 112 sqq.

67. The erection of the statue to the Emperor Claudius in Koroneia (*IG* VII, 2878) refers probably to an honorary monument and does not necessarily imply an imperial cult, see Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 222. Larsen 1975, 450-51 stated that there was no initial connection between this union and the imperial cult, though the league established an imperial cult some time before A.D. 55. Following Spawforth 1994, 222-24, F. Camia in the appendix 'The imperial high-priests of the Achaean League' to the article Camia, Kantiréa in the present volume, p. 398 ns 188-89 accepts that "the introduction in the imperial cult of the Achaean *Koinon* during the middle of the 1st c. A.D. most likely occurred in the framework of the sort of 'Panhellenic' League" and further "this cult was administered by the Achaean *Koinon* but evidently represented the other regional koina included in the Panachaeian League as well, so that,

Olympia and the Achaean Koinon in the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D.

The surviving sources do not indicate particular close personal ties between the emperors of the 2nd c. and the region. No imperial visit is recorded, no particular diffusion of the imperial *gentilicia* of the 2nd c. can be traced in the nomenclature of the local population,⁶⁸ and no imperial action in the sanctuary is attested to, save the restoration of a/some building(s) by Antoninus Pius.⁶⁹ Yet Olympia seems to have remained a cultural symbol – primarily because its long history, panhellenic spirit and the popular Olympic games fitted perfectly into the general cultural environment of the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. Olympia was at its peak in the 2nd c. A.D. The games attracted spectators and athletes from all over the *oikoumene*,⁷⁰ whilst prominent ladies of senatorial rank, such as Herodes Atticus' wife, Regilla, expressed an interest in holding the important local priesthood of Demeter *Chamyne*.⁷¹ Numerous monuments were erected in the Altis, including a new series of monuments erected by the Achaean *Koinon*.

The beginning of a new phase of independent attestation to the Achaean *Koinon* after the dissolution of the Panachaeian League cannot be dated with certainty, since the first preserved inscriptions bearing witness to this post-Neronian phase (when the document concerning T. Statilius Teimocrates is dated) date from the late 1st or early 2nd c. A.D., which is to say to the Trajanic period. From this

period onwards, the inscriptions prove that the *Koinon* already acted independently of the Panachaeian League.⁷²

In this phase, the *Koinon* erected monuments in several places. Epigraphic and literary sources show that Olympia, one of the most prominent places of common respect within the *Koinon*,⁷³ was once again the most popular place for the Achaean *Koinon* or its officeholders to erect a new series of monuments. Pausanias (V. 12, 6) mentions a statue of the Emperor Hadrian erected by the *poleis*-members of the Achaean *Koinon* in the temple of Zeus in Olympia and a statue of Trajan, in the same temple, erected by "all the *Hellenes*" (Βασιλέων δὲ ἀνδριάντας Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν αἰ ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν τελοῦσαι πόλεις ἀνέθεσαν λίθου παρίου, Τραϊανοῦ δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνας).⁷⁴ The interpretation of the definition "all the *Hellenes*" is not clear. The term "*Hellenes*" is adopted by the Panachaeian League to define itself, as the dossier of Akraiphia shows,⁷⁵ but this union, as already mentioned, is encountered in no epigraphic source after Nero. If the statue of Trajan was indeed erected by the Panachaeians, it would be the only preserved information about this body after the Neronian age. A further and more acceptable possibility could be that "all the *Hellenes*" is synonymous with the Achaean *Koinon*, which also uses "*Hellenes*" as a synonym for the "Achaeans" in its inscriptions.⁷⁶ In which case, Pausanias could simply have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions from the statue-

at least under Nero, the archiereus of the Achaean *Koinon* was a provincial high-priest". Hupfloher 2007, 109 suggests that there was a cult on the *Koinon*'s level and accepts that C. Iulius Spartiacus was its high-priest.

68. For the policy applied by emperors to Eleia in the 2nd c. A.D., see Zoumbaki 2001, 172-79.

69. *IvO* 654-55.

70. Weiler 1997.

71. Zoumbaki 2001, 149-50.

72. For the difficulties involved in dating the first attested functionaries of this phase in the history of the Achaean *Koinon* as well as a chronological ordering of highpriests attested to, see Camia 2002 and *id.* 2008, 30-35.

73. Cf. *IvO* 57; *IG* V 2, 517, 518. Cf. Hupfloher 2007, 113.

74. Although these are votive monuments and not cult statues, it is worth noting that the *cella* of the Metroon, which was converted into a temple of the imperial cult, was already full in the Flavian age and the arrangement of the statues in it was not disturbed in the following period, cf. Hitzl 1991, 114. The statue of Poppaea Sabina stood in the Heraion, the statue of the younger Faustina erected by the Achaean *Koinon* stood in front of the SE corner of the temple of Zeus (*IvO* 382). The bronze statue of an emperor of the late 2nd or early 3rd c. A.D. stood in the *pronaos* of the Metroon (Hitzl 1991, 116 and appendix IV).

75. *IG* VII, 2711, ll. 13-14, 15, 20. This view is supported by Kahrstedt 1950, 74.

76. Cf. e.g. *IvO* 448, 452, 458, 459 from Olympia; *IG* V 1, 1451 and *SEG* 52, 2002, 405 from Messene; *IG* IV, 1600 and *Corinth* VIII.1, 81 from Corinth; *IG* V 1, 512, 590 from Sparta. Spawforth 1994, 222 wonders, whether "*Hellenes*" and "Achaeans" are merely synonyms, while Puech 1983, 24 sees a distinction between the broader sense of "*Hellenes*" (cf. her arguments concerning the priesthood of the *Hellenes*) and Achaeans (connected with the helladarchy).

bases he saw, recording one as a dedication by the *poleis*-members of the Achaean *Koinon* and the other by "all the *Hellenes*". In any case, Olympia was once again the main place of exhibition for monuments erected by the *Koinon* itself. This is clear from a simple list of inscriptions dedicated by the *Koinon* in several regions within the province of Achaia:

Monuments **erected by the Achaean *Koinon*** between the late 1st and early 3rd c. A.D.:

Olympia

IvO 57 (SEG 11, 1950, 1198, decree of the *Koinon*, Hadrianic age)

IvO 382 (honorary inscription to Faustina Minor)

IvO 430 (honorary inscription to the Elean Ti. Claudius Pelops)

IvO 448 (honorary inscription to Ti. Claudius Crispianus from Messene)

IvO 450 (honorary inscription to T. Flavius Polybius from Messene)

IvO 451 (honorary inscription to C. Iulius Theagenes from Korone, set up by his son *κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα* of the *Koinon*)

IvO 458 (honorary inscription dedicated by Messene to Ti. Claudius Calligenes)

IvO 459 (honorary inscription dedicated by Messene to P. Aelius Aristo)

IvO 460 (fragmentary inscription, probably erected by the *Koinon*)

IvO 472 (honorary inscription dedicated by Abia (?) in Messenia to M. Antonius Aristetas)

IvO 487 (honorary decree to the Messenian and Lacedaimonian T. Flavius Polybius)

IvO 569 (fragmentary honorary decree)

Paus. V. 12, 6 (statue of Hadrian and perhaps also of Trajan)

Messene

IG V 1, 1451 (honorary inscription to the Emperor Lucius Verus financed by the Messenian Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus and erected by the *Hellenes*⁷⁷)

IG V 1, 1352 (Abia, inscription honouring Hadrian *κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα*)

SEG 11, 1950, 984 (Cf. *RP* II, MES *136 [1] and remarks; inscription honouring the Messenian Ti. Claudius Dionysius Crispianus)

EAH 1999 [2000] 45 (cf. *SEG* 49, 1999, 434); *PAAH* 1999 [2002] 72-74 no. 2 (*SEG* 51, 2001, 476; *AnnÉpigr* 2001, 1808, honorary inscription to the Empress Sabina *κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα* of the *Koinon*)

Arcadia

IG V 2, 517 found in Lykosoura (honorary decree for Saon of Megalopolis)

IG V 2, 518 found in Lykosoura (decree of the *Koinon* honouring Heracleia, daughter of Eumelos)

SEG 41, 1991, 384 from Tegea (honorary inscription to Sextus Pompeius Menophanes, presumed to be a citizen of Sparta and Tegea)

Corinth

Corinth VIII.3, 99⁷⁸

Corinth VIII.3, 102 (honorary inscription for Hadrian dedicated by οἱ Ἀχαιοί)

Athens

IG II², 1094 (decree of the Achaean *Koinon* concerning honours to the Emperor Antoninus, who is to be identified either with Caracalla or with Elagabalus, A.D. 211-222)

Delphi

*Syll.*³ 846 (the Achaean *Koinon* and the *Koinon* of the *Amphiktyones* jointly honour Claudia Polycratia Nausica)

It is obvious that the vast majority of the monuments erected by the Achaean *Koinon* are to be found in Olympia. The limited number of documents from other regions include mainly honorary monuments to officeholders of the *Koinon* actually originating from these regions, while there are two inscriptions from important centres outside the Achaean *Koinon*: Delphi and Athens. There is only one monument erected by the *Koinon* in Olympia concerning an Elean, who acted as an officeholder of the *Koinon*;⁷⁹ the remainder honour individuals from other regions, emperors or members of the imperial family. The fact that Eleans are attested

77. *RP* II, MES *157 [3] with remarks on the text.

78. It is open to doubt whether this is an honorary inscription to Trajan erected by the Achaean *Koinon*, as the text is extremely fragmentary and the restoration [τὸ κοινὸν] τῶν [Ἀχαιῶν] is not regarded as certain by the editor J. H. Kent; furthermore, the membership of Corinth in the *Koinon* is debatable, Oliver 1978, 186 n. 6 with further bibliography.

79. *IvO* 430 for Ti. Claudius Pelops (Zoumbaki 2001, K 70) who held twice the office of the *grammateus* of the Achaean League and once that of *strategos*.

to as officeholders of the Achaean *Koinon*⁸⁰ proves that Elis was now a member.

Given the numerous monuments erected by the *Koinon* in Olympia, the question about the role played by the sanctuary during this period arises once more – a question connected with the problem of identifying the *Koinon*'s centre. Since so little is known about the activity of the *Koinon*, the vague information available cannot be marshalled easily to shed light on what kind of centre is meant: a cult centre, a meeting point, an administration centre, a centre where other possible activities were conducted (e.g. the juridical function of the heli-darch suggested by J. Oliver⁸¹) or a centre fulfilling all of these functions. It is therefore obvious that the question regarding the seat of the *Koinon* is connected with further questions about its exact extent, structure and activities.

The only certainty is that there was an imperial cult on the level of the *Koinon*, as its *archieis* allow us to conclude. The *archieis* is our only evidence for a collective imperial cult of the *Koinon*. Nevertheless, imperial feasts, which in some cases also included games, can be regarded as a constituent part of the *Koinon*'s activity, although there is no concrete evidence for central celebrations of this nature. Whatever the case, Olympia cannot be regarded as the centre of the *Koinon*'s imperial cult or of its central imperial games. It is worth noting that, despite the existence of an imperial cult on a local level,⁸² there are no traces of collective imperial festivities of the *Koinon* in Olympia or Elis; moreover, no games under the name *Caesarea* or *Sebastea* are attested to in Eleia, whereas such games are attested to by inscriptions in other towns in the province of Achaia.⁸³ Olympia cannot thus be regarded as the exclusive centre of a collective cult of the league.

It is remarkable that there is no concrete trace of collective cult activity, no reference to imperial feasts and games, not even a document erected by the *Koinon* or its functionaries in Aigion, the traditional centre of the Achaean League where, according to Pausanias, the *Koinon* still assembled in his day⁸⁴ – just as the Amphictyonic league maintained its traditional centres in Thermopylai and Delphi.⁸⁵ The problem becomes more complicated as A.J.S. Spawforth suggests that the collective imperial cult of the *Koinon* was based in Corinth;⁸⁶ on the contrary, J. Wiseman and J. H. Oliver⁸⁷ cast doubt on even the possibility of Corinth, a Roman colony, belonging to the *Koinon*. A. Hupfloher suggests that there was cult activity at different places and on different occasions, e.g. the erection of honorific statues at which one can suppose even the presence of the provincial governor.⁸⁸

A look at other unions in the Roman period justifies doubts as to whether the entire activity of the Achaean *Koinon* could have coincided at a single centre. Certainly, we should always bear in mind that the Achaean *Koinon* of the imperial period was neither an entirely regional *Koinon*, such as the Thessalian or Boiotian *Koina*, nor a clearly supra-regional union, such as the Panachaeans or the Amphiktyony of Delphi, nor a provincial *Koinon*, such as the *koina* of Asia Minor (despite the expressions used by Achaean *Koinon* which betray its aspirations to impose itself as a quasi-provincial *Koinon*), nor an inter-provincial one, such as the Panhellenion. Therefore, we should not expect to find absolute similarities with such unions, since each of them had its own peculiarities or a quite different nature and ideological framework, and sometimes an obscure but existing connection with earlier local federal institutions and historical developments.

80. Cf. *supra*, p. 122 n. 79 and *IvO* 460 for L. Gellius Bassus (Elean?), 483 for T. Flavius Archelaus.

81. Oliver 1978a, 4-5.

82. Hupfloher 2006, 238-64; Wojan 2008, 270-75.

83. Camia 2007, 80-108 for festivals of the imperial cult in the province of Achaia in the 2nd c. A.D.; for *Caesarea* and *Sebastea* in the Peloponnese, see the article of Camia, Kantiréa *infra* pp. 375-406.

84. Paus. VII. 24, 4: ἐς δὲ Αἴγιον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι συνᾶδριον τὸ ἀχαιῶν ἀθροίζεται, καθότι ἐς Θερμοπύλας τε καὶ ἐς Δελφοῦς οἱ ἀμφικτύονες.

85. It is, however, remarkable that this is the present state of our knowledge, which may be modified by future finds, given the lack of systematic excavations in Aigion.

86. See Spawforth 1994, esp. 221; Camia, Kantiréa, *infra* pp. 388-89 ns 103-07 for *venationes* in Corinth.

87. Oliver 1978, 186 n. 6, 191; Wiseman 1979, 500-01.

88. See Hupfloher 2007, 113 sqq. for ceremonies that accompanied the erection of statues and especially the cult activity connected with the erection of emperors' statues.

However, a parallel examination of the centres of these other organisations could still be enlightened, since it reveals that, in numerous cases, there were more cult centres that cannot necessarily be identified with the centres of other aspects of a league's activity. Thus, an identification of the meeting place with the cult centre seems unlikely in the case of the Panhellenion, the seat of which is taken to be Athens. Searching for the meeting place of the Panhellenion in the Roman archaeological remains of Athens, A. J. S. Spawforth and S. Walker state that the centre in which the *Panhellenes* met, was "not necessarily the location of the league's cult".⁸⁹ Regarding the headquarters of the *Koinon* of Asia, it is typical that there were multiple centres of the provincial imperial cult, which appeared one after the other, many imperial temples and/or provincial feasts and games in honour of the emperors which were conducted in a number of *poleis*.⁹⁰ It has thus been suggested by L. Moretti, and accepted by J. Deininger, that the *Koinon* of Asia assembled at different places on the occasion of the imperial games.⁹¹ As already mentioned, the Panachaeian league had more than one *panegyristeria*, as is stated in the decree in honour of Statilius Teimocrates. Even the Amphictyonic League, in a sense the Central Greek equivalent of the Achaean *Koinon*, which also had its own *heliadarchai*, had two different meeting points: Delphi and Thermopylai (Paus. VII. 24, 4). A further *Koinon* of Central Greece, the Thessalian League, seems to have had at least two cult centres at Larisa and Hypata.⁹² The *Koinon* of the *Eleutheroiakones* also seems to have had more than one focal point: games on the level of the *Koinon* are attested to in the sanctuary of Apollo at Asopos for Artemis *Kyparissia*, although the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tainaron should be recognised as the

league's central sanctuary; the *Koinon's* festivities in honour of the emperors seem, however, to have been staged in Gytheion.⁹³

There may thus be little point in searching for one and only centre where the whole activity of the Achaean *Koinon* was conducted. There were perhaps more points where different aspects of activity of the *Koinon* took place. Olympia could function as the "exhibition centre" for the honorary monuments of the league and for the promulgation of its documents, since the sanctuary flourished in this period and attracted visitors from all over the Roman world, especially during the games. A sort of cult ceremonies which took place on different occasions, e.g. the erection of imperial statues, cannot be excluded.⁹⁴ Aigion was still respected in the Imperial period as the traditional headquarters of the League, and Pausanias' wording would imply that Aigion still hosted assemblies. The evidence offered in the aforementioned letter of Argos leads us to take into consideration the possibility that Corinth was one of the sites of a collective cult of the *Koinon*, where *venationes* were also included. It also cannot be ruled out that the local imperial feasts attested to, or some of them, also played a role in the religious life of the *Koinon*, with the *Koinon* taking the festivities in honour of the emperor as an opportunity to meet. The search for a single centre of collective imperial cult within the Achaean *Koinon* is perhaps a vain one, as the traces that such a collective cult has left behind concern only its *archieis*. It is possible that the imperial cult was more vital in the *poleis*-members of the Achaean *Koinon* and that certain of these festivities assumed a collective nature on the level of the *Koinon*. It is characteristic that the same impression is given by other Greek mainland koina (the Thessalian, Boiotian and Eleutherola-

89. Spawforth, Walker 1985, 94, 97-98. Further, Oliver 1970, 131 and 133 stresses the fact that the cult of Olympian Zeus served as a focal point of the religious interest of the Panhellenion and that this temple may have been its meeting point; he also states that at least one meeting of the Panhellenion must have occurred at the time of the celebration of the *Panhellenia* in Athens, indirectly implying that there were perhaps also meetings at other points. Clinton 1999, 98-100 states that the *Panhellenes* "ought to have a building at Eleusis which they could use for their administrative operations there" and this is supposed to be identified with a building in the SW corner of the sanctuary.

90. Deininger 1965, 37-41; Burrell 2004, 275 sqq. and 335 sqq.

91. Moretti 1954, 287; Deininger 1965, 55.

92. For the festivals and the imperial cult within the Thessalian *Koinon*, see Burrell 1993, 16-19; cf. also Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 213-14.

93. Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 218-19.

94. Cf. Hupfloher 2007, 113 sqq.

conian) where, although the civic imperial cults are clearly evident, a collective one can be surmised solely through its high-priests.⁹⁵

A further observation based on a comparison with other koina is that *poleis*-members maintained an important role within the framework of the league. This is true in the case of Gytheion, which connects its local *Caesarea* with the collective cult of the *Koinon* of the *Eleutherolakones*; a clear tendency of the *poleis* to act independently is also to be observed in the Boiotian *Koinon*,⁹⁶ despite the central role played by the sanctuary of Athena *Itonia* at Koroneia where the *Koinon* met and celebrated the feast of *Pamboiotia* (Paus. IX. 34, 1). These examples clearly illustrate how single *poleis* still played a vital role despite the existence of the *Koina*.

Thus, in the framework of the Achaean *Koinon*, the traditional panhellenic sanctuaries, which were still attested to in inscriptions as κοινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πανηγυριστήρια or ἑλληνίδες πανηγύρεις,⁹⁷ seem to have been important as places for erecting prominent monuments and perhaps – in some cases, at least – for staging *Koinon* festivities in honour of the emperors at which the league could also assemble. Moreover, the image of a *Koinon* with several distinct centres of activity accords with the individualism which seems, for historical reasons, to have been deeply rooted in the *poleis*.⁹⁸ In this framework, Elis was merely a member of the Achaean *Koinon* and Olympia one, albeit perhaps the most famous and glamorous, of its κοινὰ πανηγυριστήρια.

S. B. Zoumbaki

Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity (I.E.R.A.),
The National Hellenic Research Foundation,
Athens, Greece

Bibliography

Ager (S. L.), 1996: *Interstate arbitrations in the Greek World 337-90 B.C.*, Berkeley.
Bernhardt (R.), 1977: “Der Status des 146 v. Chr. unter-

worfenen Teils Griechenlands bis zur Einrichtung der Provinz Achaia”, *Historia* 26, 62-73.
Boehringen (Chr.), 1991: “Zur Geschichte der Achaischen Liga im 2. und im 1. Jh. v. Chr. im Lichte des Münzfundes von Poggio Picenze (Abruzzen)”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 163-70.
—, 1997: “Zu Chronologie und Interpretation der Münzprägung der Achaischen Liga nach 146 v. Chr.”, *Topoi (Lyon)* 7, 103-08.
Bowersock (G. W.), 1965: *Augustus and the Greek world*, Oxford.
Benner (St.), 2008: *Achaian League coinage of the 3rd through 1st centuries B.C.E.*, Classical Numismatic, Pennsylvania - London.
Burrell (B.), 2004: *Neokoroi. Greek cities and Roman emperors*, Leiden - Boston.
Burrer (Fr.), 1993: *Münzprägung und Geschichte des Thessalischen Bundes in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis auf Hadrian (31 v. Chr.-138 n. Chr.)*, Saarbrücken.
Camia (F.), 2002: “IG IV 203: la cronologia di P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, *archiereus* della Lega achea”, *ASAA* 80, 361-78.
—, 2007: *Forme di culto imperiale in Grecia nel secondo secolo d. C.*, unpubl. PhD, Univ. La Sapienza, Rome.
—, 2008: “Imperial priests in second century Greece: a socio-political analysis”, in A. D. Rizakis, F. Camia (eds), *Pathways to power. Civic elites in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 19 December 2005*, Tripodes 6, Athens, 23-41.
—, 2009: *Roma e le poleis. L'intervento di Roma nelle controversie territoriali tra le comunità greche di Grecia e d'Asia Minore nel secondo secolo a.C.: le testimonianze epigrafiche*, Tripodes 10, Atene.
Campanelli (A.), 1991: “Il ripostiglio monetale di Poggio Picenze”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 155-61.
Canali De Rossi (F.), 2006: “Nuova interpretazione di ISE I, 60”, in *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche. Decreti per ambasciatori greci al senato, Supplemento e indici. Testo critico, traduzione e commento*², Rome, 244-56.
Champion (C. B.), 2004: *Cultural politics in Polybius's Histories*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 41, Berkeley.

95. Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 221.

96. Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 214-17.

97. Cf. *IG V 2*, 517: ... ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος πανηγυριστήριος, Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέα καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ... and *IG V 2*, 518: ἐκάστοθι τῶν ἑλληνίδων πανηγύρεων ...

98. Cf. Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 229.

- Clerk (M. G.), 1895: *Catalogue of the coins of the Achaean League*, London.
- Clinton (K.), 1999: "Eleusis from Augustus to the Antonines. Progress and problems", in *Atti del XI Congresso internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma 18-24 settembre 1997*, vol. II, Rome, 93-102.
- Coleman (J. E.), 1986: *Excavations at Pylos in Elis* [with a contribution by K. Abramovitz], Hesperia Suppl. 21, Princeton, N.J.
- Crawford (M. H.), 1985: *Coinage and money under the Roman Republic: Italy and the Mediterranean economy*, London.
- Deininger (J.), 1965: *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Munich - Berlin.
- Eckstein (F.), 1958: *OIB* 6, 205-25.
- Errington (R. M.), 1969: *Philopoemen*, Oxford.
- Franke (P. R.), 1984: "Olympia und seine Münzen", *AW* 15.2, 14-26.
- Gardner (P.), 1879: "The coins of Elis", *NC*, 221-73.
- Harter-Uibopuu (K.), 1998: *Das zwischenstaatliche Schiedsverfahren im achäischen Koinon*, Vienna.
- , 2003: "Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den Koina des griechischen Mutterlandes", in H. Cancik, K. Hitzl (eds), *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*, Tübingen, 209-29.
- Hitzl (K.), 1991: *Die kaiserzeitliche Statuenausstattung des Metroon*, *OIForsch* XIX, Berlin - New York.
- Hupfloher (A.), 2006: "Kaiserkult in einem überregionalen Heiligtum: das Beispiel von Olympia", in K. Freitag, P. Funke, M. Haake (eds), *Kult – Politik – Ethnos: Überregionale Heiligtümer im Spannungsfeld von Kult und Politik*, Kolloquium Münster, 23.-24. November 2001, Stuttgart, 239-63.
- , 2007: "Der Achaierbund im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: zwischen Tradition und Neuorganisation", in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Neronia VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce: Hellenisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle ap. J.-C., Actes du VII^e Colloque international de la SIEN (Athènes, 21-23 octobre 2004)*, Coll. Latomus 305, Bruxelles, 97-117.
- Kahrstedt (Ul.), 1950: "Zwei Probleme im kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland", *SO* 28, 66-75.
- Kallet-Marx (R. M.), 1995: *Hegemony to empire. The development of the Roman imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford.
- Kunze (E.), 1956: "Ein hellenistisches Reiterdenkmal", *OIB* 5, 149-75.
- Lakakis-Marchetti (M.), 1996: "À propos du monnayage achéen et des trésors qui le font connaître", in *ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μάντω Οικονομίδου*, Athens, 147-56.
- Larsen (J. A. O.), 1966: *Representative government in Greek and Roman history*, Berkeley - Los Angeles.
- , 1975: "Roman Greece", in T. Frank, *An economic survey of ancient Rome IV*, New York, 259-498.
- Matzanas (Chr.), 2000: "Επιφανειακές αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην Ηλεία", *Peloponnesiaka* 25, 319-40.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon (V.), 1991: "Tonplatten – gebrannt oder luftgetrocknet – aus dem Theaterbereich in Elis", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 321-27.
- Moretti (L.), 1954: "Κοινὰ Ἀσίας", *RFIC* 32, 276-89.
- , 1967: *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche I*, Florence.
- , 1990: *Tra epigrafia e storia*, Rome.
- Moustaka (A.), 1999: "Die Fundmünzen der Südostgrabung", *OIB* 11, 152-80.
- Nicolet-Pierre (H.), 1992: "propos de monnaies d'Elis portant des contremarques", *BSFN* 47, 287-89.
- Oikonomides (M.), Lakakis-Marchetti (M.), Marchetti (P.), 2007: "Le trésor de Zougtra (IGCH 261) et la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au II^e siècle", in Gh. Moucharte et alii (eds), *Liber amicorum Tony Hackens*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 379-434.
- Oliver (J. H.), 1970: *Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of civic and cultural policy in the East*, Hesperia Suppl. 13, Princeton, N.J.
- , 1978: "Panachaeans and Panhellenes", *Hesperia* 47, 185-91.
- , 1978a: "The helladarch", *RSA*, 1-6.
- Philipp (H.), Koenigs (W.), 1979: "Zu den Basen des L. Mummius in Olympia", *MDAI(A)* 94, 193-216.
- Pleket (H. W.), 1976: "Olympic benefactors", *ZPE* 20, 1-18.
- Pouilloux (J.), 1980: "Delphes et les Romains", in *Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*, Athens, 201-07.
- Price (M.), 1987: "Southern Greece", in A. M. Burnett, M. H. Crawford (eds), *The coinage of the Roman world in the late Republic, Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the British Museum in September 1985*, BAR 326, Oxford, 95-103.
- Puech (B.), 1983: "Grand-prêtres et helladarques d'Achaïe", *REA* 85, 15-43.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1987/88: "Η ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στην Πελοπόννησο στην περίοδο της Δημοκρατίας και η νέα ισορροπία δυνάμεων στο έσωτερικό της ἀχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας", in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Peloponnesian Studies (Kalamata, 8-15 September 1985)*, Athens, 17-36.
- , 1995: *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Meletemata 20, Athens.
- , 2008: *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athens.
- , forthcoming: "Η Realpolitik της Ρώμης και η θλιβερή τύχη της Μεσσήνης στην περίοδο που ακολουθεί μετά τον δεύτερο Μακεδονικό πόλεμο (196-182 π.Χ.)", in P. Valavanis et alii (eds), *Πλόες στην Κλασική Αρχαιολογία, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Πέτρο Θέμελη*, Athens.
- Roy (J.), 1999: "Les cités d'Élide", in J. Renard (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse. Archéologie et Histoire, Actes de la*

- rencontre internationale de Lorient (12-15 mai 1998), Rennes, 151-76.
- , 2008: “Elis in the Later Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial periods”, in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épameinondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Études 21, Bordeaux, 263-70.
- RP I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Santangelo (F.), 2007: *Sulla, the elites and the empire. A study of Roman policies in Italy and the Greek east*, Leiden - Boston.
- Schwertfeger (Th.), 1974: *Der Achäische Bund von 146-27 v. Chr.*, Munich.
- Sherk (R.), 1984: *Rome and the Greek East to the death of Augustus*, Cambridge.
- Sinn (U.), 1992: “Bericht über das Forschungsprojekt ‘Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit’. I. Die Arbeiten von 1987-1992”, *Nikephoros* 5, 75-84.
- Sinn (U.), Ladstätter (G.), Martin (A.) 1993: “Bericht über das Forschungsprojekt ‘Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit’. II. Die Arbeiten von 1993”, *Nikephoros* 6, 153-58.
- Sinn (U.), Ladstätter (G.), Martin (A.), Völling (Th.), 1994: “Bericht über das Forschungsprojekt ‘Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit und in der Spätantike’. III. Die Arbeiten von 1994”, *Nikephoros* 7, 229-50.
- , 1995: “Bericht über das Forschungsprojekt ‘Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit und in der Spätantike’. IV. Die Arbeiten im Jahr 1995, Teil I”, *Nikephoros* 8, 161-82.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1994: “Corinth, Argos and the imperial cult. Pseudo-Julian, Letters 198”, *Hesperia* 63, 211-32.
- , 1995: “C. Iulius Spartiaticus, ‘First of the Achaeans’. A correction”, *Hesperia* 64, 225.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), Walker (S.), 1985: “The world of the Panhellenion I”, *JRS* 75, 78-104.
- Strauch (D.) 1996: *Römische Politik und griechische Tradition. Die Umgestaltung Nordwest-Griechenlands unter römischer Herrschaft*, Munich.
- Thompson (M.), 1939: “A hoard of Greek federal silver”, *Hesperia* 8, 116-41.
- Touratsoglou (I.), Tsourti (E.), 1991: “Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία των τριβόλων της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας στον ελλαδικό χώρο: η μαρτυρία των “θησαυρών””, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 171-88.
- Tzifopoulos (Y. Z.), 1993: “Mummius’ dedications at Olympia and Pausanias’ attitude to the Romans”, *GRBS* 34, 93-100.
- Yalouris (N.), 1976: in R. Stillwell (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, 299-300 s.v. *Elis*.
- Walbank (F. W.), 1979: *A historical commentary on Polybius III*, Oxford.
- Warren (Cargill Thompson) (J. A. W.), 1991: “The bronze coinage of the Achaean League: the mints of Achaia and Elis”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 151-54.
- , 1997: “After the Boehringer revolution: the ‘new landscape’ in the coinage of the Peloponnese”, *Topoi (Lyon)* 7, 109-14.
- , 1999a: “The Achaean league silver coinage controversy resolved: a summary”, *NC* 159, 99-109.
- , 1999b: “More on the ‘new landscape’ in the late Hellenistic coinage of the Peloponnese”, in M. Amandry, S. Hurter, D. Bérend (eds), *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider*, London, 375-93.
- , 2007: *The bronze coinage of the Achaean Koinon. The currency of a federal ideal*, London (review: W. Fischer-Bossert, *NC* 168, 2008, 475-78).
- Weiler (I.), 1997: “Olympia – jenseits der Agonistik: Kultur und Spektakel”, *Nikephoros* 10, 191-213.
- Wiseman (J.), 1979: “Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267”, in *ANRW II* 7.1, 438-548.
- Wojan (F.), 2008: “Le culte imperial à Elis: à propos de Pausanias 6. 24.10”, in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épameinondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Études 21, Bordeaux, 270-75.
- Wörle (M.), 1995: “Die Bauinschriften”, in “Bericht über das Forschungsprojekt ‘Olympia während der römischen Kaiserzeit und in der Spätantike’. IV. Die Arbeiten im Jahr 1995, Teil I”, *Nikephoros* 8, 168.
- Zoumbaki (S.), 1993: “Zu einer neuen Inschrift aus Olympia: die Familie der Vettuleni von Elis”, *ZPE* 99, 227-32.
- , 1994: “Ρωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες. Römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia”, *Tyche* 9, 213-18.
- , 1998/99: “Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes”, *Tekmeria* 4, 112-76.
- , 2001: *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Meletemata 32, Athens.
- , 2007: “Tiberius und die Städte des griechischen Ostens: Ostpolitik und hellenisches Kulturleben eines künftigen Kaisers”, in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Neronia VII. Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce. Hellenisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle ap. J.-C.*, Bruxelles, 158-69.

COLONIA AUGUSTA ACHAÏCA PATRENSIS: RÉAMÉNAGEMENTS URBAINS, CONSTRUCTIONS ÉDILITAIRES ET LA NOUVELLE IDENTITÉ PATRÉENNE*

Athanasios D. Rizakis

Abstract: During the first generations of colonial life in Patras, the Roman influence was only faintly evident in grand public buildings and hardly at all evident in private ones. This was to change, however, in the Flavian period and in the 2nd century, when the colonial authorities undertook large and imposing building projects and the local elite asserted itself through the construction of sumptuous urban or rural residences and the erection of luxurious funerary monuments in imitation of those in necropolises in Rome. This urban reconstruction and decoration was dependent upon both the imitation of Roman forms and the attachment to Greek tradition. It involved a mixture of architectural or decorative styles which contributed, in its way, to the formation of a new collective identity, an inevitable synthesis resulting from the interaction with the natural and social environment on which it was based. This new identity, also apparent in other areas, meant that Patras ended up being neither a Greek nor a Roman town, but rather a mixture of the two in all aspects of its material and spiritual life.

Introduction: la 'deductio' coloniale et la nouvelle identité patréenne

La fondation, par Auguste, d'une colonie de vétérans romains à Patras,¹ marque non seulement un tournant dans son destin, mais constitue aussi un événement majeur dans la géographie politique et

socio-économique d'une large zone, située entre les deux rives du golfe de Corinthe dont elle bouleverse l'équilibre millénaire. Auguste dote sa colonie d'un immense territoire englobant non seulement celui des cités voisines d'Achaïe occidentale² mais aussi une partie de la côte étolienne d'en face,³ son intention étant d'assurer à sa fon-

* Nous tenons à remercier ici P. Marchetti et M. Pétropoulos qui ont eu l'amabilité de lire une première version de cet article et de faire quelques remarques; néanmoins les opinions émises n'engagent que la responsabilité de l'auteur.

1. Nous ignorons tout des conditions de cette fondation dont le responsable fut peut-être Agrippa, durant son séjour en Orient 17/6 av. J.-C. (cf. R. Meyer, *Marcus Agrippa*, Rome 1965, 10). Sur la date précise de la *deductio*, réalisée en deux phases, voir Rizakis 1998a, 24-25, sur le nombre et l'origine des colons (on sait qu'ils étaient des vétérans de deux légions antonioniennes), voir Rizakis 1998a, 25-28; cf. aussi Rizakis 1997, 19-28.

2. Ces cités (Pharai, Tritaia, Rhypes [en partie] et plus tard Dymé) ont été totalement absorbées par la colonie dont elles sont devenues des *kômai*: voir Paus. VII. 17, 5; 18, 7, cf. Rizakis 1995a, 156-57 no. 241 [Dymé]; Paus. VII. 22, 1, cf. Rizakis 1995a, 186-87 no. 276 [Pharai]; Paus. VII. 22, 6, cf. Rizakis 1995a, 190 no. 283 [Tritaia]. Toutefois, le statut politico-juridique ne fut pas identique pour toutes: les anciens colons de Dymé conservent les mêmes droits que ceux de Patras, en revanche l'ancienne population de cette cité et celle de Pharai et Tritaia fut classée dans la catégorie inférieure des *incolae*: voir Rizakis 1996, 274-76; *id.* 1998b, 599-617; *id.* 2009, 21-22.

3. La colonie avait deux *praefecturae* sur la côte étolienne d'en face, comme le laissent entendre deux épitaphes de vétérans (Rizakis 1995a, 389-90 no. 748 [Naupacte]; Rizakis 1998a, 201-02 no. 153 [probablement Kalydôn]). Les textes littéraires, à savoir Strabon (X. 2, 21; cf. Rizakis 1995 a, 313-14 no. 538) et Pausanias (VII. X. 38, 9; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 234-35 no. 364 [Locriens de l'ouest à l'exception d'Amphissa]) font également allusion à des possessions patréennes sur la côte opposée, sans préciser toutefois le statut juridique de ces dépendances (voir ci-dessous, n. 5). Ul. Kahrstedt, «Die Territorien von Patrai und Nicopolis in der Kaiserzeit», *Historia* 1, 1950, 549-61 pense

dation la prééminence administrative au niveau régional,⁴ mais aussi d'asseoir son développement économique futur sur des bases solides. C'est pour cette dernière raison qu'il procura à Patras des revenus supplémentaires, sous forme de taxes annuelles (*vectigalia*), provenant des anciennes cités de l'Étolie du sud et de Phocide occidentale, transformées alors en *civitates adtributae* de la colonie.⁵

La colonie de Patras, forte de son nouveau statut de colonie militaire et de ses privilèges économiques, multiplia les efforts pour jouer un rôle nouveau dans le contexte régional; sa qualité de chef-lieu de la romanité lui assure un rapport privilégié avec le pouvoir central, dans une zone très sensible.⁶ Une inscription patréenne, de la période augustéenne, révèle la prééminence de la colonie parmi les fondations romaines situées le long des côtes occidentales grecques et du golfe de Co-

rinthe⁷ et une autre laisse deviner ses ambitions au niveau provincial. La colonie, exploitant le passé grec de la cité, prendra aussi l'initiative de signer un pacte d'entente, hautement symbolique, avec Athènes, centre incontestable de l'hellénisme.⁸ Patras semble donc avoir cherché à s'établir comme intermédiaire entre Rome et les cités et cette ambition menacera la prépondérance de Corinthe à laquelle elle contestera ouvertement le premier rôle, sans succès toutefois dès lors que Tibère (4 apr. J.-C.), réhabilitera définitivement Corinthe dans sa vocation de capitale provinciale.⁹

Une colonie romaine se définit non seulement par son statut et par l'emprise qu'elle exerce sur un territoire mais aussi par l'organisation de son centre urbain, autant que par une nouvelle hiérarchie de valeurs qui se manifeste sur le plan sémiologique et idéologique. La population romaine installée

que l'incorporation de ces cités se réalisa progressivement, sous le règne de Néron; c'est alors que la cité de Thermon fut annexée comme le laisserait entendre une inscription énigmatique (voir E. Lévy, «Nero's 'Apollonia' series: the Achaean context», *NC* 149, 1989, 67; Rizakis 1996, 274-87). E. Meyer (*RE* XVI 2 [1935] 1993, s.v. Naupaktos) pense, en revanche, que les cités de la Locrie occidentale à l'exception d'Amphissa ont été incorporées dans la colonie immédiatement après la victoire d'Actium.

4. Patras sera, avec quelques autres métropoles grecques, un des piliers de la politique administrative et économique provinciale (Rizakis 1996, 261-69; *id.* 2009, 17-19). Le «système augustéen» repose sur la prééminence d'un centre administratif où s'exerce le pouvoir; pour la Grèce, voir Alcock 1993, 93-115; pour la Gaule, voir les observations de Chr. Goudineau, «Introduction», in Goudineau, Rebourg 1991, 9-12.

5. Sur la forme juridique de cette dépendance, voir Rizakis 1996, 283-85. Le processus d'attribution des revenus fiscaux, issus des territoires d'autres cités, est bien connu dans le monde romain; voir en dernier R. Biundo, «Terre di pertinenza di colonia e municipi fuori del loro territorio: gestione e risorse», *CCG* 14, 2003, 113-14; *ead.*, «*Agri ex alienis territoriis sumpti*. Terre in provincia di colonia e municipi in Italia», *MÉFRA* 116, 2004, 371-436.

6. L'expérience des guerres civiles a montré l'importance stratégique du site quand il s'agissait de transporter, le plus rapidement possible, des troupes d'Italie (cf. A. D. Rizakis, «Ἡ ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στὴν Πελοπόννησο στὴν περίοδο τῆς Δημοκρατίας καὶ ἡ νέα ἰσορροπία δυνάμεων στὸ ἐσωτερικὸ τῆς ἀρχαϊκῆς Συμπολιτείας», in *Actes du III^e Congrès international des Études péloponnésienes*, Athènes 1987/88, 29; *id.*, «La littérature gromatique et la colonisation romaine de l'Orient», in G. Salmeri, A. Raggi, A. Baroni (éds), *Colonia romana nel mondo greco*, *Università degli studi di Pisa, Pisa, 3-4 novembre 2000*, Pisa, 2004, 87; *id.* 2009, 17). Patras devient la plaque tournante d'un réseau de voies terrestres qui la relie au reste du Péloponnèse (R. Baladié, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris 1980, 265-77), à la Grèce centrale et à l'Épire (K. Axioti, «Ρωμαϊκοὶ δρόμοι τῆς Αἰτωλοακαρνανίας», *AD* 35, 1980, *Mel.*, 186-205; Rizakis 1996, 264-66; Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 24-25; Pétropoulos 2007, 198-202). Hormis sa position centrale qui lui permet le contrôle de la province, Patras entretient aussi une liaison directe avec le port de Brindes; voir A.D. Rizakis, «Le port de Patras et les communications avec l'Italie sous la République», *CH* 33.3-4, 1988, 453-72 = *id.*, «Il porto di Patrasso e la comunicazione con l'Italia durante l'era repubblicana», in N. G. Moschonas (éd.), *Due popoli - una storia. Studi di storia Italo-ellenica*, Athènes 1998, 25-38.

7. Un texte patréen, de l'époque augustéenne, conserve les noms de ces fondations impériales réunies afin d'honorer, probablement, leur fondateur: voir Rizakis 1996, 266-67 et n. 37; *id.* 1998a, 266-67 no. 276.

8. Voir A. M. Woodhead, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 279-82 no. 8 et pl. 56; *id.*, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, 83 no. 158 et pl. 26 (*AnnÉpigr* 1960, 184; *SEG* 18, 1962, 557); Rizakis 1998a, 298 no. 363.

9. Les inscriptions corinthiennes montrent que cette situation change en faveur de Corinthe, pendant les dernières années du règne d'Auguste; cf. Stansbury 1990, 168-69 ns 75-76; sur Corinthe, capitale de la province, voir *Actes des Apôtres* 18, 12-17; Aristid., *Or.* 46, 27; cf. J. Wiseman, «Corinth and Rome I: 228 BC-AD 267», in *ANRW* II, 7.1, 1979, 501-02; D. Engels, *Roman Corinth. An alternative model for the Classical city*, Chicago 1990, 19.

dans la ville a besoin de nouveaux espaces et de références architecturales qui reflètent son identité pour mieux correspondre à son sentiment de supériorité et à ses aspirations.¹⁰ Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant de constater que la nouvelle communauté romaine ait voulu exprimer, par le biais de l'architecture et des aménagements urbains, sa supériorité statutaire et sa volonté, d'une part, de légitimer et de perpétuer son système de valeurs, d'autre part d'imposer ses perceptions et ses conceptions esthétiques.¹¹ Ici comme ailleurs l'urbanisme devient un outil de romanisation et un moyen pour les populations grecques de s'insérer dans le monde romain.

Constructions et aménagements urbains de la période Julio-claudienne

La colonie s'installe sur le site de la cité hellénistique dont le cadre urbanistique était déjà rigoureusement défini par une longue histoire antérieure. L'habitat s'était développé au sud et sud-ouest de

l'acropole, dans une zone en pente douce aménagée en terrasses successives (hauteur moyenne 53 m.), qui correspond *grosso-modo* à ce qu'on appelle la ville haute ou 'ville vieille' (*Anô* ou *Palaia polis*) par opposition à la 'ville basse' (*Katô polis*), plus proche de la mer. Les constructions étaient disposées sur des terrasses, comme à Pergame, reliées entre elles par des escaliers ou des rampes.¹² S'il est vrai que la ville hellénistique avait déjà connu une relative extension vers la mer, c'est essentiellement la fondation de la colonie qui bouleversera le plan urbanistique traditionnel et entraînera, graduellement, son expansion,¹³ marquée par la création d'une nouvelle nécropole et l'élargissement des celles qui existaient.¹⁴

Bien que les marques de la romanité soient plus fortes dans les colonies que dans les cités libres ou pérégrines,¹⁵ les premières ne connaissent pas, en Grèce, un remodelage systématique des espaces publics mais plutôt des interventions ponctuelles qui n'altèrent pas, en profondeur les structures

10. L'impérialisme territorial romain, concrétisé dès la victoire de Corinthe (146 av. J.-C.), s'accroît avec l'avènement de César, par le biais d'un vaste programme de colonisation et d'une emprise socio-culturelle dont les manifestations deviennent évidentes à partir d'Auguste, principalement par la diffusion du culte impérial; voir sur ce point les excellentes observations de S. Alcock 1993, 181-99. Le comportement élitiste et le snobisme caractérise l'ensemble des colons même ceux de Corinthe, malgré leur origine servile (Stansbury 1990, 163-65 et 276-82).

11. Les grands travaux publics dans les provinces sont une des manifestations du pouvoir impérial et trahissent clairement sa volonté de marquer une domination incontestable de l'espace; cf. G. Traina, *La tecnica in Grecia e a Roma*, Roma - Bari 1994; *id.*, «I Romani, maestri di tecnica», in E. Lo Cascio, *Innovazione tecnica e progresso economico nel mondo romano, Atti degli incontri capresi di storia dell'economia antica (Capri 13-16 Aprile 2003)*, Bari 2006, 258 n. 23.

12. Sur les vestiges archéologiques, voir Pétropoulos 2009, 51-54. Le particularisme de l'urbanisme patréen s'explique par le relief.

13. Sur l'étendue de la ville de Patras à l'époque hellénistique et sous l'Empire, voir Thomopoulos 1950, 94 et 616-17; Papapostolou 1971, 311-13; Papachatzis 1980, 87; Dekoulakou 1980, 556-57; Rizakis 1998a, 42-48; Pétropoulos 2009, 49-51.

14. Des trois nécropoles de Patras, celle du nord remonte à l'époque classique, celle du sud n'est sporadiquement utilisée qu'à partir de l'époque hellénistique (voir Papapostolou 1978, 354-85; cf. Dekoulakou 2009, 163-68), tandis que la nécropole orientale est une création du début de l'Empire (seconde moitié du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C.); voir Pétropoulos 1999, 39; *id.* 2007, 183-84; *id.* 2009, 48 n. 52; Dekoulakou 2009, 166-67 et n. 17. Si la majorité des colons s'installent en ville, ce qui entraîne une première extension, on sait par l'épigraphie qu'une autre partie réside soit dans des *vici* proches de la ville (Rizakis 1998a, nos 95, 100, 109, 113, 121, 155, 157-58, 190, 264 et 314), soit beaucoup plus loin dans les deux *praefecturae* créées au sud de l'Étolie (Rizakis 1996, 277-78 [Kalydôn], 281-82 [Naupacte]).

15. L'intervention romaine dans celles-ci (e.g. Athènes, Argos, Sparte) s'exprime soit par un remodelage partiel soit par la restauration et la réparation des monuments existants: voir S. E. C. Walker, G. B. Waywell, «Rome in Sparta: The Early Imperial phases of the Roman theater», in Marc, Moretti, 2001, 285-96; P. Baldassari, «Lo specchio del potere: programmi edilizi ad Atene in età augustea», *loc. cit.*, 401-26; Marchetti 2001, 137-54; Gros 2001, 387-400; Rizakis 2001a, 530 avec n. 20 et pp. 532-33 (avec références). À Athènes, pour se limiter à l'exemple le plus notoire, le remaniement opéré par l'Empereur n'a pas respecté la vénérable *agora* et la tradition grecque. Le message idéologique est clair et cherche à montrer, selon l'expression utilisée par P. Gros, que «l'architecture publique était l'émanation du pouvoir central», voir P. Gros, «Nouveau paysage urbain et cultes dynastiques: remarques sur l'idéologie de la ville augustéenne à partir des centres monumentaux d'Athènes, Thasos, Arles et Nîmes», in Goudineau, Rebourg 1991, 127-40, spécialement pp. 129 et 133.

antérieures. À Corinthe par exemple, cas le mieux connu, les interventions augustéennes sont caractérisées selon le mot de Ch. K. Williams par «a deliberate architectural eclecticism»¹⁶ qui se traduit par des travaux de réparation ou de restauration des temples anciens, des changements de fonction de certaines constructions ou espaces anciens, enfin par des constructions nouvelles de style romain.¹⁷ Les données des fouilles disponibles à Patras nous donnent aussi l'impression que les colons Romains ont réutilisé ici aussi, tout au moins au début, les espaces sacrés tout en procédant à des adaptations nécessaires. Mais s'ils n'ont pas tenté d'emblée d'effacer la mémoire des lieux consacrés par le recours à un placage brutal d'aménagements purement romains, ils n'hésiteront pas plus tard, quand toutes les conditions nécessaires seront réunies,

à aménager de nouveaux espaces et à dresser *ex novo* des monuments, typiquement romains (e.g. théâtre, odéon, nouvelle décoration des monuments funéraires), avec lesquels ils s'identifiaient mieux.¹⁸

Auguste prend soin, dans le cadre de la nouvelle organisation spatiale et du regroupement démographique opéré au moment de la fondation de la colonie,¹⁹ de transférer les principales statues cultuelles de Kalydôn (*i.e.* celles d'Artémis *Laphria* et de Dionysos *Kalydônios*),²⁰ et de les installer dans leurs nouveaux temples (**Fig. 1**).²¹ Le transfert des cultes d'un territoire déclassé au nouveau centre urbain et la recomposition du panthéon local est une pratique augustéenne qui a des antécédents dans le monde grec et, précisément à Patras, où ce concept fut appliqué au moment de son premier

16. Ch. K. Williams II, O. H. Zervos, «Corinth, 1986: Temple E and East of the Theater», *Hesperia* 56, 1987, 31-32; cf. M. E. Hoskins Walbank, «The foundation Planning of Early Roman Corinth», *JRA* 10, 1997, 118-24; Rizakis 2001a, 532 et n. 34 (où on trouvera d'autres références); voir aussi A. D'Hautcourt, «Corinthe: financement d'une colonisation et d'une reconstruction», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 427-38.

17. Après la visite d'Agrippa Corinthe entreprend des travaux extensifs de nivellement de terrain, de régularisation de pentes ou de remblayage (voir Stansbury 1990, 172 n. 89 [avec d'autres renvois] et 189-96; cf. Rizakis 2001a, 532), avant de procéder à la réorganisation du *forum* de la colonie. L'absence des données archéologiques à Patras ne permet malheureusement pas d'évaluer l'ampleur de pareilles interventions.

18. Des exemples d'une forme d'*interpretatio graeca* de la romanité (sur cette question, voir H. Dodge, «The architectural impact of Rome in the East», in M. Henig (éd.), *Architecture and architectural sculpture in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1990, 108-20; G. Woolf, «Becoming Roman staying Greek: culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman East», *PCPhS* 40, 1994, 116) ne font pas défaut à Patras mais, vu l'absence d'une étude sur cette question, on peut se contenter de renvoyer, pour l'instant, aux intéressants articles concernant d'autres cités de l'Orient, publiés dans S. Macready, F. H. Thomson (éds), *Roman architecture in the Greek world*, London 1987.

19. Auguste ordonne de regrouper dans la nouvelle métropole la population des communes environnantes de l'Achaïe occidentale (Paus. VII. 18, 6-7); sur cette question, voir F. Trotta, «Il sinecismo di Patrasso in Pausanias e Strabone», *PP* 48, 1993, 428-44 et *id.*, «L'Acaia di Strabone e i sinecismi peloponnesiaci», in A. M. Biraschi (éd.), *Strabone e la Grecia*, Napoli 1994, 169-84; sur l'éventuel transfert des populations étoliennes, voir la note suivante.

20. Paus. VII. 18, 8-9; sur Artémis *Laphria* et son culte voir Osanna 1996, 70-78; sur l'introduction du culte de Dionysos *Kalydônios*, voir Paus. VII. 21, 1; cf. Osanna 1996, 103-04 et n. 180. Papapostolou (1986, 267; *id.* 1991, 306) pense que la statue d'Artémis *Laphria* fut installée dans un temple d'Artémis préexistant sur l'acropole; nous avons émis récemment l'hypothèse (Rizakis 2009, 24-27) qu'à cette occasion, Auguste avait transféré sur l'acropole de Patras les colonnes et l'entablement du temple même de la déesse étolienne (voir Papachatzis 1980, avec figs. 37-39, 41-48, 52 [pp. 88-100]: photos des membres architecturaux encastrés dans le mur nord de la forteresse franque, appartenant, très probablement, aux temples de l'acropole); c'est, peut-être, ce temple d'Artémis *Laphria* qui figure sur les monnaies de la colonie (Price, Trell 1977, 41 fig. 60 [Geta]; voir ci-dessous n. 78). M. P. Nilsson (*Cults, myths, oracles and politics in Ancient Greece*, Göteborg 1986, 23-25), a supposé que le transfert des cultes civiques importants de Kalydôn à Patras, avait été induit par le transfert éventuel de la population, mais cette hypothèse est contredite par Pausanias (VII. 18, 8; cf. X. 38, 4) qui nous informe qu'Auguste transféra les habitants de Kalydôn, après la destruction de cette cité, à Nicopolis (voir Purcell 1987, 78-82).

21. Le fait de bâtir un temple en détruisant un autre (*evocatio*) n'est pas une pratique rare chez les Romains malgré les protestations de certains sur la moralité de ces actes dont les exemples sont nombreux, même en Grèce; voir cf. A. Jacquemin, «De la méconnaissance à l'abus du sanctuaire: l'apprentissage de la Grèce par les chefs de guerre romains», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 155-66.



Fig. 1. Fragments architecturaux des temples de l'acropole, encastrés dans le mur nord de la forteresse franque de Patras (Papachatzis 1980, 95 fig. 42).

synœcisme.²² Auguste procède, en tant que nouvel oeciste de la cité, à une réorganisation des cultes patrœens centrée d'une part sur les anciennes traditions, d'autre part sur les cultes nouveaux qui vont devenir l'élément de référence commun des anciennes et des nouvelles populations de la colonie.²³ Artémis-Diana Laphria par exemple, revalorisée dans son nouveau cadre, acquiert en même temps un lien très intime avec Rome qui s'exprime par l'association de son culte avec celui de l'empereur.²⁴

Bien que les preuves réelles nous fassent défaut pour l'instant, il est fort probable qu'Auguste soit responsable d'autres interventions mineures sur l'*agora* hellénistique de la cité, transformé alors en *forum*.²⁵ Pausanias (VII. 20, 3) parlant des monuments de l'*agora* de Patras, et précisément du temple de Zeus *Olympios*, nous apprend qu'il y avait également dans ce temple des statues d'Héra et d'Athéna qui formaient avec Zeus la triade capitoline. I. Papapostolou²⁶ n'a pas tort lorsqu'il voit

22. Sur le transfert des cultes importants dans le cadre de réorganisations administrative et spatiale civique aussi bien à l'époque archaïque qu'à l'époque augustéenne, voir S. E. Alcock, «Archaeology and imperialism: Roman expansion and the Greek city», *JMA* 2.1, 1989, 87-135; Osanna 1996, 95-96 et 103-10; Y. Lafond, *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C.-III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes 2006, 292.

23. Sur cette question, voir M. Osanna, «Pausania a Patraso. Culti e organizzazione dello spazio sull'acropoli di una città greca», *Ostraka* 2.1, 1993, 99-103; *id.* 1996, 7-150; Y. Lafond, «Le panthéon de Patras et le témoignage de Pausanias: l'identité religieuse d'une cité grecque devenue colonie romaine», *Kernos Suppl.* 8, 1998, 195-208 spécialement pp. 204-07; *id.*, *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C.-III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes 2006, 290-95.

24. Sur l'association des deux cultes, voir Nilsson, *op. cit.* (ci-dessus n. 20), 23; Osanna 1996, 76-77; Rizakis 1998a, 84-86 no. 5; M. Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens*, Meletemata 50, Athènes 2007, 98-101.

25. Papapostolou 1991, 307; sur les limites supposées de l'*agora-forum*, voir ci-dessous pp. 144-45 et ns 91-95.

26. 1991, 307 n. 16; voir toutefois les réserves de Osanna 1996, 89-92. Sur le culte de *Jupiter Capitolinus*, mal

dans ce passage une allusion au culte pratiqué dans les temples principaux des *fora* des cités romaines. Si cette hypothèse est la bonne, on peut alors croire que le temple de Zeus subit, à l'occasion, quelques transformations mineures afin d'intégrer, dès la période augustéenne, le culte de la triade capitoline sans attendre la consécration, nullement nécessaire du reste, d'un nouveau temple. Malheureusement nous ignorons s'il y eut, en même temps, des constructions supplémentaires, à l'instar de Corinthe ou d'Athènes. On peut toutefois raisonnablement supposer que la communauté romaine qui prend en mains les destins de cette cité ne pouvait pas ne pas investir les espaces intimement liés à l'identité de la communauté soumise, remplis de symboles et de souvenirs; elle ne pouvait pas non plus ne pas développer de nouveaux espaces reflétant mieux son identité et ses propres valeurs.²⁷ Une colonie romaine devait, de toute façon, être équipée de nouveaux bâtiments aux frais du trésor public central, l'*aerarium Saturni* pour les provinces sénatoriales, le fisc impérial pour les provinces impériales.²⁸

Hormis les bâtiments publics une colonie a aussi besoin de nouveaux espaces pour loger les colons, ce qu'incite Pétropoulos à attribuer à l'empereur, la première extension de la ville vers la mer et la construction, à cette occasion, d'une nouvelle voie dallée (*via colonnata*) reliant la ville haute à la mer et au port.²⁹ De prime abord la minceur du programme initial étonne mais on peut supposer, sans abuser de l'*argumentum e silentio*, que la colonie privée des moyens nécessaires, ne pouvait entre-

prendre de plus vastes projets. Le volume réduit des aménagements d'époque augustéenne n'entraînait pas, probablement, de modifications majeures au niveau du centre civique ou du plan de l'ancienne ville.³⁰ Tout indique que les interventions mineures de cette époque ont été conçues pour annexer au profit de la nouvelle communauté romaine le contexte monumental existant et établir une nouvelle hiérarchie urbaine.

On trouve un reflet clair de la nouvelle identité patréenne sur les émissions de bronzes coloniales, produits en 2 av. J.-C., presque de quinze ans après la proclamation officielle de la colonie par Agrippa (16/15 av. J.-C.).³¹ Ces émissions, aux légendes latines et aux types renvoyant aux rites de fondation (**Fig. 2**), ont une signification politique et idéologique évidente, puisqu'elles mettent en valeur le statut privilégié des membres de la communauté romaine; cette modeste production ne suffit pas toutefois à témoigner d'une prospérité économique précoce qui, en tout état de cause, a connu une stagnation sous Tibère dont le développement des provinces n'était pas une priorité de sa politique; la raréfaction des émissions monétaires en apporte la preuve.³² L'atelier monétaire de la colonie ne reprendra ses activités qu'à la fin de son règne, par une riche émission (36 apr. J.-C.), en l'honneur de *divus Augustus*,³³ produite à un moment extrêmement symbolique puisqu'elle coïncide avec l'anniversaire du cinquantenaire de la colonie et la création en même temps (35/36 apr. J.-C.) d'un grand *koinon* intégrant plusieurs ligues,

connu en Grèce, voir les très brèves allusions, in M. Cangiano de Azevedo, I 'Capitolia' nell'impero romano, *MPAA* 5, 1941, 1-76; J.-M. Barton, «Capitoline temples in Italy and the provinces (especially Africa)», *ANRW* II. 12. 1 (1982) 260.

27. Sur les interventions romaines dans l'espace urbain des cités, voir Perring 1991, 273-93.

28. Voir les exemples cités par R. MacMullen, «Roman Imperial building in the provinces», *HSCPh* 64, 1959, 207-35, particulièrement p. 208 n. 9.

29. Sur cette voie, voir ci-dessous p. 150; l'extension de la ville ne paraît pas atteindre toutefois la mer à cause des marécages: voir Pétropoulos 2007, 176-77; *id.* 2009, 49 et ns 60-61.

30. Comme disait I. A. Papapostolou (1991, 306) Auguste lui-même était, par tempérament, peu enclin à encourager l'entreprise des grands travaux d'aménagements urbains ou de nouvelles constructions. L'idée de Pétropoulos (2009, 47, 55 n. 88) qu'on doit à Auguste non seulement l'élaboration d'un premier plan d'urbanisme mais aussi sa réalisation est pour l'instant privée de véritables preuves.

31. La présence du titre *pater patriae*, reçu par Auguste le 4 février de l'année 2 av. J.-C., constitue un *terminus post quem* certain pour la datation de la première émission coloniale (voir *RPC I*, 260 no. 1252; cf. Papageorgiadou 2004, 35 fig. 1) qui représente au revers le labourage rituel par lequel on traçait les limites de la colonie (*primigenius sulcus*) au moment de sa fondation, ce qui amena M. Grant (*From imperium to auctoritas. A historical study of aes coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C.-A.D. 14*, Cambridge 1946 [réimpr. anastatique 1969], 265) à voir dans cette émission une commémoration de la proclamation coloniale de Patras.

32. Voir R. Seager, *Tiberius*, London 1972, 144-47.

33. *RPC I*, 260 nos 1253-254.



Fig. 2. Revers d'un bronze impérial de l'époque d'Auguste, représentant le rite de la fondation de la colonie romaine de Patras (Papachatzis 1980, 84 fig. 32).

celle des Achéens en tête.³⁴ Mais ce n'est qu'avec Claude, qui s'intéresse à nouveau aux provinces, que le climat de confiance est restauré et que l'économie se développe à nouveau,³⁵ faisant de Patras, vers le milieu du siècle, à côté de Corinthe et

d'Athènes, l'un des centres financiers et commerciaux de Grèce.³⁶ Le règne de Néron offre de nouvelles opportunités. L'avènement de l'empereur et surtout sa visite en Achaïe,³⁷ sont les occasions de nouvelles émissions monétaires frappées en l'honneur de l'Empereur philhellène. Les privilèges économiques accordés aux cités de la province et la réforme monétaire impériale facilitent la circulation monétaire et les échanges.³⁸ Le grand enthousiasme révélé par la colonie pourrait refléter l'octroi de nouveaux privilèges qui lui auraient alors été accordés.³⁹ On comprend que la mort de l'empereur créa une grande déception et que sa *damnatio memoriae*⁴⁰ fut suivie d'une période de stagnation, voire de marginalisation, particulièrement néfaste pour la colonie.⁴¹

Programmes éditaires de la période flavienne

L'avènement de la dynastie des Flaviens donne de nouveau place à l'optimisme; au début du règne de Domitien (86 apr. J.-C.), la colonie fête l'anniversaire du centenaire de sa fondation, avec la reprise de son monnayage et des riches émissions dont l'une

34. Voir G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek world*, Oxford 1965, 93 qui à la n. 4 renvoie à l'article d'Ul. Kahrstedt, «Das Koinon der Achaier», *SO* 28, 1950, 70-75; Zoumbaki, *infra* 119-20. Le développement des *koina* régionaux fut plus rapide en Asie Mineure: voir B. Levick, *Claudius*, New Haven 1990, 178.

35. Sur les émissions monétaires, à Patras, sous Claude et la politique de celui-ci, voir Papageorgiadou 2004, 44 et 110. Notons qu'un trésor de 35 *aurei*, datant des règnes de Tibère, Caligula et Claude (enfoui vers les années 46/47 apr. J.-C.), est la preuve supplémentaire d'une reprise économique; voir I. Touratsoglou (*NC* 5-6, 1978, 41-52) qui a mis en valeur la rareté de cette découverte dans l'espace hellénique, unique pour sa composition métallique et typologique; cf. Agalopoulou 1994, 9, 55-56 et 136.

36. Plut., *Mor.* 831a; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 247 no. 402.

37. Cette visite est illustrée sur le monnayage (*RPC* I, 260-61 nos 1257-81); trois émissions patréennes de cette période sont des types nouveaux et portent sur leurs revers les légendes: *IUPITER LIBERATOR*, *ADVENTUS AUGUSTI* et *GEN COL NER PAT* (*RPC* I, 261 no. 1279; 261 no. 1264 et 1271; 260, no. 1258; cf. B. Levy, «Nero's liberation of Achaia: some numismatic evidence from Patrae», *The Nickle numismatic papers*, Ontario 1984, 165-85; *ead.*, «Jupiter liberator at Patrae and the Boy Zeus of Aigion», in *Proceedings of the XIIth international congress of Classical archaeology, Athens 4-10.9. 1983*, II, Athènes 1988, 131-35; *ead.*, «Nero's 'Apollonia' series: the Achaean context», *NC* 149, 1989, 64 et n. 15). Sur le délicat problème de la datation précise de ces émissions, liées à l'arrivée de Néron en Grèce et à sa déclaration de Corinthe sur la liberté des cités grecques, voir M. Amandry, *Le monnayage des duovirs Corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. 15, Paris 1988, 13-26 (avec toute la littérature antérieure); l'auteur opte en faveur d'une datation précoce en 66 apr. J.-C. plutôt que 67 apr. J.-C.; voir toutefois la critique de C. J. Howego, «After the colt has bolted: a review of Amandry on Roman Corinth», *NC* 149, 1989, 199-208.

38. M. K. Thornton, «The Augustan tradition and the Neronian economics», *ANRW* II. 2, Berlin 1975, 149-75.

39. C'est B. Levy (*NC* 1989, 67) qui formula l'hypothèse que la célébration numismatique exceptionnelle de l'événement indique, peut-être, que Patras fut alors promue en centre de la Ligue achéenne et élargit par conséquent le champ de son influence.

40. Sur cinq des dix bronzes de la colonie, trouvés à Patras, le nom voire le portrait de l'Empereur sont enlevés (cf. Agalopoulou 1994, 11); pour la *damnatio memoriae* de Néron, voir Hoët-van Cauwenbergh 2007.

41. Le monnayage de Patras, comme de tant d'autres cités compromises avec Néron, fut supprimé par Vespasien après la mort de Galba, dont nous n'avons qu'une seule émission (*RPC* I, 261 no. 1282).

de sesterces porte la légende explicite: *INDULGENTIAE AUGUSTI MONETA INPETRATA*.⁴² C'est alors que les élites locales entreprennent, ici comme ailleurs, avec l'encouragement et le probable soutien de l'empereur,⁴³ de renouveler le tissu urbain par la mise en œuvre des vastes programmes et la multiplication des constructions nouvelles aussi bien dans le domaine public que privé. La réalisation de projets aussi ambitieux obligea à des travaux préalables de terrassements pour recevoir les nouveaux édifices tant publics que privés.⁴⁴

La réorganisation spatiale est particulièrement perceptible dans deux secteurs limitrophes du *forum* de la colonie: d'un côté le plateau de l'Odéon et du stade-théâtre, de l'autre la zone au nord du dernier (40 m au nord-est). Sur le premier seront érigées deux constructions monumentales majeures (le stade-théâtre et l'odéon, **Figs 3-4**), délimitant une zone de spectacles et sur le second se dressera un

important complexe de constructions, de caractère public ou religieux. Le stade-théâtre couvrait alors un grand espace, en dehors des quartiers habités, qui avaient été occupé, au cours du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., par des ateliers.⁴⁵ L'odéon s'élevait sur la terrasse supérieure, aménagée à cet effet et qui s'adossait à la cavea du théâtre. Le choix du site s'explique, comme disait I. Papapostolou, par l'existence, en cette zone de la ville, d'un haut talus propice à l'installation du *koilon*.⁴⁶ De ces deux interventions majeures, la première est de loin la plus importante à la fois par l'ampleur des travaux effectués et par leur signification idéologique. L'introduction de nouveaux types monumentaux, adaptés aux exigences des jeux de gladiateurs,⁴⁷ révolutionne la conception grecque de l'espace, Rome imposant une nouvelle hiérarchie spatiale dans laquelle les priorités ne sont plus les mêmes.⁴⁸ Le stade-théâtre n'est pas uniquement, par sa taille, le bâti-

42. *RPC* II, 63 no. 219; cf. B. E. Levy, *INDULGENTIAE AUGUSTI MONETA INPETRATA*: a Flavian episode, in H. Huvelin, M. Christol, G. Gautier (éds), *Mélanges de Numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, Wetteren 1987, 39-49; A. N. Eckstein, «The foundation day of Roman *coloniae*», *CSCA* 12, 1981, 85-97; Papageorgiadou 2004, 80 avec fig. 61. Sur les émissions partréennes du règne de Domitien, voir *RPC* II, 63-65 nos 219-62.

43. De vastes travaux d'aménagement des espaces publics sont connus, pendant cette période, ailleurs dans le Péloponnèse (e.g. Corinthe, Olympie, Argos), vers la fin du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. avec les Flaviens. De grands travaux sont entrepris alors à Corinthe qui, pour l'occasion, changea de nom, et s'appela *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*, voir *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 82; cf. Stansbury 1990, 339-41; A. D'Haucourt, Corinthe: financement d'une colonisation et d'une reconstruction, in Marc, Moretti 2001, 427-38. Si la reprise est placée à Argos, vers la fin du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. le grand développement se place au second (*Aelii* et *Antonini*), voir P. Marchetti, *Le Nymphée de l'agora d'Argos, ÉtPélop* 11, Paris 1995, 31-32; cf. P. Aupert, «Architecture et urbanisme à Argos au I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C.», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 444; pour Olympie, voir A. Martin, «South-West building at Olympia: The ceramic and glass evidence for its dating», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 313-22; cf. Rizakis 2001, 531. Enfin l'empereur a été sollicité par la cité de Mégalopolis pour la reconstruction d'un portique qui avait brûlé: voir *AnnÉpigr* 1983, 128 = *CIL* III, 13691 = *IG* V 2, 457; cf. A. Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien*, Francfort 1987, 90; S. Mitchell, «Imperial building in the Eastern Roman provinces», *HSPH* 91, 1987, 333-65, particulièrement p. 355.

44. Voir Pétropoulos 2009, 51-54 ns 67-76 et fig. 2.

45. Cette construction imposante (Papapostolou 1989, 355-67 avec fig. 1-15) occupa l'espace délimité par les rues actuelles *Héphaistou*, *Gerokostopoulou*, *Al. Ipsilantou* et très probablement *Pantanassis*, voir Papapostolou 1989, 355; cf. aussi Pétropoulos 1999, 43 et n. 238, p. 46; *id.* 2007, 184; sur les ateliers, voir *infra*, p. 148 n. 117.

46. Papapostolou 1989, 355.

47. Pétropoulos 2007, 184-88; *id.* 2009, 71 n. 189. C'est dans ce stade-théâtre que devait être célébrés les *Caesarea* dont une illustration excellente pourrait être la représentation sur une mosaïque décorant le sol d'une *villa urbana* fouillée sur la place de *Psila Alônia* (Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 43 et fig. 38). C'est aussi au théâtre que devaient avoir lieu les *munera gladiatoria* dont on trouve l'écho sur plusieurs inscriptions (Rizakis 1998a, 132-33 no. 51 et 211-18 nos 142-72) ainsi que sur des mosaïques (Papapostolou 1989, 393-401 figs 36-37; Rizakis 1998a, 218 no. 173). L'odéon était, en principe, réservé à des représentations musicales, des conférences etc.

48. Voir, sur ce sujet, Gros 2001, 394; parmi d'autres nouvelles constructions "romaines" nous devons classer les grands thermes urbains. Même s'ils ne sont pas aussi nombreux, dès la période Julio-claudienne, qu'à l'Est de la mer Égée, on se demande quelle pourrait être, sur l'organisation du centre monumental des villes, l'influence de ces «intrus dans la panoplie monumentale des villes hellénistiques», selon l'expression de P. Gros (2001, 304). Sur l'introduction et la diffusion des thermes à la romaine en Grèce, voir I. Nielsen, *Thermae et balnea: The architecture and cultural history of Roman public baths* vol. I, Aarhus 1990, 96-101, 115-16 et *loc. cit.* vol. II, *passim*; A. Farrington,

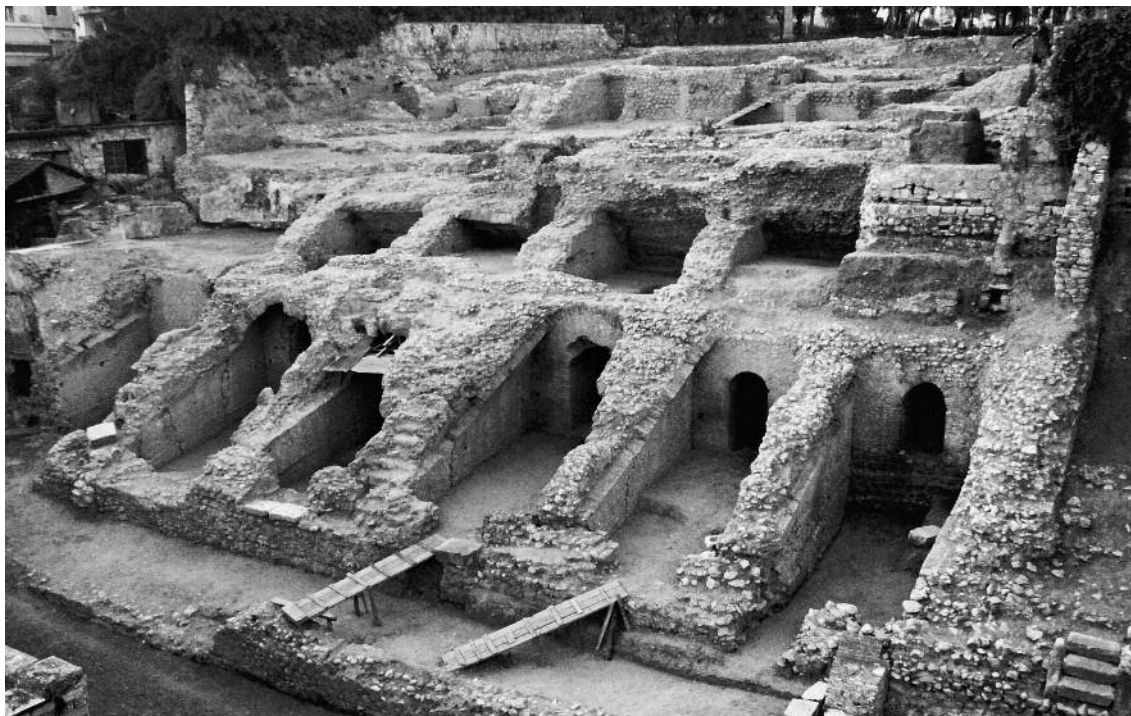


Fig. 3. Partie du côté long est du *stadium*-théâtre de Patras (Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 44 fig. 39).

ment le plus important de la cité; il est aussi le point focal autour duquel se développe une nouvelle institution en laquelle la société patréenne va s'impliquer massivement. Le stade-théâtre est le symbole le plus fort de la domination romaine et d'un nouvel ordre social mais aussi le lieu d'acculturation par excellence des valeurs et des traditions de Rome.⁴⁹

La datation précise de ces deux constructions ne fait pas l'unanimité. Le premier fouilleur datait les portions dégagées alors du théâtre de la première moitié du II^e siècle.⁵⁰ Le progrès des fouilles modifia les données et nous engage à préférer désormais une datation flavienne,⁵¹ du moins pour le début des travaux qui certainement durèrent un certain temps.⁵² La date de la construction de l'odéon est

«The introduction and spread of Roman bathing in Greece», in J. DeLaine, D. E. Johnston (eds), *Roman Baths and Bathing: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths held at Bath, England, 30 March - 4 April 1992*, I: *Bathing and Society*, JRA Suppl. 37, Portsmouth, R. I. 1999, 57-65. Pour Patras, voir provisoirement Thomopoulos 1950, 224; Bonini 2006, 172-82; *id.* 2009, 144; mais une étude détaillée, fait défaut; sur l'évolution naturelle des gymnases en thermes "romains", voir Marchetti 2001, 150-51.

49. Pour sa forme que justifie le terme "stade-théâtre" voir le plan dans Pétropoulos 2009, 71 fig. 14; pour des constructions analogues voir Pétropoulos 2007, 184-88; C. A. Barton, *The sorrows of the Ancient Romans: the gladiator and the monster*, Princeton 1992; K. Hopkins, «Mourderous games», in K. Hopkins, *Death and renewal. Sociological studies in Roman history*, Cambridge 1983, 1-30; P. Gros, «La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome augustéenne», in *L'urbis. Espace urbain et histoire. Ier siècle avant J.-C.-IIIe siècle après J.-C.*, Collection de l'ÉFR 98, Rome 1987, 319-46; voir Perring 1991, 280-82.

50. Précisément avec le règne d'Hadrien; voir Papapostolou 1989, 366 n. 37 (*id.* 1991, 311 n. 51).

51. Notons que I. A. Papapostolou (1989, 366-67), déjà, datait la majorité des tessons repérés au moment de sa fouille, des I^{er}/II^e s. apr. J.-C., les nouvelles données de la fouille confirment la première date: voir Pétropoulos 1999, 60-61; *id.* 2007, 184-85 et 187; *id.* 1999, 43; *id.* 2009, 71 n. 189. Agalopoullou (1994, 23) préfère la datation flavienne et note que la politique domitienne était favorable aux spectacles, plus particulièrement de gladiateurs; le théâtre serait, selon elle, un cadeau fait à la colonie pour son centenaire.

52. On sait, par ailleurs, que des entreprises de cette envergure duraient, parfois, plusieurs générations; voir, en général, L. Migeotte, «Finances et constructions publiques», in M. Wörle, P. Zanker (éds), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich 1995, 79-86.



Fig. 4. Vue générale de l'odéon romain de Patras (Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 2 fig. 1).

encore moins certaine; on la situait habituellement au II^e s. de notre ère mais, récemment, M. Pétropoulos,⁵³ à partir d'une observation de N. Yalouris, n'exclut pas une datation de quelques décennies plus précoce, ce qui pourrait faire remonter les débuts des travaux à l'époque de Domitien et les ins-

crire alors dans le programme urbanistique de ce règne qui s'acheva, probablement sous Hadrien.⁵⁴

Parmi les constructions publiques et religieuses de la seconde zone, installées sur trois terrasses successives (au nord du stade-théâtre) et qui restent malheureusement anonymes,⁵⁵ la plus remarquable

53. 2009, 70 n. 187. Il faut préciser qu'à l'exception des tessons mycéniens et géométriques, l'ensemble du matériel date de la période romaine. Pétropoulos n'exclut pas que la date de la fin du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., avancée par le premier fouilleur (N. Yalouris, *AD* 16, 1960, *Chron. B'*, 140), soit la bonne. Malheureusement il n'y a aucune étude scientifique sur l'odéon de Patras; on trouvera, toutefois, une bibliographie dispersée sur les fouilles et les travaux de restauration in Rizakis 1995a, 177 n. 1.

54. Certains spécialistes pensent que la construction doit être postérieure à l'année 125 apr. J.-C., date de la construction de l'odéon de Nicopolis qui lui sert de modèle, et antérieure à la rédaction des *Achaïca* de Pausanias en 173/4 apr. J.-C.: R. Meinel, *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäuden*, Frankfurt a. M. 1979, 267-80; G. G. Izenour, *Roofed theatres of Classical Antiquity*, New Haven - London 1992, 140-41. Sur les fouilles et la restauration du monument, voir la bibliographie citée in Rizakis 1995, 177 et n. 1.

55. Cela est dû, principalement, au caractère partiel des fouilles et à l'absence d'études scientifiques: voir Pétropoulos 2007, 188-90; *id.* 2009, 68 ns 170-74. C'est dans la partie non fouillée du même secteur (Pétropoulos 2007, 189), qu'on doit, toutefois, rechercher les temples d'Aphrodite et de Dionysos *Kalydônios*, placés par le Pérégète (VII. 20, 9 et 21, 1; 6; cf. Herbillon 1929, 129-30) avec le temple de Némésis, près du stade-théâtre et du sanctuaire d'une femme indigène, dans lequel se trouvaient les trois statues de Dionysos qui portaient les adjectifs rappelant les trois anciennes *kômai* de Patras.

est celle d'un nymphée, à la bifurcation des deux axes principaux de la colonie (**Fig. 5**).⁵⁶ Cette construction pourrait s'identifier, selon P. Agalopoulou, à la fontaine monumentale, connue par une monnaie du règne de Domitien (96 apr. J.-C.);⁵⁷ si la datation flavienne du Nymphée est possible,⁵⁸ il faudrait supposer qu'il existait déjà à Patras, à l'instar d'Argos, une installation hydraulique précoce au cours de la seconde moitié du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. (?).⁵⁹

Malgré les incertitudes relatives à la datation de certaines constructions il ne fait aucun doute que l'époque flavienne marque un renouveau majeur de l'urbanisme patréen; cela confirme l'opinion selon laquelle la politique de Domitien, qui s'exprima à travers réformes et grands travaux, fut bénéfique aux provinces. Ce point de vue va à l'encontre de l'*opinio communis* traditionnelle qui voit très négativement cet empereur, probablement à cause de sa *damnatio memoriae* et de la mauvaise réputation véhiculée par une tradition historique hostile de Tacite et Pline à Suétone.

L'exemple de Patras, parmi d'autres, montre que Domitien fut un empereur très actif non seulement à Rome mais aussi dans plusieurs provinces, dont la Grèce.⁶⁰ Ajoutons que Domitien entretenait, à l'instar de Néron, une relation privilégiée avec les concours et leurs constructions respectives (*i.e.* stades) mais aussi avec les spectacles et les jeux du cirque (*i.e.* amphithéâtres et jeux de gladiateurs);⁶¹ est-ce un hasard, dès lors, si la forme du stade-théâtre de Patras imite celle du stade contemporain au site de la *piazza Navona* à Rome?⁶²

Travaux édilitaires et constructions pendant le second siècle

Le II^e siècle est une période de grande prospérité pour l'ensemble des cités grecques de l'Empire. Patras s'embellit encore de nouvelles constructions, aussi bien religieuses que civiles, et connaît aussi une explosion de l'architecture privée avec la multiplication de demeures luxueuses ou de tombeaux monumentaux (**Fig. 6**).⁶³ Habituellement on porte

56. Voir I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 35, 1980, *Chron.* B' 1, 179, 181-82 avec dessin 7 et pl. 78; *AD* 36, 1981, *Chron.* B' 1, 162, 165, dessin 7, pl. 103 β-γ; pour une fouille plus ancienne d'une autre partie de ce nymphée, voir Ph. Petsas, *AD* 26, 1971, *Chron.* B' 1, 171-74 avec dessins 14-18.

57. Dans les anciens catalogues (*e.g.* *SNG* III, 178-79) cette fontaine monumentale est décrite comme une colonne portant sur le sommet une statue, une enceinte entourant l'ensemble; on y voit l'eau jaillir de la tête d'un lion; la statue qui la décore est probablement celle d'Héraclès. L'identification de cette représentation avec une fontaine a été faite pour la première fois par C. Sandler Berkowitz, «An imperial fountain at Patrae: the numismatic evidence», *AJA* 77, 1973, 206; cf. Price, Trell 1977, 44-45 fig. 74; P. Agalopoulou 1994, 16-17 (cf. Papageorgiadou 2004, 55 avec fig. 28).

58. C'est l'opinion exprimée par P. Agalopoulou (1994, 17); Papapostolou (1991, 308 fig. 4; 313 et 316-17 dessin 1), en revanche, préfère une datation postérieure, au début du II^e s. apr. J.-C., en relevant que de cette période dateraient la majorité des nymphées, des fontaines et des aqueducs en Grèce (voir toutefois la note suivante). Pour une autre importante construction publique sur la place de *Psila Alōnia*, voir Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 87.

59. Sur Argos voir Marchetti (ci-dessus n. 43), 191-95. Malheureusement il n'y a aucune étude détaillée sur l'aqueduc de Patras qu'on attribue, sans preuves, me semble-t-il, à Hadrien (ci-dessous p. 142 et n. 71), voir M. Pétropoulos, A. D. Rizakis, «Settlement patterns and landscape in the coastal area of Patras; preliminary report», *JRA* 7, 1994, 199. Sur les fontaines monumentales de cette période en Grèce, voir S. Agusta-Boullardot, «Fontaines et fontaines monumentales en Grèce de la conquête romaine à l'époque flavienne: permanence ou renouveau architectural?», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 167-236; sur les *Nymphaia*, voir S. Walker, *The architectural development of Roman Nymphaea in Greece*, Londres 1979; F. Glaser, *Antike Brunnenbauten (KPHNAI) in Griechenland*, Vienne 1983.

60. Domitien était salué comme évergète des provinces orientales en particulier: voir J. Geffcken, «Römische Kaiser im Volksmunde der Provinz», *Nachr. Gesellsch. Göttingen, Phil.-hist.* Kl. 1901, 188-89: ὃν πάντες στέρξουσι βροτοὶ κατ' ἀπειρονα γαῖαν ... καὶ τούτοις (*i.e.* orientaux) βασιλεῖς ἕως στέρξει μέγας ἢ δ' ἀγαπήσει ἕξοχα τῶν ἄλλων πολητῶν; cf. H.W. Pleket, «Domitien, the senate, and the provinces», *Mnemosyne* 14, 1961, 296-315, particulièrement p. 303; sur sa politique philhellène, voir aussi B. W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, Londres - New York 1992, 111-12.

61. Agalopoulou (1994, 23-25) présente une liste sommaire des grands travaux entrepris à Rome sous Domitien.

62. C'est une idée formulée par M. Pétropoulos 2007, 187; sur ce stade, voir A. M. Colini, *Stadium Domitiani*, Roma 1943; réimpr. anast. avec mise à jour par P. Virgili, Roma 1998; cf. aussi Jones, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 60), 86-87.

63. Bonini (2006, 438-98 nos 1-48) a répertorié 48 *villae urbanae* à Patras; *id.* 2009, 121-62; Wurmser 2008 (vol. II,



Fig. 5. Vue générale du nymphée de Patras (Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 50 fig. 45).

au crédit d'Hadrien, dont la générosité et les largesses sont innombrables dans plusieurs cités grecques, la majorité des grands travaux réalisés à Patras au cours du II^e s. de notre ère, bien qu'aucun monument ne soit associé directement à cet empereur. Trajan, son père, préoccupé par de grandes guerres, notamment celle contre les Parthes, n'intervient de manière ciblée que dans le domaine de

la voirie,⁶⁴ ce qui fut bénéfique pour Patras qui connut à la période suivante une véritable prospérité que confirment les sources littéraires, épigraphiques, archéologiques et numismatiques.⁶⁵ Patras dut profiter, comme bien d'autres villes, de la générosité d'Hadrien.⁶⁶ L'adjectif, *ktistès*, qui lui est accolé dans une dédicace patréenne érigée en son honneur, sous-entend le financement de travaux

218-312 nos 1-62 sauf 51-52 [*villae maritimae* sur l'*Akti Dymaiôn*] en a répertoriée 59; elle signale (*loc. cit.* vol. I, 179) que le chiffre peut être trompeur dans la mesure où "certains terrains fouillés peuvent être en réalité deux parties d'une même maison d'habitation mises au jour au cours d'opérations séparées topographiquement et chronologiquement". Sur les tombeaux monumentaux, voir Dekoulakou 1980, 556-76; *ead.*, 2009, 191-202.

64. Trajan ne montra pas un intérêt particulier pour la Grèce et précisément pour l'Achaïe sauf dans le domaine routier en vue de la préparation de son expédition contre les Parthes: Rizakis 1998a, 106-08 no. 27a.

65. Le premier signe de cette prospérité est la reprise des émissions de bronzes, émissions qui coïncident avec le 151^e anniversaire de la colonie (137 apr. J.-C.); ce retard d'une année n'est pas un événement rare: voir M. Grant, *Roman anniversary issues. An exploratory study of the numismatic and medallion commemoration of anniversary years (49 B.C.-A.D. 375)*, Cambridge 1950, 10-12. Sur la production monétaire de cette période, voir Papageorgiadou 2004, 121.

66. La générosité impériale est un moyen par excellence d'exprimer, depuis César, la souveraineté; voir P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris 1976, 478.

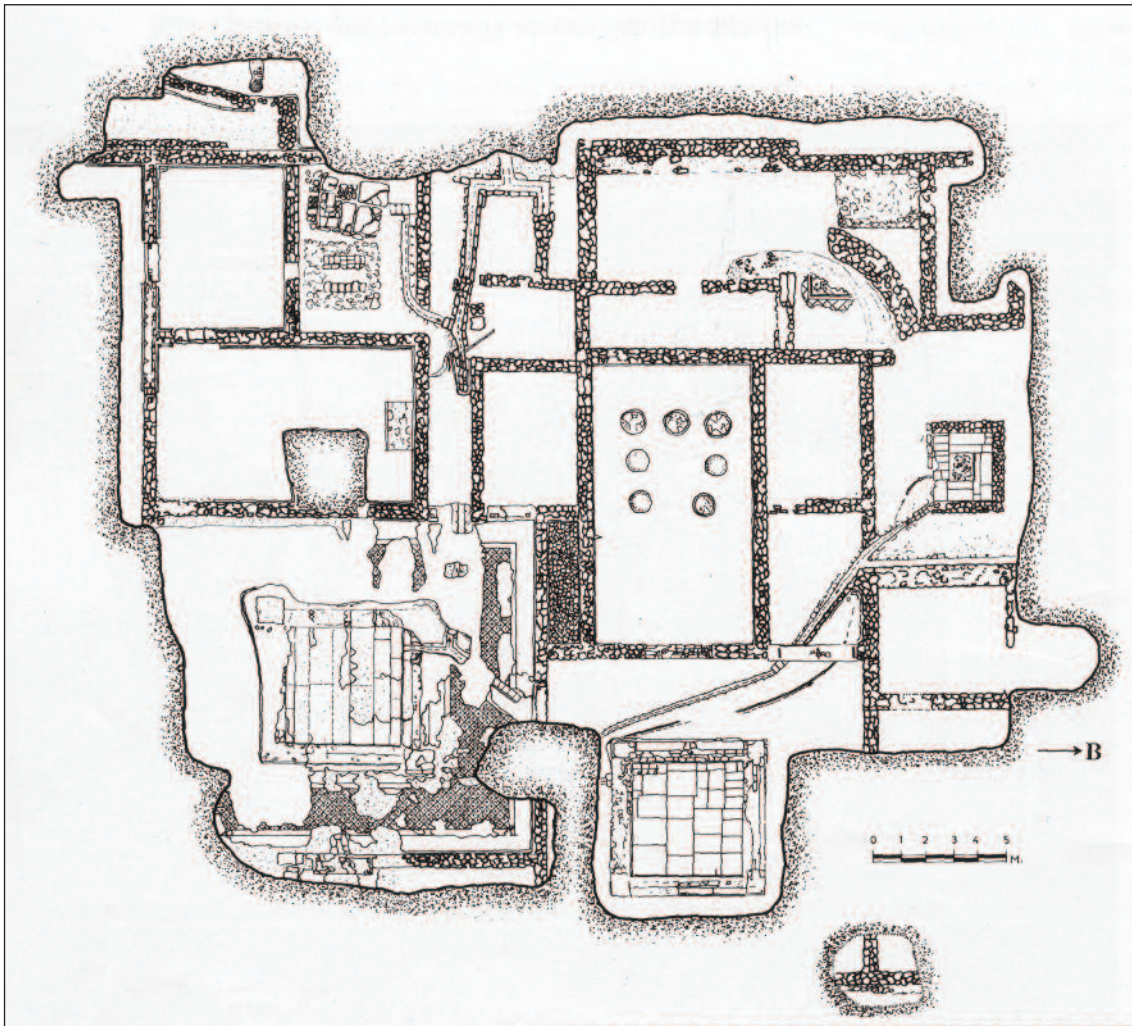


Fig. 6. Plan d'une villa urbana de Patras (Papachatzis 1980, 118 fig. 73).

importants (Fig. 7):⁶⁷ laconique le texte exprime la reconnaissance envers l'Empereur des Patrèens qui ne manquent pas non plus d'honorer d'une statue et, probablement, d'un culte son favori défunt,

Antinoos.⁶⁸ On pourrait rapporter à Hadrien la construction du temple hexastyle anonyme qui figure sur les monnaies de cette époque (Hadrien et Iulia Domna).⁶⁹ Lui attribuer la construction ou

67. Sur le texte de cette inscription et son commentaire, voir Rizakis 1998a, 102-04 no. 24. I. A. Papapostolou (1989, 366 n. 37 et 1991, 314 figs 10-11) évoque également le titre *restitutor Achaiae* que porte l'empereur sur une série de monnaies romaines (RIC II. 2, 377 no. 321; cf. *loc. cit.*, 463 nos 138-39); des telles monnaies existent pour d'autres provinces (RIC II. 2, 377-78 et 463-67); le titre avec la représentation qui l'accompagne met en valeur l'œuvre de "restaurateur", accompli par l'Empereur dans diverses provinces (cf. RIC II. 2, 331). On ne peut donc pas les associer avec une cité précise.

68. Voir H. Meyer, *Antinoos: die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit*, Munich 1991, 29-31 nos 7-8, pls 5-6.

69. Comme il a été observé le temple hexastyle est identique à celui du revers des sesterces de Rome (A. Banti, *I grandi bronzi imperiali: selezione di sesterzi e medaglioni classificati secondo il sistema Cohen*, Florence 1986); cette observation a conduit I. A. Papapostolou (1986, 267 et 1991, 306) à affirmer que «cette représentation n'a pas de signification spéciale pour Patras»; en revanche, plus nuancée est l'opinion exprimée, sur ce point, par Pappageorgiadou 2004, 55-56 (avec fig. 29). Les représentations des monuments sur les monnaies patrèennes sont



Fig. 7. Dédicace à l'empereur Hadrien trouvée à Patras (Rizakis 1998a, p. 420 pl. 4 fig. 24).

l'achèvement du stade-théâtre, de l'odéon⁷⁰ ainsi que de l'aqueduc reste tout aussi hypothétique.⁷¹ Pausanias qui visite Patras, probablement, en 173 apr. J.-C., soit une génération plus tard, ne mentionne aucune de ces constructions, à l'exception de l'odéon qui l'impressionne par sa beauté et qu'il compare à l'odéon d'Atticus à Athènes, malgré ses dimensions plus réduites.⁷²

Contrairement à Hadrien aucune construction publique ne peut être datée, pour l'instant, des règnes d'Antonin le Pieux et de ses successeurs Marc Aurèle et L. Verus; seule une inscription rappelle leur intervention dans le domaine de la voirie, dans le cadre de l'expédition contre les Parthes, avec la réparation d'une voie publique endommagée, au voisinage de Patras.⁷³ Le règne d'Antonin le Pieux se signale toutefois par l'émission, pour la première fois, d'un groupe de monnaies pseudo-autonomes dont une légende révèle le véritable nom de la colonie (COLAUGACHPAT)⁷⁴ alors que

rares; il n'y en a pratiquement que trois autres: la fontaine (voir ci-dessus n. 56), le port avec diverses constructions monumentales parmi lesquelles un temple hexastyle en arrière plan (Price, Trell 1977, 41 figs 60-61; Papapostolou 1991, 315 n. 68; Ch. Papageorgiadou, «Η νομισματοκοπία της Colonia Patrensis: παρατηρήσεις στην εικονογραφία», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athènes 1991, 208 n. 31; ead. 2004, 58 ns 170-72; Papageorgiadou 2004, 58 ns 170-72 et ci-dessus, p. 132 n. 20 et ci-dessous, p. 143 n. 78) et un petit temple dans lequel on reconnaît la statue cultuelle d'Athéna *Panachais* dans le péribole du sanctuaire d'Artémis *Laphria* de l'acropole (Paus. VII. 20, 2; cf. Papachatzis 1980, 104 fig. 56). Une telle rareté contraste avec la pléthore de représentations monumentales sur les émissions corinthiennes (voir Papageorgiadou 2004, 53-68).

70. Papapostolou 1989, 366 et n. 37; M. Pétropoulos, «Το ρωμαϊκό στάδιο της Πάτρας», in D. D. Garoufalakis, M. Mikelakis, S. Masouridou (éds), *Τα στάδια στην αρχαία Ελλάδα και οι σύγχρονες αναβιώσεις των αρχαίων αγώνων*, Athènes 2004, 104-09; Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 43-45 et figs 39-40.

71. L'aqueduc dont le parcours est long de 7,5 km amenait, pour la première fois dans l'histoire de Patras, de l'eau de source du fleuve Diakoniaris (village actuel de *Romanou*); voir M. Kotsaki, *AD* 37, 1982, B' 1 *Chron.*, 142-44; M. Pétropoulos, *AD* 45, 1990, B' 1 *Chron.* 136; Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 25 et 38 avec fig. 31; sur l'usage de l'eau et l'hygiène à Patras, voir M. Pétropoulos, «Historical data on the use of water in the region of Patras», in Ath. Diamantopoulos, C. Viesca, J.-P. Tricot (éds), *Analecta HistoroMedica* IV, 2006, 151-57. En l'absence d'étude sur l'aqueduc de Patras, la date avancée par I. A. Papapostolou reste précaire. Pour une éventuelle datation flavienne, voir ci-dessus, p. 139 ns 57-58.

72. Paus. VII. 20, 6; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 176-77 nos 258.3 et 259.2; sur sa datation, voir ci-dessus, pp. 137-38 ns 53-54.

73. Voir Rizakis 1998a, 108-09 no. 28; sur un portrait de L. Verus, trouvé à Patras, voir Papachatzis 1980, 120-21 fig. 75.

74. P. Agalopoulou, «Two Unpublished Coins from Patras and the Name of the Roman Colony», *Hesperia* 58.4, 1989, 445-47; ead., «*Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis*. «Ψευδο-αυτόνομα» νομίσματα της Πάτρας από τις ανασκαφές», in Rizakis 1991, 211-16.

les représentations des revers d'autres monnaies reflètent la réforme religieuse de l'empereur – qui contribua à la promotion de la Mère des dieux, de Cybèle et d'Attis au premier rang des cultes de l'Empire⁷⁵ – et révèlent ainsi que ces cultes étaient également en vogue dans la colonie.⁷⁶

À l'époque de la visite de Pausanias (173/4 apr. J.-C.) Patras semble être un centre économique très actif au niveau de l'artisanat⁷⁷ autant que du commerce grâce au développement de son port doté, vers cette période ou un peu plus tard, de véritables installations portuaires, qu'illustrent le monnayage de Commode et Geta;⁷⁸ Il se peut qu'à Patras, comme ailleurs, les travaux de construction, de restauration ou d'embellissement se poursuivirent comme si, pour reprendre les mots de R. MacMullen,⁷⁹ «the real essence of prosperity waited only in his external manifestation». Mais ces signes extérieurs sont trompeurs: la cité n'échappera pas à la crise politique et économique qui sous Caracalla atteindra un point critique, illustré,

indirectement, par la contraction surprenante des types monétaires.⁸⁰ Le déclin sera rapide, malgré quelques éclats passagers,⁸¹ et à l'arrêt définitif de son monnayage correspond la rareté des documents épigraphiques et des données archéologiques datant de cette période.

Plan d'urbanisme, aménagements spatiaux et constructions publiques

La description de Pausanias qui suit un plan topographique en commençant par l'acropole et en descendant vers la mer correspond à l'organisation urbaine réelle,⁸² même si nous sommes impuissants à relier la plupart des constructions mises au jour au cours des dernières décennies, avec les monuments décrits par le Périégète.⁸³ Au demeurant, les découvertes archéologiques ne démentent pas l'impression générale, donnée par d'autres sources, de l'importance des investissements réalisés dans la pierre au cours de ce siècle et ne laissent aucun doute sur le développement urbain vers le nord-

75. J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire I: la politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)*, Paris 1955, 311-20; M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis, the myth and the cult*, Londres 1977, 113 sqq.

76. Ce fait est illustré aussi bien dans la littérature contemporaine (e.g. Paus. VII. 20, 3; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 174-75 no. 256 [*Dindiméné* Meter, c'est-à-dire Cybèle, Attis]; Paus. VII. 21, 13; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 184-85 no. 273 [Sarapis, Aegyptos]) que par la numismatique, l'épigraphie et l'archéologie: voir Pétropoulos, «Ἀττις και ζωδιακός κύκλος σε λυχνάρια της Πάτρας», *AD* 33, 1978, Mel. A, 296-317 avec pls 84-87; Osanna 1996, 82-83 [*Dindiméné*, Attis] et 121-22 [Sarapis, Aegyptos].

77. Pausanias (VII. 21, 14) nous informe qu'il y avait une industrie textile prospère qui utilisait une plante (*i.e.* *bysos*), cultivée dans les plaines de l'Élide; le Périégète précise que la main-d'œuvre était essentiellement féminine.

78. Voir *NCP* (réimprimé de *JHS* 1885, 1886 et 1887) pl. Q. XXII; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, «Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeers», *Klio* 14.1, 1923, 210 sqq. et figs 6, 7 et 8 (Commodus et Geta); Price, Trell 1977, pls 60-61; Papachatzis 1980, 128 fig. 90 (Geta) et 129 fig. 92 (Commodus); Papageorgiadou 2004, 58 et fig. 35 (Commodus), fig. 36 (Geta). La date des travaux d'aménagement du port de Patras, basée sur des fouilles partielles, est due à Papapostolou (1991, 315). Sur cette date, voir les réserves de Pétropoulos (2009, 62 n. 131); sur les fouilles partielles des installations portuaires, voir Iph. Dekoulakou, «Οδός Μπουμπουλίνας», *AD* 31, 1976, *Chron.* B' 1, 114-15 pl. 84β; D. Matsas, *AD* 34, 1979, *Chron.* B' 1, 147; cf. Pétropoulos 2009, 61-64.

79. MacMullen (cité ci-dessus p. 134 n. 28) 217.

80. C. C. Lorber, «Greek Imperial coins and Roman propaganda. Some issues from the sole reign of Caracalla», *SAN* 16.3, 1985, 45-50 et *SAN* 16.4, 1986, 71-77.

81. Papapostolou (1991, 315) date de la première moitié du III^e s. apr. J.-C. certaines des constructions révélées au cours des fouilles et en conclut que la cité connaît encore une prospérité relative pendant cette période; la faiblesse des émissions monétaires et la rareté des documents épigraphiques surtout à partir du milieu du III^e s. montrent la fragilité de cette hypothèse; sur la crise économique qui sévit alors, voir I. Touratsoglou, *Greece and the Balkans before the end of Antiquity*, Athènes 2006.

82. Rizakis 1995a, 160-62 et p. 168 fig. 2.

83. On trouvera cette littérature dans Rizakis 1995a, 167 no. 253-185 no. 274 et Osanna 1996, 84-88, 107-12, 122-23 et 130-33. La majorité de constructions publiques et privées datées du II^e s. apr. J.-C. restent anonymes. La liste, dressée par Papapostolou (1991, 311-13), doit être complétée par celle de Pétropoulos 2007, 191; *id.* 2009, 47-73. Sur les constructions non identifiées, entre l'odéon et la ville basse, voir Papapostolou 1991, 313; Pétropoulos 2007, 194-95 et *id.* 2009, 67-69.

ouest, jusqu'à la mer,⁸⁴ lequel aurait été impossible, vu le relief, sans l'établissement préalable de nombreuses terrasses et de murs de soutènement, aussi bien sur l'acropole, dans la zone du *forum* (ville-haute), et sur la hauteur voisine des *Psila Alônia*.⁸⁵ Ce développement urbain aurait été impossible sans la réparation des anciennes voies ou la construction de nouvelles, les principales recouvertes de dalles (**Fig. 8**),⁸⁶ et les secondaires de caillasses; toutes sont dotées de canalisations souterraines, certaines remontant à l'époque hellénistique, et de trottoirs, le plus souvent d'un seul côté de la chaussée; certaines sont bordées de boutiques équipées de portes coulissantes, comme à Pompéi.⁸⁷ La présence de *tabernae* ou d'ateliers révèle qu'un secteur de la ville-basse était voué à des activités économiques,⁸⁸ sans que cela exclue la présence de demeures privées.

La vie de la colonie reste articulée aux deux

pôles traditionnels (l'acropole et l'*agora-forum*) mais s'y ajoutent des nouveaux quartiers créés pour répondre aux besoins nouveaux de la société (**Fig. 9**). L'acropole conserve sa vocation purement religieuse et l'*agora-forum*, ses fonctions politico-administratives et culturelles.⁸⁹ L'espace occupé par l'acropole se confond plus ou moins avec celui de la forteresse franque, mais la localisation précise de ses monuments reste inconnue en l'absence de fouille en ce secteur.⁹⁰ Il en est de même pour l'espace supposé de l'*agora-forum*, malgré les rares données fournies par les voyageurs ou les fouilles modernes.⁹¹ Dans cet espace, destiné aux réunions et aux échanges, depuis la période classique jusqu'au XIX^e siècle,⁹² l'église actuelle du *Pantocrator*, édiflée probablement sur des fondations byzantines et au-dessus du temple de Zeus *Olympios* transformé en *Capitolium*,⁹³ occupe une position centrale; c'est un *excelcissimus locus*, comme il

84. La zone urbaine connaît alors sa plus grande extension, délimitée par les nécropoles qui sont le mieux connues: I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 32, 1977, *Mel. A*, 284; *id.* 1991, 305; Pétropoulos 1990, 496; *id.* 1999, 39; Dekoulakou 2009, 163-68; voir aussi ci-dessus, p. 131 n. 14.

85. Papapostolou 1991, 309; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 86-87; Pétropoulos 2009, 51-54.

86. Sur les voies urbaines de l'époque romaine, voir Papapostolou 1991, 307-12; sur les découvertes plus récentes, voir Rizakis, Pétropoulos 2006, 39-41 figs 33-35; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 87-90; Pétropoulos 2009, 54-56.

87. Papapostolou 1971, 307; *id.* 1991, 308 fig. 3; Pétropoulos 2007, 191; *id.* 2009, 55-56. La largeur moyenne des voies de Patras se situe entre 3,5 et 4 m et atteint 5 m quand elles sont pourvues de trottoirs sur les deux côtés: voir Pétropoulos 2009, 56 n. 94.

88. Papapostolou 1991, 310-11.

89. Sur les monuments de l'acropole et de son voisinage immédiat, voir Paus. VII. 18, 8-20, 2; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 167-74 nos 253-55; Osanna 1996, 70-88; sur les monuments de l'*agora-forum*, voir Paus. VII. 20, 3-20, 7; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 175-77; Osanna 1996, 88-96.

90. De nombreux membres architecturaux provenant des monuments de l'acropole sont encore encastrés dans le mur nord de la forteresse franque: voir Papachatzis 1980, 88-91, figs 37-39 et 94-98 figs 41-48; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 171 no. 253. 4.

91. Le colonel W. M. Leake (*Travels in the Morea* II, Londres 1830, 132-33; cf. aussi Fr. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce* IV, Paris 1826, 368; A. Blouet, *Expédition scientifique de Morée, ordonnée par le gouvernement français. Architecture, sculpture* etc. III, Paris 1838, 42) y avait observé quelques ruines, visibles encore en 1828, quand l'architecte St. Bulgaris dressa le nouveau plan d'urbanisme et s'efforça de les protéger (Thomopoulos 1950, 199; surtout J. E. Dimacopoulos, *Roman manifestations in Neo-Classical Greece. A town plan of Patras by Stamati Bulgari*, Munich - Berlin 1986, 22-41; cf. Rizakis 1998a, 3-10); sur les informations fournies par les autres voyageurs, voir E. Meyer, *RE* XVIII. 4, 1949, 2197-198, s. v. *Patrai*; Osanna 1996, 108 n. 207; sur le plan de St. Bulgaris, voir Dimacopoulos, *op. cit.*, 22-32; V. Hastaoglou-Martinidis, «Urban Modernization and National Renaissance», *Planning Perspectives* 8, 1993, 417-69; cf. Rizakis 1998a, 45 avec n. 5. Les hypothèses formulées sur l'emplacement des autres monuments de l'*agora*, décrits par le Périégète, sont gratuites; on trouvera cette littérature dans Rizakis 1995a, 174-82 nos 256-67; Osanna 1996, 111-12; Pétropoulos 2009, 58-61.

92. À l'époque turque cet espace était occupé par le *Kursum Cami* qui occupait une place centrale dans la cité de cette période (Thomopoulos 1950, 199 et 258 n. 1 et 615 n. 1). La carte vénitienne montre le même dispositif, voir Osanna 1996, 107-12; cf. Rizakis 1998a, 45-47.

93. Sur l'église du *Pantocrator* et la localisation sous-jacente du temple de Zeus *Olympios*, voir Thomopoulos 1950, 199 et 258 n. 1; sur sa transformation hypothétique en *Capitolium*, voir Papapostolou 1991, 307; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 175-76 no. 257 (cf. aussi ci-dessus pp. 133-34 et n. 26).



Fig. 8. Partie d'une voie dallée venant de la ville basse et conduisant au forum de la colonie.

est de règle pour un *Capitolium*.⁹⁴ Le centre civique de Patras était probablement organisé autour de ce temple, et non autour de celui du culte impérial, installé ailleurs sur l'acropole.⁹⁵ L'introduction de ce dernier culte n'a pas entraîné, comme on le constate aussi ailleurs, de modification spectaculaire de la topographie religieuse.⁹⁶ Son introduction a été discrète, probablement sous la forme d'un autel situé à l'intérieur de l'enceinte sacrée de

la nouvelle divinité poliade; cela n'exclut pas, naturellement, l'existence d'une autre structure de type *Kaisareion*.⁹⁷

Parmi les constructions publiques, mises au jour sur une des premières terrasses, installées au sud de l'acropole et à proximité du *forum* de la colonie, on en relèvera une (sur la rue *Ilias*, 100m au nord-ouest du temple de Zeus [actuelle église de *Pantocrator*]) qu'une base inscrite permet d'iden-

94. La place centrale du temple de Zeus *Olympios* est indiquée par la description chez Pausanias (VII. 20, 3) des monuments de l'*agora*; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 175-76 no. 257. Ce temple-là, antérieur à la fondation de la colonie romaine était d'après Vitruve (II. 8, 9; cf. aussi Pline, *HNXXXV*. 172) construit en briques, comme du reste celui d'Héraclès; seuls les architraves et les colonnes étaient en pierre (cf. Rizakis 1995a, 328 no. 578).

95. À Sparte c'est le théâtre qui occupe la place centrale, comme dans d'autres cités (cf. P. Gros, «Les théâtres en Italie au I^{er} s. de notre ère», in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien, Actes du colloque international organisé par l'École Française de Rome (Rome, 25-28 mai 1992)*, Collection de l'ÉFR 198, 1994, 258-307), voir S. E. C. Walker, G. B. Waywell, «Rome in Sparta. The Early Imperial Phases of the Roman Theater», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 295.

96. J.-Y. Marc, «L'agora de Thasos du II^e siècle av. J.-C. au I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C.: état des recherches», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 514-15.

97. Celui-ci ne saurait pas être identique à l'*aedes augustalium* mis au jour à proximité du *forum* (voir ci-dessous n. 98). Le terme *Kaisareion* peut recouvrir une variété de structures, voir S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, 136-46; cf. également Marchetti 2001, 151 n. 98.

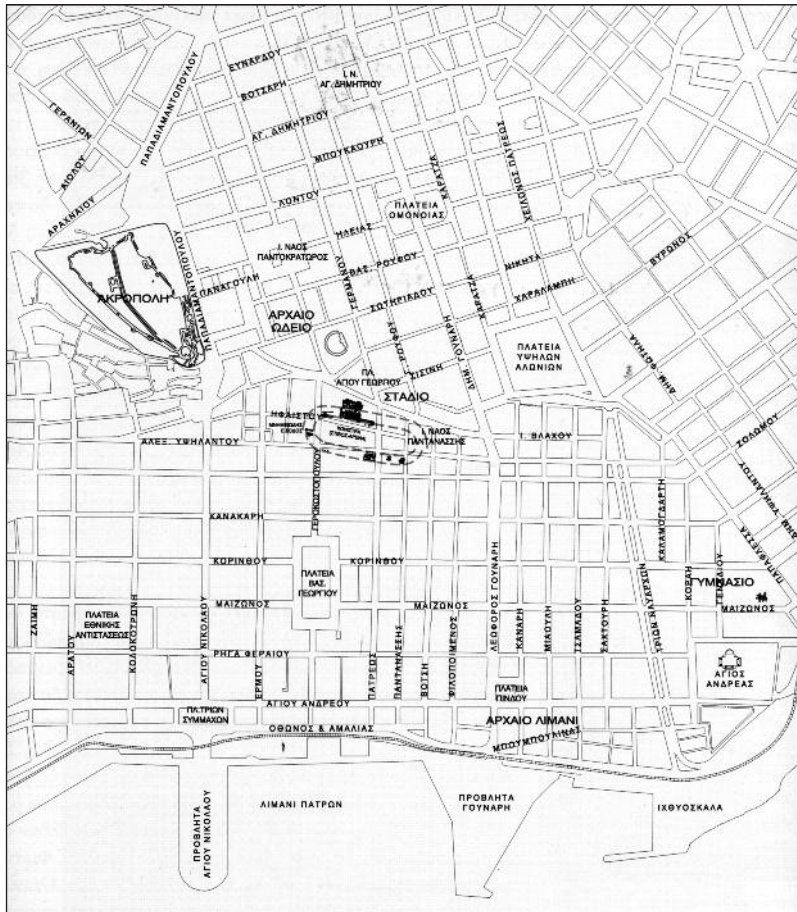


Fig. 9. Plan topographique de la ville moderne de Patras avec indication des monuments les plus importants de la cité antique.

tifier avec l'*aedes augustalium* de la colonie;⁹⁸ il se trouve sur une voie ancienne, très importante, qui conduisait de l'acropole au cœur de l'*agora*. Cette construction, symbole éminent de la majesté impériale, devait être intégrée au complexe monumental formé par l'*agora* transformée en *forum*. Il est possible qu'un autre édifice (à 50 m environ du *Capitolium*), dans lequel fut retrouvée une dédi-

cace en l'honneur d'un des premiers patrons de la colonie, Agrippa Julius Caesar,⁹⁹ était situé sur un des côtés du *forum*. L'inscription confirme en tout cas le lien privilégié établi entre la colonie et la famille d'Agrippa, en soi déjà très probable, dans la mesure où la proclamation officielle de sa *deductio* est directement liée au séjour du général romain en Orient entre 17-15 av. J.-C.¹⁰⁰ Juste en face de

98. L'inscription laisse entendre que l'*aedes augustalium* avait été élevé au titre de la *summa honoraria* par T. Varius Secundus pour l'honneur de l'augustalité: voir Papapostolou 1986, 262-71 pls 1-7, dess. 1-5; *id.* 1991, 305-06 n. 12; Rizakis 1998a, 131 no. 50.

99. Sur la rue *Londou* no. 24; l'inscription (voir Rizakis 1998a, 98-99 no. 20) est gravée sur un bloc de couronnement oblong, en remploi; comme elle n'a pas été trouvée *in situ*, on ne sait affirmer si elle appartenait au couronnement d'une base ou à une autre construction; il faudra donc attendre l'étude globale pour pouvoir définir la fonction de l'édifice (voir provisoirement G. Alexopoulou, *AD* 49, 1994, *Chron. B* 1, 207-10 avec dess. 1-2 et pl. 69a; cf. Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 85-86). Le patronat du fils d'Agrippa et de Iulia, fille d'Auguste, montre le rapport intime de la colonie avec Agrippa et Auguste. Les liens personnels d'Auguste et de sa famille avec Patras sont confirmés par les sources littéraires et plusieurs inscriptions (voir Rizakis 1998a, 32-34; 98-101 nos 20-22 et 266-67 no. 276).

100. On ignore la relation de la colonie avec Caius et Lucius, fils d'Agrippa et petits-fils d'Auguste, tant aimés en Orient: cf. G. Nenci, «Gaius e Lucio nella politica augustea», in *Introduzione alle guerre persiane ed altri saggi di storia antica*, Pisa 1958, 309-47.

cette dernière construction une autre, semi-souterraine cette fois (cryptoportique),¹⁰¹ qui ressemble à la galerie souterraine de l'*agora* romaine de Thessalonique,¹⁰² servait probablement de mur de soutènement du côté nord de l'*agora* tandis que le côté sud, avec ses absides, s'ouvrait sur la place centrale du *forum*. D'autres constructions en abside découvertes plus au sud formaient probablement la limite sud de l'*agora*.¹⁰³ Malgré les nombreuses incertitudes qui persistent les données disponibles permettent donc de situer l'*agora-forum* de la colonie *grosso-modo* dans le rectangle formé, au sud de l'acropole (ville haute), par les actuelles rues *Sotiriadou*, à l'ouest, *Pantocratôros*, au nord, *Germanou*, au sud, *Karpenisiou*, à l'est.¹⁰⁴

La superposition de l'*agora* hellénistique et du forum romain que l'on peut déduire de la description de Pausanias plus que des découvertes spectaculaires qui nous font défaut, a récemment été contestée par M. Pétropoulos d'après lequel la vieille *agora* hellénistique, située sur la colline de *Psila Alônia*, aurait définitivement été abandonnée, probablement avant la fondation de la colonie (en 14 av. J.-C.), les Romains n'ayant pas hésité à supprimer des sanctuaires hellénistiques pour créer

de nouveaux espaces habités.¹⁰⁵ C'est alors que le cœur de la colonie aurait été transféré à l'emplacement du forum créé, dans le cadre du projet flavien, à l'est de l'odéon. Pétropoulos s'inspire des parallèles,¹⁰⁶ mais la faiblesse des arguments archéologiques invoqués m'oblige à la plus grande réserve; je continue donc à admettre à l'identité des deux espaces (*agora-forum* placée au nord-est de l'odéon) qui, seul permet de comprendre la présence sur le forum des vieux cultes patrèens décrits par Pausanias (VII. 20, 3-7). Contrairement à Philippes, où le forum s'est installé dans un nouvel espace aménagé à cet effet,¹⁰⁷ les colons de Patras ont dû, à l'image d'Athènes ou de Corinthe, réaménager, fût-ce au prix de quelques constructions nouvelles, la vieille *agora* hellénistique pour la transformer en forum.¹⁰⁸ C'est généralement la solution adoptée par les Romains, quand ils fondent une colonie à l'emplacement d'une ancienne cité: adapter, au besoin en y ajoutant des édifices nouveaux pour l'administration ou les cultes, en récupérant les constructions et les cultes de l'ancien espace sacralisé pour les mettre au service de la population, ancienne et nouvelle.

Si le *forum* de la colonie reste le pôle majeur,

101. Précisément rue Londou 25; voir Pétropoulos 2007, 181-82; *id.* 2009, 60-61; sur les cryptoportiques, voir R. Amy, *Les cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine*, ÉFR Rome 1973.

102. P. Adam-Veleni, *Αρχαία αγορά Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessalonique 1997, 29-30 et 87 sqq.; *ead.*, «Thessaloniki: History and Town Planning», in D. V. Grammenos (éd.), *Roman Thessaloniki*, Thessalonique 2003, 149 fig. 22 et p. 150.

103. Plus précisément aux rues *Germanou* 75, *Sotiriadou* 27 et *Germanou* 7. Des pièces oblongues découvertes, plus au sud (rues *Germanou* 75 et *Londou* 51) forment la limite sud de l'*agora*: voir I. A. Papapostolou *AD* 34, 1979, *Chron.* B' 1, 134-35 avec dess. 4 et pl. 36; *id.* 1989, 367; ces espaces sont bordés d'une autre construction (rue *Germanou* 75) décorée avec des mosaïques et des peintures dont il reste quelques traces (Papapostolou 1991, 309 et n. 26 date cette construction, d'après les peintures et les mosaïques, du III^e s. apr. J.-C.).

104. Déjà Thomopoulos 1950, 200 avait proposé de situer l'*agora* dans ce secteur; les fouilles plus récentes apportèrent quelques précisions qui permirent à Papapostolou (1991, 309) de limiter l'*agora* entre les rues actuelles V. Roufou (côté ouest), *Pantocratôros* (côté nord), B. Boukaouri (côté est) et G. Roufou (côté sud). Les seuls indices certains dont on dispose pour le moment sont d'une part la proximité de l'odéon, placé par Pausanias au voisinage de l'*agora* (Paus. VII. 20, 6; cf. Rizakis 1995a, 177 no. 259.2) et d'autre part le fait que ce secteur n'a donné jusqu'à présent aucune trace de voie antique; il faut dire qu'il a été peu fouillé (voir la note précédente).

105. Pétropoulos 2009, 46-47.

106. Pétropoulos (2009, 58-59 et ns 112-13) cite d'autres exemples de cette pratique de transfert ou de création de *fora* nouveaux; son argument principal concernant la création d'un *forum* nouveau à Patras est l'absence de vestiges hellénistiques dans la zone du *forum* romain (*op. cit.*, 46 n. 33) alors qu'il en existe sur la place des *Psila Alônia* où l'on trouve même des constructions monumentales (datées du II^e-I^{er} s. av. J.-C.) dont la plus importante devait appartenir à un temple hellénistique (Pétropoulos 2009, 46 ns 34 et 37; parmi les objets isolés, Pétropoulos 2009, 46 n. 35, mentionne un poids avec l'inscription TE).

107. M. Sève, P. Weber, «Le côté Nord du forum de Philippes», *BCH* 110, 1986, 531-81; M. Sève, «Le forum de Philippes», in *L'espace grec. Cent cinquante ans de fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes*, Paris 1996, 123-28.

108. Voir J.-B. Ward-Perkins, «From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early provincial architecture of the Roman West», *JRS* 60, 1970, 11.

d'autres s'y ajoutent pour accueillir diverses activités dans des lieux, situés hors des quartiers d'habitation de l'antique cité, sur une zone de transition entre la ville haute et la ville basse. C'est probablement à l'époque flavienne que se réalise, à cet endroit, comme nous l'avons vu, la modification la plus radicale de l'urbanisme patréen avec l'installation du stade-théâtre et de l'odéon, nouveaux centres destinés aux activités artistiques, athlétiques et aux spectacles.¹⁰⁹ D'autres édifices s'y dressent aussi (e.g. celui de Dionysos *Kalydônios*),¹¹⁰ à l'ouest et au nord du théâtre. Pausanias signale par ailleurs des temples de Némésis, de Dionysos *Aesymnète* et d'une femme indigène qu'il situe près du théâtre.¹¹¹ Le temple de Némésis peut être localisé avec vraisemblance grâce à la découverte, en remploi, d'un relief représentant la déesse,¹¹² au voisinage du grand stade-théâtre où avaient lieu les spectacles de gladiateurs bien connus à Patras.¹¹³

L'identification des autres temples reste aléatoire. Des autres monuments mis au jour¹¹⁴ dans un secteur plus proche à la mer, seul le temple de Sarapis a été identifié.¹¹⁵

Les grandes interventions urbanistiques d'époque romaine ont, certes, entraîné des bouleversements dans l'organisation de la vie urbaine antérieure. Les fouilles ont ainsi révélé la présence d'anciens ateliers dans le secteur du stade-théâtre qui ont naturellement été déplacés dans d'autres secteurs, notamment à l'emplacement d'une petite nécropole romaine sur la place *St. Georges*, dans la ville-basse,¹¹⁶ ou dans une zone dégagée, située entre la nécropole nord et la mer, en marge de la cité;¹¹⁷ il est fort probable que d'autres "zones artisanales" se seront développées près du port qui s'est beaucoup développé, probablement au cours du II^e siècle (**Fig. 10**),¹¹⁸ et qui a contribué de façon décisive au développement économique de Patras. Pour ce

109. Sur les diverses activités athlétiques et artistiques qui avaient lieu dans ces espaces, voir Pétropoulos 2009, 71 et ci-dessus pp. 136-37 et ns 47-48.

110. Cf. Osanna 1996, 103.

111. Paus. VII. 20, 9; 21, 6.

112. Paus. VII. 20, 9; cf. Papapostolou 1989, 367-78 avec figs 16-19; *id.* 1991, 311; sur le rapport de Némésis avec les jeux des gladiateurs, voir M. B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman state and the games*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman world 117, Leiden - New York 1993; A. Tataki, «Nemesis, Nemeseia and the gladiatorial games at Smyrna», *Mnemosyne* 62, 2009, 639-47.

113. Cette hypothèse ne s'oppose pas aux indications du Périégète (Paus. VII. 20, 9). Sur les jeux de cirque et les spectacles de gladiateurs à Patras, voir Papapostolou 1989; A. D. Rizakis, «*Munera gladiatoria* à Patras», *BCH* 108, 1984, 533-42; *id.*, «*Munera gladiatoria* à Patras II», *ZPE* 82, 1990, 201-08 avec pls VI-VII; *id.* 1998a, 211-18 ns 162-72; sur des représentations de gladiateurs sur les lampes de Patras, voir Pétropoulos 1999, 42 n. 229, 78, 89-90.

114. Les constructions monumentales non identifiées pourraient être, selon Pétropoulos (2007, 178-79; *id.* 2009, 63-64 ns 140-42), des dépendances du sanctuaire de Sérapis, éventuellement un second temple du même dieu où un temple contenant la tombe d'Aegyptos. La seule installation identifiée avec certitude est celle du *Lychnomanteion* construit à l'époque romaine à proximité (rue *Bouboulinas* 67-69) afin de servir aux marins qui fréquentaient le port de Patras (Pétropoulos 1999, 132-39).

115. Le temple de Sarapis (Paus. VII. 21, 13) s'identifie à la construction mise au jour au croisement des rues actuelles *Maizônos* 205 et *Triôn Navarchôn* (elle comprend une salle hypostyle avec une mosaïque représentant la personnification du fleuve Nil, qui permet la datation (période des Sévères); voir I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 28, 1973, *Chron.* B' 1, 214-18, dess. 7, pls 181-183a (cf. Papachatzis 1980, 125 et fig. 84: identification); Papapostolou 1991, 313 ns 52-54 (avec la bibliographie antérieure) et *id.* 2009, 241-43 et fig. 30-31; cf. toutefois, les réserves de Pétropoulos (2007, 178) sur la date.

116. Pétropoulos 2009, 56 ns 96-97 et 99.

117. Parmi les diverses ateliers repérés à Patras (I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 33, 1978, B' 1 *Chron.* 86; G. Touchais, «Chroniques des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1985», *BCH* 110, 1986, 695; H.-W. Catling, «Archaeology in Greece», *AR* 1985/86, 35; I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 35, 1980, B' 1 *Chron.* 185 et 189 fig. 12; M. Pétropoulos, *AD* 35, 1980, B' 1 *Chron.* 188 et 190 fig. 13; cf. *id.* 1999, 60-61; *id.* 2009, 72), ceux de lampes ont été étudiés par M. Pétropoulos (1999 *passim*). Pour la production céramique de la période romaine, voir Pétropoulos et Rizakis, 1994, 199; G. Hübner, «Die römische Keramik von Patras: Voraussetzungen und Möglichkeiten der Annäherung im Rahmen der Stadtgeschichte», in M. Herfort-Koch, U. Mandel, U. Schädler (éds), *Hellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Keramik des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes, Actes du Colloque, Francfort 24.-25. avril 1995*, Francfort 1996, 1-5 [plan de la ville moderne avec indication de l'emplacement des ateliers et de la voie principale qui descendait vers la ville basse].

118. Sur cette question, voir ci-dessus, p. 143 ns 77-78.

qui concerne les cultes installés dans ce secteur, on relèvera dans la description de Pausanias, à côté d'anciennes divinités vénérées depuis longtemps, la présence des dieux nouveaux à mettre en relation avec la foule cosmopolite qui fréquentait ces lieux.¹¹⁹

Les Romains ont adapté le plan de leur colonie à celui de la cité hellénistique (*i.e.* ville-haute) sans bouleverser la trame urbaine (**Fig. 11**). L'urbanisme reste irrégulier, l'orientation des voies hellénistiques a été conservée vers le sud-ouest et a déterminé l'alignement des nouvelles constructions. Au nord, l'implantation de l'odéon s'adapte parfaitement au plan d'urbanisme romain de ce secteur, qui a commandé l'orientation des autres constructions, comme celles qui se trouvent à l'est de la rue *Londou*.¹²⁰ En fait, on n'observe que des changements mineurs dans le tracé des anciennes voies hellénistiques; certaines ont parfois été rétrécies, d'autres, plus rares, supprimées pour permettre la construction de maisons, à proximité de la place des *Psila Alônia*. Ces interventions seraient, d'après Pétropoulos, l'indice d'un change-

ment de destination imposé par les autorités au plateau des *Psila Alônia* où il situe l'agora hellénistique.¹²¹ L'orientation des voies urbaines de Patras est normalement N-S et E-O sans toutefois qu'elles soient toujours parallèles dans la mesure où leur tracé s'adapte au terrain là où la topographie l'exige. En revanche l'orientation des voies dans le nouveau quartier qui s'est développé entre les collines et la mer, précisément à l'est de la place des *Psila Alônia* et au nord de l'actuelle rue *Gounari*, est tout autre, est-ouest, et l'urbanisme en ce secteur est plus régulier (de type hippodaméen) avec des voies parallèles.¹²²

Parmi les nombreux axes est-ouest repérés à ce jour le plus important est, selon I. Papapostolou,¹²³ celui qui suit approximativement le tracé de l'actuelle rue *Gounari*; cette rue, qui passe au sud du théâtre, suit la pente de la colline à l'endroit où elle s'adoucit progressivement vers le sud-ouest (actuelle rue *Hagiou Georgiou/25 Martiou*) pour relier la cité au port; dans la direction opposée, elle traversait la nécropole orientale pour se diriger



Fig. 10. Bronze impérial de Patras avec représentation au revers du port de la colonie.

119. La présence de certaines divinités adorées dans ce secteur (Herbillon 1929, 139-53; Osanna 1996, 112-23), illustre le caractère cosmopolite d'une population hétérogène vivant de l'artisanat et du commerce.

120. Ces voies figurent sur le plan de I. A. Papapostolou (1991, 317 fig. 1); cf. aussi Pétropoulos 2009, 71 n. 188 qui, inspiré de I. Papapostolou (1971, 315) pense, sans véritables preuves, à une intervention augustéenne sur le plan de la colonie (voir ci-dessus, p. 134 n. 30).

121. Voir Pétropoulos 2009, 46-47.

122. Hypothèse de I. A. Papapostolou 1991, 309 confirmée par les découvertes plus récentes, voir Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 90; Pétropoulos 2009, 56; pour l'application du plan hippodaméen, dans la partie nouvelle de la ville, voir Papapostolou 1971, 316.

123. 1989, 371; *id.* 1991, 310.

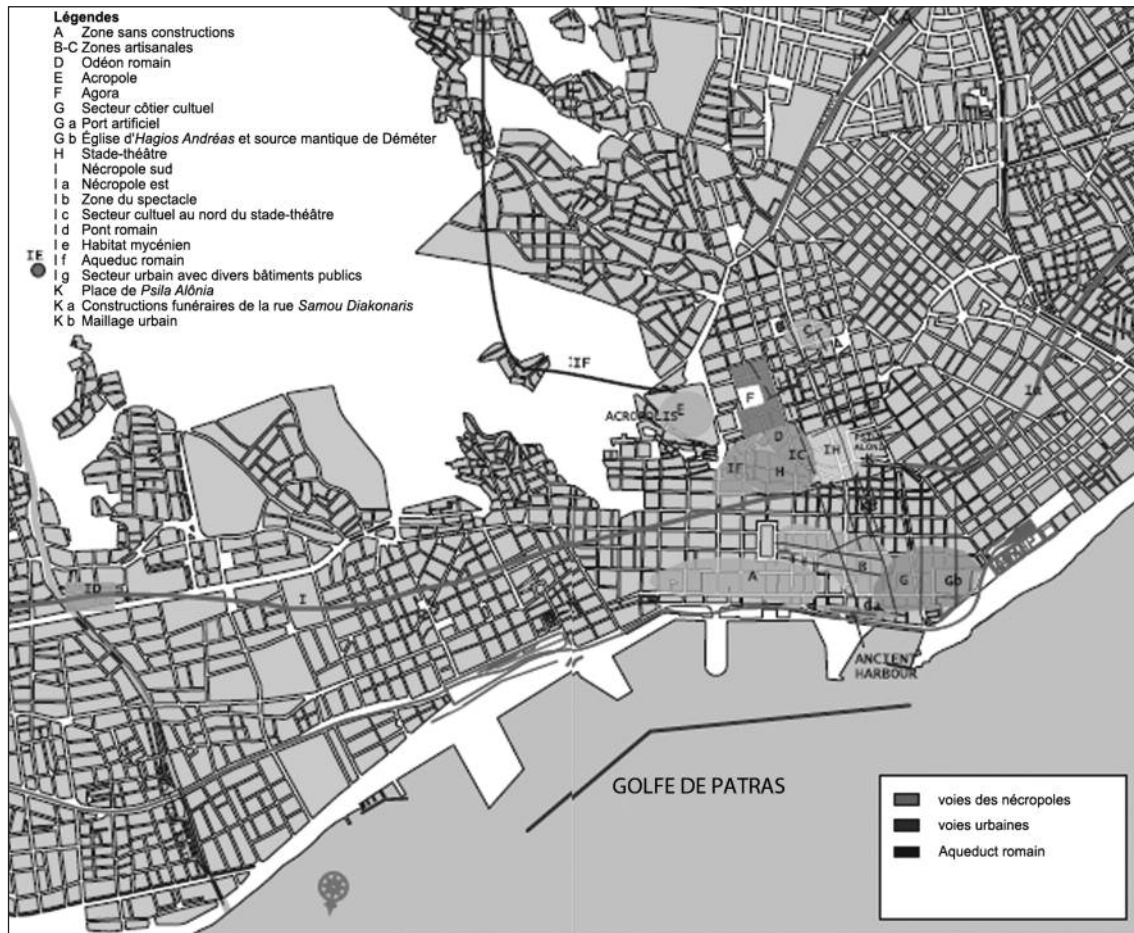


Fig. 11. Plan topographique général de la ville moderne de Patras avec indication des secteurs les plus importants, des voies principales et des nécropoles de la colonie.

ensuite vers Pharai. I. Papapostolou¹²⁴ pense qu'il s'agit de la voie suivie par Pausanias (VII. 21, 6) dans sa description de la ville depuis l'acropole jusqu'à la mer. Des découvertes récentes montrent que la rue de Pausanias correspondrait plutôt à la voie, parallèle, à l'est, qui coïncide plus ou moins avec l'actuelle rue *Philopoemenos*.¹²⁵ Cette rue se rencontre dans la ville basse, c'est-à-dire dans le nouveau quartier romain, l'autre voie importante qui venant du sud (de Dymé) traversait la ville-basse et la nécropole nord pour se diriger ensuite vers Aigion (**Fig. 12**);¹²⁶ ces deux voies forment la

maille urbaine et correspondent au *cardo decumanus* et au *cardo maximus* de la colonie romaine.¹²⁷

Conclusion

Malgré la faiblesse des indices archéologiques dont nous disposons il semble que les colons Romains n'ont pas opéré, sous la dynastie Julio-claudienne, de modifications majeures de l'espace urbain mais plutôt respectent l'urbanisme ancien en limitant leurs interventions à des travaux de reconstruction ou de réhabilitation des monuments existants.¹²⁸

124. 1991, 310-11; cf. aussi Papachatzis 1980, 120 n. 1 et fig 26.

125. Cf. Rizakis 1995a, 181 no 266; *id.* 1998a, 47-48 et n. 10.

126. Pétropoulos 1991, 254, 257; *id.* 1994, 415; Stavropoulou-Gatsi *et al.* 2006, 92 et 94; Dekoulakou 2009, 166 n. 15. À l'entrée nord de la cité, la voie nord-sud était surmontée d'un arc monumental, cf. Dekoulakou 2009, 165-66.

127. Rizakis 1998a, 47.

128. Cette pratique est plus évidente à Corinthe: voir Stansbury 1990, 170-84 avec la bibliographie antérieure sur cette question; Rizakis 2001a, 527-40 (avec des références sur d'autres sites). On doit préciser, toutefois, qu'en ce qui concerne Patras cette constatation, basée sur l'*argumentum ex silentio*, ne peut être que précaire.



Fig. 12. Pont romain, à proximité de Patras, sur la route antique qui conduisait à Aigion.

Cette attitude est dictée aussi bien par le manque de moyens que par la pression indirecte mais forte de la tradition hellénique que les Romains ne peuvent ou ne veulent pas ignorer; ils respecteront à Patras, comme ailleurs en Orient, la mémoire des lieux tout en cherchant à aménager de nouveaux espaces pour y exprimer leur identité propre.

Si pendant la première génération de la vie coloniale la romanité s'exprime de façon discrète dans le domaine de la grande architecture publique, et à peine au niveau des constructions privées,¹²⁹ tout change à l'époque flavienne quand, pour la première fois, les autorités coloniales entreprennent de grands travaux et mettent en chantier d'imposantes constructions, tandis que l'élite locale s'affirme par l'édification de fastueuses demeures urbaines ou rurales¹³⁰ et l'érection de

luxueux monuments funéraires qui imitent ceux des nécropoles de Rome.¹³¹ Cette monumentalisation de la cité qui atteindra son sommet avec Hadrien et ses successeurs immédiats, confèrera à Patras l'aspect d'une métropole cosmopolite. À la fin du second siècle, plusieurs générations après l'installation de la colonie, la communauté patréenne n'est plus la même; elle offre, à l'instar de la plupart des autres cités grecques de l'Orient romain, des traits apparemment contradictoires: d'une part des signes de romanité manifeste dans les domaines social, administratif et matériel, d'autre part un recours aux traditions anciennes pour s'enraciner dans le passé et se distinguer des cités voisines.¹³² Le remodelage urbain et l'embellissement de la ville se réalisent tant par l'imitation des formes et des décors romains, manifeste dans cer-

129. L'*instrumentum* quotidien n'est pas exempt d'objets typiquement romains (monnaies, vases, produits de luxe, matériaux de construction etc.); il est de même pour d'autres aspects (langue, vie sociale, coutumes funéraires etc).

130. La riche demeure urbaine, comme référence de la romanité et du statut social du propriétaire, est une pratique développée plutôt par l'aristocratie romaine (cf. Bonini 2006, 29 et 164); on ignore les noms des propriétaires de ces riches demeures mais on peut supposer qu'ils appartenaient à l'élite civique: voir Rizakis 1995b, 229-38; Bonini 2006, 26-27; *id.* 2009, 154.

131. Dekoulakou 1980, 556-75; *ead.*, 2009, 191-202; I. A. Papapostolou, «Κτερίσματα ταφής σε Ρωμαϊκὸ μασσωλεῖο στὴν Πάτρα», *AE* 1983, 1-33 avec pls 1-22.

132. Ce recours au passé, qui concerne principalement les mythes, les cultes et les traditions religieuses, est bien illustré dans les compositions mosaïques (Papapostolou 2009, 211-51) des riches propriétaires de la ville que par l'iconographie monétaire (Papageorgiadou 2004, 65-70) et constamment souligné par Pausanias; toutefois, l'identité romaine de la colonie continue à être invoquée (dans l'iconographie monétaire) de diverses façons, jusqu'à la fin de son monnayage (voir Papageorgiadou 2004, 41-48).

taines constructions publiques (e.g. stade-théâtre et odéon) ou privées¹³³ que par un mélange des styles dans l'architecture ou le décor, lequel tout en acceptant les innovations reste attaché à la tradition.¹³⁴ L'adaptation des divers traditions autant que des cultes au nouvel environnement socio-idéologique conduit, à Patras comme ailleurs, à la formation d'une nouvelle communauté culturelle et à une nouvelle identité collective, synthèse obligée des interactions avec l'environnement naturel et social qui en constitue la base. Cette nouvelle identité, évidente dans les domaines des cultes et de l'urbanisme, de l'architecture publique, du plan et du décor des maisons urbaines, de l'art ou de la langue, fait que Patras n'est ni une ville grecque ni une ville romaine, mais un mélange des deux dans tous les aspects de sa vie matérielle ou spirituelle; c'est une cité typiquement gréco-romaine.

Athanasios D. Rizakis

Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity (I.E.R.A.),
The National Hellenic Research Foundation,
Athens, Greece

Bibliographie

- Agallopoulou (P.), 1994: *Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών*, 14 π.Χ.-268 μ.Χ., Athènes.
- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- BMC Pelop.*: P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins (British Museum) Peloponnesus, excluding Corinth*, London, 1887, réimpr. anast. Bologna, 1963.
- Bonini (P.), 2006: *La casa nella Grecia romana. Forme e funzioni dello spazio privato fra I e VI secolo*, Roma.
- , 2009: «Le case di Patrasso e la "romanizzazione" in Grecia», in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana*, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006, Tripodes 8, Athènes, 121-62.
- Coins of Peloponnesos: Coins of Peloponnesos. The BCD collection*, Auction LHS 96, 8-9 May 2006, Zürich 2006.
- Dekoulakou (Iph.), 1980: «Κτερίσματα ταφής σὲ ρωμαϊκὸ μασσωλείο στὴν Πάτρα», in *ΣΤΗΛΗ. Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Ν. Κοντολέοντος*, Athènes, 556-76.
- , 2009: «Monumenti delle necropoli di Patrasso durante il dominio romano», in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana*, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006, Tripodes 8, Athènes, 163-210.
- Doukellis (P. N.), Mendoni, (L. G.) (éds), 1994: *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques, Actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 mai 1992*, Paris.
- Goudineau (Chr.), Rebourg (A.) (éds), 1991: *Les villes augustéennes de Gaule, Actes du colloque international d'Autun, 6, 7 et 8 juin 1985*, Autun.
- Greco (E.) (éd.), 2002: *Gli Achei e l'identità etnica degli Achei d'occidente*, Fondazione Paestum Tekmeria 3, Paestum - Atene.
- Gros (P.), 2001: «Rapport de synthèse: urbanisme et topographie civique», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 387-400.
- Herbillon (J.), 1929: *Les cultes de Patras avec une prosopographie patréenne*, Baltimore - Londres.
- Hoët-van Cauwenbergh (Chr.), 2007: «Condamnation de la mémoire de Néron en Grèce: réalité ou mythe?», in Y. Perrin (éd.), *Neronia VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce: Hellénisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes du VII^e Colloque international de la SIEN (Athènes, 21-23 octobre 2004), Coll. Latomus 305, Bruxelles, 225-49.
- Marc (J.-Y.), Moretti (J.-Ch.) (éds), 2001: *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le II^e siècle av. J.-C. et le I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française d'Athènes et

133. Patras, comme Nicopolis, Philippes ou Thessalonique, est un lieu de convergence des échanges culturels, qui a manifestement contribué à l'adoption de modes de construction innovants; c'est à Olympie et à Patras que l'on relève, pour la première fois, au I^{er} s. av. J.-C., l'usage de l'*opus testaceum* (cf. Pétropoulos 2009, 58-59 et *supra* p. 145 n. 94) et de l'*opus reticulatum* (sur sa diffusion, voir M. Medri, «La diffusione dell'*opera reticolata*: considerazioni a partire dal caso di Olimpia», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 15-40, spécialement p. 24; cf. Bonini 2009, 150); sur les influences romaines dans le domaine de l'urbanisme et des constructions publiques, en général, en Grèce et en Macédoine, voir les nombreuses études publiées dans Marc, Moretti 2001, *passim*; pour Patras, voir Pétropoulos 1999, 41-42. Pour les constructions privées de Patras (*domus* et *villae urbanae*), voir Bonini 2009, 153-55. Iph. Dekoulakou a clairement montré, dans son étude sur la nécropole nord, la plus importante de Patras, que la forme architecturale des tombes et leur décor (j'ajouterai la forme des monuments funéraires et le lieu de leur élévation) renvoient directement à Rome; il est intéressant de noter qu'on y observe l'intégration des éléments hellénistiques déjà assimilés à la tradition romaine; voir Dekoulakou 2009, 167-68.

134. Ce mélange est particulièrement indiqué au décor (mosaïques) des riches demeures patréennes (voir ci-dessus p. 151 n. 132); pour la typologie des stèles funéraires de l'époque romaine, voir Rizakis 1998a, 70-74.

- le CNRS, Athènes 14-17 mai 1995, BCH Suppl. 39, Athènes.
- Marchetti (P.), 2001: «Rapport de synthèse: édifices et complexes monumentaux», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 137-54.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon (V.) (éd.), 2001: *Forschungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen«*, Athen 5.3.-7.3. 1998, ÖJh Suppl. 38, Athènes.
- NCP: Imhoof-Blumer (F. W.), Gardner (P.), *A numismatic commentary on Pausanias*, London 1887 = *JHS* 6, 1885, 50-101; 7, 1886, 57-113; 8, 1887, 6-63. Édition complétée par Al. N. Oikonomides, *Ancient coins illustrating lost masterpieces of Greek art. A numismatic commentary on Pausanias*, Chicago, 1964.
- Osanna (M.), 1996: *Santuari e culti del Acaia antica*, Pubbl. dell'Università degli studi di Perugia, Napoli.
- Papachatzis (N.), 1980: *Παυσανίου Έλλάδος Περιήγησις Βιβλία 7 και 8, IV. Αχαϊκά και Αρκαδικά*, Athènes.
- Papageorgiadou (Ch.), 2004: *The numismatic iconography of the Roman colonies in Greece. Local spirit and the expression of imperial policy*, Meletemata 39, Athens.
- Papapostolou (I. A.), 1971: «Τοπογραφικά τῶν Πατρῶν», *AAA* 4, 305-17.
- , 1978: «Ελληνιστικοί τάφοι της Πάτρας», *AD* 33, 1978 *Mel.* 354-85.
- , 1986: «*Aedes Augustalium* στην Πάτρα», *Dodone* 15, 261-72.
- , 1989: «Monuments des combats de gladiateurs à Patras», *BCH* 113, 351-401.
- , 1991: «Θέματα τοπογραφίας και πολεοδομίας των Πατρῶν κατά την Ρωμαϊοκρατία», in Rizakis 1991, 305-16.
- , 2009: «Παρατηρήσεις σε ψηφιδωτά των Πατρῶν», in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, Tripodes 8, Athènes, 211-51.
- Perring (D.), 1991: «Spatial organization and social change in Roman towns», in J. R. Rich, A. Wallace-Hadrill (éds), *City and country in the Ancient World*, London - New York, 273-93.
- Pétropoulos (M.), 1990: «Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στην Αχαΐα», in *Τόμος τιμητικός Κ. Ν. Τριανταφύλλου I*, Patras, 495-537.
- , 1994: «Αγροικίες της Πατραϊκής», in Doukellis, Mendoni 1994, 405-24. (en grec avec un résumé en anglais).
- , 1999: *Τα εργαστήρια των ρωμαϊκών λυχναριών της Πάτρας και το Λυχνομαντείο*, Athènes.
- , 2007: «Νικόπολις - Πάτρα μέσω Αιτωλοακαρνανίας», in K. L. Zachos (éd.), *Νικόπολις Β' 1, Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη, 11-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002*, Preveza, 97-211.
- , 2009: «Ρωμαϊκές παρεμβάσεις στο πολεοδομικό σχέδιο της Πάτρας», in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, Tripodes 8, Athènes, 39-77.
- Pétropoulos (M.), Rizakis (A. D.), 1994: «Settlement patterns and landscape in the coastal area of Patras. Preliminary report», *JRA* 7, 183-207.
- Price (M. J.), Trell (B. L.), 1977: *Coins and their Cities: architecture on the ancient coins of Greece, Rome and Palestine*, London.
- Purcell (N.), 1987: «The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy», in Ev. Chryso (éd.), *Νικόπολις Α', Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη*, 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1984, Preveza, 71-90.
- RIC: C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial coinage I*, 1984.
- Rizakis (A. D.) (éd.), 1991: *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13 Athènes.
- (éd.), 1992: *Paysages d'Achaïe I. Le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale*, Meletemata 15, Athènes.
- , 1995a: *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Meletemata 20, Athènes.
- , 1995b: «Grands domaines et petite propriété dans le Péloponnèse sous l'Empire», *Du latifundium au latifundo. Un héritage de Rome, une création médiévale ou moderne?*, *Actes de la Table ronde internationale du CNRS, Bordeaux 17-19 décembre 1992*, Paris, 229-38.
- 1996: «Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires», *DHA* 22.1, 255-324.
- 1997: «Roman Colonies in the province of Achaia: Territories, Land and Population», in S. E. Alcock (éd.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, 15-36.
- , 1998a: *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras. Épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 25, Athènes.
- , 1998b: «*Incolae-paroikoi*. Populations et communautés dépendantes dans les cités et les colonies romaines de l'Orient», *REA* 100, 599-617.
- (éd.), 2000: *Paysages d'Achaïe II. Dymé et son territoire. Actes du colloque international: Dymaia et Bouprasia, Katô Achaïa, 6-8 octobre 1995*, Meletemata 29, Athènes.
- 2001a: «Notes de conclusion», in Marc, Moretti 2001, 527-40.
- 2001b: «La cité grecque entre la période hellénistique et l'Empire», in R. Frei-Stolba, Kr. Gex (éds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique, Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 60e anniversaire de P. Ducrey, Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998*, Bern - Berlin - Bruxelles, 75-96.
- , 2006: «Επιφανειακή αρχαιολογική έρευνα στην πατραϊκή: η πόλη και η χώρα της Πάτρας κατά την αυτοκρατορική περίοδο», in *Α' Αρχαιολογική Σύ-*

- νοδος Νότιας καὶ Δυτικῆς Ἑλλάδος, ΣΤ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, 6η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. Πρακτικά, Πάτρα 9-12 Ιουνίου 1996, Athènes, 101-10.
- , 2009: «La colonie de Patras en Achaïe dans le cadre de la colonisation augustéenne», in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, Tripodes 8, Athènes, 17-38.
- Rizakis (A.), Pétropoulos (M.), 2006: "Ancient Patrai", in Tr. E. Sklavenitis, K. Sp. Staikos (éds), *Patras: from ancient times to the present, Collective volume*, Athènes, 2-57.
- Rizakis (A.), Touratsoglou (I.), 2008: «L'économie du Péloponnèse hellénistique: un cas régional», in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épameinondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Études 21, Bordeaux, 69-82.
- RPC: A. Burnett, M. Amandry, Père P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, I. *From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*, London - Paris 1992; II. *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)*, London - Paris 1999.
- SNG III: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum III Copenhagen*, Thessaly - Illyricum, 1982.
- Stansbury (H. A.), 1990: *Corinthian honor, Corinthian conflict: A social history of early Roman Corinth and its Pauline community*, Ann Arbor, 1993.
- Stavropoulou-Gatsi (M.) et al., 2006: Stavropoulou-Gatsi (M.), Alexopoulou (G.), Georgopoulou (G.), Gadolou (A.), «Το έργο των σωστικών ανασκαφών στην πόλη των Πατρών και την ευρύτερη περιοχή της. Νεότερα πολεοδομικά και τοπογραφικά στοιχεία», in *Α' Αρχαιολογική Σύνοδος Νότιας καὶ Δυτικῆς Ἑλλάδος, ΣΤ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, 6η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. Πρακτικά, Πάτρα 9-12 Ιουνίου 1996*, Athènes, 81-100.
- Thomopoulos (St. N.), 1950: *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1821* (Patras, 1952; nouvelle édition améliorée par les soins de K. Triantaphylou, d'après l'édition originale d'Athènes, 1888).
- Walker (S.), Cameron (A.) (éds), 1989: *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire. Papers from the Xth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, London.
- Wurmser (H.), 2008: *Étude d'architecture domestique: La maison en Grèce à l'époque impériale*, vol. I-II, thèse inédite: Paris IV-Sorbonne.

ROMANIZATION IN THE CORINTHIA: URBAN AND RURAL DEVELOPMENTS

David Gilman Romano

Abstract: Physical vestiges of Romanization are visible in the city and landscape of Corinth, dating from the 2nd c. B.C. through the 2nd c. A.D. There are three recognizable phases of activity, and the beginnings of each correspond with an historical event; the defeat of Corinth at the Battle of Leucopetra by Lucius Mummius in 146 B.C., the foundation of the Caesarian colony *Laus Colonia Iulia Corinthiensis* at Corinth in 44 B.C. and the foundation of the subsequent Flavian colony at Corinth *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis* in the 70's A.D. Aspects of both the urban and the rural elements of these changes are visible in the archaeological record as well as from the detailed study of topographical maps, satellite images, low level air photographs and balloon photographs of the landscape of the Corinthia. The development of the urban colony, both Caesarian and Flavian, can be documented based on the construction of buildings and monuments within the city center. Centuriation of a portion of the Corinthia began in the Interim period 146-44 B.C. and continued probably up to the founding of the Caesarian colony in 44 B.C. Later in preparation for the founding of the Flavian colony in the 70's A.D. a much larger portion of the Corinthia was centuriated which suggests an increase in population at that time.

The influence of Rome on Corinth and the Corinthia occurred over many centuries. The physical manifestations of Romanization were evident in the urban center of Corinth in the form of roads, buildings, structures and monuments and in the rural areas Romanization took the form of regular agricultural land division, centuriation, but also included roads, harbors, and the unfinished construction of a canal. The Roman presence clearly influenced the economy of the Corinthia as well as the political and social conditions of the city and the territory.¹

Roman impact in the Corinthia can be conveniently divided into three chronological phases; the beginnings of each correspond with an historical event; the defeat of the Greek city of Corinth by Lucius Mummius in 146 B.C., the foundation of the Caesarian colony, *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* in 44 B.C. and the foundation of the subsequent Flavian colony, *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis* in the 70's A.D.

1. The work that is the basis of this paper is the result of the Corinth Computer Project, a research and field project of the Mediterranean Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, in conjunction with the Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I thank C. K. Williams, II the former Director of the Corinth Excavations for his interest in and support of this research as well as the interest in the project by the current Director, G. D. R. Sanders. Over 150 students (mostly from the University of Pennsylvania) have assisted me with the field and laboratory work of the project since its' beginning in 1988 and I thank them all for their careful and dedicated work. Since 1995 the project has had a web site where there is discussion of the methodology as well as the results of the work. The current web site is <http://corinthcomputerproject.org> and the work is now carried out in the Archaeological Mapping Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, <http://archaeologicalmappinglab.org>

The Interim Period, 146–44 B.C.

When the Roman consul Lucius Mummius defeated the Greek city of Corinth in 146 B.C., it was the end of a period in which Corinth as the leader of the Achaean League had been opposed to the growing influence of Rome. Although the Achaean War itself was caused not by Roman aggression in Greece but rather by the conflict between Sparta and the Achaean League over Sparta's wish to withdraw from the League, Rome was ultimately drawn into the conflict.² As a result of the battle at Leucopetra, near Corinth, Pausanias tells us that the male citizens of Corinth were killed and the women, children and slaves were sold into slavery although he also says that most of the Corinthians had fled the city well before Mummius stormed the city on the third day afterwards.³ Pausanias adds that the city was set on fire but the archaeological remains suggest that there was a partial and selective destruction of the buildings and structures of the city.⁴

Following the defeat of Corinth, the Roman Senate sent ten commissioners, *decem legati*, to assist Lucius Mummius in the establishment of a peace settlement. It is certainly possible that a land survey of Corinth and the Corinthia occurred at this time that would have included detailed maps of the city and landscape of this former Greek city.⁵ There was also a major administrative reorganization of this part of Greece and Pausanias implies

that a new province, Achaëa, was created although it is probably more likely that the Governor of Macedonia was put in charge of the affairs of Greece.⁶ The Greek city of Corinth lost both its civic and political identity and based on the combined literary and archaeological evidence it ceased to function as an urban center from 146 B.C. until 44 B.C. when Julius Caesar founded the Roman colony on the site of the former Greek city. Cicero mentions that people were living among the ruins during this period and that the confiscated land of Corinth was still *vectigalis* (taxable) as *ager publicus* in 63 B.C.⁷ Strabo mentions that the Sikyonians held most of the Corinthian land (*chora*).⁸

From a fragmentary bronze inscription, the Roman land law of 111 B.C., known as the *lex agraria*, passed by the Assembly of Tribes of Rome, it is known that parts of the *ager publicus* of Corinth, land acquired by the Romans in 146 B.C. were measured out for sale.⁹ It is not actually stipulated in the remaining fragments of the inscription that a *limitatio* was carried out at Corinth and as a result some scholars had suggested the possibility that the Corinthian land was not centuriated at that time or, for that matter, subsequently.¹⁰ However, archaeological evidence exists to demonstrate that there was such a *limitatio*, and very likely to be associated with the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C.¹¹ This land division is found to the north

2. Gruen, 1976, 53-66; *id.* 1984, 514-28.

3. Paus. II. 1, 2; VII. 16, 7-9. Strab. VIII. 6, 23 gives part of the account of Polybius (who witnessed the destruction of Corinth by Mummius) and also records that Corinth was restored by the deified Caesar. Livy, *Per.* 52 mentions that the destruction was carried out *ex senatus consulto*.

4. Wiseman 1979, 491-96.

5. Paus. VII. 16, 9; Polyb. XXXIX. 4, 1 and 5, 1. For a detailed consideration of the economic conditions in Corinth after the Achaean War see Larsen 1938, 306-25. A consideration of the situation in Corinth is given by Accame 1946, 1-15, 28, 161-62.

6. Paus. VII. 16, 9-10. Gruen 1984, 524, however, states that the idea that Macedonia received annual Roman governors after 146 B.C. "rests on shaky evidentiary ground".

7. Cic., *Leg. agr.* I. 2, 5 and II. 19, 51; *Tusc.* III. 22, 53. See also Larsen 1938, 307 and Hoskins Walbank 1997, 95-99. For references to the richness of the land lying between Sikyon and Corinth, see Ath. V. 219a; Livy XXVII. 31, 1; Diod. Sic. VIII. 21, 3.

8. Cic., *Leg. agr.* I. 2, 5 and II. 51; Strab. VIII. 6, 23. It would appear that Sikyon remained a free city although it is likely that the Sikyonians would have paid taxes to Rome. Zonar. IX. 31 mentions, in his descriptions of the settlements between Mummius and the commissioners that Mummius made all of the states of Greece except Corinth both free and autonomous. Therefore it seems to be at least a possibility that the Sikyonians would have leased from Rome land formerly belonging to Corinth.

9. *CIL* I², 585. For the *lex agraria* see Lintott 1992, 171-286 and Crawford 1996, 113-80.

10. Salmon 1970, 135 and Engels 1990, 67-68.

11. An early study by Hoskins Walbank 1986 first signaled the presence of centuriation at Corinth. See also *ead.* 1997, 100-03.

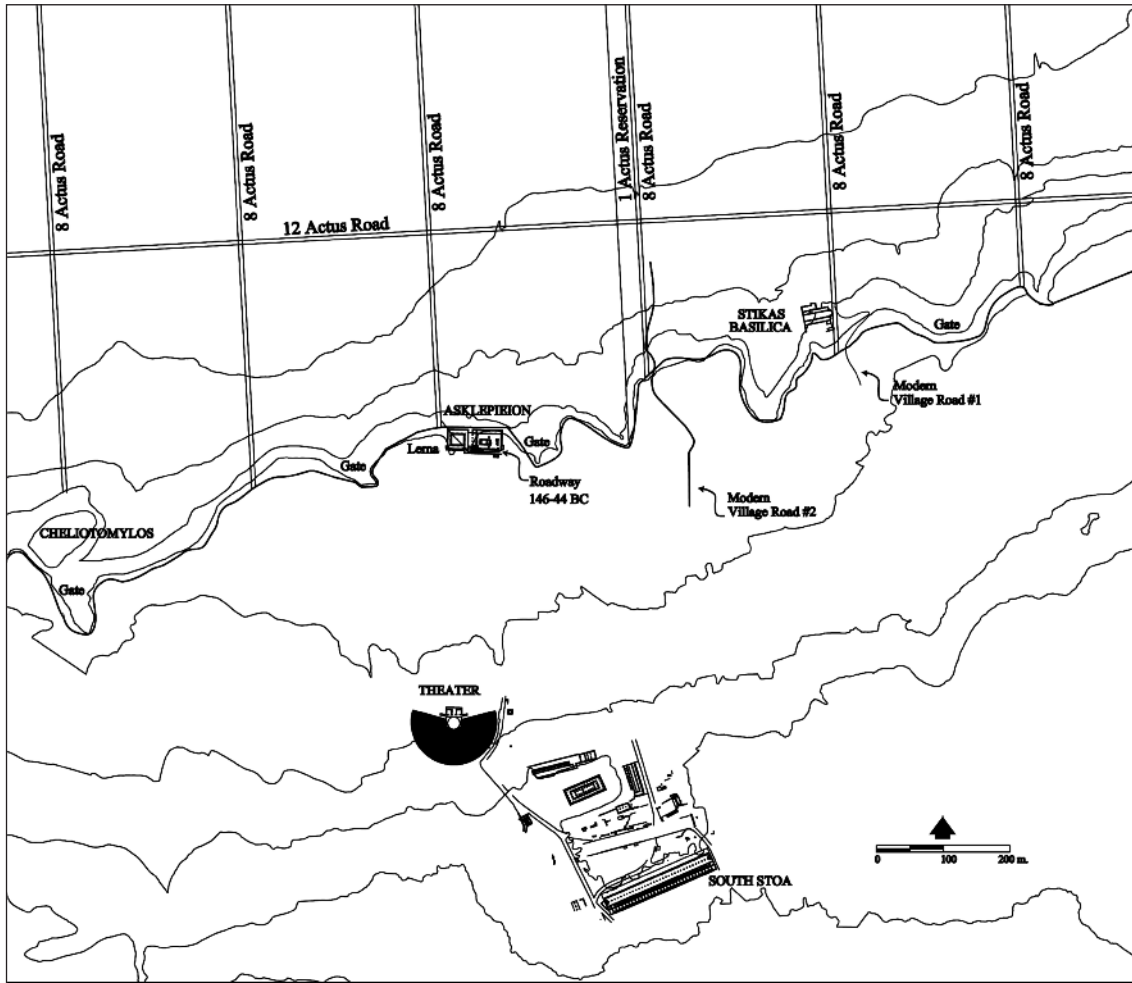


Fig. 1. Greek Corinth, 146-44 B.C. with northern Greek city wall and interim period Roman land division to the north of the city.

of the Greek city of Corinth, in the plain that leads to the Corinthian Gulf and is characterized by 16 x 24 *actus* units, further subdivided into 8 x 12 *actus* units between the area of the Long Walls of the Greek city of Corinth, at an orientation of approximately 3° west of north (**Fig. 1**). This centuriation is documented as far to the west as the Longopota-

mos river which may have been the border between Corinthian and Sikyonian land in the second century B.C.¹² There is archaeological evidence of this Roman organization at the point where the Greek city wall of Corinth was broken through at Lerna near the Asklepieion for a roadway that dates to the interim period, 146-44 B.C.¹³

12. Strab. VIII. 6, 23 relates that Sikyon was given most of the land of Corinth, and furthermore says, in VIII. 6, 25, that the river Nemea (one river further to the west of the Longopotamos, approximately 2 km distance along the coastline in the modern day) forms the border between the Sikyonia and the Corinthia. Livy XXXIII. 15, 1 also states that the Nemea River forms the boundary between the Sikyonia and the Corinthia. The fact that the evidence for centuriation stops at the Longopotamos river suggests either that the border between Sikyon and Corinth may have been at the Longopotamos river (in the plain) in the first century B.C. or, following 146 B.C. the Corinthian land between the two rivers was leased or sold to the Sikyonians without *limitatio*. The latter would corroborate the testimonia of Livy, Cicero and Strabo (see above ns 7-8).

13. The details of this argument are included in Romano, 2003, 280-81. The important point about this road is that the Romans appear to have wanted to have a road entering the city in exactly this place when there were presumably several other Greek roadways passing through nearby existing Greek gates in the circuit wall. This would suggest that as a result of regular land planning, centuriation, new roadways were created to link the fields with the area of the former city.

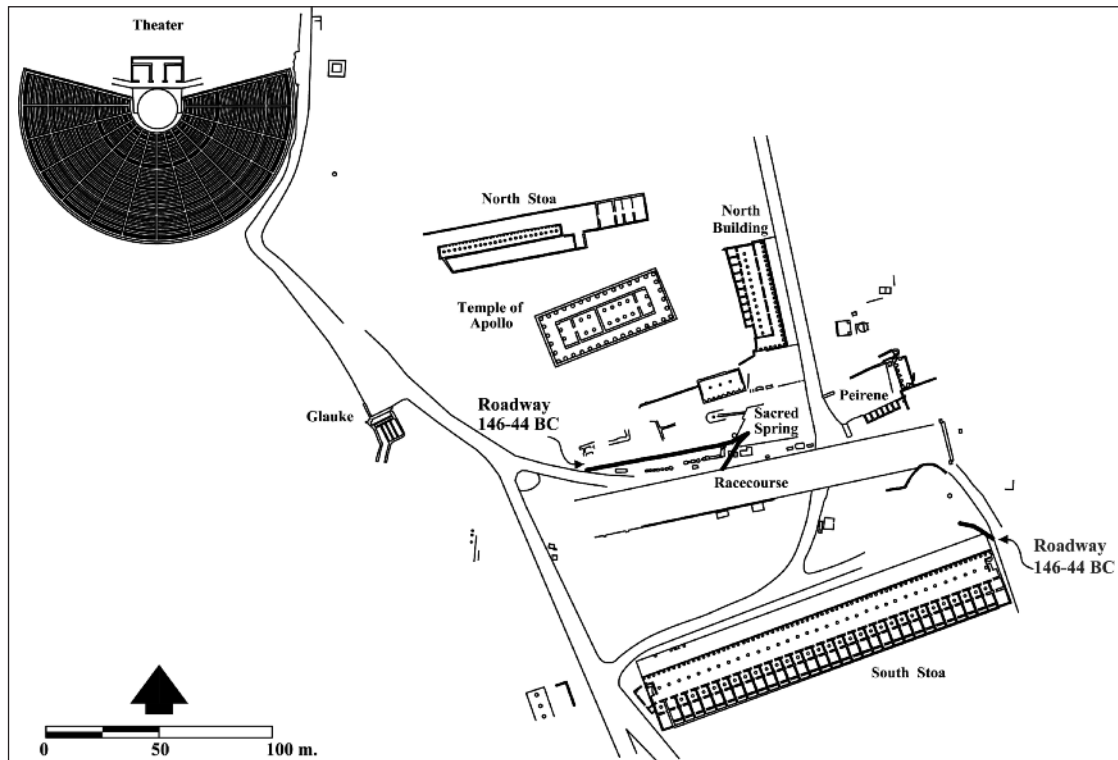


Fig. 2. Greek Corinth, 146-44 B.C. illustrating the locations of two interim period roadways.

Within the limits of the former Greek city there is evidence for two roadways dating 146-44 B.C. (Fig. 2). Wheel ruts going roughly east-west run across a low foundation at the northeastern end of the South Stoa indicate that heavy wheeled traffic used this route as a roadway. Evidence for a second roadway datable to this period is found in the area of the Temenos of the Sacred Spring where deep wheel ruts have been worn into the Greek triglyph terrace wall. The combined evidence suggests that there was activity on the land and in the former Greek city of the Corinthians before the formal colonization in 44 B.C.¹⁴ This would imply that there was some kind of commercial activity going on, using the roadways that link the rural and the urban areas, as well as the possibility of other forms of communication and exchange. This would suggest that although there would have been roads

from the Greek period still in existence in the city, there was a need for new roads.

Laus Iulia Corinthiensis

The foundation of *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. is attested in various ancient authors as well as by numismatic and epigraphical material.¹⁵ Archaeological evidence for the organization and structure of the urban elements of the colony has been recovered from many sources, including the Roman roads of the city. Excavated roadways having the orientation and location of the colonial period number 22, 13 north-south and 9 east-west. Some of these roads have been known for many years and some are paved.¹⁶ Where the curbstones of the roads exist, they were surveyed with an electronic total station and accurately plotted within the framework of the

14. For Interim period activity in Corinth see I. B. Romano 1994, 57-104 and Gebhard, Dickey, 2003, 261-78.

15. Strab. VIII. 6, 23; Plut., *Vit. Caes.* 57; Dio Cass. XLIII. 50, 3-5; App., *Pun.* 136. A study of the early Roman coinage at Corinth was completed by Amandry 1988, 26-28.

16. The paving may date to the years following the earthquake that damaged Corinth in the 70's A.D. For the earthquake see Slane 1986, 315-17. For the date of the paving of *decumanus II* north, to the second half of the 1st c. A.D., in the East of the Theater area, see Williams, Zervos 1982, 128.

Greek Army Geodetic Survey. To this information was added the evidence of the 1 : 2,000 topographical maps that include modern village roads, paths, ledges, property lines and contours, as well as rectified low level air photographs. Information has been added from the Corinth Excavation notebooks and from topographical and architectural reports.¹⁷ The evidence for the organization of roads within the urban plan of the Caesarean colony is synthesized here (Fig. 3). A plan that illustrates the combined evidence for what I term the ‘drawing board’ plan of the colony, the plan that the colonists may have brought from Rome (Fig. 4).¹⁸

The archaeological evidence suggests that the

“drawing board” plan called for an overall urban design based on 4 equal quadrants (*centuriae*) each measuring 32 x 15 *actus* or 240 *iugera* (Fig. 5). The *per strigas* plan placed a total of 29 *cardines* and 29 *insulae*, each 1 *actus* wide, in each of the 4 *centuriae* which would put 200 *iugera* of land in each, excluding the roads of the forum. The *insula* size appears to have varied but 1 x 2, 1 x 3 and 1 x 4 *actus* were prominent.¹⁹

The Lechaion Road was the principal *cardo* (*cardo maximus*) of the urban colony and there is evidence that it extended 3000 m. to the north as far as the Lechaion harbor. In the city the *cardo maximus* was 50 feet wide and the average width

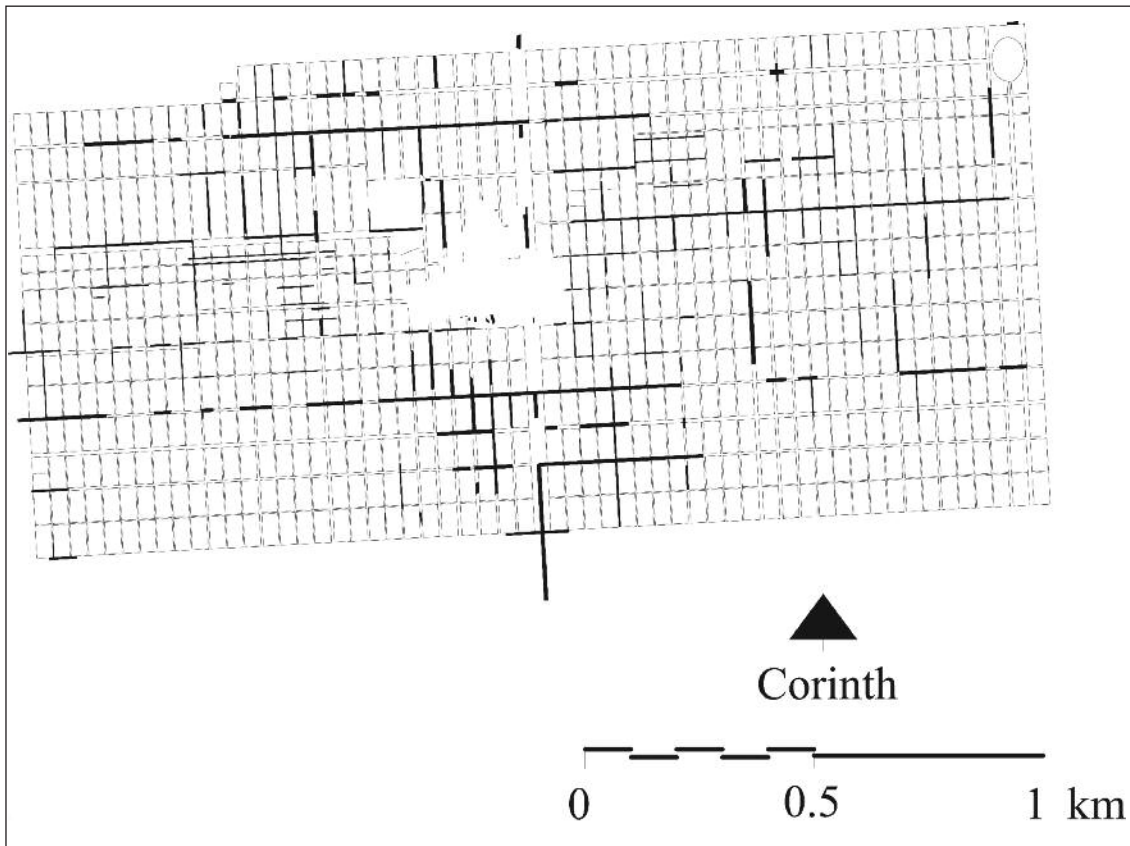


Fig. 3. Evidence for roadways in the Caesarian colony of 44 B.C. from all available sources.

17. For a discussion of the research methodology and the topographical survey techniques, see Romano, Schoenbrun 1993, 177-90.

18. The term ‘drawing board’ plan refers to the point that although the urban colony was originally designed to be of a certain size and shape, and to have contained a specific number of *cardines* and *decumani*, the original or ‘drawing board’ plan may not have been completely carried out.

19. It has been possible to measure the width of an *insula* between *cardo* II and *cardo* III west in the area of the Southwest Forum, 35.486 m or 120 feet of 0.295+. This *insula* interval has been found to be constant throughout the urban and rural areas of the settlement of 44 B.C. and within the area modified during the late 1st c. B.C., see Romano 2003, 288.

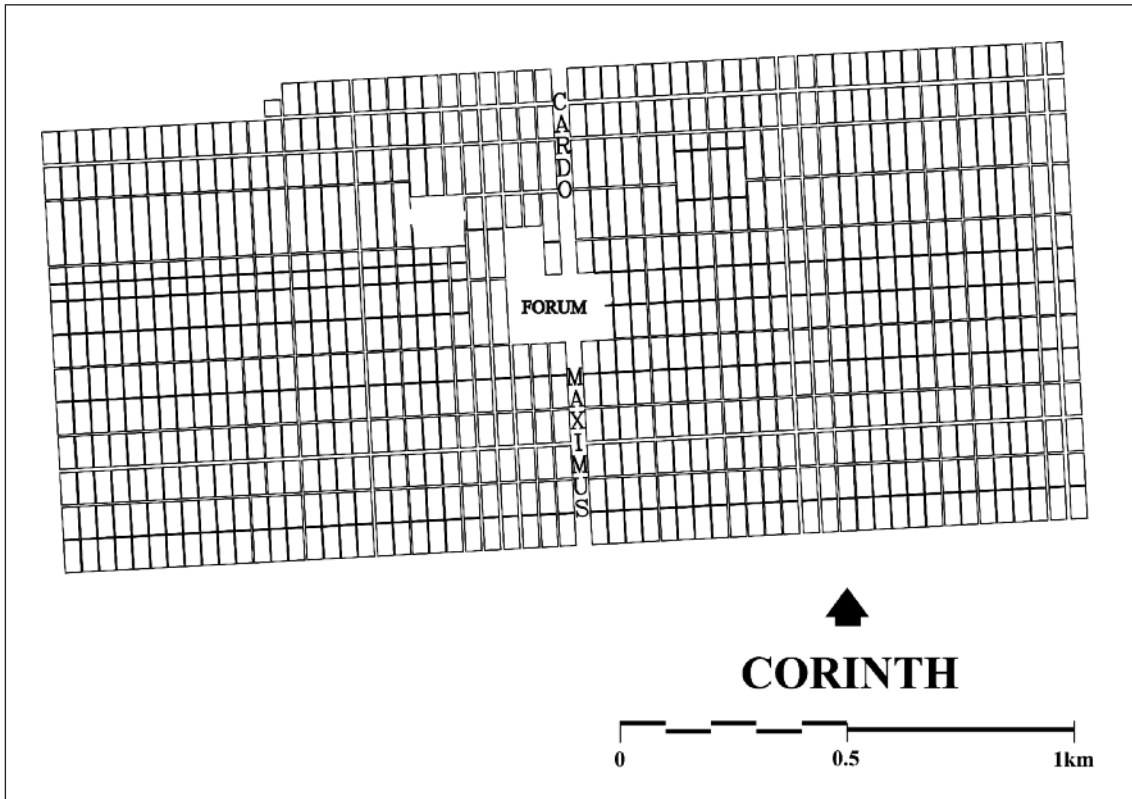


Fig. 4. Drawing board plan of the urban colony of 44 B.C.

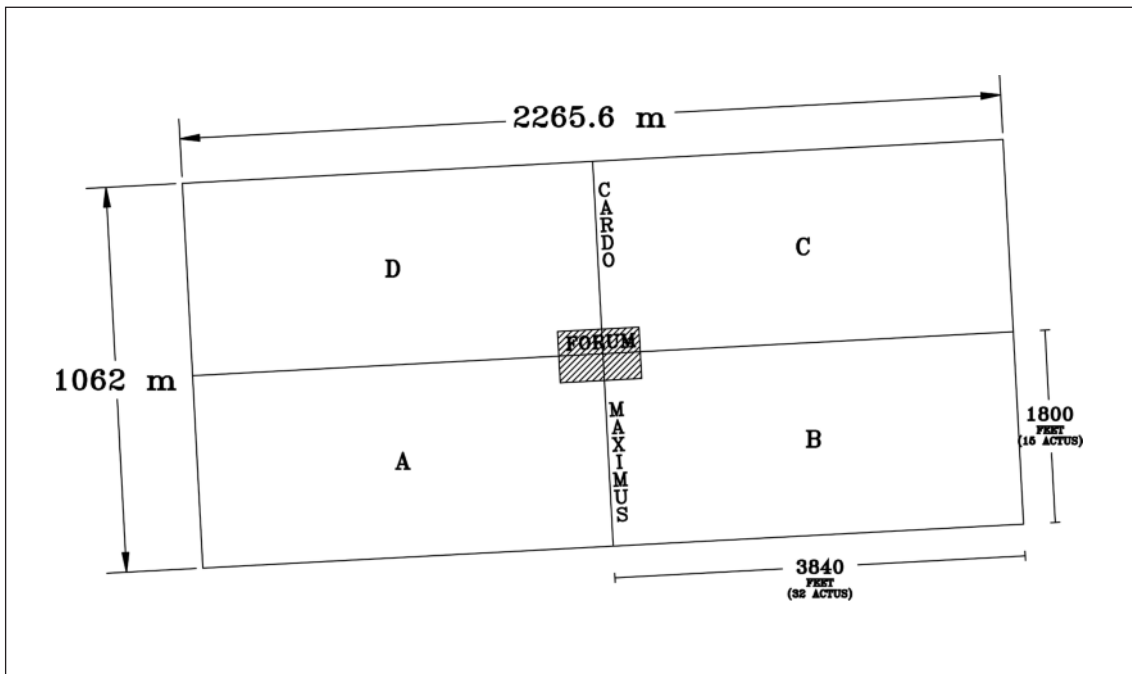


Fig. 5. Schematic drawing of the four quadrants of the urban colony, each of which is 32 x 15 *actus* with centrally located *forum* and *cardo maximus*.

of the remaining cardines of the city was *ca* 12 feet. There were probably 12 decumani in the original plan of the city, each having an average width of 20 feet. The overall dimensions of the city were 7,680 Roman feet x 3,600 Roman feet (2,265.6 x 1062 m.) and the total area of the city was 2.4 square kilometers or 240 hectares.²⁰ Both the amphitheater at the northeast corner of the urban plan and the circus in the northwest quadrant were original components of the plan (Fig. 6).²¹

The Forum as the political, social and economic center of the urban town was planned for and reserved in the earliest design of the colony. During the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, the upper Lechaion Road Valley, which underlay the Roman Forum, was dotted with hero shrines and was criss-crossed by roadways. From the 6th c. B.C. to 146 B.C. a racecourse filled some of the space in the valley. The central public area of the Caesarian ‘drawing board’ plan was originally designed as the topographical center of the urban

colony, having an area of 24 square *actus* or 12 *iugera* with 6 city *insulae* east-west and 4 city *insulae* north-south (Fig. 7). The *rostra* was located near the center of the reserved central public area and, as such, is the central feature of both the Forum and the city.²² Other early Roman buildings built within the original reserved zone of the Forum include several of the early West Forum Temples, the Propylaia at the head of the Lechaion Road, the Iulian Basilica, the Southeast Building, and the refurbished South Stoa (originally Hellenistic). Later in the 1st c. B.C. an appendage was added to the western area of the Forum, a 2 x 4 *actus* area (Fig. 7) that was enlarged in the 70’s of the 1st c. A.D. to 3 x 4 *actus* area (Fig. 8) that included successively the two phases of Temple E and its precinct, and Temple C.

The *limitatio* that is associated with the Interim Period activity 146-44 B.C., and specifically dated to the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C. and for which there is evidence to the north of the Corinth circuit wall

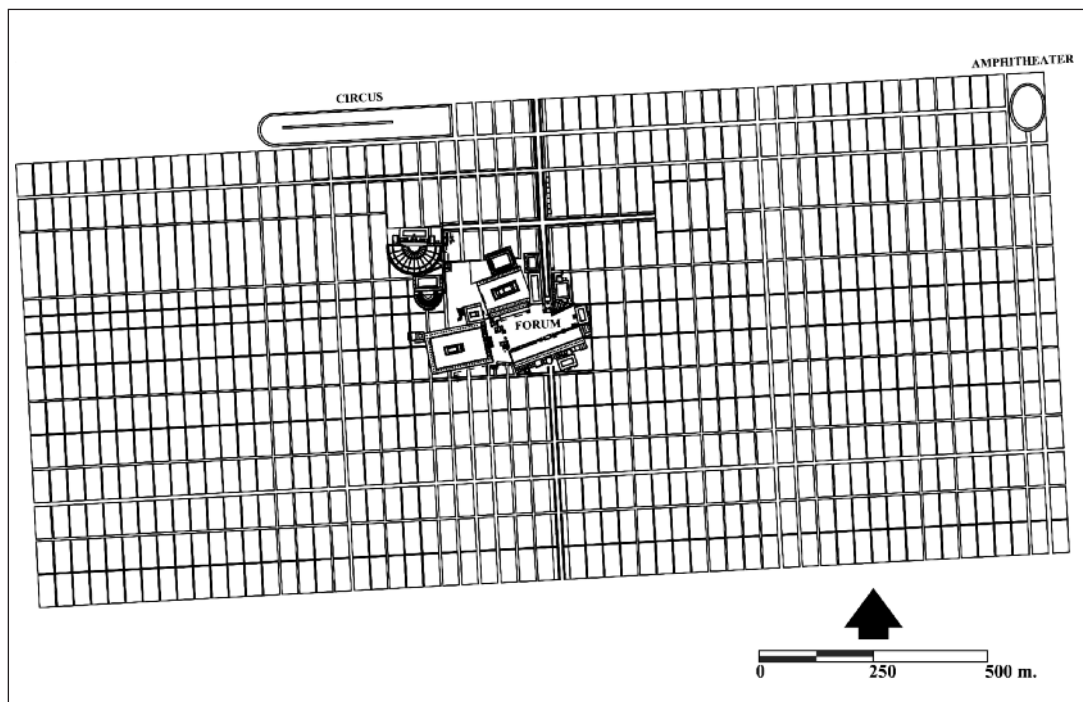


Fig. 6. Restored Roman city plan, *ca* A.D. 150, illustrating existing buildings and structures within “drawing board” plan.

20. Only in the area near *Cheliotomylos* did a small section of the ‘drawing board’ plan fall outside the Greek circuit wall and this would not have been developed as a part of the Roman city.

21. For the amphitheater see Welch, 1999, 133-40, and for the circus see Romano 2005b, 40-43.

22. Many of the principal Greek and Roman buildings and structures found in the area of the Forum are laid out in an orientation different from that of the Roman colony of 44 B.C., which is approximately 3 degrees west of north. See Romano 2005a, 585-611.

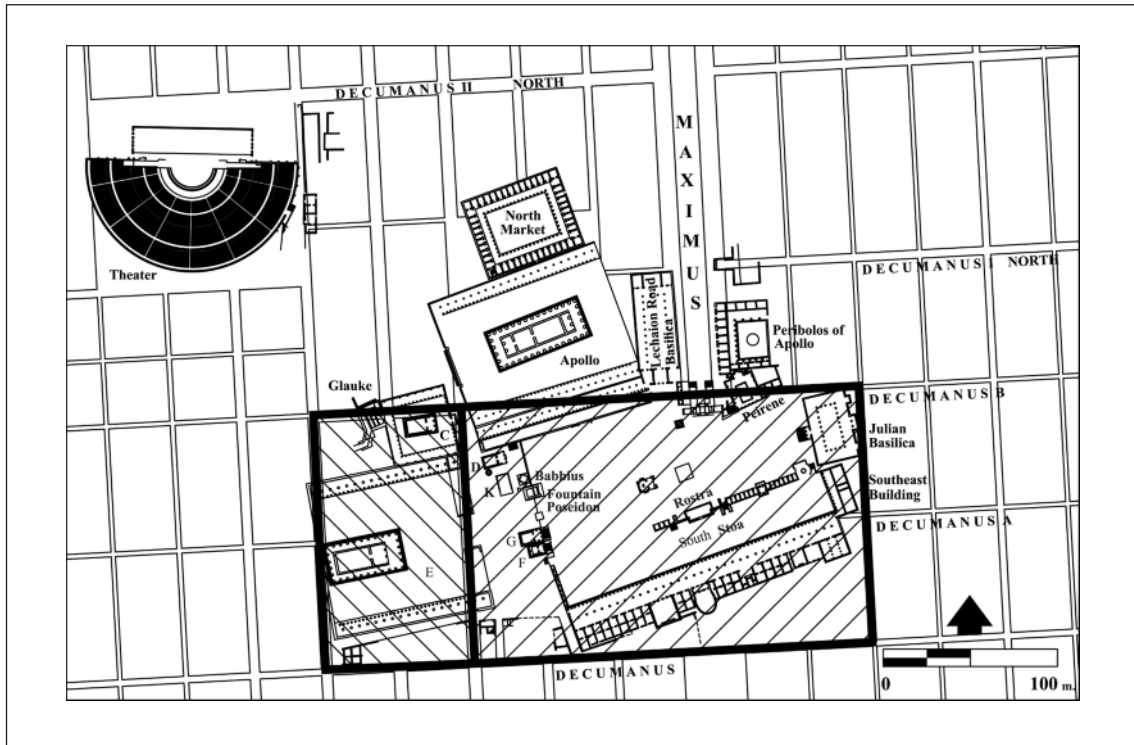


Fig. 7. Roman *forum* planning illustrating original 6 x 4 *actus* area with additional 2 x 4 *actus* area to west corresponding with the early phase of Temple E (early 1st c. B.C.).

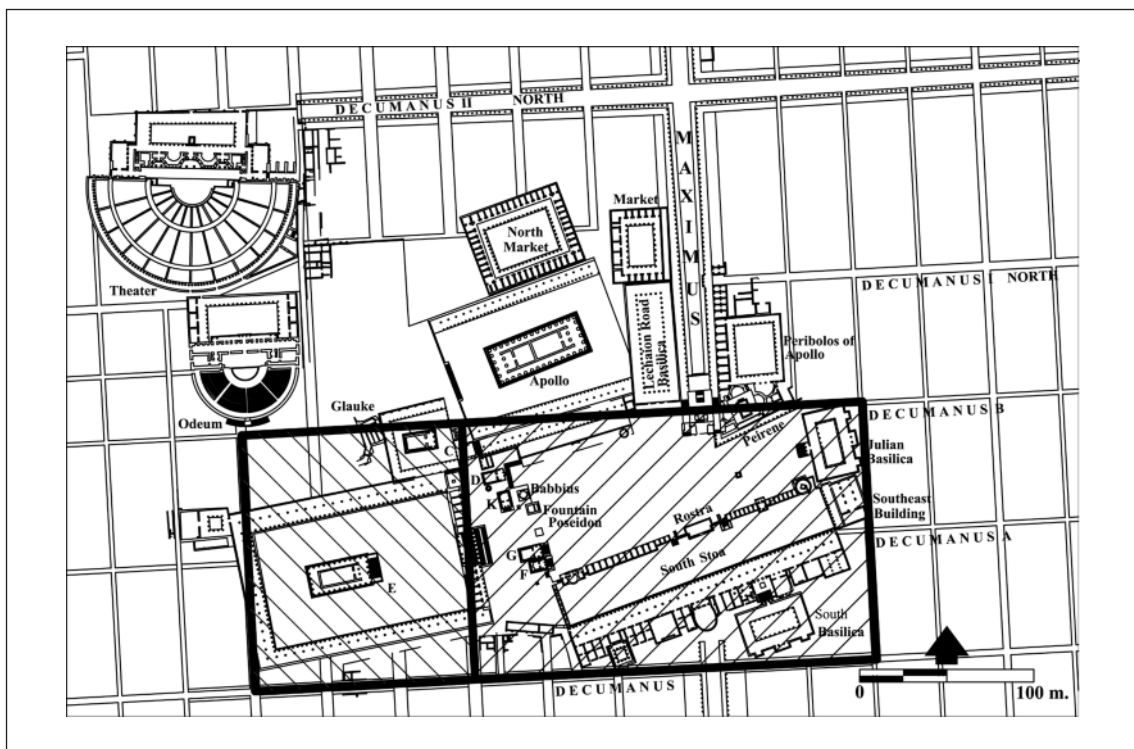


Fig. 8. Roman *forum* planning illustrating original 6 x 4 *actus* area with additional 3 x 4 *actus* area to the west corresponding with the later phase of Temple E (A.D. 70's).

and between the Long Walls of the city, was likely expanded in preparation for the founding of the Caesarian colony in 44 B.C. Evidence exists to suggest that the total area of this centuriation is ca 100 km² and the predominant size of the large units visible in the landscape is 16 x 24 *actus*. The orientation of this centuriation is the same as that of the orientation of the Caesarian plan of the city, approximately 3 degrees west of north²³ and the areas of greatest concentration are the areas immediately to the north, northwest and northeast of the urban area with some areas to the south and southwest in the Corinthia extending to the area of Tenea²⁴ and Kleonai (Fig. 9). It is clear from the evidence that the centuriation of the Interim Period and leading up to the foundation of the Caesarian colony stopped at the Longopotamos river, and did not continue to the Nemea river. This is consistent with the reports of Cicero who suggests that the fertile Corinthian land was taxable and

Strabo who states that Sikyon holds most of the Corinthian land (*chora*).²⁵

Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis

Physical vestiges both within the urban center and in the surrounding rural area attest a second Roman land division that may be equated historically with *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis* a refoundation in the time of Vespasian. The name is already known from epigraphical and numismatic sources.²⁶ This system has been characterized as extending over a large area to the south of the Gulf of Corinth, extending from the northwest of Sikyon eastward to the west shore of the Saronic Gulf and north of the modern Corinthian canal to the east of modern Loutraki. It has also been defined in parts of the southern Corinthia in the area of Tenea and Kleonai. The total area covered by this system of centuriation is ca 300 square kilometers.²⁷

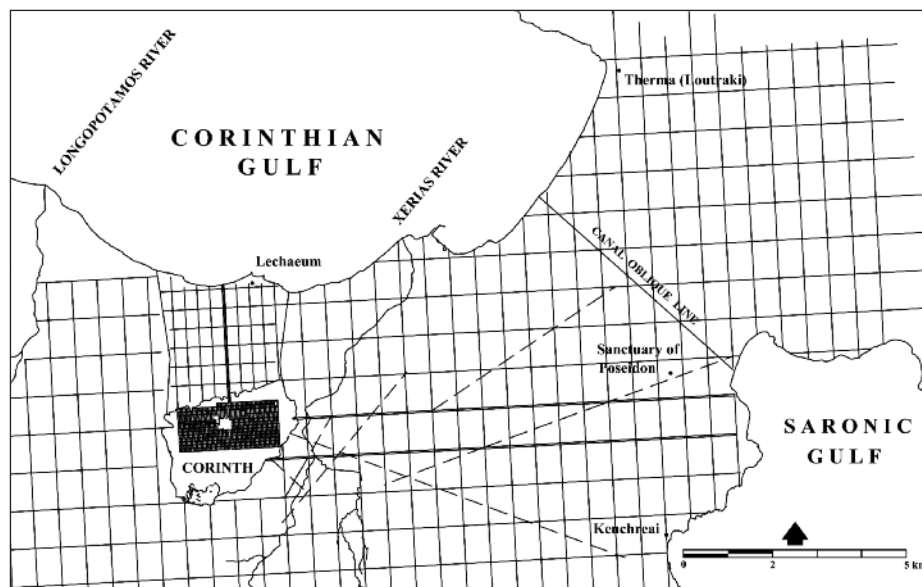


Fig. 9. Caesarian colony 44 B.C., north and east of Corinth including the rural land division composed of 16 x 24 *actus* units (8 x 12 *actus* units between the long walls) and including oblique lines as canal and suggested roadways.

23. The east curb of the Lechaion Road has been surveyed and is found to be 3°3'46" west of north.

24. Strab. VIII. 6, 22 relates that Tenea revolted from the Corinthians and joined the Romans and endured after the destruction of Corinth.

25. *Id.* VIII. 6, 23. It appears that Sikyon remained a free city at this time, although it is likely that Sikyon would have paid taxes to Rome. It is possible that Sikyon may have leased from Rome land that had formerly belonged to Corinth.

26. Edwards 1930, 26 nos 91-93; Kent 1966, 42 no. 82 (I-1300/1306).

27. The 300 km² is documented as the new centuriation of the Flavian period that was either measured out over land that had not been previously centuriated during the Interim Period or in preparation for the Caesarian colony, and in some cases land that had been previously centuriated during the Interim Period in preparation for the Caesarian colony. The 300 km² is defined as the total area of the Flavian centuriation, although there appears to be some overlap in the division.

A fan-shaped grid system divided into thirteen differently oriented units has been identified in the plain immediately to the south of the Gulf of Corinth (Figs 10 and 14a). This progressive change in orientation is attested in the roads and the property lines visible in the 1 : 5000 topographical maps and in the geo-rectified satellite images. The units are rectangular composed of 16 x 24 *actus* divisions and the links between them are commonly found at intervals of 96 *actus* on flat

and level land, at approximately 1 km. (32 *actus*) from the coastline. The individual units are designated A00 – A10 and each unit corresponds with a specific locality on the coastal plain and all but one of the grids (A8) are linked to one another. All are related by the simple ratio of the arc-tangent of which is equal to an angle of 14°2'10."²⁸ The following is a list of the specific topographic regions and the orientation of the individual units.²⁹

Unit	Geographical region	Orientation	Area (km ²)
A00	Sikyon Northwest	N20°20'22"E	10
A0	Sikyon North	N34°22'32"E	12
A1	Sikyon	N62°26'52"E	40
A2	Sikyon coastal region	N48°24'42"E	58
A3	Nemea River area	N34°22'32"E	108
A4	Longopotamos River area	N20°20'22"E	27
A5	Corinth, Lechaion to Kenchreai	N6°18'12"E	142
A6	Corinth to Kenchreai, S. corridor	N20°20'22"E	12
A7	Xerias River area	N7°43'58"W	30
A8*	West of Isthmus	N34°22'32"E	11
A9	West of Isthmus	N21°46'8"W	15
A10	East of Isthmus	N35°48'18"W	16
A11*	Area of canal (parallel to canal)	N48°20'02"W	17

* Not linked in the same way.

The reasons for the linked orientation of the units must be related to several geographical factors. First, the rivers drain toward the gulf and many of the units seem to follow the general course of the rivers, and second, each of the units seems to be close to being perpendicular to the shoreline of the coast.³⁰ Some of the units were surveyed on top of the earlier Interim Period and Caesarian centuriation (A5, A6, A7 and A8) while other areas were carried out in areas without earlier division (A1, A2, A3 and most of A4). In the southern Corinthia

where the coastline is not a factor in determining orientation of the centuriation, it appears that the direction of drainage, available sunlight and soil type would have been key factors in selection of the orientation of the units. Several of the units have the same orientation although in different geographical locations, for example A4 and A6 and A3 and A8. Evidence suggests that the *limitatio* associated with the Flavian colony at Corinth included the rural and urban aspects not only of Corinth but also of neighboring Sikyon.

28. The arc-tangent of $\frac{1}{4}$ would have made it easy for the *agrimensor* to create linking units by measuring one *actus* along one of the main axes of the centuriation and four *actus* at a 90 degree angle to the first and then closing the two endpoints to create the necessary angle. See the detailed discussion in Romano 2006, 71-81.

29. Included in these figures are the areas of centuriation that occur in the southern Corinthia as well as those along the southern coast of the Gulf of Corinth.

30. My study of the centuriation along the south coast of the Corinthian Gulf did not find a terminus for the land organization at the west end. I have been able to trace the centuriation to a point ca 10 km to the north and northwest of Sikyon, and at this point in the study the centuriation continues.

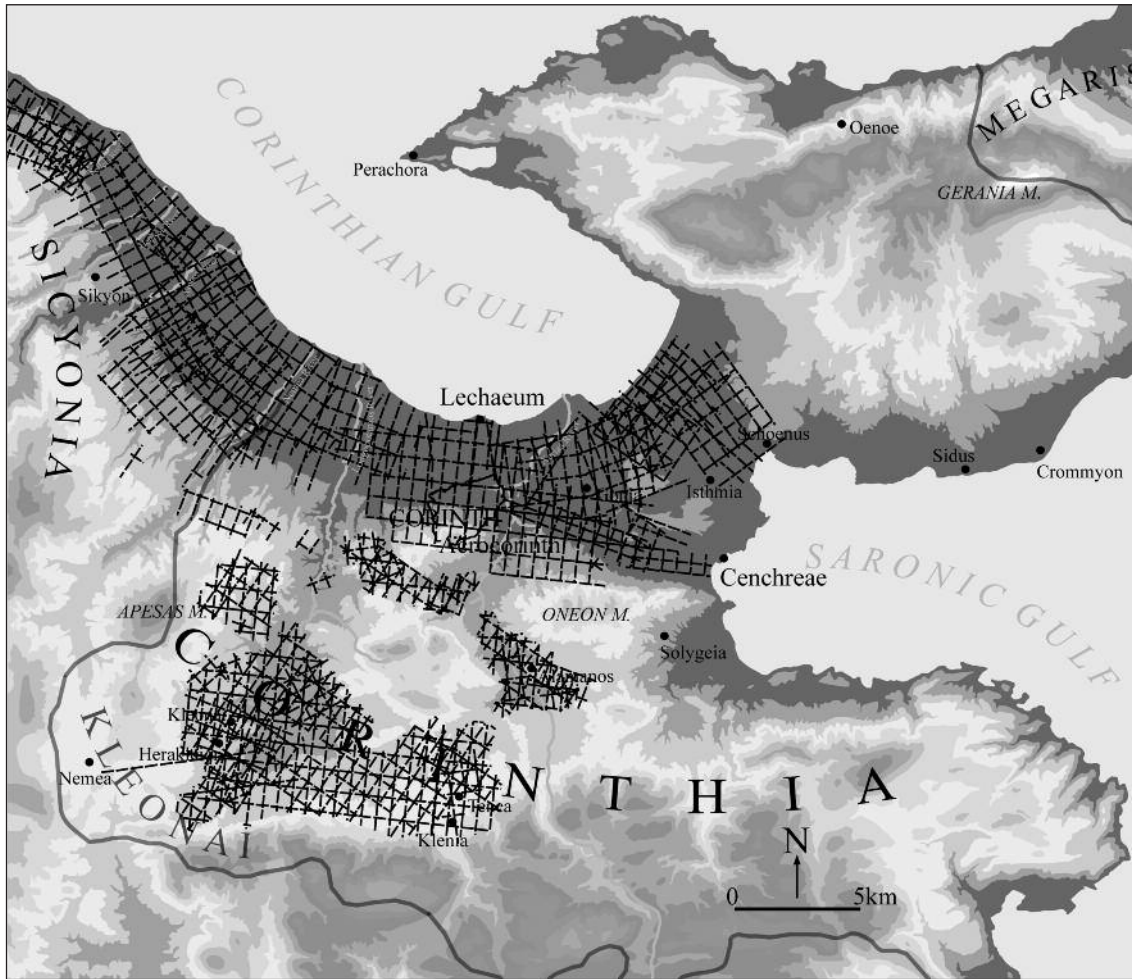


Fig. 10. Extents of Flavian centuriation in the Corinthia and beyond.

Vestiges of the Flavian surveyor's exist in the area of the Lechaion harbor where Roman surveyor's lines are still able to be seen. A series of remarkable photographs was taken with a low level balloon by Dr. and Mrs. J. Wilson Myers in the coastal region around Lechaion in 1986.³¹ I include one of the photographs here as **fig. 11**. The agrimensorial lines clearly depicted in these photographs reveal the shallow trenches (furrows) that were dug by the Roman surveyors as a part of the process of planning, land survey and division.

From the orientation and location of the trenches one can assume that the planning was a part of the overall organization used for A5 in the urban area of Corinth. A series of one *actus* wide insulae is bordered by 30 foot wide roadways. A reconstruction of the surveyor's lines from the balloon photograph is included here as **fig. 12**. Based on the current research it is likely that the surveyors' lines that are visible at Lechaion were a part of a planning for a harbor installation in the time of the Flavian colony.³²

31. Hemans, Myers, Wiseman 1987.

32. Williams 1993, 45-46 suggests that the Roman harbor of Lechaion was the work of Claudius' engineers and was related to the increase in construction of warehouses and markets in the city at the same time. Rothaus 1995 has suggested that the site of the Roman Lechaion harbor was originally a 6th c. B.C. installation that underwent a major renovation at the time of Claudius. I have suggested, Romano 1994, that the Greek port of Corinth is to be found approximately 1 km to the west of the Roman harbor on the broad and sandy beach, and that there was no Greek predecessor in this area.



Fig. 11. Lechaion harbor balloon photograph illustrating agrimensorial lines (courtesy of J. Wilson Meyers).

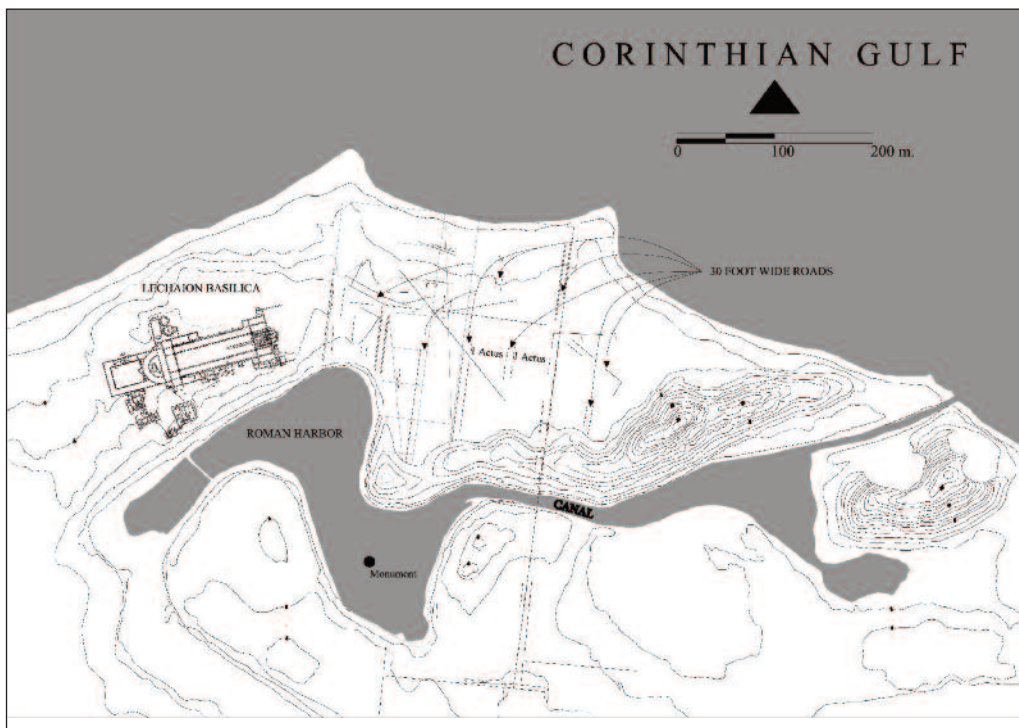


Fig. 12. Reconstruction drawing of Lechaion harbor planning ca A.D. 70 illustrating agrimensorial lines.

The proposed date of the second system of centuriation at Corinth is derived from a combination of literary and archaeological evidence. It has been proposed that the Roman renovation of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth included the construction of three small, parallel prostyle Ionic temples on its upper terrace as well as the retaining wall the propylon, and the stoa below (Fig. 13).³³ This renovation is dated to the period immediately following the earthquake of the 70's A.D. An architectural survey of the Demeter sanctuary has shown that the principal orientation of the three temples was not the same as that of the grid of the Caesarian Roman colony.³⁴ Another building in the heart of the Roman city should be mentioned in connection with the Flavian surveyors and the Flavian system of centuri-

ation. In Forum Southwest, immediately west of the South Stoa, is a long, narrow structure that has been labeled the "Long Rectangular Building." It is dated by ceramic evidence to the period of Nero.³⁵ The building and the adjacent monumental arch, measured at the foundation levels, are less than 2 degrees off the A5 unit orientation of the Flavian survey.

It is known that the Emperor Vespasian was interested in recovering non-utilized or underutilized portions of agricultural land, *subseciva*, around the Roman Empire for the purposes of increasing revenues through taxation.³⁶ *Subseciva* could either be land that was outside a centuriated area or land that was within a centuriation, but had not been formally assigned for one of a number of possible reasons. It would appear from the evidence at Corinth

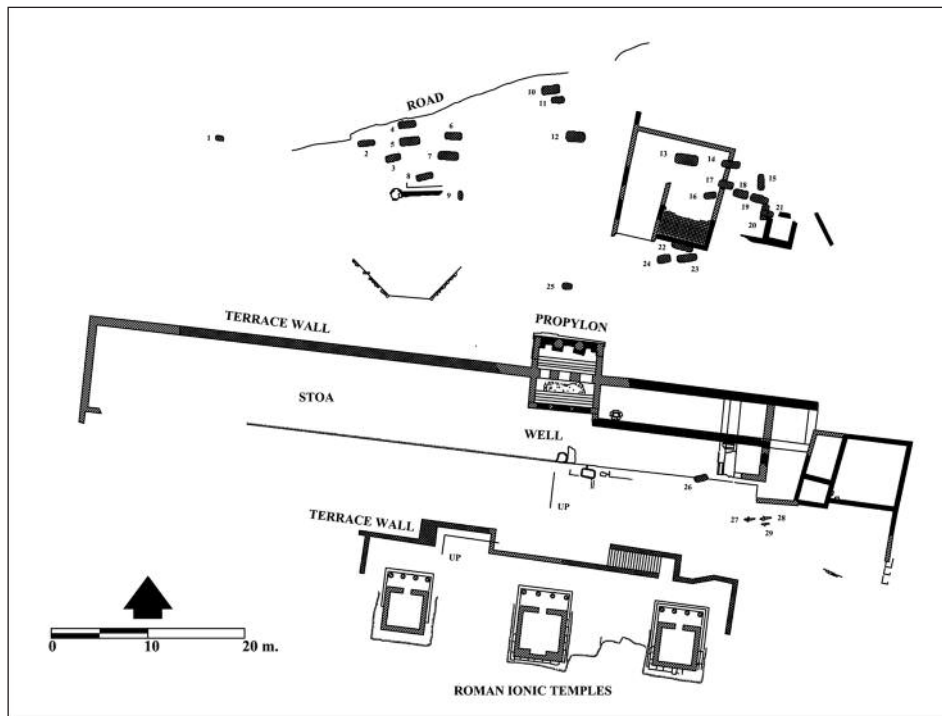


Fig. 13. Roman phase of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, restored plan, illustrating location of Roman Ionic temples (after D. B. Peck).

33. Excavation of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore by R. S. Stroud and N. Bookidis and pottery analysis by K. W. Slane provide some of the best evidence: Bookidis, Stroud 1997, 436-37; Slane 1990, 4-6.

34. The best diagnostic element for their orientation is a very clear setting line that is found on the top surface of the east wall of the central Roman temple. This setting line is N6°21'41"E or only 3.5' of one degree off the orientation of the A5 grid (N6°18'12"E). The Upper Terrace as a whole was probably oriented according to the Flavian system of centuriation. Since the temples and the upper terrace of the Demeter sanctuary can be dated from archaeological evidence I suggest that the temples, the local unit A5 and the entire Flavian system A1-A10 are products of the same time.

35. Williams, Fisher 1976, 127-37.

36. Charlesworth 1936, 13-19.

there was available land that had been underutilized, land near the city of Corinth, as well as new land in the territorium of the city that had not been previously centuriated and was assigned to new colonists by Vespasian.³⁷

Additional Romanization in the Territorium

It is clear that a number of long and straight roadways were planned or constructed in the territorium of the two successive Roman colonies that related directly to the Caesarian and the Flavian phases of centuriation. Some of these roadways are visible in the air photographs, in the satellite images and from the topographical maps of the area. Some of these roadways are 'oblique' to the grids with which they are associated. A long road that is a part of the Caesarian centuriation is approximately 8 km. long and extends from the Corinthian Kenchreai Gate to Kenchreai. One of the most prominent of these oblique roadways is associated with the Flavian system and is 9 km in length, extending from the middle of the Corinthian plain, near modern Assos, and the area near Sikyon. The roadway, parts of which are still in use today, is parallel with the A3 system and at a relationship of 1 : 4 with the A2 system.³⁸ Visible evidence for this straight and oblique roadway stops on the west side of the *Longopotamos* river (**Figs 14a** and **14b**). This is perhaps not surprising since the earlier Caesarian centuriation appears to stop on the east side of the *Longopotamos* river and the land to the west of the *Longopotamos* river was first centuriated in association with the Flavian colony.

One line to the east of Corinth, oblique to the Caesarian centuriation, was not a roadway, but a canal across the isthmus. Literary evidence documents the digging of the canal by the Emperor Nero. Philostratos writes that the emperor conceived of the digging of the canal during a visit to Greece, probably in A.D. 66/7.³⁹ He presided at the initiation of the project following his victories at the Isthmian Games of 67.⁴⁰ The original trenches of Nero and Vespasian included a trench ca 2 km. long extending from the Gulf of Corinth and one ca 1.5 km long extending from the Saronic Gulf.⁴¹

The siting of the canal is related to the two schemes of land planning and centuriation that have been defined above. The canal as designed by Nero's engineers was ca 6 km. long and was placed across the narrowest part of the Isthmus. The siting and orientation of the canal follow a very specific, straight line within the existing 6 x 24 *actus* system of centuriation (Caesarian) that extended eastward from the Roman city of Corinth (**Fig. 9**).⁴² The canal follows an oblique line of the centuriation in a ratio of 1 : 1 and therefore could have been fitted fairly simply into the agricultural land plan that was already in use in the area.⁴³

Economic, Historical and Social Implications

The study of the planning of the successive Roman colonies at Corinth may be able to give us insight into some larger economic and social questions that relate to the foundation of the colonies. The planning of the urban colony and the planning for the systems of centuriation that have been discovered at Corinth are important for how they compare

37. The question relating to the settlement of the new colonists on the occasion of the founding of the Flavian colony is considered in Romano 2000, 102-04.

38. I am referring to the one *actus* to four *actus* relationship that is described *supra*, n. 28.

39. A good summary of the evidence of the dating is found in Wiseman 1978, 75 n. 25.

40. Suet., *Ner.* 19.

41. A good summary of the information about the ancient and modern canal construction may be found in Wiseman 1978, 48-50.

42. It may be assumed that Nero's surveyors conceived of the design of the canal, including its orientation and location, in A.D. 66/7 and used the earlier land survey of the *territorium* of Corinth as its basis. Caesar who had earlier conceived of the idea of the digging of the canal (Suet., *Iul.* 44, 3) might have put a certain Anienus in charge of the project (Plut., *Vit. Caes.* 58). The design of the canal may have been formulated as early as 44 B.C. and then revived under Nero. See also Plin., *HN* IV. 4, 10 and Cass. Dio XLIV. 5, 1. Another possibility is that the survey was undertaken by Caligula since we are told by Suetonius (*Calig.* 21) that the emperor had planned to dig a canal at the Isthmus and that he had sent a chief centurion to survey the work.

43. Unit A11 of the Flavian system is found in the area of the canal and is related in a different way, 2 : 9, to the Flavian A series units, but may have been created as a result of the digging of the canal.

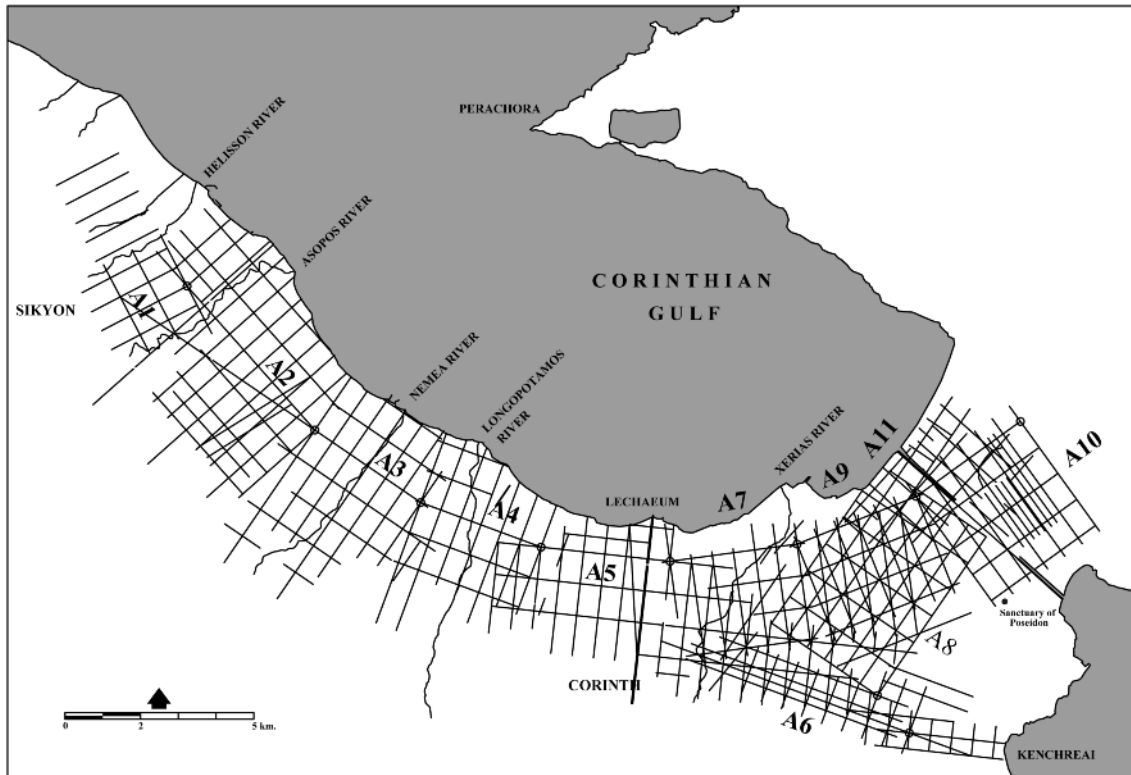


Fig. 14a. Flavian centuriation, ca A.D. 70, showing restored grid of 16 x 24 actus units.

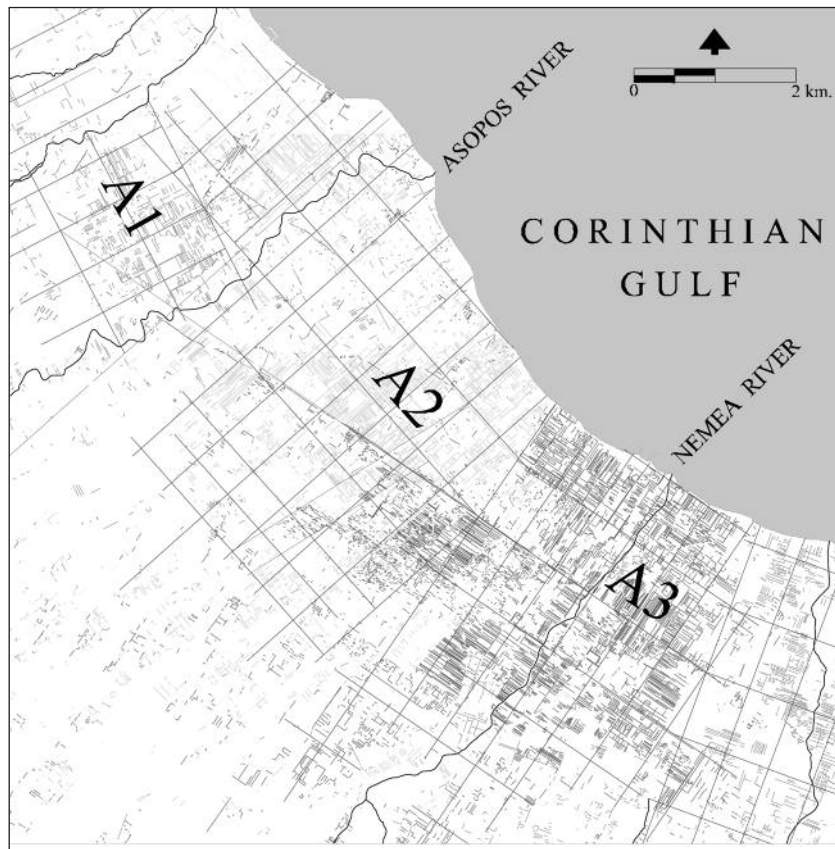


Fig. 14b. Flavian centuriation, ca A.D. 70. Detail of A2 and A3 units illustrating evidence from field lines, property lines, roads, ledges and paths.

to other systems in Greece as well as in other parts of the Roman Empire.⁴⁴

One of the questions that is raised by a study of this kind relates to the populations of the colonies. Is it possible to estimate the number of colonists who were settled at Corinth for the Caesarian and for the Flavian colony? Of course the word colonist is derived from the Latin word for one who ‘tills the soil’ and the economy of colonies was based largely on groups of farmers who were assigned parcels of land. With respect to the agricultural areas of the Corinthia, the Caesarian colony includes approximately 100 km² of land (**Fig. 9**). This is in addition to the area of the urban colony. The Flavian colony includes approximately 300 km² of land in addition to the area of the urban colony (**Fig. 10**). Although we do not know from the historical record how many colonists arrived in Corinth in 44 B.C. we do know from Strabo that most were freedmen and Plutarch implies that there were also some veterans.⁴⁵ It may be possible to make an estimate about the populations from the detailed evidence from the city and the landscape together with our literary and historical sources as a guide.

When the colonists arrived in Corinth they would have been issued land for farming purposes and they may also have been issued a plot of land within the urban area of the colony. It is known that in the Roman period allotments of land were issued in *iugera*. Two square *actus* was the equivalent of one *iugerum*. One *actus* was 120 linear feet and one square *actus* was 120 x 120 feet or 14,400 feet² or 35.4 m x 35.4 m (1 Roman foot = 0.295 m) = 1253.16 m². Therefore 1 *iugerum* = 2506.32 m². One square kilometer is 1,000,000 m².⁴⁶ Therefore

in each square kilometer there would be approximately 399 *iugera* of land. 100 square kilometers, or the approximate area of the centuriated land associated with the Caesarian colony at Corinth would provide approximately 39,900 *iugera* of land to be allotted. It would probably be appropriate to reduce the available land by 10% to account for unusable land due to rivers, gullies, swampy areas, cemeteries, religious sanctuaries or private land in the *territorium* that was not available for a *limitatio*, leaving 35,910 *iugera* of land to be allotted.

It is known from literary and historical sources that allotments of land came in various sizes depending on various factors. Allotments Ranged from 2 *iugera* to 50 *iugera* and in unusual circumstances as many as 100, 140 or 200 *iugera* were known.⁴⁷ Typical allotments fell into the range of 5, 8, 10 or 12 *iugera* for Roman colonies, but there were also larger sized allotments of 20 *iugera* or more for instance.⁴⁸ In the area to the north of the city of Corinth, between the long walls is an area where divisions of 16 x 24 *actus* have been noted by this study and with subdivisions of 8 x 12 *actus*. The 8 x 12 *actus* units are the equivalent of 96 square *actus* or 48 *iugera*. Because of the prominence of the divisions of 48 *iugera*, these may be related to the size of the colonial division. If each of these units, were divided into four equal parts, that is suggested from some of the evidence from the maps, the result would be 12 *iugera* units. If one divides 35,910 *iugera* available by 12 *iugera* per colonist the result is 2,992.50 colonists.⁴⁹ Allocation sizes of 24 *iugera* per colonist would mean that there were 1,496.25 colonists⁵⁰ According to P. A. Brunt who has studied the size of colonies in the

44. In Greece for instance, see Rizakis 1990 for a study of centuriation in the northwest Peloponnese; Rizakis 1997 for a study of Roman colonies in the Province of Achaëa; Doukellis 1988 for a study of centuriation at Nikopolis; Doukellis 1994 for a study of centuriation at Corinth; Doukellis, Fouache 1992 for a study of centuriation at Arta. See also Alcock 1993 generally for Roman Greece. With respect to the Roman Empire as a whole, see Clavel-Lévêque, Vignot 1998 and Clavel-Lévêque, Orejas 2002.

45. Strab. VIII. 6, 23; Plut., *Vit. Caes.* 57. 5. It is known from App., *Pun.* 136, that 3,000 colonists were sent to Carthage in 44 B.C.

46. Another way to think about the same question is using hectares. One square kilometer would equal 100 hectares.

47. See Salmon 1969, 13-28 for general information about the founding of a Roman colony. The 2 *iugera* plot was the traditional, hereditary land parcel (*heredium*) of a Roman citizen. See also Campbell 2000, 339-41 n. 30.

48. See the discussion in Garnsey, 2004, 98-102.

49. If there were 2,000 colonists, 35,910 *iugera* divided by 2,000 = 17.96 *iugera* per colonist. If there were 1,000 colonists, 35,910 *iugera* divided by 1,000 settlers = 35.91 *iugera* per settler.

50. Hoskins Walbank 1997, 100-06 has discussed the question of the size of allocations in the Corinthia. She has estimated the area of centuriation based on the amount of arable land of the (modern) Corinthia from the Sakellariou,

Augustan and Caesarian periods, he suggests that “it is not unreasonable to estimate the average number of colonists per town of this period at 2,000-3,000”.⁵¹ Based on all of the available evidence, I would suggest that the colonial allocation for the Caesarian colony at Corinth was somewhere between 12 and 24 *iugera* per colonist suggesting a colonial settlement of between 1,500 and 3,000 colonists.⁵²

In the Flavian colony, the total amount of centuriated land is approximately 300 km² or roughly three times the area of the Caesarian colony. Assuming that the size of allocation of land per colonist was the same in the Flavian colony (the large divisions are the same 16 x 24 *actus*), there would be an increase in the population of Corinth on the order of three times. An important point that needs to be emphasized is that with respect to the evidence for the Flavian centuriation of the Corinthia (and the Sikyonia) is that land division and land planning was very extensive along the south coast of the Corinthian Gulf as well in the interior of the Corinthia. This would suggest that there was an influx of colonists to these areas and that the agricultural production of the land was dramatically increased.⁵³ Such evidence would not be in keeping with the idea that the landscape of Roman Greece was empty.⁵⁴ On the contrary the evidence documents that the landscape was full of agricultural activity, probably due to an increase in population and an increase of colonists, literally ‘tillers of the soil’ and that the clues to this activity can be found from a study of the centuriation patterns that are clearly visible in the landscape. The fields were being intensively used for agricultural production and it is likely that some farms would

be found in the landscape although many of the farmers may have lived in the city and commuted to their plots.

David Gilman Romano, Ph.D.

Mediterranean Section,
University of Pennsylvania Museum of
Archaeology and Anthropology
3260 South Street, Philadelphia,
Pa. 19104-6324, U.S.A.
dromano@sas.upenn.edu

Bibliography

- Alcock (S.), 1993: *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- Amandry (M.), 1988: *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. 15, Paris.
- Ameling (W.), 1984: “Flavius Arrianus Neos Xenophon”, *EA* 4, 11-22.
- Andreau (J.), 2004: “Sur les choix économiques des notables Romains”, in J. Andreau, J. France, S. Pittia (eds), *Mentalités et choix économiques des Romains*, Scripta antiqua 7, Bordeaux, 71-85.
- Bookidis (N.), Stroud (R. S.), 1997: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XVIII.3, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth: Topography and Architecture*, Princeton.
- Brunt (P. A.), 1971: *Italian Manpower*, Oxford.
- Campbell (B.), 2000: *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*, JRS Monograph 9, London.
- Charlesworth (M. P.), 1936: “The Flavian Dynasty”, *CAH* XI.1, 1-45.
- Clavel-Lévêque (M.), Orejas (A.) (eds), 2002: *Atlas historique des cadastres d'Europe* II, Publications of the Cost Action G2, Paysages anciens et structures rurales, Luxembourg.

Faraklas 1971-report and then has made a number of decisions about how to reduce this figure. Her final figure is 160.12 km² and she suggests allocation sizes of 30 or 50 *iugera* creating 2,500 plots or 4,120 plots respectively.

51. Brunt, 1971, 261. The colonists would be the men as head of households, and if the women and children were included this would increase the actual population to 2.5 to 3 times the number of colonists on average or 7,500 to 9,000.

52. 16 *iugera* per colonist would provide allocations for 2,244.37 colonists.

53. Elsewhere, Romano 2000, 102-04, I have suggested the idea that at least a portion of these new colonists may have come from Judaea as a part of the 6,000 Jewish slaves who were sent by Vespasian in A.D. 67 to the Isthmus from Tiberias (Joseph, *BJ* III. 540).

54. This is an argument made by S. Alcock 1993, 71-92. Alcock cites the drop in rural site numbers together with evidence for the farming of larger estates, “Rather than receiving a stimulus to production and exchange, the rural landscape of Achaia – if anything – appears to have been in a period of relative decline. Additional external pressures can act, of course, as an economic depressant. Some marginal less productive land may have become *agri deserti*, formerly cultivated territory, now shed as a potential tax liability.” Alcock’s study appeared before the results of the Corinth Computer Project were available.

- Clavel-Lévêque (M.), Vignot (A.) (eds), 1998: *Atlas historique des cadastres d'Europe I*, Publications of the Cost Action G2, Paysages anciens et structures rurales, Luxembourg.
- Crawford (M.), 1996: *Roman Statutes*, BICS Suppl. 64, London.
- Dilke (O. A. W.), 1971: *The Roman Land Surveyors: An Introduction to the agrimensores*, Newton Abbot.
- Doukellis (P. N.), 1988: "Cadastres Romains en Grece: Traces d'un reseau rural a Actia Nicopolis", *DHA* 14, 159-66.
- , 1994: "Le territoire de la colonie romaine de Corinthe" in P. N. Doukellis, L. G. Mendoni (eds), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques, Actes du Colloque de Corfou, 14-16 mai 1992*, Paris, 359-90.
- Doukellis (P. N.), Fouache (E.), 1992: "La centuriation romaine de la plaine d'Arta replacée dans le contexte de l'évolution morphologique récente des deltas de l'Archatos du Louros", *BCH* 116, 375-82.
- Edwards (K. M.), 1930: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VI, Coins, 1896-1929*, Princeton.
- Engels (D.W.), 1990: *Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City*, Chicago.
- Garnsey (P.), 2004: *Cities, Peasants and Food in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Gebhard (E. R.), Dickey (M. W.), 2003: "The View from the Isthmus, ca. 200 to 44 B.C.", in C. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896-1996, Corinth XX*, Princeton N. J., 261-78.
- Gruen (E. S.), 1976: "The Origins of the Achaean War," *JHS* 96, 46-69.
- , 1984: *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, Berkeley.
- Hemans (F. P. J.), Meyers (J. W.), Wiseman (J.), 1987: "Remote Sensing from a Tethered Blimp in Greece", *Technical paper* no. 2, Dep. of Archaeol., Center for Remote Sensing, Boston University.
- Hoskins Walbank (M. E.), 1986: "The Nature of Early Roman Corinth", abstract in *AJA* 90, 220-21.
- , 1997: "The Foundation and Planning of Early Roman Corinth", *JRA* 10, 95-130.
- Kent (J. H.), 1966: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.3, The Inscriptions, 1926-1950*, Princeton.
- Larsen (J. A. O.), 1938: "Roman Greece", in T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV*, Baltimore, 259-498.
- Lintott (A.), 1992: *Judicial Reform and Land Reform in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1990: "Cadastres et espace rural dans le nord-ouest du Péloponnèse", *DHA* 16.1, 259-80.
- , 1997: "Roman colonies in the province of Achaëa: Territories, Land and Population", in S. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, 15-36.
- Romano (D. G.), 1994: "Greek Land Division and Planning at Corinth", abstract in *AJA* 98, 296.
- , 2000: "A tale of two cities: Roman Colonies at Corinth", in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations and Failures: Proceedings of a Conference held at the American Academy in Rome to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May 1998*, *JRA Suppl. Ser. 38*, Portsmouth, R. I.
- , 2003: "City Planning, Centuration, and Land Division in Roman Corinth. Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis and Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis", in Ch. K. Williams, II, N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth XX, The Centenary, 1896-1996*, Princeton, 279-301.
- , 2005a: "A Roman Circus in Corinth", *Hesperia* 74, 2005, 585-611.
- , 2005b: "Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth", in D. N. Schowalter and S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies, Cambridge Mass., 25-59.
- , 2006: "Roman Surveyors in Corinth", *PAPhS* 150.1, 62-85.
- Romano (D. G.), Schoenbrun (B. C.), 1993: "A Computerized architectural and topographical survey of ancient Corinth", *JFA* 20, 177-90.
- Romano (I. B.), 1994: "A Hellenistic Deposit from Corinth: Evidence for Interim Period Activity (146-44 B.C.)", *Hesperia* 63, 57-104.
- Sakellariou (M.), Faraklas (N.), 1971: *Ancient Greek Cities, III. Corinthia – Cleonaea*, Athens Technological Organization, Athens Center of Ekistics, Athens.
- Salmon (J. B.), 1984: *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Slane (K. W.), 1986: "Two Deposits from the Early Roman Cellar Building, Corinth", *Hesperia* 55, 271-318.
- , 1990: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XVIII.2, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Roman Pottery and Lamps*, Princeton.
- Welch (K.), 1999: "Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World: Athens and Corinth", in B. Bergman, Chr. Kondoleon (eds), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, New Haven, 125-45.
- Williams (C. K.), 1993: "Roman Corinth as a Commercial Center", in T. E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*, *JRA Suppl. 8*, 31-46.
- Williams (C. K.), Fisher (J.), 1976: "Corinth, 1975: Forum Southwest", *Hesperia* 45, 99-162.
- Williams (C. K.), Zervos (O.), 1982: "Corinth, 1981: East of the Theater", *Hesperia* 51, 115-63.
- Wiseman (J.), 1978: *The Land of the Ancient Corinthians*, *SIMA* 50, Göteborg.
- , 1979: "Corinth and Rome I: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267", *ANRW* 7.2, 438-547.

MÉCANISMES D'ACQUISITION ET DIFFUSION DE LA CITOYENNETÉ ROMAINE DANS LE PÉLOPONNÈSE SOUS LE HAUT-EMPIRE*

Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe

Abstract: In the Peloponnese, Roman citizenship was obtained mainly through *virtutim* (one's character). Indeed there was no massive enlistment of young Greeks in auxiliary military units, which would have made it possible for them to gain access to Roman citizenship after their military duties had been completed; furthermore, as there were no cities under Latin rule, the élite did not have automatic access to *civitas Romana* through municipal functions. Greek notables were expected to display both zeal and loyalty in particular as priests of the imperial cult and they had to forge direct links with Roman rulers and their administration. Under the Julio-Claudians, access to Roman citizenship was rather widespread for these emperors were intent on maintaining a bond with the cities' active élite – an élite that was willing to take up equestrian functions or eventually join the senatorial order at the beginning of the 2nd century. Under the Flavians and the Antonines this movement went on smoothly. In A.D. 212, though many members of this élite had had access to Roman citizenship, most *peregrini* benefited from Caracalla's Edict.

L'accès à la citoyenneté romaine fut l'élément clef de l'intégration des pérégrins à l'Empire et de la romanisation.¹ Auguste se chargea de régler le problème d'incompatibilité entre la citoyenneté locale et la citoyenneté romaine, afin que les droits de la cité locale soient conservés, en particulier les droits fiscaux ou les devoirs liés aux magistratures, sauf mention expresse de l'empereur ou de façon automatique dans le cas des vétérans. L'édit de Cyrène et la Table de Banasa sont les textes qui permettent d'affirmer juridiquement que les droits des communautés locales étaient ainsi préservés et que le néo-citoyen romain n'était plus "perdu" pour sa cité comme cela avait pu être le cas à la fin de la période républicaine.²

Toutefois, les Grecs, eux jadis si avares de l'octroi de leur citoyenneté, allaient-ils nourrir un quelconque intérêt pour la citoyenneté romaine?³ Rome allait-elle leur permettre un accès facilité à

la concession de la *civitas Romana*? Si les analyses de cas particuliers de l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine de Grecs devenus célèbres, comme Théophraste de Mytilène, conseiller de Pompée le Grand ou Eurycles de Sparte devenu *amicus* d'Auguste montrent une voie assez exceptionnelle, il est aussi important de mesurer le processus et l'ampleur de l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine de l'ensemble des habitants du Péloponnèse. On peut en partie le faire et en préciser la chronologie grâce à l'étude onomastique.

En effet, pour mieux comprendre le développement de la romanisation, il est indispensable de mener une enquête onomastique et prosopographique. Or cette étude peut désormais s'appuyer sur de solides notices et des informations exhaustives. Le formidable travail, mené sous la direction d'Athanase Rizakis, de rassemblement des données concernant les *nomina Romana* a donné naissance

* Je remercie Ségolène Demougin, Jean-Louis Ferrary et Athanase Rizakis pour aide amicale et précieuse.

1. Sur la notion de romanisation, objet de nombreux débats, voir la mise au point de Le Roux 2004 et Rousset 2004, avec la bibliographie antérieure commentée (en particulier les réflexions de Alcock 1993 pour la Grèce).

2. Seston, Euzennat 1971; Sherwin-White 1973a, 297 et s.; 334 et s.; Ferrary 2005, 51-56 et 72-75.

3. Voir la mise au point par Gauthier 1974.

à une série de publications: un volume d'études et deux volumes de noms, ainsi que le présent volume, très précieux outils de recherche pour la connaissance de la Grèce romaine.⁴

Les modes d'accès à la citoyenneté romaine pour les habitants du Péloponnèse sous l'Empire

Le plus célèbre Grec du Péloponnèse à avoir reçu la citoyenneté romaine que nous connaissons est Eurycles de Sparte.⁵ Ce Spartiate avait mis sa flotte au service d'Octavien, lors de la bataille d'Actium en 31 avant notre ère, alors même que la plus grande partie du monde hellénophone s'était tournée vers Marc Antoine. Une fois la victoire acquise, cela lui valut le titre d'*amicus* et l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine par le nouveau dirigeant de Rome devenu *Augustus* en 27 avant notre ère par attribution de ce titre par le Sénat. Si le cas de C. Iulius Eurycles reste assez particulier, il est toutefois tout à fait représentatif de l'accès viritaire à la citoyenneté romaine: il fallait l'avoir mérité par son courage, avoir montré sa loyauté à Rome et sa fidélité à son chef. L'adhésion au système politique romain était un moteur important, les avantages de la *civitas* également, même après le maintien des liens avec la cité d'origine; et les considérations culturelles n'étaient alors qu'au second plan. Du point de vue romain, l'intérêt était de rallier les élites au système politique nouveau afin d'établir et de maintenir la *pax Romana*. Une fois le calme revenu, la concorde régnant dans tout l'Empire réunifié, le processus d'élargissement de la citoyenneté romaine se poursuivait sur le même mode, où les liens directs avec l'empereur restaient fondamentaux.

En effet, les mécanismes automatiques d'acqui-

sition de la citoyenneté romaine par l'obtention d'une magistrature supérieure dans une cité de droit latin ou par le service militaire dans les corps auxiliaires de l'armée, s'ils ont joué un rôle important ailleurs dans l'Empire, furent négligeables dans le Péloponnèse et dans toute la province romaine d'Achaïe. Seule l'obtention automatique par filiation existait concrètement. En effet, il n'y avait pas en Achaïe de cités de droit latin et le recrutement dans les auxiliaires était relativement limité. La province étant *inermis*, la présence militaire était aussi réduite et l'attrait des armes assez faible.⁶ Toutefois, il est attesté à la fin de notre période que des contingents de volontaires spartiates ont été recrutés sous Marc Aurèle et L. Vérus, puis sous Caracalla.⁷

En outre, le modèle romain n'était présent qu'en deux points du Péloponnèse sous la forme de deux colonies: à Corinthe, capitale de la province romaine et à Patras (et de façon très éphémère à Dymè).⁸ Comme l'a montré A. Spawforth, le peuplement de la colonie de Corinthe fut d'origine très diverse, incluant un certain nombre de vétérans, des affranchis de Rome, bien souvent originaires de régions hellénophones, et des *negotiatores* et leurs affranchis.⁹ Le nombre et rôle de ces hommes d'affaires n'est pas à négliger et l'on peut en repérer installés dans tout le Péloponnèse, soit dans les ports, soit comme en Messénie ou en Élide à la tête de propriétés.¹⁰

Il n'y avait donc qu'un passage étroit pour parvenir à la citoyenneté romaine: celui des concessions viritaines. Il fallait donc de puissantes raisons pour que les Grecs accèdent à la citoyenneté romaine tant du côté romain que du côté grec. Si aux temps de la fin de la République, outre le rôle des censeurs et du Sénat, les généraux, tels Pompée,

4. Le volume d'étude: *Roman Onomastics* en 1996 et les deux volumes de noms: en 2001 *Roman Peloponnese I* (ci-dessous cité *RP I*) et en 2004 *Roman Peloponnese II* (ci-dessous *RP II*). Voir également la brillante synthèse écrite par J.-L. Ferrary 2010, pour la province d'Asie, à partir des inscriptions de Claros. Pour la partie occidentale de l'Empire, on trouvera une excellente mise au point des outils dans l'article de Raepsaet-Charlier 2008.

5. *RP II*, LAC 461. En dernier lieu, voir Balzat 2008.

6. Sherk 1957.

7. Voir Spawforth 1984, 267-69.

8. Le territoire reçut des pirates ciliciens vaincus par Pompée en 67 av. J.-C., puis deux nouveaux apports de population, cette fois romaine sous César et Auguste. La cohabitation entre les anciens pirates et les colons romains fut un échec et le sort de la colonie fut scellé sans doute au début du règne de Tibère: elle fut rattachée à sa voisine Patras, voir Rizakis 2008a, 30-31.

9. Spawforth 1996.

10. Zoumbaki 1994 et 1998/99. La présence d'Italiens est surtout perceptible du I^{er} s. av. au I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. On en trouve également à Athènes (voir Follet 2002) et en Béotie (voir Müller 2002).

César, Lucullus ou d'autres étaient habilités à naturaliser les plus valeureux des combattants alliés, sous l'Empire, seul l'empereur, en vertu des pouvoirs censoriaux qu'il possédait, était à même d'octroyer la citoyenneté romaine. Il pouvait d'ailleurs aussi être conduit à priver quelqu'un de la citoyenneté romaine, comme ce fut le cas de Claude à l'encontre d'un «*des premiers de la province d'Achaïe*», qui, nous dit Suétone, s'était révélé incapable de s'exprimer en latin et n'était plus digne de figurer sur l'*album iudicum* car au cas où il serait désigné, il s'avérerait donc inapte à siéger à Rome parmi les juges des cinq décuries.¹¹

L'accès à la citoyenneté romaine se traduisait concrètement par le port des *tria nomina*. Quand un pérégrin l'obtenait, il était d'usage, et peut-être de règle à partir de Claude, que le nouveau citoyen romain adopte le *praenomen* et le gentilice de l'empereur.¹² Il suffisait ensuite d'utiliser à titre de *cognomen* le nom personnel que l'on portait avant la naturalisation et d'ajouter la filiation et la tribu. Dion Cassius affirme d'ailleurs que l'adoption du gentilice impérial était obligatoire sous le règne de Claude.¹³ Cette règle générale globalement respectée et appliquée souffrait toutefois un certain nombre d'exceptions. Dans les faits, les naturalisés jouissaient d'une certaine liberté de choix : ils pouvaient aussi prendre le nom d'un haut fonctionnaire romain ou d'un patron intervenu en leur faveur en vue de l'obtention de cette concession.¹⁴ En effet, cela impliquait la constitution d'un dossier, comme on le voit dans la deuxième moitié du II^e siècle sur la Table de Banasa, envoyé à Rome à la chancellerie pour être traité dans le cadre du conseil du prince, avec des lettres de recommandation et les preuves de loyalisme. Ces dernières se traduisaient de diverses manières dont la prise en charge de prêtrises du culte impérial, l'érection de statues à l'empereur et d'autres marques d'adhésion politique. Il fallait donc avoir des contacts

avec les autorités romaines de la province et les mettre à profit.¹⁵ Au moment de l'acquisition de la *civitas*, les néo-citoyens pouvaient prendre le gentilice du gouverneur de la province, qui bien souvent jouait le rôle de patron et intercédait en leur faveur par la rédaction de ces lettres de recommandation. Pour obtenir un contact avec le gouverneur alors que ce dernier n'était pas autorisé, en principe, dans le cadre de ses fonctions, à entrer dans les cités libres, nombreuses comme on le sait en Grèce, les Grecs devaient donc entamer une démarche volontariste en recevant sciemment la visite de membres de l'administration romaine ou alors par exemple au travers d'ambassades pour les affaires de leur cité, ils en profitaient pour établir des contacts utiles. La capitale, Corinthe, dont la réputation n'était pas très bonne en raison du fort apport de population d'origine servile, fut dédaignée par les Grecs jusqu'au règne de Claude.¹⁶ Les résidents italiens jouèrent aussi bien souvent une fonction d'interface entre Grecs et Romains et d'éléments moteurs pour des Grecs fortunés et ambitieux vers les hautes sphères sociales romaines.

L'influence d'un proche de l'empereur pouvait être déterminante pour l'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine. À Épidaure, une famille de notables locaux, les Statilii, qui devait avoir développé les relations avec Rome – la cité ayant conclu une alliance avec les autorités romaines – entra dans la clientèle d'un proche de l'empereur, T. Statilius Taurus, qui avait été l'un des lieutenants et homme de confiance d'Octavien pendant la bataille d'Actium, et était également proche d'Agrippa.¹⁷ Les membres de cette élite épidaurienne avaient multiplié les liens matrimoniaux avec les grandes familles de la province, d'Athènes, d'Argos et de Sparte. Elle possédait aussi des terres dans la région de Thespies¹⁸ et ses membres eurent des responsabilités croissantes dans les cités d'Argos et d'Épidaure et au sein du *koinon* achéen jusqu'aux Sévères.¹⁹

11. Suet., *Claud.*, 16, 2. Ce personnage a été inscrit sur l'*album iudicum* avant d'être vraisemblablement dénoncé et radié. Voir Demougin 1975; Rizakis 2008b.

12. Alföldy 1966, 39.

13. Cass. Dio LX. 17, 7.

14. Alföldy 1966, 38-40.

15. Salomies 1993.

16. Spawforth 1996.

17. *PIR*² S, 851.

18. Spawforth 1985, 251 et n. 155.

19. Voir l'étude approfondie de cette famille par Spawforth 1985, 249 et s.

À la suite de Fr. Hiller von Gärtringen et M. Fränkel, A. Spawforth en a repris l'étude, grâce à une série d'inscriptions revues par W. Peek, qui nous éclairent un peu sur les membres de cette famille avant que ses premiers membres n'accèdent à la citoyenneté romaine.²⁰ Il est possible que l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine soit dû à l'un des descendants homonymes de T. Statilius Taurus, peut-être son petit-fils, consul en 11 apr. J.-C. ou son arrière-petit-fils, père de Statilia Messalina, consul en 44 apr. J.-C.²¹ L'un de ces sénateurs romains, sans doute le consul de 44, fut d'ailleurs le patron de Polycratides, fils de Themion, un citoyen de Thespies.²² Il est difficile de préciser les dates, mais la naturalisation a sans doute eu lieu sous le règne de Tibère ou de Claude. Nous possédons en effet quelques repères chronologiques. D'une part, deux Statilii, sans doute le père et le fils, T. Statilius Lamprias, fils de Lamprias et T. Statilius Timocrates, fils de Lamprias, furent chargés de superviser l'érection des statues offertes par la ligue achéenne à leur bienfaiteur, le gouverneur P. Memmius Regulus et à son fils C. Memmius Regulus.²³ Cet honneur fut sans doute rendu pendant le gouvernement de Regulus entre 35 et 44, et c'est donc vraisemblablement sous son gouvernement qu'ils obtinrent la citoyenneté romaine. Timocrates avait épousé Thimosthenis, dont il eut un fils, Lamprias, qui fut *pyrophoros*, fonction réservée aux jeunes garçons et aux adolescents; ils figurent alors encore tous alors sous leurs noms grecs. Timocrates était donc déjà relativement âgé quand il obtint pour lui et sa famille la naturalisation romaine. Un peu plus tard, Statilia Timosthenis, éleva une statue à Statilia Messalina, épouse de Néron, pro-

bablement en reconnaissance de l'octroi par le père de celle-ci, T. Statilius Taurus, consul en 44 apr. J.-C., de la citoyenneté romaine.²⁴ C'était une chance pour les Statilii d'Épidaure d'être sous le patronage de Romains si influents et si proches du pouvoir.

L'influence de P. Memmius Regulus, gouverneur de la grande province impériale entre 35 et 44 apr. J.-C.,²⁵ fut grande et il laissa une impression favorable en Achaïe. Le nombre de Memmii qui lui doivent l'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine est assez important. Ainsi, à Corinthe, le duumvir P. Memmius Cleander, attesté au poste de duumvir quinquennal lors de la visite de Néron en 66-67, fut aussi épimélète de l'Amphictionie et *hierus ton Sebaston*.²⁶ Le parcours de ce personnage, et ses responsabilités dans l'exercice du culte impérial indiquent très certainement qu'il avait dû répondre activement aux sollicitations de Memmius Regulus, lequel avait vivement encouragé le développement du culte impérial en Achaïe, lors de ses fonctions de gouverneur.²⁷

P. Memmius Regulus a sans doute eu aussi une grande clientèle parmi la société spartiate car le nombre de Memmii comptabilisés uniquement pour Sparte est d'au moins quarante-sept. Bien sûr ce chiffre englobe les descendants des Memmii naturalisés par le gouverneur, auxquels il faut ajouter les affranchis de ces Memmii. Cela tend à réduire l'impact de la concession de départ par Memmius Regulus, mais cela montre en même temps que Regulus a fait naturaliser des familles de notables, ayant des esclaves qui purent ensuite bénéficier de l'influence de leurs patrons. Les Memmii sont moins nombreux dans les autres régions du Péloponnèse,

20. M. Fränkel, *IG IV*, p. 209; Fr. Hiller von Gärtringen, *IG IV² 1*, p. XXX-XXXI; Peek 1969, 128 (*IG IV² 1*, 672) et fig. 90. Neuf bases de statues étaient consacrées à cette famille et formaient une exèdre (un bloc est sans inscription, un autre est trop usé et un troisième est manquant).

21. Sur le *cos ord.* de 11 apr. J.-C.: *PIR² S*, 855. Sur le père de Statilia Messalina, T. Statilius Taurus, *cos ord.* en 44 apr. J.-C., voir *PIR² S*, 856.

22. Voir Müller 2002.

23. *IG IV*, 1139; *IG IV² 1*, 655; Peek, 1969, 125-26 no. 289. Respectivement *PIR² M*, 468 et 467. Voir Spawforth 1985, 250 et *RP I*, ARG 244 et 252.

24. *IG IV*, 1402; *IG IV² 1*, 604. Voir la notice *RP I*, ARG 242. Sur Statilia Messalina: *PIR² S*, 866; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, *FOS* 579-80 no. 730 (voir *stemma* 39 au vol. II); Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2003, 265-66 et 272.

25. *PIR² M*, 468. Attestations du nom du gouverneur P. Memmius Regulus: à Olympie, *IvO* 337, à Corinthe: *Corinth VIII.2*, no. 53 (entre 38 et 47); en Argolide et en particulier dans le sanctuaire d'Épidaure: avec son fils: *IG IV*, 912; *IG IV² 1*, 667; *IG IV*, 1139; *IG IV² 1*, 665; *IG IV*, 1411; *IG IV² 1*, 669; *IG IV² 1*, 668; Peek 1969, 127-28 no. 291; voir *RP I*, EL 277; *COR* 423 et ARG 191 et 192.

26. *BMC Corinth*, 70 nos 567-70; *Corinth VIII.3*, no. 81 et pl. 9; *Syll.*³ 808; voir *RP I*, *COR* 421.

27. Voir *Corinth VIII.2*, p. 31.

mais présents malgré tout. Ainsi, en Élide, où une statue fut élevée en l'honneur du gouverneur, trois, voire quatre Memmii sont attestés.²⁸ En Arcadie, on compte également trois, voire quatre Memmii au II^e s. apr. J.-C.²⁹

D'autres gouverneurs ont aussi aidé à l'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine. Ainsi, le proconsul d'Achaïe en 118/19 apr. J.-C., Clodius Granianus est peut-être aussi à l'origine d'une petite part de la diffusion du gentilice Clodius dans le Péloponnèse, au moins pour quelques-uns des plus tardifs.³⁰ Ainsi pour les Clodii attestés bien avant le II^e siècle, on peut avancer l'influence des grandes familles patriciennes Claudii/Clodii ou plus généralement par les *negotiatores* portant ce gentilice, nombreux à Délos, dont les affranchis vinrent s'installer et faire souche, par exemple à Athènes. Leurs intérêts financiers et leur clientèle en Grèce sont bien connus.

Un magistrat romain de rang inférieur, mais de grande famille, pouvait aussi intervenir en faveur de notables avec lesquels il avait pu avoir un contact direct, apprécier leurs qualités et la bonne volonté qu'ils mettaient au service de Rome. Ainsi, le questeur P. Cornelius Scipion, sans doute apparenté aux Cornelii Lentuli d'époque républicaine, qui fut un des agents romains dont l'une des missions était de diffuser le culte impérial en Achaïe en 2-3 apr. J.-C., a peut-être été à l'origine de la citoyenneté romaine des Cornelii de Sparte, dont on a un représentant, Cornelius Xenaco, dans une liste datant des règnes de Marc Aurèle et L. Verus.³¹

Une importante famille d'Épidaure porte également ce gentilice. Son premier représentant connu est Cn. Cornelius Nicatas, riche notable d'Épidaure, promoteur du culte impérial dans sa cité.³² L. Mendoni propose de voir un lien entre le questeur

28. M. Memmius Anticus (*IvO* 110, 6, au début du III^e siècle); C. Memmius Eudamus (*IvO* 470, l. 6, fin I^{er}-début II^e siècle); P. Memmius Philodamus (*IvO* 470, ll. 4-5, II^e siècle, fils du précédent); [--- Me]mm[ius ---] (*IvO* 590); respectivement *RP I*, EL 274 (*Antiquus*), 275; 276 et 273.

29. Deux à Tégée: P. Memmius Agathocles (*IG V 2*, 124 et 125); Memmius Hilarus (*IG V 2*, 50, l. 61); respectivement *RP I*, ARC 122 et 123; et sans doute deux à Mantinée: Memmia Asclapo, au II^e siècle, qui devait être homonyme de sa petite-fille honorée (*IG V 2*, 310). Asclapo (ou Asclepo) est un nom féminin terminant en *oméga* (*LGPN III.A*, 80 s.v. Ἀσκληπώ); il nous semble qu'il s'agisse bien de *duo nomina* et non de *nomen simplicium* (*RP I*, ARC 121). Il faut envisager qu'en raison du manque de place sur le chapiteau de colonne où se trouve l'inscription, l'homonymie entre la grand-mère (au nominatif), qui fait l'hommage, et la petite fille (lien familial à l'accusatif: «pour sa petite-fille») ait été sous-entendu; on aurait ainsi même deux Memmiae à compter.

30. En Laconie: M. Clodius (ou Claudius) Agathocles: *IG V 1*, 159 (*SEG*, 11, 1950, 521a); *IG V 1*, 65; *SEG*, 11, 1950, 549 (mais dans ce cas, il est aussi transcrit Claudius); voir *RP II*, LAC 252; Ti. Clodius Ariston: *IG V 1*, 116 (après 166); voir *RP II*, LAC 335; Ti. Clodius Philostratus: *IG V 1*, 116; *RP II*, LAC 336. En Élide: C. Clodius Secundus: *IvO* 57; voir *RP I*, EL 170. En Messénie: C. Clo(dius) Iul(ius) Cleobulus de Coronè: *IG V 1*, 1398; *IvO* 451 et 452; voir *RP I*, EL 169; Clo(dius) Leonas: *SEG* 52, 2002, 385, l. 16; aussi deux Clodii dans une liste du II^e s., mais sans doute comme nom seul, donc non citoyens romains: Clodius fils de Theopompus (*SEG* 52, 2002, 386, l. 3; voir *RP II*, MES 169) et Clodius fils de Cleobulus (*SEG* 52, 2002, 386, l. 4; voir *RP II*, MES 168). En Argolide: à Trézène, [Cl]odius Philiscus (I^{er} s.): *IG IV*, 835; voir *RP I*, ARG 108. Pour le proconsul Clodius Granianus: *PIR*² C, 1166; Groag 1939, cols 58-59; Thomasson 1984, I, no. 28. Sur les Clodii de Délos: voir Ferrary *et alii* 2002, 193. Ce nom apparaît également dans les colonies du Péloponnèse: à Corinthe: *Corinth VIII.1*, no. 15 (137 apr. J.-C.); L. Clodius Arrideus, C. Clodius Philon (*RP I*, COR 194) et L. Clodius Faustianus (*RP I*, COR 197); *Corinth VIII.2*, no. 138: Clodia Polla (*RP I*, COR 188) et *Corinth VIII.2*, no. 160; *AnnÉpig* 1969/70, 587: C. Clodius Secundus (*RP I*, COR 195) et Clodius Thall[---] (*RP I*, COR 196); *Corinth VIII.3*, no. 302: Clodius Granianus (*RP I*, COR 193), Clodius Ephemus (*RP I*, COR 192) et Clodia Homonoia (*RP I*, COR 187), sont sans doute des descendants d'affranchi(s) du gouverneur Clodius Granianus. Le nom est mutilé dans une série d'inscriptions très fragmentaires, voir *RP I*, COR 189, 190 et 196 et 185 ([Cl]odia, I^{er} s.). À Patras: C. Clodius Urbanus (II/III^e s.): *RP I*, ACH 75. Notons que ce gentilice figure aussi à Athènes: voir Woloch 1973, 30-31 et Byrne 2003; et à Thespies: *BCH* 82, 1958, 144 no. 222.

31. *IG V 1*, 116. Il est peu probable qu'il doive sa naturalisation au collecteur des impôts attesté à Corinthe sous Trajan, P. Cornelius Crescens (*Corinth VIII.3*, no. 100); il faut sans doute le rattacher ou plutôt ses ancêtres, au questeur P. Cornelius Scipion, d'époque augustéenne, comme le pensait Box 1931, 211-12; *RP II*, LAC 340.

32. *IG IV*², 652. Voir Mendoni 1996, 189; *RP I*, ARG 114. L'hypothèse pourrait être séduisante surtout quand on connaît le zèle de Nicatas à mettre en place le culte impérial dans sa cité, et si l'on considère que Scipion avait essuyé des réticences dans d'autres villes du Péloponnèse, mais comme l'a montré Salomies, la différence de *prae-nomina* rend le lien difficile.

P. Cornelius Scipion et ce notable pour l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine. Cependant, le *praenomen* n'est pas identique. Il est fort possible que les liens entre les notables argiens et des Cornelii soient plus anciens. Épidaure s'ouvrit très tôt à l'influence romaine, en particulier à celle des Claudii et des Cornelii Dolabellae et accueille au I^{er} s. av. J.-C. des Italiens venus faire des affaires.³³ De plus, d'autres Cornelii de la fin de la République et du début de l'Empire semblent avoir eu des liens avec la Grèce. En effet, un Cn. Cornelius Lentulus fut honoré à Athènes sous Auguste.³⁴ Il est peut-être identique au consul de 18 av. J.-C.³⁵ ou éventuellement à celui de 14 av. J.-C.³⁶ et pourrait être à l'origine de la naturalisation des Cornelii d'Argos, famille dont la réussite sociale trouve son apogée au II^e s. apr. J.-C., en particulier avec la brillante carrière de Cn. Cornelius Pulcher.³⁷ La nomenclature complètement latine de ce dernier invite d'ailleurs à envisager en outre l'existence d'ascendants italiens, les *cognomina* n'étant pas donnés au hasard, mais souvent choisis dans le potentiel onomastique des différentes branches familiales.

Des Cornelii sont aussi attestés à Argos. Deux inscriptions ont été trouvées se rapportant à un magistrat du nom de L. Cornelius Ingenuus, du début de la période impériale.³⁸ Ce personnage présente les *tria nomina* avec un *cognomen* latin, bien que les inscriptions où il paraît soient en grec. Il est possible que L. Cornelius Ingenuus ait eu des ori-

gines italiennes comme L. Cornelius Agathopus attesté à Athènes, dont l'inscription funéraire était en latin.³⁹ Ils pourraient avoir été des affranchis ou des descendants d'affranchis, car même si *Ingenuus* signifie l'ingénu, ce nom fut également porté par des affranchis.⁴⁰ Cependant, un L. Cornelius Lentulus (consul en 3 av. J.-C.), est également attesté à Athènes en 27 av. J.-C. où il fut honoré pour ses vertus.⁴¹ Il est peut-être l'artisan de la naturalisation des Cornelii argiens. D'autres Cornelii, descendants de ces Cornelii du début de l'Empire, sont attestés à Argos aux II^e et III^e siècles apr. J.-C., l'un Corn(eli)us Eucarpus, dans une liste de vainqueurs aux *Pythia* de Delphes au II^e siècle,⁴² l'autre dans un calendrier du II^e/III^e siècle, où étaient consignés les comptes-rendus de la Boulè d'Argos, avec une indication se rapportant à la succession de Corn(eli)us Maecias;⁴³ et un autre, [Cor]nelius Lyceas, dans une liste de magistrats agonistiques du II^e/III^e siècle.⁴⁴ Or parmi eux, Cornelius Maecias pourrait avoir eu des liens avec Corinthe, où les noms Maecia et Maecianus sont attestés. Ces Cornelii de la colonie portent le *praenomen* Q(uintus) et descendent peut-être du poète Q. Maecius.⁴⁵ Cornelius Maecias est peut-être un descendant de cette famille.

Parmi les Cornelii de Corinthe, sans doute d'époque augustéenne, certains semblent davantage appartenir au milieu des *negotiatores*. Ainsi, l'épouse du chevalier romain Sex. Olius Secundus est une Cornelia M(arci) f(ilia) et ce *praenomen* est attesté

33. Sur les liens des Cornelii Dolabellae avec la Grèce, nous savons que Cn. Cornelius P. f. Dolabella, consul en 81 av. J.-C. fut proconsul de Macédoine de 80 à 77 (Broughton 1952, 74. 84. 89). Il prit son poste trois ans après que Sylla (Broughton 1952, 557) ait été lui-même proconsul en Grèce, Macédoine et Asie. Un des descendants du consul de 81, P. Cornelius P. f. Dolabella, fut honoré à Athènes comme préteur; il s'agit peut-être du consul de 10 apr. J.-C. (*PIR*² C, 1348; Woloch 1973, 35 no. C) ou de son père (*PIR*² C, 1345). En réalité, il ne faut pas écarter de lien entre P. Cornelius Scipion et Cn. Cornelius Nicatas, car si le questeur et celui qui fut à l'origine de la naturalisation de Nicatas faisaient bien partie du même réseau familial, Nicatas s'était placé sous le patronage des Cornelii et avait eu à coeur d'aider Scipion dans sa mission de promotion du culte impérial. Tous deux pouvaient y trouver un bénéfice: Scipion menait à bien sa mission et Nicatas ménageait pour sa famille des possibilités d'ascension.

34. *CIL* III, 585.

35. *PIR*² C, 1378. Voir Box 1931, 211-12; Woloch 1973, 35 no. D.

36. *PIR*² C, 1379. Voir Woloch 1973, 35 no. E.

37. Sur ce personnage, voir *RPI*, COR 228.

38. *IG* IV, 607 et *SEG* 13, 1956, 244. Voir *RPI*, ARG 111.

39. *CIL* III, 7293. Voir Woloch 1973, no. B.

40. Voir Kajanto 1965, 314.

41. *IG* III, 586 = *IG* II-III², 4134. Voir *PIR*² C, 1386; Woloch 1973, 35 no. G.

42. *IG* VII, 4151, ll. 4-6.

43. *RPI*, ARG 113.

44. *SEG* 16, 1959, 253, l. 4.

45. *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 124 (+ *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 321); no. 125; *Corinth* VIII.3, nos 278; 283; 345; 374.

dans le milieu des Cornélii, marchands italiens établis à Athènes.⁴⁶

Il était aussi possible aux adjoints du proconsul ou du légat de l'empereur d'intervenir en faveur de provinciaux ayant rendu des services ou s'étant signalé par leurs capacités et leur amitié envers Rome. Ainsi, la concession de la citoyenneté romaine à la famille de P. Caninius Agrippa,⁴⁷ procureur d'Achaïe, n'est sans doute pas dûe à l'intervention directe d'Octavien-Auguste, comme ce fut le cas pour Euryclès – sinon il aurait porté le gentilice de Iulius –, ni grâce au patronage direct d'Agrippa – sinon il se serait appelé Vipsanius –, mais peut-être d'un de ses adjoints portant le gentilice Caninius. Il est possible qu'un premier contact ait été établi dès 51 av. J.-C. entre la famille de notre procureur et celle des Caninii Galli. En effet, Cicéron a signalé la présence en même temps que lui à Athènes à cette date, de L. Caninius Gallus, tribun de la plèbe en 56 av. J.-C., un des amis de Pompée qu'il accepta de défendre,⁴⁸ et qui est peut-être le même que celui qui fut honoré par la cité d'Épidaure.⁴⁹ Ce L. Caninius Gallus pourrait être également le père du consul homonyme de 37 av. J.-C.⁵⁰ Or ce consul est connu pour avoir eu des liens avec Agrippa à savoir qu'ils occupèrent ensemble le consulat en 37 av. J.-C. Peut-être Agrippa a-t-il pris pour adjoint un membre d'une branche cadette de cette famille, lors de ses déplacements. Cela expliquerait la différence de *praenomina*. En outre, cette parenté

pourrait être confirmée par le fait qu'un descendant de P. Caninius Agrippa à Corinthe porte précisément le *praenomen* L(ucius).⁵¹ L'intercession d'un magistrat de rang inférieur, mais appartenant à une famille influente, correspondrait assez bien aux services rendus par Alexiades, le père de P. Caninius Agrippa, pour le ravitaillement de l'armée d'Octavien avant la bataille d'Actium de 31 av. J.-C. et qui furent sans doute à l'origine de la faveur d'Alexiades et de sa famille. L'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine a pu intervenir en remerciement des services rendus d'où le nom Caninius en référence au patronage de Caninius Gallus. Le *cognomen* Agrippa fut choisi pour le fils d'Alexiades en hommage à Agrippa avec lequel les liens se trouvèrent probablement renforcés par sa présence à Corinthe à deux reprises (vers 23/2, puis vers 15 av. J.-C.).⁵² Signe de la faveur dont bénéficièrent Alexiades et son fils, ce dernier devint chevalier romain et fut promu procureur. Les deux inscriptions de Corinthe mentionnant sa procuratèle, le désignent comme *P(ublius) Alexiadae f(ilius) Caninius Agrippa*, ce qui fit douter de la naturalisation d'Alexiades. Mais on ne doit pas oublier que, pour les Grecs, ce qui importait dans la nomenclature c'était la filiation, attestant du statut libre du personnage qui la présentait, et il arrivait assez souvent que les néo-citoyens romains d'origine grecque n'utilisent pas le *praenomen* paternel, n'ayant pas de signification concrète pour eux, mais le nom grec de leur père, même si celui-ci était aussi citoyen romain.⁵³

46. *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 152. *RPI*, COR 203. Sur son époux, le chevalier, voir Demougin 1992, p. 172; *RPI*, COR 445. Voir Woloch 1973, 34 no. A = Byrne 2003, 204 no. 5: M. Cornelius de Phalère, reçu au milieu du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. la citoyenneté athénienne. Voir Spawforth 1996, 176.

47. Ce personnage (*PIR*² C, 387; voir *RP I*, ACH 64) est connu par une inscription de Pellène, dont il est probablement originaire (voir ci-dessous n. 56) et il fut *duumvir* de la colonie de Corinthe en 16/7 ou 21/2 apr. J.-C. (*RP I*, COR 135). La communauté des Romains de Pellène s'associe à l'hommage rendu à l'évergète héréditaire. Un lien existe donc entre cette famille et la communauté romaine, peut-être matérialisé par une alliance matrimoniale, mais on ne peut le confirmer.

48. Accusé probablement de *de ambitu*, il fut condamné, et sans doute exilé pour une période de dix ans. Cic., *Fam.*, 7, 1, 4; Val. Max., 4, 2, 6. Voir David 1992, 803 et s.

49. Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 8, 3. *IG IV*, 1410b. Voir F. Münzer, *RE III 2* (1899) 1477, s.v. Caninius [3]; également Box 1932, 167-68. Il est cependant impossible de suivre F. Münzer, *RE Suppl. I* (1903) 273 s.v. Caninius [3], dans l'hypothèse selon laquelle L. Caninius Gallus aurait été proconsul d'Achaïe; rien ne l'atteste, ni Cicéron, ni l'inscription d'Épidaure trop mutilée pour cela; voir Groag 1939, col. 5.

50. Broughton 1952, 395; *PIR*² C, 389; David 1992, 823-24. Son fils homonyme fut consul en 2 av. J.-C. (*PIR*² C, 390), mais n'a exercé aucune fonction en Grèce.

51. L. Caninius Agrippa fut *duumvir* de la colonie en 68/9 apr. J.-C.; voir *RPI*, COR 134.

52. Comme on le voit dans la Table de Banasa, la procédure pouvait durer plusieurs années, voir Seston, Euzennat 1961 et 1971, mais il s'agit de tribus, dans le cas de Grecs, la procédure ne devait pas être si longue.

53. Voir la mise au point Rizakis 1996.

Ce cas de figure s'est produit à Corinthe pour un autre procurateur, plus connu que Caninius Agrippa, C. Iulius Spartiaticus, *Laconis f(ilius), Euryclis n(epos)*, fils de Laco et petit-fils d'Eurycles de Sparte.⁵⁴ On date la procuratèle d'Agrippa soit du règne d'Auguste, soit plus tardivement sous le règne de Claude (peut-être même déjà sous Caligula), c'est-à-dire, soit avant, soit après qu'il eut accompli une carrière complète à Corinthe, s'il est bien identique au *duumvir* attesté au début du règne de Tibère.⁵⁵ Notons que le procurateur porte une nomenclature totalement latinisée, indicateur d'une forte implication au service de Rome et révélateur sans doute aussi de liens familiaux avec des Italiens installés dans le Péloponnèse; dans le cas d'Agrippa, il s'agirait de liens avec la communauté italienne de Pellène.⁵⁶ Il y a d'autres cas de Grecs romanisés et devenus Romains, au I^{er} siècle, dont les origines grecques connues par ailleurs disparaissent sous une onomastique totalement latine: Cn. Cornelius Pulcher d'Épidaure ou Ti. Iulius Claudianus d'Argos, dont le nom est formé de celui des deux *gentes* dont il est issu.⁵⁷

Le *nomen* Caninius fut aussi diffusé dans d'autres régions du Péloponnèse, comme à Sparte. Cependant, les personnages attestés appartiennent presque tous au II^e s. apr. J.-C. et il est beaucoup plus difficile de les rattacher aux Caninii de la fin de la période républicaine et du début de l'Em-

pire.⁵⁸ Certains d'entre eux sont peut-être redevables de l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine à un autre magistrat romain, L. [Ca]ninius Sextius Florentinus, questeur d'Achaïe attesté sous le règne de Trajan.⁵⁹ Pour le Spartiate Cn. Caninius Pollias, de l'époque d'Hadrien, il est beaucoup plus difficile de trancher en raison du *praenomen* qu'il porte.⁶⁰

L'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine à titre viritaine impliquait d'avoir des contacts avec des Romains influents. Le réseau de relations présentait donc un atout fondamental. Une série d'intermédiaires pouvaient agir jusqu'à Rome pour obtenir le brevet de naturalisation. Être parmi les *amici* du gouverneur ou avoir des contacts avec son entourage pouvait se révéler fondamental. Ainsi des gens bien placés à Corinthe pouvaient intervenir auprès des autorités pour diverses affaires dont celles liées aux demandes de naturalisation. Nous connaissons au moins deux exemples de citoyens de Corinthe ayant servi d'intermédiaires, le premier L. Licinius Anterus de Corinthe devint proxène de Méthana en 1/2 apr. J.-C., parce qu'«il s'est montré serviable pour nos concitoyens chaque fois qu'ils avaient besoin de ses services, accueillant avec bienveillance, lorsqu'il habitait à Corinthe, nos magistrats successifs et tous ceux de nos concitoyens qui s'y trouvaient en déplacement, faisant pour

54. *Corinth VIII.2*, no. 68: *C. Iulio Laconis f. l Euryclis n. Fab. Spartiat[ico, l p]rocuratori Caesaris et Augustae Agrippinae* etc. Dans cette inscription, le rappel du nom d'Eurycles et de celui de Laco furent jugés plus évocateurs que le rappel du *praenomen* Gaius qui eût normalement convenu.

55. Le *duumvir* est connu par le monnayage (Amandry 1988, 75 et s.); S. Demougin (1992, no. 494) pense qu'il peut s'agir d'un frère du procurateur. Il est indiqué qu'il est *procurator Caesaris Augusti prouinc(iae) Achaiae* (*Corinth VIII.2*, nos 65 et 66). Le prince en question peut être n'importe lequel des Julio-claudiens (H.-G. Pflaum, *Carrières*, 1070 avait opté pour le règne d'Auguste), mais la mention du nom de la province n'est en général signalée, comme l'a souligné Pflaum lui-même, qu'à partir du règne de Claude (Demougin 1992, no. 494). Notons que la dame qui élève sa statue à Corinthe, Grania Quinta, était peut-être issue du milieu des *negotiatores* de la colonie (voir Spawforth 1996, 176-77) et pourrait être apparentée à un autre procurateur, Q. Granius Bassus (Demougin 1992, 413-14 no. 501).

56. *SEG* 11, 1950, 1269 = *AnnÉpigr* 1934, 163. P. Caninius Agrippa est qualifié d'évergète héréditaire dans un hommage rendu par la communauté des résidents romains et la cité de Pellène. Voir Rizakis 2008a, 266-67 no. 193.

57. *RPI*, ARG 116 et 144. Voir Zoumbaki 2008, 153. Notons que le *cognomen* Pulcher, le Beau ou le Noble, est attaché à la *gens* Clodia/Claudia, dont le patronage en Grèce est bien attesté. Pour ce qui est de Ti. Iulius Claudianus (*RPI*, ARG 144), son père est Ti. Iulius Sianthos (*RPI*, ARG 153) et sa mère Claudia Laphanta (*RP I*, ARG 76). Le *cognomen* Claudianus est donc forgé sur le gentilice maternel.

58. Box 1932, 168.

59. Sur ce questeur, voir Groag 1939, cols 116-17. Les Caninii connus à Sparte sont les suivants: Caninius Aristonicus (*RP II*, LAC 210, milieu II^e s.); Caninius Euporus, fils d'Aristonicus (LAC 211 peut être identique à LAC 208, dont l'inscription est très mutilée, milieu II^e s.); L. Can[i]ni[us] ---]das (*RP II*, LAC 209). On y ajoute le Cn. Caninius Pollias (*RP II*, LAC 212).

60. La lecture du nom ne fait aucun doute, *SEG*, 11, 1950, 489, l. 1 (voir Bradford 1977, 347). Il est peut-être un descendant d'un Caninius du début de l'Empire, par une branche cadette, auquel cas le *praenomen* a peut-être changé.

tous ce qu'il avait à faire et intervenant, comme il convient, pour tous ceux qui avaient besoin de lui ...». ⁶¹ L'autre cas est celui de Iunia Theodora, d'origine lycienne, qui intervint en 43 apr. J.-C., pour les Lyciens venant commercer à Corinthe. ⁶²

De même, certains Romains influents devaient posséder des domaines dans le Péloponnèse et ont pu servir d'intermédiaires en vue de l'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine. Nous connaissons le cas de M. Pompeius Macrinus Neos Theophanes, consul de l'époque de Trajan, qui était peut-être en possession de terres dans les environs de Tégée et a pu intervenir pour l'un de ses clients qui porte le nom de M. Pompeius Eisas Aelianus. ⁶³

D'autre part, les notables provinciaux pouvaient aussi passer par les réseaux d'influence de Romains ayant résidé en Achaïe pour leur facilité l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine. Ainsi, dans le cercle des amis haut placés de Plutarque, on peut trouver des indices. Les Q. Sossii de Laconie, Q. Sossius Nicocrates, nomophylaque sous Hadrien, ⁶⁴ et Q. Sossius Epaphroditus, attesté sous Antonin, ⁶⁵ et les descendants de celui (ou ceux) attesté(s) en Élide, au III^e s. apr. J.-C., ⁶⁶ eurent très vraisemblablement accès à la naturalisation grâce à Q. Sossius Senecio, consul en 99 apr. J.-C., un des amis de Plutarque, qui fut questeur en Achaïe sous Domitien et résida longtemps en Grèce. ⁶⁷

L'ampleur de la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine et essai d'appréciation de l'action individuelle des empereurs

Dans son *Éloge de Rome*, Aelius Aristide rend compte de l'importance de la citoyenneté romaine

comme élément central de l'intégration et de la romanisation: «Il n'y a plus de Grecs et de Barbares, et la distinction que vous faites n'est pas absurde puisque votre cité est, on peut le dire, plus peuplée que l'ensemble de la race grecque, mais vous y avez substitué une division entre Romains et non Romains, si grande est la hauteur à laquelle vous avez élevé le nom de votre cité...». ⁶⁸ Il précise également: «Ni les mers ni les terres ne sont un obstacle sur la route de la citoyenneté romaine, l'Europe et l'Asie ne sont pas traitées différemment; nul n'est étranger s'il mérite une charge ou la confiance». ⁶⁹ A. N. Sherwin-White semble le croire et soutient que la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine se fit sans cesse croissante. ⁷⁰ Si cette analyse est valable pour les provinces occidentales de l'Empire romain, il faut la revoir pour les provinces hellénophones, et ici pour le Péloponnèse.

Les empereurs octroyèrent la citoyenneté romaine dans le Péloponnèse d'abord à ceux qui s'étaient distingués par la vertu de leur courage au service de l'empereur. Le cas le plus connu est celui d'Eurycles et il en résulte que l'on compte beaucoup de Iulii en Laconie, car sa descendance en bénéficia, mais la clientèle de la famille à Sparte et dans les régions du Péloponnèse où elle établit des liens de patronage, fut aussi favorisée tout au long des I^{er} et II^e siècles. Toutefois ce n'est que sous Claude ou Néron que d'autres notables spartiates, en particulier les membres de la famille descendant du fameux général Brasidas, accédèrent à la citoyenneté romaine. ⁷¹ La situation politique dominante et assez particulière de C. Iulius Eurycles constitua au début sans doute un frein à l'accès des autres familles de notables à la citoyenneté

61. IG IV, 853, trad. R. Baladié 1980, p. 314. RP I, ARG 164.

62. Robert 1960, 324. RP I, COR 359.

63. IG V 2, 151. Sur Pompeius Macrinus Neos Theophanes: PIR² P, 628. Sur Pompeius Eisas Aelianus, voir Spawforth 1985, 223; Rizakis 2009.

64. IG V 1, 102 (SEG 11, 1950, 579); SEG 11, 1950, 544. Voir Bradford 1977, 308 no. 10; RP II LAC 687.

65. SEG, 11, 1950, 620. Voir Bradford 1977, 148 no. 8; RP II, LAC 688.

66. Un Soss(ius) Stephanus figure dans une liste du milieu du III^e s. apr. J.-C. (IvO 121, l. 12); l'autre n'est pas identifiable: on ne peut que restituer en partie le gentilice, le reste a disparu (IvO 120, l. 10); peut-être s'agit-il du même personnage, voir RP I, EL 324.

67. Voir Box 1932, 171. Sur Q. Sosius Senecio: Plut., *Mor.*, *Quaest. conv.* 2, 3; 4, 3, 1. Voir PIR² S, 777; Groag 1939, cols 44-45; Jones 1970, 98-104; *id.* 1972, 54-56; Halfmann 1979, 211; B. Puech, «Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque», ANRW, II 33. 6, 1992, 4883. Voir RP II, LAC 688.

68. Aristid., *En l'honneur de Rome*, 63.

69. *Op. cit.*, 59.

70. Sherwin-White, 1973a et 1973b.

71. Sur les Claudii de Sparte, voir Spawforth 1985, 224-44.

romaine. Cet élargissement, volonté globale de ces deux empereurs, coïncida aussi avec la disgrâce de l'un des membres des Euryclides et sans doute aussi la volonté de rééquilibrage politique au sein de la cité et même au-delà. Notons d'ailleurs qu'en ce domaine, les empereurs successifs continuèrent d'accorder, si ce n'est une confiance aveugle, du moins le pardon, aux membres de cette famille dont les débordements dépassèrent souvent le cadre de la province d'Achaïe.⁷² Ainsi, une évergésie faite à Messène sans doute au milieu du I^{er} siècle, dans le cadre du culte impérial, et inscrite sur l'un des métopes du gymnase d'époque romaine, est tout à fait symptomatique de leur influence politique et sociale tentaculaire. Mais l'effacement du nom de l'évergète, l'un des descendants d'Eurycles à coup sûr, que l'on identifie avec difficulté, traduit une certaine forme d'opposition de la part de la cité concernée.⁷³

L'Arcadie compte aussi un nombre relativement important de Iulii. Les plus anciennement attestés, sont présents à Mantinée: deux d'entre eux vivaient au I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. Il s'agit de deux notables, C. Iulius Strobilus et son épouse Iulia Eudia.⁷⁴ Cette dernière fit l'objet d'un décret honorifique pris par les prêtres d'Asclépios, en raison de ses bienfaits envers le sanctuaire. Les époux portaient le même gentilice qu'ils ont sans doute pris en même temps, quand ils ont reçu la citoyenneté romaine. Ils ont sans doute bénéficié de la faveur de l'empereur Auguste. De fait, il est important de rappeler que Mantinée fut l'une des seules cités du Péloponnèse avec Sparte, à avoir pris le parti d'Octavien contre Antoine. En revanche, les Iulii

sont moins nombreux en Élide et en Argolide.⁷⁵ À Argos, des Ti. Iulii se firent remarquer au II^e/III^e siècle par leur évergétisme. Ils descendaient probablement d'Argiens ayant eu la faveur de Tibère. Une autre famille de notables argiens très riche est celle des C. Iulii, dont deux d'entre eux, le père C. Iulius Philippus, et le fils C. Iulius L[---], furent tous deux chevaliers romains.⁷⁶ Le fils reçut une statue alors qu'il était gymnasiarque et il est rappelé qu'il fut stratège d'Argos, agonothète des *Sebastea* et *Nemea*, et également patron de Méthone en Messénie, où cette statue fut érigée.

L'abondance des gentilices impériaux, Iulius et Claudius en tête, s'explique en partie parce que les Julio-claudiens octroyèrent assez largement la citoyenneté romaine. Il faut bien sûr nuancer cette appréciation par la présence de clients des Iulii et des Claudii, qui prirent le gentilice de leur patron, les affranchis également, sans oublier que les descendants des premiers Iulii et des premiers Claudii apparaissent également dans les listes. Il y a aussi les clients des gouverneurs romains porteurs de ces gentilices impériaux, en poste surtout sous les Antonins, qui servirent d'intermédiaires et qui ont pu aussi transmettre ensuite leur gentilice Iulius ou Claudius. Ainsi, si l'on prend le cas des Iulii de Tégée, dont aucun n'est attesté avant le II^e s. apr. J.-C., ce gentilice provient plutôt du gentilice des gouverneurs ou d'autres officiels romains en poste dans la province. Or, au moins cinq proconsuls d'Achaïe ont aussi porté ce gentilice, dont quatre sous Trajan et Hadrien.⁷⁷ En effet, il semble que la cité connut un véritable épanouissement au II^e siècle,

72. Voir notre mise au point dans Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2007b.

73. *AnnÉpigr* 1998, 1253 a-d; *AnnÉpigr* 2000, 1339; *SEG* 50, 2000, 426.

74. *IG V* 2, 269; 270. Parmi les dons de cette dame, six plèthres de vigne, soit un peu plus d'un demi hectare. Voir Jost 1984, 125; 504-06; *RPI*, ARC 110 (C. Iulius Strobilus) et ARC 91 (Iulia Eudia).

75. On n'en compte que six en Élide et une petite dizaine en Argolide. Élide: C. Iulius Sostratus (*RPI*, EL 241) et sa fille Iulia Hapla (*RPI*, EL 226), trois autres Iulii apparaissent dans des listes où leurs noms sont mutilés (*RPI*, EL 231, 232, 237) et Iulius Agrippa (*RPI*, EL 233), stratège du *koinon* (il n'est pas certain qu'il soit Éléen). Notons que Iulia Chrysareta est vraisemblablement spartiate (*RPI*, EL 227). Argolide: on trouve trois C. Iulii: Capito (*RPI*, ARG 143) et Maximus (*RPI*, ARG 150) qui apparaissent dans la même inscription datée du I^{er} siècle et un plus tardif, C. Iulius Poplas (*RPI*, ARG 151); et quatre Ti. Iulii: Sianthes (*RPI*, ARG 144) et son fils Claudianus, ayant des liens matrimoniaux avec les Cornelii argiens (cf. *RPI*, appendice p. 531 *stemma* IV) et deux noms incomplets (*RPI*, ARG 147 du II^e/III^e s. et ARG 110 à la lecture fort aléatoire).

76. *IG V* 1, 1417. Ce C. Iulius L[---] est peut-être identique à celui dont le nom figure sur une tuile et est cité à la note précédente (*RPI*, ARG 147), ce qui confirmerait son origine argienne. C. Iulius Philippus: *RPI* II, MES 227 (le lien avec le Iulius Philippus de Tralles est on ne peut plus hypothétique, Philippus étant un nom fort courant) et son fils: *RPI* II, MES 225.

77. Il s'agit de: L. Iulius Marinus Caecilus Simplex, proconsul en 99/100 ou 101/02 (Groag 1939, cols 52-54; *PIR*² I, 408; Thomasson 1984, I, no. 22); C. Iulius Severus, proconsul vers 133/34 (Groag 1939, cols 66-68; *PIR*² I, 573; Thomasson

en raison de la richesse de son terroir, surtout en matière d'élevage, et aussi par sa position de carrefour routier au cœur du Péloponnèse.⁷⁸ L'abondance des inscriptions de cette époque atteste de cette prospérité. L'absence de tel ou tel gentilice dans une région ou une cité peut aussi s'expliquer par le statut de la cité et son rôle sous l'Empire. Ainsi, Mégalopolis se compte aucun Iulius jusqu'à présent et cette absence si elle peut provenir d'une carence épigraphique peut aussi trouver des facteurs historiques.⁷⁹ En effet, cette cité perdit sous Auguste sa place de capitale fédérale, devint sujette (cité stipendiaria) et connut à un exode urbain. L'échec du synoecisme permit à certains noyaux de retrouver une existence propre comme Lycosoura. Dans ce cas, comme dans d'autres, l'influence de Sparte face à son ancienne rivale, favorisa ce mouvement et l'on voit des familles spartiates intervenir dans la restauration du temple de Despoina à Lycosoura et contribuer à faire revivre le sanctuaire.⁸⁰

Le patronage des Claudii révèle son importance à travers la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine dans le Péloponnèse. Le jeune Tibère (avant son accès au trône), Claude et Néron ont joué un rôle important dans l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine.⁸¹ En Élide, le nombre des Claudii dépasse très largement le nombre des Aurelii.⁸² C'est le gentilice le plus fréquent de cette région: S. Zoumbaki en relève quarante-deux.⁸³ Ce n'est guère étonnant car la présence de Tibère à Olympie avant son adop-

tion par Auguste⁸⁴ explique qu'il ait demandé et obtenu la citoyenneté romaine pour Apollonios, fils d'Apollonios, qui devint Ti. Claudius Apollonios.⁸⁵ Sous le règne de Tibère, il est possible que Germanicus, son fils adoptif, ait joué également un rôle à Olympie, mais ce serait, selon S. Zoumbaki qui évoque plusieurs hypothèses, par le biais de sa mère Antonia la Jeune, qu'il pourrait avoir permis à Pisanus d'accéder à la citoyenneté romaine et de devenir M. Antonius Pisanus.⁸⁶ Ce serait une voie un peu détournée pour accéder à la citoyenneté romaine. Il serait préférable de privilégier le rattachement de cet octroi à une date antérieure, en retenant la possibilité de l'intervention directe de Marc Antoine. Le Péloponnèse avait massivement pris parti de ce général avant Actium et Marc Antoine aurait alors pu faire cette concession pour récompenser des services rendus à l'un des membres de cette famille. Auguste a ensuite mené une politique de réconciliation. Le lien affiché entre Pisanus et Germanicus peut alors s'expliquer par le fait que ce dernier aurait poursuivi le patronage familial (après tout Germanicus est petit-fils d'Antoine) exercé sur cette famille éléenne, avide de monter un attachement à un jeune Romain tout à fait en vue alors.⁸⁷

Par ailleurs, il faut aussi compter sur le rôle de Claude et la présence de Néron à Olympie où il reçut un accueil enthousiaste qui valut à ses hôtes zélés, Agias et son fils Lyson l'octroi de la citoyenneté romaine.⁸⁸ Ti. Claudius Agias épouse Gegania

1984, I, no. 31); C. Iulius Scapula, proconsul vers 135/36 (Groag 1939, cols 68-69; *PIR*² I, 553; Thomasson 1984, I, no. 32); et de Iulius Candidus, proconsul vers 135/37 (Groag 1939, cols 69-70; *PIR*² I, 233; Thomasson 1984, I, no. 33) et L. Iulius Iulianus (*PIR*² I, 367; Thomasson 1984, I, no. 46), ce dernier ayant été en poste sous Septime Sévère.

78. Cette position fit de Tégée une ville de relais pour le *cursus publicus*, la poste impériale.

79. Voir Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, 211.

80. Voir dans le présent ouvrage l'article Jost, Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, spécialement n. 67.

81. Sen., *Apocol.*, 3; Suet., *Claud.*, 25, 3; Cass. Dio LX. 17, 4-8. Voir aussi Rizakis 2007.

82. Voir Zoumbaki 1996, 196.

83. *Ead.* 2001, 186-87.

84. Tibère s'appelle Ti. Claudius Nero; après son adoption par Auguste, il est désormais membre de la *gens Iulia* et s'appelle Ti. Iulius Nero. S'il octroie alors la citoyenneté romaine sous le nom de Iulius, c'est après son avènement, en qualité d'empereur et non plus comme intermédiaire.

85. *RPI*, EL 138.

86. *RPI*, EL 41. Ce personnage fit une dédicace pour fêter la victoire de Germanicus aux Jeux (*IvO* 221); argument que Zoumbaki 2001, no. 99, utilise pour exclure l'intervention de Marc Antoine dans cet octroi.

87. Cette dédicace (note précédente) destinée à fêter la victoire de Germanicus (héritier désigné de Tibère aux côtés du fils de celui-ci Drusus le Jeune comme l'avait voulu Auguste) peut aussi être interprétée dans l'autre sens: la famille d'Antoine a poursuivi le patronage mis en place et M. Antonius Pisanus a eu à cœur de saluer la victoire de Germanicus, descendant d'Antoine, mais désormais bien en vue à la cour. Il n'y avait plus de danger alors à rappeler de tels liens, bien au contraire. Pour cette hypothèse: Kaplan 1990, 258-59; Lafond 2006, 163.

88. Suet., *Nero.*, 24, 2; Cass. Dio LXII. 14, 1. Sur Ti. Claudius Agias et Ti. Claudius Lyso, *IvO* 432; voir Zoumbaki 2001, 299-300; *RPI*, EL 136 et 155.

Paulla, sans doute une descendante de famille d'hommes d'affaires installés à Élis. Les résidents italiens se mêlèrent assez vite à ces nouveaux citoyens romains, par le biais d'alliances matrimoniales; l'exemple le plus représentatif est celui des Vetuleni, étudié par S. Zoumbaki, riches résidents italiens qui s'intégrèrent parfaitement à la société éléenne romanisée, assumèrent des fonctions, en particulier religieuses, dans le sanctuaire de Zeus.⁸⁹ L'un d'entre eux, L. Vetulenus Laetus, parvint à la fin du règne de Domitien à entrer dans l'ordre équestre et à faire au moins une milice équestre.⁹⁰ Ce phénomène favorisa l'ascension de familles de notables grecs ouverts à la romanité ou devenus romains et encouragés à une participation active à l'Empire, soit localement en développant le culte impérial, soit à l'échelle provinciale, soit encore en accédant aux ordres majeurs de Rome.

Les Claudii furent également très nombreux en Laconie. La concession de la citoyenneté romaine à des membres de la famille descendant du fameux général Brasidas se fit sous Claude ou Néron, compensant à Sparte, le déséquilibre engendré par la domination des Euryclides dans la cité.⁹¹ Le premier Spartiate à entrer ensuite au Sénat fut un Iulius, descendant d'Eurycles; il fut suivi cinquante ans plus tard par un Claudius, descendant de la famille de Brasidas, mais certainement aussi d'Eurycles par le biais d'alliances matrimoniales.

Les Ti. Claudii de Messène eurent également un brillant destin. Deux familles se distinguent, qui furent sans doute apparentées l'une à l'autre. Leur

richesse et leurs influences leur permirent d'accéder aux ordres supérieurs de l'Empire. La première de ces familles reçut la citoyenneté romaine probablement sous le règne de Claude, le premier d'entre eux étant Ti. Claudius Theo, fils de Niceratus.⁹² Le nom récurrent est celui de Saethida. L'on parvient ainsi à remonter jusqu'à la basse époque hellénistique pour trouver des traces de cette famille.⁹³ Sous le règne de Néron, Ti. Claudius Saethida, qui pourrait bien être son fils, est qualifié sur la base de statue qu'il dédia à Néron, du titre de *philocaesar* et participa activement aux manifestations du culte impérial sans que cet engagement soit délétère pour la promotion sociale de la famille malgré la condamnation de la mémoire de Néron.⁹⁴ En effet, son action entraînait parfaitement dans les manifestations de loyauté envers le régime. Ce fut Ti. Claudius Frontinus, fils de Caelianus, qui fut le premier de sa famille à entrer au Sénat et parvint au consulat sous le règne d'Antonin.⁹⁵ Nous pensons que cette famille se serait liée très vite à des notables athéniens pourvus de la citoyenneté romaine, T. Varius Caelianus, beau-père d'Aemilius Iuncus (*cos* 127), qui auraient pu transmettre le surnom Caelianus.⁹⁶ En outre, le patronage d'Aemilius Iuncus aurait pu ensuite jouer un rôle dans la promotion de cette famille messénienne. Une autre alliance peut aussi être perceptible avec l'apport du nom Frontinus dans l'onomastique du premier sénateur: il pourrait avoir eu pour mère Calpurnia Frontina sœur utérine du chevalier Cornelius Pulcher, qui fut ami de Plutarque. Cette Cal-

89. Zoumbaki 1993, 1994 et 1998/99. Voir aussi *ead.* 2001, 190: liste de tous les gentilices attestés en Élide. Sur les composantes italiennes des grandes familles du Péloponnèse sous l'Empire, voir Spawforth 2002.

90. *IvO* 436-37. Voir Devijver 1977, V, 86; *RP* I, EL 339; Spawforth 2002, 105 no. 7.

91. Voir Spawforth 1985, 224 et s.

92. Ti. Claudius Theo: *RP* II, MES 161 (octroi sous le règne de Claude selon Habicht) et Ti. Claudius Saethida (Caelianus?): *RP* II, MES 155 (sous règne de Néron), *RP* II, appendice p. 592 *stemma* XVI. Ti. Claudius Frontinus: *PIR*² C, 872; *RP* II, MES 142.

93. *SEG* 39, 1989, 383.

94. *SEG* 41, 1991, 353 = *AnnÉpigr* 1993, 1413. Voir *RP* II, MES 155; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2007a, 248-49; Kantiréa 2007, 165-66.

95. *RP* II, MES 142. Il entra au Sénat sous Hadrien et fut consul au milieu du II^e siècle, sous Antonin le Pieux. Les fils de Frontinus, Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus II et Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus (*RP* II, MES 150 et 157) entrèrent à leur tour au Sénat. Voir Camia 2008, 30-35.

96. Le gentilice Caelius est connu à Athènes à la fin du I^{er} siècle (Woloch 1973, 22 nos 1-3: Q. Caelius Honoratus, Q. Caelius Thalys et Caelia Data) et le surnom est porté par un notable du début du II^e siècle, T. Varius Caelianus, «diadoque» d'une école philosophique à Athènes, père de Varia Athenais, qui épousa Aemilius Iuncus, le légat extraordinaire d'Achaïe, consul en 127 (Follet 1976, 32-33; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 780). On peut envisager une alliance matrimoniale entre Ti. Claudius Saethida et une sœur ou une parente de T. Varius Caelianus, d'où la transmission ensuite de ce *cognomen* dans la famille d'origine messénienne.

purmia Frontina, née d'un second lit et bien plus jeune que lui, lui éleva une statue à Corinthe.⁹⁷ Quant au père de Ti. Claudius Frontinus, Ti. Claudius Saethidas Caelianus, grand-prêtre des Hellènes, il fut successeur de Pulcher à cette fonction. On ne s'étonnera plus de l'entrée au Sénat du neveu d'un chevalier romain si bien engagé, dans son implication sociale et politique, au service de l'Empire. Ce sénateur poursuivit le jeu des alliances matrimoniales en épousant Cornelia Cethegilla, issue de vénérables familles sénatoriales italiennes, également liée aux Pompeii sénatoriaux originaires de Mytilène.⁹⁸

L'autre famille, dont l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine doit sans doute se rattacher au règne de Néron, parvint à l'ordre équestre au tournant du I^{er} et du II^e s. apr. J.-C.: Ti. Claudius Crispianus, fils d'Aristomenes et de Gemonia [---], grand prêtre des *Sebastoi*, probablement helladarque, devint chevalier et exerça des milices équestres.⁹⁹ Comme l'a très bien montré A. Spawforth, sa mère était probablement descendante d'hommes d'affaires romains installés en Grèce.¹⁰⁰ Sa fortune lui permit de faire preuve d'évergétisme au point d'être considéré comme un Nouvel Épaminondas. Les Claudii sont également nombreux en Arcadie, comme en Argolide par rapport à l'ensemble des attestations de *nomina*.

La catégorie sociale qui bénéficia de l'octroi de la citoyenneté des empereurs julio-claudiens fut d'abord celle des notables locaux. Nous savons que l'administration romaine, surtout au début de l'Empire, n'avait pas les moyens de déployer dans les provinces un personnel abondant. Cela explique

que les notables locaux furent les premiers à avoir le privilège de l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine. Cet octroi permettait aux premiers empereurs de s'assurer leur coopération et leur soutien.

Il semble cependant, qu'après un octroi assez large de la citoyenneté romaine, les Flaviens et les Antonins furent moins généreux dans le Péloponnèse. Ils se contentèrent de donner la citoyenneté romaine aux nouvelles familles qui émergeaient de la scène politique des cités du Péloponnèse, car les Flavii, mais surtout les Ulpii et les Aelii sont moins bien représentés que les autres *nomina*.

Au moins deux familles de Flavii émergent à Messène, les Flavii Cleophanti au I^{er} siècle et, au II^e siècle, les Flavii Polybii, qui prétendaient descendre de l'historien Polybe.¹⁰¹ La continuité du pouvoir entre les deux dynasties est remarquable, car Cleophantus, fils d'Aristeus s'était fait remarqué en qualité de *philocaesar*, de prêtre de Néron et de Rome, ce qui permit à son fils d'obtenir la citoyenneté romaine sous un des empereurs flaviens.¹⁰² Une liste d'éphèbes datée de 177 apr. J.-C. atteste l'existence d'un minimum de cinq Flavii (sur 21 noms d'éphèbes plus ou moins lisibles).¹⁰³ On note une relative fréquence de ce gentilice Flavius en Élide, mais, sauf deux Flavii datables du I^{er} siècle, tous les autres sont à placer au II^e et surtout au III^e siècle, soit vingt-trois Éléens.¹⁰⁴ Cela peut sans doute s'expliquer par une politique active des Éléens qui, après avoir été visités et favorisés par l'empereur Néron, ont craint de subir les foudres de l'empereur Vespasien et se sont lancés dans une intense politique de

97. IG IV, 1600, l. 6 = *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 80, l. 6. Les Calpurnii de Corinthe sont probablement des descendants de colons ayant noué des liens avec la cité d'Épidaure. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il faille chercher le *cognomen* Frontinus auprès de l'épouse du consul de 99, Q. Sosius Senecio, qui avait été questeur d'Achaïe, appelée Iulia Frontina (Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 440). Mais il y a peut-être un lien avec cet éminent sénateur, ami de Plutarque, qui fit de longs séjours en Grèce. D'ailleurs, l'une des petites filles de ces clarissimes, Sosia Iunca (*op. cit.*, no. 721), a peut-être des liens avec Aemilius Iuncus, le consul de 127. Spawforth 2002, 106-07, propose de voir un lien avec les Calpurnii Frontini de rang sénatorial de l'époque sévérienne (*PIR*² A, 1095 et C, 269).

98. Nous renvoyons à Raepsaet-Charlier 1981 et 1987 (*stemma* volume II, no. V).

99. Devijver 1976, C, 136 et *suppl.* I, p. 1502; voir *RP*, II MES 136.

100. *IvO* 447. *RP* I, EL 148; Spawforth 2002, 102-03.

101. *IvO* 486 et 487. *RP* I, EL 209 (T. Flavius Polybius [II]) et 210 (T. Flavius Polybius [III], Laconien et Messénien). Sur l'ensemble de ces Flavii de Messène, voir Baldassarra 2008. Pour les Flavii de Sparte, voir Spawforth 1984, 285-88 et *RP* II, LAC 358-63; MES 196 et *RP* I, EL 210.

102. IG V 1, 1449 (voir Baldassarra 2008, 132-33 et photo). La condamnation de Néron n'empêche nullement les notables qui ont fait preuve de loyauté envers l'empereur de poursuivre leur progression personnelle et familiale sous les Flaviens, ce phénomène s'observe dans toute l'Achaïe, voir Hoët-van Cauwenbergh 2007a.

103. *SEG* 52, 2002, 385.

104. Zoumbaki 2001, 189; *RP* I, EL 185-207 et 211-14. La présence de ce gentilice ne peut être mise en corrélation avec un gouverneur du nom de Flavius, car aucun n'est connu, mais on ne peut exclure cette hypothèse.

démantèlement de tout ce qui pouvait rappeler la présence de Néron. Son palais fut rasé et l'on est bien en peine de trouver une trace archéologique de son existence; ses statues furent enlevées et l'une d'entre elles servit à un portrait de Domitien; son nom fut effacé ici plus qu'ailleurs en Grèce.¹⁰⁵ Il apparaît clairement que les cités dont le statut était privilégié avant que Néron généralisât la liberté (cités libres et cités fédérées) et qui avaient eu les faveurs de cet empereur, pouvaient perdre leurs avantages quand Vespasien rétablit au début de son règne la province d'Achaïe. Si beaucoup regrettaient la générosité de Néron, d'autres voulaient éviter de perdre leurs privilèges, comme à Olympie. D'autres encore en profitèrent pour essayer de gagner l'estime du nouveau prince comme ce fut le cas de Tégée en Arcadie, où les devins retirèrent du sol des vases antiques portant le visage de Vespasien.¹⁰⁶ On peut expliquer ceci par une double motivation: accompagner la propagande impériale visant à donner un caractère religieux à son arrivée au pouvoir et une «antiquité» vénérable à un prince issu d'une famille plébéienne et, en le servant, attirer les faveurs impériales sur une cité émergente, en position stratégique au cœur du Péloponnèse. Il n'est donc pas étonnant de constater que le seul Flavius citoyen romain originaire à coup sûr d'Arcadie, le soit à Tégée.¹⁰⁷

Les Ulpii et les Aelii sont totalement absents d'Élide, exceptés ceux qui sont honorés à divers titres dans le sanctuaire et appartiennent à d'autres cités. En revanche, les Aelii apparaissent clairement à Messène en étroite connexion d'ailleurs avec des citoyens romains de Sparte de la famille des Memmii comme l'a montré de façon convaincante A.

Spawforth.¹⁰⁸ Une alliance matrimoniale aurait été conclue sous le règne d'Antonin le Pieux entre P. Aelius Aristo, qui fut stratège du *koinon* des Hellènes, originaire de Messène et Memmia Ageta de Sparte, probablement divorcée du sénateur romain Ti. Claudius Brasidas.¹⁰⁹ Ils eurent au moins un fils P. Aelius Harmonicus, qui est honoré à Olympie.¹¹⁰

Les empereurs ont aussi donné la citoyenneté romaine aux athlètes et aux technites dionysiaques, essentiellement à partir du règne de Claude et celui de Néron.¹¹¹ Jusqu'alors, une grande partie des Romains étaient restés assez méfiants envers les athlètes, qui ne représentaient pas pour eux l'idéal de la *virtus*. Les exercices du gymnase étaient plutôt perçus comme un entraînement vain, où le souci de l'esthétisme avait balayé l'aspect guerrier. Néron, puis Hadrien, contribuèrent à valoriser l'image du compétiteur grec, en la considérant bien comme représentative de l'élite noble et guerrière de la Vieille Grèce. De même les récompenses qui découlent de concours liés aux arts sont perçues comme le symbole de victoires de temps de paix. En conséquence, Néron participa aux différentes épreuves des grands jeux grecs, et après avoir concouru à Olympie, Suétone précise que Néron accorda la citoyenneté romaine à ses juges: *decedens deinde provinciam universam libertate donavit simulque iudices civitate Romana et pecunia grandi*.¹¹² Il reconnaissait ainsi la noblesse accordée aux Jeux Olympiques à travers les *hellanodikai*, les juges de ces jeux. Cela n'avait pas de liens directs avec la complaisance qu'ils avaient pu manifester à son égard. En fait, Hadrien, lors de son passage à Sparte, accorda la citoyenneté romaine à un notable et son

105. Voir Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2007a.

106. Suet., *Vesp.* 7, 7.

107. *IG V 2*, 50, l. 76: l'éphèbe Flavius Heracleidas en 166; voir *RPI*, ARC 79. En ce qui concerne le logiste T. Flavius Philargyrus, attesté à Orchomène, sous Septime Sévère, on ne connaît pas son origine, mais on sait que ces *curatores rei publicae* n'étaient pas choisis dans leur cité d'origine, mais souvent dans une cité voisine (*RPI*, ARC 80); il est peut-être arcadien de Cleitor (nom attesté: *IG V 2*, 384).

108. Spawforth 1985, 213-14; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 875.

109. Soit il s'agit pour lui d'une proche parente homonyme. L'inscription *IG V 1*, 1399 est un poème, étudié par A. Spawforth (*loc. cit.* note précédente), qui ne livre que les noms grecs de ces personnes et leur cité d'origine. Le nom de leur fils Harmonicus (voir note suivante), a permis l'identification, ce dernier est appelé l'Héraclide, car les Memmii spartiates se rattachaient au héros. Aristo devait avoir fait un beau mariage. Voir *apud RPI* II, MES 3 et *apud LAC* 537.

110. *IvO* 446. *RPI*, EL 8. Son fils ou son frère fut stratège du *koinon* des Achéens, voir *RPI*, EL 5.

111. Voir Ferrary 1996, 198-99.

112. Suet., *Nero* 25, 1.

fils, dont le mérite avait été de véhiculer cet idéal guerrier et noble en participant aux jeux.¹¹³

Pour évaluer la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine sous le Haut-Empire, dans le Péloponnèse, nos sources ne nous permettent pas, comme S. Follet a pu le faire pour Athènes, d'établir des listes nombreuses et comprenant plus de quinze noms.¹¹⁴ Les listes de magistrats sont relativement courtes. Si l'on étudie l'exemple de Sparte, il y a 5 à 6 personnes pour les principaux collèges,¹¹⁵ dont les 5 éphores, détenteurs réels du pouvoir avec le conseil. Celui-ci compte jusque 23 personnes pour les listes les plus complètes.¹¹⁶ Nous ne possédons qu'une dizaine de listes dont le nombre de membres va de 9 à 23.¹¹⁷ Les plus longues correspondent à la première moitié du II^e siècle,¹¹⁸ où l'on note une progression. Le premier tiers du II^e siècle correspond à une moyenne de 15% de citoyens romains alors que pour le second tiers la moyenne est de 25% environ.¹¹⁹ Pour la période antérieure le matériel est quasi inexistant et pour la période suivante, il est trop incomplet et mal daté pour être fiable. Nous devons donc compléter avec les listes plus nombreuses d'éphores et de nomophylaques. La proportion d' $\frac{1}{5}$ est enregistrée pour les éphores entre la fin du I^{er} siècle et le premier quart du II^e siècle. Ensuite l'évolution fut nette, cela passa à $\frac{2}{5}$. La romanisation est donc effective: les éphores de-

mandèrent et reçurent de plus en plus à la citoyenneté romaine. Il se produisit en effet une émulation dans la Sparte très ploutocratique de l'époque impériale, où les grandes familles monopolisèrent les fonctions importantes.¹²⁰ Un phénomène identique est observable chez les nomophylaques mais plus lent, de moindre ampleur et de façon moins systématique que pour les éphores. En faisant le total, on obtient, pour les éphores et les nomophylaques devenus citoyens romains, respectivement 36,3% et 31%. Cela confirme l'importance des éphores. Signalons également le nombre élevé de Iulii et de Claudii qui représente près de la moitié des éphores et des nomophylaques porteurs de gentilices impériaux, soit 45%. Or, comme cela correspond, la plupart du temps aux familles les plus anciennement romanisées, ceci confirme la position sociale élevée qu'elles conservèrent, et surtout la fermeture du noyau dur du groupe dirigeant de la cité depuis les Julio-Claudiens.

L'Édit de Caracalla de 212 a entraîné la multiplication des Aurelii en donnant la citoyenneté romaine à tous les pérégrins de l'Empire.¹²¹ La diffusion du gentilice Aurelius est relativement faible en Argolide et en Élide, mais elle est forte en Laconie et, comme en Arcadie, la proportion d'Aurelii est aussi grande que celle de l'ensemble des autres gentilices impériaux réunis.¹²² Mais nous sommes

113. Il s'agit de P. Aelius Damocratidas et P. Aelius Alcandridas (III); sur les Aelii de Sparte, voir Spawforth 1985, 246 et s.

114. Follet 1976, 63-105 à propos de l'Édit de Caracalla. Elle a disposé d'un matériel onomastique assez homogène: des listes d'éphèbes d'au moins quinze noms soit trois mille deux noms sur 29 années de 161 à 211.

115. Il existe d'autres collèges de magistrats: les 5 ou 6 *bideoi* chargés de la surveillance des éphèbes, voir Paus. III. 11, 2; 12, 4; Cartledge, Spawforth 1989, 145; 201; 206; 227; il y avait aussi les nomophylaques, voir Paus. III. 11, 2; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 145-47; pour les *damosiomastai*, i.e. investigateurs publics, les agoranomes, les 6 gynéconomes et les *diabetai* qui dirigeaient les différentes tribus d'éphèbes, voir Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 143 et s.

116. Le nom de gérousia ne figure plus dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale, nous avons celui de synarchie, voir Bradford 1980.

117. Les listes faisant mention de personnages isolés en raison de leur mutilation n'ont pas été comptabilisées ici. Nous avons tenu compte des corrections proposées par Bradford 1980.

118. *IG V* 1, 97; 102; 111; 112; *SEG* 11, 1950, 585.

119. La liste figurant au *SEG* 11, 1950, 585, comporte le plus grand nombre de citoyens romains; elle est datée de la patronomie de (C. Avidius) Biadas (*LAC* 199), soit vers 150/51 apr. J.-C. On compte 6 citoyens romains sur un total de 23 soit une proportion de 26%.

120. Spawforth 1985, 191-258 et Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, ch. 11 et *app.* III, 230-31, voir la composition héréditaire de la *boulè* sur trois années différentes: 26, 31 et 28% de ses membres étaient probablement ancêtres ou descendants d'autres magistrats.

121. Follet 1976, 72; Holtheide 1983, 116; Buraselis 1989: sur l'impact idéologique de la politique des Sévères, voir surtout p. 25-100; sur la diffusion du *nomen* Aurelius, p. 127-48. Pour plus de développement, nous renvoyons à Rizakis à paraître.

122. On trouve 29 Aurelii contre 31 porteurs d'autres gentilices impériaux. Leur répartition est la suivante: 20

bien en peine pour appliquer ici la méthode statistique employée par S. Follet pour Athènes.¹²³ En effet, et A. Spawforth le signale pour Sparte, le problème de datation reste un obstacle. Il ne parvient à dater avec certitude que 9 inscriptions sur 68, soit seulement 13 à 14% du matériel épigraphique.¹²⁴ Il est donc difficile de trancher entre Marc Aurèle, Commode et Caracalla (avant ou après 212) pour déterminer l'origine des Aurelii.¹²⁵ S. Follet a étudié la valeur chronologique de la présence ou de l'absence du prénom. Elle constate que «dans les catalogues éphébiques antérieurs à 212, les Aurelii sont... beaucoup plus nombreux que les Marci Aurelii»¹²⁶ anéantissant pour Athènes, l'hypothèse selon laquelle les Marci Aurelii tiendraient leur citoyenneté de Marc Aurèle et les Aurelii de l'édit de 212, constatation que J.-L. Ferrary confirme pour l'Asie à partir de son étude des mémoriaux de délégations de Claros.¹²⁷ À Sparte, il est possible que cela corresponde en fait à une pratique épigraphique reflétant la discrimination sociale ou mettant en exergue la hiérarchie, les hauts magistrats ou les membres de l'aristocratie en général se démar-

quaient alors en conservant l'usage du *praenomen*.¹²⁸

En Messénie, notre documentation est de qualité et de quantité très inégale, mais elle se trouve enrichie d'année en année par les résultats des fouilles de P. Thémélis. D'une part, nous n'avons trace que de peu d'inscriptions comportant des Aurelii, d'autre part, elles sont très différentes. D'une part, un Aurelius est attesté à Messène et deux Aurelii proviennent du Temple d'Artémis *Limnatis* et sont datés du début du III^e siècle,¹²⁹ ensuite, nous avons à Coronè une liste de 80 éphèbes dont 56 sont des Aurelii.¹³⁰ Si l'on examine les listes d'éphèbes que nous avons conservées, l'une à Cleitor en Arcadie, l'autre à Coronè en Messénie, datant toutes deux du milieu du III^e s. apr. J.-C., on constate des résultats à peu près identiques.¹³¹ Si l'on examine le total de la liste de Cleitor, on constate que sur 29 personnages lisibles, 20 sont des Aurelii, ce qui implique une proportion d'environ 69% d'Aurelii. Si l'on compare ceci à la liste d'éphèbes de Coronè, en Messénie et contemporaine, la proportion est la même, 70% d'Aurelii (56/80) pour une même classe d'âge.¹³² Cela montre l'importance de

à Cleitor, (bien plus à l'origine, vu les lacunes), 8 à Tégée, 1 à Mantinée. Un seul porte les *tria nomina*, M. Aurelius Agathocles (*IG V 2*, 132; voir *RP I*, ARC 23), lui aussi membre des *decaprotoi* de Tégée, grand prêtre du culte impérial et revêtu d'autres prêtrises. Peut-être a-t-il reçu la citoyenneté avant 212, seule la mention de son *praenomen* peut nous faire avancer l'hypothèse, mais l'on connaît le caractère aléatoire de cet argument.

123. Follet 1976, 86.

124. Spawforth 1980, 203-20.

125. Sauf si le prénom est Titus, il s'agit alors d'Antonin avant son avènement.

126. Follet 1976, 93.

127. Ferrary à paraître.

128. Si l'on appliquait à Sparte la distinction chronologique Aurelii/Marci Aurelii, on ne comptabiliserait alors que 30% de citoyens romains avant 212, ce qui est relativement peu, mais il ne faut pas oublier que Sparte est une cité libre. De plus, dans les listes de magistrats, le *praenomen* est mis en quelque sorte en dénominateur commun c'est-à-dire qu'il est signalé pour le premier de la liste, pas pour les suivants; voir *IG V 1*, 566, liste de *synarchontes* qui commence par un Mar(cus) Aur(elius) Agathoclès (*PR II*, LAC 82) suivi de trois Aur(elii) et d'un Ael(ius), tous inconnus par ailleurs. Voir un autre exemple, en Messénie, *IG V 1*, 1398.

129. *SEG 52*, 2002, 407; *IG V 1*, 1375 et 1376. Le premier est un Aurelius Le[- -] ayant accompli une carrière au II^e/III^e s., dont la statue provient sans doute du sanctuaire d'Isis (*RP II*, MES 67a), puis Aur(elius) Primus (MES 81), dont la dédicace est datée de 218/219. Or, 28 ans plus tard, on trouve un homonyme dans la liste d'éphèbes *IG V 1*, 1395; il s'agit peut-être de son fils ou de son petit-fils. Le second personnage est une Aur(elia) Helixô (*PR II*, MES 35), sans doute contemporaine. Tous deux sont agonothètes. Au(relius) Daus, dont le nom est inscrit sur un siège du stade est plus tardif (*PR II*, MES 51: III^e ou IV^e s.).

130. Cette liste est datée de l'an 277 (de l'ère d'Actium soit 246/47 apr. J.-C.) et provient de Coronè: *IG V 1*, 1398.

131. Cleitor: *IG V 2*, 369 avec I. A. Pikoulas, *Archaïognosia 2*, 1981, 107-13 et *id.*, *Horos 3*, 1985, 85-91. Coronè: voir n. précédente.

132. Certaines listes d'autres provinces comportent presque exclusivement des Aurelii, comme on peut le voir par exemple dans la province du Pont. Ainsi à Odessos: *IGBR I² 47*, datée de 215, 64 éphèbes, soit 64 Aurelii. Notons toutefois des nuances car, dans le premier cas, certaines personnes portent le gentilice Aurelius différent de celui de leur père – e.g. l. 26, Aur(elius) Germanus, fils de Claudius Cat(u)lus. Certes, on connaît effectivement des exceptions à la règle qui consiste à reprendre le gentilice paternel, comme dans la partie occidentale de l'Empire à Trèves on

l'Édit de 212 pour la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine dans cette zone. Les éphèbes faisant normalement partie, sous l'Empire, des fils de notables, on constate que même parmi la couche de population favorisée, l'octroi de la citoyenneté était encore réservé à une élite.¹³³ Chez ceux qui sont demeurés pérégrins, et comme l'a montré S. Zoumbaki, les Grecs n'hésitent pas au II^e siècle à élargir leur choix en optant aussi pour des noms latins puisés dans le stock lexical de l'onomastique romaine, comme dans le reste de l'Empire.¹³⁴ Ils répondent davantage selon elle à une mode ou à un usage qu'à une véritable acculturation, car le choix de noms grecs reste malgré tout dominant. D'ailleurs l'adoption de noms uniques latins se fait autour d'un groupe relativement restreint: on compte des *praenomina*, des *nomina* ou encore des *cognomina*, les plus populaires étant Rufus, Maximus, Primus et Secundus. D'une part, les élites se sont repliées sur elles-mêmes, d'autre part, l'accès à la citoyenneté romaine n'était réellement possible que dans la mesure où l'on pouvait attirer l'attention sur soi. Acquérir des privilèges fiscaux et juridiques et poursuivre sa carrière au-delà des frontières de sa cité, il fallait à la fois le vouloir et le pouvoir; or si la masse des citoyens pouvait le désirer, elle n'avait pas forcément les moyens politiques et financiers de réaliser ces projets. La concession presque exclusivement viritaine a freiné la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine et si devenir romain dans la partie occidentale de l'Empire signifiait être civilisé, il n'en allait pas de même en Grèce, où l'on considérait vraiment que l'on vivait dans le berceau de la civilisation.

En conclusion, la diffusion de la citoyenneté a évolué, reflet plus ou moins fidèle des politiques impériales. L'importance des Iulii et des Claudii est

telle qu'à eux seuls ces gentilices sont presque aussi nombreux que l'ensemble des autres gentilices impériaux réunis. Cela dénote la place centrale tenue par les Julio-claudiens dans la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine et les liens de patronage qu'ils avaient conservé dans le Péloponnèse dans la diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine. Ceci rejoint l'analyse établie de façon générale pour la partie hellénophone de l'Empire par F. Jacques à savoir que «*s'ils (les empereurs) en conservèrent en général l'esprit, ses successeurs (de Claude) ont pu juger sa politique trop aventureuse: les Flavii, les Ulpii ou les Aelii sont bien moins nombreux en Orient que les Claudii, indique que le mouvement de promotion civique fut ralenti*».¹³⁵ En réalité, les successeurs des Julio-claudiens se sont contentés dans cette partie de l'Empire de récompenser au fur et à mesure les familles émergentes faisant preuve de loyauté envers le pouvoir. En 212 apr. J.-C., en majorité, l'élite et sa clientèle possédaient la citoyenneté romaine, tandis que la masse allait l'obtenir avec la constitution de Caracalla. Ajoutons que si la citoyenneté romaine n'était pas encore généralisée dans le Péloponnèse, elle tenait une place non négligeable et nous ne trouvons pas comme dans d'autres parties de l'Empire des listes complètes d'Aurelii. L'oligarchie du Péloponnèse avait été fière d'acquérir la citoyenneté romaine, comme ce jeune aristocrate épidaurien, T. Statilius Lamprias, qui en même temps clamait la noblesse de ses origines grecques à Épidaure, Argos et Sparte.¹³⁶ Il s'avère d'ailleurs que ces citoyennetés multiples, romaine et grecques, caractérisent surtout les notables de la fin du I^{er} siècle et surtout du II^e siècle car ils sont actifs au sein de plusieurs cités mais aussi dans les structures fédérales, et pour quelques familles, au service de l'Empire. En effet, cette élite grecque, favorisée surtout par les premiers

a l'existence de gentilices forgés à partir du *cognomen* paternel, voir Raepsaet-Charlier 2001. Mais, il doit s'agir à Odessos, comme l'a montré J.-L. Ferrary pour Claros (Ferrary 2010), de mariages inégaux: le père, Claudius Catulus, est citoyen romain, la mère pérégrine, et l'on sait que depuis l'empereur Hadrien, l'enfant suit le statut de la mère: l'enfant, Germanus, est donc pérégrin à la naissance. Ce dernier doit donc la citoyenneté romaine à un empereur porteur du gentilice Aurelius (d'ailleurs très vraisemblablement à Caracalla par le biais de l'édit de 212). Pour une étude complète, voir Dana à paraître.

133. Il semble que les critères d'accès à l'éphébie ont pu varier selon les cités et s'ouvrir plus ou moins largement aux couches sociales inférieures, car certaines cités présentent des listes pléthoriques d'éphèbes qui ne peuvent être significatives de l'étendue de la population de notables.

134. Zoumbaki 2008. Voir également les listes dressées pour l'Asie par Ferrary 2010, 253-66.

135. Jacques, Scheid 1991, 227.

136. T. Statilius Lamprias: *IG IV*² 1, 84, ll. 30-34; *RP I*, ARG 252.

empereurs, avait tissé un réseau social par des liens matrimoniaux utiles à travers toute la province, en particulier avec des groupes d'Italiens installés sur place et qui stimulèrent sa progression. Elle avait pris une part active dans le culte impérial et endossait les fonctions prestigieuses au sein de la cité, voire même de plusieurs cités, et dans les instances fédérales. En même temps, elle s'était très bien engagée au service de l'empereur et de l'Empire et avait pratiqué l'endogamie et le népotisme aussi bien que les grandes et anciennes familles romaines.

Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe

Université Ch. de Gaulle-Lille 3,
Halma-Ipel, UMR 8164 (CNRS, Lille 3, MCC)

Bibliographie

- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia capta: the landscape of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- Alföldy (G.), 1966: «Notes sur la relation entre le droit de cité et la nomenclature dans l'Empire Romain», *Latomus* 25, 37-57.
- Amandry (M.), 1988: *Le monnayage des duumvirs corinthiens*, Athènes.
- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon*, Paris.
- Baldassarra (D.), 2008: «Il contributo dell'epigrafia allo studio delle famiglie notabili Messenie (I-III sec. d. C.). Il caso dei Flavii Kleopha(n)toi e dei Flavii Polybioi», *Epigraphica* 70, 2008, 119-41.
- Balzat (J.-S.), 2008: «Les Euryclides en Laconie», in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005, Bordeaux, 121-44.
- Box (H.), 1931: «The Roman Citizenship in Laconia», *JRS* 21, 200-14.
- , 1932: «The Roman Citizenship in Laconia. Supplements», *JRS* 22, 165-83.
- Bradford (A.), 1977: *A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, AD 396*, Munich.
- , 1980: «The Synarchia of the Roman Sparta», *Chiron* 10, 413-25.
- Broughton (T. R. S.), 1952: *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic II*, New York.
- Buraselis (K.), 1989: *ΘΕΙΑ ΔΩΡΕΑ. Μελέτες πάνω στην πολιτική της δυναστείας των Σεβήρων και την Constitutio Antoniniana*, Athènes (= *Θεία δωρεά: Das göttlich-kaiserliche Geschenk: Studien zur Politik der Severer und zur Constitutio Antoniniana*, Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte XVIII, Vienne, 2007).
- Byrne (S. G.), 2003: *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Louvain-Dudley.
- Camia (F.) 2008: «Imperial Priests in Second century Greece: a Socio-political Analysis», in A. D. Rizakis, F. Camia (éds.), *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire*, Tripodes 6, Athènes, 23-41.
- Cartledge (P.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta, a Tale of two Cities*², Londres - New York.
- Dana (M.), à paraître: «L'intégration des indigènes dans les structures civiques de deux cités du Pont Gauche à l'époque impériale», in P. Fröhlich, P. Hamon, C. Müller (éds.), *Groupes et associations dans le Monde grec, Actes de la Table ronde des 19 et 20 juin 2009 à Paris*.
- David (J.-M.), 1992: *Le patronat judiciaire au dernier siècle de la République romaine*, Rome.
- Demougin (S.), 1975: «Les juges des cinq décuries originaires d'Italie», *AncSoc* 6, 1975, 143-202.
- , 1992: *Prosopographie des chevaliers julio-claudiens*, Rome.
- Devijver (H.), 1976-1993: *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Louvain, I, Litterae A-I, 1976; L-V, 1977; suppl. I et II, 1987-1993.
- Ferrary (J.-L.), 1996: «Rome, Athènes et le philhellénisme dans l'Empire romain, d'Auguste aux Antonins», in *L'ellenismo e tradizionalismo a Roma nei primi due secoli dell'Impero*, Roma, 27-28 aprile 1995, Rome, 183-210.
- , 2005: «Les Grecs et l'obtention de la *ciuitas Romana*», in P. Fröhlich, C. Müller (éds.), *Citoyenneté et participation à la Basse Époque hellénistique, Actes de la table ronde des 22 et 23 mai 2004, Paris*, Genève, 51-75.
- et alii, 2002: «Liste des Italiens de Délos», in *Les Italiens*, 183-239.
- , 2010: «L'onomastique dans les provinces orientales de l'Empire, à la lumière du dossier des mémoriaux de délégations de Claros», *CCG* 19, 2008, 247-78.
- Follet (S.), 1976: *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle. Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris.
- , 2002: «Les Italiens à Athènes (II^e s. av. J.-C. - I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.)», in *Les Italiens*, 79-88.
- Gauthier (Ph.), 1974: «“Générosité” romaine et “avarice” grecque: sur l'octroi du droit de cité», *Mélanges à William Seston*, Paris, 207-15.
- Groag (E.), 1939: *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Vienne - Leipzig.
- Halfmann (H.), 1979: *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.*, Göttingen.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (Chr.), 1996: «Onomastique et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine en Arcadie», in *Roman Onomastics*, 207-14.
- , 2003: «Mémoire abolie des femmes en Achaïe au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.», *CCG* 14, 263-79.
- , 2007a: «Condamnation de la mémoire de Néron en Grèce: réalité ou mythe?», in Y. Perrin (éd.), *Neronia VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce: Hellénisme et philhel-*

- lénisme au premier siècle ap. J.-C., *Actes du VII^e Colloque international de la SIEN (Athènes, 21-23 octobre 2004)*, Coll. Latomus 305, Bruxelles, 225-49.
- , 2007b: «La fin des princes hellénistiques en Achaïe romaine aux I^{er} et II^e siècles après J.-C.», in S. Benoist (éd.), *Mémoire et Histoire, les procédures de condamnation dans l'Antiquité*, CRULH no. 31, Metz, 153-80.
- Holtheide (B.), 1983: *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia*, Fribourg.
- Jacques (F.), Scheid (J.), 1991: *Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire*, Paris.
- Jones (C. P.), 1970: «Sura and Senecio», *JRS*, 60, 98-104.
- , 1972: *Plutarch and Rome*, Oxford.
- Jost (M.), 1984: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris.
- Kajanto (I.), 1965: *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki.
- Kantiréa (M.), 2007: *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques*, Meletemata 50, Athènes.
- Kaplan (M.), 1990: *Greeks and the Imperial Court from Tiberius to Nero*, New York.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle av. J.-C.-III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Le Roux (P.), 2004: «La romanisation en question», *Annales HSS* 59, 287-311.
- Les Italiens*: Chr. Müller, Cl. Hasenohr (éds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec (II^e s. av. J.-C.-I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.): circulation, activités et intégration, Actes de la Table-ronde, Paris, 14-16 mai 1998*, Paris.
- Mendoní (L. G.), 1996: «Η διάδοση των Ρωμαϊκών ονομάτων στην Αργολίδα (1ος αι. π.Χ.-3ος αι. μ.Χ.)», in *Roman Onomastics* 1996, 183-90.
- Müller (Chr.), 2002: «Les Italiens en Béotie au II^e s. av. J.-C. au I^{er} s. ap. J.-C.», in *Les Italiens*, 89-100.
- Peek (W.), 1969: *Inchriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros*, Berlin.
- Raepsaet-Charlier (M.-Th.), 1981: «Cornelia Cet(h)egilla», *AC* 50, 1981, 685-97.
- , 1987: *Prosopographie des femmes de l'Ordre sénatorial, I^{er}-II^e siècles*, Louvain.
- , 2001: «Caractéristiques et particularités de l'onomastique trévière», in M. Dondin-Payre, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (éds.), *Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haut-Empire*, Bruxelles, 343-98.
- , 2008: «Noms de personnes, noms de lieux dans l'Occident romain. Quelques outils récents», *AC* 77, 2008, 289-307.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1996: «Anthroponymie et société. Les noms romains dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire», in *Roman Onomastics*, 11-29.
- , 2007: «Les Ti. Claudii et la promotion des élites péloponnésiennes», in Y. Perrin (éd.), *Neronia VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce: Hellénisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C., Actes du VII^e Colloque international de la SIEN (Athènes, 21-23 octobre 2004)*, Coll. Latomus 305, Bruxelles, 183-95.
- , 2008a: *Achaïe III, Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athènes.
- , 2008b: «Langue et culture ou les ambiguïtés identitaires des notables des cités grecques sous l'Empire de Rome», in F. Biville, J.-Cl. Decourt, G. Rougemont (éds.), *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie*, Lyon, 17-34.
- , 2009: «Supra-civic landowning and supra-civic euergetic activities of urban élites in the Imperial Peloponnese», in *Being Peloponnesian. Cohesion and diversity through time, International Conference, University of Nottingham, 31 March - 1 April 2007*, publié dans http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csps/events/pelo09_abstracts.php.
- , à paraître: «Dénomination des Aurelii dans les provinces orientales de l'Empire», *Rencontre internationale du Programme du C.N.R.S. Noms, identités*, Paris/Sorbonne, 15 juin 2004.
- Robert (L.), 1960: «Recherches épigraphiques», *REA*, 62, 276-361 = *OMS* II, 792-877.
- Roman Onomastics*: A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athènes 1996.
- Rousset (D.), 2004: «La cité et son territoire dans la province d'Achaïe et la notion de "Grèce romaine"», *Annales (HSS)* 59, 363-83.
- RP I: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Kantiréa (M.), *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Achaïa, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athènes, 2001.
- RP II: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Lepeniotti (Cl.), *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athènes, 2004.
- Salomies (O.), 1993: «Römische Amtsträger und römisches Bürgerrecht in der Kaiserzeit. Die Aussagekraft der Onomastik», in W. Eck (éd.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Cologne, 119-45.
- Seston (W.), Euzennat (M.), 1961: «La citoyenneté romaine au temps de Marc Aurèle et de Commode d'après la *Tabula Banasitana*», *CRAI*, 317-24 (= *Scripta Varia*, Rome 1980, 77-84).
- , 1971: «Un dossier de la chancellerie romaine: *Tabula Banasitana*. Étude diplomatique», *CRAI*, 468-90 (= *Scripta Varia*, Rome 1980, 85-107).
- Sherk (R. K.), 1957: «Roman Imperial Troops in Macedonia and Achaëa», *AJPh* 78, 52-62.
- Sherwin-White (A. N.), 1973a: *The Roman Citizenship*², Oxford (1^{ère} éd. 1939).
- , 1973b: «The Tabula of Banasa and the Constitutio Antoniniana», *JRS* 63, 86-98.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1980: «Sparta and the Family of Herodes Atticus: a Reconsideration of the Evidence», *ABSA* 75, 203-20.

- , 1984: «Notes on Third Century AD in Spartan Epigraphy», *ABSA* 79, 263-88.
- , 1985: «Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some Prosopographical Notes», *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1996: «Roman Corinth: the Formation of a Colonial Elite», in *Roman Onomastics*, 167-82.
- , 2002: «Italian Elements among Roman Knights and Senators», in *Les Italiens*, 101-07.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), Walker (S.), 1985: «The World of the Panhellenion I. Athens and Eleusis», *JRS* 75, 78-104.
- , 1986: «The World of the Panhellenion II. Three Dorian Cities», *JRS* 76, 88-104.
- Themelis (P.), 1993: «Damophon von Messene. Sein Werk im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen», *AK* 36, 24-40.
- Thomasson (B. E.), 1984: *Laterculi Praesidum*, Göteborg.
- Woloch (M.), 1973: *Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite*, Amsterdam.
- Zoumbaki (S.), 1993: «Zu einer neuen Inschrift aus Olympia: die Familie der Vettuleni von Elis», *ZPE* 99, 227-32.
- , 1994: «*Romaioi engaiountes*. Römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia», *Tyche* 9, 213-18.
- , 1996: «Die Verbreitung der römischen Namen in Eleia», in *Roman Onomastics*, 191-206.
- , 1998/99: «Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes», *Tekmeria* 4, 112-59.
- , 2001: *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Meletemata 32, Athènes.
- , 2008: «Chosing a new name between romanisation and persistence: the evidence of Latin personal names in the Peloponnese» in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Ét. 21, Bordeaux, 145-59.

ROMAN NOMINA IN THE PELOPONNESE: SOME OBSERVATIONS

Olli Salomies

Abstract: In this article, the Roman nomina attested in the Peloponnese are studied from various angles. After having established the number of different nomina (268, attested for ca 3,700 persons), the author presents observations on their distribution in the Peloponnese. The repertory of Peloponnesian nomina is then compared to that of other areas in the East, starting with Delos. At the end of the article, the author presents observations concerning the origin of some of the Peloponnesian nomina.

It is my aim to present some observations on the Roman nomina which one finds attested in the Peloponnese, mainly in inscriptions but also, in the case of Roman colonies, in numismatic sources. The evidence has been collected in the two extremely useful volumes, *Roman Peloponnese I* (2001), by A. D. Rizakis and S. Zoumbaki, and *Roman Peloponnese II* (2004), by the same authors in collaboration with Cl. Lepenioti, vol. I dealing with the northern Peloponnese, vol. II with Laconia and Messenia in the south (referred to below as *RP I* and *II*, followed by the region, e.g., LAC = Laconia; note that references to these volumes and to the literature cited there will not normally be given, as

it will be assumed that the reader has them at his/her disposal). It should be noted that the focus of the said volumes is on persons attested in documents emanating from the Peloponnese; it follows that Peloponnesians with Roman nomina attested in documents found outside the Peloponnese do not seem to have been included. However, in preparing this contribution, I thought that it might be a useful idea to collect the evidence as comprehensively as possible, and I have thus taken into consideration also those persons of interest from my point of view who are attested in inscriptions from outside the Peloponnese.¹ Furthermore, I have in some cases deduced the existence of nomina from cog-

1. Here is a list of the them. (Obviously, I am not saying that I have been able to trace all relevant persons; note that some of the nomina in the list below are not otherwise attested in the Peloponnese.) *SEG* 3, 1927, 335 = *I. Thespiiai* 192: Π. Αλβείνιος Μεθοδικὸς Κορίν[θιος]; *IG* VII, 4147: Πόπλιος Ἀτάνιος Ποπλίου Σικυώνιος; *IG* VII, 1776: Μ. Αὐφίδιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος Κορίνθιος; *SEG* 49, 1999, 338: Karpime Babbia in a curse tablet from Corinth; *FD* III.3, 2, 247: Βαρβάτιος Ταῦρος Κο[ρίν]θιος; *SEG* 47, 1997, 284: Κανεινία Εἰσίας (an inscription now in Switzerland but apparently originating from the Peloponnese); *IG* VII, 1773 = *I. Thespiiai* 172: Α. Κλώδιος Ἀχιλλεὺς Κορίνθιος; *SEG* 46, 1996, 1315 (Formiae in Italy): Κ. Κοίλιος Γρᾶτος Πατρεύς; *FD* III.4, 100: Π. Κορνήλιος Ἀλεξῆς Αἰγυεύς; *Decrius*, derived from Δεκριανὸς ὁ Πατρεύς, a sophist (Lucian, *Asin.* 2); *IG* VII, 1773 = *I. Thespiiai* 172: Φλά(βιος) Ἄκτιακὸς Κορίνθιος; *FD* III.4, 96: Γ. Ἦιος Εὐπαίδετος Κορίνθιος, an architect; *IG* VII, 4152, Λαβέριος Περικ[λῆς Κορίν]θιος καὶ Θεσπε[ύς]; Plut., *Quaest. conv.* V. 3, 1 and 3 (675D, 676E), Λουκάνιος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς in Corinth (cf. A. J. S. Spawforth in *Roman Onomastics*, 171); *CIL* III, 42 = *ILS* 8759e = *I. Colosse de Memnon* 127: C. Maenius Haniochus domo Corinthi (a centurion, A.D. 127; cf. Spawforth, *op. cit.*, 170); *SEG* 3, 1927, 334, 40. 46. 52 (Thespiiai, but apparently not in *I. Thespiiai*): Λ. Μάριος Ἀντίοχος Κορίνθιος, a poet; *SEG* 45, 1995, 491: Λ. Μάριος Νέπωσ Κορίνθιος and his son; *FD* III.1, 209: [Κ]υντίλιος Καρποφόρος Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἥλεϊος. Members of Corinthian delegations at Claros (*JÖAI* 15, 1912, 54 no. 27): Μ. Αἰφίκιος Πριμιγετιανός (mentioned in the annotation to *RP I*, COR 10); Μ. Ἀντώνιος Τερτυλλεῖνος; Κ. Κορνήλιος Φαρνάκης; Α. Κοσσίνιος Σαβεῖνος; Ἰούλιος Φίλητος; Λικίνιος Λούπος; Νούμμιος Ἐπίμαχος; Γ. Παπίριος Νυμφικός; Τ. Σ[ά]λιος Ἴκελος; Π. Σωτάριος Ἴσπανός; Π. Τερέντιος Βλάστος; Μ. Οὐαλέριος Σεουῆρος Ὀκταουιανός; Λ. Οὐίρριος Παῦλος. There are also some recently

nomina ending in *-ianus* (e.g., *Resius*).² On the other hand, I have excluded persons attested in the Peloponnese but originating from somewhere else (e.g., Roman officials; the Alleius from Athens registered as *RP I*, ARG 13).

Altogether, I seem to be able to count around 3,700 persons with a recognizable Roman nomen; 268 nomina starting with *Acilius* and ending with *Vulteius*.³ This is not a very large number; in Macedonia, the number of different nomina seems to be around 690,⁴ in Asia 383⁵ and a single Italian city, if reasonably well documented, can produce hundreds of different nomina: in Pompeii the number of different nomina seems to be around 480, in Ostia around 740.⁶

However, if the number of different nomina is not very high, this is of course only what is to be expected in an Eastern province (or, as in this case, in a part of a province) with not very heavy Italian immigration but with quite a lot of people thought of by Romans as deserving Roman citizenship. In such provinces, it is normal to find a significant percentage of people – I am, of course, only speaking of people with Roman nomina – with imperial nomina and, in some cases, with nomina taken over from Roman governors somehow involved in the

process of the conferment of Roman citizenship on provincials. Nomina of governors are especially prominent in Lycia-Pamphylia where we find great numbers of Licinii and Marcii reflecting the governorships of C. Licinius Mucianus and Sex. Marcius Priscus in the middle of the first century. In the Peloponnese, this type of nomen is represented above all by *Memmius* with 62 attestations, the nomen of P. Memmius Regulus, governor of Achaëa and other provinces in A.D. 35-44 and clearly a most active person. In eastern Roman provinces which had come under Roman rule or at least influence during the Republic, it is also common to find quite a number of Antonii whose name must, in one way or another, derive from the presence in the East of Mark Antony;⁷ in a way, it would not be altogether incorrect to regard *Antonius* as an imperial, or at least “proto-imperial”, nomen.

As mentioned above, I have arrived at the number of around 3,700 persons equipped with a Roman nomen (and, of course, Roman citizenship) in the Peloponnese. Of these, 1028 persons, about 28% of the total, have, according to my calculations, an Imperial nomen, the most common being *Aurelius* (331),⁸ *Claudius* (289) and *Iulius* (254). If one excludes *Aurelius* which, because of the con-

published inscriptions from the Peloponnese which the editors of *RP* could not take into account: *AnnÉpigr* 2001, 1820 (Corinth): Cn. Sextius Cn. l. Pylades with son and wife of the same name; *AR* 2005/06, p. 20 (with fig. 33; Corinth): L. Tettius Diogenes, L. Tettius Thallus and a Tettia. The lecture Ἀπολη[α] Σωρεῖνα in an inscription said to be from Patras (*AD* 17, 1961/62, *B' Chron.* 127-28 no. 7) is erroneous, see the corrected edition of the text in Rizakis 1998, 115-16 no. 33. As for nomina the existence of which can be deduced from cognomina, note *Resius* and *Stlaccius*, cf. *Resianus* (*RP I*, COR 413) and *Stlaccianus* (*RP I*, COR 411). It is not uncommon to find, in the Peloponnese as in other places, cognomina being formed from nomina attested in the area; we thus find, e.g., both *Scribonius* and *Scribonianus* (*RP I*, EL 213), both *Spedius* and *Spedianus* (*RP I*, ARC 155), and both *Vireius* and *Vireianus* (*RP I*, ACH 26). It is no doubt only by chance that Resii and Stlaccii are not attested.

2. *Resius*: cf. previous note. On the other hand, I do not think that the Peloponnesian Crisprii should be deduced from the cognomen *Crispianus* (*RP II*, MES 136; *AnnÉpigr* 2004, 1348; thus A. J. S. Spawforth, in *Les italiens*, 102), for I think that this cognomen is derived from *Crispus* rather than from *Crispius* (cf. *Priscus* ~ *Priscianus*, *Severus* ~ *Severianus*, etc.).

3. In one case, the exact form of the name is unknown, namely in the case of [---]culeius (*RP I*, ACH 259). This might be *Acculeius*, a nomen attested in Macedonia, or *Aurunculeius*, attested in Asia, or perhaps *Proculeius*, attested both in Macedonia and Asia, but there are also quite a few other possibilities, and the matter must be left open. On the other hand, [---]ienus (*RP I*, ACH 263) can probably, in view of the existence of Billieni, be read as [Bill]ienus.

4. Tataki 2006, 51. The progress of scholarly work on Roman Macedonia is well illustrated by the fact that the number of nomina attested in Macedonia was given as 560 by the same author in 1996 in *Roman Onomastics*, 107.

5. Holtheide 1983, 20. However, it is not clear on exactly what sources this number is based, and I suspect that the real number must be much higher.

6. Pompeii: the numbering of Pompeian *gentes* in Castrén 1975 ends at 479. Ostia: Salomies 2002, 136 (I observe *ibid.* that the number of persons known by name from Ostian inscriptions seems to be around 6900).

7. Cf. Holtheide 1983, 32-39 for Antonii in Asia. He gives (p. 38) the number of Asian Antonii as 172.

8. But some of the Aurelii (note especially *RP I*, ACH 43-47) are early and have nothing to do with emperors. *Aurelius* was, of course, the name of a senatorial family prominent during the Republic. For imperial nomina in

sequences of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, belongs to a different category, one can say that the volume of the conferment of Roman citizenship slowly seems to dry up after the Julio-Claudians, for the numbers of Flavii (75) and Aelii (67) are much smaller, not to speak of Ulprii (11) and Septimii (1). Things were clearly different in Asia where the number of Flavii surpasses that of the Iulii and where there seem to be as many Aurelii as there were (according to Holtheide, cf. above) persons with a non-imperial nomen.⁹ Although it is not easy to extract all the numbers one would wish to have from Holtheide's work, one easily gets the impression that the share of persons with an imperial nomen in Asia far exceeded that in the Peloponnese, for if the number of about 2000 persons in Asia with a non-imperial nomen is approximately correct, this number must be compared to the fact that this is about the same number as that of the Iulii, Claudii and Flavii taken together (552 + 977 + 556 = 2,085; cf. *supra* n. 9), whereas in the Peloponnese the Iulii, Claudii and Flavii amount to 618 persons, their share being less than one fourth when compared with the number of persons, around 2,670, with a non-imperial nomen. This could mean either that there was more immigration (a phenomenon normally leading to the introduction of non-imperial nomina) to the Peloponnese than to Asia,¹⁰ or that the share of people being accorded Roman citizenship was larger in Asia. Perhaps it is best to consider both explanations.

If around 28% of Peloponnesians with Roman citizenship had an imperial nomen (cf. above), this naturally means that around 72% had a non-imperial nomen. In an article on the Italian city Ostia,¹¹ I suggested that it might be a reasonable idea to divide the non-imperial nomina into two groups, one consisting of very common nomina of the type

Valerius, Vibius, etc. which are found everywhere and one consisting of the rest. My assumption was that the more "cosmopolitan" a city was, the more often one would expect to find not only imperial, but also other common nomina of the type just mentioned whereas in a "provincial" place, the repertory of nomina would be dominated by less common, *i.e.*, more "local", nomina.

By designating imperial nomina with an 'A', non-imperial very common nomina¹² with a 'B', and the other nomina with a 'C', let us have a look at three Italian cities, Ostia, Aquileia, these two being port cities and Ostia in addition being a city close the capital, and Asisium, an important city but of the more "provincial" kind. The results are as follows:

	Ostia	Aquileia	Asisium
A	18.13%	14.61%	2.32%
B	19.81%	19.50%	13.58%
C	62.06%	65.89%	84.11%

One sees, then, that if one moves from Asisium to Ostia, the share of groups 'A' and 'B' grows significantly. It may be pointless to compare Italian cities with the Peloponnese, especially if one considers that people with imperial nomina in Italy tend to be freedmen and their descendants whereas, in the Eastern parts, they would normally often belong to the higher classes, but in spite of this it may be of some interest to present here the corresponding numbers regarding the Peloponnese. Here we find, as already mentioned in the abstract, 3,700 (to be more precise, 3,696) persons with a nomen. Of these, 1028 have an imperial nomen, and it follows that 2,668 persons have a non-imperial nomen. Of these people, again, 415 have one of the nomina belonging to group 'B', the most common non-imperial nomina, as defined *supra* in n. 12.¹³ This

Laconia cf. Box 1931, 201-09, with observations on imperial nomina being derived not directly from emperors (for imperial nomina in Laconia and Messenia cf. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996). Box's two articles, Box 1931 and 1932, also contain observations (not all of them persuasive) on nomina possibly derived from Roman officials.

9. Holtheide 1983, 86 gives the number of Flavii as 556, that of the Iulii as 552. For the Aurelii the number 1867 is given p. 163 n. 342 (*ibid.*: 977 Claudii).

10. It should be obvious that I am talking about relative, not absolute numbers.

11. Salomies 2002, 137-38.

12. For this group and its definition, see Salomies 2002, 137 n. 7, this being based on observations presented by me in *Arctos* 32, 1998, 215-16. Nomina belonging to this group are the following: *Acilius Aemilius Annius Antistius Antonius Ap(p)uleius Attius Aufidius Baebius Cassius Cornelius Domitius Egnatius Herennius Iunius Licinius Marius Memmius Octavius Petronius Pomponius Popillius Sempronius Terentius Valerius Vettius Vibius*.

13. All the nomina in this group are represented in the Peloponnese, although some of them seem to be represented

leaves 2,253 for group 'C', the rest of the nomina. With these numbers, we arrive at the following statistics for the Peloponnese:

A	27.81%
B	11.23%
C	60.96%

One sees, then, that the assortment of nomina in the Peloponnese differs from that which seems to be about normal in Italy, especially in the fact that imperial nomina are much more numerous than nomina belonging to group 'B'. This may come, e.g., from the fact that some of nomina in group 'B', for instance *Annius* and *Vettius*, nomina which one normally finds in large numbers everywhere in Italy, are badly represented in the Peloponnese. However, it is true that a comparison between a Greek-speaking area and Italian cities is rather pointless and perhaps does not really illustrate anything; therefore let us move on to a comparison first between Delos and the Peloponnese, then among the Peloponnesian regions, and then between the Peloponnese and the rest of the Greek East, the motive being to try to identify some special features in the Roman onomastics of the Peloponnese.

First of all, Delos. It is, of course, well known that, after the decline of Delos, representatives of families moved from Delos to other places in the East, this observation being based on the fact that one starts to find representatives of *gentes* earlier

attested on Delos in other centres of the Aegean area.¹⁴ I do not seem to recall the Delian exodus being studied from a Peloponnesian point of view, and so it might be of some use to have a look at the nomina attested on Delos on the one hand and on those attested in the Peloponnese on the other in order to see whether this might lead to any interesting observations. According to my calculations, there are 80 nomina attested on Delos which one also finds in the Peloponnese.¹⁵ However, many of them (*Aemilius Caecilius Cornelius*, etc.) are common names which one would expect to find anywhere. On the other hand, there are also some nomina which may be of some significance; e.g., in the case of not very common, or, in some cases (*Atanius Orarius*, etc.), most uncommon, names like *Atanius Castricius Cossinius Flaminius Gerillanus Granius Heius Mescinius Ofellius Ofillius Olius Orarius Orcius* (? RP I, ARG 198) *Paconius* (note, e.g., that some of the *Paconii* in the Peloponnese are early) *Pactumeius Saufeius Seius Spedius Stlaccius* it might be assumed that their presence both on Delos and in the Peloponnese could be explained by people having moved from Delos to the Peloponnese.

On the other hand, there is also a group of 105 nomina found on Delos but not, or at least not yet, attested in the Peloponnese.¹⁶ Many of these are, of course, rare nomina, and in the case of some of them, the attestation on Delos is the only one (thus *Canta[---] Diobellius* [?] *Pediasius*, etc.). But it is

by only one known person of that name (thus at least in the case of *Acilius* and *Annius*). On the other hand, some of the names in this group are well represented, above all *Antonius* (109) and *Memmius* (62).

14. Cf. my observations, with references to other studies on the theme, in Salomies 2007, 1274-77.

15. Nomina attested both on Delos and in the Peloponnese: *Aemilius Annius Antonius Appius Arellius* (I think that this is the correct nomen of RP I, COR 84) *Arrius Atanius Aufidius Caecilius Calpurnius Castricius Claudius Clodius Cluvius Cornelius Cornificius Cossinius Decimius Egnatius Fabius Flaminius Fulvius Furius Gerillanus Granius Heius Helvius Hostilius Laberius Laelius Licinius Lollius Luceius Maecius Mamilius Marcius Memmius Mescinius Messius Mindius Mintius Minucius Munatius Naevius Novellius Novius Nummius Octavius Ofellius Ofillius Olius Oppius Orarius Orcius Paconius Pactumeius Petronius Pinarius Plautius Plinius Plotius Pomponius Popillius Porcius Postumius Publilius Quintius Rutilius Saufeius Seius Servilius Spedius Stlaccius Sulpicius Tullius Turpilius Varius Vetulenus Veturius Vibius Volusius*.

16. Names on Delos not attested in the Peloponnese: *Acutius Agirius Aliceius Alleius* (the *Alleius* in RP I, ARG 13 is from Athens) *Allidius Ammius Ampius Anicius Annaeus Attiolenus Audius Aulius Avianus Avil(i)us Avius Avonius Babullius Bombius Caesonius Caltius Calvius Campius Canta[---] Capinius Carvilius Cerrinius Cincius Cispus Cossutius Cottius Crassicius Crepereius Critonius Curvius Diobellius* (?) *Erucius Fabricius Felsonius Gessius Graeceius Heterieus Hordeonius Labienus Laronius Lucretius Lusius Luxius Magulnius Mentius* (= *Mintius*) *Mevius Minatius Morasius Mundicius Nerius Nimmius Nonius Numitorius Obellius Ocratius Ofidius Ogulnius Orbius Otacilius Pandusinus Pediasius Pedius Petennaes Petilius Pettius Plaetorius Plutidius Pompilius Pumidius Raecius Raius Rasennius Sallustius Samiarius Serpoleius Sestius Sextilius Sillius Spurius Staius Stalceius Stenius Stertinus Sullius Tertius Titinius Trebellius Tuccius Tuscenius Tutorius Venuleius Veratius Verginius Veveius Vicirius Vinicius Viseius Visellius Volcius Voluseius*.

true that there are some nomina which are relatively common on Delos but of which there seems to be no trace in the Peloponnese; note especially *Audius Babullius Nerius Pedius Raecius Sextilius Stertinius*, of which there are in each case at least five different attestations on Delos. All of these are also nomina which one finds represented either in other parts of Achaëa or in Macedonia (thus *Audius Babullius Stertinius*, these names, of course, being attested in other eastern provinces) or in other places in the East (thus *Nerius Pedius Raecius Sextilius*).¹⁷ In fact, quite a few of the nomina attested on Delos, but not in the Peloponnese, are found in other parts of Achaëa and in Macedonia.¹⁸ One could, then, conclude that although there are clear indications that there was some emigration from Delos to various parts of the Peloponnese, the peninsula was not the main objective of those leaving the island for some place in Greece and Macedonia, not to speak of the emigrants in general, of whom the great majority headed (as has been established long ago) for the islands of the eastern Aegean and for Asia.

Let us now turn to the nomina actually attested in the Peloponnese and to a comparison of this material with the rest of Greece. However, to remain for a moment in the Peloponnese, observe that, in the seven areas of the Peloponnese, Achaëa, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, Elis, Laconia and Messenia, only seven nomina are attested in all the seven regions: *Aelius Antonius Aurelius Claudius Flavius Iulius Valerius*, these nomina being of the most banal kind. Seven nomina (*Antistius Clodius Cornelius Gellius*¹⁹ *Iunius Octavius Pompeius*) are attested in six of the regions and four (*Caecilius Licinius Memmius Paconius*) in five of them. The rest of the nomina are found in a smaller number of Peloponnesian regions; in fact, most of the nom-

ina are attested in only one region. Of these, many are of course nomina for which there are very few attestations, often only one. On the other hand, note, e.g., that there are eight Vetuleni in Elis (*RPI*, EL 332-34, 336-40), but none anywhere else; or that there are eight or more Babbii in Corinthia (*RPI*, COR 106-12, cf. 660 and *supra* n. 1) and perhaps one in Achaëa in Patrae (*RPI*, ACH 51),²⁰ but none anywhere else. Similar observations could be made, e.g., in the case of Aequani, Maecii and Pacuii. The impression one gets is, then, that the distribution of Roman nomina in the Peloponnese offers much variety. The nomina in the Peloponnese thus seem to reflect the great variety of the Peloponnesian regions themselves.

As for a comparison between the nomina in the Peloponnese and those in the rest of the Greek world and in the Roman world in general, we may start by stating the obvious, namely that the Peloponnese offers a selection of Roman nomina that ranges from the most common to the singular. Let me illustrate this statement by dividing the Greek world into five areas, the (A) Peloponnese, (B) Delos, (C) the rest of Achaëa (including Epirus and Thessaly), (D) Macedonia and (E) the rest of the Greek world excluding the Near East, and continue by studying whether the nomina attested in the Peloponnese can be found in one or more of the defined regions. (It hardly needs stressing here that what is said in the following may not be the last word on the subject, since a nomen found in a particular region may, in many cases, be attested just by one inscription. This would mean that, for instance, the publication of just one inscription from [say] Philippi with the nomen *Arellius* [not yet found in Macedonia] would upgrade the status of *Arellius* to that of a nomen attested in all of the said regions.)²¹

17. Some of these nomina are, however, not very common in the East. For *Nerius* cf. *IG XII*. 6, 2, 571 (Samos) and *I. Eph.* 1032, l. 14; 2293; for *Raecius* see *TAM V* 2, 1101 (Thyatira).

18. In addition to those mentioned above, note the following: *Acutius Aliceius Alleius Allidius Annaeus Aulius Avil(i)us Avius Avonius Capinius Carvilius Cerrinius Cincius Cispus Cossutius Cottius Crepereius Critonius Curvius Fabricius Graeceius Heterieus Hordeonius Lucretius Luxius Magulnius Mevius Minatius Mundicius Nonius Numitorius Ocratius Ofidius Orbius Otacilius Pandusinus Petilius Plaetorius Pompilius Raius Rasennius* (no doubt identical with *Rasinius* attested in Philippi) *Sallustius Sestius Sillius Titinius Trebellius Tutorius Veratius Verginius Vicirius Visellius*. There are, of course, also many nomina attested both on Delos and in other eastern provinces but not in Achaëa or Macedonia.

19. Perhaps only in five, as the Gellia *RPI* II, MES 204 is a bit uncertain.

20. Only *Baf---* has been preserved. But note also the tribe *Quirina*, pointing to Patrae, of *RPI*, COR 112.

21. The information presented below is based on my own collections; as we are dealing with a great number of nomina with numerous attestations, it must be obvious that I can give references for only some interesting cases. (In the case of Delos, references will not be given, since they can all be found in the list in *Les italiens*, 186-221.)

There is a group of nomina which one finds both on Delos and in the Peloponnese and in the other areas (thus, ABCDE); they are the following: *Acilius Aemilius Annius Antonius Arrius Atanius Aufidius Aurelius Caecilius Calpurnius Castricius Claudius Clodius Cluvius Cornelius Cornuficius Decumius Egnatius Fabius Fulvius Furius Granus Hostilius Laelius Licinius Lollius Maecius Mamilius Marcius Memmius Messius Minucius Munatius Naevius Novius Octavius Ofellius Ofillius Olius Paconius Petronius Pinarius Plotius Pomponius Popillius Porcius Postumius (?)²² Publicius Quintius Rutilius Saufeius Servilius Spedius Sulpicius Tullius Varius Veturius Vibius Volusius*. It will not come as a surprise that these are, in general, fairly common nomina. The only exception seems to be *Atanius*, which is, for the most part, a rare nomen but which is found all around the East, though not in great numbers.²³

Then there is group of nomina which are attested on Delos, in the Peloponnese and in the rest of the East with the exception of Macedonia (thus, ABCE): *Arellius Cossinius Flaminius Gerellanus Heius Laberius²⁴ Mindius Nummius Pactumeius*. Most of these nomina play a prominent role in discussions of emigration from Delos to other parts of the East; however, although, e.g., Gerellani are so well represented in Western Asia, none of them seems to have moved to Macedonia.

To go on, there are some nomina which seem to be attested in all of the above regions with the exclusion of Achaëa outside of the Peloponnese (thus, apparently no instances in, e.g., Athens: ABDE):

Appius Helvius Luccius Novellius Oppius Plautius Publilius Seius²⁵ Turpilius.

Finally, to conclude with nomina attested both on Delos and in the Peloponnese, there are nomina which are also attested in the rest of Achaëa but not elsewhere (ABC: *Orarius*) and some which are not found in Achaëa outside the Peloponnese and in Macedonia but elsewhere in the East (ABE: *Furnius Stlaccius*); there is also one nomen which seems to be found only on Delos and in the Peloponnese (thus, AB), namely *Orcius*.²⁶

As for nomina not found on Delos, there is a group attested, in addition to the Peloponnese, in the rest of the East (thus, ACDE): *Aelius Aequanus Ageleius* (and *Agileius*, etc.)²⁷ *Antistius Ap(p)onius Appuleius Aquilius Arruntius Atilius Avidius Baebius Caesennius Caesius Caninius Cassius Cocceius Coelius Curtius Didius Domitius Flavius Fuficius Gellius Geminius Herennius Iulius Iunius Iuventius Larcus Livius Marius Mussius Numisius Papius Papius Pompeius Pontius Salvius Scribonius Sempromius Sentius Septimius Sextius Sosius Statilius Statius Terentius Turranius Ulpius Valerius Ventidius Vergilius Vettius*.

Then there are some nomina found in all of Achaëa and in Macedonia, but not elsewhere (ACD): *Bennius Fulvinius Tadius*. Some nomina are found in all of Achaëa and in other parts of the Greek world, but not in Macedonia (ACE): *Albinus Asinius Babbius Barbatius Bill(i)enus²⁸ Caelius Curius Fufius Grattius Maenius Manlius Numerius Occius²⁹ Roscius Rubrius Saenius Vallius Vedius Vibullius Vipsanius*

22. In the case of *Postumius*, the attestations are uncertain (*RPI*, COR 490; *RP II*, MES 308), and in the rest of the province of Achaëa I seem to be able to locate only the Trajanic ephebe from Marathon, Α. Πουστούμιος (*sic!*) Πόπλιος (*IG II²*, 2193, l. 29 = Byrne 2003, 417 no. 1).

23. *Atanius* from Sicyon: see *supra* n. 1; Athens: *IG II²*, 7547 (cf. also an *Atania*, Τυρία, in *Agora XVII*, 674); Dion: *SEG* 46, 1996, 800; Samos: *IG XII*. 6, 2, 714 (an *Aulus*, like the one on Delos); Cyzicus: *SEG* 40, 1990, 1128 = *AnnÉpigr* 1993, 1447; Smyrna: *I. Smyrna*, 597.

24. In the Peloponnese: see *supra* n. 1.

25. On the *Seii* cf. E. Deniaux, in *Les Italiens*, 29-39.

26. But the attestation in Argos is a bit uncertain (see *RPI*, ARG 198).

27. For this nomen, cf. my observation in *Roman Onomastics*, 118; A. D. Rizakis, in *Les italiens*, 125 (without the new attestations). The appearance of this nomen in the Peloponnese in Messene is of recent date (*RPI*, MES 10-11; *AnnÉpigr* 2002, 1315).

28. In Greece, this nomen seems to be attested outside the Peloponnese only in Nicopolis (*AEM* 14, 1891, 114 = Samsaris 1994, 202 (Βιλλήνοϋς); there is also a Βιλλήνοϋς in an (unpublished?) inscription seen by me in the Nicopolis museum in 1999. In Asia Minor, there is an attestation in Lystra (*CIL* III, 6790 = *MAMA VIII*, 26). This dearth of attestations of this nomen in other places is compensated by Cyrene, where this is a common nomen (see especially *SEG* 9, 1938, nos 561, 612 and 33, 1983, nos 1389, 1394 [?], 1400, 1403). There is, of course, a *Billienus* on Delos (*ID* 1710 etc.), but this is a senator.

29. Outside Greece this nomen seems to be attested only in Cyzicus (*SEG* 33, 1983, 1056).

Virrius Vitellius. On the other hand, some nomina do not seem to be attested in Achaëa outside the Peloponnese, but are found in Macedonia and in other places in the East (ADE): *Aebutius Aeficius Attius Autronius Cascellius Faenius Folius Gavius Geganius Laetilius Lartidius Mallius Mamius Pacicius Peticius Pinnius Quintilius*³⁰ *Varronius Vatinius Volumnius*.

To go on, there are also nomina which seem to be attested only in the Peloponnese and in one of the above regions; there are *Aenius*³¹ and *Puticius*³² in the Peloponnese and the rest of Achaëa but nowhere else (AC) and only in the Peloponnese and in Macedonia (AD) one can find *Caetronius Calpetanus*³³ *Canius Cutius Insteius Mutius*. Finally, there is a significant number of nomina which one encounters only in the Peloponnese on the one hand and outside mainland Greece on the other: *Anteus Apronius Arm[inius?]* (RPI, ARC 10) *Betutius Cafatius*³⁴ *Callianus/Callius*³⁵ *Coranus Decrius*

*Doius*³⁶ *Gabinius Genucius Lanus* (very uncertain: RPI, COR 140)³⁷ *Lucanius* (RPI, ARG 168 and in Corinth, see *supra* n. 1) *Lucenus Maedius*³⁸ *Mescinius Ninnius Oclatius Pacius Pantuleius Perperna Publius Romanus Salius Sullius (?)*³⁹ *Timinius*⁴⁰ *Velius Volussenus Vulteius*.⁴¹

Finally, there are nomina for which there are no attestations in the East outside the Peloponnese, and some nomina of which the attestations in the Peloponnese are the only ones in the whole of the Roman world. As for this latter group, perhaps less interesting as it does not seem possible to say anything of meaning concerning names attested only once, it consists of the following nomina: *Alliatius Appulus Cispuleius Cuspinius (?) Durcatius Gaegilius (?) Iustitius Mellennius Sufitius*⁴² *Sotarius* (see *supra* n. 1) *Vetullus*. Some of these nomina may be a bit uncertain,⁴³ but most of them are splendid names of which one would like to know more.

The nomina attested in the East only in the

30. Note, in addition to Quintilianus RPI, EL 311, the Quintilius honoured at Delphi designated as both Ephesian and Eleian (see *supra* n. 1).

31. It seems probable that the nomen Αἴν[ε]ῖος in SEG 21, 1965, 907 from Athens could be identical with *Aenius*; for the orthography cf., e.g., Κλαύδειος (*Altert. Hierapolis* 82, *I. Heraclea Pont.* 8, *IGUR* 346), Φλάουειος Φλάβειος (*IG X*, 2, 1, 771; *AnnÉpigr* 1990, 927 [Ephesus]), Ἰούλειος (*I. Eph.* V, 1648, *Alt. Hierapolis* 60, *IGR I*, 1340).

32. *Puticius* (RPI, COR 515-23) is no doubt identical with Ποτικίος attested in Athens (*IG II*², 2020, 47; not in Byrne, but registered in Traill 2005, 393 no. 786160).

33. SEG 2, 1924, 362 = *I. Apollonia* 175. This man is thought by some scholars to have taken his nomen from C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus, legate of Dalmatia under Nero (see *PIR*² C 235).

34. Also in Perge (*I. Perge* II, 378; according to the photo, the reading is also *Cafatius* in the Latin part).

35. If *Callianus* is nearly identical with *Callius* (for nomina in *-ius* furnished with the suffix *-ianus* in Greece, see *Arctos* 18, 1984, 97-104), then one could draw attention to the attestation of *Callius* in Sinope (*I. Sinope*, 214; cf. *AnnÉpigr* 2004, 1380).

36. Also in Crete, *I. Cret.* IV, 290.

37. *Lanius* (if this is the reading of *Corinth* VIII.3, 353) seems to be attested also on Lesbos and in Pompeiopolis; cf. my paper cited *supra* n. 14, p. 1279.

38. Also in Crete, *I. Cret.* II 16, 20 (but used as single name).

39. Perhaps one could say that the name is also attested in Nicaea, as T. Sullius Albanus, a marine appearing in *CIL X*, 3553, must be identical with the man of about the same name in *CIL X*, 3406 who says he is from Nicaea. But the nomenclature of marines is a complicated matter (for some observations, see *Arctos* 30, 1996, 167-86), and there is also the problem that the man in *CIL X*, 3406 seems to call himself *Suillius* rather than *Sullius*.

40. Also in Philomelium, *AnnÉpigr* 1986, 676 = *I. Sultandağ*, 36.

41. Also in Crete: *I. Cret.* II 28, 3. The number of nomina found in the East only in the Peloponnese and in Crete is interesting.

42. *Sufitius* is the reading of the inscription, now lost, *CIL III*, 514 = Rizakis 1998, no. 141; this is normally emended to *Sulpicius*, but there seems to be no reason for this, for names such as *Sufius Suf(f)icius Sufidius* can be referred to as parallels; and cf. for the existence of nomina ending in *-itius* along with nomina ending in *-idius*, e.g., *Decitius* and *Decidius*, etc.

43. Thus *Cuspinius* (RPII, LAC 341 from *IG V* 1, 1054 with [K]οσπίνντος – in view of *Cuspis* and *Cuspidius* this is a plausible restoration), *Gaegilius* (RPII, MES 202, used as a single name). By the way, one wonders whether this name could not be thought of as identical with *Gagilius*, a nomen attested *CIL IX*, 2000 from Beneventum – interestingly as the second nomen of a certain M. Trebulan(us) Gagili(us) Telesforian(us), whose first nomen is also attested in the Peloponnese, and nowhere else in the East.

Peloponnese are the following: *Aepicius Aetrius Annusidius Apolli(naris?)*⁴⁴ *Appalenus Aprius At(t)e-dius Axius Bellius Cacurius Caelerius Fuficulenus Gemonius Heredius Hermidius Ingenuus Lerijs Nervinius Pittius Silvius Tallius Trebellenus Trebulanus Tulleius Vatronius Vespicius Vibulleius Vireius*. Some of these names are not particularly rare (thus, e.g., *Aetrius Axius Trebulanus* – a nomen derived from *Trebula*, the name of several Italian cities), whereas some are of great interest. I shall finish this article with a quick look at the distribution of some of the more interesting names about which something can be said⁴⁵ (adding a nomen or two of interest from the groups of nomina discussed previously).

Aenius. Apparently also in Athens (cf. *supra* n. 31). The only instance of this nomen of possible significance is *AnnÉpigr* 1997, 267 = *Suppl. Ital.* 16 Aletrium 17, this nomen (and its variant *Aen-nius*) otherwise being attested only in Rome (*CIL* VI, 1058, ii 93, a soldier of the *vigiles*, A.D. 210) or in the provinces.⁴⁶ Perhaps one might think that this nomen originated from Aletrium or at least from Northern Latium.

Aepicius. Outside Patrae, this nomen is attested only in Rome and in Praeneste (*CIL* I², 2991a = VI, 37169, cf. *Celio* 381; *CIL* I², 2446). It seems, then, that this is one of the many names originating from Praeneste (a city from which the inhabitants were not unwilling to emigrate).

Annusidius. In this form, this nomen is attested only in Patrae, but it is obvious that it is identical with *Annisidius* (cf. *maxumus* = *maximus*, etc.), a nomen attested exclusively in N. Italy in Placentia

(*CIL* XI, 1247) and not far from there, in Veleia (*CIL* XI, 1147, 5, 78 *fundus Annisidiani*), which, I think, settles the question about the origin of the nomen.

Appalenus.⁴⁷ This nomen is attested twice in Barium (*CIL* IX, 288-89; noted in *RP* I ARC 8), this possibly indicating that the Appaleni in the Peloponnese may have come from this area. Otherwise, it is attested only in Rome (*CIL* VI, 12179, in the form *Appalenijs*, and as the cognomen of P. Marcius Appalenus *BCAR* 53, 1925, 222 n. 54).⁴⁸

Aprius. In Italy, this nomen is attested only in Samnium in a place called Montemiletto, a bit SE of Beneventum (*CIL* IX, 2083, with the tribe Mene-nia). But this nomen has a provincial ring (three instances both in *CIL* XII and XIII; *CIL* III, 5835a, 14812; *RIU* 289), and the Aprius in Olympia (*RP* I, EL 52) may have a provincial background.

Babbijus, attested in Corinth, perhaps in Patrae (cf. *supra* at n. 20), in Delphi and in Magnesia on the Maeander,⁴⁹ is a nomen attested in Aeclanum both in Oscan (Vetter 1953, no. 166) and in Latin inscriptions (*AnnÉpigr* 1997, 394 = 1998, 378), and it may well originate in this area. There are also a couple of instances in Campania (*CIL* X, 2850, Puteoli; 3699 = *ILS* 4174, Cumae) and one from Luceria (*CIL* IX, 839). The rest of the attestations are scattered and of not much relevance.

Cacurius. Apart from attestations in Praeneste (*CIL* XIV, 3032) and in Rome, this nomen seems to be attested in Italy only in the north;⁵⁰ perhaps one could then say that the Cacurius in Troezen (*RPI*, ARG 65) has a northern Italian background.

Caelerius. The only other instance of this nomen

44. This is perhaps the correct interpretation of the nomen attested in Rizakis 1998, no. 36 (= *RP* I, ACH 31). *Apollinaris* is a typical “military” nomen (cf. Mann 2002, 230 f.), for the attestations of which see Solin, Salomies 1994, 18.

45. This means that I am not going to discuss names which might be of interest but the attestations of which do not seem to take us anywhere. E.g., *Lucenus*, attested in the East in Olympia, Thebes (thus S. Zoumbaki, in *Roman Onomastics*, 202) and Nicaea (*IGR* III, 41 = *I. Iznik* 58), does not seem to be attested at all as a nomen in Italy with the exception of *CIL* VI, 14643 (in the form *Lucenijs*, attested also *CIL* XII, 4063 *add.*), and is thus not of great interest.

46. *AnnÉpigr* 1981, 609 = *I. Nice-Cimiez* 82; *ILJug.* 130 (Salona). The rest of the instances are from Africa: *CIL* VIII, 2799, 21675; *AnnÉpigr* 1982, 958 (Thamugadi). I am not sure what to do with “*D. Aeni*” in *ASS* 12, 1887, 281 no. 645 (Eryx). In the *fistula* *CIL* XIV, 2668 = XV 7874, the correct reading is *Anneius* (*BCAR* ***, 1902, 323).

47. Cf. Spawforth 1974. The $\lambda\omicron[\gamma\iota\sigma]τῆς$ in *IG* V 2, 155 (*RPI*, ARC 8) is no doubt also from Corinth.

48. Taking into account the fact that the letters *L* and *I* are often hard to distinguish from each other, one wonders whether some of the *Appaleni* (*CIL* VI, 14699, 31682 [*PIR*² A 144]; *AnnÉpigr* 1987, 116 [Rome]) might not in fact be *Appaleni*. However, that would not help us very much.

49. Some of the quite numerous *Babbij* in Delphi and the *Babbijus* in Magnesia (*I. Magnesia* 286) have the praenomen *Gnaeus* attested in Corinth and thus probably come from Corinth.

50. *CIL* V, 5985 (Mediolanum); *I. Aquileia* 931; *Inscr. Ital.* X 1, 232 (Pola). For an instance in Sicily, see Cic., *Verr.* 2, 4, 37 (C. Cacurius; not in *RE*). There is also a certain Cacurius Montanus attested at Vindolanda, who might be an equestrian officer (A. R. Birley, *Electrum* 5, 2001, 27).

anywhere seems to be *CIL VIII*, 26785 (Thugga). However, problems are introduced by the fact that this may well be a vulgar orthography of *Celerius*.

Doius, attested in Corinth and in Gortyn (see *supra* n. 36), is a nomen attested in Italy (in addition to Rome) on the one hand in an area between Venafrum, Bovianum and (more to the south) Paestum,⁵¹ and, on the other hand, in Umbria in Mevania and in Arna not far from Mevania.⁵² The Doii in Greece must have come from one of these areas.

Gemonius seems to be attested, in addition to Messene (*RP II*, MES 205), only in Pisaurum (*CIL XI*, 6689, 116) and in Piquentum in Istria (*CIL V*, 446-47 = *Inscr. Ital.* X 3, 142, 187). Because of the existence of the *scalae Gemoniae* in Rome (Coarelli 1999, inexplicably without any reference to the mentions of these *scalae* in epigraphic sources), a person called Gemonius may possibly have existed in the early days of Rome; however this does not seem to be enough to prevent us from assigning tentatively a northern Adriatic background to the Gemonii in Messene.

Heredius (*RP I*, ACH 129 from Rizakis, 1998, no. 95) is a nomen attested in Italy in Rome (*CIL VI*, 19298) and Iguvium (*CIL XI*, 5906). The rest of the attestations come (in addition to that in Patrae) from Narona (*CIL III*, 1813, a soldier; unfortunately he has the tribe Palatina which is not very informative) and from Africa.⁵³ Perhaps it could, then, be said that *Heredius* may have originated in Iguvium or more generally in Umbria.

Hermidius, attested in Corinth, is otherwise found only in a place called Poggiarello close to Viterbo in southern Etruria (*AnnÉpigr* 1990, 337) and in the Aemilia in Forum Cornelii (modern Imola; *CIL XI*, 682).

Ingenuus. This nomen, which must be identical

with *Ingenus*, *Ingenu(v)ius*, etc., does not seem to be attested in central and northern Italy; its attestations in *CIL V*, III, XII and XIII⁵⁴ point to the fact that the name may have a Celtic background.

Lerius (*RP II*, MES 240) may have been a nomen of Umbrian origin, as it is attested, in addition to Rome (*ICUR* 17070) and Messene, only in Fulginiae (*CIL XI*, 5218) and some 20 km from there, in Asisium (*CIL XI*, 5563 = *ILS* 7993 = *Epigr. Assisi* 234).⁵⁵

Maedius, attested in Patrae and in Crete (see *supra* n. 38), is otherwise found only in Rome (*AnnÉpigr* 2001, 388) and in Thugga in Africa,⁵⁶ but once in Apulia (*CIL IX*, 6253), which might be taken as a clue as to its origin.

Nervinius (*RP II*, LAC 595) may be another nomen of Umbrian origin, for it is found in Iguvium (*CIL XI*, 5883) and in Interamna Nahars (*CIL XI*, 4329 = *ICI VI* 18); note also *Silvanus Nervinianus* being worshipped in Cures, a Sabine town close to the border with Umbria (*AnnÉpigr* 1994, 560). Otherwise, there is not much.⁵⁷

Pittius (*RP II*, MES 299) does not seem to be attested elsewhere, but may probably be thought of as a variant of *Pitius*, attested in Puteoli (*CIL X*, 2367, 2850) and in Potentia in Lucania (*AnnÉpigr* 1927, 13), this perhaps lending a Campano-Lucanian character to the name.⁵⁸

Puticius (in Corinth and Athens, cf. *supra* n. 32) is found in Tarentum (*CIL IX*, 6157 = *ILS* 2251 = *EE VIII*, 53), but this is soldier with the tribe Maecia which is not that of Tarentum but, e.g., that of neighbouring Brundisium. On the other hand, the name is also found in Herculaneum (*CIL IV*, 10852) close to another city in the tribe Maecia, Naples. Otherwise there is, as far as I can see, only an uncertain instance from Altinum in northern Italy.⁵⁹

51. *AnnÉpigr* 1999, 480 (Venafrum), *CIL X*, 4796 (Teaenum), *AnnÉpigr* 1996, 490 (Bovianum), *RPC I*, nos 604 and 605 (Paestum). There is also an instance from northern Italy, *CIL V*, 2524 (Ateste).

52. *CIL XI*, 5066, 5095, 5607.

53. *CIL VIII*, 1459, 26032, 25896 = M. Khanoussi, L. Maurin, *Mourir à Dougga: recueil des inscriptions funéraires*, 2002, nos 486 and 489.

54. *CIL V*, 2383, 5866; III, 1400, 10836; XII, 2262, 5814; XIII, 3635, 4190, 5777, 8207 (cf. also, e.g., *AnnÉpigr* 1981, 683).

55. In *AnnÉpigr* 1964, 103 = *ILSard.* 332 the reading must be [*Va*]lerius, not *Lerius* (*AnnÉpigr* 1990, 467a).

56. *CIL VIII*, 26471, 27011-12.

57. In Rome: *CIL VI*, 1057, iv 48 (identical with the man in 22929?), 27866. *AnnÉpigr* 1978, 565 (Vindonissa); G.Ch. Picard, *Castellum Dimmidi*, Paris 1944, 177 (C. Aelius Nervinianu[s]).

58. The rest of the attestations are in *CIL XII* (3601) and in *CIL III* (3128, 4518, 4602 from Dalmatia and Pannonia Superior).

59. *NSA* 1928 fasc. 7-9, 283, *balinea Sergium et Puti[cium] (?)* (*Putinium*, suggested by the editors, might be another possibility).

Timinius, attested in Messene and Philomelium (see *supra* n. 40). The earlyish *Timinius* in Philomelium has the tribe Teretina which happens to be attested for another *Timinius* in an inscription from Atina in Latium Adiectum (*AnnÉpigr* 1981, 212a), a city in the Teretina. A reasonable suggestion would, then, be that the *Timinius* in Philomelium also came from Atina, and as one would expect there to be some connection between the only two *Timinii* attested in the East, one might tentatively suggest a background in or near Atina also for the man in Messene. For another instance of *Timinius* in the area, see *CIL* X, 5526 (Aquinum); the name is also attested in northern Latium in Praeneste and Tusculum.⁶⁰

It is normally assumed (thus Box 1932, 172; in *RP*) that the nomen *Trebellenus* (*RP* II, LAC 699-702, the praenomen being *Titus*) must somehow be connected with the early imperial senator from Concordia, T. Trebellenus Rufus (W. Hoffmann, *RE* VI A.2 [1937] 2261-62 s.v.), and this seems most likely indeed. What is interesting about this nomen is that, apart from the senator (whom one would expect to produce freedmen and the like) and the people in the Peloponnese, it does not seem to be attested anywhere except once in Rome.⁶¹ If one assumes that *Trebellenus* is almost the same as *Trebellienus*, things do not improve much, as this nomen, too, is extremely rare, being attested only in Rome and in Telesia (*CIL* VI, 27577; IX, 2306).

Vatronius (*RP* I, COR 608-611) is a nomen attested, apart from Rome and Ostia,⁶² almost exclusively in Praeneste.⁶³ In view of this, and of the fact that a *Vatronius* in Corinth has the tribe Menenia attested for Praeneste, it seems quite certain that the *Vatronii* in Corinth originally came from Praeneste (thus A. J. S. Spawforth in *Roman Onomastics*, 168).

Vespicius (*RP* I, ARG 262) is attested in Italy only once in Telesia in Samnium (*CIL* IX, 2239) and once in an early inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI, 8376 = I², 1180). Possibly, then, the *Vespicia* in Nauplion (?) had a Telesian background.

Olli Salomies
University of Helsinki

Bibliography

- Box (H.), 1931: "Roman Citizenship in Laconia. Part I", *JRS* 21, 200-14.
- , 1932: "Roman Citizenship in Laconia. Part II", *JRS* 22, 165-83.
- Byrne (S.), 2003: *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Leuven.
- Castrén (P.), 1975: *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Roma.
- Coarelli (F.), 1999: "Scalae Gemoniae", in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* IV, Roma, 241.
- Feraudi-Grénais (F.), 2003: *Inscripfen und "Selbstdarstellung" in stadtrömischen Grabbauten*, Wiesbaden.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (C.), 1996: "Diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine: notes sur les gentilices impériaux en Laconie et en Messénie", in A. Chastagnol et al. (eds), *Splendidissima civitas. Études d'histoire romaine en hommage à F. Jacques*, Paris, 133-49.
- Holtheide (B.), 1983: *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia*, Freiburg.
- Les italiens*: Chr. Müller, Cl. Hasenohr (eds), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec: IIe siècle av. J.-C. - Ier siècle ap. J.-C.: circulation, activités intégration, Actes de la table ronde Paris 1998*, BCH Suppl. 41, Paris 2002.
- Mann (J. C.), 2002: "Name Forms of Recipients of Diplomas", *ZPE* 139, 230-31.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1998: *Achaïe II: La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 25, Athènes.
- Roman Onomastics*: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects*, Meletemata 21, Athens 1996.
- RP* I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP* II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Salomies, (O.) 2002: "People in Ostia. Some Onomastic Observations", in Chr. Bruun, A. Gallina Zevi (eds), *Ostia e Portus nelle loro relazioni con Roma*, Atti del Convegno all'Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 3 e 4 dicembre 1999, Roma, 135-59.
- , 2007: "Social and Geographical Mobility: Westerners in the East. Onomastic Observations", in M. Mayer i Olivé, G. Baratta, A. Guzmán Almagro, *Acta XII Congressus internationalis epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus*

60. *AnnÉpigr* 1991, 405; *CIL* XIV, 2566. It must, however, be noted that the name is also attested in some other places, e.g., in Peltuinum and Superaequum and Capena (*CIL* XI, 3863, cf. *Timinianus* in Capena, *AnnÉpigr* 2003, 642).

61. Feraudi-Grénais 2003, 86 no. 60.

62. *CIL* VI, 25041, 28379-28381; *Tituli* 2, 1980, 107-08 no. 6; five instances in *CIL* XIV, 250 (Ostia).

63. *CIL* I², 171. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 1450. 1460. 3054. Otherwise *Vatronius* is attested only in Africa (*CIL* VIII, 4130, 8972, 22988).

- Descriptae, Barcelona, 3-8 Septembris 2002*, Barcelona, 1269-280.
- Samsaris (D.), 1994: *Ἡ Ἀκτία Νικόπολη*, Thessaloniki.
- Solin (H.), Salomies (O.), 1994: *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*², Hildesheim.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1974: "The Appaleni of Corinth", *GRBS* 15, 295-303.
- Tataki (A. B.), 2006: *The Roman Presence in Macedonia*, Meletemata 46, Athens.
- Traill (J. S.), 2005: *Persons of Ancient Athens XIV*, Toronto.
- Vetter (E.), 1953: *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg.

CITIZEN TRAINING SYSTEMS IN THE ROMAN PELOPONNESE

Nigel M. Kennell

Abstract: This article surveys the extant evidence for *ephebeiai* in the cities of the Roman Peloponnese. The citizen training systems at Messene and Sparta can be reconstructed in some detail, while in some other cities only the mere existence of an ephebate can be established. The duration of ephebic service ranged from one to three years, while the Spartan *agoge*, exceptionally, lasted five. The officials in Peloponnesian ephebates were those normally attested elsewhere in the Greek world. In several cities, most notably at Sparta, there is evidence for ephebates functioning as repositories of collective memory and affirmations of civic identity. Finally, some training systems may show signs of integration into the Roman military apparatus.

The ephebate (*ephebeia*) is one of the commonest institutions in the Greek world. Systems to train elite citizens are attested in almost two hundred cities from Marseilles to Babylon and from the Crimea to North Africa.¹ In the Hellenistic period many ephebates were closely integrated into the local military, providing trained soldier-citizens to defend their cities.² Although changing circumstances resulted in a significant drop in the number of surviving ephebic inscriptions from the Roman period, enough evidence does survive to place some Peloponnesian ephebates in their social and constitutional context and to draw some conclusions about their function and significance.

Excavations at Messene's impressive gymnasium-stadium complex have brought to light a valuable set of documents relating to the city's *ephebeia*, the full publication of which continues to be eagerly

awaited. Despite the present sketchy nature of the evidence, however, it is possible to appreciate something of the outlines and operations of Messene's citizen training system in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. There can be little doubt that military training played a prominent role in the Messenian *ephebeia* of the Hellenistic period. Already in the late 3rd century, Messenians who fell in a battle at Makistos in Eleia were commemorated in the gymnasium, while two inscriptions from the second and first centuries show that, as in other Hellenistic cities, former ephebes (*neoi/neoterōi*) formed the city's civic defense forces, some even raising their own mounts for the cavalry.³ For the Roman period, at present no evidence exists to confirm or disprove the continuation of this practice, though one would expect that the Messenians still needed to police their vast hinterland and would

1. I thank Athanasios Rizakis for inviting me to contribute to this volume. Abbreviations (cf. bibliography) are used for secondary works referred to more than twice.

2. E.g. J. Ma, "Fighting Poleis of the Hellenistic World", in H. van Wees (ed.), *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*, London - Swansea 2000, 337-76; A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic Period: A Social and Cultural History*, Oxford 2005, 46-55; L. D'Amore, "Ginnasio e difesa civica nelle *Poleis* d'Asia Minore (IV-I sec. A.C.)", *REA* 109, 2007, 147-74; J. Prag, "Auxilia and Gymnasium: A Sicilian Model of Roman Imperialism", *JRS* 97, 2007, 68-100. A. Chankowski, "L'entraînement militaire des éphebes dans les cités grecques d'Asie Mineure à l'époque hellénistique: nécessité pratique ou tradition atrophiée?", in J.-C. Couvenhes, H.-L. Fernoux (eds), *Les cités grecques et la guerre en Asie Mineure à l'époque hellénistique*, Tours 2004, 55-76, stresses the ideological importance of military training.

3. Makistos memorial: Themelis 1996, 163-65. *Neoi/neoterōi* as defense forces: Themelis 1996, 153 (Themelis now reads καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι[οι] in l. 2 [pers. commun.]); Themelis 2001, 93.

have made use of their trained elite youth to lead teams of *diogmitai* when needed.⁴ That *neoi* continued to receive equestrian training for a few more years at least is shown by a decree from A.D. 14 authorizing the celebration of games in memory of Augustus which requires that there be athletic contests (*gumnikoi agones*) for the *paides* and ephebes, but equestrian ones (*hippikoi agones*) for the *neoi*.⁵

In lists from the 1st c. A.D. graduating ephebes are called *tritirenes*, the first element of their designation, *tritres*, implying they had completed three years of training, while the second, *irenes*, originated in traditional Spartan age terminology, where it denoted a young man just beginning to serve as a soldier.⁶ Independent Messenians, ironically, adopted several of their former masters' customs, including the worship of Artemis *Orthia*, who however concerned herself exclusively with girls' rites of passage and consequently did not play the same prominent role in training up young Messenian citizens as her Spartan counterpart.⁷

In published lists from the 2nd c. A.D., the citizens-in-training are no longer called *tritirenes* but simply *epheboi*.⁸ A similar phenomenon can be found in the fates of the Cyrenean *triakatiai* and the Cretan *agelai*, both of whom became *epheboi* in the Roman period as local terminology gradually gave way to the colorless panhellenic term.⁹ The excavator considers this to be simply a change in nomenclature at Messene, but a reform of the

ephebeia in the course of the 2nd century could be envisaged. After Trajan gave independence to Methone and several other Messenian cities gained their autonomy a little later, an elaborate and expensive ephebate lasting several years may have been replaced by a single year of service, as apparently happened at Sparta in the late 2nd century.¹⁰

The ephebes in the lists are divided up into five tribes – Aristomachis, Hyllis, Kresphontis, Daiphontis, and Kleolaia – whose names were drawn from specifically Messenian myth and legend rather than being the usual three tribes of Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi ubiquitous in other Dorian cities. Sometimes foreigners were also listed, for the Messenian ephebate seems to have been well known. In A.D. 11, a staggering twenty-six non-Messenians overwhelm the eighteen Messenian ephebes graduating that year.¹¹ In the early imperial period, non-Messenian ephebes appear at the end of lists under the rubric *xenoi* or *xenoi kai Rhomaioi*.¹² They did not, as has been thought, constitute a new tribe, but were listed just like privileged foreign residents in other cities such as Athens and Pergamum, who were allowed to enter the ephebate and enjoy other benefits of the gymnasium.¹³ Freedmen also figure prominently in lists from the later 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.¹⁴

Although recent excavations so far have brought to light only a single gymnasium, Messene had two, an older and a newer.¹⁵ Running them were gym-

4. On the involvement of *neoi* in domestic security under the Empire, see Kennell 2009.

5. *SEG* 41, 1991, 328, ll. 34-35.

6. Kennell 1995, 119-20.

7. P. Themelis, "Artemis Orthia at Messene: The Epigraphical and Archaeological Evidence", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, Stockholm 1994, 101-22.

8. Themelis 2001, 94-95; *id.* 2002, 50-51.

9. *Triakatiai/epheboi* at Cyrene: *SEG* 9, 1934, 50 (340-335 B.C.) and 129 (A.D. 224/25). *Agelai/epheboi* on Crete: *I. Cret.* I.x 2, ll. 5-7 (Eltynia, late archaic period), I.xviii 124 (Lyktos, imperial period).

10. Methone: Paus. IV. 35, 5; *Tritirenes* are attested at Thuria in the 2nd c. B.C. (*IG* V 1, 1386), but only *epheboi* in other Messenian towns during the late Hellenistic and Roman periods: e.g. *IG* V 1, 1398 (Korone), 1402 (Kolonides). On the relationship between Messene and other Messenian cities in the Hellenistic period, see C. Grandjean, "La question de l'état messénien", *REG* 115, 2002, 538-60. On second-century changes in the Spartan *agoge*, see A. Spawforth, "Sparta and the Family of Herodes Atticus: A Reconsideration of the Evidence", *ABSA* 75, 1980, 64.

11. Themelis 1992, 71-72.

12. Themelis, *loc. cit.*; *id.* 2000, 91; *id.* 2005, 55.

13. E.g. *IG* II², 1008, 1009, 1011; H. Hepding, "Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1908-1909, II: Die Inschriften", *MDAI(A)* 35, 1910, 422 no. 11. On the phenomenon, see P. Gauthier, "Notes sur le rôle du gymnase dans les cités hellénistiques", in M. Wörrle, P. Zanker (eds), *Stadt und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus*, Munich 1995, 9. On Messene, see N. Deshours, "Les institutions civiques de Messène à l'époque hellénistique tardive", *ZPE* 150, 2004, 140.

14. List from A.D. 70: Themelis 2000a, 90-92; from A.D. 177: Themelis 2002, 50-51.

15. Themelis 1995, 72. More recently, Müth 2007, 96, has suggested that the stoa west of the stadium, built in the 1st c. B.C., functioned as the "new gymnasium".

nasiarchs, who are attested from the Hellenistic period onwards. Gymnasiarchs in early Roman lists at times had jurisdiction over both gymnasia – a sign of great wealth, since they would be liable for many of the expenses associated with the institutions' administration. None of the published later lists mention such double tenure, which may reflect another trend visible everywhere in the East, as fewer members of the civic elite were able or willing to take on financially onerous obligations over and above the bare minimum required for a functioning city. Assisting the gymnasiarch was the hypogymnasiarch. Inscriptions from other cities suggest that, as the gymnasiarchs over the years became less and less involved in the practical routine of the gymnasium, the daily administration increasingly fell to the hypogymnasiarchs, who fairly often were relatives of the gymnasiarchs.¹⁶ Early evidence at Messene for the former trend comes in the form of a base set up in the 2nd c. B.C. by those who had been ephebes under the gymnasiarch Ainesias son of Soixon for a statue of their hypogymnasiarch, Theopompos son of Hippon, because of his excellence (*arete*) and the support (*eunoia*) he continually showed for them, implying that Theopompos was in closer daily contact with the young Messenians than his superior.¹⁷

On the other hand, Messene's gymnasiarchs did provide the generous benefactions to the city that were expected of men in their position. A gymnasiarch during the reign of Augustus, Charikles (or Charteles) son of Philon, paid for a monumental Doric propylon to be added to the gymnasium's northwest corner.¹⁸ Some time later, it was repaired

by his successor, Dionysios son of Demetrios.¹⁹ Probably in the later 1st c. B.C., the gymnasiarch Thiotas son of Philinos had the stone seating around the north end of the stadium repaired and dedicated to all the gods and the city.²⁰ At about the same time, around A.D. 70, a massive (and evidently hasty) reconstruction of the long stoa on the east of the gymnasium was paid for not by a gymnasiarch but by the priest of Zeus *Ithomatas*, Agathokles son of Satyros.²¹ The hurried rebuilding, evidenced by the lack of iron clamps or lead to hold the drums of the east stoa's columns together, may have been occasioned by its serving as the gymnasium's *xystos* or covered running track. As the *xystos*, the east stoa extends for one Messenian stade (181 m) along the entire length of the stadium to enable athletes to practice the stade and other footraces in inclement weather, while the west stoa, though better built, is much shorter, ending halfway along the track.²²

Apart from improvements to a gymnasium's fabric, the most popular benefaction was the provision of olive oil for the use of athletes and ephebes. The expense involved in securing a constant supply of high quality oil for the gymnasia could have a serious impact on a city's finances and thus opened another opportunity for the competitive generosity so characteristic of the later Greek elite.²³ At Messene, a benefactor donated 10,000 *denarii* in the 1st c. A.D. for a permanent fund to defray the costs of olive oil distribution in both gymnasia and sacrifices to the emperors, for which gift his name, the reading of which has unfortunately not yet been securely established, was immortalized on three metopes of the gymnasium's propylon.²⁴ Apart

16. For hypogymnasiarchs as stand-ins for gymnasiarchs, see L. Robert, "Recherches Épigraphiques IV-IX", *REA* 62, 1960, 295-96 (= *OMS* II, 811-12). Cf. *TAM* V 2, 1203, ll. 18-19 (Apollonis); *IG* XII 7, 235, l. 23 (Minoa); XII 2, 258 (Mytilene). Hypogymnasiarchs as relatives of gymnasiarchs: *IG* XII 3, 517 (Thera); D. H. French, "A Sinopian Sculptor at Halicarnassus", *EA* 4, 1984, 82 *app.* no. 1 (Halicarnassos).

17. Themelis 2001, 93.

18. Charikles: Themelis 1995, 70; Charteles: Themelis 2000b, 61.

19. Themelis 1995, 70.

20. *id.* 1999, 91.

21. *id.* 2000a, 91.

22. Length of east stoa: P. Themelis, "Τὸ στάδιο τῆς Μεσσήνης", in *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games*, 5-9 September 1988, Athens 1992, 88. P. Themelis, "Messene", *EAE* 39, 1992, 35, suggested that the west stoa was the *xystos*.

23. On this phenomenon, see N. Kennell, "Most Necessary for the Bodies of Men: Olive Oil and its By-Products in the Later Greek Gymnasium", in M. Joyal (ed.), *In Altum: Seventy-five Years of Classics in Newfoundland*, St. John's Newfoundland 2001, 119-33.

24. Themelis 1995, 71-72; *id.* 2000, 62; *id.*, "Roman Messene: The Gymnasium", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context*, Helsinki 2001, 122-23. The labile nature of the published versions of this text, in particular

from its impressive size, the joint benefaction to the emperor cult and the gymnasia is in keeping with the close links between the imperial house and the gymnasium found throughout the East.²⁵

Besides the gymnasiarch and his assistant, the hypogymnasiarch, two other officials appear on a inscription dated to A.D. 177 – the *ephebarchos* and *archephebos*.²⁶ That year's ephebarch, Nikanor son of Nikanor, bore the same name and patronymic as the hypogymnasiarch, which points to their being father and son. This conforms to the evidence from other cities, where the ephebarch was usually a young man in his twenties whose duties were connected with ephebic training.²⁷ Just what the duties of a Messenian ephebarch entailed is hidden from us, but in other cities they ranged from quite important, such as being responsible at Amphipolis, and probably Edessa, for the enrolling in the ephebic lists of boys (*paides*) who had reached the proper age but had not yet done their service, or at Ephesus for the administration of a lottery for the ephebes on Artemis' birthday, to the apparently trivial, as at Kyzikos, where the ephebarch led ephebes out for the official greeting (*hupantesis*) of visiting royals.²⁸ But perhaps the most interesting aspect of this inscription is the appearance of the *archephebos*, one Soteridas son of Soteridas. The mere fact that this office appears in the same inscription as that of ephebarch disproves a long and widely-held misapprehension – that the two offices were one and the same.²⁹ Unfortunately, although the *archephebos*, “leader of the ephebes”, was probably an ephebe himself, Soteridas' name does not appear in the very fragmentary ephebic list preserved on the stone.

Some slight support for this hypothesis can be found at the independent Messenian city of Korone, from which a single ephebic list survives,

dated to A.D. 244/5. That year, in which over 81 young men served as ephebes, the gymnasiarch's son was *archephebos*.³⁰ The elite predilection for serving as gymnasiarch and funding the inscription of ephebic catalogues on stone whenever a member of the family was among the ephebes makes it possible that C. Iulius Theagenes, son of Kleoboulos, the *archephebos* was himself an ephebe.

Because the epigraphical evidence is so sparse, it is impossible to assign anything like a precise date to the end of the Messenian ephebate, but the transformation of the stadium's curved north end into a crudely-built amphitheatre for beast hunts and other Roman-inspired “amusements” in the later 3rd or early 4th c. A.D. must mean that the ephebate was at least in significant decline in that time.³¹ Sparta's ephebate still functioned, at least partially, in the 330s, which may indicate that her neighbor's system had survived into the 4th century as well. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Messene's ephebate was as important to its own civic identity as Sparta's was.

The ephebate at Sparta, known since Hellenistic times as the “upbringing” (*agoge*), is undoubtedly the best known of all the Peloponnesian citizen training systems in the Roman period. Carefully crafted to project an image of Spartan civic culture as essentially unchanged since the days of the city's legendary lawgiver Lycurgus, the *agoge* provided a vital link with the past for a city that had undergone wrenching changes and significant diminution of territory since its zenith at the beginning of the 4th c. B.C. But although its complex structure, anachronistic-seeming nomenclature, and apparently primitive contests convinced many onlookers, both ancient and modern, that it preserved many elements from the earliest period of the

the portion containing the benefactor's name, is particularly regrettable (see the comments in *SEG* 50, 2000, 424-26 and 51, 2001, 488) as it may refer either to the son or grandson of the notorious Spartan hegemon, C. Iulius Eurycles, under whose authority Augustus may have put the Messenians after 21 B.C.: C. Grandjean, *Les Messéniens de 370/369 au Ier siècle de notre ère. Monnayages et Histoire*, *BCH* Suppl. 44, Paris 2003, 214-16, 249, 266.

25. E.g. *TAM* III 1, 21 (Termessos); *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 42; *I. Eph.* 621.

26. Themelis 2002, 50-51.

27. N. M. Kennell, “The Status of the Ephebarch”, *Tyche* 15, 2000, 103-08.

28. Amphipolis: K. D. Lazaridi, “Ἀνασκαφή καὶ ἔρευνες στὴν Ἀμφίπολη”, *ΠΑΑΗ* 1984 A [1988], 37 (a short précis of an important, but as yet unpublished law setting out the extensive duties of the city's ephebarch in the later 1st c. B.C.); Edessa: *SEG* 24, 1969, 531; Ephesus: *I. Eph.* 27, ll. 253-57 (the Salutaris foundation); Kyzikos: *CIG* 3665.

29. Comm. ad *IG* IV 1, 589.

30. *IG* V 1, 1398, ll. 2-12; cf. *RP* II, MES 229 and p. 590 *app.* stemma XVII.

31. Themelis 2000a, 90; Müth 2007, 92.

city's development, the *agoge* of the Roman period was almost completely the product of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods.³²

The bulk of the evidence for Sparta's ephebate comes from the period between the fall of the powerful Eurycleid dynasty in the 60s and the mid-3rd c. A.D., when at Sparta as elsewhere the epigraphical material comes to an end.³³ During those two hundred years, the ephebate apparently underwent one major restructuring in the later 2nd century, but otherwise remained remarkably consistent as regards its contests and governance.³⁴ The length of service in the *agoge* until the change was remarkably long compared with other contemporary systems. For the five years from sixteen through twenty, young Spartans passed through a series of age grades whose names were redolent of hoary antiquity: *mikichizomenos*, *pratopampais*, *hatropampais*, *melleiren*, and *eiren*.³⁵ There had been a total of seven age grades when the *agoge* was revived for the first time in the later 3rd c. B.C., but they were reduced by two after the second revival following Rome's defeat of the Achaean League in 146 B.C. while, as far as can be determined, Classical Sparta's training system contained only three named grades of *paides* (children), *paidiskoi* (teenagers), and *hebontes* (young men). Roman-era ephebes were also grouped into five tribes named after Sparta's ancient constituent communities (*obai*), the old traditional three Dorian tribes apparently having become obsolete sometime before, perhaps during the approximately forty years (188-ca 146 B.C.) the city spent as an unwilling member of the Achaean League living under an imposed Achaean-style constitution.

Little is known of how Sparta's ephebic system

was administered in the Roman period. Gymnasiarchs are attested receiving the conventional honors for their generosity in supplying oil but, unlike their counterparts at Messene or many other places, the gymnasiarchs were not in overall charge of training the youth.³⁶ That duty belonged to the *patronomos*, who also served as the city's eponymous magistrate. Kleomenes III (235-221 B.C.) had founded the patronomate to replace the ephorate, which he abolished as a consequence of his *coup d'état* in 227 B.C.³⁷ Evidently, when the Spartan constitution was restored after the Achaean period, the *patronomos* retained his previous status and either at that time or later became the head of the *agoge*.³⁸ Second in rank to the *patronomos* was the board of six *bidyoi* ("overseers"), who organized the famous battle at the Platanistas as well as other ephebic contests.³⁹ Young Spartans had athletic trainers, as well as instructors with the intriguing titles "teachers of the Lyncurgan customs" (*didaskaloi amphi ta Lukourgeia ethe*) and "exegete of the Lyncurgan customs".⁴⁰ The *agoge* was apparently also known as "the Lyncurgan customs", an appellation that clearly invoked the authority of Lyncurgus for the training system as it existed during the Roman period. We can only speculate about the subject of the teachers' instruction, though Hadrian's reference to "Laconian decorum and exercise" in a passage about ephebic training in his letter to Cyrene may provide a hint.⁴¹ The exegete, on the other hand, may well have been delegated to read Dikaiarchos' treatise *The Constitution of the Spartiates* annually to the ephebes assembled in front of the office of the ephors – another way of emphasizing the link between the young Spartans during the imperial period and their illustrious ancestors.⁴²

32. Kennell 1995, 28-32. For a contrary view, in which the Roman system is regarded as exhibiting an almost unbroken continuity with the Classical, see J. Ducat, *Spartan Education: Youth and Society in the Classical Period*, transl. by E. Stafford, P.-J. Shaw, A. Powell, Swansea 2006, esp. x-xi, with the comments of Kennell, Review of Ducat, *Spartan Education*, *JHS* 128, 2008, 230.

33. On the rule of C. Iulius Eurycles and his descendants at Sparta, see P. Cartledge, A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*², London 2002, 97-104.

34. Kennell 1995, 63-64.

35. Kennell 1995, 39.

36. E.g. *IG V* 1, 20, 464, 468, 505 and 537.

37. Plut, *Vit. Cleom.* 7. 4-8. 2.

38. On the *patronomos* and the *agoge*, see Kennell 1995, 43- 45.

39. Kennell 1995, 45-46.

40. Trainers: *IG V* 1, 542, 543, 569. Teachers: *IG V* 1, 500, 542. *Exegetes*: *IG V* 1, 554.

41. J. Reynolds, "Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities", *JRS* 68, 1978, 113, ll. 42-43.

42. Suda, s.v. *Dikaiarchos*; Kennell 1995, 19.

The Spartan *agoge*'s organization in the Roman period was one of the most complicated of the known citizen training systems. The ephebic tribes encompassed youths from all five grades grouped by grade into twenty-five teams or "herds" (*bouai*), each under a team member called the "herd leader" (*bouagos*). The *bouagos* of the *boua* of *eirenes*, the oldest age grade, was *de officio* leader of his entire ephebic tribe. This *eiren*, designated the "senior" (*presbys*), led his *boua* as representatives of their tribe in a ball game held in the city's theater that marked the end of the ephebate and the ephebes' transition to adulthood, for which they received the title *sphaireis* ("ball players").⁴³ The title recalls that of *dromeis* ("runners"), given in the Classical and Hellenistic periods to young men in Gortyn and elsewhere on Crete who had competed in the public footraces that also signaled their transition to adult status, while the ball game itself is in fact a survival from the 4th c. B.C.⁴⁴ However, as described by Xenophon, the competitors in ball games of his time were adult Spartiate warriors, whereas the Roman contest appears to have been an exclusively ephebic affair. This transformation of the *sphaereis* game is characteristic of the later Greek ephebate's function as a perpetuator of civic memory, in which traditions were preserved (or invented) and past events memorialized.⁴⁵

The other ephebic contests were also designed to reinforce the image of unbroken continuity with the past. Of individual contests, we know that the *moa*, named after the old Laconian word, *moha* (Muse), was probably a singing contest, the *keloia*

a competition in hunting cries, and the *katheration* – an elaborately archaizing and Laconizing name for what had earlier been called the *kunage-tas* – involved dances in imitation of hunting.⁴⁶ Contests called *deros* ("Shield") and *eubalkes* ("Valiant One") may also have been mimetic dances, but they disappear from the record in the later 1st c. B.C.⁴⁷ All these contests were held in the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia*, the patron deity of the Spartan *agoge*, located on the west bank of the Eurotas river, where the victors dedicated their prizes, iron sickles, affixed to marble *stelai*.⁴⁸ These dedications, of which over 130 survive in whole or fragmentary form, provide the most compelling testimony that the Spartans intended the *agoge* to appear to be a living relic from the earliest days of Spartan history, because over forty of them were written in a pastiche of the obsolete classical Laconian dialect.⁴⁹ Sparta was not the only city where linguistic archaism was associated with the ephebate – it also occurs at Kyme, Smyrna, Lycian Lydai, and Cyrene, for instance, – but at no other city does it appear in such abundance and nowhere else does it form part of an assemblage of devices designed to project a specific image of the ephebate's link with the city's past.⁵⁰

Two contests exemplify this important aspect more than any other. The first is the battle between two teams of ephebes described by Cicero, Pausanias, and Lucian, which took place on an artificial island called the *Platanistas* ("Plane Tree Grove"), perhaps in the area of the city northwest of the acropolis.⁵¹ After preliminary rituals involving the

43. Kennell 1995, 41-42.

44. *Dromeis*: R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn, Kadmos* Suppl. 1, Berlin 1967, 39-50, col. I, ll. 41-42; col. III, ll. 21-22; col. VI, l. 36; col. VII, l. 41; A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 24, Heidelberg 1996, no. 50, l. 8 (Hierapytna and Knossos); no. 60, l. 13 (Lyktos and Olous); no. 61, l. 44 (Lato and Olous). On *dromos* as a public race, see Y. Z. Tzifopoulos, "'Hemerodromoi' and Cretan 'Dromeis': Athletes or Military Personnel? The Case of the Cretan Philonides", *Nikephoros* 11, 1998, 157.

45. Xen., *Lac.* 9, 5. This phenomenon is particularly apparent in the Athenian ephebate, see Z. Newby, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue*, Oxford 2005, 179-92; see also G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos. Foundation Myths of a Roman City*, London - New York 1991, 136-49.

46. Victory dedications in these contests: Woodward 1929, 285-353 nos 1-135 *passim*. For the contests' identification, see Kennell 1995, 51-53.

47. *Eubalkes*: Woodward 1929, nos 16, 18, 84; *deros*: Woodward 1929, no. 16.

48. Two of the sickles are preserved intact: Woodward 1929, nos 7, 29.

49. Kennell 1995, 86-92.

50. *I. Kyme* 19, l. 45; *I. Smyrna* 215; *TAM II* 3, 132 (Lydai); J. Reynolds, F. Ali, "Numisius Marcellianus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene", *StudMisc* 29, 1991/92, 259-64.

51. Cic., *Tusc.* 5, 27. 77; Paus. III. 14, 8; 20, 2 and 8; Lucian, *Anach.* 38.

sacrifice of puppies, a fight between two boars, and a second sacrifice to Achilles, two teams of ephebes crossed over onto the *Platanistas*, one over a bridge marked with a statue of Lycurgus, the other with a statue of Achilles. Then followed a no-holds-barred brawl between the two teams, the victor being the team which managed to push all members of the opposing team into the water.⁵² The extreme violence of the *Platanistas* fight, which could include eye gouging, biting, and kicking, as well as its explicit association with the emblematic figures of Lycurgus, founder of the Spartan system, and Heracles, great ancestor of the old ruling families of Sparta, show that the event was emblematic of the Roman city's claim to be a still-living embodiment of ancient, even primitive, traditions.

No other element of the *agoge* exhibits this characteristic better than the (in)famous Endurance Contest (*ho tes karterias agon*), wherein youths entering the *eiren* stage were whipped over the altar of Artemis *Orthia*. In the imperial period, the Contest was undoubtedly the best known of all the public institutions of Roman Sparta. The numerous literary testimonia enable a quite detailed reconstruction of the ritual, a very brief version of which follows.⁵³

In late May or June, ephebes who were approaching the end of their year as *melleirenes* were whipped by specially designated floggers next to the altar in the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia*, with the priestess of Artemis in attendance. She signaled when she thought the flogging was not energetic enough by claiming that the ancient wooden cult statue of Artemis in her arms was growing heavy.⁵⁴ Several ancient authors claim that youths died under the whip, a sensational claim but impossible to verify.⁵⁵ However, we are also told that parents shouted at their sons to bear up under the whips and even threatened them if they looked likely to weaken.⁵⁶ The last man standing was awarded the right to erect a statue of himself in the sanctuary

as an “altar-victor” (*bomonikes*), and the Contest concluded with a parade of the participants clad in gorgeous Lydian robes around the altar followed by a communal feast.

As the most prominent of the “Lycurgan customs”, the Endurance Contest was endowed with a suitable pedigree that credited Lycurgus himself with transforming a ritual of human sacrifice into the sanguinary ceremony of Roman times.⁵⁷ However, the whipping contest was actually a Hellenistic adaptation of an earlier rite described by Xenophon, in which two teams, one armed with whips, battled it out over cheeses placed on Artemis' altar.⁵⁸ The attribution to Lycurgus had an even shorter history, for Plutarch, who confused the contest's two versions, knew nothing of Lycurgus, instead recognizing Pausanias, the victor of Plataia, as its founder.⁵⁹ The Contest's Lycurgan connection was clearly a product of the archaizing climate of the 2nd c. A.D., and was a particularly effective means of inventing an evocative tradition that would resonate with people familiar with the touchstone texts of the so-called “Spartan Mirage”.⁶⁰ The *agoge* was so central to Spartans' sense of identity in the Roman period that it survived the violent incursion into Greece by the Herulians in A.D. 268. In fact, the impressive amphitheater-style seating at the *Orthia* sanctuary was built to accommodate spectators for the Endurance Contest after the Herulian raid. The complex was evidently still being used in the 330s, when the young Libanius took time off from his studies in Athens to visit Sparta to “The Whips”, thus providing the latest testimony to a functioning ephebate in any Greek city.⁶¹

Among the other cities of Laconia, most of them independent of Sparta since the early 2nd c. B.C. and organized during the Roman period into the League of Free Laconians, a small scattering of evidence exists for *ephebeiai*. At Teuthrone, a gymnasiarch was honored for distributing oil from

52. Paus. III. 14, 8-10; Lucian, *Salt.* 10-11. See Kennell 1995, 56-58.

53. For a full reconstruction, see Kennell 1995, 70-78.

54. Paus. III. 16, 9-11.

55. E.g. Cic., *Tusc.* 2, 34; Stat., *Theb.* 8, 436-37; Plut., *Vit. Lyc.* 18, 2.

56. Lucian, *Anach.* 38.

57. Paus. III. 16, 10.

58. Xen., *Lac.* 2, 9.

59. Plut., *Vit. Arist.* 17, 10.

60. E.g. Xen., *Lac.* 2, 2-11; Pl., *Leg.* 1, 633b-c; Arist., *Pol.* VIII. 3, 3 (1338a).

61. Lib., *Or.* 1, 23.

a vat (*holkeion*), while Las boasted a gymnasium with an ancient statue of Hermes.⁶² In the gymnasium at Asopos, Pausanias saw a display of gigantic, supposedly human bones, which were the object of veneration by the locals.⁶³ Under Augustus, the Asopans had earlier honored C. Iulius Eurycles, the hegemon of Sparta, for providing a foundation to pay for oil in perpetuity – a strong indication that Asopos possessed an ephebate, however modest.⁶⁴ A single inscription, probably dating to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, from Boiai on the Malea peninsula mentions a poet whose hymn is to be sung “always” by the *paides* and *neoi*.⁶⁵ In this context, as often, the term *neoi* refers collectively to the ephebes and those young citizens aged twenty to thirty who also trained regularly in the gymnasium.⁶⁶ The other Eleutherolaconian city with evidence for an ephebate is also the largest, Gytheion. Ephebes and *neoi* are mentioned explicitly in the famous sacred law honoring Tiberius from the first years of that emperor’s reign, in which the *agoranomos* is required to lead them in procession along with other citizens on the first day of thymelic games in honor of Eurycles and his son Laco.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, no further detailed evidence is available for ephebic activity in Laconia.

In Arcadia to the north, the situation is slightly better. The ephebate at Roman Tegea is well documented, relatively speaking. From the ten mostly fragmentary inscriptions that can be confidently identified as ephebic lists from the Roman period, the system’s overall structure is discernible.⁶⁸

Ephebes served annual terms under the supervision of a gymnasiarch and hypogymnasiarch.⁶⁹ The gymnasiarch also funded the recording and display of the names of the ephebes in his year. This is probably the reason why the list for 155/6 was inscribed on stone, for the *archephebos* that year was the gymnasiarch’s son, who, as at Messene, was not listed among the ephebes.⁷⁰ Three *archepheboi* appear in the heading of a now-lost list from 191/2, making it impossible to determine whether or not they were recorded as ephebes.⁷¹ Luckily, the earlier inscription contains a complete ephebic catalogue of 71 names, including three sets of brothers (indicating that the age qualifications for entry had been relaxed), and an almost complete roster of the city’s ephebic officials.⁷²

Listed first, as befitted the man who paid for the distribution of oil for the year, is Sulpicius Aristion, the provider of olive oil (*elaiothetes*).⁷³ Then comes the secretary (*grammateus*), a man with undoubted Roman citizenship, Marcus Antonius Onesimos.⁷⁴ The next two officers are the doctor (*iatros*) and barber (*koureus*).⁷⁵ Tegea’s ephebic barber is unique, though perhaps he performed some task in conjunction with ritual haircutting as in the Athenian *Koureotis* ceremony.⁷⁶ On the other hand, doctors appear also in ephebic lists at Athens and Sparta.⁷⁷ After them is Claudius Symphoros, the *paidotribes*, who was in charge of athletic training.⁷⁸ His possible Roman citizenship is a sign of the post’s measure of prestige: non-peregrine *paidotribai* are found elsewhere, sometimes commanding enough wealth

62. *SEG* 22, 1967, 308; Paus. III. 24, 7.

63. Paus. III. 22, 9.

64. *IG* V 1, 970. Cf. *RP* II, LAC 461 [1].

65. *IG* V 1, 952. Cf. *RP* II, LAC 461 [4].

66. I shall explain this meaning more fully in a paper currently in preparation for a volume on the epigraphy of the Hellenistic Greek city.

67. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923.

68. *IG* V 2, 45-54.

69. *IG* V 2, 47, 49, 50, 52.

70. *IG* V 2, 50, ll. 2-4. On this phenomenon, see N. Kennell, “The Greek Ephebate in the Roman Period”, *IJHistSport* 26, 2009, 325-26.

71. *IG* V 2, 53.

72. On the appearance of ephebic “twins” and “triplets”, see Kennell (see *supra*, n. 70), 330-31.

73. *Paidotribes*: *IG* V 2, 50, l. 81; *elaiothetes*: *ibid.*, l. 77. Cf. *RP* I, ARC 153. In other inscriptions the *elaioparochos* appears instead: *IG* V 2, 47, ll. 5-6; 48, l. 27; 53, l. 2.

74. *IG* V 2, 50, l. 78. Cf. *RP* I, ARC 7.

75. *Loc. cit.*, ll. 79-80.

76. On the *Koureotis*, see R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Life from Conception to Old Age*, London 1990, 179.

77. Sparta: *IG* V 1, 1159; Athens: e.g. *IG* II², 2234, 2243, 2245.

78. *IG* V 2, 50, l. 81. Cf. *RP* I, ARG 72.

to pay for a dedication.⁷⁹ The list concludes with more humble members of staff: the *kaminios*, who cared for the furnace, and the oddly named *spadeikophoros*.⁸⁰ The titles of other attendants associated with a bath/gymnasium complex appear in other Tegean catalogues – the *palaistrophulax*, an attendant of the gymnasiarch, and the *sindonophoros*, who was in charge of the supply of towels for the baths.⁸¹ Also attested is the *kunegos*, who may have been associated with the common ephebic practice of hunting, perhaps tending to the dogs.⁸²

Two related elements in the list from 155/6 are of particular interest. First is the *spadeikophoros*, whose title means “bearer of the palm” in the Doric dialect, as indicated helpfully by the small palm leaf carved beside the attendant’s name.⁸³ The palm bearer appears in one other list as the *spadeikophoros*, whereas in the rest he is the colorless *phoinikophoros*.⁸⁴ Despite difficulties in dating these inscriptions, it is possible that *phoinikophoros* was the early name and *spadeikophoros* the later. If this is so, then it may constitute a hint that Tegea’s ephebate was tinged with archaism as well. That the Tegeans adopted an obscure Doric rather than Arcadian word can be explained by the longstanding penetration of Achaean Doric into Arcadian-speaking areas.⁸⁵ Consistent with the list’s archaisitic tendency is the lack of any reference to Roman citizenship within the list of ephebes, even in the case of the *archephebos*, Damakion, who was the son of Tib. Claudius Amykos.

In contrast to the evidence available for Messene,

Sparta, and Tegea, there is only a meager harvest of information for other Peloponnesian cities. This is the case even at Argos, which in the Roman period developed into a major festival center through its hosting of two sets of games, the *Heraia* in honor of the city’s patron goddess and the Nemean games, which had been moved in 217 B.C. from their original location at Nemea.⁸⁶ Boasting three gymnasia, one of which, the *Kularabis* – associated with the hero Kularabes – figured in some of the most dramatic events in Greece’s Hellenistic history, the city nevertheless provides only two inscriptions relating to citizen training.⁸⁷ One records the dedication of a statue of L. Cornelius Ingenuus, gymnasiarch of the three gymnasia, by the Argives.⁸⁸ The other was erected in honor of Archenous, son of Eukrates, former *archephebos*, former secretary and treasurer, and first *agonothetes* of the Pythian games after the city’s right to membership on the Amphictyonic council had been reaffirmed, which was authorized by the city but paid for by his mother.⁸⁹ Here too, it is impossible to determine whether Archenous was *archephebos* during his own term as ephebe. He is unlikely to have held the position (or title) very much later than his ephebate, however, since his mother was alive at the time, although he had also served in three other posts.

With Argos, we come to the fourth and final Peloponnesian city where an *archephebe* is attested. The *archephebos* is in fact found in only four cities in the Greek world – Argos, Korone, Tegea, and Messene – all in the Peloponnese. Taken as a group

79. E.g. M. Hatzopoulos, L. Loukopoulou, *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography*, Meletemata 3, Athens 1987, 87 K9; *Milet* I. 6, 305.

80. *IG V 2*, 50, ll. 82-83. For the *kaminios*, see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption*, Frankfurt a. M. - New York 1990, 120. On the *spadeikophoros*, see below n. 84.

81. *Palaistrophulax*: *IG V 2*, 47, ll. 7-9; 48, l. 28; 53, l. 6. *Sindonophoros*: *IG V 2*, 48, l. 29; see Robert, *Hellenica* III, 143 n. 4.

82. *IG V 2*, 47, ll. 3-4; 48, l. 25; 53, l. 14; see Robert, *op. cit.*, 143.

83. Gell, *NA* II. 26, 10.

84. *Spadeikophoros*: *IG V 2*, 53, l. 7. *Phoinikophoros*: *IG V 2*, 47, ll. 10-11; 48, l. 30.

85. V. Bubenik, “The Decline of the Ancient Dialects”, in A. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek*, Cambridge 2007, 484.

86. Paus. II. 24, 2; S. Miller, *Excavations at Nemea II. The Early Hellenistic Stadium*, Berkeley, Los Angeles - London 2001, 8, 93.

87. *Kularabis* gymnasium: Paus II. 22, 9. Events: Plut., *Vit. Pyrrh.* 32, 5: (Pyrrhus of Epirus enters the city); Plut., *Vit. Cleom.* 17, 2; 26, 2 (war of Cleomenes III of Sparta against the Achaean League); Livy XXXIV. 26, 2. Two inscriptions (*IG IV 1*, 597, 602) record honors from civic tribes for men who paid for oil distribution in gymnasia in connection with the Nemean and Heraean games, not local citizen training.

88. *SEG* 13, 1956, 244; cf. *RPI*, ARG 111 [2].

89. *IG IV 1*, 589.

the testimonia incline me to believe that it was an honorific title held by ephebes from distinguished families. What “leading ephebe” exactly denoted is obscure, but the title could be the local equivalent of *proegoumenos* at Tomis in Moesia, which Robert conjectured was given to an ephebe “*dans la première catégorie*”.⁹⁰

Despite controlling the most prestigious festival in the ancient world, the city of Elis has been remarkably niggardly in epigraphical documentation, and evidence for its citizen training is no exception. However, we do know that one of the gymnasia in the city, called *Maltho* (“soft”) because of the softness of its floors, was reserved for ephebes during the Olympic training period, and that one former ephebe at the turn of the 1st to the 2nd c. A.D. received the signal honor of a statue in the Altis at Olympia with the authorization of the Eleians and the Olympic *boule*.⁹¹ Of course, Elis had a gymnasiarch, whose duties included an annual sacrifice to the local hero Aitolos, son of Oxylos.⁹² Gymnasiarchs were always expected to provide generous amounts of oil to their charges, and one nameless Eleian did not disappoint by distributing the oil from vats and large ladles.⁹³ The Eleians also boasted the services of a *neaniskarches*, though precisely what that title represented there is far from evident.⁹⁴

At Roman Sicyon an ancient gymnasium, built by Kleinias the father of Aratos in the early 3rd c. B.C. – probably the first facility constructed specifically for this purpose after Demetrios Poliorketes relocated the city in 303 B.C. – was still used as the venue for educating ephebes in the 2nd c. A.D.⁹⁵ Gymnasiarchs presided and in the Hellenistic period had led the ephebes and *paides* annually in a parade together with members of the *boule* and

other citizens to commemorate the birth of their greatest citizen, Aratos, who transformed the Achaean League into the major power in southern Greece.⁹⁶ Sacrifices were still carried out at Aratos’ heroon in Plutarch’s time but, as he says, “only slight traces” of the other ceremonies remained owing to the passage of time. It would be valuable to know whether the parade of ephebes was still held in the Roman period, since it fits the pattern prevalent throughout the Greek East where such parades served to embed the elite youth into their city’s history and thereby encourage local patriotism. Some Sicyonian gymnasiarchs endeavored to leave their mark, one bequeathing 100 *drachmai* to buy wood, probably to heat the gymnasium in the winter.⁹⁷ At some point in the first centuries of our era, Menodotos son of Menodotos dedicated a bronze discus to Hermes and Heracles while still in office, probably as a token of his victory in the pentathlon in an unknown athletic festival.⁹⁸ If so, then Menodotos was very likely one of the *neoi*, youths in their twenties, or perhaps even an ephebe, since members of those age grades were the usual competitors in gymnasia competitions.

Finally, the city of Pellene deserves notice, as passage through the city’s ephebate was the prerequisite for citizenship, even in the 2nd c. A.D.⁹⁹ That Pausanias thought this worthy of comment reveals the practice’s rarity in his time, though doubtless a few other cities in the Greek world still required their citizens to serve as ephebes first. The only other relevant testimony is a base from the 1st c. B.C. for a statue of Damon, son of Sosander, former gymnasiarch.¹⁰⁰

Accidents of preservation and excavation are largely responsible for the patchy appearance of evidence for citizen training systems in the Roman

90. J. and L. Robert, *BullÉpigr* 1959, no. 259.

91. Paus. VI. 33, 5; *IvO* 470, ll. 8-9.

92. *IvO* 433, ll. 5-6; 437, ll. 15-16; Paus. V. 4, 4.

93. *IvO* 468, ll. 5-6.

94. *SEG* 22, 1967, 329. For more on the *neaniskarches*, see below n. 107

95. *DS* 20, 102; Paus. II. 10, 7. On the gymnasium and the still-unexcavated stadium at Sicyon, see G. J. Lolos, *Studies in the Topography of Sikyonia*, diss. Univ. of California at Berkeley 1998 and the Sicyon survey project reports at <http://extras.ha.uth.gr/sikyon/en/>.

96. Plut., *Vit. Arat.* 53, 4.

97. *SEG* 11, 1950, 256.

98. *SEG* 14, 1957, 312.

99. Paus. VII. 27, 5.

100. *SEG* 11, 1950, 1270; see now A. Rizakis, *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: Épigraphe et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athens 2008, 265-66 no. 192.

Peloponnese. Without Pausanias' brief note or the single inscription recording honors for Damon, we would be completely ignorant of the ephebate at Pellene. This is the case at Corinth, where no epigraphic evidence has been found, despite the reconstruction of a gymnasium after the city's re-foundation in 44 B.C.¹⁰¹ An imposing statement of the new city's claim to Greekness, despite its status as a Roman colony, the gymnasium should have served as the center of ephebic activity at Corinth. But, apart from a casual and generic reference by Epictetus to a Corinthian ephebarch, there is no evidence whatsoever for a citizen training system. Corinth's well-known lack of inscriptions and the ubiquity of ephebrates throughout the Greek world should however caution us against excluding the possibility of a citizen training system there during the Roman period.¹⁰²

The ephebate's role in inculcating a sense of civic identity can be seen in almost all the cities studied here. Naturally, the scale and effectiveness of Spartan archaism tend to obscure the less visible signs elsewhere, but both the sacrifices at Elis to the son of Oxylos, founder of the city and first Hellenodikes of the Olympics, and the possible parade honoring Aratos at Sicyon indicate that fostering civic memory was a factor in the ephebrates of those cities as well. The suppression of Roman names and the adoption of an antiquated term for a member of the ephebic staff at Tegea have already been noted. At Messene, the gymnasium itself brought the city's past to the ephebes' attention: an impressive shield monument commemorating the Messenian dead in a third-century battle at Mak-

istos was still on display in the Roman period, while the striking and severely Doric heroon, probably built in the 2nd c. A.D. at the south end of the stadium to honor the ancestor of a prominent contemporary family, the Saithidai, was a constant reminder of the great man's exploits defending the city against a Macedonian attack centuries before and would have served to spur the ephebes to emulate his civic patriotism themselves.¹⁰³ Incentives to excellence and civic virtue could also be found in the several other heroa along the western stoa of the gymnasium that were dedicated to more recent distinguished Messenians.¹⁰⁴

In addition, the old link between athletic activity and military training still had some vitality. Statues of victors who were also important military figures were on display in the gymnasium of Pellene.¹⁰⁵ As noted above, the Messenians seem to have continued to train young men for military action into the Roman period. Caracalla recruited a contingent of young Spartans to fight as the "Laconian and Pitanate *lochos*" in his war against Parthia, and a series of reliefs shows that other Spartans in their twenties fought as allies of the Romans in several imperial campaigns during the later 2nd and early 3rd centuries A.D.¹⁰⁶ Sparta and Elis offer evidence for an official called the *neaniskarches* ("leader of the *neoi*/young men"), who may have combined responsibility for the training of young ex-ephebes with leading detachments on patrol through the hinterland.¹⁰⁷ The appearance of a doctor in what is probably a joint list of ephebes and *neaniskoi* at Sparta and in an ephebic list at Tegea also may have military significance.¹⁰⁸ Outside the Pelopon-

101. J. Wiseman, "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth 1969-1970", *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 1-5; A. Brown, *The City of Corinth and Urbanism in Late Antique Greece*, diss. Univ. of California 2008, 141.

102. N. M. Kennell, *Ephebeia: Citizen Training Systems in Greek Cities of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Nikephoros Beih. 12, Hildesheim 2006, 9-15.

103. Shield monument: Müth, 2007, 124. Heroon in the stadium: N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge 2008, 311-13.

104. Ephebes also honored their benefactors as heroes: Themelis 1996, 159; *id.*, 1997, 97.

105. Paus. VII. 27, 5-7. A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire regional*, Meletemata 20, Athens 1995, 228 no. 345. On this, see Newby (see *supra*, n. 45) 153-54.

106. Herodian IV. 8, 1-3; Cartledge, Spawforth (see *supra*, n. 33) 118. On the reliefs, Kennell 2009.

107. Kennell 2009, 290-91. S. Zoumbaki, "Zur Funktion des Neaniskarchen in den Städten des östlichen Teils des römischen Kaiserreiches", in M. Garrido-Hory, A. Gonzalès (eds), *Histoires, Espaces et Marges de l'Antiquité: Hommages à Monique Clavel-Lévêque III*, Besançon 2004, 193-211, considers these *neaniskarchai* to have been associated solely with athletics as opposed to those in Asia Minor and the Bosporan kingdom, who had military duties. She draws too sharp a distinction between the two sorts, however, and does not appreciate the different emphases of the evidence.

108. *IG V* 1, 159, l. 32; *V* 2, 50, l. 79.

nese, doctors are also attested in several ephebic lists from Athens in the 3rd century.¹⁰⁹ In none of these cases was the doctor a regular member of the ephebic staff, as doctors were usually employed by cities for specific purposes at specific times.¹¹⁰ The possible reasons for hiring these doctors are clarified by a Thespian decree from the middle of the 2nd century that honors the city's *neoi* (ex-ephebes) and their doctor as they set out to join Marcus Aurelius' campaign across the Danube.¹¹¹ I suggest that the doctors in the Peloponnesian lists may be evidence that these cities periodically dispatched contingents of young men who had served as ephebes to aid the Roman army.¹¹²

The ephebrates examined here are characteristic of their age. Centred on the gymnasium and athletic training, these training systems instructed ephebes in the modes of behavior and forms of local patriotism deemed proper for the civic elite of the Greek East: rituals honoring figures of the city's past were balanced by those that placed the imperial family or Rome herself at the heart of their training.¹¹³ Their products from time to time may have served in allied contingents defending the empire. Closely tied to the ancient Greek *polis*, they did not long survive the irrevocable changes in the nature of the *polis* over the course of the 4th c. A.D.

N. M. Kennell

The American School of
Classical Studies at Athens

Bibliography

- Kennell (N. M.), 1995: *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and culture in ancient Sparta*, Chapel Hill.
- 2009: "Marcus Aurelius Alexys and the 'Homeland Security' of Roman Sparta", in W. Cavanagh, C. Gallou, M. Georgiadis (eds), *Sparta and Lakonia from Prehistory to Premodern*, London, 285-91.
- Müth (S.), 2007: *Eigene Wege: Topographie und Stadtplan von Messene in spätklassischer-hellenistischer Zeit*, Internationale Archäologie 99, Berlin.
- Robert, *Hellenica* = L. Robert, *Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, numismatique, et d'antiquités grecques*. XIII vols, Limoges - Paris 1940-1965.
- RP I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Themelis (P.), 1992: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 60-87.
- 1995: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 55-86.
- 1996: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 139-171.
- 1997: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 79-113.
- 1999: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 69-111.
- 2000a: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 75-105.
- 2000b: *Ηρωες και ηρώα στη Μεσσήνη*, Athens.
- 2001: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 63-96.
- 2002: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 21-55.
- 2005: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 39-65.
- Woodward (A. M.), 1929: "Inscriptions", in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, JHS Suppl.* 5, London, 285-377.

109. *IG II²*, 2234, 2236-237, 2243, 2245; S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle: études chronologiques et topographiques*, Paris 1976, 434 no. 13; J. H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 11, 1942, 71, no. 37, l. 48.

110. É. Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*, Geneva 2003, 84, 102.

111. C. P. Jones, "The Levy at Thespieae under Marcus Aurelius", *GRBS* 12, 1971, 45-48.

112. On Greek cities sending men as "allies" of the Roman army, see Kennell 2009, 286-87.

113. *E.g.* the festival at Gytheion honoring Tiberius, which was combined with contests in honor of Eurycles and his son Laco, *SEG* 11, 1950, 923.

THE RURAL ROMAN PELOPONNESE: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE¹

Daniel Stewart

Abstract: The rural Roman Peloponnese is often presented as abiding by the trends established for the rest of Roman Greece. However, the case can be made for viewing the Peloponnese not just as a sub-region of a larger Greece, but as a region in itself, and also as an entity composed of still further, smaller regions. When viewed in this way, the rural landscapes of the Peloponnese can be seen to follow a number of divergent paths in the Roman period. This contribution used data from intensive archaeology field survey, ancient authors and epigraphy in order to write a more nuanced understanding of the peninsula over time.

Introduction

The *poleis* of the Peloponnese have long been the subject of research in a variety of disciplines, and within these studies there has been a renewed emphasis on the rural territory of the region's *poleis*, or significant portions thereof.² However, rather than being an uncomplicated expansion of research interests that has produced clear results, these studies – both regional and rural – have just as often muddied the interpretive waters. To write the history of the rural Roman Peloponnese is, in part, to write the history of the regions of the Peloponnese: Achaia, Corinthia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Eleia, Arcadia.

Despite this, the Peloponnese as a geographic entity lends itself to unitary analyses that belie the variability of its smaller regional components, but rather than being a continuous landscape that reacts as one to different stimuli, the Roman Peloponnese is simultaneously contiguous and disjointed, a landscape of difference and contrasts, similarity and

homogeneity. There is both *oliganthropia*³ and *polyanthropia*,⁴ sometimes between discrete areas of the peninsula, sometimes even within discrete areas. Moreover, there is a rich body of evidence for the Peloponnese, with text, epigraphy and archaeology each contributing indispensable material. Archaeology and epigraphy are indicative of a wide range of cultural behaviour, while texts can provide details of those behaviours (while of course being products of behaviours themselves). The correspondences and divergences between these types of evidence allow for the reconstruction of a much more nuanced understanding of the rural Roman landscape.

This is not to say, however, that the incorporation of the various strands of data into a coherent and consistent picture is an easy task. Far from it. Exactly how one reconciles these data is more than just a methodological issue, it is a major epistemological concern. In short, when discussing the rural Roman Peloponnese there are a number of caveats

1. I am most thankful to Jennifer Baird, Ben Gourley, and Yannis Lolos for helpful comments. I am also grateful to Prof. Graham Shipley and Prof. Lin Foxhall for the conversations which sparked this contribution. Thanks are also due to the editors of this volume who saved me from several careless errors. Those remaining are, of course, my responsibility.

2. Recent examples include: Grandjean 2008; Malkin *et al.* 2009.

3. For a succinct discussion and use as a *topos*, see Corvisier, Suder 1996, 35-36.

4. A term used by several ancient authors, most notably Philo (*Hypothet.* 6. 1; *spec.* 1. 141; *gig.* 1; *Leg.* 214-15) in relation to the Jewish populations of the eastern Mediterranean (especially Egypt), but which can be taken to be the antithesis of *oliganthropia* in a more general sense. Golden 2000; Scheidel 2001.

that must be placed at the forefront. Far from being a definitive survey of known factors, this must instead be a series of snapshots based upon a selection of existing knowledge.

Regions

Perhaps the most pressing interpretive issue facing an overview of the rural Roman Peloponnese is the implication of the term 'region', a term implicit in many studies of the peninsula.⁵ Historically, viewing the Peloponnese as a region has been relatively unproblematic, with the peninsula seeming to form a 'natural' unit. The issue here is exactly why this unit seems 'natural'. Is it simply a matter of its relatively discrete geographic boundedness, or is there a cultural regionality embedded within the geographic? There has been a trend recently to attempt to understand what constitutes a 'region' in particular circumstances, and several recent studies of 'regions' have attempted to define them in a variety of ways: on the basis of geographical boundaries, on the basis of textually attested political boundaries, on the basis of long-standing cultural associations, or economy, or on the basis of a confluence of these categories.⁶ This is more than simply an issue of clarification – how one understands what a region *is* necessarily influences the emphases placed on different categories of evidence.

When landscape histories are constructed from pre-existing studies of regions, it is vital that like is being compared with like. Moreover, as the term region can apply equally to large territorial or political units (like Arcadia) or smaller geographical units (such as the Stymphalos valley) it is imperative that the scale of analysis and frame of reference are explicitly understood. The Peloponnese may be understood as region in and of itself, but also as a sub-region of a larger geographical or territorial unit, and also as a unit composed of a collection of regions. Any or all of these 'regions' may be geographically, culturally, or politically defined. The ways in which these different types are nego-

tiated, however, necessarily affects the interpretive value of any data set. It is when we approach the boundaries between regions that explicit definitions become even more important.

In many respects, the term 'region' is a convenient shorthand for describing places with specific unifying characteristics, which can themselves be variously defined. These characteristics can (and frequently do) operate on a variety of spatial scales, and across a variety of types.⁷ They are, primarily, constructs of societies – both ancient and modern. As both a collection of regions and as a region itself, the Peloponnese exhibits a multiplicity of responses to broader Mediterranean socio-political trends. The regions that compose the Peloponnese are broadly culturally and politically based, and are those defined by the previous volumes in this series, but the cautions sounded there bear repeating: while these categories are broadly contiguous with the ancient divisions, most historians and archaeologists are justifiably cautious about the exact location of the boundaries,⁸ and I would add, should extend that caution to the scales of analyses employed.

Periodisation

The study of the past by period, as defined by linear chronological time-spans book-ended by historical events, is a long-standing problem in classical archaeology (see **tab. 1** for periodisation in regional survey). Any discussion of the Roman Peloponnese implicitly relies on earlier periods in order to frame the discussion. Much of this 'framing' relies upon chronological sequences defined by ceramic evidence tied to both stratified deposits and known historical events.⁹ An example of this can be seen in the so-called interim deposits at Corinth, interpreted in light of the known Mummian destruction of 146 B.C.¹⁰ Moreover, much of what we can read in the landscape now was a product of processes that occurred over multiple time-scales, in the Braudelian sense. Long-standing patterns of the spatial organisation of landscapes are literally etched on to the

5. For example, Grandjean 2008; Sheedy 1994.

6. Geographically defined: Raab 2001; politically defined regions: Attolini *et al.* 1991; culturally defined regions: Nielsen 2000; economically defined regions: Archibald *et al.* 2001.

7. Cannavò 2007, 234-35; Canizaro 2007.

8. *RPI*, p. 41.

9. Hodder 1993; Pettegrew 2007, 749-51; Slane 2003, 332-34.

10. Romano 1994; Slane 2003, 324.

Survey	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic			Roman		
			Early	Middle	Late	Early	Middle	Late
Laconia	700-450	450-300	300-200	200-100	100-31	31 BC-AD 200	200-400	400-600
Methana	600-480	480-323	323-100			100 BC-AD 100	100-300	300-600
Berbati-Limnes	600-500	500-300	300-31			31 BC-AD 150	150-300	300-600
Asea Valley	600-31 [†]					31 BC-AD 150	150-300	300-600
Southern Argolid	700-480	480-338	350-250*	250-50*		50 BC-AD 200	200-400	400-650
PRAP	700-480	480-323	323-31			31 BC-AD 400	–	400-700

Tab. 1. A comparison of periodisation by survey, showing major chronological divisions. [†]Asea survey has one Archaic-Hellenistic period (600-31 B.C.). *Southern Argolid has a Late Classical to Early Hellenistic (350-250 B.C.), and a Hellenistic Period (250-50 B.C.).

landscape, and can be reflected in modern field boundaries.¹¹ Longer-term soil erosion can mask, distort or destroy evidence of ancient habitation.¹² Despite these issues, the evidence suggests that, while individual regions may reflect continuity and change to varying degrees, the peninsula as a whole and in the long term exhibits definite settlement and land use change. There are several important qualifications, however, to be made to that statement.

First, perceived changes in settlement and land use do not necessarily correlate with known historical, social or political events as described by the textual sources. Archaeological survey data represent the rural landscape of select areas within broader *poleis* territories. Most intensive surveys have examined only 1-5 percent of the territory of their particular *polis*. Epigraphic material is frequently found in secondary or tertiary contexts, long-removed from their original setting.¹³ Moreover, the literary sources rarely refer to the rural landscape directly, and are most frequently only witnesses to urban activity and trends.

Second, the notion of change is usually taken to be negative. Change is variously equated with population decline, loss of autonomy, and economic stagnation or collapse for the *poleis* of Old Greece.¹⁴ Change in this sense implies its occur-

rence despite the best efforts of the *poleis* or individuals involved – it was something to be resisted, ultimately futilely and regrettably. However, change need not suggest a negative of any sort, simply something different.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the evidence of change as seen in survey data usually concerns a long temporal frame. Changes in settlement and land use as identified by surface survey are tied to centuries or half-centuries most commonly, and not particular decades, whereas textual sources frequently make reference to specific years, or series of years. Marrying the two understandings is frequently problematic, largely due to the limitations of surface ceramic assemblages.¹⁵ In many ways, ceramic data constrain our ability to see abrupt changes. While change can certainly be rapid at times, the data as presented here simply cannot be tied consistently to that same short-term time-frame.¹⁶

Chronologically, the Roman Peloponnese has been defined as the 2nd c. B.C. to the early 4th c. A.D., following the onomastic model laid out in the first two volumes of this series,¹⁷ but it is sometimes necessary to blur the distinctions between ‘Hellenistic’ and ‘Roman’ when discussing longer-term processes.

11. Hodkinson 1986; *id.* 2002, Shipley 2002a; *id.* 2002b.

12. Acheson 1997; James *et al.* 1994.

13. Shipley 1996, 213-14.

14. Population: Bintliff 1985, 210-15; autonomy: Bowie 1974. Also found throughout Walbank 2002. Halieis offers a good example of economic ‘collapse’: Runnels, van Andel 1987, 317-19. Similar attitudes, of course, exist in ancient sources.

15. Millett 2000; Wandsnider, Camilli 1992. Especially vital is Pettegrew 2007.

16. For the broader implications of this issue, see Lucas 2005.

17. *RP* I, p. 41; *RP* II, p. 22.

The Hellenistic Peloponnese

Typically, the Hellenistic period has been characterised as one of change, rather than continuity.¹⁸ The region in the Hellenistic period exhibited all of the superficial signs of decline – a drop in overall site numbers during the course of the period (see **tab. 2**), an overall switch away from a dispersed settlement pattern to one of nucleation, and a literary record that consistently bemoans the loss of wealth, status, and population.

Indeed, much of this picture has emerged from sources that discuss Greece as a whole. In other words, the illustration of a declining and depopulated Peloponnese comes from a larger image of a declining and depopulated Greece.¹⁹ These sources portray the shifting fortunes of a well populated and economically diverse Classical and early Hellenistic period that ‘changes’ into a poorly populated and economically struggling late Hellenistic.

Many of the same narratives continue into the Roman period – that of a contemporary Greece that is but a shadow of its former self.

Most of the material evidence suggests a more complicated picture. Several regions exhibit evidence for an increase in elite land ownership, or at least a growth in rural estates. This can be seen in the Southern Argolid, which has typically larger sites in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods than neighbouring Methana or Laconia.²⁰ Stronger evidence of this trend can be seen in Achaea and Messenian Pylos. At Dyme, several sites have been identified as large farmsteads or *villae rusticae*, and there are a number of structures exhibiting increasing monumentality and elaborate decorative schemes.²¹ In Messenia, where the survey evidence suggests the growth of a wealthy landowning class and a similar increased incidence of large sites, definite *villa* structures appear in the early Roman period.²²

Survey Project	All Hellenistic	Only Hellenistic	Hell.-Roman	All Roman	Only Roman	Approx. % Continuity from Hell. among Roman sites
<i>Sikyonia</i>	22	13	9	18	9	50 %
Berhati-Limnes	22	18	4	8	4	50 %
Methana	48	33	15	25	10	60 %
Southern Argolid	107 [43]	101 [37]	6	10	4	60 %
<i>Achaea</i>	34	24	10	18	8	55 %
Laconia	75	53	22	52	30	42 %
<i>UMME</i>	61	27	34	54	20	63 %
PRAP	24	3	21	26	5	80.5 %
<i>Megalopolis</i>	20	NA	NA	28	NA	NA
Asea	25	17	8	21	13	38 %
<i>Eastern Arcadia</i>	16	6	10	11	1	91 %
Total (Extensive)	153 (133)	70	63	129 (101)	38	49% (62.5%)
Total (Intensive)	301 [237]	225 [161]	76	142	66	53.5%
Total	454 (434)	295	139	271 (243)	104	51.5 % (57 %)

Tab. 2. Peloponnesian site continuity among Roman sites, by survey. Italics denotes extensive surveys. Figures in [square brackets] denote Southern Argolid numbers without Early Hellenistic. Figures in (parentheses) denote data without Megalopolis. Data for Megalopolis is such that definitive breakdown by period is not possible. % are rounded to nearest 0.5. Site numbers are ‘definite’ sites only.

18. Continuity, or change as a continuation of earlier trends, is emphasized in Shipley 2000.

19. The image of a depopulated Greece in the Hellenistic period comes from only a few sources. Hellenistic sources include Polybius (XXXVI. 17, 5-6) and *Orac. Sib.* 3. 52-538; retrospective Roman period sources include Strabo (VIII. 8, 1; XIV. 5, 2) and Diodorus (XXXIV/XXXV. 25, 1).

20. Shipley 2002a, 184-86.

21. Rizakis *et al.* 1992, 68-9. For *villae rusticae*, see Rizakis 1997 and in general the articles in *Farms and rural economy in Greece during the Roman period, International workshop held at the Archaeological Museum of Patras, April 23rd and 24th, 2010* (forthcoming).

22. Alcock *et al.* 2005, 181-84.

In the Berbati–Limnes valley, the appearance of a single estate-type settlement by ca 200 B.C.²³ parallels the decline of small rural sites in the eastern Argolid. Moreover, the relatively high proportion of medium-sized sites (perhaps villages) at Megalopolis would agree with just such an interpretation.²⁴ Rizakis' hypothesis that mono-cropping explains the reduction in settlement numbers in Achaia would also support this idea of an increased elite land ownership, and estate-based agriculture in general.²⁵

Still, overall the evidence for the Hellenistic period is suggestive of an increasing development of a landowning elite class and a shift in agriculture and economy in the Peloponnese. Interestingly, this trend is most visible in the northwest and southwest, perhaps suggestive of a division between east and west. In other words, the world of the Hellenistic Peloponnese is one of change, though not necessarily decline.

The Roman Peloponnese

The Roman period sees a continuation of that underlying change, with continued adaptations to Roman hegemony and rule possibly reflected in the rural countryside. Like the earlier period, the Roman Peloponnese is typically described using language very similar to that employed for the Hellenistic period.

In fact, it is a generally held belief that because traces of rural activity in the early Roman period appear to be relatively scarce, the landscape was an empty and deserted one – material manifestations of the degradation of Greece itself, which only began a semblance of recovery from the 3rd c. A.D. onwards.²⁶ It is only in the late Roman era that patterns of rural activity are seen to return to a more dispersed pattern, and begin to approach the Classical model of the 'populated' landscape.²⁷

Indeed, there can be no denying that the decline

in absolute numbers of rural settlements continues into the early Roman period. The Peloponnese, as covered by archaeological surface survey, sees a drop in overall site numbers by 34.5 percent, from 458 total Hellenistic sites to 301 total Roman sites (see **tab. 2**). When one considers just those sites that existed in either the Hellenistic or the Roman periods, there is a drop from 282 sites to just 108, a fall of 61.5 percent, for the *entirety* of the surveyed Peloponnese. Clearly, this is a phenomenon that requires explanation, and it is this phenomenon that is usually explained through a posited rise in estates, a genuine decline in population levels, and a growth in towns.²⁸

Overall, the most recent data seem to support the broad outline of this narrative: a numerical decline in rural sites, and a seeming abandonment of land that was once utilised.²⁹ The data do, however, suggest that a more nuanced explanation is required. Part of the problem is that it could be argued that the rise of estates in some parts of Greece, the declining levels of population, and the growth of towns are not explanatory factors at all, but the results of a broader, underlying phenomenon. In other words, the decline in small rural site numbers, the relative increase in large sites, and the perceived renewed importance of urban centres are all effects of a similar cause (or series of causes); they are all descriptive and not explanatory. Left unanswered, then, is just what it is that lies at the beginning of the trend of shifting settlement patterns.

This question can only be answered by examining the agricultural landscape of the Peloponnese, especially as it relates to Greece as a whole and the wider Mediterranean. The agricultural landscape of the Peloponnese was essentially formed, as in most pre-industrial societies, through the conditions governing the partition and utilisation of the land. These conditions underlie demographic change and usually dictate the nature and extent of the

23. Penttinen 1996, 229, 271-72 and 279-81.

24. Lloyd 1991, 189-90; Roy *et al.* 1989, 149; Lloyd *et al.* 1985, 217.

25. Papagiannopoulos, Zachos 2000, 144-45.

26. Nero himself makes the point, albeit flamboyantly: 'Would that I had been able to provide this gift when Greece was flourishing, so that more people might have enjoyed my grace, for that I blame the passage of time for having reduced in advance the magnitude of my favour.', see *IG VII*, 2713 from Akraiphia in Boeotia. Also Alcock 1993a, esp. 222-24; Baronowski 1987; Rich 1985; Shear 1981, 356-58.

27. Such interpretations are rightfully bemoaned by Alcock 1993a, 48. See also Pettegrew 2007.

28. Succinctly summarised at Alcock 1993a, 224.

29. Alcock 1993a, 14, 20-4, 30-2, 215-17.

exploitation of the land.³⁰ This is not to say, however, that the landscape and its use is governed by a sort of environmental determinism;³¹ rather, the conditions that underlie the agricultural landscape are both environmentally and culturally determined. There is a broad range of activities that can be carried out within any one environment, some with more success than others, but that does not mean that societies will necessarily choose the activities that modern scholars would deem the most productive, in either the long or the short term.³²

The geomorphology of the Peloponnese is such that there is a variety of underlying geological forms scattered throughout the peninsula.³³ There are differences in fecundity throughout the rural landscape, and it is unreasonable to suggest that the ancient inhabitants were unaware of these differences even if they did not understand why such differences occurred.³⁴ Indeed, the most common sites that might be classified as ‘short-term’ sites – that is, those sites that seem to exist for less than a century – tend to be found on marginal lands.³⁵ Examples can be seen in the contraction of settlement in the Southern Argolid and the Berbati valley. It is also suggested by the Eastern Arcadia extensive survey.³⁶ These are by no means the only examples. Interestingly, some of these sites do exhibit continuity between periods, and more importantly, in some areas a significant minority of new

foundations in the Roman period specifically target these marginal lands. The evidence from the geology and geomorphology of the landscape suggests that a knowledge of the environment played some part in site selection, and perhaps some part in site longevity. This knowledge need not have been specific, simply an awareness of differences in relative fertility and viability of different crops over the short- and long-term, a level of ‘local knowledge’ not uncommon in agricultural societies.³⁷ The exploitation of marginal lands, however, never ceases entirely, even when non-marginal lands appear to be abandoned (or at least not utilized intensively agriculturally).

A level of site continuity, or at least the occupation of the same sites through time, implies some measure of stability in landholding patterns, though not necessarily land use.³⁸ The implication of this is that the same people are using that land over time, even if land use changes. Conversely, low levels of site continuity, or discontinuous occupation of the landscape characterised by ‘fits and starts’, suggests a more variable pattern of landholding, and may suggest a more demographically-stressed population. It is important to note that these ideas cannot be pressed too far – especially given the problems concerning chronology. Nevertheless, it may be possible to suggest that, even within these parameters, low site continuity may reflect changes in landownership. Alcock used data from four surveys to sug-

30. Osborne 2004, 168-69.

31. A charge not infrequently levelled at studies that seek to incorporate the environment in some manner, as evidenced by the *apologia* found therein. See, for instance, Halstead 2000, 110-11; Rackham 1996, 26-7; Walsh 1999, 7. Interestingly, Sallares makes no apologies for having a biologically driven approach to historiography: Sallares 1991, 14-16.

32. Forbes 1992, 88-9, 92.

33. Higgins and Higgins 1996; Rackham 1996; *id.* 2002; Sallares 1991, esp. 50-106, 295-303.

34. This is not to deny the import of any geomorphological changes over the past 2300 years, but it does seem that such changes are not a significant factor in many of the areas studied. Laconia: van Berghem, Fiselier 2002, 62-5; some limited problems with *colluvium*: 62-3; Methana: James *et al.* 1997, 24-7; Berbati: Higgins and Higgins 1996; Zangger 1993; though for warnings regarding erosion, see Wells *et al.* 1990; Asea: Lavento 2003, 54-60; Southern Argolid: Jameson *et al.* 1994, 175, 185-88, 193-94; PRAP: Zangger *et al.* 1997, 623-26. It is important to note that just because geomorphological changes (especially sedimentation and alluviation) are not a significant factor overall does not mean that no sites are lost due to these activities. Examples of significant geomorphological change that has obscured specific types or periods of occupation can be seen in coastal erosion in some regions, and in the alluvial plains of Helos and Eleia. Higgins and Higgins 1996, 51-55, 65-8.

35. It is telling that in landscape archaeology ‘short-term’ can involve almost 100 years.

36. Southern Argolid: Jameson *et al.* 1994, 396-400; Berbati: Penttinen 2001, 96-99; Eastern Arcadia: Howell 1970, 85-6.

37. Ethnoarchaeological work and literary studies have shown that ancient agriculturalists were well aware of the importance of soil morphology, and could discern these differences. Chapman, Shiel 1991; Forbes 1982; *id.* 1992; Whitelaw 1991.

38. Acquisition and loss of land should be treated as entirely separate from the exploitation of land, especially the exploitation over subsequent generations.

gest that continuity between periods was fairly low, around 26 percent for three of the surveys.³⁹

The data for the Peloponnese overall (**tab. 2**) show that of the 271 Roman period sites, 139 (or 51.5 %) have evidence of continuity with the Hellenistic period. However, the breakdown by region is much more varied, with a range of 38 % to 91 %. If one examines the data purely from intensive surveys, continuity amongst Roman sites rises to 53.5 % (76 of 142). That is, 53.5 % of sites in the Roman period have a Hellenistic phase as well. Of course, only 30.5 % (139 of 454) of the total number of Hellenistic sites actually continue into the Roman period (25 % intensively surveyed sites, or 76 of 301; see **tab. 3**).

The picture that emerges from the data is somewhat complicated. The evidence suggests that, overall, the Roman Peloponnese shows some discontinuity from previous periods, which may suggest some shifting patterns of land-ownership – but not nearly as much as has been previously suggested. The sharp decline in overall sites may be masking broader changes, but those sites that survive this decline and continue into the Roman period provide tangential evidence of adherence to traditional means and modes of distributing the land.

Site size and density also provide some interesting evidence. The problems associated with density and size calculations have been discussed in detail elsewhere,⁴⁰ but it should be stressed again that they remain one of the most pressing interpretive issues facing survey archaeology, and should therefore be approached with due caution. Those sites that continue from the Hellenistic into the Roman period tend to be larger; that is not altogether surprising: the larger the site, the greater the continuity.

Perhaps it is among the ‘small’ sites that some answers may be seen. Amongst this category of site, continuity is remarkably low. In other words, the area of the landscape that exhibits the most change over time is that with the small sites, the 0.01 to 0.3 ha sites. Much of the Hellenistic period is characterised by a dispersed settlement pattern, albeit one that becomes less so over time. Most of these dispersed settlements fall in the low range of site sizes. This decline continues into the Roman period, and in some places even seems to accelerate. However, there is also a high proportion of new

Survey Project	Survivability of Hell. Sites into Roman Period
<i>Sikyonia</i>	41 %
Berbati-Limnes	18 %
Methana	31 %
Southern Argolid	6 % [14 %]
<i>Achaea</i>	29 %
Laconia	29 %
<i>UMME</i>	55.5 %
PRAP	87.5 %
<i>Megalopolis</i>	NA
Asea	32 %
<i>Eastern Arcadia</i>	62.5 %
Total (Extensive)	47 %
Total (Intensive)	25 % [32 %]
Total	30.5 % [37.5%]

Tab. 3. Percentages of Peloponnesian Hellenistic sites that survive into the Roman period, by survey. Italics denotes extensive surveys. Figures in [square brackets] denote Southern Argolid numbers without Early Hellenistic period. % are rounded to nearest 0.5.

sites in the Roman period that fall within this category as well. So, even though overall the settlement pattern of the Roman period appears to be much more nucleated than in the Hellenistic period, the rural landscape outside major or large urban centres is not as unpopulated as it might first appear. What, then, does this tell us about land use and landholding patterns, and their change over time?

The key is in understanding the role these small sites play in the rural landscape and its economy. They have usually been understood to be rural farmsteads, and the contents of the surface assemblages do tend to support this interpretation, though it is far from certain and the data are less than ideal. Where sufficient data exist, these assemblages usually include domestic wares along with some storage wares, and may include artefacts associated with excavated domestic assemblages, such as loom weights. The presence of tile (rarely counted or weighed in published reports) suggests the presence of a roofed structure or structures. All of this information taken together is highly suggestive of rural residences of some sort. An interpretive problem arises when trying to decide whether these are

39. Nemea Valley: 29%; Melos: 25%; Keos: 25%; Southwest Boeotia: 73%. Alcock 1993a, 57 tab. 4.

40. Given 2004; Keay 2007; Terrenato 2004.

representative of full-time or seasonal residence, or even whether they are actual residences, storage buildings, field-shelters, or even animal pens.⁴¹

These small farmsteads are thought to represent an intensive agricultural strategy, where the land holdings are largely consolidated within the immediate vicinity.⁴² Intensification necessarily demands higher amounts of labour, which translates into a greater amount of time and effort on the part of agricultural workers. Residence in the rural countryside would be a response to these greater demands on labour, time, and attention. Halstead suggests this as an 'alternative' economic strategy to the 'traditional' Greek pattern of nucleated residence and 'commuting' to the agricultural land.⁴³ The survey evidence from Greece suggests that this 'alternative' strategy was never dominant; however, the changes in its relative attractiveness over time could be thought significant.

There are some problems with this interpretation. Importantly, a change in rural residence patterns need not translate into a change in land ownership, but could simply indicate differing economic strategies over time or between generations. So, though unlikely, it is possible that the appearance or disappearance of these small sites may represent nothing more than changing agricultural strategies amongst the same population, and not any significant shift in landholding. The loss of these sites need not represent the loss of the associated households.

Clearly, there is a change in the use of the rural countryside, broadly speaking, over the course of the Hellenistic and into the Roman period. What is lacking is any one category of evidence that explains the nature, extent and cause of that change. Some of these changes in the rural countryside may be explained by looking not at the sites that disappear from the landscape, but those that appear: the new Roman foundations, and the land on which they are situated. What is interesting is the fact that for

a supposedly depopulated and desolate landscape, a surprising number of new foundations occur on land that can be termed marginal.⁴⁴ Why is it, if the traditional patterns of landownership and rural occupancy have been shaken to their cores, that the new foundations do not target the best land, of which there is much that is seemingly unoccupied?

The geology itself obviously cannot inform us about underlying motives. However, used in conjunction with other sources of information, some tantalizing glimpses of what may have happened emerge. A possible explanation lies in the associated agriculture. A significant *minority* of new sites are on soils that are better suited for either trees or vines, that is, mainly olives or grapes. This suggests a renewed emphasis on cash-cropping, or at least intensive mono-cropping.⁴⁵

Ceramics also support this. Most surveyed sites exhibit a remarkable continuity between the pre-Roman and Roman periods when it comes to ceramic assemblages. Some generalisations highlight this: while glazed and painted pottery change with the fashions of the time, the common or coarse unpainted or undecorated wares seem to remain very similar over time for the majority of surveys. With some few exceptions, the fabric of the pottery is drawn from the same clay sources, the shapes remain fairly consistent, and potting techniques do not change. These features are all indicative of continuity in the local ceramic industry; that is, it is the same people targeting the same clay sources and making the same sorts of coarse wares.⁴⁶ There is no large influx of new populations. What is evident, in some regions, is an increase in the incidence of storage wares in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods accompanied by a decrease in the incidence of table wares on the majority of those small sites on marginal land.

The data suggest that there is one pattern for Methana, the Southern Argolid and Laconia, and perhaps Berbati,⁴⁷ and another for Pylos and Asea, with the former surveys showing a significant pro-

41. Foxhall 2004, 249-50, 266.

42. For problems in the identification of 'farmsteads' see, *op. cit.*, 260-65; Pettegrew 2001; *id.* 2002.

43. Halstead 2002.

44. Methana: MS109, MS115, MS116, MS117 (from 9 total); Southern Argolid: B53, C31 (from 4 total); Laconia: G252, C167, J220, G165, K403, C168, G161, J228, M350 (from 30 total); Berbati: 503, 303 (from 4 total); Pylos: perhaps I08 (from 5 total); Asea: perhaps S20 and S81 (from 15 total).

45. Foxhall 2003.

46. Jones 1997, 18-21.

47. The geomorphology of the valley is such that sites on soils other than the alluvial fans may be under-represented.

portion of new foundations that exhibit similar characteristics: they tend to be on particular types of soils, they tend to have some evidence for processing on site, and they tend to show an increase in the incidence of storage wares, and a decline in table and fine wares.⁴⁸ The example of Berbati, with its likely influx of new population in the Roman period (though not necessarily Italians or Romans), is perhaps the most telling.⁴⁹ It is not unreasonable to suggest that the sites that match these criteria are being geared towards a particular type of agriculture; a type of agriculture that is not occurring everywhere.

This suggests a shift in economy, with, if not a majority, then a significant minority of new sites in the Roman period in some areas exhibiting evidence for intensive agriculture revolving around olive and/or grape production. It is also possible to see other areas not responding to this same trend, with cereals and pastoral activities perhaps remaining the standard form of subsistence. When we compare these data with those sites that continue from the Hellenistic into the Roman period, a similar trend emerges. Not a majority, but a significant minority of sites in Laconia, Methana, Berbati, and the Southern Argolid hint at a shift towards a more intensive form of crop production.

That there is evidence of intensification and specialisation is particularly interesting, especially in light of recent discussions on land use and land ownership. The primary goal of any agriculture-based society would undoubtedly have been simple local sustenance. Beyond that, the goal would be to produce sufficient surplus to satisfy demand for agricultural produce both locally and in larger regional or inter-regional settings. Typically in rural societies in general, where there is evidence of surplus, there are two possible factors motivating its production: internal, localised regional factors, and external extra-regional factors.⁵⁰ In other words, surplus either supports a local demand, or becomes

involved in broader economic networks that operate outside of the region. Intensification (maximising returns by investing more labour) and specialisation (a concentration of resources on a narrower base of crops)⁵¹ suggest that associated agricultural activity is particularly geared towards the production of surplus, and it is generally believed that intensification of olive and/or grape production is tied into extra-regional economic trends, and is not just for satisfying local demand.⁵² Previous studies have used the evidence of intensification and specialisation in order to suggest a rise in rural villas in the Roman period. A perceived decline in population, alongside a new tax burden, means that there is a consolidation of land ownership in the landscape and a new emphasis on intensive forms of production.⁵³

More recent evidence, however, suggests that a more nuanced explanation is required. Individual regions of the Peloponnese behave quite differently over time. Taken as a whole, the Peloponnese does indeed show evidence for a decline in site numbers, especially amongst small sites. But within individual regions there is evidence for intensification and specialisation of agricultural production. There appears to be one pattern for the southeast Peloponnese (Methana, the Southern Argolid and Laconia, and perhaps Berbati), and another for the central and western Peloponnese (Pylos, Asea, and perhaps Achaia). It is going too far, however, to suggest that a profound change in land ownership can also be read from the landscape. Certainly there are changes, but the evidence suggestive of a measure of continuity cannot be ignored. Land use and land ownership need to be treated as separate issues.

The fact that marginal lands are included in this intensification of part of the landscape is important. Marginal lands see this new (or continued) exploitation precisely because those are the lands that are available. It is those parcels of land that are first to be less intensively worked in times of

The surveyors note that there has been significant soil erosion, especially in relation to exposed marl soils. Wells, Runnels 1996, 453-54; Wells *et al.* 1990, 212-14.

48. Laconia: Shipley 2002c: 299-302, Illustr. 6.7 and 6.8; Methana: Gill *et al.* 1997, 69-72; Berbati: Penttinen 2001, 91-3; *id.* 2005.

49. Penttinen 2001, 96-99.

50. Gallant 1991, 170-71, 187-93.

51. Levick 2004.

52. For a summation of the arguments see Hopkins 2002.

53. Alcock 1989.

crisis, and therefore those lands that are the first to be sold off. The important point to make at this stage is that all of this evidence, taken together, is suggestive of a higher degree of continuity in the landscape than has previously been considered.⁵⁴

It is important to stress that change does occur. Epigraphic evidence tells us of a late 1st c. B.C. Corinthian with Roman citizenship, Lucius Licinius Anteros, who is given the right to own land and the right to graze flocks in Methana.⁵⁵ Decrees of this type, which extend some aspects of citizenship rights to non-citizens (*proxenia*) and may also extend land-holding rights (*ges enktesis*), are a problematic area of scholarship in and of themselves, but similar decrees are known from elsewhere.⁵⁶ The Anteros decree is suggestive of the changing political landscape of the Roman Peloponnese, and can account for some of the visible changes recovered through archaeological survey.

It is sometimes stated that these decrees were simply honourific, and that the rights granted were seldom taken up.⁵⁷ Though the evidence is far from conclusive, there are some instances of later, subsequent inscriptions attesting to the taking up of these rights.⁵⁸ Moreover, the few synthetic studies of such decrees that exist seem to show that there is an increase in their incidence in the Roman period,⁵⁹ and in the 1st c. B.C. we begin to see grants of proxeny being extended to Italian Romans (as opposed to Greeks with Roman citizenship).⁶⁰ All of this is suggestive of a less isolationist attitude within some regions of the Peloponnese than is traditionally allowed. These documents are specifically for

governing (or at least formalising) interaction between individuals from different regions, and highlight some aspects of an economically-based cultural interaction. After all, these decrees show to some degree that traditional patterns of land ownership are changing *for a minority*, as the ability to both own and exploit land outside of one's own *polis* is made more widely available.⁶¹

This decree is part of a larger body of evidence that points to a rural Roman Peloponnese that is not only affected by broader interactions between regions, but is often the focus of those interactions. We can see this in numerous sources: literary evidence testifies to the contacts between regions (most frequently amongst elites, unsurprisingly),⁶² roads and tracks frequently facilitate movement and communication,⁶³ and ceramic studies underscore the existence of broader economic networks that crosscut regions. The most overt examples of such interactions can be seen in the centuriation evident around Corinth and Patras – a process that required not just Roman land surveyors, but official sanction from the authorities within the *colonia*.⁶⁴

The implications of the Anteros decree are interesting, as it suggests that over time traditional networks of interaction are being extended in both nature and extent. Whereas previously interaction between the elites of regions might be governed by kinship diplomacy, *xenia*, and official embassies, in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods it is possible to see the extension of interaction to include specific economic rights. This suggests that a broader network of interaction, one that looks beyond the

54. As was shown for Keos. Cherry, *et al.* 1991.

55. *SEG* 37, 1987, 321; S. Zoumbaki, “Πρωμαῖοι ἐγγαιοῦντες. Römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia”, *Tyche* 9, 1994, 215.

56. Selected examples include: Kythera: *IG V* 1, 936; Laconia: *IG V* 1, 976; *IG V* 1, 1227; *IG V* 1, 1146. For a table of early Roman *proxenoi* see Harmond 1957, 58-60.

57. Wallace 1970.

58. Marek 1984, 147-49, 158-59, 388; Gruen 1984, 169-72; Hodkinson 1988, 52. I do not necessarily subscribe to Gruen's view that *proxenos* is the equivalent of patron in these contexts. See also Tanner 2000, esp. 36-39.

59. Marek 1984, 158-59; Harmond 1957, 73-5.

60. Argolid: *RPI*, ARG 164; Laconia: *RP II*, LAC 331, LAC 639a, 697a. See also Harmond 1957, 55-61.

61. Hodkinson 1988, 51-5.

62. As seen in Polybius (*e.g.* IX. 42, 5-8; XXI. 20, 1-4; XXXI. 8, 8), Appian (*Mac.* 11. 1-2, 7), Diodorus (*e.g.* XIX. 77, 3; XXX. 2; XXXI. 28). Gruen 1984, 13-131, esp. 48-53, 69-76, 94-5. See also Erskine 2002; Ferrary 1997; Jones 1999.

63. See Sanders, Whitbread 1990 and Tausend 2006.

64. It is important to note that exploitation of the landscape did not arrive with the Romans, nor did locals cease to 'exploit' the landscape after their arrival. Corinth: Romano 1993; *id.* 2000; *id.* 2006; Patras: Rizakis 1997, 26-7; Rizakis *et al.* 1992, 125-35.

bounds of the *polis*, is being constructed, and that specific means of constructing, maintaining, and negotiating these interactions are being introduced through the extension of proxeny rights to a wider group of people. Such changes in the relationships between the (often urban-based) elite had spin-off effects for the rural Peloponnese, where the shift towards an intensive form of agriculture, and the incidences of crop specialisation are suggestive of attempts to supply a broader than local market with relatively high-value agricultural products.

We can see evidence of inter-regional non-elite connections in the continued importance of transhumance and large-scale pastoralism. Epigraphic evidence records limited instances of transport or pasturage rights between regions.⁶⁵ While this is far from straightforward, the very impact of large-scale pastoralism on inter-regional relations is important. The fact that border disputes, and even wars, were often sparked by the need of many *poleis* to exploit the *eschatiai* of their territories for grazing testifies to the existence of such interactions, and while the wars may have ceased with the coming of Rome, competition did not.

Further evidence can be seen in the use of *xenike hodos* ('road of the aliens', 'road leading to foreign territory', 'hospitable road', or 'road for guest-friends') for transporting flocks. This is suggested in a passage of Polybius (XIII. 8, 7), in which, at the time of war between Sparta and Megalopolis in 204 B.C., flocks belonging to Proagoras and some others from Megalopolis were forced to leave Laconia. Chaniotis' re-interpretation of a Lyttian decree in Crete also suggests that *xenikai hodoi* could be used for inter-regional transhumance.⁶⁶

Supporting evidence for this may be found in grants of *isopoliteia* and *sympoliteia* which must have facilitated the movement of flocks and increase in frequency in the late Hellenistic period and continue into the Roman period.⁶⁷ All of this evidence

taken together is emblematic of a much larger phenomenon of increasing political cooperation and interaction between regions over time that facilitated the exchange of and access to complementary resources, with the rural landscape being the focus.

It has already been suggested that there is a fair degree of variation between the regions of the Peloponnese in terms of land use and settlement patterns. If some of this variability represents some form of cash-cropping, the question arises as to who would benefit. It is known from several scattered references that Roman or Italian businessmen, the *negotiatores*, were operating in Greece from at least the 3rd century onwards.⁶⁸ A late Hellenistic tile stamp from Sparta which refers to the lodging house of the Romans seems to be tangible proof of the presence of these Roman financiers.⁶⁹ It could be to supply the demands of these men and the broader market that they represented that some changes in land use are observed.

It is clear that there are several factors visible in the rural Roman Peloponnese, including an aggregation or consolidation of land, changes in land use (such as intensification and specialisation, and perhaps increased pastoralism), and some changes in land ownership. But amongst all of the change there is a strong undercurrent of continuity. There are a variety of factors that are at work within the rural landscape and it is not always clear which are in operation at any particular time; some are culturally driven, some are politically driven, and some are environmentally driven, and none of these categories is exclusive. It is clear, then, that the notion of 'predominant trends' serves to mask some of these finer points.

Many of these trends are influenced – directly and indirectly – by broader Mediterranean events. Affiliated with these types of economic and political interactions in the rural landscape are resistance

65. The problematic *epinomia* inscriptions. Discussed by Chandezon 2003, 134-256; Morgan 2003, 168 ff., and less favourably by Hodkinson 1988, 51-55.

66. *SEG* 35, 1985, 991B. Discussed in Chaniotis 1999, esp. 195-96.

67. *Isopoliteia*: Chios and Aetolia, *Syll.*³ 443; Entella, *SEG* 30, 1980, 1121; Hierapytna and Praisos, *Staatsverträge* III, no. 554; *sympoliteia*: in Achaean League, Polyb. II. 37 and 42; Cos and Calymnus, *Staatsverträge* III, no. 545; Stiris and Medeon, *Syll.*³ 647.

68. Derow, Forrest 1982. See also: Argos: *ILLRP* 374; Achaea: *ILLRP* 370; Mytilene: *ILLRP* 433; Athens: *IG* II², 3426.

69. *SEG* 47, 1997, 373. See also *IG* V 1, 869 and *IG* V 1, 7, 1. 5 for the 'Roman's *katalyma*' ('lodging house' or 'inn'). Discussion of the stamp can be found in Shipley 1996, 223-24 no. 19.

and ignorance. Resistance is a common result of unilateral or asymmetrical power relations, and can be expressed in a wide variety of ways. Adherence to tradition, an entrenchment of convention, even outright defiance are all attested reactions to the spread of Roman power.⁷⁰ In the Peloponnese, some of these aspects are difficult to read in the landscape, even if there is literary evidence for their occurrence elsewhere in Greece.⁷¹ It may be possible to see specific instances of resistance in the lack of accommodation between Rome and her subjects in the Peloponnese – part of the reason why the low numbers of small sites persist in the Roman period may be simply that the inhabitants of the Peloponnese do not want to accommodate the new political regime. This need not be a conscious choice: with the old power structures of the Peloponnese largely stripped away, the focus may have turned inwards in some places, concentrating on the local conditions and rejecting any wider engagement.

Closely allied with this type of resistance is the idea of ignorance. That is, some inhabitants of the Peloponnese perhaps simply chose to ignore anything beyond the bounds of their own communities, or their own cultural group. Much has been made of this type of attitude in literature, especially in respect to the Second Sophistic. In other words, *literati* seemingly chose to ignore the current political situation and focused instead on the cultural achievements of the Greek past, and retreated, in a sense, into philosophical quandaries.⁷² While this is perhaps reductionist, and it is certainly far too simplistic to explain the entirety of the Second Sophistic, a similar idea might be applied to the interactions in the rural Peloponnese.

The important point to note is that these interactions need not be consciously expressed, nor are they necessarily exclusive. And while many of these ideas are speculative, they are testable through future research. The complicated picture that emerges is one of differing interactions, sometimes

with competing motives, sometimes operating in tandem. In short, cultural interaction of this sort is complicated, and is neither uniform in application nor homogeneous in content; it is *discrepant*, in all of the complexities inherent in that term.⁷³

Just because Rome arrives on the Peloponnesian political scene does not mean that old networks of interaction between *poleis* (or even within *poleis*) no longer apply. Rather, they continue, albeit in a changed form. The traditional political and economic roles within a community are created, maintained and negotiated through the same broad cultural avenues as before: the reinforcement of (and redefinition of) tradition, the dissuasion of opposition and innovation, and the repeated reinforcement of status differences, be they defined on the basis of age, wealth, heredity or place of origin.⁷⁴ All of these ‘lower-level’ interactions are occurring at the same time as the ‘higher-level’ interactions, and indeed serve to facilitate particular avenues of interaction.

Therefore within any one region of the Peloponnese it is possible to see competing or even contradictory interactions, creating a kaleidoscope of material evidence covering the entire spectrum of possible interactions. One particular type of interaction may predominate, but that does not negate the importance or existence of the less frequent or less archaeologically visible interactions.

Conclusions

Thus the differential extent of the rural changes and decline in absolute site numbers visible in the Peloponnese can be explained, in part, through the pan-Mediterranean expansion of Rome. As different regions came within the orbit of Roman control and influence, they reacted differently to competing pressures from both within and without. The pressure amongst local elites to maintain their power, both politically and economically, may have led to the consolidation of some land within fewer and

70. Mattingly 1997, 130-35 certainly characterizes the landscapes of Greece as one of ‘resistance’. Alcock’s interpretation of the landscape of rural cult as one embodying resistance is also particularly interesting, see: Alcock 1993b, 160-63.

71. This is especially evident in Athens. This is often juxtaposed with Corinth, which is often portrayed as thoroughly ‘Roman.’

72. Anderson 1993; Goldhill 2001.

73. For discrepant identity, see: Mattingly 2004. For similar formulations elsewhere in the empire, see: Britain: Fincham 2002; Syria: Baird 2006.

74. Shipley 2008.

fewer families. The evidence from the Peloponnese, and elsewhere in the Greek world,⁷⁵ suggests that this process may have begun during the Hellenistic period, if not earlier. It could be that the spread of Roman power and hegemony in the East removed some of the constraints on this process, allowing for its increased incidence and elaboration at this time.⁷⁶ The increased importance of some broader regional trade networks may have led to the intensification and specialisation of some regions in terms of agricultural production – certainly the ‘destruction’ of Corinth and the survey evidence as discussed above suggest a widening of economic ties amongst the polities of the eastern Peloponnese.

However, these external pressures must be balanced against localised internal circumstances. The individual landscapes of the Peloponnese are not simply the backdrops upon which is painted the history of Roman expansion and the concomitant economic and societal implications, they are the backdrops upon which is written the evidence of local conflict, local competition, poor harvests, limited famine, demographic success and failure on a local scale; not everything requires an external explanation.

What these data show is the multifaceted and localised responses that these regions made to long- and medium-term socio-political processes. The traditional historical narrative of a declining and depopulated Greece in the Roman period requires emendation; the rural Roman Peloponnese, overall, does indeed show a pattern of decline, but this numerical decline of site numbers masks a much more complicated situation. Simple loss of numbers does not automatically translate into depopulation or desolation. The rural Roman Peloponnese is typified by a series of vibrant communities; it is a place composed of disparate regions with disparate histories. Some of these regions are able to benefit from the new reality of Roman hegemony, and certainly, some are not. But to generalise that the Roman period is essentially a negative one is to reduce the past to the result of a simplistic equation.

Daniel Stewart

School of Archaeology and Ancient History,
University of Leicester

Bibliography

- Acheson (P. E.), 1997: “Does the ‘Economic Explanation’ Work? Settlement, Agriculture and Erosion in the Territory of Halieis in the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic Period”, *JMA* 10 (2), 165-90.
- Alcock (S. E.), 1989: “Roman Imperialism in the Greek Landscape”, *JRA* 2, 5-34.
- , 1993a: *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- , 1993b: “Spaced-out Sanctuaries: The Ritual Landscape of Roman Greece”, in E. Scott (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: First Conference Proceedings*, Avebury, 155-65.
- Alcock (S. E.), Berlin (A. M.), Harrison (A. B.), Heath (S.), Spencer (N.), Stone (D. L.), 2005: “Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part VII. Historical Messenia, Geometric through Late Roman”, *Hesperia* 74, 147-209.
- Anderson (G.), 1993: *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, London.
- Archibald (Z. H.), Davies (J.), Gabrielsen (V.), Oliver (G. J.) (eds), 2001: *Hellenistic Economies*, London.
- Attolini (I.), Cambi (F.), Castagna (M.), Celuzza (M.), Fentress (E.), Perkins (P.), Regoli (E.), 1991: “Political Geography and Productive Geography between the Valleys of the Albegna and the Fiora in Northern Etruria” in G. Barker, J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*, London, 142-52.
- Baird (J. A.), 2006: *Housing and Households at Dura-Europus: A Study in Identity on Rome’s Eastern Frontier*, PhD, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, Univ. of Leicester, Leicester.
- Baronowski (D. W.), 1987: “Greece after 146 BC: Provincial Status and Roman Tribute”, in J. M. Fossey (ed.), *Papers in Greek Archaeology and History in Memory of Colin D. Gordon*, Amsterdam, 125-38.
- Berghe van (J.-W.), Fiselier (J.), 2002: “Soils and Land Use Potential”, in W. Cavanagh, J. Crowwel, R. W. V. Catling, G. Shipley (eds), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey I: Methodology and Interpretation*, London, 57-71.
- Bintliff (J.), 1985: “The Boeotia Survey”, in S. Macready, F. H. Thompson (eds), *Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Abroad*, London, 196-216.
- Bowie (E. L.), 1974: “Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic”, in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society*, London, 166-209.
- Canizaro (V. B.) (ed.), 2007: *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, New York.

75. Samos: Shipley 1987, esp. 208-18, 221-28; Rhamnous: Oliver 2001, 140-42, 148-50, 153; generally supported for the ‘Hellenistic world’ as a whole by: Davies 2001, 29-31. For ‘constraints’ to elite land ownership, see: Osborne 2002 and, briefly, *id.* 2001.

76. Suggested in part by Geagan 1997; Rizakis 2001.

- Cannavò (P. F.), 2007: *The Working Landscape: Founding, Preservation, and the Politics of Place*, Cambridge.
- Chandezon (C.), 2003: *L'élevage en Grèce (fin V^e-fin I^{er} s. a.C.)*, Bordeaux.
- Chaniotis (A.), 1999: "Milking the Mountains. Economic Activities on the Cretan Uplands in the Classical and Hellenistic Period", in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders. Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, Stuttgart, 181-220.
- Chapman (J.), Shiel (R.), 1991: "Settlement, Soils and Societies in Dalmatia", in G. Barker, J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*, London, 62-76.
- Cherry (J. F.), Davis (J. L.), Mantzourani (E.), 1991: "Patterns in the Landscape of Keos", J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis, E. Mantzourani (eds), *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History. Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times*, Los Angeles, 457-79.
- Corvisier (J.-N.), Suder (W.) (eds), 1996: *Polyanthropia-Oliganthropia. Bibliographie de la démographie du monde grec*, Wrocław.
- Davies (J. K.), 2001: "Hellenistic Economies in the Post-Finley Era", in Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, G. J. Oliver (eds), *Hellenistic Economies*, London, 11-62.
- Derow (P.), Forrest (W. G.), 1982: "An Inscription from Chios", *ABSA* 77, 77-92.
- Erskine (A.), 2002: "O Brother Where Art Thou? Tales of Kinship and Diplomacy", in D. Ogden (ed.), *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, London, 97-115.
- Ferrary (J.-L.), 1997: "The Hellenistic World and Roman Political Patronage", in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, E. S. Gruen (eds), *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, Berkeley, 105-19.
- Fincham (G.), 2002: *Landscapes of Imperialism: Roman and Native Interaction in the East Anglian Fenland*, Oxford.
- Forbes (H.), 1982: *Strategies and Soils: Technology, Production and Environment in the Peninsula of Methana, Greece*, PhD, Univ. of Pennsylvania.
- , 1992: "The Ethnoarchaeological Approach to Ancient Greek Agriculture", in B. Wells (ed.), *Agriculture in Ancient Greece. Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16-17 May 1990*, Stockholm, 87-101.
- Foxhall (L.), 2003: "Cultures, Landscapes, and Identities in the Mediterranean World", *MHR* 18 (2), 75-92.
- , 2004: "Small, Rural Farmstead Sites in Ancient Greece: A Material Cultural Analysis", in F. Kolb (ed.), *Chora und Polis*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 54, München, 249-70.
- Gallant (T. W.), 1991: *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy*, Stanford.
- Geagan (D. J.), 1997: "The Athenian Elite: Romanization, Resistance, and the Exercise of Power", in M. C. Hoff, S. I. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska (April 1996)*, Oxford, 19-32.
- Gill (D.), Foxhall (L.), Bowden (H.), 1997: "Classical and Hellenistic Methana", in C. Mee, H. Forbes (eds), *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece*, Liverpool, 62-76.
- Given (M.), 2004: "Mapping and Manuring: Can We Compare Sherd Density Figures?" in S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry (eds), *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, Oxford, 13-21.
- Golden (M.), 2000: "A Decade of Demography. Recent Trends in the Study of Greek and Roman Populations", in M. H. Hansen, L. Rubinstein, T. H. Nielsen (eds), *Polis & Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20 2000*, Copenhagen, 23-40.
- Goldhill (S.) (ed.), 2001: *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, Cambridge.
- Grandjean (C.) (ed.), 2008: *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux.
- Gruen (E. S.), 1984: *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, Berkeley.
- Halstead (P.), 2000: "Land Use in Postglacial Greece: Cultural Causes and Environmental Effects", P. Halstead, C. Frederick (eds), *Landscape and Land Use in Postglacial Greece*, Sheffield, 110-28.
- , 2002: "Traditional and Ancient Rural Economy in Mediterranean Europe: Plus ça change?", W. Scheidel, S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy*, Edinburgh, 53-70.
- Harmond (L.), 1957: *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques, des origines au Bas-Empire*, Paris.
- Higgins (M. D.), Higgins (R.), 1996: *A Geological Companion to Greece and the Aegean*, London.
- Hodder (I.), 1993: "The Narrative and Rhetoric of Material Culture Sequences", *World Archaeology* 25.2, 268-82.
- Hodkinson (S.), 1986: "Land Tenure and Inheritance in Classical Sparta", *CQ* 80 (36), 378-406.
- , 1988: "Animal Husbandry in the Greek Polis" in C. R. Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, 35-74.
- , 2002: "Spartiate Landownership and Inheritance", in M. Whitby (ed.), *Sparta*, Edinburgh readings on the ancient world, New York, 86-89.
- Hopkins (K.), 2002: "Rome, Taxes, Rents and Trade", in W. Scheidel, S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy*, Edinburgh, 190-230.
- Howell (R. J.), 1970: "A Survey of Eastern Arcadia in Prehistory", *ABSA* 65, 79-127.
- James (P.), Atherton (M.), Harvey (A.), Firmin (A.),

- Morrow (A.), 1997: "The Physical Environment of Methana: Formation, Exploitation and Change", in C. Mee, H. Forbes (eds), *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece*, Liverpool, 5-32.
- James (P.), Mee (C.), Taylor (G.), 1994: "Soil Erosion and the Archaeological Landscape of Methana, Greece", *JFA* 21 (4), 395-416.
- Jameson (M. H.), Runnels (C.), van Andel (T. H.), 1994: *A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day*, Stanford.
- Jones (C. P.), 1999: *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge.
- Jones (S.), 1997: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London.
- Keay (S. J.), 2007: "Comparing Regional Surveys", *JRA* 20, 509-13.
- Lavento (M.), 2003: "The Geo-Archaeological Investigation", in J. Forsén, B. Forsén (eds), *The Asea Valley Survey: An Arcadian Mountain Valley from the Palaeolithic Period until Modern Times*, Stockholm, 39-62.
- Levick (B.), 2004: "The Roman Economy: Trade in Asia Minor and the Niche Market", *G&R* 51.2, 180-98.
- Lloyd (J. A.), 1991: "Farming the Highlands: Samnium and Arcadia in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial Periods", in G. Barker, J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region*, London, 180-93.
- Lloyd (J. A.), Owens (E. J.), Roy (J.), 1985: "The Megalopolis Survey in Arcadia: Problems of Strategy and Tactics", in S. Macready, F. H. Thompson (eds), *Archaeological Field Survey in Britain and Abroad*, London, 217-24.
- Lucas (G.), 2005: *The Archaeology of Time*, London.
- Malkin (I.), Constantakopoulou (Chr.), Panagopoulou (K.) (eds), 2009: *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, London - New York.
- Marek (C.), 1984: *Die Proxenie*, Frankfurt a. M.
- Mattingly (D.), 1997: "Africa: A Landscape of Opportunity?" in D. Mattingly (ed.), *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, *JRA* Suppl. 23, Portsmouth, 117-39.
- , 2004: "Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting", *JRA* 17, 5-25.
- Millett (M.), 2000: "Dating, Quantifying and Utilizing Pottery Assemblages from Surface Survey", in R. Francovich, H. Patterson, G. Barker (eds), *Extracting Meaning from Ploughsoil Assemblages*, Oxford, 53-59.
- Morgan (C.), 2003: *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, London.
- Nielsen (T. H.), 2000: "The Concept of Arkadia - the People, Their Land, and Their Organisation", in T. H. Nielsen, J. Roy (eds), *Defining Ancient Arkadia. Symposium, April, 1-4 1998, Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* vol. 6, Copenhagen, 16-79.
- Oliver (G.), 2001: "Regions and Micro-Regions: Grain for Rhamnous", in Z. H. Archibald, J. Davies, V. Gabrielsen, G. J. Oliver (eds), *Hellenistic Economies*, London, 137-56.
- Osborne (R.), 2001: "Counting the Cost. Comments on David K. Pettegrew, 'Chasing the Classical Farmstead'", *JMA* 14.2 (December 2001)", *JMA* 14, 212-216.
- , 2002: "Pride and Prejudice, Sense and Subsistence: Exchange and Society in the Greek City", in W. Scheidel, S. von Reden (eds), *The Ancient Economy*, Edinburgh, 114-32.
- , 2004: "Demography and Survey", in S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry (eds), *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, Oxford, 163-72.
- Papagiannopoulos (K. B.), Zachos (G. A.), 2000: "Εντατική επιφανειακή έρευνα στη Δυτική Αχαΐα: μία άλλη προσέγγιση", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Paysages d'Achaïe II: Dymé et son territoire, Actes du Colloque International: Dymaia et Bouprasia, Katô Achaïa, 6-8 Octobre 1995*, Meletmata 29, Athens, 139-53.
- Penttinen (A.), 1996: "The Classical and Hellenistic Periods", in B. Wells, C. Runnels (eds), *The Berbati-Limnes Archaeological Survey 1988-1990*, Stockholm, 229-84.
- , 2001: *Berbati between Argos and Corinth. The Excavations at Pyrgouthi in 1995 and 1997 from the Early Iron Age to the Early Roman Period*, PhD, Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History Univ. of Stockholm, Stockholm.
- , 2005: "From the Early Iron Age to the Early Roman Times", in J. Hjohlman, A. Penttinen, B. Wells (eds), *Pyrgouthi: A Rural Site in the Berbati Valley from the Early Iron Age to Late Antiquity. Excavations by the Swedish Institute at Athens 1995 and 1997*, Stockholm, 11-125.
- Pettegrew (D. K.), 2001: "Chasing the Classical Farmstead: Assessing the Formation and Signature of Rural Settlement in Greek Landscape Archaeology", *JMA* 14.2 (2001), 189-209.
- , 2002: "Counting and Coloring Classical Farms: A Response to R. Osborne, L. Foxhall, and J. Bintliff et al.", *JMA* 15.2 (2002), 267-73.
- , 2007: "The Busy Countryside of Late Roman Corinth: Interpreting Ceramic Data Produced by Regional Archaeological Surveys", *Hesperia* 76, 743-84.
- Raab (H. A.), 2001: *Rural Settlement in Hellenistic and Roman Crete: The Akrotiri Peninsula*, BAR Intern. Ser. 984.
- Rackham (O.), 1996: "Ecology and Pseudo-Ecology: The Example of Ancient Greece", in G. Shipley, J. Salmon (eds), *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity: Environment and Culture*, London, 16-43.
- , 2002: "Observations on the Historical Ecology of Laconia", in W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R. W. V. Catling, G. Shipley (eds), *Continuity and Change in a Greek*

- Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey I: Methodology and Interpretation*, London, 73-119.
- Rich (J.), 1985: "Review of Gruen on Greeks and Rome", *LCM* 10 (6), 90-96.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1997: "Roman Colonies in the Province of Achaia: Territories, Land and Population", S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, 15-36.
- , 2001: "La consitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium Organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22 1999*, Helsinki, 37-49.
- Rizakis (A. D.), Dalongeville (R.), Lakakis (M.) (eds), 1992: *Paysages d'Achaïe I: le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale*, Meletemata 15, Athens.
- Romano (D. G.), 1993: "Post-146 B.C. Land Use in Corinth, and Planning of the Roman Colony of 44 B.C.", in T. E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period. Including the Papers Given at a Symposium held at the Ohio State University on 7-9 March, 1991*, Ann Arbor, 9-30.
- , 2000: "A Tale of Two Cities: Roman Colonies at Corinth", in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures, Proceedings of a Conference held at the American Academy in Rome to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May 1998*, Portsmouth, 83-104.
- , 2006: "Roman Surveyors in Corinth", *PAPS* 150 (1), 62-85.
- Romano (I. B.), 1994: "A Hellenistic Deposit from Corinth: Evidence for Interim Period Activity (146-44 B.C.)", *Hesperia* 63.1, 57-104.
- Roy (J.), Lloyd (J. A.), Owens (E. J.), 1989: "Megalopolis under the Roman Empire", in S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire. Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, London, 146-50.
- RP I: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Kantirea (M.), *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP II: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Lepenioti (Cl.), *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Runnels (C.), Andel van (T. H.), 1987: "The Evolution of Settlement in the Southern Argolid, Greece: An Economic Explanation", *Hesperia* 56, 303-34.
- Sallares (R.), 1991: *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World*, London.
- Sanders (G. D. R.), Whitbread (I. K.), 1990: "Central Places and Major Roads in the Peloponnese", *ABSA* 85, 333-61.
- Scheidel (W.) (ed.), 2001: *Debating Roman Demography*, Leiden.
- Shear (T. L.), 1981: "Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town", *Hesperia* 50 (4), 356-77.
- Sheedy (K. A.) (ed.), 1994: *Archaeology in the Peloponnese. New Excavations and Research*, Oxbow Monograph 48, Oxford.
- Shingley (G.), 1987: *A History of Samos 800-188 BC*, Oxford.
- , 1996: "The Epigraphic Material", in W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R. W. V. Catling, G. Shingley (eds), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey II: Archaeological Data*, London, 213-34.
- , 2000: "The Extent of Spartan Territory in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods", *ABSA* 95, 367-90.
- , 2002a: "Hidden Landscapes: Greek Field Survey Data and Hellenistic History", in D. Ogden (ed.), *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, London, 177-98.
- , 2002b: "Rural Landscape Change in Hellenistic Greece", in K. Ascani, V. Gabrielsen, K. Kvist, A. H. Rasmussen (eds), *Ancient History Matters: Studies presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on his Seventieth Birthday*, Rome, 39-45.
- , 2002c: "The Survey Area in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods", in W. Cavanagh, J. Crouwel, R. W. V. Catling, G. Shingley (eds), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey I: Methodology and Interpretations*, London, 257-337.
- , 2008: "Approaching the Macedonian Peloponnese", in Chr. Granjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux, 53-68.
- Slane (K.), 2003: "Corinth's Roman Pottery: Quantification and Meaning", in C. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896-1996, Corinth XX*, Princeton N. J., 321-35.
- Tanner (J.), 2000: "Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic", *JRS* 90, 18-50.
- Tausend (K.), 2006: *Verkehrswege der Argolis: Rekonstruktion und historische Bedeutung*, Berlin.
- Terrenato (N.), 2004: "Sample Size Matters! The Paradox of Global Trends and Local Surveys", in S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry (eds), *Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World*, Oxford, 36-48.
- Walbank (F. W.), 2002: *Polybius, Rome and the Hellenistic World: Essays and Reflections*, Cambridge.
- Wallace (M. B.), 1970: "Early Greek Proxenoï", *Phoenix* 24, 189-208.
- Walsh (K.), 1999: "Mediterranean Landscape Archaeology and Environmental Reconstruction", in P. Leveau, F. Trément, K. Walsh, G. Barker (eds), *Environmental Reconstruction in Mediterranean Landscape Archaeology*, Oxford, 1-8.
- Wandsnider (L.), Camilli (E. L.), 1992: "The Character of Surface Archaeological Deposits and Its Influence on Survey Accuracy", *JFA* 19.2, 169-88.

- Wells (B.), Runnels (C.), 1996: "Some Concluding Remarks", in B. Wells, C. Runnels (eds), *The Berbati-Limnes Archaeological Survey 1988-1990*, Stockholm, 453-57.
- Wells (B.), Runnels (C.), Zangger (E.), 1990: "The Berbati-Limnes Archaeological Survey. The 1988 Season", *OAth* 18, 207-38.
- Whitelaw (T. M.), 1991: "The Ethnoarchaeology of Recent Rural Settlement and Land Use in Northwest Keos", in J. F. Cherry, J. L. Davis, E. Mantzourani (eds), *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History. Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times*, Los Angeles, 403-54.
- Zangger (E.), 1993: *The Geoarchaeology of the Argolid*, Berlin.
- Zangger (E.), Timpson (M. E.), Yazvenko (S. B.), Kuhnke (F.), Knauss (J.), 1997: "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project: Part II: Landscape Evolution and Site Preservation", *Hesperia* 66.4, 549-641.

COIN PRODUCTION AND COIN CIRCULATION IN THE ROMAN PELOPONNESE

Ioannis Touratsoglou

Abstract: The present article deals with the production and circulation of coins in the Peloponnese in the aftermath of the Achaean League's surrender to the Romans, as well as during the Imperial period. In the first phase, which comprises the period from the middle to the Late Republican period and down to the Early Principate, the partial and selective operation of certain mints (silver and bronze coins) is most probably linked to military-political events during Rome's expansion. Thus the local mints contribute each time that the Roman generals confront the last Hellenistic rulers of the East or fight each other in the internal Roman power-struggles which were played out on Greek soil. The coinage of the Peloponnesian cities of the Roman period, with very few exceptions which concern colonies founded during the Late Republican period, is largely inaugurated by Augustus and his dynasty. However, it had neither the same lifespan, nor the same starting point, nor was it uniform for all the cities. Special stress is laid on the circulation procedure, the characteristics of which differ radically between the two periods: the cosmopolitan polyphony of the numismatic horizon of the Late Hellenistic period becomes more introverted, while local values (Roman Provincial coins from Peloponnesian mints) or Roman issues in precious metals [*aurei*, *denarii* (plus *antoniniani*)] and heavy copper coins (*sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*) play their role according to place and era.

After the Roman victory over the Achaean League troops and the destruction of Corinth by Lucius Mummius in 146 B.C., the Peloponnese was meant to undergo great social and political changes. By employing a highly preordained plan of partition regarding the previous *status quo*, the fate of each of the cities comprising the League was regulated separately. First were dissolved the administrative authorities of the polity that governed the affairs of the confederacy, as a union of states, which were equal, autonomous but also complying to common goals and obligations. Wealthy and vigorous Corinth was deprived of a part of its public land which was granted to Sicyon, while another part after being confiscated was turned into *ager publicus*. The other cities were proclaimed 'free' and perhaps even tax-exempt, without this preventing Rome from any kind of intervention in the private affairs of every one of them.

Two important events affected the development of the Peloponnese during the early Roman period and particularly during the end of the 1st c. B.C.: The foundation of Roman colonies first at Corinth

and at Dyme and then at Patrai, and the establishment of *pax Romana* after 31 B.C.

Aside from the degree that the Peloponnese was a rich territory with extensive arable lands, pastures, fish and timber, this region was not well known for surplus producing or for large-scale exports. Arcadia was famous for its milk, which it was believed to have medicinal properties. Messenia was mainly an agrarian area. Agriculture and animal husbandry were the main resources of the Argolid. Sicyon, formerly renowned for its olive groves, during the Roman times was mostly known for brick manufacturing. At Tainaron the iron mines as well as the quarries of black and green marble were still active. For the city of Patrai literary sources point to a significant manufacturing activity (wool workshops), moreover with export activity, while archaeological data attest to ceramic production and more particularly lamps. Finally, at Laconia, except for purple dye manufacture, celebrated was also the breeding of excellent horses, many of which were forwarded to Rome.¹

1. For the broader region see Alcock 2007, 671-97.

As soon as the Romans occupied this land they supported the wealthy social groups, thus accordingly the affluent aristocratic families took front stage. Granting of Roman citizenship by the emperors was confined almost exclusively to members of this class. These noblemen – landowners of vast properties, with considerable revenues and overseas commercial transactions, which managed huge sums – were also very active benefactors. The luxurious private buildings, like the villa of Herodes Atticus at Eua in Kynouria, adorned with splendid mosaics and sculptures, coexist with analogous public complexes in cities and in sanctuaries of high status at that time. The great monument which was built south of the theater of Argos by Tib. Claudius Tychicus belongs to this category. As does also the construction of the Nymphaeum at Olympia and the embellishment of the Peirene fountain at Corinth, which were funded by Herodes Atticus. To the social benefactions can be also ascribed the act of C. Claudius Tychicus, ‘founder’ of the *Heraia* festival at Argos, to donate one denarius to every free citizen.²

Certain philhellene emperors occasionally contributed to the building projects and in the embellishment of cities and panhellenic shrines. One such example was Nero, who built a villa and an aqueduct at Olympia. Hadrian, within his greater interest for the pilgrim sites of mainland Greece, took great care of the embellishment of Olympia. Moreover, the latter displayed interest for the fate of Megalopolis and attempted to breath new life to the deserted city.

Despite the fact that the presence of Roman businessmen (*negotiatores*) and particularly that of Italian merchants in the Peloponnese is dated before the subjugation of the Achaean League (2nd c. B.C.), their heyday in the area, through the activities of entrepreneurs, bankers, landowners, viticulturists or cattle-raisers, is attested in the 1st c. B.C. The Italian businessmen were especially active in the great centers of the Peloponnese. Inscriptions testify for their presence at Argos during the 1st c. B.C.,

at Mantinea and Cleitor in Arcadia, in Messenia, at Gytheion in Laconia and at Aegion in Achaea. At Megalopolis there were also institutions of Italian traders. Their rather insignificant activity at Patrai is noteworthy, at least until the refurbishment of the city’s harbour after the foundation of a colony there by Augustus.³

The fact that during the early imperial period considerable private properties existed in the Peloponnese can be deduced by the festival regulations of Andania imposing severe restrictions against luxury: During the festivities and the games, which served also as an occasion for wealth display, it was prohibited for the pilgrims to wear extravagant clothes, of a value over 200 drachms. Additionally, the economic affluence noticed for representatives of the ruling class can be surmised by the rule – in the same regulations – that the five high officials of the mysteries should have at least an annual income of one talent (6,000 drachms).⁴

Several scholars have proposed the view that during the period of the Roman rule, and already from early on, the great panhellenic games dwindled into gatherings and celebrations of local caliber. In spite of the fact that after the destruction of Corinth the responsibility of organizing the *Isthmia* was given to the Sicyonians and that the Roman authorities showed an interest for the continuation of the *Nemeia*, proves the favourable policy towards this tradition and its viability. Furthermore, in the early 1st c. B.C. the mysteries of Andania in Messenia were reorganized; during the time of the festivities many *theoroi* (sacred ambassadors) convened from many places.

Before the First Mithridatic War it seems that no tribute was imposed on the Peloponnese. However, during the hostilities, on the pretext of borrowing money from the shrines of Olympia and Epidauros, Sulla proceeded to confiscation of their treasures. At that time (90-80 B.C.) the cities were also forced repeatedly to contribute with human and monetary resources, as well as to supply with provisions the troops that had landed in Greece or

2. On Atticus see Ameling 1983. Especially for Eua: Spyropoulos 2001.– For Ti. Claudius Tychicus, see *RP I*, ARG 104 [3] and the article of Piérart in the present volume, *supra* pp. 33-34 n. 130.– For Olympia, Mallwitz 1972.– For C. Claudius Tychicus, the son of the above-mentioned Ti. Claudius Tychicus, see *RP I*, ARG 105.

3. Rizakis 2001a, 181-97.– For the Peloponnesian upper class see recently, S. Zoumbaki, “The composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman Period and the Evolution of their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers”, *Tekmeria* 9, 2008, 25-51.– For Italian traders settling in Peloponnesian *poleis*, see Rizakis forthcoming, n. 27.

4. Deshours 2006.

had undertaken the task of suppressing piracy. A considerable number of inscriptions dating to 72/1 B.C. reveals the economic difficulties of cities such as Epidaurus or Gytheion in Laconia. Literary sources probably of that era make similar references for Sparta or Tegea. Later, during the First Civil War between the more formidable Roman generals of that time, Peloponnesians served in the army of Pompeius while he confronted Iulius Caesar. For the people and the economy this strenuous situation was continued and intensified: taxes and tributes were imposed after the mid-1st c. B.C. also by Mark Antony, who went on to recruit soldiers during the Second Civil War. The same was done by Octavian, too. The economy of the region was troubled also by piracy. It is well known that Pompey relocated Cilician pirates at Dyme.

The end of the Civil Wars, although it marks the transformation of almost the entire Greece into Roman provinces and the imposition of regular taxation (27 B.C.), caused justified relief.⁵

It seems that new projects of urban planning aiming at the remodelling and renovation of pre-existing grid plans and the boosting of building activity in order to serve the new *status quo* were not attempted before the era of Augustus. Corinth and Dyme consist two exceptions, two colonies founded by Iulius Caesar, the first one clearly Roman in character. The city of Patrai constitutes an example of an urban center with rapid growth, in which the first emperor, Augustus, settled veterans of the naval battle that took place off Actium; the population was also increased with the relocation of inhabitants of nearby cities.

At Corinth quite an impression is caused by the *agora* complex built by Attic marble and limestone; it was surrounded by shops and there was also the *podium* where justice was administered by the *proconsul*. Moreover, there can be mentioned the magnificent paved avenue leading to Lechaion and running across monumental buildings – among other things the fountain Peirene and the baths donated by the Spartan Eurykles –, as well as an amphitheater unique in mainland Greece.

Argos, by the end of the 1st c. B.C., had a gymnasium in the city's center; two more were added

to that, one of them during the reign of Augustus. Later on baths were built beside the *palaestra* of the complex. Hadrian was responsible for certain renovations on the theater, for the construction of two large aqueducts, as well as for the building of a brickwork *odeum*.⁶

Remarkable wealth, either in the form of land or of money, was seemingly accumulated by certain citizens only after the consolidation of the new world order during the early and the middle imperial period. This fact is supported by the lavishly adorned *villae urbanae* and *suburbanae* of the 2nd c. A.D. in the grid pattern and the periphery of Patrai. The overall prosperity is moreover attested by the paved roads, the *miliaria* (milestones), as well as by the funerary monuments.⁷

Until the end of the 4th c. B.C. the tetradrachms minted in the name of Alexander the Great are dominant in the Peloponnesian coin hoards. These coins were used for the wages of the South Greek mercenaries who had been discharged in 330 B.C. (after the burning of Persepolis), or they were employed by the Athenian Leosthenes, after 324/23 B.C., as a bait for the enlistment of anti-Macedonian forces encamped at Tainaron – moreover with money embezzled by Harpalos from the treasury of Alexander the Great.

These large denominations of Macedonian money are found in coin hoards coming mainly from Elis and Messenia, as well as from Arcadia and Argolis, the areas of origin of the majority of the Peloponnesian mercenaries of Alexander the Great. On the contrary, the limited presence in the Peloponnese of (gold) staters in the name of the Macedonian ruler (or his first successors) is traced in 'ensembles' concealed either in sites where Macedonian garrisons had been stationed (e.g. Corinth) or in areas that had been used as fields of Macedonian troops' movement. In any case, these instances of using gold are exceptions within the larger picture of this area's coin circulation, where silver prevails.

Heavy coins, mostly tetradrachms, dominate the 3rd c. B.C.; these are to a great extent imported, occasionally employed in the local monetary economy of the Peloponnese. Their existence there –

5. See *in genere*, Larsen 1975, 436-96.

6. Corinth: Paus. II. 1-5; Argos: *id.* II. 16-24; Olympia: *id.* V. 1-21 and VI. 1-21.

7. Petropoulos 1994, 410-12. Cf. also Petropoulos 2001, 37-51 and Papapostolou 2009.

besides some cases constituting donations by the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, the Attalids, etc. – was generated by military operations and their consequences, such as the Chremonidean War (268/67-262/61 B.C.) and the Social War (220-217 B.C.), just to mention the most important conflicts.

Any other local coinages of that time and that kind (silver tetradrachms) are connected, according to the prevailing theory, to hostilities that took place in this area during the second half of the 3rd c. B.C. The minting of these short tetradrachm series, represented by very few specimens, obviously attempted to balance the tetradrachms of foreign issuing authorities, a couple of which played a significant role during this period in the whole region (Macedonia, Aetolia). It cannot be ruled out, however, that a number of these Peloponnesian tetradrachms were used – as it was done elsewhere – for the implementation of large-scale building, artistic and defensive activities (wages for sculptors, wages for specialized personnel, expenses for the materials employed in the construction of the *Asklepieion* at Messene, expenses for the construction of the walls of Sparta).

At the same time, during the whole period from the 4th to the third quarter of the 3rd c. B.C. (a few years before the Battle of Sellasia in 222 B.C.), the large denominations are accompanied by (silver) staters of Thebes (until the end of the 4th c. B.C.), of Aegina and Elis (almost on a standard basis), of the Boeotian *Koinon*, as well as of Corinth and its colonies (sporadically). These emissions represent of course samples that either resonate the political *status quo* of the recent past (Theban hegemony in the Peloponnese), or refer to economic influences through other parts (Aegina) or to the activity of major commercial centers of particular importance in the past (Corinth).

Going through the ages, it is during this period that the presence of smaller Peloponnesian denominations can be noted, such as those of the mints of Sicyon and Argos (mostly triobols), as well as Corinth (drachms, bronzes); these issues reflect the use of money for everyday needs.

Regarding the production of mints located outside the peninsula, in the Peloponnese were diffused at this time triobols of the Opuntian Locris

and Phocis, as well as the ubiquitous tetrobols of Histiaia (sporadically). These denominations appear alongside with those of Sicyon and Argos.

The period after the Social War (217 B.C. onwards) is dominated almost exclusively by the coin production of the city members of the Achaean League – silver triobols and bronze coins. This brings to mind Polybios' passage (II. 37, 10-11) concerning the use of common coinage: "... *they also make use of the same laws, weights, measures and coins, and in addition to these the same magistrates, representatives and judges*". According to the prevalent view the silver triobols were put into circulation as daily stipend for military services.

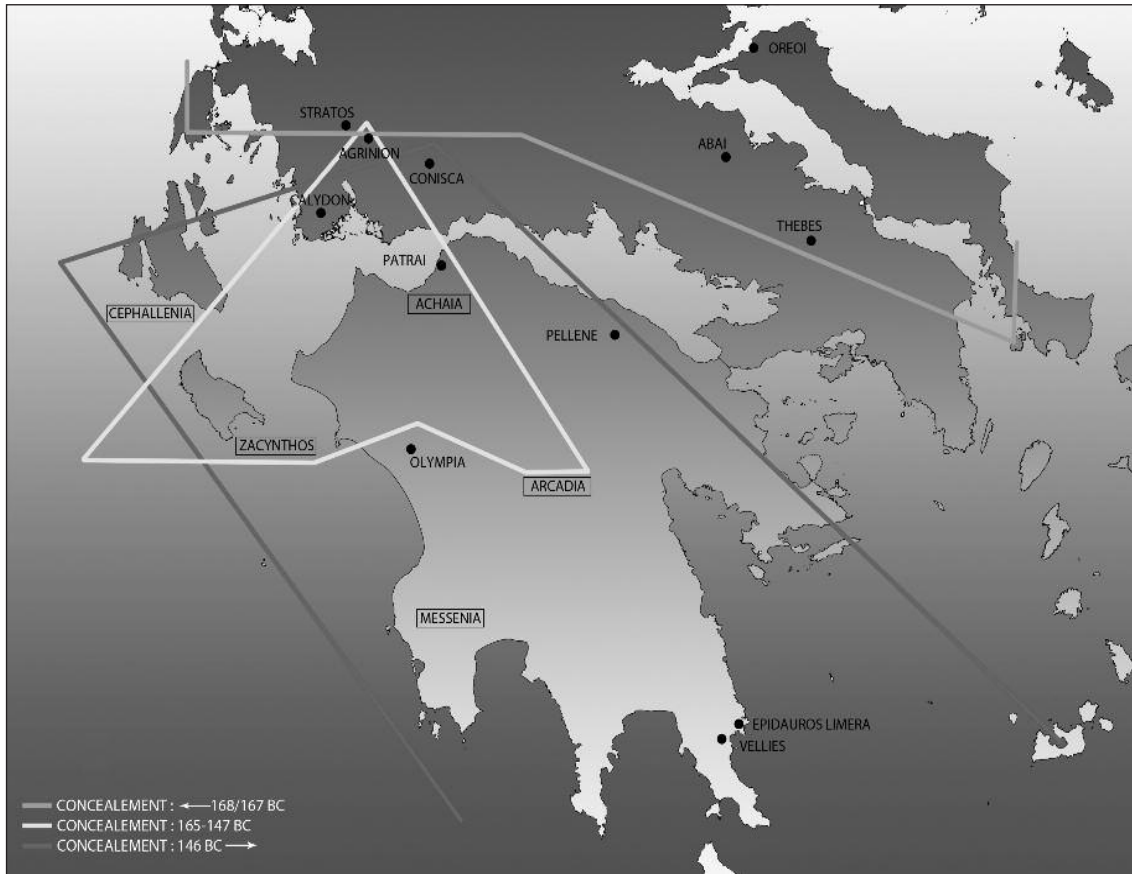
In the coin hoards now make also their appearance a few didrachms of Rhodes, as well as bronzes of Ptolemy III [the former are obviously remains of the Rhodian interest for Argos – see G. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 64, 1916, 219-38: donation of 100 talents by the Rhodians in order to strengthen the fortifications of Argos (240 B.C.); the latter should be part of money envoys sent from Egypt to Cleomenes III]. Additionally, there are found triobols of Lamia and Ainianes, as well as bronzes of Philip V of Macedonia, scattered pieces brought to the south by invasions and concealed under dire circumstances.

It is evident that the retreat of the Macedonian presence of the Antigonids had as consequence the return of the region to the local coinages of the cities and the *koina*, and of course to silver.⁸

The aforementioned issues, as well as those of the previous period, disappeared rapidly after the coming of the Romans, either because they ceased to be struck or because they were drawn out of circulation in the subject cities (which is most likely). Alternatively they could have been melted down or they could have been sent abroad as loot. Some of the issues that persisted in time, pieces survived from the past, became readily accepted in savings practices involving mainly bronze pieces.

A considerable number of hoards, both from Central-Western Greece and from the Peloponnese, comprised by triobols, was assembled from the time of the rebellion of the Achaean League (burial date: 171 B.C. onwards), largely closing with its fall in the Battle of Corinth in 146 B.C. (**Map 1**). The

8. Grandjean 2000, 323-24.– An overall review of the economy of the Peloponnese in the Hellenistic period is to be found in Rizakis, Touratsoglou 2008, 69-82.



Map 1. Geographical and chronological repartition of coin hoards with Achaean League triobols.

Achaean triobols which are located in a few coin hoards outside mainland Greece (e.g. Italy and Crete) constitute lots assembled later, rounded-up groups of diverse emissions that can be interpreted as products of looting. The Agrinion Hoard, comprised by Achaean triobols, Roman denarii and Athenian tetradrachms, stands out as an exception regarding the geographical distribution and a confirmation at the same time of this phenomenon.

The outline of the coin production in the area of the Peloponnese and of the coin circulation after the defeat and disintegration of the Achaean League can be drawn as following:

I. Middle and Late Republican Times

a. Coin production dramatically ceases after the dissolution of the League at Corinth.⁹ Partial and selective operation of certain mints in the Peloponnese (silver and bronze coins) is observed only during the 1st c. B.C. and particularly at the beginning – when, most probably, and not in the 2nd c. B.C. as it was believed by Dittenberger, Schwertfeger, Sherk and others – a number of federal organizations is revived (Paus. VII. 16, 10) and in combination to military-political events pertaining to Romans themselves.

9. Theory launched by Thompson 1968, supported by Price 1987, 95-103 and followed by Touratsoglou, Tsourti 1991, 171-84. Opposite views concerning prolonged continuation of the Achaean League issues with no interruption until the first quarter of the 1st c. B.C. expressed first by C. Boehringer, and supported by J. Warren, J. Kroll and C. Grandjean are to be found in Warren 1999, 99-109 and in Grandjean 1999, 139-46. See also Grandjean, Guerra 2000, 300-05 and Boehringer 2008, 83-89.– The recent monograph by Warren 2007 does not seem to follow for the bronze coinage the low chronology previously accepted by her. Views supporting the traditional dating are expressed by Lakakis-Marchetti 1996, 147-56; by Tsangari 2007 and recently by Oikonomides, Lakakis-Marchetti, Marchetti 2007, 379-426 (negative review of this article is undertaken by A. Walker, in *ANS*, Winter 2008, 53-58).

The local mints contribute each time that the Roman generals confront the last Hellenistic rulers of the East or face each other, while seeking to prevail at Rome, bringing conflict on Greek territory.¹⁰ Such were the confrontations of Sulla versus Mithridates VI of Pontus, of Pompey versus Iulius Caesar, of Brutus versus Octavian and Mark Antony and finally, at Actium, of Mark Antony and Cleopatra versus Octavian.¹¹ At this point of time (87-86 B.C.) are to be dated also two coin series of the Athenian mint (most evidently, despite some reserves), *i.e.* silver New Style issues (broad-flanned tetradrachms and smaller modules); one series bears no legend and the other (inscribed with monograms) is probably in the name of Sulla's *quaestor*, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, the brother of L. Lucullus.¹² These coin series were supplementary to the other monetary revenues, in order to finance the military operations of Sulla.

Alongside with the occasional issues, this period is noted for the bronze issues of various cities of the Achaean League – quite worn by prolonged use – which were countermarked by their own issuing authority in order to be revaluated for the new era: emissions of Elis, countermarked with an eagle, that circulated after 146 B.C.¹³ This feature is repeated in the mid-30s B.C. when the very worn copper coins of Messene, struck after 180 B.C., are countermarked on both sides (eagle and tripod). A bit later, maybe ultimate, proofs of this practice provide the copper coins of Messene of the years 40-30 B.C., countermarked in the mid-20s B.C. (Augustus' head); the issues of Lakedaimon, 35-31 B.C., countermarked in the mid-20s B.C. (Augustus' head); and the silver triobols of Elis of the years 40-30 B.C., bearing a countermark of the early imperial times. Finally, perhaps at the time of Antony, bronze coins of Cythera of the first half of the

1st c. B.C. were countermarked with Cupid.¹⁴ This practice, besides highlighting the lack of sufficient metal at the time of countermarking, hints at a prolonged circulation since the flans bear very worn initial types. On other occasions it is probable that countermarks simply aimed at the validation of older issues.

Mutatis mutandis, a similar picture is drawn regarding Macedonia, where the royal and the civic issues are interrupted by the fall of the Antigonids at Pydna. The issues that follow – minted for Macedonia as a Protectorate (168 B.C.) and for the Four Regions (*Merides*), into which the land is divided from 168 to 148 B.C. – are short emissions underlining the events that transformed the political scene. On the other hand, as a vehicle for making war against the barbarian tribes of the north were employed the so-called New Style Athenian tetradrachms, which were produced in large quantities after the middle of the 2nd c. B.C. at the urge and by arrangement of the Romans.¹⁵ Similarly, the brief, incidental issues of the first half of the 1st c. B.C. (silver emissions in the names of Aesillas and Sura as well as MAKEΔONΩΝ and LEG MAKEΔONΩΝ, etc.) are primarily connected with specific events and satisfy mainly needs for prestige of the Romans as successors of the Macedonian kings.¹⁶ Likewise incidental was an issue of the inactive for quite some time mint of Thessalonike; this emission was produced under Pompey at the instance of colony foundation, in order to legitimize the election of magistrates away from Rome, but on Roman ground.¹⁷ In Macedonia, from the time of the proclamation of the territory as Roman province (148 B.C.) to the Late Republican period, the lack of metal and the return to barter also led to the production and circulation of barbarian-style coins modelled on the last civic issues under the kings.

10. The recently published book on this subject by Benner 2008 summarizes the latest opinions on this matter based mainly on the propositions of A. Walker in *LHS Numismatics, Auction 96*, 8-9 May 2006.

11. See for the period Rizakis 2001b, 81-82. Especially for the minting activity of Antony in the Peloponnese see Amandry 1982/83, 1-6. Lately, on coin production at Patrai during the Late Republican Period, see E. Haug, "Local Politics in the Late Republic: Antony and Cleopatra at Patras", *AJN* 20, 2008, 405-20.

12. *Lucullan πλάτη* ('flats') or *Lucullan coinage*: Kraay 1968, 15. Grandjean 1999, 141. Touratsoglou 2006/07, 245.

13. Nicolet 1992, 287-89.

14. A. Walker, *LHS Numismatics, Auction 96*, 8-9 May 2006 (Coins of Peloponnesos. The B[asil] C. D[emetriades] Collection), nos 671, 692.1 (Elis), nos 756, 758-59 (Messene), nos 926.4, 926.6 (Lakedaimon), no. 999 (Kythera). Cf. Kroll 1996, 49-73 and *id.*, 1997, 123-36.

15. De Callatay 1991/92, 11-20. See also Dreyer 2000, 39-60.

16. Touratsoglou 1993, 18, 21-22.

17. *Id.* 1987b, 885-90.

Issue date (B.C.)	Mints S = Silver, B = Bronze	Issue date (B.C.)	Commentary	Historical events
	Elis (B)	146=>	[Elis (B) /eagle countermarked on Elis (B): <=146 B.C.]	146 down to early 1st c. B.C.
90s-80s	Lakedaimon [S]			Sulla
90s-60s	Sicyon [S+B], Argos [B]			Mithradatic Wars (89-86)
Early 1st c.	Thuria [S+B], Epidauros [S], Megalopolis [S+B], Tegea [S], Pallantion [S], Pheneos [B]			
Early 80s	Sicyon [S], Messene [S], Kleitor [S]			
mid-80s	Lakedaimon [S]			
86	Aigeira [S], Patrai [S], Dyme [S+B], Aigion [S], Elis [S]			
80s	Argos [S]			
80s-50s	Argos [S], Megalopolis [S]			
80s-60/50s	Lakedaimon [S]			
1st half 1st c.	Korone [S], Kythera [B]			
60s-50/40s	Messene [S], Thuria [B], Lakedaimon [B]			
	Tegea [B], Thelpousa [B]	50-25		Civil Wars [Pompeius - Iulius Caesar (49-48)/ Brutus - Octavianus+Marcus Antonius (44-42)]
	Aigeira [B]	Early - mid-1st c.		
	Elis [S], Argos [B]	mid-1st c.		
	Messene [S+B], Patrai [B], Elis [S], Lakedaimon [B]	40s-30s		
	Corinth [B], Dyme [B] (colony), Lakedaimon [B]	40s		
37/35-31	Aigion [S+B], Lakedaimon [B]			Civil War [Octavianus - M. Antonius (<-31)]
mid-30's	Messene [S] +[B], Patrai [B],			
30s	Aigeira [B], Elis [S+B]			
30s	Messene [B]		[Messene (B)/ eagle and tripod countermarked on Messene (B): 180 B.C.]	
32/31	Patrai [S+B]			
	Patrai [B]	mid-20s		Time of Octavianus/ Augustus
	Messene [B]	20s	[Messene (B)/head of Octavianus countermarked on Messene (B): 180 B.C.]	
	Patrai [B]	mid-20s		
	Lakedaimon [B]	mid-20s	[Lakedaimon(B)/ head of Octavianus countermarked on Lakedaimon (B): 35/31 B.C.]	
	Messene [B]	Late 1st c.		

Source: *LHS Numismatics*, Auction 96, 8-9 May 2006 (Coins of Peloponnese. The BCD Collection).

b. Until nowadays there are not known any coin hoards comprised by the (silver or more often bronze) civic issues of the Peloponnesians that are considered as incidental by research and are dated in the 1st c. B.C. This phenomenon can be explained because these issues were rather scarce and these coins, among else, had a local character, besides the fact that they were minted on demand of the Roman generals, in order to pay conscripts from the Greek peninsula, as it has been supported.

It is still a matter open to discussion whether a number of triobols, modelled on the *ante-146* B.C. Achaean triobols and dated by a recent study in the beginning of the 1st c. B.C., should be correlated with a coin production of certain cities of *Achaea proper* that formed the new 'League'.¹⁸

c. Roman coins and especially Roman Republican *denarii* are not easily found in Southern Greece before Sulla (88-86 B.C.). In Macedonia the earliest coin hoard – Stobi/1971 [BAR 95, 1981, 40 no. 42a] – was buried in 125 B.C. or (most probably) in 92-91 B.C.; this is an exception to the rule since the other known hoards are dated in the years 76-50 B.C., *i.e.* during the period that followed the defeat of Mithridates; they give however testimony to the efforts to repel the Balkan barbarians from the heartland of Northern Greece.¹⁹ In Southern Greece, on the other hand, the arrival of the *denarius*, the new coinage from the west, is associated with the civil war between Antony and Octavian.²⁰ Most of the coins in this case were produced by the wandering mints of the opponents. Undoubtedly, the not so ample, although traceable, quantities of *denarii* from Southern Greece during these early times, do not attest a widespread use for them. In any case, the need for applying an equivalence between the denominations of the circulating currency, imported and local, obviously led to denoting on the well known Messenian inscription concerning the *oktobolos eisphora* (IG V 1, 1432-33) of the re-

ported sums in *denarii*. This moment has definitely to be placed at the period of coexistence of the two monetary standards, *i.e.* between 70 and 30 B.C.²¹

II. Imperial Times

a. The coinage of the Peloponnesian cities of the Roman period, besides very few exceptions that have to do with colonies founded during the Late Republican period,²² is largely inaugurated by Augustus and his dynasty. However, it does not have the same lifespan, neither the same starting point, nor is uniform for all the cities. The remark, though, that the initiation of minting for the majority of the Peloponnesian cities is placed during the early imperial times, in the Julio-Claudian era, finds its parallel in the analogous activity of the cities of Asia Minor – and not only there – mainly under Augustus. However, more specifically, the visit of Nero in the Peloponnese and the declaration of the freedom of the cities is interpreted as the starting point for the coinages of Sicyon and Messene.²³

Regarding other cases, while the initiation of coin production for a few cities obviously coincides and is related with the 'pilgrimage' of the philhellene emperor Hadrian,²⁴ the association on some occasions with Commodus remains unsatisfactory; in spite of the suggestions by Ch. Papageorgiadou-Bani.²⁵

b. Coin circulation evidence (excavation stray finds) in association with the conclusions based on the study of hoard evidence of the imperial period (savings hoards, grave hoards, emergency depositions, etc) lead to the following remarks:

A. From the beginning of the imperial times the deposition – therefore and the circulation – of precious (gold and silver) issues is evident. This phenomenon is restricted to major urban centers (Patrai, Messene) with intense development and obvious close relations – commercial or not – to Italy, as well as with a prosperous ruling class. Ex-

18. Cf. Grandjean 2000, 321.

19. Touratsoglou 1987a, 54 and Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004, 136.

20. Price 1987, 99. Arrival under Augustus is hinted by Boehringer 2008, 88.

21. Migeotte 1997, 51-61. *Id.* 2008, 229-43. Cf. also Grandjean 1998, 37.

22. Amandry 1981, 45-67. *Id.* 1988.

23. See Rizakis 2001a, 182-87 for the influence of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the Flavians in the local communities of the Peloponnese.

24. Boatwright 2000. For Argos see now Flament, Marchetti forthcoming.

25. 2004, 86.

Starting date of production	Mint
Iulio-Claudian Dynasty	Patrai (Augustus) Corinth (Augustus) Dyme (Tiberius) Lakedaimon (Claudius) Sicyon (Nero) Messene (Nero)
Hadrian	Aigion Elis Argos Epidauros
Commodus	Troizen

amples of the second feature can be found in the members of the great families of Gytheion (*IG V 1, 1208*) and Sparta (*IG V 1, 18*) that offered large sums in *denarii* (8,000 and 10,000 *denarii* respectively) for the public benefit.

B. From that period and especially from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards it seems that the heavy copper Roman issues (*sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*), make their appearance; these coins, judging from the percentage presented in the totals of the stray finds in Patrai, Corinth, Kenchreai, Argos, Nemea, Lousoi, Perachora (sanctuaries of Hera *Akraia* and *Limenia*), Sparta and Messene (even up to 30-50% on occasion), should have played a significant role in monetized economy.²⁶ The same can be said for the rest of the *provincia Achaea* (Central Greece, Thessaly); on the contrary, in the *provincia Macedonia* the Roman provincial coins of the cities and of the Macedonian *Koinon* have the leading role. Increase of the percentage, if not predominance of the *sestertii* compared to the other copper denominations, present also the coin hoards and the stray finds from Gaul, Britannia, South Italy, Sardegna and North Africa.²⁷ It is a point to be proven whether this remark presupposes a common monetary policy concerning trade in the productive areas around the Mediterranean.

C. On the contrary, the presence of the local bronze (Roman Provincial) coins seems to be rather re-

stricted in the depositions-savings and in the circulating currency in the Peloponnese. However, their percentage – and not only of the local coins – in Patrai, Argos, Nemea, Corinth, Kenchreai, Lousoi, Sparta and Messene is not negligible and reflects an extensive variety in provenance (mainland Greece and Asia Minor). In any case, the coin production of Lakedaimon and Corinth (during the 1st c. A.D.) seemingly overshadows that of the other mints.

D. The *antoniniani* of the 3rd c. A.D. – a currency employed particularly for paying soldiers – should be considered to be imported and to be interpreted as booty taken by the Goths and the Herulians in the Northern Balkans (Danube Provinces) or even in areas where Roman forces encamped; these pieces were never reclaimed by their owners. Finding *antoniniani* in hoards alongside with the barbarians' descend route (Sparta) or inside their escape route (Patrai), could be explained as depositions or accidental losses during the desperate attempt of their owners to get away.²⁸

c. An interesting remark is that a great number of Peloponnesian mints became active only under Septimius Severus and his family (A.D. 193-205/209); very few of them (Patrai) extended their activity also during the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211-217). The coin production is restricted solely on bronzes.

26. De Cou 1905; May 1962; Bellinger 1930; Edwards 1933; Hohlfelder 1978; Agallopoulou 1994; Grandjean 1997, 115-22; Hoskins Walbank 2003; Knapp, MacIsaac 2005; Oikonomides 2008, 94. Additional information was provided *per vocem, per discum electronicum* or *per epistulas* by P. Marchetti (Argos), J. Baker (Sparta) and Kl. Sideropoulos (Messene).

27. Touratsoglou 2006, 158.

28. Touratsoglou 2006.

Hoards	Bibliography	Content	Burial date
Messene	To be published	Denarii: Republic and Augustus	A.D. 4
Patrai ca1976 (<i>villa urbana</i>)	<i>CH</i> 4, 1978, 75.	Aurei: Tiberius (22), Caius (2), Claudius (11)	A.D. 47 onwards
Patrai 1971 (monumental Roman building)	<i>AD</i> 27, 1972, Chron. B' 1, 282.	Aurei: Vespasianus (2) Denarii: Roman Republic (2), Augustus (1), Nero (16), Otho (2), Vitellius (1), Vespasianus (133), Titus (30), Domitianus (142)	A.D. 96 onwards
Patrai ca 1978 (<i>villa urbana</i> , burnt)	<i>AD</i> 33, 1978, Chron. B' 1, 84.	Denarii: Vespasianus (1), Domitianus (1), Nerva (2), Traianus (10), Hadrianus (5), Ant. Pius (5), M. Aurelius (8), Commodus (8), S. Severus (1)	A.D. 193 onwards
Gonoussa, Sicyon 1934	<i>NMA</i>	Sestertii: Titus (1), Hadrianus (3), Ant. Pius (1), Faustina I (1), M. Aurelius (1), L. Verus (1), Faustina (II) (6), Iul. Domna (1)	Under S. Severus or Caracalla
Sparta 1955	<i>BCH</i> 80, 1956, 228, b.	Sestertii + Dupondii (1st c. to Gordianus III)	Under Gordianus III
Lousoi	Oikonomides 2008	Sestertii (9): Hadrianus, Ant. Pius, Sev. Alexander, Julia Mamaea, Gordianus III	Under Gordianus III
Patrai 1982 (I) (baths)	<i>AD</i> 37, 1982, Chron. B' 1, 142.	Sestertii (49): Traianus, Hadrianus, Ant. Pius, M. Aurelius, Commodus, S. Severus, Caracalla, Sev. Alexander, Maximinus, Gordianus III, Philippus I + Roman Provincials (2): Patrai	Under Philippus I
Chora Pylas 1953	<i>PAAH</i> 1953, 242.	Sestertii (13): Commodus to Volusianus + Antoniniani (2): Volusianus, Macrianus	Under Volusianus
Skarmingas, Pylia 1953	<i>BCH</i> 78, 1954, 99.	Sestertii (47): Traianus to Mariniana	Under Valerianus I
Corinth 1930 (theatre)	<i>AJA</i> 35, 1931, 146.	Antoniniani (5): Gallienus + Roman Provincials (24): Nicopolis (1), Corinth (6), Aigion (2), Argos (8), Aigeira (1), Heraia (1), Orchomenos (1), Sikyon (2), Phygaleia (1), Lakedaimon (1)	Under Gallienus
Corinth 1936 (South Stoa)	<i>Hesperia</i> 1941, 145.	Antoniniani (47): Sev. Alexander to Salonina + Roman Provincials (3): Corinth, Patrai	Under Gallienus
'Corinth'	<i>AD</i> 18, 1963, B' 1, 5-6.	Sestertii (3): Commodus, M. Aurelius, Gordianus III + Antoniniani (9): Valerianus I, Gallienus, Salonina + Roman Provincials (23): Athens	Under Gallienus

Patrai 1976 (below the citadel)	AD 31, 1976, Chron. B' 1, 88.	Denarii (3): Caracalla, Maximinus, Pupienus + Antoniniani (20): Elagabalus, Pupienus, Gordianus, Philipus I, Traianus Decius, Gallus, Gallienus	Under Gallienus
Patrai 1982 (II) (baths)	AD 37, 1982, Chron. B' 1, 142.	Antoniniani (38): Gordianus III, Philippus I, Traianus Decius, Volusianus, Gallienus	Under Gallienus
Akriai (near Gytheion)	Unpublished	Sestertii (ca 2.500): 1st to 3rd c. A.D.	Under Gallienus
Sparta (Magoula) 1939	BCH 63, 1939, 288 = BCH 71-72, 1947/48, 394.	Antoniniani (5,027): to Gallienus + Roman Provincials (1): Lakedaimon	Under Gallienus
Sparta 1964 (Akropolis)	Oikonomides 1966, 376-82.	Roman Provincials (72): Lakedaimon	Under Gallienus

The fact that at this time (end of the reign of Septimius Severus) the bulk of the active until then mints ceases its operation, surely indicates a major event for the region, possibly connected to the harsh economic status of the empire and the numismatic paucity. It remains a fact though that the Severan coin production in Peloponnese constitutes a sizeable quantity, never seen before in the region (**Maps 2 and 3**).²⁹

The interpretation given for this overproduction of money is that the Peloponnesian coins in question, many of which had been found in excavations in Syria, “were presumably brought (sc. into Asia) by auxiliary troops raised to help in the defence of the frontier against Parthia; since the mints in-

involved did not normally strike, they clearly struck now simply to provide part of their pay for the auxiliaries and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that finding the metal was a burden imposed on them”. “It is worth noting in passing that the mints in question are on the whole villages, not cities; recruiting therefore from the country, not the cities”.³⁰

d. An impressive feature is that, from all the active mints in the Peloponnese during the Roman period, only Argos and Lakedaimon continued their production until the reign of Gallienus. Obviously, of importance to this exception was the fact that both Argos and Lakedaimon (and of course Corinth from one point onwards, primarily during the early

Peloponnesian mints of the imperial period acting only under the Severi (A.D. 193-217)
Aigeira, Boura, Pellene
Zakynthos
Asine, Kolone, Mothone, Pylos, Kyparissia, Thuria, Tenea, Phlious
Asopos, Boiai, Gytheion, Las
Hermione, Kleonai, Methana
Heraia, Kaphyai, Mantinea, Psophis, Kleitor, Tegea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pheneos, Phigaleia, Thelpousa

29. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1982/83, 39-46, pls 8-9.

30. See Crawford 1975, 572 and n. 5. Cf. also Seyrig 1957, 249 and Flament 2007, 579.

Cessation dates of the coin production of the Peloponnesian mints		
Mint	Cessation date of the coin production (Severi incl.)	Cessation date of the coin production (Gallienus incl.)
Corinth, Sicyon, Aigeira, Aigion, Boura, Patrai, Pellene	X	
Zakynthos	X	
Messene, Asine, Kolone, Mothone, Pylos, Kyparissia, Thuria	X	
<i>Lakedaimon</i> Asopos, Boiai, Gytheion, Las	X	<i>Lakedaimon</i>
<i>Argos</i> Epidauros, Troizan, Hermione, Kleonai, Methana	X	<i>Argos</i>
Heraia, Kaphyai, Mantinea, Psophis, Kleitor, Tegea, Megalopolis, Orchomenos, Pheneos, Phigaleia, Thelpousa	X	

imperial times) were the most significant centers of the Peloponnese.

Recapitulating on the economic and the numismatic policy in Roman Peloponnese, the following comments can be made:

1. Just opposite to the *status quo* of the Classical and Hellenistic times, when the Peloponnese, divided in independent city-states or (during other periods) in leagues of autonomous urban centers, was well known for its many active mints with flourishing regular issues, the period that follows its capitulation to the Romans – as it is common in other areas too – reveals a typically occasional activity in numismatic production. This *modus operandi* cannot in any fashion be accepted as a continuation of the previous *status quo*, since it serves foreign interests and needs. The recession status is ended with the ascendancy of Augustus to the throne. Even later though the coin production and diffusion (and not only the local) is not continuous.

2. The only non-local coins circulating in the Peloponnese during the imperial period are, on one hand, the precious metal Roman issues (*aurei*, *denarii*) and, on the other hand, the heavy copper coins (*sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*). Additionally, the Roman Provincial coins of Peloponnesian as well

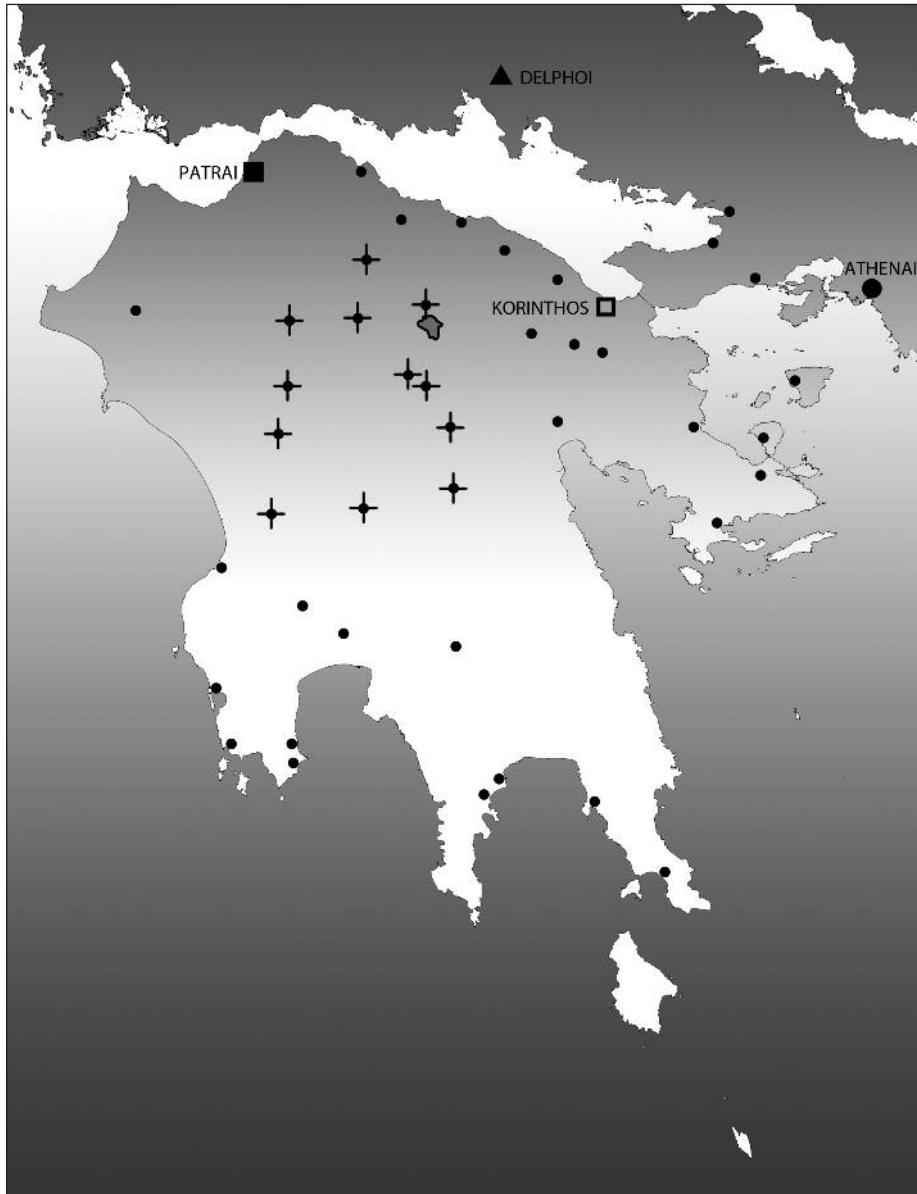
as mainland-Greek mints – while the coins of Greek cities of Asia Minor are not absent too. The various transactions of commercial character seems that were done, at least during the early and the middle imperial period in the urban centers, by using large denominations, which on rare occasions were treasured in rich houses. Roman Provincial coins rather testify for the cosmopolitan character of the sites where they were discovered (harbours, major urban centers).

3. The greater part of the centers of the peninsula ceases its coin production during the reign of the dynasty of Septimius Severus, while a substantial number of mints becomes active only during this time (A.D. 193-209). The local production of Roman Provincial coins in the Peloponnesian area – besides Argos and Lakedaimon – actually becomes extinct by the end of the first decade of the 3rd c. A.D.

4. The *antoniniani*, the coinage *par excellence* for paying troops, were rather drawn to the south of the Balkans by the barbarian hordes which in the 3rd c. A.D. reached even Sparta. Undoubtedly, they do not represent part of the regular coin circulation in the area.³¹

5. The whole picture under consideration for Roman Peloponnese, based on the comparative study of archaeological, epigraphical and philological

31. Touratsoglou 2006.



Map 2. Cities of the Achaean League (+) which struck Severan emissions (*INJ* 5, 1981).



Map 3. Roman Provincials of the Peloponnese – Severan emissions (*INJ* 5, 1981).

testimonies, brings to light a society with large estates, sizeable amounts of coined (on silver) money in the possession of the established wealthy class, i.e. the dwellers mainly of rich *villae urbanae* and *villae rusticae*. This society was recipient of benefactions from affluent citizens, such as the multimillionaire Herodes Atticus, and from philhellene emperors. In a similar environment, the monetized everyday life secured through the use of the Roman Provincial coins, emerges to be confined or even non-existent for certain areas. Unless the various needs of the cities and the hinterland for copper coins were covered only by the production of specific local mints with a standard production, such as Argos and Lakedaimon, or with a prolific production, like Corinth.

6. The organisation of the production of Roman Provincial coins in the Peloponnese (and Mainland Greece which formed part of the *provincia Achaëa*) is characterized – at least during the period between the reign of Hadrian and that of Septimius Severus – by the fact that a remarkable number of cities lying at a considerable distance from each other struck in the same mint; this procedure, together with the realization of the same engraver's hand for a number of obverses,³² is comparable to similar phenomena which occurred in Asia Minor and Macedonia, and seems to constitute the basic substructure of the minting administration.³³

Ioannis Touratsoglou

Honorary Director of the
Numismatic Museum, Athens

Bibliography

Agallopoulou (P.), 1994: Θέματα νομισματοκοπίας και νομισματικής κυκλοφορίας των Πατρών, 14 π.Χ.-268 μ. Χ., Athens.

Alcock (S. E.), 2007: "The Eastern Mediterranean", in W. Scheidel *et alii* (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge, 671-97.

Amandry (M.), 1981: "Le monnayage de Dymé (*Colonia*

Dumaeorum) en Achaïe. Corpus", *RN* 23, 45-67.

—, 1982/83: "Monnayages émis en Achaïe sous l'autorité d'Antoine (40-31)", *INJ* 6-7, 1-6.

—, 1988: *Le monnayage des duovirs à Corinthe (44 avant J.-C. -69 après J.-C.)*, *BCH* Suppl. 15, Paris.

Ameling (W.), 1983: *Herodes Atticus, I (Biographie)*, II (*Inschriften-Katalog*), Hildesheim - Zürich - New York.

Bellinger (Ch.), 1930: *Catalogue of the Coins found at Corinth, 1925*, New Haven.

Benner (St. M.), 2008: *Achaian League Coinage of the 3rd Through 1st Centuries B.C.E.*, Classical Numismatic, Pennsylvania - London.

Boatwright (M. T.), 2000: *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton.

Boehringer (Chr.), 2008: "Quelques remarques sur la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au IIe et au Ier siècle A.C.", in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux, 83-89.

Crawford (M.), 1975: "Finance, Coinage and Money from the Severans to Constantine", *ANRW* II.2, 560-93.

De Callataÿ (Fr.), 1991/92: "Athenian New Style Tetradrachms in Macedonian Hoards", *AJN* 3-4, 11-20.

De Cou (H. Fl.), 1905: "Coins from the Argive Heraeum", in Ch. Waldstein (ed.), *The Argive Heraeum II*, Boston - New York, 357-63.

Deshours (N.), 2006: *Les Mystères d'Andania. Étude d'épigraphie et d'histoire religieuse*, Ausonius Scripta Antiqua 16, Bordeaux.

Dreyer (B.), 2000: "Roms Ostpolitik, Athen und der Beginn der Neustil-Silberprägung", *ZPE* 129, 39-60.

Edwards (K. M.), 1930: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VI, Coins, 1896-1929*, Princeton.

Flament (Chr.), 2007, "Die et engraver-sharing dans le Péloponnèse entre le règne d'Hadrien et celui de Septime Sévère", *BCH* 131, 2007, 559-614.

Flament (Chr.), Marchetti (P.), forthcoming: *Le monnayage argien d'époque romaine (d'Hadrien à Gallien)*, *Ét. Pélop.* 14, Athènes.

Grandjean (C.), 1997: "Monnaies et circulation monétaire à Messène du second siècle av. J.-C. au premier siècle ap. J.-C.", *Topoi* 7, 115-22.

—, 1998: "La valeur des monnaies de bronze du Péloponnèse à l'époque classique et hellénistique", *RN*, 31-40.

—, 1999: "Les dernières monnaies d'argent du Péloponnèse", in M. Amandry, S. Hurter (éds), *Travaux de*

32. See Flament 2007, 579 who, pointing out that "un bon nombre de thèmes illustrés sur ces séries coordonnées figurent également sur les monnaies romaines contemporaines ...", concludes that "ces parallèles parfois frappants nous poussent évidemment à penser que les séries coordonnées furent orchestrées par le pouvoir romain".

33. For Asia Minor see K. Kraft, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien. Materialien und Entwürfe*, Berlin 1972. For Macedonia, I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1988.

- Numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider*, London, 139-46.
- , 2000: “Guerre et monnaie en Grèce ancienne; le cas du koinon achaien”, in J. Andraeu, P. Briant, R. Descat (eds), *Économie antique III. La guerre dans les économies antiques*, Entretiens d’archéologie et d’histoire 5, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, 315-36.
- Grandjean (C.), Guerra (M. F.), 2000: “Les monnaies du Péloponnèse de la fin de l’époque hellénistique: l’apport de l’analyse élémentaire” in *Akten des XII. Internationalen Numismatischen Kongresses, Berlin 1997*, Berlin, 300-05.
- Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann (S.), 1982/83: “The Severan Emissions of the Peloponnesus”, *INJ* 6-7, 39-46 with pls 8-9.
- Hohlfelder (R.), 1978: *Kenchreai. Eastern Port of Corinth*, Leiden.
- Hoskins Walbank (M. E.), 2003: “Aspects of the Corinthian Coinage in the Late 1st and Early 2nd centuries A.C.”, in C. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896-1996, Corinth XX*, Princeton N. J., 337-49.
- Knapp (R. C.), MacIsaac (J. D.), 2005: *Excavations at Nemea III: The Coins*, Berkeley - Los Angeles.
- Kraay (C. M.), 1968: *Coins of Ancient Athens*, Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Kremydi-Sicilianou (S.), 2004: “Patterns of monetary circulation in Roman Macedonia: The Hoard Evidence”, *Eulimene* 5, 135-49.
- , 2005: “‘Belonging’ to Rome, ‘Remaining’ Greek: Coinage and Identity in Roman Macedonia”, in Chr. Howgego et alii (eds), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 95-106.
- Kroll (J.), 1996: “Hemiobols to Assaria: the Bronze Coinage of Roman Aigion”, *NC* 156, 49-78.
- , 1997: “Traditionalism vs Romanization in bronze coinages of Greece, 42-31 B.C.”, *Topoi* 7, 123-36.
- Lakakis-Marchetti (M.), 1996: “À propos du monnayage achéen et des trésors qui le font connaître”, in *XI-PAKTHP. Αφιέρωμα στη Μόντω Οικονομίδου*, Athens, 147-56.
- Larsen (J. A. O.), 1975: “Greece and Macedonia from Augustus to Gallienus”, in T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, New York, 436-96.
- Mallwitz (A.), 1972: *Olympia und seine Bauten*, München.
- May (J. M. F.), 1962: “Coins”, in H. Payne, Th. J. Dunbabin (eds), *Perachora, The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia II. Pottery, ivories, scarabs, and other objects from the votive deposit of Hera Limenia*, Oxford, 456-60.
- Migeotte (L.), 1997: “La date de l’*oktobolos eisphora* de Messène”, *Topoi* 7, 51-61.
- , 2008: “L’organisation de l’*oktobolos eisphora* de Messène”, in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d’Épaminondas à Hadrien*, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005, Ét. Ausonius 21, Bordeaux, 229-43.
- Nicolet (H.), 1992: “À propos de monnaies d’Elis portant des contremarques”, *BSFN* 47.4, 287-89.
- Oikonomides (Karamesini) (M.), 1966: “Μία μαρτυρία διὰ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἐρούλων εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην τὸ 267 μ.Χ. Εὔρημα νομισμάτων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων”, in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδου Γ’*, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 54, Athens, 376-82 and pls 121-23.
- , 2008: “Τα ανασκαφικά νομίσματα τῶν Λουσῶν. Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση”, in *Amicitiae gratia. In memory of Αλκμήνη Σταυρίδη*, Athens, 93-96.
- Oikonomides (M.), Lakakis-Marchetti (M.), Marchetti (P.), 2007: “Le trésor de Zougtra (IGCH 261) et la circulation monétaire dans le Péloponnèse au II^e siècle”, in Gh. Moucharte et alii (eds), *Liber amicorum Tony Hackens*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 379-433.
- Papageorgiadou-Bani (Ch.), 2004: *The Numismatic Iconography of the Roman Colonies in Greece. Local Spirit and the Expression of Imperial Policy*, Meletemata 39, Athens.
- Papapostolou (I. A.), 2009: «Παρατηρήσεις σε ψηφιδωτά των Πατρών», in *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell’età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, Tripodes 8, Athènes, 211-51.
- Petropoulos (M.), 1994: “Αγροικίες Πατραϊκής” in P. N. Doukellis, L. Mendoni (eds), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques, Actes du Colloque de Corfou (14-16 mai 1992)*, Paris, 410-12.
- , 2001: “Οι ρωμαϊκοί ληνοί της Πάτρας” in *Οίνον ιστορώ, Αμπελοοινική ιστορία και αρχαιολογία της ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου, Κτήμα Μερκούρη, Κορακοχώρι Ηλείας*, Athens, 37-51.
- Price (M.), 1987: “Southern Greece in the Coinage of the Greek World in the Late Republic”, *BAR* 326, 95-103.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 2001a: “Ηγετική τάξη και κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση στις πόλεις της Πελοποννήσου κατά την αυτοκρατορική εποχή”, in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen«*, Athen 5.3.-7.3.1998, Athen, 181-97.
- , 2001b: “Les cités péloponnésiennes entre l’époque hellénistique et l’Empire: le paysage économique et social”, in R. Frei-Stolba, Kr. Gex (éds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique, Actes du colloque international organisé à l’occasion du 60^e anniversaire de Pierre Ducrey (Lausanne, 20-21 novembre 1998)*, Bern - Berlin - Bruxelles, 75-96.
- , forthcoming: “Supra-civic landowning and supra-civic euergetic activities of urban elites in the Imperial Peloponnese”, in *Being Peloponnesian. Cohesion and diversity through time, International conference, University of Nottingham, 31 march-1 april 2007*.
- Rizakis (A. D.), Touratsoglou (I.), 2008: “L’Économie du Péloponnèse hellénistique: un cas régional”, in

- C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux, 69-82.
- Seyrig (H.), 1957: "Les trouvailles des monnaies péloponnésiennes en Syrie", *Syria* 34, 249-59.
- Spyropoulos (G.), 2001: *Drei Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik aus der Villa des Herodes Atticus zu Eva/Loukou*, Frankfurt a. M.
- Thompson (M.), 1968: *The Agrinion Hoard*, NNM 159, New York, 93-98.
- Touratsoglou (I.), 1987a: "Macedonia", in A. M. Burnett, M. H. Crawford (eds), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic*, BAR Intern. Ser. 326, 53-78.
- , 1987b: "Ο Πομπήιος στη Θεσσαλονίκη: η νομισματική μαρτυρία", *ΑΜΗΤΟΣ (Festschrift Prof. M. Andronikos)*, Thessaloniki, 885-90.
- , 1993: *The Coin Circulation in Ancient Macedonia (ca. 200 BC - 268-286 AD). The Hoard Evidence*, Hellenic Numismatic Society, Bibliotheca 1, Athens.
- , 2006: *Greece and the Balkans before the End of Antiquity*, Hellenic Numismatic Society, Bibliotheca 8, Athens.
- , 2006/07: "Η νομισματοκοπία των Αθηνών", in N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Αθήνα-Σπάρτη*, Exhibition Catalogue, Athens, 240-55.
- Touratsoglou (I.), Tsourti (E.), 1991: "Συμβολή στην κυκλοφορία τριωβόλων της Αχαϊκής Συμπολιτείας στον Ελλαδικό χώρο: η μαρτυρία των «θησαυρών»", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen 19.-21. Mai 1989*, Meletemata 13, Athens, 171-88.
- Tsangari (D.), 2007: *Corpus des monnaies d'or, d'argent et de bronze de la Confédération étolienne*, Athens.
- Warren (J. A. W.), 1999: "The Achaian League Silver Coinage Controversy Resolved: A Summary", *NC* 159, 99-109.
- , 2007: *The Bronze Coinage of the Achaian Koinon. The Currency of a Federal Ideal*, London (review: W. Fischer-Bossert, *NC* 168, 2008, 475-78).

ENTERTAINMENT BUILDING OF THE ROMAN PELOPONNESE: THEATRES, ODEA, AND AMPHITHEATRES AND THEIR TOPOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION*

Valentina Di Napoli

Abstract: Entertainment buildings, namely theatres and *odea*, are attested in Greece from the 6th c. B.C. onwards. They increase in number during the Hellenistic period, while in Roman times they are found only in a few urban centres. Amphitheatres, a typically Roman kind of entertainment building, were very rarely constructed in the Roman Peloponnese, where the arena games were mainly performed within theatres. This paper provides an analysis of the architectural form and the diachronic development of the entertainment buildings in the Roman Peloponnese, as well as the multifarious uses of the theatrical buildings in this region and their place in the urban fabric of the cities. The topographical distribution of these buildings in the Roman Peloponnese and their gradual decrease in number are investigated as possible indicators of the development of urban society as well as of the presence of local élites.

Entertainment buildings which were used for the performance of spectacles of different kinds are attested in Greece from the end of the Archaic period. The increasing importance of dramatic performances and musical contests and their gradual organization into regular meetings led, from the 6th c. B.C. onwards, to the construction of the earliest theatres, which were at first constituted of simple wooden rows of seats placed around a circular orchestra, and soon became more permanent, stone buildings.¹ The earliest archaeologically documented specimens have been found in Attica, a region which is directly associated with the origins of Greek drama: amongst the Attic examples are the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, the theatre of Thorikos and the one at Ikaria, birthplace of

Thespis.² Greek theatres, originated to shelter musical performances within the context of religious festivals, were soon used for many other purposes as well (see below). Contemporaneous with the gradual change in the nature of the spectacles held in theatres, a mutation of the buildings themselves can be observed. Hellenistic theatres in Greece can thus be regarded as a further development of Classical theatres, most of them presenting a semicircular or horseshoe-shaped auditorium which leans on a natural slope, stone seats whose first row is constituted of monumental thrones and is dedicated to priests and city officials, an unpaved orchestra and, most notably, a scene building formed by a lower storey with columns or pillars on its front (προσκήνιον)³ and an upper storey (σκηνή)

* I would like to warmly thank professor A. Rizakis for inviting me to write a contribution to this volume. I am also grateful to Molly Richardson for her assistance with the English text and for her helpful comments. The topic of this paper is more extensively discussed in Di Napoli forthcoming.

1. The bibliography on this topic is vast; see mainly: Bieber 1961; Neppi Modona 1961; Anti, Polacco 1969; Blume 1984; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994; Moretti 2004; Sear 2006.

2. Theatre of Dionysus: see most recently Polacco 1990; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994, II, 132-35 (H. P. Isler); Kalligas 1994; Gogos 1998; Moretti 2000; Isler 2002; Gogos 2005; Sear 2006, 388-89 plan 416 pls 137-38. Thorikos: Hackens 1967; Hackens 1968; Sear 2006, 409. Ikaria: Biers, Boyd 1982; Sear 2006, 399.

3. The προσκήνιον could have Doric or Ionic columns or pillars on its front, oriented towards the orchestra and the auditorium, and varied in height from 2.50 to 3.50 m. The openings between the columns or pillars were filled with painted panels (πίνακες): see Moretti 1997, 17-25.

with a two-sloped roof and three or five large openings on its front (doors or θύραι) – the upper storey being the place where the actors performed.

The theatres of the Roman Peloponnese: architectural form and developments

During the Roman period, several characteristic features of the theatres of Greece distinguish them from the theatrical buildings of the rest of the Empire. From an architectural perspective, the theatres in Italy and in many provinces of the Roman Empire shared a number of elements: a semicircular auditorium built on flat ground through the technique of incorporating vaulted corridors,⁴ two roofed passages (πάροδοι) connecting the seats to the semicircular, marble-paved orchestra, and a low stage (*pulpitum*)⁵ whose background was a rich and monumental two- or three-storey wall (*scaenae frons*) decorated with columns, pillars, marble panels and statues.⁶ This kind of theatre is very rarely found in Roman Greece. In the Peloponnese, it is represented in the Roman colony of Corinth, the capital of the province of Achaia, where, after the destruction of the city in 146 B.C., the theatre of the Augustan age was rebuilt in close connection

with the odeum, probably on imperial initiative and entirely in accordance with Roman criteria.⁷ Newly built theatres characterize the most Romanized cities of Greece⁸ and in the Peloponnese they are very few in number: besides the example at Corinth, one more only can be identified, namely the early Imperial theatre at Gytheion, the main harbour of the Peloponnese and seat of the League of the *Eleutherolakones*.⁹ As for the theatre at Sparta, it presents, on the one hand, some special features, such as the Doric colonnade *in summa cavea*, the inscriptions of both *parodoi* referring to the *cursus honorum* of local magistrates, and the monumental two-storey *scaenae frons* (to which a third storey was later added), but on the other hand it is strictly bound to Hellenistic prototypes, having a horseshoe-shaped auditorium and *parodoi* which are uncovered, and until the age of Vespasian it had a perishable stage, which included a wooden, movable scene.¹⁰ The theatre at Sparta, a city which not only was the main centre of Laconia but also was privileged by the Romans as *civitas libera et immunis*, can be considered as a peculiar case where the ancient, Hellenistic tradition meets the Roman building practice, with the addition of some

4. This development in construction was made possible, of course, by the invention of the *opus caementicium*.

5. The height of the Roman *pulpitum* was about 1.20 m, while the Hellenistic *proscaenium* was considerably taller: see *supra* n. 3.

6. Amongst the best-preserved specimens of a tall, decorated *scaenae frons* is that in the theatre of Arausio, today Orange (France), dated to the late Augustan age and restored in the 2nd c. A.D.: Sear 2006, 245-47 pls 66-71 (with previous bibliography). Here the statue of the Emperor Augustus, displayed in the central niche of the third storey, is still preserved in its original place.

7. On the theatre of Corinth see mainly: Stillwell 1952; Sturgeon 1977; *ead.* 2004. On the economics of Corinth during Roman times see the interesting book of Engels 1990.

8. A typically Roman theatre was also built, during the Augustan age, in the city of Nicopolis (Epirus), which was founded in 30 B.C. after the sea battle of Actium: Sear 2006, 413 pls 142-43 (with bibliography). It is constructed of brick and has a semicircular auditorium, the *pulpitum* is low and the *scaenae frons* has three doors.

9. The theatre of Gytheion was probably built at the very beginning of the Imperial age, as it existed already during the reign of Tiberius, and had not only a semicircular auditorium and a low *pulpitum*, but also a *scaenae frons* with three doors: Skias 1891; Versakis 1912; Sear 2006, 398.

10. The theatre at Sparta dates back to the decade 30-20 B.C. and was richly decorated at the time of Vespasian: see most recently Waywell, Wilkes, Walker 1998; Walker, Waywell 2001; Waywell 2002; Sear 2006, 406-07 plan 428. On the movable scene, which was preserved in the so-called σκανοθήκη when it was not in use, see Bulle 1928, 19 fig. 1 (the first scholar who proposed this hypothesis), Buckler 1986 (in which she attempts to dismantle Bulle's proposal), and Waywell, Wilkes, Walker 1998, particularly 103-07 (new excavations which confirm Bulle's idea). It is beyond any doubt, on the evidence of several literary sources (for example Hdt. VI. 67, Xen., *Hell.* VI. 4, 16 and Plut., *Vit. Ages.* 29), that the city already possessed a theatre during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but no traces of this building have been found. Some scholars believe that it was built on the same spot as the Roman theatre, even if no archaeological proof of this hypothesis has been found at present. Kolb 1981, 79-81, on the contrary, thinks that the earliest theatre was located in the agora, similarly to the *ikria* in the Greek agora of Athens.

special features which cannot be found elsewhere in Greece. The infrequency of typically Roman theatres in the Peloponnese can be explained in part because the provinces of Greece, and in particular the province of Achaia, show a relatively limited building activity in comparison with other Roman provinces,¹¹ but primarily because numerous theatres of the Hellenistic age survived and continued to be used during Roman times. As a result, a great number of the Hellenistic theatres of Greece were rebuilt or simply were adapted to the new needs of the performances of the Roman period. In very rare cases, such as at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros or in the city of Elis, theatres underwent extremely limited alterations or no changes at all.¹²

A significant number of theatrical buildings in the Peloponnese which preserve characteristic Roman features had in fact been in use since the Hellenistic period and, sometimes, even the Classical age. In most cases, the architectural modifications of the Roman period were limited to the scene building and did not involve the auditorium. For example, the theatre of Megalopolis in Arcadia,

which is named by Pausanias (VIII. 32, 1) as the biggest theatre in all of Greece – it could, in fact, hold up to 20,000 spectators –, was originally built during the second quarter of the 4th c. B.C., while the permanent *proskenion* which replaced the movable scene of the Hellenistic age must have been constructed during Roman times.¹³ Similarly, the scene of the theatre of Mantinea, built around the mid-4th c. B.C., was reconstructed during Roman times, as the presence of mortar and of reused architectural members demonstrates,¹⁴ while the 3rd-century B.C. *proskenion* of the theatre at Aegira in Achaia, built in accordance with Hellenistic prototypes, gave place during Roman times to a low *pulpitum* and a two-storey *scaenae frons* with three doors.¹⁵

At other theatres in the Peloponnese, still more extensive modifications took place, involving not only the scene but also the auditorium and the orchestra. For example, the *proskenion* of the Hellenistic theatre at Argos, built during the first quarter of the 3rd c. B.C., was replaced at the end of the 2nd c. A.D. by a low *pulpitum* of Roman type, an

11. It is to be stressed that the province of Achaia was a so-called *provincia inermis*, that is it had a very limited importance within the Empire from a military and strategic perspective. On the military presence in Achaia: Sherck 1957; Gilliam 1965.

12. The theatre of the Asklepieion at Epidauros, probably because of the conservative nature of the sanctuary itself, was built in one phase at the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C. and underwent no later architectural modification: see most recently Georgousopoulos, Gogos 2003, 21-95 (with bibliography), and Sear 2006, 396-97 plan 423. During Roman times, it was embellished only with new statues, such as that of Livia (its inscribed base has been found: von Gerkan, Müller-Wiener 1961, 70 pl. 23c right) and that of Asklepios (Katakis 2002, 5-6, 147-48, 213-14, 308-09 no. 1 pls 1-3), which were displayed in the area of the scene building. The theatre of Elis was built towards the end of the 4th c. B.C. and was still in existence at the time of Pausanias (VI. 26, 1), being subsequently abandoned during the late Roman period. It underwent two slight modifications in Roman times: a canal was built around the orchestra, and the spaces between the Ionic columns of the *proskenion* were closed by thin brick walls (Glaser 2001; Sear 2006, 396).

13. The movable scene was stored in the so-called *skanotheke*, located in the west *parodos*; its existence has been doubted by Buckler 1986. The chronological phases of this monument will be more precisely determined when the recent excavations are published in detail: see Karapanagiotou 2001 (with bibliography); Lauter, Lauter-Bufe 2004; Sear 2006, 400-01.

14. See Dörpfeld, Reisch 1896, 388.

15. The Hellenistic *proskenion* of this theatre, which dates back to the period 280-250 B.C., was 2,66 m tall, while the scene had three large openings on its front, the height of the entire *proskenion*-scene complex reaching about 5 m. The height of the Roman *pulpitum* was around 1,16 m. The chronology of the Roman phase is assured by the presence of a coin of the emperor Maximinus Thrax (A.D. 235-238). On this theatre see: Gogos 2001; Sear 2006, 385. A similar example is the theatre of Phleious in the Argolid, whose auditorium was built during the 4th c. B.C., while the permanent scene was added during the early Imperial age (1st c. A.D.) and underwent some modifications during the 2nd c. A.D.: see Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994, II, 117 (with bibliography); Sear 2006, 404. Finally, the Hellenistic *proskenion* of the theatre of Sikyon (first half of the 3rd c. B.C.) was substituted during the early Imperial age with a low marble *pulpitum*, which probably was not connected to a *scaenae frons* of Roman type, while the orchestra was paved with a mosaic: Fiechter 1931; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994, II, 291-92 (with bibliography); Sear 2006, 405.

awning (*vela*) was added to the auditorium to protect the spectators from the sun,¹⁶ an honorary seating place was built on the central axis of the lower rows of seats, and the orchestra was transformed into a waterproofed pool (κολυμβήθρα), where water ballets and mimes were performed.¹⁷ The auditorium of the theatre in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, built during the Classical period (around 400-390 B.C.), was enlarged during the Imperial age, both *parodoi* were covered by vaulted roofs, the diameter of the orchestra was increased, and the tall *proskenion* of Greek tradition was substituted with a *scaenae frons* of Roman type connected to a stoa at its back (*porticus post scaenam*).¹⁸ Works in the Hellenistic (first half of the 2nd c. B.C.) theatre of Tegea involved the construction of a new, larger auditorium (around 40 m in diameter), and of a scene built with the use of mortar in replacement of the older *proskenion*.¹⁹ In a striking example of new construction, the scene of the Hellenistic period (3rd c. B.C.)²⁰ of the theatre at Messene was entirely replaced by the tall, imposing *scaenae frons* of Roman type, built with the economic involvement of the wealthy local family of the Saethidae (mid-2nd c. A.D.) and decorated with columns and statues displayed on inscribed bases, while the orchestra was paved with coloured marble plaques and both *parodoi* were at first reduced and later removed.²¹ As is evident from

this brief review, the theatre in the Roman Peloponnese can be regarded as the last development of a long tradition dating back to the Classical age, in which a long-established building type was gradually transformed and adapted to new needs, dictated not only by new forms of entertainment but also by a new society.

The case of the odeum

Theatres were not the only entertainment building in the Roman Peloponnese. The odeum (ὄδειον) is, in a strictly literal sense, a type of building designed for musical performances and vocal contests (from the term ὄδή, “song, ode”). As “odeum” is normally defined, it is a kind of theatrical building which is characterized by small dimensions and by the presence of a limited scene and whose auditorium is entirely roofed – the latter an element necessary for acoustic reasons (see also the Latin term *theatrum tectum*).²² In the case of the odeum, however, function and architectural form do not always coincide, so that it is wiser to apply the label “odeum” only to those buildings which are defined as such by the ancient sources.²³ For instance, one of the earliest known examples of an odeum, that of Pericles at Athens, fulfilled very different functions during its life: it was a place for musical contests, administrative assemblies, elections and judiciary

16. Contrary to the *communis opinio* (see Graefe 1979), the Latin term *vela* does not correspond to the Greek word πέτασος; see Moretti 1993b.

17. The important change which involved the scene can very probably be connected to works ordered by the emperor Hadrian: see J.-Ch. Moretti, *BCH* 114, 1990, 866-72 figs 27-33, and *id.* 1993a, 9-23 figs 5-21. The scene building was modified again during the Late Roman period, around the 3rd-4th c. A.D., when the façade of the *pulpitum* was embellished with small pillars, and two mosaics with geometric patterns were added at the corners of the scene: Sear 2006, 386-87 plan 413.

18. The works of Roman age in this theatre, which date back to the mid-1st and mid-2nd c. A.D., were never completed, and the interpretation of the monument as a whole is made more difficult due to its state of preservation: see especially Gebhard 1973; Sear 2006, 399 plan 425.

19. See: Vallois 1926; Ginouvès 1972, 64-65; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994, II, 270; Sear 2006, 408.

20. The *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the theatre of Messene is the testimony of Plutarch, who attests that in 214 B.C. the meeting between Philip V of Macedon and the general of the Achaean League Aratus took place in the theatre (*Vit. Arat.* 50, 1-3).

21. See most recently Themelis 2005, 39-48 pls 22-28 (with bibliography).

22. On odea, see especially: Meinel 1980; Gneisz 1990; Balty 1991, 429-600; Izenour 1992 (with very attractive reconstructions, which however can scarcely be supported from an archaeological perspective); Gros 1996, 308-16. The term *theatrum tectum* is used, for example, in an inscription referring to the odeum of Pompeii, see Meinel 1980, 180-87. Statius (*Silvae* 3, 5, 91), in praising the *geminam molem nudi tectique theatri* (“the two great theatres, one open and one covered”) of Naples, apparently refers to the theatre and the odeum, respectively.

23. The study of Balty 1991 demonstrates that some odea found in Greece and in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire were in fact used as *bouleuteria* or assembly places for the local senate: see especially 429-600.

gatherings.²⁴ Its architectural form, however, was very peculiar. The odeum is a typically Greek kind of building, which reached Rome only many centuries after its creation: the first odeum of the capital of the Empire was built by Domitian at the end of the 1st c. A.D. to accommodate the musical contests of the *certamen Capitolinum*.²⁵ The odeum survived also in Roman Greece, and the Roman Peloponnese preserves three very representative specimens:²⁶ that at Argos, which was built very close to the theatre at the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D., above the remains of the ancient theatre of the Classical period,²⁷ and was later enlarged, during the second half of the 3rd c. A.D., reaching a total capacity of 1,800 spectators;²⁸ the odeum of Patrai, mentioned by Pausanias as one of the most imposing monuments in all of Roman Greece,

whose construction probably dates back to the mid-2nd c. A.D.;²⁹ and finally the odeum of Corinth, built during the 1st c. A.D. near the complex of the Roman theatre and *porticus post scaenam* and heavily remodelled during the second half of the 2nd c. A.D.³⁰ It is a remarkable coincidence that all of these monuments were built or remodelled at some moment during the 2nd c. A.D., and that they were always located at a slight distance from the theatre, in the very heart of the city. These circumstances suggest that they in some way complemented the theatres, and that they were actually used as roofed theatres of small dimensions, presumably to accommodate a more select public, and dedicated largely to musical contests and spectacles related to the activity of the Second Sophistic, such as conferences and performances of orators.³¹

24. Musical contests (of the Panathenaic festival): Plut., *Vit. Per.* 13, 5-6; Pl., *Ion* 535e; Hsch. s.v.; *Suda* s.v.; Phot., *Bibl.* s.v. ᾠδεῖον. Administrative assemblies: Xen., *Hell.* II. 4, 9-10 and 24. Judiciary gatherings: Ar., *Vesp.* 1109; Dem., *Neaera* 52 [1362-63]; Poll., *Onom.* 8, 33; *Suda* s.v.; Photius, *Bibl.* s.v. ᾠδεῖον. In addition, philosophical schools operated near the *pylai* of the odeum, see Plut., *De exil.* 14, 605a; Ath. 13, 336e; Diog. Laert. VII. 7, 184.

25. See Coarelli 1977 and Caldelli 1993.

26. Three more buildings must be added to this list: the odeum at Olympia, in the sanctuary of Zeus (Mallwitz 1981, 108 pl. 5; *id.* 1999, 276-81 fig. 176 pls 59-60 Beilage 17); that at Epidauros, in the sanctuary of Asklepios (Aslanidis 2003); and that at Messene, in the sanctuary of Asklepios (see most recently Birtachas 2008). The alleged "odeum" of Mantinea, cited by H. P. Isler in *EAA* 2 Suppl. 5 (1997) s.v. Teatri, 552, does not in fact exist: the author probably refers to the so-called "exedra of Epigone", a semicircular construction located on the north side of the agora (see Fougères 1898, 179-82 fig. 44) which was built by the wealthy lady Epigone, wife of Euphrosynos, after her husband's death, very probably during the 1st c. A.D. (G. Fougères, *BCH* 20, 1896, 124-27 no. 2, dates the inscription *IG* V 2, 268 to the end of the 1st c. B.C., while Ul. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Hermes* 35, 1900, 536-42, together with the editor of *IG*, Fr. Hiller von Gärtingen, suggests a date between 10 B.C. and A.D. 10). This monument, which must have been in some ways similar to the nymphaeum-exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, had a merely decorative character and was very probably adorned with statues.

27. This is the so-called theatre "à gradins droits" (that is, with rectilinear rows of seats), which dates back to the second half of the 5th c. B.C. and was used not only for dramatic performances but also, very probably, for the assemblies of the *Haliaia*: Ginouvès 1972, 15-82 figs 4-27 pls 1-5; Sear 2006, 386 pl. 136.

28. On the odeum of Argos, see especially: Ginouvès 1972, 83-215; Meinel 1980, 223-25, 288-91 figs 85-86, 110; Moretti 1993a, 23-30 figs 22-28; Sear 2006, 387-88 plans 414-15 pl. 136. The earliest building had a rectangular outer plan and could host up to 1,100 spectators, while the later, larger odeum had a circular outer plan.

29. This odeum had a total capacity of about 2,300 spectators and its construction is explicitly connected to Herodes Atticus by Pausanias (VII. 20, 6), even if its construction date is still disputed. On the monument, which was fully restored between 1959 and 1961 but was never entirely published, see N. S. Zapheiropoulos, *PAAH* 1957, 112-13 pl. 49; A. K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1959, 182-84 figs 207-10; G. Daux, *BCH* 84, 1960, 692 figs 1-3; E. Mastrokostas, *AD* 16, 1960, B' Chron. 137-44 pls 117γ-ε and 119-21; A. K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1960, 226-28 figs 263-64; G. Daux, *BCH* 85, 1961, 680-81 figs 1-2; A. K. Orlandos, *Ergon* 1961, 231-32 figs 246-51; G. Daux, *BCH* 86, 1962, 749 figs 19-20; Meinel 1980, 267-80 figs 107-09; Izenour 1992, 140-41; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994, II, 273-74 (H. P. Isler); Rizakis 1995, 176-77 no. 259; Sear 2006, 403-04 plan 427.

30. According to Philostratus, this odeum (which he describes as ὑπωρόφιον θεάτρον, "roofed theatre"), had been restored by Herodes Atticus (*V S* II. 1, 5). Towards the end of the first quarter of the 3rd c. A.D., it was transformed into an arena for gladiatorial games: Broneer 1932; Waywell 1979, 298 no. 21; Meinel 1980, 59-80, 247-52, 287-88 figs 14-19; Ciancio Rossetto, Pisani Sartorio 1994, II, 157-58 (H. P. Isler); Sear 2006, 393-94 plan 420 pl. 140.

31. Similarly, all three of the odea mentioned above which were located in sanctuaries (see *supra* n. 26) date back to the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. and could be related to specific musical activities which took place in these sacred places. This hypothesis is partly developed in Melfi 2010 (forthcoming).

Amphitheatres of the Roman Peloponnese

A kind of Roman building dedicated *par excellence* to the entertainment of the public is the amphitheatre.³² Already attested in Italy during the middle and late Republic, amphitheatres soon became enormous in their dimensions – the example of the Colosseum in Rome is too familiar not to be cited. Gladiatorial combats, *venationes* (combats between animals or between animals and trained beast fighters) and displays of wild beasts were the main amphitheatrical activities under the Empire, together with *naumachiae* (mock sea battles) and more cruel forms of spectacles such as *damnatio ad bestias* (punishment to be eaten by wild beasts) and still other forms of death penalty. Amphitheatres could also be the location where a dialogue between the ruling power and the people took place: on one side, the Emperor could display his power and legitimise his position in the amphitheatres, while on the other side the population could in their turn express their likes and dislikes to the central power.³³ It is in any case certain that already under the Republic gladiatorial games had acquired a definite and explicit political dimension.³⁴

The development of amphitheatres as a building type, which began in Italy during the Republican pe-

riod (from the 3rd c. B.C.),³⁵ spread quickly throughout the whole Empire during Imperial times, giving birth to an architectural form which was characteristic of the Roman society. But Greece seemed almost entirely uninterested in acquiring buildings of such kind, even when the presence of Rome in Greek matters became more evident and when, later, the region became a province of the Roman Empire.³⁶ In consequence, amphitheatres in Greece can be found in only two settings, namely in the Roman colony of Corinth, capital of the province of Achaia, and, outside the Peloponnese, in the province of Macedonia, in the Roman colony of Dyrrachium.³⁷ This fact compels the conclusion that Roman colonists who lived in Greece brought with them the games and spectacles of the arena but that only in a very limited number of cases was the corresponding architectural form built.³⁸ Gladiatorial games were nonetheless performed in Roman Greece, where they were usually held in theatres, so that Dio Chrysostom could blame the Athenians for having resigned their dignity as Greeks because they used to follow gladiatorial performances in the venerable theatre of Dionysus (Or. XXXI. 121), while Plutarch strived to distinguish from other gladiators the “Greek gladiators”, who

32. On amphitheatres, see especially: Golvin 1988; Gros 1996, 317-45; Bomgardner 2000; Welch 2007. On the arena and its spectacles, see especially: Veyne 1976 (similar ideas are also expressed in Cameron 1976); Ville 1981; Hopkins 1983, especially 1-30; Domergue, Landes, Paillet 1990; Kyle 1998.

33. Hopkins 1983, 17; Cic., *Off.* II. 57.

34. In the *Pro Sestio* (125-127), Cicero describes the lively dialogue which took place at a gladiatorial show between the praetor Appius Claudius Pulcher and the yelling crowd, who did not want the orator to return from exile, and defines the latter as “this countless throng of men, this unanimous expression of the whole Roman people”. It is to be stressed that before Imperial laws went into use (*lex Julia theatralis*, for example, which dates back to the years of Augustus), the audience in theatres could sit mixed together, not obliged to follow a hierarchical order according to their social and political status: see Rawson 1987; Moore 1995; Edmondson 1996.

35. The central idea of Welch 2007 is that, already during the Republican period, gladiatorial games had a strong political significance and that at that time amphitheatres were already fully developed as a building type. In contrast, previous scholars had primarily focused on the importance of amphitheatres and gladiatorial shows during the Imperial period (see e.g. Hopkins 1983).

36. At the time of Aemilius Paullus, Greeks had already experienced some spectacles of gladiatorial type: deserters from the Roman army were thrown to wild beasts in 167 B.C. as part of the rich *ludi* given by the great military leader after the battle of Pydna, see Val. Max. II. 7, 14 (*et L. Paullus, Perse rege superato, eiusdem generis et culpae homines elephantis proterendos substravit ... Aspero enim et absciso castigationis genere militaris disciplina indiget*) and Livy, *Per.* 51 (*Scipio exemplo patris sui Aemilii Pauli, qui Macedoniam vicerat, ludos fecit transfugasque ac fugitivos bestiis obiecit*).

37. Amphitheatre at Corinth: Golvin 1988, 138 no. 126 pl. VII.4. Amphitheatre at Dyrrachium: Golvin 1988, 203 no. 178 (with bibliography).

38. Inscriptions from Delos, for example, which attest 2nd-century B.C. gladiatorial combats in the Agora of the Italians, demonstrate that the Romans brought along with them the custom of these games and used this Agora as they would have used an Italian *forum*: see P. Roussel, J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* 34, 1910, 403-05 no. 54.

were in his opinion more “civilised”.³⁹ Even in the Roman colony of Patrai, built at the time of Augustus,⁴⁰ gladiatorial games were performed not in an amphitheatre, but in the stadium of the city, which Pausanias (VII. 20, 9 and 21, 6) refers to as a “theatre”.⁴¹ The Greek habit of performing the arena games within theatres led to remarkable transformations of the architectural form of some of these buildings.

Uses of the theatrical buildings in the Roman Peloponnese

Already during the Classical age, theatres in Greece were used for purposes other than dramatic performances, including political and possibly judicial gatherings,⁴² and when later, in Roman times, they were the seat of far different spectacles, their use became not only wider, but also more complex. During the Roman period, long-established contests, such as the Panathenaic festival, were still regularly held, and dramas of the Classical age continued to be performed.⁴³ In addition to these performances, however, new forms of spectacles found favour with the public, namely gladiatorial combats, animal hunts, mimes and pantomimes, water ballets, and mock sea battles.

Gladiatorial combats and animal hunts are so integrally related to the amphitheatres that one could scarcely think of them without bringing to mind the Colosseum. Remarkably, Romans apparently did not consider the arena games to be brutal and

cruel, nor did they care about the gladiators who died⁴⁴ – they passionately followed this kind of spectacle because of the excitement provoked by the drama and uncertainty of its outcome. Hunts and gladiatorial combats are attested four times in the Roman Peloponnese, namely at Patrai, Corinth, Argos and Sparta.⁴⁵ Notably, at the theatre of Corinth, paintings on the parapet surrounding the arena depicted hunting scenes of *venatores* fighting against lions, bulls and leopards.⁴⁶ The fortune of these spectacles in Greece was wide and enduring, gladiatorial combats ceasing only in the 4th c. A.D., when they were banished by the Christians (A.D. 326), while animal hunts continued to be organized during the Byzantine period. In the spectacle of miming, known as early as the 5th c. B.C., the mimes were either actors or singers, performed without masks, and included not only men, but also women.⁴⁷ This form of spectacle found much favour with the public during the Imperial period. In an inscription of the time of Tiberius from the theatre of Gytheion, the mention of four μῦμικαὶ θύραι (“doors for the mimes”: l. 36) attests the performance of miming on the occasion of festivals held in that theatre.⁴⁸ Pantomimes (παντόμιμοι), on the other hand, were professional dancers who staged mythical or real stories.⁴⁹ This literary genre, brought to Rome during the 2nd c. B.C., was widely appreciated by the Roman public and, together with mime, gradually replaced the more traditional tragedy and comedy.⁵⁰ In Greece, however, pantomimes were

39. Plut., *Mor.* 1099b: καὶ γὰρ τῶν μονομάχων ὄρῳ τοὺς μὴ πανταπάσι θηριώδεις ἀλλ’ Ἕλληνας.

40. It is probable that the colonists settled in the city in two phases, one immediately after Actium and one 15 years later, upon the official proclamation of the colony by Agrippa: Rizakis 1998, 24-25.

41. On the “theatre” of Patrai see I. A. Papapostolou, *AD* 35, 1980, B’ 1 Chron., 185 figs 10-11 pl. 81.

42. See: McDonald 1943; Kolb 1981; Hansen, Fischer Hansen 1994, 44-75. In times of uncertainty and general upheaval, the theatre was a gathering site where a population could be informed about recent events (see Plut., *Vit. Arat.* 8, 6 and 23, 1 about Sicyon in 251/50 B.C. and Corinth in 243 B.C., respectively), and even an army might hold its exceptional meetings there (Thuc. VIII. 93, 1 – about the hoplites at the Mounichia theatre, in 411 B.C.). The use of theatres for judicial gatherings, attested for the Roman period, might have existed already during the Classical period: see Moretti 2004, 98.

43. The *Panathenaia*, for example, continued to be held during the 5th c. A.D.: Frantz 1988, 20, 23-24.

44. See Kyle 1998, 2-7; Cagniard 2000. Tacitus (*Ann.* I, 76) refers to the blood that was shed by gladiators as *vilis sanguis*.

45. On the gladiatorial games of Patrai see Rizakis 1984 and *id.* 1990. The arena games of Corinth, in particular, are also attested in a letter addressed to the governor of Achaia, where it is said that the Corinthians had spent huge sums of money to purchase bears and panthers for the hunts in the theatres: see Spawforth 1994.

46. Stillwell 1952, 87-94 figs 76-98. The paintings, visible until the 1930s, have now disappeared.

47. See Wiemken 1972.

48. *IG* V 1, 1448. See most recently Kantiréa 2007, 204-05.

49. See Jory 1981; *id.* 1996.

50. See Gros 1994, 290-95.

introduced into the *agones* only during the Late Imperial period, maybe around the end of the 2nd c. A.D. Water ballets are not attested in Greece by the literary sources, but it is possible to conclude that they were performed in Greek theatres since, in some of them, a pool was installed in the place of the orchestra (see below). Mimes can be imagined to have staged mythical scenes while dancing in the water, perhaps in addition to acting on the stage, and the pools were not deep, so that the bodies of the actors could have been easily seen: in a widely known passage, the orator John Chrysostom laments the showing of naked female bodies during these performances, speaking of a “sea of extreme freedom” from which the good Christian should be kept away (*Homilia VII in Matthaicum, 6-7: in profundum libidinis*). Finally, mock sea battles are known to have been performed at Rome in amphitheatres and in pools built for this purpose and even in lakes and in the sea. Due to the dimensions of the pools built within Greek theatres, however, these spectacles were probably never performed in Roman Greece.⁵¹ In sum, in spite of the fact that Roman culture had developed a specific kind of building to accommodate performances of spectacles such as gladiatorial combats – that is, the amphitheatre (see above) –, nonetheless, in the Roman Peloponnese, and more generally in Greece, these spectacles were performed within theatres, buildings whose origin and history were deeply rooted in the Greek tradition. In consequence, it was necessary that theatres be adapted to the different requirements of the new performances: most notably, the orchestra had to be transformed into an arena (for gladiatorial combats and animal hunts) or into a waterproofed pool (for water ballets).⁵²

The transformation of a theatre orchestra into an arena was sometimes achieved by adding some sort of nets or removable gratings around the orchestra, in order to protect the spectators, particularly those sitting in the first rows, from the wild beasts. This system, which was relatively inexpensive and could be easily removed, can be observed in the theatre of Argos, where the marks of the posts for the protecting grid are still visible today.⁵³ In other instances, the transforming of an orchestra into an arena was accomplished by removing the lowest rows of seats, thereby increasing the vertical distance between the orchestra and the auditorium, an arrangement very similar to that at amphitheatres whose arena was wisely positioned much lower than the seats. This is the case of the theatre at Corinth, where a remodelling of the orchestra (at the beginning of the 3rd c. A.D.) and the removal of the first 10 rows of seats led to the creation of a proper arena which also took the place of the scene building.⁵⁴ The resulting parapet was decorated with the above-mentioned paintings depicting hunt scenes. The same transformation can be observed also in the odeum of Corinth, where the orchestra was enlarged by removal of the first rows of seats and was surrounded by marble slabs which protected the spectators (first quarter of the 3rd c. A.D.).⁵⁵

The transformation of the orchestra into a waterproofed pool was so rare a practice in the Roman Peloponnese that it is found only in the theatres of Corinth and Argos. In order to waterproof the orchestra of the theatre at Corinth, it was paved with marble slabs and was surrounded by a line of marble slabs, and then a water channel was created which allowed the water to flow outside the building.⁵⁶ At Argos, a low wall (1.10 m tall) covered

51. Some scholars, nonetheless, affirm the contrary. On the subject see: Traversari 1950; *id.* 1952; *id.* 1960, *passim*; and most recently Golvin, Reddé 1990.

52. On the adaptation of Roman theatrical buildings to the needs of the new performances see: Neppi Modona 1974; Moretti 1992.

53. See *supra* n. 17.

54. See *supra* n. 7. At the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th c. A.D., a balustrade constituted of marble slabs was added around the orchestra of the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, a system which is also attested in the theatre of Delphi but is never found in the Peloponnese. On the theatre of Dionysus see Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXI. 121: “πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τινα σφάττεσθαι, τοῖς θρόνοις, οὗ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν”. In Athens, however, gladiatorial games must have been performed mainly in the stadium, where an arena was created: see Welch 1998, esp. 133-45.

55. Broneer 1932, 53-55.

56. The slabs which surrounded the orchestra were 0.95 m tall and were supported by a wall made of small stones and plaster. In addition, the so-called ‘east hall’ was transformed into a cistern containing the water needed for the performances.

with marble slabs was built around the orchestra, and as it reached the façade of the scene building, a waterproofed pool was created. A small staircase of marble steps allowed passage from the pool to the first row of seats, while another staircase was built between the pool and the scene building.⁵⁷ In the cases of both Corinth and Argos, these modifications date to the 4th c. A.D. and must be related to the wide favour which water ballets experienced among the public during the Late Imperial period.

The topographical distribution of the theatrical buildings in the Roman Peloponnese

Building a theatre was a very expensive matter. Work on the construction could last several decades, and the building had thereafter to be embellished, maintained, repaired and restored, incurring very high costs.⁵⁸ The help of private benefactors could be decisive for cities which lacked the means of affording such expensive works, as the example of the Messenian family of the Saethidae shows. In some cases, collective benefactions, a phenomenon observed mainly in the Eastern Empire, contributed crucially to the construction.⁵⁹ The personal intervention of the emperor himself, as in the case of Vespasian at Sparta, or of an influential person of his entourage, as in the case of Agrippa at Athens, demonstrates not only the importance of benefactors for the construction of such costly buildings, but also their interest in monumental buildings which offered an ideal setting for self-display and propaganda, and at the same time a venue for addressing popular demands.⁶⁰

Describing the urban centre of Panopeus, Pausanias remarks: “Panopeus, a city of the Phocians,

if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain ...”.⁶¹ It is evident that, to the eyes of a Roman citizen of the mid-2nd c. A.D., a proper city could not lack some very specific features, including a building for entertainment, which is represented by the theatre. From the words of the Traveller it can be inferred that entertainment buildings, such as theatres, held a special place in contemporary Roman life, to the extent that they could not be missing in a city which would deserve this name. And the considerable economic efforts needed for their construction and maintenance, as well as the interest that they attracted from both local and central authorities, demonstrate that theatres must be numbered amongst the most notable buildings of a Roman city. Therefore, it is not by chance that Vitruvius describes the theatre immediately after he describes the forum, thereby suggesting the considerable civic importance of such buildings.⁶² In Roman times, in fact, contests and competitions, as well as the multifarious spectacles performed in the theatres, increased greatly in number, a development which accords with the place of honour that they held in Roman cities. And yet, the number of theatrical buildings in the Roman Peloponnese gradually decreased. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in an analysis of their topographical distribution.

During the early Imperial period (1st to 3rd c. A.D.), Roman Achaia shows a constant reduction in site numbers, for which the results of surface surveys have provided the principal evidence. The reduction has been attributed to the combination of different factors, amongst which are the partial

57. Although the presence of a staircase connecting the pool to the scenic building is also found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, it is not entirely certain that the orchestra of this theatre was ever transformed into a *kolymbethra*: Sear 2006, 389.

58. Several scholars have tried to estimate the cost of building a theatre, using different methods: M. K. and R. L. Thornton (1989) used a system based on “Work Units”; R. Duncan-Jones (1982, 77-78) based his system on the area costing method while recently F. Sear (2006, esp. 19-22 and tab. 2.1) applied the “volumetric cost analysis”, treating the theatre as a series of simple geometric shapes.

59. The theatre of Zea at Piraeus was built thanks to the contributions of a large number of private benefactors, whose names are listed in an inscription of about 150 B.C.: *IG II², 2334* (in the first lines it is stated that they *ἔπεδωκαν εἰ[ς τὴν] | κατασκευὴν τοῦ θεά[τρου]*).

60. On the topic see mainly: Blänsdorf 1990; Slater 1996; Welch 1999.

61. Paus. X. 4, 1. And still, Panopeus must be considered as a city because of the presence of borders: “nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbours” (*ibid.*). The dimensions of a city in Roman Greece varied considerably: see Alcock 1993, esp. 160-64.

62. See most recently the comment by Gros 1997.

abandonment of rural sites as a consequence of the diffusion of large landholdings and the appearance of farmsteads, a slight contraction of the population, and the predilection for living in bigger urban centres instead of small, dispersed rural dwellings (so-called nucleation).⁶³ As a result of a long process already begun during the Hellenistic period, and following a trend converse to that in many other provinces of the Empire, cities acquired a major role in Roman Greece and urban life was preferred, while there was a parallel abandonment of the territory. Bigger cities offered additional services which could not be found in small centres, and people could be attracted there for a variety of reasons: for the opportunity of having contacts with influential persons, for market-places where rare and uncommon goods were sold, to be near the seat of philosophical and rhetorical schools, for the possibility of meeting with the governor or other provincial officials, to have access to important temples and sanctuaries, and to participate in major processions and festivals. This is even truer in the case of Roman colonies, real economic colossi when compared to traditional Greek cities, and possessing a vast territory and a privileged political status.⁶⁴ In this process, small rural dwellings scattered throughout the territory lost their importance, and land occupation became less intensive, creating numerous problems such as undercultivation.⁶⁵

An attempt to trace the presence of theatrical buildings diachronically within the Roman Peloponnese reveals their slow but sure reduction in number during early Imperial times, in spite of the increased importance of such buildings in the life of urban centres. Outside the Peloponnese, the

case of Attica offers an instructive example of this phenomenon across time, from the late Classical to the early Roman Imperial period. During the Classical period, many theatrical buildings which are attested by epigraphical and literary sources as well as by archaeological data were spread throughout the territory of Attica: more than 20, and as many as 23, have been identified.⁶⁶ They began to decrease in number beginning in the late Hellenistic period, and by Roman times, there were only three, two of which were located in Athens and one in its harbour: the theatre of Dionysus at the foot of the Acropolis, which continued to be in use until Late Antiquity, the neighbouring odeum of Pericles, which probably endured until the Herulians invaded Athens in A.D. 267, and the theatre at the harbour of Zea (Piraeus).⁶⁷ Two more entertainment buildings, constructed *ex novo* and of purely Roman architectural conception, were built in Athens during the Imperial period: the odeum of Agrippa in the Agora (about 15 B.C.) and, almost two centuries later, the odeum of Herodes Atticus at the foot of the Acropolis (between A.D. 160 and 174). Within the entire region of Attica, then, no theatrical buildings existed outside the territory of Athens. Thus, whereas many demes of Attica during the late Classical and the Hellenistic periods possessed their own theatre, during the Roman age it was only Athens which could afford the presence of theatrical buildings within its urban tissue and in its territory. Apparently, it is to Athens that the population of the entire region was drawn on the occasion of performances of various kinds, of public assemblies, and of feasts and processions. Albeit on a different scale, a comparable phenomenon

63. See especially Alcock 1993.

64. See especially Woolf 1997 and Alcock 2007. On Roman colonies in Achaia: Rizakis 1997 (with vast bibliography).

65. Alcock 1993, esp. 33-92.

66. These theatres, attested by either inscriptions or archaeological findings, were located in the following centres (in alphabetical order): Acharnai, Aegilia, Aixone, Anagyrous, Athens (two theatrical buildings: the theatre of Dionysus and the odeum of Pericles), Brauron, Eleusis, Euonymum-Trachones, Hali Araphenides, Halimous, Ikaria, Kephale (seen by L. Wheeler during the 18th century), Kollytos, Myrrhinous, Oropos, Paiania, Phlya, Piraeus (two: at the harbours of Mounichia and Zea), Plotheia, Rhamnous, Thorikos.

67. The odeum of Pericles was destroyed by the Athenians themselves when the city was besieged by Sulla's army, so that the invaders could not use the wooden beams of the construction in order to attack the Acropolis (see App., *Bell. Mithr.* 38). It was rebuilt thanks to the initiative of the king of Cappadocia, Ariobarzanes II (65-52 B.C.), who engaged for this work the Roman architects Gaius and Marcus Stallius, together with the Greek architect Μενάλιππος; see *IG II²*, 3426; P. Kastriotis, *AD* 5, 1919, Parart. 5-7 and 10 with fig. 11. The theatre at the harbour of Zea was built during Hellenistic times and continued to be used during the Imperial period, see von Eickstedt 1991, 185 no. 1.126. fig. 59, and *supra* n. 59.

can be observed in the Roman Peloponnese. The trend is very evident in Arcadia, where Classical and Hellenistic theatres are attested in seven centres, namely at Megalopolis, Mantinea, Tegea, Kleitor, Stymphalos, Orchomenos, and Psophis, while during the Roman period only the theatres of the first three cities survived and were in use.⁶⁸ The abandonment of these theatres parallels the decline of the corresponding urban centres, which were abandoned or transferred elsewhere.⁶⁹ The same can be said for all other regions of the Peloponnese, even for Achaia, where the foundation of the Roman colony of Patrai attracted most of the economic and political interest of the territory, and caused the subsequent decline of smaller sites such as Keryneia and Leontion, which had possessed a theatre during the Hellenistic age.⁷⁰ If it is true, then, that theatrical buildings can be considered one of the most revealing indicators of the economic, social and political status of a Roman city, given on the one hand the huge economic effort that their construction and maintenance required, and on the other hand their symbolic and propagandistic value, their topographical distribution in the Roman Peloponnese can be considered as a symptom of the development and distribution of urban society in the territory.

The coming of Rome brought along many transformations in Greece, from not only the economic and political perspective, but also the cultural and social. The multifarious uses of the theatrical buildings are indicative of the reaction of Romanized Greece to imported Roman cultural elements. The adoption in the Roman Peloponnese of the arena games, which were brought from Italy by the Roman conqueror, was not matched by the development of the corresponding architectural frame, the amphitheatre. This circumstance suggests that theatres were still a crucial architectural element within Romanized Greek cities, even while they accommodated forms of spectacles very different from those

of the Classical and Hellenistic age – the words of Pausanias seem to confirm this hypothesis. Thus, the dominant Roman culture managed to import to Greece the arena games, but did not eradicate a vital architectural element of the Hellenic cities, the theatre, which stood firm as a central pivot around which urban life moved. Greeks were very selective in the adoption of elements of Roman culture, and the fact that the popular gladiatorial combats were performed within amphitheatres in only a few Roman colonies, as well as the increasing importance of the theatrical buildings within the Greek cities of the early Imperial age, demonstrate the resistance of this region to the presence of Rome and the peculiar way in which the region incorporated Roman cultural models.⁷¹

The study of the theatrical buildings of the Roman Peloponnese can be instructive in many respects. Theatres “could serve as perfect settings for the staging of political, as well as of purely dramatic, productions”.⁷² Their symbolic value was not underestimated by either the central power or the local élites, who undeniably took advantage of the possibilities offered by a tall and imposing *scaenae frons*, adorned with columns and niches, statues, reliefs, inscribed bases and architraves. These elements were ideal means of transmitting messages to the vast crowd of the public, which was seated in the auditorium according to precise hierarchical criteria. In its turn, the odeum, born in Classical Greece, was and continued to be a typically Greek architectural form – Rome adopted it only around the end of the 1st c. A.D. – which was destined to be host to sophisticated spectacles. The topographical distribution of both theatres and odea mirrors the distribution of urban centres in the territory and also attests the presence of increasingly rich urban élites, who decided to invest part of their wealth in public works, thereby participating in a game of competition amongst the cities. Some cities flourished thanks to their status (Sparta: it was a *civitas libera et immunis*), others thanks to

68. The subject has been briefly examined for Arcadia, see Di Napoli 2005.

69. On Kleitor see Petritaki 2005 (development of the city in the territory and especially outside the walls); on Stymphalos see Williams 2005 (probable military activity on the site at the time of the Achaean war); on Orchomenos see Paus. VIII. 13, 1-3 and Blum, Plassart 1914 (abandonment of the upper city and new installation at the foot of the hill); on Psophis see Petropoulos 2005 (the centre was inhabited until the 3rd c. A.D. [?]).

70. On Roman Patrai see Rizakis 1998, Patras 2005 and Patrasso 2009.

71. The bibliography on this subject is vast, see for example Woolf 1994 and Noelke 2003.

72. D’Arms 1988, 56.

their strategic position (Roman colonies), and still others thanks to their glorious past (Athens). This is why theatrical buildings can be claimed “as clear a statement of the new ordering of the world as can be made through the medium of architecture”.⁷³

Valentina Di Napoli

Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece

Bibliography

- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- , 2007: “The Eastern Mediterranean”, in W. Scheidel, I. Morris, R. Saller (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge, 671-97.
- Anti (C.), Polacco (L.), 1969: *Nuove ricerche sui teatri greci arcaici*, Padova.
- Aslanidis (K.), 2003: “The Roman Odeion at Epidaurus”, *JRA* 16, 301-11.
- Balty (J. Ch.), 1991: *Curia Ordinis. Recherches d’architecture et d’urbanisme antiques sur les curies provinciales du monde romain*, Bruxelles.
- Bieber (M.), 1961: *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton².
- Biers (W. R.), Boyd (Th. D.), 1982: “Ikarion in Attica: 1888-1981”, *Hesperia* 51, 1-18.
- Birtachas (P.), 2008: *Μεσσήνη. Το Ωδείο και το Ανατολικό Πρόπυλο του Ασκληπιείου*, BAAE 255, Athens.
- Blänsdorf (J.) (ed.), 1990: *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum*, Tübingen.
- Blum (G.), Plassart (A.), 1914: “Orchomène d’Arcadie. Fouilles de 1913”, *BCH* 38, 71-88.
- Blume (H.-D.), 1984: *Einführung in das antike Theaterwesen*, Darmstadt².
- Bomgardner (D. L.), 2000: *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre*, London - New York.
- Broneer (O. Th.), 1932: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens X, The Odeum*, Cambridge Mass.
- Buckler (C.), 1986: “The Myth of the Movable Skenai”, *AJA* 90, 431-36.
- Bulle (H.), 1928: *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, Munich.
- Cagniard (P.), 2000: “The Philosopher and the Gladiator”, *CW* 93, 607-18.
- Caldelli (M. L.), 1993: *L’agon Capitolinus. Storia e protagonisti dall’istituzione domiziana al IV secolo*, Rome.
- Cameron (A.), 1976: *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford.
- Ciancio Rossetto (P.), Pisani Sartorio (G.) (eds), 1994: *Teatri greci e romani. Alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato*, 3 vols, Roma.
- Coarelli (F.), 1977: “Il campo Marzio occidentale. Storia e topografia”, *MEFRA* 89, 807-46.
- D’Arms (J. H.), 1988: “Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan Age and Beyond: the Eminence of the *Gens Holconia*”, in R. I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski I*, New York, 51-73.
- Di Napoli (V.), 2005: “The Theatres of Roman Arcadia, Pausanias, and the History of the Region”, in Østby 2005, 509-20.
- , forthcoming: *Teatri della Grecia romana: forma, decorazione, funzioni. I, la provincia Achaia*, Athens.
- Dörpfeld (W.), Reisch (E.), 1896: *Das griechische Theater. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und anderer griechischer Theater*, Athen.
- Domergue (C.), Landes (C.), Pailler (J.-M.), 1990: (eds), *Spectacula I: gladiateurs et amphithéâtres*, Paris.
- Duncan-Jones (R.), 1982: *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge.
- Edmondson (J. C.), 1996: “Dynamic arenas: Gladiatorial presentations in the city of Rome and the construction of Roman society during the early Empire”, in W. Slater (ed.), *Roman Theater and Society, E. Togo Salmon Papers I*, Ann Arbor, 69-112.
- Eickstedt von (K.-V.), 1991: *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus*, Athens.
- Engels (D.), 1990: *Roman Corinth. An Alternative Model for the Classical City*, Chicago - London.
- Fiechter (E.), 1931: *Das Theater in Sikyon, Antike Griechische Theaterbauten 3*, Stuttgart.
- Fougères (G.), 1898: *Mantinée et l’Arcadie orientale*, Paris.
- Frantz (A.), 1988: *The Athenian Agora XXIV. Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700*, Princeton.
- Gebhard (E. R.), 1973: *The Theater of Isthmia*, Chicago.
- Georgousopoulos (K.), Gogos (S.), 2003: *Επίδαυρος. Το αρχαίο θέατρο, οι παραστάσεις*, Athens.
- Gerkan von (A.), Müller-Wiener (W.), 1961: *Das Theater von Epidauros*, Stuttgart.
- Gilliam (J. F.), 1965: “Romanization of the Greek East: the role of the army”, *BASP* 2, 65-73.
- Ginouvès (R.), 1972: *Le théâtre à gradins droits et l’odéon d’Argos*, Paris.
- Glaser (F.), 2001: “Das Theater von Elis und das Problem einer hölzernen Skene”, in Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 253-56.
- Gneisz (D.), 1990: *Das antike Rathaus, das griechische Bouleuterion und die frühromische Curia*, Vienna.
- Gogos (S.), 1998: “Bemerkungen zu den Theatern von Priene und Epidauros sowie zum Dionysostheater in Athen”, *JÖAI* 67, Beibl. 84-106.

73. Shear 1981, 361.

- , 2001: “Das Theater von Aigeira. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Zeus-Heiligtums”, in Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 79-87.
- , 2005: *To αρχαίο θέατρο του Διονύσου*, Athens.
- Golvin (J.-C.), 1988: *L’amphithéâtre romain: essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions*, Paris.
- Golvin (J.-C.), Reddé (M.), 1990: “Naumachies, jeux nautiques et amphithéâtres”, in C. Domergue, Chr. Landes, J.-M. Pailler (eds), *Spectacula I. Gladiateurs et amphithéâtres, Actes du colloque à Toulouse et à Lattes 1987*, Lattes, 165-77.
- Graefe (R.), 1979: *Vela erunt. Die Zeltdächer der römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen*, Mainz a. Rh.
- Gros (P.), 1994: “Les théâtres en Italie au I^{er} siècle de notre ère. Situation et fonctions dans l’urbanisme impérial”, in C. Nicolet (ed.), *L’Italie d’Auguste à Dioclétien. Actes du colloque international Rome 1992*, ÉFR 198, Rome, 285-307.
- , 1996: *L’architecture romaine du début du III^e siècle av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire*, 1. *Les monuments publics*, Paris.
- , 1997: (ed.), *Vitruvio. De architectura*, Torino, 2 vols.
- Hackens (T.), 1967: “Le théâtre”, in H. F. Mussche, J. Bingen et al. (eds), *Thorikos 3, 1965*, Bruxelles, 75-96.
- , 1968: “Le théâtre”, in H. F. Mussche, J. Bingen et al. (eds), *Thorikos 1, 1963*, Bruxelles, 105-18.
- Hansen (M. H.), Fischer Hansen (T.), 1994: “Monumental political architecture in Archaic and Classical Greece. Evidence and historical significance”, in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius: Sources for the ancient Greek polis*, Stuttgart, 23-90.
- Hopkins (K.), 1983: *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge - New York.
- Isler (H. P.), 2002: “Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen”, in *Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit, Ausstellung Bonn - Berlin 2002*, Mainz, 533-41 no. 407.
- Izenour (G. C.), 1992: *Roofed Theaters of Classical Antiquity*, London.
- Jory (E. J.), 1981: “The Literary Evidence for the Beginnings of Imperial Pantomime”, *BICS* 28, 147-61.
- , 1996: “The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of Imperial Pantomime”, in Slater 1996, 1-27.
- Kalligas (P. G.), 1994: “Η περιοχή του ιερού και του θεάτρου του Διονύσου στην Αθήνα”, in W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear Jr., H. A. Shapiro, F. J. Frost (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy, Proceedings of an International Conference, Athens 1992*, Oxford, 25-30.
- Kantiréa (M.), 2007: *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens, Études épigraphiques et archéologiques*, Meletemata 50, Athens.
- Karapanagiotou (A. V.), 2001: “Ανασκαφικές εργασίες στο αρχαίο θέατρο Μεγαλόπολης 1995-1997: πρώτες εκτιμήσεις”, in Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001, 331-42.
- Katakis (S. E.), 2002: *Τα γλυπτά των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων από το Ιερό του Απόλλωνος Μαλεάτα και του Ασκληπιού*, BAAE 223-224, Athens.
- Kolb (Fr.), 1981: *Agora und Theater. Volks- und Festversammlung*, Arch. Forsch. 9, Berlin.
- Kyle (D. G.), 1998: *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London - New York.
- Lauter (H.), Lauter-Bufe (H.), 2004: “Thersilion und Theater in Megalopolis. Das Bauensemble im Licht neuer Forschungen”, *AA*, 135-76.
- McDonald (W. A.), 1943: *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore.
- Mallwitz (A.), 1981: “Neue Forschungen in Olympia. Theater und Hestiaheiligtum in der Altis”, *Gymnasium* 88, 97-122.
- , 1999: “Ergebnisse und Folgerungen”, in *Olympiabericht XI*, Berlin - New York, 181-284.
- Meinel (R.), 1980: *Das Odeion. Untersuchungen an überdachten antiken Theatergebäude*, Frankfurt - Bern.
- Melfi (M.), 2010: “Ritual spaces and performances in the Asklepieia of Roman Greece”, *ABSA* 105 (forthcoming).
- Mitsopoulos-Leon (V.) (ed.), 2001: *Forschungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposium anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen«*, Athen 5.3.-7.3. 1998, Athens.
- Moore (T. J.), 1995: “Seats and Social Status in the Plautine Theatre”, *CJ* 90, 113-23.
- Moretti (J.-Ch.), 1992: “L’adaptation des théâtres de Grèce aux spectacles impériaux”, in Chr. Landes (ed.), *Spectacula II. Le théâtre antique et ses spectacles*, Lattes, 179-85.
- , 1993a: *Théâtres d’Argos*, Paris.
- , 1993b: “Étude sur la nomenclature grecque de l’architecture théâtrale. ΠΕΤΑΣΟΣ et la dénomination grecque des velum”, *Anatolia Antiqua. Eski Anadolu* 2, 133-58.
- , 1997: “Formes et destinations du proskênion dans les théâtres hellénistiques de Grèce”, *Pallas* 47, 13-39.
- , 2000: “Le théâtre du sanctuaire de Dionysos Eleuthereus à Athènes au V^e siècle av. J.-C.”, *REG* 113, 275-98.
- , 2004: *Θέατρο και κοινωνία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*, revised edition, transl. by E. Dimitrakopoulou, Athens.
- Neppi Modona (A.), 1961: *Gli edifici teatrali greci e romani. Teatri - Odei - Anfiteatri - Circhi*, Florence.
- , 1974: “Umbauten an römischen Theatern und Wandlungen der Funktion im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Zeit”, *Gymnasium* 20, 108-17.
- Noelke (P.) (ed.), 2003: *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum. Neue Funde und Forschungen*, Mainz.
- Østby (E.) (ed.), 2005: *Ancient Arcadia, Papers from the third international seminar on Ancient Arcadia, held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 8, Athens.

- Patras 2005: Tr. E. Sklavenitis, K. Sp. Staikos (eds), *Patras. From Ancient Times to the Present, Collective Volume*, Athens.
- Patrasso 2009: *Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, Tripodes 8, Athens.
- Petritaki (M.), 2005: "Κλείτωρ. Η πόλη υπό το φως των ανασκαφών. Γενική θεώρηση ανασκαφικών δεδομένων", in Østby 2005, 351-62.
- Petropoulos (M.), 2005: "Έρευνες για την αρχαία Ψωφίδα", in Østby 2005, 363-76.
- Polacco (L.), 1990: *Il teatro di Dioniso Eleutereo ad Atene*, Rome.
- Rawson (E.), 1987: "Discrimina ordinum: the *Lex Iulia Theatralis*", *PBSR* 55, 83-114.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1984: "Munera gladiatoria à Patras", *BCH* 108, 533-42.
- , 1990: "Munera gladiatoria à Patras II", *ZPE* 82, 201-08.
- , 1995: *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Meletemata 20, Athènes.
- , 1997: "Roman Colonies in the Province of Achaia: Territories, Land and Population", in S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, 15-36.
- , 1998: *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 25, Athènes.
- Sear (F.), 2006: *Roman Theatres. An Architectural Study*, Oxford.
- Shear (T. L., Jr.), 1981: "Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town", *Hesperia* 50, 356-77.
- Sherk (R. K.), 1957: "Roman imperial troops in Macedonia and Achaia", *AJPh* 78, 52-62.
- Skias (A. N.), 1891: "Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Γυθείῳ θεάτρου καὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτὸ ἀρχαίου κτιρίου", *PAAH*, 71-90.
- Slater (W. J.) (ed.), 1996: *Roman Theater and Society, E. Togo Salmon Papers I*, Ann Arbor.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1994: "Corinth, Argos, and the imperial cult. Pseudo-Julian, *Letters* 198", *Hesperia* 63, 211-32.
- Stillwell (R.), 1952: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens II. The Theatre*, Princeton N. J.
- Sturgeon (M. C.), 1977: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens IX.2, Sculpture. The Reliefs from the Theater*, Princeton N. J.
- , 2004: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens IX.3, Sculpture. The Assemblage from the Theater*, Princeton N. J.
- Themelis (P. G.), 2005: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 39-65.
- Thornton (M. K.), Thornton (R. L.), 1989: *Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management*, Wauconda.
- Traversari (G.), 1950: "Tetimimo e Colimbetra, ultime manifestazioni del teatro antico", *Dioniso* n.s. 13, 18-35.
- , 1952: "Nuovi contributi alla conoscenza della Colimbetra teatrale e del Tetimimo", *Dioniso* n.s. 15, 302-11.
- , 1960: *Gli spettacoli in acqua nel teatro tardo-antico*, Rome.
- Vallois (R.), 1926: "Le théâtre de Tégée", *BCH* 50, 135-73.
- Versakis (F.), 1912: "Η σκηνή τοῦ ἐν Γυθείῳ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ θεάτρου", *AE*, 193-96.
- Veyne (P.), 1976: *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris.
- Ville (G.), 1981: *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*, Rome.
- Walker (S. E. C.), Waywell (G. B.), 2001: "Rome in Sparta: the early imperial phases of the Roman theatre", in J.-Y. Marc, J.-Ch. Moretti (eds), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le 2e siècle av. J.-C. et le 1er siècle ap. J.-C.*, *BCH Suppl.* 39, Paris, 285-95.
- Waywell (G. B.), 2002: "New discoveries at the ancient theatre of Sparta", in M. Stamatopoulou, M. Yeroulanou (eds), *Excavating Classical Culture. Recent archaeological discoveries in Greece*, *BAR Int. Series* 1031 - *Studies in Classical Archaeology I*, Oxford, 245-53.
- Waywell (G. B.), Wilkes (J. J.), Walker (S. E. C.), 1998: "The Ancient Theatre at Sparta", in W. G. Cavanagh, S. E. C. Walker (eds), *Sparta in Laconia, Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium, London 1995*, Nottingham, 97-111.
- Waywell (S. E.), 1979: "Roman Mosaics in Greece", *AJA* 83, 293-321.
- Welch (K. E.), 1998: "Greek stadia and Roman spectacles. Asia, Athens, and the tomb of Herodes Atticus", *JRA* 11, 117-45.
- , 1999: "Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World: Athens and Corinth", in B. Bergmann, C. Kondoleon (eds), *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, Washington, 125-45.
- , 2007: *The Roman Amphitheatre. From its origins to the Colosseum*, Cambridge.
- Wiemken (H.), 1972: *Der griechische Mimos: Dokumente zur Geschichte des antiken Volkstheaters*, Bremen.
- Williams (H.), 2005: "The Exploration of Ancient Stymphalos, 1982-2002", in Østby 2005, 397-411.
- Woolf (G.), 1994: "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East", *PCPS* 40, 116-43.
- , 1997: "The Roman Urbanization of the East", in S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford, 1-14.

TRASMISSIONE ED ADATTAMENTO DELLE TECNICHE COSTRUTTIVE ROMANE IN PELOPONNESO: IL CASO DI TREZENE

Massimo e Paolo Vitti

Abstract: The analysis of the surviving Roman buildings in the Peloponnese shows that once the *pax romana* was established, the new building techniques developed by the Romans spread through the land. Adoption of local materials and traditions can be recognized in many details, and particularly in the wide use of brick, a building material that was used either for the construction of walls or for vaults. In this paper are described five buildings in Troizen, three of which are *mausolea* built according to models that can be found in Rome. Even though the building techniques show clear Roman influence, the vaults are conceived according to systems developed in the region, such as the barrel vault and the domical vault built with square bricks or the sail vault built with the pitched brick technique. For this reason we argue that in the Peloponnese there was in Roman times a very strong tradition of use of brick, that led to new building solutions which directly influenced Byzantine construction techniques.

Introduzione

L'indagine autoptica delle costruzioni di età imperiale in Peloponneso costituisce la base delle osservazioni confluite in questo scritto. Gli esempi che verranno illustrati in dettaglio concernono alcuni edifici nel sito di Trezene, tanto significativi quanto poco noti alla comunità scientifica. Il fine è quello di indagare corrispondenze e specificità nell'impiego del laterizio nella *Provincia Acaia* rispetto a quanto è possibile osservare a Roma, dove si afferma, a partire dalla fine del I sec. a. C., l'impiego dell'*opus testaceum*. L'opera laterizia nel Peloponneso è in effetti assai diffusa,¹ fatto che induce a supporre una penetrazione capillare delle pratiche edili attestate a Roma; tuttavia il laterizio è impiegato non solo per la costruzione di murature verticali ma anche per la realizzazione di volte, laddove

a Roma domina incontrastato l'uso della volta in opera cementizia.

Un primo dato di carattere generale è che, sebbene le *provinciae Achaea* e *Macedonia*, condividano dopo la pacificazione augustea le medesime sorti politico-economiche (*provincia inermis*), si osserva una netta differenza nelle modalità tecniche collegate all'impiego del laterizio. Infatti in Macedonia prevale l'uso del mattone quadrangolare e mai di quello triangolare e, nella realizzazione dei paramenti, si privilegia l'uso del laterizio associato ad altri materiali (*opus mixtum*).²

Le città del Peloponneso, dichiarate formalmente libere nel 196 a. C. da T. Quinctius Flaminius, presentano ognuna una vita autonoma come attestano da una parte la distruzione di Corinto nel 146 a. C. e la dichiarazione del suo territorio *ager*

1. Tra i siti dove sono conservati resti consistenti di edifici che impiegano il laterizio ricordiamo, per citare quelli principali, Argo, Corinto, Epidauro, Olimpia, Patrasso, Sparta. L'esame dei resti archeologici di ciascun sito è fondamentale per delineare un quadro il più completo possibile dell'arte del costruire in Peloponneso in epoca romana. La quantità dei dati è notevolmente incrementata soprattutto a seguito delle indagini degli ultimi anni e per l'attenzione che gli edifici romani in Grecia stanno ricevendo. Per motivi editoriali non ci è consentito esaminare nel dettaglio i numerosi esempi presenti sul territorio peloponnesiaco per cui ci riproponiamo di affrontare l'argomento in altra sede.

2. Per l'opera laterizia in Macedonia si veda Vitti 1989 e M. Vitti, c. d. s. ove la precedente bibliografia. Paradigmatici sono i paramenti murari conservati a Dion, Salonicco, Filippi.

publicus e dall'altra la stipula di accordi diretti tra Roma e le città di Epidauro e di Trezene nel 112/1 a. C.³ Tuttavia eventi quali quelli sopra descritti non sembrano sovvertire la tradizione costruttiva di età classica ed ellenistica, almeno fino all'inizio dell'era cristiana. Solo l'attività di fondazione o di rifondazione di colonie da parte di Cesare ed Augusto (Corinto, Patrasso, Dyme) e la conseguente *pax romana* dopo il 31 a. C. gettano le basi per la ripresa di un'intensa attività edilizia che raggiungerà l'apice nel corso della media età imperiale.⁴

In particolare i programmi edilizi e urbani si esprimono in maniera incisiva in città come Corinto e Patrasso per il fatto che si inseriscono in tessuti ridisegnati *ex novo*;⁵ in altri casi, invece, si impongono sulle pre-esistenze con ponderati interventi volti a focalizzare lo sguardo del visitatore verso i nuovi simboli sociali e politici. Ne è un caso emblematico la città di Argo dove l'agorà è oggetto di sistematiche opere che ne trasformano lo spazio e che culminano, alla fine del I sec. d. C., nella costruzione di un complesso monumentale composto da un quadriportico e un'aula.⁶ Questo edificio di culto, identificato come *Serapeion* o *Asklepieion*, occupava tutta l'area tra l'agorà ed il teatro e fu con ogni probabilità voluto da un evergete di alto rango che si affidò ad un architetto in grado di impiegare un lessico architettonico e strutturale di spregiudicata modernità.⁷ In questo edificio riconosciamo chiaramente il processo di libera espressione della munificenza pubblica, che agisce all'interno dello spazio esistente della città con opere di ampio respiro e di elevato valore formale.

Anche in santuari famosi come Olimpia ed Epidauro i conquistatori romani intervengono sullo spazio con edifici che definiscono e sottolineano

le nuove consuetudini sociali. Ad Epidauro, ad esempio, la costruzione dell'*odeion* tra gli edifici di culto e il teatro rappresenta un parallelo con quanto si osserva ad Atene, dove l'*odeion* di Agrippa si colloca nell'area centrale dell'agorà,⁸ e a Corinto dove l'*odeion* di età neroniana si inserisce tra il teatro e il *Capitolium*.⁹ Sempre ad Epidauro, accanto ad altre costruzioni, troviamo edifici termali che sintetizzano in maniera sufficientemente esplicita l'incidenza di questo tipo di attività all'interno del Santuario.¹⁰ L'edificio termale, in effetti costituisce un filo rosso attraverso i secoli per comprendere non solo i risvolti di carattere sociale di questo edificio, ma anche quella competenza tecnologica messa a punto dai romani.¹¹ Dal punto di vista delle tecniche costruttive l'analisi delle *thermae* offre la possibilità di cogliere a pieno tutti quegli aspetti che a ragione sono stati considerati una rottura con la tradizione precedente.

Le tecniche costruttive a Roma

È opportuno un conciso richiamo alle tecniche costruttive impiegate a Roma tra I e II sec. d. C. per evidenziare divergenze e punti comuni con quanto si osserva nel Peloponneso. In questo arco temporale le murature venivano prevalentemente realizzate con paramenti laterizi e nucleo cementizio.

I laterizi impiegati nei paramenti erano esclusivamente di forma triangolare o trapezia, ottenuta dal taglio di *bessales* e *sesquipedales*, con il vertice rivolto verso il nucleo.¹² Laterizi rettangolari non erano mai impiegati, tranne sugli spigoli delle murature, per garantire la legatura tra i due fronti del paramento. La forma triangolare dei laterizi consentiva di unire saldamente il mattone al nucleo ce-

3. Piérart 1976, 165.

4. Per una sintesi delle condizioni politico-economiche in Acaia in età romana vedi Touratsoglou in questo stesso volume.

5. Étienne *et al.* 2000, 314-44; Romano 2003; Petropoulos 2007.

6. Aupert 2001.

7. Le peculiarità della veste formale dell'edificio sono state analizzate da Ginouvès e Aupert (da ultimo Aupert 2001, 448-52), mentre per un'analisi delle innovazioni strutturali v. P. Vitti 2010. Per l'interpretazione dell'edificio v. anche Piérart, *infra* ns. 129-30.

8. Étienne, Müller, Prost 2004, 178.

9. Broneer 1932; Romano 2003, 285-86.

10. Per l'associazione del culto di Asclepio con gli edifici termali v. Riethmüller 2005 e Melfi 2007.

11. Si veda ad esempio, con uno sguardo particolare agli impianti della Gallia Narbonense, Bouet 2003, 189-277.

12. Lugli 1957, I, 542-43. Giuliani 2006, 233. I segni del taglio si distinguono senza difficoltà sui muri, per il fatto che il lato tagliato era sempre lasciato a vista.

mentizio, evitandone il distacco. L'apparizione dei ricorsi di bipedali, vale a dire di piani di laterizi quadrati 60 x 60 cm che attraversavano ad intervalli regolari l'intero spessore dei muri con lo scopo di legare ancor meglio i paramenti al nucleo, contraddistingue marcatamente le costruzioni di Roma a partire dai Flavi, quando le masse murarie divennero sempre più sottoposte a sollecitazioni elevate e, in particolare, alla spinta delle volte.

Le volte a Roma erano prevalentemente realizzate in cementizio, un sistema costruttivo che si basava sull'unione di malta e piccoli elementi lapidei.¹³ Ne evidenziamo qui solo due caratteristiche essenziali: la prima è che nella volta in cementizio gli elementi lapidei non erano disposti radialmente, come in una volta in opera quadrata di età ellenistica,¹⁴ ma per filari orizzontali, così da formare un corpo unico con la malta pozzolanica impiegata come legante; la seconda è che per la costruzione di una simile opera era necessaria una centina lignea sorretta da una robusta armatura, che veniva tolta solo dopo che la

malta aveva completato il suo processo di indurimento.

Nei sistemi costruttivi richiamati dominavano due fondamentali logiche: la standardizzazione e specializzazione del cantiere edile e il ricorso a materiali minuti di facile trasporto per la realizzazione di opere di grande dimensione. Grazie ad esse gli edifici potevano essere portati a termine in tempi estremamente brevi, mettendo così la committenza in grado di trarne tutti i benefici possibili sul piano della visibilità da parte dei terzi.

Presenze romane a Trezene

Trezene in età romana era un centro di una certa importanza. L'imperatore Adriano la visitò nel 124 d. C.; in tale occasione fu condotto il restauro delle strade (IG IV, 758) e fu istituito un nuovo sistema di datazione (IG IV, 782).¹⁵ La città dominava la piana fertile che si affaccia sul mare Saronico all'altezza dell'isola di Poros (Kalauria), alle spalle del promontorio di Methana (Fig. 1 e carta *supra* p. VIII).

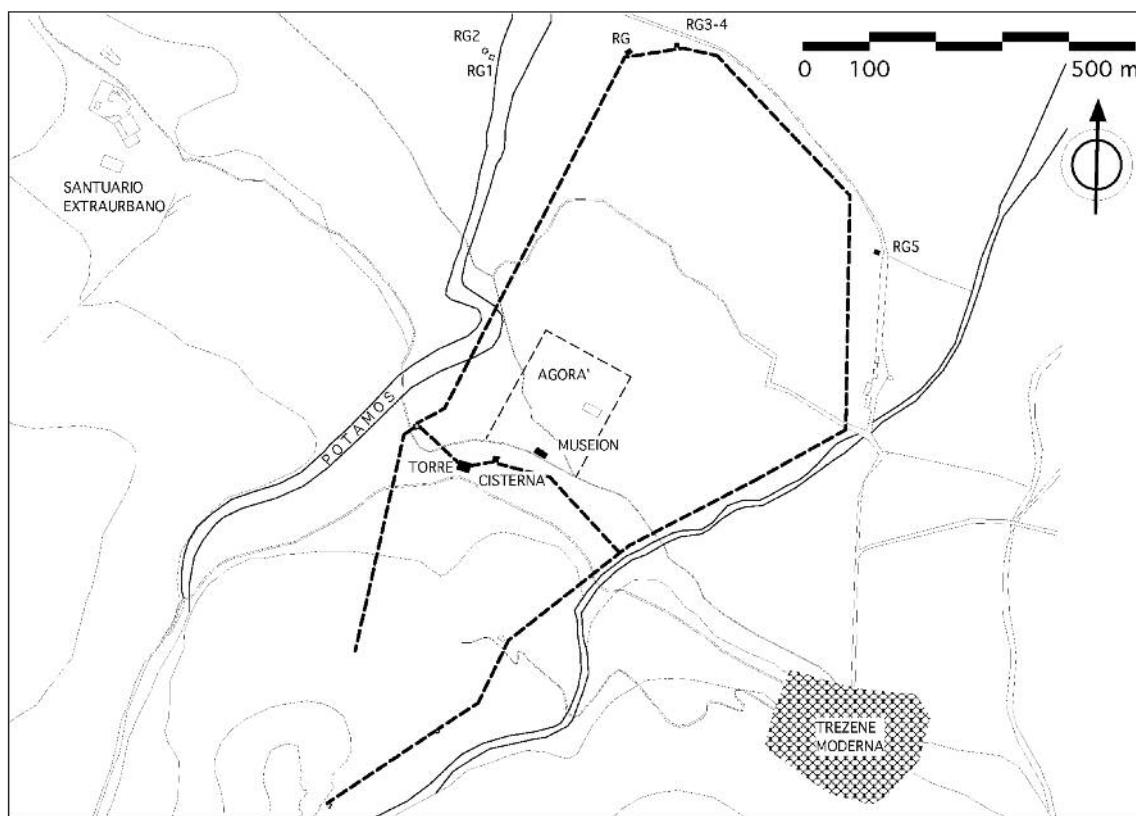


Fig. 1. Pianta di Trezene (rielaborazione da G. Welter).

13. Lancaster 2005.

14. Orlandos 1968.

15. Per l'inquadramento socio-economico v. Zoumbaki 2003, mentre per i più recenti rinvenimenti archeologici Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003.

La sua posizione geografica e la conformazione geomorfologica con la pianura compresa tra le montagne e il promontorio, ne favorirono da tempi antichissimi la prosperità, che perdurò ininterrottamente fino all'età paleocristiana. Dalle fonti ci vengono testimoniate diverse attività imprenditoriali. I personaggi ricordati dalle epigrafi erano legati ad attività commerciali, principalmente connesse alla coltivazione della vite, un'attività attestata anche dalla coniazione di monete di età romana,¹⁶ alla pesca del tonno e all'estrazione di pietra locale.¹⁷ La presenza di ricche sorgenti e il porto protetto di Pogon costituivano inoltre un importante incentivo per gli investimenti degli imprenditori romani.¹⁸ Purtroppo poco o nulla è noto sullo spazio civico della città, là dove le classi dirigenti locali potevano manifestare il proprio rango e le magistrature affermare il loro potere. Pochi edifici si conservano sopra al piano di campagna. Tuttavia, fra questi, alcuni mausolei, ispirati ai modelli architettonici dell'Urbe, consentono di conoscere le modalità

con cui le famiglie più importanti dimostravano la loro *romanitas*. G. Welter nella sua monografia *Troizen und Kalaureia* ne aveva fornito una sintetica, ma accurata, descrizione che, nonostante siano trascorsi più di 60 anni dall'edizione, rimane a tutt'oggi la base da cui partire per qualsiasi studio.¹⁹

Prima di procedere all'analisi dei monumenti funerari può essere utile, per offrire un quadro più ampio sulle strutture di età romana di Trezene, descrivere due edifici interni alla città, localizzati a poca distanza dalla torre ellenistica del *diateichisma*. Il primo, di pianta rettangolare (**Fig. 1**, cisterna; **Fig. 2**), è una costruzione laterizia in cui si distinguono due livelli, di cui quello inferiore, con murature 80 cm più spesse di quello superiore, conserva tracce di "cocciopesto".²⁰ Una volta a botte copriva la sommità e, apparentemente, non vi era alcuna separazione fra la parte inferiore, chiusa sui quattro lati, e quella superiore aperta verso valle (**Fig. 3**). Questi indizi ne suggeriscono una funzione come *castellum aquae*-ninfeo, iden-



Fig. 2. Veduta della cisterna presso la torre del *diateichisma*.

16. Oikonomidou 2003, 107-16.

17. Zoumbaki 2003, 163.

18. Cittadini romani sono ricordati a Trezene in diverse iscrizioni; a riguardo *op. cit.*, 164 e 169.

19. Welter 1941.

20. La presenza di cordoli agli spigoli ci assicurano dell'utilizzo della parte inferiore della costruzione come serbatoio d'acqua-cisterna (v. **Fig. 3**).

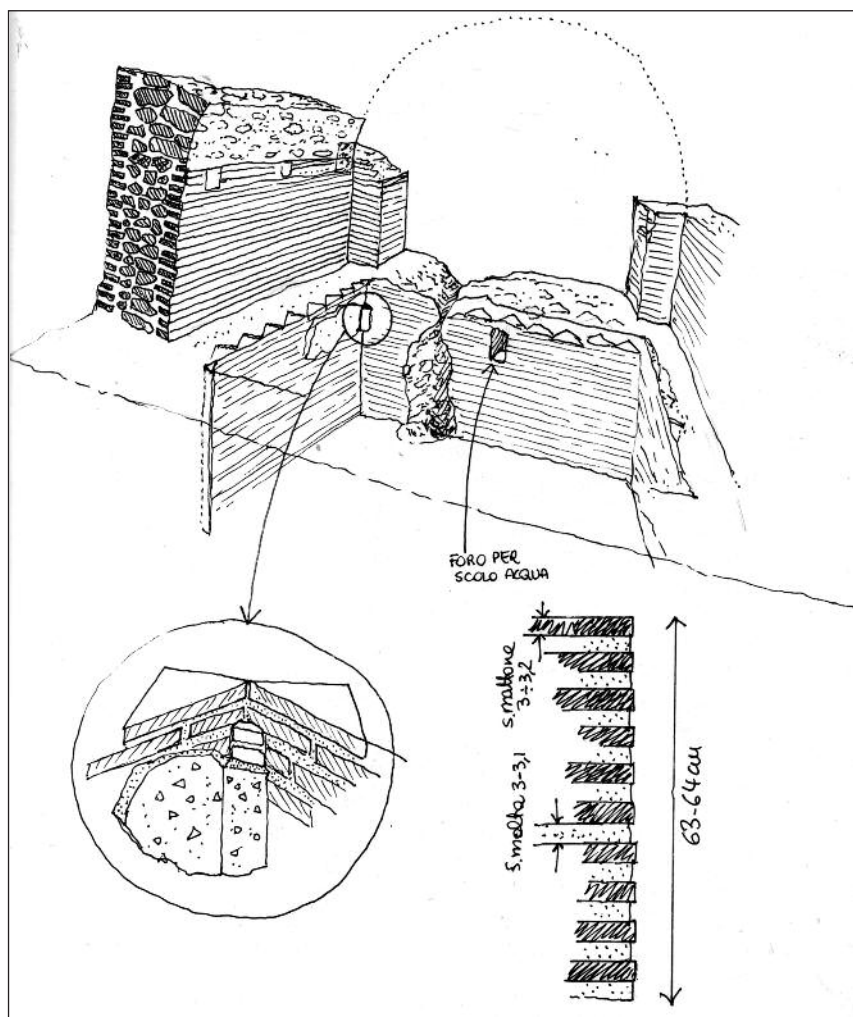


Fig. 3. Disegno schematico della cisterna in cui si evidenzia la tessitura della volta e delle murature e la presenza di rivestimento in cocchiopesto nella parte inferiore dell'edificio.

tificazione che potrebbe apparire tanto più valida se si ipotizza la connessione ad un acquedotto antico che, similmente a quello moderno, era collegato ad una fonte poco più a monte.²¹ Dal punto di vista costruttivo i laterizi impiegati erano di forma triangolare e si ammorsavano ad un nucleo cementizio composto principalmente da grandi bozze di materiale calcareo apparentemente gettato in maniera poco ordinata. Della volta, realizzata con bozze calcaree disposte secondo un canonico schema a conci radiali, sopravvive un breve tratto sopra all'imposta.

La seconda costruzione, interpretata come “tempio delle muse”, si trova a pochi metri sotto alla prima (Fig. 1, *Museion*).²² Le strutture che sopravvivono hanno perso gran parte della decorazione originaria, ad eccezione di un rivestimento in stucco dal profilo scanalato (Fig. 4-5).²³ L'impiego del laterizio era esteso a tutte le superfici, compresa la volta. I laterizi, di forma triangolare, erano ricavati dal taglio di *pedales* in due o quattro parti sfruttando le incisioni presenti lungo le diagonali.²⁴ Anche la volta era eseguita con laterizi di forma triangolare, così da apparire come naturale

21. Welter 1941, 42 aveva identificato questa costruzione come un mausoleo; ipotesi non condivisibile per il fatto che l'edificio si trova all'interno della cinta muraria.

22. *Op. cit.*, 18, tavv. 5-6.

23. Le scanalature verticali sono generalmente adottate negli ambienti caldi degli edifici termali, dove erano funzionali alla raccolta dell'umidità che si condensava sulla volta. Vedi in merito le Terme suburbane di Ercolano; Pappalardo, Manderscheid 1988.

24. Come è stato possibile notare in numerosi altri edifici del Peloponneso la presenza di queste incisioni è diffusa. A titolo d'esemplificativo richiamiamo gli esempi di Argo; Aupert 1990, 631.



Fig. 4. Veduta della parte occidentale del cosiddetto Tempio delle Muse.

prosecuzione del paramento, caso unico nell'ambito della casistica fino ad oggi raccolta, dal momento che, come vedremo, nelle volte e negli archi si impiegavano esclusivamente mattoni interi di forma quadrata e, raramente, rettangolare.²⁵

I due edifici testimoniano in maniera esplicita una padronanza del sistema costruttivo "alla romana",²⁶ ma, nel contempo attestano soluzioni peculiari per la costruzione della volta, che, nella loro differenza dalla prassi di Roma (volta con bozze di pietra radiale - volta con laterizi), richiamano una tradizione locale. La stessa eterogeneità delle soluzioni adottate (volta in pietra con elementi radiali, volta in mattoni triangolari) indica l'attività di maestranze legate a diverse consuetudini. Tuttavia è fondamentale ribadire che il processo produttivo-costruttivo "romano" è perfettamente assimilato

in entrambi gli edifici, come attesta la produzione di laterizi quadrati tagliati a piè d'opera in forma triangolare per realizzare paramenti ben ammorzati ai nuclei cementizi.

I mausolei, a suo tempo individuati da Welter, non sono mai stati esaminati analiticamente sul piano architettonico e costruttivo.²⁷ La loro collocazione ha suggerito allo studioso tedesco la restituzione del tracciato della fortificazione, individuata solo per brevi tratti (**Fig. 1**).

Un primo gruppo costituito da due mausolei (**Fig. 6**) si trova al di là del fiume *Potami*, e si inserisce nell'ambito della necropoli occidentale della città²⁸. Il **primo mausoleo** (**Fig. 1**, RG1), a pianta quadrata, 7,50 m di lato, aveva l'ingresso rivolto verso il fiume e la città; sorgeva su due alti gradini²⁹ sui quali poggiava un basamento laterizio moda-

25. Purtroppo il crollo della volta al di sopra delle reni non consente di conoscere se i laterizi triangolari fossero utilizzati solo nel primo tratto della volta o sull'intera sezione.

26. La terminologia generica "alla romana" è usata per designare delle costruzioni che si richiamano ai sistemi canonici in uso nella capitale dell'impero.

27. Welter 1941, 40-42. I mausolei sono stati citati successivamente da Faraklas 1972, 47 e più recentemente in Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003, 133-34. In una recente monografia sui monumenti funerari romani in Grecia i mausolei sono stati schedati ed analizzati in Fläming 2007, 169-71.

28. Nelle immediate vicinanze dei mausolei 1 e 2 sono state rinvenute due tombe a cista di età classica, una tomba ellenistica e una tomba a cista e due tombe a cappuccina di età romana v. Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003, 130-34.

29. Ogni gradino è costituito da quattro filari di laterizio, molto degradati ed è alto ca. 26 cm.

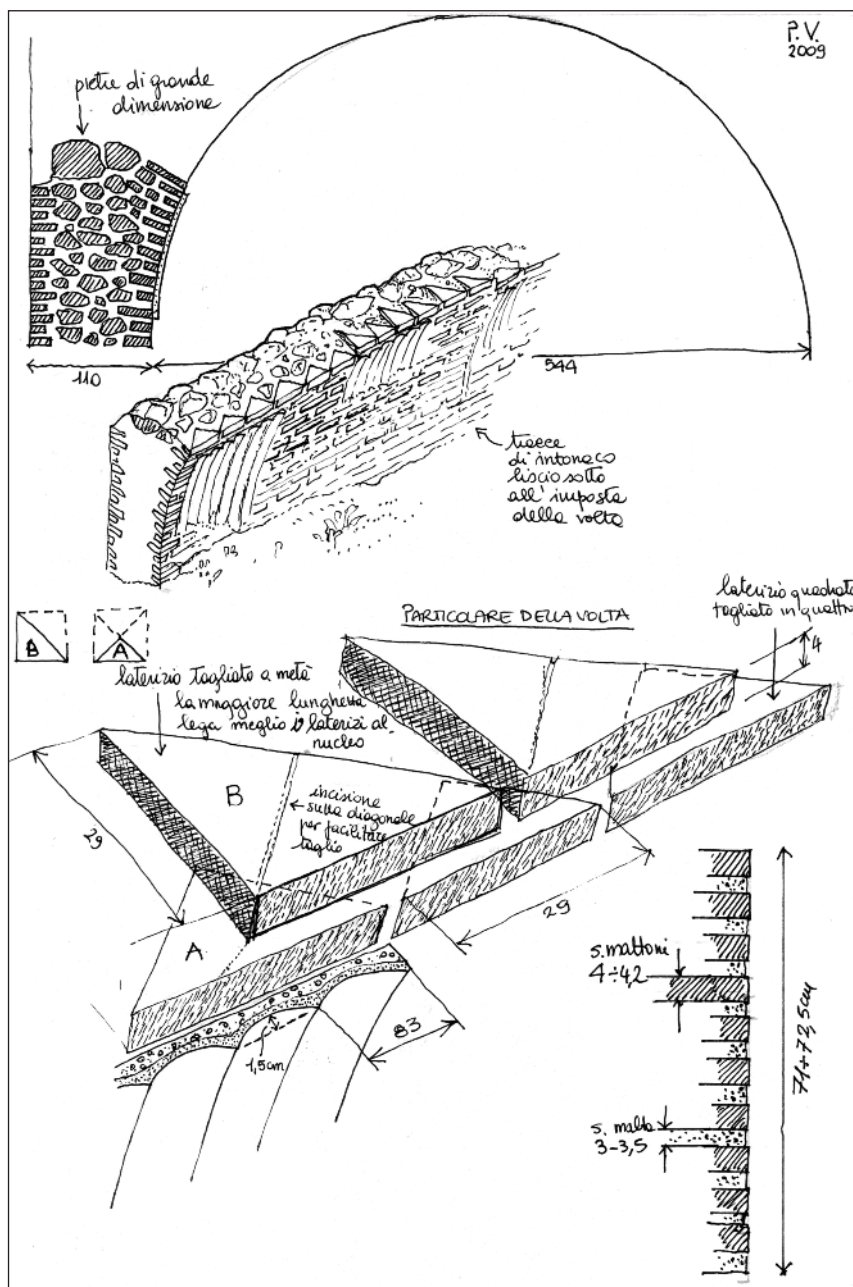


Fig. 5. Disegno schematico della parete della fig. 4 in cui si evidenziano la tessitura dei laterizi della volta e il rivestimento in stucco.

nato composto da un plinto, un toro e un listello smussato a 45°³⁰ (Fig. 7-8). Le pareti, spesse 1,10 m, erano realizzate con laterizi triangolari ottenuti dal taglio in quattro parti di *pedales*, seguendo il tracciato delle incisioni predisposte su una delle facce dei mattoni, come già osservato per il *Mu-*

seion. Il paramento laterizio esterno era caratterizzato da una particolare bicromia dovuta a questioni cantieristiche, tant'è che è meno pronunciata sugli altri lati della costruzione.³¹ La volta a botte del mausoleo era realizzata con laterizi quadrati³² ed era estradossata, vale a dire non presentava un

30. Altezza totale 13,5 cm.

31. Una prima fascia, alta 2,60 m, è composta da laterizi di prevalente color giallo e corrisponde alla costruzione fino alla quota di imposta della volta a botte che copre l'ambiente (Fig. 10 A); una seconda è realizzata con mattoni rossi (Fig. 10 B); è alta ca. 90 cm e corrisponde alla costruzione della volta e del paramento laterale esterno fino all'altezza delle reni, comprese le due pareti di testata; una terza, alta ca. 76 cm, è nuovamente realizzata con mattoni gialli e comprende la parte sommitale del muro che con il suo peso stabilizza la volta (Fig. 10 C). P. Vitti, c. d. s.

32. Per una descrizione dettagliata P. Vitti, c. d. s.

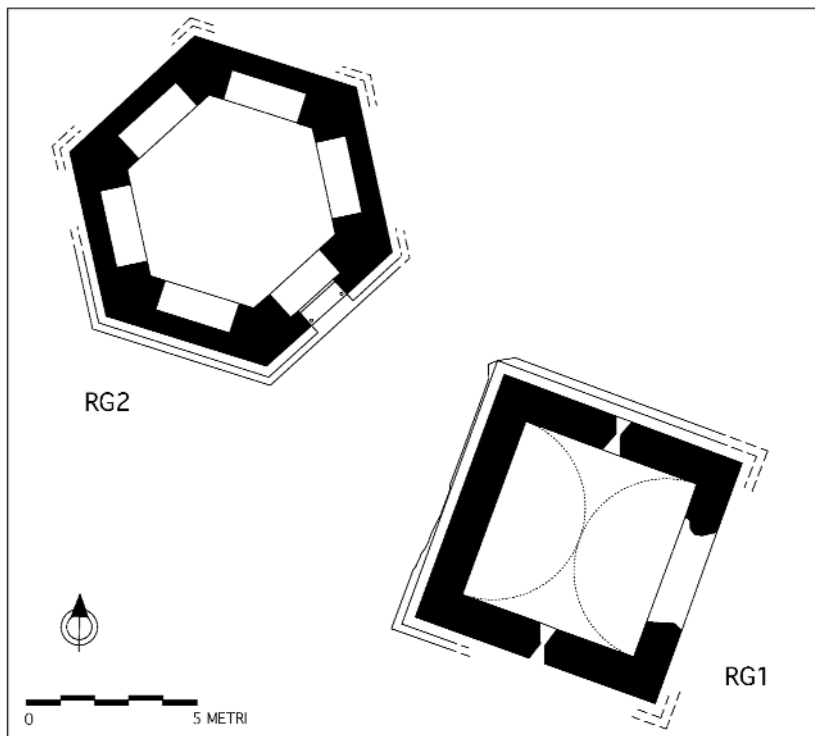


Fig. 6. Planimetria dei due mausolei RG 1 e RG 2 (rielaborazione da G. Welter).

tetto a doppio spiovente, bensì una copertura curva³³ (**Fig. 9**).

All'interno le pareti erano prive di rientranze, fatta eccezione di due nicchie al centro delle pareti nord e sud, al di sopra delle quali si aprivano due finestre con pianta a doppia coda di rondine (**Fig. 6**). La pianta quadrata del mausoleo, la presenza di un unico piano, la copertura a volta a botte estradossata, le due finestre, l'architettura laterizia e il profilo modanato alla base della parete, sono tutte caratteristiche che richiamano direttamente i mausolei delle necropoli dell'area romana, prima fra tutte quella di Isola Sacra e quella della Basilica Vaticana.³⁴ È tuttavia opportuno cogliere anche alcune specificità: l'edificio, stando alle tracce visibili, non

era inserito all'interno di un fronte di sepolcri affacciati su una strada, ma sorgeva isolato;³⁵ l'architettura laterizia era particolarmente severa e priva di decorazioni; il paramento non presentava i virtuosismi con bicromie e giunti di malta sottili;³⁶ la facciata era priva di un timpano, l'interno senza arcosoli e senza gli spazi destinati alle olle cinerarie, se si fa eccezione delle due nicchie laterali, doveva ospitare sarcofagi adagiati lungo le pareti (**Fig. 10**). Se ne deve concludere che la committenza³⁷ abbia voluto sì manifestare attraverso questo sepolcro la propria prossimità alle tradizioni in voga a Roma, presa come modello con cui rappresentarsi ed identificarsi, ma nel contempo si sia espressa in maniera autonoma. Anche le maestranze

33. Tracce di coccipesto sulla sommità dei muri laterali confermano l'assenza di un getto cementizio sopra alla volta laterizia v. P. Vitti, c. d. s. Per la protezione dalle intemperie di volte estradossate a Roma v. M. Vitti 2010.

34. Calza 1940, 43-96; Baldassarre *et. al.* 1996. Hesberg von 1992, 55.

35. Caratteristica questa che ricorda le necropoli delle Province occidentali dove si assiste ad una graduale perdita del valore strutturale della strada sepolcrale e ad un crescente isolamento delle tombe, che sempre più sono fatte per essere vedute a distanza. V. Hesberg von 1992, 66.

36. L'architettura laterizia a faccia vista si diffonde a Roma e nella regione intorno nel II sec. d. C. La grande esedra dei Mercati di Traiano rappresenta uno dei primi esempi di architettura con laterizi a vista. L'impiego del paramento a faccia vista è particolarmente diffuso nell'architettura funeraria, dove raggiunge grandi virtuosismi, come nel sepolcro cosiddetto di Annia Regilla, collocato nel *Triopio*, tra il II e III miglio della *via Appia antica*, di proprietà di Erode Attico; Kammerer-Grothaus 1974.

37. L'assenza dell'apertura con la sovrastante *tabula* con il nome del defunto non consente di identificare il committente. Così anche negli altri edifici funerari di Trezene.



Fig. 7. Il mausoleo RG 1 visto da SE in cui è evidente la bicromia del paramento del lato meridionale.



Fig. 8. Particolare della modanatura laterizia e dei gradini del podio del mausoleo RG 1.

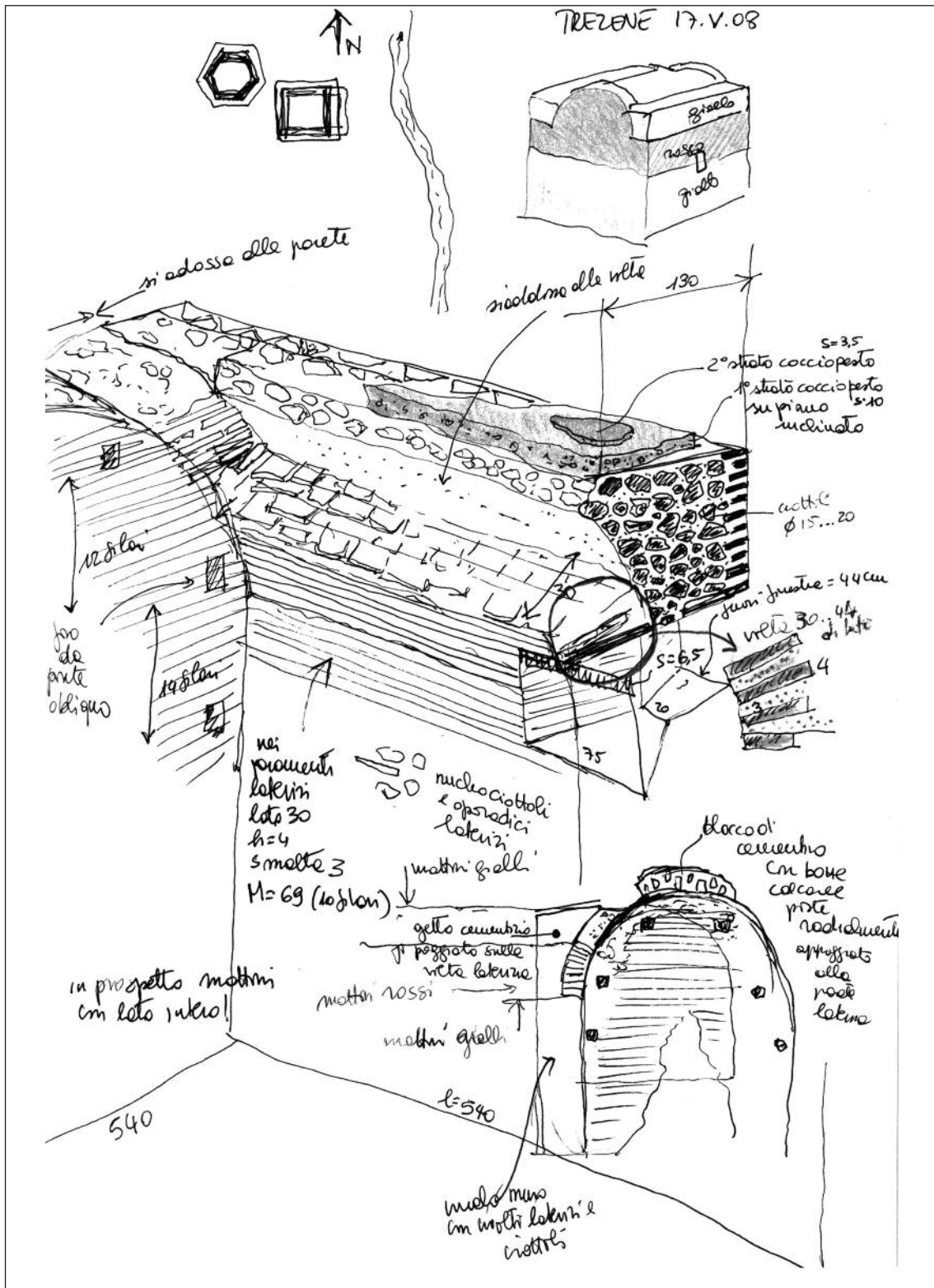


Fig. 9. Disegno schematico del mausoleo RG 1 con evidenziate alcune delle caratteristiche costruttive.

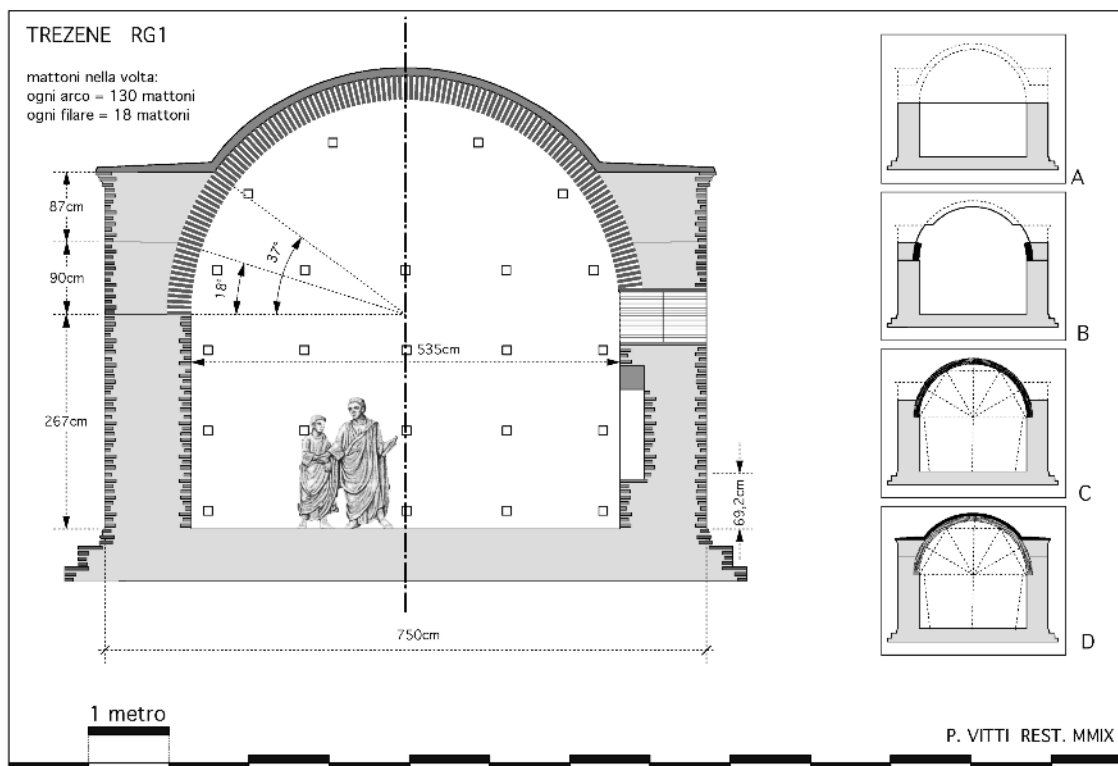


Fig. 10. Restituzione grafica del mausoleo RG 1 con le principali fasi costruttive. **A:** innalzamento delle pareti fino all'imposta della volta; **B:** costruzione della prima porzione della volta (0° - 18°) e delle pareti di testata; **C:** completamento della volta; **D:** ultimazione delle pareti laterali per contrastare la deformazione della volta.

chiamate a trasporre il progetto in opera costruita imitarono il modello architettonico adeguandolo, secondo le proprie competenze tecniche, alla tradizione locale, motivo per il quale il risultato rimase lontano dagli esiti formali dei sepolcri dell'Urbe.

Il **secondo mausoleo** (Fig. 1, RG2) ha pianta esagonale di 4,90 m di lato; l'ingresso era rivolto ad occidente verso il retro del mausoleo quadrato (Figg. 1, 6).³⁸ Simili a quest'ultimo erano il podio a gradoni e la modanatura laterizia alla base delle pareti. I prospetti esterni non conservano, per quanto è possibile osservare, tracce di intonaco ed erano privi di finestre. Viceversa l'interno era in-

tonacato. Lo spazio esagonale era ritmato da arcosoli inseriti su ognuna delle pareti, ad eccezione di quello di ingresso.³⁹

Dal punto di vista costruttivo i paramenti laterizi erano realizzati con mattoni triangolari, ottenuti anche questi dal taglio di un *pedale* (28 cm ca. di lato) sul quale era predisposta una incisione per il taglio, ma si differenziavano da quelli del mausoleo quadrato per modulo, dimensioni⁴⁰ e per la disposizione del lato tagliato a vista.⁴¹ Le pareti erano attraversate da ricorsi in bipedali. Gli arcosoli erano coperti da archi integralmente in laterizio e a tutto sesto, impostati su un ricorso in bipedali,

38. L'assenza di riferimenti al contesto in cui sorgevano i mausolei rende ardua la determinazione della relazione cronologica fra le due costruzioni. L'impiego delle medesime modanature alla base evidenzia comuni scelte formali, tuttavia le differenze costruttive portano ad escludere una loro contemporaneità.

39. Le pareti interne dell'esagono sono lunghe 3,10 m e presentano un arcosolio lungo 2,28 m al centro; lo spessore del muro è di ca. 1,50 m ridotto in corrispondenza delle nicchie a 0,60 m, considerato che queste sono profonde 0,90 m (Fig. 6).

40. Il modulo di 10 filari di mattoni e 10 letti di malta è per il mausoleo esagonale di 58 cm, mentre per il mausoleo quadrato è di 69 cm.

41. Si insiste su questo particolare, in quanto mentre a Roma si distinguono sempre sul lato a vista i segni del taglio del laterizio, in Peloponneso generalmente il lato tagliato è rivolto verso il nucleo e il lato integro è a vista.

che attraversava l'intero spessore della massa muraria (**Fig. 11**). La volta laterizia era composta da tanti fusi che formavano una volta a padiglione. A differenza del mausoleo quadrato, la volta laterizia non era estradossata ma coperta da un getto cementizio,⁴² probabilmente a forma di piramide a base esagonale (**Fig. 19**). Inoltre lo spessore ridotto della volta laterizia (20 cm) rispetto a quello degli archi che coprivano gli arcosoli (30 cm ca.) denuncia un ruolo primario assolto dal getto cementizio per assicurare stabilità alla struttura. Queste caratteristiche, assieme alla presenza di piattabande al di sopra degli archi⁴³ evidenziano una marcata influenza dei sistemi costruttivi e cantieristici di Roma, per cui, al di là di una apparente somiglianza con il mausoleo quadrato, ci riportano ad una diversa concezione costruttiva in cui la qualità della struttura muraria è affidata ad archi e piattabande, ai ricorsi di bipedali e al getto.

Le osservazioni sviluppate ci invitano a richiamare l'attenzione del lettore su due impianti termali che testimoniano inequivocabilmente un'influenza diretta della costruzione "alla romana" in Peloponneso e ci aiutano ad inquadrare con più precisione le differenze costruttive riscontrate nel mausoleo esagonale. Il primo impianto sono le Grandi terme di Corinto⁴⁴ in cui non solo si rintracciano le soluzioni cantieristiche in uso a Roma, ma risulta presente una volta a doppia calotta il cui uso è fino ad oggi attestato solo a *Villa Adriana*.⁴⁵ Il secondo impianto si trova a Thouria in Messenia.⁴⁶ In questo edificio, anche se la qualità dei laterizi e la posa in opera appare spesso approssimativa, l'uso di laterizi triangolari disposti con il lato tagliato a vista, i ricorsi di bipedali e la fattura degli archi costitui-

scono un esplicito richiamo alle strutture di Roma.⁴⁷ Inoltre, nelle volte delle terme di Thouria i ricorsi laterizi erano presenti in maniera regolare anche nelle volte, soluzione adottata, in maniera meno estesa, nel *Pantheon* a Roma.

Il **terzo mausoleo** qui presentato⁴⁸ è a pianta rettangolare (6,7 × 8,2 m) e si trova all'estremità nord-est della città (**Fig. 1**, RG 5). Sopra alla porta di ingresso era un incasso rettangolare per l'inserimento della *tabula* epigrafica, della quale rimane solo l'impronta (**Figg. 12-13**). L'edificio, dalla semplice volume scatolare all'esterno, era più articolato all'interno: lungo le due pareti laterali erano due arcosoli, mentre un unico arcosolio chiudeva la parete di fronte all'ingresso (**Fig. 14**). Inoltre, lungo l'asse longitudinale erano collocati due ulteriori archi ribassati che creavano uno spazio centrale a pianta quadrata, coperto da una volta a vela, oggi in gran parte crollata. La ricercata soluzione architettonica dello spazio interno, appena illuminato da finestre collocate negli arcosoli, riporta ai modelli architettonici in uso nell'Urbe, dove effettivamente si assiste, a partire dalla fine del II sec. d. C., ad un processo di interiorizzazione degli edifici sepolcrali.⁴⁹ Questo fenomeno si manifesta con un arricchimento dello spazio interno a fronte di una sempre più anonima architettura esterna: è nello spazio interno che si sfoggia il lusso destinato ai morti.⁵⁰

Dal punto di vista costruttivo le murature laterizie erano serrate agli angoli da grandi blocchi di calcare locale di dimensioni disomogenee, probabilmente di reimpiego, che legavano gli spigoli della costruzione⁵¹ (**Fig. 13**). I laterizi del paramento erano di forma rettangolare e non triangolare⁵² ed

42. La ripresa di getto al di sopra delle piattabande dimostra che la volta è stata gettata in due fasi: la prima fino all'altezza della piattabanda, senza uso di centine, la seconda al di sopra della piattabanda su una centina poggiata sulla risega lasciata sul piano di imposta della volta.

43. Le piattabande sono gettate su un filare di bipedali di pari lunghezza della piattabanda (1,96 m).

44. Biers 1985.

45. Giuliani 1975.

46. Le terme sono inedite. È tuttavia in corso lo studio del monumento nell'ambito di una collaborazione tra la *AH' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων* e la *Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*.

47. P. Vitti, c. d. s.

48. Nella pubblicazione di G. Welter questo mausoleo è identificato con il no. RG5. Tuttavia la sua localizzazione è stata confusa con quella del mausoleo no. RG3. Welter 1941, 41-42, tav. 2.

49. Hesberg von 1992, 56-58.

50. Si vedano ad esempio le camere sepolcrali della necropoli della Basilica Vaticana. Zander 2007.

51. I blocchi sono posizionati in modo che si ammorsino alternativamente con la muratura di un lato corto e di un lato lungo.

52. Modulo di 10 laterizi e 10 giunti di malta: 64,5-67,5 cm.

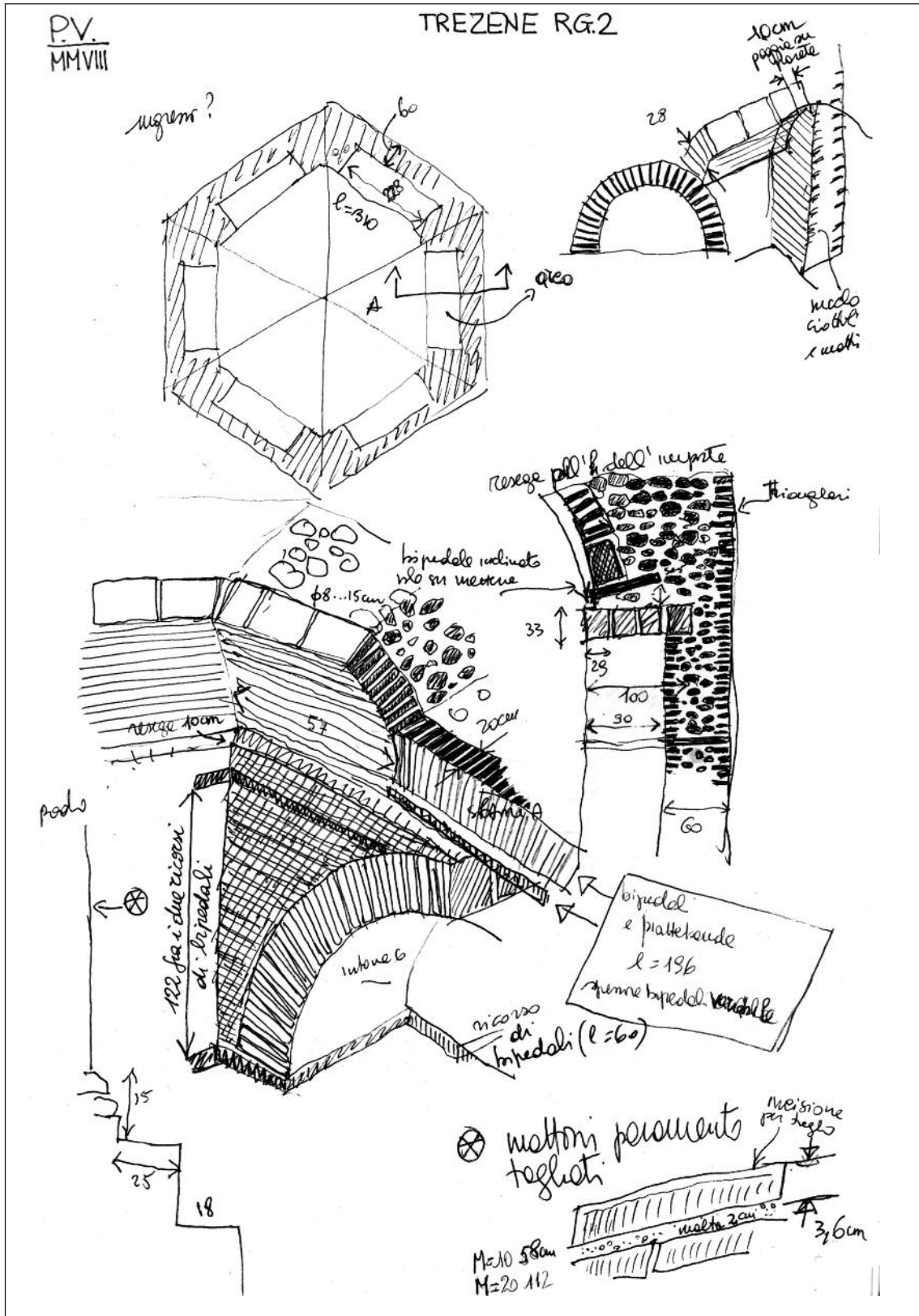


Fig. 11. Disegno schematico del mausoleo RG 2 con particolare della modanatura del podio, di un arcosolio e della messa in opera dei differenti tipi di laterizio.

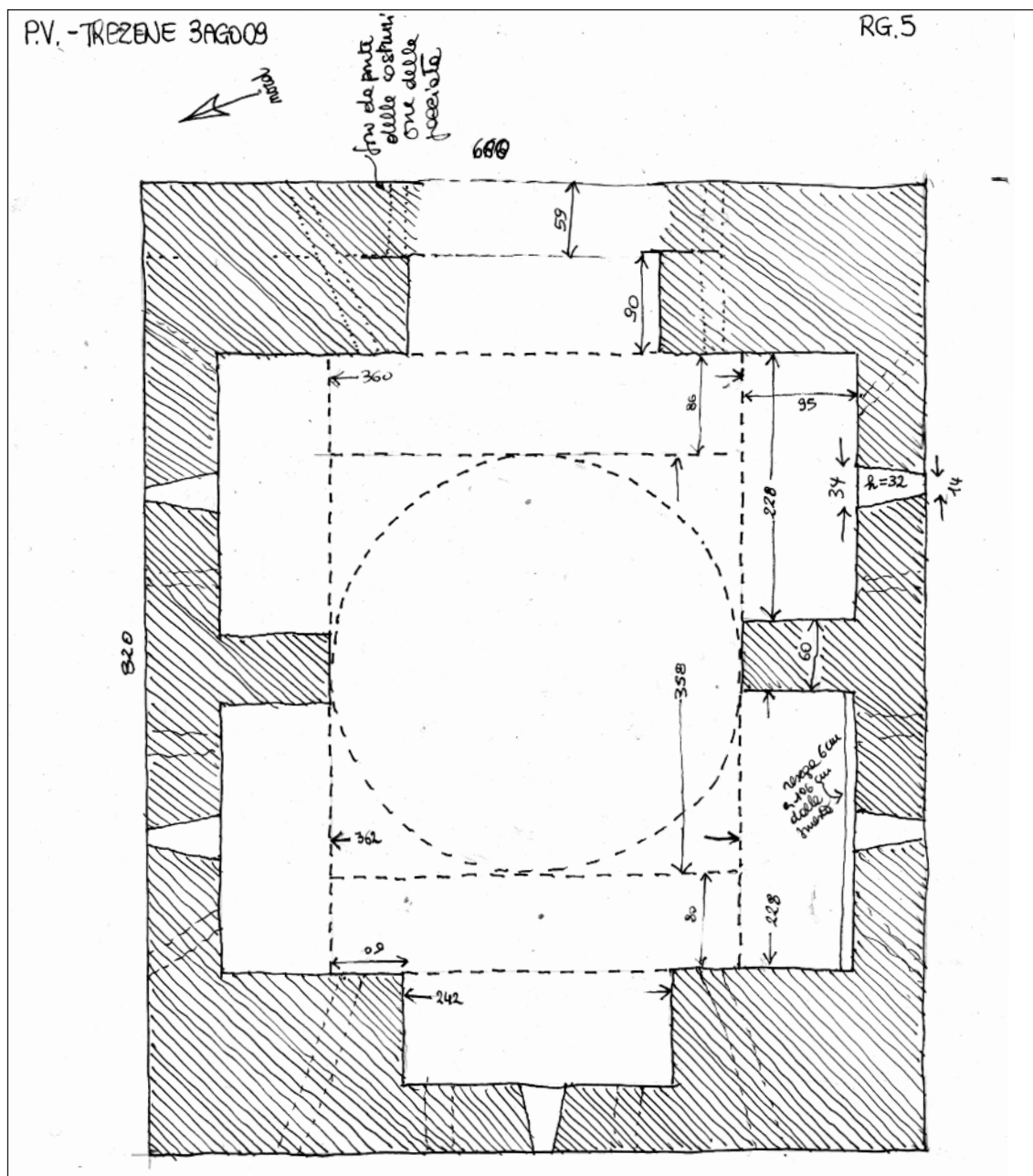


Fig. 12. Pianta del mausoleo RG 5 sito sul lato orientale della città.

erano ottenuti da *pedales* ($29 \times 29 \times 3,8$ cm). L'impiego dei *bipedales* ($58 \times 58 \times 6$ cm) era circoscritto alla copertura delle finestre, mentre *pedales* interi erano impiegati negli archi ribassati all'interno del sepolcro⁵³ (**Fig. 15**).

I laterizi quadrati della volta a vela misuravano $21 \times 21 \times 3$ cm e pertanto erano diversi da quelli

impiegati per gli archi ed i paramenti; poggiavano su un piano obliquo arcuato collocato sulla sommità delle pareti verticali e si intersecavano sugli spigoli descritti dalle diagonali del quadrato (**Fig. 16**). Tale soluzione non è un *unicum* nell'Argolide,⁵⁴ ma in questo esempio è ben riconoscibile e documenta l'apparecchio di una volta a vela con laterizi

53. All'interno lungo i lati lunghi si dispongono due nicchie per lato affiancate di 2,31 m di larghezza e profonde 95 cm per l'inserimento dei sarcofagi, sempre lungo i lati lunghi vi sono due piccole finestre a coda di rondine per lato. Sul lato opposto all'ingresso vi è un'altra nicchia di 2,42 m profonda anch'essa 95 cm (**Fig. 12**).

54. Stessa struttura doveva presentare l'Iseo di Argo.



Fig. 13. La facciata del mausoleo RG 5 con al di sopra dell'ingresso l'incasso per la lastra lapidea dell'iscrizione.



Fig. 14. Interno del mausoleo RG 5 verso NO con gli arcosoli disposti lungo le pareti e i resti della volta a vela.

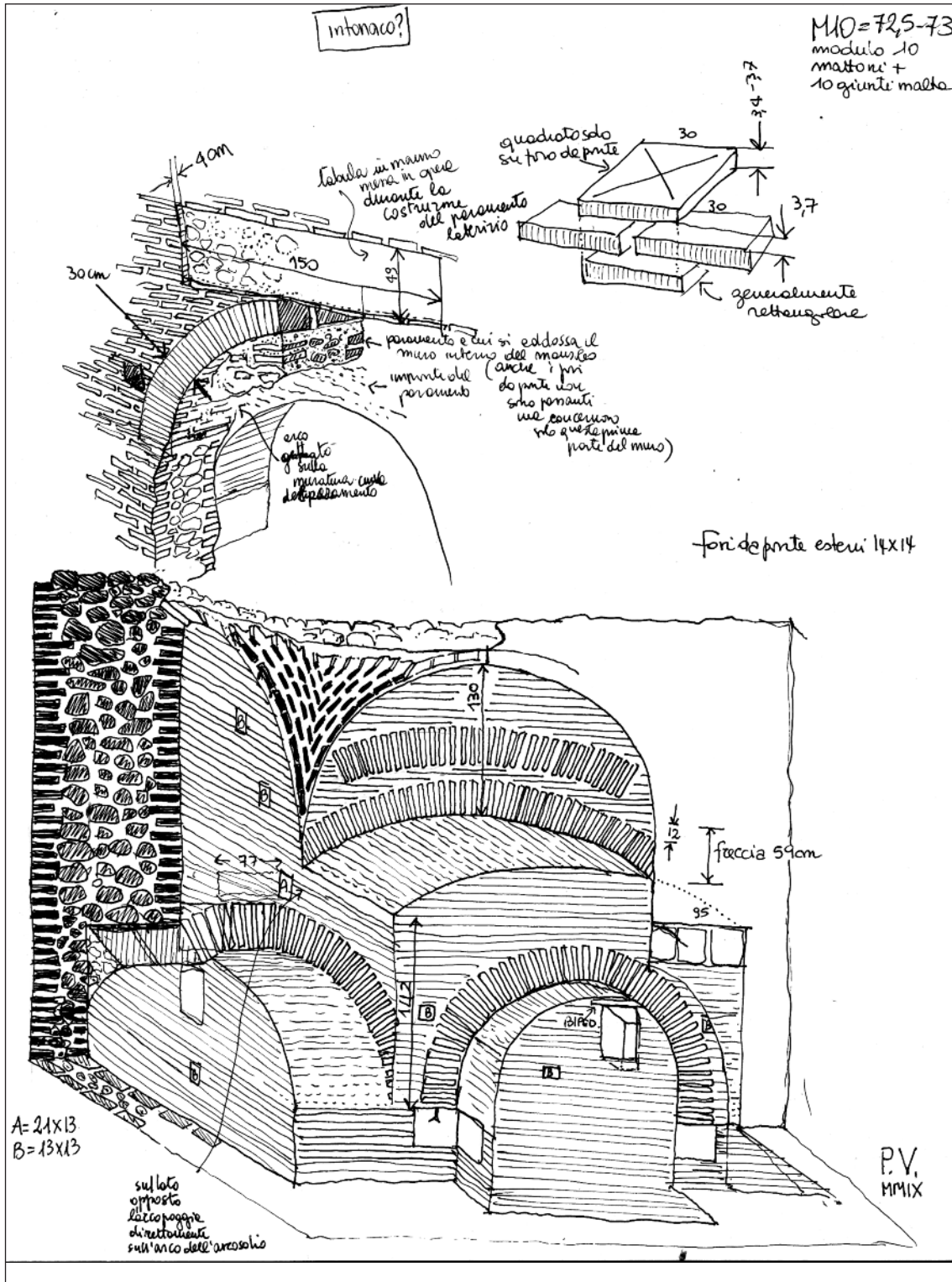


Fig. 15. Disegno assonometrico del mausoleo RG 5 con alcuni particolari costruttivi.



Fig. 16. Particolare della volta a vela realizzata con la tecnica dei mattoni affiancati che si intersecano lungo le diagonali.

collocati verticalmente a partire dai pennacchi⁵⁵ secondo una disposizione ad archi con mattoni affiancati⁵⁶ (**Fig. 17**).

La tecnica costruttiva dei mattoni affiancati era stata importata in Grecia dall'oriente tra la fine del I sec. d. C. e gli inizi del II.⁵⁷ L'esempio più monumentale del suo impiego è attestato nel complesso monumentale argivo collocato tra l'agorà e il teatro di Argo; un edificio concepito da un architetto in grado di padroneggiare i sistemi costruttivi romani ed orientali, utilizzati congiuntamente per realizzare in tempi molto brevi una costruzione solida, ma nel contempo esile.⁵⁸ Le volte con mattoni affiancati erano di norma a botte, come nell'edificio di Argo. Nelle volte a vela il ricorso alla tecnica dei mattoni affiancati (**Fig. 17 B**) era limitato dal mo-

mento che, come in età bizantina, la disposizione più canonica dei laterizi era quella per anelli concentrici e radiali⁵⁹ (**Fig. 17 A**). Tuttavia un evidente vantaggio, come attesta il mausoleo di Trezene, risiedeva nel fatto che la tessitura a mattoni affiancati riduceva l'utilizzo di una centina di supporto, dato che gli archi che formavano la volta erano inclinati verso la parete e poggiavano uno contro l'altro intrecciandosi lungo le diagonali. Richiamiamo qui, per completezza, una variante alla soluzione costruttiva di Trezene adottata ad Efeso in un edificio lungo la strada dei *Cureti* in cui appare ancor più evidente il vantaggio offerto dalla disposizione intrecciata degli archi che compongono la volta con mattoni affiancati (**Fig. 18**).

A Roma, le volte a vela erano invece confezio-

55. In alcuni casi, come ad esempio nella volta del *caldarium* delle terme presso la cisterna ad Epidauro, i laterizi sono disposti radialmente lungo le circonferenze che descrivono le sezioni orizzontali della volta. La soluzione trezena, sicuramente più complessa, era tuttavia più logica, in quanto i laterizi venivano apparecchiati interi a partire dalle imposte e, quindi, la struttura risultava più solida.

56. Volte a mattoni affiancati sono volte di origine orientale che vengono realizzate addossando ad una parete archi di mattoni, collocati appunto uno di fianco all'altro. In francese si usa la terminologia di *voûte a tranches*; in greco *δακτύλιος θόλος*.

57. Si rimanda per l'argomento a P. Vitti 2010, P. Vitti, c. d. s. e Lancaster 2009.

58. Sull'esiguo spessore delle murature v. P. Vitti 2010.

59. Si veda ad esempio la volta nell'impianto termale presso la stoà di *Kotys* del Santuario di Asklepio ad Epidauro.

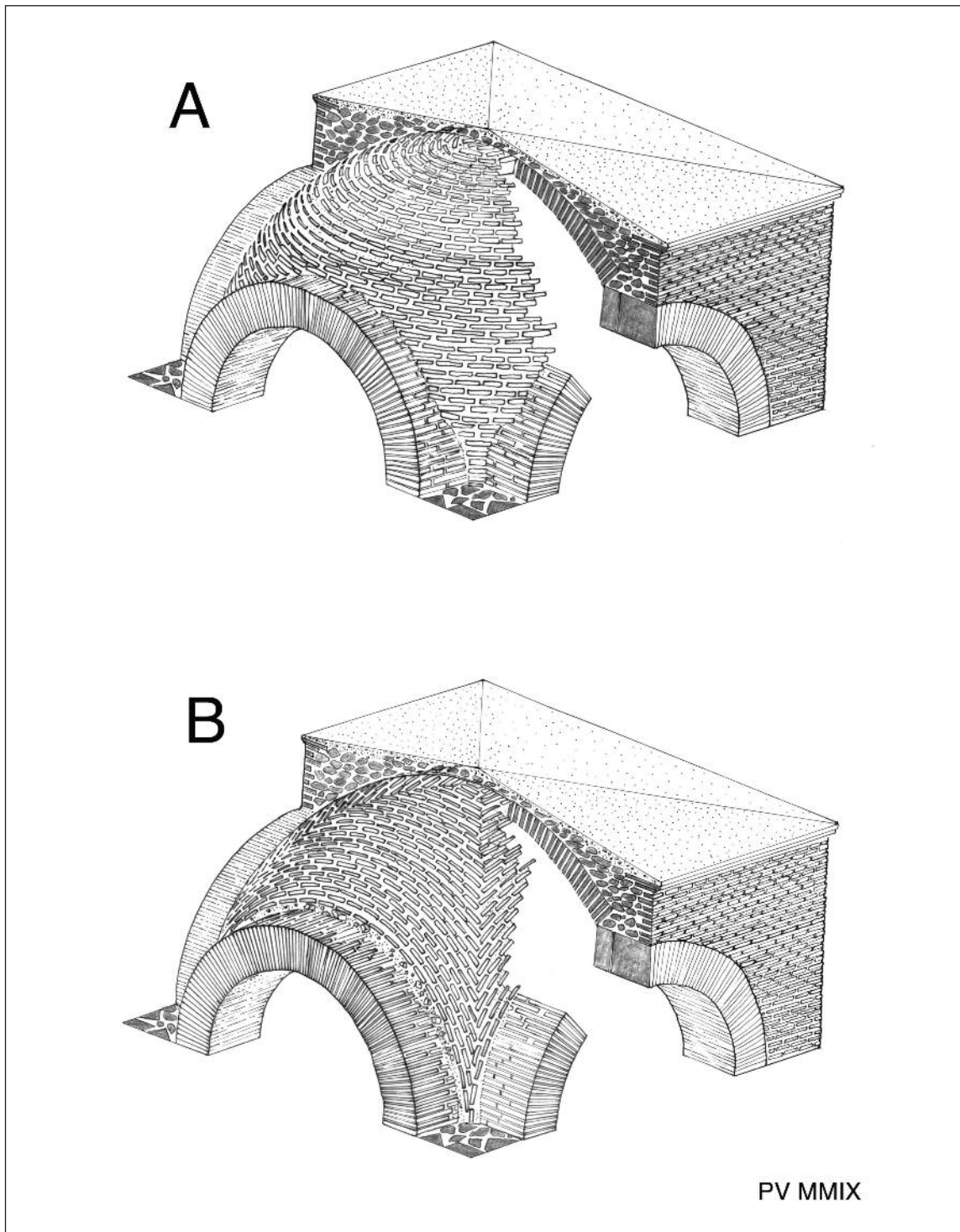


Fig. 17. Schemi per realizzare una volta a vela in mattoni: **A:** volta con mattoni disposti ad anelli radiali; **B:** volta realizzata ad archi di mattoni affiancati.



Fig. 18. Efeso volta a vela con archi di mattoni affiancati in un edificio della strada dei *Cureti*. Notare la disposizione dei mattoni di testa.

nate in opera cementizia, come nella tomba Z della *Basilica Vaticana*.⁶⁰ Il cementizio, di fatto, rappresentava una soluzione pratica per realizzare geometrie complesse evitando il laterizio che, con la sua forma rigida, si adattava con maggiore difficoltà alla geometria delle volte. Il confronto fra le volte a vela di Roma e Trezene è pertanto utile per sottolineare la forza della tradizione locale, che traspone il modello spaziale importato dall'Urbe, ma non il suo sistema costruttivo.

La volta a vela con mattoni affiancati assieme all'uso di laterizi di forma rettangolare ricavati dal taglio di laterizi quadrati ci porta ad un ambito cantieristico ormai ben lontano da quello di Roma, in cui appare evidente che la regola costruttiva romana non solo è stata assimilata, ma è stata rielaborata verso nuovi repertori. Questa nuova tradizione vede, soprattutto a partire dalla fine del II sec. d. C., un uso prevalente di mattoni integri, di forma rettangolare o quadrata, in cui per facilitare il le-

game fra la malta ed il laterizio si creavano solchi sulle facce orizzontali con le mani; i nuclei murari erano realizzati con malta e pietre appena sborzate, spesso di grande dimensione, attraversati ad intervalli regolari da *vittae* laterizie.⁶¹

Conclusioni

L'ampia diffusione della volta laterizia nel Peloponneso ci induce a ipotizzare un particolare sviluppo di questa tecnica rispetto alle altre regioni della Grecia. Se, come si è tentato di dimostrare attraverso gli esempi trezeni, questa soluzione costituisce una *koinè* costruttiva delle maestranze della *Provincia* allora è possibile localizzare in questa regione il luogo dove vengono sperimentate le diverse tessiture che l'uso del laterizio consente per la realizzazione delle volte. In particolare la tecnica dei mattoni affiancati indica che l'ambiente peloponnesiaco era particolarmente ricettivo nei confronti dell'uso del laterizio nelle volte, dive-

60. Zander 2007, 36-38.

61. Boura 1965.

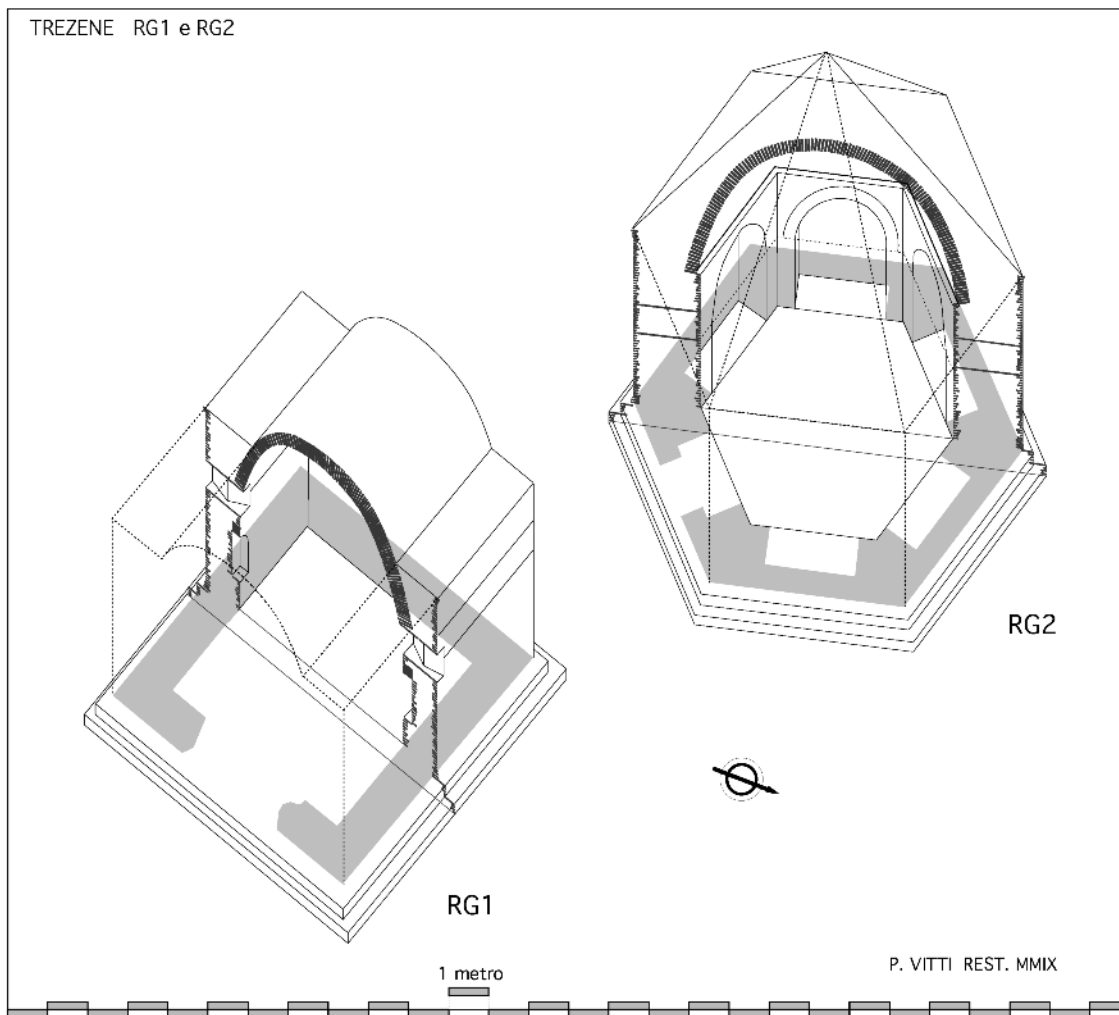


Fig. 19. Ricostruzione assonometrica dei mausolei RG 1 e RG 2.

nendo pioniero nell'uso di questa specifica tessitura. Occorre inoltre sottolineare che la casistica fino ad oggi messa in luce dimostra come le tecniche costruttive di età bizantina hanno un forte debito nei confronti delle soluzioni adottate in epoca romana, al cui vasto repertorio palesemente si ricollegano.⁶²

Viceversa, la volta laterizia non trovò mai terreno fertile a Roma. Nonostante l'imponente produzione delle figline in età imperiale, l'impiego del laterizio rimase limitato prevalentemente alle strutture murarie e agli archi. Pertanto lo sviluppo della volta laterizia eseguita con mattoni di forma

quadrata o rettangolare rappresenta un segno inequivocabile dell'autonomia espressiva maturata dai costruttori del Peloponneso, in grado di utilizzare il laterizio secondo molteplici tessiture. Queste specificità ci consentono di affermare che sebbene le maestranze si richiamassero ai modelli costruttivi e architettonici di Roma, si esprimevano secondo un lessico tecnico reinterpretato in chiave locale, ma non per questo privo di sapienza.

La diffusione della volta laterizia in luogo della volta in opera cementizia o della volta in pietra, può essere spiegata in diversi modi: anzitutto può essere collegata ad un'industria del laterizio ben

62. La scarsa conoscenza degli edifici romani del Peloponneso ha portato ad attribuire al V sec. l'introduzione di alcune soluzioni costruttive di età romana. V. Boura 1994, 109-10.

radicata nel territorio, in secondo luogo può essere legata all'ottima resistenza offerta dal laterizio alle sollecitazioni di compressione.⁶³ La costruzione di una volta in cementizio richiedeva una maggiore specializzazione nel lavoro, ad iniziare dalle armature che dovevano sostenere la centina, le quali, come è noto, non dovevano subire la benché minima deformazione sotto al peso crescente della massa cementizia. La volta laterizia, soprattutto quella a mattoni affiancati, necessitava di una armatura meno complessa e, all'occorrenza, poteva essere costruita anche per settori attigui, utilizzando una centina di profondità ridotta, da spostare mano a mano che la costruzione avanzava. Questi possono essere, in sintesi, alcune delle motivazioni alla base della diffusione delle volte laterizie nella provincia Acaia.

Gli esempi richiamati a proposito delle terme di Corinto e Thouria offrono la possibilità di ipotizzare la presenza nel Peloponneso di costruttori esperti nelle tecniche in uso a Roma. Tale presenza è una preziosa traccia per identificare i punti di contatto tra le maestranze locali e quelle che applicavano in maniera pedissequa i sistemi costruttivi dell'Urbe. Nel contempo ci porta ad immaginare committenze di alto rango per programmi quali quello delle terme di Corinto, sulla strada del *Lechaion*, mentre per le attività edili richieste dalle classi dirigenti locali si ricorreva per lo più alle maestranze operanti sul posto.

Per quanto attiene le murature laterizie, gli esempi di Trezene, come si è detto, erano prevalentemente realizzate, come in molti altri siti del Peloponneso, con laterizi triangolari ottenuti dal taglio di *pedales*. Solo nel terzo mausoleo, con ogni probabilità più tardo degli altri, il taglio lungo le diagonali fu scartato a favore del taglio in due porzioni rettangolari. L'uso di laterizi rettangolari ottenuti dal taglio di laterizi quadrati documenta il

passaggio lento dall'impiego del laterizio triangolare a quello rettangolare e poi quadrato⁶⁴ con un uso sempre più diffuso dei ricorsi di mattoni lungo l'intero spessore della muratura, così da creare solide cinture per legare i paramenti realizzati con mattoni non ammorsati al nucleo, come erano invece quelli triangolari. Questo processo rappresenta un evidente anello di congiunzione tra la prassi costruttiva elaborata in Peloponneso e quella che sarà la prassi costruttiva da Galerio in poi.

Occorre da ultimo sottolineare che l'uso di *pedales* nelle diverse città del Peloponneso indica una consistente standardizzazione della produzione. Accanto a questo formato si incontrano sia *sesquipedales* sia *bipedales*, oltre ad un certo numero di laterizi fuori misura. Le dimensioni standardizzate dei laterizi impiegati nei diversi contesti cittadini (Corinto, Patrasso, Epidauro, Trezene, ecc.) lasciano pensare ad un controllo centralizzato che, forse, non riguardava solo le dimensioni dei vari tipi di mattoni prodotti ma anche i luoghi di produzione, che potevano essere collocati in aree regionali ben definite. L'assenza di bolli sui laterizi finora analizzati rende purtroppo difficile appurare la fondatezza di questa ipotesi e l'individuazione stessa delle figline. Tuttavia saltuariamente sono stati individuati bolli, come nel caso dell'*odeion* e delle grandi terme di Corinto.⁶⁵ Il nome della colonia in latino o in greco associato a quello del produttore ci suggerisce un'industria in mano al potere centrale e a cittadini romani. Come è noto l'area di Corinto e, più in particolare, di Sicione era conosciuta proprio per la produzione dei laterizi.⁶⁶ Da qui i laterizi potevano essere facilmente trasportati via mare nei diversi centri urbani.

Ma chi erano i committenti dei mausolei di Trezene? Purtroppo la perdita della decorazione, ma soprattutto la mancanza del corredo epigrafico ci permette solo di avanzare ipotesi sui committenti

63. Nelle volte in cementizio la resistenza a compressione era garantita principalmente dalla malta, come dimostrano le costruzioni di Roma, in cui si impiegano *caementa* di bassa resistenza meccanica. La qualità della malta era garantita a Roma dall'impiego di inerti pozzolanici che trasformavano l'impasto in una malta idraulica in grado di far presa anche all'interno di masse molto spesse. Vedi da ultimo le interessanti ricerche sulla composizione delle malte nei Mercati di Traiano in Jakson *et al.* 2010.

64. Da segnalare che il passaggio dal laterizio triangolare a quello quadrangolare non ha solo un'incidenza nella tecnica costruttiva, ma influisce in maniera rilevante nel campo economico. Infatti l'impiego di un mattone intero invece che di uno tagliato poteva raddoppiare la quantità di laterizi necessari per la realizzazione di un paramento in cortina laterizia con una evidente lievitazione dei costi di realizzazione delle opere murarie.

65. Broneer 1932, 137-39, Biers 1985, 78-79, tav. 31.

66. Piérart 1976, 161.

di questi edifici, che indubbiamente manifestarono, nelle scelte architettoniche e costruttive, un preciso richiamo alla tradizione romana. Il collegamento all'aristocrazia locale sembra scontato ma nulla di più si può dire. Si è osservato comunque che le *élites* locali erano spesso in rapporto con figure di spicco della vita politica dell'Urbe. Tale relazione è attestata in più città del Peloponneso ed è anche documentata per Trezene dove Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, amico di Plutarco, è onorato a Trezene da Cn. Cornelius Philiscus attestando quindi i rapporti diretti dell'aristocrazia locale con Roma.⁶⁷ Per quanto riguarda i rapporti "diretti" tra la città e Roma è indicativo il fatto che alla fine del II-inizi del III sec. d. C. M. Aurelius Olympiodorus venne nominato λογιστής (*curator rei publicae*) direttamente dall'Imperatore.⁶⁸

Massimo Vitti
Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali
del Comune di Roma

Paolo Vitti
Architetto

Bibliografia

- Aupert (P.), 2001: "Architecture et urbanisme à Argos au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.", in J.-Y. Marc, J.-C. Moretti (éds), *Constructions publiques et programmes éditaires en Grèce entre le II^e siècle av. J.-C. et le I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française d'Athènes et le CNRS, Athènes 14-17 mai 1995, Paris, 439-54.
- Baldassarre (L.) et al., 1996: *Necropoli di Porto: Isola Sacra*, Itinerari dell'Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato n. s. 38, Roma.
- Biers (J. C.), 1985: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XVII, The Great Bath on the Lechaion Road*, Princeton N.J.
- Bouet (A.), 2003: *Les thermes privés et publics en Gaule Narbonnaise*, Rome.
- Bouras (Ch. Th.), 1965: *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια με νευρώσεις*, Atene.
- , 1994: *Ιστορία της αρχιτεκτονικής, Δεύτερος τόμος: Αρχιτεκτονική στο Βυζάντιο, το Ισλάμ και την δυτική Ευρώπη κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*, Atene (2001³).
- Broneer (O. Th.), 1932: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens X, The Odeum*, Cambridge Mass.
- Calza (G.), 1940: *La necropoli di Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra*, Roma.
- Étienne (R.), 2004: *Athènes, espaces urbains et histoire: des origines à la fin du III^e siècles ap. J.-C.*, Paris.
- Étienne (R.), Müller (Chr.), Prost (Fr.), 2000: *Archéologie historique de la Grèce antique*, Paris.
- Faraklas (N.), 1972: *Τροιζηνία, Καλαύρεια, Μέθανα*, Atene.
- Flämig (C.), 2007: *Grabarchitektur der römischen Kaiserzeit in Griechenland*, Rahden.
- Giuliani (C. F.), 1975: "Volte e cupole a doppia calotta in età adrianea", *MDAI(R)* 82, 329-42.
- , 2006: *L'edilizia nell'antichità*, Roma (2008³).
- Hesberg von (H.), 1992: *Monumenta: i sepolcri romani e la loro architettura*, Milano.
- Jakson (M. D.) et al., 2010: "Composizione e caratteristiche meccaniche dei calcestruzzi della Grande Aula", in M. P. Del Moro, L. Ungaro, M. Vitti (eds.), *I Mercati di Traiano restituiti. Studi e restauri 2005-2007*, Roma, 145-54.
- Kammerer-Grothaus (H.), 1974: "Der Deus Reticulus im Triopion des Herodes Atticus", *MDAI(R)* 81, 1974, 131-252.
- Konsolaki-Giannopoulou (E.), 2003: "Νέα ευρήματα από την αρχαία Τροιζηνία", in E. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου (ed.), *Αργοσαρωνικός. Πρακτικά Ιου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού*, Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998. Τόμος Β. *Από τους Σκοτεινούς Χρόνους έως το τέλος της Ρωμαϊκρατίας*, Atene, 127-58.
- Lancaster (L. C.), 2005: *Concrete Vaulted Construction in Imperial Rome. Innovations in Context*, Cambridge.
- , 2009: "Early Examples of So-Called Pitched Brick Barrel Vaulting in Roman Greece and Asia Minor: A Question of Origin and Intention", in M. Bachmann (ed.), *Bauechnik im antiken und vorantiken Kleinasien*, Byzas 9, 2009, 371-91.
- Lugli (G.), 1957: *La tecnica edilizia romana, con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio*, 2 vol., Roma.
- Melfi (M.), 2007: *I santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, Roma.
- Oikonomidou (M.), 2003: "Νομισματική και θρησκευτική παράδοση της Τροιζηνίας", in E. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου (ed.), *Αργοσαρωνικός. Πρακτικά Ιου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού*, Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998. Τόμος Β. *Από τους Σκοτεινούς Χρόνους έως το τέλος της Ρωμαϊκρατίας*, Atene, 107-16.
- Orlandos (A. K.) 1968: *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des Anciens Grecs II*, Paris.
- Pappalardo (U.), Manderscheid (H.), 1988: "Le Terme Suburbane di Ercolano. Architettura, gestione idrica e sistema di riscaldamento", *RSP* 9, 1988, 175-85.

67. Zoumbaki 2008, 48-49 e nota 95.

68. *Ead.* 2003, 160-61.

- Petropoulos (M.), 2007: “Νικόπολις - Πάτρα μέσω Αιτωλοακαρνανίας”, in K. L. Zachos (ed.), *Νικόπολις Β', Πρακτικά του δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη (11-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)*, Preveza, 97-211.
- Piérart (M.), 1976: “Ο Έλληνισμός στην Χερσόνησο του Αΐμου. Πελοπόννησο”, in G. A. Christopoulos, I. C. Bastias (eds.), *Ιστορία του Έλληνικού Έθνους. Έλληνισμός και Ρώμη (30 π.Χ.-324 μ.Χ.)* vol. 6, Atene, 157-65.
- Riethmüller (J. W.), 2005: *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte*, Heidelberg.
- Romano (D. G.), 2003: “City Planning, Centuration, and Land Division in Roman Corinth. Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis and Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis”, in C. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds.), *Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth XX, Corinth, The Centenary 1896-1996*, Princeton, 279-301.
- Vitti (M.), 1989: “Υλικά και τρόποι δόμησης στη Μακεδονία κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς αυτοκρατορικούς χρόνους”, in *Ancient Macedonia 5. Papers read at the fifth International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, October 10-15, 1989*, vol. 3, Thessaloniki, 1693-719.
- , 2010: “Le coperture degli ambienti del Corpo Centrale dei Mercati di Traiano alla luce delle evidenze archeologiche” in M. P. Del Moro, L. Ungaro, M. Vitti (eds.), *I Mercati di Traiano restituiti. Studi e restauri 2005-2007*, Roma, 77-84.
- , c. d. s.: “*Provincia Macedonia: materiali e tecniche costruttive in età romana*”, in S. Camporeale, H. Dessales, A. Pizzo (eds.), *Cantieri edili dell'Italia e delle provincie romane, 2. Italia e provincie orientali* (Siena 13-15 novembre 2008).
- Vitti (M.), Vitti (P.), 2008: “Presenze romane nella città di Trezene in Argolide”, in *Meetings Between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean - Incontri tra Culture nel Mondo Mediterraneo Antico*, XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Rome, 22-26 September 2008).
- , 2010: “Argo, la copertura ad intercapedine della grande aula: osservazioni sul sistema costruttivo della volta”, *ASAA* 86, 2008, 215-51.
- , c. d. s.: “Regola ed eccezione nei cantieri romani della *Provincia Acaia*”, in S. Camporeale, H. Dessales, A. Pizzo (eds.), *Cantieri edili dell'Italia e delle provincie romane, 2. Italia e provincie orientali* (Siena 13-15 novembre 2008).
- Welter (G.), 1941: *Troizen und Kalaureia*, Berlin.
- Zander (P.), 2007: *La Necropoli sotto la Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano*, Roma.
- Zoumbaki, S. B. (2003): “Η Τροιζήνη κατά την Ρωμαϊκή εποχή: εσωτερική οργάνωση - οικονομική ζωή - κοινωνία”, in E. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου (ed.), *Αργοσαρωνικός. Πρακτικά 1ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Αργοσαρωνικού*, Πόρος, 26-29 Ιουνίου 1998. Τόμος Β. *Από τους Σκοτεινούς Χρόνους έως το τέλος της Ρωμαϊοκρατίας*, Atene, 159-70.
- , 2008: “The Composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman period and the Evolution of their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers”, *Tekmeria* 9, 2008, 25-51.

LA VIE RELIGIEUSE EN ARCADIE À L'ÉPOQUE DU HAUT-EMPIRE

Madeleine Jost – Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe

Abstract: The subject of this study, which draws on literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence, is religious life in Arkadia under the Early Empire: emphasis is laid primarily on enduring features, and then on new elements that are introduced, without however taking anything away from pre-existing traditions. Pausanias' *Periegesis*, written under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, shows a reduction in the number of sanctuaries; nonetheless religious life in that time is vigorous and is marked by continuity from earlier periods. Before the *Periegesis* allows us to take stock of the situation, the evidence relating to the preservation of cult concerns above all the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian (repairs to temples, priesthoods undertaken by benefactors). Under the Severi the iconography on coinage still shows adherence to traditional gods. While essentially looking to the past, religious life in Arkadia nonetheless experienced, from Augustus to Antoninus Pius, besides the imperial cult, innovations sometimes of an original character: the cult of Antinous at Mantinea, the cult of Pallas and Evander at Pallantion.

L'importance religieuse de l'Arcadie à l'époque grecque est bien connue. Avec l'arrivée des Romains, au II^e s. av. J.-C., s'ouvre une nouvelle période où se pose la question de la force de persistance des traditions religieuses locales et de l'impact des nouveautés apportées par les Romains. Pour la période qui va de 146 av. J.-C. au principat d'Auguste, les témoignages sont peu nombreux et ils ont déjà été étudiés dans un autre cadre.¹ Le Haut-Empire, d'Auguste aux Sévères inclus (31 av. J.-C. -235 apr. J.-C.), offre en revanche une documentation variée: littéraire, épigraphique, numismatique et archéologique. Nous présenterons une histoire religieuse de l'Arcadie dans cette période en étudiant les permanences et les évolutions, puis les nouveautés qui s'établissent sans entamer les traditions déjà installées.

Une place toute particulière revient au témoignage de Pausanias, qui, sous le règne de Marc-Aurèle, décrit les sanctuaires et les cultes de la région. Cet auteur est porté par ses goûts à décrire les ma-

nifestations les plus anciennes de la religion arcadienne et à privilégier certains cultes comme celui de Déméter; il n'en donne pas moins une description qui reflète un état des lieux à son époque.² Son tableau couvre l'ensemble de l'Arcadie. Commençons donc par en dresser le bilan, avant d'étudier les témoignages plus anciens, d'Auguste à Hadrien, qui éclairent tel ou tel aspect que l'on aura constaté dans la *Périégèse*. La numismatique permettra de prolonger ce bilan à l'époque des Sévères.

Dans le panorama que dresse Pausanias, le nombre des sanctuaires en ruine³ s'impose d'emblée comme l'un des traits marquants de son époque. Certains de ces sanctuaires furent abandonnés anciennement en même temps que les bourgades qui les entretenaient: ainsi à Mainalos,⁴ déjà désertée à l'époque du synoecisme de Mégalopolis, Pausanias n'a vu des ruines de la cité que «les traces d'un temple d'Athéna (ναοῦ σημεῖα)». À Oresthasion,⁵ dépeuplée au moment du synoecisme, il cite «les colonnes d'un sanctuaire d'Artémis *Hiéreia* (Prêtresse)».

1. Jost 1996, 193-200.

2. Pretzler 2007, 29; Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 15-16.

3. Voir les listes que propose Pritchett 1999, 197-99 (ἐρείπια) et 215-16 («ruined temples»), ici complétées.

4. Paus. VIII. 36, 8.

5. *Id.* VIII. 44, 2.

À l'époque de Pausanias, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'établissements abandonnés dont les sanctuaires sont en ruine. Plusieurs cités qui frappèrent encore monnaie sous les Sévères⁶ comportent, quoique vivantes, des édifices ruinés qui n'ont été ni entretenus ni restaurés. Ainsi à Mantinée, du temple d'Aphrodite *Symmachia* (Alliance), élevé après la bataille d'Actium,⁷ il ne subsistait plus à l'époque de Pausanias que des ruines (ἐρείπια) et sur la route qui menait de Mantinée à Orchomène, près du tombeau d'Anchise, il y avait les ruines d'un sanctuaire d'Aphrodite.⁸ À Phénéos, sur l'acropole il ne restait que les ruines d'un temple d'Athéna surnommée *Tritonia* (du lac Tritonis)⁹ et sur le territoire de la cité, le mont Cyllène ne portait plus à son sommet qu'un «temple ruiné (κατερριμμένο) d'Hermès *Kyllénios*».¹⁰ À Psophis, il en est de même pour le sanctuaire d'Aphrodite *Érycine* situé dans la ville dont «il restait seulement les ruines» à l'époque de Pausanias.¹¹ À Thelpousa, qui est elle-même «en majeure partie déserte», le sanctuaire des Douze dieux «était pour l'essentiel déjà ruiné jusqu'au sol». À Héraia, il subsiste encore les colonnes parmi les ruines du temple.

À Mégalopolis, le Périégète mentionne plusieurs sanctuaires en ruine: celui d'Hermès *Akakésios* (du temple, il ne reste que la tortue en marbre de la statue),¹² celui d'Athéna *Polias* et celui d'Héra *Téleia* (Protectrice du mariage),¹³ un sanctuaire d'Aphrodite (dont il restait le vestibule du temple avec trois statues),¹⁴ le sanctuaire des Muses d'Apollon et d'Hermès (il n'y avait plus que de rares fondations et deux statues),¹⁵ le temple com-

mun d'Héraklès et d'Hermès (il ne reste que l'autel)¹⁶ et un temple de Dionysos frappé par la foudre deux générations auparavant.¹⁷ En Mégalopolitide, Pausanias note près d'Aséa, «un temple de la Mère des dieux qui n'a pas de toit»;¹⁸ quant au sanctuaire d'Athéna et de Poséidon sur le mont Boreion,¹⁹ il ne subsiste plus qu'à l'état de traces (σημεῖα). À Phigalie, la statue de Déméter *Mélaina* a été détruite trois générations avant la visite de Pausanias par une chute de pierres²⁰ et à «l'endroit dénommé Kôtilion», il y a un «temple [d'Aphrodite] dont la toiture n'existe plus».²¹ En quittant l'Arcadie, le Périégète mentionne encore sur la route de Tégée à Argos un sanctuaire d'Apollon *Pythios*, entièrement ruiné²² et, sur la route qui mène de Tégée en Laconie, les ruines d'un temple d'Artémis *Knakéatis*.

Cette vingtaine de sanctuaires en ruine, qui sont répartis sur tout le territoire, correspond moins à une baisse de la pratique religieuse qu'aux graves difficultés financières (endémiques) que connaissent les cités grecques: elles n'ont pas permis de faire les travaux d'entretien et de réparation nécessaires. On verra que de riches évergètes ont consacré une partie de leur fortune à la restauration de quelques temples majeurs sous Auguste et sous Hadrien, mais l'argent a manqué pour remettre en état tous les édifices qui, depuis la période des guerres mithridatiques sans doute – voire même avant –, tombaient en ruine.

La pratique religieuse, elle, n'a pas faibli. Il arrive même qu'un sanctuaire ruiné soit le lieu d'un culte: sur la route de Pellène (en venant de Phénéos), Pausanias mentionne un temple d'Apollon

6. Head 1911, 444-56; Walker 2006, 322-423 (voir Pritchett 1999, 206-97).

7. Paus. VIII. 9, 1.

8. *Id.* VIII. 12, 9.

9. *Id.* VIII. 14, 4.

10. *Id.* VIII. 17, 1.

11. *Id.* VIII. 24, 6.

12. *Id.* VIII. 30, 6.

13. *Id.* VIII. 26, 2.

14. *Id.* VIII. 32, 2.

15. *Id.* VIII. 32, 2.

16. *Id.* VIII. 32, 3.

17. *Id.* VIII. 32, 3.

18. *Id.* VIII. 44, 3.

19. *Id.* VIII. 44, 4.

20. *Id.* VIII. 42, 12.

21. *Id.* VIII. 41, 10. Dans le cas de ce temple, l'existence d'un monnayage impérial en bronze (Plautilla) de Phigalie à l'effigie d'Aphrodite peut faire penser que le culte se maintenait (voir Imhoof-Blumer, Gardner 1887, pl. V, 14).

22. Paus. VIII. 54, 5.

Pythios dont il ne reste que des ruines et un grand autel de marbre blanc; «encore de nos jours, ajoute-t-il, les gens de Phénéos font des sacrifices à Apollon et Artémis». ²³ À Phigalie de même, le culte continue à être pratiqué sans la statue de culte. ²⁴ D'autres fois, alors qu'une bourgade est abandonnée depuis le synoecisme du IV^e siècle, on constate que seul le sanctuaire est encore debout. Ainsi, dans les bourgades proches de la Grande Cité. À Basilis, au milieu d'un champ de ruines subsistait un sanctuaire de Déméter Éleusinia. ²⁵ Dans Zoitia inhabitée, il subsistait un temple de Déméter et d'Artémis, «qui était encore là» du temps de Pausanias. ²⁶ À Trikolonoï abandonnée, «il subsiste encore de nos jours», dit le Périégète, «un sanctuaire de Poséidon». En remontant la vallée de l'Hélisson, à Péraïtheis, il y a un sanctuaire de Pan et à Lykoa, dont il ne reste que des traces, «un sanctuaire d'Artémis *Lykoatis* et sa statue de culte en bronze». ²⁷ Ces sanctuaires ont traversé les siècles, entretenus sans doute par la cité proche de Mégalopolis.

On ne doit d'ailleurs pas tirer de l'énumération des sanctuaires en ruine l'idée que les lieux de culte arcadiens sont majoritairement abandonnés. Au contraire, car au cours de son voyage, Pausanias note surtout l'existence de sanctuaires et de temples donnés comme actuellement visibles. Pour parler de cette masse de sanctuaires, il utilise très généralement la forme verbale ἔσται, «il y a» (pour le visiteur, ou pour les habitants de la cité); en quelques cas il utilise la formule πεποιήται, pour un sanctuaire ou pour un temple; une fois, il dit ἐθεάσαμεν, sans que l'on décèle d'intention particulière dans ces deux derniers cas. Au total, le Périégète mentionne une centaine de sanctuaires existant à

son époque. Ils sont également répartis entre le Nord de l'Arcadie, les cantons occidentaux, la frange argolide-arcadienne, l'Arcadie occidentale et la Mégalopolitide et dans chaque secteur toutes les divinités sont représentées. ²⁸ Dans plusieurs cas Pausanias y décrit une fête, lorsque celle-ci présente des traits particuliers. Ailleurs il faut supposer un culte ordinaire, se manifestant au moins une fois l'an dans des formes banales. Le nombre considérable des sanctuaires que cite Pausanias et leur répartition sur tout le territoire montrent un tissu religieux très dense et une permanence des lieux de culte traditionnels.

Cette permanence des lieux de culte va de pair avec une organisation de la vie religieuse qui, au II^e siècle encore, conserve les cadres de la vie religieuse traditionnelle des cités. Si l'on met à part le temple d'Aphrodite *Symmachia* et celui d'Antinoüs dont il sera question plus loin, Pausanias ne signale aucun sanctuaire récent et, si des remaniements de cultes à l'époque romaine ne sont pas à exclure, ²⁹ il est clair que ceux-ci n'ont pas affecté les structures anciennes. Les cités conservent un réseau de protections divines qui assument, avec la pluralité attendue, les grandes fonctions liées à la vie d'une communauté.

La défense de la ville et de son territoire est aux mains de divinités protectrices de la cité: divinités poliades (Athéna *Polias* à Mégalopolis, Mégalèpolis personnifiée, Dionysos *Politès*, «protecteur de la cité» à Héraïa), ³⁰ divinités de la guerre et des armes (Apollon *Épikourios*, Zeus *Charmon* [?]), ³¹ divinités du salut et de la paix (Zeus *Sôteir* à Mantinée et à Mégalopolis; Athéna *Sôteira* sur le mont Boreion; Artémis *Sôteira* à Mégalopolis et à Phigalie,

23. *Id.* VIII. 15, 5.

24. *Id.* VIII. 42, 11 (voir aussi supra n. 21, pour le temple du mont Kôtilion).

25. *Id.* VIII. 29, 3. Le culte est attesté au III^e s. av J.-C.: cf. Nicias, conservé par Athénée (*FGrH* 318 F 1) qui parle d'un concours de beauté encore célébré de son temps.

26. Paus. VIII. 35, 7.

27. *Id.* VIII. 36, 7.

28. Voir les tableaux par divinités et l'index de Jost, 1985. Sur l'importance des cultes ruraux, voir Alcock 1993, 200-10.

29. À l'époque de Pausanias, par exemple, la règle qui confiait le sacerdoce d'Athéna *Aléa* à un jeune garçon (Paus. VIII. 47, 3) était certainement récente. Une inscription, sans doute antérieure de peu, mentionne en effet une femme, Kléopatra, comme prêtresse d'Athéna *Aléa* (*IG* V 2, 81) et la tradition fait d'Augé la première prêtresse d'Athéna. Voir aussi, à propos des sacrifices de Lykosoura, l'hypothèse proposée par Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 228-29, sur des aspects qui pourraient être récents.

30. Paus. VIII. 31, 9 (Athéna *Polias*); VIII. 30, 10 (Mégalaopolis); VIII. 26, 1 (Dionysos *Politès*).

31. *Id.* VIII. 41, 7-9 (Apollon *Épikourios*); VIII. 12, 1 (Zeus *Charmon*).

Zeus *Philios*, «de l’Amitié» à Mégalopolis).³² L’agglomération urbaine est placée sous l’égide des divinités attendues pour protéger la vie politique (Zeus, Poséidon ou Tyché)³³ et celle des groupes humains (Zeus *Épidotès*, dispensateur de richesses et de bonheur),³⁴ divinités du mariage (Zeus *Téleios*, Héra *Téleia*).³⁵ La santé et le bon développement physique des individus sont le domaine d’Ilithyie, Athéna *Koria* et Asklépios.³⁶ Enfin, les techniques et les arts sont du domaine d’Aphrodite *Machanitis* ou Apollon.³⁷

La prédominance de la vie rurale en Arcadie explique le grand nombre des divinités qui protègent la vie sur le territoire. Ce sont des divinités des phénomènes atmosphériques (Zeus *Lykaïos*; les Éclairs, Tempêtes et Coups de tonnerre)³⁸ et des divinités de la sphère «fertilité-fécondité» (Déméter *Kidaria* de Phénéos qui protège les produits du sol, Déméter *Thesmia* qui a appris aux hommes les règles de l’agriculture, Déméter *Mélaina* à Phigalie, Déméter et Koré *Karpophores* à Tégée).³⁹ Athéna, Artémis, Héra, Aphrodite et Dionysos apparaissent également dans ce rôle.⁴⁰ Autre pôle de l’activité des Arcadiens, l’élevage des animaux et la chasse relèvent de Poséidon *Hippios*, Pan, Hermès et Artémis.⁴¹ Ajoutons à cet ensemble de divinités des héros locaux présents à plusieurs reprises.⁴²

Sous le Haut-Empire, les divinités auxquelles on s’adresse sont celles des cités traditionnelles. Les cités arcadiennes s’apparentent par là à toutes les cités de l’époque. Un point cependant est remarquable. Malgré une relative ouverture de l’Arcadie à l’extérieur, ses particularismes religieux sont in-

tacts. Deux exemples, entre autres, pour lesquels l’ancienneté du culte est certaine, serviront d’illustration. Dans la fonction de déesse poliade, l’Athéna *Poliatis* de Tégée n’est pas inattendue. Sa personnalité est cependant bien différente de l’Athéna *Poliatis* d’Athènes. Le sanctuaire de la déesse se nommait Éryma (le rempart), «car, disent-ils, Képheus, fils d’Aléos aurait obtenu comme faveur de la part d’Athéna que Tégée restât à jamais imprenable, et ils ajoutent que pour la protection de la ville, la déesse lui aurait donné des cheveux qu’elle avait coupés sur la tête de Méduse». ⁴³ Un passage de la *Bibliothèque* du Pseudo-Apollodore précise le mode d’intervention de ces cheveux: il suffisait de lever la boucle trois fois au-dessus des remparts pour que l’ennemi se retire en déroute.⁴⁴ Des monnaies tégéates du III^e/II^e s. puis du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. illustrent l’épisode et montrent que la légende remonte au moins à l’époque hellénistique. Au III^e/II^e s., on voit Athéna remettre un cheveu à Stéropé, la fille de Képheus, qui lui présente un vase (selon le Ps.-Apollodore, elle sera la gardienne du cheveu); sur les monnaies les plus récentes, comme chez Pausanias, c’est un hoplite, Képheus, qui tend le bras pour recevoir le talisman d’Athéna.⁴⁵ Les deux versions mettent en scène une déesse, qui, par l’intermédiaire d’un talisman remis au roi ou à la princesse assure à la cité une protection d’ordre magique. Le cheveu de Méduse concentre en lui toutes les vertus apotropaiques du *gorgoneion*. Athéna *Poliatis* revêt l’apparence d’une Athéna poliade ordinaire, mais il y a dans la légende tégéate la trace d’un véritable pouvoir magique de

32. Paus. VIII. 9, 2 et 30, 10 (Zeus *Sôter*); VIII. 44, 4 (Athéna *Sôteira*); VIII. 30, 10 et 39, 5 (Artémis *Sôteira*); VIII. 31, 4 (Zeus *Philios*).

33. *Id.* VIII. 38, 4-7 (Zeus *Lykaïos*, dieu protecteur de la Confédération Arcadienne); VIII. 10, 2-4 (Poséidon *Hippios* à Mantinée); VIII. 30, 7 (Tyché).

34. *Id.* VIII. 9, 2; cf. *IG V 2*, 270 (voir aussi ci-dessous ns 80-81).

35. Paus. VIII. 48, 6 (Zeus *Téleios*); VIII. 31, 9 (Héra *Téleia*).

36. *Id.* VIII. 48, 7 (Ilithyie); VIII. 21, 4 (Athéna *Koria*); VIII. 21, 3; VIII. 25, 3; VIII. 9, 1, etc. (Asklépios).

37. *Id.* VIII. 31, 6 (Aphrodite *Machanitis*); VIII. 9, 1 (Apollon).

38. *Id.* VIII. 38, 4-7 (Zeus *Lykaïos*); VIII. 29, 1 (Éclairs, Tempêtes et Coups de Tonnerre).

39. *Id.* VIII. 15, 1-3; VIII. 15, 3-4 (Déméter *Thesmia*); VIII. 42, 1-13 (Déméter *Mélaina*); VIII. 53, 7 (Déesse *Karpophores*). Voir, pour d’autres exemples, le tableau de Jost, 1985, 299.

40. Ex.: Artémis *Stymphalia*, Paus. VIII. 22, 7-9; Athéna *Aléa*, VIII. 53, 1; Dionysos *Auxitès* VIII. 26, 1 à Héraïa; Aphrodite *Mélaïnis* VIII. 6, 5. Voir aussi les tableaux pour chaque divinité dans Jost 1985.

41. Voir les tableaux pour chacune de ces divinités dans Jost, 1985.

42. Voir Jost 1985, 532-38.

43. Paus. VIII. 47, 5.

44. Ps.-Apollod., *Bibl.* II. 7, 3.

45. Walker 2006, 413-15, dont nous adoptons ici la chronologie.

la déesse qui fait son originalité. Cette conception archaïque du mode d'action de la déesse, attestée sur le monnayage officiel de la cité au III^e s. av. J.-C., a perduré jusque sous Marc-Aurèle.

Dans la fonction de protectrice de la végétation, on examinera le cas de Déméter *Mélaina* à Phigalie. Sous le règne du roi légendaire Simos, fils de Phialos, «les Phigaliens virent l'ancienne statue en bois de Déméter *Mélaina* disparaître dans les flammes». ⁴⁶ Ils ne la remplacèrent pas immédiatement et la stérilité s'abattit sur le pays, la déesse leur infligeant une «faim douloureuse». La Pythie leur ayant conseillé de rendre ses honneurs à la déesse, ils commandèrent au sculpteur éginète du début du V^e siècle Onatas une nouvelle statue, en bronze. Celui-ci reproduisit avec scrupule la précédente (il avait retrouvé un dessin de l'ancien xoanon et fut guidé par des visions qu'il eut en rêve). La statue avait une tête de cheval, avec la crinière entremêlée de serpents et autres animaux sauvages; le corps de la déesse était celui d'une femme. ⁴⁷ Déméter, qui mesure aux hommes les produits de la terre, est une déesse de la fertilité comme en Attique; mais on lui sacrifie toutes sortes de produits des arbres cultivés, en particulier le raisin, ailleurs apanage de Dionysos, les rayons de miel ainsi que la laine non traitée. Ce n'est donc pas tant la protectrice des céréales (à laquelle se réfère l'oracle de Delphes) que celle des productions agricoles dans leur ensemble. Son apparence thériomorphe renvoie par ailleurs à une légende que les gens de Phigalie partageaient avec ceux de Thelpousa: Poséidon, transformé en cheval s'était uni à elle qui avait pris la forme d'une cavale. Son union avec Poséidon et son thériomorphisme en font une personnalité propre à l'Arcadie. Les composantes sont bien éloignées de la Déméter éleusinienne. Elles s'accordent avec l'importance de l'élevage, qui s'était maintenu en Arcadie sous la domination romaine. On a ici l'exemple d'une permanence d'éléments fort anciens dont le temps n'a pas es-

tompé l'originalité à l'époque de Pausanias.

La vie religieuse s'exprime par le biais des fêtes traditionnelles. Il est clair que Pausanias n'a pas assisté personnellement à toutes les fêtes dont il parle; ⁴⁸ il est clair aussi qu'il omet de mentionner celles qui revêtent la forme banale d'un sacrifice, précédé d'une procession et suivi d'un banquet: à ses yeux elles ne méritent pas d'être signalées. Pour le sacrifice, il mentionne seulement des particularités «dignes d'être retenues». À Kynaitha, c'est le choix de la victime et sa conduite à l'autel qui obéissent à un rite particulier: lors d'une fête célébrée l'hiver, «des hommes enduits de graisse choisissent dans le troupeau de bovins un taureau (celui là même que le dieu leur suggère), le chargent sur leurs épaules et le portent au sanctuaire. Tel est le mode de sacrifice en usage chez eux». Il s'agit du porter du taureau que pratiquaient aussi les éphèbes d'Eleusis avant la mise à mort de l'animal. ⁴⁹ À Lykosoura, c'est la phase rituelle de l'égorgeage qui est concernée: «au lieu de trancher la gorge des victimes comme dans les autres sacrifices, c'est un membre au hasard que chacun arrache de l'animal». ⁵⁰ Pausanias note lui-même ce que le procédé a d'insolite pour ce moment central du sacrifice. Pour Apollon *Parrhasios* sur le mont Lycée, les phases habituelles du sacrifice sont bien observées, mais elles sont dissociées dans l'espace: on sacrifie un sanglier à Mégalopolis, puis on porte la victime en procession au sanctuaire d'Apollon sur le mont Lycée où a lieu le banquet communautaire. ⁵¹ Au noyau central de la fête s'ajoutent parfois d'autres éléments. À Aléa par exemple, «en vertu d'un oracle de Delphes, les femmes reçoivent le fouet, comme les éphèbes spartiates chez Orthia». ⁵² Enfin viennent les concours, souvent mentionnés par Pausanias comme les *Hermaia* de Phénéos, les *Lykaia* du mont Lycée et les *Aléaia* de Tégée. ⁵³

La célébration de mystères, dont on sait la multiplication à partir de l'époque hellénistique, se situe elle aussi dans la tradition de la vie religieuse

46. Paus. VIII. 5, 8 et VIII. 42, 12.

47. *Id.* VIII. 42, 1-13.

48. Voir, à propos du sanctuaire d'Artémis *Eurynomé* qui n'ouvre qu'une fois l'an, la notation de Pausanias (VIII. 41, 4): «Je n'ai pas eu la chance d'arriver au moment de la fête».

49. Paus. VIII. 19, 2 et Jost 1985, 432-33.

50. Paus. VIII. 37, 8.

51. *Id.* VIII. 38, 8.

52. *Id.* VIII. 23, 1.

53. *Id.* VIII. 14, 10 (*Hermaia*); VIII. 38, 5 (*Lykaia*); VIII. 47, 4 (*Aleaia*).

des cités; elle est plusieurs fois signalée: à Mélangeia, les *Méliastes* célèbrent des mystères de Dionysos; à Kaphyai, il s'agit de mystères d'Artémis *Knakalèsia*, à Bathos et à Mégalopolis, de cérémonies pour les Grandes Déeses, à Lykosoura pour Despoina et à Phénéos pour Déméter *Éleusinia*.⁵⁴

Appauvrie dans le nombre de ses sanctuaires, la vie religieuse à l'époque de Pausanias n'en est pas moins bien vivante; elle s'inscrit dans la continuité de la vie religieuse traditionnelle.

De la continuité dans la vie religieuse qui se dégage de la *Périégèse*, on peut éclairer, illustrer ou nuancer la réalité en examinant les témoignages épigraphiques et numismatiques des périodes qui ont précédé et suivi.

Au début de la période julio-claudienne, après une période de détresse matérielle des cités qui a dû laisser bien des édifices religieux se détériorer, on assiste à un début de lent redressement.

Le tableau pessimiste que donne Strabon dans les dernières années du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. garde le souvenir de la période des guerres civiles auxquelles Auguste a mis fin. L'écrivain parle de l'«état de complète désolation» de l'Arcadie, causé par une longue suite de guerres. À l'en croire, selon les mots d'un poète comique, «la Grande Cité n'est qu'une grande solitude». De Mantinée, d'Orchomène, d'Héraïa, de Kleitor, de Phénéos, de Stymphale, de Mainalos, de Méthydrion, de Kaphyai et de Kynaïtha «on retrouve difficilement les vestiges (ἵχνη) ou les traces (σημεῖα), quand elles n'ont pas disparu». ⁵⁵ R. Baladié a donné une analyse éclairante du passage. ⁵⁶ Reprenant les remarques de L. Robert, il observe que chez Strabon, une ville «disparue» n'est pas nécessairement privée de tous ses habitants; c'est plutôt une ville en grand déclin, qui n'a plus d'existence digne de ce nom. En Arcadie – mis à part Méthydrion (rattachée à Mégalopolis), Stymphale (rattachée à Argos) et Mainalos (déjà ruinée au IV^e siècle) –, toutes les cités que nomme

Strabon ont frappé monnaie sous les Sévères et, certes amoindries, elles n'avaient pas disparu dans la période qui précède. Il convient donc de relativiser la portée du texte de Strabon.

Celui-ci ne nous livre pas moins l'impression que pouvait avoir celui qui traversait l'Arcadie après les guerres mithridatiques. Le Péloponnèse était resté en dehors de la zone des opérations, mais il avait servi de base aux généraux romains. Il s'en était suivi un affaiblissement et de grandes difficultés financières: à Mantinée-Antigoneia, on ne peut célébrer les *Koragia* que grâce à la générosité de Nikippa, fille de Pasiyas, qui fournit l'argent nécessaire. ⁵⁷ Si l'appréciation de Strabon semble quelque peu exagérée, il est clair cependant qu'elle traduit un état de grand délabrement et que la reprise amorcée sous Auguste n'a pas encore véritablement produit ses effets lorsqu'il écrit.

De cette reprise, on a toutefois quelques signes au début de l'Empire, avec la mention de temples réparés et de prêtrises prises en charge par des évergètes: il s'agit d'assurer la continuité de la vie religieuse et dans cette fonction, le rôle joué par les évergètes témoigne des problèmes financiers des cités.

Deux textes datant du principat d'Auguste concernent des restaurations dans des sanctuaires. À Mantinée, un décret honorifique des Antigoneiens et des *negotiatores* romains en l'honneur d'Euphrosynos, fils de Titus, et de sa femme Epigonè, fille d'Artémon ⁵⁸ assure, dans un style rhétorique, qu'ils ont redressé «des temples ruinés jusqu'au sol» et qu'ils ont «agrandi les salles de banquet, en en ajoutant d'autres». À Lykosoura, la restauration du temple de Despoina fut mise en chantier et prise financièrement en charge par Xénarchos, fils d'Onésikratès, de Mégalopolis; un décret honorifique nous l'apprend, rendu pour lui et pour sa femme Nikippa par le peuple, les synèdres et les *negotiatores* de Mégalopolis, probablement sous le règne d'Auguste. ⁵⁹ Le temple menaçait ruine et

54. Paus. VIII. 6, 5 (Mélangeia); VIII. 23, 6 (Kaphyai); VIII. 29, 1 (Bathos); VIII. 31, 7 (Mégalopolis); VIII. 37, 6 (Lykosoura), VIII. 15, 1-3 (Phénéos). Pour un hiérophante nommé Saon, honoré à titre posthume pour sa sagesse, sa générosité et sa magnanimité envers sa propre patrie et envers tous les Grecs, voir *IG V 2*, 517 (Lykosoura, II^e s. apr. J.-C.) et Durie 1984, 144-45.

55. Strabo VIII. 8, 1-2.

56. Baladié 1980, 312-21.

57. *IG V 2*, 265 (voir Jost 1996, 193-200).

58. *IG V 2*, 268. Pour la datation de ce texte au début de l'époque impériale (entre 27 av. J.-C. et 15 apr. J.-C.), voir Bremen van 1996, 140.

59. *IG V 2*, 515b.

les habitants de Mégalopolis et de Lykosoura ne pouvaient assumer la dépense. Xénarchos mit en adjudication les frais de la réparation en promettant mille deniers à qui prendrait cette adjudication; comme personne ne se présentait, il se chargea lui-même des travaux, à condition que l'on gravât une inscription en son honneur. L'étendue des travaux, qui semblent avoir eu quelque importance, reste difficile à apprécier. Selon M.-F. Billot,⁶⁰ elle n'apparaît clairement que dans les parties hautes, notamment pour la sima d'éégout, peut-être une partie des simas des rampants et la réfection des acrotères faitiers. Pour avoir pris en charge les travaux, mais aussi pour avoir procuré des fruits de la terre à la cité, lorsqu'elle était en état de disette, pour ses bienfaits comme gymnasiarque et comme *damourgos*, Xénarchos reçoit l'éloge; des statues et des portraits sur boucliers dorés,⁶¹ de lui et de sa famille, seront exposés dans le sanctuaire de Despoina et dans «le temple de Koré» (sans doute à Mégalopolis), qu'il a également fait réparer.

D'autres bienfaits évergétiques concernent le bon déroulement de la vie religieuse, en particulier le fait d'accepter une prêtrise, charge onéreuse que l'on devait avoir souvent du mal à pourvoir. Le décret mantinéen pour Euphrosynos et Epigonè cité ci-dessus⁶² indique qu'«imitant son mari» (qu'il faut sans doute créditer des mêmes bienfaits), celle-ci a «assumé volontairement la prêtrise pour toute déesse, acceptant généreusement toutes les dépenses» et qu'elle a «pieusement honoré les dieux»; elle a aussi offert des banquets pour tous les Mantinéens. À Lykosoura un décret honorifique pris en l'honneur de Nikasippos, fils de Philippos et de son épouse Timasistrata, fille d'Onasicratès, datant sans doute du début de notre ère, concerne, en même temps que la vie de la cité, la vie religieuse du sanctuaire de Despoina.⁶³ Nikasippos a accepté la prêtrise de Despoina, personne ne s'étant pro-

posé cette année où les mystères tombaient en même temps que les concours olympiques (les recettes du sanctuaire, qui venaient essentiellement des mystères, risquaient d'être amputées du fait de la concurrence des jeux, ll. 14-15); il a aussi payé les impôts dus au fisc par la cité conformément à son statut de cité stipendiaire.⁶⁴ L'année suivante, il a à nouveau accepté la prêtrise, avec sa femme cette fois, alors que les récoltes avaient été mauvaises (ll. 17-18). Il est honoré pour ces bienfaits en même temps que pour son comportement pieux et juste envers les dieux et les hommes: des portraits le représentant lui et sa famille seront exposés dans le sanctuaire.

Les évergètes de Lykosoura semblent appartenir à une famille de bienfaiteurs: les ancêtres de Nikasippos s'étaient déjà distingués par leurs bonnes actions envers les hommes et les dieux (ll. 9-12) et son beau-père, Onésikratès, peut avoir été le même Onésikratès qui fit réparer le temple de Despoina.⁶⁵ On le voit, l'évergétisme concerne à la fois l'entretien des bâtiments et l'exercice de la prêtrise. Comme à propos du décret en l'honneur d'Épaminondas à Akraiphia, on conclurait volontiers, avec L. Robert, à une «misère générale d'où émergent quelques rares fortunes dont les possesseurs sont les seuls à soutenir les charges».⁶⁶

Ajoutons aux évergètes de Lykosoura, les Euryclides, dont on sait l'intérêt pour l'Arcadie, et qui peuvent avoir contribué au redressement de la vie du sanctuaire de Despoina. Les statues d'un fils et d'une fille de (C. Iulius) Laco, fils d'Euryclès, furent offertes par la cité de Mégalopolis à Despoina et placées dans la cella de son temple.⁶⁷

Ailleurs en Arcadie, à Tégée, on signalera un autel, jadis trouvé sur l'agora, qui porte cette inscription, datée du règne d'Auguste:⁶⁸ «Philokratès, fils de Démonikos, en faveur de son fils Démonikos, a consacré l'autel et fait dorer la statue d'Apollon».

60. Billot 1997, 279.

61. Pour cette forme d'honneur, qui se développa sous l'Empire, voir Nowicka 1993, 114-20.

62. IG V 2, 268; voir ci-dessus n. 58.

63. IG V 2, 516 (= Thür, Taeuber 1994, 337-40 no. 35). Pour la date, voir Gossage 1954, 51-56, qui propose la date de 1-2 apr. J.-C., selon un comput actiaque révisé, et Thür, Taeuber 1994, 339.

64. L'interprétation que donne Durie 1984, 138, pour la l. 15 («pour avoir remboursé de ses propres biens le φίσκοϛ qui avait financé les Mystères») est peu vraisemblable.

65. Voir Durie 1984, 139.

66. Robert 1935, 447.

67. IG V 2, 541-542; voir Spawforth 1985, 222-23.

68. IG V 2, 83.

On a mis en rapport l'effigie d'Apollon que Philostrate a fait dorer avec la statue dorée que mentionne Pausanias, un siècle et demi plus tard, dans un temple d'Apollon.⁶⁹ Mais le Périégète a quitté l'agora lorsqu'il rencontre le temple d'Apollon, si bien que l'identification n'est pas assurée. Au demeurant, il faut voir dans cette consécration d'un autel à Apollon et dans la dorure ou la redorure de sa statue un témoignage de la vitalité du culte d'un dieu traditionnel de la cité.

Ainsi voit-on sous le règne d'Auguste, se manifester en Arcadie le souci de restaurer les édifices qui avaient souffert⁷⁰ et d'assurer le maintien des cultes en pourvoyant aux prêtrises. Dans les deux cas, c'est l'évergétisme des citoyens qui est à l'œuvre.

À l'époque des Flaviens, l'évergétisme religieux continue à s'exercer, mais il ne concerne pas, dans notre documentation, les monuments. Lorsque, trois générations avant Pausanias, la statue de Déméter *Mélaina* est brisée par une chute de rocher du plafond de la grotte qui l'abrite, elle n'est pas remplacée, ce qui n'empêche d'ailleurs pas le culte de continuer à être célébré.⁷¹ Deux décrets honorifiques de Mantinée-Antigoneia mettent en évidence le souci de maintenir en vie les cultes traditionnels.⁷² Il s'agit de décrets dans lesquels les honneurs sont accordés par des prêtres organisés en associations (*synodoi*). On y voit que l'aristocratie locale, romanisée, a pris le relais de l'évergétisme grec. Un couple de riches évergètes, Iulia Eudia, fille d'Eutéleinos, et C. Iulius Strobilus, détenteurs de la citoyenneté romaine sans doute depuis le règne d'Auguste,⁷³ montre à plusieurs reprises sa générosité envers les dieux. *IG V 2, 269* est un décret rendu par les prêtres d'Asklépios; on voit que C. Iulius

Strobilus a déjà fait preuve de générosité auparavant, mais une lacune dans le texte ne permet pas de juger dans quelles circonstances. Iulia Eudia, entre autres qualités, a tenu en honneur toute la *synodos* et elle a fait don de six plèthres de vigne (soit un peu plus d'un demi-hectare) aux prêtres d'Asklépios. Il s'agit, comme le note bien P. Martzavou,⁷⁴ d'une fondation dont les revenus seront utilisés pour le culte par les prêtres. Un décret honorifique est érigé par l'association (*synodos*) des prêtres dans le sanctuaire d'Asklépios (peut-être s'agit-il du temple que mentionne Pausanias à Mantinée⁷⁵); il accorde à Iulia Eudia un éloge et un portrait peint sur un bouclier doré consacré dans le temple. Iulia Eudia reçoit aussi des honneurs qui sont en relation avec la vie religieuse du sanctuaire: des sacrifices à Asklépios et à Hygie sont institués à la date anniversaire de sa naissance pour son salut et celui de son époux; «de plus on l'invitera à perpétuité à venir prendre sa part des portions d'honneur, elle et ses descendants, lors des repas des prêtres; lors des repas «isiaques»⁷⁶ et lors de ceux des «porteurs de feu sacré», on lui enverra une part; on invitera aussi C. Iulius Strobilus à venir partager les portions d'honneur». Des privilèges sacerdotaux sont ainsi concédés à Iulia Eudia et à son mari. La bienfaitrice se situe dans la tradition d'un évergétisme féminin à Mantinée-Antigoneia dont on a souligné l'originalité.⁷⁷ Pas plus que Nikippa et Phaéna à l'époque précédente, elle ne participe cependant au banquet et il semble qu'elle n'a pas pu agir sans l'accord de son époux.⁷⁸ De toute évidence elle possédait (en dot? par son époux?) une riche propriété foncière,⁷⁹ car c'est encore quatorze plèthres de vigne qu'elle a consacrés aux prê-

69. Paus. VIII. 53, 7.

70. Aux exemples de restaurations cités ci-dessus, on ajoutera une inscription de Phigalie (*SEG 23, 1968, 237* et *BullÉpigr 1967, 278*), datée du 1^{er} s. apr. J.-C. et trouvée au lieu-dit *Kourdoubouli*, qui indique qu'un personnage a fait réparer le *naos* ou le *pronaos* (ἐπισκεύ[ασεν ---ον] Ἀθηνῶν) pour Athéna. Il doit s'agir du temple d'Athéna et Zeus *Sôter*, déjà repéré dans Jost 1985, 85 et 87, et fouillé par X. Arapoyanni, dont plusieurs trouvailles attestent encore l'existence à l'époque romaine (Arapoyanni 2001, 299-305, avec les références antérieures).

71. Paus. VIII. 42, 11-13.

72. *IG V 2, 269* (= Thür, Taeuber 1994, 121-124 no. 13) et *IG V 2, 270*.

73. *RP I, ARC 91* (Iulia Eudia) et *ARC 110* (Iulius Strobilus). Voir Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1996, 210. Pour la double composante, grecque et romaine, du nom de C. Iulius Strobilus, voir Thür, Taeuber 1994, 123.

74. Martzavou 2008, 164 et n. 5, avec, comme parallèle, l'inscription de Thessalonique *IG X 2. 1, 259*.

75. Paus. VIII. 9, 1.

76. Le contenu de l'expression «repas isiaques» n'est pas clair (cf. Jost 1985, 505-06 et Martzavou 2008, 161-63).

77. Lafond 2006, 228; Martzavou 2008, 178-79.

78. Cf. *IG V 2, 270*, ll. 7-8 et Bielman 2002, 60-61.

79. Sur la persistance de la culture de la vigne en Mantinique à l'époque romaine, voir Baladié, 1980, 180-81.

tres d'un autre dieu mantinéen, Zeus *Épidotès*,⁸⁰ celui-là même sans doute que Pausanias nomme *Épidotès*,⁸¹ sans lui attribuer le temple dont l'inscription apprend l'existence (un portrait peint de Iulia Eudia y sera consacré).

Il faut ensuite attendre le règne d'Hadrien pour trouver à nouveau des témoignages sur la vie des sanctuaires. L'empereur s'intéressa personnellement à l'Arcadie. On sait son goût pour l'hellénisme et les traditions antiques; l'auteur de l'*Histoire Auguste*⁸² le crédite d'avoir construit ou restauré un grand nombre de temples en Grèce, où il avait fait trois séjours, en 124/25, en 128/29, puis en 131/32.⁸³ L'Arcadie, et plus particulièrement Mantinée-Antigoneia, l'intéressa tout particulièrement en raison des liens de *sungeneia* qui existaient entre cette cité et celle de Bithynion, dont était originaire Antinoüs, «le favori très cher de l'empereur Hadrien».⁸⁴ Comme l'explique Pausanias, «les Bithyniens sont par leurs ancêtres, des Arcadiens et des Mantinéens». Le thème de l'origine arcadienne et mantinéenne de Bithynion-Claudiopolis, une cité qui est en face de Byzance, s'inscrit dans la série des traditions relatives aux Arcadiens en Asie Mineure, comme les habitants de Trapézonte et Téléphe à Pergame.⁸⁵ Hadrien choisit donc Mantinée-Antigoneia pour faire élever un temple d'Antinoüs divinisé après sa mort (il s'était noyé dans le Nil en 130).⁸⁶ Encore que ce culte eût été organisé selon le modèle traditionnel des cités, la divinisation du jeune affranchi relève d'une conception nouvelle que l'on analysera ultérieurement. Mais l'interven-

tion d'Hadrien à Mantinée ne s'arrêta pas là.

À Mantinée-Antigoneia, Hadrien aida les habitants à renouer avec leur passé. D'abord, il redonna à la cité son nom ancien de Mantinée, qu'elle avait perdu lorsque Antigone Doson avait mis la ville à sac en 222 av. J.-C.;⁸⁷ ensuite, il s'intéressa au sanctuaire le plus antique, celui de Poséidon *Hippios*, le protecteur de la cité, dont le prêtre est éponyme au II^e s. apr. J.-C.⁸⁸ Le sanctuaire avait été fondé, rapporte Pausanias,⁸⁹ par Agamédès et Trophonios, les héros béotiens qui auraient construit, entre autres édifices, le premier temple en pierre d'Apollon à Delphes;⁹⁰ la chronologie légendaire les situe au VIII/VII^e s. av. J.-C. À Mantinée, selon un procédé particulièrement ancien, ils avaient utilisé pour le temple des pièces de chêne ajustées les unes aux autres. La conception d'ensemble du sanctuaire, un *abaton* où nul ne pouvait pénétrer a également un caractère archaïque: entourant un édicule rudimentaire en bois, un fil de laine marquait les limites du lieu sacré d'une manière quasi-magique. «Ils pensaient peut-être, explique Pausanias, que cet obstacle suffirait à inspirer de la crainte aux hommes, qui, à cette époque avaient du respect pour les choses divines; peut-être aussi quelque force résidait-elle dans le fil». Le héros Aipytos, fils d'Hippochoos, pour avoir coupé le fil, fut submergé par une vague, perdit la vue, puis la vie. L'empereur Hadrien fit reconstruire le sanctuaire en respectant jusqu'à l'extrême le caractère sacré de l'*abaton*: «Il plaça les ouvriers sous l'autorité de surveillants, pour que nul ne jetât un

80. *IG* V 2, 270.

81. Paus. VIII, 9, 2.

82. SHA, *Alex. Sev.*, 42, 6. Voir Beaujeu 1955, 174-75.

83. Halfmann 1986, 188-210.

84. Paus. VIII, 9, 7.

85. *Id.* VIII, 27, 6 (Trapézonte); Jost 1985, 535 et Curty 1995, 86-87 (no. 41: Pergame-Tégée avant 159 av. J.-C.).

86. Voir Robert 1980, 135-36, selon qui «cette légende arcadienne en Bithynie était déjà fixée en 130, au moment de la mort d'Antinoüs». Goukowsky 2002, 232-34, considérant au contraire que cette tradition de *sungeneia* est tardive, explique le choix de Mantinée par l'analogie entre les noms d'Antinoüs et d'Antinoé, fille de Képheus (qui avait choisi le site de Mantinée: Paus. VIII, 8, 4-5), et par la présence dans cette ville de la fameuse Diotime, à laquelle se rattacherait les spéculations philosophiques d'Hadrien. Pour un lien entre Antinoüs et Antinoé, voir aussi Pretzler 2005, 31 et n. 62.

87. Paus. VIII, 8, 12; voir Tsiolis 2002, 91. En dépit de l'installation de nouveaux habitants après 222, la cité avait cherché à perpétuer son passé: c'est Podarès l'Ancien, le guerrier mort aux côtés d'Epaminondas, qu'ils honoraient à l'époque de Pausanias, et non son descendant, citoyen romain, dont la tombe portait désormais l'inscription (Paus. VIII, 9, 9). Voir, sur Podarès et ses descendants, Pretzler 2005, 28-29.

88. *IG* V 2, 274, 275 et 277.

89. Paus. VIII, 10, 2-3.

90. *Id.* IX, 37, 5.

regard sur l'ancien sanctuaire et ne déplaçât quoi que ce fut des débris». Le nouveau sanctuaire était construit autour de l'ancien. Quoiqu'il fût en ruine, le vieux sanctuaire de Poséidon *Hippios* inspirait donc du respect à Hadrien qui tint à le restaurer, tout en respectant les anciennes règles religieuses. Peut-être est-ce en souvenir de cette restauration que les monnaies à l'effigie d'Antinoüs portent au revers un cheval.⁹¹

Le nom de l'empereur est encore associé au sanctuaire de Despoina à Lykosoura.⁹² Une base dédiée à Hadrien par la cité de Mégalopolis a été retrouvée dans le *pronaos* du temple de la déesse; elle est datée de 116/17 par les surnoms de victoire de Trajan, soit avant qu'Hadrien fut empereur: l'inscription qui y figure⁹³ le qualifie de *ktistès*. Pourtant, il s'agit d'un bloc réemployé qui n'a nullement l'apparence d'un remerciement allant avec de grands travaux d'architecture. Des réfections ont eu lieu plus tard, sous le règne de l'empereur: des monnaies à l'effigie d'Hadrien en témoignent, qui ont été trouvées par E. Lévy lors de sondages autour du groupe culturel.⁹⁴ La stèle inscrite *IG V 2, 520* s'y rapporte: des particuliers assument les frais de travaux concernant le naos, le *pronaos* et les offrandes qu'ils contenaient. M.-F. Billot compte au nombre des réfections intervenues sous Hadrien ou après la dépose et la repose du groupe culturel sur un nouveau terrassement intérieur de la cella: en témoignent un muret nord-sud et l'exhaussement de la partie Est de la cella jusqu'à hauteur du nouveau niveau de la base.⁹⁵ Le groupe culturel pré-

sente lui aussi des reprises et des réfections, sans doute de la même époque.⁹⁶

Pour la période des Antonins, la *Périégèse* de Pausanias permet, on l'a vu, de mettre en lumière le maintien et la continuité des cultes traditionnels dans leur diversité. Le témoignage des monnaies en bronze de l'époque des Sévères (Septime Sévère, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Plautilla, Géta ou Elagabal)⁹⁷ confirme cet aspect, mais il permet aussi d'apporter en quelque sorte un correctif à la *Périégèse* concernant la hiérarchie des cultes pratiqués dans la cité. Il ne s'agit pas d'une évolution depuis l'époque du Périégète, mais d'une différence de perspective: Pausanias privilégie les cultes qui sont l'occasion d'anecdotes culturelles et il a tendance à négliger les faits ordinaires; les types monétaires figurés au revers des émissions de chaque cité sont en revanche le reflet des cultes officiels (le droit porte l'effigie impériale). Ainsi Tyché, à laquelle n'est attachée aucune tradition religieuse, n'apparaît qu'une fois chez Pausanias,⁹⁸ elle est au contraire la divinité la plus fréquente sur le monnayage des Sévères. Représentée, comme à Héraïa,⁹⁹ sous les traits d'une jeune femme debout tournée à gauche vers un autel où brûle une flamme, elle tient une phiale dans la main droite et une corne d'abondance dans la gauche. C'est le symbole de la Fortune de la cité; elle remplace l'Athéna poliade qui figurait jadis au droit des monnayages civiques. D'autres personnifications, tout aussi rares chez Pausanias, apparaissent, comme Niké ou la personnification de fleuves qui coulent dans les cités.¹⁰⁰

91. Walker 2006, 355-58. Autre témoignage de l'intérêt d'Hadrien pour le passé de Mantinée: il fait ériger une stèle avec des vers composés par lui sur la tombe d'Epaminondas (Paus. VIII. 11, 8).

92. Dans la période qui sépare Auguste et Hadrien, des tuiles timbrées au nom de *Despoina* indiquent un entretien régulier de la toiture: voir Billot 1997, 279.

93. *IG V 2, 533*. L'inscription montre qu'à l'origine, elle avait été prévue pour honorer Trajan et qu'elle fut réemployée pour Hadrien, voir Evers 1994, 36 et n. 48.

94. Lévy 1967, 518. Elles ne sauraient prouver un remplacement du groupe statuaire à cette époque: voir Lévy, Marcadé 1972, 986.

95. Billot 1997, 279-80. Pour la pose de la mosaïque, voir désormais *ead.* 2008, 147-48.

96. Voir Lévy, Marcadé 1972, 1003. Outre la base de Lykosoura dédiée à Hadrien, signalons qu'une statue de l'empereur se trouvait sur l'agora de Kynaïtha (Paus. VIII. 19, 1), ce qui peut laisser supposer une intervention de l'empereur dans la cité.

97. Voir Head 1911, 444-56; Walker 2006, 322-423.

98. Paus. VIII. 30, 7 (Mégalopolis).

99. Walker 2006, 329 (no. 1375); pour des variantes, voir *op. cit.*, 359, 376; à Kaphyai, sur une monnaie inédite, elle porte une tour crénelée (*op. cit.*, 333, no. 1392).

100. Pour Niké, voir *e.g.* Walker 2006, 360 (no. 1510). Chez Pausanias, l'Érymanthe seul est l'objet d'un culte (Paus. VIII. 24, 12); sur les monnaies figurent, outre Érymanthos, Néda (Phigalie), l'Alphée (Héraïa) et le Ladon (Thelpousa): voir Walker 2006 sous les noms des cités.

Après la divinité protectrice de la cité, les trois divinités les plus représentées sont Asklépios, Dionysos et Artémis.¹⁰¹ Asklépios est figuré debout, portant un *himation* qui lui laisse la poitrine découverte, un bâton autour duquel s'enroule un serpent sous l'épaule gauche. C'est un dieu bienveillant et compatissant, soucieux du bien-être physique de chacun. Fréquent chez Pausanias, il est ici emblématique des aspirations individuelles des citoyens. Dionysos, nu ou vêtu d'un chiton court, tient un canthare et un thyrsos ou une grappe de raisin. C'est le dieu de la convivialité joyeuse, qui, depuis l'époque hellénistique, donne peut-être aussi des espérances d'un caractère nouveau aux individus. Quant à Artémis, la mieux représentée des divinités après Tyché, elle symbolise la vie dans la campagne arcadienne, au détriment de Déméter beaucoup moins présente sur le monnayage des cités que dans la *Périégèse* de Pausanias qui lui porte un intérêt particulier. Les types d'Artémis, assez variés dans le détail, la représentent tantôt avec des torches tantôt en chasserresse accompagnée d'un chien.

Signalons enfin que les divinités égyptiennes, attestée en Arcadie dès le II^e s. av. J.-C.,¹⁰² mais absentes chez Pausanias, apparaissent sur le monnayage de trois cités arcadiennes: Thelpousa (Isis), Héraïa (Isis) et Phénéos (Sérapis).¹⁰³ Parallèlement, on citera les noms théophores Isidoros et Isidora à Thelpousa et une épithète métrique qui honore la prêtresse d'Isis *Dionysia* à Mégalopolis.¹⁰⁴

La manière de représenter les divinités sur les monnaies est banale, on l'a vu pour Tyché, Asklépios, Dionysos, Artémis. D'une manière générale, on ne trouve aucun souci de traduire des particularités locales: Poséidon figure avec le trident et le dauphin d'un dieu marin dont il est très éloigné en

Arcadie si l'on en croit Pausanias; Apollon s'accoude conventionnellement sur le trépied delphique. La présence d'Atalante chasserresse seule, par l'allusion qu'elle peut comporter au fronton scopasique du temple d'Athéna *Aléa*, a une couleur locale plus affirmée.¹⁰⁵

Au total, ce monnayage, s'il comporte quelques accents particuliers par rapport à la *Périégèse*, renvoie lui aussi, comme elle, aux divinités traditionnelles des cités.¹⁰⁶

Si l'Arcadie à l'époque du Haut-Empire semble essentiellement tournée vers son passé, elle n'en connut pas moins des nouveautés: les unes (le culte impérial) communes à toutes les régions romanisées; d'autres plus originales, comme le culte éphémère d'une Aphrodite *Symmachia*, le culte d'Antinoüs et celui de Pallas et d'Évandros. Comme les témoignages relatifs à la conservation des cultes, l'introduction de nouveautés est surtout manifeste sous Auguste et sous Hadrien.

Un culte consacré à Aphrodite *Symmachia* est introduit à Mantinée-Antigoneia à l'époque d'Auguste. La présence des Mantinéens aux côtés d'Octavien lors de la bataille d'Actium avait créé des liens d'amitié entre la cité et l'empereur. Après la victoire, les Mantinéens, «pour rappeler à la postérité leur participation aux côtés des Romains» à la bataille navale d'Actium fondèrent un sanctuaire, avec un temple, pour Aphrodite *Symmachia*, la Vénus *Alliance*.¹⁰⁷ Le choix de cette divinité renvoyait à l'Alliance des Mantinéens, mais elle était aussi un hommage accordé à Octavien et à sa parenté divine avec Vénus; en tant qu'héritier de César, Auguste avait fait sienne cette ascendance divine. Peut-être les Mantinéens furent-ils aidés, comme le suggérait déjà G. Fougères,¹⁰⁸ par des

101. Walker 2006, 322-423.

102. *SEG* 28, 1978, 421 (ca. 200 av. J.-C.).

103. Walker 2006, 420 (no. 1637) pour l'un des types de Thelpousa. Pour les autres monnaies, renseignements aimablement communiqués par R. Veymiers à partir d'une étude à paraître.

104. *SEG* 11, 1950, 1131 (Thelpousa); *IG* V 2, 472 (Mégolopolis, ca. 200 apr. J.-C.), commentée dans Jost 1985, 544-45; pour les «repas isiaques» de Mantinée, voir aussi ci-dessus n. 76.

105. *E.g.*: Walker 2006, 332 (no. 1836: Poséidon; no. 1837: Apollon); 416 (no. 1754: Atalante).

106. Au témoignage des monnaies sur la période des Sévères, ajoutons celui d'une inscription, datée, sans plus de précision, du III^e s. apr. J.-C.: à Gortys d'Arcadie, le prêtre d'Asklépios M. Turpilius Philotas fait construire avec l'argent du sanctuaire une stoa, un *triclinium* et une salle de banquet (*SEG* 11, 1950, 1165), ce qui témoigne de la bonne santé du sanctuaire à cette époque. Signalons également, quoique la date en soit mal établie – vraisemblablement au III^e s. –, une inscription honorifique qui apprend l'existence d'une synagogue à Mantinée, dont le portique fut offert par Aur(elius) Elpidys, «Père du peuple à vie» (*IG* V 2, 295; cf. *BullÉpigr* 1959, 459).

107. Paus. VIII, 9, 6.

108. 1898, 510-11.

subsides de l'empereur dont on sait par Pausanias qu'il était venu en Arcadie.¹⁰⁹ Toujours est-il que le culte de la protectrice des Iulii ne réussit pas vraiment à s'implanter à Mantinée: à l'époque de Pausanias, le temple était déjà en ruine, mais le Périégète a vu la statue d'Aphrodite, offerte, précise-t-il, par Nikippé, fille de Paséas, sans doute la même bienfaitrice Nikippa qui avait accepté la charge financière des sacrifices des *Koragia* en 60/59 av. J.-C.¹¹⁰ À la période augustéenne, on doit peut-être aussi rattacher le tombeau d'Anchise, enterré près de Mantinée par son fils Enée; la légende de la mort d'Anchise en Mantinique était une affirmation des liens entre Rome et le héros troyen allant dans le sens de la volonté de Rome de rassembler Grecs et Romains dans une *sungeneia*.¹¹¹

Dès l'époque d'Auguste, on note aussi l'implantation en Arcadie du culte impérial. On ne retiendra pas ici les nombreuses dédicaces et consécration de statues ou de monuments divers; ces documents honorifiques, s'ils constituent une preuve de loyalisme politique, ne peuvent être tenus pour des faits de culte à proprement parler.¹¹² La mise en place du culte impérial se fait apparemment à l'initiative de riches évergètes locaux: le décret honorifique de Mégalopolis en l'honneur de Xénarchos¹¹³ et de sa femme Nikippa, sous le règne d'Auguste, en fournit un exemple. Il attribue à Xénarchos la construction (*κατασκευάσις*) d'un temple des *Sébastoi*,¹¹⁴ Auguste et Livie (l. 29); en récompense, le peuple, les synèdres et les *negotiatores* de Mégalopolis nomment Xénarchos grand prêtre à vie des Au-

gustes et transmettent cette charge honorifique à ses descendants. C'est donc sans doute un notable de Mégalopolis, Xénarchos, qui fut l'initiateur du culte impérial dans cette cité. En outre, c'est certainement lui qui fit ajouter des concours *Kaisareia*, en l'honneur d'Auguste, aux jeux traditionnels des *Lykaia* sur le mont Lycée: par décret la cité lui accorde, outre l'exemption de toutes les liturgies, la proédrrie aux Λύκαια <καί> Καισάρηα.¹¹⁵ Cette fête double associe le culte impérial à l'une des plus anciennes fêtes arcadiennes, ce qui vise à l'intégrer aux cultes traditionnels dont il revêt les formes (culte rendu par un prêtre devant un temple). La fête, sous l'appellation Λύκαια και Καισάρηα, est à nouveau attestée au II^e s. apr. J.-C. dans un décret de Mégalopolis qui honore l'agonothète M. Tadius Spedianus.¹¹⁶

Sous le règne de Tibère (14-37 apr. J.-C.), un autel porte une dédicace à l'impératrice Livie,¹¹⁷ nommée θεά Ιουλία Σεβαστή: les Grecs la nomment θεά de son vivant (alors qu'elle ne peut être *diva* à Rome); quant au titre d'*Augusta/Sébastè*, il ne lui est donné par le Sénat, sous l'impulsion de Tibère, qu'après la mort d'Auguste et l'adoption testamentaire qui fait de Livie un membre de la *gens Iulia*; il n'apparaît dans les inscriptions qu'après 14 apr. J.-C., même en Grèce.¹¹⁸

Sous le règne d'Hadrien, c'est la cité de Mantinée qui est le lieu de nouveaux cultes. Un citoyen romain, A(ulus) Maecius Phaedrus, fait élever à l'empereur, à ses frais, une statue et un temple pour témoigner sa reconnaissance d'avoir obtenu

109. Paus. VIII. 46, 1. De passage à Tégée, il avait emporté la vieille statue d'Athéna *Aléa*. S'agissait-il, comme on l'a cru (voir Alcock 1993, 175-77), de représailles contre Tégée qui avait été du côté d'Antoine à Actium? Pausanias cite comme parallèle plusieurs cas où des statues divines furent emportées «de chez des vaincus», ce qui pourrait faire pencher vers cette interprétation; mais le goût de l'époque pour la période grecque archaïque peut aussi expliquer le choix d'Auguste. Voir aussi ci-dessus n. 91 pour la réfection du temple de Poséidon *Hippios* par Hadrien à Mantinée.

110. *IG V 2*, 265; voir Jost 1996.

111. Paus. VIII. 12, 8-9; voir Jost 1985, 508-10.

112. Pour ces manifestations, voir Lafond 2006, 300-01.

113. *IG V 2*, 515b. Voir Kantiréa 2007, 230 no. 60 et texte p. 215 no. 7.

114. *IG V 2*, 515b, ll. 27 et 29. Dans la lacune du texte à la l. 27, on rejettera la correction des *IG* [τᾶς Δεσποίνας], le temple de Despoina ayant fait quant à lui l'objet d'une réparation (ἐπισκευ[ά]σε[iv], l. 9); on reviendra à la restitution [τῶν Σεβαστῶν] proposée par Léonardos 1896, 219 et 227 eu égard à la décision de la cité «qu'il soit le grand prêtre des *Sébastoi*».

115. *IG V 2*, 515b, l. 31; voir Lafond 2006, 312-15 (avec la bibliographie antérieure) sur les fêtes doubles.

116. *IG V 2*, 463, l. 7. Sur l'agonothète: *RP I*, ARC 155. Sur la difficulté de savoir si ces jeux étaient encore célébrés sur le mont Lycée ou à Mégalopolis, voir Jost 1985, 185.

117. *IG V 2*, 301 (= Hahn 1994, no. 13).

118. Voir Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 2008, 130-31 et 141-42.

la charge de *grammateus* (peut-être la charge importante de secrétaire du Conseil); le monument a été achevé dans l'année même de cette charge.¹¹⁹ Le temple était sans doute plus ancien que le temple d'Antinoüs, considéré par Pausanias comme le temple le plus récent à son époque.¹²⁰

Le culte d'Antinoüs à Mantinée est incontestablement la nouveauté la plus originale en Arcadie. On ne reviendra pas sur les liens légendaires qui unissaient le jeune Bithynien à Mantinée et qui motivèrent le choix d'Hadrien pour installer un culte de son favori dans la vieille Grèce. Le Périégète, d'ordinaire peu enclin à décrire les édifices romains, réserve à Antinoüs et aux honneurs qui lui furent consacrés un développement conséquent.¹²¹ D'une manière générale, le culte d'Antinoüs fut institué sur leur initiative par les cités; mais ici, comme à Antinoopolis d'Égypte au lendemain de la mort d'Antinoüs, c'est l'empereur qui intervient personnellement: sans être passé par le Sénat selon la procédure habituelle pour une divinisation, il fit construire (κατεστήσατο), précise Pausanias, un temple d'Antinoüs divinisé (εἶναι θεός).¹²² Le culte peut avoir été instauré dès 131/32 ou plutôt en 133/34.¹²³ L'épigraphie confirme le caractère divin d'Antinoüs après sa mort. Une dédicace du sénateur C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L.

Vibullius Pius, cousin d'Hérode Atticus, s'adresse à Antinoüs comme à un «dieu du pays» (τῷ ἐπιχώριῳ θεῷ Ἀντινόῳ): puisque Mantinée avait fondé Bithynion, Antinoüs de Bithynion était en quelque sorte mantinéen.¹²⁴ Citons encore la dédicace métrique gravée sur l'abaque d'un chapiteau,¹²⁵ dont l'inscription funéraire attribuée à Ἀντίνοος θεός l'enlèvement du jeune Isochrysos dans le concert des dieux; le chapiteau provient sans doute du sanctuaire.

La localisation du sanctuaire et du temple d'Antinoüs n'est pas connue. Outre le temple, une dédicace rapporte la consécration d'un portique dans le sanctuaire;¹²⁶ il s'agit d'une initiative privée allant dans le sens de la volonté impériale: le sénateur C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius, originaire de Sparte,¹²⁷ offre une *stoa* avec exèdres à la ville de Mantinée et au «dieu du pays», Antinoüs. Le don fut réalisé à la mort d'Herculanus vers 136 par ses héritiers,¹²⁸ donc assez peu de temps après la mise en place du culte d'Antinoüs.¹²⁹ Un édifice accueillant les mystères d'Antinoüs était peut-être inclus dans le sanctuaire: «des cérémonies à initiation sont célébrées pour lui chaque année», note Pausanias, et des concours pentétériques devaient se dérouler dans le stade.¹³⁰

En dehors de son sanctuaire, Antinoüs était

119. *IG V 2*, 302 (125-128 apr. J.-C). Sur ce personnage: *RP I*, ARC 117. Autre témoignage de culte, la mention du grand prêtre M. Aurélius Agathoclès, prêtre de la Maison des Augustes et de leurs ancêtres à Tégée (*IG V 2*, 132, 2). Plus tardif (ca. 218-235), citons encore pour le culte impérial le décret honorifique des Tégéates *SEG 41*, 1991, 384 pour Sextus Pompeius Ménophanès, «grand prêtre du culte impérial».

120. Paus. VIII, 9, 7.

121. La singularité du culte peut avoir dicté ce choix de Pausanias, ainsi que l'intérêt qu'il porte à Hadrien: voir Arafat 1996, 183-88 et Jacquemin 1996 [1998], 35-40.

122. Qu'il s'agisse d'une initiative d'Hadrien en personne ne fait pas de doute (malgré Fougères 1898, 515-16): voir Robert 1980, 135, d'après Pausanias, et Price 1984, 68 et n. 59, qui fait observer que la soudaine floraison dans l'Empire de monnaies où figure le portrait d'Antinoüs et l'uniformité de ce monnayage dans l'Empire ne peuvent être dues à la seule initiative locale.

123. Voir Goukowsky 2002, 232.

124. *Op. cit.*, 237, donne à ἐπιχώριος le sens de «voisin», d'après une glose d'Hésychios, et considère qu'Antinoüs, «malgré sa nature astrale ... reste un *daimôn* sublunaire ... proche de son sanctuaire». Le sens de «originaire du pays» est mieux attesté et convient bien ici.

125. *IG V 2*, 312.

126. *IG V 2*, 281; voir Meyer 1991, 166-67.

127. *PIR² I*, 302. *RP II*, LAC *462. On sait l'influence considérable des Euryclides, première famille de Sparte, dans le Péloponnèse et leurs liens avec l'Arcadie (cf. ci-dessus n. 67 et Spawforth 1985, 219-20). La famille d'Eurycles était sans doute propriétaire de terres aux abords de Mantinée, voir Kahrstedt 1954, 134. Eurycles Herculanus est le premier Spartiate à être entré au Sénat; il fut à Sparte grand prêtre à vie du culte impérial et eut le titre de φιλοσέβαστος. Personnellement lié à Hadrien et à Antinoüs, il représente un modèle parfait d'intégration sociale à l'Empire.

128. Voir Spawforth 1978, 255-56.

129. Moins d'une dizaine d'années après la mort d'Antinoüs.

130. Paus. VIII, 9, 8.

honoré dans un autre lieu de la cité: le gymnase.¹³¹ Cet emplacement s'explique sans doute par la place d'Antinoüs dans le cadre de l'éphébie;¹³² on sait aussi le rôle des gymnases dans le développement de la propagande impériale. Dans le gymnase, écrit Pausanias, «il y a une pièce (*oikos*), qui contient des statues (*agalmata*) d'Antinoüs; il mérite d'être vu, en particulier à cause des pierres dont il est orné et pour les peintures qu'on peut y regarder. La plupart représentent Antinoüs, figuré à l'image exacte de Dionysos. Il y a même à cet endroit une copie de la peinture du Céramique représentant le combat des Athéniens à Mantinée».¹³³ Les *agalmata* d'Antinoüs – l'emploi du mot *agalmata* leur donne une nette coloration religieuse – devaient le représenter suivant un type officiel qui fut élaboré aux lendemains de sa mort:¹³⁴ sur le corps d'une statue divine d'époque classique se greffe une tête qui se rattache à l'art du portrait contemporain, avec de longs cheveux bouclés et un visage sensuel, au regard sombre et à la bouche charnue et lasse.¹³⁵ Les portraits peints¹³⁶ qui figuraient Antinoüs à l'image de Dionysos, avec une couronne de feuillages, se rattachaient, peut-on croire, à la première image qui fut donnée du gréco-bithynien: Dionysos était le dieu le plus proche d'Osiris auquel Antinoüs fut assimilé dès sa mort.¹³⁷ Les images peintes du gymnase étaient-elles sorties de l'*oikos*, pour jouer un rôle dans le culte? On ne

peut en décider ici, mais on rapprochera le fameux texte de Gytheion, sous le règne de Tibère:¹³⁸ la procession du culte impérial, éphèbes en tête, s'arrêtait, avant le début des jeux, devant le théâtre pour que soit offert un sacrifice devant des images (*εἰκόνες γραπταί*) d'Auguste, Livie et Tibère.

Les mystères¹³⁹ et les concours institués à Mantinée en l'honneur d'Antinoüs ont leur pendant à Bithynion.¹⁴⁰ L'institution de mystères peut renvoyer au goût personnel d'Hadrien pour ce type de cérémonies.¹⁴¹ Sur les mystères de Mantinée, on ne sait évidemment rien, mais la prédilection des Mantiniens pour la représentation du jeune Antinoüs en Dionysos donne peut-être une indication sur la tonalité de ces cérémonies (Dionysos avait d'ailleurs des mystères en Mantinique).¹⁴²

Les concours organisés en l'honneur d'Antinoüs, appelés *Antinoeia*, furent probablement fondés eux aussi par Hadrien. Ils se déroulaient dans le stade que mentionne Pausanias; pentétériques et sans doute isolympiques,¹⁴³ ils prirent rang parmi les grands concours panhelléniques.¹⁴⁴ Ils sont attestés aux II^e et III^e siècles (au III^e siècle, ils apparaissent sous le nom de Grandes *Antinoeia*, τὰ μεγάλα Ἀντινόεια).¹⁴⁵ Leur succès est incontestable: un certain nombre d'agonothètes nous sont connus; tous font partie de l'élite provinciale et tous sont stratèges du *koinon* des Achéens. Ainsi, probablement sous Hadrien, le Messénien T. Fl(a-

131. Le gymnase, sans doute imputable comme le temple d'Antinoüs à Hadrien, n'a pas été localisé, voir Fougères 1898, 174 et 180 et *contra*, Delorme 1960, 203.

132. Meyer 1991, 205.

133. Paus. VIII, 9, 8.

134. Meyer 1991, 17-23.

135. Sur l'iconographie d'Antinoüs, voir Clairmont 1966.

136. Un texte du rhéteur Ménandre de Laodicée recommande de proclamer bienheureux Antinoüs, en tant que dieu, dieu qu'il est et de peindre des portraits de lui (cité par Goukowsky 2002, 229-30).

137. Voir Oppen 2008, 181-86.

138. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923, Gytheion; voir Kantiréa 2007, 65-68, 204-05 (avec la bibliographie antérieure).

139. Goukowsky 2002, 234 suggère, sans preuve décisive, de placer également à Mantinée l'existence d'un oracle d'Antinoüs cité dans SHA, *Hadr.* 14, 7. Il s'agirait de la consultation de recueils d'oracles en vers censés avoir été inspirés par Antinoüs.

140. Cf. Robert 1980, 132-34. Goukowsky 2006, 238-39, considère les mystères de Bithynion comme une filiale de ceux de Mantinée.

141. Beaujeu 1955, 165-74, en particulier pour les mystères d'Eleusis auxquels il fut initié; Antinoüs le fut peut-être également (voir Arafat 2006, 164).

142. Paus. VIII, 6, 5.

143. Cf. *id.* VIII, 9, 8 et *IG V* 2, 313, ll. 2-3 (II^e s.), où le nom des *Antinoeia* est cependant restitué.

144. Spawforth 1989, 195, après Fougères 1898, 517, identifie les *Antinoeia* aux *Mantineia*, concours thématites organisés sous la direction du *koinon* arcadien, dont Mantinée est devenue la capitale. *Contra* Robert, 1980, 135 n. 16 et Jost 1985, 542.

145. *IvO* 452, ll. 5-6.

vius) Polybius,¹⁴⁶ puis aux II^e/III^e siècles l'Argien T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus, fils de Lamprias,¹⁴⁷ et au milieu du III^e siècle le Coronéen C. Clo(dius) Iul(ius) Cleobulus¹⁴⁸ furent agonothètes de ces jeux. Suivant les aspirations impériales, les élites locales et provinciales ont donc permis le développement du culte d'Antinoüs et sa réussite.

L'adhésion des élites locales est aussi manifeste à travers le monnayage: à Mantinée, le nom de Veturius (ΒΕΤΟΥΡΙΟΣ), peut-être celui-là même qui est attesté à Epidaure et à Ephèse avec une carrière sénatoriale, est inscrit sur les monnaies¹⁴⁹ en même temps que la légende ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΚΑΣΙ; ce Veturius avait sans doute participé aux frais de l'émission et peut-être avait-il présidé les fêtes et les concours en l'honneur d'Antinoüs.

Qu'en fut-il d'Antinoüs divinisé? Sa popularité est difficile à appréhender. On apprend par Dion Cassius et par la *Souda* que l'apothéose du Bithynien fut marquée par l'apparition d'une étoile, résidence de son âme immortelle;¹⁵⁰ Antinoüs aurait eu une apothéose astrale. Telle n'était sans doute pas la croyance des Mantinéens: dans une inscription funéraire rédigée par le père du défunt, Epitynchanos, pour le jeune Isochrysos,¹⁵¹ Ἀντίνοος θεός apparaît en dieu psychopompe qui a enlevé l'adolescent pour le faire trôner «avec les Immortels». De ce lien qu'ont entre eux Antinoüs et Hermès, le caducée qui figure sur une monnaie à côté du profil d'Antinoüs¹⁵² porte aussi témoignage. On aimerait croire, avec L. Robert, qu'en Arcadie comme à Bithynion, Antinoüs n'était pas un «garçon de la ville» et que, à l'instar d'Hermès *Nomios* et de Pan *Nomios*, il protégeait «les troupeaux qui

donnent le lait, la viande et le cuir».¹⁵³ Les témoignages nous manquent malheureusement pour ressusciter cette figure. On a remarqué que si Antinoüs est mis au même niveau que le prince et la famille impériale, par exemple sur les monnaies, ce n'est toutefois pas comme membre de la *Domus Augusta*, mais comme personnage divinisé.¹⁵⁴

Le culte d'Antinoüs est attesté ailleurs qu'en Arcadie dans le Péloponnèse: le *koinon* des Achéens rendait un culte à Antinoüs et le monnayage des cités de Corinthe, Argos et Olympie frappèrent monnaie à son effigie; Argos eut aussi des jeux en son honneur. C'était une manière de manifester adhésion et loyauté à Hadrien qui avait installé le culte à Mantinée.¹⁵⁵

Les liens qui unissent l'Arcadie et l'Empire romain sous Hadrien, par le biais du culte d'Antinoüs, se manifestent encore sous le règne de son successeur Antonin le Pieux. Celui-ci aurait rendu à la bourgade de Pallantion en Arcadie un statut de cité; il lui aurait en outre accordé la liberté et l'exemption d'impôt.¹⁵⁶ Or la raison de ces libéralités était une relation de *sungeneia* forte entre Rome et Pallantion. Évandre, «le plus éminent des Arcadiens» aurait fondé, «à la tête d'une troupe d'Arcadiens de Pallantion», une cité au bord du Tibre. «Le quartier de la Rome actuelle qui fut habité par Évandre et les Arcadiens qui l'avaient suivi reçut le nom de Palatin en souvenir de la ville arcadienne», par suite de la suppression des lettres *lambda* et *nu* dans le nom de la métropole. De toute évidence, une certaine homonymie entre Pallantion et Palatin avait permis de faire le lien entre Rome, Évandre et Pallantion. Cette légende

146. *IvO* 450. *RP* I, EL 209.

147. *IG* IV, 590, ll. 1-13. *RP* I, ARG 254. Il est d'ailleurs aussi agonothète des *Antinoeia* d'Argos.

148. *IvO* 452. *RP* I, EL 169 et *RP* II, MES 170.

149. *BMC Peloponnesus*, 177 nos 89-90. *RP* I, ARC 169. Sur l'identification possible de Veturius avec un Veturius Paccianus attesté à Epidaure et à Ephèse avec une carrière sénatoriale, voir Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1997/98, 540 n. 839.

150. Cass. Dio LXIX. 11, 4; *Suda*, s.v. Παιδικά.

151. *IG* V 2, 312. Selon Robert, 1980, 135, le texte serait plus tardif que ne l'indiquent les *IG* («*paullo post a. 130 p. Chr.*»). Robert interprète cette inscription comme un acte de dévotion personnelle; la formule du deuxième distique renverrait à une simple autorisation «par décret de sa patrie». Pour Meyer 1991, 209, au contraire, le père du jeune aristocrate défunt Isochrysos aurait obtenu pour lui une héroïsation officielle.

152. Blum 1914, 37 no. 6.

153. Robert 1980, 134; voir déjà Blum 1914, 67-70, qui le fait présider «à la vie et à la fécondité des plantes et des animaux».

154. Voir Beaujeu 1955, 245-46.

155. Voir Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, 1997/98, 539-42.

156. Paus. VIII. 43, 1.

s'inscrit au cœur des traditions par lesquelles Rome prétendait prouver qu'elle avait de lointaines origines helléniques: Évandre et ses compagnons arcadiens seraient venus se fixer à Rome et auraient apporté aux rudes habitants de ce pays les bienfaits de la civilisation.¹⁵⁷ Le thème, récemment étudié chez Tite-Live, Virgile, Ovide et Denys d'Halicarnasse,¹⁵⁸ est particulièrement en vogue à l'époque augustéenne. Qu'en est-il du lien particulier d'Évandre avec Pallantion d'Arcadie?

L'existence d'un Arcadien nommé Évandre est déjà attestée en Grèce dans un fragment d'Hésiode, mais le héros y est donné comme tégéate (fils d'Échémos de Tégée).¹⁵⁹ À Rome ce nom apparaîtrait pour la première fois au III^e siècle.¹⁶⁰ Quant à la tradition qui rapporte le nom du Palatin à Pallantion d'Arcadie, elle est manifestement récente et d'origine romaine. Comme l'a montré J. Bayet, elle n'est pas encore bien établie à la fin du I^{er} s. av. J.-C.¹⁶¹ Varron ne choisit pas entre elle et trois autres hypothèses.¹⁶² Denys d'Halicarnasse, au début de l'Empire,¹⁶³ l'adopte, mais Virgile ou Ovide ne l'admettent pas; ils rattachent Évandre à Nonakris sur le mont Cyllène, à la Parrhasie, à Tégée ou à Phénéos; Tite-Live ne connaît pas non plus la tradition.¹⁶⁴ Le personnage d'Évandre prit corps à Rome avant que ne s'imposât le rapprochement toponymique Palatin/Pallantion. Ce dernier devint la doctrine officielle au II^e siècle, juste avant le règne d'Antonin le Pieux ou sous l'impulsion de ce dernier. C'est par contrecoup que la légende fut adoptée à Pallantion d'Arcadie.

Dans cette ville, Pausanias mentionne «un temple avec des statues en marbre, l'une de Pallas, l'au-

tre d'Évandre».¹⁶⁵ L'édifice fut sans doute consacré peu avant le passage du Périégète, qu'il ait précédé les bienfaits d'Antonin, qu'il les ait suivis ou encore que celui-ci en soit l'initiateur. Pallas est le fils de Lykaon (également évoqué à propos du sacrifice aux dieux *Katharoi* de Pallantion) et l'aïeul d'Évandre selon Virgile.¹⁶⁶ Sa statue est citée par Pausanias avant celle d'Évandre, car en tant que fondateur de Pallantion,¹⁶⁷ il est à l'origine du nom de Palatin; celui-ci, dérivé de Pallantion, est arrivé grâce à Évandre et à ses compagnons jusqu'en Italie.¹⁶⁸ Plus qu'à des héros grecs, l'édifice consacré à Pallas et à Évandre s'adressait à des personnages qui avaient une réalité mythico-historique et dont l'importance justifiait ainsi l'attribution exceptionnelle d'un temple.¹⁶⁹

L'attention portée à l'époque d'Antonin le Pieux à Évandre montre la vitalité de sa légende à Rome au II^e siècle; de là, elle fut alors réexportée en Arcadie où Pausanias en eut le récit. L'étymologie Palatin/Pallantion et les privilèges accordés à Pallantion témoignent d'une volonté nouvelle d'ancrer la légende dans un lieu défini d'Arcadie plutôt que dans l'Arcadie imprécise des poètes.¹⁷⁰

Au total, la vie religieuse en Arcadie à l'époque du Haut-Empire paraît bien peu dynamique comparée à la prospérité des villes d'Asie Mineure (sous les Sévères notamment): «concours, constructions d'édifices, fondations de toute catégorie, extrême abondance d'inscriptions dans les petites villes comme dans les grandes» sont énumérés par L. Robert¹⁷¹ pour caractériser alors cette région. Rien de tout cela en Arcadie; seuls les *Antinoeia*, dus à l'empereur Hadrien constituent une nouveauté de

157. Sur l'arcadisme romain, cf. Bayet 1920 et 1926; Martin 1974, 141-51; Delcourt 2001, 833-38.

158. Voir Delcourt 2001, 829-63; Fabre-Serris 2008, 12-20.

159. Hes. fr. 168 (Merkelbach-West).

160. Bayet 1926, 190 et 201.

161. *Id.* 1920, 71.

162. Varro, *Ling.* V, 53.

163. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* I, 31, 4.

164. Pour les différentes localisations d'Évandre en Arcadie, voir les relevés de Bayet 1926, 198 et Delcourt 2001, 834 n. 32.

165. Paus. VIII, 44, 5.

166. *Id.* VIII, 44, 5-6; Verg., *Aen.* VIII, 51.

167. Paus. VIII, 3, 2.

168. Sur la jonction au II^e s. av. J.-C. d'un éponyme *Pallas* avec Évandre, d'où résulta le personnage arcadien de Pallas, voir Bayet 1926, 190.

169. À Rome, Évandre avait un autel: Dion Hal., *Ant. Rom.* I, 32, 2.

170. Sur l'indifférence des poètes augustéens à la topographie arcadienne, cf. *ci-dessus* n. 164.

171. Robert 1984, 39.

quelque rayonnement. Ce qui frappe en revanche, c'est le maintien des valeurs ancestrales. Faut-il, avec S. Alcock,¹⁷² donner à cette attitude de préservation des aspects traditionnels une signification de «résistance»? On penserait plutôt à une sorte de repli sur des formules acquises qui sont réactivées périodiquement (l'époque d'Hadrien en marque l'apogée). Encore ces réactivations ne se font-elles pas sans difficulté. Plusieurs sanctuaires sont en ruine à l'époque de Pausanias et, quand l'empereur n'intervient pas personnellement (comme Hadrien à Mantinée), il faut compter sur l'évergétisme d'une poignée de riches citoyens pour restaurer les édifices et assurer les grandes prêtrises. Cependant, une sorte d'idéal arcadien fait son chemin à Rome: Évandre l'Arcadien a, selon Virgile,¹⁷³ établi dans le Latium un règne caractérisé par la *pietas*, la *virtus* et la simplicité des temps pastoraux, selon un programme qui rejoint celui d'Auguste. Au II^e siècle, la *sungeneia* entre l'Arcadie et Rome consacre la place importante de l'hellénisme sous l'égide de Rome, dans la recherche de l'harmonie et de l'*homonoia* dans l'empire romain.

Madeleine Jost

Université Paris X-Nanterre, UMR 7041

Christine Hoët-van Cauwenberghe

Université Ch. de Gaulle-Lille 3,
Halma-Ipel, UMR 8164 (CNRS, Lille 3, MCC)

Bibliographie

- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia capta: the landscape of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- , 1998: «Greece: A Landscape of Resistance?», in D. J. Mattingly (éd.), *Dialogues in Roman imperialism, power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman Empire*, JRA Suppl. 23, Portsmouth - Rhode Island, 103-15.
- Arafat (K. W.), 1996: *Pausanias' Greece: Ancient artists and Roman rulers*, Cambridge.
- Arapoyanni (X.), 2001: «Ἀνασκαφές στη Φινγιάλεια», in V. Mitsopoulos-Leon (éd.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes. Akten des Symposions anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen«*, Athen 5.3.-7.3. 1998, Athènes, 299-305.
- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris.
- Bayet (J.), 1920: «Les origines de l'arcadisme romain», *MÉFRA*, 38, 63-143 (= J. Bayet, *Idéologie et plastique*, Rome 1974, 43-125)
- , 1926: *Les origines de l'Hercule romain*, Paris.
- Beaujeu (J.), 1955: *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, I. *La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)*, Paris.
- Bielman (A.), 2002: *Femmes en public dans le monde hellénistique, IV^e-I^{er} av. J.-C.*, Paris.
- Billot (M.-Fr.), 1997: «Le décor des toits de Grèce du II^e s. ap. J.-C. Traditions, innovations, importations», *BCH* 121, 235-90.
- , 2008: «Le temple de Despoina», *Ktèma* 33, 135-80.
- Blum (G.), 1914: «Numismatique d'Antinoüs», *JIAN* 16, 33-70.
- Bremen van (R.), 1996: *The limits of participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Amsterdam.
- Clairmont (A. W.), 1966: *Die Bildnisse des Antinous. Ein Beitrag zur Porträtplastik unter Kaiser Hadrian*, Rome.
- Curry (O.), 1995: *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques. Catalogue raisonné des inscriptions contenant le terme «sugeneia» et analyse critique*, Genève.
- Delcourt (A.), 2001: «Évandre à Rome: réflexion autour de quatre interprétations de la légende», *Latomus* 60.4, 829-63.
- Delorme (J.), 1960: *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce, des origines à l'Empire romain*, Paris.
- Durie (E.), 1984: «Les fonctions sacerdotales au sanctuaire de Despoina à Lykosoura - Arcadie», *Horos* 2, 137-47.
- Evers (C.), 1994: *Les portraits d'Hadrien, typologie et ateliers*, Bruxelles.
- Fabre-Serris (J.), 2008: *Rome, l'Arcadie et la mer des Argonautes. Essai sur la naissance d'une Mythologie des origines en Occident*, Villeneuve d'Ascq.
- Fougères (G.), 1898: *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale*, Paris.
- Gossage (A. J.), 1954: «The Date of IG V (2) (SIG² 800)», *ABSA* 49, 51-56.
- Goukowsky (P.), 2002: «Sur une épigramme de Thespies» in *L'épigramme de l'antiquité au XVII^e siècle ou Du ciseau à la pointe*, Nancy - Paris.
- Habicht (W. K.), 1999: *Pausanias Periegetes*, II, Amsterdam.
- Hahn (U.), 1994: *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, Saarbrücken.
- Halfmann (H.), 1986: *Itinera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart.

172. Alcock 1993, 213-14 et *ead.*, 1998.

173. Fabre-Serris 208, 18.

- Head (B. V.), 1911: *Historia Numorum*², Oxford.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (Chr.), 1996: «Onomastique et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine en Arcadie», in A. D. Rizakis (éd.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athènes, 207-14.
- , 1997/98: *Rome et la société provinciale du Péloponnèse sous le Haut-Empire (31 avant J.-C.-235 après J.-C.)*, thèse inédite de l'Université de Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- , 2008: «Les princesses de la famille impériale et le Péloponnèse sous les Julio-claudiens» in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 5-7 octobre 2005*, Ausonius Ét. 21 Bordeaux, 121-44.
- Imhoof-Blumer (F. W.), Gardner (P.), 1887: *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, éd. augm. Chicago 1964.
- Jacquemin (A.), 1996 [1998]: «Pausanias et les empereurs romains», *Ktèma* 21, 29-42.
- Jost (M.), 1985: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, ÉtPélop 9, Paris.
- , 1996: «Evergétisme et conservatisme religieux à Mantinée au I^{er} s. av. J.-C.» in *Splendidissima Civitas, Hommage à Fr. Jacques*, Paris, 193-200.
- Kahrstedt (U.), 1954: *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit*, Berne.
- Kantiréa (M.), 2007: *Les Dieux et les Dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques*, Meletemata 50, Athènes.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C.-III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Léonardos (V. I.), 1896: «Λυκοσοῦρας ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δεσποίνης ἀνασκαφῶν μετὰ 14 πανομοιοτύπων ἐπιγραφῶν ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ», *AE*, 217-42.
- Lévy (E.), 1967: «Sondages à Lykosoura et date de Damosphon», *BCH* 91, 518-45.
- Lévy (E.), Marcadé (J.), 1972: «Au musée de Lykosoura», *BCH* 96, 967-1004.
- Martin (P. M.), 1974: «Pour une approche du mythe dans sa fonction historique. Illustration: le mythe d'Évan-dre», *Caesarodunum* 9, 132-51.
- Martzavou (P.), 2008: *Recherches sur les communautés festives dans la vieille Grèce» (II^e siècle a. C.-III^e siècle p. C.). Contribution à l'étude du contexte historique et sociologique des cultes dans la Grèce romaine*, thèse inédite Paris.
- Meyer (H.), 1991: *Antinoüs. Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoni-schen Zeit*, Munich.
- Nowicka (M.), 1993: *Le portrait dans la peinture antique*, Varsovie.
- Opper (Th.), 2008: *Hadrian: empire and conflict*, Londres.
- Pirenne-Delforge (V.), 2008: *Retour à la source: Pausanias et la religion grecque*, Suppl. Kernos 20, Liège.
- Pretzler (M.), 2005: «Pausanias in Mantinea: invention and manipulation of local history», *PCPhS* 51, 21-34.
- , 2007: *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece*, Londres.
- Price (S.), 1984: *Rituals and Power: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.
- Pritchett (W. K.), 1999: *Pausanias Periegetes*, II, Amsterdam.
- RP I: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Kantirea (M.), *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athènes, 2001.
- RP II: Rizakis (A.), Zoumbaki (S.), Lepeniotti (Cl.), *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athènes, 2004.
- Robert (L.), 1935: «Études sur la topographie et les inscriptions de la Grèce centrale. VI Décrets d'Akraiphia», *BCH* 59, 438-52 (= *OMS* I, 279-93).
- , 1980: *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, *BEFAR* 239, Paris.
- , 1984: «Discours d'ouverture du VIII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine», in A. Kalogeropoulou (éd.), *Actes du VIII^e Congrès International d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Athènes 3-9 Oct. 1982, Athènes, 35-45 (= D. Rousset [ed.], *Choix d'écrits*, Paris 2007, 267-78).
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1978: «Balbilla, the Euryclids and Memorials for a Greek Magnate», *ABSA* 73, 255-56.
- , 1985: «Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical Notes», *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1989: «Agonistic Festivals in Roman Greece», in S. Walker, A. Cameron (éds), *Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: papers from the tenth British Museum classical colloquium*, *BICS* Suppl. 55, Londres, 193-97.
- Thür (G.), Taeuber (H.), 1994: *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis: Arkadien*, Vienne.
- Tsiolis (V.), 2002: *Mantinea-Antigonea. Aspectos históricos de una ciudad Arcadia*, Tolède.
- Walker (A. S.), 2006: *Coins of Peloponnesos. The BCD Collection. Auction LHS 96, May 8-9 2006*, Zurich.

FEASTS AND GAMES OF PAIDES IN THE PELOPONNESE OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

Annalisa Lo Monaco

Abstract: This paper focuses on the role of the *kourotrophoi* deities in the Roman Peloponnese. It is surprising to note the absence of a cult or a feast celebrated in their name. In Messenia, Eleia and Laconia peculiar divine qualities and privileged attentions in honour of the *paides* appear to gather around the figure of Artemis, to which both young boys and girls turn. She is given epithets such as Φιλομείραξ (at Elis), Ἰακυνθοτρόφος (at Amyklai), or παιδοτρόφος (at Korone). Articulated rites of initiation appear in her name at Lousoi (*Hemerasia*), at Kaphyai (*Kondyleatis* and *Knakalesia*), by the banks of the Eurotas (*Orthia*), at Stymphalos (*Stymphalia*), at Orchomenos (*Hymnia*) and on the border between Arcadia and Laconia (*Karyatis*). In the Argolid and Corinthia, Hera and Demeter are the preferred figures called to the function of *kourotrophos*. Sometimes a specific *agon* is carried out at the end of the *agoge*. Sparta is an exemplary case: both the city's celebrations (*Gymnopaïdai*, *Hyakinthiai* and even *Karneiai*) and the *agoge* staged by the banks of the Eurotas under the watchful eye of Artemis *Orthia* include games. In the other settlements of the Peloponnese, the connection between games and initiation rituals appears only seldom: Kleitor (Athena *Koria*) and Lousoi are the only sure cases (it is not the case of Zeus *Lykaïos*). Finally, the only notable example of the cutting and offering of locks of hair is that of Troezen.

The gods

“On the earth there is Irene, nurse of the young”. So sang Hesod in his Works and Days.¹ However in the Theogony, it is Hekate who is referred to as nurse of the young ἐξ ἀρχῆς, a special privilege conferred on her by Zeus.² This example alone would surely be enough to understand how difficult the task defining the identity of a *kourotrophos* deity is.

From a methodological point of view I would tend towards separating the part of *kourotrophos* from the analogous role of a deity who watches over child-birth. In this second role the figure of Eileithyia³ naturally stands out, on occasion linked with other goddesses, such as Athena *Meter* at Elis,⁴ Hera *Eileithyia* at Argos,⁵ and Artemis, sometimes venerated under the epithets of *Hekate*,⁶ *Lochia*,⁷ *Soteira*⁸ or *Eileithyia*.⁹

1. V. 228.

2. V. 450-53. Cf. also schol. Ar., *Vesp.* 804.

3. Here follows a distribution of her places of worship in the Peloponnese in the Imperial period, based on information from Pausanias. Achaia: *Aigion* (VII. 23, 5), Bura (VII. 25, 9) and Pellene (VII. 27, 8); Arcadia: Kleitor (VIII. 21, 3); Megalopolis (VIII. 32, 4); Tegea (VIII. 48, 7); Corinthia: Corinth (II. 5, 4), Argos (II. 18, 3 and 22, 6); Hermione (II. 35, 11); Eleia: Olympia (VI. 20, 2); Laconia: Sparta, in the city (III. 14, 6), and near the Eurotas (III. 17, 1); Messenia: Messene (IV. 31, 9). Cf. also Eileithyia in *LIMC* 3, 1986, 685-99 by R. Olmos.

4. V. 3, 2.

5. Hsch., s.v. Εἰλειθυία.

6. Aesch., *Supp.* 675-76.

7. Eur., *Hipp.* 166-68, *Supp.* 958-59, *IT* 1097.

8. Paus. III. 22, 12 at Boiai.

9. *Hymn. Orph.* 2, 12.

On the other hand, in the role of nurse or guardian of children there are various female deities (Ghe,¹⁰ Artemis,¹¹ Athena,¹² Hera,¹³ Demeter,¹⁴ Leto¹⁵ and Aphrodite¹⁶), male deities¹⁷ (Apollo,¹⁸ Hermes,¹⁹ Herakles²⁰), heroes (Peleus²¹), and nymphs (the Oceanids,²² or the nymphs who feed Dionysius²³ or Zeus²⁴), whilst the epic employs fantastic creatures such as Chiron and Silenus, teachers of “special” children such as Achilles,²⁵ Dionysius,²⁶ Heracles²⁷ and Jason.²⁸ Even the word *kourizein* is rare, known only in epics, from Hesiod²⁹ and Homer³⁰ until Apollonius Rhodius.³¹

Further difficulty results from the nature of the

archeological material available. Whilst it can be fairly simple to recognize the material linked to a cult of “birth”, the same cannot be said with absolute certainty in the case of *kourotrophoi* deities, unless we come across figures which hold or suckle children,³² or figures of the so-called “temple-boys”, crouching on the ground.³³ These typologies, whilst fairly diffused in Archaic and Classical times, become noticeably less common in sacred contexts in the Hellenistic³⁴ and Imperial³⁵ ages.

Finally, the votive figures associated with the cult of a deity with *kourotrophos* aspects are usually fairly generic. They include terracotta busts with

10. Hes., *Theog.* 479; *Hymn. Hom.* 30, 5; Eur., *Phoen.* 683; schol. Ar., *Thesm.* 299; Paus. I. 22, 3 (sanctuary of Athena, shared with Demeter *Chloe*); *Suda*, s.v. *κουροτρόφος*.

11. Diod. Sic. V. 73, 5; *Hymn. Orph.* 36, 8.

12. Diod. Sic. III. 70. The goddess, nurse of Erechtheus, usually carries out the role of protectress of heroes, amongst which Theseus and Heracles stand out (Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 101-05.)

13. The goddess is venerated as the nurse of Heracles at Thebes (*Anth. Graec.* III, book IX, n. 589; Paus. IX. 25).

14. *IG* III, 372-73. Cf. also Solon fr. 43 Bergk; *Hymn. Orph.* 40, 2, 13; Hsch. s.v. *Κουροτρόφος*.

15. Theoc. 18. 50.

16. Plat. Com., fr. 174 and *Anth. Pal.* VI. 318.

17. On the theme of the male deities involved in the role of *kourotrophoi* cf. the information collected in Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 70-72 and, recently, Ajootian 2006, 617-20.

18. Referred to as *kourotrophos* in Eust., *II.* 1293, 3.

19. Ajootian 2006, 617.

20. Pamphilos *apud Ath.* XI. 494e; Hsch. s.v. *οινιστήρια*.

21. Kerényi 1958, 341 fig. 73.

22. Hes., *Theog.* 346-48.

23. *Hymn. Orph.* 51, 1 and 3.

24. A collection of references to the cult of the nymphs as nurses to Zeus as far back as Mycenaean times is in Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 48-69.

25. Pind., *Pyth.* III 43 Shell/Maehler; schol. *Hom.* II. 9, 486 and Paus. III. 18, 12.

26. Eur., *Cyc.* 1-17.

27. Schol. Theoc., 13, 9b.FK

28. Hes., fr. 40 Merkelbach/West; Pind., *Nem.* III. 53-54; *Pyth.* IV. 102-03; schol. *ad Pind.*, *Nem.* III. 92; the privilege is so to speak “extended” to the sons of heroes, as can be seen from the handing over of one of the children of Jason and Medea, Phyllirides, to be brought up in the mountains by Chiron (Hes., *Theog.* 1001).

29. Hes., *Theog.* 347.

30. Hom., *Od.* XXII. 185.

31. Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* I. 195; III. 134 and 666.

32. For a collection of references, listed according to geographic area and chronology, see Hadzisteliou-Price 1978.

33. After the focussing of Hadzisteliou-Price 1969, 95-111 (which indicated the cases of the Heraion of Argos, of the Athenaia of Lindos, Perachora, Corinth, Crete, Thasos, Myrina and Rhodes, as well as some examples which still remain unpublished from Brauron), C. Beer (1987) usefully returned to this typology of votive figure (both male and female).

34. The only references from Hellenistic Arcadia are at Stymphalos, in the temple of Athena (for which cf. Williams 1996, 84 fig. 6) and Lousoi, in the temple of Artemis (Sinn 1992). Draped infants are known in the sanctuary of Eileithyia at Agrai, near the Ilissos (Bieber 1961, fig. 542; Beer 1987, 24). Quantitatively most relevant is the list of examples which in the Hellenistic age concerns funerary contexts (Hadzisteliou-Price 1969, 100-04).

35. Hadzisteliou-Price (1969, 98 n. 41) points out some examples from the Imperial period at Naples, Ostia and in Gaul.

polos, statuettes of *hydrophorai*, miniature vases, also common in cults of generic female³⁶ deities or those of a mystery or chthonian nature.

Then who is the kourotrophos?

A female deity, often identified with Ghe,³⁷ she can also be worshipped on her own, with her own dedicated altar, sanctuary, and priesthood.³⁸ She can even be associated with male deities, such as Hermes or Pan. The epithet *kourotrophos*, although known in numerous other contexts³⁹ and sometimes even used as a noun,⁴⁰ is not definitely documented in the Peloponnese.⁴¹ The only close example is the title of *paidotrophos*,⁴² given to the Artemis who was still being still venerated at Korone on the Messenic coast in Imperial times. The title “nurse of the young” is a curious one, in all of the ancient world it is exclusively documented in the case of the Artemis of Korone.⁴³ She was ven-

erated in a temple shared with Dionysius and Asclepius, a topographic unity which would appear to betray stronger cultural connections.

It is thus surprising to note the absence of a cult celebrated in the name of a *kourotrophos* deity, of a feast bearing its name, or even of a preliminary sacrifice exclusively dedicated to such a deity in the Imperial age Peloponnese.⁴⁴

In Messenia, Eleia and Laconia peculiar divine qualities and privileged attentions intended for the *paides* appear to gather around the figure of Artemis. The feasts of Sparta are celebrated in her name (the *Tithenidia* with the banquet called *kopides* in honour of Artemis *Korythalia*⁴⁵ and the *Hyakinthia*⁴⁶), of Kaphyai⁴⁷ and of Stymphalos.⁴⁸ To her both young boys⁴⁹ and girls turn, with sacrifices (Artemis *Korythalia*),⁵⁰ propitiatory pre-nuptial rites and games, and she is given names such as Φιλομείραξ,⁵¹ Ἰακυνθοτρόφος,⁵² local variants of the more generic φιλοπάρθενος,⁵³ κουροτρόφος⁵⁴ or παιδοτρόφος.⁵⁵

36. This is the case of the sanctuary of a female deity by the bank of the Alpheios, where the deposit of votive offerings containing miniatures (kraters, *amphoriskoi*, oil lamps, water jugs) and female protomes with *polos* was discovered (N. Yalouris, “Ἀνασκαφή εἰς Μπάμπες Μακρυσίων”, *ΡΑΑΗ* 1954, 292-98 figs 4-6).

37. Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 110-12.

38. Cf. *IG* II², 1039, l. 58 (Hellenistic period) and *IG* II², 5131 (Imperial period), *IG* II², 5004 (Hadrianic period) and *IG* II², 4778 (mid-2nd c. A.D.); Sokolowski 1969, p. 11 no. 2 fragm. A a, l. 5. Cf. *I. Knidos*, nos 192-93 and esp. 495.

39. Documented with reference to Artemis, Demeter, Ghe, Hekate, Hera, Hestia, Leto, and also in association with male deities, particularly Apollo and the rivers (Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 189-95).

40. In the plural, in an inscription from Eretria (*IG* XII 9, 269).

41. Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 147.

42. Paus. IV. 34, 6.

43. B. gr. Kruse, *RE* XVIII 2 (1942) 2396, s.v. *paidotrophos*.

44. Hadzisteliou-Price 1978, 110.

45. During which the nurses took the male children to the sanctuary of Artemis *Korythalia*, near Kleta, see. Cf. *Ath.* IV. 139a-b.

46. Correctly noted by Hadzisteliou-Price 1971, 140 as the role of Artemis as *kourotrophos* of the hero Hyakinthos really comes down to us only from late sources.

47. Paus. VIII. 23, 6.

48. *Id.* VIII. 22.

49. At Delos, there is a dedication to Artemis [ὕπερ τῶν] παιδίων (G. Fougères, “Fouilles de Délos (avril-août 1886)”, *BCH* 11, 1887, 257 no. 9). The offerings of the children (boys?) preparing to enter the *ephebeia* are directed to her (Hdt. IV, 34), and processions of *epheboi* take place in her honour (a *pompe en oplois* at Athens, for Artemis *Agrotera* (*CIA* II, 467), and a regatta at Munichia (Plut., *De glor. Ath.* 7, 350a).

50. Polemon *apud Ath.* IV. 139a and Molpis *apud Ath.* IV. 140b.

51. At Elis (Paus. VI. 23, 8).

52. Plut., *Am. narr.* 775d with indications that the celebrations took place at night time. Also at Knidos as Ἰακυνθοτρόφος (*SGDI* 3501-502, 3512 = *I. Knidos*, nos 606, l. 13; 59, l. 13; 171 and further *I. Knidos*, no. 220 and *SEG* 38, 1988, 812 B. For the documentation of Knidos, cf. Pugliese Carratelli 1987, 110-23.

53. Nonnus, *Dion.* II. 122.

54. Diod. Sic. V. 73, 5: *And Artemis, we are told, discovered how to effect the healing of young children and the foods which are suitable to the nature of babes, this being the reason why she is also called Kourotrophos* (transl. C. H. Oldfather, ed. Loeb 1939 [repr. 1993]).

55. At Korone (Paus. IV. 34, 6).

Thus her shrines are often near *palaistrai* and *stadia*: at Sicyon a statue of her was erected near the *gymnasion*,⁵⁶ at Elis a *hieron* close to the gymnasium is hers,⁵⁷ and at Olympia an altar on the road to the Hippodrome.⁵⁸

She is a goddess *en limnais* (on the sidelines),⁵⁹ and articulated rites of initiation appear in her name which see the role of protagonist taken by adolescents who are physically marginalized from the spaces of the civic community for a brief period. The outline of the *aition* is common to many traditions: a game (Artemis *Kondileatis*)⁶⁰ or a critical event (*Orthia* at Sparta⁶¹) determine a break with “normality” and the consequent punishment (even the plague in the case of the *Kondileatis*), from which follows a ritual purification which legitimises the reintegration of civic order. The spaces of the rite are usually outside the urban sphere,⁶² close to water sources, or relegated on mountain

peaks. In these settings initiation rituals both for males (Artemis *Kondileatis*, *Orthia Lygosedema*, Artemis *Hemerasia*)⁶³ and for females (Artemis *Stymphalia*,⁶⁴ *Orthia Oupesia*, perhaps Artemis *Knakalesia* at Kaphyai⁶⁵ and the *Karyatis* on the border between Arcadia and Laconia⁶⁶) take place. These are open to all adolescents (*Orthia Lygosedema*, perhaps Artemis *Hymnia* at Orchomenos⁶⁷), or sometimes reserved for their formal delegation (*Orthia Oupesia*). The details of the nocturnal rites follow local traditions, but always seem to open with preliminary sacrifices and to be closed by *choroi* of young girls.⁶⁸

It would therefore seem legitimate to interpret the rare *teletai* recorded in honour of Artemis as feasts linked to initiation rites.⁶⁹ This is the case of the annual ceremony of Mount Cnacalus, near Kaphyai, of which Pausanias describes nocturnal rites celebrated in the severe mountain landscape.⁷⁰

56. Paus. II. 10, 7.

57. *Id.* VI. 23, 8.

58. *Id.* V. 15, 6. By the altar, erected between the late 6th and early 5th c. B.C., there is a larger brick *naiskos* with an altar from circa the middle of the 1st c. A.D. (cf. Mallwitz 1972, 200 and *OIBer* IX, 8-16).

59. For the understanding of the multiple significance of “side lines”, and of its rituals opposed to the integration of those of the urban space, Vernant 1998 is a fundamental point of reference, followed by Montepaone (1999), who dedicates some dense pages to the relationship between Artemis and “boundaries”.

60. Paus. VIII. 23, 6.

61. *Id.* III. 16, 9-10.

62. Except for the case of Messene, in which the *oikos K* sacred to Artemis is placed in the western wing of the peristyle of the *Asklepieion* (Chlepa 2001).

63. Paus. VIII. 18, 8.

64. *Id.* VIII. 22, 7-8.

65. *Id.* VIII. 23, 3-4.

66. *Id.* III. 10, 7. On the feast cf. Nilsson 1995, 196-99.

67. Paus. VIII. 13, 1-5.

68. Calame 1997, 173-90 and 252-304, subdivided in three age groups: children, adolescents and adult women.

69. A problem concerns the precise meaning of the term *telete*: it may have referred to a generic initiation rite, or, as in the case of the most complex *mysteria*, veil the course of sacrifices, processions and banquets (cf. Sfameni Gasparro 1986). At first sight, it appears at least probable that the two terms were used with a certain freedom: in the case of Brauron, for example, the ceremony is called *mysteria* in a scholion of Aristophanes (*Lys.* 645) and *telete* in Hesychius *s.v.* ἀρκτεία. Mysteries specific to Artemis are in fact pretty rare: a scholion of Theocritus bears witness to the, otherwise unknown, example of Athens (schol. Theoc., 2, 66: τὰ δὲ μυστήρια ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι πολιτεύονται); other cases in the northern islands of the Aegean (Thasos and Mytilene), in Asia Minor, at Miletos in honour of Artemis *Pythia* (Rehm 1958, nos 312, 326, 329, 333, 352, 360, 373, 381-82), at Ephesos, and, more hypothetically, at Cyrene (Dobias-Lalou 2000, 210).

70. VIII. 23, 3-4: *They have also a mountain called Cnacalus, where every year they celebrate mysteries in honour of their Artemis* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb 1935 [repr. 1979]). Coins of the Severian period have passed on the iconography of the goddess of Kaphyai: standing, dressed with a short chiton, a torch in both hands (*NCP* 100, 2 pl. T XIV). The mountain location is well-suited to Artemis, who, in the hymn by Callimachus (*Hymn.* 3, 18), declaims: *That all the mountains shall be mine*. It is not entirely clear where this feast took place, given that temples or sacred areas on the mountain dedicated to the goddess are not mentioned. Neither is it clear whether the execution of this rite required specific buildings, closed from external view, or if a sacred area was sufficient within which the ceremonies could be carried out.

In Arcadia the goddess, sometimes given the epithet *Hegemona*, is often side by side with the mysteries of the Great Goddesses.⁷¹ Her attribute is a torch, sometimes double, which accompanies her in her capacity of introductory goddess to a mystery and initiation rite.⁷² As well as at Lykosoura⁷³ and Kaphyai⁷⁴ which we have already mentioned, there is the example of Mount Kratis, in which the goddess is venerated under the epithet *Pyronia*⁷⁵

and of Messene, where as *Phosphoros*⁷⁶ she is identifiable with Hekate.

The visible structures at *Lykochia*, near Megalopolis⁷⁷ (**Fig. 1**) appear to have been connected with an initiation ritual in honour of Artemis. Night-time ceremonies, of which little is known, may have culminated in the offering of goats on a large altar dominating the central area, whilst a vast rectangular space (12 × 13 m) adjacent to the *naos* of

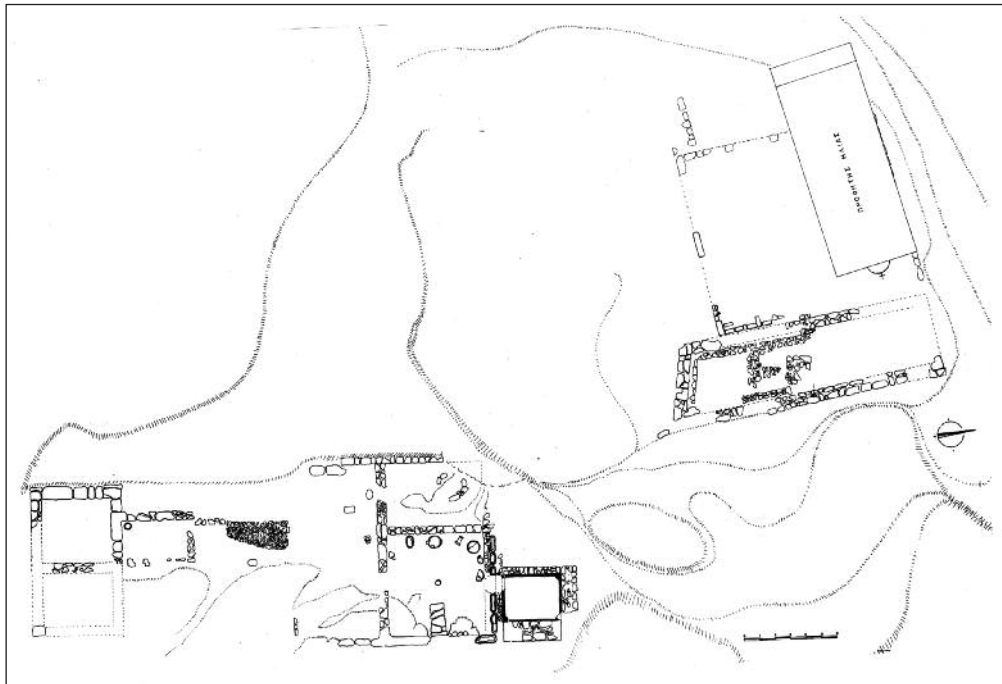


Fig. 1. Sanctuary of Artemis at *Lykochia*, near Megalopolis (from Steinhauer, AD 1975)

71. At Megalopolis, where she is depicted in a sculpted relief right at the entrance to the *temenos* of the Great Goddesses (Paus. VIII. 31, 1). At Zoitia, still within the megalopolitan *chora*, there was a temple consecrated to the joint cult of Demeter and Artemis (Paus. VIII. 35, 7 and Jost 1985, 189-90).

72. The *Dadophoros* type, with simple torch, double, or also in combination with arms or with a dog, in reference to the “principal” role of hunter goddess, is well recorded, recurrent since Classical times depicted on *lekkythoi* and *pyxides* of the red figure-type LIMC II, 655 no. 408 (480-470 B.C.) and no. 409 (about 460 B.C.) and no. 410 (400-390 B.C.); further on marble reliefs, see LIMC II 655 no. 417, a marble slab from Megara, 4th c. B.C., from Athens (655 no. 418, 4th c. B.C.) and from Delos respectively (655 no. 419, late 2nd-early 1st c. B.C.), to the late-Imperial age (coins issued in Thrace LIMC II, 657 no 445, and from Nicopolis ad Istrum in lower Moesia LIMC II, 657 no. 446).

73. Paus. VIII. 37, 1. A small temple to the goddess suitably titled as *Hegemona* was introduced into the larger sacred area consecrated to *Despoina*. Communal offerings were directed to the two goddesses within the sanctuary (IG V 2, 522).

74. The *Artemis* of Kaphyai might also have been of the *Phosphoros* type, as appears from coins issued in the Severan period (NCP 100, 2 pl. T XIV).

75. Paus. VIII. 15,9.

76. Cf. J. Schmidt, RE XX 1 (1941) 655, s.v. *Phosphoros*.

77. The votive material discovered here dates from between the 5th and the 3rd centuries B.C. Use of the site seems nevertheless to have continued until at least the 3rd c. A.D., as indicated by coins discovered there. Furthermore, this identification with the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* mentioned by Pausanias (VIII. 35, 8) would appear to vouch for a continuity until the mid-Imperial period.

the goddess would appear to have been used for the gathering of the initiants.⁷⁸ According to common practice, the ritual proper must have been preceded by a series of ablutions and preliminary baths on the lower terrace. In fact there was a many roomed covered building here, with a stone bench along the walls, and numerous *perirrantheria* and kraters have been discovered in the area. Immediately outside, there was a shallow (2.50 × 3.50 × 0.80 m) and accessible basin, surely used for some practice of ceremonial purification.

The sanctuary of Artemis close to the marsh of Stymphalos⁷⁹ appears to give a different impression. The perfect setting for an initiation rite, directed at the *parthenoi* who in the course of the phase of transition towards the adult and matrimonial life as brides act out a metamorphic transformation into the local animals, the terrifying swamp birds. Logic dictates that they executed the concluding dances dressed as the birds around the altar, according to a often recorded rite of cross-dressing (Brauron, Lykosoura, *Petrovouni*): it seems thus also from the words of Pausanias, who lingers over descriptions of the images of girls on show behind the temple, with the legs of birds and the upper body of a woman.⁸⁰ In the city there was also a sanctuary to Artemis *Brauronia*,⁸¹ perhaps separate from this, the unusual epiclesis of which would appear to betray a rite traced from Attic models.

In the Argolid and Corinthia, Hera and Demeter are the preferred figures called to the function of *kourotrophos*. Besides it is almost taken for granted that the bride of Zeus can be associated with the function of the goddess protecting marriage (*Teleia*) and birth (Hera *Eileithyia*), and hence a privileged role in the world of children and youths. At the Heraion at Argos terracotta figures in the form of the goddess with a male child in her lap had been dedicated to her since Archaic times. Similarities can be drawn with Perakhora, as the finding of a terracotta figure of a crouching boy has shown.⁸² Also analogous is the type of material found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of the Acrocorinth.⁸³

The Games of the Epheboi

Specific *ἀγῶνες παιδικῶν* are documented widely, and with continuity, across the Greek world⁸⁴. The young, divided by age groups, participated in the main festivities of the city. They competed in gymnastic, equestrian, and musical competitions. Given the extremely ample list of examples, it is not always easy to distinguish with certainty amongst these the data which refer to a initiation ritual, when the *agon* was intended at the conclusion of the *agoge* as a test which would lead to the community taking back a citizen by now ready to enter the group of adult men, strong and capable of defending his homeland.⁸⁵ It is not even entirely clear

78. Steinhauer, *AD* 28, 1973, B' 1 *Chron.* 178-80, fig. 10; *id.*, *AD* 30, 1975, B' 1 *Chron.* 77-79, fig. 2.

79. Paus. VIII. 22, 7.

80. *Ibid.*

81. The sanctuary of *Brauronia* of Stymphalos is known only from an honorary decree of the early 2nd c. B.C. which orders the erection of the stele in the sanctuary of the goddess (Moretti 1967 I, no. 55, ll. 8 and 28).

82. *Perakhora* I, no. 295 fig. 114: mid-5th c. B.C.

83. Merker 2000, 68-73 with pls 19-20, recorded from the 5th c. B.C. to the Hellenistic period.

84. Known as early as the 7th c. B.C., from the 5th c. B.C. onwards these already show a further scansion, with the differentiation in groups of *παῖδες* and *ἀγένοι* (up to the age of twelve). In some cases further divisions are applied using the indications *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης, δευτέρας, τρίτης ἡλικίας* (*Theseia* at Athens, *CIA* II, 444-45), *παῖδες οἱ νεώτεροι, παῖδες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἀγένοι* (Boeotia, near Thebes, *CIG* I, 1590, l. 26 and 1591, l. 35), *ἔφηβοι νεώτεροι, μέσοι, πρεσβύτεροι* (Chios, *CIG* II, 2214, ll. 12, 14 and 19), before arriving at the more generic *ἀγῶνες ἐκ πάντων*, without differentiation of age groups (cf. *BCH* 9, 1885, 431 and P. J. Meier, *RE* I 1 [1893] 846, s.v. *agones*).

85. This concept is found especially in the Doric world, and in particular at Sparta, where the literary sources seem, almost unanimously, to suggest that the *agoge* was aimed towards military training. Amongst others, cf. a passage in a dialogue of Lucian, in which Solon explains to his interlocutor Anacharsis the philosophy beneath the bloody customs of the Spartan *epheboi* during their transition into adulthood: *He felt it just that those destined to save the homeland should be extremely resilient and stronger than any torment* (Lucian, *Anach.* 38). Furthermore a passage in Plutarch (*Vit. Lyc.* 16, 6), *they learned to read and write only as far as was strictly necessary; the remainder of the whole education was appropriately focused on obedience of orders, resistance to fatigue, victory in battle*. The close link between *agones* and the world of initiation is recalled by Jourdain-Annequin 1992, 134, and more recently by Marinatos (2003, 131, to which the reader is referred for the relevant bibliography).

if the distinct categories of παῖδες (πάμπαιδες), ἀγένειοι, ἔφηβοι and νέοι testified to in the principal competitions corresponded to fixed subdivisions by age groups or if, rather, they were divided somehow based on the size and the weight of the young competitors.⁸⁶

Since there is no differentiation between the internal structure of the games which can usefully refer them to the field of initiation, the only remaining criteria available are specifically relevant data which come to us from the literary sources or a topographic connection between stadium and hippodrome with a sanctuary in which the cult is known to be connected to initiation.

Sparta is an exemplary case: both the city's celebrations (*Gymnopaïdai*, *Hyakinthiai* and even *Karneiai*) and the *agoge* staged by the banks of the Eurotas under the watchful eye of Artemis *Orthia*, include games which seem to be aimed at the training of citizens resistant to any physical test, and hence prepared to guarantee the security of the *polis*.

The competitive nature of some competitions is, in these cases, sufficiently well-documented thanks to the specific use of the word *agon* passed on by literary and epigraphic sources.

The preliminary *agon* of the *Gymnopaïdai* was a *choros* of *epheboi*,⁸⁷ perhaps the first part of many in a competition divided by age groups.⁸⁸ In the *agora*, in front of the images of Apollo *Pythaeus*, Artemis and Leto, in an area which was called *Choros* for this event, the youths competed naked in dance competitions. The testimonies of Xenophon⁸⁹ and Plutarch⁹⁰ tell us that these events referred to

an *agon* in the true sense of the word. Xenophon refers to it using the form διαγωνίσασθαι, Plutarch uses ἀγωνιζομένων χορῶν. That the performance referred to an initiation comes from the description that the participants were ephēboi subject to the *agoge*, and that the game was perceived as a true “test of resistance”.⁹¹

In the same month,⁹² the feast of the *Hyakinthia* took place, celebrated over several days at the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai:⁹³ the initiation nature of the cult is clear, evident in the very presence of the figure of the youth loved and accidentally killed by Apollo. The remains of Hyacinth were housed within the base of the altar of the god, and sacrifices offered to him “as to a hero”.⁹⁴ On the second day παῖδες sang hymns lauding the god, followed by an exhibition of *choroi* of Archaic dances and songs of νεανίσκοι (another age group). Other youths crossed the theatre on horseback, in my opinion parading between the *paradoi*, while the young girls came on in special ceremonial chariots (κάνναθρα) and, during the night, participated in a *pannychis* which culminated in a *choros*.⁹⁵ That the *Hyakinthia* was also an *agon* is specified by a reference by Strabo⁹⁶ and by the title by which the two women were acclaimed (Memmia Xenocratia daughter of Deximachus⁹⁷ and Pompeia Polla daughter of Theoxenus⁹⁸), both being referred to as ἀρχῆς καὶ θεωρὸς διὰ βίου σεμνοτάτου ἀγῶνος τῶν Ὑακινθίων.

By now we have reached mid-Imperial Sparta, and the tradition seems to still endure, at least judging from the even later testimony of Lactantius.⁹⁹

86. As suggested by Klee 1918, 47.

87. Pl., *Leg.* I. 633 B-C; Paus. III. 11, 9.

88. Xenophon (*Hell.* VI. 4, 16) recalls an ἀνδρικός χορός which must have taken place on the last day of the celebration; cf. also Plutarch (*Vit. Lyc.* 21, 2; *inst. Lac.* 15 = 238 B) and Pollux (*Onom.*, IV. 107) even cite three distinct choirs (κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας), of boys (παῖδες), men (ἄνδρες) and elders (γέροντες).

89. *Hell.* VI. 4, 16.

90. *Vit. Ages.* 29, 2.

91. Brelich 1969, 140.

92. The exact date of the celebration is still a bone of contention: for specifics cf. Brulé 1992, 26-28.

93. Most recently on the festivity cf. Richer 2004, 389-419. For a collection of sources, cf. Wide 1893, 285 and Petterson 1992.

94. Paus. III. 19, 3. On the festivity cf. Brulé 1992, 19-38.

95. Jer., *Adv. Iovinian.* 1, 308. Cf. Calame 1997, 310.

96. Strabo VI. 278 c.

97. *IG V* 1, 586. Cf. *RP II*, 348-49 LAC 542 (late Antonine period).

98. *IG V* 1, 587. Cf. *RP II*, 398-99 LAC 613 (last quarter of 2nd c. A.D.).

99. Lactant., *ad Stat., Theb.* IV. 223: *Amyclae, Laconiae civitas Apollini sacra, in qua Hyacinthus in agone celebratur.*

Musical and athletic competitions are finally provided for in the complicated sequence of the days dedicated to the real holiday of Sparta, the *Karneiai*. An annual celebration, it saw the participation of the *karneiai* chosen at random from the *agamoï*, the unmarried men. This was an older age group than the *paides*, probably of about 30 years old. Having run the fortune-bringing race of the *staphylodromoi*, they challenged one another to musical¹⁰⁰ and gymnastic competitions, including the race of the *dolichos*.¹⁰¹ In this case the initiation aspect appears slightly less clear. In fact this group does not undergo a transition phase aimed towards the achievement of higher status like the *epheboi*, but rather they are already inexorably excluded from it, and as a result of this are isolated and publicly mocked.

Yet another impression comes from the spectacular performances of the *Platanistas*¹⁰² and of the races of the *sphaireis*. Despite being contended by the *epheboi*, who are also involved in a preliminary sacrifice,¹⁰³ these seem difficult to place within a ceremony with initiation functions. However the participation not of individuals but of well-organized teams (even with a “captain”), and the fact that, as Brelich¹⁰⁴ has noted, here they are not so much *agones* as actual combat offer proof

to the contrary. Here it is not the victory which is important, nor the dedication to the deity, and there was not even a final prize. The aim was simply to win over the opposing group through a test of strength. Perhaps this was the reason for the extraordinary overruling of the prohibition of “below the belt” tactics; in the battle of the *Platanistas*, the sources emphasise with a certain dismay,¹⁰⁵ scratching and biting was permitted.

An *agon*, celebrated in ever more spectacular forms as time went on, is at the heart of the most discussed and bloody initiation rites of the Ancient world. It is that celebrated in the name of (Artemis) *Orthia*¹⁰⁶ in the *proasteion*¹⁰⁷ just outside Sparta, on the right bank of the Eurotas. Once again we see a marshy setting on the edge of a city.

Distanced from the city at a tender age,¹⁰⁸ and forced to live in constant poverty, the boys slept on beds of rushes ripped from the banks of the Eurotas. This has led to the hypothesis that the boys’ segregation from civic life and the area of the sanctuary were one and the same.¹⁰⁹ Subdivided by age from fourteen to twenty years old, they took part in musical (*μῶα* and *κελοῖα*) and hunting¹¹⁰ (*καθηρατόριον*) competitions. The winners (*βωμονικά*) were rewarded with a crown and a statue provided at public expense, and an iron sickle to consecrate

100. Information which can be gleaned from Hellanicus, quoted by Athenaeus (XIV. 635e), who in both his works dedicated to the *Karneonikai* recorded Terpander as the first victor.

101. *IG V 1, 222*: Aiglatas. No further data on the nature of these games is added by the inscriptions *IG V 1, 82* ([*Καρν*]εονίκου {[*Νεμ*]εονεϊκού}?) and 209, l. 20, which mention solely the title of *Karneonikas*.

102. Cic., *Tusc.* 5, 77: *adolescentium greges Lacedemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantis pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique, cum exanimarentur priusquam se victos faterentur* and Paus. III. 14, 9, with a detailed description of the place, surrounded by canals and accessible by two bridges.

103. Paus. III. 14, 6: ... *and also an old image of Heracles, to whom sacrifice is paid by the Sphaereis. These are those who are just passing from youth to manhood*; III. 14, 9: *Before the fighting they sacrifice in the Phoebaeum, which is outside the city, not far distant from Therapne*; 20, 8: *all the youths who are going to take part in the contest in Plane-tree Grove are wont to sacrifice to Achilles before the fight* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, H. A. Ormerod, ed. Loeb. 1926 [repr. 1977]).

104. Brelich 1969, 176.

105. Paus. III. 14, 10.

106. It is only in the Flavian period that the name of *Orthia* is linked to that of *Artemis* (Woodward 1929). The bloody and highly dramatic nature of the rite of *Orthia* ensured an extraordinary interest for this cult, which in modern thought has stigmatised some elements of the severity levied at Spartan traditions, since the discovery of the sanctuary (cf. Rawson 1969).

107. Strabo VIII, 363.

108. At the age of seven according to Plutarch (*Vit. Lyc.* 16, 4).

109. On this view see Jeanmaire 1939, 510 and Brelich 1969, 116.

110. Within the educational process the role of hunting is fundamental, stimulating virtues such as discipline and team work (Cf. Xen., *Cyn.* I. 18). Vidal Naquet 1981, 68-72 and Marinatos 2003, 132, who speaks of the bronze sheets discovered on Crete, in the sanctuary of *Kato Syme*.

to the goddess on a stele which stood close to the altar. These objects, on which much has been written,¹¹¹ are undoubtedly the *drepana*, recorded as such in some inscriptions.¹¹² Sickles, therefore, which clearly indicate the agrarian nature of the goddess of the side lines, and which were surely intended to be used in the daily life of an area close to the river and overgrown with reeds and vegetation. Each of these must have been the prizes for a specific competition; in fact up to five sickles at a time could be dedicated on the previously mentioned stele¹¹³ (Fig. 2), and for each of these is recorded the cor-

responding competition.¹¹⁴ Also the example of victories won in different age-groups¹¹⁵ or in successive years¹¹⁶ is given. In this case the addition of new sickles and their relative dedications, often in a smaller font records the event. The competitive programme seems to have altered over time, indicated by the stele. Most of these are datable to the Imperial period¹¹⁷ and the increase in the parts of the competition with the addition of the *εὐβαλκῆς* and the *ἀγὼν τῆς καρτερίας*,¹¹⁸ together with the grandiose building work which definitively transformed the area of the rite with the insertion of a



Fig. 2. Sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia*, stele with five sickles dedicated to the goddess (from Woodward 1929).

111. Cf. Kron (1998, 203) with previous interpretations such as *strigils*, scrapers, sacrificial knives, or arms used during the competitions.

112. *IG V* 1, 264, l. 9 and 258, l. 1.

113. Five sickles are in the dedication of Arexippos of the 4th c. B.C. (Woodward 1929, 296-97 no. 1). In one example on the same stele there are the victories of two separate victors in the same patronomate (*op. cit.*, 321 no. 46).

114. Woodward 1929, 305 no. 16 (three sickles for *kelea*, *eubalkes* and *kynagetas*); *id.*, 318-19 no. 41 (four sickles for *keloia*, *moa*, *katthetatorion* and again *moa*, from the age of *mikichizomenos* until *melleironeis*); *op. cit.*, 326-27 no. 55 (two sickles for *katthetatorion*, *moa* and *keloia* of two competitors).

115. Three sickles (Woodward 1929, 297-98 no. 2).

116. *Op. cit.*, 306 no. 19 (two sickles dedicated for the *moa* in different years); *op. cit.*, 308-09 no. 25 (two sickles for the *moa* and the *kelea* under different *patronomoi*).

117. Examples between the 4th and the 1st c. B.C. are sporadic, and completely absent in the previous phases. Cf. Woodward 1929, 293.

118. Both terms appear to refer to the whipping competitions by the altar. The first of these, *εὐβαλκῆς*, is documented from the Augustan period until the late-Imperial period (Woodward 1905, 288, 305 no. 16, 305-06 no. 18 and 339 no. 84; *IG V* 1, 267-68 and 334), whilst *καρτερίας* in the Trajan period and ca 200 A.D. (Woodward 1905, 288, 316-17 no. 37, 404-05; *IG V* 1, 290). The term *βωμονικής* continues to be recorded throughout the 3rd c. A.D. (Bonnèchere 1993, 15 n. 14).

large ‘set’. This was simply wood in the early Imperial period, becoming a more monumental stone structure in the 3rd c. A.D.

It would appear that a *tranche* of the competition was also reserved for a small number of girls, as referred to in the *Parthenion* of Alcman where he compares them to race horses.¹¹⁹ Perhaps this is evidence of a race among the girls, along the lines of other more notable games of the Doric world, such as the race of eleven Dionisiads which took place in the name of Dionysos *Kolonatas*,¹²⁰ the ἀγῶνες of the *Heraia*¹²¹ at Olympia, and finally the games of Cyrene.¹²²

The ceremony celebrating the goddess *Orthia* at Messene took a completely different form, exclusive to the *parthenoi*. The cult of the goddess, housed since the late 4th c. B.C. within a small *naiskos* prostyle (S7) beneath the boundary of the *agora*, was subsequently transferred into an *oikos* (K) on the western side of the peristyle of the *Asklepieion*. The features of the room, which could be closed by triple moveable wooden panels fitted between two Ionic semi-columns, would appear to guarantee the secrecy necessary for the rite, at least temporarily blocking the view from outside. During the rest of the year the panels were dismantled and the *cella* was once again spacious, well-illuminated and visible from outside. These were characteristics necessary for a space destined to house the valuable acolyte of Damophon. It is in fact around the goddess *Phosphoros* that, in successive phases from the 2nd c. B.C. until the 3rd c. A.D., images of girls involved in the rite are concentrated. They are dressed in high-belted ceremonial chitons,¹²³ protected only by a long *himation*. They wear light-soled sandals on their feet (*hypodemata*), and in their hands hold copies of the *xoanon* of the goddess. Their hair is worn in the *Melonenfrisur*, without a veil but with a band. The

parthenoi were not the only women protagonists of the rite; the procession was accompanied by older priestesses. They wore a long chiton or peplos covered with a *himation*, and held in their left hands a small cylindrical pyxis with a lid, containing the incense to be offered on the *thymiaterion*¹²⁴ (Fig. 3). Some confusion surrounds the role of the girls, and it is not to be discounted that they were initiated in the cult of Artemis. A preliminary problem concerning this comes from the meagre number of statues which depict them found within the *oikos*. There are only five sculptures, datable between the 2nd c. B.C. and the 3rd c. A.D. This is an extremely modest number when compared with the number of girls subject to the initiation, which is thought to have recurred annually, even if only one representative were initiated in each ceremony. The clothing of the statues (long chiton, *himation*, and bare head) more probably refers to the ceremonial dress of young attendants of the cult than to that of its initiants. In fact many questions surround the ritual of *Orthia Phosphoros/Oupesia* of Messene. Whilst the ritual of the night-time dedication of offerings on an external altar on one of the sides of the peristyle, directed towards the venerable *xoanon* transported outside for the occasion and illuminated by torch light is known, the other moments of the “performance” remain unclear.¹²⁵ Neither is it clear if games took place; the only clue regarding this, sadly weak, is the position of *agonothetes* held by a worshipper of the goddess.¹²⁶

The only common element with the Spartan *Orthia* is the presence of the small *xoanon*, carried to the site of the rite by the priestess in the Spartan instance by the girls of Messene. Even if at first sight they appear close, the two goddesses appear therefore to be objects of completely different ceremonies. The cult of *Orthia* of the Eurotas was directed outwards, even to be seen by the eyes of

119. Alcman, *Parth.*, vv. 45-49, vv. 58-59 and v. 63. In this vein, cf. also Napolitano 1985, 19-50 (in part. 29-31, which distinguishes perhaps too definitely between the πρὸ γάμου races, aimed at arousing the erotic interest of the boys, and the sacred *agones*, run in the context of religious festivities.

120. Paus. III. 13, 7 and Hsch. s.v. Διονυσιάδες.

121. Paus. V. 16, 2-3. The κόραι of Elis run, divided into groups by age.

122. Grasberger 1864-1881, III, 506.

123. Also at Brauron the bears were wearing the long crocus-coloured *chitoniskoi* during feast days.

124. Measurement from Despinis 1966 (h. 0.035, diam. 0.055 and 0.045 respectively).

125. Dances, “sacred representations”, athletic competitions, *lampadodromia*, sacrifices and banquets, in the cultural sequence recently proposed by Themelis (2004, 122 n. 42).

126. *Id.*, “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *ΠΑΑΗ* 1991, 90.

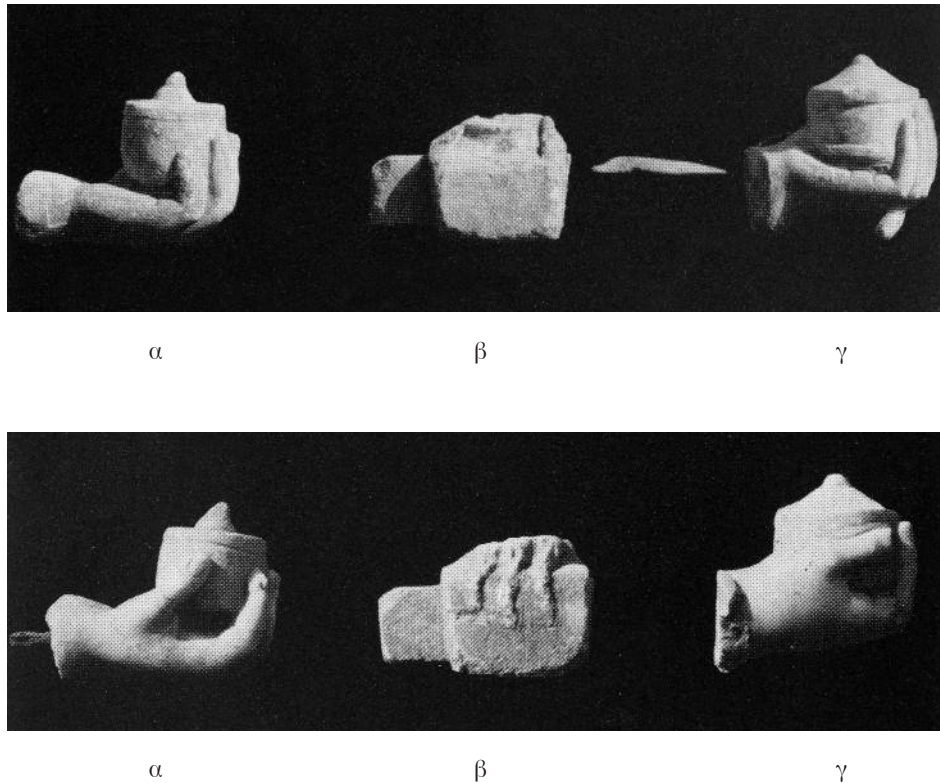


Fig. 3. Messene, woman bringing *pyxides* in honour of Artemis *Oupesia* (from Despiniš 1966).

outsiders to the civic community, and took forms so spectacular as to merit the furnishing of a stone built amphitheatre, at the conclusion of a period of initiation and of distancing from the community. On the other hand the ceremonies in honour of *Orthia* at Messene were exclusive, held within a small and barely illuminated space under the watchful eye of the *gerontes* for whom, in all probability, the places on the stone benches around the walls of the room were destined.

No new information has been provided by the third cultural pole of *Orthia* in the Peloponnese, on Mount Lykone in the Argolid, on the road from Argos to Tegea.¹²⁷ The cult, documented at least from the 5th c. B.C. seems here to transmit a more “Apollonian” than “Tauric” sense, evident in the linking of the goddess with Apollo and Leto, and

in the dedication of three statues of the Muses found here. The sanctuary was located immersed in the centre of a forest of cypresses, delimited by a peribolos within which was a paved surface and a small temple building.¹²⁸ Thus it was a mountain cult, in a place the secrecy of which was ensured by the surrounding ring of cypresses, where open-air ceremonies may have taken place, as the presence of the external paving would appear to confirm. I will refrain from extrapolating the data any further.

We shall leave aside, therefore, the exceptional example of Sparta. In the other settlements of the Peloponnese, the connection between games and initiation rituals appears to be indicated exclusively by the presence of the agonistic structure within a sanctuary known to be home to an initiation cult.

127. Paus. II. 24, 5: *On the right is Mount Lykone, which has trees on it, chiefly cypress. On the top of the mountain is built a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and there have been made white-marble images of Apollo, Leto and Artemis, which they say are works of Polycleitus* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb. 1918 [repr. 1992]).

128. 12.30 × 9.80 m. Some fragments of the cult statues were discovered *in situ*, but have not yet been comprehensively published. They are fragments of upper and lower limbs, part of the drapery, and part of a female torso, pertaining to larger than life-size marble statues (I. Kophiniotis, *AD* 1888, 205; *id.*, *AJA* 4, 1888, 360; *id.*, *AJA* 5, 1889, 101).

Amongst others, it is probable that this was the case of the cult of an Athena with an unusual epithet, *Koria*, venerated in Arcadia some way out of the settlement of Kleitor, on the top of a mountain. The rare epiclesis of the goddess¹²⁹ together with the mountain setting, in a place removed from the daily life of the *polis*, would seem to suggest an initiation rite. Furthermore, the sanctuary was the setting for athletic competitions. As far back as Classical times athletic competition were held during the feast of the goddess, as we can infer from a comment by Pindar¹³⁰ by a scholiast who even gives us the name of the feast (*Koria*),¹³¹ and from some coinage from Kleitor (**Fig. 4**) bearing on the *verso* an equine protome sometimes joined by *lebetes*.¹³² This prestigious vase form, often used as a prize in very important athletic competitions (such as the games of Achilles,¹³³ of Castor and Iolaos,¹³⁴ and of Aeneas¹³⁵), seems to conceal some sort of connec-

tion with the funerary games held in the name of heroes who suffered untimely deaths.¹³⁶ The highlights of the *Koriasia* games were varied (running,¹³⁷ long distance running in armour,¹³⁸ boxing¹³⁹), and were divided into two age groups, *andres* and *ageneious* (beardless). The competition was still being celebrated on the cusp of the 1st and 2nd c. A.D., because this is the date of an inscription referring to an athlete victorious in a series of races. Amongst those mentioned are the *Koriasiai* of Kleitor.¹⁴⁰

The *Hemerasia* games of Lousoi were certainly linked to an initiation rite. It is here that myth sets the healing of the daughters of Proetus, King of Argos. The girls, found guilty before Hera, were cured of their madness after a long wander in the woods through the institution of ritual dances and sacrifices.¹⁴¹ In this case the ritual is certainly one of initiation, as is known from various ceramic forms. Amongst these are many small locally-made

129. Beyond the case under examination, the epiclesis *Koria* is only used by Callimachus for *Artemis*, in reference to the saga of the daughters of Proetus with clear connotations of initiation, set between the very peaks of Arcadia (Callim., *Hymn.*, 3, 234). Beyond the Peloponnese, a sanctuary of Athena Κορησία is documented on Crete, in the locality of Korion, by Steph. Byz. s.v. Κόριον.

130. Pind., *Nem.* X. 47.

131. Schol. Pind., *Ol.* VII. 153.

132. *BMC Peloponnesos*, 179-80 with pls XXXIII, 8 and XXXIII, 12-13. The note by Cicero (*Nat. D.* III 23, 59) on the local belief that the goddess was the inventor of the quadriga would also appear to point towards the world of equestrian games. The form of the *lebes* is often used as a symbolic indicator of games in the numismatic shorthand (cf. for some examples from Thrace and Asia Minor, A. de Ridder, *Daremberg-Saglio* III, 2 s.v. *lebes*, 1904, 1000-02 (in part. 1001).

133. Hom., *Il.* XXIII. 259.

134. Pind., *Isth.* I, 19-20 and 27-28.

135. Verg., *Aen.* V, 266.

136. As has been noted, the *lebes* is a prestigious vase form, of central importance in the ideology of the Greek aristocracy. Thus its use as a funerary urn, often in precious materials, can be understood. This has been documented as early as the 8th c. B.C. throughout the Mediterranean basin. The *lebetes*, offered together with the tripods since Homer as prizes in the games (*Il.* VIII. 290; XI. 700; XXII. 164; XXIII. 40, 259, 267, 485, 513, 613, 702, 885), or as gifts to be exchanged between princes (*Il.* IX. 122-23, 264; XIX. 243-44; XXIV. 233 and *Od.* IX. 122; XIII. 13; XV. 84; XIX. 243; XXIV. 233), performed a double function. On the one hand linked to the practice of partial ablutions, on the other hand to the standard procedure of the boiling and eating of meat. As the relevant bibliography is vast, cf. at least the observations of Valenza Mele 1982, Cerchiai 1998 (who underlines the connection between the vase form of the *dinos*, competitive funerary games and the rituals of integration of the *epeboi*) and, most recently, D'Agostino 2003.

137. *I.Tralles* 116 (*dolichon*), *I.Perge* I, 272, ll. 13-14 (*stadion*).

138. Merkelbach, Şahin 1988, 131 n. 56 (*stadion*, *diaulos*, *hoplitodromos*).

139. *IG* VII, 47, from Megara.

140. See *supra* n. 138.

141. The myth is known in two different versions. The earliest comes from Bacchylides, in an *epinikion* in honour of a certain Alexidamus of Metapontion, victor of the Pythic games (Bacchyl., *Ep.* X [XI] 92-112): the girls were cured following the intervention of Proetus, who was heard by Artemis. Hesiod's version documents the decisive intervention of the bard Melampus, who asked for a third of Proetus' reign in return. Cf. Dowden 1989, 73-80.



Fig. 4. Kleitor, coinage of Athena *Alaea*, bearing on the *verso* an equine protome joined by *lebetes* (from *BMC Peloponnesus*).

pyxides, their lids attached to the body of the vase¹⁴² (**Fig. 5**). Also the architectonic form of the temple building suggests an initiation rite. It has two long spaces attached to the long sides of the *cella* which are not directly accessed from the outside. This could plausibly be considered as a places for the gathering of the initiants during the ceremonies. These spaces must have offered a privileged view of the cult statue of the goddess, placed in the centre of the room, rather than the common position by the end-wall. In the myth the young daughters of the king are the central characters. Yet the rite which welcomes them into the sanctuary seems to refer to a male initiation rite; there are hundreds of rolled thin bronze *laminae*, with diameters of between 5 and 10 mm, intended for the offerings of locks of hair,¹⁴³ and bronze boxes with locks dedicated by the young men to the goddess.¹⁴⁴ As in the example of Athena *Koria* at Kleitor, games at Lousoi were also divided according to age (*paides* and

andres), with races (*stadion* and *diaulos*), probably also equestrian,¹⁴⁵ documented from the late 3rd c. B.C. until the late 1st c. A.D.¹⁴⁶ The central presence of water in the cultural geography of Lousoi, reflecting as it does the emphasis in the mythic tale on the theme of the *katharsis* (purification) of the girls,¹⁴⁷ also suggests that rites of passage were carried out here. River, cave and fountain are the physical points around which the mythical tale and the ritual unite. The daughters of Proetus are treated by Melampus after a bathing in the river, which restores them to sanity. It is plausible that sacred ablutions continued to be carried out in the fountain near the temple, in which there are in fact various phases of restoration and repaving.¹⁴⁸ The discovery of *perirrantheria* in front of the temple, and a large number of terracotta female figures in the form of *hydrophorai* may suggest that washing may have taken place before entering the building. It is thought that dances of young girls may have

142. Schauer 2001.

143. Sinn 1988, 158.

144. Reichel, Wilhelm 1901, 84 fig. 158.

145. Ringwood 1927, 94.

146. *IvO* 184; *SEG* 6, 1932, 727b; *IG V* 1, 1387; Merkelbach, Şahin 1988, 131 n. 56; *I.Perge* 272, ll. 13-14 and 26.

147. Pausanias (V. 5, 10) refers also to the tradition according to which the girls were purified in Eleia, in the waters of the river Anigros.

148. Reichel-Wilhelm 1901, 15-18, figs 8-9.



Fig. 5. *Lousoi*, small locally-made *pyxides*, with lids attached to the body of the vase (from Schauer 2001).

concluded the ceremony as is referred to in literary sources.¹⁴⁹ Also a significant numbers of terracotta masks which may have been worn on their faces;¹⁵⁰ once again the ritual closed with a partial cross-dressing, before the recovery of the true identity which had been lost. The presence of the *bouleuterion*, on the plain immediately under the temple building,¹⁵¹ also points towards the ritual nature of the events carried out here.

Finally I do not believe that they suggest an initiation-type ritual given that, as has been maintained on several occasions,¹⁵² rites and games celebrated in honour of Zeus *Lykaios* do not require the collective participation of *paides* divided according to age¹⁵³ and the same nine year time interval which refers to the transformation into wolves appears to be too long to be read as a transition phase. Finally, no definite proof has been provided

by the archeological data; in fact only the structures referring to the competitive games (stadium, hippodrome, *xenones*, *stoaï*) have been found on the mountain, whilst no area seems to have been reserved for the practices which must have taken place “in secret” during the initiation.

The offerings

The journey, in the words of a late-Hellenistic inscription from the Acropolis of Athens, *from boys to men in the role of just successors* (sc. in the management) *of the homeland*¹⁵⁴ can only take place on condition of leaving behind the world of childish things. A series of rituals and orders, despite the differences from one locality to the next, betray the difficulty in abandoning the known for an indefinite future.

149. Bacchyl. XI. 94-112.

150. The material is unfortunately practically unpublished: of this there is mention in the first report of the excavation by Reichel-Wilhelm 1901. Only a sketch of the mask of a satyr was published, other masks were not mentioned. The continuation of the excavation has allowed the confirmation that there must have been many masks, over a hundred (Mitsopoulos 1992). For the details we shall have to await a scientific analysis of the conserved material.

151. The function of the building has been much discussed: Lauter (1999, 193) maintains it to be a covered *exedra* or a *schola*, serving for the display of statues, while Jost (1985, 48) proposed an over-cautious identification with a cultural theatre.

152. From Jeanmaire (1939, 559), to Burkert (1972), Borgeaud (1979, 62) and Bonnechère (1994, 96). *Contra*, Piccaluga (1968, 62), Jost (2002, 183-6) and Zolotnikova (2005).

153. So it would appear from all of the sources which regard lycanthropy, which all refer to individual participation. For a collection of documentation, cf. Lo Monaco 2009.

154. *IG II/III²*, 1006, ll. 52-54: ὁ δῆμος ... βουλόμενος το[ῦ]ς ἐκ τῶν πα[ι]δῶν μεταβαίνοντας εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι τῆς πατρίδος διαδ[ό]χους (transl. by Burkert 2002, 18).

Then follow expressions of sadness, offered at heroes' tombs, rituals of purification, recovery of new (and it is hoped definitive) identities. One of the most commonly recurring gestures is the cutting and offering of locks of hair.¹⁵⁵ It is clear how the ritual belies older funerary connotations, with the reminder of the ancient traditions of leaving locks of hair by the tomb,¹⁵⁶ or even touching the body of the deceased.¹⁵⁷ This act is filled with heroic significance which goes from the labours of Theseus (Athens)¹⁵⁸ to those of Herakles (Dyme¹⁵⁹) and of Orestes (sanctuary of *Koureion*, near Megalopolis¹⁶⁰). It becomes charged with different significances in the case of the *πρό γάμου* offerings, which took place at the tombs of young heroes and

heroines who had suffered untimely deaths. Here the offerings were given by those who were about to enter the "adult" life denied to their heroic counterparts.¹⁶¹ At Delos young girls deposit locks of hair on the tombs of the Hyperborean virgins, Opis and Hekaërge,¹⁶² at Megara on the tomb of the young Iphinoë.¹⁶³

In the Peloponnese during the Imperial period, the only notable example is that of Troezen, mentioned by Euripides,¹⁶⁴ and then taken up again by Pausanias¹⁶⁵ and Lucian.¹⁶⁶ In "Hippolytus", a tragedy composed in 428 B.C., it is Artemis who consoles the young protagonist for his unfortunate destiny. From then onwards girls in Troezen who were about to marry offered locks of their hair in his name.¹⁶⁷

155. For this the young Athenians had to be subordinate until their admission into the bosom of the brotherhood. The ritual was repeated annually, on the third day of the *Apaturia*, called *Koureotis*, and the offering of hair to Artemis was accompanied by an animal sacrifice (Deubner 1962, 232-34. A note by Hesychius specifies the dedication to Artemis: Hsch. s.v. *κουρεῶτις*: μηνὸς τοῦ Πυανεψίωνος ἡμέρα, ἐν ἧ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν παίδων ἀποκείροντες τρίχας Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν).

156. Eitrem 1915, 344. At Corinth before the colony's refoundation, the *paides* usually shaved their hair and wore black clothes in memory of the children of Medea (Paus. II. 3, 7).

157. Hom., *Il.* XXIII. 135 ss. and *Od.* IV. 197 and XXIV. 43.

158. Plut., *Vit. Thes.* 5: *since it was still a custom at that time for youth who were coming of age to go to Delphi and sacrifice some of their hair to the god, Theseus went to Delphi for this purpose, and they say there is a place there which still to this day is called Theseia from him* (transl. B. Perrin, ed. Loeb. 1914 [repr. 1982]).

159. Paus. VII. 17, 8: *a little before the city of Dyme there is, on the right of the road, the grave of Sostratus. He was a native youth, loved they say by Heracles, who outliving Sostratus made him his tomb and gave him some hair from his head as a primal offering* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb. 1933 [repr. 1988]).

160. Paus. VIII. 34, 3: *Near to the place called Ace is another ... a sanctuary called ... because here Orestes cut off his hair on coming to his senses* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb. 1935 [repr. 1979]).

161. L. Sommer, *RE* VII 2 (1912) 2105-109, s.v. *Haaropfer*.

162. Hdt. IV. 34.

163. Paus. I. 43, 4: *It is customary for the girls to bring libations to the tomb of Iphinoë and to offer a lock of their hair before their wedding, just as the daughters of the Delians once cut their hair for Hekaërge and Opis* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb. 1918 [repr. 1992]).

164. Eur., *Hipp.* 1423-29: *And to thee, hapless one, for these thy woes high honours will I give in Troezen-town. Ere their espousals shall all maids unwed for thee cut off their hair: through age on age full harvests shalt thou reap of tears of grieving. Ever of thee song-waking memory shall live in virgins: nor shall Phaedra's love forgotten in thy story be unhymned* (transl. A. S. Way, ed. Loeb 1922).

165. Paus. II. 32, 1: *To Hippolytus, son of Theseus, is devoted a very famous precinct, in which is a temple, with an old image [...] they also observe the following custom. Every maiden before marriage cuts off a lock for Hippolytus, and, having cut it, she brings it to the temple and dedicates it. They will not have it that he was dragged to death by his horses, and, thought they know his grave, they do not show it* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb. 1918 [repr. 1992]).

166. Lucian, *Syr. D.* 60: *They have yet another tradition, which amongst the Greeks only the Troezens have: and I will tell you what it is. The Troezens have a law, that the virgins and boys cannot marry if they do not first cut their hair in honour of Hippolytus, and so they do. Rather this is the habit in the sacred city. The young boys offer their first beard: and the smallest boys leave their birth hair to grow, and when they enter into holy orders they cut this hair, and put it in silver pots, and also golden ones, which they hang in the temple with a sign saying their names. I too did this when I was a small boy; and in the temple there is still the hair with my name* (transl. J. L. Lightfoot, ed. Oxford 2003).

167. Eur., *Hipp.* 1427-35: *Unmarried girls before their marriage will cut their hair for you, and over the length of ages you will harvest the deep mourning of their tears* (transl. D. Kovacs, ed. Loeb 1995).

The offering, the songs and the tears served as a reminder of that unlucky love, and to ensure that his story would never be forgotten. It is likely to have been a ritual repeated at regular intervals, quite probably annually, as can be deduced from comparison with the similar example of the Greek colony of Agyrion, told by Diodorus,¹⁶⁸ who knew the topography and ceremonies having been born there. The documentation after Pausanias and Lucian give some extra information on Troezen. We know that the offering of locks of hair were made by both boys and girls. Furthermore, the offering was not made on the young Hippolytos' tomb (the position of which the inhabitants show themselves to be ignorant) but inside his temple building. This difference is not insignificant.¹⁶⁹ Although the plan of the area is known (*temenos*, *peribolos*, *sacellum* and altar),¹⁷⁰ no archeological information has thrown light onto the actual execution of the rite. Following the similarities noted by Lucian with the rites in honour of the goddess Syria, the locks of hair could have been perhaps offered inside the temple in bowls of precious materials, fixed to the walls of the building by cords.¹⁷¹ Analogous indications come from some epigrams of the Hellenistic period, gathered in the valuable collection of the *Antholo-*

gia Palatina.¹⁷² This refers to curls and locks of hair being deposited inside the *naoi* of Artemis, Apollo, and Eileithyia. The view is completed by testimonies from literary sources. Even in Imperial times orators and poets (from Statius to Pollux) recall girls intent on offering their curls to Athena at Argos,¹⁷³ to Hera *Teleia* (of completion), to Artemis and to the Moerae at Athens (thus combining a virgin goddess, one of more mature years and the makers of human destiny¹⁷⁴). They offered also to a Hera of the revealing triple epiclesis *Pais* (girl), *Teleia* (adult) and *Chera* (widow) at Stymphalos.¹⁷⁵

It must have been possible to dedicate to the divinity the locks rolled within sheets of bronze (as found at Lousoi and Aegina)¹⁷⁶ deposited at the feet of the cult statues,¹⁷⁷ or even on the statue. This last would seem to be the unusual case recounted by Pausanias with reference to the statue of Hygea in the *Asklepieion* of Titane, practically hidden from sight by the vast quantity of hair dedicated by women and attached to its body.¹⁷⁸

A further possibility, strangely given little consideration, is given by the dedication of marble stele which went together with the consecration of the hair which were sometimes given in thanks for recovery from illness or misfortune. The docu-

168. Diod. Sic. IV. 24, 1-6. Inside the *temenos* of Iolaos, erected by Herakles, all the young of the city gather to carry out the sacrifice. The offerings of hair are central, which since their birth all inhabitants offer to the young hero, and the practice of gymnastic and equestrian competitions, dances and feasting. On the rite cf. Jourdain-Annequin 1992, 121-42.

169. Also Deschamps, Cousin 1888 speak in favour of a distinction between the offerings with funerary significance on the tombs of heroes, and those left inside the temples.

170. The complex, investigated in the late 19th century by Legrand and again in the 20th century by F. G. Welter, has been the object of recent analysis by M. Saporiti (2003), to whom I refer for the relevant bibliography.

171. The tradition is similar in Rome. The young men deposited the *barbula* and hair in little pots consecrated to Apollo, Bacchus, the Capitoline Jupiter, or to the Lares (Suet., *Ner.* 12; Xiphil., *Nero* 19; Mart. I. 32; Stat., *Theb.* VIII. 293, Petron., *Sat.* 29).

172. *Anth. Pal.* VI. 277: *Damagetos. Artemis, who fate gave the bow and the strong arrows, to you Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolomy has left in your fragrant temple this curl, cut from her loveable head.*

173. Stat., *Theb.* II, 254: *Here by ancestral rite, the daughter of Iasus, so soon as their chaste years grew ripe for wedlock, were wont to make offering of virgin tresses, and pray pardon for the first marriage-bed* (transl. J. H. Mozley, ed. Loeb 1928 [repr. 1955]).

174. Poll., *Onom.* III. 38.

175. Paus. VIII. 22, 2-4.

176. Sinn 1988, 158 with relevant bibliography.

177. *Anth. Pal.* VI. 200: *Leonidas. Freed from the bitter pains of childbirth, Ambrosia laid, Eileithyia, at your glorious feet, the band from her hair and the peplos which she had when, in the tenth month, she gave birth from her womb the twin weight of sons.*

178. Paus. II. 11, 6: *There is a similar image of Health; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and with strips of Babylonian raiment* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb. 1918 [repr. 1992]).

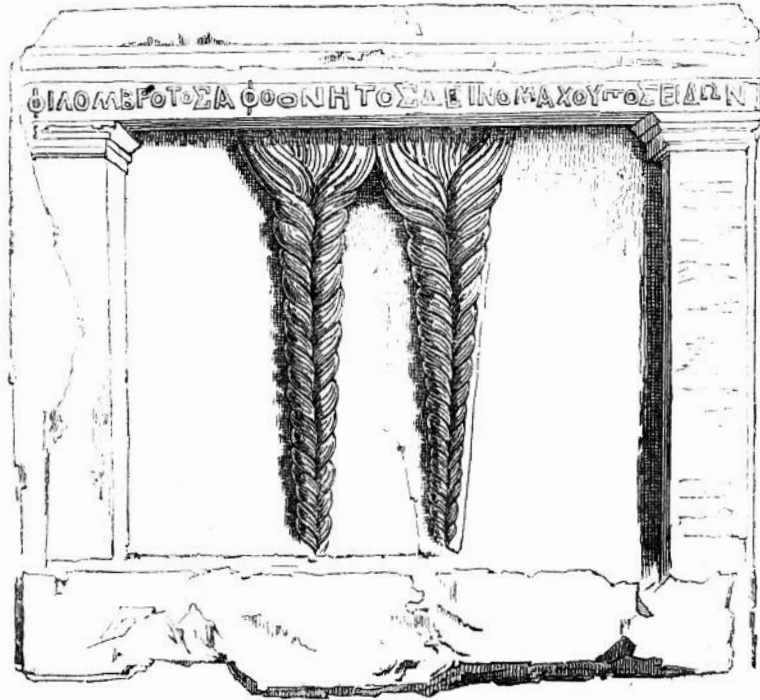


Fig. 6. Thebes, a marble stele shows the long plaits dedicated by two brothers to *Poseidon* (from *Daremberg, Saglio*).

mented examples undoubtedly lead in the same direction; at the sanctuary of *Asclepius* and *Hygaea* on *Paros* stele recorded the dedication of the hair of infants and *epheboi* to the deities,¹⁷⁹ at *Thebes* a splendid marble stele shows the long plaits dedicated by two brothers to *Poseidon* (**Fig. 6**).¹⁸⁰ Alongside these cases we can certainly add the example of the stelai consecrated by young men and slaves in the *Carian* sanctuary of *Zeus Panamaros*.¹⁸¹ These were found inside the *temenos*, or less commonly in the *naos*, and had a cavity on one side intended to hold the locks of hair. On the other side a carving gave the name of the dedicator (κόμωι followed by

the genitive of the boy's name) and finished with εὐτυχῶς, seen to bring good fortune.

Along with the offering of hair purifying baths, usually taken in the waters of a nearby river, were seen as a way of acquiring a new identity. Closely linked to the actions of heroes (the promise of the hair of *Achilles* to the waters of the *Spercheos*,¹⁸² or of *Orestes* in the *Inachos*¹⁸³), the tradition continued to be followed in some settlements of the Peloponnese even in Imperial times. For example at *Patrai* the young boys formed a procession and bathed in the waters of the *River Meilichos*,¹⁸⁴ at *Phigalia* the ritual which saw the presentation of

179. *IG XII 5*, 173 III l. 4 in dedication of the παιδικῶν τρίχα, and *IG XII 5*, 173, IV ll. 1-2 in dedication of the ἐφηβῶν τρίχα.

180. *IG IX 2*, 146, of the late-Hellenistic or early-Imperial periods; cf. *Pottier, Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. coma*, p. 1362, fig. 1833.

181. *Deschamps, Cousin 1888*, 479-90; *I.Stratonikeia I-III*, *IGSK 21 and 22*, 1-2; *Leitao 2003*.

182. *Hom., Il. XXIII*. 144 and *Stat., Silv. III, IV*, 85.

183. *Aesch., Cho.* 6-7, *Soph., El.* 52 and schol. *Eur., El.* 91-92.

184. *Paus. VII. 20*, 1: *there go down to the river Meilichus a certain number of the native children, wearing on their heads garlands of cornears ... [...] at the present day they lay aside the garlands of corn-ears by the goddess, and after bathing in the river and putting on fresh garlands, this time made of ivy, they go to the sanctuary of the Dictator. This then is their established ritual* (transl. *W. H. S. Jones*, ed. *Loeb 1933* [repr. 1988]).

hair and (presumably) bathing took place by the River Neda,¹⁸⁵ and in Eleia the Alpheios received the locks of the young.¹⁸⁶ A scene recounted by Pausanias and witnessed on the Kephissos seems to refer to a similar rite. He speaks of a votive statue of a young man, shown in the act of cutting his hair to honour the river.¹⁸⁷

Once the actions of heroes, they thus continued to be repeated throughout the ages, accompanying the young *paidēs* until the very last moments of their childhood.

Annalisa Lo Monaco

Università La Sapienza, Roma

Bibliography

- Ajootian (A.), 2006: "Male Kourotrophoi", in *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archeology*, Boston, August 23-26 2003, Oxford, 617-20.
- Beer (C.), 1987: "Comparative Votive Religion: the evidence of children in Cyprus, Greece and Etruria", in T. Linders, G. Nordquist (eds), *Gifts to the Gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium, 1985*, Boreas Suppl. 15, Uppsala, 21-29.
- Bieber (M.), 1961: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York.
- Bonnèchere (P.), 1993: "Orthia et la flagellation des éphèbes spartiates. Un souvenir chimérique de sacrifice humain", *Kernos* 6, 11-22.
- , 1994: *Le sacrifice humain en Grèce ancienne*, Kernos Suppl. 5, Liège.
- Borgeaud (P.), 1979: *Recherches sur le dieu Pan*, Genève.
- Brulé (P.), 1992: "Fêtes grecques: périodicité et initiations. Hyacinthies et Panathénées", in A. Moreau (ed.), *L'initiation, Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 11-14 avril 1991 I, Les rites d'adolescence et les mystères*, Montpellier, 19-38.
- Burkert (W.), 1972: *Homo necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 32, Berlin.
- , 2002: "'Iniziazione': un concetto moderno e una terminologia antica", in B. Gentili, F. Perusino (eds), *Le orse di Brauron. Un rituale di iniziazione femminile nel santuario di Artemide*, Pisa, 13-28.
- Calame (C.), 1997: *Choruses of young women in ancient Greece: their morphology, religious role, and social function*, Lanham 1997.
- Cerchiai (L.), 1998: "Le tombe a cubo di età tardo-arcaica della Campania settentrionale", in *Nécropoles et pouvoir. Idéologies, pratiques et interprétations, Actes du colloque Théories de la nécropole antique, Lyon 21-25 janvier 1995*, Paris 1998, 117-23.
- Chlepa (E.-A.), 2001: *Μεσσήνη. Το Αρτεμίσιο και οι οικoi της δυτικής πτέρυγας του Ασκληπιείου*, Athens.
- D'Agostino (B.), 2003: "Il cratere, il dinos e il lebete. Strategie elitarie della cremazione nel VI secolo in Campania", in M. V. Fontana, B. Genito (eds), *Studi in onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo 75° compleanno*, Napoli 2003, 207-17.
- Deschamps (G.), Cousin (G.), 1888: "Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros. La consécration de la chevelure", *BCH* 12, 479-90.
- Despinis (G.), 1966: "Ἀνδρίας ἱερείας ἐκ Μεσσήνης", in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδου II*, Athens, 220-38.
- Deubner (L.), 1962: *Attische Feste*, Hildesheim.
- Dobias-Lalou (C.), 2000: *Le dialecte des inscriptions grecques de Cyrène*, Karthago, Suppl. 25, Paris.
- Dowden (K.), 1989: *Death and the maiden: girls' initiation rites in Greek mythology*, London.
- Eitrem (S.), 1915: *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, Kristiania.
- Grasberger (L.), 1864-1881: *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum*. 3. Teil: *Die Ephebenbildung, oder die musische und militärische Ausbildung der griechischen und römischen Jünglinge*, Würzburg.
- Hadzisteliou-Price (Th.), 1969: "The Type of the crouching child and the temple boys", *ABSA* 64, 95-111.
- , 1971: "Representations in Greek Art and religious thought", *JHS* 91, 48-69.
- , 1978: *Kourotrophos: cults and representations of the Greek nursing deities*, Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society Studies 8, Leiden.
- Imhoof-Blumer (F. W.), Gardner (P.), 1964: *Ancient coins illustrating lost masterpieces of Greek art: a numismatic commentary on Pausanias*, Chicago.
- Jeanmaire (H.), 1939: *Couroi et Courètes: essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur le rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique*, Lille.
- Jost (M.), 1985: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Ét. Pélop. 9, Paris.
- , 2002: "À propos des sacrifices humains dans le sanctuaire de Zeus du mont Lycée", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994*, Stockholm, 183-86.
- Jourdain-Annequin (C.), 1992: "À propos d'un rituel

185. Paus. VIII. 41, 3: *At the place where the Neda approaches nearest to Phigalia the boys of the Phigalians cut off their hair in honour of the river* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb 1935 [repr. 1979]).

186. *Id.* VIII. 20, 3.

187. *Id.* I. 37, 3: *By the river is a statue of Mnesimache, and a votive statue of her son cutting his hair as a gift for Cephissus* (transl. W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb 1918 [repr. 1992]).

- pour Iolaos à Agyrion. Héraclès et l'initiation des jeunes gens", in A. Moreau (ed.), *L'initiation. Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 11-14 avril 1991 I, Les rites d'adolescence et les mystères*, Montpellier, 121-42.
- Kerényi (K.), 1958: *Die Heroen der Griechen*, Zürich.
- Klee (Th.), 1918: *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen*, Leipzig - Berlin.
- Kron (U.), 1998, "Sickles in Greek Sanctuaries: Votives and Cultic Instruments", in *Ancient Greek cult practice from the archaeological evidence. Proceedings of the Fourth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22-24 October 1993*, Jonsered, 187-215.
- Lauter (H.), 1999: *L'architettura dell'Ellenismo*, Biblioteca di Archeologia 27, Milano.
- Leitao (D. D.), 2003: "Adolescent hair-growing and hair-cutting rituals in ancient Greece. A sociological approach", in D. B. Dodd, Ch. A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in ancient Greek Rituals and narratives. New critical perspectives*, London - New York, 109-29.
- Lo Monaco (A.), 2009: *Il crepuscolo degli dei d'Achaia. Religione e culti in Arcadia, Elide, Laconia e Messenia tra la conquista romana e l'età flavia*, BCAR Suppl. 17, Rome.
- Mallwitz (A.), 1972: *Olympia und seine Bauten*, München.
- Marinatos (N.), 2003: "Striding across boundaries. Hermes and Aphrodite as gods of initiation", in D. B. Dodd, Ch. A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in ancient Greek Rituals and narratives. New critical perspectives*, London - New York, 130-51.
- Marrou (H.-I.), 1946: "Les classes d'âge de la jeunesse spartiate", *REA* 48, 216-30.
- Merkelbach (R.), Şahin (S.), 1988: "Die publizierten Inschriften von Perge", *EA* 11, 97-169.
- Merker (G. S.), 2000: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XVIII.4, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*, Princeton N. J.
- Mitsopoulos-Leon (V.), 1992: "Artémis de Lousoi. Les fouilles autrichiennes", *Kernos* 5, 97-108.
- Montepaone (C.), 1999: *Lo spazio del margine. Prospettive sul femminile nella comunità antica*, Roma.
- Moretti (L.), 1967: *Iscrizioni Storiche Ellenistiche I. Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia*, Biblioteca di Studi Superiori 53, Firenze.
- Napolitano (M.), 1985: "Donne spartane e τεκνοποία", *AION (archeol)* 7, 19-50.
- Nilsson (M. P.), 1995: *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen*, 2nd ed. Stuttgart - Leipzig.
- Pettersson (M.), 1992: *Cults of Apollo at Sparta. The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaïdiai and the Karneia*, Skrift utgiva av Svenska institutet i Athen 8, Stockholm.
- Piccaluga (G.), 1968: *Lykaon un tema mitico*, Quaderni di SMSR 5, Rome.
- Pugliese Carratelli (G.), 1987, "Epigrafi di Cos relative al culto di Artemis in Cnido e in Bargylia", *PP* 42, 110-23.
- Rawson (E.), 1969: *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, Oxford.
- Rehm (A.), 1958: *Didyma, 2. Die Inschriften*, Berlin.
- Reichel (W.), Wilhelm (A.), 1901: "Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lousoi", *JÖAI* 4, 1-89.
- Richer (N.), 2004: "Les Hyakinthies de Sparte", *REA* 106, 389-419.
- Ringwood (I. C.), 1927: *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals chiefly from inscriptional Evidence, Part 1. Non-Attic mainland and adjacent islands, except Euboea*, Poughkeepsie.
- Saporiti (M.), 2003, "L'Heroon di Ippolito a Trezene", *ASAA* 81, 363-89.
- Schauer (Chr.), 2001: "Zur frühen Keramik aus dem Artemisheiligtum von Lousoi", in V. Mitsopoulos Leon (ed.), *Forschungen in der Peloponnes, Akten des Symposium anlässlich der Feier »100 Jahre Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Athen«*, Athen 5.3.-7.3. 1998, *ÖJh Suppl.* 38, Athens, 155-59.
- Sfameni Gasparro (G.), 1986: *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra, Storia delle Religioni* 3, Roma.
- Sinn (U.), 1988: "Der Kult der Aphaia auf Aegina", in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, G. C. Nordquist (eds), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institut at Athens, 26-29 June 1986*, Stockholm, 149-59.
- , 1992: "The sacred herd of Artemis at Lusoi", in R. Hägg (ed.), *The iconography of Greek cult in the Archaic and Classical periods, Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organised by the Swedish Institute at Athens and the European Cultural centre of Delphi, Delphi 16-18 November 1990*, Kernos Suppl. 1, Athens, 177-87.
- Sokolowski (F.), 1969: *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris.
- Themelis (P.), 2004: *Ancient Messene*, Athens.
- Valenza Mele (N.), 1982: "Da Micene ad Omero: dalla phiale al lebetes", *AION (archeol)* 4, 97-133.
- Vernant (J.-P.), 1998: *La mort dans les yeux: figures de l'Autre en Grèce ancienne: Artémis, Gorgô*, Paris.
- Vidal Naquet (P.), 1981: *Le chasseur noir. Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec*, Paris.
- Wide (S.), 1893: *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig.
- Williams (H.), 1996, "Excavations at Stymphalos, 1995", *EMC* 40 n.s. 15, 75-98.
- Woodward (A. M.), 1929: "Inscriptions", in R. M. Dawkins (ed.), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta: excavated and described by members of the British School at Athens, 1906-1910*, JHS Suppl. 5, London, 285-377.
- Zolotnikova (O.), 2006: "The Cult of Zeus Lykaios", in E. Østby (ed.), *Ancient Arcadia. Papers from the third International Seminar on Ancient Arcadia held at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 7-10 May 2002*, Athens 2006, 105-19.

REBUILDING THE MYTH OF ASKLEPIOS AT THE SANCTUARY OF EPIDAUROS IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

Milena Melfi

Abstract: This paper investigates the physical and religious development of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros in the first two centuries after Christ, after a period of extensive destruction of the buildings and substantial disaffection with the cult in the 1st c. B.C. The following gap in the documentation from the site suggests that the well-attested Hadrianic and Antonine interventions took place in the vacuum that many years of relative neglect had left behind. Emperor Hadrian, earlier, and the Senator Antoninus Pythodorus, later, could therefore embark in the complete reconstruction not only of the buildings but also of the ritual practiced in the sanctuary. Whilst Hadrian's inspiration lay in his religious views, which were best expressed in the Asklepieion at Pergamon, Antoninus Pythodorus' interventions were dictated by the desire of attaining a philological reconstruction of the Late-classical and Hellenistic phases of the sanctuary.

The background

The sanctuary at Epidauros was the most famous Asklepieion of Classical and Hellenistic Greece. The sanctuary, traditionally linked to an earlier cult place located on the hill-top and dedicated to a deity later assimilated with Apollo, was founded at the end of the 6th c. B.C., but its main and best documented building phase is that dated from the second quarter of the 4th to the mid-3rd c. B.C. The rituals taking place in the Late-classical and Hellenistic sanctuary are well-attested by the epigraphical and literary sources. The pilgrims flocked to the cult place from all over the Greek world and were initially encouraged to perform preliminary rites, including sacrifices, money offerings and purifications with the sacred water. They eventually obtained access to the *abaton* – the inaccessible hall – for the incubation, during which Asklepios

appeared in a dream and performed the miraculous healing. As thank-offerings for the successful healings the worshippers left to Asklepios and Apollo a large number of votive gifts and inscriptions over time.

From the beginning of the Roman period, the Epidaurian Asklepieion interrupts its development and is strongly marked by periods of destruction and neglect until the 2nd c. A.D., when religious life fully resumes in conjunction with an impressive programme of building renovation.

After the events of 146 B.C., during which the Asklepieion had become a stronghold of the Achaean league, the cult place started a period of decline.¹ Differently from other Panhellenic sanctuaries such as those at Delphi and Olympia – that were proclaimed *liberi et immunes* and where valuable dedications were made by the Roman *imperatores*² – the Asklepieion at Epidauros was for a long time

1. From the mid-3rd c. B.C. the sanctuary was a privileged location for the publication of decrees and documents of the Achaean League such as *IG IV²*, 59-61; 70-72. Also *IG IV²*, 306a, inscribed on a prow base and later re-used for Mummius' dedication, was probably connected with a naval victory of the Achaeans against Nabis of Sparta. Finally, the list of the 156 Epidaurians fallen in the battle at the Isthmus (*IG IV²*, 28), is particularly linked with the Achaean war.

2. Accame 1947, 145. For the dedications of the Roman *imperatores* see, for example, Mummius' golden metopes at Olympia or Flamininus' silver shields at Delphi (Guarducci 1937, 42 and 54).

neglected by Rome and struggled to survive in the course of the 1st c. B.C. This situation seems to be confirmed by at least three decrees honouring Epidaurian ambassadors, who went to plead in Rome and did not manage to get any substantial change in the status of the sanctuary, except for vague indications of benevolence from the Roman Senate.³

The absence of Rome from the Epidaurian scene for many years after the events of 146 B.C. might suggest that the sanctuary had been in this way isolated and punished as a centre of the Achaean sedition. In fact, there was a point, at the beginning of the 1st c. B.C., when the sanctuary was even extensively damaged. Recent archaeological investigations revealed layers of destruction and abandonment dated to the first half of the 1st c. B.C. in the hostel (*katagogion*), the monumental *hestiatorion* (so-called *gymnasium*) and the system of water adduction of the Asklepieion⁴ (**Fig. 1**). In the same period, also most of the 4th century buildings of the sanctuary of Apollo *Maleatas*, on the hill overlooking the Asklepieion, were destroyed, abandoned and never rebuilt⁵ (**Fig. 2**). The sequence of destruction and abandonment is confirmed, in both cult places, by the contemporary massive re-use of earlier statue bases and *exedrai*: many monuments must have been neglected and possibly damaged (or the statues had been torn away from their bases) and were ready for re-dedication shortly afterwards.⁶ Such a situation is probably best illustrated in the words of Livy, who writes that at his time the monuments and the votives of the sanctuary laid wasted

and in a state of abandonment – “*uestigiis reuolutorum donorum, tum donis diues erat*”.⁷

These destructions have been differently explained by the excavators as the result of the pillages of either Sulla’s troops, or the Cilician pirates, recorded for Epidauros by Diodorus,⁸ Plutarch⁹ and Pausanias.¹⁰ Probably both events affected the sanctuary dramatically, but the Romans certainly did not help.¹¹ On the contrary, in 74 B.C. they established in the city of Epidauros the garrison of Marcus Antonius Creticus, sent to defend against the Aegean pirates.¹² The consequences were disastrous, because the Roman general, in his vain attempt of securing the coasts of the Mediterranean, exhausted all the remaining financial resources of the city and the sanctuary, as the inscriptions attest.¹³

The sanctuary of the Epidaurians was eventually saved only due to the most traditional benefactions by local notables: distributions of grain and donations of money for the restoration of the social and religious order. The inscriptions celebrate these local patrons in exceptional terms – for example Evanthis son of Eunomos, who appears in at least six inscriptions and has been defined by Lafond as the only ‘grand évergète’ in the whole Peloponnese, and possibly Greece, comparable only to contemporary examples in Asia Minor.¹⁴ At the same time as these lavish honorary monuments flourished, the religious dedications reached their historical minimum and are mostly attributable to cult ministers.¹⁵

Both the buildings’ physical destruction, and the lack of inscriptions directly dealing with the cult in

3. *IG IV²*, 63, 64, 65; Accame 1947, 160; Schwertfeger 1974, 50-51.

4. For the Asklepieion: *Gymnasium* 1988, 22-35 and no. 21; Kraynak 1991, 1-4 and Peppas-Papaioanniu 1990, 553-554. For an overview of the 1st c. B.C. events, see Melfi 2007, 68-70.

5. Destructions in the sanctuary of Apollo *Maleatas* are reported in Lambrinouidakis 1988, 299-300 and *id.*, *PAAH* 1983, 152-54.

6. The phenomenon was already noticed by Kavvadias 1900, 19-20. For a more recent discussion, see Melfi 2007, 68-70.

7. Livy XLV. 28.

8. Diod. Sic. XXXVIII. 7.

9. Plut., *Vit. Sulla*, 12 and *Vit. Pomp.*, 24.

10. Paus. IX. 7, 5.

11. Most recently Lambrinouidakis and his collaborators of the *O.E.Σ.M.E.* seem to prefer as an explanation the incursions of the Cilician pirates, in the period immediately after 67 B.C.

12. Mention of his presence is contained in *IG IV²*, 66.

13. On the general context of the fight against the pirates and the role of *Creticus* see Maróti 1971, 259-72. The most vivid picture of the dramatic economic situation at Epidauros is given by *IG IV²*, 66.

14. Lafond 2006, 58-59.

15. *IG IV²*, 170 and 251.

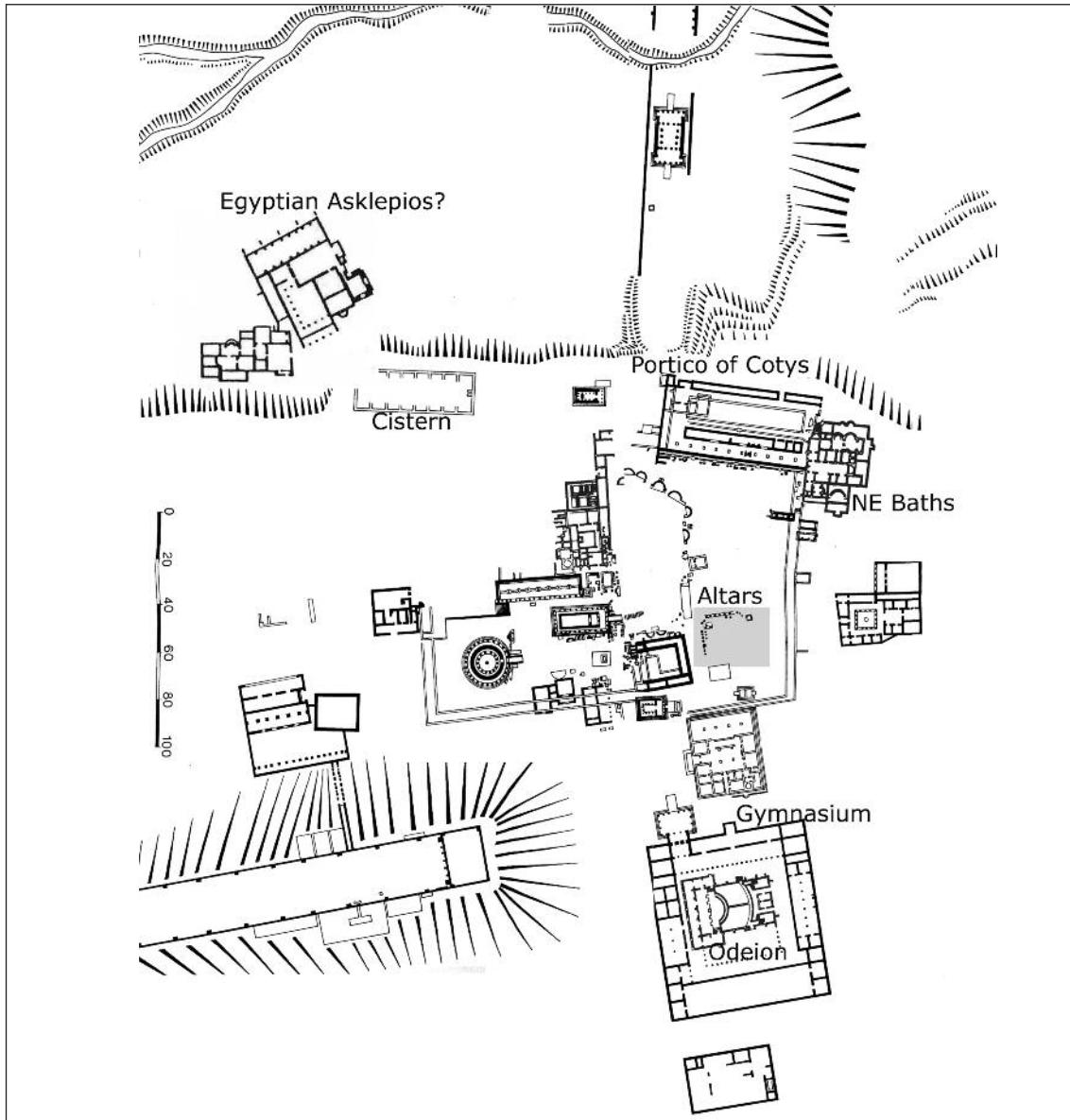


Fig. 1. Epidauros, the Asklepieion in the 2nd c. A.D. (author's elaboration from Lambrinouidakis *et al.* 1999).

the course of the 1st c. B.C. undeniably attest an interruption of the religious life, in its well-regulated ritual practices. The damage of the water supplies and the monumental *hestiatorion* must have affected at least two of the main rituals performed in the sanctuary: the ablutions with the healing water, essential to grant access to the incubation; and the sacrificial practice, culminating in the consumption of common meals. Finally the lack of inscribed healing tales and dedications including of thanks-giving or miracle formulas, suggest that Asklepios might have stopped healing for a while.

Despite a sparse frequentation of the site in the 1st c. A.D., the gap following the impact with the Roman authority only ended in the Hadrianic period.

The Hadrianic revival: looking towards Pergamon

As much as many other cult places of Greece, also the sanctuary of Epidauros, enjoyed the attention of Emperor Hadrian, who visited the site on his first trip to Greece, in the year 124. The consequences of this event seem to have been twofold: from an administrative point of view, the emperor enforced new regulations concerning the rota of the religious ministers and the recurrence of the games; from the perspective of the cult, Hadrian's personal religious attitudes appeared to shape the revival of the sanctuary's religious life.

From the second quarter of the 2nd c. A.D. most of the inscriptions in the sanctuary bear a dating

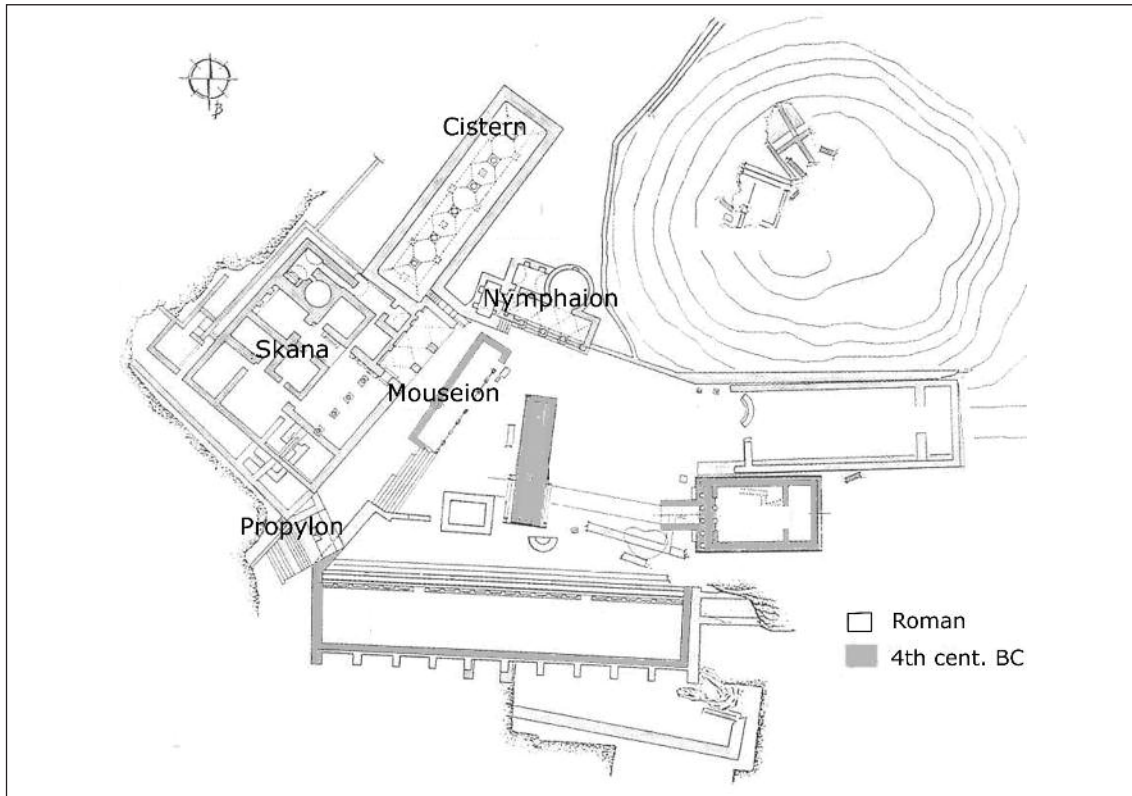


Fig. 2. Epidauros, the sanctuary of Apollo *Maleatas* in the 2nd c. A.D. (author's elaboration from Lambrinouidakis *et al.* 1999).

formula which starts from the year of the emperor's visit.¹⁶ This dating system seems to be maintained also for the following centuries, and allows outlining an approximate sequence of the ministers in charge of the cult of Asklepios. From this sequence it appears clear that at one point in the 2nd c. A.D., and very likely as a consequence of Hadrian's intervention, the priesthood of Asklepios became annual and probably assigned by allotment.¹⁷ Together with the *hierous*, a *pyrphoros* – or executive cult official – was normally elected and it was not unusual that father and son occupied the two positions at the same time.¹⁸ This regulation of the sanctuary's matters provided a most welcome new administrative framework within which all activities, dedications and personell could easily fit. For

example all dedications bore the names of both cult ministers, in this way providing an official date as well as the mark of the current authority.

A similar reorganization must have affected the games in honour of Asklepios, since the few Epidaurian coins of the Hadrianic period all boast the legend *Asklepieia* on the reverse¹⁹ (**Fig. 3**). These coins seem also to suggest a possible identification between the emperor and the god Asklepios. The earliest series with head of Asklepios on the obverse and *Asklepieia* in a laurel wreath on the reverse is, in fact, soon substituted by the type with head of Hadrian (strongly resembling the earlier Asklepios) on the obverse and *Asklepieia* on the reverse.²⁰ This might suggest a degree of interchangeability between emperor and god, and at the

16. And one of them refers in particular to important events within the reign of Hadrian, such as the foundation of the *Panhellenion* and the dedication of the Athenian *Olympieion* (Oliver 1970, 120 n. 38).

17. As it is suggested by *IG IV*², 89. Such a change would have marked a sensible improvement from that of the previous century, when the same people kept holding the priesthood for many years, suggesting an uneven distribution of power and ultimately a crisis of the institution.

18. *IG IV*², 384 and 393; Peek 1972, no. 62.

19. Amandry 1993, 329-30; Sève 1993, 317.

20. The types are listed in Amandry 1993, nos 2-3.

same time the specific role played by Hadrian within the history of the sanctuary. Probably the regulation of both the priesthood system and the games was part of the emperor's re-foundation of the Asklepieion, as seems likely from the fact that the changes started at the time of his visit and that the adjective *oikistes* was attached to his name.²¹ On the other hand the sanctuary's gratitude towards Hadrian is attested by at least three inscribed bases, a portrait-head and a loricated torso identified as belonging to his statue.²²

As far as the cult is concerned, Hadrian's passage through Epidauros did not go unnoticed. The dedications of this period appear to be influenced by the cultic syncretism typical of Hadrianic religion and find their closest comparisons in those from the Asklepieion of Pergamon, the emperor's favourite cult place. From the 2nd c. A.D. Asklepios was worshipped in Epidauros together with a number of different deities, some of which appeared for the first time in the sanctuary.²³ Dedications to "All Gods" or to the *Pantheon*²⁴ were often addressed to them and represented the clearest expression of Hadrian's syncretic religion.²⁵ Typically Hadrianic deities such as Zeus *Olympios* and Zeus *Panhellenios* were also worshipped;²⁶ the former being the patron god of Hadrian, and the latter referring to the Panhellenic institution founded by the same emperor.²⁷ Finally, the recurrent identification of Asklepios with Zeus must have evoked the syncretic god worshipped at Pergamon, where the formula Zeus-Asklepios *Soter* ap-



Fig. 3. Epidaurian coin minted under Hadrian (from Amandry 1993).

peared for the first time in the dedication of the great Hadrianic temple.²⁸

With this in mind, the introduction of the cult of Telesphoros might also be read as an attempt to replicate at Epidauros the Pergamian cultic scene.²⁹ The cult of Telesphoros seems, in fact, to have originated in the Asklepieion of Pergamon – where it reached its greatest success³⁰ – and is attested in Epidauros only in the Hadrianic period, when a temple is dedicated to the god.³¹ Its dedicant, a certain Fabullus, is also known for his offering of a statue of Artemis Hekate.³² If this were placed in the temple of Telesphoros, as seems to be the case, we would have a clear evocation of the situation at Pergamon, where the statue of Artemis was at the entrance of Telesphoros' temple.³³

All of these data suggest that, after a period of disaffection, the 2nd century renaissance of the cult of Asklepios started with Hadrian's visit, and was mostly inspired by the religious views of the Emperor, which were best expressed in the sanctuary at

21. *IG IV*², 606.

22. Peek 1972, 77; *IG IV*², 606-07. Katakis 2002, cat. nos. 99 and 125.

23. Differently to the late Classical and Hellenistic period, when the combination Asklepios/Apollo seemed to be the only possibility, from the 2nd c. A.D. Asklepios appears in inscriptions with Zeus, Athena, Demeter, Aphrodite etc. (see Melfi 2007, 90-92).

24. *IG IV*², 390, 549-50.

25. Under Hadrian we see a proliferation of inscriptions *dis deabusque omnibus* or *tois theois pasi kai pasais* in both the West and East of the Empire. One of the centres of this syncretic religion was undoubtedly the Asklepieion of Pergamon, while the other must have been the *Pantheon* in Rome (see also Le Glay 1976, 366-68).

26. *IG IV*², 524-25.

27. The identification of the emperor himself with Zeus *Olympios*, in particular in the cities of Asia Minor, is well-known (see Le Glay 1976, 354-55).

28. Habicht 1969, 11-14 and 102-03 no. 63; Melfi 2007, 88-89.

29. *IG IV*², 561; Peek 1969, no. 235. For a possible identification of the temple, see Melfi 2007, 108-09.

30. Habicht 1969, no. 125 (where the god's name has the same epiclesis as in Epidauros, *Soter*); Ohlemutz 1968, 158-63, for the success of the cult in Pergamon.

31. *IG IV*², 561; Peek 1969, no. 235.

32. *IG IV*², 499; Katakis 2002, cat. no. 49.

33. Aristid., *Or.* 49 (III) 21.

Pergamon. The traditional Epidaurian cult, where Asklepios and Apollo presided over the incubation, and a number of healing deities, sons and relatives, took charge of the preliminary rites and minor aspects of the ritual, seems to decline. The reason for this development is probably to be found in the vacuum that many years of relative neglect had left behind. It must have been Hadrian's inspiration that led to the foundation of a new *pantheon*. Here Asklepios, often *soter* and blending with Zeus, occupies a central position, and "All Gods" are called to assist him. Some of them are even able to take over and exert his healing powers, such as Telephoros, who receives dedications *ex oneiraton*, a formula undoubtedly implying incubation. Their cult is standardized and embedded in the sanctuary's religious life by the very cult ministers, through their frequent dedications. A choral effort on the part of the Emperor and the cult officials shapes the image of the Epidaurian god as a saviour god – who is Asklepios, Zeus (and the Emperor) at the same time, similarly to the Pergamenian god.³⁴

Antoninus, Pausanias and the reconstruction of the cult

After the mid-2nd c. A.D., Pausanias writes on the sanctuary of Asklepios: "A Roman senator, Antoninus, made in our own day a bath of Asclepios and a sanctuary of the gods they call Epidotai. He made also a temple to Hygieia, Asklepios, and Apollo, the last two surnamed Egyptian. He moreover restored the portico that was named the Portico of Cotys (...). Among the things Antoninus made for the Epidaurians are various buildings for the sanctuary of the Maleatas, including a reservoir into which the rain-water collects for their use".³⁵

It is generally accepted that Pausanias' Antoni-

nus is to be identified with Sextus Iulius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus, a wealthy notable from Nysa on the Meander, in Asia Minor.³⁶ His patronage in the sanctuary of the Antonine period (A.D. 160-180) is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence, which includes the dedication of a thermal building in his name;³⁷ an inscription honouring him with the title of *euergetes*;³⁸ an imperial *epistula* mentioning his name.³⁹ Finally the stamp *ANTONEIN* appears on the tiles found in many of the Roman buildings of the sanctuary, suggesting the construction in his name of a complex building programme, which involved also the establishment of workshops.⁴⁰

The archaeological finds also confirm the existence of many of the buildings mentioned by Pausanias (**Fig. 1**). The baths of Asklepios are usually identified with the north-east baths, on the basis of their building technique and due to the finds of tiles bearing the name of the senator.⁴¹ The temple of Egyptian Hygieia, Asklepios and Apollo might be tentatively regarded as the building located in the north-western corner of the sacred precinct, because of the construction technique, the presence of stamped tiles, and its analogies with complexes such as the *Serapeion-Asklepieion* of the nearby Argos and the temple of the Egyptian Gods in Pergamon.⁴² Finally, it is generally agreed that Antoninus' restorations affected the Portico of Cotys – the stoa at the north-eastern corner of the precinct – and the hostel, alas the *katagogion* of the Hellenistic period.⁴³

All of these buildings re-defined the cultic topography of the sanctuary and seem to continue the religious and intellectual trends of the Hadrianic phase, looking to Pergamon as model and inspiration. The construction of new Roman baths and of a sanctuary for an "Egyptian" Asklepios parallels, in fact, the contemporary situation at Perga-

34. Le Glay 1967, 347-72.

35. Paus. II. 27, 6-7.

36. Hiller von Gaertringen 1929, 63-68.

37. *IG IV*², 454 + 479; where the word *pyriateria* is mentioned, probably equivalent to the Latin *calidaria*.

38. *IG IV*², 684.

39. Lambrinouidakis 2002, 224, attributes to the senator the document *IG IV*², 88, as already suggested by Fr. Hiller von Gaertringen and recently accepted by Galli 2004, 334-35.

40. *IG IV*², 715-16. These were found in the proximities of those buildings which seem to have been reconstructed by the senator (Kavvadias 1900, 157-58; Lambrinouidakis, *Ergon* 1990, 16 fig. 16).

41. Roux 1961, 289; Melfi 2007, 101-06.

42. Argos: Aupert 1994, 193-200; Pergamon: Radt 1999, 200-09. For the interpretation of the Epidaurian complex: Tomlinson 1983, 69; Melfi 2007, 111-15.

43. Roux 1961, 291-302; Melfi 2007, 115-16.

mon. In the latter sanctuary, cult and thermal establishments for the long-term cure of the sick were normally combined,⁴⁴ and the identification of Asklepios with Serapis was generally promoted.⁴⁵ Similarly, other 2nd century Epidaurian buildings reflect Pergamenian developments. A library was built in the sanctuary by a certain Rufus, shortly after the dedication of a similar building on behalf of Flavia Melitine in the Asklepieion of Pergamon.⁴⁶ Its use is confirmed by the *sanatio* of Marcus Iulius Apella, where reading is listed among the activities carried out by the sick in the Epidaurian Asklepieion.⁴⁷ Finally a small covered theatre, an *odeion*, was built inside the central courtyard of the monumental banqueting hall known as *gymnasium*.⁴⁸ The construction technique, alternating courses of bricks and stones, is similar to that of the baths and suggests that the building was completed between A.D. 160 and 180.⁴⁹ The *odeion* was probably used for musical performances therefore its function can be compared to that of the “sacred theatre” at Pergamon, where hymns and drama took place in honour of Asklepios, according to the writings of Aelius Aristides.⁵⁰

If, on the one hand, a conscious effort was made towards the modernization of the cult of Epidauros and its insertion within contemporary religious culture, on the other hand the 2nd century reconstruction of more traditional buildings requires a different interpretation. Antoninus’ reconstruction of the *hieron* of the *Epidotai*, and of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas – both mentioned by Pausanias – fall within this latter category.

The fact that a sanctuary of the gods called *Epidotai* – those who give liberally – is already mentioned in 4th c. B.C. inventories suggests that Antoninus might have restored an older structure, rather than building a new one.⁵¹ The adjective *epidotes* seems to appear only in Pausanias’ text.⁵² It indicates lesser divinities, daemons or supernatural beings, such as Hypnos in the Asklepieion of Sykion,⁵³ and the *daimon epidotes* which was represented together with Hypnos and Thanatos on the acropolis of Sparta.⁵⁴ The frequent association of the word *epidotes* with Hypnos and Asklepios suggests that these gods might have been provided with healing powers and a role to play in the process of incubation. It is therefore likely that also in Epidauros the *Epidotai* were identified with non-Olympic, health-related gods, possibly those to whom small altars were dedicated in the area devoted to preliminary sacrifices, next to the main altar of Asklepios. They included the children of Asklepios, Machaon and Podaleirios, a hero doctor – *heros iatros*, Herakles, Tyche, *Agathos Daimon*, Nemesis and deities such as Artemis *Enodia* and *Lysaia*, Pan and Lato. In the mid-imperial period, also Hypnos and Oneiros might have joined the group.⁵⁵

The dates of these dedications on small altars mostly range from the 5th to the 3rd c. B.C.⁵⁶ After a gap of more than three centuries, in the 2nd c. A.D., a number of new altars appeared next to the old ones, in precisely the same style and dedicated to the same non-Olympic gods, the cults of which had not been attested for more than four centuries.⁵⁷ One of them, perfectly, aligned with the

44. Following the Pergamenian example, the presence of thermal and cult establishments becomes a common characteristic in the *Asklepieia* of the Roman period (see in particular Ginouvès 1962, 359-61 and Martin, Metzger 1976, 63-109).

45. Aristid., *Or.* 49, 46-48.

46. Melfi 2007, 123-24. Rufus at Epidauros: *IG IV*², 456; Peek 1969, no. 178; Burzachechi 1984, no. 8. Flavia Melitine at Pergamon: Habicht 1969, 84-85 no. 38.

47. *IG IV*², 126

48. Melfi 2007, 124-25; *Gymnasium* 1988, 22-35 with n. 21.

49. Melfi 2007, 124.

50. On the sacred function of the theatre at Pergamon see Galli 2001, 53-54 on the basis of Aristid., *Or.* 48, 30.

51. Burford 1969, 75 and inscr. X. On the traditional identification of the Hellenistic cult place with building Q and for a new interpretative proposal of the same building see Melfi 2007, 106-11.

52. With the exception of the well-known cult of Zeus *Epidotes* in Mantinea (Paus. VIII. 9, 2 and *IG V* 2, 270).

53. Paus. II. 10, 2.

54. Paus. III. 17, 9.

55. *IG IV*², 574 + 582. This same suggestion was put forward in Kavvadias 1900, 138.

56. This is the case of the inscriptions published in *IG IV*², 269-70, 273-75, 282-83, 294-96, 301, 304-05, 311.

57. For example: *IG IV*², 383, 397, 500, 567.

older specimens, bears the dedication of a slave of the senator Antoninus.⁵⁸ It appears therefore likely that the new dedications were somehow connected to Antoninus and intended to revive the old precinct of altars – probably fallen into disuse on the occasion of the late Hellenistic destructions.⁵⁹ Whether this intervention is to be identified with the reconstruction of Pausanias' *Epidoteion* – as I believe – or not, it is evident that it was aimed at evoking the cults of those gods which had accompanied Asklepios in the early years of the sanctuary.⁶⁰ An intellectual inspiration for this initiative is undeniable and can be easily ascribed to a well-educated member of the contemporary elite, such as Antoninus.

A similar phenomenon probably took place in the so-called sanctuary of Apollo *Maleatas* on the top of the Kynortion hill (Figs 2 and 4). The name *Maleatas* is traditionally attributed to the cult place by the archaeological literature, although it is not attested in the votive dedications from the site before the 2nd c. A.D. The only exception is represented by a paean inscribed on stone and dedicated by the local aristocrat Isyllos in the 3rd c. B.C.⁶¹ According to the inscription Isyllos established a new ritual in honour of Asklepios. The ritual consisted of a procession and the performance of a hymn on the birth of Asklepios, son of Apollo and Epidaurian Coronis. The hymn, recorded on the same stone, was sung during the procession leading from the cult place of Asklepios, in the plain, to that of Apollo on the top of Mount Kynortion. The text clearly states that the cult of an Apollo called *Maleatas* on Mount Kynortion was earlier than that of Asklepios in the plain, and stressed the importance of this sacred precinct of Apollo in the establishment of the cult of Asklepios, since in that same precinct Asklepios was born. Amongst the

deities prominently featuring in the hymn as part of the myth of birth of Asklepios were the Muses.

After Isyllos' paean, the first votive dedications to mention the god with the epithet of *Maleatas* are those dated to the 2nd c. A.D.,⁶² and contemporary to the large reconstruction of the Kynortion sanctuary, which can be associated with Antoninus' activity.⁶³ The propylon, the residential-cultic building called *Skana*, the large underground cistern, and the *Nymphaion*, are all attributable to this 2nd century building phase, on account of the construction technique and due to the presence of Antoninus' tiles.⁶⁴ The *Mousaion* and the altar of Apollo – essential elements of the cult of the *Maleatas* – might also have been refurbished on this occasion. It is worth noting that this reconstruction took place at a site that was nearly completely abandoned: recent archaeological investigations have shown that the Kynortion sanctuary was destroyed in the 1st c. B.C. and never re-built.⁶⁵ All of these buildings seem to aim at reconstructing the processional route instituted by Isyllos, after a significant chronological gap. The new stepped propylon gave access to a sacred precinct, where the altar of Apollo and the open-air space defined by the *Skana* (the stage?) would have provided the setting for the ritual enactment. Worshippers could have sat on the steps facing the restored *Mousaion*, appropriately dedicated to the Muses who assisted Coronis during childbirth.⁶⁶ The reconstruction of the precinct of Isyllos' Apollo *Maleatas*, paralleled by the restoration of the Asklepieion in the plain, not only enforced the topographical relation between the two sanctuaries, but also reinstated the genealogical link between Epidaurian Apollo and his son Asklepios.

Contemporary intellectuals, such as Pausanias, seem to share the knowledge of the Epidaurian

58. The dedication of Antoninus' slave of an altar to Tyche is *IG IV*², 567.

59. See *supra* n. 5.

60. I have already suggested the existence of this phenomenon in Melfi 2007, 106-11 and Melfi 2007a.

61. *IG IV*², 128.

62. The dedications of Antonine date are the following: *IG IV*², 25, 391, 454, 456, 479; Peek 1969, nos 177, 178, 191.

63. According to Pausanias' (II. 27, 7) indications, Antoninus reconstructed "various buildings for the sanctuary of the *Maleatas*".

64. For a more detailed argument on Antoninus' activity on Mount Kynortion see Melfi 2007, 116-21.

65. See *supra* n. 5 for the literature on the 1st c. B.C. destruction of the sanctuary. The cult activity seems to have continued on a low key scale, within an open-air precinct created in the Augustan period directly on the ruins (cf. Lambrinouidakis, *PAAH* 1981, 179-81, and *ibid.* 1987, 64-65).

66. *IG IV*² 128, ll. 49-53.

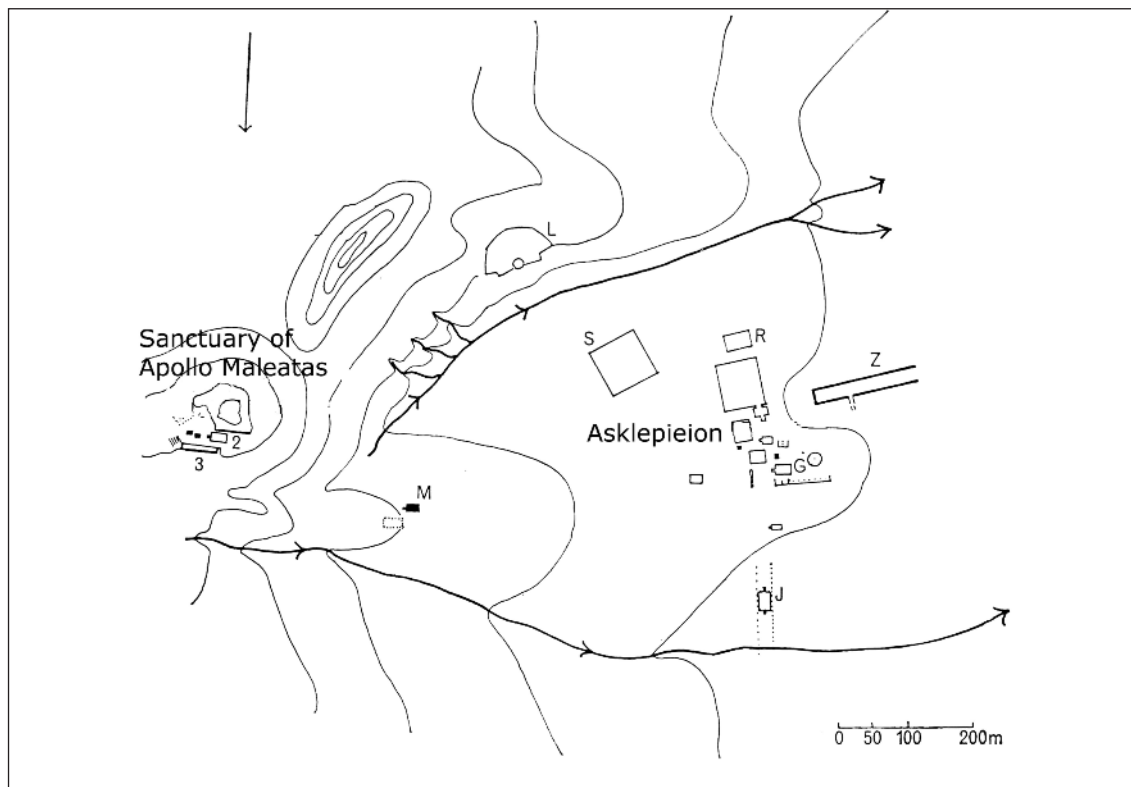


Fig. 4. Epidauros, topographical sketch of the sanctuaries of Asklepios and Apollo *Maleatas* (author’s elaboration from Burford 1969).

sacred landscape as reconstructed by Antoninus: “Above the grove are the *Titthion* and another mountain called *Kynortion*; on the latter is a sanctuary of *Maleatas Apollo*”.⁶⁷ The same writer also appears to accept Isyllos’ version of the myth of birth of Asklepios: “in the country of the *Epidaurians*, *Coronis* bore a son and exposed him on the mountain (...) As the child lay exposed he was given milk by one of the goats that pastured about the mountain and was guarded by the watch-dog of the herd”.⁶⁸ The popularity of this myth in the Antonine period is similarly confirmed by the issue of Epidaurian coins representing the previously unattested iconography of the birth of Asklepios, as a baby, nursed by a goat, on the mountains of Epidauros.⁶⁹

Antoninus’ interventions in Epidauros suggest the existence of a well concerted plan of reconstruction of buildings, rituals and religious practices. On the one hand the senator promoted a

reconstruction of the Epidaurian Asklepieion aimed at giving back to the sanctuary its original physical appearance and all the buildings necessary for the cult. On the other hand he fostered the renaissance of the traditional cult centered on Apollo/Asklepios and relying on a number of minor deities originally connected to the cult place – e.g. the *Epidotai* and the Muses. This must have caused an obvious re-appearance of traditional rituals, such as the procession from the Asklepieion to the *Kynortion* sanctuary, and the practice of sacrificing to the *Epidotai* before presenting offers to Asklepios. Finally a third dimension shaped the 2nd century re-modelling of the Epidaurian Asklepieion: the realization of the baths, the temple for Egyptian Asklepios and Hygiea, the *odeion* and the library were inspired by the Hadrianic – and later Antonine – directives of religious propaganda and found their closest comparisons in the sanctuary at Pergamon.

The meaning and context of Antoninus’ ever-

67. Paus. II. 27, 7 (transl. by W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb).

68. *Id.* II. 26, 4 (transl. by W. H. S. Jones, ed. Loeb).

69. *SNG* (Copenhagen) *Argolis - Aegean Islands*, 1944, no. 134; *LIMC* II, 1984, 868 no. 4 s.v. *Asklepios* [B. Holtzmann].

getic activity at Epidauros are better explained with an eye to his social position and illustrious background. Belonging to an extremely wealthy family, the members of which held the highest political positions during the late Hellenistic and the Roman period, he was well-known for his evergetism and connections with the imperial household.⁷⁰ In his home town, Nysa on the Meander, he paid for the reconstruction of the local senate, the *gerontikon*, where statues representing his family together with those of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and the two Faustinae were erected.⁷¹ His dedications are found in many important centres of the empire, and his devotion to Asklepios is attested by inscriptions from Pergamon and Rome.⁷² The fact that his name is mentioned in both Pausanias' and Aelius Aristides' writings⁷³ suggest that he was also well-known to the contemporary intellectuals, especially to those who shared the ideals of the Second Sophistics and chose the Asklepieion of Pergamon as their elected meeting place.⁷⁴

Antoninus' participation in imperial policy and his connection with the imperial household can therefore be seen as the fundamental inspiration for directing his benefactions to the Epidaurian cult of Asklepios – especially along the lines of the Pergamenian cult. The desire to revive the sanctuary was already evident in Hadrian's decision to re-organize the cult and re-found the games, and was confirmed by official documents such as the coin series with the legend *Asklepieia* and the portrait of the emperor.⁷⁵ Hadrian had otherwise clearly manifested his preference for the cult of Asklepios through the reconstruction of the sanctuary at Pergamon,⁷⁶ and the creation of a cult of Zeus-Asklepios *Soter*, ultimately identifiable with the emperor

himself,⁷⁷ This policy was followed by his successors: Antoninus Pius completed the works in the Asklepieion of Pergamon, while Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus often chose the Hellenistic iconography of Asklepios and Hygiea for the representation of the imperial couple.⁷⁸

Finally Antoninus' systematic attempt to evoke and restore cults from the past, with the aim of reconstructing both the physical shape and the rituals of the Epidaurian sanctuary, reveals that he shared the same cultural background as the contemporary intellectual elite inspired by the Second Sophistic. These intellectuals promoted, in the Greek province of imperial age, a systematic restoration and preservation of myths and cults from the Classical past, as a fundamental means of maintaining a collective memory in front of the historical disruptions. In the specific case of sanctuaries, the performance of traditional rituals, in their traditional spaces, allowed for the maintenance of a strong association of the god with his cult places. This was particularly relevant in sites where periods of discontinuity had occurred, such as that of Epidauros, where the 1st c. B.C. destructions had not been followed by appropriate reconstructions. In this perspective, Antoninus' interventions were completely in line with the requirements of contemporary culture, which provided a sophisticated intellectual background for his benefactions: Pausanias' writings on the Epidaurian Asklepieion and the Antonine coins bearing the representation of the birth of Asklepios on Mount Kynortion might have been part of it. It is therefore difficult not to think that the final aspect of the sanctuary at Epidauros in the 2nd c. A.D. was the result of a concerted financial and intellectual effort, which required research as much as

70. For the first identification of Antoninus and his family, see Hiller von Gærtringen 1929, 63-68. More recently: Galli 2001, 52-56, and Melfi 2007, 121-22.

71. Kouroniotes 1921/22, 69-72; Balty 1991, 447-53.

72. Habicht 1969, 59 no. 23; *IGUR* I, 162 and 183.

73. Pausanias normally prefers concentrating his tale on the most ancient traditions of Greece and does not seem to acknowledge any contemporary intervention on monuments and landscapes. In the case of Antoninus though, he describes in detail his building programme, suggesting a particular relation with the senator. For the connection between Antoninus' son and Aelius Aristides in Pergamon, see Habicht 1969, 64-66.

74. On the Second Sophistic as an élite habit in Roman Greece see: Bowersock 1969, esp. 30 ff.; Sirago, 1989, 57-59. For the specific case of the sanctuaries of Asclepios: Melfi 2007a, 241-54.

75. Amandry 1993, 329-32; Sève 1993, 317.

76. Le Glay 1976, 347-71.

77. Le Glay 1976, 355-66; Habicht 1969, 103-06.

78. Mikocki 1995, cat. nos 380, 391 and 395.

fundings, and had its closest comparison in the Pergamenian Asklepieion. The Epidaurian sanctuary of the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. was therefore the product of a thoroughly redefinition of the cultural and religious context, and ultimately represented what the contemporaries believed to be a faithful reconstruction of the Hellenistic Asklepieion.

Milena Melfi
University of Oxford

Bibliography

- Accame (S.), 1947: *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra Acaica ad Augusto*, Rome.
- Amandry (M.), 1993: “Un monnayage d’Hadrien à Épidauré”, *REG* 106, 329-32.
- Aupert (P.), 1994: “L’eau curative à Argos”, in R. Ginouvès, A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets, J. Jouanna, L. Villard (eds), *L’eau, la santé, la maladie dans le monde grec, Actes du colloque organisé à Paris, CNRS et Fondation Singer-Polignac, du 25 au 27 novembre 1992*, *BCH Suppl.* 28, 193-200.
- Balty (J. C.), 1991: *Curia Ordinis*, Bruxelles.
- Bowersock (G. B.), 1969: *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford.
- Burford (A.), 1969: *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, Liverpool.
- Burzachechi (M.), 1984: “Ricerche epigrafiche sulle antiche biblioteche del mondo Greco”, *RAL* 39, 307-38.
- Galli (M.), 2001: “*Pepaideuomenoi* am ‘Ort des Heiligen’: euergetische Initiativen und Kommunikationsformen in griechischen Heiligtümern zur Zeit der zweiten Sophistik”, *HASB Suppl.* 4, 43-77.
- , 2004: “Creating Religious Identities”, in B. E. Borg (ed.), *Paideia: the world of the second sophistic*, Berlin, 315-56.
- Ginouvès (R.), 1962: *Balaneutikè. Recherches sur le bain dans l’antiquité grecque*, Paris.
- Guarducci (M.), 1937: “Le offerte dei conquistatori romani ai santuari della Grecia”, *RPAA* 13, 41-58.
- Gymnasium* 1988: V. Lambrinoudakis et al. (eds), *The Propylon of the Gymnasium and the Tholos in the Asklepieion at Epidauros*, Committee for the Preservation of the Epidauros Monuments, Athens.
- Habicht (C.), 1969: *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions. Altertümer von Pergamon VIII* 3, Berlin.
- Hiller von Gaertringen (Fr.), 1929: “Antoninus?”, *Hermes* 64, 63-68.
- Katakis (S.), 2002: *Ta γλυπτά των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων από το ιερό του Απόλλωνος Μαλεάτα και του Ασκληπιού*, Athens.
- Kavvadias (P.), 1900: *Τὸ ἱερὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδάυρῳ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία τῶν ἀσθενῶν*, Athens.
- Kraynak (L.), 1991: “The *katagogion* at Epidauros: a revised plan”, *ArchN* 16, 1-8.
- Kouroniotes (K.), 1921/22: “Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Νύσῃ τῇ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ”, *AD* 7, 1-87.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d’époque romaine (II^e siècle avant J.-C.-III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Lambrinoudakis (V.), 1988: “Excavation and Restoration of the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios at Epidauros”, in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Γ’ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, Kalamata 1985, 299-300.
- , 2002: “Conservation and research: new evidence on a long-living cult. The Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios at Epidauros”, in M. Stamatopoulou, M. Yeroulanou (eds), *Excavating Classical Culture*, Oxford, 213-24.
- et al., 1999: *Τὸ Ασκληπιεῖο τῆς Ἐπιδάυρου. Ἡ ἐδρα τοῦ θεοῦ γιατροῦ τῆς αρχαιότητος. Ἡ συντήρηση των μνημείων του*, Committee for the Preservation of the Epidauros Monuments, Athens.
- Le Glay (M.), 1976: “Hadrien et l’Asklépieion de Pergame”, *BCH* 100, 347-72.
- LIMC* II (1984) 863-97 s.v. *Asklepios* [B. Holtzmann].
- Maróti (E.), 1971: “On the Problem of M. Antonius Creticus *imperium infinitum*”, *AAntHung* 19, 259-72.
- Martin (R.), Metzger (H.), 1976: *La religion grecque*, Paris.
- Melfi (M.), 2007: *I Santuari di Asclepio in Grecia*, Rome.
- , 2007a: “Asclepio, τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ ἦν προμηθῆς (Ael. fr. 99, Hercher): rituale ed evergetismo negli Asklepieia di II secolo”, in M. Galli, O. D. Cordovana (eds), *Arte e memoria culturale nell’età della Seconda Sofistica*, Catania, 241-54.
- Mikocki (T.), 1995: *Sub specie deae. Les impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à des déesses: étude iconologique*, Rome.
- Ohlemutz (E.), 1968: *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon*, Darmstadt.
- Oliver (J. H.), 1970: *Marcus Aurelius*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 13.
- Peek (W.), 1969: *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros*, Leipzig.
- , 1972: *Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros*, Leipzig.
- Peppas-Papaioannou (E.), 1995: *Πήλινα ειδώλια από τό ιερό τοῦ Απόλλωνος Μαλεάτα Ἐπιδαυρίας*, PhD Univ. of Athens.
- Radt (W.), 1999: *Pergamon*, Darmstadt.
- Roux (G.), 1961: *L’architecture de l’Argolide aux IV^e et III^e siècles av. J.C.*, Paris.
- Sirago (V. A.), 1989: “La Seconda Sofistica come espressione culturale”, *ANRW* II.33, 36-78.
- Schwefter (Th.), 1974: *Der Achaïische Bund von der Zerstörung Korinths bis zur Neuordnung Griechenlands durch Augustus*, Munich.
- Sève (M.), 1993: “Les concours d’Épidauré”, *REG* 106, 303-26.
- Tomlinson (R. A.), 1983: *Epidauros*, London.

PROSOPOGRAPHIE DES PRÊTRES ET PRÊTRESSES DES DIOSCURES DE LA SPARTE D'ÉPOQUE IMPÉRIALE¹

Jean-Sébastien Balzat

Abstract. This article focuses on the collection and discussion of the epigraphic evidence relating to the priests and priestesses of the cult of the Dioscuri at Roman Sparta. The epigraphic evidence allows us to know the names of priests and priestesses of this cult over the first three centuries of our era. By using the prosopographical resources, it is possible, though there are imposed limitations due to the documentation, to shed more light on the organisation of the priesthood of the Dioscuri at Roman Sparta and on some of the attitudes of the priestly families towards this cult. This article leads to a chronological *mise en ordre* of the priests and priestesses of the Dioscuri. Finally, in a departure from the recent attempt of reconstruction of the priestly organisation of Roman Sparta by A. Hupfloher, this article shows the difficulties of postulating the existence of a category of priesthoods conferred independently of the gender of the future officiant.

Annette Hupfloher a récemment publié une étude détaillée intitulée *“Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter”*.² L’argument du livre est construit sur un aspect relativement bien documenté de la vie civique de Sparte: les prêtrises d’époque romaine. Le livre comporte trois chapitres principaux dans lesquels l’auteure étudie respectivement les prêtrises exercées exclusivement par des femmes, les prêtrises exercées par des femmes et par des hommes (en couple ou individuellement) et celles exercées exclusivement par des hommes. Pour construire le chapitre III intitulé *“Priesterämter, die von Frauen und Männern besetzt werden konnten”*, Hupfloher se base sur trois cas très inégalement documentés: le culte des Dioscures, un regroupement de cultes desservi par un frère et une sœur d’une même famille de Claudii et le culte d’Artémis *Patriotis*.³ Selon

sa reconstruction, Sparte aurait donc connu une catégorie de prêtrises, notamment celle du ou des cultes des Dioscures, dont les futurs officiants auraient été désignés indépendamment de leur sexe.⁴

Cet article a pour but de réévaluer les données concernant le culte des Dioscures à l’aide des ressources de la prosopographie. C’est sur ce culte que repose principalement la construction du chapitre III de Hupfloher. L’analyse prosopographique, qui n’a pas été exploitée par celle-ci, nous permet d’éclairer la vie sacerdotale de l’aristocratie d’une vénérable cité grecque durant la période romaine. Cette analyse souligne notamment que, comme dans l’Athènes d’époque romaine, la vie sacerdotale était en partie organisée autour de γένη et que l’aristocratie locale établissait des stratégies pour monopoliser certains privilèges sacerdotaux. La richesse de la documentation relative

1. Mes vifs remerciements vont au Professeur A. Rizakis pour accepter ma contribution à ce volume, ainsi qu’au Professeur A. Spawforth pour avoir eu le privilège d’échanger avec lui des points de vue qui ont nourri ma réflexion. Je remercie aussi S. Espelt Bombín qui a patiemment lu les différentes versions de cet article et O. Gengler qui a relu attentivement la version finale et m’a transmis, outre ses utiles remarques, des extraits de son commentaire de Pausanias à paraître (cité ci-dessous n. 38). Les idées exprimées ici sont de ma seule responsabilité.

2. Hupfloher 2000.

3. Le chapitre III analyse aussi le groupe de devins que l’on a jugé bon ici de distinguer des prêtrises.

4. Hupfloher 2000, 221.

aux familles de Sparte rend possible de suivre les noms des prêtres et des prêtresses du culte (ou des cultes) des Dioscures durant les trois premiers siècles de notre ère. Les points 1 et 2 étudient respectivement un prêtre et un couple de prêtres (homme-femme) associés au culte des Dioscures sous le règne d'Auguste ou peu avant. Le point 3 rassemble les inscriptions documentant les liens de la famille des Memmii de Sparte avec le culte des Dioscures, notamment un couple de prêtres (homme-femme), durant les deux premiers siècles de notre ère. Le point 4 étudie deux inscriptions du III^e s. apr. J.-C. qui documentent respectivement un prêtre et une prêtresse des Dioscures, tous deux διὰ βίου et διὰ γένους. Le point 5 discute si l'ensemble de ces prêtres et prêtresses desservent le même culte des Dioscures et le point 6 discute la position des femmes dans le même culte. Enfin, le point 7 propose une mise en ordre chronologique de la plupart des notables de Sparte associés aux Dioscures. Malgré la complexité du dossier et ses incertitudes, j'espère éclairer la vie des familles de l'aristocratie de Sparte et certains de leurs comportements envers les cultes traditionnels et, de concert avec une analyse critique des inscriptions, interroger l'existence d'une catégorie de prêtrises exercées indistinctement par des femmes et des hommes dans la Sparte d'époque romaine.

1. *Lysinicus et les prêtrises κατὰ γένος*

Le premier document à analyser est une inscription gravée sur un épais bloc de marbre qui fut découvert brisé en deux lors des fouilles du théâtre de Sparte dans les années 20 du siècle passé.⁵ La partie centrale de l'inscription est malheureusement manquante. A. M. Woodward a proposé de dater l'inscription de peu avant notre ère sur base paléographique.⁶ Elle fait connaître l'une des deux premières prêtrises desservant un culte des Dioscures de l'histoire de Sparte. Les restaurations adoptées ici sont celles de Woodward à l'exception de la première ligne pour laquelle F. Chapouthier fit une proposition plus convaincante.⁷

Διόσκο[υροι ἐπιφ]ανεῖς
ῶν τὰν μ[ὲν κατασ]κευὰν
ἐπεδέξ[ατο παρ' ἑαυ]τοῦ
Λυσίνικ[ος Σωτη]ρίδα,
τὰν δὲ ἰ[ερείου]σαν ἔχα-
ρίσατο ὁ δ[ᾶμος Λ]υσινίκῳ
καὶ ἐκγό[νοις].

La nature du monument n'est pas facile à déterminer. Le premier éditeur, Woodward, restaurait Διοσκο[ύρων δοκ]ανεῖς à la première ligne et suggérait que la forme δοκανεῖς était une forme alternative pour δόκανα, le symbole des Dioscures à Sparte.⁸ Il pensait que Lysinicus avait érigé ou restauré une structure symbolisant les Dioscures, sans dire cependant si c'était ce monument qui portait l'inscription. Les restaurations de Chapouthier étant depuis lors généralement acceptées, Hupfloher a proposé de considérer le bloc comme une base qui portait la statue des Dioscures ἐπιφανεῖς.⁹ Quoiqu'il en soit l'inscription paraît être une offrande, malgré que le datif soit plus habituel dans ce cas, et avait pour but de rappeler dans le même temps les faveurs octroyées à la famille de Lysinicus.

Selon les restaurations de Woodward, le δ[ᾶμος] avait concédé une ἰ[ερείου]σα héréditaire d'un culte des Dioscures à Lysinicus, fils de Soteridas, qui apparemment avait construit ou réparé un monument cultuel.¹⁰ Woodward trouve de bons parallèles pour ses restaurations dans deux décrets laconiens du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. qui témoignent similairement de l'octroi d'une prêtrise héréditaire en récompense de services rendus à des divinités.¹¹ L'un de ses deux décrets est utile pour éclairer le groupe social dans lequel se produisait ce genre de récompense au I^{er} s. av. J.-C. Le texte du décret stipule qu'après avoir réparé le temple d'Apollon qui était endommagé près de l'agora de Gythéion, Philémon, fils de Theoxenus, et Theoxenus, fils de Philémon, très vraisemblablement père et fils, furent récompensés par la cité de la prêtrise du culte d'Apollon et d'autres droits et privilèges qui seraient transmis à leurs descendants: la prêtrise, le sanctuaire lui-même, τὰ τίμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα

5. Woodward 1925-26, 176 et 247; *SEG* 11, 1950, 679.

6. Woodward 1925-26, 249.

7. Chapouthier in Roussel, *BullÉpigr* 1929, 190.

8. Woodward 1925-26, 248. Sur les δόκανα, voir Plut., *Mor.* 428b et *LIMC* III 1, 589.

9. Hupfloher 2000, 114.

10. Spawforth 1992, 230-31 et Hupfloher 2000, 115.

11. *IG* V 1, 1114 et 1144.

πάντα, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσιν τοῖ[ς] κατὰ γένος ὑπάρχει et, ce qui n'était pas négligeable, les ressources (ἐξουσία) du sanctuaire et celle du dieu.¹² La famille de Philémon semble donc avoir acquis à ce moment d'importants privilèges liés au sanctuaire d'Apollon et avoir été désormais capable de rivaliser avec les prêtres κατὰ γένος en termes de prestige et de ressources.¹³ Bien que la décision de la cité de Gythéion puisse se comprendre à la lumière des moments difficiles qui accompagnèrent le I^{er} s. av. J.-C., elle doit aussi être replacée dans le contexte d'une organisation sacerdotale au moins partiellement structurée par des prêtrises κατὰ γένος. Une telle organisation existait à Sparte, et celle-ci est documentée par un nombre relativement large de prêtres et prêtresses κατὰ γένος, διὰ γένους et même ἀπὸ γένους.¹⁴

La signification des termes ἱερεῖς κατὰ γένος est plus riche que ce que leur traduction par prêtrises héréditaires ne laisse entrevoir. Elle dépend du degré de développement des structures du γένος dans la société laconienne. Le parallèle avec les γένη athéniennes suffit par exemple à montrer qu'il pouvait exister des procédures variées de transmission des prêtrises (héritage, attribution et même élections) parmi les membres d'un γένος, qui pouvait être composé d'un nombre relativement large de personnes.¹⁵ Hors de Laconie, une formulation similaire pour ce qui est peut-être mieux d'appeler prêtrises gentiles est attestée en Messénie et dans deux cités doriennes, Théra et Halicarnasse.¹⁶ À Théra les membres d'une proéminente famille d'époque romaine sont connus pour avoir occupé les prêtrises διὰ γένους du culte d'Apollon *Carneios*, d'Asclépios et d'Artémis.¹⁷ À Halicarnasse, une inscription datée du II^e/I^{er} s. av. J.-C. préserve la liste des prêtres de Poséidon κατὰ γένος. Le premier prêtre de la liste n'est autre que Télamon, fils de Poséidon lui-même.¹⁸ La liste précise le nombre

des années durant lesquelles chaque prêtre resta en charge. Tout aussi intéressante est la tentative de Dittenberger de rassembler dans une sorte de *stemma* l'ensemble des prêtres de Poséidon. Ce dernier a notamment l'intérêt de suggérer comment les auteurs de cette vénérable liste pouvaient conceptualiser les liens de famille existant entre ceux qui avaient été prêtres κατὰ γένος. Il s'agit d'un parallèle à considérer pour comprendre la diversité des situations familiales à laquelle on peut s'attendre derrière la quantité de prêtres κατὰ γένος à Sparte et notamment ceux qui, de manière tout à fait remarquable, se disaient descendants des Dioscures.

Si les restaurations de Woodward sont correctes, en plus de la prêtrise il est possible que Lysinicus acquit une série de privilèges comparables à ceux reçus par Philémon et Theoxenus de Gythéion. L'intervention de la cité dans l'attribution de la prêtrise tendrait à suggérer que la famille ne devait pas celle-ci à son appartenance à un γένος. Cependant nous ne connaissons pas les règles d'attribution des prêtrises et la cité pouvait peut-être intervenir en certaines circonstances. Le patronyme de Lysinicus lui-même (Soteridas) peut peut-être indiquer un lien antérieur avec le culte des Dioscures.¹⁹ En tous les cas, à l'instar de Philémon et Theoxenus, Lysinicus réussit à acquérir pour lui-même et sa famille des privilèges sacerdotaux héréditaires et rejoignit vraisemblablement l'aristocratie «sacerdotale» de Sparte ou du moins y renforça sa position. Des connections prosopographiques nous autorisent à donner crédit à une date augustéenne ou peu avant et prouvent aussi que la famille de Lysinicus était parmi les premières familles dirigeantes de la cité dans les premières décades de l'Empire. Le premier membre connu de la famille peut avoir été l'homonyme Lysinicus, fils de Soteridas, qui fut δογματογράφος de l'ὠβά d'Amyclées.²⁰ Woodward l'a considéré comme le grand-père de notre Ly-

12. *IG* V 1, 1144, ll. 21-33. L'inscription, insérée dans un mur de l'église H. Dimitriou de Gythéion après sa découverte en 1843, est encore bien visible actuellement.

13. Les prêtres d'Apollon sont attestés dans le décret honorifique des Cloatii (Migeotte 1984, no. 24).

14. Cf. les index du *IG* V 1. Voir pour les γένη, Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 164-65; Spawforth 1992, 231-32.

15. Aleshire 1992, 328-33; cf. aussi Parker 1996, 56-66, 284-342.

16. En Messénie, *IG* V 1, 1414 témoigne d'une prêtresse [διὰ] γένους, et *IG* V 1, 1458 d'une prêtresse κατὰ γένος d'Artémis *Limnatis*.

17. *IG* XII 3, 512, 514, 519, 868, 869, 1406-08 (Apollon *Carneios*), 516, 865 (Asclépios), 484 (Artémis).

18. *Syll.*³ 1020.

19. Le nom Soteridas serait à rapprocher de l'épithète Soteris, «Sauveurs», appliquée aux Dioscures: Hupfloher 2000, 114-15.

20. *IG* V 1, 26 avec Kennell 1995, 162-69.

sinicus sur base paléographique.²¹ Le nom de Lysinicus a aussi été récemment restauré comme patronyme de deux *παιδία* nommés *Λυσίνικος* et *Γοργυπ[πίδας]* et participant à une célébration civique dans les premières décades du règne d'Auguste.²² Le prêtre des Dioscures peut avoir été le père de ces deux *παιδία*. La documentation ne permet pas de dire si l'un d'eux hérita ou non de la prêtrise, mais la famille de Lysinicus développa des relations étroites avec Rome et fut élevée au statut de citoyen romain grâce au patronage du gouverneur P. Memmius Regulus actif de 35 à 44 en Achaïe.²³ La petite-fille de notre prêtre a été identifiée avec Damostheneia qui maria une figure athénienne bien connue du milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., Tib. Claudius Novius d'Oion.²⁴ Après Damostheneia cependant, la documentation épigraphique ne semble plus témoigner de l'existence de la famille. Dans une Sparte romaine qui nous conserve une bonne documentation concernant les familles de l'aristocratie, la famille semble avoir disparu de la scène publique. Un effacement similaire pourrait être reconnu pour la famille de Tyndare également associée avec un culte des Dioscures sous le règne d'Auguste.

2. La famille de Tyndare ou le couple de prêtres d'IG V 1, 209

Daté de la fin du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. un second document concernant le culte des Dioscures mérite discussion. Il fait partie d'une petite série de catalogues de *σιτηθέντες* qui a été assignée au règne d'Auguste.²⁵ Il est, comme deux autres de ces catalogues, surmonté d'un relief dépeignant une figure féminine entourée par les Dioscures.²⁶ Il enregistre les participants à un banquet religieux sous l'égide de deux prêtres, Eurybanassa et Tyndare, fille et fils de Sidectas.²⁷ Bien que l'inscription n'indique pas la divinité desservie par les deux prêtres, le relief surmontant l'inscription a mené les historiens

à suggérer que les deux prêtres étaient associés à un culte des Dioscures. En plus du nom de Tyndare, le nom Sidectas lui-même peut peut-être être associé avec les jumeaux divins.²⁸ La présence, sur le relief, d'une figure féminine accompagnant les Dioscures a d'autre part été longtemps interprétée comme la preuve d'un culte d'Hélène et des Dioscures.²⁹ On donne ici le début de ce catalogue:

Οἱ σιτηθέντες ἐπὶ Νικοκ[λέ]ος·
 Εὐρυβάνασσα Σιδέκτα, ἱέρ[ε]ια],
 Τυνδάρης Σιδέκτα ἱερεύς,
 Δεξιμάχος Πρατόλα,
 Σιδέκτας Πρατόλα,
 Δαμοκρατίδας Εὐδαμίδα βίδου,
 Τιμόδαμος Δαμοστράτου γερονσία[ς],
 Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστομένεος ἔφορος,
 Φιλόστρατος Σωκράτεος νομο[φ]ύλαξ,
 Δινοκράτης Δινο[κ]λέος γυναικο[νό]μος,
 Πρατόλας Δεξιμάχου,
 κτλ.

L'analyse prosopographique jette une fois encore un éclairage intéressant sur les privilèges culturels détenus par certaines familles. On a fait remarquer que la liste incluait trois membres de la famille des Pratolai et qu'à la différence des autres *σιτηθέντες*, ceux-ci ne portaient aucun titre qui précise leur charge ou leur occupation. A. Spawforth a révélé les liens de famille entre les trois Pratolai et la famille sacerdotale. Comme le montre l'usage du nom Sidectas dans les deux familles à ce moment, Eurybanassa, prêtresse et fille de Sidectas (I), épousa en toute vraisemblance Pratolaus (I).³⁰ Ce sont les fils de ceux-ci, Deximachus (I) et Sidectas (II), fils de Pratolaus (I), qui apparaissent immédiatement après les deux prêtres. Le fils de Deximachus (I) lui-même doit être probablement reconnu à la ligne 11 dans le Pratolaus, fils de Deximachus, qui suit directement les noms de 5 individus qui étaient qualifiés par leur charge publique. La présence des descendants de Pratolaus parmi les participants au

21. Woodward 1925-26, 249.

22. IG V 1, 141 avec Balzat, Spawforth 2010, 184-85.

23. IG V 1, 509.

24. Spawforth 1994, 236-37, cf. aussi Balzat, Spawforth 2010, 188.

25. IG V 1, 206-09. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 99.

26. Pour les reliefs des Dioscures d'époque impériale de Sparte, voir Sanders 1993 et Steinhauer 1993.

27. IG V 1, 209.

28. Hupfloher 2000, 118 n. 72.

29. Pour les références et les critiques, voir Hupfloher 2000, 118-19.

30. Spawforth 1985, 196-97.

banquet démontre d'autre part que la famille possédait le privilège de participer au banquet sacré. On ne sait si ce privilège dérive directement du mariage de Pratolaus (I) avec Eurybanassa, mais en tant que prêtresse, Eurybanassa, nommée d'ailleurs avant son frère dans la liste, était une figure importante de la cité. Le mariage de Pratolaus (I) avec celle-ci avait notamment pour but de renforcer les liens entre les deux familles et peut être vu comme une autre facette de la tentative de certains notables de progresser dans la hiérarchie sociale. Parallèlement, Pratolaus (I) apparaît avoir eu des liens personnels avec la famille des Euryclides à cette époque, qui eux-mêmes revendiquaient leur ascendance aux Dioscures.³¹ On est visiblement face à une stratégie de rapprochement d'un petit groupe de familles de l'élite par mariage au moment même où Gaius Iulius Euryclès, un proche d'Auguste, détenait une position hégémonique sur la cité de Sparte.³² Le contrôle des plus importantes prêtrises civiques peut avoir été en jeu.

Si les Pratolai sont bien connus – ils deviendront des Memmii, la famille de Tyndare mérite de plus amples commentaires prosopographiques. B. Puech a reconstruit le *stemma* de cette famille dans sa prosopographie des amis de Plutarque. Certains passages de Plutarque montrent que la famille avait développé un réel intérêt en philosophie.³³ L'un de ses membres est vraisemblablement à reconnaître dans le Tyndare nommé dans une lettre des Lacédémoniens adressée à Apollonius de Tyane et datée du milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C.³⁴ La lettre indique que Tyndare, qui peut avoir été le fils du prêtre Tyndare apparaissant dans la liste de *σπηθέντες* selon Puech, avait introduit auprès des autorités de Sparte la proposition de conférer la citoyenneté spartiate à Apollonius de Tyane. Quelques inscriptions documentent également l'activité politique de la famille à Sparte. Cependant, comme l'a fait

remarquer Puech, la famille n'obtint pas la citoyenneté romaine avant la fin du II^e s. apr. J.-C. malgré sa proximité avec Mestrius Florus, consul sous Vespasien et ami personnel de Plutarque.³⁵ Bien que la famille fût active dans la vie publique à Sparte aux I^{er} et II^e s. apr. J.-C., c'est seulement avec M. Aurelius Zeuxippus qu'elle est attestée avec le statut de citoyen romain. Cela contraste avec les nombreuses familles dirigeantes de cette époque qui détenaient ce statut; cela peut résulter d'un choix délibéré de se tenir à l'écart de la citoyenneté romaine.

Il est finalement notable que le descendant de Tyndare, M. Aurelius Zeuxippus qui et Cleandrus apparaît en charge d'une prêtrise des Tyndarides et des Leucippides à la fin du II^e s. apr. J.-C.³⁶ L'inscription ne dit pas que cette prêtrise était *κατὰ γένοϛ* et on ne peut dire si Zeuxippus avait hérité sa prêtrise directement de ses ancêtres Tyndare et Eurybanassa. Le nom Tyndare, continuellement en usage dans la famille, semble pour le moins suggérer que la famille continua à revendiquer ses liens avec les Tyndarides à travers son onomastique. En ce qui concerne l'identification du culte des Tyndarides et des Leucippides, il est à noter que l'inscription honorifique individuelle érigée en l'honneur de Zeuxippus n'a pas à mentionner un éventuel collègue. Ainsi, l'inscription ne contredit pas Pausanias quand il affirme que le culte des Leucippides était desservi par deux *παρθένοι* à son époque.³⁷ Pausanias peut simplement avoir ignoré l'association des deux cultes. Il existait à Sparte même une maison où les «fils de Tyndare» avaient vécu.³⁸ Cette maison avait été acquise par le fameux Phormion et avait été le lieu d'une fameuse théoxénie des Tyndarides.³⁹ Etant donné la description qu'en livre Pausanias, cette maison était vraisemblablement un lieu de culte.⁴⁰ L'inscription reflète donc l'association, loin d'être inattendue par ailleurs, de

31. *IG V* 1, 463 et *IG V* 1, 971. Spawforth 1985, 196; Balzat 2005, 293 n. 21.

32. Sur cette position, voir Balzat 2005, 289-97.

33. Références chez Puech 1992, 4889-892.

34. Philostr., *Ep.* 62.

35. Puech 1992, 4890.

36. *IG V* 1, 305. Voir sur la prêtrise, Hupfloher 2000, 85-91.

37. Paus. III. 16, 1 (avec Hsch., s.v. *πωλία*).

38. Paus. III. 16, 1-3. Sur le rapport topographique entre ces deux lieux, voir le commentaire du passage: Pausanias, *Description de la Grèce*, t. III: *Livre III, La Laconie* (Coll. des Universités de France), notice, traduction et commentaire par O. Gengler, texte établi par M. Casevitz, Paris, Les Belles Lettres [sous presse].

39. Voir Musti, Torelli 1991, 223.

40. Hupfloher 2000, 112-13.

deux lieux de cultes sous un prêtre unique et il n'est pas nécessaire de postuler l'existence d'un culte des Tyndarides et des Leucippides au *Phoibaion*.⁴¹ En tout cas, la prosopographie révèle que la famille de Tyndare possédait encore des revendications sur un culte des Tyndarides deux siècles après la prêtrise du Tyndare de l'époque d'Auguste, ce qui témoigne que la permanence des rapports avec les Dioscures/Tyndarides demeura pour la famille l'un des enjeux de la vie civique.

3. Les Memmii Pratolai et les Dioscures (milieu du I^{er}-II^e s. apr. J.-C.)

Le groupe suivant de documents concerne les descendants de Pratolaus (I) et d'Eurybanassa. La famille acquit le statut de citoyen romain grâce à l'intervention de P. Memmius Regulus, le même patron qui fit bénéficier la famille des Memmii Lysinici de la citoyenneté romaine vers le milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. La documentation épigraphique montre clairement que la famille avait des liens étroits avec les Dioscures depuis Auguste jusqu'à la fin du II^e s. apr. J.-C. Après le catalogue de σιτηθέντες qui vient d'être analysé, le premier document à discuter en ce sens est une inscription gravée sur une architrave de style ionique: [Πό(πλιον) Μέμμ(ιον) Πρατόλαον Δεξι]μάχου υἱόν, ἔκγονον [--- λ]θ' ἀπὸ Διοσκούρων.⁴² Comme on va le voir par l'analyse des descendants de ce P. Memmius Pratolaus fils de Deximachus, les restaurations des noms de ce 39^e descendant des Dioscures par Woodward sont convaincantes. P. Memmius Deximachus (IV) fut honoré comme φιλοκαῖσαρ et φιλόπατρις, prêtre et 42^e descendant des Dioscures au milieu du II^e s. apr. J.-C.⁴³ Le père de ce

notable a été identifié avec P. Memmius Pratolaus (IV), fils de Deximachus (III), situé dans la I^{ère} moitié du II^e s. apr. J.-C. et qui dédia, en tant que prêtre et avec sa partenaire qualifiée de prêtresse, une *πεῖλα* aux Dioscures.⁴⁴ Une génération avant, à la fin du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., P. Memmius Spartiaticus (I) fut 40^e descendant des Dioscures.⁴⁵ Ce dernier appartenait probablement à la branche des Memmii Pratolai.⁴⁶ Ascendance divine et prêtrise des Dioscures de la famille confortent la restauration de Woodward et permettent d'identifier le 39^e descendant des Dioscures avec P. Memmius Pratolaus (II = III), fils de Deximachus (*RP* II, LAC 574) qui épousa Memmia Pasichareia (*RP* II, LAC 543 et *RP* I, ARG 189), deux figures bien connues de la documentation épigraphique du milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C.⁴⁷ L'apparition du titre de descendant des Dioscures dans les inscriptions de cette époque révèle de nouveau l'intérêt porté par les familles de la classe dirigeante aux Dioscures à l'époque romaine. Elle montre de plus que les Memmii Pratolai et la branche des Memmii Spartiatici détenaient un quasi monopole de ce privilège entre le milieu du I^{er} et le milieu du II^e s. apr. J.-C.

Il est important de discuter davantage l'inscription datée du début du II^e s. apr. J.-C. dans laquelle P. Memmius Pratolaus (IV) et Volussene Olympicha (*RP* II, LAC 724), dédièrent une *πεῖλα* aux Dioscures Sauveurs.⁴⁸

Πό(πλιος) Μέμμιος Πρατό-
λας καὶ Οὐόλουσση-
νὴ Ὀλυμπίχα οἱ ἰερεῖς
τὴν πεῖλαν ἐποίησαν
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διοσκού-
ροις Σωτῆρσι.

41. Hupfloher 2000, 87-88.

42. *SEG* 11, 1950, 847. Spawforth 1985, 198-99. Hupfloher 2000, 121 le qualifie erronément d'anonyme.

43. *IG* V 1, 537 + 634 (= *SEG* 11, 1950, 795 et 821). Il aurait été *patronomos* peu après 137/8 (*RP* II, LAC 561).

44. *IG* V 1, 233 (*RP* II, LAC 575) qui est étudiée ci-dessous. Pour la nature de cette offrande, voir Spawforth 1985, 203-04 (la *πεῖλα* serait ici l'équivalent du latin *pila*) et Hupfloher 2000, 115-16.

45. *IG* V 1, 471 (*RP* II, LAC 583).

46. Spawforth 1985, 200-01. Il ne semble pas nécessaire de supposer un octroi de la citoyenneté romaine par P. Memmius Regulus à la famille de Spartiaticus. Sa citoyenneté romaine et son gentilice peuvent dériver d'un lien de famille direct avec P. Memmius Pratolaus (II = III), fils de Deximachus (*RP* II, LAC 575). D'autre part, le *cognomen* Spartiaticus et l'ascendance remontant à Rhadamanthys indiquent un évident lien avec les Euryclides.

47. Le terme υἱός de la formule patronomique suggère que le [3]9^e descendant des Dioscures était un citoyen romain. Peu de familles sont connues avec la citoyenneté romaine dans les inscriptions de Sparte au milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. On reviendra ailleurs sur l'identification entre Pratolaus (II) et Pratolaus (III).

48. *IG* V 1, 233.

L'inscription les qualifie de οὐκ ἑρεῖς sans mentionner le culte desservi, ce qui n'est pas inhabituel à Sparte. Etant donné que la *πειλα* fut offerte aux Dioscures, les historiens défendent avec raison cependant que les deux prêtres servaient le culte des Dioscures. Il est possible que les deux prêtres aient servi aussi d'autres cultes, puisque, comme on le verra, des regroupements de cultes sous un prêtre unique existaient à Sparte, mais dans la dédicace *IG V 1, 233* ils accomplissaient en toute vraisemblance un service commun aux Dioscures. La prosopographie indique que les deux prêtres étaient membres de la même famille.⁴⁹ Il est vraisemblable que le lignage divin, qui était un quasi monopole de la famille de P. Memmii Pratolaus (IV) à l'époque, représentait l'un des arguments les plus importants dans la revendication à la prêtrise des Dioscures. En réalité, le prêtre des Dioscures Pratolaus (IV) lui-même peut bien avoir été le 41^e descendant des Dioscures.⁵⁰ De la même manière, son propre fils Deximachus (IV) qui fut prêtre et 42^e descendant des Dioscures peut bien derrière son titre de prêtre avoir desservi le culte des Dioscures.⁵¹ Le parallèle avec le cas de Sex. Pompeius Eudamus, un notable du III^e s. apr. J.-C. discuté ci-dessous, qui fut [51^e?] descendant d'Héraclès, 47^e descendant des Dioscures, prêtre et agonothète διὰ βίου κ[αὶ διὰ] γένους τῶν τε Δι[οσκο]ύρων καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶν[ος τῶν] μεγάλων Διοσκουρ[είων], est frappant.⁵² Finalement, la fille de Deximachus (IV), Memmia Xenocratia fut prêtresse κατὰ γένος à la fin de la période antonine.⁵³ Elle héritait clairement de sa prêtrise comme membre du γένος paternel. De nouveau, l'inscription ne mentionne pas la ou les divinités

desservies par Xenocratia. Cependant, il est bien possible qu'elle ait occupé une position similaire à Olympicha qui fut prêtresse en compagnie de Pratolaus (IV). Comme Olympicha, Xenocratia peut avoir été la partenaire d'un prêtre des Dioscures.⁵⁴ Le fait que les inscriptions en honneur de Deximachus (IV) et Xenocratia ne mentionnent pas un éventuel partenaire s'explique assez par la nature des inscriptions qui célébraient des honneurs individuels.⁵⁵ La documentation tend donc à montrer que les Memmii formèrent un groupe familial qui posséda des droits et des privilèges culturels liés notamment aux Dioscures durant plusieurs générations. Il est clair qu'ils faisaient partie de ce groupe de familles de Sparte qui se transmettaient droits et privilèges κατὰ γένος dans la cité d'époque romaine.

Le lien étroit des Memmii Pratolai et Memmii Spartiatici avec les Dioscures est finalement documenté dans deux catalogues de γέροντες du II^e s. apr. J.-C. qui furent notablement dédiés aux Dioscures.⁵⁶ De toute évidence, le catalogue *IG V 1, 101* fut dédié aux θεοὶ σωτῆρες Διόσκοροι, car le patronyme de l'année était P. Memmii Pratolaus, fils de Deximachus.⁵⁷ Celui-ci a été identifié avec le prêtre de la dédicace aux Dioscures Sauveurs discuté ci-dessus.⁵⁸ Le second catalogue, daté des années 160-165 apr. J.-C., fut dédié aux θεοὶ Διόσκοροι; il s'agissait de l'année du patronat de P. Memmii Eudamus, un membre de la branche des Memmii Spartiatici.⁵⁹ À l'occasion de l'exercice par la famille d'une des plus hautes charges de la cité, le corps des γέροντες était donc placé sous les auspices des Dioscures. Il vaut la peine de rappeler

49. Spawforth 1985, 204 et 222 (cousins?). Je pense que Volussene Olympicha peut avoir appartenu à la même lignée mâle que Pratolaus (IV). J'y reviendrai ailleurs.

50. L'absence de ce titre dans l'inscription peut être facilement expliquée par le fait que l'inscription est une dédicace, non une inscription honorifique.

51. Spawforth 1985, 205.

52. Pour cette possible génération de descendant d'Héraclès voir le tableau ci-dessous.

53. *IG V 1, 586*. Spawforth 1985, 206-07.

54. Des inscriptions documentent des prêtres et prêtresses qui servaient des associations de cultes κατὰ γένος (voir ci-dessous p. 10). On ne sait si la prêtrise de Xenocratia et de son père était limitée à un seul sanctuaire.

55. Voir de même ci-dessous avec les deux prêtres du III^e siècle.

56. Un troisième cas pourrait apparaître dans Steinhauer 1998, 442-43. Voir aussi les reliefs dépeignant les Dioscures au-dessus des deux catalogues *IG V 1, 98* (γένοντες) et *675* (σφαρεῖς) sous le patronyme Μνάσων (Steinhauer 1993, 227). Notons un Memmii Mnason fils de Deximachus: *RP II, LAC 570*.

57. *IG V 1, 658*, inscription agonistique, mentionne aussi les Dioscures *Soteres*.

58. Spawforth 1985, 213.

59. Steinhauer 1998, 433-35 no. 4 (*SEG 48, 1998, 458*). G. Steinhauer suggère aussi une allusion aux empereurs Marc Aurèle et Lucius Verus.

que les Dioscures étaient très populaires à Sparte et qu'ils étaient traditionnellement associés aux rois.⁶⁰ Durant la période romaine, les jumeaux divins apparaissent encore en étroite contact avec les détenteurs du pouvoir, notamment les Euryclides. D'autre part, avec la création du Principat, on peut se demander comment l'intérêt de l'empereur dans le culte des Dioscures a pu influencer l'attitude des classes dirigeantes de Sparte à l'égard de ce culte.⁶¹ En 6 apr. J.-C., Tibère dédia l'*Aedes Castoris* située sur le *Forum Romanum*, à Castor et Pollux et la propagande impériale du début du Principat associa également les *principes iuventutis* aux Dioscures.⁶² Comme la fameuse *Lex sacra* de Gythéion l'indique assez, les Euryclides de Sparte étaient probablement de bons relais de l'idéologie impériale en Laconie.⁶³ Plus tard, Marc Aurèle et Lucius Verus furent peut-être associés avec les Dioscures à Sparte.⁶⁴ Il faut finalement remarquer que deux familles reliées aux Dioscures, les Memmii Lysinici et les Memmii Pratolai, furent patronnés par P. Memmius Regulus. Les détenteurs d'importantes prêtrises civiques et autres privilèges culturels acquièrent ailleurs aussi en Achaïe la citoyenneté romaine durant le I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. Il est difficile de dire dans quelle mesure l'exercice des prêtrises civiques peut avoir joué un rôle pour les notables qui déposèrent une candidature à la citoyenneté romaine, mais du point de vue local la citoyenneté romaine devint au cours du I^{er} s. un signe de distinction sociale parmi les membres de l'élite et joua vraisemblablement son rôle dans la compétition qui avait lieu entre les notables pour les charges locales.

4. Les deux prêtres des Dioscures du III^e s. apr. J.-C.

Il convient à présent de considérer deux inscriptions du III^e s. apr. J.-C. qui documentent un prêtre et une prêtresse *διὰ γένους* des Dioscures. C'est la première fois dans la documentation que les prêtres sont qualifiés explicitement de prêtres des Dioscures. Cette précision résulte en grande partie

d'une tendance générale dans les inscriptions de cette période à livrer davantage de détails concernant les charges sacerdotales. A cette époque, les Memmii Pratolai ont disparu depuis plusieurs générations.⁶⁵ Deux autres familles, les Pompeii et les Pomponii, sont ici impliquées dans le culte des Dioscures. La première inscription est un pilier hérmaïque de marbre blanc honorant Sex. <Pompeius> Eudamus, qui fut probablement élevé à l'occasion de l'exercice de sa prêtrise du culte impérial.⁶⁶ En effet, cette prêtrise ainsi que celle de Zeus et son titre de *ὁ ἄριστος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων*, précèdent la mention des noms de l'honoré dans l'inscription. Après les noms Sex. Eudamus suit la description de la carrière de celui-ci qui inclut une série d'autres charges et honneurs. Il fut dans l'ordre [51^e?] descendant d'Héraclès, 47^e descendant des Dioscures, prêtre et agonothète *διὰ βίου καὶ διὰ γένους τῶν τε Δι[οσκο]ύρων καὶ τοῦ ἁγῶν[ος τῶν] μεγάλων Διοσκουρ[είων]*. L'inscription donne ensuite successivement sa charge d'agonothète des *Leonidea* et une prêtrise *κατὰ γένος* qui associe au moins 14 divinités.⁶⁷ L'ordre des charges adopté dans l'inscription reflète une certaine hiérarchie dans la carrière d'Eudamus. Sa prêtrise des Dioscures et sa charge d'agonothète des *Dioscureia* étaient parmi les plus prestigieuses charges de sa carrière après sa prêtrise du culte impérial.

La seconde inscription honorifique du III^e s. apr. J.-C. révèle que Pomponia Callistonice fut prêtresse *διὰ βίου καὶ διὰ γένους* d'Artémis *Orthia*, des Moires *Lacheseis*, d'Aphrodite *Enoplios*, d'Asclépios *Schoinatas*, d'Artémis *Patriotis*, et des Dioscures et de l'agôn des *σεμνότατα Διοσκουρία*.⁶⁸ Comme Eudamus, Callistonice fut donc prêtresse *διὰ γένους* des Dioscures et exerçait ses fonctions religieuses aussi durant les *Dioscureia*. Elle n'avait cependant pas été agonothète. Malgré les variations des titres des charges relatives aux Dioscures, qui peuvent avoir été causées par des changements dans l'organisation du culte, les deux prêtres servaient

60. Carlier 1984, 298-301; Parker 1989, 147; Hupfloher 2000, 123.

61. Sur l'usage de l'image des Dioscures sur les monnaies de Sparte, voir Poulsen 1991a, 242-45.

62. Suet., *Tib.* 20. 3 avec Sanders 1993, 223 n. 17 et Poulsen 1991b.

63. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923.

64. *IGV* 1, 447; Poulsen 1991b, 135.

65. Cf. le *stemma* chez Spawforth 1985, 194.

66. *IG V* 1, 559 avec *SEG* 11, 1950, 805 et Hupfloher 2000, 187. Voir pour ce personnage *RP II*, LAC 626.

67. Pour ses prêtrises, voir Hupfloher 2000, 187-211. Pour les *Leonidea*, voir Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 192-93.

68. *IG V* 1, 602.

de toute évidence le même sanctuaire des Dioscures. De plus, s'il y avait plusieurs cultes des Dioscures à Sparte à cette époque, l'association avec les Dioscureia indique que le culte desservi ici était le plus important de la cité. Les *Dioscureia* doivent être classés parmi un type de concours fréquents à cette époque qui célébraient les principales divinités civiques.⁶⁹ D'autre part, le fait que la liste des cultes desservis n'est pas la même pour les deux prêtres – la liste pour Eudamus est cependant incomplète – montre aussi que le regroupement des cultes, comme il apparaît dans les deux inscriptions, n'était pas permanent.⁷⁰ Certains cultes pourraient avoir été regroupés sous un prêtre unique du fait de la proximité spatiale de leurs sanctuaires.⁷¹ Le manque d'héritier, de prestige, de richesse personnelle jouèrent aussi leurs rôles dans les regroupements et peuvent expliquer le passage de certaines prêtrises διὰ γένους d'un γένος à un autre, notamment dans le cas du culte des Dioscures qui était particulièrement important dans la cité.⁷²

5. Culte et cultes des Dioscures dans la Sparte d'époque romaine

Il est à présent nécessaire de se demander si les différents prêtres discutés ici desservaient le même culte des Dioscures. Il y a différentes manières d'aborder la question. Tout d'abord, Pausanias mentionne plusieurs lieux de culte des Dioscures à Sparte. Deux d'entre eux semblent avoir été particulièrement importants: le ναός des Dioscures au *Phoibaion* (Paus. III. 20, 2) et le ἱερόν des Dios-

cures et des Charites près du *dromos* (Paus. III. 14, 6).⁷³ D'autres monuments culturels existaient pour les Dioscures dans la cité; il y avait une statue des Dioscures Ἀφετήριοι au commencement du *dromos* (III. 14, 7) et un βωμός commun de Zeus, d'Athéna et des Dioscures, tous portant l'épithète Ἀμβούλιος (III. 13, 6). De plus, les Dioscures étaient honorés individuellement.⁷⁴ On ne sait comment ces différents lieux de cultes étaient administrés. Deuxièmement, une série d'épithètes sont associées avec les Dioscures à Sparte dans les inscriptions. A ce sujet, il faut distinguer entre deux usages. L'offrande de Lysinicus fut vraisemblablement dédiée aux Διόσκο[υροι ἐπιφ]ανεῖς.⁷⁵ Les prêtres de IG V 1, 233 dédièrent une πείλα aux Διόσκουροι Σωτήρες. L'un des deux catalogues de γέροντες discuté ci-dessus avait été dédié aux θεοὶ Διόσκοροι, l'autre aux Dioscures Sauveurs.⁷⁶ Contrairement à ces dédicaces, les inscriptions en l'honneur des prêtres des Dioscures, Eudamus et Callistonicé, ne mentionnent aucune épithète pour les Dioscures. Les deux prêtres du III^e s. apr. J.-C. étaient simplement désignés comme prêtres des Dioscures. On ne sait donc pas s'il faut identifier des cultes différents sur base des épithètes attestées dans les dédicaces. À l'occasion de ces dernières, on peut avoir insisté sur un aspect particulier, mais très commun, des Dioscures, sans qu'il n'y ait eu de cultes différents.⁷⁷ Au final, ni Pausanias ni les épithètes associées aux divinités ne nous aident à identifier les sanctuaires pour lesquels les différents prêtres étudiés ici étaient responsables. À ce stade, la seule

69. Pour ce type de concours à l'époque, voir Robert 1984, 35-45, spéc. 41.

70. Les deux étaient prêtres d'Artémis *Patriotis*; Hupfloher 2000, 70.

71. Marchetti 1996, 157-63.

72. On soutient parfois que les prêtrises peuvent avoir été transmises à travers les lignées masculine et féminine (Chrimes 1949, 471-73; Spawforth 1992, 231; Hupfloher 2000, 123). Je ne pense pas que ce type de transmission est valide pour les prêtrises κατὰ γένος. De plus, la transmission des prêtrises à travers la lignée féminine est loin d'être fréquente dans la société patrilinéaire grecque. Le cas de la prêtresse d'Athéna *Poliade* à Athènes, qui a parfois été considéré comme un exemple d'héritage à travers la lignée féminine, semble mieux s'expliquer par une transmission par la lignée masculine (Aleshire 1994, 332-33 et Connelly 2007, 47). Les autres exemples de transmission par la femme rassemblés par Turner 1983 ne sont pas concluants. Turner 1983 donne comme «major counter-example» de «strictly female inheritance» le cas très spéculatif d'une famille d'Epidaure étudiée chez Broadbent 1968, 18-23. Cela ne signifie pas que les prêtresses ne pouvaient jamais transmettre des prêtrises à leurs descendants, mais si elles le firent, il est possible de croire qu'elles le firent à défaut d'héritier de la lignée mâle ou en raison du manque de prestige de cette dernière.

73. Voir aussi Steinhauer 1993, 227.

74. Voir références dans Hupfloher 2000, 109.

75. SEG 11, 1950, 679.

76. Steinhauer 1998, 443-35 no. 4.

77. Pour la question des épithètes, voir Parker 2003, 173-83.

distinction que nous puissions peut-être établir entre deux cultes attestés dans les inscriptions est celle entre le culte desservi par Lysinicus et celui desservi par le couple Eurybanassa et Tyndares puisque ces prêtres semblent contemporains, la prêtrise de Lysinicus pouvant dater d'époque augustéenne.⁷⁸

Une autre approche apporte des éléments supplémentaires à considérer dans cette question pour les prêtrises des Memmii et du III^e s. Il faut prendre en considération l'histoire des familles. Sous Auguste, trois familles sont attestées à différents niveaux en association avec les Dioscures: les familles de Lysinicus, Tyndare et Pratolaus. La distribution des attestations épigraphiques des privilèges reliés aux Dioscures change au cours de la I^{ère} moitié du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. Il ne s'agit peut-être pas seulement du hasard étant donné que les inscriptions se font plus nombreuses à la fin du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. La famille de Lysinicus semble disparaître de la documentation après le milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C., tandis que celle de Tyndare semble se tenir à l'écart, volontairement ou non, de la citoyenneté romaine à la même époque. Cela contraste avec les Memmii Pratolai et la branche des Memmii Spartiatici qui sont bien attestés en général, notamment en lien avec les Dioscures jusqu'après le milieu du II^e s. apr. J.-C. Avec la disparition des Memmii Pratolai, l'ascendance divine aux Dioscures se transmet à d'autres lignées mâles comme on va le voir, bien qu'un principe d'hérédité dût partiellement jouer dans l'attribution de ce privilège. La documentation tendrait donc à montrer qu'après Auguste la famille des Memmii Pratolai et Memmii Spartiatici monopolisa les privilèges liés aux cultes des Dioscures sur plusieurs générations et que ces privilèges se succédèrent ensuite dans différentes familles. Le contrôle des Memmii Pratolai et Spartiatici sur le culte et les privilèges des Dioscures rend dès lors vraisemblable qu'Eudamus et Callistonice, les deux prêtres *διὰ γένου* qui servirent le principal culte des Dioscures de Sparte associé aux Dioscureia au III^e s. furent les successeurs indirects des bien connus Memmii; Memmii, Eudamus et Callistonice desservirent bien, semble-t-il, le même culte des Dioscures.

6. Position des femmes dans le culte des Dioscures

Si cette reconstruction est correcte, la position de la prêtresse Callistonice est plus simplement comprise par parallèle avec celle de Volussene Olympicha qui formait un couple de prêtre avec P. Memmius Pratolaus. Callistonice devait détenir son poste avec un partenaire. Inversement Eudamus, l'autre desservant des Dioscures connu au III^e s. apr. J.-C., devait aussi tenir son poste avec un partenaire. Dans cette question il convient de considérer la nature des documents. Les deux couples de prêtres connus dans les inscriptions, d'une part Pratolaus et Olympicha, d'autre part Eurybanassa et Tyndare, apparaissent dans des documents commémorant des actes de culte: respectivement l'offrande d'une *πεῖλα* aux Dioscures et un catalogue de *σιτηθέντες*. Ces inscriptions n'ont rien en commun avec la plupart des inscriptions qui documentent les prêtres et prêtresses de la Sparte romaine et qui sont des inscriptions honorifiques individuelles où, comme pour Eudamus et Callistonice, la mention d'un éventuel collègue n'a aucune place. C'est de la même manière que l'on a considéré les prêtrises de P. Memmius Deximachus (IV) et sa fille Memmia Xenocratia (voir ci-dessus ns. 53-54). Dans la perspective des couples de prêtres, il faut également considérer la paire de prêtres Eurybanassa et Tyndare d'époque augustéenne active dans une cérémonie du culte des Dioscures. Étant donné la relation entre la famille de Tyndare et celle de Pratolaus sous Auguste, il est possible de suggérer avec Spawforth que le couple P. Memmius Pratolaus et Volussene Olympicha trouverait facilement son prédécesseur dans le couple Eurybanassa et Tyndare.⁷⁹ En portant attention à la fortune des différentes familles, il est possible que le prestige, les ressources et la proximité avec de puissants patrons aient permis aux Pratolai d'obtenir la prêtrise des Dioscures détenue alors par Eurybanassa et son frère. À ce stade et dans l'état actuel de la documentation l'ensemble des prêtres étudiés, sauf Lysinicus, desserviraient donc le même culte. Il demeure cependant intrigant que les Lysinici furent patronnés par le même gouverneur romain que les Pratolai.

78. Hupfloher 2000, 123; Spawforth 1992, 230-31.

79. Spawforth 1985, 203-04; Hupfloher 2000, 122. Selon moi, la transmission de cette prêtrise n'était pas possible à travers la lignée féminine (voir note ci-dessus). La procédure de transmission peut être autre que l'héritage direct. De plus, la compétition pour la prêtrise peut expliquer le passage d'une lignée mâle à une autre.

Si l'on considère les prêtresses à la lumière des couples de prêtres, on offre une explication cohérente des attestations épigraphiques de leur présence dans le culte des Dioscures. Le chapitre de Hupfloher sur les prêtrises desservies tant par des hommes que par des femmes perd son principal exemple, celui des Dioscures, et il n'est pas difficile de mettre en question les deux autres cas sur lesquels se base la construction de ce chapitre – les Claudii et le culte d'Artémis *Patriotis*.⁸⁰ Pour ce dernier culte, les deux seuls prêtres attestés d'Artémis *Patriotis* sont Eudamus et Callistonice. S'il est interprété à la lumière des couples de prêtres, le cas des Claudii montre aussi que les couples de prêtres n'étaient pas limités au culte des Dioscures et existaient aussi pour des prêtrises desservant des regroupements de divinités. Il vaut la peine de regarder hors de Sparte pour savoir dans quel contexte

on trouve des couples de prêtres. Dans de nombreux cas, il a été suggéré que les prêtrises partagées s'expliquaient par le fait qu'il existait, au cours des cérémonies religieuses, des activités réservées à l'un des deux sexes.⁸¹ En ce qui concerne le culte des Dioscures à Sparte, il est vrai que les jumeaux divins étaient souvent associés avec des entités féminines comme les Charites et les Leucippides.⁸² Il faut dire enfin que le regroupement des prêtrises *κατὰ γένοϛ* desservant des divinités masculines et féminines à Sparte peut aussi avoir justifié une distribution par genre. D'autre part, le culte impérial en Asie Mineure fournit également une belle série d'exemples de couples de prêtres qui étaient mari et femme. Dans ce cas, les couples de prêtres doivent être considérés à la lumière de la visibilité croissante des femmes dans la documentation d'époque impériale et de l'influence de Rome.⁸³

80. Le cas des Claudii est en partie comparable à ceux d'Eudamus et de Callistonice. Une paire de frère et sœur, Tib. Claudius Aelius Pratolaus *qui et Damocratidas* (RP II, LAC 251) et Claudia Damostheneia (RP II, LAC 219), est attestée par des inscriptions honorifiques de la fin du II^e/début III^e s. apr. J.-C. (IG V 1, 497, 587, 589 et 608 = Spawforth 1985, 234). La sœur et le frère détenaient la même prêtrise *κατὰ γένοϛ* desservant *Carneios Boiketias*, *Carneios Dromaios*, Poséidon *Domateitas*, Héraclès *Genarchas*, Coré et Temenius "dans l'Hélos" (pour le regroupement de ces prêtrises voir Marchetti 1996, 161-63 et le commentaire du chapitre 14 du livre III de Pausanias par O. Gengler cité ci-dessus n. 38). L'unique différence entre les deux séries est que Damostheneia servait «d'autres divinités» en plus des cultes mentionnés ci-dessus. Comme IG V 1, 589 et 608 = SEG 35, 19, 315 (ca. 210) sont des inscriptions honorifiques pour la seule Damostheneia, d'autres charges religieuses étaient évidemment mentionnées. Un Tib. Claudius Aristocrates, prêtre et descendant de Poséidon peut avoir été un ancêtre des deux Claudii (voir Hupfloher 2000, 130 et 182-3). On peut défendre deux explications: la sœur et le frère était un couple de prêtres ou bien ils se succédaient l'un à l'autre. Tout dépend de l'interprétation d'IG V 1, 497, qui fut élevée par la paire de frère et sœur Claudii en l'honneur de leur père, et où la prêtrise *κατὰ γένοϛ* est mentionnée uniquement pour Pratolaus et non pour Damostheneia. Il a été suggéré que Damostheneia devait encore devenir prêtresse et qu'un autre membre féminin de sa famille détenait la prêtrise *κατὰ γένοϛ* en compagnie de Pratolaus à l'époque de l'inscription (Chrimes 1949, 472; Spawforth 1985, 235). Mais Hupfloher (2000, 126 et 145) a récemment suggéré que la prêtrise *κατὰ γένοϛ* n'était pas desservie par un couple de prêtres, mais qu'à l'époque d'IG V 1, 497, Pratolaus était l'unique prêtre et que Damostheneia hérita plus tard, avec IG V 1, 589 et 608=SEG 35, 315, de son frère. Je considère plutôt ces deux prêtres comme un couple de prêtres à l'instar des exemples étudiés ci-dessus; de plus je ne pense pas que les conditions de transmission des prêtrises *κατὰ γένοϛ* aient été si libres qu'elles aient permis le choix d'un prêtre indépendamment de son sexe.

81. Voir une prêtrise des Corybandes (Sokołowski, LSAM no. 24 et Voutiras 1996, 247-48), un culte d'Artémis en Arcadie (Paus. VIII. 13, 1 avec Jost 1985, 416-17) et les Mystères d'Andania (*Syll.*³ 736, ll. 28-29, ll. 96-7. Deshours 2006, 122). Les inscriptions de Stratonicée en Carie offrent aussi des couples de prêtres dans le cas du culte de Zeus *Panamaros*. Dans ce cas, il est notable que les prêtresses soient des mères, des sœurs, des filles ou même des épouses. Apparemment, la prêtrise n'était pas liée à la lignée mâle et pourrait n'avoir requis qu'un partenaire féminin. La prêtrise n'était pas héréditaire ni *κατὰ γένοϛ*, même si certaines familles monopolisèrent la charge. Le culte de Zeus *Panamaros* était associé avec celui d'Héra, et des mystères avaient lieu séparément pour les femmes et les hommes (Bremen van 1996, 133-34).

82. Les prêtres Eurybanassa et Tyndare ont longtemps été reconnus comme des servants d'un culte des Dioscures et Hélène. Qui est en effet la figure féminine des reliefs d'époque augustéenne? Voir Spawforth 1985, 203-04 et la critique de Hupfloher 2000, 118-20.

83. Bremen van 1996, 133-35. Pour des références supplémentaires, voir Chaniotis 2003.

7. Prêtres et descendants des Dioscures dans les trois premiers siècles de l'Empire

Le tableau ci-dessous rassemble les membres de la famille des Memmii qui occupèrent une prêtrise et/ou furent descendants des Dioscures ainsi que les prêtres du III^e s. apr. J.-C., Callistonice et Eudamus.⁸⁴ On y a porté également les descendants des Dioscures des autres familles, à l'exception des Euryclides.⁸⁵ Comme le lignage divin offre un indicateur chronologique assez certain, qui fut d'ailleurs déjà utilisé par Woodward, le tableau montre aussi qu'il est possible de compléter l'intervalle entre les Memmii et les prêtres du III^e siècle.⁸⁶ Seule la datation du 45^e descendant des Dioscures pose problème. Woodward a avancé que la forme des lettres de l'inscription mentionnant ce 45^e descendant des Dioscures ne convient pas avec celle

de la période 130-180 et qu'elle serait plus proche de celle d'une inscription datant de la Tétrarchie, entre 295-305 apr. J.-C.⁸⁷ Spawforth a réaffirmé cette date en faisant remarquer la similarité de l'*oméga* (M renversé) dans les deux inscriptions.⁸⁸ Malgré ses remarques paléographiques, Woodward a proposé de dater l'individu dont il restaure les noms sur l'architrave de «*ca. 190 at the earliest, and perhaps even thirty years later*». Sa restauration des noms de ce descendant des Dioscures a depuis été abandonnée, mais cela montre qu'il a préféré suivre l'indice chronologique du lignage des Dioscures plutôt que la datation paléographique, qui est notoirement difficile. On en fera de même ici d'autant plus que la chronologie des familles est elle-même établie sur base prosopographique et demeure le plus souvent une chronologie relative.

84. J'y ai inclus Eurybanassa et Tyndare bien qu'ils n'appartiennent pas à la même lignée mâle que les Memmii. Leur prêtrise peut bien avoir été la même que celle tenue par Pratolaus (IV) et Olympicha (voir ci-dessus p. 7).

85. Les générations qui séparent les Euryclides de leurs ancêtres mythiques, les Dioscures, ne sont évidemment pas conciliables avec celles des autres notables de Sparte. Le contemporain d'Euryclès Herculanus (RP II, LAC 462), 36^e descendant des Dioscures est le prêtre P. Memmius Pratolaus IV, probablement 41^e descendant des Dioscures (fin du I^{er}-début II^e s.) ou P. Memmius Deximachus IV, 42^e descendants des Dioscures (I^{ère} moitié du II^e s.). Avant de conclure que deux «chronologies» de descendants des Dioscures ont coexisté à Sparte, comme c'est le cas chez Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 163-64, il vaut la peine d'observer qu'un seul autre notable laconien n'est pas compatible avec cette chronologie (le cas du 45^e descendant des Dioscures est discuté ci-dessous p. 13). Il s'agit de L. Mindius Damocrates (IG V 1, 1174), frère d'une Peducaea Maryllina. L'inscription, visible sur un mur de l'église H. Dimitriou à Gythéion, a été datée du II^e s. apr. J.-C. Damocrates est 39^e descendant des Dioscures et 41^e descendant d'Héraclès. Difficile de le faire coïncider chronologiquement avec le Memmius 39^e descendant des Dioscures de Sparte daté du milieu du I^{er} s. apr. J.-C. Un Peducaeus Epaphroditus (II^e s. apr. J.-C.) est attesté à Sparte, mais une Mindia Etearchis est attestée à Boiai où elle finance l'érection du monument en l'honneur d'un certain P. Memmius Agacles Polonianus. La présence des deux Mindii dans des cités de la côte laconienne invite à se demander si ces deux personnages n'appartenaient pas à une famille établie dans une des cités côtières, plutôt qu'à Sparte même. Parallèlement les inscriptions honorifiques qui nous informent de l'ascendance mythique d'Herculanus ont aussi été trouvées à Gythéion et Asopus. Notez cependant l'inscription fragmentaire IG V 1, 463. Le fait que les Euryclides et L. Mindius Damocrates ne rentrent pas dans la liste des descendants des Dioscures de Sparte pourrait peut-être s'expliquer par leur présence dans des cités de la côte laconienne, et Damocrates peut avoir hérité l'ascendance mythique d'Herculanus. Euryclès semble avoir tiré une partie de son pouvoir de sa présence dans les cités de la côte laconienne plutôt qu'à Sparte (voir Steinhauer 2006/07, 199-206 et Balzat 2008, 335-50).

86. Woodward 1928-1930, 222-25.

87. *Op. cit.*, 210 no. 2 fig. 20 = SEG 11, 1950, 849. Voir l'inscription datant de la Tétrarchie Woodward 1928-1930, 218 fig. 21 et p. 214. Ces deux inscriptions sont inscrites sur des blocs d'une même architrave, qui ont été rassemblés sur l'orchestra du théâtre de Sparte; je distingue paléographiquement trois inscriptions sur cette architrave: celle du descendant des Dioscures, celle datée de la Tétrarchie et SEG 32, 1982, 400 datant de 384-394; dans cette dernière, il faut lire avec R. S. Stroud Φλ(αβίου) Θεοδοσ[ίτου], et non Φλ[αβίου].

88. Spawforth 1984, 280 et n. 104. Suivi par Hupfloher 2000, 108 et RP II, pp. 411-12.

Eudamus depuis que la naissance de celle-ci a été placée dans les années 220-240.⁹² En ce qui la concerne, il faut noter que l'un de ses ancêtres actif sous Antonin le Pieux, C. Pomponius Aristeas fils d'Alcastus (*RP* II, LAC 643), se disait être «Héraclide et Dioscuride» sans cependant mentionner la génération à laquelle il appartenait.⁹³

Conclusions

La reconstruction de l'organisation sacerdotale de Sparte est malaisée étant donné l'état et la nature de la documentation. J'espère cependant avoir montré pourquoi la constitution d'une catégorie de prêtrises attribuées indépendamment du sexe de l'officiant ne me paraissait pas aussi évidente que ce que laisse croire le livre d'A. Hupfloher. Je n'ai pas rencontré dans la documentation du monde grec une prêtrise civique de l'importance de celle des Dioscures qui était indistinctement attribuée à une prêtresse ou à un prêtre. Il existe par contre de bons exemples de couples de prêtres. On peut donc proposer une reconstruction alternative valide dans le cas du culte des Dioscures qui s'applique aussi aisément au culte d'Artémis *Patriotis* et aux couples de prêtres Claudii: ces sacerdoxes étaient *κατὰ γένοϛ* et partagés par une prêtresse et un prêtre d'une même famille. Certes cette reconstruction possède ses faiblesses: nous ne possédons aucune attestation directe d'un couple de prêtres *κατὰ γένοϛ* desservant l'un de ces cultes et les inscriptions qui fondent cette reconstruction s'étalent sur trois siècles. Il faut rappeler cependant que les inscriptions n'ont pas pour but de donner une description détaillée du fonctionnement des prêtrises. Ce sont ici la prosopographie et une attention particulière portée aux caractéristiques des documents épigraphiques qui permettent cette reconstruction. D'autre part, on peut croire que l'administration du culte des Dioscures fut relativement stable au cours des trois premiers siècles de notre ère malgré ce que l'apparente variété de la documentation épigraphique semble *a priori* nous dire. L'Empire romain

et les élites civiques étaient plutôt défenseurs de la tradition dans le domaine religieux. Si l'on prend ce parti, on est mené à se poser une ultime question à laquelle on ne peut répondre actuellement. Dans quelle mesure les regroupements de cultes sous un sacerdoce unique, les couples de prêtres et les prêtrises *κατὰ γένοϛ* étaient-ils des éléments réguliers de l'organisation sacerdotale de Sparte?

Pour finir, ce sont les acteurs de cette organisation sacerdotale que l'on perçoit le mieux. Non leurs attitudes envers la religion ou leurs croyances, mais puisque les inscriptions sont le plus souvent à caractère honorifique, elles nous font entrevoir que les prêtres faisaient partie d'un système de distinction sociale dans lequel certaines familles de l'aristocratie étaient intensément actives: on tentait de gagner des privilèges culturels héréditaires par des bienfaits envers la divinité, on contractait des mariages pour se rapprocher de familles sacerdotales, on tenait le compte des généalogies des Dioscures et il existait un groupe de familles dans lequel se transmettaient des prêtrises et privilèges *κατὰ γένοϛ*. Les cultes étaient donc investis par leurs acteurs et même si les inscriptions ne le laissent pas voir directement, leurs comportements devaient aboutir à des rivalités.⁹⁴ De ce point de vue, on n'a pas l'impression d'un déclin des cultes traditionnels. D'autres comportements (piété, préservation de la tradition) alimentaient ce système sacerdotal, mais les sources épigraphiques dont on dispose ne sont pas propres à enquêter sur ce terrain. La prosopographie nous aide à apercevoir certains mécanismes de l'organisation sacerdotale de Sparte, mais ce n'est qu'en enquêtant sur une plus grande échelle et par comparaison que l'on pourrait peut-être en donner un tableau plus complet et tenter de savoir par exemple quelle fut l'influence de Rome sur les attitudes de l'aristocratie grecque envers la religion civique.

Jean-Sébastien Balzat
University of Oxford

92. Spawforth 1985, 239.

93. *IG* V 1, 495 (*SEG* 11, 1950, 788). Pour la forme de ce lignage, voir Hupfloher 2000, 131.

94. Le phénomène de rivalité pour les sacerdoxes est bien documenté à Athènes. Auguste notamment dut intervenir dans un cas regardant la prêtrise de Déméter à Eleusis (Suet., *Aug.* 93). Pour les rivalités pour les charges religieuses à Eleusis, voir Clinton 1974.

Bibliographie

- Aleshire (S.), 1994: «The Demos and the Priests: The Selection of Sacred Officials at Athens from Clisthenes to Augustus», in R. Osborne, S. Hornblower (éds.), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford, 325-37.
- Balzat (J. S.), 2005: «Le pouvoir des Euryclides à Sparte», *Les Études Classiques* 73, 289-301.
- , 2008: «Les Euryclides en Laconie», in C. Grandjean (éd.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien*, Bordeaux, 335-50.
- Balzat (J. S.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2010: «Becoming Roman: à propos de deux générations parentes de néo-citoyens romains à Sparte et à Athènes», in R. W. V. Catling, F. Marchand (éds.), *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek personal names presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford, 183-94.
- Bremen van (R.), 1996: *The limits of participation. Women and civic life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman periods*, Amsterdam.
- Broadbent (M.), 1968: *Studies in Greek Genealogy*, Leiden.
- Carlier (P.), 1984: *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*, Strasbourg.
- Cartledge (P.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities*, London - New York.
- Chaniotis (A.), 2003: «Der Kaiserkult im Osten des römischen Reiches im Kontext der zeitgenössischen Ritualpraxis», in H. Cancik, K. Hitzl (éds.), *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*, Tübingen, 3-28.
- Chrimes (K. M. T.), 1949: *Ancient Sparta. A re-examination of the evidence*, Manchester.
- Clinton (K.), 1974: *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Philadelphia.
- Connelly (J. B.), 2007: *Portrait of a Priestess. Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton - Oxford.
- Deshours (N.), 2006: *Les Mystères d'Andania. Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire religieuses*, Bordeaux.
- Hupfloher (A.), 2000: *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter*, Berlin.
- Jost (M.), 1985: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris.
- Kennell (N. M.), 1995: *The Gymnasium of Virtue. Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*, Chapel Hill - Londres.
- Marchetti (P.), 1996: «Le "Dromos" au cœur de l'agora de Sparte. Les dieux protecteurs de l'éducation en pays dorien. Points de vue nouveaux», *Kernos* 9, 155-70.
- Migeotte (L.), 1984: *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques. Recueil des documents et analyse critique*, Québec.
- Musti (D.), Torelli (M.), 1991: *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro III. La Laconia*, Milano.
- Parker (R.), 1989: «Spartan Religion», in A. Powell (éd.), *Classical Sparta: Techniques behind her Success*, Londres, 142-72.
- , 1996: *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford.
- , 2003: «The Problem of the Greek cult Epithet», *Oath* 29, 173-83.
- Poulsen (B.), 1991a: «A Relief from Croceae: Dioscuri in Roman Laconia», *ActaHyp* 3, 235-48.
- , 1991b: «The Dioscuri and ruler ideology», *SO* 66, 115-41.
- Puech (B.), 1992: «Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque», *ANRW* II, 33.6, Berlin - New York, 4831-893.
- Robert (L.), 1984: «Discours d'ouverture», in *Actes du VIIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Athènes, t. I (republ. in *OMS* VI, Amsterdam 1989, 709-19) 35-45.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athènes 2004.
- Sanders (J. M.), 1993: «The Dioscuri in Post-Classical Sparta», in O. Palagia, W. Coulson (éds.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia*, Oxford, 217-24.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1984: «Notes on the Third Century A.D. in Spartan Epigraphy», *ABSA* 79, 263-88.
- , 1985: «Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: some prosopographical notes», *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1992: «Spartan Cults under the Roman Empire», in J. M. Sanders (éd.), *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in honour of Hector Catling*, Londres, 227-38.
- , 1994: «Symbol of Unity? The Persian-Wars Tradition in the Roman Empire», in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography*, Oxford, 233-47.
- Steinhauer (G.), 1993: «Η εικονογραφία των Διοσκοῦρων στη ρωμαϊκή Σπάρτη», in O. Palagia, W. Coulson (éds.), *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia*, Oxford, 225-35.
- , 1998: «Unpublished lists of gerontes and magistrates of Roman Sparta», *ABSA* 93, 427-47.
- , 2006/07: «The Euryclids and Kythera», *MedArch* 19-20, 199-206.
- Turner (J. A.), 1983: *Hiereiai. Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece*, Ann Arbor.
- Voutiras (E.), 1996: «Un culte domestique des Corybantes», *Kernos* 9, 243-57.
- Woodward (A. M.), 1925-26: «Excavations at Sparta, 1926», *ABSA* 27, 173-254.
- , 1928-30: «Excavations at Sparta, 1924-1928», *ABSA* 30, 151-254.

THE CULTS OF ROMAN CORINTH: PUBLIC RITUAL AND PERSONAL BELIEF

Mary E. Hoskins Walbank

Abstract: The complex and changing identity of Corinth, a Roman colony founded on the site of one of the most illustrious cities of ancient Greece, is reflected in its civic and private cults. The main theme of this article is the co-existence of Roman forms of public worship with a stratum of Greek cults and the convergence of these two elements. Other crucial components in the religious mix are emperor worship, the proliferation of long established eastern cults and, at a significantly later stage, the emergence of Christianity. The organization and physical focus of public and semi-public cults is discussed, as well as the evidence for personal dedications. Recent evidence from domestic and funerary contexts provides a balance. It also suggests that in the home Corinthians followed Greek custom. But over time the idea of ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ divinity becomes blurred. Public cults and personal belief existed as part of a complex network of religious activity – they were neither separate nor exclusive.

Introduction

The complex and changing identity of Corinth, a Roman colony founded on the site of one of the most illustrious cities of ancient Greece, is reflected in its public and private cults. When Strabo (VIII. 6, 21 and 22) visited Corinth in 29 B.C., soon after its restoration, the only sacred places he noted were a small temple of Aphrodite on the summit of Acrocorinth and the sanctuary of Isthmian Poseidon at the Isthmus “where the Corinthians used to hold the games”, both of which pre-dated the founding of the colony. Yet, with the foundation of *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthensis*, 15 years previously, the ancient Greek city had undergone a massive transformation, both physically with the imposition of Roman colonial planning, and also in its government and religious institutions, which were based on those of Rome itself. The disparity between the observations of Strabo and the religious organization of the early Roman colony underlines the main theme of this paper: the co-existence of Roman forms of worship with a stratum of Greek cults and the convergence of these two elements in the religious life of Roman Corinth. Other crucial components of the religious mix were the worship of the imperial family, the proliferation of

long established eastern cults and, at a significantly later stage, the emergence of Christianity.

Although there is a wide range of evidence, archaeological, epigraphic, literary and numismatic, it is uneven and sometimes contradictory. The epigraphic material, in particular, is sparse and often very fragmentary: there is a dearth of evidence that can be confidently dated in the 3rd century and later. The literary testimonia are also limited and vary widely in date. Much emphasis has been placed on Pausanias who visited Corinth in the 160s: his account is valuable, but it is also idiosyncratic and has to be used with caution. On the plus side, the civic coinage, which was issued in quantity from the time of the colony’s foundation in 44/43 B.C. until the early years of the 3rd century, is a useful source of information. Corinth has a long history of destruction and rebuilding, and the fact that much of the urban centre, where the main sanctuaries are, was excavated early in the 20th century, before the introduction of modern techniques, has led to problems in assessing the archaeological material. More recent evidence from domestic and funerary contexts provides a balance.

The Founding of the Colonia

By the late Republic the procedures for planning and setting in motion a colony had become routine. The foundation charter of Corinth has not survived, but a useful parallel is the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*.¹ Urso was another Iulian colony, founded in 44 B.C., and it can be assumed that the same provisions applied. The detailed regulations for the priesthoods specify that the pontiffs and augurs should have the same functions and privileges as their counterparts at Rome. Each college consisted of three members, appointed from the decurions, and they held office for life. The duovirs and the decurions were charged with decisions regarding the civic cults, the festivals and the public sacrifices: “which and how many days shall be festivals and which sacrifices shall be publicly performed and who shall perform those sacrifices.” They also decided on the contracts for “those things ... necessary for sacrifices and religious functions.” In addition, the law required that the religious calendar be decided every year by the duovirs within ten days of their taking office. This is an understandable clause in a new colony, but in time the calendar must surely have become fixed, and also extended to include new festivals. Both the duovirs and the aediles had to organize and finance shows or dramatic spectacles for the Capitoline triad and “the gods and goddesses”. These provisions reveal the extent to which civic and religious administration were intertwined.

The choice of public cults made when Corinth was founded is not known, but the coin issues between 44 and 40 B.C. provide some clues. Corinth followed normal colonial practice in placing on its first issue the head of the colony’s founder, Iulius Caesar; but the reverse image is Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, which refers to one of Greek Corinth’s most important founding myths. Other issues show some of the most important deities of the Greek city: Poseidon, Athena, Dionysos, Kro-

nos and Zeus.² Notable by their absence are the “foundation” types commonly used by colonies on their first coin issues: the ritual ploughing of a furrow to mark the *pomerium* prior to the settlement of the colony; and the military types which were used when veterans formed a significant proportion of the new colonists. The choice of coin types suggests that the duovirs and decurions wished to accommodate some of the traditional cults of the Greek city in the new colony. Individual duovirs who ‘signed’ the coinage may also have had a personal interest in promoting the cult of the deity whose image appeared on the coin.

The *cursus honorum* of leading Corinthian citizens highlight not only the links between priestly offices and civic magistracies but also the ranking of the offices. In the 1st c. A.D. T. Manlius Iuvenus was *aedilis*, *praefectus iure dicundo*, *duovir*, *pontifex* and *agonothetes* of the Isthmian and Caesarean games; A. Arrius Proculus was *augur*, *duovir*, priest of Neptune and *agonothetes* of the *Isthmia* and the *Caesarea*; T. Claudius Dinippus was *augur*, *duovir quinquennalis*, priest of *Victoria Britannica* as well as *agonothetes* of the Neronian, Caesarean and Isthmian games.³ The *agonothesia*, which ranks with that of the quinquennial duovirate, was the highest honour that the city could bestow. This official was in charge of the *Isthmia*, as well as the *Caesarea* in honour of the Imperial family. The prominence given to the appointment of *agonothetes* testifies to the importance attached to these festivals in the life of the city. Another dedication in honour of C. Curtius Benignus Iuventianus indicates that wealth and family connections were also important. He probably died young since his statue was erected by his parents by decree of the city council. Benignus Iuventianus was *theocolus* of Jupiter *Capitolinus*, priest of Neptune and *isagogeus* to two *agonothetai*, but rather than actually holding office he was honoured by the decurions with the *ornamenta* of *aedilis*, *duovir*, *duovir quin-*

1. *ILS* 6087. It was re-inscribed in the Flavian period, but is typical of foundation charters issued to colonies in the late Republic, see Crawford 1996, 393-454; chs LXIII-LXXII set out the procedures for the appointment of priests and regulations for religious activity in the new colony.

2. For these early issues, see Amandry 1988, 23-36; also *RPC* I, nos 1116-23.

3. T. Manlius Iuvenus, West 1931, no. 81; Kent 1966, no. 154; *RPI*, COR 394. A. Arrius Proculus, Kent 1966, no. 156; *RPI*, COR 87. T. Claudius Dinippus, Kent 1966, nos 158-63; *RPI*, COR 170. Dinippus was also *praefectus fabrum* and three times *curator annonae*. All held office under the Iulio-Claudians; the statue bases were found in the eastern half of the forum where the civic offices were located.

quennalis and *agonothetes*.⁴ There is no evidence of hereditary priesthoods, as at Sparta and Athens, although members of certain families held the same offices in succeeding generations, particularly in respect of the *Isthmia*, but wealth rather than heredity was the deciding factor. Benignus Iuventianus was the grandson on his mother's side of Iuventius Proclus, *agonothetes* of the *Isthmia* in A.D. 41, he was *isagogeus* to Ti. Claudius Atticus, father of Herodes Atticus, and probably had family ties with P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, the generous benefactor of the Isthmian sanctuary in the 2nd century. The situation is neatly summarised by R. Gordon: "One of the bases of the Graeco-Roman system was to link official titles of priesthood with social status on the one hand, and with civic magistracy on the other."⁵

A small number of priesthoods were held by women, notably in cults associated with the imperial family. Callicratea, priestess of *Providentia Augusta* and *Salus Publica*, was honoured by the Agrippia tribe of Corinth and an identical monument was set up by the Claudia tribe at the Isthmian sanctuary. A monument to Polyana, priestess of *Victoria*, was set up, by decree of the city council, by the *archiereus*, Licinius Priscus Iuventianus. A *sacerdos Proserpinae* is attested, and Chara was a priestess of *Neotera* in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of Acrocorinth.⁶ It is possible that women took an active role in other cults, but their participation does not appear in the epigraphic record. However, if they did not officiate, they would certainly have attended public festivals.

Management of the Public Cults

Supervision and funding of the important public cults rested with the secular authorities, but since the senior magistrates also held the most important priestly offices, the separation of responsibilities must have become blurred. Although funding was ultimately the responsibility of the city, in practical terms much of it would have come from individuals. Sanctuaries also had property and revenues assigned or donated to them.⁷ It is not known whether priests in general were appointed for life or for a fixed term. Callicratea was priestess for life, but the handsome dedications made by two Corinthian tribes suggest that the circumstances were unusual. It is likely that the augurs and pontiffs had specific responsibilities at, for instance, public sacrifices. Since the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* specifies that colonial augurs and pontiffs should have the same rights and privileges as their counterparts at Rome, it is reasonable to assume that they had the same functions, although the provincial governor, representing the emperor as *pontifex maximus*, would have had ultimate control. The management of the Isthmian games was in the hands of the *agonothetes* who was appointed for a single term. He was chosen by the city council, and was responsible for the organization and financing of the most important religious festival in the Corinthian calendar. Unusually, in the early 2nd century, Antonius Sospes was appointed on three occasions, but the expenses of the festival were such that the *agonothesia* was occasionally shared.⁸

Two boards of priestly officials are also known. The *hellenodikai*, who were ten in number, were

4. Bugh 1979, 45-53; *RPI*, COR 239.

5. Gordon 1990, 201.

6. Callicratea at Corinth, see West 1931, no. 110; *LPGN* III.A, 230 s.v. Καλλικράτεια (7); at the Isthmian sanctuary, see *ILGR* 116. Polyana, Kent 1966, no. 199; *RP I*, COR 481. *Sacerdos Proserpinae*, Dixon 2000. Chara, priestess of *Neotera*, see Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 362-63; *RPI*, COR 442.

7. *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, ch. LXXII, ensures that monies given to a particular temple are not alienated. Kent 1966, no. 306 (*RPI*, COR 378 [4]) records a lavish donation at the Isthmian sanctuary, which also makes reference to an earlier donation (Kent 1966, no. 153; *RPI*, COR 146 [1]).

8. So Geagan 1968, 70. L. Papius Venerius was *conagonothetes* with L. Vibullius Pius under the Flavians (Kent 1966, no. 212; *RPI*, COR 461). The Vibullii were a wealthy and well-connected Corinthian family and Spawforth 2002, 104 thinks that there was probably a family link here, not a shortage of funds. Twenty-nine *agonothetai* are listed by Kent and four were awarded *ornamenta* (Kent 1966, pp. 30-31), to whom can be added L. Gellius Iustus who held office in A.D. 127 (Biers, Geagan 1970). The latest known for certain held office in A.D. 181 (Meritt 1931, no. 16). There may be a reference to this office in an inscription dated by the lettering to the second quarter of 3rd c. A.D. (Kent 1966, no. 230; *RPI*, COR *207).

responsible for organizing the Isthmian games and acting as judges, as the name implies. Their names, together with that of the eponymous *agonothetes*, appear after the consuls of the year at the head of inscribed lists of victors. The *hieromnemes* are associated with both the *Isthmia* and the *Caesarea*; the dedication to Arrius Proclus quoted above was made by the *hieromnemes* when in charge of the *Caesarea*. Kent (1966, 156) described them as a “board of Corinthian officials with priestly functions who supervised the Isthmian sanctuary”. This is partially correct, but there was more to the use of this title than a simple inheritance from the Greek past. The title *hieromnemon*, “rememberer of things sacred” is also the translation of *pontifex* or *sacerdos* – there was considerable flexibility in the use and translation of Greek and Latin terms – and the *hieromnemes* are best regarded as a board, similar to a pontifical college, with expertise and responsibilities in a wide range of religious matters.⁹

Cult Places

The forum was not only the political centre but also an important focus of religious activity in the city (Fig. 1). The site chosen for the forum of the new colony was the shallow east/west valley bounded on the south by the Hellenistic South Stoa and to the north by the Archaic Temple, both of which were renovated early in the life of the colony. The orientation of the Archaic Temple was reversed and the entrance to the precinct altered so that it no longer related directly to the forum. It was, in effect, demoted. The large temple and precinct, known as Temple E, built on a prominent rise to the west, dominated the entire forum. Over time several small temples were built at the west end of the forum; other sanctuaries and monuments accumulated in the forum itself and in the vicinity. The area has been largely excavated, but the identification of the sanctuaries is problematic. Without the epigraphic evidence that is woefully lacking at

Corinth, one cannot identify beyond doubt the cult statue or the deity to whom a temple or shrine was dedicated. The situation is further complicated by the common Graeco-Roman habit of erecting statues of other deities, as well dedications to members of the imperial family, within the same sanctuary. Another problem is that archaeologists have used Pausanias’ account to identify particular monuments on the assumption that he was writing the equivalent of a modern travel guide, but recent work has shown that he was more concerned with developing themes and associations, based on his own cultural and political choices, in accordance with which he discusses selected monuments, often out of topographical order. Therefore his account does not necessarily reflect the situation on the ground.¹⁰

There is strong circumstantial evidence that the Archaic Temple was the shrine of Apollo in Classical and Hellenistic Corinth and, if so, it is likely to have retained the same function in the Roman colony, although the only evidence is Pausanias’ reference to a bronze statue of Apollo on his right as he leaves the forum.¹¹ The cult housed in Temple E has been the subject of much discussion and I will come back to it later. The placing of the small temples in a prominent position along the west end of the forum is significant and identifies them as belonging to public rather than to private cults. Sacrifices would have taken place actually in the forum in front of the temple. Given the small scale, the altars may well have been moveable. The fountain of Poseidon was dedicated – *Neptuno sacr(um)* – by Cn. Babbius Philinus, who also donated the elegant, little monopteros adjacent to the fountain, when he was *pontifex* and *duovir* in the late Augustan period.¹²

The temples are sufficiently small that they, too, could have been erected by one or more wealthy citizens who would also have been able to support the cult financially. The only building that can be identified with some confidence is Temple F, which had an inscription on the pediment [---]eneri[---], restored as a dedication to Venus. Although the

9. Mason 1974, 55 and 116. Price 1984, 76 and n. 92, notes, at Ephesus, the translation into Greek of a Roman law concerning the cult of Iulius Caesar where the noun *hieromnemonia* must mean *flaminatus* or *pontificatus*. On *hieromnemes* at Sparta, see Spawforth 1992, 228.

10. The literature on Pausanias is extensive. I cite here only recent works: Alcock, Cherry, Elsner, 2001 (which has a very full bibliography of earlier studies); Knoepfler, Piérart, 2001; Hutton 2005.

11. Paus. II. 3, 6. The identification is discussed in detail by Bookidis, Stroud 2004.

12. West 1931, nos 2, 131 and 132; *RP I*, COR 111 [1A], [6] and [7]. See Williams 1989, 158-59.

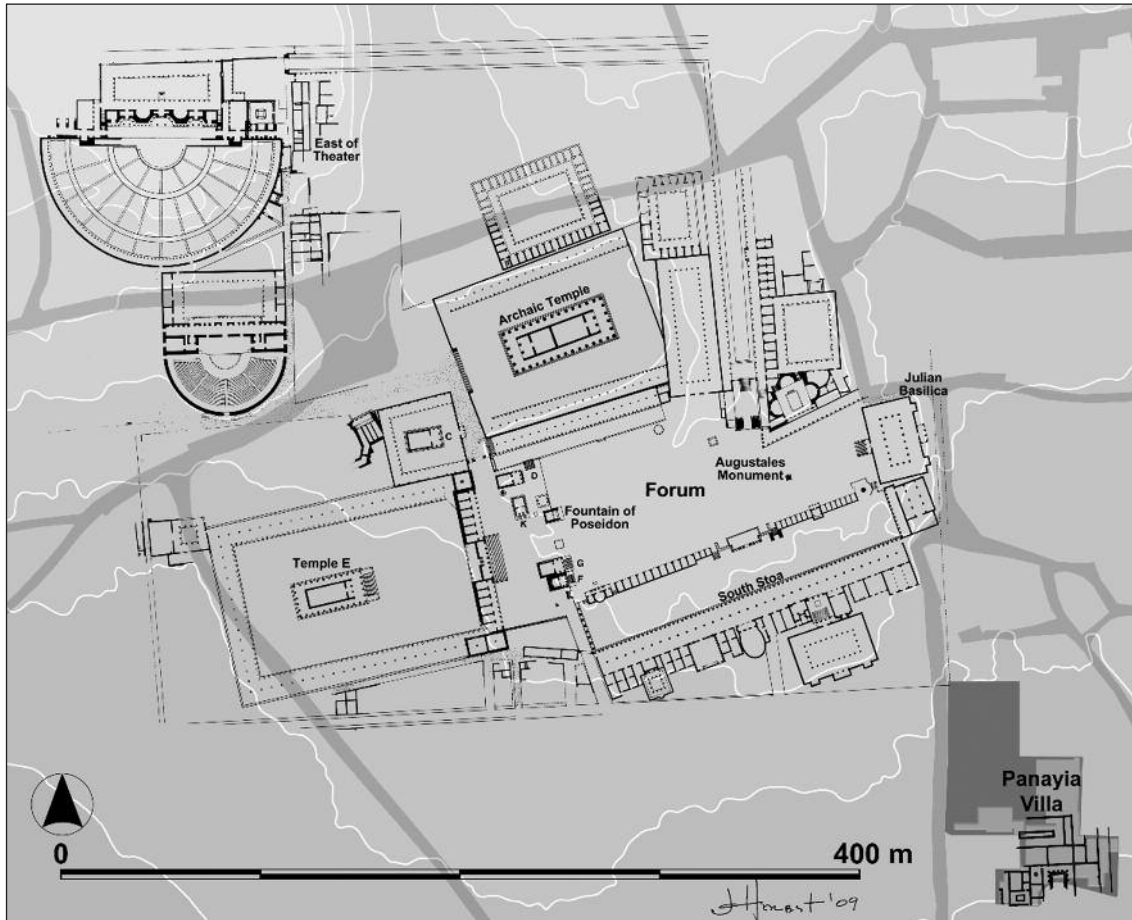


Fig. 1. Corinth: the forum area (courtesy of Corinth Excavations).

temple was modest in size, it was richly decorated and, as P. Gros observed, its apsidal plan was a direct imitation of the Temple of Venus *Genetrix* at Rome.¹³ Given that Venus was the tutelary deity of the *Gens Iulia*, and the Corinthians seem to have regarded themselves as under the informal patronage of the Julio-Claudian emperors, it would make sense for this little temple to have been built in the forum at an early date. Venus not only had a special meaning for the Corinthian colonists, but Aphrodite was also one of the most powerful of the ancient Greek deities. A long building at the southwest corner of the forum should probably be associated with a handsome inscription on an Ionic

architrave which can be restored to include *sacerdos genii coloniae*, a cult for which there is other epigraphic and numismatic evidence.¹⁴ Just beyond the long building and outside the forum is a substantial building of pre-Augustan date that was in use for a long time and underwent many changes. It appears to be a well-equipped public building with provision for fine dining. I have suggested that it is well placed to be a meeting place for a *collegium* or religious association.¹⁵

Pausanias (II. 2, 6-3, 1) described the forum area – “where most of the sanctuaries are” – in the mid-2nd century and his account has been examined minutely in order to find a direct correspondence

13. Gros 1976, 131-32 (called here the *Tychaion*).

14. The building is dated in the Neronian period, Williams, Fisher 1975, 127-35. For the inscription, see Martin 1977, 180-83; see also West 1931, no. 4. Coins showing the *genius coloniae*: *RPC* I, 1189-191 (under Nero); *RPC* II, 109, 112, 124, 116-17 (under Domitian); Edwards 1933, 123 (under Hadrian) and 161 (under M. Aurelius).

15. Hoskins Walbank 1997, 123.

between the text and specific monuments, but there has been no consensus.¹⁶ In addition to the monuments already noted, Pausanias mentions Ephesian Artemis, two wooden statues of Dionysos, a temple and statue of Tyche, a sanctuary of all the gods, statues of Clarian Apollo and of Aphrodite, two statues of Hermes, one in a temple, and three of Zeus standing in the open. And one cannot assume that Pausanias' reference to a statue means that there was also a temple. As W. Hutton has pointed out, his account is often discontinuous or "topographically disembodied" – a nice phrase.¹⁷ In the present context, perhaps the most important point is the number of public or semi-public cults in the forum about which we have little or no other information.

However, it is clear that provision for public worship with the attendant sacrifices and processions was concentrated at the western end of the forum. Here the small temples on the West Terrace were clustered below the Capitolium, which was originally set slightly apart and above the forum, but later integrated into it by what amounts to a *forum transitorium* between the West Terrace and the stoa complex (known as the West Shops) which defined the eastern limit of the precinct of the Capitolium. This, in turn, provided access to Temple C and the Archaic Temple, and then to the theatre beyond. The more personal needs of the population would have been provided for in the sanctuaries which lay outside the forum area: that of Asklepios about 500m to the north, and the sanctuaries of Isis and Sarapis, Demeter and Kore

and the other divinities mentioned by Pausanias (II. 4, 5-6) along his route to Acrocorinth.

The Public Cults *Jupiter Capitolinus*

Roman citizens were expected to worship Roman gods – thus confirming their identity as Romans – and the most important public cult was that of the Capitoline triad. The cult of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* is securely attested at Corinth. An inscribed altar was found in the central area of the Odeum,¹⁸ and a priesthood of Jupiter *Capitolinus* existed from at least the early 1st into the 3rd century. The office of *theocolus Iovis Capitolini* is included in four *cursus honorum* and can be restored in two other inscriptions. It is clear that the priesthood ranked with the most prestigious civic and religious offices.¹⁹

The location of the Capitolium has been one of the most controversial topographical issues at Corinth. The ideal site, in Roman eyes, was on the rise to the west overlooking the forum and this was where the largest temple of Roman Corinth (Temple E) was built. A misinterpretation of the numismatic evidence, combined with the assumption that Pausanias (II. 3, 1) was referring to Temple E when he mentioned the "temple of Octavia", convinced some scholars that it was a temple of the imperial cult. More recent studies have undermined this conclusion and the identification can no longer be sustained.²⁰ Other coins depicting a hexastyle temple

16. See Wiseman 1979, 540-41 for chart of identifications prior to 1979. More recently, Musti, Torelli 1986, 217-33; Williams 1989; Osanna 2001, 185-99, Torelli 2001, 140-84; Hutton 2005, 145-73, Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 144-48.

17. Hutton 2005, 150.

18. Kent 1966, no. 60. The original provenance is unknown.

19. The priesthood is attested in the *cursus* of C. Curtius Benignus Iuventianus (cf. *supra* n. 4) and in three other inscriptions:

1. Sex. Olius Secundus was *praefectus fabrum*, *theocolus Iovis Capitolini*, honoured with *ornamenta* of *aedilis*, *duovir*, *duovir quinquennalis*, and *agonothetes*, Kent 1966, no. 152; *RP I*, COR 446).

2. C. Cu[r]tius Lesbicus was *theocolus Iovis Capitolini*, *praefectus*, *aedilis*, *duovir* and *agonothetes* of both the Isthmian and the Caesarean games, and held another unspecified priesthood (*sacerdos*), Kent 1966, no. 198 = *RPI*, COR 240.

3. An unknown honorand was *praefectus*, *aedilis*, *theocolus Iovis Capitolini* and *irenarches Iani* – an office otherwise unattested, Kent 1966, no. 195. [*Theocolo*] *Iovis C[apitolini]* can be restored in Kent 1966, no. 194; only *the[ocolo]* can be restored in Kent 1966, no. 203.

20. See Hoskins Walbank 1989. The 19th century scholars, F. W. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, in their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (cited hereafter *NCP*) linked a well-known coin issued under Tiberius which showed a hexastyle temple inscribed *Gent(is) Iuli(ae)* with another, earlier coin depicting a seated female figure that they assumed was the cult statue in the guise of Octavia. So, the *gens Iulia* temple became the "temple of Octavia" referred to by Pausanias as "beyond the agora". Scholars then concluded that Temple E, which overlooks the forum, must be the *gens Iulia* temple and, therefore, a temple of the imperial cult. This line of reasoning is untenable. The so-called

apparently inscribed *Caesar* or *Augustus* have contributed to the mistaken assumption that there was a large temple of the imperial cult dating from the time of Augustus. But either the coins only appeared in very early catalogues and their existence cannot be verified, or the inscription has been recut; thus the coins cannot be regarded as genuine nor used as evidence.²¹

I have argued elsewhere that Temple E is the Capitulum of Corinth and I will not repeat the arguments here except to say I now think that when Pausanias (II. 4, 5) mentioned the temple of Zeus *Capitolios* or *Koryphaios* “beyond the theatre”, he was referring to the Capitulum (Temple E).²² A precinct and altar would have fulfilled the early colonists’ requirements since most rituals, especially sacrifice, connected with the cult took place around an altar which stood outside the temple-building. The first Temple E was probably built in the Augustan period, not necessarily in the first decades, but when the colony could afford to do so, and it was replaced at some time in the late 1st or early 2nd century.²³ A coin issued between A.D. 85 and 87 shows the Capitulum of Corinth with the traditional cult images of a seated central figure flanked by two standing female figures. This could depict Temple E as it was in the mid-80s. It is also possible that the Capitulum had been damaged by

the severe earthquake that hit Corinth in the 70s and that the coin represents a decision to either repair the existing building or to replace it with a more impressive structure. There is good evidence that coins were sometimes issued when work was planned, but before it was completed or in some cases even begun.²⁴

However the title *theocolus* is unexpected since it is associated primarily with Greek cults in various locales, but above all with Olympia.²⁵ It may perhaps be explained as a survival of a Greek cult of Zeus at Corinth that was later assimilated into the Roman cult of Jupiter *Capitolinus*. L. Robert proposed a more direct link with Olympian Zeus, and the head of Pheidian Zeus on the very early Corinthian coin issue of 42/41 B.C. would support this.²⁶ A θεηκόλος Κρόνω is also attested at Corinth on a small altar. It was described by Kent (1966, no. 207) as having an amphora and a circular relief on the sides. Robert deduced that here Kronos is equated with the Roman Saturn and thus, as god of the golden age, closely associated with Jupiter; further, that the reliefs symbolized the Saturnian banquets.²⁷ There is also epigraphic evidence for a *sacerdos Saturni Augusti* (West 1931, nos 6 and 104a), and Kronos appears on early coins and again in the reign of Antoninus Pius.²⁸

cult statue of Octavia is a well-known personification of Livia, one of the most widely used provincial coin types under Tiberius, since it was a means of honouring the imperial family while accommodating Tiberius’ well-known reluctance to promote a ruler cult. It cannot be used to connect Pausanias’ “temple of Octavia” with the *gens Iulia* temple. Octavia was not a member of the Iulian family and is not known to have been a recipient of cult anywhere, let alone in the most important temple in a Roman colony. Nor is there any evidence that Pausanias was referring to Temple E when he mentioned the “temple of Octavia”.

21. The phantom coins with *Caesar* and *Augustus* on the architrave are listed in *NCP*, 22. They have been used as evidence by, among others, Roux 1958, 113, Broneer 1960, 301 and Williams 1987, 35-36 ns 6 and 9. A coin in the British Museum collection (Weber 3774) inscribed *Divo Aug(usto)* has also been re-engraved and altered in modern times.

22. Some twenty years ago, I made the suggestion that the temple of Zeus *Capitolios* or *Koryphaios* housed a Greek cult separate from that of the Capitoline triad, on the then generally held assumption that Pausanias’ descriptions were usually topographically correct and that he was describing the monuments as he came to them *i.e.* giving a guided tour. This is no longer the case. See, for example, the interpretation of Osanna 2001, esp. 197-98.

23. Excavation by C. K. Williams in 1989 and 1990 (see *Hesperia* 1991, 14-19) clarified the dating of the stoas surrounding the precinct: he placed construction of the south stoa in the reign of Augustus or possibly of Tiberius and reconstruction of the stoas within the 2nd c. A.D., but they cannot be dated precisely.

24. Coin of Domitian: *RPC* II, 194. See Prayon 1982.

25. L. Ziehen, *RE* V A. 2 (1934) 1998-99, *s.v.* θεηκόλος.

26. Robert 1966, 745.

27. *Ibid.* I recently examined the altar which is incomplete, but of good quality marble with finely sculpted reliefs of sacrificial implements – a krater or single-handled jug and a patera with a central boss, rather than a sickle (as Robert proposed). The well-cut letter forms suggest a date earlier than the 3rd century.

28. Coins: *RPC* I, 1122 (identified as Saturn); Edwards 1933, 139.

Emperor Worship

Worship of the imperial family flourished alongside and in conjunction with local civic cults.²⁹ The worship of Iulius Caesar is attested by a fragmentary inscription, *Divo Iulio] Caesari (sacrum)* (Kent 1966, no. 50). The cult took root early at Corinth. That the cult of *Divus Iulius* was of lasting importance is clear from an inscription dated early in the reign of Nero honouring the first *archiereus* of the provincial imperial cult of Achaia which includes among other honours that of *flamen Divi Iulii* (West 1931, no. 68; *RP I*, COR 353). It is also the rationale behind the *gens Iulia* coin referred to earlier. It was a very large coin issue minted in A.D. 32/33 or 33/34 and unique among the provincial coinages. On the reverse is a temple with *gen(t)i* or *-(is) Iuliae* inscribed on the architrave and, on the obverse, the *domus Augusta*: Tiberius, the deified Augustus, a portrait of Livia, and Livia (now Iulia Augusta) as priestess of the cult of Augustus.³⁰ There must have been a special reason for this issue long after the concept of the *gens Iulia* had been absorbed into the worship of the *domus Augusta*. I concluded that it was a multiple anniversary issue commemorating the original dedication of a temple early in the life of the colony when the cult of *Divus Iulius* was inaugurated, and that it was combined with other significant dates in the Roman calendar.³¹ The Corinthians showed a special devotion towards the Iulio-Claudian family and a large anniversary coin issue in A.D. 33/34 would have been highly appropriate.

The most likely candidate for the original of this coin image is the Archaic Temple, which was almost certainly dedicated to Apollo. It was renovated very early in the life of the Roman colony and, given the special relationship between Apollo and Iulius Caesar, and, later, Augustus' adoption of Apollo as his patron deity, it is probable that the temple would have housed some form of ruler cult. Joint cults between the imperial family and their special gods were not unusual and there was no

clearly defined boundary between the imperial cult and other expressions of religion. There was a cult of Apollo *Augustus* at Corinth, dating before A.D. 14, with an *aedes* and statue of Augustus (West 1931, no. 120). Subsequently the cult of *Divus Augustus* had a *flamen* (West 1931, no. 67). Other associations of an emperor with a traditional god included Mars *Augustus* (West 1931, no. 95) as well as Saturnus *Augustus*.

Other related cults incorporated past and present members of the imperial family. The *Caesarea* were instituted shortly after Actium and before 27 B.C. originally in honour of Augustus and gradually expanded to include other members of the imperial family, although the programme is only partially known. They were held in conjunction with the *Isthmia* and under the same *agonothetes*, but were separate entities. The festival seems to have been exclusively thymelic and to have gradually increased in content. From the reign of Tiberius, contests were also held in honour of the reigning emperor, but the content is unknown. These festivals, which became increasingly connected with the *Isthmia*, were dominated by the same group of wealthy and influential families. The enthusiasm of the Corinthian upper class is also evident in the considerable number of imperial statues and dedications found in the Iulian Basilica, within which there was an *aedes* to the imperial family.³² A large monument incorporating a seat and supporting a colossal statue of *Divus Augustus*, prominently sited in the forum, was erected by the *Augustales* (see **fig. 1**). There is no longer any evidence for the servile cult of the *Lares Augusti*, but in the Flavian period the *Collegium Iarum domus divinae* set up a monument supervised by two senior members, one of whom, T. Flavius Antiochus, was a wealthy imperial freedman.³³ Subsidiary cults, such as *Providentia Augusta* and *Salus Publica* (West 1931, no. 110), probably dated to the reign of Tiberius, and a Claudian cult of *Victoria Britannica*, can all be associated with emperor worship.

29. The imperial cult under the Iulio-Claudians, see Hoskins Walbank 1996.

30. *RPC I*, 1151-161.

31. The 20th anniversary of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius; the 60th anniversary of the *res publica restituta* of 27 B.C. and the 50th anniversary of the *Iudi saeculares* of 17 B.C. Howgego 1989, 202-03 argues for an earlier date. On balance, I think Amandry's dates are preferable, but Howgego's dating would not affect my argument, but simply advance the anniversary by a decade: see Hoskins Walbank 1996, 213 for discussion of the dates.

32. See Scotton 2005, 95-100.

33. Kent 1966, no. 62. Originally dated in the Hadrianic period, but see Hoskins Walbank 2002, 261.

Poseidon

In contrast with the cults introduced by the Romans, the worship of Poseidon was among the most ancient Corinthian cults.³⁴ It is reflected in the foundation myth of arbitration over Corinth which resulted in the apportioning of the Isthmus to Poseidon and Acrocorinth to Helios, who then handed it to Aphrodite. The cult of Poseidon was ubiquitous, with sanctuaries at Lechaion and Kenchreai, as well as Corinth, but the centre of his worship was the venerable extra-mural sanctuary at the Isthmus. In the Roman period, Poseidon and images referring to the Isthmian games were among the most enduring coin representations. Responsibility for administering the panhellenic Isthmian Games had been transferred to Sikyon after the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C., but they were returned to the new colony almost immediately after its foundation. E. Gebhard has argued convincingly, largely on the numismatic evidence, that the *Isthmia* were once more under the control of Corinth by 40 B.C., considerably earlier than previously thought, and that they were then celebrated in Corinth rather than at the Isthmus.³⁵ The archaeological evidence suggests that the Games were returned to the original site about the time of Nero's visit, but recently M. Kakava has argued for a somewhat earlier date in the 40s.³⁶ Subsequently, from the late 1st century to the early 3rd century, the sanctuary underwent repeated renovation and expansion. The worship of the boy hero Melikertes/Palaimon is well documented; a temple in an enlarged precinct was added to the complex in the 2nd century, but celebration of the cult was probably confined to the wealthy and cultured class represented by Plutarch and his friends.³⁷

The Greek character of the Isthmian games is obvious. Although the official language of the Roman colony was Latin, from the outset Greek continued to be used for the *Isthmia*. The victor

lists were in Greek and, in the *cursus honorum* of prominent citizens, the various offices were simply transliterated into Latin. There was a separate structure of agonistic officials for the *Isthmia*, which also applied to the *Caesarea* although they were separate events. L. Papius Venerius, for example, as a boy or young man was *pyrophoros*, then *isagogeus* to the *agonothetes* and finally *conagonothetes*.³⁸

It is difficult to over-estimate the significance of the Isthmian games to Corinth. Agonistic festivals had always been an intrinsic part of Greek public religion – and they became increasingly important under the Roman empire – but the *Isthmia* were also one of the famed panhellenic festivals. The Corinthians would have taken part in the sacrifices, processions and banquets, but the athletic contests also drew international participants. Indeed, the increasing professionalism of the games in the Roman period sometimes obscures the fact that the *Isthmia* were an integral part of the worship of Poseidon in which citizens of other Greek cities were invited to take part. It is not clear how long celebration of the cult of Poseidon at the Isthmus continued. The archaeological evidence suggests that it had ceased by the mid-3rd century, but there is documentary evidence for the continuation of some form of cult activity, apparently supported by the Corinthian city council, well into the 4th century.³⁹

Personal Dedications

The distinction between public and private worship was not clear-cut. While the rituals and sacrifices of public cults were carried out by priests, there was nothing to stop individuals making personal dedications. The terrace at the west end of the Corinthian forum seems to have been a favoured location. An inscription on a limestone base records a dedication to Iulia Pacilucifera Augusta (Livia) for the well-being of the emperor Tiberius by the freedman P. Licinius [---] *philosebastos* “set up at

34. For a comprehensive survey of cults of Poseidon in the Corinthia, see Mylonopoulos 2003, 145-210.

35. Gebhard 1993.

36. Kakava 2002.

37. See Piérart 1998; Gebhard 2005.

38. In his commentary on no. 212 Kent 1966 gives the order: *isagogeus*, assistant to the *agonothetes*; *pyrophoros*, responsible for illumination at night; finally the *agonothetes*. But Robert 1966, 746-47 thinks, by analogy with other Greek sanctuaries, that the *pyrophoros* was a child, with both parents living and thus in a state of purity, who carried the sacred flame to the altar(s), cf. *RPI*, COR 461.

39. See Rothaus 2000, 84-92.

his own expense".⁴⁰ The Licinii are well-known at Corinth and elsewhere in the East as *negotiatores*. *Philosebastos* (*amicus Caesaris*) could imply a personal connection with the emperor or, more probably, he belonged to a local association known as the *Philosebastoi* who were devoted especially to the emperor.⁴¹ The base inscribed *Victoriai sacrum* (West 1931, no. 11) was found northeast of the monopteros known as the Babbuius Monument. A roughly cut stone altar inscribed *Agathe Tyche* and with a theatrical mask in the pediment was dedicated by Karpus at his own expense τοῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ θεοῖς, *i.e.* to Dionysos and other deities connected with the theatre.⁴² The small altar mentioning θεηκόλος Κρόνω, also found in this area, must have been a private dedication. An inscription, in which *Iovi [---]* occurs in l. 3 and *diis caelestibus et praesentibus* in l. 5, is too fragmentary to translate. It seems to be regulations for a *thiasos* or private religious association.⁴³ At the east end of the forum, a nice little limestone block, probably an altar, was dedicated to Nemesis *Augusta* by Aurelius Nestor *optio* of the IV Flavia Felix legion *ex voto*.⁴⁴ This is not evidence of a cult of Nemesis *Augusta* at Corinth, but the divinity to whom Nestor had a personal attachment. Since Achaia was a *provincia inermis*, Aurelius was probably attached to the governor's staff in Corinth, which would have been a desirable posting and one for which the officer was presumably grateful.⁴⁵

The Cult of Asklepios

Some deities functioned in both the public and private context since the sphere in which the deity operated encouraged a personal relationship between god and worshipper. This is evident in the worship of Asklepios, originally a Greek deity who had long been incorporated in the Roman pantheon. The cult of Asklepios at Corinth was revived early and the names of the donors, M. Antonius Milesius and another Antonius, were incised and painted on the restuccoed epistyle of the Hellenistic temple, which stood in a precinct some distance from the forum.⁴⁶ Little is known about the Roman cult rituals and whether they differed from those of earlier periods: the votive offering of body parts was certainly discontinued. Pausanias (II. 4, 5) makes passing reference to a temple of Asklepios and cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia. A fragmentary inscription to Asklepios was found in the Asklepieion (Kent 1966, no. 63); and in the late 3rd or 4th century an imperial freedman, Secundus, dedicated a statue of Hygieia to "the healing saviour" (Kent 1966, no. 64; *RPI*, COR 559). A physician and priest of Asklepios, C. Vibius Euelpistus, was honoured by the city of Corinth with a dedication erected in the Asklepieion in the late 2nd century.⁴⁷ Significantly, all three inscriptions are in Greek. Asklepios, with or without Hygieia, becomes prominent on the Corinthian coinage at about the time when

40. West 1931, no. 15; *RPI*, COR 375. West restored this as Diana *Pacilucifera*; the new reading is by Jones 2004, 94-95. The dedication was probably made not long after Tiberius' accession rather than in connection with the conspiracy of Seianus as West proposed. It may refer to another failed conspiracy or, given the literary analogies quoted by Jones, simply reflect the fact that Livia was the link between the two emperors.

41. Licinii, Spawforth 1996, 180. *Philosebastoi*, Price 1984, 118.

42. Kent 1966, no. 68 mistook the theatrical mask in the pediment for a beehive and so translated the text as "to the gods of the beehive". Kent dates it to the late 3rd or early 4th; Robert 1966, 739-40 thinks earlier.

43. Kent 1966, no. 310. The lettering is not, as Kent said, "clumsy and degenerate" but rather the work of an amateur more accustomed to working in Greek than Latin, as the substitution of *phi* for *F* indicates. Kent dates the inscription by letter forms to the mid-3rd century or later. I would put it somewhat earlier. It is not unusual to find Greek letters in Latin legends on the official coinage under the Severans.

44. West 1931, no. 10; *RPI*, COR 104.

45. Similar is a roughly cut limestone altar found at Isthmia inscribed in amateurish script *Hercul[i] sacr(um) ex visu*, *ILGR* 117. There is no other evidence of a cult of Hercules at Isthmia or Corinth. It must have been a personal dedication "as the result of a vision", but the circumstances are unknown.

46. Kent, 1966, no. 311; *RPI*, COR 65. Roebuck 1951, 39, noted there was room on the epistyle for a third and possibly fourth donor, whose names have not survived. This may reflect a devotion to this particular cult, but modest individual resources. It would be in keeping with evidence elsewhere: the *aedes* and statue of Apollo *Augustus* were also erected by four individuals.

47. Kent 1966, no. 206; *RPI*, COR 624. Kent suggests a date in the last quarter of the 2nd or first quarter of the 3rd century. M. B. Walbank (*per verbum*) thinks the letter forms are more appropriate for the earlier date.

the Antonine plague was prevalent in the East. Although Asklepios was primarily the recipient of personal cult, he could also be equated with *Salus Publica*, and in this capacity he oversaw not only the health of individuals but also the welfare of the whole community.⁴⁸ I think it likely that the city honoured the priest of Asklepios in return for services rendered. The absence of votives and inscriptions from grateful – or hopeful – patients and the comparatively small size of the sanctuary suggest that the cult was purely local. It may have been overshadowed by the famous sanctuary at Epidaurus. On the other hand, the renovation of the Hellenistic temple in the very early years of the colony and the fact that it continued in use until the late 4th, and perhaps into the early 5th century, testify to the continuing popularity of the cult among the Corinthians.

The Cult of Demeter and Kore

Another cult of Greek Corinth that was revived was that of Demeter and Kore. Their sanctuary on the slopes of Acrocorinth was brought back into use in the first half of the 1st century, perhaps as early as the reign of Augustus.⁴⁹ There was a striking change in cult practice: the dining rooms were abandoned and the votives of miniature pottery and figurines were replaced by utilitarian pottery, lamps and thymiateria. A new practice was the deposition of lead curse tablets within the sanctuary. Although the rituals changed, the emphasis on agricultural fertility as well as human fecundity remained important, and there seems to have been increasing emphasis on chthonic elements. In the Flavian period, the sanctuary was reorganized and three small prostyle temples were built on the mid-

dle terrace. The west temple belonged to Demeter. The association of the central temple with Kore depends on the inscription in a floor mosaic, dated in the late 2nd or early 3rd century and laid down, “when Chara was priestess of *Neotera*” by the *neokoros*, Octavius Agathopous.⁵⁰ *Neotera* is here regarded as an epithet of Kore/Persephone, the “younger” of the two goddesses. This is also the first mention of the term *neokoros* or temple warden for any cult at Corinth.⁵¹ The identity of the third temple is in doubt: it could belong to the Moirai, but another possibility is Pluto, who snatched away Persephone to the underworld and became her husband. Pausanias (II. 4, 7) provides the only explicit account of the sanctuary on Acrocorinth, but finds testify to the continuing popularity of the cult throughout the Roman period, eventually fading away at the end of the 4th century. The absence of any direct representation on the coinage can be attributed to the fact that this was essentially a private cult. There is a very rare, single issue in the reign of Hadrian depicting Triptolemos in his serpent chariot, a type that is connected predominantly with the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁵² Rather than assuming a direct connection with the Corinthian cult, I would put the type in the context of Hadrian’s initiation into the Mysteries, and probably a personal issue by one of the Corinthian elite, perhaps someone belonging to Hadrian’s circle.

A fragmentary base inscribed in Latin and Greek, found southeast of Temple E, suggests that there was another sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the forum area. The Latin inscription records a dedication by the priestess of Proserpina (and Ceres?).⁵³ The mediocre quality of the lettering and ordination indicates that this was a private inscription,

48. The plague was carried by the armies of Lucius Verus returning from the East. It was first attested in 165 and was still an issue in Greece in the mid-170s. There is no literary evidence of plague at Corinth, but since the city was on an important trade route, it would have been susceptible to epidemics. See Duncan-Jones 1996, 115-34 and Jones 2005, 298-301.

49. I am grateful to N. Bookidis for this information; she has recognized Augustan date lamps.

50. It has been suggested that the cult changed to Ceres, Liber and Libera, but the excavators do not consider that the evidence supports this hypothesis. They do observe evidence of modifications to the cult and a degree of syncretism with the cults of Isis and Sarapis from the 2nd century. See Bookidis, Stroud 1997, 423-44 and Bookidis 2005, 162-63.

51. At Isthmia: Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Εὐτύχης νεοκό[ρος] on a lamp handle, *SEG* 17, 1960, 132.

52. Coin illustrated in Hoskins Walbank 2003, 347, fig. 20.13.3.

53. Dixon 2000. Subsequent commentary and restoration, Kajava 2002b. The Latin inscription is dated late 1st/early 2nd c. A.D.; it is improbable that the Greek addition was made in the lifetime of the original donor and the lettering suggests that it is considerably later.

not the work of a skilled, public mason. The later Greek inscription refers to a stoa and shrine of Pluto and ‘embellishments’ (προσκοσμήματα). This is reminiscent of the well-known inscription recording the benefactions of Priscus Iuventianus at the Isthmian sanctuary.⁵⁴ The Corinthian inscription was found in approximately the same area as two large, matching, rectangular piers. On the central face of one block is a male figure flanked on the sides by Demeter and Kore; on the other block the central figure is female holding a cornucopiae, flanked by Dionysos and Athena. The central, facing figures have been identified as Zeus *Chthonios* and Ge *Chthonia*.⁵⁵ Instead, I suggest that the central male figure is Pluto portrayed in his capacity as the source of fertility and the facing female figure is Eueteria, the personification of Good Harvest or Plenty.⁵⁶ These sculpted piers are too large to have moved far and I propose that they and the inscribed base belonged to a sanctuary located in the southwest corner of the forum. It may have adjoined the long building with which the *sacerdos genii coloniae* inscription is associated. M. Kajava has made the attractive suggestion that the Latin dedication on the fragmentary base might be to the *Genius* and/or *Fortuna coloniae* and this would fit nicely.⁵⁷ If I am correct, this means yet another shrine at the west end of the forum. The carved piers are impressive – does this reflect the fact that the cult of Demeter and Kore was private, but also of civic interest?

Cultic change and the ‘eastern’ religions

Although cults are by nature conservative, they are not static. In the mid-1st century the Isthmian games returned to the sanctuary on the Isthmus; the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was reorganized; and under Claudius the temple of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth first appears on the coinage. But

change is most apparent in the growth of emperor worship with the introduction of associated cults, and from the reign of Claudius onwards games in honour of the reigning emperor were added to the *Caesarea*. Corinth also became the centre for celebration of the provincial cult. In the late 2nd century the fountain of Poseidon on the west terrace was replaced by two temples, one dedicated to Commodus and the other perhaps to Herakles. A notable feature of the 2nd century coinage is the number of Greek deities who are reintroduced or appear for the first time: Kronos/Saturn and Dionysos, who had been on the very early coinage; a standing Zeus and Pallas Athena introduced under Domitian; Artemis, Herakles, Helios, Hermes; Apollo occasionally, and, rarely, Ares and Hephaistos. Amid this diversity of gods, one can also see an increasing emphasis on the worship of eastern deities and the so-called mystery religions: Egyptian Isis, holding a sistrum, Isis *Pelagia* and Cybele. Curiously Sarapis appears rarely on the coinage despite the fact that, according to Pausanias (II. 4, 6), Isis and Sarapis each had two sanctuaries. It may be because he seems to have been worshipped for the most part in private homes.⁵⁸

These were not new or introduced religions. At Corinth the worship of Isis and Sarapis is attested in the late Hellenistic period by a small, inscribed tripod base, and in the 1st c. A.D. by a dedication on a small column or statue base by C. Iulius Syrus.⁵⁹ Such cults emphasized the personal relationship between the deity and the individual, usually through some form of initiation. They were based on a sense of communion with like-minded others and were concerned primarily with the improvement of the present condition, but there was also an interest in death and hope for an afterlife which distinguished them from the traditional cults. The emotional involvement of the devotees must have

54. *IG* IV, 203, especially ll. 19-21. Priscus’ numerous benefactions included the restoration of the *naoi* of Kore and of Eueteria as well as the *Plutoneion*. See Geagan 1989.

55. Williams, Fisher 1975, 23-24 no. 28 and Williams 1982 give a Neronian/Flavian date on mainly historical grounds.

56. Raubitschek 1966, 242 suggested that a statue of Eueteria from the Athenian agora was represented as a draped female figure like Demeter holding a cornucopiae.

57. Kajava 2002a favours the idea that the base came from the Isthmian sanctuary, but there is no obvious reason for such a transfer. There could also have been a stoa and shrine of Pluto/Hades at Corinth, given the chthonic elements in the Acrocorinth sanctuary.

58. Evidence for Egyptian cults, see Smith 1977; Isis *Pelagia*, Williams 1985; Sarapis, Milleker 1985.

59. Tripod base, *SEG* 27, 1977, 34. C. Iulius Syrus, Kent 1966, no. 57; *RPI*, COR 354.

varied, but Apuleius' vivid account of the Isiac procession at Kenchreai, albeit fiction, certainly conveys the impression that many were deeply attached to the "saviour goddess". Pausanias' account (II. 4, 6-7) indicates that the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods and of Cybele, mother of the gods, another eastern deity long established in Roman cult, were situated along his route to Acrocorinth, but apart from that of Demeter and Kore, the actual sites are unknown. A bust of Sarapis, finely worked and gilded, dated to the early Antonine period was found in the southern extension of room XX in the South Stoa: it seems likely that it belonged to a shrine there but the evidence is inconclusive.⁶⁰ Numerous small finds, figurines and lamps, found in domestic contexts also attest to the popularity of these cults. The renewed interest in Egyptian deities, which is not confined to Corinth, may be, in part, the consequence of Hadrian's Egyptian interests. From the 2nd century a degree of syncretism between these deities, and also with Demeter and Kore, becomes evident.

Thiasoi

Public cult was collective: the important relationship was between the deity and the community as whole, not with individuals.⁶¹ But worship of the gods could also take place in private associations or *thiasoi*. Such associations had a religious life of their own. The evidence at Corinth is very limited, but two inscriptions (Kent 1966, nos 308 and 369) found in the same area can, I believe (*contra* Kent), be associated to provide some information. The heading or statute for the *thiasos* (l. 6) is in larger lettering and the members are listed in smaller let-

ters below.⁶² They include [.] Megarist[os ---], Zosimia[nos ---], C. Antonios [---], Cn. Poubli[os ---] and Zosimos [---]. The last three names are well attested at Corinth. The *thiasos* may be associated with the cult of Sarapis, but the inscription is too fragmentary to be certain.⁶³

A *thiasos* of Aphrodite is mentioned in a Greek inscription found at Lechaion. From the script, it should probably be dated between the 1st and early 3rd c. A.D. It is too damaged to give a full translation, but I think that the sense is as follows:

Apollon[ia? leader?] of the thiasos of [Aphrodite and the thia]sos of Aph[rodite (*sc.* made a dedication) to Aphro]dite Ep[aktia] (or Ep[i-limnia]) in the m[onth in which the Isthm]ia took place, [in the year in which the eponym]ous archon [was ?]

This is a cult of Aphrodite in her marine role either "by the shore," or "by the harbour". Aphrodite also appears as a marine goddess on coins, including a pair clearly labelled for the harbours of Lechaion and Kenchreai.⁶⁴ Pausanias (II. 2, 3) mentions a temple and statue of Aphrodite at Kenchreai, but only a sanctuary and statue of Poseidon at Lechaion.

The evidence for the worship of Aphrodite is pervasive and puzzling.⁶⁵ She had been one of the most revered deities of the Greek city. In the Roman period, she was Venus in her temple in the forum; also Aphrodite *Melainis*, a chthonic deity with a sanctuary on the outskirts of the city; and the armed Aphrodite in her temple on Acrocorinth, as well as being a marine goddess. She was worshipped in the household, she was a favourite subject on lamps, small-scale sculptures and figurines; and she appears in an elaborate fresco in a house to the

60. Broneer 1954, 133-35 and Milleker 1985, 127-32.

61. Until the edict of Decius in 249, ordering all members of the public to sacrifice to the gods. See Rives 1999, 135-54.

62. Kent thought that the difference in letter size meant that the stones belonged to separate inscriptions, but the heading would normally be in larger letters than the body of the inscription.

63. Cf. *IG XII, Suppl.* 365: a decree of the association of *Sarapistai* on Thasos.

64. Arch. Mus. Corinth inv. no. 2526 (D. Pallas, "Ἀνασκαφή τῆς παλαιοχριστιανικῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Λεχαίου", *PAAE* 1958, 132 and pl. 106β = *SEG* 23, 1968, 170). Another possibility is Aphrodite *Epitragia*, who appears at Corinth on lamps. Coins: *RPC I*, 1200 (under Nero). Plutarch refers, in a literary context, to a *hestiatorion* near the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the time of the tyrant Periander (*Mor.* 146d). Given the conservatism of both Greek and Roman religion, it is quite likely that a sanctuary of Aphrodite existed in the Roman period. See also Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 96-97.

65. I omit discussion of sacred prostitution. Recent research has called its existence into question. See Beard, Henderson 1998; Lanci 2005 and, most recently, Budin 2008 together with the review by Pirenne-Delforge 2009.

east of the theatre. She is frequently mentioned by Roman writers and a great variety of images appears on the civic coinage. The most widely produced types were those showing her temple on Acrocorinth. In the 2nd century Aphrodite is paired with other major Corinthian deities – Poseidon, Apollo, Athena, hunting Artemis and Ephesian Artemis, and also with Artemis *Laphria*, the principal divinity of Patrae. Simply from the number and variety of coin images, one would be justified in thinking that Aphrodite was the most important divinity of Roman Corinth. Yet, there is no evidence of a priesthood or a major public cult.

Religion in the Home

The family home was the centre of private religion in the Graeco-Roman world, but very few houses have been excavated at Corinth and there is little to go on. Some evidence comes from two separate excavations near the forum (**Fig 1**). The structures along the street east of the theatre date from the 1st to the 3rd century.⁶⁶ Two buildings appear to have provided food, probably for theatregoers, while other buildings were residential. Numerous objects belonging to cults of the Egyptian deities, Cybele and especially Aphrodite were found, as well as dog rattles and a number of female grotesques, which C. K. Williams suggested might be birth-goddesses. In Building 5 the assemblage of items is appropriate for a cult area or private shrine. The focus here as elsewhere is Aphrodite. Other major Corinthian divinities, Zeus, Athena, Hera and Herakles, are shown on the elaborate frescoed walls, but whether they are part of a cult scene or an indication of the owner's cultural interests is not clear. A fragment of a small figure which may be a *lar* suggested to the excavator that a *lararium* might have been painted on the wall. If so, it would be the first evidence that the primary Roman domestic cult of the *Lares*, *Genius* and *Penates* existed at Corinth.

In the second excavation, an assemblage of nine small-scale marble sculptures, some gilded, was recovered from a large well appointed building, known

as the Panayia villa just southeast of the forum.⁶⁷ They range in date from the late 1st to the mid-3rd or early 4th century. The statuettes were found in a small, simply decorated room which could have served as a domestic shrine; alternatively they may have been moved from elsewhere in the house. There are two figures of Asklepios, two fragmentary versions of Artemis, Dionysos, Herakles, Roma, a head of Pan and a draped woman perhaps to be identified as Europa. Most of the statuettes are copies or adaptations of public cult statues and the close relationship with the coin images is obvious. The seated figure of Roma is interesting and suggests that the owner had a special interest in acknowledging ties with Rome.⁶⁸ Elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world the display of imperial images in the home was commonplace, but there is no evidence of them at Corinth. The statuettes are of high quality and must have been valued as works of art, but that would not have prevented their use in domestic cult rituals. However, there is no physical evidence of a household shrine and the *lares* are conspicuously lacking.⁶⁹

There is rather more information about the cult of the dead: the family tomb was in a very real sense an extension of the home. From the time of the colony's foundation until at least the late 4th c. A.D. the Corinthians followed the normal Roman practice of burying their dead outside the *pomerium*. The separation of the living and the dead would also have been in accord with Greek practice, although the prohibition was not enforced by all Greek cities. The appearance of a substantial number of cremation burials at Corinth can be linked with the founding of the Roman colony, and inhumation and cremation co-existed during the first and early second centuries. Numerous epitaphs record the burial places of existing families and their descendants, but the extended family of freedmen and slaves is mentioned very rarely. The basic formula of the epitaphs is Roman, but the familiar dedication *D(is) M(anibus)* or *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* is omitted.⁷⁰ The cult of the *di manes*,

66. Williams 2005.

67. Stirling 2008.

68. Roma appears on coins under Galba and Hadrian and in sculptural form, but neither is evidence of a cult.

69. Kaufmann-Heinimann (2007) comments on the lasting popularity all over the Empire of the domestic cult of the *Lares*, *Genius* and *Penates* promoted by Augustus, until it was banned in the Theodosian edict of A.D. 392.

70. A rare exception is the inscription erected at Kenchreai by M. Iulius Crispus, citizen of Corinth and a veteran

the ancestors, and the cult of the family *lares*, who watched over the well-being of the existing family, were of primary importance in Roman (Italic) religion. The lack of evidence for these two cults suggests that household worship, in the actual home or at the graveside, followed traditional Greek rather than Roman practice.

There is no record at Corinth of general festivals of the dead, such as the *Parentalia* nor of the *Rosalia*, which are attested elsewhere in centres of Roman influence, perhaps in the latter case because there was no military presence at Corinth. A detailed examination of chamber tombs and single graves excavated to the northeast of the city has provided good evidence of cult ritual in the laying out of the corpse and in the offering of food and drink in the expectation of nourishing the spirit and reinforcing the links between the living and the dead members of the family.⁷¹ But there was little in the interior arrangement or offerings to suggest that in life the occupants had been adherents of a particular sect or cult. Personal items such as figurines may have been deposited with little regard for the subject, but it is worth noting that Aphrodite and Eros were favoured. It is not surprising to find Aphrodite since she was greatly revered as a civic and domestic goddess, but she also had a chthonic role as Aphrodite *Melainis*. Figurines of Eros are often associated with children and there may have been some idea of the god affording protection to the young. Some of the items in the graves, such as iron nails placed on the head or in the hand, are best regarded as apotropaic. I also put the coins and gold foil impressions found occasionally with the corpse in the same category. The fresco in one tomb illustrates the conflicting views of life beyond the grave. The attractive nilotic scenes are conventional – a vague hope of pleasures to come, but the pygmy in the centre represents a more immediate concern. He is holding throwing sticks crossed to

ward off the Evil Eye. The pygmy is not only ensuring that the dead in the inner chamber remain undisturbed, but he is also blocking harmful influences emanating from the tomb: the dead and spirits of the other world could be a source of malign influences from which the living had to be protected. These findings give some indication of the thinking of ordinary people which underlay more public expressions of belief.⁷²

Christianity

The cult in which personal belief and the promise of salvation is central is, of course, Christianity. Here I can make only a brief comment. The existence of a Christian community at Corinth from the mid-1st century onwards is well documented in the literature of the early church, but there is minimal physical evidence of the cult at Corinth during the period under discussion in this article. However, in his excavation east of the theatre, C. K. Williams (2005) noted that in the 3rd century the quality of minor cult objects deteriorates and that a torso of Aphrodite had been badly mutilated: he associates his findings with a slow decline in traditional forms of private worship. Evidence for Christian cult in the funerary context is also elusive. Christians often used existing cemeteries, and retained some non-Christian funerary rites, such as communal meals, but gave them a different interpretation. It is clear, too, that many Christians retained a firm belief in magical practices.⁷³ As a consequence, the burial goods, where they exist, are not reliable indicators as to whether the dead were polytheistic or Christian. Indeed, it would not have been in the interest of professed Christians to draw attention to themselves before 312, when Constantine put the Christian faith on an equal footing with other cults. But it is evident from Libanius (*Or.* 14) that in the later 4th century Corinthians were continuing to hold allegiance to their

of the *legio II Adiutrix*. He may have been influenced by long service in the army; the Latin is somewhat shaky: *ILGR* 125. Conversely, the handsome monument erected *ex testamento* to a young legionary from Italy, which must have been carved at Corinth, does not include the dedication *Dis Manibus*, as one might have expected: Šašel-Kos 1978.

71. Hoskins Walbank 2005.

72. This would be in keeping with the renewed interest in magical beliefs and apparitions in the 2nd century. Lucian (*Philops.* 30-31) writing in the second half of the 2nd century, gives a satirical account of a haunted house in Kraneion and its exorcism. Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* VII. 27, 5-11) gives another version set in Athens.

73. At the end of the 4th century John Chrysostom was inveighing against superstitious Christians who adopted the pagan practice of binding bronze coins bearing the head of Alexander the Great to their heads and feet in the hope of salvation (Catech. illum. = PG 49.239).

long-established gods despite the hostility of the Christian community. G. Sanders argues that hard archaeological evidence for Christian worship and recognizable Christian burial practices does not appear until ca 475 at the earliest.⁷⁴ This is significantly later than the establishment of Christianity as the state religion at the end of the 4th century. Evidence of a different kind comes from a recent study of a large body (over 600) of Christian funerary epitaphs. The inscriptions give the names and usually the occupation of the deceased. Very few can be dated precisely, but taken as a whole they testify to a substantial community of prosperous Christians during the 5th and 6th centuries.⁷⁵

Conclusion

What light does the material presented here shed on religious practices in the Roman period? Corinth had been founded as an enclave of Roman citizens in the heartland of old Greece. The city was able to exploit its ambiguity by identifying with the Greek world yet retaining a Roman identity separate from it. The integration of religious and political structures ensured that the ruling elite controlled the civic cults: the absence of important, hereditary priesthoods is striking. The main recipients of cult would have been the most important civic deities, but there was no clear division between traditional cults and emperor worship, rather a symbiotic relationship. At the same time, the ancient religious traditions of Greek Corinth were deeply embedded in the fabric of urban life. Greek worship had always been associated with place and this surely contributed to the lasting power of Isthmian Poseidon and of Aphrodite. However, over time the concept of separate ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ divinity becomes increasingly blurred.

Although public cult was primarily a matter of ritual conducted by the official priests, festivals were also holidays, entertainment and a source of civic pride. Simply being present when the rituals were being carried out may have been very important in affirming one’s place in the order of things. Corinth was also a cosmopolitan city, subject to outside influences, in which a number of cults co-existed. How this translated into personal belief is difficult to pin down. Indeed the whole issue of

‘personal belief’ is contentious, but I think it is evident in religious practices in the home, in the devotion to certain local deities and in the increasing attraction of the ‘eastern’ cults. Adherence to a unified system of beliefs or doctrine distinguished the Christian faith, which was, during most of the period under discussion, simply one of a number of cults. The spectrum of religious activities stretched from the performance of formal civic rituals to simple acts of personal piety. There were also other forms of religious expression, such as philosophy, oracular divination and magical practices, that cannot be discussed here. Public cults and personal belief existed as part of a complex network of religious activity – they were neither separate nor exclusive.

Mary E. Hoskins Walbank
The British School at Athens

Bibliography

- Alcock (S. E.), Cherry (J. F.), Elsner (J.) (eds), 2001: *Pausanias, Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, Oxford.
- Amandry (M.), 1988: *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, BCH Suppl. 15, Paris.
- Beard (M), Henderson (J.), 1998: “With this Body I Thee Worship: Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity”, in M. Wyke (ed.), *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford, 56-79.
- Biers (W. R.), Geagan (D. J.), 1970: “A New List of Victors in the Caesarea at Isthmia”, *Hesperia* 39, 79-93.
- Bookidis (N.), 2005: “Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.”, in D. N. Schowalter, S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies 53, Cambridge Mass., 141-64.
- Bookidis (N.), Stroud (R. S.), 1997: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XVIII.3, The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth: Topography and Architecture*, Princeton.
- , 2004: “Apollo and the Archaic Temple at Corinth”, *Hesperia* 73, 401-26.
- Broneer (O.), 1960: Review of G. Roux, “Pausanias on Corinthie”, *Gnomon* 32, 297-303.
- , 1954: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens I*.

74. Sanders 2005, 441-42.

75. Walbank 2010.

- 4, *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors*, Princeton.
- Budin (S. L.), 2008: *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*, New York.
- Bugh (G. R.), 1979: "An Emendation to the Prosopography of Roman Corinth", *Hesperia* 48, 45-53.
- Crawford (M. H.) (ed.), 1996: *Roman Statutes I*, BICS Suppl. 64, London.
- Dixon (M. D.), 2000: "A New Latin and Greek Inscription from Corinth", *Hesperia* 69, 335-42.
- Duncan-Jones (R. P.), 1996: "The Impact of the Antonine Plague", *JRA* 9, 108-36.
- Edwards (K. M.), 1933: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VI, Coins, 1896-1929*, Cambridge Mass.
- Geagan (D. J.), 1968: "Notes on the Agonistic Institutions of Roman Corinth", *GRBS* 9, 69-80.
- , 1989: "The Isthmian Dossier of P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus", *Hesperia* 58, 349-60.
- Gebhard (E. R.), 1993: "The Isthmian Games and the Sanctuary of Poseidon in the early empire", in T. E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*, *JRA Suppl.* 8, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 78-94.
- , 2005: "Rites for Melikertes-Palaimon in the Early Roman Corinthia", in D. N. Schowalter, S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies 53, Cambridge Mass., 165-204.
- Gordon (R.), 1990: "The Veil of Power: emperors, sacrificers and benefactors", in M. Beard, J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests, Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, New York, 199-231.
- Gros (P.), 1976: *Aurea Tempia: Recherches sur l'Architecture Religieuse de Rome à l'Epoque d'Auguste*, Rome.
- Hoskins Walbank (M. E.), 1989: "Pausanias, Octavia and Temple E at Corinth", *ABSA* 84, 361-94.
- , 1996: "Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth", in A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity, Papers presented at a conference held in the Univ. of Alberta on April 13-15, 1994, to celebrate the 65th anniversary of Duncan Fishwick*, *JRA Suppl.* 17, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 201-14.
- , 1997: "The Foundation and Planning of Early Roman Corinth", *JRA* 10, 95-130.
- , 2002: "What's in a Name? Corinth under the Flavians," *ZPE* 139, 251-64.
- , 2003: "Aspects of the Corinthian Coinage in the Late 1st and Early 2nd centuries A.C.," in C. K. Williams II, N. Bookidis (eds), *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896-1996, Corinth XX*, Princeton N. J., 337-49.
- , 2005 "Unquiet Graves: Burial Practices of the Roman Corinthians", in D. N. Schowalter, S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies 53, Cambridge Mass., 249-80.
- Hutton (W.), 2005: *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias. Greek Culture in the Roman World*, Cambridge.
- Jones (C. P.), 2004: "Epigraphica VIII-IX. VIII. Honestus of Corinth", *ZPE* 146, 93-98.
- , 2005: "Ten dedications: 'To the gods and goddesses' and the Antonine Plague", *JRA* 18, 293-301.
- Kajava (M.), 2002a: "When did the Isthmian Games return to the Isthmus? (rereading *Corinth* 8.3.153)", *CPh* 97, 168-78.
- , 2002b: "Minimum Corinthium", *Arctos* 36, 19-29.
- Kaufmann-Heinimann (A.), 2007: "Religion in the House", in R. Rüpke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Oxford, 188-201.
- Kent (J. H.), 1966: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.3, The Inscriptions, 1926-1950*, Princeton.
- Knoepfler (D.), Piérart (M.) (eds), 2001: *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000, Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel et de Fribourg, 18-22 septembre 1998*, Neuchâtel - Genève.
- Lanci (J.), 2005: "The Stones Don't Speak and the Texts Tell Lies: Sacred Sex at Corinth", in D. N. Schowalter, S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies 53, Cambridge Mass., 205-20.
- Mason (H.), 1974: *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto.
- Martin (T. R.), 1977: "Inscriptions at Corinth", *Hesperia* 46, 178-98.
- Meritt (B. D.), 1931: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.1, Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927*, Cambridge Mass.
- Milleker (E. J.), 1985: "Three Heads of Sarapis from Corinth", *Hesperia* 54, 121-36.
- Musti (D.), Torelli (M.), 1986: *Pausania, Guida della Grecia II: La Corinzia e l'Argolide*, Rome.
- Mylonopoulos (J.), 2003: Πελοπόννησος οικήτηριον Ποσειδῶνος, *Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes*, Kernos Suppl. 13, Liège.
- NCP: F. W. Imhoof-Blumer, P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art. A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (augm. ed. of the original publ. "A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias", *JHS* 6, 1885, 50-101 and 7, 1886, 57-113 and 8, 1887, 5-63), Chicago 1964.
- Osanna (M.), 2001: "Tra monumenti, agalmata e mirabilia: Organizzazione del percorso urbano di Corinto nella *Periegesi* di Pausania", in D. Knoepfler, M. Piérart (eds), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000, Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel et de Fribourg, 18-22 septembre 1998*, Neuchâtel - Genève, 185-202.
- Piérart (M.), 1998: "Pantheon et hellénisation dans la colonie romaine de Corinthe: La "redécouverte" du

- culte de Palaïmon à l'Isthme", *Kernos* 11, 85-109.
- Pirenne-Delforge (V.), 1994: *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude des ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*, *Kernos Suppl.* 4, Athènes - Liège.
- , 2008: *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque*. *Kernos Suppl.* 20, Liège.
- , 2009: Review of S. Budin, "The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity", *BMCRev* 2009.04.28.
- Prayon (F.), 1982: "Projektierte Bauten auf römischen Münzen", in B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff, D. Mannsperger, F. Prayon (eds), *Praestant interna: Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann*, Tübingen, 319-30.
- Price (S. R. F.), 1984: *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.
- Raubitschek (A. E.), 1966: "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 35, 241-51.
- Rives (J. B.), 1999: "The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire", *JRS* 89, 135-54.
- Robert (L.), 1966: "Inscriptions de l'Antiquité et du Bas-Empire à Corinthe", *REG* 79, 733-70.
- Roebuck (C.), 1951: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XIV, The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton.
- Rothaus (R. M.), 2000: *Corinth: The First City of Greece. An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion*, Leiden - Boston - Köln.
- Roux (G.), 1958. *Pausanias en Corinthe (Livre II. 1 à 15), text, traduction, commentaire archéologique et topographique*, Paris.
- Sanders (G. D. R.), 2005: "Archaeological Evidence for Early Christianity and the End of Hellenic Religion in Corinth", in D. N. Schowalter, S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies 53, Cambridge Mass., 419-42.
- Šašel Kos (M.), 1978: "A Latin Epitaph of a Roman Legionary from Corinth", *JRS* 68, 22-25.
- Scotton (P. D.), 2005: "A New Fragment from the Julian Basilica at Roman Corinth", *Hesperia* 74, 95-100.
- Smith (D. E.), 1977: "The Egyptian Cults at Corinth", *HThR* 70, 201-31.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1992: "Spartan Cults under the Roman Empire: some notes", in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *Φιλολόκων. Lakonian studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, 227-38.
- , 1996: "Roman Corinth: the Formation of a Colonial Elite", in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman onomastics, Athens 7-9 September 1993*, Meletemata 21, Athens, 167-82.
- Stirling (L. M.), 2008: "Pagan Statuettes in Late Antique Corinth: Sculpture from the Panayia Domus" *Hesperia* 77, 89-161.
- Torelli (M.), 2001: "Pausania a Corinto", in D. Knoepfler, M. Piérart (eds), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000, Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel et de Fribourg, 18-22 septembre 1998*, Neuchâtel - Genève, 133-84.
- Walbank (M. B.), 2010: "Where have all the names gone? The Christian community in Corinth in the late Roman and early Byzantine eras", in *Corinth in Context, Comparative Perspectives on Religion and Society*, Brill.
- West (A. B.), 1931: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.2, Latin Inscriptions, 1896-1926*, Cambridge Mass.
- Williams (C. K.), 1982: "Zeus and Other Deities. Notes on Two Archaistic Piers", in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography: presented to H. A. Thompson*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 20, 175-81.
- , 1987: "The Refounding of Corinth: some Roman Religious Attitudes", in S. Macready, F. H. Thompson (eds), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*, 26-37.
- , 1989: "A Re-evaluation of Temple E and the West End of the Forum of Corinth", in S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, 156-62.
- , 2005. "Roman Corinth: The Final Years of Pagan Cult Facilities along East Theatre Street", in D. N. Schowalter, S. J. Friesen (eds), *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Harvard Theological Studies 53, Cambridge Mass., 221-48.
- Williams (C. K.), Fisher (J. E.), 1975: "Corinth 1974: Forum Southwest", *Hesperia* 44, 1-50.
- Williams (C. K.), Zervos (O. H.), 1991: "Corinth, 1990: Southeast Corner of Temenos E", *Hesperia* 60, 1-58.
- Williams (E. R.), 1985: "Isis *Pelagia* and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia* 54, 109-19.
- Wiseman (J.), 1979: "Rome and Corinth: 228 B.C.-A.D. 267", *ANRW II* 17.1, 438-548.

THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE PELOPONNESE

F. Camia - M. Kantiréa

Abstract: In this paper we present and discuss the main aspects of the worship of the Roman emperors (cult places, festivals, priesthoods) in the cities of the Peloponnese. The evidence shows the tendency of Peloponnesian cities to integrate the emperors into their religious life as well as their political, social and cultural world at large. Indeed, pre-existing sacred buildings were re-consecrated to the emperors (e.g. the *Metroon* of Olympia), imperial contests were added to traditional Greek festivals (e.g. the *Kaisareia* added to the Isthmian games), and the emperors were onomastically and iconographically assimilated to traditional gods in inscriptions, coins and statues (e.g. Augustus represented in the guise of Zeus in the *Metroon* of Olympia). Members of local aristocracies had a fundamental role in the organization of the various “events” of emperor worship, particularly through the assumption of the office of priest of the imperial cult, usually assigned to prominent and well-to-do individuals. The pre-eminence of the Peloponnesian imperial priests, together with the other kinds of evidence that illustrate different aspects of emperor worship in the cities of the Peloponnese, contribute to proving the importance played by this region in imperial Greece.

I. Roman emperors and Greek gods

The imperial cult is probably the most important and fascinating chapter of Roman religious history. It presents two major aspects: one political, because the central figure of this practice was the Roman emperor, who was the incarnation of Rome’s institutions and military sovereignty, the other religious, because this mortal person became the object of public and private adoration.

Although the worship of emperors and members of their families became part of the official religion all over the Roman world,¹ it would be wrong to

consider the imperial cult a homogeneous phenomenon, not taking in account local particularities, such as the social structure, the cultural environment and the administrative organization of every city or province.² The study of the imperial cult becomes more complicated in the eastern provinces of the empire, because of the religious life of the Greek-speaking populations. During the Hellenistic period Greek religion had included several cults of persons in different forms: royal and dynastic cults, cults of benefactors and of ancestors, cults of Rome, and those of the *populus Romanus* and of Roman magistrates and generals.³

* We would like to thank M. Metcalfe and Ch. Schabel, who had the kindness to read the paper and improve the English text.

1. Beurlier 1891; Taylor 1931; Étienne 1958; Fishwick 1978; *id.*, *ICLW*; Price 1984a; Liertz 1998; Claus 1999; Gradel 2002; see also Bassignano 1974; Herz 1978; Zanker 1987, 294-328.

2. Mellor 1992.

3. Habicht 1970; Mellor 1975; *id.* 1981. It is worth noting that unlike what had happened in Asia Minor, the cults of Hellenistic kings and Roman generals, with few exceptions, were almost non-existent in metropolitan Greece. This should be explained on the grounds of the different historical evolution of these regions from the end of the 4th c. B.C. until the end of the 1st c. A.D. Although the cities and the *koine* of Asia Minor were supposedly independent and autonomous, they were situated within the geographical borders of the royal states. Thus, they depended directly on the successors of Alexander the Great, to whom they had to offer religious honours (Ma 1999). Becoming familiar with such practices, the Greek populations of Asia Minor and Egypt could easily introduce and incorporate, on the model of the worship of Seleucids, Attalids and Ptolemies, Rome and the Roman emperors into their religious system.

The long duration and the broad diffusion of imperial worship were due to two main factors. The first concerns the nature of the new monarchic power – the *Principatus* – established by Augustus, which consisted of the domination of only one person – the *princeps* – over the political affairs of the Roman state. The second depended on the new administrative organization of Greece: the creation of the province of Achaëa in 27 B.C. was an act without precedent in the history of the Greek world, since for the first time cities and *koina* joined together in the same political unit – the *provincia Achaia* – recognising the Roman emperor as their common lord.⁴

The place of the *princeps* within the religious and social life of ancient Greeks must be considered from three different points of view: the Hellenistic institution of benefaction,⁵ the cults of the traditional gods and the prevailing ideology of the Roman Empire.⁶

In the aftermath of his victory at Actium against Antonius and Cleopatra in 31 B.C., Octavian appeared as the sole heir to a long Hellenistic tradition of the worship of kings as great benefactors and saviours.⁷ Meanwhile, he had managed very skilfully to promote his divine partnership with his stepfather – the *divus Iulius* – in order to be considered, at least in the Greek world, a beneficent lord or even a beneficent god. Under the apparent influence of his intentions or aspirations to divinity, the honours that Octavian received in Greek cities progressively adopted salutary elements, the most explicit expressions of which were the vari-

ous assimilations of the first *princeps* to saviour gods, especially to Apollo and Zeus.

The salutary character of these titles had prepared the religious attitude of the Greeks for the worship of Augustus as a saviour god. At some point after 27 B.C., the ancient temple of the Mother of the Gods – the *Metreon* – in the sanctuary of Olympia was restored and consecrated to “Augustus, saviour of the Greeks and of the whole world”.⁸ During the same period, on the occasion of the emperor’s second visit to their city in 21/20 B.C., the Athenians dedicated to him and to the goddess Roma a small *monopteros* temple without cella on the Acropolis, a few metres east of the Parthenon’s entry.⁹ The minister of this cult, who belonged to one of the most distinguished local families, bore the title of “priest of Roma and of saviour Augustus on the Acropolis”.¹⁰

So, Augustus’ assimilations to saviour gods and the titles of εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ, with which he was honoured not only in the Roman Peloponnese, but all over the eastern provinces, illustrate that the worship of the first emperor was initially introduced in the form of yet another personal cult of a benefactor. But this imperial adoration progressively included all the members – alive and dead – of the *domus Augusta* and it was promulgated almost simultaneously in Greek cities and Roman colonies, although it was manifested in different forms depending on the social system and the religious traditions of these political units.¹¹

The document that illustrates this procedure is the famous *lex sacra* of the city of Gytheion in the

But the cities of metropolitan Greece, except those of Macedonia, had never been part of the Hellenistic kingdoms, although they were placed for long periods under direct or indirect royal rule. In their eyes, the kings represented a foreign authority that under various historical circumstances could be considered either enemies and conquerors threatening Greek liberty, or friends and allies defending Greek political independence, or even benefactors and saviours protecting Greek interests. Insofar as diplomatic relationships dictated the political vocabulary and imposed on religious behaviour, the honours that had been granted to the kings were temporary and short-lived (Kantiréa 2007, 21-26).

4. Alcock 1993.

5. Veyne 1976; Gauthier 1985; Quaß 1993.

6. Clauss 1999; Gradel 2002.

7. Habicht 1970.

8. *IvO* 366; Hitzl 1991, 19-24 (*SEG* 42, 1992, 390).

9. Binder 1969; Baldassarri 1995.

10. *IG* II², 3173. About the end of the 1st c. B.C., the Athenians began to offer sacrifices to Augustus as “leading and saviour god” on an altar in the Roman market (*SEG* 22, 1967, 466); in Delphi they called him a god and dedicated to him a statue for “the safety of all the Greeks” (*SEG* 19, 1963, 401 and 22, 1967, 466; Oliver 1981, 414-15). In Thessaly a series of statues and altars were consecrated to Augustus as “saviour god” (Benjamin, Raubitschek 1959, 69 nos 21-25).

11. Kantiréa 2001; Kantiréa 2001/02.

southern Peloponnese.¹² This inscription preserves the decision of the *Eleutherolacones* to introduce the imperial cult in their *koinon* in A.D. 15. A series of celebrations involving sacrifices, dramatic contests and sacred processions was established by local decree in honour of five members of the imperial family, of T. Quinctius Flaminius, who had liberated the Greeks from Macedonian rule in 196 B.C. and soon after the littoral Lacedaemonian cities from Spartan control,¹³ and finally of two members of the local royal family of Euryclids, C. Iulius Eurycles and his son C. Iulius Laco.¹⁴ The festival was to last eight days, five of which were dedicated successively to Augustus *divi filius* saviour liberator (θεοῦ Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σωτήρος ἐλευθερίου), to Tiberius, who curiously enough bears the title of *pater patriae* (αὐτοκράτορος [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος), to Livia assimilated to *Tyche* of the city and of the whole *ethnos*, that is the *koinon* (Ιουλίας Σεβαστῆς τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ πόλεως ἡμῶν Τύχης), to the Victory of Germanicus (Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς Νίκης) and to the Venus of Drusus (Δρούσου Καίσαρος τῆς Ἀφροδείτης).¹⁵

Although very fragmentary, an inscription from Messene in the southwestern Peloponnese com-

memorates similar celebrations in honour of members of the *domus Augusta*: the *divus Augustus*, Tiberius, Livia called θεά, Antonia Minor, Livilla, and probably the two Drusi, Maior and Minor, Germanicus and Agrippina Maior. It seems that during the festival imperial priests sacrificed lambs, political and religious officials administered an oath of fidelity to the emperor and his family, and the people participated in sacred processions.¹⁶

The political and religious ideology of the Principate as well as the devotion of the emperor to particular deities brought about considerable changes in the composition of the local pantheons, especially that of the Roman colonies of Corinth and Patras, but also that of the Greek cities that were the most Romanized or most open to Roman influences. Furthermore, they contributed largely to the establishment of the imperial cult. The introduction of Augustus' worship via the cult of the emperor's favourite god Apollo in Athens¹⁷ and probably in Corinth¹⁸ is some of the most representative cases. In addition, the significance of some Roman divinities for the imperial religious policy often brought about a renaissance of the cults of their Greek equivalents.¹⁹ The assimilation of Caligula's sister Drusilla to Aphrodite in the As-

12. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923; Ehrenberg, Jones 1955, 87-89 no. 102a; Oliver 1989, 58-65 no. 15.

13. Balsdon 1967; Badian 1970; Briscoe 1972; Ferrary 1988, 58-117; Kennell 1999, 189-92; Pfeilschifter 2005.

14. Chrimes 1949; Bowersock 1961, 112-18; Spawforth 1985, 193-97; Lindsay 1992, 290-97; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002; *RP* II, LAC 461 and 468 respectively; Balzat 2008, 335-50; see also *infra*, pp. 390-91.

15. For an interpretation of the last two clauses, see Kantiréa 2007, 68-69.

16. *SEG* 41, 1991, 328; see also *infra*, p. 385.

17. In Athens, Augustus' preference for Apollo is seen in the revival of an ancient and almost forgotten sacred procession that the Athenians used to send at irregular intervals to Delphi, the so-called *Pythais*, which, from Roman times on, reappeared on epigraphic documents under the new appellation of *Dodecais*. The new name was derived, in our opinion, from the 12th day of the Attic month *Boedromion*, which coincided with the 23rd of September of the Roman calendar, that is, Augustus' *dies natalis*; on this day the Athenians decided by public decree to celebrate Augustus' birthday. The imperial festival seems to have been organized on the model of the ritual of Apollo's birthday celebrated on the 7th day of *Boedromion* and it included an ἰσοπύθιος ἀγών, that is, a contest that rose to the rank of *Pythia* (*IG* II², 1071; Graindor 1927, 25-30; Stamires 1957, 260-65 no. 98; Kantiréa 2007, 45-48). The first priests of Augustus in Athens – Pammenes son of Zenon, Ti. Claudius Novius and the Herodes Atticus' ancestors – belonged to the priesthood of Apollo Pythian and Delian, which means that they were at the same time religious ministers of the god and of the emperor (Kantiréa 2007, 172-78).

18. *CIL* III, 534; *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 120; see also an altar of Augustus found near the archaic temple of Apollo in Corinth (*Corinth* VIII.1, no. 97).

19. The introduction of the worship of Ares and of Hestia in the agora and on the Acropolis of Athens respectively was achieved because of the important role that the equivalent Roman deities, Mars *Uitor* and Vesta, played in Augustan religious ideology. So, the Greek temple of Ares dating from the 5th c. B.C., which originally stood in Acharnai (or less probably in Pallene), was transported and reconstructed in the Athenian agora about the last decade of the 1st c. B.C. (Dinsmoor 1940; McAllister 1959; Baldassarri 1998, 153-72; *ead.* 2001, 417-18; on the acclamation of Augustus' grandson Gaius Caesar with the title of new god Ares by the Athenian people, see *IG* II², 3250; Bowersock 1984). Similarly, the existence of a common cult of the goddess Hestia, and of Livia and Julia, the emperor's wife

clepieion of Epidaurus is in this sense especially significant:²⁰ it reflects the important place that Venus occupied in the Roman pantheon because of the religious ideology of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, which propagated systematically its relation with Trojan deities. The insistent quest for Venus' protection by Julius Caesar and afterwards by Augustus symbolized their intention to advertise the origins of their family from Aeneas, the mythical son of the goddess, the king of Troy and the founder of Rome. Because of this mythological interpretation of the divine genealogy, immortalized successfully by poets and artists of the Augustan period, and the false alteration of the name of Aeneas' son, Ilos, which made an allusion to the name of the *gens* of the Iulii, the Julian family insisted on the *genetrix* aspect of Venus, connecting thus their own origins with those of the *populus Romanus*. It is very probable that within this context the cult of Venus *Augusta* was created in Dyme, near the Roman colony of Patras, in the northwest Peloponnese.²¹

The assimilation of Augustus to Zeus in Olympia was the result of an interactive procedure between Greek religion and Roman political ideology. Zeus, the father of gods and men, could easily be compared with the Roman emperor, the father of the fatherland (*pater patriae*). Such comparisons underlined the universal sovereignty of the victorious *princeps*, while the title of saviour of the whole world, an attribute that was commonly given to Zeus, recalled imperial benefactions according to the official ideology of the period.²² The Jovian representation of Augustus in the colossal and most probably cult statue set up in the cella of the *Metreon* in Olympia included elements of Roman political ideology and of the Greek artistic tradition, and it contributed to the incorporation of the

princeps into the religious context of the Panhellenic sanctuary.²³

It is evident that the introduction of the Roman emperor in the pantheon and the ritual system of a city was based on pre-existing cults of the traditional deities. However, the emperors' identification with gods did not constitute in itself a way or a means of deification. Above all, such connections demonstrate the reasons why some deities, who had been invested with a very strong political character, were involved in matters of imperial worship, and they reflect the historical conditions in which members of the imperial family were integrated into the religious life of the Greek cities. Onomastic and iconographical assimilations, such as Augustus represented in the guise of Zeus in the *Metreon* of Olympia and Livia honoured as goddess *Tyche* in Gytheion,²⁴ which brought to the minds of ancient Greeks their local patron deities, invoked imperial acts of benefaction or patronage. If in some cases the scale of imperial generosity was so great that the simple titles of benefactor, patron or saviour were considered insufficient to express it, they were substituted by or added to common divine epithets, so that the comparison between the god and the emperor would become more evident. When Nero liberated the entire province of Achaëa in A.D. 66 or 67, the extent of their gratitude was so great that immediately many Greek cities decided to represent him like Jupiter Liberator on coins and statues, to address common sacrifices and prayers to the emperor and to the god, and to appoint common priests to serve the cult of both Nero and Zeus *Eleutherios*.²⁵

From the 2nd c. A.D. on, very probably under the influence of the cultural practices of the Panhellenion and of the worship of Hadrian as Zeus

and daughter respectively, on the Athenian Acropolis is a good example of the advertising of Augustus' devotion to the Roman Vesta (Kantiréa 2007, 127-29; cf. Kajava 2001).

20. Höet-van Cauwenberghe 1999, 179-81.

21. *CIL* III, 7254.

22. Ward 1933, 203-24; Alföldi 1970, 220-23; Alföldi 1971, 59-67; Fears 1977, 97-99; Fears 1984; Maderna 1988, 49-52; Strothmann 2000, 28-33.

23. Hitzl 1991, 34-38; Rose 1997, 147-49.

24. See *supra*, n. 12; *SEG* 11, 1950, 925. In Athens, Livia was assimilated to Hestia *Boulaia* (Schmalz 2009, 107 no. 135) rather than to Athena or Artemis *Boulaia* (Oliver 1965, 179; *SEG* 22, 1967, 152) in a statue erected somewhere between the *Prytaneion* and the *Bouleuterion*, and Claudius was probably represented as Apollo *Patroos* in a statue set up near the temple of the god in the agora (*JG* II², 3274), while Flavia Domitilla as goddess Fortuna had a priestess in Tanagra (*JG* VII, 572; Veyne 1962).

25. *JG* VII, 2713; Oliver 1989, 572-75 no. 296; Amandry 1988, 19 and 215-21; *RPC* I, 1203-206, 1238-240, 1264-274, 1368-377, and *Suppl.* I, 1377A.

Olympios and *Panhellenios*, Jovian assimilations of the emperors and the association of their cult with that of the most important god of the Greek and Roman pantheon seem to predominate over other divine identifications, becoming thus part of the traditional imperial ritual in the Roman Peloponnese, especially in Sparta and in the nearby cities. Even if the assimilation of Trajan to Zeus *Embaterios* in Hermione around A.D. 114 could yet be associated with a probable visit of the emperor to that city on his way to Parthia,²⁶ the dedication of about thirty altars to Hadrian “the saviour” on the occasion of the *adventus principis* ceremonies, during the first visit of the emperor to Sparta in A.D. 124/25, derived very probably from the religious tendency of this period to attribute to the Roman lord the titles, symbols and qualities of Jupiter.²⁷ Within the same pattern falls the consecration of a group of about fifty altars to Antoninus Pius identified with Zeus *Eleutherios* in the same Lacedemonian city.²⁸

The worship of imperial deities and virtues constituted a regular religious practice in the Roman Empire. Therefore, it is evident that personifications of abstract ideas were venerated in the Roman colony of Corinth, where *sacerdotes* of Apollo *Augustus*, Neptunus *Augustus* and Mars *Augustus* are attested epigraphically.²⁹ What is most interesting, however, is the “Romanization” of some local deities through the imperial titles of *Augustus* or

Σεβαστός. When Augustus founded Patras as a Roman colony around 20 B.C., Aetolian populations who came or were forced to come to live in the new city brought with them the gold-ivory statue of Artemis *Laphria*, a very old goddess of Western Greece. In her new home, the deity took both the Latin name *Diana*, an indication that she had also been accepted by the Roman inhabitants, and the attribute *Augusta*, which means that she was placed under high imperial protection. Thus, the ancient Aetolian goddess, whose name announced and alluded to the Augustan benefaction and foundation, became a common religious point of reference for both Greek immigrants and Latin colonists.³⁰

II. The topography and the ritual of the imperial cult

The fact that imperial worship in Greece was based on pre-existing religious structures is also demonstrated by the building programme of the cult. From the end of the 1st c. B.C. on, very few new constructions were realised for the needs of the imperial worship in the Peloponnese. Among these one can cite the *Sebasteia* or *Kaisareia* in Gytheion and in Messene. While the first is known only through epigraphic evidence,³¹ the second has been discovered on the north side of the sanctuary of Asclepius, near the agora of the city.³² The *Kaisareion* consists of two large buildings with six rooms each, flanking the main north staircase of the Hellenistic

26. *IG* IV, 701; cf. Robert 1963, 315; Baladié 1980, 274. See Richards 1988 for a different interpretation of the epithet *embaterios* assigned to Trajan.

27. *IG* V 1, 381-404 and 1592; Euangelidis 1911, 198 no. 5; *SEG* 11, 1950, 763; *SEG* 13, 1956, 256; *SEG* 36, 1986, 358; see also *SEG* 49, 1999, 400. One of these altars (*SEG* 13, 1956, 256) can be dated with certainty to A.D. 124/25, on the basis of the mention of the Spartan *patronomos* P. Memmius Sidectas (cf. *RP* II, LAC 579). When assimilations to gods other than Zeus occur, they can be explained within the local context; so, the Dionysiac *technitai* in Athens consecrated an altar to an unknown emperor, maybe Hadrian, designated as *neos Dionysos* (*IG* II², 3323); in Sparta an altar was dedicated “to the Olympian gods new Dioscourai”, probably an allusion to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (*IG* V 1, 447).

28. *IG* V 1, 403, 407-45; *SEG* 11, 1950, 766-68; *SEG* 36, 1986, 359; *SEG* 41, 1991, 316; *SEG* 44, 1994, 359; *SEG* 47, 1997, 360-61; *SEG* 49, 1999, 402-04. Anyway, it is worth noting here that Antoninus Pius spoke in favour of Sparta in a territorial dispute between the city and the *Eleutherolacoines* (*IG* V 1, 37, ll. 7-9); Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 114; for a different interpretation, see Hupfloher 2000, 172-73.

29. *CIL* III, 534; *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 120 (*Apollo Augustus*); *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 156 (*Neptunus Augustus*) and no. 212 (*Mars Augustus*). The monument in commemoration of his victory at Actium in 31 B.C. that Augustus had erected in Nicopolis was consecrated to his three protector gods (Oliver 1969; Carter 1977; Murray, Petsas 1989).

30. Paus. VII, 18, 8-9; *CIL* III, 510; Rizakis 1989, nos 4-5, cf. no. 6; *RPC* I, 1276-77, 1281; Anti 1916; Herbillon 1929, 57-73; Antonetti 1990, 241-69; Osanna 1997; Ellinger 1993, 243-45; Houby-Nielsen 2001.

31. See *supra* n. 12.

32. Its exact location has been identified via two inscriptions found *in situ* (*IG* V 1, 1462; Bardane 1988. Migeotte 1985, ll. 38-40 [*SEG* 35, 1985, 343]).

Asclepieion. According to the archaeological finds, the monument seems to have served both as a dining room and as the main office of the imperial priests, and probably also as a meeting place for local nobles. From the topographical point of view, the *Sebasteion* in Messene was part of the most important sanctuary of the city, a well-structured architectural complex of monuments consecrated to Asclepios. The temple of the god, who in Messene was not venerated as a healer deity, but as a political divinity, occupied the central part of a large peristyle precinct to which several public and religious buildings have been annexed: the council house and small temples of mythical heroes and local deities associated with the foundation of Messene in 370/369 B.C.³³ The construction of the *Kaisareion* in the beginning of the Principate linked the imperial power to this architectural complex of political character. An altar consecrated to the Great gods *Patrooi* and to Augustus confirms that the imperial cult had been incorporated into the civic and religious institutions of the city.³⁴

Roman urbanization of Greek sanctuaries illustrates the way in which the new prevailing ideology could be built up progressively onto the symbolic structures of the past. In the Roman Peloponnese and in mainland Greece, unlike the ambitious building programmes destined for the imperial cult in Asia Minor, old temples were often reconsecrated to the new *divi*. This act should not be explained exclusively on the grounds of the probable economic difficulties that Greek cities faced between the end of the Hellenistic period and the beginning of the Principate. Rededications of ancient monuments to imperial persons involved the principles of a political and religious dialogue between the representatives of the Roman power and the

foreign subjects. Throughout the centuries public buildings inevitably received new symbolisms that they absorbed and transformed, without losing their initial character. In the case of imperial worship, the need for consecutive dedications and reuses of monuments stemmed both from the Greek people, who wished to announce, to understand and to integrate the imperial presence into their political institutions, social life and religious system, and from the Roman authorities, who sought to become part of this complex ritual pattern and thus to justify their sovereignty.³⁵

Therefore, in the beginning of the Principate the classical *Metreon* in Olympia was reconsecrated to Augustus and afterwards, probably under Claudius, it became a temple of the dynastic cult of the imperial family.³⁶ Pausanias reports that a circular religious monument surrounded by porticoes of imprecise date in the agora of Elis was once dedicated to the Roman emperors, but in his time it was falling into ruin.³⁷ The Hellenistic house of a tyrant of Sicyon, which was situated near the funerary monument of Aratos in the agora of the city, seems to have been consecrated to Nero on the occasion of the liberation of the province of Achaëa.³⁸ Numerous imperial inscriptions on honorific statue bases were placed in almost every Greek religious site, such as in the sanctuaries of Asclepios in Epidaurus and of Hera at Argos.³⁹ According to Pausanias, statues of Trajan and Hadrian were erected in the pronaos of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia,⁴⁰ while representations of the latter emperor and of his wife Sabina as *Zeus Olympios* and *Aphrodite* respectively were placed in an ancient round religious monument in Sparta.⁴¹ The double or, better, consecutive consecrations of temples, the dedication of almost every new public building – porticoes,

33. Paus. IV. 31, 10; Orlandos 1960; Felten 1983, 84-93; Habicht 1985, 36-63; Themelis 1991, 102-03; Graf 1992, 174-76; Melfi 2007, 247-89. For the places of public dinners, see Schmitt Pantel 1992, 303-33.

34. *SEG* 43, 1993, 163, and 44, 1994, 376; Hoët-van Cauwenberghe 1999, 177-79 (*AnnÉpigr* 1999, 1467); cf. Deshours 2004, 124-25.

35. Alcock 1993, 198.

36. See *supra* 000 (and n. 23). A monument in the sanctuary of Athena *Pronaia* in Delphi, which very probably should be identified with the magnificent Tholos, served similar purposes, probably under the Flavians (Paus. X. 8, 6; Kantiréa 2007, 153-56).

37. Paus. VI. 24, 10; Zoumbaki 2001, 150-51; Wojan 2008.

38. Kantiréa 2008.

39. Højte 2005, *passim*.

40. Paus. V. 12, 6; Alcock 1993, 190.

41. Paus. III. 12, 11; Hupfloher 2000, 160-61.

gymnasia, fountains and so on – to the gods *Augusti*, as well as the erection of many imperial statues and portraits in agorai and sanctuaries illustrate the conscious will to associate the Roman emperors with the commonly accepted gods, and they demonstrate the intention of the imperial power to dominate in every civic and religious public space.

The connection of imperial contests – *Kaisareia* or *Sebasteia* – with traditional Greek festivals falls within the same pattern. With the exception of the Olympic games, which seem to have never included imperial competitions, the double festivities took place in sanctuaries under the patronage of important cities, such as in the *Asclepieion* in Epidaurus. Many victors' lists and honorific inscriptions of *agonothetai* attest the long and composite names of these double or triple festivals: *Apollonieia Asclepieia Kaisareia* in Epidaurus, *Sebasteia Nemeia* in Argos, *Lykaia Kaisareia* in Megalopolis in Arcadia. The most unexpected case was undoubtedly the connection of *Kaisareia Sebasteia* with the old Isthmian games in the Roman colony of Corinth.⁴²

The border between civic and religious honours cannot be easily determined, maybe because it did not exist for the ancient Greeks. Dedications of statues and the acclamation of the honoured with the titles of benefactor, saviour and patron were common civic honours, while festivals, sacrifices, priesthoods and consecrations of altars and temples belonged to the most important religious honours. The former prove undoubtedly the human nature of the Roman emperor, while the last demonstrate that simultaneously he was granted godlike honours – ἰσόθεοι τιμαί. The imperial cult was born of the need of the subjects to define the place of their lord in a hierarchical system of values, and in this sense, it represented none other than the highest level in the scale of honours.

Being a political expression in a religious guise or, *vice-versa*, a religious act marked with a strong political discourse, the imperial cult had to concern and to be addressed to the whole society. With a couple of exceptions, the Roman emperors did not impose their own cult, but they accepted it, even if they were obliged by a feeling of *pietas* or by

simulated humility to deny it officially. The most representative case is Tiberius' refusal to accept divine honours in the letter that he addressed to the local authorities of Gytheion.⁴³ Anyway, it is more than certain that Tiberius and his family accepted a cult by the *koinon* of *Eleutherolacones*.

The local elites played an important role in the institution and promulgation of imperial worship. The appointment of priests and *agonothetai*, and the organization and financing of festivals including sacrifices, games, expensive *symposia* and the distribution of grain, wine and money were a burden for the members of the upper classes. Never the less, this ritual constituted a challenge for the rich people to show their power and to confirm their generosity, but it also gave them the opportunity to receive honours and privileges in exchange, and thus to enhance their prestige among their fellow citizens. The imperial cult was an act of benefaction for the nobles, a means of amusement if not of survival for the poorest populations, and a proof of loyalty and political obedience for Rome. The long and detailed decrees of Gytheion and of Messene make clear that the imperial celebrations were realised according to an official protocol covering a very large range of activities, from the dedication of cult images and the accomplishment of sacred processions to the clothing of the participants. This protocol had to be preserved respectfully in all cases, independently of the real religious sentiment that the participants may or may not have felt during these ceremonies or their belief in the true nature, divine or human, of their lords. Unfortunately, we will never know their genuine religious emotions, because we cannot base our answer on reliable indications, not even on the title god, the use of which progressively became a commonplace in the honorific vocabulary. In any case, the coexistence of two kinds of sacrifices, those that were addressed directly to the emperor as god and the more numerous ones that were offered to the gods on behalf of the safety, the health and the eternal reign of the emperors, illustrates the double nature – human and divine – of the Roman overlord, which imposed different kinds of honours in different historic circumstances.⁴⁴

42. See *infra*.

43. *SEG* 11, 1950, 922; Taylor 1929; Oliver 1989, 58-65 no. 15.

44. Price 1980; *id.* 1984b.

III. Imperial festivals and celebrations

Starting from the beginning of the Principate, imperial festivals spread all over the Greek world, and the Roman emperors began to be celebrated on various occasions. Several imperial anniversaries came to be included in the festival calendars of the Greek communities, on the model of the official Roman state calendar, which included all of the most important anniversaries commemorating episodes of the life and politico-military activity of the emperors, such as *dies natalis* and *imperii*, imperial salutations, consular designations, and so on. Although modelled on the state calendar of Rome, the local festival calendars often included anniversaries commemorating specific episodes directly concerning a given community, such as the visit of an emperor. The two series of altars for Hadrian and Antoninus Pius from Sparta offer a remarkable example of this situation. On the occasion of the Emperor Hadrian's first visit to the Laconian city (A.D. 124/25), the *polis* ordered the erection of some thirty altars dedicated to Hadrian "the Saviour" (*soter*), on which private citizens were supposed to perform sacrifices during the procession in honour of the emperor. The second (and more numerous) series of altars later dedicated to Antoninus Pius *Soter*, identified with Zeus *Eleutherios*, shows that the ceremony of the *adventus principis*, celebrated on the occasion of Hadrian's first visit to Sparta, continued to be celebrated years later, and was thus included in the Spartan festival calendar.⁴⁵

In the Greek world, the integration of the Roman emperors into the local festival calendars led to the institution of new (independent) imperial festivals, usually called *Kaisareia* or *Sebasteia*, which included agonistic competitions (athletic and/or musical events). In addition, the emperor and other members of his family were celebrated in local and Panhellenic festivals along with traditional gods, a fact resulting in a change of the traditional festival's name – with the addition of an imperial epithet,

such as *Kaisareia*, *Sebasteia* or others modelled on the name of a given emperor – and sometimes also in the inclusion in the programme of new competitions specifically aimed at celebrating and honouring the emperor and his family. Within the Greek world, the Peloponnese occupied a remarkable position due to the particular privilege of hosting three of the most famous Panhellenic festivals (the Olympian, Isthmian and Nemean Games); new sets of competitions specifically dedicated to the emperor came to be included in two of them (the Nemean and Isthmian).

a) *Kaisareia and Sebasteia in the cities of the Roman Peloponnese*

The above mentioned *hieros nomos* from the Eleutherolaconian city of Gytheion (A.D. 15)⁴⁶ provides precious information about the way in which imperial festivals were organized and celebrated, showing that they were basically modelled on the traditional religious festivals and included different moments, *i.e.* processions, sacrifices, agonistic competitions. The text documents the official institution of an imperial festival (*Kaisareia*) which included a solemn procession, sacrifices and libations, and eight days of musical events (*thymelikoi agones*). Five days were dedicated to as many members of the imperial family: the *divus* Augustus, the reigning emperor Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus and Drusus the Younger (respectively Tiberius' nephew and son).⁴⁷ The sixth day was dedicated to T. Quinctius Flamininus,⁴⁸ the Roman general and author of the famous declaration of the freedom of the Greeks at the Isthmus in 196 B.C., who soon after freed Gytheion and the other Eleutherolaconian cities from the domination of Nabis of Sparta.⁴⁹ Two more days of games were then celebrated "in memory of C. Iulius Eurycles" and "in honour of C. Iulius Laco" respectively, two Spartan aristocrats and benefactors who belonged to one of the most important families of the Peloponnese and of imperial Greece at large.⁵⁰

45. On festival calendars and imperial anniversaries see Fishwick, *ICLW* II.1, 482-501 (esp. 492-97 for the eastern part of the Empire). On Spartan altars see *supra*, p. 379; cf. also Hupfloher 2000, 172-73.

46. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923; see *supra*, pp. 376-77, and at n. 12.

47. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923, ll. 7-11.

48. *Op. cit.*, ll. 11-12.

49. See *supra*, at n. 13.

50. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923, ll. 18-22. On these individuals, and more generally on the Spartan C. Iulii (Euryclids), see most recently Kantiréa 2007, 159-66 (with further bibliography at p. 159 n. 4) and Balzat 2008 (with further bibliography at n. 2).

At Gytheion the celebrations were opened every day by a solemn procession which preceded the beginning of the games. The *pompe* started from the sanctuary of Asclepius and Hygeia, the entire population taking part: besides the magistrates, who headed the parade and played a fundamental role in it, there were the ephebes, the *neoi*, all the other citizens wearing white garments and laurel wreaths, the sacred virgins and the women wearing ritual garments.⁵¹ As the *pompe* reached the sanctuary of the imperial cult (*Kaisareion*), the ephors sacrificed a bull for the safety and eternal power of the monarchs and gods (*i.e.* the reigning emperor and his divinized predecessors), and they also arranged for the other magistrates to perform sacrifices in the agora.⁵² Finally, at the theatre of Gytheion, before the artists entered the scene to compete in the thymelic games, the *synedroi* of the Eleuthero-laconian *koinon* and the other magistrates of Gytheion offered incense for the safety of the emperors on an incense burner (*thymiaterion*) set on a sacred table (*trapeza*) in front of three painted images of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia, which had been paraded in the procession through the city.⁵³ The musical events could then begin.

Kaisareia were also celebrated at Sparta, where they are mentioned for the first time in an agonistic inscription dated to the Flavian age.⁵⁴ They had probably been introduced in the Augustan age,

when the institution of the imperial cult at Sparta can be dated, as shown by the presence of *naoi* of Caesar and Augustus, and of an altar of Augustus, in the agora.⁵⁵ The initiative must have been sponsored by the same Eurycles, friend of Augustus (and partisan of him at Actium), who in all probability was also responsible for the institution of the imperial cult at Sparta.⁵⁶ The Spartan *Kaisareia* included athletic and maybe also *thymelic* contests, and are still attested in the 3rd c. A.D.; by the mid-second century they were celebrated together (*i.e.* successively in the same year) with a new agonistic festival, the *Eurycleia*.⁵⁷ The latter was named after C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus – descendant of Eurycles and the first Spartan to enter the Roman senate – in whose honour this festival was celebrated for the first time following his death (around A.D. 136).⁵⁸

Some years later, around A.D. 180, a new agonistic festival was founded at Sparta in honour of Commodus. The *Olympia Kommodeia*⁵⁹ – as far as is known the last games instituted at Sparta for an emperor – included athletic and musical competitions and most likely envisaged sacrifices for the emperor's safety. The institution of this new agonistic festival could have been prompted by the Spartans' desire to thank the Emperor Marcus Aurelius for returning the *ager Denthaliatis* to them.⁶⁰ Under the Severans, the *Kommodeia* were among

51. *SEG* 11, 1950, 923, ll. 25-28.

52. *Op. cit.*, ll. 28-30.

53. *Op. cit.*, ll. 5-7 and 33-35. In religious contexts, imperial images acted as substitutes of the emperor and constituted a sort of duplicate of him; quite often they were taken in procession by bearers called *sebastophoroi*; cf. Fishwick, *ICLW* II.1, 550-53 (with ns 465 and 469) and III.3, 273-74; Herz 1997, 249-50. At Athens and Tanagra the ephebes took part in the transport of imperial images; cf. *IG XII Suppl.*, 646, l. 13 (with Robert 1939, 124-25; *id.* 1960b, 323 and n. 7).

54. Moretti 1953a, no. 66 (a little earlier than A.D. 86).

55. Paus. III. 11, 4-5.

56. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 99, 184-85; *RP* II, LAC 461; see *infra* p. 390.

57. *IG* V 1, 71b (ll. 54-55); 86; 168; 550; 603; *SEG* 34, 1984, 308 (ll. 19-20). Four of the six known *agonothetai* of this contest presided over the combined *Kaisareia kai Eurycleia* (Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 186-187, with 263-264 n. 14).

58. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 110-111, 186-187; Hupfloher 2000, 169 n. 86; *RP* II, LAC 462. A catalogue of ephors (Museum of Sparta, inv. no. 6474), recently published by Steinhauer 2006/07, registers two events – both to be connected with the provisions of Herculanus' will – in the patronomate of Neikephoros son of Marcus (A.D. 136/37): 1) the donation of the island of Cythera to Sparta by the Emperor Hadrian; 2) the first celebration of the *Eurycleia*. Based on this information, it can be argued that Herculanus, who had inherited his ancestral estates on the island from C. Iulius Eurycles, bequeathed them to the emperor Hadrian, who in turn gave them back to Sparta – together with the entire island of Cythera, which thus lost its independence – so that the revenues coming from the estates could be used for the funding of the newly established festival; cf. Steinhauer 2006/07, 201-02.

59. See Miranda 1992/93, 83, for the epigraphic references.

60. *IG* V 1, 1361 (A.D. 177/78) with Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 117, 139 and 187.

the so-called *hieroi* and *eiselastikoi* agonistic festivals. According to A. J. S. Spawforth, this prestigious status – which could only be granted by the emperor – was assigned to the *Kommodeia* in the Severan age, when these games would also have assumed the epithet *Olympia*, thus undergoing a re-organization on the model of the Olympic games. As a result, a local era of “Olympiads” was also instituted, regulating the quinquennial celebration of these games.⁶¹

While at Sparta, it is worth mentioning another agonistic festival, dedicated to Zeus *Ouranios*, the *Megala Ourania*. This festival was founded around A.D. 97/8, as revealed by an agonistic inscription on a statue base dedicated at Sparta by a wrestler after his victory during the first celebration of a contest called *Megista Ourania Sebasteia Nerouanideia*.⁶² It would seem that the reigning emperor Nerva had been associated with Zeus *Ouranios*.⁶³ Yet, this is the only known example of this particular denomination: in the subsequent epigraphical references to the (*Megala*) *Ourania* – the last example dating between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries A.D.⁶⁴ – imperial epithets never occur again. Therefore, given that the particular denomination linking the festival for “Heavenly Zeus” with the emperor refers to the first celebration of these games, one could tentatively reconstruct the following scenario: once Sparta had obtained from the Emperor Nerva the permission for the institution of the new festival –

which included a sacred *agon* – she expressed her gratitude towards him by adding the epithets *Sebasteia* and *Nerouanideia* to the name of the festival. The absence of these epithets from the later epigraphical references to the festival and the lack at Sparta of further specific evidence of a relationship between “Heavenly Zeus” and the emperors would, however, seem to indicate that the addition of the name of the emperor to the name of the festival had a merely formal character and did not provoke any lasting association between the cult of “Heavenly Zeus” and the imperial cult.⁶⁵

At Messene a festival called *Kaisareia* is mentioned for the first time in an honorary decree for the *quaestor pro praetore* P. Cornelius Scipio,⁶⁶ who had shown great benevolence towards Augustus and the imperial family. He spent lavishly on organizing with all possible zeal the *Kaisareia*, providing for the execution of vows and sacrifices for Augustus’ safety. Moreover, he arranged for many other cities of the province of Achaea to join him in organizing similar festivals for the emperor.⁶⁷ But Scipio’s piety and loyalty towards the imperial house went further. After learning that Augustus’ nephew (and adoptive son) C. Caesar had returned safely from the eastern campaign against the Parthians, Scipio invited the whole population of Messene to wear wreaths and to make sacrifices to celebrate this happy news; moreover, he himself sacrificed a bull for the good health of Gaius and offered lavish spectacles (*theai*).⁶⁸ In order to render

61. Spawforth 1986, 327-32; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 187. The *eiselastic agones* gave victors the right to a triumphal procession (*eiselasis*) in their home-cities, in addition to other (also material) privileges. Miranda 1992/93 thinks that the Spartan *Kommodeia* already enjoyed the status of sacred *agon* during the reign of Commodus; see also *RP II*, 405-06.

62. *IG V* 1, 667. The games were partially financed by the local benefactors C. Iulius Agesilaus and T. Flavius Charixenus (*RP II*, LAC 416 and 361); cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 106, 185-86. Agesilaus, eponymous *patronomos* around A.D. 100, dedicated a colonnaded building to the *theoi Sebastoi* and the *polis* of Sparta; see Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 106 and 219 *app.* I, no. 29.

63. Hupfloher 2000, 162-65; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 196.

64. Moretti 1953a, no. 66; cf. also Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 232, *app.* IV B.

65. A parallel to this suggested scenario is provided by an inscription from Ancyra (Asia Minor): in the age of Caracalla a boxer dedicated a statue after winning in the first celebration of the *Asclepieia Antoneineia*. According to L. Robert, the addition of the epithet *Antoneineia*, which does not occur again in the subsequent epigraphical references to this festival, refers to the permission granted by the emperor Caracalla to the city of Ancyra for the foundation of new sacred games dedicated to Asclepius, but the absence of this epithet in the following epigraphical references shows that “cette adjonction de l’empereur au dieu était sentie, même en haut lieu, comme banale et de pure forme, et n’était pas considérée comme un élément essentiel du nom de la fête”, see Robert 1960a, 350-68 (quot. at 362).

66. *SEG* 23, 1968, 206 (A.D. 2/3); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 208 no. 1. On the individual see *RP II*, MES 175.

67. *SEG* 23, 1968, 206, ll. 2-10.

68. *Op. cit.*, ll. 10-15. These rituals imitated the Roman *vota pro salute Caesaris*.

the homage paid to Gaius more lasting, Cornelius Scipio also ordered the Messenians to celebrate every year, by wearing wreaths and making sacrifices, the anniversary day of the first designation of C. Caesar to the consulship. He also stated that a two day interval should be placed between the festival for Augustus and the celebration of the anniversary of Gaius' first designation to the consulship.⁶⁹ P. Herz has shown that these festivals followed the official calendar of Rome, and he has proposed as feast days the 13th and 16th of January, *i.e.* the anniversaries of Gaius' first designation to the consulship in 5 B.C. and Octavian's assumption of the title Augustus in 27 B.C. respectively.⁷⁰

Another Messenian decree, documenting the institution of the dynastic cult in this *polis* immediately after the death of Augustus, deals with the organization of an imperial festival for the *domus Augusta*.⁷¹ This decree mentions the *divus* Augustus, Tiberius, Livia (called *thea*), Antonia the Younger and Livilla; in a lost part of the inscription the names of other members of the imperial family were probably inscribed: Drusus the Elder and the Younger (husbands of Antonia the Younger and of Livilla respectively) and most likely Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder as well. This Messenian decree could attest to the reorganization of the *Kaisareia* mentioned in the honorary decree for the *quaestor pro praetore* P. Cornelius Scipio after Augustus' death. Something similar may have happened at Gytheion, if we suppose that an imperial festival was already celebrated during Augustus' principate (although we do not have any reference to *Kaisareia* at Gytheion before the above-mentioned "*lex sacra*" of A.D. 15).⁷² The Messenian

festival lasted three days – during which an interruption of any public and private activity (particularly trials and executions) was proclaimed – and included athletic competitions. The athletic contests, reserved for *paides* and *epheboi*, and the equestrian races for the *neoi* took place on the emperor's *dies natalis*; due to the fragmentary state of the inscription, it is not known if it refers to the birthday of the *divus* Augustus or Tiberius.⁷³ Other rituals were performed before the beginning of the games, as in the *Kaisareia* of Gytheion, which were aimed at expressing piety and loyalty to the imperial power and at directing the gods' favour towards the emperor and the imperial house. First, the magistrates of Messene had to swear an oath of allegiance to the *divus* Augustus, Tiberius and their descendants.⁷⁴ Lambs were then taken to the temple of the imperial cult (*Sebasteion*) to be sacrificed, the sacred parade being headed by the annual priest of the *divus* Augustus, who first entered the temple with a torch and illuminated the imperial images.⁷⁵ This is another example of the important role imperial images played in the rituals of the cult of the emperors.⁷⁶

The agonistic festival celebrated every two years at the sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth was one of the oldest and most famous Panhellenic festivals and attracted contestants and spectators from all over the Greek world. During the Principate a new imperial contest was added to the traditional Isthmian games, so that the Roman emperors came to be worshipped together with the god Poseidon. After the destruction of Corinth by L. Mummius in 146 B.C., the Romans assigned to Sicyon the task of organizing the Isthmian games.

69. *SEG* 23, 1968, 206, ll. 16-20.

70. Herz 1993.

71. *SEG* 41, 1991, 328 (A.D. 15); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 206 no. 3. See also *supra*, p. 377.

72. Generally speaking, it is likely that most of the imperial festivals in Greek cities were introduced under Augustus, or early in the imperial age, and that they continued to be celebrated in the following years in honour of the reigning emperor and his family.

73. *SEG* 41, 1991, 328, ll. 34-35.

74. *Op. cit.*, ll. 19-22. A link existed between the imperial cult and the ceremonies of the oath of allegiance to the imperial house. Inscriptions from Asia Minor and Cyprus show that the magistrates (of cities or *koina*) and the *demos* used to swear loyalty to the imperial house, sometimes in front of imperial images, and also invoked the gods and the divinized emperors as witnesses. Moreover, they addressed prayers and vows to the gods for the safety and good health of the reigning emperor; cf. Kantiréa 2007, 70 (and n. 2).

75. *SEG* 41, 1991, 328, ll. 22-29. Torches and lamps, which had always played an important role in Greek ritual practices, also came to be used in the imperial cult, particularly in connection with the so-called imperial mysteries; see Pleket 1965, esp. 342-44.

76. Fishwick, *JCLW* II.1, 550-53 (and ns 465, 469) and III.3, 273-74; Herz 1997, 249-50; Price 1984a, 189-90.

Following the foundation of the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* (44 B.C.), Corinth recovered the management of the Isthmian festival, and a new series of competitions known as *Kaisareia* were added to the programme of the traditional *Isthmia*: from then on, the Isthmian games began to be known as Ἴσθμια καὶ Καισάρεια.⁷⁷ The earliest inscription – that can be dated with certainty – which mentions the festival at Corinth in its new form, with the *Kaisareia* added to the *Isthmia*, is an agonistic catalogue dated to A.D. 3 by both the Actian era and Roman consular dating.⁷⁸ In all probability, however, the *Kaisareia* had been introduced immediately after the battle of Actium, at the beginning of the Augustan reign; as for the return to Corinth of the management of the Isthmian games, this too occurred most likely at the beginning of the reign of Augustus (and may have coincided with the introduction of the *Kaisareia*).⁷⁹ In the age of Tiberius the local notable T. Manlius Iuvencus was author of a reorganization of the festival: while holding the presidency of the games, he modified the programme sequence by celebrating the *Kaisareia* before the *Isthmia*.⁸⁰ This and other pieces of evidence clearly distinguish between the *Isthmia* and *Kaisareia*,⁸¹ and the fact that there existed separated lists of victors⁸² demonstrates beyond doubt

that *Kaisareia* and *Isthmia*, although celebrated in the context of one and the same festival (dedicated to Poseidon) and presided over by a single *agonothetes*, represented two independent series of competitions, the former also including thymelic events. A third series of competitions was introduced under Tiberius and named after the reigning emperor; the latest certain reference to this quadriennial imperial contest dates from the reign of Trajan, but it may still have been celebrated during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁸³ Under the Emperor Claudius new changes occurred. The *Isthmia*, which had until then been celebrated at Corinth, returned to the sanctuary of Poseidon. The Epidaurian aristocrat Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, son of the founder of the imperial cult at Epidaurus Cn. Cornelius Nicatas,⁸⁴ was responsible for this return. Pulcher had embarked on a career in the Roman colony, as was regularly the case for the most prestigious members of the Epidaurian aristocracy, who sought to exploit the assumption of political and religious offices in the colony to increase their prestige and social standing.⁸⁵ After holding the quinquennial duovirate, Cornelius Pulcher held the presidency of the Isthmian festival, both the *Isthmia kai Kaisareia* and the contest in honour of the reigning emperor Claudius; on that occasion he

77. A few variants are also attested: *Corinth* VIII.1, nos 80-81, l. 2 (Καισάρεια Ἴσθμια); *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 14, ll. 5-6 (Ἴσθμια Καισάρεια); *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 68 (*Isthmia Caesarea*). *Kaisareia* alone are also mentioned; cf. Gebhard 1993, 87 n. 35.

78. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 14; *SEG* 11, 1950, 61; cf. Degraffi 1952, 6.

79. According to J. H. Kent (*Corinth* VIII.3, p. 70) Corinth recovered the management of the Isthmian games sometime between 7 B.C. and A.D. 3, while the *Kaisareia* were introduced around 30 B.C. (p. 28), as already stated by A. B. West, *Corinth* VIII.1, p. 65; Chow 1992, 47, proposes the year 30 B.C. for the return of the Isthmian games to Corinth, while Gebhard 1993, 79-82, thinks of the period immediately following the foundation of the colony. See Kantiréa 2007, 184-85.

80. *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 81, ll. 5-8: *agonothet(e) Isthm(ion) | et Caesareon | qui primus Caesalrea egit ante Isthmia*. See also *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 154.

81. Cf. *IG* VII, 1856 (Thespiiai; reign of Augustus): honorary inscription for an individual who carried off victories at the *Isthmia*, at the *Nemeia* and four times at the *Kaisareia* at Corinth.

82. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 19 and Biers, Geagan 1970, 79-83; two catalogues of victors at the *Kaisareia*.

83. *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 156 (*Tiberea Augustea Caesarea*); *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 153 (*Tiberea Claudiea Sebastea*); *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 86 and *Corinth* VIII.3, nos 208-09 (*Neronea Caesarea* and *Caesarea Neronea*); *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 210 (*Caesarea Vespasiana Sebastea*); *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 71 and *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 218 (*Caesarea Nervanea Traiana Sebastea*); *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 72 (*Caesarea Nervanea Traiana Sebastea Germanicea Dacea*); *IG* IV, 795 (Καισάρεια Νερουάνηα Τραιάνηα Σεβάστηα Γερμανίκηα Δάκηα; see also *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 138). According to J. H. Kent (*Corinth* VIII.3, p. 19 n. 6), the mutilated text *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 77 might attest the existence of the contest in honour of the reigning emperor in the age of Marcus Aurelius.

84. *RPI*, ARG 114 and 116; see *infra*, p. 395.

85. Cf. the case of Pulcher's homonymous grandson Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (*RPI*, ARG 117 and COR 228), active between the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian; see *infra*, p. 395 (and n. 164).

was the first to celebrate the *Isthmia* at the Isthmus.⁸⁶ The same inscription informs us that Cornelius Pulcher was also responsible for introducing poetry contests reserved for young girls in honour of the *diva* Iulia Augusta (i.e. Livia) to the programme of the *Kaisareia*.⁸⁷ The presence in the programme of the *Kaisareia* of poetry and prose eulogies for the reigning emperor and other members of the imperial family is also documented by some lists of victors.⁸⁸

In the imperial age, therefore, the Isthmian games were transformed by the addition of two new series of imperial contests. The *Kaisareia* were celebrated every two years, together with the traditional *Isthmia*, as homage to the founder of the Empire. Moreover, starting from the reign of Tiberius, and at least until the reign of Trajan, another contest, named after the reigning emperor, was celebrated every four years in his honour in addition to the *Isthmia kai Kaisareia*.⁸⁹

Imperial contests were also added to traditional

festivals at Epidaurus and Argos. In the former city the local notable Cn. Cornelius Nicatas, two times priest of Augustus, introduced a new agonistic festival called *Kaisareia* and held its presidency together with that of the traditional festivals *Apollonieia* and *Asclepieia*.⁹⁰ A series of inscriptions from the sanctuary of Asclepius, dated within the first half of the 1st c. A.D., documents the celebration every four years of a triple festival: the *Apollonieia Asclepieia Kaisareia*.⁹¹ This included athletic, musical and equestrian competitions and was presided over by a single *agonothetes*, who usually belonged to the most prestigious families of Epidaurus. An imperial contest associated with the *Asclepieia* then appears on an inscription in honour of the imperial high-priest of the Achaean League Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, great-grandson of Nicatas: the name of the imperial games had turned from *Kaisareia* to *Sebasteia*, and the *Apollonieia* are not mentioned.⁹²

At Argos imperial games (*Sebasteia*) were added to the traditional *Nemeia*.⁹³ They were celebrated

86. *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 153, ll. 7-8: [*qui Isthmia ad Isthmum egit | [primus omniu]m*]; cf. Kantiréa 2007, 185-86. This mutilated honorary inscription, originally published by J. H. Kent, who identified the honorand with L. Castricius L. f. Regulus, *duovir quinquennalis* under Tiberius [see *RPI*, COR 146], has been recently restudied by Kajava 2002, who integrates at the beginning (ll. 1-2) the name of Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Pulcher. The Finnish scholar argues that the first celebration of the *Isthmia* at the Isthmus (under the presidency of Pulcher) took place in A.D. 43. As for the *Kaisareia*, Gebhard 1993, 87-88 (and n. 35), believes that at least until the 2nd c. A.D. they were usually celebrated at Corinth, while Spawforth 1989, 195 (and n. 22), thinks that they were celebrated at the Isthmus (in the sanctuary of Poseidon): the inscriptions locate the *Kaisareia* “ἐν Κορίνθῳ (in the sense of city and territory) and specifically ἐν Ἴσθμῳ”. It should be noted that the recent archaeological discovery of a circus in the colony – built most likely in the mid-late Augustan period and in use until the 6th c. A.D. – makes it possible that at least the chariot races which were part of the programme of the *Kaisareia* were held in Corinth (equestrian events were also present in the programme of the *Isthmia*); see Romano 2005 (esp. 608-09).

87. *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 153, ll. 9-10: [*carmina ad Iulia]m diva[m Au]g[ustam] virgil[um] numque certame]n insti[t]u[it].*

88. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 19 (with Kantiréa 2007, 187, who integrates at l. 1 the word θεός before the name of Augustus and dates the text to the age of Claudius); Biers, Geagan 1970, 80, ll. 20 sqq. Cf. also Pernot 1993, I, 86.

89. The present scheme is suggested by the consideration that while all of the known *agonothetai* were *agonothetai* of the *Isthmia (kai) Kaisareia*, only some of them also presided over the contest for the reigning emperor; see Geagan 1968, esp. 73, followed by Puech 1983, 18, who thinks (41-42) that the quadriennial contest in honour of the reigning emperor represented the most solemn manifestation of the imperial cult in the province of Achaia (for a different view by A. J. S. Spawforth see *infra*); Chow 1992, 46-48. A. B. West (*Corinth* VIII.2, pp. 56, 64-65), followed by J. H. Kent (*Corinth* VIII.3, pp. 28-30), had suggested a different scheme: the traditional biennial *Isthmia* (“Lesser Isthmia”) would alternate every four years with the *Isthmia kai Kaisareia* (“Greater Isthmia”), to which, starting from the reign of Tiberius, the contest in honour of the reigning emperor was added. Cf. Kantiréa 2007, 187.

90. *IG* IV² 1, 652, ll. 3-8: ἱερέα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος δις, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα πρῶτον τὰ Ἀπολλωνίεια καὶ Ἀσκληπιεία, κτίσαντά τε τ[ὰν] Καίσαρειῶν πανάγυριν καὶ ἀγῶνας | καὶ πρῶτον ἀγωνοθετήσαντα.

91. *IG* IV² 1, 101; 654-55; 664; 674; Peek 1972, no. 86; cf. Kantiréa 2007, 225-27, nos 37, 39, 41-43.

92. *IG* IV, 795, l. 10 (ca A.D. 116/17) (see also *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 71); on Pulcher see *infra*, appendix. Cf. Sève 1993; Kantiréa 2007, 171.

93. *IG* IV, 606 (first half of the 1st c. A.D.): honorary inscription for the Epidaurian notable T. Claudius Diodotus (*RPI*, ARG 88), who was *agonothetes* of the Σεβάστεια καὶ Νέμεια; cf. Kantiréa 2007, 171-72. See now also the new honorary inscription for Ti. Iulius Claudianus, who was *agonothetes* of the same festival (Zoumbaki 2008). At the end of the 3rd c. B.C. Argos had acquired the right to celebrate the *Nemeia*.

in association with the biennial *Nemeia* every four years, alternating with the quadriennial *Heraia*, as indicated by an honorary inscription for T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus – imperial high-priest of the Achaean League between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries A.D. – who was *agonothetes* Ἡραίων καὶ Νεμείων καὶ Σεβαστείων καὶ Νεμείων.⁹⁴ At an earlier date another *agonothetes* of the *Sebasteia kai Nemeia*, Ti. Claudius Tertius Flavianus, had supplied the oil ἐν ταῖ[ς] θεαῖς τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος Νέρβα Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀριστοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ[ῶ] Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ: the reference must be to some athletic contest in honour of the reigning emperor (Trajan), which was presumably included in the context of the *Sebasteia kai Nemeia*.⁹⁵

An imperial contest called *Kaisareia* was added to the traditional *Lykaia* celebrated in honour of Zeus *Lykaios* on the mount Lykaion, in the vicinity of Lykosoura, probably in the Augustan age; it was still celebrated in the 2nd c. A.D.⁹⁶

Moreover, other *Kaisareia* were celebrated at Sicyon⁹⁷ and in the Roman colony of Patrai,⁹⁸ but we do not have any information about their characteristics; in all probability, however, in addition to the usual sacrifices for the emperors' safety and good health, they will have included athletic and/or musical competitions and games, as with the other imperial festivals already discussed.

Finally, also worthy of mention are the *Antinoeia* (or *megala Antinoeia*), a penteteric festival including isolympic *agones*⁹⁹ which took place at

Mantineia in honour of Hadrian's beloved Antinoos, worshipped after his death as θεὸς ἐπιχώριος at the instigation of Hadrian himself.¹⁰⁰

b) *Venationes and gladiatorial games at Corinth: an imperial festival in the context of the Achaean League?*

An imperial festival with *venationes* and gladiatorial games might have been introduced at Corinth around the middle of the 1st c. A.D., in connection with the imperial cult administered by the Achaean *koinon*.¹⁰¹ Based on a letter included in the series of epistles of the emperor Julian, but of uncertain chronology and authorship,¹⁰² concerning a dispute between Argos and Corinth about sums of money the former owed to the latter for the organization of wild animal fights (*venationes*) in the Roman colony, A. J. S. Spawforth has supposed that the most solemn celebration of the imperial cult managed by the Achaean league was a festival held at Corinth, including *venationes* and gladiatorial games and financed through contributions from the cities belonging to the *koinon*.¹⁰³ In the Greek world, wild animal battles and gladiatorial games were often present in the programme of imperial festivals. At Corinth we have certain hints of the celebration of such events: Corinth and Patrai are the only known cities of Achaea to have an amphitheatre, the most suitable seat for *venationes* and gladiatorial games; in addition, the Roman colony modified the theatre and the *odeion* so as to make them capable of hosting this type of event.¹⁰⁴ Moreover,

94. *IG* IV, 590, ll. 9-11; on Memmianus see *RPI*, ARG 254 (and *infra*, *appendix*). On the rotation scheme of the games see Boëthius 1922, 59-61; Charneux 1956, 609; Spawforth 1994, 213.

95. *IG* IV, 602; on Flavianus see *RPI*, ARG 89.

96. *IG* V 2, 463 (Megalopolis; 2nd-3rd c. A.D.): honorary inscription for M. Tadius Spedianus, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν Λυκαίων καὶ Καισαρήων λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐναρέτως (cf. *RP* I, ARC 155; Robert 1969, 54, and ns 9-10); see also *IG* V 2, 515, l. 31 (Lykosoura; 1st c. A.D.). Cf. Jost 1985, 179-85 (esp. 185).

97. *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 272, l. 9 (3rd c. A.D.).

98. *SEG* 29, 1979, 340, l. 9 (2nd-3rd c. A.D. [?]; cf. *SEG* 41, 1991, 1750).

99. *IvO* 450 and 452; *IG* V 2, 313.

100. Jost 1984, 541-42.

101. For the institution of a cult of the emperors in the Achaean league around the middle of the 1st c. A.D. see *infra*, n. 189.

102. Bidez 1924, no. 198. Keil 1913 had already proposed that this letter be dated to the second half of the 1st c. A.D.

103. Spawforth 1994.

104. On the amphitheatre see *Corinth* I, 89-91. In the theatre fragments of frescoes with scenes of *venationes* have been found (*Corinth* II, 84-98), while structures have been unearthed in the Odeion that may be interpreted as cages for animals (*Corinth* X, 146-47). Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXI. 121; Apul., *Met.* X. 18. For the stadium-theatre of Patrai see in this volume Rizakis, pp. 136-37 and Di Napoli, p. 259 (with n. 41).

the system of payments by several cities¹⁰⁵ to Corinth is similar to the system used in other federal and provincial imperial cults, such as the provincial cult of Asia, where the *koinon* appointed special officials charged with the management of the sums owed by each provincial city.¹⁰⁶ The obligation of Argos towards Corinth, however, could be interpreted as a case of Roman “financial attribution”, the *polis* of Argos having to pay a sort of tribute to the Roman colony, yet still retaining its full civic autonomy.¹⁰⁷ In that case, the payments to Corinth might have been used by the colony to fund *venationes* (and most likely also gladiatorial games) in connection with the imperial festival of the *Isthmia kai Kaisareia*, and not (necessarily) in association with the imperial cult administered by the Achaean *koinon*. The reference in the letter in question to “many cities” making payments is, however, quite problematic, as indicated by Spawforth according to whom “it would certainly be surprising to find “many” cities in Greece” in the same condition as Argos.¹⁰⁸

IV. Priests of the imperial cult

After the Romans became involved in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean a privileged relationship, based on the principle of mutual collaboration, was established in the Greek world between Roman power and the upper social strata: the Romans relied on civic aristocracies to govern and control the local situations, while the members of the local elites, in turn, enjoyed the patronage of senatorial families to strengthen their social prestige and to consolidate their position at the head of society. After the foundation of the Principate, the institution and propagation of the cult of the Roman emperors contributed to strengthening this mutual collaboration. Through emperor worship the Greek communities managed both to integrate the new monarchs within their religious and symbolic world and to show their loyalty and gratitude towards the Roman imperial power, from which better living conditions could ultimately derive.

A prominent role in this machinery – which included religious, social and political aspects – was played by the members of the local elites, who contributed significantly to the introduction, promotion and development of the imperial cult in the Greek world. Being directly involved in the management of the imperial cult, the local Greek notables showed their own loyalty and that of their communities towards the emperors, expressing and strengthening their privileged relationship with Roman power. At the same time, the organization of the imperial cult at both a local and provincial level offered members of the elite the possibility to act as benefactors: they held the imperial priesthood and the presidency of the imperial games, financed imperial festivals, dedicated temples and statues for the emperors and other members of the imperial family. Through these acts of euergetism connected with the cult of the emperors, those belonging to the upper social strata expressed their social prestige and strengthened their power and prominence both in their community and in the province at large. A few members of the local elites even managed to exploit their standing to enter the upper Roman orders (equestrian and senatorial).

Many of the individuals who held the imperial priesthood (or the presidency of the imperial contests) in the Peloponnesian cities during the Early Empire fit this scenario well: as members of the most prestigious and powerful families of their native communities – and sometimes of the province of Achaia as well – and thanks to their characteristics (good birth, wealth, high economic and social standing), they became privileged points of reference for the Roman authorities. In the following pages we will present some of these individuals and their family background.

a) Sparta

In the city of Sparta, in a period covering approximately two centuries (from the beginning of the

105. The letter refers to “many cities” (Bidez 1924, no. 198, 409b).

106. Dio Chrys., *Or.* XXXV. 17; Deininger 1965, 70, 96, 155-57; Price 1984a, 54. The possibility that the *venationes* and gladiatorial games celebrated at Corinth – and put by Spawforth in relationship with the imperial cult managed by the Achaean *koinon* – represented a provincial festival is of course linked to the more general issue of the interpretation of the imperial cult within the Achaean league as a “provincial” cult. This *vexata quaestio*, which goes beyond the scope of the present paper, cannot be dealt with here; see, however, *infra*, *appendix*.

107. Keil 1913, 7-9; Laffi 1966, 156-58; Heller 2006, 70.

108. Spawforth 1994, 217.

2nd c. A.D. to the age of Constantine¹⁰⁹), 17 high-priests of the imperial cult are known from inscriptions, most of whom belonged to the most prominent families of the elite. Moreover, several different members of the same family held the imperial priesthood, so that in some of these families, such as the C. Iulii (Euryclids), this priestly office gradually came to be regarded as a sort of hereditary charge.

Apart from Eudamos, only attested by a catalogue of magistrates dated to the reign of Trajan or Hadrian,¹¹⁰ the earliest known high-priest of the imperial cult at Sparta is **C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus (Lucius Vibullius Pius)**, who held office from the end of the reign of Trajan until the end of that of Hadrian and became the first Spartan senator (towards the end of Trajan's principate or at the beginning of that of Hadrian).¹¹¹ The first Euryclid to obtain Roman citizenship was the famous

C. Iulius Eurycles, friend of Augustus, by whom he was granted the *civitas* and a personal *dynasteia* over the Spartans as a reward for his support in the battle of Actium.¹¹² In the following years Eurycles sought to strengthen his social prestige by acting both as a benefactor at a local level and by cultivating his friendly ties with the imperial power.¹¹³ The promotion of the imperial cult met Eurycles' need to enhance his (already) privileged relationship with the emperor and the Roman power. Eurycles must have had a decisive role in the institution of the cult of the emperors at Sparta, and we may suppose that he was the founder of this cult and the first priest of Augustus in his own city.¹¹⁴ He will have financed the construction of the imperial buildings mentioned by Pausanias in the agora of Sparta; he probably introduced the imperial festival (*Kaisareia*) as well.¹¹⁵ Eurycles' disgrace (most

109. Although the first known *archiereus* of the imperial cult at Sparta – Eudamos, only attested by *IG V* 1, 137 (Trajanic/Hadrianic), a catalogue of magistrates where he is referred to, in a filiation formula, as *archiereus* for life *kata genos* (ll. 14-15); cf. *RP II*, LAC 471 – can be dated to (or before the end of) the reign of Trajan, in the Laconian city the imperial cult was already introduced during the reign of Augustus (cf. Paus. III. 11, 4-5: *naoi* of Caesar and Augustus in the agora of Sparta), and C. Iulius Eurycles was probably the first priest of this cult; cf. Hupfloher 2000, 152 and see *infra*.

110. *IG V* 1, 137; ll. 14-15; see previous note.

111. *IG V* 1, 380; 971; 1172 (and *add.*, p. 307); cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 110-12; *RP II*, LAC 462. Herculanus – who was related to the Corinthian Vibullii, as shown by his complete name – started his senatorial career as *quaestor pro praetore* in the province of Achaia and continued as follows: praetor (ca A.D. 125); *legatus provinciae Hispaniae Beticae* (ca A.D. 126/27); *legatus Augusti legionis III (Gallicae)* – in Syria, around A.D. 129/30; see *IG V* 1, 1172 (and *add.*, p. 307). According to Halfmann 1979, 73-74, 126; Puech 1992, 4851 n. 64; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 110, Herculanus became a senator under Trajan; *contra* Groag 1939, 118; *PIR*² I, 302; Birley 1997, 344 n. 7 (after Hadrian's assumption of power).

112. Strab. VIII. 5, 5; Plut., *Vit. Ant.* LXVII. 2-4; cf. Bowersock 1961; *RP II*, LAC 461 (with further bibliography on Eurycles at p. 283). On the Spartan Euryclids see Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 97-104; Kantiréa 2007, 159-66; Balzat 2008 (with further bibliography at n. 2); see also the article of Steinhauer in this volume.

113. On the occasion of the visit of Augustus and Livia to Sparta in 21 B.C., Eurycles minted coins with the portraits of the imperial couple; on the same occasion Augustus donated the island of Cythera to the Lacedaemonians, *i.e.* to Eurycles, who was then the ruler of Sparta (Dio Cass. LIV. 7, 2; Strab. VIII. 5, 1). Some years later (16 B.C.), he minted other coins for Agrippa; cf. Grunauer-von Hoershelmann 1978, 68-71 and 168-69 groups XXVII-XXIX and pls 20-21; *RPC I*, 1104-106, pl. 58. At Sparta there existed an association of *Agrippiastai*, headed by a relative of Eurycles, C. Iulius Deximachus son of Pratolaos; see *CIL III*, 494 = *IG V* 1, 374 (*SEG* 28, 1978, 411; Spawforth 1978, 256-57); a bilingual dedication for Agrippa set up by the *Agrippiastai*; Roddaz 1984, 446; Kantiréa 2007, 54, 161 and 227 no. 48; see also *RP II*, LAC 456.

114. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 99. With regard to this, it is worth mentioning that Eurycles' descendant C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus (see *infra*) is designated as high-priest for life of the *Sebastoi* "*apo progonon*" in an honorary inscription of Hadrianic age (*IG V* 1, 971, ll. 8-10): this expression indicates that the Euryclids came to consider the imperial priesthood to be a sort of hereditary office.

115. The *naoi* of Caesar and of Augustus and the altar of the latter referred to by Pausanias (III. 11, 4-5) should probably be interpreted as a building complex for the imperial cult; cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 127-28; Kantiréa 2007, 161 (and n. 6). For the imperial festival of the *Kaisareia* see *supra*, 000-000. At Sparta Eurycles may have also financed the Augustan refurbishment of the theatre (Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 128-29, 135, 185). He may have promoted – or maybe also financed – the construction of the *Kaisareia* of Gytheion (*SEG* 11, 1950, 923, l. 28) and Asopos (Paus. III. 22, 9), since these two Eleutherolaconian cities were under his patronage (Kantiréa 2007,

likely between 7 and 2 B.C.¹¹⁶) did not prevent his descendants from recovering the imperial patronage and reaching a high standing and power. C. Iulius Laco¹¹⁷ and C. Iulius Spartiaticus,¹¹⁸ Eurycles' son and grandson respectively, embarked on careers in the Roman colony of Corinth; both reached the duovirate and the presidency of the Isthmian games – the peak of the municipal *cursus* at Corinth¹¹⁹ – and held the most important religious offices, among which was the priesthood of the imperial cult: Laco was *flamen Augusti*, Spartiaticus *flamen divi Iuli* (Caesar). The latter also became the first high-priest of the imperial cult in the Achaean league at the beginning of the reign of Nero. In addition, both Laco and Spartiaticus were admitted to the equestrian order and became imperial procurators charged with the administration of Sparta.¹²⁰ They too experienced the loss of imperial favour: Laco towards the end of the reign of Tiberius¹²¹ (but under Claudius he had been reinstated at Sparta, maybe thanks to a decision by Gaius), Spartiaticus under Nero, and more precisely after A.D. 59, *i.e.* after the elimination of the empress Agrippina, for whom he had acted as a sort of agent;¹²² although

these new negative incidents meant the end of the Euryclids' *dynasteia* over the Spartans, they did not prevent some of the Euryclids from maintaining a prominent position at Sparta and even from increasing their prestige and power, evidently successfully resuming their ties with the representatives of the imperial power, as clearly revealed by the career of the Roman senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus. In addition to serving as imperial high-priest, Herculanus was eponymous *patronomos* at Sparta and received the honorific titles of *philosebastos*, *philopatris*, patron (*kedemon*) and “son of the city”.¹²³ As we shall see, similar titles were conferred on other imperial high-priests at Sparta: they express loyalty towards the Roman power and commitment to the defence of the local interests against the background of Roman imperial policy.¹²⁴ Herculanus was responsible for various acts of euergetism,¹²⁵ and after his death (around A.D. 136) divine honours were bestowed on him: his fellow citizens dedicated a *heroon* to him, perhaps located in the agora.¹²⁶

Herculanus was succeeded as high-priest for life of the imperial cult at Sparta by **C. Pomponius Al-**

161); at Asopos, Eurycles also paid for the permanent provision of oil for the local gymnasium (*IG V 1, 970*). Cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 103-04.

116. Strab. VIII. 5, 5, with Bowersock 1961; see also Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 101. Eurycles' exile and death are traditionally dated between 7 and 2 B.C. based on the chronology of the composition of Book VIII of Strabo's Geography (cf. Baladié 1978, 7, 232-33). According to Lindsay 1992, 296, the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of Book VIII is A.D. 15, the year to which the *lex sacra* of Gytheion can be dated, which is the only existing source that documents Eurycles' death with certainty; cf. Balzat 2008, 335 n. 4.

117. *RP II*, LAC 468; Kantiréa 2007, 228 no. 49.

118. *RP II*, LAC 509; Kantiréa 2007, 228 no. 50.

119. Rizakis, *Camia* 2008, esp. 229-30.

120. *Corinth VIII.2*, nos 67-68; Devijver 1976-1993, I, I 128 (and *Suppl. I-II*); Pflaum 1960-1982, I, 63-65 no. 24bis; Demougin 1992, nos 503 and 564; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 102-03; Balzat 2008, 336; on the office of high-priest of the imperial cult in the Achaean league see Spawforth 1994, 218-19 and *infra, appendix*.

121. Tac., *Ann.* VI. 18.

122. Spartiaticus suffered the *damnatio memoriae*: his name was erased from a dedication on the propylon of the gymnasium at Messene, commemorating his benefactions towards the *polis*: he had donated 10,000 *denarii* for the sacrifices to the *Sebastoi* and the supply of oil to both the gymnasia (Themelis 1995, 70-72; *id.* 2001a [esp. 122-23]; *SEG 51, 2001, 488*; *RP II, MES 224*); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 164-65.

123. *IG V 1, 380*; *SEG 11, 1950, 518* and 779.

124. *RP II*, pp. 284-85. On *philokaisar* (or *philosebastos*) and *philopatris* see Buraselis 2000, 101-09; Veligianni 2001; Giannakopoulos 2008.

125. At Sparta the stoa located at the NW edge of the plateau called *Palaiokastro* (Kourinou 2000, 109 sqq.) and most likely also a gymnasium (Puech 1992, 4851 n. 66; Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 210 no. 35; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 111, 129-30), at Mantinea a stoa – only completed after Herculanus' death – dedicated to the city and to Antinoos *epichorios theos* (*IG V 2, 281*; ca A.D. 136/37); cf. Paus. VIII. 9, 7-8; *RP I, ARC 105*; see also *IG V 2, 311*, an honorary inscription for Herculanus from Mantinea.

126. Herculanus' cousin Iulia Babilla financed and took care of the construction of the *heroon*; cf. *IG V 1, 489 + 575* (A.D. 136/37), with Spawforth 1978.

castus (I),¹²⁷ who is also the first known member of the family of the Pomponii.¹²⁸ A member of the body of ephors,¹²⁹ Alcastus was honoured by his city as *philokaisar*, *philopatris* and “son of the city” and also received the honours of the *aristopoliteia*.¹³⁰ Alcastus’ descendants also had a prominent position within the local elite, holding charges and liturgies at Sparta.¹³¹ One of them probably became imperial high-priest: **C. Pomponius Panthales (I) Diogenes Aristeas**¹³² is known to have held the post of *archiereus* of the imperial cult in the Severan age; although his relationship (and that of his descendants) with the Pomponii who descended from Alcastus is not completely clear, Aristeas was perhaps a great-grandson of C. Pomponius Alcastus (I). As a reward for his virtuous life, and especially for the generosity he showed during his tenure as *agoranomos*, the *polis* of Sparta honoured him with twelve statues, eleven of which were paid for by his relatives.¹³³

Other imperial high-priests are attested at Sparta among individuals bearing the *gentilicium* Pompeius. Several Pompeii are known at Sparta from the reign of Antoninus Pius onwards, yet the

interrelationships between these Pompeii are not completely clear, as indicated by A. J. S. Spawforth.¹³⁴ **Sex. Pompeius** [- - -] is attested as imperial high-priest around the middle of the 2nd c. A.D., and probably succeeded C. Pomponius Alcastus (I) in this charge. As with his predecessors Herculanius and Alcastus (I), he too bears the titles *philokaisar*, *philopatris* and “son of the city”, but his priestly title is no longer specified by the indication *dia biou*.¹³⁵ Following a suggestion by G. Steinhauer, we may suppose that the *cognomen* of this individual was Eudamus and that he was the father of **Sex. Pompeius Onasicrates (I)** and the grandfather of **Sex. Pompeius Eudamus**, high-priests of the imperial cult at Sparta before A.D. 195 and in the second quarter of the 3rd c. A.D. respectively.¹³⁶ Onasicrates (I) was also eponymous *patronomos*,¹³⁷ while his son Eudamus, in addition to serving as high-priest of the emperors, was high-priest of Zeus and priest of several other cults.¹³⁸ Another Pompeius, **Sex. Pompeius Menophanes**, was most likely imperial high-priest at Sparta, but he must belong to another line of Sex. Pompeii, perhaps of Arcadian origin.¹³⁹ He is to be identified

127. *RP II*, LAC 641. Herculanius apparently died without direct male heir. C. Iulius Eurycles (III) – maybe a descendant of a Euryclid freedman (Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 166-67 n. 9; *RP II*, LAC 460) – must have been married to a Pomponia, since his son C. Iulius Ario (*RP II*, LAC 425) is attested on an unpublished honorary inscription from Sparta (*RP II*, LAC 425 [5] and 460 [3b]) as *ekgonos* of C. Pomponius Alcastus (cf. Steinhauer 2006/07, 201 n. 10).

128. According to Groag 1939, 144 n. 594, the *gentilicium* Pomponius derives from an alleged C. Pomponius, imperial official in Achaia during the Hadrianic age; *contra*, Box 1931, 214, thinks that this *gentilicium* derives from the Trajanic *procurator Achaiae* A. Pomponius Augurinus T. Priferus Paetus. On this family see Spawforth 1985, 241-43.

129. *IG V* 1, 65.

130. *SEG* 11, 1950, 780. This means that Alcastus had won the *agon* of the *aristopoliteia*, which was most likely refounded at Sparta “between about 110 and 120” (Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 198-99 n. 14); the honours of the *aristopoliteia* were “bestowed on officials that had undertaken a function connected to a liturgy (e.g. *agoranomia*) and by thus had rendered outstanding services for the public good” (*RP II*, p. 230). On the *aristopoliteia* see Robert 1934, 268 n. 4; *id.* 1960a, 573-76; Schwertfeger 1981, 254; Marchetti, Kolokotsas 1995, 197 n. 50. The *aristopoliteia* is so far only attested at Sparta and Messene (cf. Luraghi 2008, 301-02 and n. 36).

131. His homonymous grandson, for example, was eponymous *patronomos* (*RP II*, LAC 642); see also *RP II*, LAC 425 (C. Iulius Ario), 640 (C. Pomponius Agis), 643 (C. Pomponius Aristeas).

132. *RP II*, LAC 646.

133. *IG V* 1, 547 (*SEG* 11, 1950, 798); see Spawforth 1985, 241; *RP II*, p. 588 *stemma* XI.

134. Spawforth 1985, 244: “it is possible that most or even all of them belonged to a single family, perhaps one having several branches; but their interrelationships for the most part are obscure”.

135. For the implications of this absence for the duration of the high-priestly office at Sparta see *infra* n. 145. On this individual see *RP II*, LAC 625; *SEG* 34, 1984, 310; Steinhauer 1998, 435-36 no. 5A.

136. Steinhauer 1998, 436 n. 19 (with *RP II*, p. 407); Spawforth 1984, 278-80, nos 3-4, 13; cf. *RP II*, LAC 626 (Eudamus) and 630 (Onasicrates).

137. *IG V* 1, 306.

138. *IG V* 1, 559; cf. *SEG* 11, 1950, 805; *AnnÉpigr* 2000, 1332.

139. *RP II*, LAC 629 and p. 588 *stemma* X.

with the homonymous general and imperial high-priest for life of the Achaean league, Sex. Pompeius Menophanes, son of Theoxenos,¹⁴⁰ who was honoured with a statue by the city of Tegea as *euergetes*. In the text of this honorary inscription, which can be dated to the age of Severus Alexander, Menophanes is referred to as *archiereus* of the (reigning) emperor and his deified ancestors,¹⁴¹ and he bears the titles *philokaisar*, *philopatris*, son of the city and the *boule*.

Three members of the Spartan Claudii¹⁴² served as high-priests after Sex. Pompeius Onasicrates (I). This family, which was probably granted the *civitas* under Claudius or Nero, is best attested from the age of Marcus Aurelius onwards; the earliest firmly attested member is Ti. Claudius Brasidas (I), one of Sparta's two known senators.¹⁴³ His sons **Ti. Claudius Brasidas (II)** and **Ti. Claudius Spartiaticus**, and the latter's son **Ti. Claudius Eudamus**, served as imperial *archiereis*, all of them holding office probably during the period A.D. 198-212.¹⁴⁴ Spartiaticus and Eudamus held the high-priesthood twice each, which shows that this priestly office was now held for a fixed term;¹⁴⁵ Spartiaticus was also *hiereus* of the goddess Roma.¹⁴⁶ Both he and his son Eudamus were honoured with the *aristopoliteia*, while Brasidas (II) is known to have been eponymous *patronomos*.¹⁴⁷

Two members of another prominent Spartan family, the Aelii – whose earliest known representative, P. Aelius Alcandridas (I), was probably

granted Roman citizenship by Hadrian himself on the occasion of one of his two visits to Sparta (A.D. 124/5 and 128/9)¹⁴⁸ – also served as high-priests of the imperial cult. **P. Aelius Damocratidas**, whose term as *archiereus* can be dated to the Severan age, and his son **P. Aelius Alcandridas (III)**, who held his priestly office between the second and third quarters of the 3rd c. A.D., bear the usual (for Spartan *archiereis*) titles *philokaisar* and *philopatris*. Damocratidas, an athlete who reported victories in several contests, was also gymnasiarch and eponymous *patronomos*. The latter charge was also held by his son, who in addition was *agoranomos* for life and was accorded the honours of *aristopoliteia*.¹⁴⁹

P. Ulpius Pyrrhus and **M. Aurelius Philippus** also served as imperial *archiereis* under the Severans.¹⁵⁰ In addition to the usual titles of *philokaisar* and *philopatris*, they were both awarded the lifelong title of *aristopoliteutes*; this title is certainly, in the case of Pyrrhus, and probably, in that of Philippus, to be connected to the title of *agoranomos* for life.¹⁵¹ Philippus, who bears the additional titles of “son of the city” – as Herculanius, Alcastus (I) and Sex. Pompeius [Eudamus] before him – and “son of the *boule*”, was also eponymous *patronomos*.

The latest known Spartan *archiereus* is **M. Aurelius Stephanus (I)**, who held office under Constantine (perhaps between A.D. 325 and 329). He may have been a descendant of the Roman *eques* (in the Severan age) M. Aurelius Stephanus (II) attested by *IG V* 1, 596.¹⁵²

140. *RP I*, ARC 139.

141. *SEG* 41, 1991, 384, ll. 7-9. Menophanes' high-priesthood “is more probably to be associated with the imperial cult at Sparta than to the one at Tegea” (*RP II*, p. 410).

142. On this family see Spawforth 1985, 224 sqq.

143. *RP II*, LAC 274. Brasidas (I) probably entered the Senate late in Hadrian's reign or under Pius (Spawforth 1985, 227). The other Spartan senator is the above-mentioned Herculanius.

144. See *infra*, p. 394.

145. Spawforth 1984, 278-79, nos 5-7. The shift from lifelong to temporary charge might have occurred around the middle of the 2nd c. A.D., after the term of C. Pomponius Alcastus (I), who is the last known Spartan *archiereus* to have held the office *dia biou*; the latter indication is absent from the priestly title of Sex. Pompeius [Eudamus (?)] – who was *archiereus* in the 150s or 160s – and this seems not to be the result of chance.

146. *IG V* 1, 500; 525 (the only known references to this priesthood in Spartan epigraphy).

147. On these individuals see *RP II*, LAC 275 (Brasidas), 290 (Eudamus), 326 (Spartiaticus).

148. *RP II*, LAC 5. On this family see Spawforth 1985, 246-48.

149. Spawforth 1984, 279 nos 8 and 11; *RP I*, EL 3 and *RP II*, LAC 7 (Alcandridas); *RP II*, LAC 9 (Damocratidas).

150. Spawforth 1984, 279 nos 9 and 12; *RP II*, LAC 170 (Philippus) and 709 (Pyrrhus).

151. *IG V* 1, 504, ll. 10 sqq.; *SEG* 11, 1950, 845, ll. 4-5.

152. Spawforth 1984, 280 no. 15; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 124; *RP II*, LAC 187-88. See also *SEG* 11, 1950, 849, for an anonymous high-priest of the *Sebastoi*; this text – inscribed on a fragmentary architrave – should be assigned to the tetrarchic period (Spawforth 1984, 280 no. 14).

*Chronological *addendum*: the first Spartan *archiereis* up to and including Onasicrates bear the title *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi*, referring collectively to dead and living emperors. A new titulature then appears (with the high-priests belonging to the Spartan Claudii), which refers specifically both to the reigning emperor(s) and his or their divine ancestors. According to A. J. S. Spawforth, this change is to be connected to a reorganization of the imperial cult at Sparta in response to the official dynastic propaganda of the Emperor Septimius Severus, who rehabilitated Commodus' memory in A.D. 195 (asking the Senate to deify him) and asserted his claim to have been adopted by Marcus Aurelius, thus becoming the adoptive brother of Commodus.¹⁵³ Sometime later, the reference to *theioi progonoï* was dropped, and the “old” titulature reappeared. This probably occurred only after A.D. 235, when the death of Severus Alexander “ushered in a swift succession of emperors, among whom attempts to establish dynasties were invariably short-lived and official claims to descent from earlier emperors a rarity”.¹⁵⁴ The Spartan high-priests bearing the titulature “*archiereus* of the (living) emperor(s) and his (or their) divine ancestors” should therefore be assigned to the Severan period; more precisely, the three Claudii and C. Pomponius Panthales will have served in a period of co-reign (*i.e.* A.D. 198-212), since their high-priestly title refers to *Sebastoi*

(plural),¹⁵⁵ while P. Ulpius Pyrrhus, P. Aelius Damocritas and Sex. Pompeius Menophanes, whose high-priestly title refers to a single reigning emperor, should be assigned, based also on prosopographical grounds, to the periods 195-98 or 212-17 or 218-35, 212-17 or 218-35, and 218-35 respectively.¹⁵⁶ A. Hupfloher has cast doubts on this “scheme”: she thinks that the high-priestly title “*archiereus* of the (living) emperor(s) and his (or their) divine ancestors” is a mere variant of the form “*archiereus* of the *Sebastoi*”, both expressions collectively indicating the reigning emperor and any other member (dead or alive) of the imperial house; it would follow, therefore, that the presence of the forms *Sebastos* or *Sebastoi* in the high-priestly title of Spartan *archiereis* cannot be linked to a period of rule by a single emperor or by two (or more) emperors respectively.¹⁵⁷ There are, in fact, cases which seem not to fit the scheme formulated by Spawforth. Ti. Claudius Eudamus, for example, whose term as *archiereus*, based on his priestly title “*archiereus* of the *Sebastoi* and their divine ancestors”, has been assigned to the period A.D. 198-212, appears with the same title in an honorary inscription from Sparta, which has been dated to the second quarter of the 3rd c. A.D.¹⁵⁸ based on prosopographical grounds. The latter case, however, as well as a few similar ones, could be regarded as a simple exception to the “rule” formulated by Spawforth.¹⁵⁹

153. Spawforth 1984, 281; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 117-18.

154. Spawforth 1984, 282. According to Spawforth, the return to the “old” titulature could have occurred already after the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217), but he does not include in the list of the Spartan *archiereis* Sex. Pompeius Menophanes, who was “*archiereus* of the (living) emperor and his divine ancestors” at Sparta (see *supra*) during the reign of Severus Alexander: this shows that after Caracalla’s death the “new” title was still used by the Spartan *archiereis*, unless we suppose that Menophanes’ term as *archiereus* was already over by the time the honorary inscription from Tegea in which Menophanes is referred to as ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ (*SEG* 41, 1991, 384: A.D. 218-235) was set up.

155. Spartiacus’ second term as high-priest might be assigned to the first years of the reign of Caracalla: in his high-priestly title as it appears on *IG* V 1, 525 (ll. 10-12: ἀρχιερεὺς δις τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν θεῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ) the singular form “αὐτοῦ” – a slip of the letter cutter for “αὐτῶν” – could point to a recent change from the rule of co-emperors to that of a single emperor, thus suggesting a date “shortly after the beginning of Caracalla’s sole reign – say 212-15” (Spawforth 1985, 236; see *RP* II, p. 209).

156. Spawforth 1984, 281-83, with a chronological list of Spartan *archiereis* at p. 283 (without Eudamos and Menophanes, for whom see *supra*, pp. 390 and 392-93).

157. Hupfloher 2000, 153-54.

158. *IG* V 1, 590 (cf. *RP* II, LAC 218 and 290 [1]).

159. The honorary inscription in which Ti. Claudius Eudamus is mentioned (see previous note) could have been inscribed when his term as *archiereus* had already expired. Cf. also *SEG* 11, 1950, 800: honorary inscription for M. Aurelius Philippus, “*archiereus* of the emperor”; since at this time (reign of Caracalla), Philippus was no longer imperial high-priest [ll. 2-4: [ἀρχι]ερέα γε[γνόμενον τ]οῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ]; cf. *RP* II, LAC 170 [3] (and p. 120)], it follows that he must have served as *archiereus* during the reign of Caracalla at the latest, that is before the supposed drop of the reference to *theioi progonoï* in the high-priestly titulature of Spartan *archiereis*. In this case, the absence of the reference to *theioi progonoï* could be due to the particular form in which Philippus’ term as *archiereus* is expressed, with the participle γεγόμενον. In a similar way (*i.e.* the use of a synthetic form) one could explain the absence of the reference to *theioi progonoï* in the high-priestly title of Ti. Claudius Spartiacus in *FD* III.1, 543, an honorary inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

In any case, the link between the “new” priestly titulature of Spartan *archiereis* and the cultic reorganization undertaken in the Severan age maintains all its validity. As for the chronological scheme of Spartan *archiereis* formulated by Spawforth, even questioning with Hupfloher the “mechanical” association of the forms *Sebastos* or *Sebastoi* with the number of reigning emperor(s), it can be considered to be correct in general, anchored as it is on prosopographical grounds.¹⁶⁰

b) Other Peloponnesian cities

At Epidaurus, the individual who is known to have played a fundamental role in the introduction and promotion of the cult of the emperors belonged to one of the most prominent families of this *polis*. **Cn. Cornelius Nicatas**, son of Sodamos – who must have received Roman citizenship from a member of the senatorial family of the Cornelia Sisennae – was not only twice priest of the Emperor Augustus, but also founded at Epidaurus the *Kaisareia* and held for the first time the presidency of this new imperial festival added to the traditional *Apolloniaia* and *Asclepieia*.¹⁶¹ Two of the descendants of Nicatas deserve special mention for their activities with regard to the imperial cult, both at a local level (the Roman colony of Corinth) and at a federal one (the Achaean league): Nicatas’ son **Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (I)** and the latter’s homonymous grandson **Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (II)**. As with the Spartans Claudius Laco and Claudius Spartiaticus, the two Cornelia Pulchri embarked on a career at Corinth, running through the whole local *cursus honorum* up to the quinquennial duovirate and the presidency of both the *Isthmia kai Kaisareia* and the contest in honour of the reigning emperor (Claudius and Trajan respecti-

vely). Pulcher (I), as we have already seen, was the first to celebrate the *Isthmia* at the Isthmian sanctuary again, and introduced musical events for young girls in honour of the *diva* Iulia into the programme of the *Kaisareia*.¹⁶² His homonymous grandson, who lived during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, was one of the most prominent notables not only of the Peloponnese, but of the province of Achaia at large.¹⁶³ He had already become a Roman *eques* before the end of the reign of Trajan: he was procurator of Epirus around A.D. 114 and continued his equestrian career under Hadrian as *iuridicus* of Egypt and Alexandria. Pulcher (II) also played a prominent role in the Achaean League, where he served as secretary and general, and held the linked charges of helladarch and *archiereus* of the imperial cult for life from the very end of the reign of Trajan until the end of that of Hadrian. Moreover, he probably became the first president of the *Panhellenion* founded by Hadrian and held the priesthood of Hadrian *Panhellenios*.¹⁶⁴

The two Cornelia Pulchri, as well as other prominent notables of the Peloponnesian cities during the imperial period,¹⁶⁵ exploited the vicinity of the Roman colony of Corinth, seat of the governor of the province. By holding political and religious offices, they succeeded in integrating themselves into the ruling class of the colony, thus increasing their prestige and social standing. In a few (lucky) cases they also managed to progress towards the upper Roman orders, as the *eques* Pulcher (II) did.¹⁶⁶

The municipal priests of the imperial cult at Messene also belonged to prominent families of the elite. **Ti. Claudius Aristomenes (I)** – whose family is attested from the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. until about the middle of the 2nd c. A.D.¹⁶⁷ – was

160. A. Hupfloher herself, although expressing reservations, re-presents the chronological list of Spawforth (Hupfloher 2000, 149-50) adding “Soixiteles Eudamou” before Herculanius (N.B.: the *archiereus* was not Soixiteles, as indicated by Hupfloher 2000, 149 (no. 1) and 150-51, but his father Eudamos; see *supra*, n. 109).

161. *IG IV*² 1, 652; *RPI*, ARG 114; Kantiréa 2007, 171 and 225 no. 36. Nicatas’ brother Archelochus (cf. Kantiréa 2007, 225 no. 37) held the presidency of the joint festival for Apollo, Asclepius and the emperor as well (*IG IV*² 1, 101: A.D. 33-34); on this festival see *supra*, p. 387.

162. See *supra*, p. 387 and n. 87.

163. *RP I*, ARG 117 and COR 228.

164. *IG IV*, 795 (ca A.D. 116/17); *Corinth VIII.1*, nos 80-81; *Corinth VIII.2*, no. 71; *Corinth VIII.3*, nos 138-40, 142-43; on Pulcher (II) see also *infra*, *appendix*. On the *Panhellenion* see Spawforth, Walker 1985; *iid.*, 1986; Jones 1996; Spawforth 1999. For a priestess of Drusilla at Epidaurus see *IG IV*² 1, 600 (A.D. 38-39); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 225 no. 38.

165. *E.g.* the Euryclids at Sparta; see *supra*, p. 391.

166. Cf. Rizakis 2001, 45-46 (and n. 39).

167. On this family see now Baldassarra 2007, 28-36 (and 46 for the *stemma*).

priest of the Emperor Nero (and likely also of the goddess *Roma*); he is known through a dedication accompanying a bronze statue of Nero that he dedicated on behalf of the entire community, assuming the expenses together with his wife Gemonia.¹⁶⁸ Both his son **Ti. Claudius Dionysius Crispianus (I)** and his grandson **Ti. Claudius Crispianus (II) Geminianus** served as imperial *archieis*, the first between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd centuries A.D., the latter around the middle of the 2nd c. A.D. Geminianus is known to have held the office of *agoranomos* in A.D. 139, while Crispianus (I) was also priest of the Mysteries of the *Megaloi Theoi* at Andania and served in the Achaean *koinon* as helladarch before this office came to be associated with the imperial high-priesthood. Moreover, he became a Roman *eques*, serving as *praefectus* of the *cohors I Bosporiana* and military tribune of the *legio XII Fulminata*.¹⁶⁹ **Ti. Claudius Calligenes (II)** is only attested in a dedication inscribed on the base of a statue set up at Olympia at the end of the 2nd c. A.D. by the *polis* of Messene as a reward for his benefactions towards his city, and following his victory in the competition of the *aristopoliteia*. In this dedication, Calligenes is designated as high-priest of the imperial house and as one of the *dekaprotoi*, that is of the most prominent notables of the city.¹⁷⁰

Probably also of Messenian origin was the *archieus* **M. Tadius Lycortas**, honoured at Olympia by the *polis* of Messene, which conferred on him the wreath of the *aristopoliteia*.¹⁷¹ He must have served as high-priest of the imperial cult at Messene, but we cannot state when, and we also do not know if he was in some way related to the M. Tadii attested at Megalopolis during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.¹⁷²

It is probable that the municipal high-priests of Elis were also charged with the management of the emperor cult in the sanctuary of Olympia, given the close administrative relationship between the *polis* of Elis and the sanctuary of Zeus.¹⁷³ Among the known imperial priests from Elis two at least belonged to prominent Elean families. **M. Antonius Alexion** was *archieus* of the imperial cult in the first half of the 1st c. A.D. His family had connections beyond Eleia, and most likely he knew and even had some personal relationship with the Spartan C. Iulius Laco, whom he honoured with a statue at Olympia as his own benefactor.¹⁷⁴ **L. Vettulenus Laetus** was imperial high-priest in the last quarter of the 1st c. A.D.¹⁷⁵ The Vettuleni – whose members are known from the 1st to the 3rd centuries A.D.¹⁷⁶ – were most likely the descendants of Italian *negotatores* from central Italy who had settled in the region of Elis.¹⁷⁷ In addition to the imperial high-priesthood, Vettulenus held some im-

168. *IG V* 1, 1450; cf. *RP II*, MES 131; Kantiréa 2007, 229 no. 55; Baldassarra 2007, 32-33, who dates this statue to A.D. 55-62 (p. 32 n. 38). Cf. also *IG V* 1, 1449, another statue for Nero dedicated by the first priest of his cult (and also priest of the goddess *Roma*) Kleophatos son of Aristeus, who took office on the occasion of Nero's accession to the throne in A.D. 54 (Kantiréa 2007, 229 no. 54; Baldassarra 2007, 32 n. 38). A member of the Messenian family of the Saethidae, Ti. Claudius Saethida, might have held the imperial priesthood during the age of Nero; cf. *SEG* 41, 1991, 353; Baldassarra 2007, 38.

169. Geminianus: see Themelis 2003, 34 and *id.*, in this volume, at p. 103 (cf. also Baldassarra 2007, 36). For the epigraphic references concerning Crispianus (I) see *RP I*, EL 148; *RP II*, MES 136 and Baldassarra 2007, 33-35; for Crispianus' equestrian career cf. Devijver 1976-1993, I, C 136 (and *Suppl.* I). The expressions ἄρχαντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος and [ἄρ]ξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλησι which occur in *SEG* 11, 1950, 984 and *IvO* 448 respectively are to be regarded as equivalents of the title helladarch (of the Achaean league). For the date of the introduction of the charge of helladarch see *infra*, appendix.

170. *SEG* 31, 1981, 372 (*AnnÉpigr* 1989, 663); cf. Schwertfeger 1981; *RP I*, 147.

171. *SEG* 49, 1999, 469.

172. See *RP I*, ARC 154-57 and p. 529 *stemma* I. Lycortas' father, M. Tadius Timocrates, bears the same name as a member of the Tadii of Megalopolis (*RP I*, ARC 156).

173. Cf. Hupfloher 2006, 250-51.

174. *IvO* 426; cf. *RP I*, EL 34. On his family see Zoumbaki 2001, A 99.

175. *IvO* 436 (A.D. 85): honorary inscription on the base of a statue set up by the oecumenic *xystos*, the athletes who took part in the 216th Olympic games and the *xystike synodos*; *IvO* 437 (A.D. 97-98): honorary inscription on the base of a statue dedicated by the *polis* of Elis and by the Olympic *boule* (here the name of Vettulenus is partly integrated; cf. Hupfloher 2006, 254-55). On the individual see *RP I*, EL 339; Zoumbaki 2001, B 9.

176. The first known is M. Vettulenus Laetus (*RP I*, EL 337).

177. Zoumbaki 1993; *RP I*, p. 540 *stemma* XV. The *gentilicium* Vettulenus – maybe of Etruscan origin – is

portant religious and civic offices: he was *hiereus* of Zeus *Olympios*, *alytarches* and *epimeletes*. He was also *agoranomos* and gymnasiarch in the city of Elis, and became a Roman *eques*.¹⁷⁸

Also worthy of mention is the Megalopolitan benefactor **Xenarchos son of Onasicrates**, who in the 1st c. A.D. was honoured by his *polis* and the Roman *negotiatores* for his multiple acts of euergetism, among which was the construction of a temple of the *Sebastoi* and the restoration of the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura. In addition to receiving several honorary statues and being granted some privileges (exemption from all liturgies and *proedria* at the *Lykaia kai Kaisareia*¹⁷⁹), Xenarchos was appointed *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi* for life, with the right to transmit to his descendants the same title, which therefore became hereditary.¹⁸⁰ Although he was not a Roman citizen, Xenarchos obviously succeeded in attracting the attention of the Roman *negotiatores* at Megalopolis, and evidently also the favour of the imperial power, in order to be regarded both by his fellow-citizens and the Roman *negotiatores* as the best fitted to assume the important (religious but also representative) function of priest of the imperial cult.

Finally, as regards the Roman colonies of the Peloponnese, it is worth noting the occurrence at Corinth of the Latin term *flamen*, with reference to the already mentioned C. Iulius Laco and C. Iulius Spartiaticus,¹⁸¹ the presence of *Augustales* at Corinth and Patrai,¹⁸² and the existence, both in these two cities and in the other Roman colony of the Peloponnese (Dyme), of priests (*sacerdotes*) of the Augustan deities.¹⁸³

V. Conclusive remarks

Together with Athens, the Peloponnese is the area of mainland Greece for which we have the richest and most varied evidence concerning emperor worship at our disposal. This evidence highlights those which can be considered to be the main attributes of the cult of the Roman emperors, as well as of any other cult (cult places, festivals, priests) and reveals a fundamental aspect, common to the manifestations of emperor worship throughout the Greek world, namely the association of the Roman emperors to the traditional Greek divinities.

The reuse or re-consecration of pre-existing sacred buildings (e.g. the *Metroon* of Olympia), the connection of imperial contests with traditional Greek festivals (e.g. the *Isthmia* and *Kaisareia*, *Apoloniaieia* and *Asklepieia* and *Kaisareia*, *Sebasteia* and *Nemeia*), the onomastic and iconographic assimilations of emperors to traditional gods (e.g. Augustus represented in the guise of Zeus in the *Metroon* of Olympia, Antoninus Pius identified with Zeus *Eleutherios* on the altars dedicated at Sparta) illustrate the tendency of Peloponnesian cities to integrate the Roman emperors into their religious life as well as their political, social and cultural world at large. This practice met both the need of the Greeks to represent the imperial power to themselves in a more intelligible way, and the will of the emperors to impose their presence in the civic and religious space of Greek cities.

In this “machinery”, which was religious and political at the same time, a fundamental role was played by the members of civic elites, who made

common in central Italy, but it is rarely found in the provinces (see Schulze 1904, 256-57; Solin, Salomies 1988, 206). For some attestations of this *gentilicium* in the Greek world see Zoumbaki 1993, 229 n. 14.

178. *IvO* 437. Cf. also *IvO* 354 (Hadrianic/Antonine?): an anonymous *archiereus* member of the equestrian order. 179. On this festival see *supra*, p. 388.

180. *IG* V 2, 515b (ll. 29-30 for the hereditary title of *archiereus* of the *Sebastoi*); cf. Kantiréa 2007, 180-81 and 230 no. 60.

181. See *supra*, p. 391. Laco and Spartiaticus, styled as *flamen Augusti* and *flamen divi Iulii* respectively, are the only priests of the local imperial cult attested with certainty in the Roman colony, except for some priests (*sacerdotes*) of Augustan gods, for whom see n. 183.

182. Corinth: *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 77 and VIII.3, nos 52-53, 59. Patrai: Rizakis 1998, nos 49, 50, 145.

183. Corinth: see the references cited *supra*, at n. 29, to which add *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 110 (Callicratea, *sacerdos* of the *Providentia Aug(usti)* and of the *Salus Publica* under Tiberius). Patrai: Rizakis 1998, no. 5 (Aequana Musa, *sacerdos* of Diana *Augusta Laphria* – she was also priest of Augustus). Dyme: Rizakis 2008, no. 10 (Fulvinia Helene, *sacerdos* of Venus *Augusta* in the first half of the 1st c. A.D.). See also *IG* IV, 799 (Troizen; early Empire): reference to a priest (*hiereus*) of the *Tyche Sebaste* (= *Fortuna Augusta*). For other imperial priests in the Peloponnesian cities cf. also *IG* IV, 671 (Nauplia, Augustan; the *boule* and the *demos* honoured Phanaktes, *hiereus* of the reigning emperor); *IG* IV, 725 (the *polis* of Hermione dedicated a statue to the daughter of a certain Callisthenes, *archiereus apo progonon*).

possible the organization and celebration of the various “events” of emperor worship, particularly through the assumption of the office of priest of the imperial cult. This priestly office was usually assigned to prominent and well-to-do individuals, whose high standing is revealed both by the other political and priestly offices that they held and by their privileged links with Roman power. Such links were made manifest primarily by the acquisition of the *civitas*, and in some cases (very rarely in reality) also by admission into the Roman upper orders (*ordo equester* and *senatorius*). The decision of a community to assign the office of priest of the imperial cult, as well as that of *agonothetes* of the imperial contests, to members of its most prominent families certainly reveals the importance that Greek cities gave to these functions in the context of diplomatic and political relations with Roman power.

More generally, the pre-eminence of the Peloponnesian imperial priests, together with the various other kinds of evidence that illustrate different aspects of emperor worship in the cities of the Peloponnese, contribute to proving the importance played by this region in imperial Greece.

F. Camia

Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity (I.E.R.A.),
The National Hellenic Research Foundation,
Athens, Greece

M. Kantiréa

University of Cyprus, Nicosia

Appendix. The imperial high-priests of the Achaean league [*F. Camia]

The first high-priest of the imperial cult in the Achaean league, at the beginning of the reign of Nero, was the Spartan C. Iulius Spartiaticus, grandson of C. Iulius Eurycles.¹⁸⁴ After him, several other lifelong *archiereis* of the Achaean league are attested until the Severan age.¹⁸⁵ Although the Achaean *koinon* was geographically limited to the Peloponnese – in the imperial age it came most likely to include the whole of the Peloponnese, with the probable exception of the Eleutherolaconians¹⁸⁶ – and it cannot therefore be considered to be a provincial *koinon* like those of the eastern provinces of the Empire (e.g. Asia),¹⁸⁷ the *archiereus* of the Achaean league can be regarded as a sort of provincial high-priest of the imperial cult for the province of Achaia. Let us consider the following facts.

The introduction of the imperial cult to the Achaean *koinon* during the middle of the 1st c. A.D. most likely occurred in the framework of the sort of “Panhellenic” league, also known as the Panachaeian *koinon*,¹⁸⁸ which was formed from the merger of the Achaean *koinon* with other smaller regional leagues of central Greece (Boeotians, Euboians, Phocidians, Locrians, Dorians).¹⁸⁹ This cult was administered by the Achaean *koinon* but evidently represented the other regional *koina* included in the Panachaeian league as well, so that, at least under Nero, the *archiereus* of the

184. *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 68; *IG* II², 3538; *RP* II, LAC 509; Spawforth 1994, 218-19; Kantiréa 2007, 192-93; see *supra*, p. 391.

185. See *infra* for a brief profile of these *archiereis* with discussion of their chronology.

186. Kahrstedt 1950, 73; Spawforth 1994, 226.

187. Cf. Puech 1983, 24 n. 38: “la lecture des documents du *koinon*, où n’interviennent que des Péloponnésiens, assure que l’assemblée ne représente pas la province entière”.

188. In inscriptions, this “Panhellenic” confederation is referred to in various ways; apart from the simple enumeration of its components (see *IG* IV² 1, 81, ll. 16-17; *IG* VII, 2711, ll. 1-2, 22-23) – which can be considered to be its official name – we find the following definitions: *Panhellenes* (*IG* VII, 2711, ll. 10, 61, 67, 101-02 and 2712, l. 46), Achaeans (*IG* VII, 2711, ll. 44, 50, 100, 120), *Hellenes* (*IG* VII, 2711, ll. 15, 20), all of the *Hellenes* (*IG* VII, 2711, ll. 13-14), Achaeans and *Panhellenes* (*IG* VII, 2712, l. 40), Panachaeans (*IG* IV² 1, 81, ll. 14-15); all of these definitions can be accompanied by terms like *synodos*, *synedrion*, *koinon*.

189. Cf. Spawforth 1994, 222-24, who defines this confederation as “early-imperial Achaia’s nearest equivalent to a provincial *concilium*” (*OCD*, 5). In A.D. 37 the representatives of the Panachaeian *koinon* gathered at Argos, in the presence of the governor of the province P. Memmius Regulus, to celebrate a festival in honour of the newly appointed Emperor Gaius; the celebration likely included cultic manifestations. From the latter – probably celebrated again on Claudius’ accession to the throne – an official emperor cult would have derived. On the *Panhellenes* see also Deininger 1965, 88-91; Oliver 1978. The Panachaeian league must have been in existence by the end of the reign of Tiberius at the latest, as his successor Gaius confirmed it in A.D. 37 at Argos. The latest known reference to the Panachaeian *koinon* is provided by a decree voted by this *koinon* in honour of its secretary T. Statilius Timocrates (I), which has been persuasively dated by Spawforth to A.D. 67/8 (*IG* IV² 1, 80-81; Spawforth 1985, 253-54); *contra* Deininger 1965, 89-90, and Oliver 1978, 187-88, date this decree to A.D. 34/5.

Achaean *koinon* was a provincial high-priest.¹⁹⁰

Even after the dissolution of the Panachaeian league, and though it was now geographically limited to the Peloponnese, the Achaean *koinon* continued manifesting its “provincial” pretensions in various ways, tending to present itself as a body representative of the whole of the province of Achaia, or at least of the greater part of it. Members of the Achaean *koinon* defined themselves as *Hellenes*, the latter term being used in some cases as a synonym of *Achaioi*. Moreover, in some inscriptions the *archiereus* of the Achaean league is called *archiereus* of the *Hellenes* (or of *Hellas*), which seems to indicate that he was considered to act on behalf of the entire province (in any case of an entity bigger than the Peloponnese alone).¹⁹¹

The provincial pretensions of the *archiereus* of the Achaean *koinon* and of the *koinon* at large were in some way legitimized by the introduction of the office of *helladarches*, which, starting from the reign of Hadrian at the latest – but probably already from the reign of Trajan (see *infra*) – was held in association with the high-priesthood of the imperial cult.¹⁹² The high-priests who served after P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus (No. 3) were also helladarchs, T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus (No. 8) being the last known *archiereus* to have

held jointly both charges, between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries A.D. As a consequence, the *archiereis* of the *koinon* came to bear a title equivalent to those borne by provincial *archiereis* of the eastern provinces of the Empire (e.g. *Asiarches* in the province of Asia, *Galatarches* in the province of Galatia), and to act presumably as “provincial” high-priests, representing not only the Peloponnese but also central Greece, that is those *poleis* and *ethne* which had constituted part of the Panachaeian union.

The situation of the province of Achaia was, however, quite exceptional, because in Greece there was also a helladarch of the Delphic Amphictiony.¹⁹³ With regard to this, it is worth noting that in the 2nd c. A.D. no priests of the imperial cult are attested either in the Amphictiony or in the *polis* of Delphi; more generally, the evidence regarding the imperial cult at Delphi is virtually non-existent, except for some *epimeletai* of the Amphictyons who may also have held the priesthood of the imperial cult (P. Memmius Cleandrus and Ti. Claudius Cleomachus from Nicopolis, T. Flavius Megaleinus, probably from Delphi, L. Cassius Petraeus and T. Flavius Eubiotus from Hypata).¹⁹⁴ In light of this situation, and considered that imperial Greece came to be represented by

190. Spawforth 1994, 222, considers the *archiereus* of the Achaean *koinon* during the reign of Nero to be “a truly provincial dignitary”. However, he thinks that “it is hard to discern the institutional basis for a *sacerdos provinciae* in the period after Nero...”, i.e. after the alleged dissolution of the Panachaeian *koinon*.

191. *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 80 (Hadrianic): Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, *archiereus* of *Hellas*; *IG V* 1, 1451 (Messene, A.D. 139-161): Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (II), *archiereus* of the *Hellenes*; *IG IV*, 590 (Argos, late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.): T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus, *archiereus* of the *Hellenes*; *IvO* 459 (Hadrianic): honorary inscription set up by the Achaean *koinon*, on behalf of all of the *Hellenes*, for the Messenian P. Aelius Aristo, referred to as *strategos* of the *Hellenes*; *IG V* 1, 512 (Sparta; Antonine): honorary inscription for the Messenian Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus ([II?], see *RP* II, LAC 319), helladarch of the *Hellenes* ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν; *IG V* 1, 1398 (Corone, A.D. 264) and *IvO* 452 (after A.D. 212): honorary inscriptions for the Messenian C. Clodius Iulius Cleoboulus, referred to in the first inscription as “*prostates* for life of the *koinon* of the Achaeans”, in the second as “*prostates* for life of the *Hellenes*”. It is also worth noting that the Achaeans held the most prominent place within the Panachaeian union, as indicated by the official designation of this confederation – in which Achaeans are mentioned first (*IG VII*, 2711, ll. 1-2, 22-23; *IG IV*² 1, 81, ll. 16-17) – and by the number of delegates (eight) the Achaean *koinon* used to send to the Panachaeian *synedrion* (more than any of the other members); moreover, the term “*Achaioi*” was sometimes used to indicate the Panachaeian union as a whole (see *supra*, n. 188).

192. The helladarch’s tasks probably pertained to the jurisdictional sphere; see Oliver 1976; Puech 1983, 32-33 (and n. 72).

193. Sánchez 2001, 441-42.

194. *FD* III.4, 258; *Syll*³ 813 A and B; *Syll*³ 813 C; *Syll*³ 825 C; *IG IX* 2, 44. But cf. Sánchez 2001, 442: “selon toute probabilité, le titre de ἱερεὺς/ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν porté par certains épimélètes se rapporte à des fonctions qu’ils ont exercées dans leurs cités d’origine, plutôt qu’à Delphes ou à l’Amphictionie”). See Puech 1983, 25: “à Delphes, la documentation relative au culte impérial est pratiquement inexistante”; Sánchez 2001, 442: “il faut noter l’absence de témoignage sur un éventuel culte impérial à Delphes”.

two large *koina* – the Achaean *koinon* (southern Greece) and the Delphic Amphictiony (central and northern Greece) – the *archiereus* of the Achaean *koinon* may well have acted on behalf of central Greece as well, so as to be regarded as “provincial” high-priest of the imperial cult.¹⁹⁵

Archiereis of the Achaean league:¹⁹⁶

1. C. Iulius Spartiaticus (Corinthian) – *around the middle of the 1st c. A.D. See *supra*, n. 184.

2. Lucanios (?) (Corinthian) – *end of the 1st c. A.D. Known only from Plut., *Quaest. conv.* V. 3, 1 (*Mor.* 675 D-E), Lucanios was a friend of Plutarch and offered a banquet at Corinth during a celebration of the Isthmian games. It is possible that he is the same individual who appears in inscriptions as P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus (see *infra*, no. 3); the name “Lucanios” would be a corruption of Plutarch’s manuscripts for Licinius [cf. *Corinth* VIII.2, p. 55 (West)]. **N.B.:** if this is correct though, Lucanios was a Roman citizen, and Plutarch used his *nomen gentile* to refer to him; yet, generally speaking, when a Greek who has obtained the *civitas* is mentioned with a single component of his new Roman onomastic formula, it is the *cognomen* (usually his original simple name as a peregrine; e.g. Eurycles for C. Iulius Eurycles).

3. P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus (?) (Corinthian) – *towards the end of the 1st c. A.D. (?). The chronology of Iuventianus’ high-priesthood has been highly debated; see Camia 2002 (with presentation of the different possibilities), where a date before the reign of Hadrian is proposed for Iuventianus’ term as *archiereus*. However, since two other *archiereis* probably served after Iuventianus, but before the end of the reign of Trajan (see *infra*, nos 4-5), his high-priesthood could be put as early as the late 1st c. A.D. In fact, if Iuventianus is not identical with the Lucanios known from Plutarch, he could in theory have served as *archiereus* before him (see *Corinth* VIII.2, pp. 54-55). Finally, given that Iuventianus’ title as high-priest (*IG* IV, 203, ll. 4-5: ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίον; *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 199, l. 5: *archiereus*) – as well as that of Lucanios in Plu-

tarch’s passage – is not specified by any reference to the Achaean *koinon*, it cannot be ruled out that Iuventianus (and Lucanios) served as priests of the local Corinthian imperial cult [*it is worth noting, however, that apart from Iuventianus, at Corinth the term *archiereus* is attested only with reference to individuals who are known with certainty to have been high-priests of the imperial cult in the Achaean league (Spartiaticus and Pulcher), and that the only (at my knowledge) local priests of the imperial cult attested with certainty in the Roman colony (i.e. Spartiaticus himself and his father C. Iulius Iaco) are referred to respectively as *flam(en) divi Iuli* and *fla(men) Aug(usti)* (*Corinth* VIII.2, nos 68, ll. 5-6 and 67, l. 7)]. For Iuventianus’ benefactions at the Isthmus, see *IG* IV, 203 (*SEG* 39, 1989, 340).

4. Ti. Claudius Polycrates (Sicyonian) – *beginning of the 2nd c. A.D. Known from an honorific inscription set up at Delphi by the Amphictyonic council and the *koinon* of the Achaeans to honour his daughter Ti. Claudia Polycrateia Nausicaa, *archiereia* of the Achaean league [*Syll*³ 846; see now *CID* IV, 162, where a date in the last third of the 2nd c. A.D. is tentatively proposed by F. Lefèvre], he might be identified either with the Polycrates to whom Plutarch dedicated his work on Aratus’ life, or with his son [*Syll*³ 846 (*scholia* at pp. 558-59); *PIR*² C 969; cf. Puech 1983, 28 and *ead.* 1992, 4874, arguing for the son of Plutarch’s friend]. Based on a new interpretation of the fragmentary Corinthian inscription *IG* IV, 399 (Kantiréa 2008; the name of Polycrates can be integrated at ll. 7-8, see p. 18), an identification with the friend of Plutarch is most likely; therefore, his high-priesthood should be put at the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D., after the term of Iuventianus – who does not yet bear the title of helladarch – but before the end of the reign of Trajan, since, starting from the very end of the latter’s reign, the *archiereus* of the imperial cult in the Achaean *koinon* was the well known Roman *eques* from Epidauros Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (see *infra*, no. 6). Polycrates must thus have been already dead when his daughter was honoured at Delphi (see *infra*, n. 199).

195. Athens was a *civitas libera*, while Macedonia and Thessaly both had their own *koinon* with *archiereis* of the imperial cult.

196. N.B.: as will appear from the following considerations, the chronology of the *archiereis* of the Achaean *koinon* is still an unsolved problem, with uncertainties and doubts remaining for many of the individuals who held the imperial high-priesthood in the *koinon*. The chronological succession proposed below is an attempt, based on the available epigraphic material, to state some firm points, but the overall picture remains hypothetical.

5. Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (I) (Messenian) – *reign of Trajan. The high-priesthood of Caelianus (I) – member of one of the most prominent Messenian families¹⁹⁷ – should be put during the reign of Trajan, and not during that of Antoninus as previously thought [Halfmann 1979, no. 93a; Puech 1983, 27; Habicht 1998, 493; see most recently also Luraghi 2008, 306-08, tentatively supposing that Caelianus became helladarch and *archiereus* in Antoninus' accession year]. The key is provided by an honorary inscription for the emperor Hadrian dedicated at Messene by Caelianus' son, Ti. Claudius Frontinus Macer [Themelis 2005, 43], which is to be dated before A.D. 129 due to the absence of the epithet *Olympios* in Hadrian's titulature.¹⁹⁸ In the text of the inscription, Frontinus Macer is referred to as "son of Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus, *archiereus* and helladarch of the Achaeans for life" [Themelis 2005, 43, ll. 9-12 (*SEG* 55, 2005, 5 12)]. Since, as noted above, the imperial *archiereus* of the Achaean league from the last years of the reign of Trajan, and most likely until the end of that of Hadrian, was the Epidaurian Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (**No. 6**), we have to conclude that at the time Macer dedicated the statue to

Hadrian (A.D. 117-28) his father Caelianus (I) had already held the joint charges of imperial high-priest and helladarch, and was therefore dead, seeing as the office of imperial *archiereus* of the Achaean league was a lifelong charge: in other words, Caelianus (I) is referred to in the Messenian inscription as *having been*, rather than currently being, *archiereus* and helladarch.¹⁹⁹ It therefore follows that Caelianus (I) must have held his high-priesthood before the end of Trajan's reign, and that the office of helladarch already existed before Hadrian.²⁰⁰ As a further consequence, the Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus who appears as *archiereus* and helladarch of the Achaean *koinon* on the dedicatory inscriptions of two statues – paid for by him – dedicated at Messene by the "Hellenes" to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and Caesar Marcus Aurelius respectively (Themelis 2002, 44-45 [*SEG* 52, 2002, 405] and *IG* V 1, 1451; cf. *RP* II, MES 157 [3], [5]) is to be identified with the homonymous grandson of the individual in question, Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (II), whose term as *archiereus* (and helladarch) is thus to be put after that of Cornelius Pulcher, that is around the middle of the 2nd c. A.D.²⁰¹

6. Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (Epidaurian) – *from

197. On which see most recently Baldassarra 2007, 36-42. Caelianus' son, Ti. Claudius Frontinus (Macer), was the first Messenian to enter the Roman Senate, soon followed by his two sons Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus and Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (II). Cf. *RP* II, MES 142; Themelis 2005, 43-44.

198. Hadrian officially assumed the epithet *Olympios* in A.D. 128/29: the earliest reference is *I.Eph.* 274, which can be dated with certainty, based on the imperial titulature, between December 10th 128 and December 9th 129.

199. This may be justified by the context: Caelianus is mentioned in the honorary inscription – which was dedicated at Messene, Caelianus' homeland – in the filiation formula of the dedicant (Macer), and most likely his titles of (ex)-*archiereus* and (ex)-helladarch were assigned to him as a posthumous tribute to the glory of a well known and great Messenian. Something similar, *mutatis mutandis*, can be supposed for the reference to Polycrates as *archiereus* and helladarch in the filiation formula of his daughter Ti. Claudia Polycrateia Nausicaa, honoured at Delphi probably in the second half of the 2nd c. A.D. (*Syll*³ 846 = *CID* IV, 162), while Polycrates' high-priesthood is most likely to be put at the beginning of the 2nd c., as we have already seen (**No. 4**).

200. This indirectly confirms the chronology assigned by P. Themelis to the long honorary decree for Caelianus (I) recently found at Messene: two long fragmentary texts, inscribed on two statue bases and most likely belonging to the same honorary decree for the individual, published by Themelis 2000, 78-81, pls 43-45 (*SEG* 51, 2001, 458; *AnnÉpigr* 2002, no. 1314 a-b). Themelis dates the decree to the reign of Trajan (cf. *RP* II, MES 156 [2]), identifying the proconsul Lollianus Avitus (*SEG* 51, 2001, 458 B, l. 22) with L. Hediuf Rufus Lollianus Avitus (*cos. suff.* in 114 and proconsul of Asia in 128/29); he will have held the proconsulship of Achaëa (a praetorian post) a little before becoming consul (Themelis 2001b, 66). *Contra* B. Puech and M. Sève (*AnnÉpigr* 2002, p. 467), think that the high-priesthood of Caelianus (I) is to be dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius; the proconsul Lollianus Avitus mentioned in the decree for Caelianus (I) could be identified with the consul of A.D. 161 ("Le mot Traian[- -], l. 6, n'implique nullement que le texte ait été gravé sous Trajan, come le pense l'a."). See most recently Baldassarra 2007, 39, who accepts the reign of Trajan.

201. Caelianus (II) was still alive under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, as he dedicated, together with his brother Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus, a statue to Marcus and one to his spouse Faustina: *CIL* III, 495 (A.D. 164); Themelis 2002, 45-46 (*SEG* 52, 2002, 405) (A.D. 161-176). Themelis also ascribes to Caelianus (II) a fragmentary honorary decree (unpublished) originally inscribed on a statue base, fragments of which have been found near the stage of the theatre: Themelis 2000, 81-82, pl. 46a (*SEG* 51, 2001, 460; *RP* II, MES 157 [6]).

the very end of the reign of Trajan until the end of that of Hadrian. Pulcher was already *archiereus* at the end of the reign of Trajan, as attested by *IG IV*, 795 (ca A.D. 116/17), ll. 12-13. He most likely died around A.D. 137; his son appears as “Cn. Cornelius Pulcher *neoteros*” in a list of victors at the Isthmian games dated with certainty to A.D. 137 [*Corinth VIII.1*, no. 15 (l. 45); *Corinth VIII.3*, p. 29 n. 26]: the specification “*neoteros*” was probably intended to distinguish him from his father, who must have still been alive in that year. In any case, Pulcher was certainly still alive and therefore serving as *archiereus* in A.D. 131/32, when the *Panhellenion* was founded, as he became president, probably the first, of the new league [Follet 1976, 129; *RP I*, p. 118] and also priest of Hadrian *Panhellenios* [*Corinth VIII.1*, no. 80].

7. Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus (II) (Messenian) – *ca middle of the 2nd c. A.D. See *supra*, no. 5.

8. T. Statilius Timocrates Memmianus (Epidaurian) – *late 2nd/early 3rd c. A.D. For the chronology see Spawforth 1985, 256-58. A member of the Epidaurian Statilii, he was also a citizen of Argos. Memmianus is the last known *archiereus* of the Achaean *koinon* to have held jointly the charges of *archiereus* and helladarch. He was three times *strategos* of the Achaean league and became a member both of the Amphictyonic council at Delphi – where he was also helladarch of the Amphictyons – and the council of the *Panhellenes* at Athens.

9. M. Aurelius Amarantus – *after A.D. 212. See Moretti 1953b.

10. Sex. Pompeius Menophanes (Spartan) – *reign of Severus Alexander. See *supra*, 392-93. He was also municipal priest of the imperial cult at Sparta.²⁰²

Bibliography

- Alcock (S. E.), 1993: *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge.
- Alföldi (A.), 1970: *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt.
- , 1971: *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken*, Darmstadt.
- Amandry (M.), 1988: *Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens*, *BCH Suppl.* 15.
- Anti (C.), 1916: “L’Artemis Laphria di Patrai”, *ASAA* 2, 181-99.
- Antonetti (C.), 1990: *Les Etoliens: image et religion*, Besançon.
- Badian (E.), 1970: *Titus Quinctius Flamininus: Philhellenism and Realpolitik*, Cincinnati.
- Baladié (R.), 1980: *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon: étude de géographie historique*, Paris.
- Baldassarra (D.), 2007, “Famiglie aristocratiche a Messene nella prima età imperiale: il contributo dell’epigrafia”, in G. Cresci Marrone, A. Pistellato (eds), *Studi in ricordo di Fulviomario Broilo, Atti del convegno, Venezia, 14-15 ottobre 2005*, Padova, 25-62.
- Baldassarri (P.), 1995: “Augusto soter: ipotesi sul monopteros dell’acropoli ateniese”, *Ostraka* 4, 69-84.
- , 1998: *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ. Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il saeculum augustum*, Roma.
- , 2001: “Lo specchio del potere: programmi edilizi ad Atene in età augustea”, *BCH Suppl.* 39, 401-25.
- Balsdon (J. P. V. D.), 1967: “T. Quinctius Flamininus”, *Phoenix* 21, 177-90.
- Balzat (J.-S.), 2008: “Les Euryclides en Laconie”, in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d’Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours, 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux, 335-50.
- Bardane (B.), 1988: “Εἰς *IG V.1*, 1462”, *Horos* 6, 1988, 79-81.
- Bassignano (M. S.), 1974: *Il flaminato nelle province romane dell’Africa*, Roma.
- Benjamin (A. S.), Raubitschek (A. E.), 1959: “Arae Augusti”, *Hesperia* 28, 65-85.
- Beurlier (E.), 1891: *Essai sur le culte impérial. Son histoire et son organisation depuis Auguste jusqu’à Justinien*, Paris.

202. See also *IvO* 473-74 (A.D. 212/13): two honorary inscriptions for Claudia Tyche, citizen of Cleitor and Elis – she must originate from Cleitor – who was “*archiereia* for life of the emperor and of the *koinon* of the Achaeans”; cf. *RPI*, EL 119. In a recent article on the aristocratic Messenian families of the early imperial period, D. Baldassarra mentions a Ti. Flavius Polybius, “vissuto nel II d.C., che dovette godere di una notevole fama sia a Messene sia a livello provinciale divenendo elladarcho della Lega Achea e sacerdote a vita del culto imperiale” (Baldassarra 2007, 42 n. 83). It must be underlined that none of the known epigraphic references to this individual (*IvO* 449-50; cf. *RP I*, EL 209) make reference to him as holding either the *helladarchia* or the charge of high-priest of the imperial cult; see also Luraghi 2008, 303-04 (and n. 43).

- Bidez (J.), 1924: *L'empereur Julien. Œuvres complètes* I. 2. *Lettres et fragments*, Paris.
- Biers (W. R.), Geagan (D. J.), 1970: "A new list of victors of the Caesarea at Isthmia", *Hesperia* 69, 79-93.
- Binder (W.), 1969: *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort*, PhD, Stuttgart.
- Birley (A. R.), 1997: *Hadrian. The restless emperor*, London - New York.
- Boëthius (A.), 1922: *Der argivische Kalender*, Uppsala.
- Bowersock (G. W.), 1961: "Eurycles of Sparta", *JRS* 81, 112-18.
- , 1984: "Augustus and the East: the Problem of the Succession", in F. Millar, S. Segal (eds), *Caesar Augustus: seven aspects*, Oxford, 169-88.
- Box (H.), 1931: "Roman Citizenship in Laconia", *JRS* 21, 200-14.
- Briscoe (J.), 1972: "Flamininus and Roman Politics, 200-189 B.C.", *Latomus* 31, 22-53.
- Buraselis (K.), 2000: *Kos between Hellenism and Rome. Studies on the Political, Institutional and Social History of Kos from ca. the Middle Second Century B.C. until Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia.
- Camia (F.), 2002: "IG IV 203: la cronologia di P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, *archiereus* della Lega achea", *ASAA* 80, 361-78.
- Carter (J. M.), 1977: "A new fragment of Octavian's inscription at Nicopolis", *ZPE* 24, 227-30.
- Cartledge (P.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A tale of two cities*,² London - New York.
- Charneux (P.), 1956: "Inscriptions d'Argos", *BCH* 80, 598-618.
- Chow (J. K.), 1992: *Patronage and Power. A Study of Social Networks in Corinth*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Suppl. 75, Sheffield.
- Chrimes (K. M. T.), 1949: *Ancient Sparta. A re-examination of the evidence*, Manchester.
- Clauss (M.), 1999: *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart.
- Degrassi (A.), 1952: *I Fasti Consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Roma.
- Deininger (J.), 1965: *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, München.
- Demougis (S.), 1992: *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens (43 av. J.-C. - 70 ap. J.-C.)*, Rome.
- Deshours (N.), 2004: "Cultes de Déméter, d'Artémis Orthèia et culte impérial à Messène (I^{er} s. av. notre ère - I^{er} s. de notre ère)", *ZPE* 146, 115-27.
- Devijver (H.), 1976-1993: *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Symbolae series A. 3, I: Litteare A-I (Leuven 1976); II: Litterae L-V: *Ignoti-Incerti* (1977); III: Indices (1980); Suppl. vol. I-II (1987-1993).
- Dinsmoor (W. B.), 1940: "The temple of Ares at Athens", *Hesperia* 9, 1-52.
- Ehrenberg (V.), Jones (A. H. M.), 1955: *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*,² Oxford.
- Ellinger (P.), 1993: *La légende nationale phocidienne. Artémis, les situations extrêmes et les récits de guerre d'anéantissement*, *BCH* Suppl. 27.
- Étienne (R.), 1958: *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Paris.
- Euangelidis (D.), 1911: "Λακωνικαὶ ἐπιγραφαί", *AEph*, 193-98.
- Fears (J. R.), 1977: *Princeps a diis electus. The divine election of the emperor as a political concept at Rome*, Rome.
- , 1984: "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* II 17.1, 3-141.
- Felten (F.), 1983: "Heiligtümer oder Märkte?", *AK* 26, 84-105.
- Ferrary (J.-L.), 1988: *Philhellénisme et impérialisme. Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate*, *BEFAR* 271, Paris - Rome.
- Fishwick (D.), 1978: "The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire", *ANRW* II 16.2, 1201-253.
- , *ICLW: The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire* I-III, Leiden 1987-2004.
- Follet (S.), 1976: *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle. Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris.
- Gauthier (Ph.), 1985: *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV^e-I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.). Contribution à l'histoire des institutions*, *BCH* Suppl. 12.
- Geagan (D. J.), 1967: *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 12, Princeton.
- , 1968: "Notes on the agonistic institutions of Roman Corinth", *GRBS* 9, 69-80.
- Gebhard (E. R.), 1993: "The Isthmian Games and the sanctuary of Poseidon in the early empire", in T. E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period. Including the papers given at a Symposium held at The Ohio State University on 7-9 March, 1991*, *JRA* Suppl. 8, 78-94.
- Giannakopoulos (N.), 2008: "Remarks on the Honorary Titles υἱὸς βουλῆς, υἱὸς δήμου and υἱὸς πόλεως", in A. D. Rizakis, F. Camia (eds), *Pathways to Power: Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire*, Athens, 253-70.
- Gradel (I.), 2002: *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Oxford.
- Graf (F.), 1992: "Heiligtum und Ritual; das Beispiel der griechisch-römischen Asklepieia", in O. Reverdin, B. Grange (eds), *Le sanctuaire grec. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique XXXVII (Vandœuvres-Genève, 20-25 août 1990)*, Geneva, 159-99.
- Grainger (P.), 1927: *Athènes sous Auguste*, Le Caire.
- Groag (E.), 1939: *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Vienna - Leipzig.

- Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann (S.), 1978: *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, Berlin.
- Habicht (Ch.), 1970, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte²*, Munich.
- , 1985: *Pausanias' guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London.
- , 1998: "Kleine Beiträge zur altgriechischen Personenkunde", *REA* 100, 487-94.
- Halfmann (H.), 1979: *Die Senatoren aus dem östliche Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, Göttingen.
- Heller (A.), 2006: "Les bêtises des Grecs". *Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine (129 a.C.-235 p.C.)*, Bordeaux.
- Herbillon (J.), 1929: *Les cultes de Patras avec une prosopographie patréenne*, Baltimore.
- Herz (P.), 1978: "Bibliographie zum römischen Kaiserkult (1955-1975)", *ANRW* II, 16.2, 833-910.
- , 1993: "Die Adoptivöhne des Augustus und der Festkalender. Gedanken zu einer Inschrift aus Messene", *Klio* 75, 272-88.
- , 1997: "Herrscherverehrung und lokale Festkultur im Osten des römischen Reiches (Kaiser/Agone)", in H. Cancik, J. Rüpke (eds), *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion*, Tübingen, 239-64.
- Hitzl (K.), 1991: *Die kaiserzeitliche Statuenausstattung des Metroon*, DAI, Olforsch. XIX, Berlin - New York.
- Hoët-van Cauwenberghe (C.), 1999: "Notes sur le culte impérial dans le Péloponnèse", *ZPE* 125, 177-81.
- Højte (J. M.), 2005: *Roman Imperial Statue Bases from Augustus to Commodus*, Aarhus.
- Houby-Nielsen (S.), 2001: "Sacred landscapes of Aetolia and Achaëa: synoecism processes and non-urban sanctuaries", in J. Isiger (ed.), *Foundation and Destruction. Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece. The archaeological evidence for the city destructions, the foundation of Nikopolis and the synoecism*, Athens, 257-76.
- Hupfloher (A.), 2000: *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter*, Berlin.
- , 2006: "Kaiserkult in einem überregionalen Heiligtum: das Beispiel Olympia", in K. Freitag, P. Funke, M. Haake (eds), *Kult - Politik - Ethnos. Überregionale Heiligtümer im Spannungsfeld von Kult und Politik*, Stuttgart 2006, 239-63.
- Jones (C. P.), 1996: "The Panhellenion", *Chiron* 26, 29-56.
- Jost (M.), 1985: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris.
- Kahrstedt (U.), 1950: "Zwei Probleme im kaiserzeitlichen Griechenland", *SO* 28, 66-75.
- Kajava (M.), 2001: "Vesta and Athens", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens (May 21 and 22, 1999)*, Helsinki, 71-94.
- , 2002: "When did the Isthmian games return to the Isthmus? (rereading *Corinth* 8.3.153)", *CPh* 97, 168-78.
- Kantiréa (M.), 2001: "Remarques sur le culte de la *domus Augusta* en Achaïe de la mort d'Auguste à Néron", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens (May 21 and 22, 1999)*, Helsinki, 51-60.
- , 2001/02: "Παρατηρήσεις ως προς την ίδρυση τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς λατρείας στὴν Πελοπόννησο", in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Στ' Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν (Τρίπολη, 24-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000)* II, Athens, 423-32.
- , 2007: *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes. Le culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques*, Meletemata 50, Athens.
- , 2008, "Une famille sacerdotale du culte impérial de Sicyone (*Syll*³ 846 et *IG* IV 399)", in A. D. Rizakis, F. Camia (eds), *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire*, Athens, 15-22.
- Keil (B.), 1913: "Ein Λόγος συστατικός", *NAWG*, 1-41.
- Kennell (N. M.), 1999: "From *perioikoi* to *poleis*. The Laconian cities in the late Hellenistic period", in S. Hodkinson, A. Powell (eds), *Sparta. New perspectives*, London, 189-210.
- Kourinou (E.), 2000: *Σπάρτη. Συμβολή στη μνημιακή τοπογραφία της*, Athens.
- Laffi (U.), 1966: *Adtributio e contributio. Problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello stato romano*, Pisa.
- Liertz (U.-M.), 1998: *Kult und Kaiser. Studien zu Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den germanischen Provinzen und in Gallia Belgica zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, Rome.
- Lindsay (H.), 1992: "Augustus and Eurycles", *RhM* 135, 290-97.
- Luraghi (N.), 2008: *The Ancient Messenians. Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*, Cambridge.
- Ma (J.), 1999: *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford.
- Maderna (C.), 1988: *Iuppiter, Diomedes und Merkur als Vorbilder für römische Bildnisstatuen. Untersuchungen zum römischen statuarischen Idealporträt*, Heidelberg.
- Marchetti (P.), Kolokotsas (K.), 1995: *Le nymphée de l'agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique*, ÉtPélop XI, Paris.
- McAllister (M. H.), 1959: "The Temple of Ares at Athens. A Review of the Evidence", *Hesperia* 28, 1-64.
- Melfi (M.), 2007: *I santuari di Asclepio in Grecia I*, Rome.
- Mellor (R.), 1975: *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen.
- , 1981: "The Goddess Roma", *ANRW* II 17.2, 950-1030.
- , 1992: "The local character of Roman Imperial religion", *Athenaeum* 80, 385-400.
- Migeotte (L.), 1985: "Réparation de monuments publics à Messène au temps d'Auguste", *BCH* 109, 597-607.

- Miranda (E.), 1992/93: "Testimonianze sui Kommoidea", *Scienze dell'Antichità* 6-7, 69-88.
- Moretti (L.), 1953a: *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Roma.
- , 1953b: "Un nuovo proconsole d'Acaia?", *ArchClass* 5, 255-59.
- Murray (W.), Petsas (Ph. M.), 1989: *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War*, *TAPhA Suppl.* 79.4, 1989.
- Nigdelis (P.M.), 2006: *Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια. Συμβολή στην πολιτική και κοινωνική ιστορία της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki.
- Oliver (J. H.), 1935: "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 4, 5-70.
- , 1965: "Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens", *CPh* 60, 179.
- , 1969: "Octavian's inscription at Nicopolis", *AJPh* 90, 178-82.
- , 1976: "The Helladarch", *RivStorAnt* 8, 1-6.
- , 1978: "Panachaeans and Panhellenes", *Hesperia* 47, 185-91.
- , 1981: "Roman Emperors and Athens", *Historia* 30, 412-23.
- , 1989: *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia.
- Orlandos (A.), 1960: "Ανασκαφή Μεσσήνης", *PAAH*, 210-27.
- Osanna (M.), 1997: "Artemis in Patras: Wandel einer Polis im Spiegel ihrer Kulte", in P. Berktold, J. Schmid, Chr. Wacker (eds), *Akarnanien. Eine Landschaft im antiken Griechenland*, Munich, 183-93.
- Peek (W.), 1972: *Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros*, Berlin.
- Pernot (L.), 1993: *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain I-II*, Paris.
- Pfeilschifter (R.), 2005: *Titus Quinctius Flamininus. Untersuchungen zur römischen Griechenlandpolitik*, Göttingen.
- Pflaum (H. G.), 1960-1982: *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut Empire romain I-II* (Paris 1960), III (1961), Supplement (1982).
- Pleket (H. W.), 1965: "An aspect of the emperor cult: imperial mysteries", *HThR* 58, 331-347.
- Price (S. R. F.), 1980: "Between Man and God: sacrifice in the Roman imperial cult", *JRS* 70, 28-43.
- , 1984a: *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.
- , 1984b: "Gods and Emperors: the Greek language of the Roman imperial cult", *JHS* 104, 79-95.
- Puech (B.), 1983: "Grands-prêtres et helladarques d'Achaïe", *REA* 85, 15-31.
- , 1992: "Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque", *ANRW II* 33.6, 4831-893.
- Quaß (F.), 1993: *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens*, Stuttgart.
- Richards (F.), 1988: "Les souverains en «Theoi epibaterioi»", *Cahiers d'Histoire* 33, 441-52.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1998: *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 25, Athens.
- , 2001: "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe", in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context, Proceedings of a Colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, Helsinki, 37-49.
- , 2008: *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athens.
- Rizakis (A. D.), Camia (F.), 2008: "Magistrature municipale e svolgimento delle carriere nelle colonie romane della provincia d'Acaia", in Cl. Berrendonner, M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, L. Lamoine (eds), *Le quotidien municipal dans l'Occident romain*, Clermont-Ferrand, 233-45.
- Robert (L.), 1934: "Études d'épigraphie grecque", *RPh* 8, 267-92.
- , 1939: "Hellenica", *RPh* 13, 97-217.
- , 1960a: *Hellenica XI-XII*, Paris.
- , 1960b: "Recherches épigraphiques", *REA* 62, 276-361.
- , 1963: "Nouvelles inscriptions d'Iasos", *REA* 65, 298-329.
- , 1969: "Inscriptions d'Athènes et de la Grèce Centrale", *AEph*, 1-58.
- Roddaz (J. M.), 1984: *Marcus Agrippa*, BÉFAR 253, Rome.
- Romano (D. G.), 2005: "A Roman Circus in Corinth", *Hesperia* 74, 585-611.
- Rose (C. B.), 1997: *Dynastic commemoration and imperial portraiture in the Julio-Claudian period*, Cambridge.
- RP I: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, M. Kantirea, *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman personal names in their social context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia, and Eleia)*, Meletemata 31, Athens 2001.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Sánchez (P.), 2001: *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes*, Stuttgart.
- Schmitt Pantel (P.), 1992: *La cité au banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*, EFR 157, Rome.
- Schulze (W.), 1904: *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*, Berlin.
- Schwertfeger (T.), 1981: "Die Basis des Claudius Calligenes", *OIB* 10, 249-55.
- Sève (M.), 1993: "Les concours d'Epidaure", *REG* 106, 303-28.
- Solin (H.), Salomies (O.), 1988: *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim-Zürich - New York.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1978: "Balbilla, the Euryclids and memorials for a Greek magnate", *ABSA* 73, 249-60.
- , 1984: "Notes on the third century A.D. in Spartan epigraphy", *ABSA* 79, 263-88.

- , 1985: “Families at Roman Sparta and Epidaurus: Some Prosopographical Notes”, *ABSA* 80, 191-258.
- , 1986: “A Severan statue group and an Olympic festival at Sparta”, *ABSA* 81, 313-32.
- , 1989: “Agonistic festivals in Roman Greece”, in S. Walker, A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, *BICS Suppl.* 55, 193-97.
- , 1994: “Corinth, Argos and the Imperial Cult: Pseudo-Julian, *Letters* 198”, *Hesperia* 63, 211-32.
- , 1999: “The Panhellenion again”, *Chiron* 29, 339-52.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), Walker (S.), 1985: “The World of the Panhellenion I”, *JRS* 75, 78-104.
- , 1986: “The World of the Panhellenion II”, *JRS* 76, 88-105.
- Stamires (G. A.), 1957: “Greek Inscriptions”, *Hesperia* 26, 260-65.
- Steinhauer (G.), 1998: “Unpublished lists of *gerontes* and magistrates of Roman Sparta”, *BSA* 93, 427-47.
- , 2006/07: “The Euryklids and Kythera”, *MedArch* 19-20, 199-206.
- Strothmann (M.), 2000: *Augustus-Vater der res publica. Zur Funktion der drei Begriffe restitutio-saeculum-pater patriae im augusteischen Principat*, Stuttgart.
- Taylor (L. R.), 1929: “Tiberius’ Refusals of Divine Honors”, *TAPhA* 60, 87-101.
- , 1931: *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middletown, Connecticut.
- Themelis (P. G.), 1991: “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *PAAH* 146, 85-128.
- , 1995: “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *PAAH* 150, 55-86.
- , 2000: “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *PAAH* 155, 75-105.
- , 2001a: “Roman Messene. The Gymnasium”, in O. Salomies (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context, Proceedings of a Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, Helsinki, 119-26.
- , 2001b: “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *PAAH* 156, 63-96.
- , 2002: “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *PAAH* 157, 21-55.
- , 2005: “Ἀνασκαφή Μεσσήνης”, *PAAH* 160, 39-65.
- Veligianni (C.), 2001: “*Philos* und *philos*-Komposita in den griechischen Inschriften der Kaiserzeit”, in M. Peachin (ed.), *Aspects of friendship in the Greco-Roman World*, *JRA Suppl.* 43, Portsmouth, 63-80.
- Veyne (P.), 1962: “Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla et les dédicaces grecques et latines”, *Latomus* 21, 49-98.
- , 1976: *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris.
- Ward (M. M.), 1933: “The association of Augustus with Jupiter”, *SMSR* 9, 203-24.
- Wojan (F.), 2008: “Le culte impérial à Élis: à propos de Pausanias 6.24.10”, in C. Grandjean (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Épaminondas à Hadrien, Actes du Colloque de Tours 6-7 octobre 2005*, Bordeaux, 271-75.
- Zanker (P.), 1987: *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München.
- Zoumbaki (S.), 1993: “Zu einer neuen Inschrift aus Olympia: die Familie der Vettuleni von Elis”, *ZPE* 99, 227-32.
- , 2001: *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, *Meletemata* 32, Athens.
- , 2008: “Στὰ ἴχνη ἐπιφανῶν Ἀργείων τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐποχῆς. Παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας ἐπιγραφικῆς μαρτυρίες γιὰ μὴ σημαντικὴ οἰκογένεια ἀπὸ τὸ Ἄργος”, in *Β' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Επιγραφικῆς (Θεσσαλονίκη 24-25 Νοεμβρίου 2001)*, Thessaloniki, 115-34.

CONCOURS ET IDENTITÉ CIVIQUE DANS LE PÉLOPONNÈSE D'ÉPOQUE ROMAINE (II^e s. av. J.-C. – III^e s. apr. J.-C.)

Yves Lafond

Abstract: Within the chronological and geographical framework defined by the title of this article, we shall question, with the support of epigraphic evidence, how far the agonistic festivals and contests are to be considered as a crucial part of the value system of the élite and as a distinctive aspect of the civic identity of the Greek cities. We shall attempt to show how, in a period where euergetic behaviour is to be considered as a main feature in civic life, the agonistic tradition is shaped by the ideology and the charismatic practices of the élite. Three main aspects will be approached in turn: 1. The nature of civic magistracies involved in agonistic practices; 2. The importance of agonistic festivals as expressions of cultural and civic identities, in terms both of religious and historical components; 3. The place and meaning of the imperial festivals.

Nul ne saurait contester aujourd'hui l'apport de l'épigraphie à notre connaissance de la vie agonistique dans les cités du monde grec antique, particulièrement à l'époque hellénistique et romaine, comme en témoigne le bon nombre de travaux¹ parus dans le sillage des multiples études que L. Robert consacra à ce thème, à défaut d'avoir jamais publié la synthèse qu'il avait annoncée sur "l'histoire des concours grecs gymniques et musicaux depuis le IV^e siècle avant notre ère jusqu'à la fin du monde antique".

Notre documentation, en ce domaine, souffre cependant d'un double déséquilibre.

D'une part en effet, il faut rappeler qu'on connaît beaucoup moins bien les concours dits "thématites" (θεματῖται), ceux qui étaient dotés d'une "prime" en espèce, que les grands concours "sacrés" (ἱεροί) et "stéphanites" (στεφανῖται), qu'il s'agisse des quatre concours panhelléniques constituant l'ancienne "période" ou des concours, jusqu'alors locaux ou de création nouvelle, ayant accédé au rang de concours sacrés. Les concours "thématites" existent certes

en grand nombre, mais ne sont que rarement mentionnés dans les inscriptions agonistiques et, s'ils le sont, c'est sous une forme générale, sans qu'aucune précision ne soit donnée sur leur nom ou sur le lieu de leur célébration.

D'autre part, l'ampleur du phénomène de prolifération des fêtes agonistiques dans l'Anatolie romaine, en particulier en Asie Mineure et en Syrie, a conduit les chercheurs à privilégier l'étude de ces provinces au détriment d'autres régions du monde grec.

Or, à l'occasion de recherches menées sur la représentation que Pausanias avait choisi de construire du Péloponnèse, une région à laquelle il consacre sept des dix livres de sa *Périégèse*, et à l'intérieur d'une réflexion plus large sur ce que j'ai appelé la mémoire des cités à l'époque hellénistique et romaine,² il m'a semblé qu'il pouvait être utile de prendre cette région comme cadre pour une enquête sur les concours, qui constituent sans doute l'un des aspects les plus caractéristiques de la vie culturelle et sociale des cités.

1. Voir par ex. Lämmer 1998; Newby 2005; Nijf van 2006.

2. Voir Lafond 2006.

Plus spécifiquement, dans un cadre chronologique allant du II^e s. av. J.-C. au III^e s. de notre ère, il s'agira d'articuler ce qu'on sait des concours comme pratiques collectives avec les discours officiels des cités, tels qu'on peut les analyser à travers les inscriptions honorifiques. On pourra faire valoir ainsi la permanence de l'idéal agonistique dans les cités grecques, mais aussi mesurer les glissements qui se sont produits: dans une société marquée par le phénomène de l'évergétisme, la réutilisation des composantes de l'idéal agonistique se fait en liaison avec la catégorie sociale des notables, et le jeu agonistique lui-même, par lequel on cherche à manifester et assurer sa supériorité sur les autres, doit s'intégrer à un champ de relations de pouvoir devenu vaste et complexe.

On se demandera en même temps si la thématique des concours permet de répondre à quelques grandes questions: la mainmise d'un groupe social sur la communauté permet-elle néanmoins à la cité, sur le plan culturel, de préserver une identité? Qu'en est-il de la conscience que les communautés civiques pouvaient avoir d'elles-mêmes et des valeurs qu'elles cherchaient à promouvoir à l'intérieur d'un temps historique dominé politiquement par les Romains?

L'importance donnée, dans la documentation, à des magistratures liées directement à la vie agonistique, atteste que les pratiques organisées par les cités et les notables dans ce domaine participent d'une forme institutionnelle de l'identité des cités.

La documentation péloponnésienne illustre l'importance qui était accordée aux fonctions d'agonothètes (l'agonothésie était considérée comme un honneur et souvent placée au sommet de la carrière locale) et à celles qui étaient liées à l'agonothésie, en particulier dans les cités qui étaient responsables de l'organisation d'un concours panhellénique. C'est ce qui explique la prépondérance de l'Isthme et de l'Argolide avec l'évocation récurrente, depuis la basse époque hellénistique jusqu'aux Antonins, des *Héraia* et des *Néméa*, des *Sébateia* et des *Néméa*, mais aussi des concours d'Épidaure (*Dionysia* à la basse époque hellénis-

tique et sous le principat d'Auguste, *Apolloneia*, *Asclapieia* et *Kaisareia* d'Auguste aux Flaviens, *Asclapeia* sous les Antonins).

À partir de l'époque d'Auguste, l'agonothésie des concours d'Épidaure, exercée à plusieurs reprises au I^{er} siècle par les membres d'une branche locale des Statilii, est rappelée dans plusieurs dédicaces honorifiques: elles concernent respectivement Lamprias, fils de Lamprias, son fils Timocratès, ou encore T. Statilius Lamprias Memmianus, agonothètes des trois concours (*Apolloneia*, *Asclapieia*, *Kaisareia*).³

On relèvera en particulier, dans cette documentation, le lien clairement établi entre l'agonothésie et le comportement civique méritant du dédicataire – une manière de relier la prise en charge des activités agonistiques à un idéal de conduite civique, mais l'on notera aussi la fréquence des textes où les fonctions d'agonothètes sont exercées dans le cadre de *Kaisareia* en rapport avec le culte impérial. Par ailleurs, plusieurs dédicaces honorifiques de Sparte et de Gythéion semblent témoigner, particulièrement à la fin du II^e siècle et au début du III^e siècle, d'un souci de faire valoir le lien entre les fonctions d'agonothète et l'exercice de prêtrises de cultes locaux.

En matière de fêtes et concours civiques, l'importance accordée au gymnasiarque n'est pas surprenante, dans la mesure où ce personnage, comme l'on sait, gère l'institution qui reste peut-être la raison d'être principale de la cité à l'époque hellénistique et impériale.⁴ Plus spécifique apparaît l'évocation, dans des listes spartiates du II^e siècle,⁵ de la fonction de *synthytès*, qu'il faut entendre ici, compte tenu de la mention, dans deux de nos textes, des *Actia* (de Nicopolis)⁶ et du concours de Naples, comme celle de délégué envoyé par la cité de Sparte pour «s'associer aux sacrifices» dans le cadre de concours célébrés par des cités étrangères.

La documentation péloponnésienne témoigne donc de l'importance accordée, à l'époque romaine, à des fonctions spécifiquement liées aux pratiques agonistiques. Or, l'étude de cette même documentation permet de mesurer aussi comment

3. Cf. *IG IV²* 1, 673-75.

4. Voir Kah, Scholz 2004.

5. *IG V* 1, 47, l. 4; *SEG*, 11, 1950, 494, l. 7; 500, l. 4; 501, l. 5.

6. Dans le début des années 20 av. J.-C., Auguste avait confié à Sparte la prise en charge des *Actia* de Nicopolis: cf. Str. VII. 7, 6.

les cités, dans un présent devenu politiquement romain, cherchent à intégrer un passé grec et des valeurs ancestrales constitutifs de leur identité.

Le lien entre les concours et l'expression d'une identité semble relever particulièrement de deux grands domaines: la religion et l'histoire.

La lecture de Pausanias fait apparaître, dans le domaine religieux,⁷ l'importance que les cités continuent d'accorder à des rituels qui leur permettent d'affirmer leur appartenance à l'ordre de la cité et d'établir des liens avec leurs origines, de célébrer finalement des valeurs qui contribuent à définir une identité fondée sur une mémoire partagée.

À l'époque romaine, même contrôlées par les élites locales, et même si l'on ne peut plus parler de religion civique de la même façon qu'aux époques archaïque et classique, les processions et les fêtes d'une cité sont inscrites dans une tradition ininterrompue dont elles fournissent une image qui est elle-même en parfaite conformité avec la manière dont s'exerce le pouvoir puisqu'à l'occasion des fêtes, les grandes familles, en rendant les honneurs aux dieux, donnaient le sentiment qu'elles et leurs ancêtres avaient toujours agi ainsi au nom de «leur» cité. Processions et cérémonies «traditionnelles» renforçaient donc l'image d'un ordre social des cités se perpétuant au fil du temps.⁸

On peut prendre en considération par exemple le culte d'Asclépios à Épidaure dont on sait qu'il bénéficia à l'époque impériale d'un succès indiscutable, tant auprès des masses que des élites – ce que souligne Strabon,⁹ en mentionnant Épidaure parmi les villes qu'il juge «non dénuées d'importance», et en expliquant qu'elle doit son renom à Asclépios et aux pouvoirs curatifs du dieu. De fait, le concours des *Asclapieia* est bien attesté, aux côtés des *Apollonia* en l'honneur d'Apollon *Maléatas*, dans des décrets d'Épidaure de la basse époque hellénistique,¹⁰ et connaît à l'époque impériale un rayonnement dont témoigne la mention du concours

– sous la forme *Asclapieia* ou *Asclépeida* – dans plusieurs inscriptions agonistiques émanant de cités non péloponnésiennes.¹¹ Une inscription de Delphes mentionnant les quatre victoires successives d'un athlète anonyme et d'origine inconnue aux *Asclépeia Olympia*, datée du milieu du III^e siècle environ,¹² révèle que le concours est devenu l'égal de ceux d'Olympie – *Olympia* devenant même apparemment une forme abrégée du nom du concours au III^e siècle.

Les références, dans les discours officiels des cités, aux pratiques agonistiques, se font en liaison avec des figures divines ou héroïques dont certaines paraissent privilégiées, au point qu'on peut aller jusqu'à se poser la question de savoir dans quelle mesure, dans le domaine des cultes et des rites, la mémoire n'a pas été structurée par des références qu'on pourrait dire spécifiquement doriennes.

La célébration à Argos des *Héraia*, en liaison avec le culte d'Héra, la déesse des Héraclides, mais aussi avec les diverses figures mythiques que font intervenir les étiologies du prix qui était décerné à l'issue de ce concours – qu'il s'agisse du mythe du bouclier de Danaos ou du rôle qu'aurait joué Archinos, roi d'Argos, lors de l'institution du concours –, contribue à entretenir le souvenir de figures divines et mythiques qui ont partie liée avec le mythe fondateur héraclide/dorien.

Or, vers le milieu du III^e s. av. J.-C., les concours Néméens, d'abord célébrés à Némée, furent transférés dans la ville d'Argos. Il n'y eut plus qu'un agonothète des deux concours et les hellanodices des *Némeia* s'occupèrent aussi des *Héraia*, célébrés juste après les premiers. À l'époque hellénistique, les deux concours, triétériques, avaient lieu la même année (respectivement vers mi-juin et début juillet). P. Charneux¹³ note qu'il a dû toujours en être de même, en particulier à l'époque impériale, où l'on rencontre des magistrats qui ont exercé leurs fonctions en même temps dans l'un et l'autre concours¹⁴

7. Voir en dernier lieu Pirenne-Delforge 2008.

8. Voir Chankowski, 2005.

9. VIII. 6, 15.

10. *IG IV*² 1, 60-61 et 65-66 – ce dernier texte faisant connaître l'existence d'une procession (le décret stipulant qu'on accordera au dédicataire et à ses descendants le privilège de la *propompeia* lors de ces fêtes).

11. Cf. Moretti 1953, no. 63 b, l. 20; no. 76, l. 13; no. 79, l. 32; no. 90, ll. 17-18; *I. Smyrna*, 659 et 662; *I. Ilion*, 125; *SEG* 27, 1977, 843, ll. 13-14. Voir Sève 1993, 315-20.

12. Moretti 1953, no. 87, l. 9.

13. 1956, 609.

14. Cf. *IG IV*, 589 et 597.

– un tel rapprochement permettait en tout cas aux *Héraïa* de gagner en prestige sur la scène «internationale» et Argos pouvait s’enorgueillir d’être devenue le siège d’un des concours de l’ancienne «Période».

Des *Héraïa* sont attestés aussi à Olympie:¹⁵ organisé par un collège de 16 femmes, assistées de 16 autres femmes, le concours consiste en une épreuve de course pour les jeunes filles, d’antique tradition, puisqu’elle passait pour avoir été instituée par Hippodamie en l’honneur d’Héra, par reconnaissance pour son mariage avec Pélops. Héroïne de la Pisatide, Hippodamie pouvait assurer un lien entre le monde panhellénique des concours et le monde éléen du quotidien. L’*agôn* se déroule dans le stade olympique, en liaison avec un sacrifice à Héra – une part de la vache offerte en sacrifice à la déesse est donnée en plus d’une couronne d’olivier aux lauréates, qui peuvent en outre aussi consacrer leur portrait peint. On sait que les 16 femmes organisent deux chœurs de danse en l’honneur d’Hippodamie et de Physkoa, un usage dont Pausanias (V. 16, 7) souligne la permanence chez les Éléens, dans un passage qui comporte malheureusement une lacune: de fait, les deux héroïnes pouvaient apparaître comme des symboles des deux composantes géographique et politique de l’Élide classique. Un parallèle masculin est d’ailleurs offert à Sparte par le concours «des prétendants» réservé aux jeunes gens, qui se déroulait à l’Aphétaïde en commémoration de la victoire d’Ulysse et à l’imitation de la course imaginée par Danaos pour marier ses filles – rituels dont le sens paraît fondamentalement matrimonial.

La place importante accordée à Héra en liaison avec des pratiques agonistiques me semble donc constituer l’expression d’une certaine forme

d’identité culturelle, en accord avec le sens qu’on peut donner, dans la documentation spartiate, aux références aux Dioscures ou à Artémis.

C’est ainsi qu’un catalogue agonistique spartiate du I^{er} siècle, dédié «aux Dioscures Sauveurs¹⁶», fait valoir pour les Jumeaux leur qualité de patrons des activités athlétiques, un domaine auquel il faut rattacher particulièrement une série d’inscriptions (allant de la fin du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. au début du III^e s. apr. J.-C.) où se trouvent mentionnés les *sphaireis*¹⁷ de différentes tribus de Sparte vainqueurs au concours des *ôbai* – ces dédicaces de *sphaireis* témoignant du rôle joué dans le domaine des institutions agonistiques à Sparte par plusieurs catégories de personnalités, tels les patronomes ou les bidiéens.

L’une de ces inscriptions,¹⁸ surmontée d’une représentation sculptée des Dioscures, est datée du début du III^e siècle et concerne les *sphaireis* de Pitané – là où était situé le sanctuaire de Castor et Pollux à Sparte, indice peut-être que les Dioscures, bien qu’ils soient, aux yeux des autres Grecs en général, associés à Sparte, sont ici les patrons des habitants de Pitané en particulier. Il y a en tout cas me semble-t-il le signe d’une volonté peut-être plus marquée à l’époque des Sévères d’affirmer une identité locale.

De fait, c’est dans ce même cadre chronologique que deux inscriptions, datées de la première moitié du III^e siècle,¹⁹ attestent l’existence de *Dioscoureia*, un concours qui semble avoir eu un rayonnement strictement local, à en juger du moins par l’absence de participants étrangers connus,²⁰ et qu’il faut peut-être mettre en rapport avec le culte des Dioscures desservi par certains membres de la famille des Memmii. Une dédicace honorifique de la même époque²¹ concerne une prêtresse à vie et héréditaire des Dioscures, responsable du concours

15. Cf. Paus. V. 16, 2-3; 16, 6 et VI. 24, 10.

16. *IG V 1*, 658, ll. 6-8.

17. Le terme peut faire référence à un jeu de balles. Un inventaire de Délos fait connaître un espace (*sphairistra*) qui a été interprété soit comme une salle de boxe, soit comme un espace à l’air libre pour le jeu de balles, voir Moretti 1997, 135.

18. *IG V 1*, 675.

19. *IG V 1*, 559, ll. 7-11: agonothète héréditaire et à vie du concours des *Mégala Dioscoureia*; cf. *IG V 1*, 602, ll. 12-15.

20. À moins qu’il apparaisse possible, à la suite de J. Keil et A. von Premerstein (*Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis*, ausgeführt 1906 im Auftrag der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschr. Akad. Wien Phil.-hist. Kl. 53, 2, Vienne 1910), de restituer le nom de ce concours dans l’énumération des victoires remportées par l’athlète M. Aurelius Demonstratos Damas, originaire de Sardes, à des concours thématiques, dans une inscription datée de 212-217 (= Moretti 1953, no. 84, l. 19).

21. *IG V 1*, 601, ll. 13-15.

des *Dioscoureia*: peut-être s'agit-il d'une fête instaurée tardivement, postérieure en tout cas à l'époque de Pausanias qui n'y fait pas allusion, compte tenu sans doute de la préférence qu'il semble avoir accordée aux traditions qui rattachent les Dioscures plus spécifiquement aux Messéniens.²²

L'expression d'une certaine forme d'identité culturelle se retrouve en tout cas à Sparte dans la célébration de concours en l'honneur d'Artémis: dans les pratiques que retient la mémoire spartiate, c'est moins la dimension guerrière de la déesse qui se trouve mise en valeur que les rapports de son culte avec un mode d'action qui concerne spécifiquement la formation athlétique et, plus généralement, l'éducation – en liaison, il est vrai, avec un idéal d'endurance qui s'applique aussi bien aux domaines de la guerre et de la chasse pris comme références sur les représentations monétaires de la cité spartiate.

Le titre de «vainqueurs à l'autel» détenu à vie par les dédicataires d'inscriptions honorifiques spartiates²³ est à mettre en rapport avec le concours appelé *Kartéria*.²⁴ Les bénéficiaires sont récompensés tantôt par une couronne, ou par un décret honorifique de la cité, tantôt par le droit de dresser leur portrait dans le sanctuaire d'Artémis *Orthia*. Les témoignages épigraphiques et les bases sur lesquelles étaient dressées les images des vainqueurs se multiplient à partir de la fin du I^{er} siècle, avec une prédominance de ce type de récompenses jusqu'au début du III^e siècle.

Le rituel lui-même du concours²⁵ ne semble pas attesté avant l'époque hellénistique: sa création remonterait à l'époque du premier renouveau de l'*agôgè*. D'après Plutarque,²⁶ le concours fonctionnait par élimination: c'était le meilleur, «le survivant» (ὁ περιγενόμενος) qui était déclaré vainqueur,

après avoir résisté le plus longtemps aux coups mais aussi, à en croire l'expression utilisée par Plutarque, pour avoir été le meilleur dans la façon d'endurer les coups. On peut penser d'ailleurs, à la suite de J. Ducat,²⁷ que le rituel a pu fonctionner à la fois comme concours, avec désignation d'un vainqueur unique, et en tant qu'épreuve initiatique et éducative où il suffisait d'avoir participé d'une façon honorable pour être considéré comme vainqueur.

À l'époque antonine, le concours faisait donc figure de cérémonie éphébique chargée de sens du point de vue religieux et culturel, rattachée à un mythe qui fournit un lien avec les temps les plus anciens de la cité et avec la figure emblématique de Lycurgue, dont la désignation comme fondateur du concours semble bien relever d'une construction de l'époque romaine.

Les pratiques agonistiques permettent aussi d'inscrire dans la mémoire civique, par le biais de la célébration de figures emblématiques, des temps forts de l'histoire de la cité – qu'il s'agisse du passé glorieux ou du présent romain.

C'est ce que révèle par exemple le concours des *Léonideia*, dont le témoignage de Pausanias²⁸ souligne le caractère local, et qui est illustré par un petit dossier épigraphique regroupant des documents qui témoignent d'une complète réorganisation du concours vraisemblablement à l'époque de Trajan.²⁹

Il s'agit d'un concours réservé aux Spartiates, dont la périodicité annuelle est évoquée à plusieurs reprises: pour le revenu qui permettra de doubler les prix du concours (*IG V* 1, 18 A, l. 7), pour la panégyrie (*IG V* 1, 18 B, l. 7), pour la consécration d'une statue par les vainqueurs (*IG V* 1, 19, ll. 5-6) et pour le concours gymnique (*IG V* 1, 20 A, l. 2). Les *Léonideia* donnent lieu à des déclamations funèbres.³⁰

22. Cf. Paus. III. 26, 3 et IV. 31, 9.

23. Cf. *IG V* 1, 554; 652-54; *SEG*, 11, 1950, 825, l. 4.

24. La plus ancienne inscription, qui est aussi la seule dédicace explicite d'un vainqueur au καρτερίας ἀγών est un texte de l'époque de Trajan: cf. *IG V* 1, 290 = Woodward, Dawkins 1929, no. 37.

25. C'est la documentation épigraphique qui confirme, mais seulement à partir du début du II^e siècle, que le rituel fonctionnait comme un concours. Le «premier type» de rituel n'est connu que par des textes de Xénophon (*Lak.* II. 9) et Platon (*Leg.* I. 633b): on y relève l'absence de flagellation à proprement parler et le rôle joué par un vol que les uns doivent accomplir et les autres empêcher (le vainqueur est celui qui a le plus volé).

26. *Inst. Lac.* 40 = *Mor.* 239d.

27. 1995, 351-53; cf. aussi Lebessi 1991, 100.

28. Paus. III. 14, 1.

29. Cf. *IG V*, 1, 18-20.

30. La pratique de discours tenus à l'occasion des fêtes civiques est attestée aussi par ex. aux *Éleuthéria* de Platées et aux *Théseia* d'Athènes, cf. Chaniotis 1991, 130-31 et 138.

Une dédicace spartiate de l'époque de Trajan,³¹ en l'honneur d'un personnage ayant participé aux concours funéraires organisés pour célébrer la mémoire de Léonidas et Pausanias, précise que les généraux sont assimilés à des héros. Le personnage responsable de la réorganisation du concours, T. Iulius Agésilaos,³² qui semble agir au nom d'un certain Flavius Charixénos, appartient à une branche locale de Iulii.

On peut souligner la part que prennent les autorités civiques (éphores, gérontes, nomophylaxes,³³ patronomes, trésoriers mais aussi le *dèmos* lui-même, dans l'organisation et la réglementation de la fête, à côté de magistrats spécifiquement liés à la sphère agonistique – athlètes, épimélètes préposés au concours, gymnasiarque, xystarque, cette dernière mention impliquant qu'il s'agissait d'un concours sacré (*hiéros*). Il faut ajouter aussi la façon dont s'exprime le souci de perpétuer éternellement la renommée de la cité, ainsi que la volonté de faire inscrire «en tout temps», sur les portraits d'Agésilaos et de Charixénos, les noms d'autant d'athlètes et de participants aux concours qu'on voudra, ainsi que les noms de leurs proches, de leurs enfants, de leurs parents et de leurs descendants.

Les textes affirment ainsi nettement le souci d'ancrer dans la mémoire civique un rituel dont l'organisation, comme cela est aussi souligné, doit être en conformité avec les lois et les usages de la cité, qu'il s'agisse des «lois sacrées» évoquées dans l'un des documents (*IG V 1, 18 A, l. 5*), de la périodicité du concours gymnique qui doit avoir lieu «conformément à la rhétra le 27» (*IG V 1, 20 A, ll. 2-3*), selon une expression qui reste énigmatique, ou encore du respect de la loi pour la fourniture d'huile pour l'onction aux concurrents inscrits au concours gymnique. Il y a plus: en célébrant la mémoire de personnages qui se sont illustrés lors d'opérations militaires dont la portée était panhellénique, un tel concours, qui implique aussi bien les notables que la communauté civique elle-même, peut très bien avoir été en accord avec l'idéologie

impériale, à une époque où Trajan inaugure une nouvelle politique de conquêtes militaires.

De fait, bien souvent, les pratiques agonistiques portent la marque des réalités politiques de l'époque romaine.

Certains concours apparaissent directement liés à la célébration des élites locales dont l'action dans les cités peut être reliée à la politique de l'empereur. C'est le cas, à Gythéion et à Sparte, d'Euryclès et de ses descendants qui font figure de princes clients, comme l'atteste une loi sacrée de Gythéion³⁴ qui institue des fêtes en l'honneur du prince défunt (Auguste) et de membres de sa famille (Livie, Tibère), et où il est précisé (ll. 18 sq.) que [l'agoranome], «après avoir célébré les jours consacrés aux dieux et aux princes», fera venir les artistes pour deux autres jours de concours scéniques, l'un à la mémoire de C. Iulius Euryclès, «bienfaiteur de notre peuple et de la cité», le second en l'honneur de C. Iulius Laco, «défenseur de la sécurité et du salut de notre peuple et de la cité».

À l'occasion de ces concours, l'agoranome organise une procession qui part du sanctuaire d'Asclépios et d'Hygie, à laquelle participent les éphèbes, les jeunes gens au complet et les autres citoyens, couronnés de laurier et vêtus de blanc. Prennent part aussi à la procession les jeunes filles consacrées ainsi que les femmes en vêtements rituels. Une fois la procession arrivée au temple des Césars (*Kaisareion*), les éphores sacrifient un taureau «pour le salut des princes et des dieux et pour la durée éternelle de leur principat». Après le sacrifice, les éphores invitent à sacrifier à l'agora les *phidities* et les collègues de magistrats. Il est intéressant de noter comment, dans le rituel, la place occupée par des divinités traditionnelles de la cité et l'implication des diverses catégories de la communauté civique réussissent à concilier à la fois l'allégeance rendue au pouvoir des notables et des autorités romaines et l'affirmation de certaines formes de l'identité civique.

La place accordée à Euryclès lui-même dans la

31. *IG V 1, 660, ll. 5-6*.

32. Il s'agirait du personnage connu pour avoir le premier institué des concours en l'honneur de Nerva: cf. *IG V 1, 668*. On notera que son *cognomen* se rapporte aussi à l'histoire de Sparte à l'époque classique.

33. Qui s'occupent avec les athlètes de la panégyrie annuelle (*IG V 1, 18 B, l. 8*) et reçoivent des vainqueurs l'argent nécessaire à la consécration de portraits et de statues dans le gymnase (*IG V 1, 19, l. 12*; cf. *IG V 1, 668*); *IG V 1, 19, l. 20*.

34. *SEG, 11, 1950, 923*.

mémoire laconienne trouve une expression en outre dans l'organisation d'*Eurycleia* qui auraient été fondées par le descendant du dynaste, le sénateur Herculanus et célébrées pour la première fois à Sparte en 136/7. Or, à l'exception d'un catalogue du II^e siècle³⁵ où l'on rencontre la fonction de «proclamateur des *Eurycleia*», et d'une dédicace en l'honneur d'un vainqueur lacédémonien originaire de Pitane³⁶ qui fait connaître des *Mégala Eurycleia* à l'époque de Trajan, on remarquera que les inscriptions relatives au concours appartiennent majoritairement à l'époque des Sévères: c'est en tout cas dans ce cadre chronologique que se situent à la fois un texte qui semble attester de l'appartenance des *Eurycleia* à la catégorie des concours thématites,³⁷ une liste de hiéromnémon³⁸ mentionnant l'agonothésie du concours et une inscription, dont la datation n'est toutefois pas assurée, en l'honneur d'un personnage qui a remis à la cité «tout l'excédent de l'argent des concours» et a fait dresser les portraits et statues des vainqueurs «selon l'échéance fixée par la loi».³⁹ Une liste fragmentaire de vainqueurs étrangers (originaires de Thyatire, Sidon, Tarse, Sardes, Sicyone et Épidaure)⁴⁰ fait peut-être par ailleurs allusion à ce concours mentionné aussi dans le catalogue des victoires remportées par le boxeur et pancratiaste M. Aurelius Demonstratus Damas de Sardes,⁴¹ ainsi que dans les palmarès de deux vainqueurs homonymes (M. Aurelius Asclépiadès) originaires d'Alexandrie, dont les victoires sont rappelées respectivement dans une inscription de Sparte et dans une inscription de Rome.⁴²

Si les *Eurycleia*, comme les *Léonideia*, témoignent de l'importance prise par les pratiques agonistiques dans la construction de la mémoire spartiate à partir de Trajan, le rayonnement beaucoup plus large dont semble avoir bénéficié le premier concours révèle la prépondérance qu'occupe,

dans l'image que la cité veut donner d'elle-même, la célébration des élites et, partant, la reconnaissance d'un modèle aristocratique qui doit beaucoup à l'idéologie de la représentation impériale.

Il est intéressant en tout cas, de ce point de vue, de voir comment les concours, en liaison avec les cultes traditionnels, servent de cadre au développement dans les cités du culte impérial.

L'instauration de spectacles nouveaux qui accompagne dans les cités l'établissement du culte impérial peut expliquer le bon accueil que lui réservent tant le peuple que les dirigeants – les spectacles étant pris en charge par les dignitaires du nouveau culte qui trouvent en même temps une occasion de montrer leur dévouement aux pouvoirs romains.

Or, il vaut la peine de se demander si, dans le Péloponnèse plus qu'ailleurs – compte non tenu des colonies de Patras et de Corinthe – l'organisation du culte impérial s'effectue surtout à partir des cultes traditionnels de la cité et des concours qui leur étaient liés, sans que soient privilégiés particulièrement les spectacles d'un genre nouveau, comme les combats de gladiateurs. De façon générale, peut-on préciser la place prise par le culte impérial dans les rituels célébrés pour les dieux?

En Achaïe proprement dite, quelques maigres inscriptions agonistiques semblent attester l'existence de fêtes organisées pour célébrer le pouvoir politique romain: des *Kaisareia* sont mentionnés dans une inscription de Cos du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. pour un athlète anonyme et peut-être dans une dédicace en l'honneur du Corinthien L. Cornelius Corinthos, datée de la fin du I^{er} siècle ou du tournant du II^e siècle.⁴³ Par ailleurs, si l'on en croit une inscription agonistique inédite de Messène, datée du II^e siècle,⁴⁴ des *Rhōmaia* étaient célébrés à Aigion. Mais ces quelques textes restent très allusifs et ne permettent pas de mieux cerner la place que les

35. *SEG*, 11, 1950, 491, l. 3.

36. *IG* V 1, 663, ll. 4-6.

37. Cf. Moretti 1953, no. 79.

38. *IG* V 1, 168, l.13 (= *SEG*, 34, 308, l. 19): le mot «agonothète» est une restitution.

39. *IG* V 1, 550, l. 5.

40. *SEG* 11, 1950, 838.

41. Moretti 1953, no. 84; cf. ci-dessus n. 20.

42. *IG* V 1, 666 et Moretti 1953, no. 79.

43. *SEG* 29, 1979, 340, l. 9; cf. Rizakis 1995, nos 704 et 705 – mais, dans ce dernier texte, la mention du concours n'est pas explicite et rien n'oblige à supposer qu'il s'agit de *Kaisareia*, cf. *BullÉpigr* 1971, 308.

44. Cf. Rizakis 1995, no. 708.

cités d'Achaïe avait peut-être réservée à des formes locales du culte impérial.

Il n'en va pas de même en Messénie, où la documentation éclaire, pour l'époque d'Auguste et de Tibère, l'image que la cité transmet du fonctionnement du culte impérial et l'implication dans le rituel de la communauté civique: un décret en l'honneur d'un personnage qui s'est distingué par sa conduite envers Auguste et la famille impériale, daté du tout début du I^{er} siècle,⁴⁵ fait allusion à la célébration de *Kaisareia* (l. 7), aux sacrifices «relatifs à Auguste» (l. 8), à ce qui est appelé le «jour de César» (l. 17) et à un sacrifice pour Gaius [Caesar] (l. 18). Un fragment de décret des Messéniens promulgué à la mort d'Auguste en l'honneur de l'empereur Tibère⁴⁶ fait savoir que la cité organise une fête, à propos de laquelle sont mentionnés «tous les habitants de la cité», décide une trêve judiciaire de trois jours et institue des concours, gymniques pour les «enfants» et les «éphèbes», hippiques pour les *néoi*.

Plusieurs enseignements sont à tirer de ces inscriptions messéniennes: on y voit comment la cité prend soin de placer l'empereur sous la protection de divinités qui occupent une place déterminante dans le panthéon local et dont est rappelé le caractère «ancestral», et l'on perçoit comment l'intégration de la figure impériale dans les rituels et le calendrier civiques témoigne du souci qu'a la cité, par le biais de pratiques qui l'impliquent tout entière ou par classes d'âge, de donner au moins à certains empereurs une place de choix dans la mémoire religieuse.

En fait de rituels liés à la célébration du pouvoir politique romain, il faut faire une place particulière, en Arcadie, au culte instauré en l'honneur d'Antinoos à Mantinée, où l'existence d'un temple et de statues d'Antinoos (figuré à l'image de Dionysos) témoignent d'une vénération qui s'explique par l'ascendance arcadienne et mantinée des Bithyniens, peuple auquel se rattache, par ses origines, le favori d'Hadrien.

À partir de l'époque d'Hadrien se déroulent à Mantinée des *Antinoeia*, dont la célébration a lieu dans un stade situé, à la sortie de la cité, sur la grand-route conduisant à Tégée.⁴⁷ L'inscription argienne du II^e siècle déjà mentionnée en l'honneur de T. Statilius Timocratès Memmianus⁴⁸ atteste que des *Antinoeia* étaient célébrés aussi à Argos, puisque le texte établit une distinction explicite entre des *Antinoeia* célébrés à Argos et ceux qui ont lieu à Mantinée. Une dédicace du Conseil de Mantinée pour un agonothète, datée de la fin du II^e ou du début du III^e siècle⁴⁹ apporte un éclairage sur la nature du concours, isolimpique et pentétérique – si toutefois il s'agit bien des *Antinoeia* dont le nom dans ce texte est restitué. Au III^e siècle, une inscription d'Olympie⁵⁰ fait apparaître que le concours avait pris le nom de *Mégala Antinoeia*. Les inscriptions honorifiques que l'on possède en l'honneur d'agonothètes des *Antinoeia*⁵¹ font clairement ressortir la dimension politique de ce concours puisque les dédicataires ont tous exercé aussi les fonctions de stratège des Achéens, à l'échelle provinciale donc, et dans le cadre d'un mouvement d'adhésion et de loyauté à Hadrien dans lequel les notables de Messène et d'Argos semblent s'être particulièrement impliqués.

Mais c'est la mémoire laconienne qui garde les traces les plus précises des formes locales prises par la célébration du culte impérial, dans des textes de Gythéion et de Sparte qui permettent en outre une approche sur la longue durée, d'Auguste aux Sévères.

La fondation de *Kaisareia* à Sparte remonte très vraisemblablement à l'époque d'Auguste. Mentionné pour la première fois dans un catalogue agonistique d'époque flavienne d'Iasos en Asie Mineure,⁵² le concours aurait été institué par Eurycleès – dont on sait qu'il fut à Sparte l'instigateur du culte impérial et était un ami d'Auguste, et se trouve attesté dans une série de textes allant du milieu du II^e au début du III^e siècle qui mentionnent des agonothètes des «*Kaisareia* et *Eurycleia*⁵³».

45. *SEG* 23, 1968, 206.

46. *SEG* 41, 1991, 328, ll. 34-36.

47. Cf. Paus. VIII. 9, 8; 10, 1.

48. *IG* IV, 590, ll. 11-12.

49. *IG* V 2, 313.

50. *IvO* 452.

51. *IG* IV, 590; *IvO* 450 et 452.

52. Moretti 1953, no. 66.

53. *IG* V 1, 71b, ll. 54-55; 86, ll. 31-33; 168, l. 13; 550, l. 5; 603, l. 6 (= restitution dans un texte très fragmentaire).

Il faut par ailleurs peut-être rattacher à Livia Augusta le concours des *Livia* mentionné dans une dédicace spartiate du II^e siècle en l'honneur d'une femme qui a remporté la victoire au diaule.⁵⁴ On pourrait dès lors penser que ce concours avait été institué par Laco, le fils d'Euryclès, en raison des liens étroits qui unissaient la famille d'Euryclès à Livie et aux Claudii, soit après la mort de Livie en 29, soit après sa divinisation officielle en 42.

La nature des rituels célébrés en l'honneur de l'empereur et de la famille impériale, mais aussi les modalités de leur intégration dans le paysage religieux de la cité sont bien illustrées par le texte de Gythéion cité plus haut (n. 34) instituant des fêtes en l'honneur du prince défunt (Auguste) et de membres de sa famille (Livie, Tibère). On précise que c'est la cité qui fournit les images des bénéficiaires (l. 4) – Auguste, *Iulia Augusta* (= Livie) et Tibère –, qu'on [= l'agoranome] fait placer sur des bases au théâtre. On place une table au milieu du théâtre, à côté une cassolette à encens, puis les membres du Conseil (synèdres) et les collèges de magistrats (*synarchiai*) au complet font brûler de l'encens pour le salut des princes avant l'arrivée des artistes: cette offrande d'un peu d'encens et de vin suffisait à faire reconnaître la souveraineté du pouvoir impérial, dans le cadre de cérémonies accomplies pour honorer les dieux et puissances divines qui accompagnaient les divers anniversaires marquant la vie de l'empereur.

La célébration, le premier jour, concerne Auguste, le deuxième jour Tibère, le troisième jour Livie, le quatrième jour Germanicus, le cinquième jour Drusus, fils d'Aphrodite et le sixième jour Titus Quinctius Flamininus. L'agoranome doit rendre compte à la cité (l. 13)⁵⁵ du salaire alloué aux artistes et de l'administration des deniers sacrés, mais est chargé aussi de veiller au bon ordre des concours, en vertu d'un idéal sur lequel était mis aussi l'accent par exemple dans la description des *Hyakynthia*,⁵⁶ placée sous le signe de l'*eutaxia*. On

notera en outre que l'agoranome, dont le rôle se révèle prépondérant dans l'organisation des rituels, doit d'abord célébrer les jours consacrés aux empereurs et à la famille impériale, puis organiser, mais seulement «après les concours de la déesse», deux jours de concours scéniques à la mémoire d'Euryclès et de Laco. C'est à l'occasion de ces concours scéniques qu'a lieu la procession évoquée plus haut: elle part du temple d'Asclépios et d'Hygie et aboutit au temple des Césars où se déroule un sacrifice «pour le salut des princes et des dieux».

L'inscription de Gythéion apparaît ainsi tout à fait révélatrice de la façon dont le culte impérial pouvait être intégré dans la religion publique des cités, le rituel permettant d'associer les dieux à une forme divinisée du pouvoir, de juxtaposer, donc, le culte dévolu à l'empereur à des cultes qui recevaient de ce fait un ancrage particulier dans la mémoire de la cité.

La fin du I^{er} siècle à Sparte est marquée par l'institution de concours en l'honneur de l'empereur Nerva. La première célébration du concours, appelé μέγιστα Οὐράνια Σεβαστεία Νερουανιδεία, est mentionnée dans une inscription⁵⁷ où un athlète phocéén, vainqueur à la lutte dans la catégorie des jeunes gens, est dit avoir consacré une statue «selon les lois sacrées et les décrets»: le texte, avant de préciser l'identité des trois personnages qui exercèrent les fonctions d'agonothètes, présente ceux qui en furent les athlètes, C. Iulius Agésilaos et T. Flavius Charixenos, avec leurs enfants, et dont il semble qu'ils instituèrent le concours, vraisemblablement en 97 ou 98.

Le souvenir de victoires aux *Ouranía* de Sparte est conservé dans des textes gravés par la cité d'origine des vainqueurs⁵⁸ ou par d'autres cités où le concurrent a remporté la victoire à d'autres concours: Delphes, Magnésie du Méandre, Séleucie du Calycadnos, Argos ou Sardes.⁵⁹ Comme le sacerdote de Zeus *Ouranios* faisait partie, avec celui de Zeus *Lakédaimonios*, des privilèges accordés aux

54. SEG 11, 1950, 830.

55. La cité exerce donc ici un contrôle sur l'agoranome responsable des fonds sacrés, alors que dans les inscriptions honorifiques, la fête semble entièrement prise en charge par l'évergète qui a accepté la fonction d'agonothète.

56. Dont le déroulement est connu par un fragment de Polycrate, auteur de *Laconica*: FGrH 588.

57. IG V 1, 667.

58. Cf. IG V 1, 658, ll. 11-12; 659, ll. 4-5.

59. FD III.1, 542; *I. Magnesia*, 180-81 = Moretti 1953, no. 71; IG IV, 591, ll. 7-8; *I. Sardis*, 79 = Moretti 1953, no. 84 (restitution).

rois de Sparte, il semble que la célébration des *Ou- rania*, entretenue depuis la fondation du concours, à l'époque de Nerva, jusqu'au règne des Sévères, ait permis à la cité de Sparte de revivifier implicitement, à travers un rituel d'allégeance au pouvoir impérial, des composantes anciennes de son identité politique et religieuse, voire même de susciter un renouveau des cultes en l'honneur des divinités qualifiées d'«Ouraniennes».

Par ailleurs, la cité de Sparte semble avoir tenu à rendre à Commode des honneurs particuliers, comme en témoigne notamment la représentation de cet empereur sur le monnayage des années 166-177,⁶⁰ alors qu'il n'était encore que César ou héritier désigné. Il n'est pas impossible d'ailleurs que la place accordée ainsi à Commode dans la mémoire spartiate trouve une justification dans l'attitude qu'aurait adoptée l'empereur face à une résurgence des problèmes de frontières opposant Sparte et la Messénie en 177/8, évoquée par une inscription fragmentaire de Phérai.⁶¹ Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est pour la célébration de cet empereur que fut institué le concours des *Olympia Commodeia* dont la documentation épigraphique spartiate a gardé à vrai dire peu de traces: en dehors d'une inscription honorifique où figure un agonothète «de la deuxième olympiade⁶²», le concours ne se trouve mentionné que dans une dédicace du III^e siècle⁶³ en l'honneur d'un vainqueur dont le nom doit être restitué. C'est à Delphes, dans une inscription agonistique datée de la fin du II^e siècle, ou en Asie Mineure et notamment dans des inscriptions de Tralles, une cité dont les relations avec Sparte sont d'ailleurs bien attestées, qu'il faut aller chercher des mentions des *Olympia Commodeia* – encore qu'il s'agisse le plus souvent de restitutions.⁶⁴

Aucun texte cependant n'a gardé trace de détails qui éclaireraient l'organisation et le déroulement de ce concours.

Dans le cas des formules dédicatoires et des rituels qui associent explicitement divinités et em-

pereurs, la question qui se pose est de savoir s'ils font référence à un culte commun associant deux entités divines partenaires ou s'ils renvoient plutôt à des sacrifices rendus aux dieux pour le salut de l'empereur, comme prévoyait de le faire la piété institutionnalisée et comme l'atteste clairement l'inscription de Gythéion évoquée plus haut. Le cas des fêtes doubles va peut-être nous permettre de mieux juger au moins de la façon dont le culte impérial a été intégré dans la religion publique des cités et, ce faisant, de mesurer la place accordée dans la mémoire civique à l'évocation de rituels qui permettent d'associer les dieux à une forme divinisée du pouvoir.

Les fêtes doubles résultent de l'adjonction de *Kaisareia* ou de *Rhōmaia* à des fêtes civiques traditionnelles, selon un processus qui visait à inscrire les formes du culte dynastique d'époque impériale dans des formes traditionnelles de la religion des cités – comme en témoigne en particulier l'exploitation du culte rendu à certaines figures héroïques. Ces fêtes apportent en même temps la preuve que l'identité grecque locale n'était pas incompatible avec la loyauté impériale romaine.

Si l'on met à part le cas des *Isthmia* de Corinthe, en rapport avec le culte impérial provincial, l'existence de fêtes doubles, dans notre documentation, est attestée par des concours célébrés à Argos, Épidaure, Trézène et Mégalopolis, ce qui fait apparaître, dans ce domaine, une spécificité de l'Argolide et de l'Arcadie.

Des *Sébasteia*⁶⁵ étaient célébrés conjointement avec les *Némeia* d'Argos: des inscriptions attestent à l'époque impériale la désignation d'un agonothète⁶⁶ et d'un secrétaire communs pour les deux concours. Il est vraisemblable, en outre, qu'à l'époque impériale Argos une fois sur deux célébrait des *Sébasteia* à la place des *Héraia*: les *Némeia* restaient ainsi triétériques, tandis que les *Héraia* étaient devenues et les *Sébasteia* avaient été créées pentétériques.

60. Cf. Grunauer von Hoerschelmann 1978, 98-99.

61. *IG V 1*, 1362. Cf. Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 139 et 187.

62. *IG V 1*, 479.

63. *IG V 1*, 655, l. 3.

64. Voir Kennell 1995, 84-85; Cartledge, Spawforth 2002, 187.

65. Un texte d'Argos daté du I^{er} siècle garde le souvenir d'un personnage qui fut agonothète des premiers *Sébasteia* célébrés à la place des *Kaisareia*, vraisemblablement sous le règne de Claude, voir A. B. West, «Notes on Achaean Prosopography and Chronology», *CPh* 23, 1928, 258-69.

66. Cf. *IG IV*, 587, l. 2 (restitution); 590, ll. 10-11; 602, l. 8; 606, ll. 4-5; *IG V 1*, 1417, ll. 6-7.

Une dédicace honorifique d'Épidaure, de l'époque d'Auguste, fait connaître celui qui a été «le premier agonothète des *Apolloneia* et des *Asclapieia*, fondateur aussi de la fête et des concours des *Kaisareia* dont il a été le premier agonothète⁶⁷». Il s'agit de Cn. Cornelius Nikatas, fils de Sodamos, notable d'Épidaure. Une prêtrise régulière du culte impérial était déjà en place à Épidaure puisque ce personnage avait été deux fois prêtre d'Auguste lorsqu'il fit ajouter les *Kaisareia* aux *Asclapieia*. Des agonothètes des *Apolloneia*, *Asclapieia* et *Kaisareia* sont mentionnés dans d'autres inscriptions de la même époque.⁶⁸ C'est donc qu'on a ajouté, dès l'époque d'Auguste, des *Kaisareia* aux concours déjà existant des *Apolloneia* et *Asclapieia*, associant de ce fait la célébration du pouvoir impérial aux deux divinités majeures du panthéon de la cité d'Épidaure. Il s'agit d'une modification importante que connaissent les concours d'Épidaure, dont la documentation semble révéler un effacement à partir des environs du milieu du I^{er} s. av. J.-C. La datation qu'avait proposée L. Robert⁶⁹ pour l'instauration de ces *Kaisareia* (en 32 ou 33), a été contestée par M. Sève,⁷⁰ qui note que dans le texte d'Épidaure en l'honneur de Cn. Cornelius Nikatas, le dédicataire est dit avoir été deux fois prêtre d'Auguste, ce qui implique qu'Auguste était à cette date encore vivant et laisse entendre que l'innovation dut avoir lieu du vivant de l'empereur.

Tout se passe comme si le filtre de la mémoire civique avait choisi, concernant ces fêtes doubles, de ne retenir finalement, au-delà de la mention conjointe de fêtes impériales et de fêtes traditionnelles de la cité, que les éléments qui servent à définir un fonctionnement institutionnel des rituels, à travers l'évocation des personnages qui avaient

en charge l'organisation des cérémonies, essentiellement les agonothètes. C'est ce que vient confirmer en tout cas, dans la ligne du souci qu'ont apparemment les cités de retenir des formes institutionnelles de leur identité, une inscription de Trézène, datée du début du II^e siècle,⁷¹ qui nous fait connaître un agonothète des *Séasteia* et des *Asclépeia*.

La documentation concernant l'Arcadie est à peine plus explicite. Les *Lykaia*, fêtes de Zeus *Lykaios* sur le mont Lycée en Arcadie,⁷² deviennent *Lykaia Kaisareia* sous le règne d'Auguste,⁷³ comme l'atteste un décret honorifique de Lycosoura, daté de cette époque,⁷⁴ qui stipule que le dédicataire Xénarchos recevra la proédrie aux *Lykaia Kaisareia*, ce qui signifie que l'octroi d'honneurs par la cité tels que se plaît à les commémorer la mémoire civique est placé dans ce cas précis sous le signe à la fois de l'autorité impériale et de la puissance d'une des divinités majeures du panthéon de Mégalopolis. Cette association fut relativement durable, puisqu'elle est encore attestée dans une dédicace de Mégalopolis en l'honneur d'un agonothète du concours, datée de la fin du II^e ou du début du III^e siècle.⁷⁵ Pausanias affirme que l'hippodrome et le stade du mont Lycée n'étaient plus en service: il est possible que dès le I^{er} siècle, les fêtes n'aient plus été célébrées sur le mont Lycée mais dans le sanctuaire situé sur l'agora de Mégalopolis.

Dans une réflexion qui porte plus particulièrement sur les types de sacrifices accomplis dans le cadre du culte impérial, S. R. F. Price⁷⁶ signale que dissocier les sphères du politique et du religieux empêche de saisir à quel point le culte du souverain résultait d'une accommodation du pouvoir en termes religieux traditionnels. À partir de l'exemple de la «loi sacrée» de Gythéion dont il a été

67. *IG IV*² 1, 652, ll. 4-8.

68. *IG IV*² 1, 101, ll. 1-3; 674, ll. 3-5; 675, ll. 4-5; Peek 1971, no. 86.

69. «Inscriptions d'Athènes et de la Grèce Centrale», *AE* 1969, 54 = *OMS VII*, 760.

70. 1993, 314 n. 44.

71. *IG IV*, 795, ll. 10-11.

72. Le concours est mentionné dans des inscriptions agonistiques de la basse époque hellénistique: *IG IV*² 1, 629; *PAAH* 1995, 57-58 (l. 2). Un décret honorifique de Mégalopolis, daté de la fin II^e siècle av. J.-C. stipule que les honneurs accordés au dédicataire seront proclamés «lors des *Lykaia* et des autres concours stéphanites» (*IG V* 2, 437, ll. 20-21). Pausanias (VIII. 38, 5) a vu l'hippodrome et le stade qui servaient «anciennement» à la célébration du concours sur le mont Lycée.

73. L. Robert, *AE* 1969, 54 n. 9 (= *OMS VII*, 760); Jost 1985, 184-85.

74. *IG V* 2, 515 Bb, l. 31.

75. *IG V* 2, 463.

76. 1980, 28 et 42.

question plus haut, il relève notamment que les rituels mentionnés sont organisés «pour le salut des princes» (l. 6) ou «pour le salut des princes et des dieux» (ll. 28-29) et ne permettent pas de parler de sacrifices offerts directement à l'empereur. En outre, malgré la présence d'un prêtre d'Auguste, ce sont des magistrats civiques qui sont chargés des sacrifices. Même dans le cas des fêtes doubles, le titre impérial peut ne correspondre qu'à l'autorisation donnée par l'empereur pour la transformation d'une fête destinée à un dieu. On évite donc souvent de traiter l'empereur exactement comme un dieu.

De fait, l'image que les cités donnent du culte impérial et des pratiques qui lui sont liées s'exprime essentiellement par le biais des inscriptions honorifiques, où force est de souligner la rareté des détails qui pourraient éclairer le fonctionnement précis des rituels, avec l'exception que constituent apparemment les textes d'époque julio-claudienne, révélateurs en particulier de la place privilégiée prise par la politique d'Auguste dans une mémoire civique qui, par ailleurs, semble avoir privilégié la composante politique, plus que la dimension religieuse des rituels organisés pour célébrer le culte impérial, selon une perspective qui paraît caractéristique, sinon du seul Péloponnèse, du moins de la Grèce continentale.

De l'étude de la documentation épigraphique et littéraire relative au Péloponnèse d'époque romaine, il ressort que le thème des concours apparaît bien comme un domaine où les cités peuvent trouver, à cette époque, un moyen d'exprimer une certaine forme d'identité culturelle, en liaison avec des figures marquantes du passé mythique ou historique, mais en tenant compte aussi du présent romain, donc de l'évolution politique et de l'influence de l'idéologie romaine, relayée par l'évergétisme des aristocraties locales.

Mais cela n'est pas spécifique au Péloponnèse – même si, en choisissant une approche régionale, on se donne le moyen de mieux définir l'articulation entre des ancrages locaux et les modèles culturels communs.⁷⁷

Or, en étudiant plus particulièrement, comme j'ai cherché à le faire, la place donnée aux pra-

tiques agonistiques dans les discours officiels des cités, donc aussi dans la construction d'une mémoire civique, il me semble qu'on arrive à faire ressortir un certain déséquilibre lié à la prédominance exercée dans la documentation par les cités de Sparte, Argos et Messène. Peut-être faut-il voir dans ce phénomène l'emprise de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un imaginaire dorien, qui semble en tout cas s'accroître à partir du II^e siècle de notre ère et permet au moins, à l'intérieur du jeu complexe des influences romanisantes et de la continuité hellénique, de poser la question de la portée spécifique que peuvent revêtir certaines pratiques agonistiques dans la définition des axes Grecs et Romains de l'identité civique.

Yves Lafond

Université de Poitiers
HerMA – EA 3811

Bibliographie

- Amandry (M.), 1983: «Le bouclier d'Argos», *BCH* 107, 627-34.
- Amandry (P.), 1980: «Sur les concours argiens», *BCH Suppl.* 6, 211-53.
- Cartledge (P.), Spawforth (A. J. S.), 2002: *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of two Cities*², Londres - New York.
- Chaniotis (A.), 1991: «Gedenktage der Griechen. Ihre Bedeutung für das Geschichtsbewußtsein griechischer Poleis», in J. Assmann (éd.), *Das Fest und das Heilige*, Gütersloh, 123-45.
- Chankowski (A. S.), 2005: «Processions et cérémonies d'accueil: une image de la cité de la basse époque hellénistique?», in P. Fröhlich, Chr. Müller (éds), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique*, Hautes Études du monde gréco-romain 35, Genève, 185-206.
- Charneux (P.), 1956: «Inscriptions d'Argos», *BCH* 80, 598-618.
- Ducat, (J.), 1995: «Un rituel samien», *BCH* 119, 339-68.
- Geagan (D. J.), 1968: «Notes on the Agonistic Institutions of Roman Corinth», *GRBS* 9, 69-80.
- Grunauer von Hoerschelmann (S.), 1978: *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, Berlin - New York.
- Jost (M.), 1985: *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, ÉtPélop 9, Paris.

77. Révélateur à cet égard apparaît le concours de l'aristopolitie, un concours local attesté uniquement dans la documentation épigraphique concernant les cités de Sparte et de Messène: il donne, dans le cadre de la vie agonistique, une forme institutionnelle à la célébration de l'excellence des élites civiques et semble révélateur d'une époque où le champ de l'éthique ne fait plus qu'un avec celui du politique, voir Lafond 2006, 175-80.

- Kah (D.), Scholz (P.), 2004: *Das hellenistische Gymnasium*, Berlin.
- Kantiréa (M.), 2007: *Les dieux et les dieux augustes. Le culte impérial en grèce sous les Julio-Claudiens et les Flaviens. Études épigraphiques et archéologiques*, Meletemata 50, Athènes.
- Kennell (N. M.), 1995: *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*, Chapel Hill - Londres.
- Lafond (Y.), 2006: *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II^e siècle av. J.-C.-III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rennes.
- Lämmer (M.) (éd.), 1998: *Agonistik in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Stadion 24, Cologne.
- Langenfeld (H.), 1975: «Die Politik des Augustus und die griechische Agonistik», in *Monumentum chiloniense. Festschrift E. Burck*, Amsterdam, 228-59.
- Lebessi (A.), 1991: «Flagellation ou autoflagellation. Données iconographiques pour une tentative d'interprétation», *BCH* 115, 99-123.
- Moretti (J.-Ch.), 1997: «Les inventaires du gymnase de Délos», *BCH* 121, 125-52.
- Moretti (L.), 1953: *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome.
- Newby (Z.), 2005: *Greek Athletics in the Roman World: Victory and Virtue*, Oxford.
- Nijf van (O. M.), 1999: «Athletics, Festivals and Greek Identity in the Roman East», *PCPhS* 45, 176-200.
- 2006: «Global Players: Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World», in I. Nielsen (éd.), *Zwischen Kult und Gesellschaft. Kosmopolitische Zentren des antiken Mittelmeerraumes als Aktionsraum von Kultvereinen und Religionsgemeinschaften*, Hephaistos 24, Augsburg, 225-35.
- Peek (W.), 1971: *Epigramme und andere Inschriften aus Lakonien und Arkadien*, Heidelberg.
- Pirenne-Delforge (V.), 2008: *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque*, Kernos Suppl. 20, Liège.
- Price (S. R. F.), 1980: «Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult», *JRS* 70, 28-44.
- Rizakis (A. D.), 1995: *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Meletemata 20, Athènes.
- 1998: *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 25, Athènes.
- 2008: *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire*, Meletemata 55, Athènes.
- Sève (M.), 1993: «Les concours d'Épidaure», *REG* 106, 315-20.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1989: «Agonistic Festivals in Roman Greece», in S. Walker, A. Cameron (éds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, Londres, 193-97.
- West (A. B.), 1928: «Notes on Achaean Prosopography and Chronology», *CPh* 23, 258-69.
- Woodward (A. M.), Dawkins (R. M.), 1929: *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, ABSA Suppl. 5, Londres.

THE ORIGIN OF VICTORS IN THE ISTHMIAN GAMES

Andrew Farrington

Abstract: On the basis of the surviving evidence, which stretches from the 6th c. B.C. to the 3rd c. A.D., the main catchment areas of Isthmian victors are established by the end of the 4th c. B.C. and remain until the end of the life of the games. Throughout this period, an area stretching from the central Peloponnese to Boeotia yields victors. From the early 5th c. B.C. victors appear from Rhodes, other islands nearby and Caria. From the late 4th c. B.C. victors appear from the Ionian mainland and islands and from Egypt. From the 1st c. B.C. victors from areas of Anatolia appear and their presence is especially noticeable from the 2nd c. A.D. The data is, however, very incomplete and may represent something between 1.5% and 2% of the possible total. It is also further skewed by the uneven chronological spread of the literary sources and perhaps by invisible unevenness in the epigraphic record.

Introduction

In this paper, we investigate the catchment areas of victors at the Isthmian games over the lifetime of the games, with a view to shedding light on how far the popularity of the games may have waxed or waned in various parts of the Greek world. Such an attempt has already been made with Olympic victors¹ and the present brief paper may be seen as a companion piece to that study. The present article, however, is only a summary of a work in progress and draws on a considerable amount of data that cannot be presented in detail here, because of limitations of space.²

There is general agreement in the ancient sources that the Isthmian games were founded, probably in the form of a trieteric stephanic festival, between 584 and 580 B.C., whilst the archaeological evidence suggests that games did not begin to receive notable numbers of visitors until sometime before the middle of the 6th c. B.C.³ Between 390 and 386 B.C. they were administered by Argos and presumably held in Argos or her territory.⁴ After the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C., Pausanias states that they were held without interruption under the ægis of Sikyon,⁵ where they may well have been held in the stadium.⁶ Evidence from coins indicates

1. Changes in catchment areas of Olympic victors: Farrington 1997, *passim*, esp. 17-19.

2. Despite its brief length, this paper as a whole and in particular the section on the catchment areas of Isthmian victors and completeness of the data draw upon an enormous amount of material, full reference to which cannot be made within the limits of an article of this size. It is hoped to publish this material in the form of a list of known Isthmian victors in the near future. I thank Dr. P. Bouyia, Dr. I. Lolos, Dr. N. M. Kennell, Dr. G. Saunders and Ms. P. Saoulidou for helpful discussion on the topic of the paper and Professor E. R. Gebhard for information and thoughts relating to the date at which the Isthmian games may have lapsed.

3. Foundation dates of Isthmian games: For 581 B.C., Eusebius' text states, 'Isthmia post Melicertem et Pythia primum acta' (R. Helm [ed.], *Eusebius Werke: Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Berlin 1956, 101 b 1.9/178 F). For the implications of this and in general for the dates offered by literature for the foundation of the Isthmian games, see Gebhard 2002, 222-30.

4. Isthmian games taken over by Argos: Xen., *Hell.* IV. 5, 1-2, cf. *RE* IX. 2 (1916) 2250-51, s.v. *Isthmia* [1].

5. Isthmian games at Sikyon: Paus. II. 2, 2.

6. Possible holding of games in stadium at Sikyon: Dr. I. Lolos, personal communication. Dr. G. Saunders (oral communication) suggests that the Sikyon stadium may have been built to host the Isthmian games.

that the games had returned to Corinth by 40 B.C.⁷ and they may have functioned under Corinthian control from as early as 43 B.C.⁸ However, it is very probable that they did not return to the Sanctuary of Poseidon before the reign of Nero (A.D. 54-68).⁹ There is no firm information as regards when the games lapse. The latest reference to *agonothetes* of the Isthmian games, which appears in an inscription, is dated on grounds of letter forms to ca A.D. 225-230.¹⁰ The latest most precisely dated Ἴσθμιονῖκαι are Valerius Eclactus, dated to between A.D. 215 and 257 and Titus Domitius Prometheus, dated to between ca A.D. 225 and ca A.D. 250.¹¹ The archaeological record suggests that the games ceased to be held in Isthmia around the middle of the 3rd c. A.D. Although it has not been established beyond doubt when the stadium fell into disuse, pottery found there does not date to after ca A.D. 225-250. The theatre, too, seems to have fallen into disuse by the third quarter of the 3rd c. A.D., whilst holocaustic sacrifices at the Palaimonion have ceased by ca A.D. 220-240. On the other hand, the Roman bath continued in use until the 4th c. A.D.¹² Thus the games may have lapsed by the mid 3rd c. A.D., although sporting life continues past this point in other parts of the Greek world,¹³ and it is not impossible that the Isthmian games moved back to Corinth.¹⁴

During early Imperial¹⁵ times, the Ἴσθμια continued, but now accompanied by two new foundations, the quadrennial Καισάρεια and a quadrennial set of games, which do not directly concern us here,

named after the reigning emperor and including the word ‘*Sebastea*’ in its title. The Ἴσθμια and the Καισάρεια, although separate events, had the same *agonothetai*¹⁶ in the years in which the quadrennial Καισάρεια were held alongside the biennial Ἴσθμια, although the Ἴσθμια usually preceded the Καισάρεια, which may have been held in Corinth.¹⁷ The formal joint title of these two sets of games was Ἴσθμια καὶ Καισάρεια.¹⁸ Geagan’s view was that the Καισάρεια were founded before the games were returned to Corinth, which he assumed occurred in or after 6 B.C., although Corinth, as we have just noted, seems to have been in charge of the games by 40 B.C., if not slightly earlier.¹⁹ The Καισάρεια are attested certainly down to A.D. 181 and perhaps as late as the time of Gordian.

Finally, the games named after the reigning emperor and including the term ‘*Sebastea*’ are attested between the reigns of Tiberius and Trajan and may have continued into the reign of Marcus Aurelius.²⁰ Although held in the same year as the Καισάρεια, they had separate *agonothetai*.²¹

The Dating of Isthmian Victors

We have records of 225 definite Ἴσθμιονῖκαι, although two of these cannot be dated in any way, and the geographical origin of only 204 is known. Of unspecified victors in the περίοδος (by which we mean victors of whom it is known only that they were victorious in the περίοδος) we have records of 76, although the geographical origin of only 71 is known.

7. Coin evidence for Corinthian control of games: Gebhard 1993, 81.

8. Games returned to Corinth by 43 B.C.: Kajava 2002, 168-78.

9. Move of games to sanctuary of Poseidon: Gebhard 1993, 82-86.

10. Latest reference to *agonothetai*: Kent 1966, no. 230, ll. 5-6.

11. Valerius Eclactus: Moretti 1957, nos 934, 938-40. Titus Domitius Prometheus: *id.* 1953, no. 89, *id.* 1957, no. 932.

12. Archaeological evidence for end of games at Isthmia: Prof. E. R. Gebhard, personal communication.

13. Sporting life in other parts of the Greek world past ca A.D. 250. Mitchell 1993, 225 n. 195 for festivals in Pamphylia in the 260s.

14. As was the case with the Nemean games, which moved back to Argos, as Prof. Gebhard notes in a personal communication, although this happened several centuries earlier.

15. The word ‘Imperial’ is used in this paper purely chronologically, to denote the period 31 B.C.-A.D. 324.

16. *Agonothetai* of Ἴσθμια and Καισάρεια: Geagan 1968, 71.

17. General features of Καισάρεια: Gebhard 1993, 87.

18. Title of both sets of games: Geagan 1968, 71.

19. Foundation of Καισάρεια: Geagan 1968, 71, referring to Kent 1966, no. 153. For date of assumption of administration of games by Corinth, see above, ns 7 and 8.

20. Attestation of *Sebastea*: Geagan 1968, 72. Possible continuation of *Sebastea* into reign of Marcus Aurelius: Kent 1966, 19 n. 6, pp. 28-29 n. 25.

21. Holding of *Sebastea*, separate *agonothesia*: Geagan 1968, 72.

The dates of Ἴσθμιονίκαί are generally secure, if not precise, since, in the main, they derive from inscriptions that are usually securely, if not precisely, dated, whilst a smaller number of dates for other Isthmian victories derive from literary references to dated Olympic victories in, above all, Pindar and Pausanias. Very frequently, Isthmian victories are mentioned in inscriptions erected in honour of the athlete, either by him himself, by a relative or by some civic body, usually the βουλή. Such inscriptions usually present a list of the victories of the athlete in question and their aim is obviously the promotion of the athlete's reputation. Obviously, the fullest possible list of victories makes the greatest impression on the audience, which suggests that most, if not all, such victory inscriptions contain a summation of the athlete's career, presented in the most flattering terms possible. This, in turn, suggests that these inscriptions were produced at the end, or soon after the end, of the athlete's career, when his record would have been fullest. An athletic career could start about the age of twelve and might last about fifteen years at very most, although most athletic careers were probably shorter. Thus any mention in a victory inscription of an Isthmian, or any other victory, may refer to a victory won, in theory at least, up to about fifteen years before the date of the inscription. The same, or similar, of course, holds for such references in Pausanias and other literary sources. If Pausanias refers to a victory by a certain athlete at a certain Olympiad and if the athlete was also an Isthmian victor, then, if we are to be cautious, his Isthmian victory may be dated up to about fifteen years either side of his Olympic victory. In fact, Pausanias, particularly in his account of Olympia, is apparently simply retailing the contents of the inscription of the particular athlete that he happens

to be dealing with, which means that we should probably treat his evidence in the same fashion as that provided by inscriptions directly. As for victors in non-athletic events, it is possible that competitors in thymelic and musical events (and κήρυκες and σαλπισταί) had notably longer careers. For the purposes of dating, we assume that the career of such performers lasted about twenty years, although the occurrence of longer careers is suggested by the evidence.²²

We should also consider the possibility that references to unspecified victors ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ and nothing more may imply that the victor in question has won a victory at the Isthmian games. In their original meaning, the terms ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ and περιδοδόνικης denote a competitor who has been victorious in all the games of the περίοδος, that is, the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games, or at least in the games where the event in question was held. The concept of an athlete who is victorious at all of the sets of games that make up the περίοδος evolved very early. To judge from the way in which the four sets of stephanic games were scheduled so as to avoid clashes, it may even have been present at the birth of the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals as stephanic games. In any case, it had evolved by the time of Pindar.²³ In the literary sources, however, the term περίοδος first appears only in the late 3rd c. B.C.,²⁴ whilst its first inscriptional appearance dates to the early 2nd c. B.C.²⁵ The first inscriptional mention of the term περιδοδόνικης does not occur until much later, in the early 2nd c. A.D.²⁶ On the other hand, the first literary reference to a περιδοδόνικης is made by Dio Cassius and so is dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd c. A.D., although Dio is referring to Nero's sporting victories won in Greece between A.D. 66 and 67, which is about sixty years before the first

22. Career lengths of victors in non-athletic events: The flautist Pythocles uniquely won six Pythiads in succession between 574 and 554 B.C. (Paus. VI. 14, 9-10), which suggests an overall career of perhaps about 25 years. The trumpeter, Herodorus of Megara, of the late 4th c./early 3rd c. B.C. was a περιδοδόνικης ten times, which indicates a career of at least 36 years (Ath. X. 414f-415a). The actor (and boxer) who won 88 victories in an inscription dated to 276-219 B.C. (Syll.³ 1080) perhaps had a career of at least 20 years. Competitors, or rather those eligible for prizes, in equestrian events may have taken part in such competitions for even longer periods, possibly for up to forty years, as it was the owner, and not the jockey, who received the prize.

23. First appearance of concept of περιδοδόνικης: Weir 1998, 70-72.

24. First known literary reference to περίοδος: Moretti 1953, 34 says that the term appears for the first time in the Ὀλυμπιονίκαί of Eratosthenes, dating to the late 3rd c. B.C.

25. Earliest inscriptional reference to περίοδος: *Op. cit.*, 122 no. 46.

26. First appearance of περιδοδόνικης: Marióti 1985-88, 335-55.

recorded appearance of the term in an inscription.²⁷ It is more likely that an inscription will reflect the practice of the time at which it was erected than a historian will correctly describe the habits of a time hundred years or so before his own lifetime. As we have just pointed out, we do not so far have any inscriptions before the early 2nd c. A.D. that refer to *περιοδονῖκαι*, which may mean that the term was indeed not used until the early 2nd c. A.D. and therefore that Cassius Dio, in referring to Nero as a *περιοδονίκης*, is anachronistically applying to the past the practices of his own day.

In Imperial times, the games of the *περίοδος* came to include the Ἄκτια, the Σεβαστά held at Naples and the *Capitolia*. It is not known when these games were incorporated in the *περίοδος*, but it may have been immediately, or soon after, their foundation, the Ἄκτια being instituted after 31 B.C.,²⁸ the Σεβαστά in A.D. 2⁹ and the *Capitolia* in A.D. 86.³⁰ The Argive Ἡραῖα were also evidently included in the *περίοδος* at some time,³¹ whilst the Πανελλήνια, Ἀδριάνεια and the Ὀλύμπεια, founded by Hadrian around A.D. 131-32, also seem to have been included in the *περίοδος*.³² Despite this broadening, however, victory in only four sets of games (or fewer, depending on whether the event in question was held at fewer than four games) continued to be a sufficient condition for an athlete to claim victory in the *περίοδος*, although there are hints that victory in the four original sets of games continued to be considered most prestigious.³³ This broadening of the *περίοδος* is unfortunate for us, however, because it lessens the utility of our evidence. If a competitor in Imperial times could be proclaimed victor in the *περίοδος* after victory in any four (or fewer, depending on the event) in the at least six or seven sets of games now included in the *περίοδος*, and if no further specifications are given, we cannot say whether such unspecified vic-

tors in the *περίοδος* gained a victory at the Isthmian games.

Lastly, there are at least a couple of references to *περιοδονῖκαι* who do not seem to have been victors in games of the traditional *περίοδος* or, indeed, in any of the new sets of games added in Imperial times. From Telmessus, in Lycia, comes a possible reference to a *περιοδονίκης* in a *περίοδος* that, to judge from the other games mentioned, seems to be local, perhaps involving Lycian θέμιδες.³⁴ At Selge, sometime after A.D. 212, there is a reference to a *περίοδος* that is clearly local.³⁵ There are so few such doubtful *περιοδονῖκαι*, however, perhaps because it was widely known in antiquity precisely what so prestigious a title signified (even if we in modern times are unsure) and perhaps because it was therefore jealously guarded against attempts to misuse it or to appropriate it for use in reference to lesser, local games.

Two other points weaken our evidence even further. There are, first, the uncertainties of the history of the individual sets of games. In the case of the Isthmian games, the games may, or may not, have been conducted at Sikyon for some, or all of the period, between 146 and 44 B.C. at the earliest. During any periods, however, when the contest was not held, clearly a *περίοδος* victor could not have acquired a victory at the non-functioning Isthmian games. Second, the details of the *curricula* of the various sets of games in the *περίοδος* are obscure, the details of the events and their lifespan being particularly nebulous in the case of the Isthmian games. This means once more that, although an athlete may have been legitimately termed a *περίοδος* victor, we cannot assume that the event in which he was victorious took place at all the festivals in the full group of the sets of games that made up the *περίοδος* at the time.

Thus the evidence provided by references to un-

27. Reference to Nero as *περιοδονίκης*: Cass. Dio LXIII. 8, 3.

28. Date of foundation of Ἄκτια: Kennell 1988, 242.

29. Date of foundation of Σεβαστά: Moretti 1953, 175-76.

30. Date of foundation of *Capitolia*: *Op. cit.*, 182.

31. Argive Ἡραῖα as set of games of *περίοδος*: Kennell 1988, 243.

32. Πανελλήνια, Ἀδριάνεια, Ὀλύμπεια: Weir 1998, 153-54.

33. Prestige of victories in the original four sets of games: Distinction was occasionally made between victories in the ἀρχαία *περίοδος* and the new period (Kennell 1988, 243 no. 19). In the table at p. 278 of Stefanis 1988 period victor athletes (4) and (5) did not gain victories in the *Capitolia*.

34. Telmessos, possible *περιοδονίκης*: [---]ιανός Οὐλπίου (*TAM II* 1, no. 22, ll. 7-8), perhaps 2nd/3rd c. A.D.

35. Selge, *περίοδος*: *I.Selge* no. 52, l. 16.

specified victors in the *περίοδος* in Imperial times is of limited use. At most, it can help us define the possible boundaries of our knowledge and, given this, we should make the attempt to consider how chronologically precise any references to victories *ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ* and to *περιοδονίκα* may be. Straight-forward victor inscriptions, of course, may refer to the honorand as a victor *ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ* or as a *περιοδονίκης* and can be dated with the degree of precision with which inscriptions referring to definite *Ἰσθμιονίκα* can be dated, as outlined above. In the case of other types of inscriptions, however, reference may be made to an honorand, or simply to a magistrate, who is mentioned in passing as a victor *ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ* or as a *περιοδονίκης* and in such cases dating limits need to be set even more broadly. In such circumstances, the *περιοδονίκης* may now be a middle-aged public man, with his sporting career in the past and, more particularly, with any Isthmian victory potentially up to about thirty years behind him.³⁶ These, and other considerations that we have mentioned, lead us to employ a dating schema made up from units of 30-35 years in length. For example, ‘early 1st c. A.D.’ denotes the period ‘ca A.D. 1 - ca A.D. 30/35’, ‘mid-1st c. A.D.’, the period ‘ca A.D. 30/35 - ca A.D. 60/65’ and ‘late 1st c. A.D.’, the period ‘ca A.D. 60/65 - ca A.D. 100’. Many victories, however, cannot be dated more precisely to within two or three or more of these units.

The Catchment Area of Isthmian Victors

We now turn to the task of examining the catchment area of Isthmian victors over the period cov-

ered by our evidence, that is, from the mid-6th c. B.C. to the 3rd c. A.D. From the 1st c. B.C., victors from the areas of Anatolia added to the Greek world after the conquests of Alexander begin to appear and their presence is especially noticeable from the 2nd c. A.D.

An area stretching from the central Peloponnese as far as Boeotia and occasionally as far as Locris and Thessaly provides a stable supply of victors. Particularly noticeable in this group is Corinth itself, Athens and Thebes and perhaps the island Keos. Bacchylides (ca 530-450 B.C.) states that Keos had produced seventy Isthmian victors, a number that suggests that athletes on the island had become interested in the Isthmian games in perhaps the late 6th c. B.C., if not earlier.³⁷ Victors from the western Greek world appear from the earliest times and, although not by any means a major presence, they do not entirely die away ever. From the early 5th c. B.C., victors from Rhodes and subsequently Cos and the Carian mainland begin what becomes a more or less constant presence throughout the life of the games. From the late 4th c. B.C., victors from the Ionian mainland and associated islands begin to appear and also remain more or less a constant presence until the end of the 3rd c. A.D. At the same time, victors from Egypt also make their appearance and also remain a significant presence until the end of the life of the games. Some indication of the interest in the Isthmian games on the part of athletes from Egypt is given by the fact that three of the victors in the victor list of A.D. 3 come from Egypt.³⁸

36. Reference to athletic victories in non-victory inscription: For example, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Θελυμίτρης dated (Habicht 1961, 218-23, esp. 223) to ‘Imperial times’, who is praised as a benefactor and described as, among other things, a *περιοδονίκης*. It is possible that his victories lay up to twenty years in the past, if not more, when the inscription was carved. On the matter of inscriptions pertaining to games, inscriptions exist concerning the dispatch or reception of *θεωροί*. These are either messengers sent to other cities to proclaim the celebration of some set of panhellenic games, or representatives of a foreign city dispatched to participate in the holding of such games and both are hosted by *θεωροδόκοι*. Unfortunately, there are only two inscriptions extant concerning such *θεωροί* for the Isthmian games, who are in this case termed *ἐπαγγέλλοντες* and have been sent to announce the celebration of the games. From Magnesia ad Maeandrum come two inscriptions from the dossier regarding the recognition and celebration of the festival of Artemis *Leucophryene*, dating to the late 3rd /early 2nd c. B.C. One is a copy of a decree of the *ἐκκλησία* of Corinth and the other, a decree of the *σύγκλητος* and the *δῆμος* of Syracuse. In both cases, the foreign states promise to pay the *ἐπαγγέλλοντες* sent from Magnesia to proclaim the festival of Artemis the same amount of travel expenses as Magnesia pays those sent by Corinth to announce the Isthmian games (Kern 1900, nos 42 [Corinth] and 72 [Syracuse]). See Perlman 1984, xvi.

37. Seventy Isthmian victors from Keos: Bacchyl. 2. 6-10. Does the possible existence of a Kean federal state by the 5th c. B.C. indicate the presence of a collective outlook that encouraged Kean athletes to participate in the Isthmian games? (Probable existence of federation on Keos: Reger 2004, 748).

38. Kent 1966, no. 14, ll. 60-61, 62-63 and 70-71.

From the mid-1st c. B.C., victors from central and northern Asia Minor make their appearance. This presence becomes more noticeable from the early 2nd c. A.D., with victors coming from areas immediately east of the western coastal lands of Asia Minor and the south Black Sea coast in the early 2nd c. A.D. and then, in addition, from the heartlands of Anatolia and from Cilicia by the mid-3rd c. A.D. Despite the occasional victor originating from Syria, however, the catchment area of victors does not spread any further east.

The Completeness of the Data

How useful is this data in helping us towards a meaningful picture of the geographical origin of Isthmian victors over time? First we must ask the question, even if we may not be able to answer it satisfactorily, of how far our data is complete. Then, if it is not complete, we must ask how far it may be uneven in chronological and geographical terms.

As regards the overall completeness of the data, ideally we should like to establish how many victories occurred in each of the events of the Isthmian games over the life of the event. Unfortunately, this is very far from possible, as we have already noted. As we observed, the foundation date of the Isthmian games is not completely secure, whilst the date at which they lapse is extremely vague, which means that we cannot hope to establish upper limits to the possible number of victories. On the other hand, if we make use of such information as we have, we can establish a very rough lower boundary for possible numbers of victories.

For the sake of argument, we assume that the games indeed did begin in 582 B.C. and that they ceased in A.D. 225, the upper limit of the date of the last surviving reference to Isthmian *agonothetai*.³⁹ It is also possible that several thymelic and musical events were not instituted until Imperial times and continued to A.D. 225. For the sake of argument, we assume that these events were instituted in 42 B.C. Certain other events may have been founded at various times over the 4th B.C., after they had made their appearance at the more prestigious Olympic and Pythian games and we assume for the sake of our calculations that they appeared at the

Isthmian games at the first opportunity after their appearance at either the Olympic or Pythian games. We also assume, clearly wrongly in some cases, but not enough to make any significant difference to our results in view of the general imprecision of our calculations, that each victor won only one victory.

And so, on the admittedly very rickety basis of these assumptions, which we employ merely to put our findings in some sort of perspective, it is possible that over the course of their life, the Isthmian games may have generated something slightly under 15,000 victories. The number of definite Ἴσθμιονῖκαι whose geographical origin is known perhaps represents very slightly more than 1.4% of this total. If we add to this total the unspecified victors in the περίοδος whose origin is known, on the assumption, which is again probably incorrect in several cases, that they won one victory each at the Isthmian games, this total rises to slightly more than 1.8%.

Thus our data represents a very small part of the whole picture. The data is also very unevenly distributed over time. The literary evidence consists mainly of references occurring in Pindar and his scholiasts, in what remains of Bacchylides, in the odd poem in the *Greek Anthology* and in Pausanias (and mainly in his account of Olympia). This means that the period in which Pindar and Bacchylides write and the geographical origin of the athletes they celebrate (Aegina in particular) are comparatively overrepresented. As for Pausanias, he is enormously interested in Olympic victors, and comparatively uninterested in victors at other games, that win their victories before 146 B.C. After 146, ‘the end of Greek history’, his interest in all games of the περίοδος falls away almost completely. The literary Darwinism that has preserved the masterpieces of Pindar has unfortunately trampled in the dust such presumably informative, but also possibly artistically uninspired, works as Euphorion’s *Περὶ Ἴσθμίων*.⁴⁰ A major part of our difficulties is probably due to the fact that apparently no complete list of Ἴσθμιονῖκαι was ever compiled that any ancient author could then draw upon.⁴¹

Given that our volume of evidence is so small, any particularly large find, such as the victor inscriptions of A.D. 3 and 137 and, to a lesser extent,

39. Last surviving reference to Isthmian *agonothetai*: see above n. 10.

40. Lost works on Isthmian games: K. Schneider, *RE* IX. 2 (1916) 2254 -55 s.v. *Isthmia* [3].

41. Lack of full lists of Ἴσθμιονῖκαι: Christesen 2007, 108-11.

those of the mid-2nd c. A.D. and of ca A.D. 175-200,⁴² will have a considerable distorting effect. The inscriptional evidence may also be skewed at a deeper level, thanks to the vagaries of the 'epigraphic habit', that is, fluctuations in the habit of epigraphically recording various activities and events, which means, of course, that the inscriptional record may not accurately reflect the level of participation in a particular activity. Agonistic life in Classical and Hellenistic times was, of course, already of major importance. This prestige increased even further in Imperial times, when participation in agonistic activities was, more than ever before, a marker of Hellenism. Such a view of athletic activity may have led to an increase in production of victor inscriptions in particular. Furthermore, the rise of the bouleutic class in πόλεις from Hellenistic times onwards, with its accompanying paenagyr culture of honorific civic inscriptions, may also be at least partly responsible for any rise in inscriptions that refer in passing to sporting victors. It is also perhaps possible that Imperial victors from πόλεις furthest away from the heartlands of Hellenism may have produced more victory inscriptions than those closer to the homeland. Thus the industrious epigraphic productivity of victorious athletes determined to prove their supremacy and the equally industrious activity on the part of cities keen to praise them may have inflated the record over the Imperial period. In this regard, however, only one feature of the epigraphic record of Corinth and Isthmia deserves comment. Admittedly, virtually nothing is known at present of the epigraphic record at Isthmia, whilst that of Corinth for the pre-Imperial period is particularly scanty, although for the period after the foundation of the Roman colony it is considerably better than it is for the preceding stretch of time and there are a

fair number of honorific inscriptions to individuals who were *agonothetai*, or some other office-holder, at the Isthmian games.⁴³ There are, however, so far very few, if any, inscriptions found in Corinth itself retailing the career of a single athlete, which may mean that there are many (?) such victor inscriptions waiting to be unearthed at Isthmia.⁴⁴

However, beyond this one can do little more than speculate on how far changes in the volume of inscriptions relating to agonistic matters do, or do not, correspond to any actual increase in sporting activity and the possible fluctuations of the epigraphic habit remain a 'known unknown' that one can do no more than bear in mind.⁴⁵ To make matters worse, our knowledge of the epigraphic record is further distorted by the modern whims of fate, whereby certain sites have been excavated and published to varying degrees of fullness, whilst others have been ignored.

Conclusions

After these caveats, we return to the findings contained in our brief survey of the catchment area of Isthmian victors. On their own, our results are far from robustly based, as we have already pointed out, and are certainly distorted. On the other hand, the results are strikingly paralleled by the change and growth in the catchment area of Olympic victors over time (where we are on firmer ground, for we may have records of between 22% and 25% of all Olympic victors,⁴⁶ although, of course, this material, too, is patchy and distorted thanks to the same factors that warp our evidence for the Isthmian games). In the case of the Olympic games, the main catchment area of victors also remains the western coastlands of Asia Minor. However, here, too, a gradual eastward spread to inland and northern Anatolia, reaching as far as Cilicia and Syria is ev-

42. Meritt 1931, nos 14 (A.D. 3) and 15 (dated to A.D. 137 by Kent 1966, 29 n. 26), Kent 1966, nos 223 (mid-2nd c. A.D.) and 228 (ca A.D. 175-200).

43. References to *agonothetai* and other office holders related to Isthmian games: West 1931, nos 67, 68, 71, 81-89, 91, 93-97, 105; Kent 1966, nos 154 (= West 1931, no. 81), 166, 170, 171, 173, 176, 185, 208-30.

44. Paucity of victor inscriptions from Corinth: On the other hand, there are apparently no victor inscriptions from Corinth itself dating to between the revival of the games in ca 44-42 B.C. and their move to the Isthmus under, or after, Nero. Where did victors of this period erect their inscriptions? At Olympia or Delphi (if they were successful there)? In their home cities? In cities that wished to honour them?

45. For a more detailed treatment of the 'epigraphic habit' and its implications for the study of agonistic life, see Farrington 1997, 15-46, esp. 20-22 and 28-30.

46. Eastern drift of Olympic victor catchment area, extent of evidence for Olympic victors: Farrington 1997, 17-19, 22-24.

ident, although, if our evidence regarding the Isthmian Games is to be trusted, this eastward movement occurs perhaps fifty to hundred years later in the case of the Isthmian Games. One significant difference between the groups of data pertaining to the two sets of games, however, is that, whilst interest in the Olympic games on the part of athletes from Sicily and Magna Graecia seems to die away in Imperial times, the Isthmian games still apparently attract competitors from this area. This may perhaps be because Corinth never lost its westward cultural and commercial orientation. On a minor note, the complete disappearance of victors from Aegina after the mid-5th c. B.C. until much later is also striking, this absence perhaps being due to possible dislocation caused by Athens' harsh treatment of the island.

The record regarding the origin of Isthmian victors also shows close similarities to what is known of the origin of Pythian and Nemean victors, little though this is. The catchment areas of Pythian victors are characterized by the same shift from Greece and the west to western and central Asia Minor⁴⁷ and this is very probably the case with Nemean victors, too.⁴⁸

Several interesting points emerge from these results. The first is that, while cities in Ionia that had produced Isthmian victors (and unspecified victors in the περίοδος) in Classical times and in some, at least, of the Hellenistic period continue to do so, cities such as Nicomedia, Prusa and Apameia, which lay in areas not fully urbanized in Greco-Roman terms until as late as the time of Pompey and Augustus and even later, are now apparently also a source of Isthmian victors.⁴⁹ This in general suggests, as has been noted before now, that the wealth required to support the resources needed to produce a level of athletic life high enough to produce

περίοδος victors had migrated to Asia Minor by Imperial times. It also shows the relative speed with which agonistic life seems to have been adopted as part of the package of Greco-Roman civic life in areas only fairly recently urbanized. This apparent keenness in central and northern inland Asia Minor on agonistic activity manifested in the record of Ἴσθμιονίκαί was perhaps driven by cultural insecurity, for athletes from these areas chose to train and compete and obviously made great efforts in the process, since they were victorious in the festivals most emblematic of Hellenism, which therefore, one imagines, attracted the best athletes.

Equally striking, however, is the absence of certain areas from the record. Conspicuous by their absence are victors from areas in northern and north-western Greece, such as Aetolia, Acarnania and Epirus, that is, in areas in which the *polis* was slower to develop. This absence may be simply a matter of chance, given that our information is so patchy, but it may mean that an interest in athletics was never so deeply ingrained in these communities as in areas where the *polis* evolved earlier and never flourished to the level required to produce περίοδος victors, perhaps also because of lack of resources. An indication that gymnastic culture may not have been so well established in northern central and northwestern Greece is given by the fact that in Hellenistic and Roman times institutions associated with the training at the gymnasium are known at only one city, Stratos, in Acarnania, in the whole area.⁵⁰ Likewise generally absent, too, are victors from northwestern Asia Minor, Mysia and Aeolis.

Andrew Farrington

Department of History and Ethnology,
Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini, GR

47. Origin of Pythian victors: Weir 1998, 338-39.

48. Origin of Nemean victors: The map in Kostouros 2008, entitled 'Νεμεονίκα: Τόποι Καταγωγής', displays a scatter of places almost identical to that corresponding to the places of origin of Ἴσθμιονίκαί, although the information on the map is not presented chronologically. Furthermore, about 140 definite Ἴσθμιονίκαί also won at Nemea, that is, slightly less than half of the 286 known Νεμεονίκαί. Northern and northwestern Greece, from which we have no surviving records of either Isthmian or Nemean victors, were not neglected by the organizers of the Nemean games, at least towards the end of the 4th B.C., who sent out θεωροί to Aetolia, the Ionian islands and Macedonia, among other (now unknown) places, to announce the holding of the Nemean games. See the examination of the Nemean θεωροί inscription, dated to 331-325 B.C. or 323-315 B.C., at S. G. Miller, "The Theorodokoi of the Nemean Games", *Hesperia* 57, 1988, 147-63 and Perlman 1984, 126-258.

49. Urbanization by Pompey of Pontus and Bithynia: Mitchell 1993, 88-89.

50. Gymnastic institutions at Stratos: Kennell 2006, 118.

Bibliography

- Christesen (P.), 2007: *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History*, Cambridge - New York.
- Farrington (A.), 1997: "Olympic victors and the popularity of the Olympic games in the Imperial period", *Tyche* 12, 15-46.
- Geagan (D. G.), 1968: "Notes on the Agonistic Institutions of Roman Corinth", *GRBS* 9, 69-80.
- Gebhard (E. R.), 1993: "The Isthmian Games and the Sanctuary of Poseidon in the Early Empire", in T. E. Gregory (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*, Ann Arbor, 78-94.
- , 2002: "The Beginnings of the Panhellenic Games at the Isthmus", in H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Olympia 1875-2000: 125 Jahre Deutsche Ausgrabungen*, Mainz, 221-37.
- Habicht (Chr.), 1961: "Inscription des Periodoniken Leon", in E. Kunze (ed.), *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin, 218-23.
- Kajava (M.), 2002: "When did the Isthmian games return to the Isthmus? (Re-reading *Corinth* 8.1.153)", *CP* 97, 168-78.
- Kalinka (E.), 1920: *Tituli Asiae Minoris II. Tituli Lyciae* Fasc. 1, Vienna.
- Kennell (N. M.), 1988: "Νέρων Περιοδονίκης", *AJP* 109, 239-51.
- , 2006: *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Nikephoros Beih. 12, Hildesheim.
- Kent (J. H.), 1966: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.3, The Inscriptions, 1926-1950*, Princeton.
- Kern (O.), 1900: *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin.
- Kostouros (G. P.), 2008: "Νεμέων ἀθλων διήγησις" II. "Νεμεάται", 286 *Νεμωνίκες της Αρχαιότητας*, Nemea.
- Krause (J. H.), 1841: *Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien aus den Schrift- und Bildwerken des Alterthums*, Leipzig.
- Meritt (B. D.), 1931: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.1, Greek Inscriptions, 1896-1927*, Cambridge Mass.
- Mitchell (S.), 1993: *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor I. The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford.
- Marióti (E.), 1985-88: "Περιοδονίκης: Anmerkung zum Begriff Perioden-Sieger bei den panhellenischen Spielen", *ActaAntHung* 31, 335-55.
- McCabe (D. F.), Elliot (R. N.), Na (A. H. K.), Redmond (C.), 1991: *Ephesos: Inscriptions: Text*, Princeton.
- Moretti (L.), 1953: *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome.
- , 1957: *Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*, Acc. Naz. dei Lincei Ser. 8. VIII. 2, Rome.
- Nollé (J.), Schindler (Fr.), 1991: *Die Inschriften von Selge*, IGSK 37, Bonn.
- Perlman (P. J.), 1984: *The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese*, Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley.
- Stefanis (I. E.), 1988: "Αθλητῶν Ἀπολογία", *Hellenika* 39, 270-90.
- Reger, (G.) 2004: "The Aegean", in M. H. Hansen, T. H. Nielsen (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford, 732-93.
- West (A. B.), 1931: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens VIII.2, Latin Inscriptions, 1896-1926*, Cambridge Mass.
- Weir (R. G. A.), 1998: *Roman Delphi and Its Pythian Games*, Ph.D. Princeton Univ., Ann Arbor.

SCULPTURES FROM THE PELOPONNESE IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD*

Olga Palagia

Abstract: A great number of sculptures of the Roman imperial period have come to light in the Peloponnese. Portraiture, reliefs, architectural sculptures, sarcophagi, divine images, personifications, are all represented in abundance. Even though bronze statues are attested by footprints on statue bases, the majority of extant sculptures are in marble. Pentelic marble predominates and it appears that Attic workshops dominated the Peloponnesian market, as is also indicated by Athenian artists' signatures. Attic sarcophagi were imported in abundance though we have instances of local imitations as well as imports from other centers like Prokonnesos. The Peloponnese can also boast of some late antique works including a possible portrait of Constantine, as well as a handful of fine copies of classical masterpieces. Laconia became an important center of production in the Roman period as attested by sculptors' signatures and sculptures in local (Taygetos) marble. The villa of Herodes Atticus at *Loukou* was a great repository of Greek and Roman sculptures collected by Herodes and his successors and can be compared to Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

Introduction

Sculptural production in the Peloponnese flourished between the principate of Augustus and the early 4th c. A.D. Quantities of sculptures from that period have been excavated in the Roman colonies of Corinth and Patras. Panhellenic sanctuaries like Olympia, Isthmia and Epidauros were also embellished with statuary, and so were the prosperous cities of Sparta and Messene. Most sculptures functioned in a sacred or funerary context or served to decorate public spaces like theaters. Architectural

sculptures were mostly confined to arches or stoas though temple E in Corinth was exceptionally decorated with pedimental statues.¹ Private villas also housed statuary, particularly in late antique times when pagan homes offered sanctuary to images of the Greek pantheon.² Portrait sculpture flourished, with many high-quality portraits erected to honor individuals (**Fig. 1**) or commemorate the dead.³ Imperial portraits could serve as center-pieces of theater stages or nymphaea; in addition, their distribution may reflect the existence of imperial cults

* I am grateful to Athanasios Rizakis for inviting me to contribute to this volume, and to Hans R. Goette and Petros Themelis for their advice and generosity in providing photographs for the illustration of this article.

1. See, for example, the Trajanic arch over the Lechaion Road in Corinth (Edwards 1994), as well as the Antonine "Captives' façade" in the same city (Johnson 1931, 101-06, cat. nos 217-26; Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 71-75, figs 48, 50-51; Ridgway 1981b, 444; Sturgeon 2003, 354 n. 16). Caryatids from Corinthian buildings: Sturgeon 2003, 354 with ns 15-16, fig. 21. 4. Pedimental statuary in Pentelic marble of the 1st c. A.D. from temple E in Corinth: Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 210-30; Ridgway 1981b, 441, pl. 95d.

2. Cf. late antique villas in Messene and Corinth: Deligiannakis 2005 (Messene); Stirling 2008 (Corinth).

3. Private portraits: see, e.g., Datsouli-Stavrudi 1987 (Sparta); Spyropoulos 2006, figs 18-20; 22-32 (Loukou); Petropoulos 2007, 193-94, fig. 14 (Patras); Sturgeon 2009 (Isthmia); Bol 2008, 149-50 and Krumeich 2008, 83-85, pls 14, 3; 15, 1 and 3 (Olympia). **Fig. 1** shows an over-life-size priestess (?) of the 1st c. A.D. from the Heraion in Olympia, Olympia Museum Λ 144. It is exceptionally of Parian marble. The high quality of its workmanship and heroic size originally prompted a tentative identification with Poppaea Sabina which is now rejected: Treu 1897, 259; Krumeich 2008, 83-84, pls 14, 3 and 15, 1 with earlier references.



Fig. 1. Portrait statue of a priestess (?), so-called Poppaea Sabina, in Parian marble. From the Heraion of Olympia. Olympia Museum Λ 144 (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Athens neg. no. Hege 717).

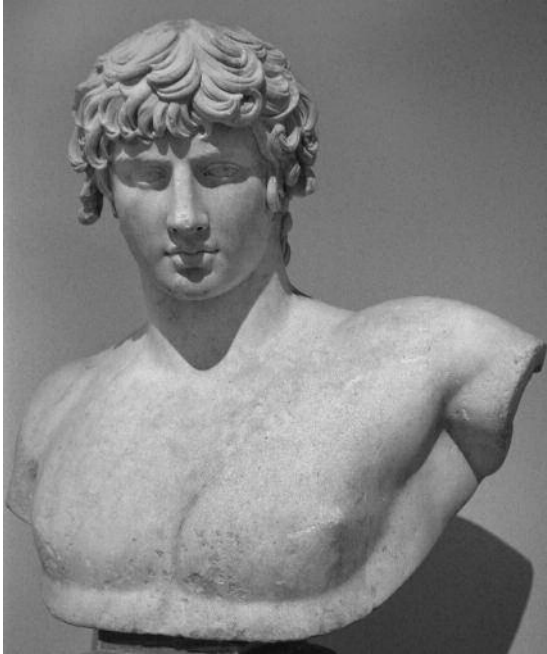


Fig. 2. Bust of Antinoos in Thasian marble. From Patras. Athens, National Museum 417 (Photo: Hans R. Goette).

or the personal interest of the honorands in individual cities and sanctuaries.⁴

Hadrian's influence prompted the erection of numerous portraits of Antinoos during his lifetime, attesting to local cults that were founded to please the philhellene emperor (**Fig. 2**).⁵ In late Hadrianic and early Antonine times the patronage of Herodes Atticus left its mark in Olympia, Corinth and Isthmia. In addition, Herodes' Villa at Loukou has yielded a rich crop of private portraits, imperial portraits of Hadrian, the Antonines and Septimius Severus, copies of classical masterpieces, and reliefs, both classical and Roman.⁶ It provides a Greek parallel for Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and continued in use until the 5th c. A.D. judging by a mosaic representation of the sophist Helikonios, who wrote a history of the world until Theodosius I.⁷

Reproductions or variants of famous masterworks could be placed as dedications in sanctuaries, sometimes duplicating the still extant originals, or in domestic shrines and gardens. Herodes' taste for Athenian sculpture, documented by his Nymphaion at Olympia and the sculpture collection in his Villa at *Loukou* is largely reflected in the entire sculptural production of the Peloponnese in the Roman

4. For portraits of the Julio-Claudian dynasty set up in Corinth, Olympia, Epidauros, Sparta and Gytheion, see Rose 1997, cat. nos 69, 72-74, 78-81. Portraits of the Flavians set up in Olympia: Hitzl 1991, 46-56, cat. nos 4-7. Portrait of Trajan in Corinth: Sturgeon 2004, 60-68, cat. no. 1. Portraits of Hadrian in Corinth, Olympia, Epidauros, Sparta, Loukou: Evers 1994, cat. nos 9, 36, 75; Katakis 2002, cat. no. 99; Sturgeon 2004, 71-74, cat. no. 4; Spyropoulos 2006, 106 fig. 16. Portraits of the Antonines set up in Olympia, Loukou, Messene: Bol 1984, 153-64, cat. nos 29-31; 173-75, cat. no. 37; Spyropoulos 2006, 106; 111, figs 17 and 21; *Ergon* 2001, 49 fig. 42. Portrait of Septimius Severus at Loukou: Spyropoulos 2006, 103 fig. 15. Late antique emperor, perhaps Constantine, in Messene: Deligiannakis 2005, 393-400, pls 10-13. Imperial portraits seen by Pausanias in the Peloponnese: Arafat 1996, 120; 126-31; 134; 157; 185.

5. A mystery cult of Antinoos was established by Hadrian in Mantinea (Paus. VIII. 9, 7-8). Images of Antinoos came to light in Patras (Athens, National Museum 417 [**Fig. 2**] and 418: Meyer 1991, 29-31, cat. I 7 and I 8; Rhomiopoulou 1997, no. 79; Goette 1998, 36; Kaltsas 2002, no. 723); Mantinea (Athens, National Museum 698: Clairmont 1966, no. 64); Corinth, theater (Sturgeon 2004, no. 25 and perhaps no. 26); Isthmia, sanctuary of Poseidon (Sturgeon 1987, no. 57); Myloi (Argos Museum: Meyer 1991, 27-28, cat. I 4). There was a cult of Antinoos in the villa of Herodes Atticus at Loukou, which contained a unique seated cult statue (Astros Museum: Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2003, fig. 12; Spyropoulos 2006, 131-32 fig. 24), a bust (Astros Museum 173: Meyer 1991, 28-29, cat. I 5; Datsouli-Stavridi 1993, 38, pl. 27α-δ) and an Egyptianizing head of Antinoos as Osiris (Astros Museum 232: Datsouli-Stavridi 1993, 29-30, pl. 17α-ζ). Most of Antinoos' images from the Peloponnese are in Pentelic marble but there are examples in Thasian marble like the two busts from Patras, the statue(s) from the Hadrianic theater in Corinth and the seated statue from Loukou.

6. Herodes Atticus' Nymphaion in Olympia: Bol 1984. Chryselephantine cult statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite at Isthmia sponsored by Herodes: Paus. II. 1, 8. Herodes' Villa at Loukou: Spyropoulos 2001, Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2003; Spyropoulos 2006. Herodes in Corinth: Ridgway 1981b, 436 n. 60; de Grazia 2003, 372. For a herm of Herodes from Corinth (Corinth Museum S 1219), see Sturgeon 1987, 94, pl. 85 c-d. Statue base of a portrait of Herodes' wife Regilla as Tyche dedicated in Corinth (Corinth I, 1658): Edwards 1990, 537, pl. 87a.

7. For Helikonios, see Wirth 1964. *Loukou* mosaic of 5th c. A.D. with the philosopher Helikonios holding a scroll with his name: Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2003, fig. 8 (misidentified as a personification of Mt. Helikon).



Fig. 3. Laconian sarcophagus in Taygetos marble. Mistras, embedded in Ottoman fountain adjacent to *Panagia ton Boubalon* church (Photo: Olga Palagia).

imperial period. The Argive and Sicyonian Schools of the classical and Hellenistic periods were now defunct and Pentelic marble dominated the markets. Quantities of Attic sarcophagi were imported into the Peloponnese or served as models for local imitations.⁸ Imitations of Attic and other sarcophagi in Laconia and Arcadia, for example, are easily distinguished by the use of local marble, from Mt. Taygetos in Laconia (**Fig. 3**) and from Doliana in Tegea.⁹ Asiatic sarcophagi were also imported, for example in Patras, Sparta and Hermione (**Fig. 4**) but they are few and far between.¹⁰

Few sculptors' signatures from the Roman Peloponnese have come down to us. The majority are Athenians with a few local sculptors operating in

Laconia (attested by signatures and by unfinished works), while workshops in Corinth, Isthmia and Epidauros, for example, seem to have produced small-scale works and architectural sculptures.¹¹ Grave reliefs also tended to be local affairs judging by their modest scale and low quality of carving.¹² The exception that proves the rule is a monumental grave relief of the 1st c. A.D. in Epidauros showing the deceased as Hermes.¹³ A handful of statues from the Roman Peloponnese also depict the deceased in the guise of a god, with individualized heads belonging to naked bodies that draw on classical prototypes.¹⁴ The Thasian marble statue of a young man as Diomedes (**Fig. 5**) from a tomb adjacent to the gymnasium of Messene reproduces a well-known

8. Corinth: Johnson 1931, 114-20, cat. no. 241; Ridgway 1981b, 441. Arcadia and Laconia: Sichtermann, Koch 1982, 360-62; 474; Koch 1993; Karapanagiotou 2008 and *ead.* 2009.

9. An imitation Attic sarcophagus with *erotes* and garlands in Taygetos marble is embedded in an Ottoman fountain near the church of *Panagia ton Boubalon* in Mistras (**Fig. 3**): Koch 1993, 248, fig. 6. Locally produced sarcophagus with Achilles outside the walls of Troy, possibly in Doliana marble, Tegea Museum 3: Koch 1993, 247, figs 2-3; Karapanagiotou 2005 and *ead.* 2009 (attributing it to a Laconian workshop which cannot be right, if it is made of local Doliana marble).

10. Sparta: British Museum GR 1839.8-6.5; see Walker 1990, cat. no. 47. Hermione: Kyrou 1990, 207; Koch 2009, 122, fig. 8.

11. Evidence for workshops depends on unfinished, repaired or reworked sculptures. Laconia: cf. unfinished head of Hadrian from Sparta, Athens, National Museum 371 (Evers 1994, 85, cat. no. 9). Signatures of Spartan artists: see below, esp. ns 27-29. Workshops in Corinth and Isthmia: Sturgeon 1989 and *ead.* 2003, 360-62; Edwards 1990, 541 n. 64. The reliefs from the Hadrianic theater stage in Corinth are attributed to a local workshop: Sturgeon 1989, 119. Workshops in Epidauros: Katakis 2002, 313-19.

12. Cf. grave reliefs from Patras (Papapostolou 1989) and Laconia (Papaefthymiou 1992 and 1993).

13. Epidauros Museum: Maderna 1988, 229-30, cat. H 6, pl. 28, 2.

14. On the significance of such practice, see Hallett 2005, 259-64.

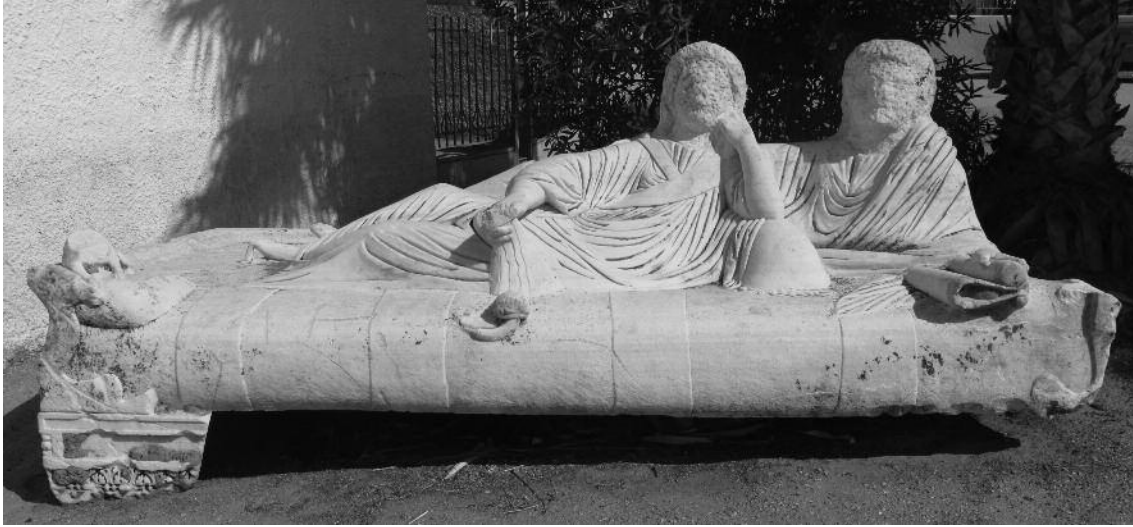


Fig. 4. Proconnesian sarcophagus lid. Hermione (Photo: Olga Palagia).

high classical type, which was occasionally used for imperial portraiture, and is highly idealized, perhaps implying heroization.¹⁵ The inscribed base of an honorary statue of the 1st c. A.D. that stood next to it describes the honorand, Theon, as a hero.¹⁶ A statue in Pentelic marble from Gytheion showing the deceased youth as Dionysos preserves all the trappings of that god: wreathed with ivy, he holds a kantharos in his right hand, resting his left hand on a vine, and is accompanied by a panther.¹⁷ It dates from the 3rd c. A.D. and the body type derives from a Hellenistic prototype.

Even though votive reliefs in the Roman period are few, Laconia not only produced quantities, they were also chiefly carved of local Taygetos marble.¹⁸ The reliefs in Pentelic marble found in Herodes Atticus' Villa at Loukou were obviously part of his sculpture collection and very likely imported from Attica.¹⁹ In late antique times when marble quar-

ries ceased to operate and marble became scarce, local sculptors repaired and reworked earlier statues to serve as portraits of governors or emperors.²⁰

The present survey depends on published material and may be regarded as preliminary; the picture conveyed here may change with the study of Roman sculpture from important sites like Patras or ancient collections like that in the Villa at Loukou which are still largely unpublished. We will discuss selected sculptures found in the Peloponnese in order to highlight themes and problems pertinent to the region. In this period we prefer to speak of sculptures found in the Peloponnese rather than of Proconnesian sculpture in its own right.

Sculptors' Signatures

Sculptors' signatures in Roman times are less common than in earlier periods; artists tended to sign on the statues themselves, possibly because their

15. Messene Museum 8664: Themelis 2000, 147-58. Portraits in the guise of Diomedes: Maderna 1988, 56-80, pls 18-25.

16. Messene 6650: Themelis 2000, 146-47.

17. Athens, National Museum 2779: Wrede 1981, 261, cat. no. 175, pl. 24, 3; Kaltsas 2002, no. 773.

18. British Museum 811 and 812: Walker 1989. The rest are in the Sparta Museum: Steinhauer 1993; Sanders 1993; Palagia 2001, 293-94 figs 6-7; Schörner 2003, pls 12-17.

19. They are now distributed between the Astros Museum and the Tripolis Museum. Spyropoulos 1993, figs 9 and 12; Datsouli-Stavridi 1993, pls 15, 30, 31; Spyropoulos 2006, 100-02, fig. 14. For a Mithraic relief of the 3rd c. A.D. from Patras (Patras Museum 19), see Kolia 2003, 417-23, pl. 94, 1. Relief of the flute player Korinthos at Isthmia: Lattimore 1996, cat. no. 87.

20. Johnson 1931, 150-54, cat. nos 325-28; Ridgway 1981b, 447 with n. 102, pl. 97b; Sturgeon 1989, 116-17; De Grazia Vanderpool 2003, 382; Deligiannakis 2005.



Fig. 5. Statue of heroized dead youth as Diomedes in Thasian marble. From Messene. Messene Museum 8664 (Photo courtesy of Petros Themelis).

works were shipped out unaccompanied to be installed at destination without the supervision of their creators. It is interesting that the majority of signed works in the Peloponnese were the products of Attic workshops. Five portraits in Pentelic marble signed by Athenians were dedicated at the Metroon and the Heraion in Olympia in the 1st c. A.D. First, the portraits of Claudius (**Fig. 6**) and Agrippina Minor, erected in the Metroon to form part of the imperial cult in Claudius' lifetime, were signed by the Athenians Philathenaios and Hegias (on the stump bracing Claudius' right leg) and Dionysos son of Apollonios (on Agrippina's plinth).²¹ The image of Claudius as Jupiter, with scepter and eagle (**Fig. 6**), was directly inspired by a prototype created in Rome as attested by a statue found in Lanuvium.²² The Athenian version, however, is more animated and livelier than its Roman model. In addition, three honorary portrait statues of Eleian ladies set up in the Heraion were signed by Athenian artists: two headless images of the same statuary type were signed by two different sculptors, Eros (on the left knee) and Eleusinos (on the plinth),²³ while a third, reproducing the type of the Large Herculaneum Woman, was signed on her right knee by Aulos Sextos Eraton.²⁴

The only sculptor's signature from Roman Corinth is that of the Athenian Theodotos, inscribed on a marble revetment plaque of the *scenae frons* of the Hadrianic theater.²⁵

Roman Sparta was exceptional. Not only did it leave a substantial sculptural production in local Taygetos marble in the form of sarcophagi (**Fig. 3**), reliefs, architectural sculptures and the odd acrolith,²⁶ there are also records of local sculptors in both marble and bronze. In the time of Augustus, an association of worshippers of the Dioscuri participating in an annual banquet (σπτηθέντες) included the sculptors who made the votive reliefs (in Taygetos marble) for the occasion. Two such sculptors are known: Mantikles son of Sosikrates and Antilas son of Ainetidas.²⁷ In the first half of the 3rd c. A.D. Demetrios son of Demetrios signed three honorary marble portraits herms.²⁸ These were modest works but Sparta in the first quarter of the 3rd c. A.D. could also boast of a local bronze sculptor. [--] son of Dionysios, no ethnic, therefore local, signed as τεχνείτης (sic) a bronze group of over-life-size imperial portraits.²⁹ The inscription describes these portraits as divine (θεῖα) *agalмата* indicating that they were recipients of imperial cult. The large base is now fragmentary and contains erasures suggesting a case of *damnatio memoriae*. Two reconstructions have been proposed: a family group of Elagabalus, one of his wives, his mother, Julia Soemias, Alexander Severus, his mother, Julia Mamaea, and Julia Maesa, erected in A.D. 221/2³⁰ or Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta and Fulvia Plautilla, erected between A.D. 203 and 205.³¹ The statue base is often associated with an

21. Claudius, Olympia Museum Λ 125: Treu 1897, 244-45; Stone 1985, 381-82, pl. 82, 2; Hitzl 1991, 38-43, pl. 13a. Agrippina Minor, Olympia Museum Λ 143: Treu 1897, 256-57; Stone 1985, 382, pl. 83, 1; Hitzl 1991, 43-46, pl. 14c. Agrippina's portrait was found near the Heraion but is generally assigned to the Metroon group.

22. Claudius from Lanuvium, Vatican Museum 243: Maderna 1988, 157-58, JS 2, pl. 3, 1; Hallett 2005, pl. 96. For this statuary type of the emperor as Jupiter, normally employed for Augustus and Claudius, see Hallett 2005, 169-70.

23. Statue signed by Eros, Olympia Museum Λ 140: Treu 1897, 258; Stone 1985, 386, pl. 85, 1; Krumeich 2008, 85, pl. 15, 5. Statue signed by Eleusinos, Olympia Museum Λ 141: Treu 1897, 258; Stone 1985, 386, pl. 85, 2; Krumeich 2008, 85, pl. 15, 4.

24. Olympia Museum Λ 139: Treu 1897, 252-53; Bol 2008, 151-52, figs 3-4; Krumeich 2008, 85, pl. 15, 6.

25. Sturgeon 2004, 22-24; 49, pl. 2c.

26. Sarcophagi: see supra p. 434 n. 8. Reliefs: see supra p. 434 n. 12 and p. 435 n. 18. Architectural sculptures: e.g., late 2nd c. A.D. Herakles herms from the *scenae frons* of the Sparta theater now in the Sparta Museum: Palagia 1989. Acrolith: head of Helen, Sparta Museum 571: Palagia 2001, 291-92, fig. 5.

27. Sparta Museum 203: *IG V* 1, 209; Spawforth 1986, 324 n. 33; Palagia 2001, 293 n. 63 with further references. Another relief: *IG V* 1, 208.

28. *IG V* 1, 538, 539 and 540; *SEG* 11, 1950, 796-97; Spawforth 1984, 274-77.

29. Inscribed statue base of Taygetos marble in the Sparta Museum: Spawforth 1986, 317; 323-24, fig. 1; Palagia 2001, 298-99, fig. 13. The artist's signature is in the genitive ([Διον]υσιού ν τεχνείτου [*sic*] δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαλμάτων) according to a well-known formula implying that he also made all practical arrangements for setting them up.

30. Koumanoudis 1970; Riccardi 1998.

31. Spawforth 1986, 313-27; Palagia 2001, 299; *RP* II, 232-34 LAC* 366 (Lepenioti).



Fig. 6. Colossal portrait statue of Claudius in Pentelic marble, signed by the Athenian sculptors Philathenaios and Hegias. From the Metroon of Olympia. Olympia Museum A 125 (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Athens, neg. no. OLYMPIA 2126).

over-life-size bronze portrait of a Severan empress. The portrait was found flattened, her face battered, in a Roman building on the acropolis of Sparta, and was promptly thought to have fallen victim to *damnatio memoriae*.³² Her hairstyle is typical of wigs worn by female members of the Severan house and she has been variously identified with Julia Mamaea (Alexander Severus' mother),³³ Julia Acquilia Severa (one of Elagabalus' wives)³⁴ or Plautilla (Caracalla's wife).³⁵ Whereas both Plautilla and Julia Mamaea had suffered *damnatio memoriae* and subsequent mutilation of their portraits,³⁶ Julia Aquilia Severa did not. If the portrait belonged to the latter, then another explanation had to be found for her crushed image. Christian desecration or damage inflicted by the collapse of the building have both been proposed.³⁷ Regardless of what actually happened to the bronze statue, it is perhaps significant that of the three, only Plautilla can be shown to have had any connection with Sparta. Laconia issued Roman imperials featuring her (in A. D. 202-205), Caracalla, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Geta,³⁸ the exact members of the imperial family, in fact, who may have been honored with bronze statues in the same period if the massive base is correctly assigned to them. Caracalla's special relations with Sparta are also documented by his recruitment of a Spartan contingent in A.D. 214 that probably served in his Parthian campaign until 217.³⁹ This increases the probability that the bronze sculptor [---] son of Dionysios was active in Sparta in the early years of the 3rd c. A.D.

Marble Copies of Classical and Hellenistic Masterpieces

A number of high-quality Roman copies and variants of well-known masterpieces of Greek sculpture came to light in the Peloponnese. They are in Pentelic marble favoring fifth-century prototypes and are very likely products of Athenian workshops. We will discuss copies that are unique in some way or have special significance.

A standing, nude Zeus from Olympia with long hair falling on his shoulders (**Fig. 7**) is more likely a copy of a Severe Style prototype than a Roman creation even though no other copies of this type have come down to us.⁴⁰ His idiosyncratic coiffure with long locks rolled over a hairband recalls the fragmentary plaster cast of a Severe Style bronze head found in Baiae, where the man's long locks are rolled up over a braid that is tied around his head.⁴¹ A copy of the post-Pheidias Dresden Zeus, also from Olympia, is of special significance because its presence in Olympia establishes the identity of the type as Zeus rather than Asklepios or Hades as had been suggested.⁴²

A reduced copy of Pheidias' Athena *Parthenos* of the 2nd c. A.D. from Patras (**Fig. 8**) preserves the right half of her shield, reproducing important details of the amazonomachy on the exterior which are not available in other copies.⁴³ A colossal, fragmentary cult statue of Amphitrite in Pentelic marble that formed part of an early Antonine cult-statue group with Poseidon in his temple at Isthmia seems to draw heavily on Agorakritos' statue of the Mother

32. Athens, National Museum X 23321: Rhomiopoulou 1997, no. 121; Kaltsas 2002, no. 756.

33. Koumanoudis 1970; Datsouli-Stavridi 1998, 254-57 with earlier references.

34. Riccardi 1998; Kourinou Pikoula 2001.

35. Spawforth 1986, 326; Palagia 2001, 295-300.

36. Varner 2004, 164-68 (Plautilla); 195-98 (Julia Mamaea).

37. Riccardi (1998, 264-67) attributed the damage to Christian desecration, Kourinou Pikoula (2001, 428) to the collapse of the building, at the same time questioning the association of the bronze portrait with the inscribed statue base.

38. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 191-94, pls 27-28. Laconian imperials of Plautilla: *op. cit.*, 192, pl. 28.

39. Herodian IV. 8, 3. Spawforth 1984, 267-69. Cf. also the grave relief in Taygetos marble of the Spartan soldier Alexys, who died in that campaign: Athens, National Museum 1290, Kaltsas 2002, no. 764.

40. Olympia Museum A 170: Bol 1984, 187-90, cat. no. 48, pls 59-61. Associated with the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus.

41. Baia Castle 174.482: Landwehr 1985, cat. no. 68, pl. 65a.

42. Olympia Museum A 108: Bol 1984, 190-93, no. 49, pls 62-63; 68. Associated with the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus. Identified with Hades or Asklepios: see Despinis 1971, 133-45; Ridgway 1981a, 173; 197.

43. Patras Museum 6: Leipen 1971, 4, no. 6, figs 7 and 24; Harrison 1981, ill. 5 and figs 25-27; 29-30; Nick 2002, 238, A5.



Fig. 7. Statue of Zeus in Pentelic marble. From the gymnasium of Olympia, attributed to the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus. Olympia Museum Λ 170 (Photo: Hans R. Goette).

of the Gods that stood in Athens.⁴⁴ Amphitrite's statue base carried relief narratives inspired by creations of Pheidias and his pupils: the slaughter of the Niobids is dependent on the armrests of the throne of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, while the Callydonian boar hunt may document an otherwise unknown classical prototype.⁴⁵ The Isthmia group is attributed to an Athenian workshop. Pausanias (II. 1, 8) describes another cult-stature group set up by Herodes Atticus and therefore only a few decades later than the extant marble group: it was made of ivory and gold and stood on a base with a different relief narrative. We do not know the size of Herodes' group but it need not have been colossal. It is likely that both groups stood in the cella of Poseidon's temple.⁴⁶

Another echo of Agorakritos' work is preserved in a fragmentary Neo-Attic relief from the Asklepieion in Corinth, presumably imported from Athens.⁴⁷ It reproduces a *peplos* figure from the statue base of Agorakritos' Nemesis at Rhamnous. She is shown alongside a seated Zeus that derives from an unknown source, following the usual practice of Neo-Attic reliefs of combining figures from different Attic monuments.

A copy of Lysippos' Herakles Farnese in Pentelic marble from the Roman Bath of Argos (**Fig. 9**) is probably the most accurate reproduction extant.⁴⁸ The original stood in Argos too, as attested by the type's appearance as a mint mark on a posthumous Alexandrine of the early 3rd c. B.C.⁴⁹

Finally, the collection in Herodes' Villa at Loukou comprised an important copy of the second-century B.C. group of Achilles and Penthesilea.⁵⁰ It is the only copy extant retaining Achilles' head, showing that it was turned away from Penthesilea who was collapsing at his feet.

44. Isthmia Museum: Sturgeon 1987, 76-113, pls 34-42 (Amphitrite) and 45-50 (statue base).

45. Harrison (1996, 60 n. 209) has suggested that the Isthmia statue base was copied from Agorakritos' base of the Mother of the Gods in the Agora of Athens, and that Agorakritos had adopted Pheidias designs for the reliefs on his base. For a possible fragment of Agorakritos' statue base found in the Athenian Agora (Agora A 3001), see Palagia 2006, 124 with n. 56.

46. Sturgeon 1987, 4.

47. Corinth Museum S 1449: Palagia 2000, 73-74, fig. 4.12; Sturgeon 2003, 366. On the Zeus type, see Böhm 2004, 96-101 fig. 58.

48. 2nd c. A.D. Argos Museum: Marcadé 1957, 408-413; Moreno 1995, 52 fig. 4.4.2.

49. Moreno 1995, 44 fig. 4.4.1.

50. The copy dates from the 2nd c. A.D. Astros Museum: Spyropoulos 2001, 129-58, pls 5-8; Spyropoulos 2006, 83-87, fig. 10.



Fig. 8. Shield from a reduced copy of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos. From Patras. Patras Museum 6 (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Athens, neg. no. 1973/2291).

City Goddesses

Tyche as a city goddess had several cults in the Peloponnese, documented chiefly by Pausanias, and was also a popular coin type on Roman imperials.⁵¹ In Sparta her cult was associated to a number of other cults, including the imperial cult.⁵² Roman Tyche was usually depicted with a mural crown, as in two heads found in Corinth (one belonged to the pedimental sculptures of temple E).⁵³ There are, however, two unusual heads of city goddesses (**Figs 10-11**) of high quality that merit further discussion. A colossal head of Tyche from Sikyon (**Fig. 10**), made of Pentelic marble and once inserted into a statue that is now lost, exceptionally combines her mural crown with a helmet. This may indicate a fusion between Tyche and Roma.⁵⁴ Pausanias (II. 7, 5) records a temple of Tyche in Sikyon housing a *xoanon*; Tyche wear-

51. Pausanias: references collected in Hamdorf 1964, 98-99. Coins: references collected in Palagia 1994, 67 with ns 19-29.

52. For epigraphical documentation, see Palagia 1994, 66; Hupfloher 2000, 201-03.

53. Corinth Museum S 1540, 1st c. A.D., from the pediment of temple E: Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 216, cat. no. 5, fig. 171. Corinth Museum S 802: Edwards 1990, 531, pl. 83a; Sturgeon 2003, 356-57, fig. 21.7. Temple of Tyche in Corinth: Paus. II. 2, 7.

54. On the iconography of Roma: Vermeule 1959.



Fig. 9. Copy of Lysippos' Herakles Farnese. From Argos. Argos Museum (Photo: Hans R. Goette).

ing a mural crown and holding a *cornucopia* is shown on Roman imperials issued in Sikyon under Plautilla.⁵⁵ The representation of Roma as a city goddess wearing a mural crown as attested by the head in **Fig. 10** is a new invention and was probably related to the imperial cult as was customary with most cults of Roma in Greece.⁵⁶

A life-size head of a city goddess in Pentelic marble of the 2nd c. A.D. found in Sparta (**Fig. 11**) wears a unique mural crown decorated with a figural scene.⁵⁷ The high quality of carving and exceptional iconography suggest an import, presumably from a great artistic center like Athens. The right part of the scene on the turreted crown is damaged but it is possible to make out two frontal, striding figures in short chitons. They are arranged in a schema implying conflict, as exemplified by Athena and Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon.⁵⁸ The figure on the right stands above the center of Tyche's forehead, while the one on the left is an Oriental on a slightly smaller scale. The scene has been variously interpreted as an amazonomachy or as Aeneas escaping Troy with his son Ascanius and father Anchises (hypothetically restored on the now damaged right side), and the goddess has been accordingly identified with either the Tyche of Sparta or a personification of Ilion.⁵⁹ Quite apart from the fact that no sculptural representations of Ilion are known, the corkscrew curls falling at the sides of Tyche's head (**Fig. 11**) and her double chin are reminiscent of Ptolemaic queens, which points to a possible Ptolemaic prototype for the city goddess of Sparta.⁶⁰ It has been shown that the amazonomachy was a popular subject in Sparta and may have functioned as a city crest.⁶¹

In sum, sculpture in the Peloponnese in the Roman imperial period is remarkable for retaining classical and classicizing forms like sculptured pediments and copies or adaptations of classical works, at the same time following new trends especially

55. *BMC Peloponnesus* 56, no. 244.

56. For the association of the cult of Roma with the imperial cult in the Peloponnese, see Mellor 1975, 106-07; 208-09.

57. The head has been dated to the late Hadrianic/early Antonine period. The body is lost. Palagia 1994; Franken 2002.

58. Cf. Carrey's drawing of the west pediment: Palagia 1993, fig. 3.

59. Tyche of Sparta with amazonomachy: Palagia 1994. Ilion with Aeneas escaping Troy: Franken 2002.

60. Palagia 1994, 72. A good parallel is provided by a colossal limestone head of a Ptolemaic queen, Alexandria Museum 21992: Kyrieleis 1975, 184-85, M 10, pl. 103, 4.

61. Palagia 1994.



Fig. 10. Head of city goddess wearing helmet and mural crown, here identified with Roma as city goddess. Pentelic marble. From Sikyon. Sikyon Museum 324 (Photo: Olga Palagia).



Fig. 11. Head of city goddess wearing mural crown with figural scene, here identified with the Tyche of Sparta. Pentelic marble. From Sparta. Sparta Museum 7945 (Photo: Olga Palagia).

as regards architectural sculptures, imperial portraiture or new personifications. The Peloponnese can boast of at least one outstanding villa with a magnificent sculpture collection which was evidently assembled in Attica and elsewhere. The region was dominated by Athenian artists and materials but local works were also produced, especially in more isolated parts like Laconia which also produced its own marble.

Olga Palagia

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens,
Department of Archaeology and Art History

Bibliography

- Arafat (K. W.), 1996: *Pausanias' Greece. Ancient Artists and Roman Rulers*, Cambridge.
- Böhm (S.), 2004: *Klassizistische Weihreliefs*. Zur römischen Rezeption griechischer Motivbilder, Wiesbaden.
- Bol (R.), 1984: *Das Statuenprogramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nymphäums*, *OIForsch.* XV, Berlin.
- , 2008: “Die Bildnisstatue der Antonia Cleodice im Kontext ihrer Aufstellung im Olympischen Heraion”, in *Amicitiae Gratia*, Τόμος στη μνήμη Αλκμήνης Σταυρίδη, Athens, 149-56.
- Clairmont (C. W.), 1966: *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*, Rome.
- Datsouli-Stavridi (A.), 1987: *Ρωμαϊκά πορτραίτα στο Μουσείο Σπάρτης*, Athens.
- , 1993: *Γλυπτά από την Θυρεάτιδα Κυνουρίας*, Athens.
- , 1998: “Ein weibliches Porträt spätseverischer Zeit im Museum von Nauplion”, *MDAI(A)* 113, 253-57.
- De Grazia Vanderpool (C.), 2003: “Roman portraiture:

- the many faces of Corinth”, in Williams, Bookidis (eds), 369-84.
- Deligiannakis (G.), 2005: “Two Late-Antique statues from ancient Messene”, *ABSA* 100, 387-405.
- Despinis (G. I.), 1971: *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγορακρίτου*, Athens.
- Edwards (C. M.), 1990: “Tyche at Corinth”, *Hesperia* 59, 529-42.
- , 1994: “The arch over the Lechaion Road at Corinth and its sculpture”, *Hesperia* 63, 263-308.
- Evers (C.), 1994: *Les Portraits d’Hadrien. Typologie et ateliers*, Brussels.
- Franken (N.), 2002: “Aeneas in Sparta. Bemerkungen zu einem Kopf der Stadtgöttin von Ilion”, *AA* 2001, 481-86.
- Goette (H. R.), 1998: review of Meyer 1991, *GGA* 250, 27-48.
- Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann (S.), 1978: *Die Munzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, Berlin.
- Hallett (C.), 2005: *The Roman Nude. Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC - AD 300*, Oxford.
- Hamdorf (F. W.), 1964: *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit*, Mainz.
- Harrison (E. B.), 1981: “Motifs of the city-siege on the shield of Athena Parthenos”, *AJA* 85, 281-317.
- , 1996: “Pheidias”, in O. Palagia, J. J. Pollitt (eds), *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Cambridge, 16-65.
- Hitzl (K.), 1991: *Die Kaiserzeitliche Statuenausstattung des Metroon, Olforsch. XIX*, Berlin - New York.
- Hupflohner (A.), 2000. *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta*, Berlin.
- Johnson (F. P.), 1931: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens IX, Sculpture 1896-1923*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Kaltsas (N.), 2002: *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, Los Angeles.
- Karapanagiotou (A. W.), 2005: “ΕΚΤΟΠΟΣ ΑΝΑΙΠΕ-ΣΙΣ. Der Sarkophag im Museum von Tegea Inv.-Nr. 3”, *MDAI(A)* 120, 417-31.
- , 2008: “Νέο θραύσμα σαρκοφάγου με αμαζονομαχία από τη Λακωνία”, in *Amicitiae Gratia. Τόμος στη μνήμη Αλκμήνης Σταυρίδη*, Athens, 227-34.
- , 2009: “Kaiserzeitliche Sarkophage aus Arkadien (Peloponnes)”, in V. Gaggadis-Robin, A. Hermary, M. Reddé, C. Sintes (eds), *Les Ateliers de sculpture régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie*, Actes du X^e Colloque International sur l’Art Provincial Romain, Arles - Aix-en-Provence, 239-49.
- Katakis (S. E.), 2002: *Επίδαυρος. Τα γλυπτά των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων από το ιερό του Απόλλωνος Μαλέατα και του Ασκληπιού*, Athens.
- Koch (G.), 1993: “Σαρκοφάγοι της ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορικής εποχής στην Αρκαδία και τη Λακωνία”, in Palagia, Coulson (eds), 245-50.
- , 2009: “Klinen-Deckel lokaler Sarkophage der Kaiserzeit in Kleinasien”, *Adalya* 12, 117-43.
- Kolia (E.-I.), 2003: “Eine Kultgrotte des Mithras in Aigion. Aspekte der Mithras-Verehrung in Achaia”, *MDAI(A)* 118, 397-447.
- Koumanoudis (S. N.), 1970: “Ιουλία Μαμαία εκ Σπάρτης”, *AAA* 3, 260-62.
- Kourinou Pikoula (E.), 2001: “The bronze portrait statue NM 23321 from Sparta”, *ABSA* 96, 425-29.
- Krumeich (R.), 2008: “Vom Haus der Gottheit zum Museum? Zu Ausstattung und Funktion des Heraion von Olympia und des Athenatempels von Lindos”, *AntK* 51, 73-95.
- Kyrieleis (H.), 1975: *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin.
- Kyrou (A. K.), 1990: *Στο σταυροδρόμι του Αργολικού I*, Athens.
- Landwehr (Chr.), 1985: *Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Baiae: griechische Bronzestatuen in Abgüssen römischer Zeit*, Archäologische Forschungen 14, Berlin.
- Lattimore (S.), 1996: *Isthmia VI, Sculpture ii*, Princeton.
- Leipen (N.), 1971: *Athena Parthenos*, Toronto.
- Maderna (C.), 1988: *Iuppiter Diomedes und Merkur als Vorbilder für römische Bildnisstatuen. Untersuchungen zum römischen statuarischen Idealporträt*, Heidelberg.
- Marcadé (J.), 1957: “Sculptures argiennes”, *BCH* 81, 405-74.
- Mellor (R.), 1975: *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Hypomnemata 42, Göttingen.
- Meyer (H.), 1991: *Antinoos*, Munich.
- Moreno (P.), 1995: *Lisippo. L’arte e la fortuna*, Monza.
- Nick (G.), 2002: *Die Athena Parthenos. Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption*, *MDAI(A)* Beih. 19, Mainz a. Rh.
- Palagia (O.), 1989: “Seven pilasters of Herakles from Sparta”, in Walker, Cameron (eds), 122-29.
- , 1993: *The Pediments of the Parthenon*, Leiden - Boston - Cologne.
- , 1994: “Tyche at Sparta”, *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 1994, 64-75.
- , 2000: “Meaning and narrative techniques in statue-bases of the Pheidian circle”, in N. K. Rutter, B. A. Sparkes (eds), *Word and Image in Classical Greece*, Edinburgh, 53-78.
- , 2001: “Sculptures from Roman Sparta”, in A. Alexandri, I. Leventi (eds), *Καλλίστευμα. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Όλγας Τζάχου-Αλεξάνδρη*, Athens, 285-300.
- , 2006: “Classical Athens”, in Palagia (ed.), *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Cambridge, 119-62.
- Palagia (O.), Coulson (W.) (eds), 1993: *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia*, Oxford.
- Papaëthymiou (W.), 1992: *Grabreliefs späthellenistischer und römischer Zeit aus Sparta und Lakonien*, Munich.
- , 1993: “Επιτύμβιες στήλες των ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων του Μουσείου Σπάρτης”, in Palagia, Coulson (eds), 237-44.
- Papapostolou (I. A.), 1989: “Monuments des combats des gladiateurs à Patras”, *BCH* 113, 351-401.

- Petropoulos (M.), 2007: “Νικόπολις - Πάτρα μέσω Αιτωλοακαρνανίας”, in K. L. Zachos (ed.), *Νικόπολις Β' 1, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για την Νικόπολη (11-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 2002)*, Preveza, 175-211.
- Rhomiopoulou (K.), 1997: *Ελληνορωμαϊκά γλυπτά του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου*, Athens.
- Riccardi (L. A.), 1998: “The mutilation of the bronze portrait of a Severan empress from Sparta: ‘damnatio memoriae’ or Christian iconoclasm?” *MDAI(A)* 113, 259-69.
- Ridgway (B. S.), 1981a: *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton.
- , 1981b: “Sculpture from Corinth”, *Hesperia* 50, 422-48.
- Rose (C. B.), 1997: *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Cambridge.
- RP II: A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, Cl. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman personal names in their social context (Laconia and Messenia)*, Meletemata 36, Athens 2004.
- Sanders (J.), 1993: “The Dioscuri in post-Classical Sparta”, in Palagia, Coulson (eds), 217-24.
- Schörner (G.), 2003: *Votive im römischen Griechenland*, Wiesbaden.
- Sichtermann (H.), Koch (G.), 1982: *Römische Sarkophage*, Munich.
- Spawforth (A. J. S.), 1984: “Notes on the third century AD in Spartan epigraphy”, *ABSA* 79, 263-88.
- , 1986: “A Severan statue-group and an Olympic festival at Sparta”, *ABSA* 81, 313-32.
- Spyropoulos (G.), 2001: *Drei Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik aus der Villa des Herodes Atticus zu Eva/Loukou*, Frankfurt.
- , 2006: *Η έπαυλη του Ηρώδη Αττικού στην Εύα/Λουκού Κυνουρίας*, Athens.
- Spyropoulos (G.), Spyropoulos (T.), 2003: “Prächtige Villa, Refugium und Musenstätte”, *AW* 34, 463-70.
- Spyropoulos (T.), 1993: “Νέα γλυπτά αποκτήματα του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Τριπόλεως”, in Palagia, Coulson (eds), 257-67.
- Steinhauer (G.), 1993: “Η εικονογραφία των Διοσκουρών στη ρωμαϊκή Σπάρτη”, in Palagia, Coulson (eds), 225-35.
- Stillwell (R.), Scranton (R. L.), Freeman (S. E.), 1941: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens I.2, Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Stirling (L. M.), 2008: “Pagan statuettes in Late Antique Corinth: Sculpture from the Panayia Domus”, *Hesperia* 77, 89-161.
- Stone III (S. C.), 1985: “The imperial sculptural group in the Metroon at Olympia”, *MDAI(A)* 100, 377-91.
- Sturgeon (M. C.), 1977: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens IX.2, Sculpture. The Reliefs from the Theater*, Princeton.
- , 1987: *Isthmia IV, Sculpture i*, 1952-67, Princeton.
- , 1989: “Roman sculptures from Corinth and Isthmia: a case for a local workshop”, in Walker, Cameron (eds), 114-21.
- , 2003: “Sculpture at Corinth 1896-1996”, in Williams, Bookidis (eds), 351-68.
- , 2004: *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens IX.3, Sculpture. The Assemblage from the Theater*, Princeton.
- , 2009: “New Roman statuary from the Isthmian Palaimonion”, in V. Gaggadis-Robin, A. Hermary, M. Reddé, C. Sintès (eds), *Les Ateliers de sculpture régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie*, Actes du X^e Colloque International sur l’Art Provincial Romain, Arles - Aix-en-Provence, 251-56.
- Themelis (P.), 2000: *Ηρώες και ηρώα στη Μεσσήνη*, Athens.
- Treu (G.), 1897: *Olympia III, Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon*, Berlin.
- Varner (E. R.), 2004: *Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*, Leiden - Boston.
- Vermeule (C. C.), 1959: *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*, London.
- Walker (S.), 1989: “Two Spartan women and the Eleusinion”, in Walker, Cameron (eds), 130-41.
- , 1990: *Catalogue of Roman Sarcophagi in the British Museum*, London.
- Walker (S.), Cameron (A.) (eds), 1989: *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire, Papers from the 10th British Museum Classical Colloquium 1986*, *BICS* Suppl. 55.
- Williams (C. K.), Boukidis (N.) (eds), 2003: *Corinth XX, Corinth, The Centenary 1896-1996*, Princeton.
- Wirth (G.), 1964: “Helikonios der Sophist”, *Historia* 13, 506-09.
- Wrede (H.), 1981: *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, Mainz.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY
(I.E.R.A.)

MEΛETHMATA Series

1. L. Gounaropoulou, M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (MEΛETHMATA 1; Athens 1985)
2. Y. E. Meimaris, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine* (MEΛETHMATA 2; Athens 1986)
3. M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. D. Loukopoulou, *Two Studies in Ancient Macedonian Topography* (MEΛETHMATA 3; Athens 1987)
4. M. B. Sakellariou, *The Polis-State: Definition and Origin* (MEΛETHMATA 4; Athens 1989)
5. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Une donation du roi Lysimaque* (MEΛETHMATA 5; Athens 1988)
6. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Actes de vente de la Chalcidique centrale* (MEΛETHMATA 6; Athens 1988)
7. M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. D. Loukopoulou, *Morrylos, cité de la Crestonie* (MEΛETHMATA 7; Athens 1989)
8. A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society* (MEΛETHMATA 8; Athens 1988)
9. L. D. Loukopoulou, *Contribution à l'étude de la Thrace propontique* (MEΛETHMATA 9; Athens 1989)
10. M. B. Sakellariou (ed.), *Ποικίλα* (MEΛETHMATA 10; Athens 1990)
11. M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. D. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides (Anthémonte - Kalindoia)* (MEΛETHMATA 11; 1^{ère} partie: Athens 1992; 2^e partie: Athens 1996)
12. M. B. Sakellariou, *Between Memory and Oblivion. The Transmission of Early Greek Historical Traditions* (MEΛETHMATA 12; Athens 1991)
13. A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike. Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums, Athen, 19.-21. Mai 1989* (MEΛETHMATA 13; Athens 1991)
14. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Actes de vente d'Amphipolis* (MEΛETHMATA 14; Athens 1991)
15. A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Paysages d'Achaïe I. Le bassin du Péiros et la plaine occidentale* (MEΛETHMATA 15; Athens 1992)
16. Ph. Gauthier, M. B. Hatzopoulos, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia* (MEΛETHMATA 16; Athens 1993)
17. Y. E. Meimaris, K. Kritikakou, P. Bougia, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions* (MEΛETHMATA 17; Athens 1992)
18. A. B. Tataki, *Macedonian Edessa: Prosopography and Onomasticon* (MEΛETHMATA 18; Athens 1994)
19. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine* (MEΛETHMATA 19; Athens 1994)
20. A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale* (MEΛETHMATA 20; Athens 1995)
21. A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens, 7-9 September 1993* (MEΛETHMATA 21; Athens 1996)
22. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings. I. A Historical and Epigraphic Study. II. Epigraphic Appendix* (MEΛETHMATA 22; Athens 1996)
23. G. Le Rider, *Monnayage et finances de Philippe II: un état de la question* (MEΛETHMATA 23; Athens 1996)
24. Ch. Papageorgiadou-Banis, *The Coinage of Kea* (MEΛETHMATA 24; Athens 1997)
25. A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II. La cité de Patras: épigraphie et histoire* (MEΛETHMATA 25; Athens 1998)
26. A. B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad: A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia* (MEΛETHMATA 26; Athens 1998)
27. L. G. Mendoni, A. Mazarakis Ainian (eds), *Kea - Kythnos: History and Archaeology. Proceedings of an International Symposium. Kea - Kythnos, 22-25 June 1994* (MEΛETHMATA 27; Athens 1998)
28. Ph. M. Petsas, M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulou, P. Paschidis, *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux Autochtone de Leukopetra (Macédoine)* (MEΛETHMATA 28; Athens 2000)

29. A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Paysages d'Achaïe II. Dymé et son territoire. Actes du colloque international: Dymaia et Bouprasia, Katô Achaïa, 6-8 Octobre 1995* (MEΛETHMATA 29; Athens 2000)
30. M. B. Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides. Problèmes anciens et documents nouveaux* (MEΛETHMATA 30; Athens 2001)
31. A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki (with the collaboration of M. Kantirea), *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Achaïa, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)* (MEΛETHMATA 31; Athens 2001)
32. S. B. Zoumbaki, *Elis und Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (MEΛETHMATA 32; Athens 2001)
33. A. Michailidou (ed.), *Manufacture and Measurement. Counting, Measuring and Recording Craft Items in Early Aegean Societies* (MEΛETHMATA 33; Athens 2001)
34. M. Mari, *Al di là dell'Olimpo. Macedoni e grandi santuari della Grecia dall'età arcaica al primo Ellenismo* (MEΛETHMATA 34; Athens 2002)
35. S. Kremydi-Sicilianou, *Multiple Concealments from the Sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion: Three Roman Provincial Coin Hoards* (MEΛETHMATA 35; Athens 2004)
36. A. D. Rizakis, S. Zoumbaki, C. Lepenioti, *Roman Peloponnese II. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Laconia and Messenia)* (MEΛETHMATA 36; Athens 2004)
37. G. Fowden, E. Key Fowden, *Studies on Hellenism, Christianity and the Umayyads* (MEΛETHMATA 37; Athens 2004)
38. P. Doukellis, L. Mendoni (éds.), *Perceptions and Evaluation of the Cultural Landscapes. Proceedings of an International Symposium (Zakynthos, December 1997)* (MEΛETHMATA 38; Athens 2004)
39. H. Papageorgiadou-Bani, *The Numismatic Iconography of the Roman Colonies in Greece: Local Spirit and the Expression of Imperial Policy* (MEΛETHMATA 39; Athens 2004)
40. S. Zoumbaki, *Prosopographie der Eleer bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr.* (MEΛETHMATA 40; Athens 2005)
41. Y. E. Meimaris, K. I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia. Vol. Ia. The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora)* (MEΛETHMATA 41; Athens 2005)
42. A. Michailidou, *Weight and Value in Pre-Coinage Societies: an Introduction* (MEΛETHMATA 42; Athens 2005)
43. *Index du Bulletin Epigraphique (1987-2001)*. Vol. I: *Les publications*, par S. Aneziri, N. Giannakopoulos, P. Paschidis. Vol. II: *Les mots grecs*, par S. Aneziri, N. Giannakopoulos, P. Paschidis. Vol. III: *Les mots français*, par S. Aneziri, N. Giannakopoulos (MEΛETHMATA 43; Athens 2005)
44. A. Zournatzi, *Persian Rule in Cyprus: Sources, Problems, Perspectives* (MEΛETHMATA 44; Athens 2005)
45. A. M. Guimier-Sorbets, M. B. Hatzopoulos, Y. Morizot (eds), *Rois, Cités, Nécropoles. Institutions, rites et monuments en Macédoine. Actes des colloques de Nanterre (Décembre 2002) et d'Athènes (Janvier 2004)*. (MEΛETHMATA 45; Athens 2006)
46. A. Tataki, *The Roman Presence in Macedonia. Evidence from Personal Names* (MEΛETHMATA 46; Athens 2006)
48. H. Brécoulaki, *La peinture funéraire de Macédoine: emplois et fonctions de la couleur IVe-IIe s. av. J.-C.* Vol. I. Texte, Vol. II. Planches & tableaux. (MEΛETHMATA 48; Athens 2006)
49. M.-G. Parissaki, *Prosopography and onomasticon of Aegean Thrace* (MEΛETHMATA 49; Athens 2007)
50. M. Kantiréa, *Les dieux et les dieux Augustes: le culte imperial en Grèce sous les Julio-Claudiens et les Flaviens: études épigraphiques et archéologiques* (MEΛETHMATA 50; Athens 2007)
51. K. Chryssanthaki-Nagle, *L'histoire monétaire d'Abdère en Thrace (VIe s. av. J.-Chr.-IIe s. ap. J.-Chr.)* (MEΛETHMATA 51; Athens 2007)
52. M. B. Hatzopoulos (ed., with the collaboration of V. Psilakakou), *Φωνής Χαρακτήρ Ἐθνικός, Actes du Ve Congrès International de Dialectologie Grecque (Athènes 28-30 septembre 2007)* (MEΛETHMATA 52; Athens 2007)
53. Ch. Papageorgiadou-Banis, A. Giannikouri (eds), *Sailing in the Aegean. Readings on the economy and trade routes* (MEΛETHMATA 53; Athens 2008)

54. E. Key Fowden, G. Fowden, *Contextualizing Late Greek Philosophy* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 54; Athens 2008)
55. A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe III. Les cités achéennes: épigraphie et histoire* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 55; Athens 2008)
56. L. G. Mendoni, S. B. Zoumbaki, *Roman Names in the Cyclades. Part I* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 56; Athens 2008)
57. Y. E. Meimaris, K. I. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia. Vol. Ib. The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora), (Supplement): Khirbet Qazone and Feinan* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 57; Athens 2008)
58. L. Loukopoulou, S. Psoma (eds, with the collaboration of A. Iakovidou), *THRAKIKA ZETEMATA I* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 58; Athens 2008)
59. P. Paschidis, *Between City and King. Prosopographical Studies on the Intermediaries between the Cities of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean and the Royal Courts in the Hellenistic Period* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 59; Athens 2008)
60. Chr. Kokkinia (ed.), *Boubon: The Inscriptions and Archaeological Remains: a Survey 2004-2006* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 60; Athens 2008)
61. A. Mihailidou, *Weight and value in pre-coinage societies, vol. II* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 61; Athens 2008)
62. S. Psoma, Chr. Karadima, D. Terzopoulou, *The Coins from Maroneia and the Classical City at Molyvoti: A contribution to the History of Aegean Thrace* (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 62; Athens 2008)

EPIGRAPHICAL CORPORA

- I. Touratsoglou, A. D. Rizakis, *Ἐπιγραφές Ἄνω Μακεδονίας I (ΕΑΜ)* (Athens 1985)
- M. B. Hatzopoulos, L. Gounaropoulou, *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας I. Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας (ΕΚΜ I)* (Athens 1998)
- L. D. Loukopoulou, A. Zournatzi, M.-G. Parissaki, S. Psoma, *Ἐπιγραφές τῆς Θράκης τοῦ Αἰγαίου, μεταξύ τῶν ποταμῶν Νέστου καὶ Ἐβρου (νομοὶ Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης καὶ Ἐβρου) (IThrAeg)*. Με την συνεργασία τῶν Δ. Τριαντάφυλλου, Κ. Καλλιντζῆ, Χ. Καραδήμα, Μ. Κουτσομανῆς, Ε. Σκαρλατίδου, Δ. Τερζοπούλου καὶ Π. Τσατσοπούλου (Athens 2005)

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- Y. E. Meimaris, *Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ Ὁρους Σινᾶ* (Athens 1985)
- P. R. Franke *et al.*, *Σίδη: νομισματοκοπία, ἐπιγραφές καὶ ἱστορία μιᾶς ἀρχαίας ἐλληνικῆς πόλης στὴν Τουρκία*. Μετάφραση Κατερίνη Λιάμπη, Δέσποινα Παπακωνσταντίνου-Διαμαντούρου (Athens 1990)
- I. Aslanis, *Ἡ Προϊστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας. I. Ἡ Νεολιθικὴ ἐποχὴ* (με την συνεργασία τῶν Ὀλγας Ψυχογιού-Smith καὶ Γεωργίας Κουρτέση-Φιλιπάκη) (Athens 1992)
- J.-P. Olivier (ed.), *Mykenaïka: actes du IXe Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens*, organisé par le Centre de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine de la Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique et l'École Française d' Athènes, Athènes, 2-6 octobre 1990 (*BCH Supplément* 25; Athens 1992)
- L. G. Mendoni (ed.), *Ἱστορία του Τοπίου καὶ Τοπικῆς Ἱστορίας: ἀπὸ το φυσικὸ περιβάλλον στο ἱστορικὸ τοπίο. Πιλοτικὴ Εφαρμογὴ στὶς Κυκλάδες. Ενδεικτικὴ βιβλιογραφία*. Συνέκδοση με τα Ὑπουργεῖα Περιβάλλοντος-Χωροταξίας-Δημοσίων Ἔργων καὶ Παιδείας (Athens 1997)

- L. G. Mendoni, N. Margaritis (eds), *Κυκλάδες: Ιστορία του Τοπίου και Τοπικές Ιστορίες*. Συνέκδοση με τα Υπουργεία Περιβάλλοντος-Χωροταξίας-Δημοσίων Έργων και Παιδείας (Athens 1998)
- L. Brocas-Déflassieux, *Αρχαία Βέροια: μελέτη τοπογραφίας*, Δήμος Βεροίας/Κέντρον Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας-Παράρτημα Βεροίας (Beroia 1999)
- L. Brocas-Déflassieux, *Béroia, cité de Macédoine: étude de topographie antique*, Municipalité de Béroia/Centre de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine-Annexe de Béroia (Beroia 1999)
- G. A. Pikoulas, *Η χώρα των Πιέρων: συμβολή στην τοπογραφία της*, Δήμος Πιερέων Καβάλας/Κέντρον Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας (Athens 2001)
- Η Θράκη στον Ελληνο-ρωμαϊκό κόσμο: πρακτικά του 10ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Θρακολογίας: Κομοτηνή-Αλεξανδρούπολη, 18-23 Οκτωβρίου 2005 = Thrace in the Graeco-roman World: proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology: Komotini - Alexandroupolis, 18-23 October 2005*. Επιμέλεια εκδόσεως: Α. Ιακωβίδου = Editing: Α. Ιακωβίδου (Athens 2007)
- P. Chrysostomou, I. Aslanis, A. Chrysostomou, *Αγροσκιά. Ένας οικισμός των προϊστορικών και ιστορικών χρόνων*, Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity - Annex of Beroia (Beroia 2007)
- Patrasso colonia di Augusto e le trasformazioni culturali, politiche ed economiche della Provincia di Acaia agli inizi dell'età imperiale romana, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso 23-24 marzo 2006* (Tripodes 8, Athens 2009).

