

SPARTA AND THE FAMILY OF HERODES ATTICUS: A RECONSIDERATION OF THE EVIDENCE.

(PLATE 23a)

The intention of this paper is to set out the evidence for the ties between the family of Herodes Atticus, the Athenian consul and sophist, and the city of Sparta. Its kernel is the re-edition in Part Two of a fragmentary inscription from Sparta, which contains — it will be argued — evidence for the marriage of a previously unknown sister of Herodes to a Spartan aristocrat. The context of this match was a long-standing association between Sparta and the family stretching back at least to the Flavian period, all the other evidence for which is first examined in Part One.

PART ONE

A The term of Atticus in Sparta's ephebate

The earliest tie so far to have been recognised is the term in Sparta's ephebate of Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes, the sophist's father (*PIR*² C 801). The evidence for this, published over fifty years ago but almost entirely ignored since (it was unknown to Graindor, for instance, or Stein in *PIR*²), raises sufficient questions to warrant a thorough discussion.

In a Spartan catalogue of *gerontes*, dated on prosopographical grounds to *ca.* 110 by its publisher, A.M. Woodward, appears the entry Ἱεροκλέους Ἀττικῶ κα(ά)σεν.¹ The problems raised by our incomplete understanding of the Spartan *kasen*-ship need not be discussed here; but it is relevant to note that the relationship was contracted in Sparta's ephebate: hence Hierocles and Ἀττικός must have coincided there as ephebes. *Kasen*-ship was an institutionalised relationship based on patronage, the *kasen* being of much lower social status than the fellow-ephebe(s) to whom he was attached. These last can usually be identified as young aristocrats: so Ἀττικός is likely *a priori* to have belonged to the upper class.² Hierocles presents a difficulty, since he has been identified with a homonym who is listed in two other catalogues as Ἐνυμαντιάδῃ κα(ά)σεν.³ It hardly seems likely, however, as the editors of *SEG* suggested, that Ἀττικῶ is a letter-cutter's error. More probably (if two homonyms are not, in fact, in question), Hierocles at the same stage or different ones in his ephebic training was a *kasen* both to Ἀττικός and to Enymantiadas, so that in later life he might be listed in catalogues of magistrates indifferently as *kasen* of either one. There are parallels for a *kasen* being attached to two or even three other ephebes, as well as for the inconsistent recording of the fact in catalogues inscribed in later life.⁴

Abbreviations

Chrimes K.M.T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (Manchester 1949)

Graindor P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus et sa famille* (Cairo 1930)

VS Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* (Loeb edition)

I am grateful to Paul Halstead and Susan Walker for reading drafts of this paper and for their helpful comments.

¹ *BSA* xxvi (1923-25) 168, C7, 1. 2, and 192. H. Bulle's suggestion, *Das Theater zu Sparta* (Munich 1937) 41, of a Flavian date for a duplicate of this catalogue (*IG* v. 1.20b) ignores both Woodward's date and the prosopographical data on which it was based.

² To date the most pioneering discussion of *kasen*-ship

remains that of Chrimes, 95ff, although her views have by no means all been accepted (cf., e.g., A.M. Woodward, *Historia* i (1950) 619 and, more recently, I. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* i (Rome 1977) 378 n. 40). Social class of *kasen*-holders: Chrimes, 111ff.

³ *IG* v. 1.97, 21 and its duplicate, *SEG* xi. 564, 21. Woodward's suggestion, *BSA* 1.c. (n. 1) 192, that in 97 the letter-cutter was confused by the previous entry (1. 20), Χαλίνος Χαλ[ίνο]υ Ἐνυμαντιάδῃ κα(ά)σεν, does not hold good for the duplicate, since there Chalinus and Hierocles are not listed consecutively.

⁴ E.g., *IG* v. 1.68 (= *SEG* xi. 525), 26-27; *IG* v. 1.298; *SEG* xi. 559, 5. Compare the last, Θεογένης (Θεογένους) Ἀριστοκράτει καὶ Δαμάρει κα(ά)σεν, with *SEG* xi. 605, 7: [Θεογ]ένης Θεογένου(ς) Ἀριστοκράτῃ κα(ά)σεν.

Only Chrimes has correctly identified Ἀττικός as the father of Herodes.⁵ Although she did so without offering any supporting evidence, in fact her identification is upheld by several considerations. Firstly, although Ἀττικός, as we have seen, was probably an aristocrat, his name does not recur among any families of Sparta's upper class. Secondly, there are considerations of chronology. In the catalogue in question,⁶ the entry for Hierocles is preceded, two lines above, by the entry Νείκιππος (Νεικίππου) Εὐρυκλεῖ κά(σεν). Given their appearance as *gerontes* in the same year, when evidently they were of comparable seniority (since they are listed so closely together), Hierocles and Nicippus are likely to have been of a similar age—in which case, so too were the Ἀττικός and the Εὐρυκλῆς to whom each respectively had been *kasen*. Eurycles should be identified with the Spartan senator C. Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius, whose date of birth fell after 72, and probably *ca.* 73.⁷ The Athenian Atticus was a contemporary of Herculanus and must have been born in much the same period: dates between 55 and 60, “un peu plus bas” and, most recently, the early seventies, have been proposed.⁸ Hence chronologically Ἀττικός and Atticus can be the same. Thirdly, we know that Atticus in later life had close connections with Sparta (below, p. 207). Fourthly, and most cogently, it is known for certain that the grandson of Atticus, Regillus Atticus, was also an ephebe at Sparta (below, p. 208).

Chrimes's identification, then, may be regarded as certain, so that Atticus's date of birth, in view of his likely coevality with Herculanus, may be narrowed down to *ca.* 70-75. The date of his term in Sparta's ephebate is considered next, since it bears on the more interesting question, as to why he should have enrolled as a Spartan ephebe in the first place. At Athens ephebic training lasted for one year only under the principate, being entered upon at the age of eighteen or earlier.⁹ At Sparta in the same period the preponderance of sixteen-year olds in the ephebic inscriptions¹⁰ implies that there too, whatever the case in theory, in practice a majority of Spartan ephebes trained for a term of one year only, and at the even earlier age of sixteen; this probably reflects the reduced importance under the principate of ephebic training generally, as well as the tendency in the same period for higher education to begin in the mid-teens.¹¹ These considerations suggest that Atticus may have spent only a year in Sparta's ephebate, probably between the ages of sixteen and eighteen: hence in the period *ca.* 86-93.

Why did Atticus enrol in Sparta's ephebate instead of that of his native Athens? Under the principate the Athenian ephebate continued to enjoy considerable prestige as an educative institution, and it is hard to believe that many young Athenians would have gone elsewhere for their ephebic training. However, whereas foreigners too enrolled regularly at Athens as ephebes,¹² at Sparta they did not: among the large number of Spartan ephebes attested for the principate, only Atticus and his grandson can be identified as foreigners. In both these cases, then, unusual circumstances were probably in question.

Regarding Atticus, it is proposed to connect these circumstances with events surrounding Domitian's condemnation of his father, Tib. Claudius Hipparchus (*PIR*² C 889), sometime in

⁵ Chrimes, 444 no. 19 (although her date for the text, *ca.* 120, is far too late).

⁶ *BSA* l.c. (n. 1).

⁷ Identification: Chrimes, 445 no. 38 (*PIR*² I 302 overlooks this and other evidence for Herculanus as a *kasen*-holder). Date of birth: Spawforth, *BSA* lxxiii (1978) 254.

⁸ Respectively by Dittenberger, *SIG*³, 853 n. 2; Graindor, 29; and E.M. Smallwood, *JRS* liiv (1962) 133.

⁹ Cf. O.W. Rheinmuth, *TAPA* lxxix (1948) 218, 221-22.

¹⁰ Remarkd on by Chrimes, 123. As a rough

quantification, see A.M. Woodward, *Artemis Orthia* (London 1929) 293. Of the ephebic inscriptions dated AD in the first of his two chronological tables, 23 out of the 35 which record an age-class—ie., just over 65%—refer to 16-year olds (μικκίζόμενοι and variants). On the age-classes in general: Chrimes, 86-95, with A. Diller, *AJP* lxii (1941) 499ff.

¹¹ On this tendency, note the observations of M.L. Clarke, *Higher education in the ancient world* (London 1971) 6.

¹² Cf. Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo 1931) 87-88.

the late eighties or early nineties. The charge, Philostratus records, was ἐπὶ τυραννικαῖς αἰτίαις: evidently Hipparchus, the leading magnate of Flavian Athens, had abused his position to tyrannise his fellow-citizens.¹³ Of his punishment, the same author mentions only the confiscation of his property.¹⁴ It is suggested, however, that the enrolment of Atticus ca. 86-93 as a Spartan ephēbe be taken to indicate that at the time his family was living at Sparta: that is, it had either been formally exiled from Athens when Hipparchus was disgraced, or else had simply retired to another city in a period of great notoriety—and probably unpopularity—at home.¹⁵

The question remains: why Sparta? The following inscription suggests that Hipparchus was already known at Sparta in the period before his disgrace.

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον/Ἰππαρχον Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος [.]ατ[.]ης/καὶ Τίτος [Οκ]ταούιος Λον[γείνο]ς οἱ Κάσ[σ] /ἀνδρου [τὸν ἕ]διον εὐεργέτη[ν].

This text, *IG* v. 1.516, was copied at Sparta in 1730 by Fourmont and is now lost. It records the erection of a statue of a certain Tib. Claudius Hipparchus by two brothers, Tib. Claudius [.]at[.]es and T. Octavius Longinus, sons of Cassander. The identity of this Hipparchus has never been discussed, and neither he nor the two brothers recur elsewhere in the Spartan inscriptions.¹⁶ The only indication of date is the *terminus ante quem non* of AD 43 provided by the names Tib. Claudius.

The motive for the honour is implicit in the title εὐεργέτης: in some way Hipparchus had been the benefactor of the dedicators. Nomenclature suggests what he may have done. It is notable that the Roman names of the two brothers are different: the elder (probably, since he is named first) was a Tib. Claudius, like the honorand, while the younger was a T. Octavius. Had one or other been adopted outside his family, an additional *cognomen* suggestive of adoption might be expected—this, however, is absent. Another possibility is that the honorand had been sufficiently well connected to obtain Roman citizenship for the two brothers, of whom one, accordingly, in gratitude took the Roman names of their benefactor, while the other perhaps took those of the Roman whom Hipparchus had influenced on their behalf.¹⁷ Among Greeks of the Flavian period the possession of *civitas* is unlikely to have depreciated much in value since the middle decades of the century, when an Athenian decree could refer to it as ἡ μέγιστη καὶ παρ' ἅπασι ἀνθρώποις διωνομασμένη Ρωμαίων πολειτεία.¹⁸ If the *euergesia* of Hipparchus has been explained correctly, the newly-enfranchised brothers may well have thought their benefactor deserving of a statue.

Even if this explanation must remain conjectural, the title εὐεργέτης nevertheless implies a difference of rank between honorand and dedicators. Moreover, given that these last were *cives*, and hence likely themselves to have been men of some substance locally, then their

¹³ *VS* 547; Graindor, 12ff.; J.H. Oliver, "The Ruling Power" *TAPA* n. s. xliii, Part 4 (1953) 954. Date: Graindor, 14 (his suggestion of 92/3, although tempting, must remain only a guess).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Graindor, 17, believed that H. was condemned to death too; in which case, surely Philostratus would have said so.

¹⁵ On the attitude of the Athenians, see the remarks of Oliver, *ibid.* (n. 13).

¹⁶ For another T. Octavius, a Hadrianic magistrate, cf. *IG* v. 1.115 (= *SEG* xi. 592). Kolbe's restoration of T.O. Longinus in *IG* v. 1.174, 1 is no longer valid: cf. *SEG* xi. 633.

¹⁷ No senatorial T. Octavius is attested in the 1st century AD. But cf. Octavius Sagitta (*praenomen* unknown), *trib. pl.*

AD 58, whose family at one time used the *praenomen* Titus (his grandfather (?) was Q. Octavius L. f. C. n. T. pron. Sagitta): *RE* xvii (1937) cols. 1854-55, nos 84, 85.

¹⁸ *IG* iv². 84, 33.34. The text's precise date is unresolved; cf. most recently S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* (Paris 1976) 303 (46/7 or 58/9—but only if 'Ferguson's Law' is applicable to the 1st century AD). C.P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1972 (repr.)) 45 may exaggerate the frequency of *civitas* among Plutarch's Greek contemporaries. Cf., e.g., his Spartan friends (father and son, probably) Zeuxippus and Tyndares (*RE* 21.1 (1951) cols. 686-87), whose family was still peregrine under Pius (Ζεύξιππος Τυνδάρεως: *IG* v. 1.74 (= *SEG* xi. 616) 4; 446, 6).

fellow-Greek benefactor should probably be viewed as a provincial of unusually high standing. One may compare a dedication from Olympia, dated to the reign of Caligula or of Claudius, in which M. Antonius Alexio of Elis honoured his *εὐεργέτης* C. Iulius Iaco: there the dedicator was an enfranchised local aristocrat, while his fellow-Greek benefactor was the ruling dynast of Sparta.¹⁹

Hence it is proposed, in view of the later connection between Atticus and Sparta, to identify this Hipparchus with his Athenian homonym, and to place the dedication in the period before the latter's disgrace, when he must have been one of the most influential Greeks in the province. His patronage of individual Spartans indicates that already at that date he had connections of some sort at Sparta. The nature of these can only be guessed at; but it is not improbable that he had friends and acquaintances among the Spartan aristocracy, such as other Athenian families are known to have had in the first century AD.²⁰

With this identification in mind, it is suggested that his father's Spartan connections may help to explain the presence at Sparta of Atticus (and perhaps other members of his family) during the period of his father's disgrace. Another factor should also be considered. Since Atticus was a foreigner, his admission to Sparta's ephebate presumably had required some special dispensation from the Spartan authorities. At a time when his family was probably unpopular at Athens, its favourable treatment in this way by Sparta may reflect the tenor of contemporary relations between the two cities. Nothing is known of these relations during the reign of Domitian. However, the two were involved in a well-known dispute a little later, probably in Trajan's reign, over the right to lead the procession at the annual commemoration of the Persian defeat at Plataea.²¹ This quarrel took place at a time when archaism was increasingly permeating the cultural atmosphere of the Greek world, the result of an intensified response by Greeks under Roman rule to the achievements of their past.²² One effect of this archaism may have been to revitalise the ancient rivalry between two such self-consciously historic *poleis* as Athens and Sparta. Were this the case, the quarrel over Plataea and the welcome Sparta gave to Atticus may have been manifestations of a more sustained undercurrent of tension in the relations between the two cities. In the case of Atticus, the Spartans might deliberately have shown him and his family favour at a time when they were *personae non gratae* at Athens, simply to cock a snook at their rivals.

In sum, complex circumstances are likely to have underlain Atticus's appearance as a Spartan ephebe: his father's ties with Sparta and disgrace, his family's unpopularity at (and possible exile from) Athens, and rivalry between Athens and Sparta, may all have played their part. His ephebic training will, in its nature, have exposed him to the full weight of Spartan tradition,²³ and is likely to have influenced strongly his subsequent attitude to Sparta and individual Spartans. He will also, while an ephebe, have come into contact with a whole generation of young Spartans, among whom he is most likely to have become attached to those fellow-ephebes who, like himself, were of aristocratic family—others, for instance, who possessed a *kasen*. Here it is worth recalling that the Euryclid Herculani was probably his coeval (above, p. 204), making their coincidence in the ephebate a decided possibility. In

¹⁹ SIG³ 789.

²⁰ Cf. Tib. Cl. Theogenes, *φίλος* of the Euryclid Spartiatius (SIG³ 790); and the family of Ceryces which intermarried with Sparta's Damareis-Aristocrates family: IG iv², p. xxxi.

²¹ The quarrel was alluded to by Dio Chrysostom: *Or.* xxxviii, 38, with Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* v (Berlin 1885) 244 n. 2.

²² Cf. E. Bowie, "Greeks and their past in the Second Sophistic", *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M.J. Finley (London 1974), 166ff.

²³ *Inter alia*, the ephebes received formal instruction in Spartan history and tradition: cf. the annual readings to them of Dicaearchus's *Spartan Constitution* (*Suda* s.v. Δικαίαρχος), and the διδασκαλοὶ ἀμφὶ τὰ Λυκούργεια ἔθνη who presumably taught the ephebes (IG v. 1.500 (Severan?)).

addition, sandwiched between the entries for Hierocles and Nicippus in the same catalogue of *gerontes* appears the entry [Κλέων (Κλέωνος) Τε]ισαμενῶ κ(άσεν),²⁴ with the implication that the *geron* Cleon was of much the same age and seniority as the two *gerontes* listed respectively before and after him, and hence that Tisamenus, like Herculanus, may have coincided with Atticus in the ephebate. The significance of this possibility, along with the identity of Tisamenus, will become apparent later on.

B The Spartan magistracies of Atticus

As for the relations with Sparta of the adult Atticus, we know that on at least two occasions the Spartans offered him high office, an indication that his term as a Spartan ephebe had, in fact, generated a lasting bond between him and his host city. His own goodwill apart, the Spartans themselves are unlikely to have neglected their former ephebe when, in the years following Domitian's death, Atticus recovered and enhanced his family's old standing.²⁵ As a Roman senator and consular and one of the richest men of his time, he must have offered the Spartans an unusually close friend in the empire's ruling class, one whose considerable powers of patronage they might reasonably hope to enlist in their own interests. Benefaction of some kind on his part very probably underlay their conferment on him, sometime in the early 130s, of their highest office, the eponymous patronomate.²⁶ By now, if not much earlier, Atticus is likely also to have received a grant of Spartan citizenship, since it seems inconceivable that a man who had been both a Spartan ephebe and a *patronomos* was *not* a Spartan citizen.

The patronomate of Atticus is well known. Much less so, however, is the offer which the Spartans made him a few years later of the post of Cytherodices. Atticus never took up this office, which instead was held on his behalf (ὑπὲρ Ἀττικοῦ) by a distinguished Spartan, C. Iulius Theophrastus.²⁷ The office is heard of just this once under the principate, and probably was an *ad hoc* post which the Spartans created in response to special circumstances. These last arose from Hadrian's gift to Sparta in 136/7 of the island of Cythera, which evidently had been bequeathed to the emperor in the same year (or the one before) by its previous owner, the late Herculanus.²⁸ Probably the island's transfer from private to public ownership gave rise to sufficient litigation to require the arbitration of a man of exceptional authority; so the Spartans revived the post of Cytherodices (the title an archaism characteristic of the time) and offered it to Atticus. Atticus probably knew the island's former owner, Herculanus. They were of the same age, quite possibly had been ephebes together (above, p. 204), and were both closely connected with the Corinthian family of the Vibullii.²⁹ In addition, they were the first two natives of old Greece to become Roman senators, and must have entered the Senate at much the same time. Ties with Cythera's previous owner may well have enhanced the fittingness of Atticus for the post of Cytherodices.

For some reason Atticus was unable to take up the post. Born, as has been suggested, *ca.* 70-75, he must have been an elderly man in 136/7. His exact date of death is unknown, and the old arguments for placing it before Hadrian's death are no longer valid.³⁰ There is no apparent reason, however, why he could *not* have died by 138; so it remains possible that either his terminal illness or his death caused the substitution of Theophrastus as Cytherodices.

²⁴ *BSA* l.c. (n. 1) 168, C7, l. 1, restored by Woodward on the basis of *IG* v. 1.99, 6.

²⁵ See *PIR*² C 801 for his career.

²⁶ Refs.: *ibid.* The date of *ca.* 134/5 suggested by Chrimes, 465, is about right.

²⁷ Woodward, *BSA* xxvii (1925/26), 227-34 = *SEG* xi.

492, 13. Woodward did not discuss the appearance of Atticus in this context, and the reference was unknown, evidently, both to Graindor and to Stein in *PIR*².

²⁸ Spawforth, art. cit. (n. 7) 251-52.

²⁹ Cf. below, n. 33.

³⁰ Cf. I Avotins, *Phoenix* xxvii (1973) 74 n. 11.

C *Atticus is honoured as an ἐνσίτος*

It is likely that a further reference to Atticus, one also ignored since its publication, should be recognised in an inscription from Sparta edited by Woodward in *BSA* 29 (1927-28) 21-22 (= *SEG* xi. 533). The stone is a fragment of an opisthographic stele, both sides originally containing catalogues of local magistrates. On prosopographical grounds Woodward was able to date side *a* to the reign of Pius—*ca.* 150, probably. Side *b*, however, as is clear from Woodward's facsimile drawing, is inscribed in a different hand from side *a*, its letters being less elongated and more widely spaced; so it is not necessarily of the same date. Of the catalogue of magistrates which it originally contained, all that survives is part of the appended list of *ensitōi*, persons invited by the magistrates in question to eat with them in their dining-room during their year of office; men so honoured seem usually to have been themselves, or to have belonged to families, active in Sparta's public life. Among the names listed appears that of Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀττικό[ς], clearly a member of the family of Herodes. In so far as both Atticus and his son bore the names Atticus Herodes, either, in theory, might be in question here. However, although Herodes, as will be seen below, also had ties with Sparta, he is not known to have held office there or to have been involved in the city's public life. On the other hand, Atticus on both counts must have been a prominent figure at Sparta in the 130s, and it seems entirely appropriate that a board of Spartan magistrates, perhaps in a year shortly after his patronomate, should have wished to include him among its *ensitōi*.³¹ Accordingly, it is proposed to identify him with Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀττικό[ς] and—tentatively—to ascribe the stone to the period 130-138, some 12-20 years before the inscription of side *a*.

D *The benefaction of Atticus at Gythium*

In a discussion of Atticus's ties with Sparta it is relevant to recall the *doron*, an endowment of some kind, which he conferred during Hadrian's reign on the city of Gythium, Sparta's southerly neighbour.³² This benefaction presumably took place in the context of some prior connection between donor and recipient. Although the nature of this connection can only be guessed at, it is worth noting that the wealthy wife of Atticus, Vibullia Alcia Agrippina, may have belonged to a family with interests in *negotia*.³³ Gythium was a harbour-town, and it is possible that commercial or banking interests there, perhaps acquired through his wife's dowry, underlay the benevolence of Atticus towards the city.

E *The term of Regillus Atticus in Sparta's ephebate*

Further evidence for Atticus's Spartan connections is revealed by the re-edition, presented in Part Two of this paper, of *SEG* xi. 781. The rest of Part One is devoted to discussion of the ties, as they have so far been recognised, between Sparta and his descendants. Here the principal item of evidence, long recognised but never fully evaluated, is the term in Sparta's ephebate of

³¹ For other *patronomoi* as *ensitōi* cf., e.g., *IG* v. 1.59 = *SEG* xi. 548, 18-19 (Δαμοκλῆς Δαμοκλέους τοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους); 53, 35-38 (C. Iulius Antipater); 89, 7 (Γόργιππος Γοργίππου); 116, 14 (C. Pomponius Alcastus).

³² *IG* v. 1.1147 = Oliver, *op. cit.* (n. 13) 965.

³³ On the Vibullii cf. Spawforth, *art. cit.* (n. 7) 258, n. 68. The Vibullii of Corinth and of Athens both used the *praenomina* Publius and Lucius (cf., e.g., B.D. Meritt, *Corinth viii. 1: Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927* (Cambridge, Mass. 1931) no. 14, 1. 26; *IG* ii/iii². 3979a = *SEG* xii. 155) and presumably were branches of the same family (was L. Vib. Rufus, the father-in-law of Atticus, by birth a Corinthian?). Pace Oliver, *Athenian Expounders of the*

Sacred Law (Baltimore 1950) 91, 97, there does not seem to be evidence connecting the family with late republican *negotiatores*; it may have descended from a freedman, settled at Corinth, of L. Vib. Rufus, *praef. fabr.* in (?) 49 BC (*RE* viii A (1958) cols. 2010-13, n. 1). Nevertheless, the family very probably was involved in *negotia*: cf. their freedman-agent (I assume) at Thespieae, L. Vib. Spanius (*AAA* iii (1970) 102-5 = L. & J. Robert, *REG* lxxxiv (1971) 441-42, no. 340; this ref. was wrongly cited, Spawforth *ibid.*, as *ADelt* xxi (1966) 213). On upper class involvement in trade, see now J.H. D'Arms, "Traders in the Roman world", *Ancient and Modern. Essays in honor of Gerald F. Else*, edd. D'Arms and Eadie (Michigan 1977), 159ff.

the grandson of Atticus, the future consul Regillus Atticus (*PIR*² C 785). The evidence is contained in the *cursus honorum* of a Spartan magistrate, Κορινθῶς Νεικηφόρου, who is described as συν[έ]φηβος Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ Ἡρώδου (*IG* v. 1.45). Boeckh first, and most scholars subsequently, have identified this Ἀττικός as the sophist's elder son.³⁴ To understand the relationship between Regillus and Corinthas, further reference must be made to the organisation of the Spartan ephebate under the empire. Each age-class of ephebes was divided into several *bouai* or 'herds', the leader of each herd being called a *bouagos*, and the ephebes in his charge his *sunepheboi*.³⁵ Thus for Corinthas to have been the synephebe of Regillus, the latter must have been his *bouagos*.³⁶ Appointment to the position of *bouagos*, as with the right to have a *kasen*, was the prerogative of youths of the upper class;³⁷ so the Spartans conferred on Regillus, as they had done on his grandfather, a role in their ephebate commensurate with his rank. As for his age at the time, this depends to some extent on the disputed question, as to whether *bouagoi* were ephebes themselves, like their charges, or older youths.³⁸ Under the empire, at any rate, use of the term συνέφηβος is surely diagnostic: if an ephebe could be the 'fellow-ephebe' of his *bouagos*, then the latter must himself have been an ephebe. The *bouagos* Regillus, then, was an ephebe. In accordance with the trend discernable in the ephebate generally under the principate (above, p. 4), he probably served for a year only, from the ages of 16 to 17. His date of birth has recently been placed *ca.* 152:³⁹ if this is correct, his ephebic year probably fell *ca.* 168. As a descendant of Atticus, he may well have inherited Spartan citizenship (above, pp. 9-10); in which case, he will have been eligible by birth for enrolment in the ephebate.

As with Atticus, the question remains as to why Regillus should have enrolled at Sparta rather than Athens; and, since at the time he was a minor and still under his father's authority, the answer is likely to reflect on Herodes Atticus as much as on his son. As the leading Athenian of his time, Herodes must surely have severely snubbed his native city when he sent his elder son out of Athens for his ephebic training (and to Sparta as well). The enrolment of Atticus some 80 years previously had been a function, it was proposed above, of the soured relationship between his father and the Athenians. Hence, since Herodes too is known to have had a stormy relationship with his fellow-citizens, it is tempting to place the enrolment of *his* son in a similar context. If Regillus was a *bouagos ca.* 168, he will have enrolled about six years before the quarrel between his father and the Athenians reached a climax, *ca.* 174, with the trial of Herodes before the emperor Marcus.⁴⁰ The history of the events leading up to this incident remains obscure. The trouble, however, is likely to have been brewing for several years previously, and it is tempting to see the enrolment of Regillus in Sparta's ephebate, rather than that of Athens, as a gesture by Herodes to display his irritation with his fellow-Athenians.⁴¹

³⁴ Cf. *CIG* i. 1256; Kolbe, *apud IG* v. 1.45; Graindor, 103; Follet, *op. cit.* (n. 18) 134. Only Chrimes, 444, dissented, giving no reason (and followed, evidently, by A. Bradford, *Prosopography of the Lacedaemonians* . . . (Munich 1977) 494, s.v. T. Κλ. Ἀττικός II); she was corrected by Woodward, *art. cit.* (n. 2) 632.

³⁵ The relationship of synephebes to *bouagoi* is implicit in the evidence cited by Chrimes, 107-8.

³⁶ Correctly, Chrimes, 459, no. 5.

³⁷ Chrimes, 111 (although they were not always blue-blooded: cf. Woodward's remarks, *art. cit.* (n. 2), 619.)

³⁸ Older youths: Chrimes, 95ff. (followed, e.g., by Calame, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 375); *Contra*: cf. the refs. cited by Chrimes,

ibid.; Woodward, *art. cit.* (n. 2) 618.

³⁹ T.D. Barnes, *Latomus* 27 (1968) 583.

⁴⁰ For this quarrel, cf., most recently, Oliver, "Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of civic and cultural policy in the East", *Hesperia* suppl. 13 (1970) 66ff.; also A.J. Papalas, *Πλάτων* 47-48 (1972) 244ff.

⁴¹ Susan Walker has pointed out to me that in 167/8 there was a year of *anarchia* at Athens, when the Athenians were unable to find anyone to undertake the eponymous archonship: Follet, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 508. This may support the contention that at the time relations between Herodes and Athens were strained, since otherwise it is not unlikely that he would have offered himself for, or been offered, the office.

Another factor must be considered. Regillus is a shadowy figure, and of the little known of him, most concerns his youthful relations with his father. According to Philostratus, these relations were strained, since Herodes was convinced that his son was a “fool, unable to write properly and with a bad memory” (. . . ἡλιθιώδη καὶ δυσγράμματον καὶ παχὺν τὴν μνήμην); evidently he also drank heavily and had a disorderly love-life (. . . μεθυστικὸν καὶ ἀνοήτως ἐρωῶντα). Herodes took extravagant steps at least once to guide his son’s education: in order to commit the alphabet to Regillus’s reluctant memory, he gave him 24 companions, each named after one of the letters.⁴² Graindor, in commenting (the only scholar to have done so) on the enrolment of Regillus at Sparta, supposed that it had to do with the continuing prestige under the empire of Sparta’s “culture physique”.⁴³ One may go further. In particular, Sparta’s ephebate was well known for its physical toughness, a reputation which was based partly, no doubt, on myth, but partly also on the real violence of some of the ephebic games—the battle at Platanistas, for instance, and—above all—the notorious “contest of endurance”.⁴⁴ It may well be that a despairing Herodes enrolled his son at Sparta in the hope that a term in such a hardy regime might bring him to his senses—rather like some modern views of the benefits of a spell in the services.

It would be interesting to know, finally, whether a taste for Spartan themes was a feature of Herodes’ rhetoric, as certainly it was in the case of other orators of the second sophistic; unfortunately, not one of his speeches certainly survives.⁴⁵ Implicit in his enrolment of his son as a Spartan ephebe, however, is an admiration for Sparta’s past and traditions, such as he probably acquired in part from his family-connection with the contemporary city, but in part also under the influence of the archaising *milieu* of the second sophistic, of which he was so very much the product.

F The property of Herodes in the Thyreatis

Apart from the inscription to be considered in Part 2 of this paper, the only other evidence which might bear on ties between Sparta and the descendants of Atticus is that for the property of Herodes in the Thyreatis, in NE Laconia. The evidence is in the form of epigraphical, sculptural and architectural remains found in the vicinity of the monastery of Loukou, where Herodes seems to have owned a villa-estate.⁴⁶ It is not known how he came to possess this property. However, given the geographical and political affiliation of the Thyreatis with Argos, its ownership need not have been connected with his ties with Sparta to the SW.⁴⁷

PART TWO

It has now been established that the family of Herodes enjoyed close ties with Sparta over at least four generations, with the actions of Atticus and Herodes implying that they in particular felt a close attachment to the city. Against this background, an inscription is now considered which has gone more or less unnoticed since its publication over half a century ago. Its full

⁴² For all this, see *VS* 558. Papalas, art. cit. (n. 40), argues that the son was slandered to his father by the latter’s freedmen and students.

⁴³ Graindor, 103.

⁴⁴ Platanistas: cf. Paus. iii, 14, 8. (plausibly likened by P. Levi in his Penguin translation of Pausanias (ii (1971) 50, n. 117) to the Eton wall-game). Contest of endurance: cf., e.g., Cic., *Tusc.* ii, 14; Plut., *Lycurgus* 18; Paus. iii, 16, 10–11.

⁴⁵ Spartan themes: cf. Bowie, art. cit. (n. 22), 172. H.’s authorship of the [Ἡρώδου] *περὶ πολιτείας* (which has a

Spartan theme) remains dubious: cf. Oliver, op. cit. (n. 40) 25–26 n. 9, who is inclined to believe that H. was the author; also E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* ii (Uppsala 1974) 177 with n. 156.

⁴⁶ Refs. in U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (Berne 1954) 171; cf. too *SEG* xiii. 261, the tombstone of the Athenian L. Gellius Carpus, *πρωγματευτῆς τῆς Θυρεατικῆς χώρας*.

⁴⁷ Under the principate the Thyreatis was Argive territory: Paus. ii, 38, 5.

elucidation requires some detailed discussion of points of Spartan prosopography, with which hopefully the reader will bear. The result is to recover evidence for a new dimension to the family's Spartan ties: namely, a hitherto unattested daughter of Atticus, Claudia Tisamenis, and her marriage to a Spartan.

A.M. Woodward, *BSA* 29 (1927-28) 37-38 = *SEG* xi. 781 (PLATE 23a). The inscription, which I have seen, was found in the theatre, and has since been removed to the Sparta Museum. It consists of three large fragments of a statue-base, two of which join, preserving the top right-hand corner and parts of the top and right edges of the inscribed face. The provisional text which follows reproduces, with corrections, the text of *SEG*.

[-----]υ θυγατέρα καὶ Κλαυ.
 [-----]ἄτη Κλα[.]-ΙΓ [-----]ον καὶ Κλα. Σειμήδη
 [-----]Τει]σαμενίδος καὶ ι[-----]χράτους υἱὸν ΚΑ
 [-----]ΚΑΣ Κλαυδίας Τ[-----]ίδος Τιβέριος
 5 [-----]'Ηρώδης [-----]· · · ΕΠΙ
 [-----]

Line 1. Woodward: Κλαυ-; *SEG*: Κλαυ/[δι----]. In fact, there is a superscript bar of abbreviation above the final *lambda*.

Line 2. Woodward and *SEG*: [. . .]υ[---]ον. *Pace* Woodward, before Γ (which can as easily be M as N) the stone reads -Ι, of which the horizontal stroke belongs either to Σ or to Ε.

Line 3. The lower half of a vertical *hasta* after καὶ, clearly visible on the stone, appears in Woodward's text merely as a dot, and was omitted altogether in *SEG*.

Line 3-4. Woodward: κα/[ι ---- Μάρ]χας. *SEG*: κα/[ι--]

Line 4. Woodward and *SEG*: Τ[-----]ίδος. The Τ, in fact, is certain, since the horizontal bar extends too far to the left of the vertical to allow the other possibility, Π.

Line 5. Woodward and *SEG*: [Κλαύδιος?] 'Ηρώδης. In fact, the first two letters of 'Ηρώδης are not in doubt. At the end of the line Woodward read ΕΠΙ and restored (followed by *SEG*): ἐ[ΠΙ]ἰ ἐπι/[μελητοῦ(?)]. Before ΕΠΙ I read · · · ι: a letter with a vertical *hasta*, followed by either Σ or Ε, and then the tops of two vertical *hastae*.

The text is the dedication of a statue-group, of which the names of three honorands can be discerned: firstly, a woman, [--ο]υ θυγατέρα; secondly, Κλαυ(δι--)/[----]; and thirdly, a male, Κλα(ύδιον) Σειμήδη/[----Τει]σαμενίδος καὶ ι[----]χράτους υἱὸν. There follows, in as yet uncertain context, the name in the genitive of a woman, Κλαυδίας Τ[----]ίδος, and finally the name of another male, Τιβέριος [----]'Ηρώδης. Because this Herodes is named in the nominative, he clearly was the dedicator of the statue-group.

The key to the correct interpretation of the text lies in the restoration of κα/[----]χας in lines 3-4. Woodward's tentative suggestion of κα/[ι----Μάρ]χας is improbable if only because, as the editors of *SEG* pointed out, there was ample space at the end of line 3 for the letter-cutter to have inscribed καὶ as one word. The same editors were almost certainly correct to suggest instead κα/[τὰ διαθή]χας. Following this restoration, the text records the erection of a statue-group in accordance with the testamentary instructions of the late Claudia Τ[----]ίς. Now, of the three honorands whose names have been preserved, albeit incompletely, the first is female, while in the affiliation of the third his mother, contrary to normal practice, is named before his father. It is confidently proposed, then, to recognise the three females named in lines 1, 3 and 4 as one and the same person, her name to be reconstructed, from the combination of its remnants in lines 3 and 4, as Κλαυδία Τεισαμενίς. As the person at whose orders and expense

the statue-group was erected, Tisamenis was named first in the dedication, and took precedence over her husband in their son's affiliation.

Who was the second honorand? The proposed restoration of $\kappa\alpha/[\tau\grave{\alpha} \delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta]\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ indicates the number of missing letters at the beginning of lines 2, 3 and 5: in each case, between 7 and 8. Hence in line 2 the initial lacuna presumably contained the missing portion of the second honorand's name: he was $\text{Κλαύ}(\delta\iota\omicron\nu)/[\dots^{7-8}]\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$. With little doubt this man was the husband of Tisamenis and the father of Simedes. Two indications point to this. Firstly, with the restoration $\text{T}[\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu]\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in line 4 indicating space for *ca.* 7 letters in the corresponding lacuna in the line above, it is possible to restore $\text{Κ}[\lambda\alpha. \dots^{5-6}]\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ as the patronymic of Simedes and to recognise in him the $\text{Κλαύ.}/[\dots^{7-8}]\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ of lines 1-2. Secondly, given the fact that Simedes is named with affiliation, then $[\nu\acute{\iota}]\delta\omicron\nu$ should probably be restored in line 2 and the immediately preceding portion of the line be recognised as containing the paternal affiliation of the second honorand. The three letters after $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ were correctly read by Woodward as ΚΛΑ —that is, $\text{Κλα}(\nu\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu)$. There follows the *cognomen*, $[\dots^6]\iota\Gamma[\dots^6]\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$, the number of missing letters in the second lacuna being indicated, once more, by the restoration $\text{T}[\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu]\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in line 4. In view of the common Greek practice of naming a son after one of his grandfathers, it is confidently suggested that this *cognomen* be restored as $[\Sigma]\epsilon\iota\mu[\acute{\eta}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma]$. Accordingly, the dedication concerns a family group of three statues, the first of Claudia Tisamenis, the second of her husband, Claudius $[\dots^{5-6}]$ crates, son of Claudius Simedes, and the third of their son, also called Claudius Simedes.

The restorations so far put forward are as follows.

$[\text{Κλα}\nu. \text{Τει}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha \dots^8 \dots \omicron]\nu \theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \text{Κλα}\acute{\upsilon}.$
 $[\dots^{5-6}]\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta \text{Κλα.} [\Sigma]\epsilon\iota\mu[\acute{\eta}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \nu\acute{\iota}]\delta\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \text{Κλα.} \Sigma\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\eta$
 $[\text{Κλα.} \text{Τει}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \text{Κ}[\lambda\alpha. \dots^{5-6}]\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu, \kappa\alpha-$
 $[\tau\grave{\alpha} \delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta]\kappa\alpha\varsigma \text{Κλα}\nu\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \text{T}[\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu]\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma, \text{Τι}\beta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$

As for the date and identity of this family group, two names are suggestive. Woodward proposed to identify the honorand Claudius Simedes with Tib. Claudius Simedes, $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\pi\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\delta \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, who held office at Sparta sometime in Trajan's reign.⁴⁸ In view of the proposed restoration of line 2, the Trajanic Simedes may now be either the honorand or his homonymous grandfather. Secondly, as Woodward also suggested, Tiberius $[\dots^{7-8}]\text{Herodes}$ in lines 7-8 must be either Herodes Atticus or his father; the restoration $[\text{Κλα}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma]$ exactly fits the space. As for which of the two is in question, considerations of nomenclature favour the sophist. Both men—as was mentioned earlier—bore the same *cognomina*, Atticus Herodes, which always appear in inscriptions in that order. Hence the restoration $\text{Ηρ}\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\varsigma [\text{Αττικός}]$, suggested by Woodward and the editors of *SEG*, is not possible: the man in the text was called Tib. Claudius Herodes. Now, in spite of their homonymity, the father was usually associated with the name Atticus, and his son with the name Herodes, so that in both cases the less favoured *cognomen* was often dropped, the men being referred to—in inscriptions as well as literary texts—simply as (Tib. Claudius) Atticus and (Tib. Claudius) Herodes.⁴⁹ On the other hand, in no inscription in which he is either the honorand or the dedicator is Atticus referred to simply as Herodes—in the one

⁴⁸ *IG* v. 1.152 (= *SEG* xi. 604), 1-3. The date is indicated by the recurrence of $\Sigma\omega\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma \text{Εὐδ}\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ (1.5) in *IG* v. 1.153, 25-26, of early Trajanic date.

⁴⁹ Apropos of Herodes cf., e.g., *IG* ii/iii². 3605 and 3733; *SIG*³. 1109.

inscription in which (evidently) he *is* called Herodes only, his name is being used eponymously, as a date.⁵⁰ It seems much more likely, then, that the Tib. Claudius Herodes of the Spartan text is the sophist himself, while, by the same token, the Trajanic Simeides is better identified, not with the honorand Claudius Simeides, but with his grandfather. With these identifications the text's palaeography is in agreement: the evenly spaced lettering, the straight (rather than broken) bar of *alpha*, and the leaf decoration at the end of each line, would all suit a date in the Antonine period.

With the dedicator identified as Herodes, the problem which must be considered next is that of his relationship with Claudia Tisamenis. This woman is otherwise unknown, although clearly she belonged to the upper class: such is the implication of her Roman citizenship, of her connection with Herodes, and of her evident affluence (the statue group in question was a substantial, and certainly an expensive, monument). More can be said about her connection with Herodes. The latter, in dedicating the statue group, was acting in accordance with instructions left by Tisamenis in her will. It follows, then, that he was acting as her executor (although not necessarily the only one). That he should have done so, rather than the husband or son of Tisamenis, suggests that the husband had predeceased his wife and, either that the son had too, or that he was still a minor at the time of her death. More significantly, with Herodes an executor of the will, kinship between him and Tisamenis becomes a definite possibility, since, in the Roman world as nowadays, a testator often appointed an executor from his or her relations.

This possibility is supported by considerations of nomenclature. To begin with, testator and executor share the same *nomen*, allowing them both to belong to the same male line. In addition, other instances of female names ending in *-is* recur precisely in the family of Herodes, whose paternal aunt and own daughter were both called Athenais.⁵¹ Returning to the text, it is noteworthy also that part of the name of Tisamenis's father is actually preserved: she was [----ο]υ θυγατέρα. Assuming that her father, like the fathers of the other two honorands, was named with an abbreviated *nomen*, and recalling (above, p. 211) that the remainder of the lacuna in line 1, after the restoration of Tisamenis's own name, contains space for a further 8-9 letters, then the father's name will have been [Κλα(υδίου).4.5ο]υ. The names of two members of the family of Herodes could be restored to fit this space: either [Ἀττικο]υ or [Ἡρώδο]υ.

Finally, the name Tisamenis. Although the masculine form from which it derives, Tisamenus, is not known to have had any special association with Roman Athens, it did with Roman Sparta. There it recurs in the last century BC and the first three AD among members of a priestly family claiming descent from Tisamenus of Elis, the Iamid seer who settled at Sparta in the time of the Persian wars.⁵² A member of this family should be recognised, without much doubt, in the Tisamenus mentioned earlier (above, p. 207) as a Spartan contemporary of Atticus, his aristocratic status being implicit in his possession of a *kasen* while an ephebe. Had this man and Atticus coincided in the ephebate, as the chronology allows, then Atticus would have had a link with the name Tisamenus.

Drawing all these threads together, it is proposed to identify Tisamenis as a hitherto unattested daughter of Atticus, whose other known children are the obscure Herodianus⁵³ (who, like Tisamenis, is known only from inscriptions) and Herodes himself. It is suggested

⁵⁰ IG iii, 478; cf. Graindor, 36; PIR² C 801.

⁵¹ PIR² C 1076 and M. Woloch, *Roman citizenship and the Athenian elite* (Amsterdam 1973) 204f., no. 99, respectively.

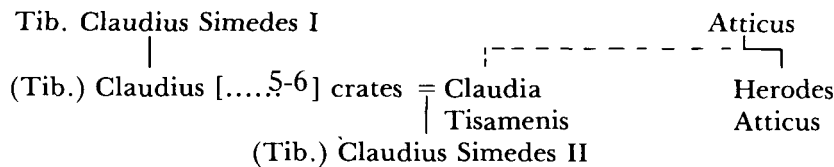
⁵² Tisamenus: RE v (1934) cols. 135-6, no. 4. Descendants:

P. Le Bas and W.H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* ii (Paris 1842?), Explication ii, 80, 162d.

⁵³ PIR² C 803.

that she was given her name by Atticus in commemoration of his friendship with the Spartan Tisamenus, the two having met, perhaps, while both were ephebes together. Having named his daughter after one Spartan, Atticus then married her to another, Claudius [5.6]crates. In later life, when the death of her husband left her a widow at Sparta with a son not yet (probably) of age, Tisamenis turned, not surprisingly, to her brother Herodes, when she came to appoint an executor for her will. As a daughter of Atticus she will have been born at the beginning of the second century,⁵⁴ her *floruit* will have fallen in the reign of Pius, and her death, perhaps, in that of Marcus.

Such, more or less, is the little to be gleaned about Tisamenis. However, the local standing and the ramifications of the Spartan family into which she married, in doing so making it the close kin of three generations of Roman consuls, are matters of some interest; accordingly, they are now considered further. The family's *stemma* can so far be reconstructed as follows.



As the editors of *SEG* suggested, this family of Tib. Claudii should probably be connected with that of Tib. Claudius Aristocrates, *ιερεὺς καὶ ἀπόγονος Ποσιδᾶνος* (*IG* v. 1.469). This man's immediate family is detailed in an inscription which honours his grand-daughter, Claudia Nicion, its retention of the Doric dialect implying a date not much later than Hadrian's reign (*IG* v. 1.607). According to this text, Nicion was the daughter of one Tib. Claudius Damocrates and grand-daughter

....Τ[ιβ./Κλαυ]δίου Ἀριστοκράτο[υς]/εὐσεβοῦς καὶ φιλοπάτριδος,/καὶ Κλαυδίας/
Νεικιππίας,/νέας Πηγελό/πης, ἥς ἦν φερῶ/νυμος, καὶ Ἰου/λίου Πολυ(ε)ύκτ[ου]/καὶ
Ἰουλ(ί)ας Ἀπα/ταρίου, *ιερεῖ[ας/ἄ]πο γένους τ[ᾶν]/Ἐλευσινιάων*.⁵⁵

Among these grandparents, Iulius Polyeuctus is well known. The son of a Simeses, he was secretary of the *boule* at the turn of the first century and should probably be identified with the *patronomos* of the same name.⁵⁶ Two sons of his, Γα. Ἰούλιος Σειμήδης Γα. Ἰουλίου Πολυεύκτου νίος and Γα. Ἰούλιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς Πολυ[εύκτου], held local office in Trajan's reign, Simeses being married to Memmia Eurybanassa, member of a well-known family of priests and priestesses of the Dioscuri.⁵⁷ From Agathocles a further three generations of local magistrates can be traced,⁵⁸ while another descendant, probably, was the *patronomos* Γα. Ἰούλιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἰπποθράου (his grandson?).⁵⁹

Without much doubt this bloc of families and the family of Tisamenis's husband were

⁵⁴ Graindor, 39, placed the birth of Herodes, "vers 100".

⁵⁵ Kolbe's suggestion, apropos of the reading Ἀπαταρίου, "An fuit Πανθαλίδος?", is entirely unjustifiable epigraphically; he adduced it to support his restoration and interpretation of *IG* v. 1.588, on which cf. n. 60.

⁵⁶ *SEG* xi. 558, 14. *Patronomos*: *IG* v. 1.40 (= *SEG* xi. 482) 13-14; *SEG* xi. 489, 3; 490, 3.

⁵⁷ Simeses: *IG* v. 1.507; *SEG* xi. 517. Agathocles: *SEG* xi. 609. Eurybanassa's family and the Dioscuri: cf., e.g., *IG* v. 1.209; 233; 537. She was probably the sister of the two

brothers, the P. Memmii Pratolaus (*patronomos* ca. 114/15 Chrimes, 465) and Sidectas (*patronomos* in 124/5 J. Bingen, *BCH* lxxvii (1953) 642ff.).

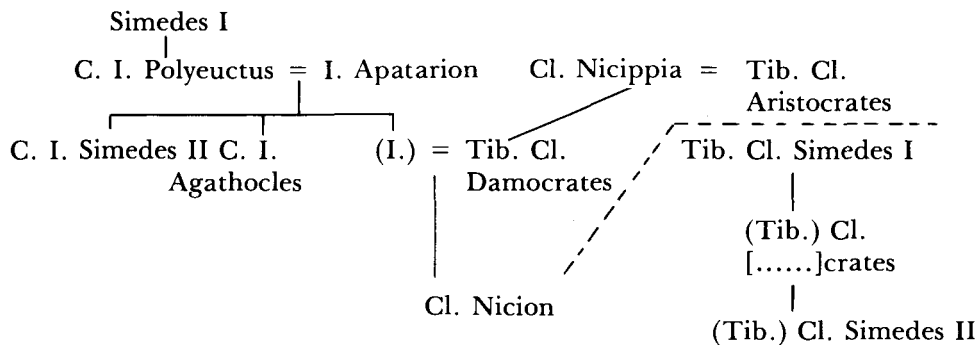
⁵⁸ C.I. Damares Ἀγαθοκλέους, *geron* (*SEG* xi. 569-son); C.I. Brutus Δαμάρεως, *nomophylax* (*IG* v. 1.66 (= *SEG* xi. 524)-grandson); (C. I.) Damares Βρούτου (*IG* v. 1.39; 162b-great-grandson; perhaps the same as I. Dam(---), *patronomos* in 196/7 or 197/8 (*IG* v. 1.448)).

⁵⁹ *IG* v. 1.46; 534; 591. For his descendants, cf. Kolbe's stemma, *IG* v. 1, p. 131.

related somehow. The incomplete *cognomen* of this husband, [5.6.]*κράτης*, *could* be restored as [Ἀριστο]*κράτης*, but not—for example—as [Δαμο]*κράτης*.

Like Tib. Claudius Aristocrates, he and his family were Tib. Claudii and, again like Aristocrates, he can be associated with the name Simedes. On the other hand, it would not be possible to identify the two men. Aristocrates was the contemporary of Polyeuctus, whose sons, like the father of [.....]crates, held local office under Trajan; so Aristocrates was approximately two generations older than [.....]crates.

The clue to the precise relationship between these two men lies in the Greek practice of naming a son after one of his grandparents. The practice was current both in the family of [.....]crates, whose father and son were both called Simedes, and also among the close relations of Aristocrates—the father and son of his granddaughter's other grandfather, Iulius Polyeuctus, were also both called Simedes. It is time now to return to the evidence of *IG* v. 1.607 (above, p. 25), according to which the four grandparents of Nicion were Tib. Claudius Aristocrates, Claudia Nicippia, Iulius Polyeuctus and Iulia Apatarion, in that order. The following stemma tabulates this information, on the assumption that the two Claudii and two Iulii represent respectively two sets of grandparents.⁶⁰

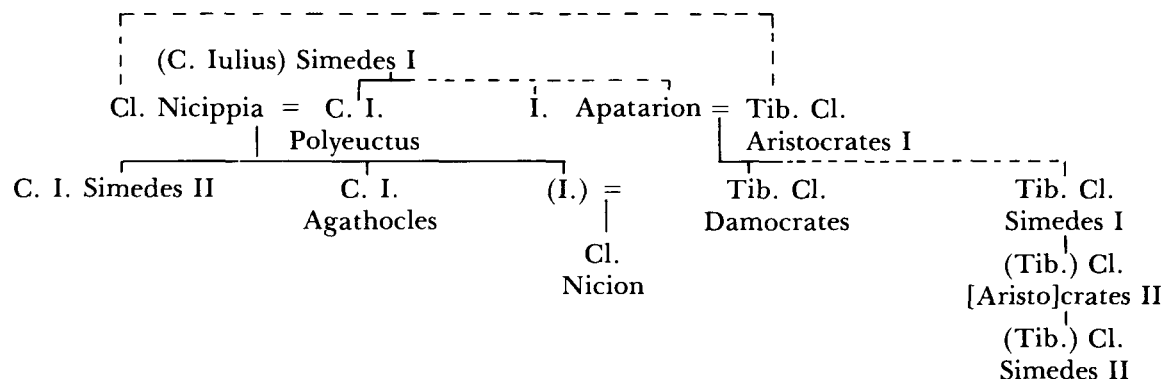


As was said earlier, Tib. Claudius Simedes I belonged to the same generation as the children of Polyeuctus. Hence, chronologically, he *could* have been a son of Tib. Claudius Aristocrates, a conjecture which would allow his own son's name to be restored as [Ἀριστο]*κράτης*, on the assumption that he had been named after his paternal grandfather. So far so good. This reconstruction, however, can be improved. It was assumed above that the two Claudii and the two Iulii of *IG* v. 1.607 represent respectively Nicion's two sets of grandparents. There is nothing in the text which actually supports this assumption, however, and an alternative interpretation is possible: namely, that the two Claudii and the two Iulii are not, in each case, husband and wife, but brother and sister, Aristocrates and Polyeuctus each having married the other's sister. The attraction of this conjecture is twofold. Firstly, we no longer have to accept the coincidence—perhaps rather curious—that Nicion's paternal grandparents were *both* Claudii, and her maternal one's *both* Iulii. Secondly, if Aristocrates were the brother-in-law of Polyeuctus, as he would be by this alternative interpretation, he will have been the son-in-law of (C. Iulius) Simedes I, the father of Polyeuctus. In this way we can see whence Tib.

⁶⁰ Kolbe restored *IG* v. 1.588 to read [Γ. 'Ιούλιος] Σειμή[δ]/ης 'Ιουλίαν Παν/[θ]αλ[ι]δα 'Αγιδος θυ/γατέρα, τὰν ἰδίαν/[ματ]ε[ρ]α κτλ., identifying this Simedes with C. Iulius Simedes II, so that Iulia Panthalis became the wife of C. I.

Polyeuctus (cf. his accompanying stemma). This reconstruction, however, entirely ignores the evidence (however interpreted) of *IG* v. 1.607 for the identity of the wife of Polyeuctus. Cf. n. 55.

Claudius Simedes I, if a son of Aristocrates, would have derived his *cognomen*: from his maternal grandfather, according to the common Greek practice. It is proposed, then, to adopt this alternative interpretation of *IG* v. 1.607, as well as the conjectured relationship between Aristocrates and Tib. Claudius Simedes I, so as to yield the following stemma.



Two more points of prosopography. A hitherto enigmatic Aristocrates was *patronomos* at Sparta shortly before A. Claudius Charax, one of the consuls of 147.⁶¹ Charax's patronomate fell *ca.* 151/52,⁶² and that of Aristocrates, therefore, in the late 140s. The *floruit* of Herodes belonged precisely to the 140s and 150s and so too, probably, did that of his Spartan brother-in-law. If the reconstruction proposed above is accepted, moreover, then this brother-in-law was also called Aristocrates, was related to *patronomoi* and, self-evidently, was of sufficient standing to have been a *patronomos* himself. It is proposed, then, to identify the two men. Accordingly, the date of Tisamenis's death, since it occurred after that of her husband (above, p. 213), cannot have fallen before *ca.* 150.

The second point of prosopography concerns the connection between Atticus and Tib. Claudius Simedes I, which is implicit in the marriage of the one's daughter to the other's son. Simedes, like Tisamenus, was probably another Spartan friend of Atticus, and it is tempting to conjecture that all three coincided in Sparta's ephebate under Domitian. There is some support for this conjecture, since three Spartans, each *kasen* to a Simedes, were holding local office at much the same time as the *kasen* of Atticus and that of Tisamenus.⁶³ This Simedes, then, who as a *kasen*-holder must have belonged to the upper class was of the same generation as Atticus, and presumably should be identified with either C. Iulius Simedes II or his cousin, Tib. Claudius Simedes I. Hence Tisamenis may well have owed, not only her name, but also her husband, to friendships contracted by her father while a Spartan ephebe.

Returning to *SEG* xi. 781, it now remains only to consider the restoration of the last two lines. In line 5 the lacuna in the middle of the line contains space for *ca.* 17 letters. The traces before EIII suggest the restoration ἀνέθην, while the restoration [ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς] for the remaining space, although it must remain a conjecture, would fit the available length of line admirably. Finally, since statue-dedications from Roman Sparta were sometimes dated by the eponymous *patronomos*,⁶⁴ the restoration ἐπὶ/[πατρονόμου τοῦ δέϊνος] is proposed for lines

⁶¹ *IG* v. 1.71 (= *SEG* xi. 526) col. iii, 16, 18. Charax: cf., most recently, C. Habicht, *MDAI(I)* 9-10 (1959-60) 108ff.

⁶² Chrimes, 466 her date is about right.

⁶³ *IG* v. 1.101; *SEG* xi. 610, 7; 569, 12, 14. The first and last of these texts are dated respectively by the patronomates

of P.M. Pratolaus, *ca.* 114/5, and L.V. Aristocrates, *ca.* 112/3 (dates: Chrimes, 465).

⁶⁴ E.g., *IG* v. 1.480; also an unpublished dedication to either Trajan or Hadrian, now in the orchestra of the theatre.

5-6. All the restorations and emendations which have been put forward may now be incorporated into the following text.

[Κλαυ. Τεισαμενίδα Κλα. Ἀπτικο]ῦ θυγατέρα καὶ Κλαύ.
 [Ἀριστοχρ]άτη Κλα. [Σ]ειμ[ήδους υἱ]ὸν καὶ Κλα. Σειμήδη
 [Κλαυ. Τει]σαμενίδος καὶ Κ[λα. Ἀριστο]χράτους υἱὸν, κα-
 [τὰ διαθή]χας Κλαυδίας Τ[εισαμεν]ίδος, Τιβέριος
 5 [Κλαύδιος] Ἡρώδης [ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς (?) ἀνέθ]ηκεν ἐπὶ
 [πατρωνόμου -----]

The genealogical data and conjecture put forward above are incorporated in the stemma appended to this article. It is now possible to take a general view of the stature of the Spartan kin of Atticus and Herodes. The family of Tisamenis's husband claimed descent from Poseidon and administered a local cult of the god through a hereditary (presumably) priesthood;⁶⁵ it had possessed Roman citizenship since the reign of either Claudius or Nero, to judge from the names Tib. Claudius; it held high local office; and it was related to other Spartan families which similarly had been enfranchised in the early principate, controlled local cults and held high local office.⁶⁶ We are looking, without doubt, at the heart of Sparta's aristocracy—a nexus of old families whose members might justifiably see themselves as the peers of Atticus and Herodes.

SUMMARY

The evidence for the ties between Sparta and the family of Herodes may be summarised as follows.

70s or 80s	Hipparchus is privately honoured by two Spartan clients
between <i>ca.</i> 86-93	Atticus spends a term in Sparta's ephebate
soon after 100	birth of Claudia Tisamenis
<i>ca.</i> 115-120?	Tisamenis marries (Tib.) Claudius Aristocrates (II) of Sparta
early 130s	Atticus is eponymous <i>patronomos</i>
early 130s ?	Atticus is <i>ensitos</i> of a college of Spartan magistrates
136/7	Sparta offers Atticus the post of Cytherodices
<i>ca.</i> 168	Regillus Atticus spends a term in Sparta's ephebate as a <i>bouagos</i>
after <i>ca.</i> 150	Tisamenis dies. Herodes comes to Sparta as executor of her will

⁶⁵ It is not clear which of the several Spartan cults of Poseidon (cf. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig 1893) 31ff.) is in question here.

⁶⁶ Cults: cf. n. 56 (Memmia Eurybanassa's family). The conjectured sister of Polyuctus, Iulia Apatarion, was hereditary priestess of Demeter and Kore (above, p. 215; on

the cult and its sanctuary: *BSA* xlv (1950) 261ff.). These Iulii may have been enfranchised by Augustus; the Memmii were by P. Memmius Regulus, *leg. Aug. pro pr.* in Greece, 35-44 (E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian* (Vienna 1939) cols. 25ff.).

These ties, although they first come into view in the generation of Hipparchus, who had clients, and presumably friends too, at Sparta, become more clearly defined only in the lifetime of Atticus, who had himself, and who evidently passed on to his son, what may fairly be called a 'special relationship' with the city. The catalyst of this relationship was probably provided by the events surrounding the condemnation of Hipparchus, one result of which was that the young Atticus passed through the Spartan, rather than the Athenian, ephebate. The exact context of this exceptional event remains uncertain; it is likely, however, that his family at the time was unable or unwilling to live in Athens, while at Sparta family-connections, and perhaps the sympathetic attitude of the local government, may have combined to ensure that Atticus was warmly received there instead.

In later life Atticus appears to have had an unusual affection for Sparta, doubtless based on the influence on him of his term as a Spartan ephebe. During this term, it has been conjectured, he made at least one friend at Sparta, Tisamenus, later on even naming a daughter after him. This same daughter he married to another Spartan, whose father, Tib. Claudius Simeses, he may well have known as well from shared days as ephebes. Apart from these private ties, we also catch glimpses, in his patronomate, his year as an *ensitos* and his intended tenure of the post of Cytherodices, of a close involvement in Sparta's public life during the earlier 130s—it is almost as if he was living there.

Herodes will certainly have been influenced by his father's affection for Sparta. He had a sister and close Spartan relations there, and must have inherited Spartan guest-friends too. Apart from his activity at Sparta as his sister's executor, we also know that he enrolled his son as a Spartan ephebe. It is worth recalling, too, the reference in Philostratus to the nameless cities in the Peloponnese on which Herodes visited his munificence.⁶⁷ No beneficent activity of his is known at Sparta; but his ties with the city make such activity a likelihood.

In the generation of Regillus the family's ties with Sparta slip out of view, rather as does the family as a whole; there is no evidence that a term in the city's ephebate inspired in Regillus the same warmth towards Sparta as it had done in his grandfather. Similarly we lose sight in this generation of the family's Spartan relations; of possible descendants of Tisamenis we know only of her son, Simeses.

CONCLUSION

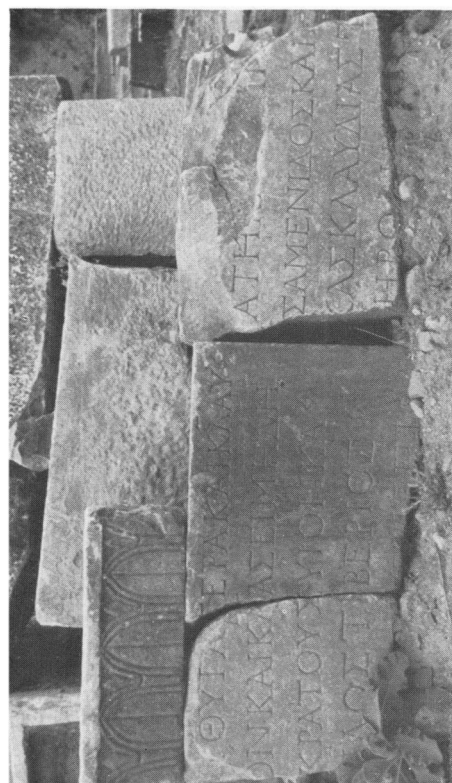
If the arguments which have been presented above are accepted, then evidence exists for extremely close ties between the leading family of Roman Athens and the city and aristocracy of Sparta, lasting at least from the Flavian period to that of the later Antonine emperors. These ties are of historical significance, if only because they concern Roman Greece's two most *historic cities*, and an *Athenian family which also occupied a prominent place in the empire's ruling class*.

These ties also echo some of the features of their age. They were, to begin with, essentially a function of the high standing of Herodes' family in provincial Greece, a standing based on the family's huge wealth and its assimilation into the Roman elite, and one which found reflection and expression in a network of local relationships within the province, both official ones with city governments and private ones with a scatter of kindred, friends, clients and family-agents. Such locally dispersed connections and interests were characteristic of provincial magnates in many parts of the empire, and formed an important element in the overall structure of power in the Roman world.

⁶⁷ VS 551.

In addition, two complementary factors probably encouraged the development and maintenance of these ties—one the recurrent tension between Athens and the family of Herodes, the other the ancient rivalry between Athens and Sparta, a rivalry which was being fanned, in all likelihood, by the archaising atmosphere of the second sophistic. Here then, intertwined, are certain trends current in the Greek east at large under the principate: the tensions which might exist between cities and their leading citizens, who now often doubled as members of the empire's ruling elite; the notorious inter-city rivalries, which Hadrian founded the league of the Panhellenion in part to help allay; and the enhanced value which sophistic culture placed on a Greek city's ability to claim for itself a piece of the Greek past. Behind them all, to a greater or lesser extent, lay the impact on the world of the Greek cities of inclusion in the Roman empire.

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(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

(a) SPARTA AND THE FAMILY OF HERODES ATTICUS SEG xi. 781; (b)-(d) J. D. S. PENDLEBURY'S EXCAVATIONS IN THE PLAIN OF LASITHI: THE IRON AGE SITES The Geometric Tholos tomb at Papoura: (b) General view; (c) Exterior wall; (d) Dromos