TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von
Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Christer Bruun (Rom): Kaiser Elagabal und ein neues Zeugnis für den Kult des Sonnengottes Elagabalus in Italien ................................................................. 1
Loredana Capelletti (Wien): Il ruolo dei fetiales e il concetto di civitas in Liv. IX 45, 5–9 ........................................................................................................ 7
Andrew Farrington (Athen): Olympic Victors and the Popularity of the Olympic Games in the Imperial Period .............................................................. 15
Nikolaos Gonis (Oxford): Troubled Fields. CPR VII 52 Revised .......... 47
Céline Grassien (Paris): Deux hymnes et une litanie chrétiennes byzantines conservées par le P. Rainer Cent. 31 et cinq autres témoins (Tafel 1–6) ........................................ 51
Andrew P. Gregory (New Haven): A New and Some Overlooked Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate (Tafel 7) ............................. 85
Wolfgang Habelmann (Heidelberg): Varia curiosa: Einige Bemerkungen zum 23. Juni in der papyrologischen Überlieferung ........................................... 93
Klaus Hallhof (Berlin): Ein Gott als samischer Eponym. SEG XXVII 510 (Tafel 8–9) .................................................................................................................. 97
Peter Herrmann (Hamburg): Die Karriere eines prominenten Juristen aus Thyateira (Tafel 10) .......................................................................................... 111
Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk (Leiden): Ein Unicum beim ägyptischen Zensus-Vorgang. Die zusätzliche Eingabe SPP II, S. 31 (Tafel 11) ........ 125
Werner Hüb (Bamberg): Ägyptische Kollaborateure in persischer Zeit ................................................................................................................ 131
Anne Köl (Zürich), Joachim Ott (Bonn): Eine neue römische Grabinschrift aus Riedstadt (Tafel 12) ............................................................. 145
Thomas Kruse (Bielefeld): Zum θιασαρχής im ptolemäischen Ägypten. Bemerkungen zu J. F. Oates, The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus .................................................................................. 149
Vasile Lica (Galati): Die siebente Akklamation Octavians .................. 159
Christian Marek (Zürich): Teos und Abdera nach dem Dritten Makedonischen Krieg. Eine neue Ehreninschrift für den Demos von Teos (Tafel 13) .............................................................................................................................................. 169
Panagiota Sarischouli (Berlin): Wiener Papyri aus byzantinischer und arabischer Zeit (Tafel 14–17) ............................................................. 179
Ralf Scharf (Heidelberg): Constantiniaci = Constantiniani? Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik der Notitia Dignitatum am Beispiel der „constantinischen“ Truppen ........................................................................................................ 189
Reinhold Scholl (Leipzig): Phylen und Buleuten in Naukratis. Ein neues Fragment zur Inschrift SB VIII 9747 (Tafel 18) ......................... 213
Klaus Tausend (Graz): Lugier — Vandilier — Vandalen ..................... 229
Sophia Zoubaki (Athen): Zum sozialen Status der Epispondorchenst von Olympia .................................................................................................................. 237
Richard Alston: Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History. London 1995 (M. P. Speidel: 259) — Pedro Barceló: Altertum, Weinheim, 2. Aufl. 1994 (P. Siewert: 259) — Holger Behr: Die Selbstdarstellung Sullas. Ein aristokratischer Politiker zwischen persönlichen Führungsanspruch und Standessolidarität. Frankfurt am Main 1993 (G. Dobesch: 260) — Laurent Bricaud: Myrionomy. Les épithèses grecques et latines d’Isis, de Sarapis et d’Anubis. Stuttgart 1996 (H. Harrauer: 261) — Michel Casey: Le vocabulaire de la colonisation grec ancien. Étude lexicologique: les familles de κτισιω et de οίκεω-οικισαω. Paris 1985 (P. Siewert: 262) — Laura Chiotti: Gli elogia augustei del Foro Romano. Aspetti epigrafici e topografici. Roma 1996 (G. Dobesch: 262) — Raffaella Cribiore: Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Atlanta 1996 (P. Arzt: 263) — Traianos Gagos, Peter van Minnen: Settling a Dispute. Toward a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt. Ann Arbor 1994 (H.-A. Rupprecht: 264) — Christian Habich: Athen in hellenistischer Zeit. Gesammelte Aufsätze. München 1994 (P. Siewert: 269) — Clemens Heucke: Circus und Hippodrom als politischer Raum. Untersuchungen zum großen Hippodrom von Konstantinopel und zu entsprechenden Anlagen in spätantiken Kaiserresidenzen. Hildesheim 1994 (G. Dobesch: 270) — Günther Höhle: Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung. Darmstadt 1994 (F. Mitthof: 271) — B. Kremser: Das Bild der Kelten bis in augusteische Zeit. Studien zur Instrumentalisation eines antiken Feindbildes bei griechischen und römischen Autoren. Stuttgart 1994 (K. Tomaschitz: 275) — J. Noellé: Side im Altertum. Geschichte und Zeugnisse, Band 1. Bonn 1993 (K. Tomaschitz: 279) — Claudia-Maria Perkovic: Livia Drusilla – Julia Augusta. Das politische Porträt der ersten Kaiserin Roms. Wien 1995 (G. Dobesch: 280) — J. Rudhardt: Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique. Paris 2. Aufl. 1992 (P. Siewert: 282) — Germani in Italia. A cura di Barbara e Piergiuseppe Cardigli, Roma 1994 (G. Dobesch: 283) — Argyro B. Tatakia: Macedonian Edessa. Prosopography and Onomasticon. Athens 1994 (E. Kettenhofen: 284) — Uwe Walter: An der Polis teilhaben. Bürgerstaat und Zugehörigkeit im Archaischen Griechenland. Stuttgart 1993 (P. Siewert: 286) — Heikki Solin, Namenpaare. Eine Studie zur römischen Namengebung, Helsinki 1990 (W. Hameter: 287) — E. W. Handley, H. G. Ioannidou, P. J. Parsons, J. E. G. Whitehorn, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume IX, Nos. 3963–4008. London 1992 (B. Palme: 287)
ANDREW P. GREGORY

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

Tafel 7

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

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

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

2 Nicols (above, n. 1) 89–91. The relevant cases are nos. 3, 9, 10 and 11 in Nicols' list. Quote, p. 84.
mischief. The context here suggests only a measure against the abuse of gubernatorial power but Nicols has suggested that a ruling on civic patronage was included in this decision because it was one of several honours from non-citizen communities which challenged the unique position of the emperor as patron and benefactor across the empire. As far as citizen communities were concerned, according to Nicols, their own municipal charters regulated the co-optation of patrons and so their affairs were left untouched. Adding to the work of Harmand, and careful to distinguish between civic patrons proper and those other city benefactors who were recognized as euergetai, sóteres and so on, Nicols drew up a list of early imperial civic patrons whose status as patrones can be fully substantiated. The epigraphic evidence, as presented by Nicols, does seem to show a ‘decline’ in numbers of patrons of Greek cities after Augustus (seventy-two cases for the period 90 B.C.–A.D.11/12 and eleven cases for the period A.D. 13–117)⁴. The only valid instances of civic patronage after A.D. 11/12, Nicols argues, are from citizen communities (i.e. Roman colonies and municipia). A pattern of ‘decline’ in the first century seems apparent, but is it to be associated with an outright ban by Augustus? And are we justified in claiming that Augustus’ measure against gubernatorial corruption, as recorded by Dio, included measures about eligibility for the office of patron?

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

* * *

1) Honorific inscription for M. Aemilius Lepidus⁵.

1 ὁ δῶμος Ἡδρόκων Αἰμίλιον
2 Λέπιδον τὸ δεύτερον ἄνθθυμον
3 πατον τὸν έαυτού πάτρωνα
4 καὶ εὐεργέταιν.

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

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⁴ Nicols (above, n. 1) 83, Table 1.
⁵ AE (1934) no. 87. I thank Claude Eilers especially for bringing this text to my attention.
he was in Asia for at least two years. This Coan inscription thus dates to A.D. 27/8, and the date, together with Lepidus' status as provincial governor, provides a compelling challenge to Nicols' hypothesis. Indeed, it reveals that the city of Cos directly contradicted the order which Dio records namely that provincial communities refrain from honouring governors while still in office.

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

2) Honorific inscription for L. Calpurnius Longus.

1) ó δῆμος ἑτείμησεν
2) Λεύκιον Καλπούρνιον
3) ον Λόγγον, υἱὸν Μάρα-
4) κοῦ Καλπούρνιων 'Ρού-
5) φοῦ τοῦ πάτρωνος
6) τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν,
7) εὐχαριστίας ἐνεκα.

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

2a) Honorific inscription for M. Calpurnius Rufus.

1) ó δῆμος
2) Μάρκον Καλπούρνιον
3) Μάρκου υἱὸν Ὀρόφον,
4) πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντι-
5) στράτηγον Τιβερίου
6) Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σε-
7) βασιλέως Γερμανικοῦ

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

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

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

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

9 Antalya Museum Inv. no. 420. Bean (above, n. 7) 26, no. 11; Bosch & Atlan (above, n. 7) 94, no. 10.
appears to be the very first Roman senator from Pamphylia: Rufus clearly came from Attaleia, for his mother, Caecilia Tertulla, was priestess of Iulia Augusta (Livia) and of Roma in the city. This was undoubtedly a position of great distinction. (The family’s special position within the city is illustrated by the inscription above honouring his son, L. Calpurnius Longus, and by another honouring his daughter-in-law, Longus’ wife). It has been suggested that Calpurnius Rufus may owe his advancement to his being the descendant of Italian immigrants and not, strictly speaking, a native Pamphylian. Nevertheless, whatever his origin, Rufus was the first provincial from this region to reach senatorial rank.

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 See Robert (above, n. 13) 199; Rémy (above, n. 10) 60. Cf. Groag, PIR² C 313. The inscription is CIL III 6072 = I. Ephesos, no. 631.

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

16 Jameson (above, n. 10) 125, notes that Attaleia gained colonial status, probably in the 3rd century A.D.
A New and Some Overlooked Patrons of Greek Cities

As we have seen in the cases of M. Calpurnius Rufus and M. Aemilius Lepidus, some honorific inscriptions from the early imperial period suggest a different story from that presented by Nicols. These two overlooked cases might be supplemented by a third. In fact some years ago, in the course of publishing a series of inscriptions from Stratoniceia in Caria, Ender Vannlıoğlu drew attention to an unpublished fragment which mentions a M. Iunius Silanus as „patron and euergétès“17. The text of this inscriptive fragment is now presented in full.

3) Fragment of an honorific inscription for M. Iunius Silanus.

Height: 0.23m; Width: 0.22; Thickness: 0.26; Letter height: 0.018. At present in the depot at Eskihisar (Stratoniceia). Tafel 7.

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5 [κτου ? ] vac.

A fuller restoration is impossible because the inscription is so fragmentary and it is unclear how far the left margin extended. Nevertheless, despite the fragmentary state enough key words survive to indicate that this was part of an honorific inscription set up in the city. I would suggest that we see here the dēmos of Stratoniceia honouring the proconsul (?) M. Iunius Silanus as patron and benefactor; perhaps a statue was set up by the city and the accompanying inscription alluded to the ties which his ancestors had with the community and his continued good deeds towards them. (The final stroke of a mu is visible at the beginning and it seems reasonable to restore ἀγαλμα vel sim.)18. The reading ε(δε)ργε[λ]τοι in lines 2–3 is likely to be an error made by the stonecutter. The alternative would be ἐργε[λ]τατοι but such a term (“supervisor of works”) joined with „patron“ has no parallel and simply does not make sense. A Roman senator and provincial governor who is civic patron is unlikely to hold a local office such as supervising a public building.

Nicols was aware of this text, but without having seen it was inclined to view Silanus as the praetor of 77 B.C., proconsul of Asia in 76/5 B.C., who is also known to have been the patron of Mylasa19. Ender Vannlıoğlu has suggested that, stylistically at least, the inscription belongs to the early Imperial period, and that it certainly cannot be from the first quarter of the first century B.C., the date which Nicols pre-

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17 E. Vannlıoğlu, Inschriften von Stratonikeia in Karien, EA 12 (1988) 93.
18 While usually used of „cult“ statues the word agalma can also refer to „secular“ images. See e.g. I. Stratonikeia, no. 1010 (civic patron L. Calpurnius Piso honoured ἀγάλματα μουρ-μουρίνων). Prof. Vannlıoğlu, incidentally, has suggested that the lettering of this inscription cannot be much earlier than the second century A.D., and so cannot refer to Piso Pontifex cos. 15 B.C. with whom he is tentatively identified in I. Stratonikeia. Should we identify this Piso as the L. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 175 A.D.? Cf. PIR² C 295; „Calpurnius 82“, RE 3 (1897) 1386.
19 Nicols (above, n. 1) 98, citing LeBas-Waddington, no. 409 (= I. Mylasa, no. 109).
fers. On the basis of the lettering the inscription could perhaps be dated to the first-century A.D. and thus it seems plausible to interpret M. Iunius Silanus as the consul of A.D. 46, who was proconsul of Asia in A.D. 54. (An alternative identification could be M. Silanus, cos. 25 B.C., who served as governor in 20s B.C.)

According to this new inscription the ancestors of Silanus (cf. 1. 3) appear to have been patrons of the city. The Iunii Silani certainly had ancestral ties of patronage with nearby Carian Mylasa (above n. 19). If our identification of M. Silanus as the consul of A.D. 46 — the great-great-grandson of the praetor of 77 B.C., honoured by Mylasa — is correct, then the new Stratonicea inscription would also strengthen the case against Nicols’ argument for a complete ban by Augustus on Greek poleis having city patrons after A.D. 11/12.

* * *

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

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

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

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

21 Suggested by C. Eilers. It was the father of the cos. of 25 B.C. who was honoured at Mylasa. Cf. Syme (above, n. 5) 191, n. 27. For M. Silanus cos. A.D. 46 see PIR 2 J 833; Hohl, Iunius (Silanus) 176, RE 10 (1918) 1099.

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

23 The references to the Bithynian examples are given by Nicols. See above, n. 2.
of the _Sebastos_. And on a simply practical note the increase in instances of civic patronage after Trajan could be said to reflect the general increase in numbers of inscribed documents in the second and early third centuries A.D., the spread of the so-called „epigraphic habit“.

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

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