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THE PARTHENON INSCRIPTION

KEVIN K. CARROLL
Arizona State University

DUKE UNIVERSITY • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

1982

TO ELIZABETH AND STERLING DOW

Duke University gratefully acknowledges generous grants by the Associates of the Department of History and the College of Liberal Arts, Arizona State University, in support of the publication of this monograph.

Preface

SINCE THE END of the last century it has been known that a monumental inscription in bronze letters once marked the east architrave of the Parthenon. In 1896 Eugene P. Andrews took squeezes of the cuttings that had held the letters, a laborious and risky enterprise; he was able to read most of the inscription, which proved, to his dismay, to honor the emperor Nero. The remainder of the text became known only in 1972, when Sterling Dow deciphered its final words from Andrews' squeezes, now at Cornell University.

Although of unique interest in several respects, the inscription has never received a detailed commentary—and could not have received a full one before 1972. Its physical characteristics warrant close scrutiny; and as the only inscription on antiquity's most famous building, its language, purpose, and occasion will repay study, for earlier remarks on these matters were brief and inconclusive. The present monograph, which seeks to address this need, grew out of my dissertation written at Harvard University under the direction of S. Dow, who urged me to undertake the project. Andrews' feat could not be repeated; but I have been able to confirm the text by a restudy of the squeezes and by an examination, with binoculars and camera, of the cuttings on the architrave itself.

Many people gave generously of their time and knowledge while I was writing. My greatest debt is to Professor Dow; the work profited from his comments and suggestions over several years. Mason Hammond patiently read several drafts, and the book would have been poorer without his aid. E. Badian also read the work, and I am indebted to him for several suggestions on how to improve it. The late James H. Oliver, Mr and Mrs Arthur E. Gordon, C. W. J. Eliot, and Judith Binder were also kind enough to read versions. Kevin Clinton and Barbara Shepherd were very helpful during my examination of the squeezes at Cornell, as were the staff of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens when I wished to examine some of the inscriptions in their collection. To all these I should like to express my thanks, and also to the anonymous readers who offered many useful suggestions.

To the Department of Manuscripts and University Archives of

the Cornell University Libraries I am grateful for permission to reproduce the photographs of Andrews' squeezes. Finally, I should like to thank my typists, Lynda Schildhouse and David Introcaso.

July, 1981

KEVIN K. CARROLL

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I Eugene P. Andrews and the Parthenon Inscription

NEAR THE END of his senior year at Cornell University, Eugene P. Andrews had no plans for the next year. At the urging of his teacher B. I. Wheeler, he applied for a fellowship to spend the year at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, where Wheeler himself was to be Professor of Greek Language and Literature for 1895/6. Andrews obtained the fellowship and arrived in Athens near the end of September 1895.¹

In addition to visiting museums and monuments in Athens with the staff of the School, the students also attended a series of lectures given on Saturdays by W. Dörpfeld. On Saturday, 7 December 1895, Dörpfeld gave his lecture on the Acropolis. His subject was the Parthenon. When he reached the east front of the building, he directed the attention of the students to the architrave. There he pointed out two sets of cuttings and explained that the larger cuttings, under the metopes, had once held shields, as was evident from weathering marks. The second set consisted of small, closely grouped cuttings under the triglyphs. Dörpfeld said that these cuttings had once served for the attachment of bronze letters. What the letters were was not known, but he said that by study of the cuttings, the letters of the inscription could undoubtedly be made out. Andrews quoted him saying, "Such things have been done, and it is time that this were done" ("Riddle" 303).

Dörpfeld was, of course, correct. Other bronze-lettered inscriptions were known. In 1890 K. Lanckoronski had published the inscription from the arch of Hadrian at Attaleia.² This inscription

¹ The account given here of Andrews' work in Athens is based largely on two letters and an article written by him. Of the letters, one was addressed to "My dear sister" and dated "Feb 23 [1896]"; the other is a duplicated letter which Andrews sent to friends long after, dated after the signature "Sept 9/52." Both letters are in the Cornell University Archives. The article is "How a Riddle of the Parthenon Was Unraveled," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 54.2 (June 1897) 301-09. An account of Andrews and his work has been published by S. Dow, "Andrews of Cornell," *Cornell Alumni News* 75.5 (December 1972) 13-21.

² K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I* (Vienna 1890) 155-56; for a photograph of some of the extant letters see G. R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects (Corinth XII [Princeton 1952])* Pl. 148e.

had been in three sections. For the first, the bronze letters themselves were still extant, and this part was read easily; the other two sections were never deciphered, for a large number of letters had only one attachment in the center of the letter. Another bronze-lettered inscription was known from the Golden Gate at Constantinople. J. Strzygowski had found the blocks that had held the letters and published them in 1893, two years before Andrews arrived in Athens.³ Strzygowski did not have to determine the text of the inscription, for that was already known (*CIL* III 735), but he did match the letters to the cuttings. In most cases the attachments for each letter were consistent throughout the text, but there were exceptions. These were not the only bronze-lettered inscriptions known in 1895,⁴ but most of the others had inset letters, thus being easily read, as the shape of the letter was cut in the stone.

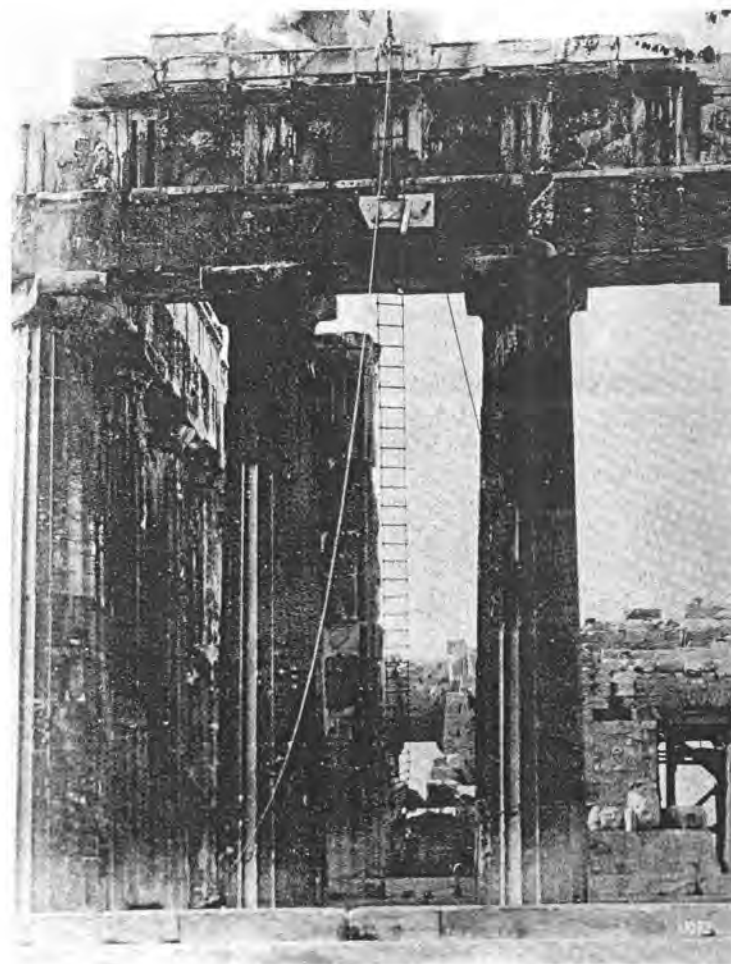
The inscription on the Parthenon offered no such clues to its text. All that remained were the cuttings, and there was no weathering around the lost letters. Some facts about the inscription could be determined from studying the architrave. It had certainly been monumental, most likely consisting of large bronze letters, undoubtedly gilded as were the extant letters from other such inscriptions. There were twelve groups of cuttings. Each group had three lines, except for the last which had only two. The triglyphs at both ends and the next-to-last on the north end had no cuttings under them. The letters had been removed soon after being put up, as was evident from the absence of weathering.

Andrews had studied epigraphy and knew the importance of a squeeze. He decided that his contribution toward deciphering this inscription would be to make squeezes of the groups of cuttings. Having obtained the necessary permission, he rigged a bosun's chair in front of the architrave and began to work (see PLATE 1). There was an immediate problem. The normal process for making squeezes was not adequate: because of the depth of the cuttings, the squeeze paper broke through. Consequently an accurate impression could not be obtained. Andrews described how he solved this problem ("Riddle" 304):

Two strips of paper, wet and crossing each other at right angles, were pushed in by their middle through each break to the bottom of the hole, so that each hole was lined with a double U

³ J. Strzygowski, *RömQ* 7 (1893) 1–3, *JdI* 8 (1893) 8–9.

⁴ Andrews, "Riddle" 303 n.1, cites others.



ANDREWS AT WORK

of paper. The four projecting ends of the strips were turned back flat on the paper, and another sheet was put against the first. Both sheets were next thoroughly wet and pounded into a coherent mass of pulp, and the ends of the strips were thus held firmly between. If the wind did not blow the squeeze down during the night, it was stiff and strong in the morning; a little careful use of a paper-knife pried the knobs out of the holes; and a cast was secured which showed with entire accuracy the relative position of the holes, their shape, depth, and direction.

Each day Andrews could make one squeeze, leaving it on the architrave overnight to dry. The wind did destroy many days' work, but eventually Andrews had squeezes of all twelve groups of cuttings.

As will be described below, Andrews soon deciphered most of the inscription. He revealed his discovery at an open meeting of the American School on 21 February 1896. He hung the squeezes on the walls of the School library with a piece of paper below on which the positions of the cuttings were marked. He reports that he did not lecture, but merely walked along filling in the letters. Thus the text was revealed.

Andrews wrote about the inscription only in *Century Magazine* (June 1897). There Andrews mentions that until his decipherment, it had been assumed that the inscription had some connection with Alexander's dedication on the Acropolis of three hundred shields, booty from the battle of Granicus in 334 B.C.: "Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, except the Lacedaemonians, from the barbarians who inhabit Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 16.8). This statement by itself would not have been long enough to account for all the cuttings, and it was thought that an expanded version had been placed on the Parthenon. Andrews mentions that the builders of the model of the Parthenon in the Metropolitan Museum in New York did add to the text in order to make it fill out the space on the architrave.⁵

Andrews wrote two accounts of the decipherment, of how he had determined which letters had been attached to the architrave. The version given in the article differs from that in the letter dated

⁵ Andrews, "Riddle" 305–06. A photograph of the east front of the Parthenon model in the Metropolitan Museum can be seen in *Art and Archaeology* 4 (1916) 20. In this chapter Andrews' system of numbering from one to twelve is used. Later a somewhat different numbering system will be explained.

Sept. 9/52. Probably the letter describes what actually happened; the article presents the reasoned argumentation which proved the validity of the decipherment.

In the letter, Andrews says that he did not at first intend to decipher the inscription: his contribution was to have been the making of the squeezes. But on the day he returned to the School with the squeeze of the seventh group of cuttings, Mrs R. B. Richardson, wife of the Director, called him into the drawing room to show the squeeze to a guest. When Mrs Richardson remarked that he couldn't really expect to make anything of it, he looked at the squeeze for the first time with the idea of identifying any letters. And he was able to identify some, making out the letters A, Y, and T. After returning to his own room, he made out enough letters to realize that he had a form of *αὐτοκράτωρ*. Since this word pointed to a connection with a Roman emperor, the belief that the inscription commemorated Alexander's dedication could be discarded.

The account in *Century Magazine* is slightly different, though it begins with the same three letters. Andrews here states that groups of cuttings which were repeated were measured and classified. He first considered the triangular groups (see *Figure 1*). The third, fourth, and fifth letters of the seventh group presented the triangular shapes which appear in *Figure 2*.

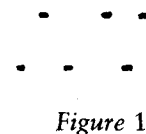


Figure 1

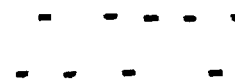


Figure 2

Andrews pointed out that the third group shown in *Figure 2* appears a number of times and that the two upper cuttings are regularly 12 cm apart. In these cases, the long dimension of the cutting (the cuttings are oblong) is vertical. All the other cuttings in *Figure 2* have their long dimensions horizontal. The distance between the upper cuttings in the second group of *Figure 2* is 8.5

cm. Andrews found that throughout the inscription, this pattern holds. If the cuttings form an inverted triangle, and if the upper cuttings are 12 cm apart, these cuttings are vertical. If the distance is less, then the cuttings are horizontal. This led him to postulate that the direction of the cuttings might depend on the direction of the letter strokes, "That, in short, the holes had been cut nearly at right angles to these strokes" ("Riddle" 306). Further study showed that this was correct. Andrews determined that the cuttings shown in *Figure 2* and those which followed in the first line of the seventh group were for the attachment of the letters shown in *Figure 3*.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ

Figure 3

Andrews realized that he had a form of the word *αὐτοκράτωρ*. He next tried to determine where the rest of the word was, whether in the first line of group eight or in the second line of group seven. This would show whether the inscription was to be read across the top lines of all the groups or instead all three lines of each group should be read before moving to the next group. Finding *tau* in each place, he gave up on using this word to decide the question. If he had looked beyond the first letter in each place, he would have seen that the second group in each case was *omicron* but that the third was different. The third letter in the second line of the seventh group was *omicron*; but in the first line of the eighth group, it was *rho*. Each line reads continuously through all twelve groups of cuttings. Andrews settled the question by a study of the word *βουλή*, which appears twice in the first line and is divided between two groups in each case.

With this much established, Andrews quickly read more. Two hypotheses were stated and proved: first, that a letter did not always have the same placement of cuttings; second, that the strokes were at right angles to the longest dimension of the cuttings. With these points established, he soon read most of the inscription.

Andrews did not himself publish a Greek text, but he did provide an English translation ("Riddle" 308):

The council of the Areiopagos and the council of the six hundred and the Athenian people [erect a statue of] emperor greatest Nero Caesar Claudius Augustus Germanicus, son of god, while Ti[berius] Claudius Novius son of Philinos is acting as general over the hoplites for the eighth time, and while he is overseer and lawgiver.

The mention of the statue is Andrews' addition to the text, reflecting his view of its purpose: "It is evident that the inscription commemorated the erection of a statue of Nero, probably at the entrance of the Parthenon."

Andrews was unable to decipher the very end of the inscription. He did read the word *θυγατρός*, which Wheeler included in his publication of the text (see *infra*); but of her name he could make out only a few letters (indicated in his notes now in the Cornell archives).

Andrews dated the inscription to 61 and connected it with a Greek expectation that Nero would come to Greece for the 210th Olympiad. "The whole country eagerly anticipated his coming, and it was natural that the demagogue of Athens would seize the opportunity to cater to the popular pro-Roman feeling by erecting a statue of Nero in the front portico of the Parthenon" ("Riddle" 308–09). He noted the absence of weathering around the letters and realized that they could not have remained on the building for long. He concluded that the inscription would have been removed at the time of Nero's death in June 68. Nero's memory was condemned, and his name was erased from most inscriptions.

Andrews never published anything else on the inscription. Perhaps this can be explained by his opinion of it. Two days after the open meeting of the School, he wrote to his sister, "The inscription proved to be a dedication to Nero, whereat I'm much disgusted." The concluding sentence of his article in *Century Magazine* reflects the same attitude, "But the holes remained, and at last they have told to our inquisitive century the story of how a proud people, grown servile, did a shameful thing, and were sorry afterward." A half-century later, in his letter of 1952, his opinion had not changed, "Such is the sordid story the nails told . . . I felt no elation at having torn from the Parthenon its shameful secret." This attitude must have played some part in his failure ever to do any work with his discovery.

The decipherment did not lack notice in scholarly journals at the time, but the mentions are mostly echoes of Andrews' views.

Wheeler wrote a letter to the editor of *The Nation* (62.1603 [19 March 1896] 233–34), which was reprinted in *AJA* 11 (1896) 230–31. The letter was dated 26 February 1896 and so was written a few days after Andrews had revealed his decipherment at the open meeting of the School on 21 February. Wheeler noted that it took Andrews three weeks to make the squeezes;⁶ he gave the Greek text and said that the inscription “probably accompanied the erection of a statue of Nero, possibly at the front of the Parthenon.” A. B. Walters, presenting the Greek text in *CR* 10 (1896) 222, echoed this opinion almost verbatim, saying that the inscription “probably accompanied the erection of a statue of Nero, perhaps just in front of the Parthenon.” Cecil Smith, Director of the British School, published his view together with the text in an article which appeared both in *JHS* 16 (1896) 339 and in *BSA* 2 (1895/6) 52; he also connected the inscription with a statue of Nero. It was Smith’s *JHS* publication on which J. Kirchner relied in 1935 when he printed the Parthenon inscription as IG II² 3277:

Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ καὶ
ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοκράτορα μέγιστον Νέρωνα
Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν θεοῦ
υἱόν, στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας τὸ ὄγδοον
5 τοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου Τι Κλαυ-
δίου Νουίου τοῦ Φιλίνου, ἐπὶ ἱερείας - - -
τῆς - - - θυγατρὸς

In the years since the decipherment, there have been brief mentions of the inscription, but no substantial discussion. For example, M. L. D’Ooge wrote, “The inscription dates from 61 A.D., and refers to some honor paid to Nero by the Areopagus, the Senate, and the people of Athens. Possibly it accompanied the erection of a statue in front of the Parthenon.”⁷ Others have been simply vague. The inscription was a “dédicace” to M. Collignon,⁸ an “Ehrendekret” to W. Judeich.⁹ P. Graindor gave a rather different view of the statue: “Alors pourquoi inscrire la dédicace sur l’architrave de ce temple et non sur la base de la statue elle-même, comme c’était l’usage? Il vaut donc mieux croire que la statue de Néron avait été érigée dans la Parthénon même, comme la sera plus tard celle

⁶ Andrews, “Riddle” 304, says “a month and a half.”

⁷ *The Acropolis of Athens* (New York 1908) 330.

⁸ *Le Parthénon* (Paris 1914) 62 n.2.

⁹ *Topographie von Athen* (Munich 1931) 254.

d’Hadrien.”¹⁰ And quite another interpretation has been offered by J. H. Oliver, who wrote of “the dedication of the Parthenon to Nero.”¹¹ So too D. J. Geagan: “IG II² 3277 is the Roman dedication added to the Parthenon in 61/2, by which that building was dedicated by the Areopagus, the *boule* of the six hundred and the *demos* to Nero. . . .”¹²

These brief comments reflect important and unresolved disagreements about the character and intent of the inscription. The only substantive study since Andrews is that of Dow, who gave an account of Andrews’ work and deciphered the names of the priestess and her father from Andrews’ squeezes¹³—this by way of prolegomenon to a full commentary on the problems of the inscription, some of which he adumbrated but which he left to the present writer.

¹⁰ *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo 1931) 13.

¹¹ *The Athenian Expounders of Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950) 82.

¹² *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 12 [1967]) 25–26; cf. *AJP* 100 (1979) 285.

¹³ Dow (*supra* n.1); his text was transliterated into Greek by J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1976, 204, where the line divisions, which Dow did not indicate, are mistaken.

II The Text of the Inscription

Description

AT SOME TIME shields had been fastened under the metopes on the east architrave of the Parthenon. Their source and the occasion are unknown. These may have been the shields that Alexander the Great sent to Athens, but this seems doubtful: it is quite possible that the golden shields which Laches took from the Acropolis in 294 B.C. (Paus. 1.25.6) were Alexander's. At any rate, the letters of the Neronian inscription were placed under the triglyphs, between the shields as shown in *Figure 4*.¹

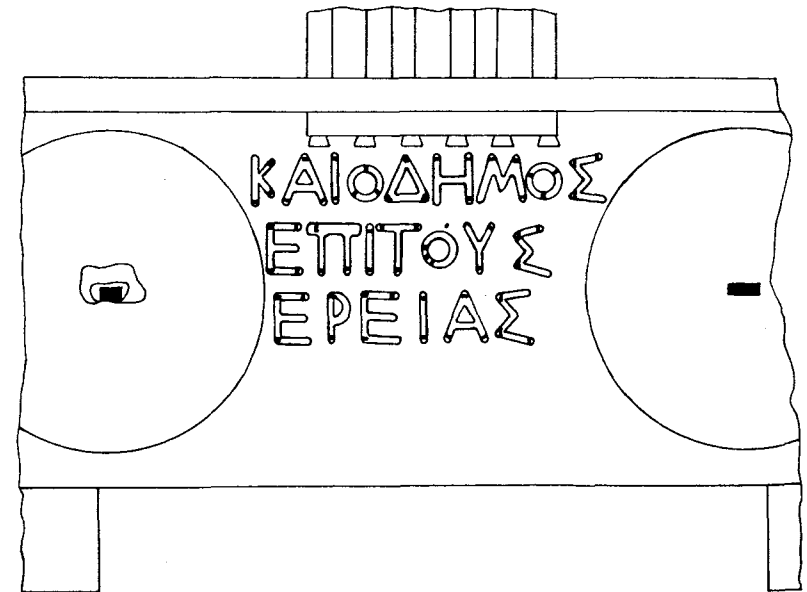


Figure 4

¹ Adapted from Andrews, "Riddle" 305. The same section of the architrave is given in F. C. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*² (London 1888) Pl. 22. See also A. K. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος II* (Athens 1977) 210–15 *figs.* 134, 135, 212, 213.

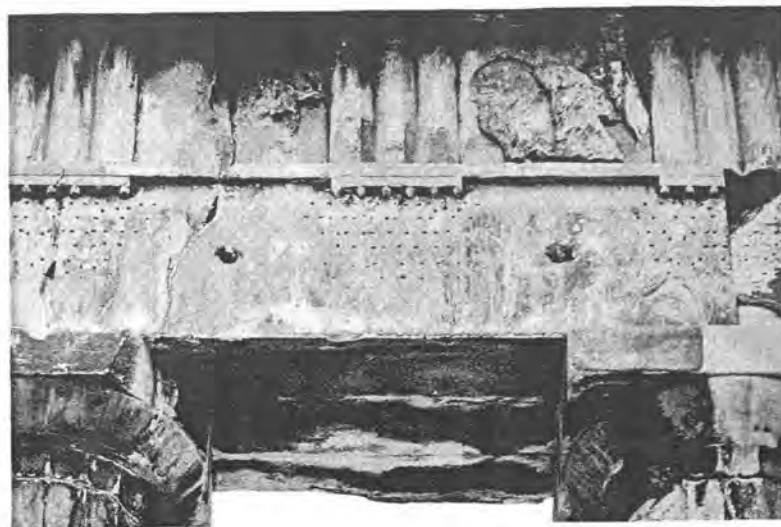
The inscription was composed of separate metal letters, certainly of bronze, each one attached to the marble by tangs on the back of the letter. There now remain only the cuttings in the architrave for these tangs (see PLATE 2). In contrast to some other bronze-lettered inscriptions, the shapes of the letters themselves were not cut into the marble.

Letters were not attached under all the triglyphs, but only under twelve of them. The first triglyph on the south end of the architrave and the last two on the north did not have letters below: if the triglyphs are numbered from left to right (*i.e.*, south to north), triglyphs one, fourteen, and fifteen have blank spaces beneath. The inscription consists of three lines; two run the whole length (that is, they begin under triglyph two and end under triglyph thirteen); line three is slightly shorter, running only under triglyphs two through twelve. The inscription will be cited by the line number followed by the number of the triglyph, counting from south to north: thus 2.6 will refer to the part of the second line that appears under the sixth triglyph.

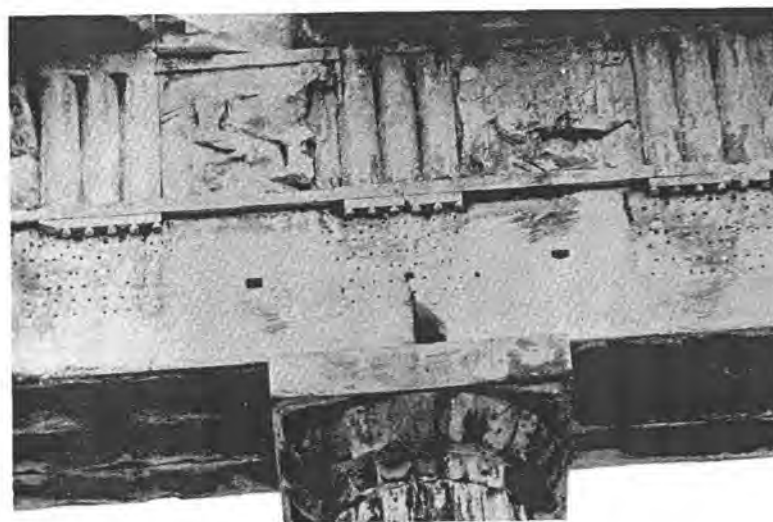
Except for some minor flaking of the marble and small holes created by the impact of bullets, most of the areas in which letters appeared are well preserved (see PLATE 2). Three areas, however, are damaged. At the beginning, under the second triglyph, a section has been so damaged that in all three lines there are no traces of the tang holes for some of the letters. There are some indications for the first letter in each line, but for the next few letters all traces are missing. The area under the fifth triglyph is also damaged: there is no trace of one letter in the first line, and in the second, one of the cuttings for the *tau* is possibly lost. The area under the ninth triglyph lacks traces for one letter in each of the first two lines; for parts of two other letters in the first line and for one other letter in the second, no trace remains. Except for these instances, all the tang holes are intact. The missing cuttings will be treated in the commentary following the text of the inscription.

The inscription seems to have been poorly laid out. The letters are not positioned uniformly—under some triglyphs they are crowded together, while in others they are widely spaced; and there are what appear to be mistaken cuttings. As mentioned above, the third line is shorter than the other two. Moreover, the inscription is not perfectly centered on the building: its center is under the metope between the seventh and eighth triglyphs. According to F. Brommer, this metope probably contained a repre-

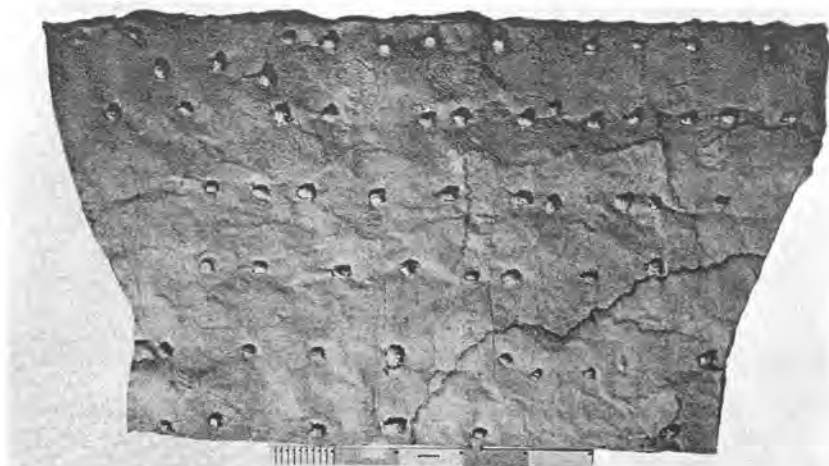
PLATE 2



A: TRIGLYPHS 3, 4, 5



B: TRIGLYPHS 6, 7, 8



A: SECTION 4



B: SECTION 7

sensation of Hera.² The center of the inscription is also directly under the figure of Zeus in the pediment as it has been reconstructed.³ But these relative positions are doubtless accidental.

The space between the lines cannot be determined exactly. On the squeezes, the measurement from the bottom of a cutting to the top of the cutting in the line below varies from 10 to 13 cm. If allowance is made for the fact that part of the letter would extend beyond the cutting, an idea of the approximate space can be gained.

The measurements for the cuttings are given by Andrews as "three quarters of an inch by half an inch wide, over half an inch deep, and from two to three inches apart" ("Riddle" 304). These figures are precise enough for present purposes. It should be noted, however, that these measurements, as well as those for the letters themselves which will be discussed below, cannot be accurately checked on the squeezes owing to their present condition. Before being placed in the archives at Cornell, the squeezes had been crushed flat. Miss Barbara Shepherd of the Cornell University Archives has skillfully restored the squeezes, but the ravages of their transfer from Athens could not be completely remedied. When the protuberances that indicate the position of the cuttings were pushed out, a certain amount of distortion inevitably occurred. In most cases, it is extremely difficult to decide exactly where the cutting begins and ends because the exact edge cannot be determined.

Text

The history of the reading of the text has been given above in Chapter I. The text is divided into the three lines, not indicated correctly in previous editions. A word of explanation is needed for the editorial marks used here. Brackets indicate that no cuttings survive for the letter. A subscript dot indicates that some cuttings are missing or that the surface of the stone is such that part of the area covered by the letter is missing, so that it cannot be determined exactly how many cuttings there were for the letter. The vertical lines in the text separate the twelve sections of which lines one and two are composed, the eleven for line three. The numbers above the text indicate the number of the triglyph under which

² *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (Mainz 1967) Textband 203, 208–09.

³ E. Berger, *Parthenon Ostgiebel* (Bonn 1959) Flattafel II.

that part of the text is located. Because of the unusual nature of this inscription, following normal epigraphical editorial usage creates difficulties—for example, every letter would then require a subscript dot. *Figure 5* indicates how the inscription appeared on the architrave of the Parthenon.

- LINE 1: ²Ἡ [ἐξ Ἀ]ρείου | ³Πάγον βου | ⁴λῆ καὶ ἡ βου | ⁵λῆ τῶ[ν] v \bar{X} |
⁶καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ⁷ὁ Ἀθηναί | ⁸ων Αὐτοκρά | ⁹τορ[α] μέγι- |
¹⁰στον Νέ | ¹¹ρωνα Καίσα | ¹²ρα Κλαύδι | ¹³ον Σεβαστόν
- LINE 2: ²Γ[ερμ]ανικόν | ³θεοῦ υἱόν | ⁴στρατη | ⁵γούντος | ⁶ἐπὶ τοῦς |
⁷ὀπλίτας | ⁸τὸ ὄγδοον | ⁹τοῦ [κ]αὶ ἐ | ¹⁰πιμελεῖ | ¹¹τοῦ καὶ
¹²νομοθέ | ¹³του
- LINE 3: ²Τ[ι Κλ]αυδίου | ³Νουίου | ⁴τοῦ Φιλί | ⁵νου ἐπὶ ἡ | ⁶ερείας |
⁷Παυλ | ⁸λείνης | ⁹τῆς Κατί | ¹⁰τωνος | ¹¹θύγα | ¹²τρός

Epigraphical Commentary

LINE 1.2: Part of the marble has flaked off in this area. The squeeze is in two parts, the right part containing the cuttings that appear before the damaged area, the left the cuttings after that area. There is no squeeze of the middle of the stone, which is damaged. Three cuttings are visible for the initial *eta*, but none for the next three letters. There is one very clear cutting for the *rho* on the curving stroke, plus a trace of the cutting at the bottom of the upright stroke.

LINE 1.3: As Andrews points out, there are mistaken cuttings at the beginning of this group (see PLATE 2A). His explanation is that the inscription was begun here and the cuttings represent the attachments for the first two letters of the inscription: the four cuttings for the *epsilon* were not squared out and what is visible are small round holes which were drilled into the marble in prepara-

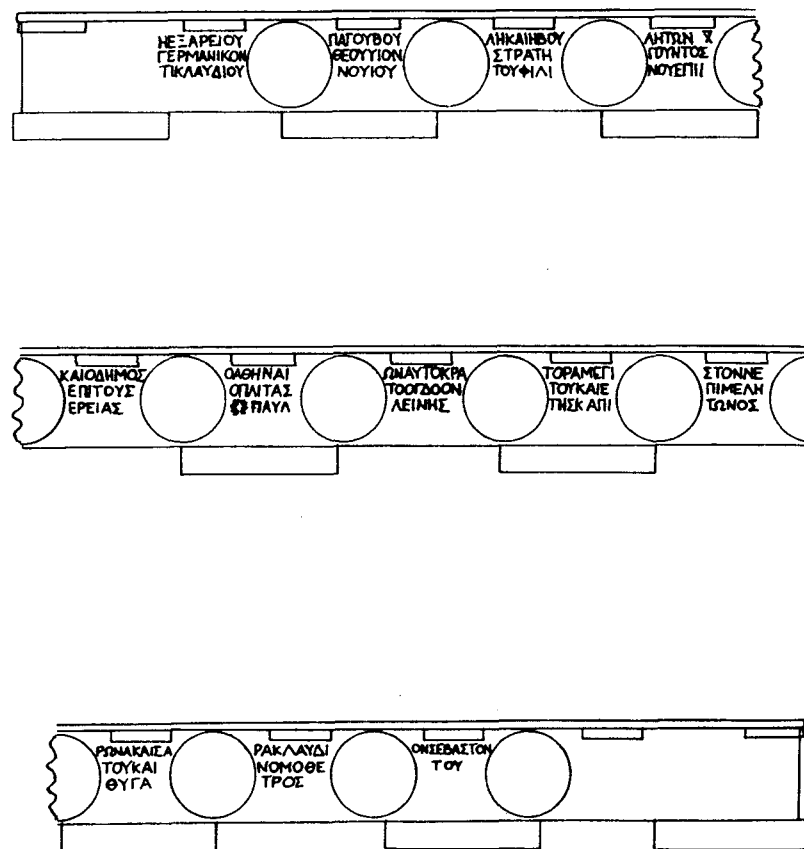


Figure 5

tion for making the rectangular cuttings for the tangs on the letter. Figure 6 illustrates the situation.⁴

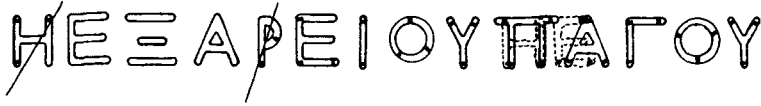


Figure 6

LINE 1.5: Part of the marble has fallen off leaving no trace of the *nu*. There is an empty space before the *chi*.

LINE 1.9: The surface of the stone is damaged, and a cutting for the curved stroke of the *rho* may be missing. There are no traces of the cuttings for the *alpha*, and those for the left side of the *mu* are missing.

LINE 1.10: The bottom right cutting for the *sigma* does not seem to be as fully squared out as the other cuttings. It may have some type of filling in it. See note on 2.13.

LINE 1.11: The *sigma* has two mistaken cuttings, one in the middle of each horizontal stroke.

LINE 1.13: Just under the top left cutting for the first *nu* and slightly to the left of it, there is again a mistaken cutting.

LINE 2.2: One cutting for the *gamma* is visible at the top of the upright stroke. There are no extant cuttings for the next three letters. The bottom right cutting for the *alpha* is visible.

LINE 2.5: There is a cutting near the bottom of the *upsilon*. It would seem to be too far out of line to serve to secure the upright stroke. The damaged surface has removed the region where the cutting at the right end of the horizontal stroke of the *tau* would have been. Consequently it cannot be determined whether there was a tang there. Also there is a mistaken cutting under the vertical stroke of the *tau*, to the right of the horizontal stroke.

LINE 2.6: One suspects that at least two of the cuttings on the *omicron* are mistaken (see Figure 4). The three closely grouped cuttings could be mistakes made in trying to position one cutting correctly. Andrews thought that there might have been an attempt to place an *upsilon* here. As the next letter is *upsilon*, it is quite possible that such a mistake occurred.

⁴ Andrews, "Riddle" 307, discusses this part of the inscription. Figure 6 is taken from his Figure 16.

LINE 2.9: Possibly there was a cutting for the right top of the *upsilon*. If that is so, it is now lost, as are all the cuttings for the *kappa*.

LINE 2.13: The small number of letters in this group points to the same error noted in 3.10 below. The holes for the letters in this line seem to have been filled in with some type of material. Perhaps an attempt was made to restore the surface of the architrave. The same was done for the holes under the metopes which served for the attachment of the shields: these were filled in with neat marble plugs, two of which are still visible. It is not known when the shields were removed.

LINE 3.2: This section is similar to 1.2 and 2.2. There is one cutting for the *tau* at the left of the horizontal stroke; there are no cuttings for the next three letters; the bottom right cutting for the *alpha* is partially visible on the architrave.

LINE 3.7: Line three of this section begins with four cuttings which are too widely spaced to be intended for a letter (see Figure 7 and PLATES 2B and 3B). The height is 18 cm and the width 16. There is also one cutting at the end, at the same height as the top cutting on the *lambda*. Next to this and slightly above the line of the cuttings for the tops of the letters is a dark, round mark on the architrave; a piece of metal appears to be stuck in it. S. Dow has



Figure 7

suggested that the cuttings at the beginning of the line were for a wreath or some other decoration. The cuttings at the end of the space are difficult to understand. The first, if alone, would be considered a mistake. But the second, given its position, cannot have been intended for the attachment of a letter. It could possibly have served to hold some decorative device. But it may have nothing to do with the inscription. A determination of its purpose would require a close look to learn its exact shape and the nature of the metal which seems to be in it. The letters in the line are widely spaced.

It is possible that the cuttings at the beginning and end of this

segment confused Andrews and explain why he was never able to read the name of the priestess.

LINE 3.10–12: The letters are more widely spaced than before. By this point, it would seem, the mason realized that his calculations were wrong and that the inscription was not going to be symmetrically placed on the architrave. Presumably he also realized that the third line was not going to extend as far as the other two. Hence he tried to stretch out this line. Previously there had been no fewer than six letters per section in the third line, here there are five. In 3.11 there are only four letters, and in 3.12 the attempt to stretch the line failed: it ends under this triglyph.

In general, it can be said that the positioning of the letters was not well planned. Tables 1 and 2 will illustrate this. As Andrews points out, the inscription would have been better positioned if the stonecutter had started with the third triglyph (see commentary on 1.3 above).

TABLE 1: The number of letters in each line and section.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
1	9	8	9	6	9	7	9	8	6	9	8	10	98
2	10	8	6	7	7	7	8	7	6	6	6	3	81
3	10	6	7	7	6	5	6	7	5	4	4	0	66

TABLE 2: Length of line in meters (omitting the damaged section 2).

	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
1	1.12	1.10	0.98	1.16	0.95	1.07	1.03	1.08	1.12	1.03	1.20	11.84
2	0.97	0.80	0.94	0.93	0.90	1.01	0.86	0.83	0.76	0.92	0.38	9.30
3	0.76	0.85	0.76	0.83	0.94	0.84	0.91	0.77	0.70	0.73	----	8.09

The order in which the cuttings were made is not certain. Did the mason make the cuttings for all three lines under one section before moving on to the next section, or did he first cut all of line one, then line two, and finally line three? The first method seems more probable, accounting better for the problems in spacing which appear in the last parts. The mason most likely determined what letters would begin each line. Perhaps he merely divided the total number of letters by three, then compensated for the smaller space available for lines two and three (owing to the curves of the shields) by assigning fewer letters to those lines. If one assumes that he made only rough calculations, that he over-compensated for the lessening of the space, and that he was inaccurate in the spacing of the letters in the sections, then the poor placement of the inscription on the building is understandable. Yet it remains troubling. The Athenians did know how to position large stone inscriptions. Perhaps inexperience with bronze letters was also a factor.

Lettering

The bronze letters were each made and attached separately. The reading of the inscription is based on Andrews' finding that the cuttings are at right angles to the strokes of the letters.

The text consists of 245 letters plus the object attached by the cuttings at 3.7. The letter occurring most often is *omicron* (35 occurrences). In descending frequency of use come *alpha* (25), *iota* (24), *upsilon* (21), *tau* (19), *nu* (18), *epsilon* (15), *sigma* (14), *kappa* and *eta* (10 each), *rho* and *lambda* (9 each), *pi* (7), *gamma* (6), *mu* (5), *delta*, *theta*, and *omega* (4 each), and *beta* (3); *xi*, *phi*, and *chi* are used once each. *Zeta* and *psi* are the only letters that do not appear in the inscription. In an inscription of this type, the repetition of a specific letter or of letters of similar shape can aid in determining what letter is most likely to be represented by a given configuration of cuttings. This matter will be treated in more detail below.

Because only the cuttings remain and owing to the present condition of the squeezes, accurate measurements of the letters cannot be obtained. The sizes of the letters can be approximated by the following considerations: first, most of the letters probably were roughly the same size; second, the cuttings will have been covered

by the strokes of the letters. By measuring from a cutting at the top of a letter to one at the bottom, a minimum height for that letter can be determined. By making a number of such measurements, a minimum height for all the letters can be obtained. A similar procedure can be used to approximate the width of the letters, although this is more difficult, because different letters varied in width and because the cuttings are not always placed so as to show the true width.

The cuttings for 91 of the letters were measured on the squeezes. The greatest height, measured from the top of the top cutting to the bottom of the bottom cutting, was 14 cm, the least 9.2 cm. Most of the measurements fell between 10 and 13.6 cm. *Omicrons* were not considered, as they seem to have been smaller than the other letters: most measured *ca* 9 cm, with extremes of 8 and 10 cm. The extreme outer width of the measured letters varied from 8 to 12.9 cm. *Kappa* and *beta* were not taken into account in this regard because the cutting on the right stroke of the letter was not always placed so as to reveal the actual width. This variation in width probably reflects the variation in the width of the letters themselves. Andrews pointed out one example of this: the distance between the cuttings for the top of the *tau* is normally 12 cm, but for *gamma* the distance is 8.5.

An attempt has also been made to determine the width of the individual strokes of the bronze letters. It seems that 3 to 5 cm is roughly correct. This is based both on the width of the cuttings and on the displacement in those cases where the top and bottom cuttings on a vertical stroke do not appear in a straight line. This must remain approximate, for on the squeezes it is not possible in most cases to determine the exact edge of the cuttings.

Taking all these factors into consideration, we can give approximate measurements for the letters: they were 14 cm high, varied from 9 to 13 cm in width, and the strokes themselves were 3 to 5 cm wide.

Attachment of Letters

Of the 245 letters in the inscription, cuttings for twelve are missing entirely and those for another ten are not completely preserved. This leaves 223 for which all the traces of attachments remain. There is no standard pattern of attachment for each letter

of the alphabet. Evidently, the letters were cast and then the tangs were soldered onto the back of them. The workman who attached the tangs to the letters seems to have done it in a random manner, since the same letter of the alphabet can have a varied number of tangs. But there are some patterns which are uniform.

Of the letters of the alphabet that appear in the inscription, ten can be thought of as rectangular, presenting four easy points for the attachment of tangs: *E*, *H*, *K*, *M*, *N*, *Ξ*, *Π*, *Σ*, *X*, *Ω* (traces for the one *Ξ* are missing). The cuttings for these letters appear as rectangles or as variants (*Figure 8*).



Figure 8

The letter *gamma* is likewise attached in varying patterns (*Figure 9*).



Figure 9

Cuttings of this sort account for eighty of the letters in the inscription.

Alpha, *delta*, and *lambda* can be thought of as triangular in shape. Cutting patterns for these are shown in *Figure 10*.



Figure 10

These letters are the only exceptions to the rule that the cuttings appear at right angles to the stroke of the letter. The top cutting seems to have been at the apex of the triangle. *Tau* and *upsilon* are inverted triangles (*Figure 11*).

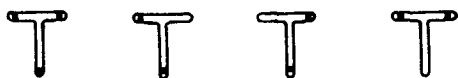


Figure 11

Cuttings that conform to the patterns shown in *Figures 10 and 11* account for sixty-eight of the letters in the inscription.

Iota occurs only as shown in *Figure 12*. Two cuttings placed one directly above the other also occur for *B*, *K*, *P*, *T*, and Φ . This pattern of cutting was used to secure thirty of the letters in the inscription.



Figure 12

Omicron appears thirty-five times. Seven patterns of cuttings are used, all of which involve placing one or two or three tangs on the circle. The form in *Figure 13* appears fourteen times, that in *Figure 14* twelve times. The other occurrences are random shiftings of the tangs around the circle. The four *thetas* also have the tangs placed randomly around the circle.



Figure 13



Figure 14

The attachments for the remaining six letters are shown in *Figure 15* (*rho* appears three times, *beta* twice).



Figure 15

From the above, it can be seen that most of the letters were firmly secured. One does wonder, however, about the *kappa* with only one attachment and the letters that have only two tangs at the top. The evidence for each of these patterns is certain.

For the shape of the tangs themselves we have no evidence. It seems reasonable to assume that they were similar to those on the extant bronze letters from Corinth.⁵ The tangs on these letters are T-shaped. The bottom of the *hasta* of the T is attached to the back of the letter, and the horizontal crossbar would be placed in the cutting in the marble. The tangs were most likely secured in place with lead.

⁵ See Davidson, *Minor Objects* (Corinth XII) 336 no. 2882 and Pl. 136.

III Commentary on the Inscription

Date

THE MENTION of the hoplite general serves to determine the date of the inscription. IG II² 1990, like the Parthenon inscription, is from the year of Tiberius Claudius Novius' eighth hoplite generalship, but this inscription also names the eponymous archon for the year, Thrasyllus. Phlegon of Tralles, in one of his wonder stories, says that a four-headed child was shown to Nero in the year when Thrasyllus was archon at Athens and Petronius Turpilianus and Caesennius Paetus were consuls at Rome (*FGrHist* 257F 36.xx). The date of their consulship was 61, which spans halves of the Attic years 60/1 and 61/2.

To determine which Attic year is meant, it is necessary to know how Phlegon synchronized archons and consuls. Fortunately, it is generally agreed that Phlegon equated the consular year with the Attic year that begins in the middle of the consular year. This rule for Phlegon's dates is deduced from another synchronism (F 36.x): the consuls of 125 B.C. are equated with the archon Jason, and the secretary cycles and IG II² 1713 place Jason's archonship in 125/4.¹

S. Follet, however, has recently argued that no such rule can be established,² but she seems to have misunderstood the problem. She argues that not all authors follow this rule and therefore it cannot be used. It is of course true that not all authors followed the same rule, but this is irrelevant. The question is whether each author is consistent in the way he equates Athenian archons and Roman consuls. She admits of Phlegon, "il a pu utiliser des tables de concordance entre années romaines et années attiques" (26), but then says he used diverse sources and is not necessarily con-

¹ See W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Archons* (Ithaca 1899) 78; J. Kirchner, GGA 1901, 467–68, and *ad* IG II² 1737; W. Kolbe, "Studien zur attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *AthMitt* 46 (1921) 106–07; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archons in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York 1939) 174–75. P. GRAINDOR at first rejected the thesis, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale* (Gand 1924) 1–2, but later accepted it, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (Cairo 1931: hereafter 'Graindor') 207.

² S. FOLLET, *Athènes au II et au III siècle* (Paris 1976) 26–29 (hereafter 'Follet').

sistent (28). Both statements cannot be true, for if they were, then Phlegon's tables would give him two archons for some one consular year or two pairs of consuls for one archon. We must assume that an individual would most likely be consistent. Then the only difficulty is to find out his principle in making equations. The example of Jason does show Phlegon's system. On this basis, Thrasyllus is the archon of 61/2, making that the year of Novius' eighth hoplite generalship and the year of the Parthenon inscription.

Civic Bodies of Athens

The inscription begins by naming the Areopagus, the Boule of the Six Hundred, and the demos (*i.e.*, ekklesia) of Athens. These three groups constituted the sovereign power of the polis of Athens during the Roman period. D. J. Geagan has studied the three groups and the activities proper to each; he concludes that they often acted together in voting honors to individuals, including dedications of statues and monuments as well as honorary decrees.³ The evidence for the procedure is slight, but the following outline can be offered. The backers of the decree presented it separately to the demos, the boule, and the Areopagus. Each passed its own decree. Having all three bodies vote the honor was a matter of prestige, and the decree of the Areopagus was the most sought after.⁴ It would seem that the more common practice was to introduce the motion first in the least prestigious group and then to work upwards. The wording of the three decrees was not always the same.

The example that most nearly follows this outline is a monument in honor of Titus Statilius Lamprias, dated before 67.⁵ Here the Areopagus voted several days after the boule and demos, and evidently revised the dedicatory text that they had voted. A decree of *ca* 230 in honor of Ulpus Eubiotos is similar. The pattern,

³ D. J. GEAGAN, *The Athenian Constitution After Sulla* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 12 [1967]) 32–40 (hereafter 'Geagan'). The views expressed and the examples used in the following discussion are derived from these pages.

⁴ While having all three vote the honor seems to have been more honorific, sometimes only one body did, although the others may be mentioned in the decree. See Geagan 79–80, 82.

⁵ *IG* IV² 82–84 (*Syll.*³ 796B). Cf. J. H. Oliver, "Panachaean and Panhellenes," *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 188.

however, is not unvarying: a decree for Julius Nikanor from the end of the first century B.C. (*IG* II² 1069) shows the demos acting after the other bodies.⁶ The pattern outlined above can, however, be accepted as the normal procedure. In this case, decrees for the honors paid to Nero would have been passed by the demos, the boule, and the Areopagus, and the decree of the Areopagus will have determined the final wording.

In the epigraphical commentary on 3.7, it was suggested that a wreath or crown appeared as part of the inscription. Geagan (62) notes that the awarding of wreaths and crowns seems always to have been reserved for the boule and the demos; it does not seem to have been shared with the Areopagus. If a wreath or crown did appear in the inscription and if it was one of the honors voted to Nero, this would have to be reckoned an exception to the rule. That should not cause concern; this inscription is an unusually prominent one, and for an emperor. It could be thought that the boule and the demos voted the honor and that the Areopagus merely endorsed or accepted their action.

Paullina

The last item in the inscription is the name of the priestess of Athena Polias: ἐπὶ ἱερείας Παυλλείνης τῆς Καπίτωνος θυγατρὸς. Andrews read some of the letters in her name and her father's; S. Dow has successfully deciphered both. Of her family we have some trace.

There is a priestess of Athena, Paullina Scribonia, daughter of a Capito, known independently: *IG* II² 3199 states that she made a dedication with funds which came to her from the Parthenon. It had been assumed that her father was the archon Scribonius Capito, who is dated to the end of the second or beginning of the third century. S. Dow has now identified this Paullina with the Paullina of the Parthenon inscription. He based this conclusion on the assessment that the letter shapes of *IG* II² 3199 are those of the first century, not the third. The date of the archon remains fixed and thus he loses a daughter, but a new, earlier Capito is gained.⁷

As we have seen, the date of the inscription is determined by

⁶ Geagan 33–35. On the decree of 230 see 34 n.15.

⁷ Dow, "Andrews of Cornell," 19–20. Scribonia appears as no. 25 in the list given by D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 50 (1955) 12.

Novius' hoplite generalship; but strictly speaking the text is undated. Honorific monuments commonly name the hoplite general in a genitive absolute, but this implies authority rather than eponymous dating.⁸ Paullina's name, however, occurs in the usual formula for dating, ἐπί with the genitive. Because the priestess, an Eteoboutad, served for life, this will imply the period of her tenure, rather than a date, and she is named doubtless because the inscription was placed on the Parthenon.

Nero's Nomenclature and Titulature

In the inscription Nero's nomenclature is given in the following form: *Αὐτοκράτωρ[α] μέγιστον Νέρωνα Καίσαρα Κλαύδιον Σεβαστὸν* Γ[ερμ]ανικὸν θεοῦ υἱόν. Both in the terms used and in the order in which they are given, this version of Nero's titulature presents problems. First, although the inscription is dated to 61/2, *αὐτοκράτωρ* (*imperator*) is placed before Nero's name: this usage, however, is not officially attested for Nero in Rome until 66. Second, the insertion of an adjective *μέγιστος* between *αὐτοκράτωρ* and *Νέρων* is highly unusual. The third difficulty is *Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιος*, a reversal of the normal order. Finally, the filiation given, *θεοῦ υἱόν*, is unusual in both form and position. One would expect *θεοῦ Κλαυδίου υἱόν*, placed between nomen and cognomen.

During his lifetime Nero's name underwent many changes.⁹ He was born Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. After his adoption by Claudius, his name usually appears as Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar or Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus. Eventually it became Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. From 66 until his death in 68, his name commonly appeared as Imperator Nero Caesar Augustus. Compare the form on the Parthenon, which in Latin would be: *Imperator Maximus Nero Caesar Claudius Augustus Germanicus Divi Filius*.

Although one may be surprised by this lack of conformity with official Roman usage in the Parthenon inscription, the emperor's

⁸ T. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens* (Athens 1951) 20. See J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore 1950) 82; cf. Geagan 24–25.

⁹ See *PIR*² D 129; J. E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*² (Cambridge 1927) 237–38; *ILS* III.i 267–68; M. Hammond, "Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors During the First Two and a Half Centuries of the Empire," *MAAR* 25 (1957) 22–23; D. W. Mac Dowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero* (ANSMN 161 [1979]) 1–7.

name did in fact appear in a variety of forms. Inscriptions from various provinces suffice to show that departures from the official format were not uncommon. The Parthenon inscription does, however, create difficulties in that the deviations from the official form are unusually numerous. And, as *IG* II² 1990 of the same year shows, the Athenians did know the proper form.

There are seven (or possibly eight) extant inscriptions from Attica which mention Nero. In these texts, his name appears a total of nine times. With only two exceptions (*IG* II² 3280 and 1990.3), Nero's name is erased. *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 82 no. 12 has the entire name erased. The removal of the letters from the inscription on the Parthenon was in effect an erasure of the entire name. The fact that the stone of *IG* II² 1989 is broken prevents a determination of how much of the name was erased. The same is true of the first mention of Nero in *IG* II² 3182. In all other cases, only the praenomen 'Nero' was erased. All these other inscriptions from Attica follow a normal pattern for Nero's name; the Parthenon inscription is the one exception.

In the inscriptions from Attica, elements of Nero's name are occasionally omitted, but those that are used appear in their normal order. For example, *IG* II² 1990, an ephebic list dated the same year as the Parthenon inscription, has two examples of Nero's name. In line one, where the praenomen was erased, Nero's name appears as: [[*Νέρωνος*]] *Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ*. In line three, the name (which was not erased here) is repeated without the cognomen *Σεβαστός*. These two examples in one text show the correct order for Nero's praenomen, nomen, and cognomen. They also show that the Athenians did not slavishly reproduce the full official version.

Another instance of the form of Nero's name used in *IG* II² 1990.1 can be found in *IG* II² 3182, as restored by J. H. Oliver.¹⁰ The inscription is from the remodeling of the theater of Dionysos and dates to 54–61.

Two altars from Athens show Nero's name. One is an example of the proper order for Nero's *tria nomina*, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 82 no. 12. The altar is reused: it was first used for Augustus, then dedicated to Nero; when Nero's name was erased, Vespasian's was written over the erasure; finally the altar, turned around, was used for Titus. Although the entire name is erased, enough traces of letters survive for a positive restoration: [*N*]έρων[ι Κλα]υδίου

¹⁰ Oliver (*supra* n.8) 82.

K[a]ίσ[α]ρ[ι]. The other altar (IG II² 3278) uses *αὐτοκράτωρ* before Nero's name and *Καῖσαρ* as a nomen. This text gives the only such usage in Athens, except for the Parthenon inscription. This is also the only Athenian inscription which gives Nero an honorary epithet, the New Apollo:

Αὐτοκράτορι [[*Νέρω*]]-
 νι Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ
 Νέω Απόλλωνι.

The altar is undated and may be an example of *αὐτοκράτωρ* after 66 when this was official usage. The dedication may well be connected with Nero's trip to Greece in 66, when he competed in many musical competitions.¹¹

IG II² 3280 is the only other example from Athens which poses no difficulty of restoration. It is a base for a statue of Statilia Messalina, Nero's third wife, set up by P. Occius Crispus. It dates to 66–68, the period of this marriage. Here only Nero's praenomen is given: [*Μ*]εσσαλλεῖναν [*Νέ*]ρωνος Π. Ὀκκίος Κρίσ[πο]ς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνερ[γ]έτιν ἀνέθηκεν.

Finally, an ephebic inscription, IG II² 1989, has been reliably restored by S. Dow to read: [[*Ν[έρω]ν[ος]*]] *Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ*¹². There are sufficient traces on the stone before the break to guarantee the praenomen.¹² The restoration of nomen and cognomen is based on the length of the line. They are normal usage and require no comment. Another fragment (EM 3066) has recently been joined to the inscription: it adds no new letters, but does confirm Dow's estimate of the width of the stone.

One inscription may be set aside as doubtful. *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 66–71 no. 18 is stated by its editor to be from the time of Nero; and it is thought that the erasure in lines 13–14 contained his name, although no restoration has been attempted. Recently, however, objections to the dating have been raised on prosopographical grounds. The argumentation is sufficient to cast doubt on the Neronian date, although the case cannot be considered proved.¹³

¹¹ On IG II² 3278 as an altar see A. S. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, "Arae Augusti," *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 82 n.74. On the designation of Nero as a New Apollo see Graindor 16. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London 1951) 170, points out that Nero is depicted as Nero-Apollo on the coinage of 64–66.

¹² S. Dow, *Conventions in Editing* (GRBSA 2 [1969]) 34–35.

¹³ On the text see also A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 245 n.5; for a non-Neronian date, E. Kapetanopoulos, "Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos Besaieus," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 429–31. Cf. D. J. Geagan, *AJP* 100 (1979) 286. The present writer is prepared to

These examples show that, in regard to Nero's name in Athens, there was a variety of usage. All, however, except the Parthenon inscription show only slight and understandable variations. The most unusual is the use of *Caesar* in the position normally occupied by the nomen, and of this there is only one sure instance (IG II² 3278). There are examples from outside Athens of the same usage; Nero's correct nomen, Claudius, is not used with it. This same inscription uses *αὐτοκράτωρ* before the name; but as it may belong to the period after 66, this cannot be considered telling. The absence of honorific titles in all but one of these inscriptions is striking.

IG II² 3277, the Parthenon inscription, is radically different. As mentioned above, it presents four unusual and unexpected variations in Nero's nomenclature. These may be considered in order.

Αὐτοκράτωρ

Αὐτοκράτωρ before the name in 61/2 was not in accord with official usage. Augustus had used the word as a praenomen, making his name Imperator Caesar Augustus. But Augustus let the praenomen disappear from his coinage, nor does it appear in the coinage of the Greek cities.¹⁴ In the years between Augustus and A.D. 66, the word never appears before the emperor's name in official use in Rome. In fact, Suetonius states that Tiberius and Claudius refused the praenomen *Imperator*.¹⁵ After Augustus, the first known official use of the word before the emperor's name occurs for Nero in 66 in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*.¹⁶ It is found as well on some of Nero's coins, and these also indicate that it did not begin until 66.¹⁷

It is often stated that any use of the word before the emperor's name is actually use as a praenomen.¹⁸ In the case of Augustus this

accept a non-Neronian date. IG II² 3279 is also attributed to Nero in the *Corpus*: the name as restored there would be highly unusual. Fortunately, the restoration need not be considered, for this stone has been joined to IG II² 4775, which is Hadrianic. The joined fragments are on display in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.

¹⁴ M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946) 359, 440.

¹⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 26.2, *Claud.* 12.1. Note that Suet. *Nero* 13 is speaking of *imperator* as a salutation and not as a praenomen.

¹⁶ CIL VI 2044 (Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius, Nero* 26). *Imperator* has been restored without justification before Caligula's name in the *Acta* for 40: CIL VI 32347.15 (Smallwood 10; J. Scheid, *Les frères arvaux* [Paris 1975] 222).

¹⁷ H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* I (London 1923) clxvi. Mac Dowall (*supra* n.9) 4–6. There is an undated Rhodian coin with *Καίσαρ Αὐτοκράτωρ Νέρων* (Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum* II 605; cf. SNG von Aulock 7.2859).

¹⁸ So Hammond (*supra* n.9) 22–23; Mattingly (*supra* n.17) clxvi, clxviii n.3; D. McFayden, *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire* (Chicago 1920) 57–59; R. Combès, *Imperator* (Paris 1966) 151–54.

is quite true: his own praenomen was dropped and *Imperator* substituted for it. This is not certain, however, for later emperors. M. Grant, in his discussion of the *aes* coinage, remarks that it appears "as a prefix—but not a praenomen—from the last years of Nero to the first half of Otho's reign," and "when it reappeared under Nero it was not a proper *praenomen*, since the personal *praenomen* was not superseded."¹⁹

The Romans did not have a tradition of titles before a name. *Imperator* usually appears as an additional cognomen in an individual's nomenclature. Two tendencies in the late Republic, discussed by R. Syme, may have been factors in Augustus' use of *imperator* as a praenomen: the use of fancy praenomina on the part of some of the nobility and the change of cognomina onto the position of praenomina.²⁰ In assessing the use of *Imperator* before the name, there is another fact to be considered. After Nero, the emperors started to use *Imperator Caesar Augustus* as a frame for their own name, fitting in their proper names either after *Imperator* or after *Imperator Caesar*. This begins with Vespasian, and by early in the reign of Trajan the custom was established of placing the emperor's personal name after *Imperator Caesar*; thus it remained till the end of the empire.²¹ It had become a title.

While the Romans would perhaps have accepted the idea that *imperator* had become a title in use, it is impossible to say whether they still thought of it as an integral part of the name. For the Roman opinion can be cited the lack of evidence for a Roman use of titles before a name, and Suetonius' comment that Tiberius and

¹⁹ Grant (*supra* n.14) 441, 415–16. A. Momigliano, *OCD*² 542 s.v. "Imperator," says that the praenomen did not occur officially from the time of Augustus to that of Otho. The tendency to call the use a praenomen comes from our ancient sources (Suet. *supra* n.16 and *Iul.* 76.1; here Suetonius is incorrect, cf. Cass. Dio 43.44.2–5). McFayden, Combès, and Grant regularly call it a title, but McFayden and Combès do call it a praenomen when it appears before the emperor's name. The latter is true of Augustus, but all the other Julio-Claudians regularly use their own praenomen with it. In these cases, it does not seem correct to call it a praenomen. It should be noted that the present discussion does not concern itself with the implications of the use of *imperator* for the constitutional history of Rome. The sole issue here is the use of the word before the emperor's name between the death of Augustus and 66. Combès (*supra* n.18) 151 passes over this period; McFayden (*supra* n.18) 55–63 and Grant (*supra* n.14) 440–41 do discuss it. As we shall see, the use before the name in these years is almost strictly a Greek provincial usage. There is no obvious connection between this usage and the constitutional development of the Roman government.

²⁰ R. Syme, "Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature," *Historia* 7 (1958) 173–74. See also I. M. Barton, "A Fashion in Roman Nomenclature," *Trivium* 1 (1966) 134–50; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (Chapel Hill 1979) 146–60.

²¹ Hammond (*supra* n.9) 25–41.

Claudius refused the praenomen *Imperator*. These two emperors did not use the word before their names. Suetonius does not mention the matter in regard to the emperors who did use the word with their own proper praenomen. Consequently, his comments cannot be taken as proof that the Romans considered the use of the word before the name to be use as a praenomen. On the other hand, Suetonius does give support to the idea that by his time it had become a title. He frequently refers to the emperor as simply *Imperator* or *Caesar* without the use of any proper name. In short, *Imperator* and *Caesar* developed into titles with the post Julio-Claudian emperors, used as 'king' is used today.

There is epigraphical evidence suggesting that this process had already begun with the Julio-Claudians. The words *Caesar Augustus* by themselves are used to refer in brief to the reigning emperor. So at Rome we find dependents of *Octavia Caesaris Augusti* (*CIL* VI 5539 and 8943, apparently Claudius and Nero respectively).²² Perhaps more significant for the discussion which follows are the examples from Greece. A letter of Gaius, preserved in a Boeotian inscription, begins *Αὐτοκράτωρ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ* (*IG* VII 2711.21). Another Boeotian inscription, which contains the edict and speech of Nero freeing the Greeks in 67, begins *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ λέγει* (*IG* VII 2713). In such use may be the beginning of the later development.

Yet, if official use is the guide, the word *imperator* should not stand before Nero's name on the Parthenon in 61/2. It does require explanation.

Inscriptions show that *imperator* in Latin (or its Greek translation *αὐτοκράτωρ*) does appear before the names of all the emperors from Tiberius to Nero prior to 66: we have at least sixty-two cases. The majority, forty-one, are in Greek. All but three of the sixty-two, and those three are Latin, come from east of Italy or Africa. The three are one for Tiberius from Spain and two from Italy for Nero.

Suetonius says that Tiberius refused the use of the praenomen *Imperator*. This has generally been taken to mean that Tiberius refused any use of the word before his name. He may have felt that such use was personal to Augustus. But perhaps Suetonius should be taken literally: Tiberius refused the use as a praenomen. There are at least thirty-seven examples of the word before Tiberius'

²² Perhaps contemporary is a 'legate of Caesar Augustus', *CIL* X 5056–57; see *PIR*² H 67 for discussion.

name. The exact years of twenty-three are unknown; six others are dated to A.D. 14–15.²³ These twenty-nine examples may belong to the period when it was not known throughout the empire that he had refused the praenomen, although the use without his own praenomen is rare.

If a conjecture of T. B. Mitford is correct, Tiberius' refusal was quickly known in Cyprus, and there was some uncertainty about what had been refused. In an inscription from Paphos that dates to Tiberius' accession, there are two lacunae (lines 13 and 19) which Mitford says "are clearly to allow the later insertion of *Αὐτοκράτορα* and *Αὐτοκράτορι* . . . Manifestly the drafter of our oath, drawing it up on Tiberius' accession in 14, was aware of this refusal, uncertain of its permanence or sincerity."²⁴ If Mitford is correct, the instance in line 13 would place the word before Tiberius' name. If it is to be placed in line 19, however, it would be in its normal position as a cognomen. The refusal to use the word as a praenomen would not necessarily affect either use. Perhaps the drafter thought that what had been refused was all use of the word.

Even if Mitford is correct, it cannot be assumed that communications throughout the empire were so quick as this; it seems better to use only the inscriptions dated after 15 for the present discussion. The thirty-two inscriptions that remain can be grouped according to their purposes. Seven commemorate statues. There are two for Tiberius: one from Lesbos (IG XII.2 539), one from Macedonia (SEG XXIV 613). The other five honor Claudius. One from Mesembria is typical: *Αὐτοκράτορα Τιβερίον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα* [Σεβ]αστὸν Γερμανικόν (IGBulg I² 332). The others are from Boeotia (IG VII 2878), Rhodes (XII.1 805), Laertes in Cilicia (SEG XX 69), and Magnesia ad Sipylum (IGRR IV 1332).

Thirteen of the inscriptions are either votives or dedications. Of the four that refer to Tiberius, the two in Greek are from the temple of Hathor at Dendera in Egypt: *ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ* (SEG VIII 654; OGIS 661, *νέου Σεβαστοῦ*). So too an altar from Thugga in Africa: *Imp. Ti. Caesari*

²³ Undated: IG VII 195, XII.2 205, 206, 517, 536, 540; CIL III 10918, VIII 11912 (see 685), 10492 (=11052), 26518 (see AE 1969/70, 651); IGRR I 659, 1166, III 845, IV 137, 206, 1288; Syll.³ 791B; AE 1940, 69; 1947, 147; 1948, 11 184; 1963, 104; I. Roman Tripolitania 329. A.D. 14–15: IG IV.1² 599; CIL III 5205, 10018, 10023; ILS 152 (Spain); SEG XI 923.

²⁴ "A Cypriot Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius," JRS 50 (1960) 79. See also Stefan Weinstock, "Treueid und Kaiserkult," AthMitt 77 (1962) 316–17.

divi Aug. f. Aug. (Ehrenberg/Jones, *Documents*² 345); cf. CIL III Suppl. 8512 (A.D. 27, Dalmatia): *Imp. Caesare Divi Aug. f. Augus.* There are three examples for Gaius, from Mytilene (IG XII.2 210), Pamphylia (SEG II 703), and Itanos (I. Cret. III iv 19). For Claudius there are five. A dedication from Sarçam in Lydia is typical (IGRR IV 1179 = 1331, cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* 89 n.5): *Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ ὑπάτῳ τὸ γ'.* The other votives or dedications for Claudius are from Miletus (Milet I.9 328), Cyzicus (CIL III Suppl. 7061), Beirut (AE 1958 163), and Syria (IGRR III 1083). The one extant for Nero comes from Ptolemais in Phoenicia (AE 1949 142).

There are five examples of statues or dedications in which the emperor's name is given in a filiation or as the husband of the empress. *I.v. Olympia* 221 is a statue commemorating Germanicus' victories at Olympia: he is called the son of *αὐτοκράτωρ* Tiberius. There is one example for Gaius, IG XII.2 172b from Mytilene. TAM II 760 (Arneae in Lycia) gives Claudius as husband of Mesalina in the first part; in the second he appears in the filiation of Britannicus. Interestingly, although *αὐτοκράτωρ* appears before his name in these two cases, the third part of the inscription, for Claudius himself, does not use it. CIL XI 1331a (Luna in Etruria) is a dedication to Poppaea, Nero's second wife, dated to 65: Poppaea is identified as the wife of *Imp. Neronis Caesaris August.*, and *pro salute Imp. Neronis* appears in line 6. A Rhodian text of A.D. 63–65 also gives *αὐτοκράτωρ* Nero as Poppaea's husband (IG XII.1 39).

The remaining inscriptions are in various ways doubtful. A monument from Didyma evidently held a statue of Gaius; here *αὐτοκράτορα* is completely restored (I. Didyma 148). A letter of Gaius at Acraiphia begins [*Αὐτοκ*]ράτωρ Σεβαστὸς Καίσαρ (IG VII 2711.21: text as in Smallwood, *Documents* 361). In 42/3, on an aqueduct leading to Cerynia on Cyprus, Claudius' name was inscribed in a dating formula with *αὐτοκράτορος* before his name: *OpusArch* 6 (1950) 17–20 no. 9. Of the emperors we are considering, Claudius is the only one to have the word before his name in an edict of a Roman official, that of Paullus Fabius Persicus, proconsul of Asia (I. Ephesos 18–19), though *αὐτοκράτορος/imperatoris* is almost completely restored. The purpose of two inscriptions, both Latin, is unknown. IGLSyr V 2708 (on the wall of a basilica near Emesa) has only one line *Imp. C. Caesar*; but the attribution to Gaius is doubtful. An inscription for Nero from Aequiculi in central Italy, dating to 58, depends on an eighteenth-

century reading (*CIL* IX 4115). The last of the thirty-two examples is the Parthenon inscription.

These inscriptions clearly show *imperator* before the name of the emperor when this was not in official use in Rome. Twenty-four are Greek and nine Latin. Twenty-eight are from east of Italy, two from Italy (both Neronian), three from Africa. Three use *imperator* as a praenomen; the rest have it in addition to the emperor's regular praenomen. Thus *imperator* was used before the names of all the emperors between Augustus and Nero's resumption of the title in 66: rarely as a praenomen in place of the emperor's personal praenomen, usually rather along side his praenomen. By no means was *imperator* always used: it is the exception rather than the rule. It occurs almost solely in the Greek-speaking parts of the empire, in honorary inscriptions, dedications, and on statue bases. Even there it was not felt to be necessary.

But why use it at all? Why not follow official Roman usage? In a study of nomenclature, R. Syme wrote of Augustus' use of the word, "To the provincial, in the western lands and even more in the eastern, it conveyed the fact of a power that was regal and military in a clearer and simpler fashion than did 'consul' and 'proconsul'. . . . The wider connotations of 'Imperator' being admitted, it will appear plausible that the praenomen 'Imperator' embodies and advertises the peculiar claim of Octavianus to be the military leader *par excellence*."²⁵ D. McFayden in fact proposed that without the word the imperial name had no reference to the provinces: the word was used to express the emperor's power over the provinces.²⁶ There are serious objections to McFayden's theory. Few inscriptions use the word before the name in the half-century between the death of Augustus and 66, and these are largely confined to the Greek world. If his explanation were sufficient, the word would be expected to appear as often in inscriptions from the western provinces. The theory also does not account for the fact that the use is largely in honorary inscriptions, appearing only rarely in official documents.

²⁵ Syme (*supra* n.20) 179, 181.

²⁶ McFayden (*supra* n.18) 50, 60–61. For a refutation based on coinage see Grant (*supra* n.14) 359. McFayden's discussion is actually on *imperator* in general. He discusses both uses—before and after the name—together, and almost, but not quite, limits his theory to the Greek world. The use after the name is a continuation of a republican practice: under the empire, the title after the name, usually with a number, still refers normally to a specific victory over an enemy. This usage in the imperial nomenclature does not support McFayden's theory. Augustus' use of the praenomen *Imperator* gave an importance to this position which is quite distinct from its use after the name.

The use is almost solely a Greek practice and an honorary one. Can the Greeks have understood it as an honorary title, suggesting the emperor's unrivaled power in the world? In a discussion of the translation of *imperator* by the word *αὐτοκράτωρ*, R. Combès remarked that the Greek word indicated someone with wide independent powers and that it had been used for Philip and Alexander among others.²⁷ The Greek use in these cases, however, was not before the name. In Rome the word *imperator* under the Republic and the Julio-Claudians retained its strong military connotation; *αὐτοκράτωρ* was never as strongly linked with the armies as was *imperator*,²⁸ and was used of anyone who had independent powers. Exactly why this word was chosen to translate *imperator* is uncertain. Combès' explanation probably contains the correct idea: "Il semble donc que le choix ait été guidé par le désir de transcrire en grec le lien sémantique *imperator-imperium*, de désigner le possesseur d'un pouvoir indépendant du contrôle du Sénat et de l'assemblée."²⁹

The Roman emperor held a unique position in the world. The Greeks had known such men before. From the days of Philip and Alexander, the Greeks, especially those in Asia and Egypt, had experienced absolute rulers. The word *βασιλεύς* would describe their rank or position whereas *αὐτοκράτωρ* was a good description of their power. The usage of Tryphon in 142 B.C. is an interesting example: *βασιλεὺς Τρύφων αὐτοκράτωρ*.³⁰ Since the Romans did not like the title 'king', and since Augustus did not call himself 'king', the Greeks may have started using *αὐτοκράτωρ* as a title for the Roman *princeps*.³¹ Augustus had used *Imperator* as his praenomen; it then dropped out of official usage, though it would return. In the meantime the Greeks occasionally bestowed the title upon the emperor. It was not necessary to use the word; but it described the emperor's power. Thus, before 66, it was not an

²⁷ Combès (*supra* n.18) 111–14; cf. McFayden (*supra* n.18) 50–52. See also H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (*AmStudPap* XIII [1974]) 117–20.

²⁸ McFayden (*supra* n.18) 44–52; Combès (*supra* n.18) 136–50, 153 n.80.

²⁹ Combès (*supra* n.18) 113–14, cf. 141–50.

³⁰ Combès (*supra* n.18) 113.

³¹ As late as Trajan we find *αὐτοκράτωρ* as translation not only for *imperator* but also for *princeps*: Syll.³ 827 with n.1. A. Aymard has discussed the use of *βασιλεύς* in "L'usage du titre royal dans la Grèce classique et hellénistique," *RHD* SER. IV 27 (1949) 579–90, arguing that at times it was used without the article and almost as a praenomen, and that the Romans copied the Greek practice in putting *imperator* before a name. See also D. Kienast, "Imperator," *ZSav* 78 403–21; McFayden (*supra* n.18) 51–52; Combès (*supra* n.18) 62, 69, 151–52. *ἡγεμών* is frequently used for the emperor under the Julio-Claudians; Mason (*supra* n.27) 144–45 points out that it barely survives them.

official title but an honorific one. Consequently it was used almost solely in inscriptions of an honorary nature. Even this gesture was infrequent. The evidence thus will not support any elaborate theory in regard to its use. At most it may be regarded as a beginning, an attempt to give a title besides *βασιλεύς* to a man who had come to have control of the Greek and Roman world. As time passed, the titulature of the emperor would become more formal and stylized and the word would gain an official position. Here its use is honorary and unofficial.

The return of *imperator* before the emperor's name in 66 is the first step toward the imperial titulature of the Flavians. Nero was the most hellenized of the Julio-Claudians: he may well have seen this title as an equivalent to *βασιλεύς*, and Greek practice may have been a factor in his decision to use the title *imperator*. It may not be mere coincidence that the first recorded official use of the word occurs in an inscription which also contains a mention of his departure for Greece (*CIL* VI 2044). Perhaps Nero's admiration of things Greek and his trip to Greece lay behind his assumption of the title.

Μέγιστος

Recognizing *αὐτοκράτωρ* as an honorary title can aid in understanding the use of *μέγιστος*. From the time of M. Aurelius the word would be frequently used as an appendage to the end of an emperor's name. Here, however, it is simply an adjective modifying Nero's title, and it would be associated with Nero at least once more. In 67, when Nero freed the Greeks, the city of Akraiphia in Boeotia set up an inscription in which he is referred to as *αὐτοκράτωρ μέγιστος* (*IG* VII 2713). The phrase is a rhetorical flourish, attested occasionally elsewhere.³² The Athenians would apply it also to Commodus.³³

In 67 Nero granted the province of Achaea its freedom, and it is understandable that he would be called 'Emperor Supreme'.³⁴ In 61/2 Nero was probably the most philhellene emperor whom the

³² In *Syll.*³ 827 for Trajan at Delphi, *ὁ μέγιστος αὐτοκράτωρ* translates *optimus princeps*. Among the statues of *αὐτοκράτωρ* Hadrian at the theater of Dionysus, that of the Milesians calls him *τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοκράτορα* (*IG* II² 3300). The adjective is rare in the papyri before M. Aurelius: *SB* 9617 lists preparations for the visit of 'the greatest emperor' Hadrian, while the adjective is omitted in the date; compare *Acta Alex.* 8.3.46, *μέγιστε αὐτοκράτωρ*.

³³ A. E. Raubitschek, "Commodus and Athens," *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949) 279–82 (twice).

³⁴ I translate thus in order to keep the word order of the Greek. J. H. Oliver has pointed out to me that an ordinary Greek would probably take the phrase to mean 'an emperor of the highest quality'.

Greeks had known. He may not as yet have done anything outstanding in their behalf, but his love for Greek culture was recognized and it promised well for the future. And his governance of the empire had thus far been good. But for a more specific reason for this flattery, we must look to the occasion of the inscription (Chapter V).

Caesar as a Nomen

In the Parthenon inscription, Nero's nomen gives way and *Caesar* appears as a nomen; *Claudius* is made into a cognomen. Occasionally in inscriptions throughout his reign, his name appears as Nero Caesar. One Greek example from Athens has already been noted (*IG* II² 3278). But the Parthenon inscription is the only instance where Nero Caesar Claudius appears in that order. The reason for this order we can only conjecture. The fact that Nero was related to the Caesars by blood may have been a factor. Augustus had first used *Caesar* as a nomen, suppressing his adoptive nomen, *Julius*. It appears that he was trying to create a new gens, *Caesar*.³⁵ Tiberius and Gaius also had *Caesar* as a nomen. Although both Claudius and Nero were Claudians and were never adopted into the Julian family, the nomen *Caesar* appears frequently for both of them. It can be said that the use of *Caesar* as a nomen emphasizes a relationship with Augustus and the right to be emperor. Its development into a generic title after Nero could be taken to support this. The importance of the name *Caesar* was most likely appreciated, and its use by the Athenians as a nomen probably deliberate. As the other inscriptions from Athens show, the Athenians did know the correct form of Nero's name. The position of *Caesar* here emphasizes Nero's connection with the founder of the principate. *Claudius*, by being made a cognomen, was deemphasized without being completely dropped. Nero united the Julian and Claudian houses in his own person. It was a form of flattery to emphasize the more prestigious, the Julian, by this use of *Caesar*.

Filiation

There is a final anomaly in Nero's nomenclature, his filiation: *Nero Claudius Divi Claudii filius Caesar* would be the proper form. In this inscription, however, he is called "son of god," *θεοῦ υἱός*, and this is placed at the end of his name, after the cognomina,

³⁵ M. Hammond makes this point, but also notes that laws initiated by Augustus were called *leges Iuliae*, (*supra* n.9) 21 and n.4.

rather than between nomen and cognomen. The form of the filiation is of course the normal one in Augustus' name, referring to Julius Caesar: the other emperors usually are sons of a named deified person.³⁶ There are, however, rare exceptions. Thus Delphi honored Tiberius (Syll.³ 791A): ἁ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Τιβέριον Καίσαρα, θεοῦ υἱόν, Σεβαστόν, σωτήρα εὐεργέταν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ. A closer and more appropriate parallel has been pointed out to me by J. H. Oliver, an inscribed monument for Claudius set up in Beroea in Macedonia. In the first line appears, according to Oliver, [διδύ]μων θεῶν ἐγγόνων, which Oliver translates "grandson of deities who were a couple." J. Touratsoglou, the editor of the inscription, prefers [συνν]άων θεῶν ἐγγόνων, "grandson of deities who share a temple." The deities would be Augustus and Livia.³⁷

In the Parthenon inscription, Claudius' name is omitted in the filiation. Part of the reason is probably an effort on Nero's part to dissociate himself from Claudius. Claudius was not remembered fondly and did not make a very good god. His deification had been an object of satire early in Nero's reign, and references to Claudius had for the most part been dropped from Nero's titulature.³⁸ *Divi Claudii* f. disappeared from Nero's coinage in 55.³⁹ Inscriptions throughout his reign are found with the proper filiation, but it is frequently omitted. The absence of *Claudius* in the filiation may be due to this tendency. And the Athenians may well have been aware of the inscription at Beroea: Oliver has suggested to me that in determining the text of the Parthenon inscription, the Athenians would have looked to other Greek monuments for elegant and striking phraseology, and may have gotten the idea for this filiation from the monument at Beroea.

Other Athenian inscriptions do not give Nero any filiation, so that here the Parthenon inscription must stand alone for this usage. One wonders whether a strict filiation was intended. With both position and form unusual, perhaps vagueness was the goal, implying divine descent without reference to any particular ancestor.

³⁶ I translate 'god' because Greek did not distinguish deified (*divus*) and god (*deus*).

³⁷ J. P. Touratsoglou, in *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία* II (Thessalonica 1977) 481–93; J. H. Oliver, *ZPE* 30 (1978) 150; Touratsoglou, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 272. I am grateful to Mr Oliver for bringing this inscription to my attention.

³⁸ See A. Momigliano, "A Literary Chronology of the Neronian Age," *CQ* 38 (1944) 96–97; and K. Kraft, "Der politische Hintergrund von Senecas Apocolocyntosis," *Historia* 15 (1966) 96–122. On the omission of Claudius' name see Hammond (*supra* n.9) 22–23.

³⁹ Mattingly (*supra* n.17) clxx–clxxi, clxxiii.

The position, after the name, could be a rhetorical device, used for emphasis.⁴⁰

To understand this inscription we must think in terms of flattery, of which the Athenians were quite capable. They could not have thought that they were inscribing Nero's name in the standard form. Another inscription from the same year, *IG* II² 1990, set up under supervision of the same hoplite general, gives Nero's name correctly. The unusual form of the name was surely intentional. Indeed, the wording of such a prominent and expensive inscription must have been thoughtfully planned, and will have been the wording in the decree passed. The philhellene Nero was to be honored with a monumental gilded-bronze inscription on the most famous building in Athens. As part of this effort, the Athenians put his name in the most flattering way that they could. They gave him a title, *αὐτοκράτωρ*, that expressed his unique power, augmented by *μέγιστος*—Emperor Supreme. They gave him the nomen that Augustus had used, and a filiation that seems studiously vague. The Athenians evidently meant to show that they appreciated Nero's greatness, honoring him as Emperor Supreme, Caesar, and son of god.

Tiberius Claudius Novius

The name of the hoplite general follows that of Nero: στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας τὸ ὄγδοον τοῦ [κ]αὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου Τ[ι Κλ]αυδίου Νουίου τοῦ Φιλίνου. This is in fact a modest list for Novius, who was a very important man in Athens. In the course of his career Novius was hoplite general at least eight times, was one of the archons, herald of the Areopagus, gymnasiarch, epimeletes of the city, epimeletes of Delos, nomothetes, priest of Delian Apollo, high priest of Nero, priest of Antonia Augusta, and high priest of the imperial house.⁴¹ Andrews offers a spirited description of Novius and his involvement with the Parthenon inscription ("Riddle" 309):

⁴⁰ This possibility was suggested to me by E. Badian.

⁴¹ On Novius see Grainger 141–43; Oliver (*supra* n.8) 81–83, 94–95; T. Sarikakis (*supra* n.8) 74–76; E. Kapetanopoulos, "Some Observations on 'Roman Athens,'" *Historia* 19 (1970) 563–64; Follet 160–61. The best recent summary of Novius' career is D. J. Geagan, *AJP* 100 (1979) 279–87. *IG* II² 1990 gives a contemporary list of Novius' offices.

It is always profitable to cultivate the party in power, and the Greeks bowed very low from time to time in their servility to Rome; but never did a sycophant Greek with a Latin name have such a chance as that which Novius found. He must have considered himself a very clever fellow when the idea suggested itself. Temples in Asia Minor often bore metal inscriptions dedicating them to some Roman Emperor. The Parthenon was the choicest treasure of Greece, the pride of every man whose tongue was Greek. Bright shields adorned the architrave, but no name had ever been there. What a stroke of genius for Novius to set up the emperor's name between the shields, and write his own humbly beneath.

The offices selected for mention in the inscription warrant careful study.

Hoplite General

Although the history of this office is not fully understood, the work of T. Sarikakis and D. J. Geagan provides a fairly extensive idea of the attested functions.⁴² The evidence, both literary and epigraphical, shows that the hoplite general, in imperial times, was the most important magistrate in Athens. He had charge of the grain supply and the markets, among other duties. Of special relevance to the present inscription is his involvement with honorary decrees and the imperial house. Among the inscriptions in which the hoplite general appears are those dealing with "construction of buildings and monuments, especially those dealing with the imperial cult," and it was not unusual for the hoplite general to hold a priesthood or office connected with the imperial cult.⁴³ Sarikakis also emphasizes the connection of the hoplite general with the imperial house: "He became priest of Rome and the Emperor or undertook the performance of the games instituted in their honor," and it was his duty to "award honors upon the epheboi, to take care of the erection of statues or stelai and to propose the conferring of such honors on a citizen."⁴⁴

The hoplite general was empowered to propose decrees in the boule and ekklesia.⁴⁵ If the hoplite general was also, like Novius, a member of the Areopagus, he could of course propose decrees

⁴² Sarikakis (*supra* n.8) 11–21; Geagan 18–31. The hoplite general had many functions, not all of which need be discussed here. On this office see also W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 9, 455–56.

⁴³ Geagan 25, 30.

⁴⁴ Sarikakis (*supra* n.8) 19, 20.

⁴⁵ Sarikakis (*supra* n.8) 19; Geagan 20.

before that body as well. Consequently, the mention of the office in this inscription causes no surprise. Novius was also high priest of Nero. He may well, as general, have proposed the honors for Nero and have been instrumental in their conferral.

Epimeletes of the City

The second office mentioned for Novius is that of epimeletes. IG II² 1990 of the same year shows him as epimeletes of the city for life, presumably the same position described more fully. Little is known about this office.⁴⁶

The title first appears in Roman Athens during the reign of Nero.⁴⁷ From that time until the reign of Hadrian, the names of seven epimeletai of the city are known, all from epigraphical sources. Three men were roughly contemporary. The two inscriptions of 61/2 testify that Tiberius Claudius Novius held the office. IG II² 1990 is more complete than the Parthenon inscription, giving Novius' offices in the following order: hoplite general for the eighth time, high priest of Nero and Zeus Eleutherios, epimeletes of the city for life, priest of Delian Apollo, epimeletes of Delos, high priest of the imperial house, best of the Greeks, nomothetes. The Parthenon inscription gives only three of these: hoplite general for the eighth time, epimeletes, and nomothetes.

IG II² 1990 mentions another man who was to become epimeletes of the city. After the eponymous archon and before Novius, Tiberius Claudius Theogenes is named as herald. To judge from the order of mention in other inscriptions, this is most likely the herald of the Areopagus.⁴⁸ Theogenes is epimeletes of the city in IG II² 3449, the base for a statue erected under his supervision

⁴⁶ See J. H. Oliver, "Imperial Commissioners in Achaia," *GRBS* 14 (1973) 389–403. Oliver gives all the texts and his comments should be consulted—in the present discussion they are not presented fully. A list is given in Geagan 117; not all appear in Oliver's article. Two men formerly identified as epimeletai of the city are no longer so regarded. The title was incorrectly restored in IG II² 1792, where A. E. Raubitschek has suggested *archon*, (*supra* n.33) 284, accepted by Oliver, *AJP* 71 (1950) 174–77 (Julius Hierophantes). And W. Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (Berlin 1969) 130–31 no. 302, has re-edited IG II² 691 to make Q. Alleius Epictetus an epimeletes of Argos and not of Athens; accepted by Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 13 [1970]) 120–21 no. 39. The present writer is indebted to Mr Oliver for advice on these two men. One other person should be removed from Geagan's list: only one Coponius Maximus should be listed (see *infra*). J. H. Oliver adds two more in "Imperial Commissioners Again," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 369–70. One depends on a restoration; the other simply says 'epimeletes'.

⁴⁷ See Geagan (*supra* n.41), confirming my own suspicion (from the office of nomothetes) that Novius was first to hold the office.

⁴⁸ Geagan 57–60.

to honor Berenike (*PIR*² I 651); the date must be between 62 and 79.⁴⁹

Tiberius Claudius Theogenes in turn appears as hoplite general in an inscription that mentions another epimeletes of the city (*IG* II² 3185): A. E. Raubitschek has restored his name as Tiberius Claudius Oinophilos (*Hesperia* 12 [1943] 71 n.161). That Oinophilos was an epimeletes of the city was known from *IG* II² 3546 col. ii, where the following list of offices is given for him: praefectus fabrum, praefectus cohortis II Hispanorum, eponymous archon, herald of the Areopagus, herald of the boule and demos, epimeletes of the city, agonothetes, gymnasiarch, general, ambassador (many times). At the beginning of the inscription, which is from Eleusis, he is given the title of hierophant. As is evident, Oinophilos had a career in the Roman army in addition to his Athenian career. T. Sarikakis includes him in his list of hoplite generals, owing to the mention of 'general' in this list, in the belief that the hoplite general was the only general in Athens at the time.⁵⁰ But this must be doubted. The position of the office in the list argues against the view that it was the hoplite generalship. Moreover, the hoplite general was in fact not the only general in Roman Athens. Inscriptions attest simultaneously the hoplite general and another general—thus *IG* II² 1759, dated to 90–100.⁵¹ Oinophilos probably should not be included among the hoplite generals.

A fourth Neronian epimeletes of the city is normally cited, Tiberius Claudius Diotimos of Besa.⁵² A. E. Raubitschek was able to add fragments to *IG* II² 3580 and make new restorations; he dated the inscription to Neronian times, arguing from the known career of a Tiberius Claudius Diotimos. E. Kapetanopoulos has suggested that the Tiberius Claudius Diotimos of this inscription is actually the grandson of the Tiberius Claudius Diotimos who was active in Neronian times. Consequently, he would date the epimeletes of the city to the beginning of the second century. Kapetanopoulos' arguments are strong enough to cast doubt on the Neronian dating of the inscription. The inscription gives the fol-

⁴⁹ Graindor 50; *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo 1927) 237–38 n.2.

⁵⁰ Sarikakis (*supra* n.8) 15, 76–77. See Geagan 27 for other generals.

⁵¹ J. A. Notopoulos has dated the archon more precisely to 96/7 in "Studies in the Chronology of Athens," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 16. Earlier, "Ferguson's Law in Athens Under the Empire," *AJP* 64 (1943) 46–48, he had dated them to 95/6. But see the criticism by Follet 301–03.

⁵² Oliver (*supra* n.46) 391; Raubitschek and Kapetanopoulos (*supra* n.13).

lowing list of offices for Diotimos: eponymous archon, herald, hoplite general (three times), agonothetes (twice), gymnasiarch (three times), epimeletes of the city, epimeletes for the adornment of the Metroon.

The next person attested as an epimeletes of the city, Titus Coponius Maximus, presents a complicated problem. There is one certain mention of him as epimeletes of the city, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 39 no. 8, a prytany decree dated tentatively to the end of the first or beginning of the second century: the prytaneis cite the epimeletes of the city and his name appears in a wreath. One other example depends on a restoration, an inscription on the Sarapion monument in the Asclepieion. At the end, separate from the text, appears (restoration by J. H. Oliver): ἐπιμελη[τεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Κωνο]νίου[υ] Μαξιμου[ου]. Oliver at first thought that the dedication was made by Q. Statius Sarapion, cosmète in 158/9; more recently, however, he has argued that the Coponius Maximus of these two inscriptions is one and the same man.⁵³ Finally, inscriptions from the Asclepieion in Athens mention an epimeletes without the words 'of the city'. *IG* II² 4481a, a dedication, has Coponius as epimeletes and Q. Trebellius Rufus as archon (normally dated 85/6–94/5); 3187, undated, gives Coponius as epimeletes and sacred herald, at the end and separated from the text; 3798 names Coponius in a similar fashion and also the archon Stratolaos, normally dated to 119/120. Oliver writes, "In each case [Coponius Maximus] was mentioned as epimelete of the city,"⁵⁴ arguing from the Parthenon inscription, where also the word epimeletes alone is used. According to Oliver, here too the word used alone means the epimeletes of the city.

In the inscriptions that mention Coponius Maximus, there is a question of dating. Oliver has identified all the epimeletai mentioned as one man, using a dating for archons proposed by S. Follet.⁵⁵ Follet would redate to 92/3–110/1 a group of archons previously dated 113/4–125/6. Among these archons are both Stratolaos and Coponius Maximus (whose father was Coponius Maximus, sacred herald in *IG* II² 1072), as well as Flavius Euphanes, whom Follet would identify with the friend of Plutarch.⁵⁶

⁵³ Oliver, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 95; Suppl. 8 (1949) 245–56; (*supra* n.46) 395–99.

⁵⁴ Oliver (*supra* n.46) 397.

⁵⁵ Oliver (*supra* n.46); S. Follet, "Flavius Euphanes d'Athènes, ami de Plutarque," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie grecques offerts à Pierre Chantraine* (Études et Commentaires 79 [1972]) 35–50.

⁵⁶ Follet (*supra* n.55) 35, cf. 44–50 on another document, *IG* II² 2776, which mentions

This identification is not possible if the traditional date (124/5) for Euphanes is correct. In the section on nomothetes, *infra*, it will be argued that Follet's redating is mistaken, and here the traditional date will be used.

Another difficulty is presented by the inscriptions from the Asclepieion. Except for the Sarapion monument, in which 'of the city' depends on a restoration, they all mention merely an epimeletes. Though an epimeletes of the Asclepieion is not elsewhere attested, these inscriptions may indicate that there was such an official.⁵⁷ They are all from one shrine, and with the exception of the eponymous archon, all the officials named are officials of the Asclepieion. Is not the epimeletes included among them as an official of the Asclepieion? The office would be similar to the known epimeleteiai of the Lykeion, the Prytaneion, and the Dikasteria, to name a few examples.⁵⁸

Yet the restoration of epimeletes of the city in the inscription on the Sarapion monument still poses a problem. Oliver argued that the restoration is certain because the space can be measured.⁵⁹ S. Dow, however, has suggested to me alternate restorations that could be accommodated:

ἐπιμελη[τεύοντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Κωπω]νί
ἐπιμελη[τεύοντος διὰ βίου Τι Κωπω]νί

Thus all these inscriptions from the Asclepieion may well refer to the epimeletes of the sanctuary and not the epimeletes of the city.

There are objections to this view. First, all the pertinent inscriptions mention Coponius Maximus, who is known to have been an epimeletes of the city. But this is not necessarily significant. We know several men of this name, at least two of whom, father and son, were active in the same period, as shown by IG II² 1072.⁶⁰ Given the dating of these inscriptions, especially Oliver's initial

Euphanes. It has no connection with the dating problem discussed here; on it see now S. G. Miller, "A Roman Monument in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 49–95. In *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 475–76 Miller discusses the implications for this inscription if Follet's chronology is correct: he leaves the matter open, but adds, "I can see no *prima facie* reason for it to be wrong."

⁵⁷ Sarikakis (*supra* n.8) 47–48, concluded from these inscriptions that Coponius Maximus was an epimeletes of the Asclepieion. Oliver (*supra* n.46) 397 admits that this interpretation would be possible were it not for the Parthenon inscription.

⁵⁸ On other epimeleteiai see Graindor 80–82; Geagan 119–21; Oliver (*supra* n.46) 397.

⁵⁹ Most recently, (*supra* n.46) 396 n.5.

⁶⁰ For the members of the family with the same name see J. Kirchner's commentary on IG II² 1072 and 3571, as well as P. Graindor, "Inscriptions antiques d'époque impériale," *BCH* 38 (1914) 416–19.

dating of the Sarapion monument to the 150s, more than one Coponius Maximus could be involved. Moreover, there is no reason why Coponius could not have held two epimeleteiai during his career. So that even if the same man is involved, it is not necessary that all the inscriptions refer to the office of epimeletes of the city.

There still remains the source of Oliver's belief that the epimeletes of the city was meant in all these examples: the Parthenon inscription persuaded him that when the title epimeletes is given without any qualification, it means the epimeletes of the city. In the case of the Parthenon inscription, I am prepared to admit this. Here the man mentioned is cited as epimeletes of the city in a text of the same year. Given the expense of the bronze-lettered inscription, brevity may have been sought. Also, even as given, Novius' name and titles take up more space than those of Nero. Prudence may have dictated that they not take up any more space, lest they overwhelm those of the emperor. The prominence of the inscription and of Novius will surely have prevented any misinterpretation in this instance. The Parthenon inscription is a highly unusual monument. One should hesitate, therefore, to use it as evidence for a general rule that the word 'epimeletes' alone necessarily means epimeletes of the city. As was argued above, the inscriptions from the Asclepieion would by themselves lead one to think that an epimeletes of the sanctuary is in question. The evidence of the Parthenon inscription is in fact doubtful, so that these inscriptions should not be used in a consideration of the office of the epimeletes of the city.

This leaves one definite mention of Coponius Maximus as epimeletes of the city, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 39 no. 8 (*Athenian Councillors* no. 313). Oliver dates this to the beginning of the second century. And while certainty is not possible, it may well refer to the father rather than to the son, the latter being eponymous archon of 117/8.⁶¹

Two other men are known to have been epimeletai of the city. Hermaios Hermaiou Kolonethen held the office probably near the beginning of the second century. A statue base (IG II² 3548) contains his name and title in the genitive as the entire inscription. He is the only known epimeletes of the city who was not a Roman

⁶¹ The dating of the inscription to the beginning of the second century is not assured. Only the first three letters of the archon's name are preserved, *Ανν*—perhaps Annus Pythodorus, which Follet 162 thinks possible. The restoration appears slightly short for the space and is thus doubtful, but it would solve some difficulties. Annus is known to have been active during the first quarter of the second century (see *infra*).

citizen. He also, though not expressly as an epimeletes of the city, oversaw the erection of a statue of Coponius Maximus II, the archon of 117/8 (*IG II² 3571*). The last known epimeletes of the city is Tiberius Julius Herodianus. His name and title appear in the genitive, separated from the text, at the end of a letter of Hadrian (*IG II² 1103*). He and his son Julius Herodes (or brother, according to Graindor), who was an ephebe in 112/3 (*IG II² 2024*), dedicated a statue of Hadrian *ca* 132 (*IG II² 3316*).⁶²

Of these seven men, all but Hermaios were Roman citizens. Five are known to have been prominent men in Athens; little is known of Hermaios or Herodianus. Four we know to have been hoplite generals. Thus, under Nero and the Flavians, the office was held by very important men, whereas the last two attested were the least prominent. The office is found from the reign of Nero to that of Hadrian, and may well have been abolished in the Hadrianic reforms. Exactly what the office involved is nowhere made explicit. As we have seen, there were other epimeleteiai in Athens. Oliver at one time speculated that the office was a prefecture to guard the sacred and public property of the city. He has recently elaborated on the connection with sacred property.⁶³

The brevity of the attestations makes the function of this official obscure to us, and hence any conclusions must be speculative.

Two of the inscriptions cited above are lists of offices. One, for Oinophilos, gives the title a prominent position: of Athenian offices, only the eponymous archon, the herald of the Areopagus, and the herald of the boule and demos are listed before the epimeletes of the city. But the other, for Diotimos, lists even the offices of agonothetes and gymnasiarch before it. If the dating which places Diotimos almost a half-century later than Oinophilos is correct, this order may indicate a lessening in importance of the office by then. It is possible that the lists reflect only the order in which the man held the offices, but this seems unlikely. In any case, neither inscription can be taken to indicate the function of the office.

We have two lists of current offices, those of Novius. *IG II² 1990* gives hoplite general, high priest of Nero and Zeus Eleutherios, epimeletes of the city, and then five more titles. The Parthe-

⁶² J. Kirchner *ad locc.*; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo 1934) 128 n.3.

⁶³ J. H. Oliver, "The Main Problem of the Augustan Inscription from Cyme," *GRBS* 4 (1963) 119–21; (*supra* n.46) 401. In 1931 Graindor 81 had written, "Il semble avoir exercé des fonctions répondant en partie à celles des édiles romains, à la *cura urbis*, comme le dit son nom."

non inscription, however, shows the importance attached to the office, for it was one of the three included, when others could have been chosen.

The prytany decree honoring Coponius Maximus shows that the prytaneis had some reason to honor the epimeletes of the city. Their reason is not stated, but it was presumably for some service rendered by him during their term of office. The remaining inscriptions, which name the epimeletes in the genitive, can be grouped together: *IG II² 3185* is a dedication, 3449 and 3548 are statue bases, 1103 contains the letter of Hadrian.

This last group of inscriptions may well suggest the function of the epimeletes of the city. All are in the nature of public or private monuments or dedications: perhaps the epimeletes of the city was responsible for the care of monuments in Athens, or at least supervised their placement. It is not unreasonable to assume that someone in Athens had such a duty, and the evidence would support such a function. Of course, the office may have involved other duties, but given the extant evidence, none can be proved. A limitation of the responsibility of the epimeletes of the city to sacred property, such as has been proposed by Oliver, would not explain all the inscriptions. Perhaps all that can be said at present is that the epimeletes of the city had some connection with the care of monuments in Athens.

Oliver's theory regarding the development of the office deserves further consideration, and may be summarized as follows. A call for the protection of property first went out from the consuls of 28 or 27 B.C.; who performed the function before the institution of the office of epimeletes of the city? The creation of the new office is attributed to the time of Nero (or possibly Claudius). *IG II² 1035*, an Augustan inscription concerning the protection and repair of sacred and public property, gives certain responsibilities to the hoplite general, the basileus, and the treasurer of the sacred *diataxis* ("perhaps the hoplite general over the public domain, the basileus and the treasurer over the sacred domain"). These officials were not usually Roman citizens and may have proved weak protectors. In the Claudian-Neronian period, Roman citizens prominent in the city begin to become hoplite general and to hold office for many years (iteration in office was not new, but it was rare before). The basileus could not serve more than one year, so the office of epimeletes of the city was created to provide a more powerful protector for the sacred property. The treasurer is known from only one other inscription (*IG II² 3503*, Augustan date),

where he is honored by the prytaneis. Oliver attributes the decline in the importance of both officials to a change in atmosphere "about the time of the trial and condemnation of Claudius Hipparchus, when the imperial government seemed to be assuming a more active role."⁶⁴

Several objections may be brought against this view. *IG* II² 1035 does not indicate a division of responsibility: the officials seem to be jointly responsible for the public and sacred domains. Oliver adduces *IG* II² 3185 for the division of responsibility between the hoplite general and the epimeletes of the city; yet if each had charge of a different area, one wonders why both are cited on this private dedication, nor does the inscription prove a parity between the two officials. The transfer of authority from basileus and treasurer to the epimeletes of the city is not directly attested, nor is it evident why the protection of public and sacred property needed men of greater prominence in the Claudian-Neronian period. The developments mentioned in the office of hoplite general are more plausibly explained by other factors and need have no relation to the protection of public property.

Yet Oliver's theory is attractive in many regards. While the evidence will not permit placing the epimeletes of the city over only the sacred domain, it will support placing him in charge of monuments and dedications in general. Perhaps this could include a general supervision of all the public and sacred property of the city.⁶⁵ We may compare the Roman office of *curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum*. This office⁶⁶ was instituted at about the same date as *IG* II² 1035, and it also shows a growth in prominence in Neronian times (nothing, however, suggests that the office could be held for more than one year). The *curator* performed functions similar to those proposed for the epimeletes of the city. While the comparison of the Roman and Athenian offices is not very strong proof, it could be taken to show the emperor's interest in the protection of property during the period. It does lend support to Oliver's theory regarding the development of the office of epimeletes of the city.

⁶⁴ Oliver (*supra* n.46) 400–03. On the date of *IG* II² 1035 (ca 10 B.C.), see G. R. Culley, *The Restoration of Athenian Monuments in Augustan Athens* (Diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1973) 212–28.

⁶⁵ Oliver himself seems aware of the difficulty in placing the epimeletes of the city over only sacred property (*supra* n.46): at 400, he has him over both public and sacred property, 401 limits him to sacred property, 402 is unclear.

⁶⁶ A. E. Gordon, "Quintus Veranius Consul A.D. 49," *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 2.5 (1952) 279–304.

In sum, the evidence shows that the office began probably in the time of Nero, and Novius may have been the first to hold it. It was not the highest office in the city—epigraphical evidence clearly shows that the hoplite general and the herald of the Areopagus were the supreme officials—but it seems to have been close to them in rank. It was probably not an onerous duty, for Novius could hold it along with the hoplite generalship and a number of other offices. It may well have been connected with the supervision of monuments and dedications in the city. If this is true, the official did not have to be named on the monument or dedication, but had at least to be consulted after it had been voted.⁶⁷

Nomothetes

The third office ascribed to Novius, nomothetes, is the one about which we know least. Classical Athens had had a board of nomothetai, and classical authors apply the term to individuals when speaking of the great lawgivers of the ancient past.⁶⁸ But few inscriptions give the title to individuals: we find it once (restored) of Demetrius of Phaleron,⁶⁹ twice of Novius in 61/2, and of M. Annius Pythodorus roughly half a century later.

The duties of the classical board of nomothetai, especially as revised in 404/3, are tolerably well known. The nomothetai made laws, including those affecting the basic constitution of the state; they considered new laws and revised or repealed existing ones. If laws were thought to overlap or be in conflict, the prytaneis called on the ekklesia to appoint nomothetai to clear up the difficulties. This included cult law, as in the law on first fruits at Eleusis (*IG* II² 140), and nomothetai are attested supervising the financial arrangements for the Panathenaic festival. A number of decrees concerning payment for such things as civic honors and public works specify that nomothetai are to authorize the expenditure.⁷⁰

The careers of Novius and Pythodorus reveal that the title was revived in Roman times, but applied to individuals rather than a board. Why was it revived and what did the two men do in regard to the laws? For certainly Graindor was correct in thinking that

⁶⁷ Oliver (*supra* n.46) 396 writes of Coponius Maximus, "Whether or not it was he who designated the location of the monument, he had to approve its erection and appearance."

⁶⁸ E.g. the list at Arist. *Pol.* 1274a22, or Lys. 30.28 (Solon, Themistocles, Pericles).

⁶⁹ S. Dow and A. H. Travis, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 144–65.

⁷⁰ See in general M. H. Hansen, "Nomos and Psephisma in Fourth-Century Athens," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 315–30. Especially revealing are Andoc. 1.82–84; Dem. 24.20–29, 33 (the Panathenaia), and 3.10; Aeschin. 3.38–40; *IG* II² 222, 330; VII 4243, 4254; restored, wrongly, in *ATL* II 40–43 A9.16—cf. Dow (*supra* n.12) 24–25.

the title was not merely honorary.⁷¹ If it were, one would expect to find it more often, an obvious title to give to a Roman emperor or to civic officials. It may be significant that both men were priests of Delian Apollo, but no obvious connection presents itself. The title manifestly evokes lawmaking, and Graindor concluded that Novius was involved in a revision of the constitution.⁷² Novius in fact seems to have been the first man to serve as epimeletes of the city, as we have seen: it is possible therefore that his law-making activity was connected with the creation of this office.

The other known nomothetes, M. Annius Pythodorus, was himself probably involved with the Hadrianic reforms in Athens. But before considering this, we must address a chronological problem. As mentioned above, S. Follet has attempted to redate a group of Athenian archons of this period.⁷³ The inscriptions naming the archons are also the testimony for Pythodorus' title of nomothetes. If Follet's chronology is correct, then Pythodorus would be too early to be connected with the Hadrianic reforms. The question deserves careful review, for on it depends the historical context of the second attested nomothetes.

The two inscriptions, usually called Stele A and Stele B, give a consecutive list of the yearly *dodekas* to Delos, led by M. Annius Pythodorus as priest of Apollo, (*I. Délos* V 2535, 2536). In their present state the stelai cover thirteen archon years; from the seventh of these archons through the thirteenth, Pythodoros bears the added title 'nomothetes'. Scholars had previously placed the series between the archonships of Hadrian and Herodes Atticus. Follet wishes to move them to a period between 92/3 and 110/1, preceding Hadrian. Her arguments are of two sorts—from the physical features of the stelai and from the prosopographical associations of their contents.

Stele A may not be complete at the bottom, and Follet reckons that as many as two lines are possibly lost. Her conclusion is cautious: "on ne peut pas affirmer que Fl. Sophoclès était le dernier archonte nommé dans A" (152). Yet it seems unlikely that as much as a whole new *dodekas* with its archon can have fitted in this

⁷¹ Graindor (*supra* n.62) 32 n.1. W. W. Goodwin's comment that the title was given to distinguished citizens does not seem to be true of Athens (*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1 [1882–83] 57 note). L. Robert has noted that the Romans did use local citizens to achieve changes in laws and that some had the title nomothetes: *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée* (Paris 1969) 271 (esp. n.5) and *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 206–08.

⁷² Graindor 59, 142; (*supra* n.62) 32, 74 n.2; "Études épigraphiques sur Athènes à l'époque impériale," *REG* 31 (1918) 234.

⁷³ Follet 150–99, 507; cf. (*supra* n.55) 41–44.

space. Stele B, which begins with a new *dodekas*, offers better evidence for Follet's thesis. The lower fragment (lines 6ff) does not join the upper two (lines 1–5), and the question is how much is lost. While her predecessors took the first six lines to begin and end a single *dodekas*, Follet argues from the style, size, and interspace of the writing that line 6 belongs to a different entry, and that therefore at least one *dodekas* and archon are lost in the interval. The stele is reused, and the original text, on the reverse side, consists of two distinct items, an account and an inventory (*IG* XI.2 155): Follet believes that the two cannot have been so close together as has been assumed. It is probable, she concludes, that more than one archon is missing, and accordingly the group cannot be placed in the fourteen years between Hadrian (111/2, she believes) and Herodes (126/7).

This physical evidence may suggest that one archon is lost, but it cannot make it probable that more than one is lost. And if only one is to be added, then on Follet's dating of Hadrian the group can stay in their traditional places. Thus there are two uncertainties. On the one hand, most scholars have assumed the consistency of Phlegon of Tralles' dating method and assigned Hadrian to 112/3: in which case no archon can be missing in order to preserve the traditional post-Hadrianic dating. On the other, the arguments from physical evidence are unreliable and must be declared inconclusive. As Follet herself has written, "Les dimensions et la forme des lettres varient souvent dans un même texte" (12). There is not a compelling case here for transferring the archons to the period before Hadrian.

Second, the prosopographical evidence. Four of the archons named in the Delian stelai had been known independently and were assigned to the Hadrianic period, for reasons that go back to Dittenberger.⁷⁴ Naturally such arguments are inherently weak, pointing to a period rather than to precise dates. The one strong instance that Follet adduces for the earlier period is *IG* II² 7671, which she has correctly recognized as an ephebic monument.⁷⁵ She restores as follows:

[Ἀγαθὴ τὴ] χη
[Καίσαρος Νέρου]α Τραιανοῦ.

⁷⁴ Cf. G. Colin, *BCH* 23 (1899) 85–89; F. Dürbach, *BCH* 28 (1904) 175; P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* 34 (1910) 421–23; P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes* (Brussels 1921) 116–26; Kolbe (*supra* n.1) 106–21; *contra*, Follet 162–99.

⁷⁵ Follet 175; Kirchner had not so identified it. S. Dow advises me that the representation of the boy with the palm makes *IG* II² 7671 almost certainly ephebic.

[Χρύσιππος] Λαμασίου Φλυεύς
 Χρύσιππος
 Πρεῖμος
 Εὐκράτους
 Φυλάσιος

Follet identifies the men with two ephebes in *IG* II² 2030, which is dated by the archonship of Hipparchos, who is sixth in the Delian list. She argues that the emperor must be alive and that therefore Hipparchos must have been archon for at least a short time while Trajan was living. Hence the date normally assigned his archonship, 118/9, cannot be correct.⁷⁶ But must we in fact conclude that Hipparchos was archon while Trajan was alive? The ephebic year, since it begins in Boedromion and ends with Metageitnion, covers parts of two archon years. Trajan died *ca* 8 August 117; we are told that the announcement was delayed for a few days, but the death should have been known in Athens before the end of August. That would seem slightly early for Boedromion, but one must recognize our uncertainties about the Athenian calendar. And might not the individuals have ordered the monument before they actually began their ephebic year in early autumn, anticipating their becoming epheboi in a few weeks? It seems possible, then, that the ephebic year of these individuals ran from Boedromion 117 to Metageitnion 118. Hence, to use the usual dates, it began with Coponius Maximus as archon (117/8) and ended under Hipparchus (118/9); the catalogue *IG* II² 2030 will have been set up in the last month of the ephebic year and consequently is dated by Hipparchus.

There is a further point. In the Delian stelai, the priest of Apollo during all these years was M. Annius Pythodorus. His son was an ephebe in the year of Hadrian's archonship (*IG* II² 2024), 112/3. If the son was born when Pythodorus was about thirty, then he himself was born in the mid 60s (the age of ephebate, while not fixed, was roughly fifteen to nineteen). By Follet's dating, Pythodorus will have become priest of Apollo for life by the early 90s, when he was not yet thirty, and nomothetes some six years later. These ages are quite improbable, especially for the position of nomothetes; this extraordinary office one would expect to be held by a man older than his early thirties.

A similar problem arises in regard to Abaskantos, one of the

⁷⁶ Based on Hadrian's year as 112/3. Because Follet places him in 111/2, she admits that Hipparchus' year could still be 117/8, where his tenure under Trajan poses no problem.

paideutai in *IG* II² 2037—dated 125/6 traditionally, 105/6–110/1 according to Follet (206–26). He went on to become paidotribes for life, and in 169/70 was in his thirty-fourth year of that office (*IG* II² 2097.190ff). Even if he was only about twenty in *IG* II² 2037, on Follet's dating he will still be serving as paidotribes in his eighties. The traditional date, moreover, makes him paidotribes about thirteen years after he was one of the paideutai; Follet separates the two offices by about thirty years. She supports her thesis by invoking a regular order of paidotribai: but no evidence suggests this system before the late second century, and the whole issue is clouded by the extraordinarily long tenure of Abaskantos.

We must conclude that Follet has not proved her case for transferring these archons and Pythodorus to a period before Hadrian's archonship. While neither chronology can at present be established with certainty,⁷⁷ I believe that the traditional dating gives a more rational arrangement, making better sense of the ages and careers of Pythodoros and Abaskantos.

It follows that, according to the Delian stelai, Pythodoros was nomothetes from 119/20 to 125/6. Hadrian first visited Athens as emperor in 124/5, and this is usually taken as the occasion on which the Hadrianic reforms were put into effect.⁷⁸ The traditional chronology gives an intelligible context for the naming of a nomothetes, the reform of the constitution. We may assume that Pythodoros was appointed several years in advance of 124/5 to allow sufficient time for the revisions, which were then promulgated in that year—like the revision under Nikomachos, the work can easily have taken a number of years.

The remaining difficulty was remarked by Graindor: Pythodoros, according to the Delian stelai, was still nomothetes in 125/6.⁷⁹ There need be no problem if J. A. Notopoulos is correct about the creation of the tribe in Hadrian's honor. In his view, the idea for the tribe was first conceived in 124/5, 125/6 was taken up with the necessary planning, the tribe was created in 126/7 and began to function in 127/8 in time for Hadrian's second visit to the

⁷⁷ Certainty might have been offered by the early parts of Stele A. We know independently that the archon four years after Hadrian was Macrinus, but the names of the third and fourth archons of Stele A are lost; Macrinus would fit the spaces, as would other names.

⁷⁸ Graindor (*supra* n.62) 30–36; (*supra* n.72) 233–35; B. d'Orgeval, *L'empereur Hadrien: oeuvre législative et administrative* (Paris 1950) 25, 231–33. B. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (London 1923) 87, 288, argued for 125/6.

⁷⁹ Graindor (*supra* n.62) 32 n.1, 74 n.2; and perhaps still in 126/7 (restored in I. Délos 2537).

city.⁸⁰ Pythodoros will have been nomothetes in 125/6 in order to make the changes in laws required by the creation of a new tribe.

It seems likely, then, that the one parallel to Novius' office of nomothetes was connected with the Hadrianic reforms, and we are justified in thinking that Novius' tenure was likewise occasioned by a substantial revision of the constitution under Nero.

It is not surprising that this should be so. The two men bracket a discernible period in the history of the Athenian constitution. The office of epimeletes of the city is seen first under Nero and last under Hadrian; only Novius is said to have held it for life. From slightly before Nero to the time of Hadrian, we find very prominent men holding the hoplite generalship. And the period is framed by the two attested nomothetai of Roman Athens. Tiberius Claudius Novius is the only man known to have held all three offices; and it seems likely that those of nomothetes and epimeletes were created for him, the first being the instrument of change. Taken together, the three signal the new epoch and Novius' role in creating it—no wonder then that these are the offices that he wished to have inscribed on the Parthenon.

⁸⁰ "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," *TAPA* 77 (1946) 53–56; but see Follet's criticism of the use of tribal cycles for this period (301–03). Cf. Kolbe (*supra* n.1) 121–28. For 124/5 for the creation of the tribe, see Graindor (*supra* n.62) 18–36.

IV

The Purpose of the Inscription

ON THE EXACT PURPOSE of the Parthenon inscription, many scholars have remarked briefly and without argument. In essence two opinions have been offered: most have held that the text commemorates a statue of Nero; more recently others (J. H. Oliver and D. J. Geagan) have maintained that the Parthenon itself was dedicated to the emperor.¹ We may begin with this second view.

Dedication of the Temple

The theory that the inscription records the dedication of the Parthenon arises from the prominent position of the inscription on the building. The architrave is the natural place for a dedicatory text, and here in fact such inscriptions were usually placed. Temple E at Corinth, which dates to the time of Domitian, exemplifies this: its dedicatory text was placed on the architrave in bronze letters. Unlike the Parthenon inscription, the letters on Temple E were inset, so that the outline of the letters survives along with the cuttings for attaching them.²

The dedication of a god's temple to an emperor, usually in the form of a co-dedication (temple-sharing) was not common in the Greek and Roman world. A. D. Nock studied the practice and found "a very few instances proved. . . . To sum up, there is really very little evidence in support of widespread temple-sharing."³ For Nero we have one example, the placing of his statue in the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome, and Nock is cautious about whether this actually constituted temple-sharing.⁴ In any case, there is no mention of dedicating the temple to Nero. The same is true of the only instance involving the Parthenon for which there is strong

¹ References to these views are given in Chapter I above and will not be repeated here.

² J. H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII.3 no. 333 and Pl. 29.

³ A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός," *HSCP* 41 (1930) 37, 39; hereafter 'Nock'.

⁴ Nock 31, 43.

evidence: a golden cult statue (scil., gilded-bronze) of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, was placed in the Parthenon.⁵

Dedication of the Parthenon to Nero, or his sharing it with Athena, is not unthinkable. Since Nero thought that only the Greeks really appreciated his talents and recognized his greatness (Suet. *Nero* 22.3), perhaps he saw no reason why he should not have a famous temple in the Greek world. Are we, then, to believe that the Athenians did dedicate the building to Nero?

Interesting though it would be to find that the Athenians would stoop so low in their flattery and that Nero would allow such an honor, there are difficulties in believing this dedication. The practice was rare. The building, moreover, is the Parthenon, one of Athens' greatest glories. It is hard to conceive that the Athenians had become so servile as to dedicate it to the Roman emperor, although Nero's character was such that he might have sought the honor. A more substantial objection, however, is that Athena is not mentioned in the inscription. If the Parthenon were dedicated to her and Nero jointly, then she should be mentioned. Given the text as it is, one would have to conclude that the temple was dedicated to Nero alone, and this does not seem likely. A final objection is that Nero's name is in the accusative case. A dedication is a dedication of something to someone: Nero ought to be named in the dative or genitive case.⁶ Neither can the text easily refer to some activity in Nero's behalf within the temple: one would expect a dative or a *ὑπέρ* clause,⁷ and in any case the Parthenon was not regularly a *locus* of worship and sacrifice.⁸

It is quite improbable, therefore, that either the Parthenon or some function within it was given over to Nero.

⁵ Nock 34–35. Also see J. H. Oliver, "Julia Domna as Athena Polias," *HSCP* Suppl. 1 (1940) 522–30, and *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 84–85 no. 36; G. A. Stamires, *Hesperia* 26 (1957) 265. The statue of Hadrian in the Parthenon (see *infra*) was probably not a cult image; Pausanias (1.24.7) calls it an *εἰκών*. The statue of Julia Domna is called an *ἄγαλμα*. See Nock 3 n.2 and 35 on the two words; and with reference to the Roman period, L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* II (Amsterdam 1969) 832–35.

⁶ See Nock 47–52; G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*² (Göttingen 1965) 63; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* II (Rome 1969) 124. T. B. Mitford, "Some Unpublished Inscriptions of Roman Date from Cyprus," *BSA* 42 (1947) 224 n.94, says the dative is normal for altars and indicates that it is regular for temples. See L. Robert, *AmStudPap* I 202–04, for the genitive on altars.

⁷ Cf. Nock 23–24.

⁸ On this see C. J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester 1955).

A Statue of Nero

The most common view of the purpose of the inscription is that it identifies a statue of the emperor. Nero is named in the accusative, the case regularly used on statue bases.⁹ If the text had actually been inscribed on a statue base, it would cause no surprise, with the possible exception of the mention of the priestess of Athena. The sovereign bodies of Athens would be named because they had voted the statue, the hoplite general because he was associated with the imperial house and the conferring of honors. Novius was also epimeletes of the city, who, we have seen, probably had a general supervision of monuments.

Yet here too there are difficulties. If the text commemorated a statue, it would be expected to be on the statue base. Graindor, in arguing the location of the statue, made a valid point but did not go far enough: he considered that if the statue was outside, the inscription should have been on the base; because the inscription is on the architrave, the statue must have been inside the Parthenon. But even if the statue were inside, it would have had a base, and that is where the inscription should be. Nor is it likely that the text on the architrave is merely a repetition of that on the base of a statue. If this were so, it would be highly unusual and would suggest that the Athenians were being intentionally obscure. For if the statue were outside the Parthenon, even if positioned directly under the inscription, there should be some mention of the statue in the text so that the connection would be clear. If the statue was inside the building, then this objection becomes even stronger.

One other, admittedly slight, piece of evidence should be considered. Besides Nero, three other persons are known to have been honored by statues connected with the Parthenon: Iphikrates, Hadrian, and Julia Domna. The statue of Iphikrates was of bronze, dedicated in 372/1 B.C. and located near the entrance of the building. It is not known exactly when Hadrian's was dedicated, but Pausanias states that it was near the statue of Athena. Julia Domna had a golden cult image in the Parthenon, or at least the Athenians passed a decree that one was to be put there.¹⁰ Iphikrates lived too

⁹ A. Benjamin and A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 65–68, emphasize this rule in order to separate altars from statue bases.

¹⁰ Iphikrates: Paus. 1.24.7; Aeschin. 3.243; Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 12; Dem. 23.130; A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig 1871) 40 and n.139. G. P. Stevens attempts to identify the position of the statue of Iphikrates, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 15. Hadrian: Paus. 1.24.7; Judeich, *Topographie* 254 and n.3; Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* 57–58; A. E. Raubitschek,

early to be useful for present purposes, but the other two are subsequent to Nero. In the case of Hadrian, the difference of time is not so great that the inscription of Nero would be forgotten. Yet there was never an inscription to Hadrian on the architrave of the Parthenon. If the Parthenon inscription did commemorate a statue of Nero, it did not set a precedent for the labeling of later such statues—even of persons whom the Athenians had more reason to honor.

Altogether there is little inducement to believe that the inscription was meant to publicize the honoring of Nero with a statue.¹¹

Honorary Inscription

There can be no doubt that the inscription on the Parthenon represents an honorific decree. This accounts for the form of the text, with Nero's name in the accusative, and the need to mention the sovereign bodies of Athens and Novius. The lack of a verb is not unusual in texts of this sort. W. Larfeld gives examples of such short honorary inscriptions: "Summarische Ehreninschriften dieser Art finden sich, häufig von Kränzen umgeben, auch unterhalb der Ehrendekrete."¹²

Many examples could be cited from Athens. Such summary honorary inscriptions are a regular part of prytany decrees. "Below the two decrees and the list of prytaneis were added the names of the persons particularly praised in the second decree, that of the Boule. These names were carved each within a wreath (the wreath itself was generally painted), and above the name was inscribed the designation of the body conferring the crown."¹³ Dow, *Prytaneis* no. 116 (*Athenian Councillors* no. 293) illustrates this:

AJA 49 (1945) 128–33. See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* II (London 1913) 320–21; O. Jahn and A. Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum a Pausania Descripta* (Bonn 1901) 61. For Julia Domna see *supra* n.5.

¹¹ C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1978) 33 with n.66, has recently adduced Dio Chrys. 31.148, a catalogue of shrines pillaged by Nero, culminating in the Acropolis at Athens and Pergamum, "though that sanctuary belonged to him," αὐτῷ προσήκοντος ἐκείνου τοῦ τεμένους: Jones would refer ἐκείνου to Athens, and adds that "Dio's language may imply that Nero's statue had been placed in the Parthenon" (citing Graindor and Dow). But Dio does not mention a statue, and ἐκεῖνος without contrasting οὗτος regularly refers to what immediately precedes: cf. LSJ s.v. ἐκεῖνος; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* §1261; F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* 291; W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v. ἐκεῖνος.

¹² W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*³ (Munich 1914) 437.

¹³ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 1 (1937) 3.

four individuals are cited in this manner at the end of the decree. Another example is *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 37–40 no. 8 (*Athenian Councillors* no. 313), cited above in the discussion of the epimeletes of the city: here six persons were cited and their names appear inside crowns. Nor is the practice limited to prytany decrees or to a mention of an individual's name. IG II² 2944 gives also the reason for the honor. IG II² 2943 adds the group conferring the honor and a verb. IG II² 2978, a dedication, also shows the usage which includes the body conferring the honor as well as the person honored. IG II² 1039, an ephebic decree, is similar. There are many other examples.

The Parthenon inscription presents in their appropriate cases the names of the bodies which conferred the honor, the name of the person honored, the name of the probable proposer of the decree (Novius), and the name of the priestess, included no doubt because the inscription is on the Parthenon. Novius may also be present because he paid the expense of the inscription. But the presence of Novius and Paullina and the length of this summary inscription may have a simple explanation. Normally summary honorary inscriptions appear on a stele which also contains a complete text of the decree which conferred the honor. The lack of a complete text in this case may explain the unusual detail of the inscription.

The Parthenon inscription, then, contains the summary text of an honorary decree. This reinforces the view offered above that the cuttings at the beginning of 3.7 were intended to hold a wreath or a crown. It seems, in conclusion, that the verb to be understood in the text is not ἀνέθηκε (a statue or the temple) but the familiar ἐστεφάνωσε.

This view of the text relieves it of the need to imply the dedication of a statue or of the Parthenon itself. The Athenians wanted to honor Nero and voted an honorary decree, which as usual conferred a crown on him; the crown was likely displayed prominently in the middle of the inscription which was put in gilded bronze letters on the architrave of the Parthenon. Every reader will have understood that Athens had crowned Nero.

The Occasion of the Inscription

THE ATHENIANS IN 61/2 passed an honorary decree crowning Nero; the decree contained an unprecedented provision, that a summary text be inscribed on the eastern architrave of the Parthenon. What can have occasioned this extraordinary gesture?

Nero and Athens

Little is known of the relations between Nero and Athens. We begin with the epigraphical evidence. No more than eight, and probably only seven, inscriptions can be attributed to Nero (see *supra* 3–33). Of these, only one is firmly dated to the period before the Parthenon inscription, the dedicatory inscription on the theater of Dionysus (*IG* II² 3182) which is associated with the Neronian remodeling of the front of the stage, the *scenae frons*. J. H. Oliver (following Dittenberger) restored the name of Novius as the hoplite general in this inscription. Since the seventh hoplite generalship is mentioned, the work must date to the period between Nero's accession in 54 and Novius' eighth generalship in 61/2.¹ Regardless of exactly what was done to the *scenae frons*, the inscription makes it clear that the individual who dedicated it to Nero and Dionysus paid for the work out of his own funds, [ἐκ τῶν] ἰδίων. It does not indicate any benefaction conferred on the city by Nero.

The other inscriptions that mention Nero have already been discussed. None gives any hint of benefactions conferred on the city by the emperor. We find no honorary titles such as *εὐεργέτης*. In fact, except for his designation on an altar (*IG* II² 3278) as the New Apollo, the inscriptions lack any special titles for Nero. This may seem surprising, but it must be kept in mind that there is no evidence that Nero ever did anything for Athens. Indeed, he may not have been particularly fond of the city. We are told that when Nero visited Greece, remaining for over a year, he never visited

¹ Oliver, *Athenian Expounders* 82; D. J. Geagan, *AJP* 100 (1979) 283–85.

Athens.² The reason given by Cassius Dio, that the Furies lived in Athens, may be fanciful, but there is nothing to contradict his statement that Nero did not visit the city. Moreover, Nero's freeing of the Greeks in 67 did not aid Athens,³ for Athens was already a free city of the empire. A. Momigliano has written, "He would not visit either Sparta or Athens—a whim for which we can find no reason save the rather improbable one that these cities, being already free, could not have had any gratitude to show to the Emperor" (CAH X 737).

The archaeological record does not suggest a reason for the Athenians' honoring Nero. Although there are monuments datable to the middle of the first century, none can be dated firmly to the reign of Nero, and nothing can be attributed to his patronage. Only the remodeling of the theater of Dionysus can be identified as surely Neronian in date. Evidence from literature is also meager. Besides revealing that Nero did not visit Athens, it tells us only that he sent out agents to collect statues. It is probable that Athens lost many.⁴ The lack of information may be partly due to the fact that Nero's memory was condemned and his name systematically erased from inscriptions; and the literary sources that have survived are almost totally critical of Nero.⁵ Nevertheless, it would be surprising for no indication to remain of his benefactions to the city if there were any.

Was the inscription intended to mark a visit to Greece by Nero at the time that it was put up? This was Andrew's suggestion ("Riddle" 308), but it is without foundation. The only indication that Nero planned a trip to Greece other than the one in 66 comes from Tacitus—and that trip was planned for 64, at least two years after the inscription was placed on the Parthenon (*Ann.* 15.34 and 36). Andrews, however, made another suggestion worth considering: Greek expectations of great things from Nero. Nero had a long history of enthusiasm for things Greek. As a young man he

² Cass. Dio 63.14.3. Suet. *Nero* 34.4 states that Nero did not participate in the Eleusinian mysteries because at the beginning of them the goddess and wicked are told to depart; Nero would of course not make such a public admission of guilt, and the reason is simply malicious conjecture.

³ For the date see P. A. Gallivan, "Nero's Liberation of Greece," *Hermes* 101 (1973) 230–34; and K. R. Bradley, "Nero's Visit to Greece," *Latomus* 37 (1978) 61–72.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 15.45, 16.23; Dio Chrys. 31.148–150; cf. Paus. 10.7.1 (500 taken from Delphi).

⁵ Josephus (*AJ* 20.154–55) reports that there were favorable histories of Nero. None has survived.

had spoken in Greek in support of Rhodes and Ilium.⁶ A few years later, as emperor, he gave Roman citizenship to Greek youths who had danced in Rome. In 60 he introduced the *Neroneia*, games modeled after those of Greece, and allowed the Vestal Virgins to watch them because priestesses were allowed to watch the Olympic games.⁷ Other examples could be cited: it is enough to say that Nero's philhellenism was well known, even if there had been no actual gifts to Athens as a result of it.

Was the Parthenon inscription then an act of flattery made in the hope of future gain? Undoubtedly this was part of the reason for it. This motive was involved in most honors conferred by the Athenians. Normally, however, they had some other reason, concrete and public, for the bestowal of an honor. It may have been a pretext used to justify the honor, the real purpose being to gain the future favor of the person honored. Even so, the honorary decree would generally give the reason for honor. So far as we know, the Athenians did not have anything for which to thank Nero in 61/2.

The Acropolis and the East

The Athenian Acropolis has a close association with victories over eastern enemies. Most of the buildings and a large number of the monuments on it were conceived and built in the half century after the wars with Persia. When the Persians attacked Greece in 480/79, Athens was taken and the buildings on the Acropolis destroyed. After the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, the Athenians eventually built again on the Acropolis. It would not be wrong to say that the Acropolis became a monument commemorating the victory over the Persians.⁸

Fragments from the destroyed Old Temple of Athena and the Older Parthenon were built into the north wall of the Acropolis. The triglyph metope frieze can still be seen there. Plutarch states

⁶ Suet. *Nero* 7.2; A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams* (Cambridge 1968) 195, II 120.

⁷ Suet. *Nero* 12; Tac. *Ann.* 14.20.

⁸ W. GAUER has collected most of the known evidence in *Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen, IstMitt Beiheft* 2 (1968). Pausanias describes the Acropolis in 1.22.4–28.4. O. Jahn and A. Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum* (Bonn 1901), give the relevant testimonia. Hereafter reference will be made only to Pausanias (so that Jahn/Michaelis can be consulted) and Gauer, unless there is additional information which they do not contain.

that some of the spoils from the Persian wars were used to pay for the construction of the south wall (*Cim.* 13). And other spoils of the wars were on the Acropolis. The temple of Athena Polias contained the breast-plate of Masistios and the sword of Mardonios. The throne from which Xerxes watched the battle of Salamis was in the Parthenon. The cables from the bridge over the Hellespont were also on the Acropolis.⁹ A ship on the Acropolis may have been from the same place.

The Parthenon is clearly a victory monument. As C. J. Herington points out, the official purpose in building it was to offer thanks to Athena for the success against the Persians.¹⁰ The Amazonomachia, an analogy for the battle of Marathon, is portrayed in the west metopes (Gauer 18–19); the Amazons came from the east. Another eastern victory, that of the Trojan War, is shown in the north metopes (Gauer 19). Of the metopes Herington comments, “We begin to sense further nuances: civilization overcomes barbarism; Europe repels the threat of Asia. And thus the sculptor brings to mind, without ever mentioning it, that instance of the law’s operation which to these Athenians was their greatest glory: the victories over the Persians in 490 and 480. Here we should recall that the Parthenon was, in one sense, a votive ἀπὸ Μήδων.”¹¹ Some ancient sources attribute the Athena Parthenos to spoils of the Persian Wars. An Amazonomachia was on her shield and a Nike in her hand.¹² There was also a picture of Themistocles in the Parthenon. Pausanias (1.1.2) does not say why it was there or what event was portrayed, but most likely it is connected with Themistocles’ activities during the wars.

Regardless of the position one adopts in regard to the frieze of the Athena Nike temple, that it represents, in part, the victories over the Persians is not disputed (Gauer 17). Pausanias (1.27.7) also saw a memorial group of old statues of Athena, which had been partially burned in the Persian destruction, set up on the Acropolis. According to Pausanias, the Athena Promachos was set up with a tithe of the spoils of Marathon.¹³ There are other monuments that refer to the Persian Wars: votive offerings of Kalli-

⁹ Gauer 37, 43–44, and 73. For the cables, add to his references W. B. Dinsmoor, “Two Monuments on the Athenian Akropolis,” *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* IV (1967/8) 145–55. Dinsmoor argues that the blocks that held the cables were in the Older Parthenon.

¹⁰ *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester 1955) 49.

¹¹ Herington (*supra* n.10) 61–62.

¹² See Jahn/Michaelis 57–59.

¹³ Paus. 1.28.1; Gauer 22–23, 38–39, 103–05.

machos, Phayllos, and Ekphantos and Hegelochos (Gauer 112–13). Perhaps the statue of Xanthippos, the father of Pericles, should also be connected with the Persian Wars; the naval battle at Mykale is the only item about Xanthippos given by Pausanias (1.25.1) when he mentions the statue.

While the Acropolis is primarily connected with the Persian Wars, other eastern victories are also commemorated there. The Trojan War is commemorated: the Pinakothekē contained a painting of Diomedes carrying off the Palladion from Troy (Paus. 1.22.6); a bronze model of the Wooden Horse was set up on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.23.10); and as already mentioned, the metopes on the north side of the Parthenon portrayed the Trojan War.

In Chapter I above were mentioned the shields which Alexander sent from the battle of the Granicus; Arrian (1.16.7) reports that they were dedicated to Athena on the Acropolis. Thus the war that resulted in the conquest of Persia is also commemorated on the Acropolis.

Around 200 B.C. Attalos I of Pergamum set up a monument on the Acropolis, commemorating a victory over an eastern enemy. It contained representations of the battle of Marathon and of the king’s own victory over the Gauls in Mysia. In this monument he clearly links his victory over the Gauls in Asia with Greek victories over Asian enemies. And it is quite natural that he placed his monument on the Acropolis. It was still there when Pausanias visited the city.¹⁴

A reversal of the normal order occurred in the third quarter of the first century B.C. According to Plutarch (*Ant.* 34), Antony took a wreath made from the sacred olive tree of Athena, which Herodotus (8.55) says had bloomed again the day after it was destroyed by the Persians, and water from the Klepsydra when he set out on his disastrous campaign against Parthia in 36 B.C. In this case something was taken from the Acropolis instead of being placed there, and this before the battle instead of after. Antony was defeated and so never had occasion to place a victory dedication on the Acropolis. His initial gesture, however, was symbolic, pointing to the strong association with eastern victories that the Acropolis had.

¹⁴ Paus. 1.25.2; E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamum*² (Ithaca/London 1971) 306–14.

The Neronian Wars with Parthia

Anthony lost in his struggle with Parthia, and wars in that part of the world were to plague Rome for a long time. The principal issue was the position of Armenia. For Rome, a friendly Armenia was important to protect eastern Asia Minor; Parthia needed protection for northern Mesopotamia. There had been problems under Claudius; under Nero the dispute over Armenia broke out into open war between Parthia and Rome.¹⁵

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.37–38) Rome started to take decisive action in 58, when Roman legions led by Corbulo moved into Armenia. By the end of the campaigning season of 59, they had taken Tigranocerta. In another successful campaign Corbulo further strengthened the Roman position. Returning to the Augustan policy, the Roman government decided to place a client king on the throne of Armenia to ensure Roman dominance of the country. Tigranes V was chosen as king, the great-grandson of Herod and nephew of Tigranes IV (who had briefly been king of Armenia under Augustus). He arrived in the country in 60. In 61 the new king attacked Adiabene, a vassal-state of Parthia. This caused a reaction on the part of Vologaes, the Parthian king. He crowned his brother Tiridates king of Armenia and proceeded to enforce this action by invading Armenia. The Parthian forces soon drove Tigranes back into his capital of Tigranocerta, where he was besieged along with a number of Romans.

Corbulo, when he heard of the Parthian attack on Armenia, had sent two legions to the aid of Tigranes and had posted another legion on the banks of the Euphrates, along with a force of provincials. On learning that Tigranes was besieged in Tigranocerta, he sent a protest to Vologaes, threatening to invade unless the siege was lifted. After considering his position, Vologaes replied that he would send ambassadors to Rome to ask for Armenia, would raise the siege of Tigranocerta, and would withdraw his forces

¹⁵ The chronology of these wars is confused by the fact that Tacitus combines the events of several years under one year in the *Annals*. The essential work is B. W. Henderson, "The Chronology of the Wars in Armenia," *CR* 15 (1901) 159–65, 204–13, 266–74. Cf. M. Hammond, "Corbulo and Nero's Eastern Policy," *HSCP* 45 (1934) 81–104; J. G. C. Anderson, "The Eastern Frontier from Tiberius to Nero," *CAH* X (1934) 758–72; Neilson C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago 1938) 179–202; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) I 553–61, II 1411–17; J. Tresch, *Die Nerobücher in den Annalen des Tacitus* (Heidelberg 1965) 143–45. For a detailed analysis of the account given by Tacitus see E. Koestermann, *Cornelius Tacitus: Annalen* (Heidelberg) III (1967), IV (1968); K. Gilmartin, "Corbulo's Campaigns in the East," *Historia* 22 (1973) 583–626.

from Armenia. Apparently the Roman forces also withdrew and spent the winter of 61/2 in Cappadocia.¹⁶

Corbulo, sometime in 61, before the siege of Tigranocerta began, had written to Rome that a separate commander was needed for the defense of Armenia (*Tac. Ann.* 15.3). In reply to this dispatch the government sent one of the consuls of 61, Caesennius Paetus, who arrived in Cappadocia either late in 61 or early in 62.¹⁷ Upon his arrival he announced a new policy in regard to Armenia: annexation. No longer was an attempt to be made to put a client-king on the throne; instead, the country was to become a Roman province.

At about the same time, the envoys sent to Rome by Vologaes returned, without having had any success. Vologaes then embarked on war, and Paetus entered Armenia in response to the Parthian challenge. He attained some successes and *reduxit exercitum composuitque ad Caesarem litteras quasi confecto bello, verbis magnificis, rerum vacuas* (*Tac. Ann.* 15.8.2). Before the year 62 was ended, however, he would suffer a disastrous defeat.

The above account is derived from the information given by Tacitus in the *Annals*. Cassius Dio (62.20–21) gives a slightly different version. In Dio's account Corbulo does not send a threatening note to Vologaes at the time of the siege of Tigranocerta. Instead, Vologaes sends to Corbulo to obtain a truce. The conditions are the same as those mentioned by Tacitus, but there is no indication that the Romans also withdrew from Armenia. Dio does not have Corbulo ask for a separate commander nor is there mention of the policy of annexation. Nero sends Paetus to insure that there is no disturbance around Armenia. In this account, Paetus invades Armenia in order to come to the aid of Tigranocerta when it is attacked by the Parthians. Dio has no hint of animosity between Corbulo and Paetus.¹⁸

Dio's account of why Paetus entered Armenia seems in conflict with that of Tacitus, who has Paetus announce a policy of annexation for Armenia. Whether or not this was the true policy of the Roman government is a vexing and much debated problem,¹⁹ and

¹⁶ For the events of 61 see *Tac. Ann.* 15.1–5.

¹⁷ On the activities of Paetus discussed here, see *Tac. Ann.* 15.6–8; on the defeat that followed, *Ann.* 15.9–17. Paetus, becoming legate of Cappadocia, was replaced as consul probably at the end of June 61. His consular colleague, Petronius Turpilianus, was sent to Britain (K. Carroll, "The Date of Boudicca's Revolt," *Britannia* 10 [1979] 197–202).

¹⁸ Tacitus portrays the generals as unfriendly rivals (*Ann.* 15.3.2).

¹⁹ See the references *supra* n.15. It should be noted that in the post-Augustan period a number of client kingdoms in Asia had been annexed.

one that will not be gone into here, except to point out that both Tacitus and Dio have Paetus enter Armenia after Parthia had gone to war. Paetus in fact might have gone into Armenia whether or not Vologaeses took any action. But it is possible that the scheme of annexation was only a pretense, that Nero eventually intended to accept the Parthian Tiridates as king of Armenia, and that Paetus' appointment and announcement were merely a show prior to such a settlement. Paetus' lack of aggressiveness would support this view.

Another difficulty in the interpretation of Tacitus is the effect that Paetus' boastful letter had in Rome. At *Annals* 15.18.1, after describing the defeat and disgrace of Paetus in 62, Tacitus states: *at Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capitolini montis sistebantur, decreta ab senatu integro adhuc bello neque tum ommissa, dum adspectui consulitur sprete conscientia*. This would seem to indicate that Rome quickly learned of Paetus' defeat after his boastful letter. *Annals* 15.25.1, however, describes an event in the spring of 63: *talibus Vologaesidis litteris, quia Paetus diversa tamquam rebus integris scribebat, interrogatus centurio, qui cum legatis advenerat, quo in statu Armenia esset, omnes inde Romanos excessisse respondit*. When did Rome learn about Paetus' defeat? The second statement is so explicit that one is inclined to believe that the government in Rome did go through the winter of 62/3 believing Paetus' claim that the final victory had been achieved. But the first says that appearances were being served, and hence the impression is given that the government knew relatively early that a defeat had been suffered. The solution to the problem is probably that the government did not find out the truth until the spring of 63. The earlier passage would result from a judgement on the part of Tacitus which does not reflect the real situation in Rome at the time. Günther may well be correct in thinking that neither Paetus nor Corbulo informed Rome of the true situation.²⁰

Annals 15.18.1 also mentions arches under construction in Rome at the time—arches which had been voted earlier. Koestermann is probably correct that these are not the arches voted in 58 (*Ann.* 13.41.4), but that they belong to the time (late 61/early 62) of the announcement of the policy of annexation.²¹ They would have been voted and construction begun so as to be finished at

²⁰ A. Günther, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kriege zwischen Römern und Parthern* (Berlin 1922) 98; Gilmartin (*supra* n.15) 619 and n.71; Koestermann, *Annalen* IV 208.

²¹ Koestermann, *Annalen* IV 194. On triumphal arches for Nero represented on coins, see Kähler, *RE*² 7 (1939) 385 s.v. "Triumphbogen."

the time of the final settlement, which the government probably expected to achieve in 62 or 63.

The purpose of this review of the wars in Armenia is to show the situation there in the Attic year 61/2. It will have begun with Tigranes on the throne of Armenia, then Corbulo's truce with Vologaeses and the sending of Parthian envoys to Rome. There followed the voting of triumphal arches in Rome, Paetus' arrival in Cappadocia, and the announcement of a policy of annexation. Then came Paetus' success and his boastful letter.²² While the chronology is not precise, it is safe to say that during most of 61/2, it was generally believed that a new and active Roman policy in Armenia was succeeding.

Conclusion

We have seen that the Acropolis had a long association with victories over eastern enemies. The Parthenon is a monument to the defeat of the Persians. By Roman times, the enemy in the east was Parthia. I would propose that in 61/2 the Athenians placed another memorial of an eastern victory on the Acropolis. A new general was sent to the east with the announced purpose of annexing Armenia to the empire. The solution to a problem that had disturbed the empire for a century seemed to be at hand. The Athenians decided to add an Athenian honor to those that had been voted at Rome, voting Nero an honorary decree and a crown. This might have been a small, rather insignificant honor, but it was not. For the Athenians did not merely paint a crown on a stele under the decree and place a summary of the decree in it, but placed the summary instead on the Parthenon, thus associating it with eastern victories of the past. The meaning would not have been missed, especially by a philhellenic emperor. And they put it up in gilded-bronze letters, thus imitating the practice on Roman triumphal arches.²³

So in 61/2 the Parthenon was used to commemorate another eastern victory, won during the reign of Nero. To be sure the victory announced in 62 was not real, and Paetus did eventually suffer

²² Or the arches may rather have been voted after the receipt of Paetus' letter.

²³ The shields, I think, should be closely connected with this inscription, perhaps trophies from a battle with the Parthians. Although the inscription may well have been placed between shields already present, Nero might have had shields sent to Athens in imitation of Alexander.

a defeat. But the problem was solved the next season, without a real campaign being fought. Was it not short-sighted of Andrews to feel disgust that Nero's name appeared on the Parthenon? The Armenian problem had long vexed Rome. Victory celebrations in 61/2 were premature, but in the next year they were warranted. And it is reasonable that victory was expected in 62. The final result was in reality a compromise, but an effective one:

Thus the compromise originally proposed by Corbulo to Tiridates and on two later occasions offered by Vologaeses, only to be rejected, was finally adopted. It left to Rome merely the shadow of the power which Nero's predecessors had claimed over Armenia, but it saved Rome's prestige and at the same time it satisfied the aspirations of the Parthians. By providing at long last a solution of the Armenian problem, the new arrangement brought to the east a peace which was to endure for half a century.²⁴

Tiridates became king of Armenia. Nero was fondly regarded by this monarch, who renamed Artaxata 'Neroneia' (Cass. Dio 63.7.2). Vologaeses also respected Nero and even went so far as to ask the Roman Senate that honor be paid to the memory of Nero after the emperor's death in 68 (Suet. *Nero* 57).

Settling the problem of Armenia was no mean achievement, one that had eluded the other Julio-Claudians. The Athenians were surely justified in honoring Nero in an extraordinary way, even if their action was premature. And the Parthenon inscription, even if the enthusiasm that motivated it was ultimately repudiated, commemorates an important event in the history of the Roman Empire, by reading Nero's Parthian achievement in a peculiarly Athenian light.

²⁴ Magie (*supra* n.15) 561.

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