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C. P. JONES

## A Martyria for Apollonius of Tyana

The word μάρτυς and its cognates have a long and important history.<sup>1</sup> From «witness» in the legal sense μάρτυς evolved the meaning of «affirmer», «proclaimer», which leads directly to the Christian «martyr».<sup>2</sup> A political and official usage of this family of words, especially of μαρτυρία, is best shown by inscriptions of the principate.<sup>3</sup> An outstanding man, or rarely woman, might receive «testimony» for their merits in a number of ways. Sometimes no doubt expressions such as «of attested generosity» (μαρτυρηθεὶς ἐπὶ φιλοτιμίας) signify no more than general public approbation. Usually, however, there lies behind such a phrase a specific act, which may be as simple as a shouted acclamation or as formal as an honorific decree or the closely related testimonial letter.<sup>4</sup> A good number of such letters survives on inscriptions; they may consist of a simple letter, of a covering letter followed by the text of a decree, or of the decree itself, usually including a clause whereby the appropriate officer is instructed to convey the whole text to the honorand's city.<sup>5</sup>

The so-called Letters of Apollonius of Tyana, the main source for Apollonius after Philostratus' *Life*, contain several letters written to or about him.<sup>6</sup> One of this last

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK for his criticism.

<sup>2</sup> H. STRATHMANN in: G. KITTEL, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. and ed. GEOFFREY W. BROMILEY, 4, 1968, 476–481.

<sup>3</sup> Full bibliography in L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 13, 1965, 207 n. 5; subsequently, ROBERT, *AC* 37, 1968, 409; P. HERRMANN, *AAWW* 111, 1974, 444; G. W. BOWERSOCK, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 353.

<sup>4</sup> For acclamations as *martyriai*, POxy. 1, 1898, 41 line 18 (cited by LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES); probably an official such as the prefect is meant in POxy. 24, 1957, 2407 lines 3–4 (cf. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 13, 1965, 215). Notable epigraphic dossiers of testimonies, containing both decrees and letters, include those for Menogenes of Sardis under Augustus (W. H. BUCKLER and D. M. ROBINSON, *Sardis* 7, 1, Leyden 1932, No. 8), Junia Theodora of Lycia under Claudius (D. I. PALLAS, S. CHARITONIDIS, J. VENENCIE, *BCH* 83, 1959, 496–508, with the comments of ROBERT, *REA* 62, 1960, 324–342 (= *Opera minora selecta* II 840–858)), and especially Opramoas of Rhodiapolis under Hadrian and Pius (*TAM* II 905).

<sup>5</sup> All these forms are exemplified in the dossier of Junia Theodora (preceding n.), respectively documents No. 2 (Myra), 4 (Lycian κοινόν), and 3 (Patara).

<sup>6</sup> Recent research on Apollonius is very conveniently summarized by E. L. BOWIE in: *ANRW* 2, 16, 2, Berlin and New York 1978, 1652–1699 (on the epigram discussed by BOWIE, 1687–1688, cf. C. P. JONES, *JHS* 100, 1980, 190–194). On the letters see now the edition of

group has often been thought to be attributed to the emperor Claudius, and there has been much discussion, mostly negative, about its authenticity.<sup>7</sup> The purpose of this note is to show from inscriptions that the letter exactly follows the form of an official testimonial, and at the same time to reinforce an observation of WILAMOWITZ, that the writer is not the emperor Claudius, but some Roman citizen whose cognomen has been excised. For WILAMOWITZ it was self-evident that if the letter had no pretensions of coming from a Roman emperor, there was no reason to doubt its authenticity. I shall assume for the time being that he was right, and revert to the question of authenticity near the end of this paper.

The text and translation are as follows. Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῆ βουλῆ. Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην, Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῆ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες ἀξίας τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προΐσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὐνοίαν ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

«Claudius to the Council of the Tyaneans. Apollonius, your citizen, the Pythagorean philosopher, has made an honorable stay in Greece and benefited our young men. We have honored him with worthy honors, such as are fitting for good men who truly pursue philosophy, and we wanted our goodwill to be made clear to you by letter. Farewell.»

Tacitly disputing EDUARD MEYER's negative view of the letter,<sup>8</sup> WILAMOWITZ observed: «53 würde Fälschung sein, wenn ihn der Kaiser Claudius geschrieben haben sollte. Aber der Kaiser würde anders reden. Der hier dem Rate von Tyana davon Mitteilung macht, daß er ihrem Landsmanne für seine Verdienste um die hellenische Jugend die gebührenden Ehren gewiesen habe, kann ein römischer Beamter, kann aber auch der Obmann eines der vielen landschaftlichen κοινά sein. Der Name ist abgekürzt wie der des Prokonsuls Valerius 58. Denn das ist die Hauptsache: wir haben nur wenige vollständige Briefe, meist sind es Auszüge.»<sup>9</sup> WILAMOWITZ presumably meant that an emperor would not praise a person for his conduct in Greece rather than before himself or in Rome, and would not talk of the youth of Greece as «ours»: it is unclear whether he was disturbed by another feature of the letter, the plural of «majesty» which the emperor would have to use. The Roman emperors down to the mid-third century seem scarcely ever to have used this plural,

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ROBERT J. PENELLA, *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana*, Mnemosyne Supplement 56, Leyden 1979: there is also F. LO CASCIO, *Sulla Autenticità delle Epistole di Apollonio Tiano*, Palermo 1978.

<sup>7</sup> Ap. Ty. Ep. 53; the latest discussion is PENELLA's (previous n.) 117. For reasons that will appear, I now regret having said that the letter «purports to be from the emperor Claudius» (Plutarch and Rome, Oxford 1971, 128).

<sup>8</sup> Hermes 52, 1917, 411.

<sup>9</sup> Hermes 60, 1925, 307 = Kleine Schriften 4, Berlin 1962, 395. On the addressee of No. 58 see now the intriguing proposal of W. ECK, ZPE 30, 1978, 293–295.

and officials such as governors did not do so either.<sup>10</sup> The whole tenor of the letter, and especially the phrase, «our young men», suggest rather that the writer is speaking on behalf of a collectivity of which he is a member. Whether this is «one of the many provincial κοινά» or some other group is a question best left until the contents of the letter have been examined more closely. I take it, therefore, phrase by phrase.

Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῆ βουλῆ. It has been seen above that «Claudius» can hardly be the emperor, but is rather a Roman citizen whose cognomen (and possibly praenomen as well) has been excised. The same process of abbreviation has probably carried off his title within the collectivity he represents, and something may also have been removed after τῆ βουλῆ such as καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν (though the final ἔρρωσθε has been left in).<sup>11</sup> Τυανέων τῆ βουλῆ, however, conserves the traditional order of such salutations.<sup>12</sup> A series of testimonial letters in honor of two citizens of Aezani was carved on a wall of the temple of Zeus there.<sup>13</sup> One sent by the Athenian Areopagus is particularly rich in parallels to this letter, and begins:<sup>14</sup> Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ αὐτῆς καὶ ἀγνονοθέτης τῶν τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἀγώνων Νούμμιος Μῆνις Αἰζανειτῶν ἄρχουσι, βουλῆι, δήμῳ χαίρειν.

Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην, Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῆ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα. . . The two elements of name and citizenship followed by some descriptive phrase are frequent in honorific contexts, and are regularly followed by an explanation of the honors decreed or announced; this often begins with mention of the honorand's stay. In a decree of Samos dated to about 200 B.C., the considerations begin:<sup>15</sup> [ἐπειδὴ Ἐπικ]ράτης Δημητρίου Ἡρακλε[ώτης Περ]ιπατητικὸς πλείονα χρόνον [παρεπιδ]έδημκεν ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει [καὶ διὰ τῆς] αὐτοῦ παιδείας πολλὰ [τοῦς] νέους εὐεργέτηκεν . . . So also in a decree of Haliartus of about 100 B.C., which WILHELM restored

<sup>10</sup> On the «plural of majesty» generally, E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* 2, 1, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 42–43; E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* 2, Munich 1950, 243. On the practice of the Roman emperors, W. SCHMID, *Phil. Woch.* 43, 1923, 479; the only exception, noted by SCHMID, seems characteristically to be the letter of Nero, OGIS 475 (SMALLWOOD, *Documents of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* No. 390). Cf. C. E. VAN SICKLE, *CPh* 23, 1928, 274; W. WILLIAMS, *ZPE* 17, 1975, 38–40, showing from the use of the singular and plural in the letter of M. Aurelius to Athens (S. FOLLET, *RPh* 53, 1979, 30–33) that a previous letter referred to as «ours» must have been written by Marcus and Lucius jointly. In this tendency to avoid the plural of majesty, the emperors resemble the Attalids: cf. ROBERT, *BCH* 54, 1930, 349–350 (= *Opera minora selecta* I 168–169), WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven 1934, p. 124.

<sup>11</sup> For similar abbreviations in epigraphic copies of imperial letters, ROBERT, *RPh* 41, 1967, 46, 58.

<sup>12</sup> ROBERT, *Etudes anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 229 n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> LEBAS-WADDINGTON, Nos. 866–869 (respectively OGIS 506, 507, 505, 504).

<sup>14</sup> OGIS 505 lines 1–3.

<sup>15</sup> M. SCHEDE, *Athen. Mitt.* 44, 1919, 29 No. 14 lines 12–16 (SEG I 368). This inscription is juxtaposed with the decree of Haliartus for a Macedonian philosopher (following n.) by J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1958, 84 pp. 198–199; on the text of line 11, *Bull.* 1960, 318 p. 187.

thus:<sup>16</sup> [ἐπιδεί Κρά]τεις (e.g.) Ξενοκράτιος Μακε[δὼν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκας (e.g.) φι]λόσοφος παρεπιδαμίων [παρ' ἀμὲ ἀκροάσις (e.g.) πλιονα]ς ποιεισάμενος εὐδο[κίμεισε κῆ ἐν τῷ γυμν]ασίῳ σχολάδδων τῶς [ἐφείβως πηδεύει . . .] As these two Hellenistic examples show, in the original of the «letter of Claudius» Apollonius' patronymic must have been mentioned. Since his father was also an Apollonius,<sup>17</sup> Ἀπολλωνίου might have dropped out by parablepsis, but is more likely to have been removed by the abbreviator. In the imperial period, the letter of the Areopagus concerning M. Ulpius Eurycles follows the salutation thus:<sup>18</sup> ὁ πολίτης ὑμῶν Μ(ἄρκος) Οὐλλπιος Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ ἀξιολογώτατος ἐπεδήμησεν ἡμῶν τῆι πόλει παντὶ τούτῳ τῶι χρόνῳ ἀξίως τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀξιώματος . . . A letter of Argos of the late second or early third century concerns the sophist P. Anteiou Antiochus of Aegaeae, and is addressed to his native city in praise of his efforts on behalf of the two cities' mutual kinship. After the salutation, the text begins:<sup>19</sup> Πόπλιος Ἄντειος Ἀντίοχος, [πολί-τας ὑμέ]τερος, γενόμενος ἐν ταῖ πόλι ἀμῶν . . . To the letter is appended a decree of Argos in honor of Antiochus which exemplifies two other features of the letter of «Claudius», the adverb qualifying ἐπιδημεῖν and the conjunction of the verb with a noun in the simple dative:<sup>20</sup> [ἐπειδὴ Πόπλιος] Ἄντειος Ἀντίοχος, ἐπιδαμῆσας ἀμῶν ταῖ πόλι κοσ[μῖως καὶ φιλο]φρόνως, . . . With τοὺς νέους ὠφελήσαντα may be compared a phrase in the decree for Epicrates of Heraclea:<sup>21</sup> ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς φαινῶμε[θα το]ῦς ἀγαθοῦς καὶ ἀξιῶς ἄνδρας [καὶ δ]υναμένους ὠφελεῖν τῶν νέων [τοῦς] φιλομαθοῦντας, προεστηκότα[ς] ΤΟΥ καὶ βίου δέοντας τιμῶντες, . . . τιμῆσαντες ἀξίαις τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοῦς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προῖσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, . . . The conjunction of the ideas of «honor», «worth», and «true» or «real» merit is characteristic of testimonials and related texts.<sup>22</sup> It will suffice to cite some examples which combine two or more of these ideas. The passage just quoted from the decree for Epicrates of Heraclea has several words in common with the present letter, ἀγαθοῦς καὶ ἀξιῶς ἄνδρας, ὠφελεῖν, τῶν νέων, προεστηκότας,<sup>23</sup> τιμῶντες. The letter of Argos to Aegaeae concerning the sophist

<sup>16</sup> IG VII 2849 lines 3–7, with the restorations of A. WILHELM, AAWW 1924, 129–130 = Akademieschriften II 173–174.

<sup>17</sup> PENELLA (n. 6), 128, discussing Ep. 72.

<sup>18</sup> OGIS 505 lines 4–5. This also shares with the «letter of Claudius» the construction of ἐπιδημεῖν with the simple dative, on which see below.

<sup>19</sup> Now republished with photograph and full discussion by ROBERT, BCH 101, 1977, 120–129, lines 6–7; [πολίτας ὑμέ]τερος was independently restored by WILHELM and POLAK.

<sup>20</sup> ROBERT (previous n.), lines 17–18. On ἐπιδημεῖν with the dative, ROBERT, *ibid.* 122 n. 179.

<sup>21</sup> SCHEDE (n. 15), lines 24–28. The decree of Cnossus of about 100 B.C. for the grammaticus Dioscurides of Tarsus is extremely similar (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 721; Inscr. Cret. I, Cnosos \*12, lines 20–27).

<sup>22</sup> L. ROBERT in: *L'épigramme grecque*, Entretiens Hardt 14, Geneva 1969, 213.

<sup>23</sup> As SCHEDE notes, however, the meaning of the word in this context is unclear.

Antiochus represents the Argives as *καλὸν . . . νομίζοντες . . . τὰν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμάν*.<sup>24</sup> A sarcophagus of the late second or early third century from Aphrodisias, now conspicuously installed in front of the new Museum, contains honorific inscriptions for a husband and wife and their son.<sup>25</sup> The inscription for the father, Pereitas son of Diogenes, begins: *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν καὶ μετῆλλακχότα ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ πρεπούσαις τεμμαῖς Περεΐταν . . .* His son is honored as an *ἄνδρα ἐνάρετον, ζήσαντα ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς καὶ κοσμίως, . . . τὸν ὄντως φιλόσοφον*.<sup>26</sup> The intransitive forms of *προΐστημι* are used from the classical period down to the Byzantine in a range of meanings such as 'lead', 'champion', 'represent', 'pursue (a calling)'.<sup>27</sup> The word is frequent in the vocabulary of honors: thus a decree of Cnossus of about 100 B. C. honors a grammaticus, Dioscurides of Tarsus, and orders that a copy be set up on Delos *ὄπαι . . . φανερά ἢ ἅ εὐνοια (τὰς πόλεος, sc.) τοῖς γνησίως καὶ ἐνδόξως τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιταδουμάτων προεστακόσι*.<sup>28</sup>

. . . *τὴν εὐνοϊαν ἡμῶν ἠελέησαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανεράν ποιεῖσθαι*. The desire of a group to appear (*φαίνεσθαι*) grateful, or to make its goodwill clear (*φανερὰ*), is the regular theme of the 'hortative' formula in honorific decrees. This formula in the decree of Cnossus for Dioscurides has been quoted; in a decree roughly contemporary with this letter, the Athenians console the parents of a deceased boy of aristocratic birth *ἵνα τούτων πραττομένων φαίνεται φανερά πᾶσιν ἡ Ἀθηναίων γνώμη καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ ἐνλείπουσα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἐνδόξους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀνδρῶν*.<sup>29</sup> Expressions such as *φανεράν ποιεῖσθαι* or *καθιστάναι* occur in many periods and in many contexts.<sup>30</sup> In letters, the desire to 'make clear' the sender's motive is naturally, though not necessarily, conveyed in the closing words.<sup>31</sup> The Areopagus ends its testimonial for Ulpius Eurycles thus:<sup>32</sup> *καὶ αὐ-*

<sup>24</sup> ROBERT (n. 19), lines 14–15.

<sup>25</sup> TH. REINACH, REG 19, 1906, 137–139 No. 70; MAMA 8, 499, with Plate 20.

<sup>26</sup> REINACH (previous n.), (a) lines 1–4, (b) lines 3–7, 15–16. On *ἀληθῶς* and *ὄντως* see ROBERT, Hellenica 11/12, Paris 1960, 550–552, citing this inscription, and also ROBERT (n. 22), 213–214.

<sup>27</sup> Stephanus s. v. *προΐσταμαι*; LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES s. v. *προΐστημι* B II; LAMPE, Patristic Greek Lexicon s. v. *προΐστημι*, esp. B 4, B 6 c. A selection of epigraphical instances in OGIS, Index VIII, s. v. *προΐστημι*. For the verb combined with *τῶν συμφερόντων*, M. HOLLEAUX, Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques I 146; with *τῆς ἀρχῆς*, J. and L. ROBERT, La Carie No. 7 lines 8–9; with reference to games, ROBERT, AE 1969, 53.

<sup>28</sup> Syll.<sup>3</sup> 721 (above, n. 21) lines 39–42.

<sup>29</sup> IG IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 84 lines 41–43 (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 796 B). According to W. PEEK, Abhandlungen Leipzig 60, 2, 1969, page 29, «In Z. 41 steht φαίνεται deutlich auf dem Stein; A. WILHELM hatte γίνηται gefordert»: but I cannot find this proposal in the article cited, WILHELM, ADAW 1939, 21 = Akademieschriften II 7–14.

<sup>30</sup> For a series of examples with *καθιστάναι*, HOLLEAUX (n. 27), Etudes III 94.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the formula, frequent in papyrus letters, *γέγραφα οὖν σοὶ ὅπως ἂν εἰδῆς*: H. KOSKENNIEMI, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr., Helsinki 1956, 78–79.

<sup>32</sup> OGIS 505 lines 12–14.

τὰ ταῦτα δίκαιον ἡγήσάμεθα μαρτυρῆσαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τῆς τε κοσμιότητος εἵνεκεν καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς περὶ παιδείαν φιλοτιμίας.

The letter of Claudius is therefore a <testimony>, and every phrase in it can be exemplified from documents of the Hellenistic and imperial periods. That does not necessarily make it authentic, since a forger could have been familiar with the ingredients necessary for its concoction. The signs of abbreviation are more suggestive, though an abbreviator might have been taken in by a forged original. The best argument in favor of the document's genuineness is perhaps its very banality. There is almost nothing in it that might not have been written by many cities about many philosophers.<sup>33</sup>

There is a good chance, therefore, that the letter is authentic, and if so it deserves the attempt to give it an approximate context. Despite its banality, it is not entirely devoid of clues. There are enough, as has already been seen, to eliminate a Roman emperor as the author, and also WILAMOWITZ's suggestion of a «Roman official». WILAMOWITZ's other proposal, the head of one of the many provincial κοινά, is more plausible, but it is at once too broad and too narrow. The word Ἑλλάς is often used in literature to refer to the Greek-speaking lands generally,<sup>34</sup> and Ἕλληνας regularly designates the Greek as opposed to the other elements of the population in the east, especially when applied to the κοινά.<sup>35</sup> In a public document, however, Ἑλλάς should indicate <Greece>, more or less the Roman province of Achaea: that is what is meant, for example, when authors and inscriptions refer to «Italy, Hellas, Asia».<sup>36</sup> WILAMOWITZ's suggestion might then be narrowed down to one of the several regional κοινά of Greece, acting singly or rather in concert as «Panhellenes».<sup>37</sup> But since all the other testimonies in honor of cultured men such as philosophers appear to emanate from cities, it is natural to think of a city here, and above all the one which claimed to be the Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς, Athens.<sup>38</sup> A recently published inscription from Labraunda near Mylasa shows the Areopagus, Council and People honoring the grammaticus Ti. Claudius Anteros with an inscription set up in this sanctuary of his native city. Among his other merits, Anteros' local histories had

<sup>33</sup> In this it contrasts with the suspiciously <Laconic> letter of the Spartans, Ep. 62, on which PENELLA (above, n. 6) is rightly cautious; on the constitutional situation, A. S. BRADFORD, *Chiron* 10, 1980, 424–425. Note that in both letters Apollonius is called «Pythagorean»; for a defence of this description, BOWIE (n. 6), 1691–1692.

<sup>34</sup> Many references in LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES s.v. I 6; in imperial writers, Dio Chrys. 31. 157, 159, 160, Aristid. 19. 1.

<sup>35</sup> E. KORNEMANN, *RE Suppl.* 4, 1924, 934–935.

<sup>36</sup> ROBERT (n. 22), 262–263.

<sup>37</sup> On the regional κοινά of Achaea, J. DEININGER, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, *Vestigia* 6, Munich 1965, 88–91; for their activity as a single body, J. H. OLIVER, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 185–188.

<sup>38</sup> Anth. Pal. 7. 45. 3, attributed to Thucydides; the commentators refer to Athen. 5. 187 D. This cultural preeminence of the city was institutionalized with Hadrian's foundation of the Panhellenion there; see now L. ROBERT, *A travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, 412.

«promoted the advantages of his ancestral city so as to make them more glorious in the very midst of the Greeks (εἰς μέσους τοὺς Ἑλληνας).»<sup>39</sup> Philostratus gives a full account of a visit of Apollonius to Athens in the reign of Nero, with many details of his teaching and his beneficial effect on the young.<sup>40</sup> This visit also had its tensions: Apollonius quarrelled with the hierophant of the Eleusinian mysteries, and sharply criticized the Athenians' conduct of the Dionysia.<sup>41</sup> If they are indeed the authors of this letter, they ought rather to have sent it after one of Apollonius' later visits, when his relations with them appear to have improved.<sup>42</sup> Other cities are also possible. The use of standard Greek probably excludes Sparta, which would otherwise be a tempting candidate. According to Philostratus, not long after his troubled stay in Athens Apollonius visited Sparta with such success that he was regarded as the «father of the young men» (πατήρ τῶν νέων);<sup>43</sup> in one of the letters, he writes to the Spartans, «you often summon me to help your laws and your young men, but the city of Solon does not summon me».<sup>44</sup> It is natural, however, that a visiting philosopher would be supposed chiefly to have influenced the young, and Apollonius must have received such accolades at many places other than Sparta.

The «letter of Claudius» therefore fits into the context of testimonies sent by cities of old Greece to those of the Greek diaspora. It also takes its place in the history of Cappadocian Hellenization. Situated on the great road leading from Ancyra to Tarsus, from Byzantium to Antioch, Tyana could not fail to share in a cultural process which was to culminate in the Cappadocian Fathers of the fourth century.<sup>45</sup> This is already observable in the third century B. C., when the names of the chief cities,

<sup>39</sup> J. CRAMPA, *Labraunda: The Greek Inscriptions II*, Stockholm 1972, No. 66; a full discussion and almost complete text are given by J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull.* 1973, 414. With the unusual expression, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστ[α] ψηφίσματα, «the decrees from every quarter» (lines 16–17), may be compared a phrase in the contemporary Opramoas dossier, ταῖς παρ' ἑκάστα . . . δεδομέναις τιμαῖς, referring to cities of the Lycian league (TAM II, 3, 905 VIII lines 101–102). The claim that Anteros has made the glories of Mylasa ἐνδοξότερα (line 25) is perhaps to be connected both with the general desire of Hellenized cities to enter «le cercle des Hellènes» (J. and L. ROBERT, *ibid.*), and with the activity of the Panhellenion in Athens (preceding n.). For ἐνδοξος as a claim of cities, ROBERT, *HSPH* 81, 1977, 17 n. 76. For a grammaticus from Bithynion-Claudiopolis who «gained a great name for his skill» in Athens and then «won glory for the city of Byzas», PEEK, *GVI* I 1479; ROBERT in: N. FIRATLI, *Les Stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine*, Paris 1964, 160; *id.* (n. 38) 104.

<sup>40</sup> Philostr. *V. A.* 4. 17–22, esp. 17, 19, 20.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 4. 18 (hierophant), 21–22 (Dionysia).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 5. 19, 8. 23.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 4. 31–33. On the conferment of such titles by acclamation, cf. C. P. JONES, *Phoenix* 32, 1978, 223–224.

<sup>44</sup> *Ep. Apoll.* 64. Other letters concerning Sparta are Nos. 42 A, 62 (on which see above, n. 33), 63.

<sup>45</sup> L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, 490–497. On Cappadocia under the principate there is now R. TEJA, *ANRW* 7, 2, Berlin and New York 1980, 1083–1124.



among them Tyana, appear in Greek on local coins.<sup>46</sup> A Greek inscription from the reign of Ariarathes VI (ca. 130–112) shows that the city already had a flourishing gymnasium, a sure sign of Hellenism.<sup>47</sup> About the time of Apollonius' birth, the Delphians honored the rhetor Artemidorus of Mazaca for «contributing to the progress of education and learning» among them: it is ordered that a copy of the decree be sent to Mazaca.<sup>48</sup> Tyana would not have lagged behind Mazaca, and if as a precocious student Apollonius was sent to Tarsus to receive his higher education, it does not follow that his fellow-citizens were «backwoodsmen».<sup>49</sup> Though he was the most prominent of those who carried its fame abroad, there must have been many others: one was Aurelius Athenaeus, a highly successful rhetor of the second century who became a citizen of Ephesos and acquired links with a great house of Thyatira.<sup>50</sup>

If the letter is authentic, there is no point in speculating at length how it might have entered the collection, whether it was transcribed from a manuscript copy kept by Apollonius or in the archives of Athens or Tyana,<sup>51</sup> or from an inscription. The letters of Apollonius are a heterogeneous jumble, of which some are glaring fakes and others may well be genuine. Of the latter, a considerable sub-group consists of personal letters sent by Apollonius to members of his family and to friends at Tyana. One is addressed by him to the Council and People of the city, and in this he claims to have brought to Tyana «the goodwill and friendship of distinguished cities».<sup>52</sup> For someone in antiquity collecting the letters of Apollonius, Tyana was an obvious place to look.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> ROBERT, (preceding n.), 484–485, referring to K. REGLING, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* 42, 1932, 1–23. Cf. B. SIMONETTA, *The Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings*, Fribourg 1977, 17, 19–20.

<sup>47</sup> Text and discussion in ROBERT, (n. 45), 492–494. Cf. also W. RUGE, *RE* 7 A, 1948, 1639–1640.

<sup>48</sup> Fouilles de Delphes III 4, No. 59, on which ROBERT (n. 45), 491.

<sup>49</sup> Philostr. *VA* 1. 3, 1. 7: the expression is BOWIE's (n. 6), 1687. It will not easily be believed that Apollonius' family descended from Roman immigrants, with TEJA (n. 45), 1114.

<sup>50</sup> For the external prosopography of Tyana, RUGE (n. 47), 1640, 2560 (additions by ROBERT). Aurelius Athenaeus was added by Ch. HABICHT, *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1961, 223, citing *Forsch. Ephesos* III no. 57, IV 1, no. 14. There is a chance that these refer to two related homonyms, but the Aurelius Athenaeus of III no. 57 is clearly the same as a namesake known from coins and inscriptions of Thyatira, on whom see J. KEIL and A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien*, *DAWW* 54, 2, 1911, 26–27 No. 50 (*IGR* IV 1233), cf. M. ROSSNER, *StudClas* 16, 1974, 117.

<sup>51</sup> The archives of Tyana were in the temple of Astarte: ROBERT, *RPh* 13, 1939, 210–211 (*Opera minora* II 1363–1364).

<sup>52</sup> Family and friends: Nos. 35, 44–46, 48–49, 55, 72, 73. Council and People: No. 47.

<sup>53</sup> Note the emperor Hadrian's collection of letters of Apollonius, Philostr. *VA* 8. 20, and also that according to the *Souda* (A 3421) there was another philosopher called Apollonius from Tyana in his reign. He has been thought a doublet of his namesake (see the cautious discussion of PENELLA [n. 2], 1 n. 2): but the *Souda* expressly cites as its authority the work Περὶ Ὀμωνύμων of a certain «Agresphon» (surely an Agreophon, as proposed by BECHTEL).