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CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

Messene in the last years of Augustus

In 1 BCE, Gaius Caesar, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus, left Rome for the East, invested with consular *imperium* and with a broad mandate for settling the affairs of the East (*ad res Orientis componendas*). In the following year, now consul, he met the young and ambitious king of Parthia, Phraates V, on an island in the Euphrates, and reached a diplomatic settlement whereby the king agreed to accept a Roman vassal on the throne of Armenia. In the same year he began to campaign in Armenia, and continued until September of 3, when he was wounded while besieging the fortress of Artagira on the Araxes; after his troops had taken Artagira, he and Augustus received the title of *imperator*, Gaius perhaps for the second time. In the following February he died on his return journey to Rome in the Lycian city of Limyra.¹

Gaius reported his successes to the emperor and the senate, where his letters were read out by his younger brother, Lucius, until he too was dispatched by his adoptive father to Spain and died at Massilia in 2 CE.² From Rome their contents must have been relayed to the provinces, perhaps by imperial edict. An inscription of Messene published by ANASTASIOS ORLANDOS in 1965 is a decree (δόγμα)³ of the highest administrative body of the city, the σύνεδροι, and shows that a certain P. Cornelius Scipio,⁴ as *quaestor pro praetore* of the province, led the city's festivities to celebrate the news of Gaius' escape from danger and his retaliation against Rome's enemies; in

I have used the following special abbreviations: Bull. ép. = J. and L. ROBERT, Bulletin épigraphique in REG; EJ² = V. EHRENBERG – A. H. M. JONES, eds., Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, ²1955; LSJ = H. G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT – H. S. JONES, eds., A Greek-English Lexicon, ⁹1996; SWAN, Augustan Succession = P. M. SWAN, The Augustan Succession, 2004; WILHELM, Urkunden = A. WILHELM, Urkunden aus Messene, JÖAI 17, 1914, 1–120 (Abhandlungen und Beiträge I = Kleine Schriften IV 467–586). As always, I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK for his advice, and for the comments of the readers for Chiron and to the editors.

¹ The fullest account is in Cassius Dio 55, 10, 18–21, 10a, 4–9, with Fr. HURLET, Les Collègues du Prince sous Auguste et Tibère, 1997, 127–141 and SWAN, Augustan Succession 125–134, with chronological table, 127; for the sources, PIR I 216 (Gaius), P 394 (Phraates V [Phraataces]), T 205 (Tigranes III).

² Cassius Dio 55, 10a, 9, with SWAN, Augustan Succession 134.

³ I have used the usual translation of δόγμα as «decree», though «resolution» would be more precise.

⁴ On Scipio see PIR S 93 and below: ORLANDOS' inscription revealed that he was the Scipio honored in two Athenian inscriptions (IG II/III 3120–3121), not the consul of 16 BCE.

addition, he directed the citizens to celebrate annually the day of Gaius' designation as consul in 5 BCE. If the mention of an escape from danger refers to the siege and capture of Artagira, and if that is correctly dated to the latter half of 3, the terminus post quem is late 3 or early 4, allowing for some months in the winter season for the news to reach Messene, though some have favored a date as early as 1 CE.⁵ The terminus ante quem is affected by the question whether the city would have had the decree inscribed after hearing of Gaius' death, which occurred on 21st February, 4. The safest estimate is the winter of 3 to 4, or the early spring of 4. I will refer to this inscription as A.

Two Messenian inscriptions, carved on separate stelai, have been recently published by PETROS THEMELIS, and these add new and valuable information about Scipio's measures at Messene. I will refer to these as B and C, and I will propose that B contains the end of the decree of the σύνεδροι in A, and below that an almost complete decree, also in honor of Scipio, passed jointly by the Messenians and the resident Romans, while C, of which very little can be read, contains the end of a decree passed by Messene jointly with Megalopolis, also in Scipio's honor. As presented by THEMELIS in this first publication, the texts of B and C demand correction in several places, and call for a fresh discussion. I take first inscription A before taking up B and C, and for all three I provide a text, apparatus (only for B and C), translation, and comments on particular points. At the end I discuss some general issues.⁶

Inscription A

A. ORLANDOS, PAAH 116, 1960 (1964), 215–217; id., AEph 104, 1965 (1967), 110–115 with Pl. 41 (SEG 23, 206; Ann. ép. 1967, 458; Bull. ép. 1966, 201). Measurements: 0.505 m (height), 0.50 m (width), 0.125 m (thickness).

Γραμματέως συνέδρων Φιλοξενίδα τοῦ ἐπὶ Θεοδώ[ρου(?)]

Δόγμα

Ἐπεὶ Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκειπίων ὁ ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράταγος ἀνυ-
 4 περβλήτω χρώμενος εὐνοία τᾶ εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐ-
 τοῦ πάντα, μίαν τε μεγίσταν καὶ τιμιωτάταν εὐχὰν πεποημένως,
 εἰς ἅπαν ἀβλαβῆ τοῦτον φυλάσσεσθαι, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἑαυτοῦ
 ἐπιδείκνυται ἔργων, ἐτέλεσε μὲν τὰ Καισάρεια μηδὲν μῆτε δαπάνας
 8 μῆτε φιλοτιμίας ἐνλείπων μηδὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ τᾶν διὰ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θυσιᾶν
 εὐχαριστίας ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἅμα καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν κατὰ τὰν ἐπαρχίαν πό-

⁵ ORLANDOS favored 2 or 3, assuming that «dangers» referred to Gaius' wounding at Artagira, but the siege of Artagira probably belongs to late 3, cf. SWAN, Augustan Succession 131 f.

⁶ Since ORLANDOS provided Inscription A with a full commentary, I shall only comment on it where relevant material has appeared since 1964. The basic discussion remains that of J. E. G. ZETZEL, GRBS 11, 1970, 259–266, to which add M. KANTIREA, *Les Dieux et les Dieux Augustes. Le Culte impérial en Grèce sous les Julio-claudiens et les Flaviens*, 2007, 162 f., with text, 208.

λεων σὺν ἑαυτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν κατασκευασάμενος· ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ καὶ Γαῖον
 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀνθρώπων πάντων σωτηρίας τοῖς βαρβάροις μα-
 12 χόμενον ὑγιαίνειν τε καὶ κινδύνους ἐκφυγόντα ἀντιτετιμωρῆσθαι τοὺς πολε-
 μίους, ὑπερχαρῆς ὢν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις ἀγγελίαις, στεφαναφορεῖν τε πάντοις δι-
 ἔταξε καὶ θύειν, ἀπράγμονας ὄντας καὶ ἀταράχους, αὐτὸς τε βουθυτῶν περὶ
 16 τὰς Γαίου σωτηρίας καὶ θεαῖς ἐπεδαψιλεύσατο ποικίλαις ὡς ἔριν μὲν γείνε-
 σθαι τὰ γενόμενα τῶν γεγονότων, τὸ δὲ σεμνὸν αὐτοῦ δι' ἴσου φυλαχθῆμεν, ἐφιλο-
 τιμήθη δὲ καὶ διαλιπὼν ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀμερᾶν ἀμέρας δύο τὰν ἀρχὰν τῶν
 ὑπὲρ Γαίου θυσιᾶν ποιήσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμέρας ἐν ᾗ τὸ πρῶτον ἕπατος ἀπεδεί-
 χθη· διετάξατο δὲ ἀμῖν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτὸν τὰν ἀμέραν ταύταν μετὰ
 20 θυσιᾶν καὶ στεφαναφορίας διάγειν ὅσοις δυνάμεθα ἰλαρώτατα καὶ 4–5 τατα·
 ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις πρὸ δέκα πέντε καλανδῶν -----

«When Philoxenidas was secretary of the synhedroi in the year of Theodoros (?), a decree:

Whereas Publius Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, exhibiting (4) unsurpassed goodwill towards Augustus and his whole house, and having made one most great and most honorific prayer, that it be preserved for ever, as is shown by every one of his deeds, has performed the Caesarea without making any omission of cost (8) or munificence or gratitude to the gods concerning the sacrifices for Augustus, and simultaneously inducing most of the cities in the province to do the same together with himself; and learning that Gaius the son of Augustus, who was fighting (12) the barbarians for the safety of all mankind, was in good health and after escaping danger had taken vengeance on the enemy, (Scipio) being overjoyed at the excellent news directed everyone to wear crowns and to sacrifice, free from business and disturbance, and he himself while sacrificing an ox on behalf of Gaius' safety also spent freely on spectacles of various kinds, so that what was done rivaled (16) what had been done, but its (?) solemnity remained equal; and he strove, by also leaving an interval of two days from the days of Caesar, to begin the sacrifices for Gaius on the day on which he was first designated consul; and he instructed us to observe this day annually with (20) sacrifices and the wearing of crowns as joyously and ... as we could:

It was decided by the council on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of ...»⁷

5 Scipio's «prayer» (εὐχή) appears to be personal, perhaps inferred by the Messenians from his activity, not a formal vow which he conducted together with the subject provincials, such as is known from the letters of the Younger Pliny.⁸

6 ORLANDOS rightly takes τοῦτον to refer back to the nearer noun οἶκον, LSJ οὗτος C I.

⁷ ZETZEL's translation (n. 6), with several changes.

⁸ P. HERRMANN, *Der römische Kaisereid*, 1968, 114f.

8 This part of the decree refers to plural «sacrifices for Augustus», whereas in B, the dispositive part of the same decree, it refers in the singular to «the sacrifice that we make every year for (Augustus)» (B 17); the difference is perhaps that here it refers to a series of sacrifices, while below it refers to the sacrifice on a specific day.

13–14 στεφαναφορεῖν ... καὶ θύειν ἀπράγμονας ὄντας καὶ ἀταράχους. Both for Greeks and for Romans, crowns were both a regular accompaniment of sacrifice and general symbols of joy. The second decree of Teos celebrating the generosity of Antiochos III and Laodice III (203?) orders στεφαναφορεῖν πάντας ... παύεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας πάσας; so also the decree of Antioch by Pyramus concerning the consecration of an altar (second century BCE) orders ἐχεχειρίαν καὶ στεφαναφορίαν καὶ ἔργων καὶ δεσμῶν ἀφεῖσθαι πάντας. Decrees of Chios and elsewhere order that schoolboys be excused from their lessons and slaves be let off from their work.⁹

15–16 ὡς ἔριπν ... τῶν γεγονότων. Following a suggestion of L. ROBERT, ORLANDOS takes this to mean that Scipio's newest benefactions rivaled his past ones.

16 τὸ δὲ σεμνὸν αὐτοῦ δι' ἴσου φυλαχθήμεν. LSJ cite only the technical writers Archimedes and Pappus for δι' ἴσου as opposed to the more frequent ἐξ ἴσου. It is not clear what the referent of αὐτοῦ is, and αὐτῶν might have been expected.

19–20 For decrees declaring a day holy, and requiring it to be celebrated with special festivity, L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 2, 1946, 59f.; subsequently published ones include the decree of Antioch by Pyramus mentioned above. A decree of Sardis makes the day of the news of Gaius' taking the *toga virilis* a holy day: I.Sardis 8, 1–24 (EJ² 99); a fragmentary decree of Samos also appears to concern the celebration of Gaius' entry into public life, IG XII 6, 7.

20 ὅσον would be expected rather than ὅσοις, cf. LSJ s.v. ὅσος I 7, IV 4.

21 The σύνεδροι were the chief administrative body of Messene, and inscriptions of the city show them enacting decrees without reference to the people (δᾶμος).¹⁰ The use of the Roman calendar is striking, and perhaps reflects the influence of Rome on the city's institutions.

⁹ Crowns: E. EGGER – E. FOURNIER, in DAREMBERG-SAGLIO I 2, 1525 (sacrifice), 1527–1529 (joy); M. BLECH, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, 1982, 303, 364. Teos: SEG 41, 1003 II 26–27 (J. MA, Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor, 1999, Epigraphical Dossier 18). Antioch by Pyramus: SEG 12, 511, 12–14 (L. ROBERT, CRAI 1951, 256–258; TH. SOKOLOWSKI, ed., *Lois sacrées d'Asie mineure*, 1955, 81, 13–15). Chios: L. ROBERT, OMS I 489 (BCH 1933).

¹⁰ N. DESHOURS, ZPE 150, 2004, 136–139.

Inscription B

P. THEMELIS, PAAH 168, 2013 (2015), 71–75 (no photograph;¹¹ SEG 63, 289; Bull. ép. 2016, 209), giving the measurements as 1.25 m (maximum height), 0.75 m (width), 0.145 m (0.0145 THEMELIS *per errorem*). The count of letters in the fully-preserved lines 36 to 39 is 93, 96, 90, 84, and if they are representative a range of 85 to 95 should be correct. I have shortened THEMELIS' restoration of line 15, which would amount to 100 letters.

1–4 only few letters visible

5 λου κα[-----]

ψατο δὲ κα[ι ----- Γάϊον τὸν υἱὸν]

τοῦ Σεβαστ[οῦ -----]

8 κινδύνους ἐ[κφυγόντα -----]

στεφαναφορ[εῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ θύειν ----- ἀκα-]

ΤΑΣΤΑΤΟΥ σωτή[ρος ----- τῶν γε-]

γονότων, τὸ δὲ σεμνό[τατον ---- πάντες οἱ τὰν πόλιν κατοι-]

12 κοῦντες Ἑλλανές τε καὶ [Ῥωμαῖοι -----]

ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ ἀποδέχεσθαι Πό[πλιον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ταμίαν καὶ

ἀντιστράταγον, ----- ἀναθέμεν δὲ]

αὐτοῦ γραπτὰν ἰκόνα ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῦ[σῳ *ca.* 15 καὶ ἐπιγράψαι· «ἀ πόλις

καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ κατοι-]

κοῦντες Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τα[μίαν καὶ ἀντιστράταγον, τὸν αὐτᾶς

σωτήρα, ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐεργε-]

16 σίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτάν», στεφαναφουρ[εῖν δὲ τὰν ἰκόνα κα[τ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα (?)

καθὼς καὶ τὰν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μετὰ τὰν]

θυσίαν ἂν ἄγομες κατ' ἔτος αὐτῷ, στεφαναφορε[ῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ θύειν θεοῖς

ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας αὐτοῦ κα-]

θῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τᾶς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

vacat

vacat

Ἐπεὶ Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ὁ ταμίης καὶ ἀντιστράταγος ΠΑ[]

20 νῦν δὲ πάντοίς ἔγνωσται μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀπειράτου τᾶν εὐεργεσι[ᾶν ...

τὰν εὖνοι-]

αν (e.g.) αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἀπάσας προκρίνοντες

[.....]

σφροσύνας ἔτι καὶ πρὸ τᾶς δικαιοδοσίας, καὶ θαυμάσαντες ἐπεὶ οἶα οὐκ

ἔ[τερα (?) --- δικαι-]

οσύνας καὶ ἰσότατος μετὰ τὰν ἀνυπέβλητον αὐτοῦ δικαιοδοσίαν, ἂν

ὑπερθέσθαι[ι -----]

¹¹ Prof. THEMELIS informs me that the inscribed surface of the stele is badly worn and that he has no usable photograph.

- 24 ἀγὼν πρόκειται· οὔτε γὰρ δῶροις τις ἰσχυσαί οὔτε χάριτι οὔτε ἀξιώματι
 δυνατὸς [ἦν -----]
 καὶ ὡς μόνο<ς> ἐξητάσθη ΤΑΔΕ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἢ διαταγμάτων ἢ ὑπογραφῶν
 κριτηρίων οὐκ [-----]
 τὰ δὲ ἀκωλύτως τοῖς δεομένοις ἐξυπηρετούμενα ἐπιμέλειαν τε πάντων
 κριτηρίων καὶ Ε[-----]
 ἐποίησατο, μηδὲν αὐτὸς σχεδιάζεσθαι περὶ τὰς ἄλλων βλάβας ἐπιτρέπων·
 ἐκμεμαρτύρηται (δέ?) -----]
- 28 ΤΑΝ ὑπὸ το<ῦ> πλήθους ταῖς πολλάκις εὐφαιμίαις τε καὶ προπομπαῖς εὐνοίαν
 τε καὶ ἐπαίνους [*ca.* 18]
 ΑΣΤΑΙ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἀνάγκαι μαρτυρεῖν {ΜΙ} μόνος ἐκάστ<ω>ν
 παρασκευασάμε[νος *ca.* 15]
 ΤΕΣ εὐεργεσίας· ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς τὰν πόλιν κατοικοῦντοῖς Ἑλλάνοις τε
 καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξε διαφόρως [*ca.* 17]
 ΝΑΝ αὐτὸν τιμᾶσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄρξε διαφερόντως, καὶ ἀνδριάντα μὲν ἰκονικὸν
 αὐτοῦ στᾶσαι παρὰ τῷ Σεβασ[τῷ καὶ ἐπιγρά-]
- 32 ψαι, «ἀ πόλις Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράταγον, τὸν
 αὐτὰς σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργ[έταν]· ἀνα-]
 θέμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γραπτὰν ἰκόνα ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῦσωι πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ
 ἐπιγράψαι, «ἀ πόλις καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ [ἐν αὐταῖ]
 κατοικοῦντες {Κ} Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράταγον,
 τὸν αὐτὰς σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέταν»· κα[λεῖν δὲ]
 αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ εἰς προεδρίαν ὅταν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργέτας
 τὰς πόλεος, καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ ἡμέραν ἀμέραν αὐ[τοῦ].]
- 36 καὶ γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα τελεῖν κατ' ἔτος καὶ ἵππικὸν μετὰ τὰν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 ἀμέραν ἂν ἄγομες κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ
 προτέρῳ δόγματι ἐψάφισται, καὶ θυσιάζεσθαι ταῖς ἀμέραι ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ
 ἀνδριάντος αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγνωσθέτα[ι],
 ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβείαν ἐπὶ τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ εἰς Περύσιον τὰν
 δηλώσουσαν τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἂν πεποιθῆται ἐν ταῖς πόλει
 ἀμῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄλλαν πρεσβείαν καταστᾶσαι ἐπὶ Ὀκταῖον Ῥοῦφον τὸν
 ἀνθύπατον ἐκμαρτυρήσουσαν τὴν σωφροσύναν
- 40 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰν ἀρίστην δικαιοδοσίαν. *vac.* πρεσβευταὶ κατεστάθεν ὃ εἰς
 μὲν Ῥώμαν καὶ Περύσιον ὃ Ἀρχέδαμος Ἰπάρ-
 χου, ὃ ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν στραταγὸν οἱ ἄρχοντες πάντες καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν
 συνέδρων καὶ οἱ δεκάπρωτοι. *vacat*

6 κα[ί] J.: κα[τὰ] ΤΗ.; at end of line, [Γαῖον τὸν υἱὸν] added by J. || 8 ἐ[κφυγόντα] J.: ἐ[κφυγόντας] ΤΗ., presumably understanding the citizens or some larger unit as the referent. || 10 ΤΑΣΤΑΤΟΥ J.: (9–10) [ἀκα]ταστάτου ΤΗ. || 14 ἐπιχρῦ[σῳι *ca.* 15] J.: ἐπιχρῦ[σῳι πρὸ τοῦ βήματος] ΤΗ. || 15 [σωτήρα] J.: [σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέταν] ΤΗ. || 16–17 κατ' ἐ[νιαυτὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα (?)] καθὼς καὶ τὰν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μετὰ τὰν | θυσίαν J.: κατ' ἐ[νιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγνωσθέτου ----- καί] | θυσίαν ΤΗ. || 20–21 [τὰν εὐνοί]αν (e.g.), J.: [-----]ΑΝ ΤΗ. || 22 οὐκ ἔ[τερα (?)] J.: οὐκ

ἐ[ΤΗ. || 23 ἄν ὑπερθέσθα[ι] J.: ἀνυπερθέσθα[ι] ΤΗ. || 24 ἀγῶν πρόκειται J.: ἀγῶν προκρίται ΤΗ.; τις ἰσχυῶσαι J.: τισὶ <ι>σχυῶσαι; ΤΗ. [ἦν] added by J. || 25 μόνο<ς> J.: μόνον ΤΗ.; ΤΑΔΕ J.: τάδε ΤΗ. || 29 ἐκάστ<ω>ν J.: ἕκαστον ΤΗ. || 31–32 [ἐπιγρά]ψαι V. BARDANI in SEG: [ἀναγρά]ψαι ΤΗ. || 34 κα[λεῖν] J.: κα[λεῖσθαι] ΤΗ. || 35 αὐ[τοῦ] J.: αὐ[τοῦ] ΤΗ. || 39 Ὀκτάϊον J.: Ὀκ. Γάϊον ΤΗ. || 41 στραταγόν SEG: στρατηγόν ΤΗ.

(1–6) unintelligible

(6–7) «[... Gaius the son] of Augustus ...

(8) [having escaped] dangers ... to wear crowns ... of the savior ... that have occurred, but the most solemn ... [all] the Greeks and Romans (12) residing [in the city] ... to praise and approve P. [Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, ... and to set up] a painted portrait of him on a gilt shield [... and to inscribe it: <The city and the Romans] residing in it (honored) P. [Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, its savior and benefactor, because of his virtue and good] (16) service to it, and [for the high-priest (?)] to crown the portrait [every year as (he does) that of Augustus, after the] sacrifice that we observe for him annually, and [for all] to wear crowns and to sacrifice to the gods for his wellbeing as (we) also (do) for Augustus.

Whereas P. Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, ... (20) and (he) has now been recognized by all, since no human being lacks experience of his benefactions, ... all approving his ... and judging more valuable than any freedom ... of moderation even before his tenure of office, and admiring (him), since equal to none (?) ... of justice and equity, after his unsurpassable administration of justice, to surpass which ... (24) a contest is set up; for no one (was) able to prevail by gifts or favor or status ... and when he alone (?) was proved ... of the letters or decrees or approval of (decisions taken by?) courts and ... he made, not himself allowing anything to be done negligently (?) in respect to damages to others, was attested ... and other services to petitioners without impediment, and ... oversight of all courts and ... (28) by the common people through (their) frequent acclamations and giving of escort in procession and praises ... (he) alone among everyone has been proved (?) before all mankind not to have suborned ... to bear witness ... benefactions; for which reason it was resolved by the Greeks and Romans residing in the city to honor him exceptionally [... for his] ..., since indeed he governed superlatively, and to set up his portrait statue next to Augustus, and to inscribe (it), (32) <The city (honored) P. Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, its savior and benefactor>, and to set up also a painted portrait on a gilded shield before the tribunal and to inscribe it, <The city and the Romans residing in it (honored) P. Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, its savior and benefactor>, and to invite him and his descendants to a seat of honor when (it invites) the other benefactors of the city also, and to observe a day named in his honor (36) and to institute a gymnastic and equestrian contest every year after the day of Augustus which we observe every year, as indeed was voted in the prior decree, and that a sacrifice be made on this day before his statue every year by the agonothete, and to send also a delegation

to Augustus and to Perusia (?) that will report on the behavior that he exhibited in our city, and similarly to appoint another delegation to the proconsul Octavius Rufus to attest to his moderation (40) and his excellent tenure of office. The delegates appointed to Rome and Perusia (?) were: Archedamos the son of Hipparchos, and to the governor: all the magistrates, the secretary of the σύνεδροι, and the δεκάπρωτοι.»

7–8 The sense, if not the precise wording, follows from the equivalent passage in A 10–14, so that, provided that the syntax here was similar, the lines can tentatively be restored as follows (I have underlined the points of overlap): [ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ καὶ Γάϊον τὸν υἱὸν] τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ... ὑγιαίνειν τε καὶ κινδύνους ἐ[κφυγόντα ...] στεφαναφορεῖν [τε πάντοις διέταξε καὶ θύειν ...].

9–10 THEMELIS' [ἀκα]ταστάτου would mean «unstable», «disorderly», «irregular». The ΤΟΥ is presumably τοῦ, but it is difficult to guess what precedes.

14 γραπτὰν ἰκόνα ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῶ[σῳ]. On such portraits, here one painted on a shield with a gold background, Bull. ép. 1976, 581, citing I.Lindos 420, ἰκόνα ἐνκαύσταν ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῶσῳ. This must be a different portrait from that mentioned in B 33–34, and was presumably set up in a different place, which is lost in the lacuna.

16–17 THEMELIS' restoration is borrowed from the similar clause in B 36, but θουσιάζεσθαι there is an impersonal passive, «that there be a sacrifice», whereas here the active infinitive στεφανοῦν calls for a noun in the singular as agent of the crowning. Moreover, that crown was to be placed on Scipio's statue (ἄγαλμα) at the contest held in his honor, whereas this one (if the present restoration is correct) is to be placed on the «painted portrait» mentioned in B 14 and on the «day of Augustus». The official who is to perform the ceremony may be the city's high-priest of the imperial cult (ἀρχιερεὺς), though he might be the secretary (γραμματεὺς) of the σύνεδροι.

21 For this sense of πᾶς, «any», LSJ s.v. A III 2. Despite the exaggeration usual in praises of governors and other administrators, the claim that all valued Scipio's administration «above any freedom» may have a bearing on the historical context of these decrees.

22 δικαιοδοσία here has a meaning first attested in Augustan authors, «administration of justice». LSJ cite Strabo (13, 1, 55, C. 610) on Metrodoros of Scepsis ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς δικαιοδοσίας by Mithradates Eupator, and Diodorus Siculus (37, 8, 1–4), who praises a governor of Sicily named L. Asullius τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐπακριβούμενος, «scrupulously carrying out the administration of justice».¹²

οἷα οὐκ ἔ[τερα (?)]: for this idiom, cf. LSJ s.v. ἕτερος II «with neg(ative)», citing Thuc. 1, 23, 1, (παθήματα) οἷα οὐκ ἕτερα; 7, 70, 2, (ναυμαχία) οἷα οὐκ ἕτερα. For a possible supplement of the following lacuna, below, p. 37.

23 THEMELIS' resolution of ΑΝΥΠΕΡΘΕΣΘΑΙ as ἀνυπερθέσθαι would require assuming a hapax legomenon, which can easily be avoided by taking ΑΝ to be the

¹² On this man, arguing for the name Asullius rather than the usually accepted Asellio, A. DÍAZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Latomus* 76, 2017, 961–973.

relative pronoun ἄν, introducing a clause that ends with ἀγὼν πρόκειται in the next line. The hortative clauses of decrees frequently state their intention of inciting others to similar acts of benefaction, and the notion that a benefactor has provided an «example» (παράδειγμα, ὑπόδειγμα) for future ones is widespread, especially in the imperial period.¹³ The more grandiose claim that a governor has surpassed all others is an item in Menander Rhetor's stock supply for the «address of praise» (λόγος προσφωνητικός), and recurs in the Calendar Decree of Asia, which honors Augustus for «not only having surpassed (benefactors) before him, but having left no hope of comparison among future ones either» (οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας ὑπερβαλόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἐλπίδα τῆς συγκρίσεως ἀπολιπῶν (I.Priene² 14 [Lesetext], 38–39).

24 ΠΡΟΚΡΙΤΑΙ is an easy misreading of ΠΡΟΚΕΙΤΑΙ. With ἀγὼν πρόκειται cf. LSJ s.v. πρόκειμαι 3, citing Hdt. 9, 60, 1, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου (speech of the Spartan Pausanias). In the same line, for ἰσχύειν, «prevail», sometimes in a bad sense, LSJ s.v. 2 a.

25 This is the first of several difficult lines in this part of the decree, and only tentative suggestions are possible.

ὡς μόνον ἐξητάσθη, «when he was only proved», is strange (for this sense of ἐξετάζω, LSJ s.v. IV, «prove by scrutiny or test»), and I have assumed a mason's or editor's error for μόνος, «when he alone ...», cf. line 29, μόνος ἐκάστων παρασκευασάμενος, I.Priene² 69, 60–61, μόνος μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ... πάνδημον εὐωχίαν ἐπετελέσατο, I.Priene² 70, 17–18, τὸ τῶν νέων ἀποκατέστησεν ... σύστημα μόνος καὶ πρῶτ[ο]ς. The ΤΑΔΕ following ἐξητάσθη as well as the same group at the beginning of 26 could represent τάδε or τὰ δέ. The following phrase τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἢ διαταγμάτων ἢ ὑπογραφῶν κριτηρίων implies that as *quaestor* Scipio was empowered to issue his own decrees and letters, and if ὑπογραφή has its frequent sense of «endorsement», «approval», also implies that he was empowered to «approve courts», since here as in the next line this appears to be the meaning of κριτήρια (LSJ s.v. 2).

26 ἀκωλύτως τοῖς δεομένοις ἐξυπηρετούμενα: ἀκωλύτως usually means «without hindrance» to the agent of the verb, but here must mean that those making requests of Scipio met no hindrance, «without impediment, freely». I find this unusual sense only in two inscriptions of Stratonikeia, in both cases combined with a form of πάς: 192, ἐγυμνιάρχησαν πάσῃ τῇ πανηγύρι νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἀκωλύτως (I.Stratonikeia 202, 26–29); ἀποδόντες δὲ κα[ὶ τὰ] δίπνα καὶ τοῖς βουλευθεῖσ[ιν πᾶ]σιν θύσαντες ἀκωλύτως, θέντες [δὲ τὸ ἔλαι]ον ἀκωλύτως πάσ[ῃ] τύχῃ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ] (I.Stratonikeia 244, 15–17, 22–23).¹⁴

ἐξυπηρετέω, «perform as a service», another rare word, appears again in a third-century inscription of Andros, [πά]σας [ἀρχάς τ]ε καὶ λιτουργίας ἐκ[τ]ενῶς τῇ πατρίδι ἐξυπηρετησάμενο[ς] (IG XII 7, 406, 6–7). Since Scipio is the subject of almost all the

¹³ Thus Aristocles at Messene ca. 90 BCE, IG V 1432, 25–26, ὑπόδειγμα τιθείς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν; many further examples in L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 13, 1965, 226f.

¹⁴ Plausibly restored also in I.Stratonikeia 124, 7.

clauses in lines 21–30, the nominative ἐξυπηρετούμενος (middle) might have been expected here rather than the neuter plural.

ἐπιμέλειαν πάντων κριτηρίων: compare the official title of the ἀρχιδικαστής in Egypt, πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων.¹⁵

27 if ἐποίησατο governs ἐπιμέλειαν (LSJ s.v. ποιέω, A II 5), the clause probably ends at ἐπιτρέπων, with a new one beginning at ἐκμεμαρτύρηται or ἐκμεμαρτυρήμενος].

σχεδιάζεσθαι: σχεδιάζειν is usually intransitive, «act negligently», «improvise», and is apparently unexampled in the middle voice and very rare in the passive (LSJ s.v.). Here therefore the sense seems to be «not himself allowing anything to be done negligently», the implication of which is obscured by the loss of the context.

περὶ τὰς ἄλλων βλάβας: ΤΗΜΕΛΙΣ takes ΒΛΑΒΑΣ to be a genitive singular, but the accusative plural seems easier, «as to legal damages (LSJ s.v. 2) to others».

28 the initial ΤΑΝ cannot be the article governing εὔνοϊαν, since εὔνοϊαν τε καὶ ἐπαίνους clearly form an independent unit, but the syntax of the line seems impossible to determine.

29 ΑΣΤΑΙ perhaps represents [ἐξήτ]ασται (cf. ἐξητάσθη, 25). The following words, οὐκ ἀνάγκαι μαρτυρεῖν μόνος ἕκαστον παρασκευασάμενος, would mean, «alone not having suborned (LSJ παρασκευάζω B I 2) each one to give witness», but I have assumed a misreading of omicron for omega, ἐκάστων, «alone of all»; for ἕκαστοι meaning «all without exception», LSJ s.v. ἕκαστος II 1.

The isolated mu iota is perhaps a false start for μόνος; the isolated kappa in 34 may similarly be due to the mason's eye anticipating Κορνήλιον.

30 ὅθεν ... ἔδοξε: decrees normally pass straight from the considerations, introduced by ἐπεὶ or ἐπειδή, to the main clause, though sometimes δι' ὃ is used to mark the transition. I have not found another use of ὅθεν having this function, and it is perhaps another sign of affected style. Another is the unusual placing of the datives τοῖς ... Ἕλληνοῖς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις before ἔδοξε rather than after it.

30–31 The syllable -ναν preceding αὐτὸν τιμᾶσαι probably represents an abstract noun such as δικαιοσύναν or σωφροσύναν, but the syntax is uncertain.

31 The combination ἀνδριάντα ἰκονικόν is found also in Cyzicos (IGR IV 144, 10), Stratonikeia (I.Stratonikeia 289, 11), and Cadyanda (TAM II 671, 14–15); ἀγάλματι εἰκονικῶ, restored in I.Pergamon 256, 7, should be ἀνδριάντι εἰκονικῶ.

παρὰ τῷ Σεβασ[τῶι]: inscriptions referring to the erection of statues distinguish between παρὰ with the accusative and dative, the first meaning «near», «close to», the second «next to» (LSJ παρὰ C I 2, B II 2); a more explicit instance occurs in

¹⁵ For this title of the ἀρχιδικαστής, e.g. P.Oxy III 268, 1; 281, 1–4; for his functions, A. CALABI, *Aegyptus* 32, 1952, 406–424.

the first decree of Teos for Antiochos and Laodice, παραστήσαι τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διονύσου ἀγάλματα μαρμάρινα ... τοῦ τε βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης ὅπως ... ναοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετέχοντες τῷ Διονύσῳ, κτλ. At Messene this must mean «next to (the statue of) Augustus» in the local Sebasteion. Since ἀνδριάς implies a statue not intended to receive cult, the Messenians were not joining a cult of Scipio to their cult of Augustus.¹⁶

32 The lacuna in lines 32 and 33 contained 7 letters, and that in line 35 contained 3, so that I have substituted κα[λείν δέ] for THEMELIS' κα[λείσθαι δέ].

36 The variation between κατ' ἔτος and κατ' ἐνιαυτόν with no difference of meaning is striking. WILHELM showed that ἔτος means the time-length of a year however calculated, ἐνιαυτός a conventional or calendar year, though the distinction is not always observed. Here the variation must be stylistic.¹⁷

38 and **40** The place-name Περούσιον is mysterious. THEMELIS identifies it with Perusia, but the Greek form of the name is Περούσια or Περυσία (L. BANTI, RE 19, 1937, 1068). It is conceivable that the redactor of the decree, faced with an unfamiliar name, assimilated it to the better-known Pelusium (Πηλούσιον) in Egypt, and that the Scipiones had some connection with Perusia as land-owners or *patroni*. Scipio's son Cornelius Orestinus owned land at Telesia in Campania (CIL IX 2219 = ILS 5987).

39 THEMELIS' Ὀκ. Γάϊον must be a misreading of ΟΚΤΑΙΟΝ, i.e. Ὀκτάϊον (Octavius). For the spelling Ὀκτάϊος, IG II² 2020, 43, 2050, 73, 2051, 28, etc., with L. THREATTE, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, 1980, I 446. The proconsul Octavius Rufus is otherwise unknown, but the name recalls the Cn. Octavius Rufus who, according to Suetonius, was the first of the Octavii of Velitrae to be elected to public office at Rome, and who founded one branch of Augustus' own family; the coincidence of names is probably fortuitous.¹⁸

41 In 39 the second embassy was directed to go to «Octavius Rufus, the proconsul» (τὸν ἀνθύπατον), whereas here Octavius is referred to simply as «the governor» (τὸν στραταγόν), an informal use of στρατηγός «acceptable in inscriptions until the time of Augustus, in the literary texts until the early second century A.D.».¹⁹

The magistrates (ἄρχοντες) in Messene formed a separate body from the σύνεδροι, and the secretary despite his title was in fact the president.²⁰ By contrast with these,

¹⁶ For the different senses of παρά, L. ROBERT, *Études Anatoliennes*, 1937, 299; P. GAUTHIER, JS 1980, 42–45. Teos: SEG 41, 1004 I 44–49 (MA [n. 9], Epigraphical Dossier 17). For ἀνδριάς in a similar context to the present one, D. FISHWICK, *Latomus* 51, 1992, 329–336.

¹⁷ A. WILHELM, *Akademischeschriften II = Kleine Schriften II* 9–22 (SBAWW 1900).

¹⁸ Cn. Octavius Rufus and his descendants: Suet. Aug. 2, cf. F. MÜNZER, RE 17, 1937, 1853f. Another Octavius Rufus is a decurion of Pisae in the decree according posthumous honors to L. Caesar, I.Ital. VII 1, 6, 3 (CIL XI 1420 = ILS 139, EJ² 139).

¹⁹ H. J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, 1974, 158.

²⁰ DESHOURS (n. 10) 128 (the secretary, «un personnage de premier plan dans la cité»), 129f. (the ἄρχοντες).

the reference to δεκάπρωτοι is unexpected for several reasons. It is natural to think of the δεκάπρωτοι who are known above all from Asia Minor in the second and third centuries, and who are associated in particular with the collection of taxes. If such an institution were meant here, it would be by far the earliest example from any province.²¹ THEMELIS invokes the Ten elected annually to supervise the conduct of the mysteries at Andania, a dependency of Messene, but these are an ad hoc group not unlike the ten Hellenodikai of Olympia.²² Here they seem to be a group of especially prominent citizens employed to give extra weight to the embassy, and distinct from the σύνεδροι. They are perhaps the ten most senior members of the γερουσία, which DESHOURS has identified as a body consisting of ex-σύνεδροι, «les membres d'une espèce d'ordo». If that is right, they would resemble the *decemprimi* of Italian *municipia*, the ten senior members of the local council, another sign of the Roman coloring of the Messenian constitution.²³

Inscription C

THEMELIS, PAAH 168, 2013 (2015), 75–77 (SEG 63, 290) gives the measurements as 0.595 m (maximum height), 0.64 m (width), 0.125 m (thickness). He prints only the last four legible lines:

[----- «ἀ (τῶν Μεσσανίων καὶ Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν?)]
 12 συντέλεια καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς Ῥωμα[ῖοι καὶ Ἑλ]λανες Πόπλιον Κορν[ήλιον Σκι-]
 πίωνα ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράταγ[ον, τὸν αὐτῶν] εὐεργέταν· π[ρεσβευ]τα[ῖ]
 κατεστάθεν Κράτων Ἀρχεδάμο[υ, *praenomen gentilicium* -----]ος, Γάϊος
 Μάρκιος [.....]ας,
 ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως Δίων Δίωνος. *Vacat*

11–12 [ἀ ...] συντέλεια J.: συντελεία TH. || 13 [αὐτῶν] J: [αὐτᾶς] TH.

«... the district (of the Messenians and Megalopolitans?) and the Romans and Greeks among them (honored) P. Cornelius Scipio, *quaestor pro praetore*, [their] benefactor.» The delegates appointed were Craton son of Archidamos, [---]us, C. Marcus [---]a, (and) from Megalopolis Dion son of Dion.»

11–13 The lines are the end of an intended inscription, as in B 32 and 33–34, and I have therefore inserted quotation marks.

²¹ For a full study see now CHR. SAMITZ, *Chiron* 43, 2013, 1–61.

²² IG V 1, 1390, 116–179.

²³ Gerousia: DESHOURS (n. 10) 141–143. On the *decemprimi*, E. DE RUGGIERO, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* II 2, 1910, 1473f.

11–12 συντέλεια has several senses, but one that occurs in reference to the Peloponnese is defined by LSJ (s. v. II 3) as a «union of communities grouped together or united to a larger state», though the word can also denote a particular subdistrict in such a union. In Polybius (5, 94, 1), Aratus takes part in the Achaean assembly, leaving the mercenaries under a «substrategus of the district of Patrae» (τῆς συντελείας τῆς Πατρικῆς). In Plutarch (Flam. 22, 5), Philopoemen's anger causes him to «deprive his native city of its surrounding district» (τὴν περιοικίδα συντέλειαν). In Pausanias (7, 15, 2), probably following Plutarch's Life of Aratus, Mummius orders the Achaeans «to release the Spartans and other cities from the union» (ἀφιέναι ... συντελείας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πόλεις ἄλλας), where again the Achaean League is meant. Which of the two senses is uppermost here is less clear, but since the intended embassy contained only a Megalopolitan apart from the named Messenians, the word seems to imply a restricted area.

14 For Craton son of Archedamos, see Appendix. C. Marcius - - - a (or -as) presumably takes his name from C. Marcius Censorinus, who served as praetorian legate under M. Agrippa in the eastern provinces ca. 12 BCE.²⁴

The interrelation of A, B and C and their date

Inscriptions A, B and C all have Scipio as their subject, A and B being closely related, whereas C is the end of a joint decree of Messene and Megalopolis. A guide to the connection between A and B is provided by one of the most famous of Messenian inscriptions. This, honoring a local benefactor named Aristocles for his activity in connection with an 8% tax (ὀκτώβολος εἰσφορά) imposed by Rome, was the subject of a classic discussion, almost a monograph, of ADOLF WILHELM.²⁵ The first line of this is written in larger letters than the rest, and the text is uncertain, but the last word was either δόγ[μα] or δόγ[ματα].²⁶ Next follow two decrees honoring Aristocles, the secretary of the σύνεδροι. The first, introduced by the honorand himself, states in the considerations (2–14) that the councilors and the governor have already granted him a «bronze portrait», probably a shield-portrait and not a statue, and other honors (11); the decree (14–21), voted by the σύνεδροι alone and with no mention of the people, has three provisions, (a) that Aristocles be praised for his services, (b) that the honors to him shall be «unique» (καταμόνους, 16: i. e., that no one shall ever receive similar

²⁴ G. W. BOWERSOCK, HSCP 68, 1964, 207–210; PIR M 222; the Messenian's *cognomen* might be Agrippa.

²⁵ WILHELM, Urkunden, showing that IG V 1, 1432 and 1433 were part of the same inscription; for recent bibliography, SEG 58, 375 and 61, 297.

²⁶ KOLBE in IG proposed ἐπὶ Ἀγάθου [(*patris nomen*)]ς ἐκ τοῦ δόγμ[ατος], while WILHELM, Urkunden 4 = 470, proposed ἐπὶ Ἀγάθου [ιερέως μηνός]ς ἐκ[το]υ, δόγ[ματα]. The heading of inscription A, Γραμματέως συνέδρων Φιλοξενίδα τοῦ ἐπὶ Θεοδώ[ρου(?)] δόγμα might suggest a reading closer to KOLBE's. On the use of larger letters for emphasis, WILHELM, Urkunden 13–15 = 479–481.

ones),²⁷ and (c) that the cost of setting up the portrait shall be paid from public funds. After a space, the second decree begins without a date, presumably because it follows closely in time on the first (22–44). Here the considerations contain a long rehearsal of Aristocles' services and his previous honors, which include several portraits (35); they then resume the honors contained in the decree of the σύνεδροι, and continue: «and since all declared unanimously that for all the above reasons Aristocles should be given worthy honors, all the citizens were eager (ἐπηνέχθησαν)²⁸ that he should be given the honor of a statue and two painted portraits» (καὶ ἐμφανιζόντων πάντων ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὅτι δεῖ δοθῆμεν Ἀριστοκλεῖ διὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα πάντα τὰς καταξίους τιμὰς, οἱ πολῖται πάντες ἐπηνέχθησαν δοθῆμεν αὐτῷ τιμὰν ἀνδριάντα καὶ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς δύο, 37–40).

The present inscription A similarly begins with a heading in larger letters, using the singular δόγμα to describe the content. There follow the considerations (3–20) and the beginning of the resolution, which is ascribed only to the σύνεδροι and is dated in Roman style. The first twelve lines of B are too fragmentary to make connected sense, though part of the content overlapped with A; unless the dispositive part of the decree was very short, it seems likely that it began well before the surviving lines B 1–18.

That inference receives some support from the lower decree, which refers to a «prior decree» that it is natural to take to be the one inscribed immediately above. Moreover, the second decree refers to several measures taken in Scipio's honor as part of the prior decree, of which at least one was the contest to be held «after the day of Augustus». None of these measures is mentioned in the surviving part of the upper decree. The obvious conclusion is that the upper decree of B is the end of the decree of the σύνεδροι of A, which breaks off just where the dispositions begin. In other words, like the inscription for Aristocles, in its full form the present document contained a decree of the σύνεδροι followed by one voted by the whole citizen body, with the difference that the citizens are joined by the resident Romans. ORLANDOS' description implies that his decree was on a complete block, so that any continuation would have been on a different one, and that might explain the different dimensions of the two: THEMELIS' inscription is wider (0.75 as opposed to 0.50 m), and slightly thicker (0.145 as opposed to 0.125 m). THEMELIS does not give the letter-height of his text, whereas in ORLANDOS' text it is 0.014 m.

An observation of WILHELM about the two resolutions for Aristocles may be relevant. «Erecting a statue (ἀνδριάς) signifies a greater distinction than erecting εἰκόνας, and it can be assumed that the general citizenry of the Messenians had proposed this greater distinction after the proposal of the σύνεδροι, aimed at erecting a χαλκῆ εἰκών,

²⁷ Cf. WILHELM, *Urkunden* 43 = 509.

²⁸ On this sense of ἐπιφέρεισθαι, WILHELM, *Urkunden* 24 = 490; LSJ s.v. ἐπιφέρω III a, cite Polybius 29, 24, 5, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιφερομένων πάλιν βοηθεῖν, and translate «being eager» (W. R. PATON's translation in the Loeb, «inclining», is too weak).

had been laid before it.»²⁹ *Mutatis mutandis*, it may be suggested that something similar happened here. To the honors already proposed by the σύνεδροι, the citizens and Romans added that of a sacrifice in his honor to be made by the agonothete, and embassies to be sent to the proconsul and to Perusia (?).

Both decrees use only the aorist to describe Scipio's actions as quaestor, though since the Greek aorist can have the function of a perfect, that need not imply that his term of office is over. That it is over might be implied by a phrase in the second decree, «after his unsurpassable administration of justice» (B 23), and also by the fact that this decree does not mention Gaius. But to put the second decree in the next proconsular year would bring the unwelcome consequence that it was separated by several months from the first (assuming that the decree of the σύνεδροι was passed in late 3 or early 4, and that the next proconsular year began not earlier than the summer of 4);³⁰ moreover, the proconsul Octavius Rufus would be, not the governor under whom Scipio served, but his successor. The difficulties can be overcome by supposing that the expression «after his administration of justice» anticipates a future situation, as does the following phrase, «to surpass which ... a contest has been set up». This would require a supplement in B 22–23 such as ἐπεὶ οἶα οὐκ ἔ[τερα παρεσκεύασεν ὑποδείγματα δικαιοσύνας καὶ ἰσότητος μετὰ τὰν ἀνυπέμβλητον αὐτοῦ δικαιοδοσίαν, «since he has provided examples equal to none of justice and equity after his unsurpassable administration of justice», cf. the first decree for Aristocles, IG V 1432, 25–26, ὑπόδειγμα τιθείς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν περὶ τοῦ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως ἄρχειν.

The three decrees of A, B and C all have Scipio as their main subject, and all must have formed part of a display of documents set up in his honor. Similar displays in honor of local benefactors are known from several cities of Greece and Asia Minor. One such is from Messene itself, the series of decrees recording honors for the sculptor Damophon in the late third or early second century BCE; another is for Diodoros Paspáros of Pergamon, of which the latest is of 69 BCE; another is for Menogenes of Sardis late in the reign of Augustus, close in date to the present one.³¹ But there seems no parallel for such a «document display» in honor of a Roman magistrate, let alone for a provincial quaestor. A partial parallel comes from the series of texts concerning the reform of the Asian calendar in 10/9 BCE. The initiator of the reform, which

²⁹ WILHELM, *Urkunden* 29 = 495: «Jedenfalls bedeutet die Aufstellung eines Standbildes (ἀνδριάς) eine größere Auszeichnung als die von εἰκόνες, und es wird anzunehmen sein, daß diese größere Auszeichnung die gesamte Bürgerschaft der Messenier (...) für Aristokles gefordert hat, als ihr der auf Aufstellung einer χαλκῆ εἰκῶν abzielende Antrag der Synhedroi unterbreitet worden war.»

³⁰ On the normal date for the beginning of the proconsular year, TH. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II, 255f.; since new proconsuls were «lingering in Rome and elsewhere in Italy», Tiberius in 15 ordered that they must leave by June 1st (Cassius Dio 57, 14, 5).

³¹ Damophon: M. SÈVE, *Ktéma* 33, 2008, 124–127, nos. 1–7 (SEG 58, 368), with previous bibliography. Diodoros Paspáros: IGR IV 292–294. Menogenes: I.Sardis 7 (IGR IV 1756 = EJ² 99, parts I, II, and VII only).

caused the first day of the year to coincide with Augustus' birthday, was Paullus Fabius Maximus, proconsul of Asia in 10/9. Like Scipio, Fabius belonged to a storied patrician family, and the texts are concerned both to honor him and to detail his reforms.³²

Language and style

Though the first decree of B grants Scipio honors not far below those of a member of the imperial house, its language has the formulaic style of honorific decrees like those for Menogenes of Sardis. In the second decree, by contrast, there is a visible straining for a higher style, perhaps like that meant by Strabo when he says that Metrodorus of Scepsis «used a certain novel form of expression and dazzled many» (ἐχρήσατο φράσεώς τινη χαρακτήρι καινῷ καὶ κατεπλήξατο πολλούς, 13, 1, 55, C. 610). A similarly affected style appears in decrees referring to Augustus himself, such as the «Calendar decree» of Asia, but also in decrees of ordinary citizens, such as the elaborately-worded decree of Mantinea for Epigone late in the reign of Augustus.³³

How much historical fact lies behind the praise bestowed on Scipio in this second decree is difficult to assess. The instructions given by Menander Rhetor for the «speech of address» (προσφωνητικός λόγος) show how customary it had become to praise a governor for being a «savior of the race», or to compare him with Demosthenes and Nestor for his oratory, to Aristides and Phocion for his justice, and so on. Menander's advice on the subject of justice sounds very much like this second decree: «Under justice, you should include humanity to his subjects, gentleness of character and approachability, integrity and incorruptibility in matters of justice, freedom from partiality and from prejudice in giving judicial decisions, equal treatment of rich and poor ... He is not unjust, not irascible, not inaccessible, not judging by favoritism, not a taker of bribes», οὐ χάριτι κρίνων, οὐ δωροδέκτης (Menander 416, 5–15, p. 166 RUSSELL – WILSON, with their translation); cf. B 24, οὔτε γὰρ δώροις τις ἰσχύσαι οὔτε χάριτι οὔτε ἀξιώματι δυνατὸς ἦν. Menander's advice about framing a comparison (σύγκρισις) similarly resembles the language of «contest» in B 23–24: «After the virtues proceed to the comparison ... For example: «There have often been good and excellent governors, some in Asia, some in Europe; they are to be praised and lack nothing that constitutes virtue. But none is better than you. You have surpassed them all» (417, 5–7, p. 168 RUSSELL – WILSON).

By Menander's day in the later third century, such praises may have become trite, but in earlier times they may have been really earned by their recipients, and genuinely

³² For the series of texts on the reform of the Asian calendar (previously OGIS 458 = EJ² 98), U. LAFFI, SCO 16, 1967, 5–98; new fragments from Ionian Metropolis, SEG 56, 1233; complete text, I.Priene² 14. For Fabius, his closeness to Augustus, and his unusual honors in the province, E. MEYER-ZWIFFELHOFFER, Πολιτικῶς ἄρχειν, 2002, 194–196.

³³ IG V 2, 268, 29–30 (Syll.³ 783), with WILAMOWITZ's fine discussion of the «Asian» style, *Lese Früchte* 60, *Kleine Schriften IV*, 1962, 114–119 (*Hermes* 35, 1900).

felt by their authors. A digression in Diodorus Siculus, now preserved only in the Constantinian excerpts, is instructive, and reads not unlike Inscription B. Diodorus' stated motive for the digression is that «evil men may be diverted from their tendency to wickedness by the denunciations of history, and the good may strive to aspire to virtuous practices by the praise that results from eternal glory» (37, 4). One of his examples is Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia, while another is a governor of his own province of Sicily, L. Asullius.³⁴ This man «found the province ruined, but restored the island by means of excellent policies ... Aspiring to (turn) the administration of justice towards what was advantageous, he banished false accusation from the market place and took the greatest care to help the weak. Whereas other governors had customarily given guardians for orphans and women without kinsmen, he appointed himself as their caretaker, and by his own consideration and care he investigated disputes in such matters, and gave proper assistance to all those who were oppressed by the more powerful. In general, by spending the whole period of his office in redressing private and public injustices, he restored the island to the prosperity for which it had been previously blessed» (κατέλαβε τὴν ἐπαρχίαν διεφθαρμένην, ἀνεκτήσατο δὲ τὴν νῆσον χρῆσάμενος τοῖς καλλίστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ... (κατορθοῦν e.g.) τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν πρὸς τὰ συμφέροντα φιλοτιμηθεὶς, τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐφυγάδευσε, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων βοήθειας ἐποιήσατο φροντίδα. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων στρατηγῶν εἰωθότων διδόναι προστάτας τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐρήμοις συγγενῶν, οὗτος ἑαυτὸν τούτων ἀνέδειξε φροντιστὴν· διὰ τε τῆς ἰδίας σκέψεως καὶ φροντίδος διακρίνων τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀμφισβητήσεις ἀπένειμε τὴν πρέπουσαν τοῖς καταδυναστευομένοις ἐπικουρίαν, καθόλου δὲ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διατελέσας εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων, ἀποκατέστησε τὴν νῆσον εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποτὲ μακαριζομένην εὐδαιμονίαν, 37, 8, 1–4; WALTON's translation with changes).

P. Cornelius Scipio, quaestor pro praetore

R. SYME proposed that the father of Cornelius Scipio the quaestor was P. Cornelius Scipio, consul in 16 BCE, and that another son of the consul was the Cornelius Scipio who was punished for adultery with the Elder Julia in 2 BCE. SYME further proposed that the father of the consul of 16 was P. Cornelius, consul suffect in 35, and that this man was the second husband of Scribonia (Caesaris), who after two earlier marriages became the first wife of C. Octavius, the future Augustus. Scribonia being the grandmother of Gaius Caesar, these identifications would make the quaestor his first cousin.³⁵

³⁴ On this person and his unusual *nomen*, Asullius, see above, n. 12.

³⁵ For the difficult questions surrounding «the last Scipiones», R. SYME, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, 1986, ch. XVIII, with Stemma XX; see further PIR S p. 93 on the quaestor, and p. 107f. on the father of the consul of 16, noting that the consul of 35 is now known to have had the cognomen Dolabella (Ann. ép. 1991, 894).

If SYME's reconstruction is correct, the fall of the quaestor's brother did not hinder his own advancement. An inscription discovered in the Vatican and published in 1994 has illuminated his later career, showing that after his quaestorship he was tribune, praetor, proconsul of an unknown province, and legate of Augustus and Tiberius in Germany. His son, P. Cornelius Scipio Orestinus, honored together with him in an adjoining inscription, was the father of Cornelia Orestina, the wife of Caligula.³⁶

Under the principate, every senatorial province had a proconsul assisted by a single quaestor, except that the proconsul of Sicily had two. The provincial quaestor's full designation was *quaestor pro praetore*, though *pro praetore* (ἀντιστράτηγος) is often omitted in literature and in documents. Little is known about their powers, except that a passage of Gaius shows that they had the same authority as the aediles at Rome to adjudicate market transactions.³⁷ Broader powers are implied by the praise that the Younger Pliny heaps on a quaestor who reformed the finances of a city of Asia. Citing this case in his Panegyric of Trajan, Pliny expressed a wish that every provincial governor would adduce «not only the recommendations of his friends and the support on his behalf he has coaxed out of city factions, but also the decrees of the colonies and the decrees of the cities» (*non tantum codicillos amicorum nec urbana coniuratione eblanditas preces, sed decreta coloniarum decreta civitatum adleget*, Paneg. 70, 9; RADICE's translation, slightly altered).³⁸ But Scipio's powers seem unusually wide; if I have correctly interpreted lines B 25–27, he issued epistles and decrees, he had «oversight of all courts», and he received honors that put him on a level only slightly lower than the emperor. The question therefore arises whether his position was anomalous, perhaps because he had a special mandate to deal with the political situation in Achaëa (see below p. 42).

Like the unnamed quaestor praised by Pliny, Scipio had not compelled anyone to testify (μαρτυρεῖν) on his behalf (B 29). This is relevant both to a general question of Roman provincial government and Augustus' dynastic policy in the last years of the reign. In 11 CE, according to Cassius Dio (56, 25, 6), «he issued a further announcement to the subjects, in which he forbade them to bestow any honor on a person appointed to govern them either during his term of office or within sixty days after his departure, because by arranging beforehand for testimonials and speeches of praise from them (their subjects, i. e.), they had used these things to commit many crimes» (τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν

³⁶ Vatican inscriptions: M. CASTELLI, MEFRA 104, 1992, 177–208 (Ann. ép. 1992, 186); IG VI 8, 3, 41050 (G. ALFÖLDY), with full discussion and bibliography.

³⁷ Provincial quaestors: TH. MOMMSEN, Römisches Staatsrecht II 1, 246, 258f.; G. WESENER, RE 24, 1963, 816f.; R. SCHULZ, Herrschaft und Regierung. Roms Regiment in den Provinzen in der Zeit der Republik, 1997, 174–179, especially 175 on their judicial competence. Jurisdiction of aediles also enjoyed by provincial quaestors: Gaius, Inst. 1, 6, *item in edictis aedilium curulium, quorum iurisdictionem in provinciis populi Romani quaestores habent*.

³⁸ For the possible identification of this quaestor with Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus (cf. Pliny, Ep. 8, 24, 8), E. GROAG, JÖAI 21/22, 1922–1924, Beibl. 435–445; PIR Q 25.

τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι σφας τιμῆν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίαν παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι [cf. p. 28, B 29] πολλὰ δι' αὐτῶν ἐκακούργησαν, CARY's translation, with slight changes). As P. M. SWAN has observed, «Augustus is less likely to be reaffirming a new regulation than reaffirming an existing one ... [His] aim was to deter delinquent governors from using honors voted to them by their communities or provincial assemblies to baffle charges of maladministration.»³⁹ The senate's reluctance to hear charges brought against its own members is implied by the decree for Epigone of Mantinea. Praising her late husband Euphrosynos, this says that, «acting as envoy for the city, he was welcome also to the most sacred senate, not bringing a charge against proconsuls but praise» (πρεσβεύσας ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν προσηνῆς ἐγένετο καὶ τῇ θειοτάτῃ συνκλήτῳ, μὴ κομιζῶν κατηγορίαν ἀνθυπάτων ἀλλ' ἔπαινον).⁴⁰

Scipio is one of three *quaestores pro praetore* now known from Messene. The quaestor M. Caesius Gallus, active in the first century CE, repaired extensive damage to the city's Asclepieion and Kaisareion by means of a subscription raised among the local residents. A statue-base published in 2009 shows the Roman *negotiatores* honoring the quaestor Sex. Sotidius Libuscidianus Strabo, who later served as *curator alvei Tiberis* in the first years of Tiberius and as legate of Galatia about the year 20. The abundant evidence for quaestors in Messene, when set against their rarity elsewhere in the province, led R. HAENSCH to propose that this was their official place of residence, and that they had a special responsibility for the Peloponnese. That would help to explain «most of the cities of the province» in A 9.⁴¹

The honors granted to Scipio

The honors granted to Scipio are both formal and informal. The informal honors include acclamations (εὐφαμίαι) and escorts (προπομπαί, 28). Acclamations imply shouts of approval from crowds assembled in regular or spontaneous meetings; those for Scipio are probably shouts at meetings of the ἐκκλησία.⁴² The plural προπομπαί implies an honorific procession accorded to Scipio several times over. This is presumably a procession of greeting (ἀπάντησις) such as is known from many texts, and

³⁹ SWAN, Augustan Succession 281. On charges of maladministration in this period, P. BRUNT, Roman Imperial Themes, 1990, 53–95 and addenda 487–506, especially 81 f. (Historia 10, 1961, 189–227 revised).

⁴⁰ IG V 2, 268, 29–30 (above, n. 33).

⁴¹ Caesius Gallus: IG V 1, 1462; E. GROAG, Die Römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian, 1939, 115; PIR C 196. Sotidius Strabo: PIR S 790; P. THEMELIS, PAAH 164, 2009 (2012), 76–78 with plate 54b (SEG 59, 415, where by a slip he is called quaestor of Galatia). Messene as residence of quaestors: R. HAENSCH, Capita Provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit, 1997, 326 f.

⁴² The *locus classicus* is Acts 19, 28–34, on which L. ROBERT, OMS V 782 f. (CRAI 1982); further, CH. ROUECHÉ, JRS 74, 1984, 181–188; MEYER-ZWIFFELHOFFER (n. 32) 98–100.

suggests that the city regularly «escorted» Scipio on his arrival from elsewhere, and that Messene was his place of residence.⁴³

Some of the other honors given to Scipio had precedents in the honors granted to benefactors in the late Hellenistic period; thus Diodoros Paspáros receives several images, sacrifices on his behalf, a seat of honor for himself and his descendants, and a posthumous contest in his memory.⁴⁴ By contrast, the honors proposed for Scipio reflect a new era. They show that he was to receive a shield-portrait in a location now lost, which an official, perhaps the high-priest, was to crown after the annual sacrifice for Augustus, a statue in the Sebasteion, a shield-portrait before the βῆμα, a day named in his honor, and a gymnastic and equestrian contest, presumably on the same day, when the agonothete would sacrifice before the statue. None of this implies cult as a god, but Augustus towards the end of his reign began the process, which was to continue under his successors, whereby even honors such as triumphs were confined to the emperor and his immediate family; it has been suggested that his decision to check testimonials in favor of provincial governors is to be explained by this same concern to control competition with the imperial house, though that measure probably reaffirms an already existing one.⁴⁵ If that suggestion is correct, the honors for Scipio mark even more clearly his imperial connexions and his exceptional mission in the province.

In the decree of the σύνεδροι (A 17–19), Scipio is said to have ordered the beginning of the sacrifices for Gaius «from the day» (ἀπὸ τᾶς ἀμέρας) of his designation as consul, «leaving an interval of two days from the days of Caesar» (διαλιπὼν ἀπὸ τᾶν Καίσαρος ἀμερᾶν ἀμέρας δύο). P. HERZ argued that the first of the «days of Caesar» was January 13th, the day on which Augustus «restored the republic» in the year 27, that this was the day of Gaius' designation as consul, and that the sacrifices ordered by Scipio were to begin on January 16th, the day when Augustus received his new appellation in the year 27. It seems better to suspend judgment, all the more since the new inscription mentions a singular «day of Augustus» (B 36).⁴⁶

Scipio and the fall of Eurycles of Sparta

G. W. BOWERSOCK long ago showed from a passage in Strabo, corrupted in most of the manuscripts (8, 5, 5, C. 366), and from Josephus (Bell. Jud. 1, 531; Ant. Jud. 16, 310), that C. Iulius Eurycles, for a long time the ruler of Sparta, was accused before Augustus of fomenting trouble not only in his city but in Achaea generally, and was condemned to exile; in Josephus' words, «after being twice accused before Caesar of

⁴³ On such processions, L. ROBERT, BCH 108, 1984, 482–486 = Documents d'Asie Mineure, 1987, 470–474; MEYER-ZWIFFELHOFFER (n. 32) 239–252.

⁴⁴ IGR IV 292, 23–56. Cf. L. ROBERT, OMS VI 44f. (AC 1966); 452–454 (REG 1981).

⁴⁵ SWAN, Augustan Succession 281f., citing G. W. BOWERSOCK, Augustus and the Greek World, 1965, 119–121, 150f.

⁴⁶ P. HERZ, Klio 75, 1993, 279; accepted by KANTIREA (n. 6) 162.

having filled Achaea with discord and of plundering the cities, (Eurycles) was exiled» (δὲς ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στάσεως ἐμπλήσαι τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις φυγαδεύεται, Jos. Bell. Jud. loc. cit.). These events occurred between about 7 and 2 BCE.⁴⁷ Five years might seem a long time for the factional strife stirred up by Eurycles to leave smoldering embers, and it is not certain that Messene was one of the cities affected. But if leading politicians of the city had been divided between his supporters and his opponents, there could still have been scores to settle, and for the purpose of settling them Augustus might well have chosen a young relative of high ancestry and with influence at court.

From 6 BCE to 2 CE Tiberius was absent from Rome and living on Rhodes; he returned in 2, and with the death of Lucius in 2 and of Gaius in 4 Augustus was forced to adopt him and to grant him *tribunicia potestas* and consular *imperium*.⁴⁸ BOWERSOCK has argued that Inscription A shows the Messenians «solidly behind the regime in Rome», and siding with the young prince as Augustus' future successor, whereas their old enemy, Sparta, had a longstanding link of *clientela* with Tiberius; with the condemnation of Eurycles, «Augustus had taken firm action against the tyrant in Sparta, and, no doubt in the process, won the goodwill and support of all those cities that had formerly viewed the *princeps* with suspicion».⁴⁹ If that is correct, it would lend further meaning to the new inscription, which not only associates Scipio closely with Augustus, but also praises him for ensuring that justice was done in Messene and that «no one could prevail with gifts, favor or status».⁵⁰ Yet if Scipio was associated with a faction supporting Gaius, the Vatican inscription shows that he continued his ascent smoothly in the last years of Augustus.

Appendix: A Messenian decree concerning repairs to the city's buildings

An inscription first published by ORLANDOS, and improved by J. and L. ROBERT, concerns repairs to buildings of the city. The first lines mention «public --- [οικοδομήματα, <buildings>?] handed down to [the city?] and deserving to be preserved for the people of Rome and Augustus Caesar»; the secretary of the σύνεδροι has called on «the Greeks and Romans residing in (the city)» to remedy «the general weakness» (τὸ κοινᾶ ἄσθενές), and to fulfill their promises to make repairs. The text is then interrupted by the names of the donors and the buildings that they have undertaken to repair, and resumes with the order that their names be placed on a stele

⁴⁷ G. W. BOWERSOCK, JRS 51, 1961, 112–118, especially 116 on the date; further, id. (n. 45) 91f.; id. in F. MILLAR – E. SEGAL, eds., *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, 1984, 169–188, especially 176–178; KANTIREA (n. 6) 159–166.

⁴⁸ For the sources, especially Cassius Dio 55, 13, 1a–2, SWAN, *Augustan Succession* 140–142.

⁴⁹ BOWERSOCK in MILLAR – SEGAL, *Caesar Augustus* (n. 47) 174, 178.

⁵⁰ B 21, «judging --- more valuable than any freedom» might be a reference to the end of such malpractice.

set up beside the Sebasteion, and that as each repair is made the name of the donor be inscribed on it.⁵¹

The date is disputed. BOWERSOCK proposed to put it close to inscription A, and so in 3 or 4 CE; L. MIGEOTTE proposed a date «au plus tôt des années 15 ou 10 avant notre ère et au plus tard de 14 après J.-C.»; A. J. SPAWFORTH proposed a range of 27–17 BCE.⁵² A clue is the mention of Craton son of Archedamos as one of the more generous donors (lines 12–14); he has given money for the repair of the gymnasium and for the sacrifice to Aristomenes, the mythical founder of Messene. A man of the same name is mentioned as priest, presumably of Aristomenes, in a list of ephebes dated to 11 CE; he now appears as the Messenian envoy tasked with carrying a decree of the συντέλεια concerning the *quaestor* Scipio (C 4). The cumulative evidence suggests that his activity belongs in the first decade or so of the first century CE.⁵³

The repairs mentioned in the first of these inscriptions might be due merely to long neglect, though that would be surprising in so wealthy a city as Messene. «General weakness» and the need for extensive repairs suggest an earthquake, and that hypothesis is strengthened by another inscription. This shows that the Messenians sent an embassy to Tiberius in which they congratulated him on his succession, consoled him for the loss of his divine father, drew his attention to the city's «unusual circumstances» (ἄτοπα), and asked for his «pity» (ἔλεος). Earthquake damage sometimes took a long time to repair, but a date in the last decade of Augustus' reign would suit the evidence of both inscriptions.⁵⁴ Another inscription from Messene shows a *quaestor*, M. Caesius Gallus, who made extensive repairs to the Asklepieion and the Kaisareion by means of a subscription raised among the local residents.⁵⁵ These repairs too may be due to an earthquake, whether one in the reign of Augustus or a later one.

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⁵¹ A. ORLANDOS, PAAH 1959 (1965), 168 and 170–173; Bull. ép. 1966, 200 (SEG 23, 205 + 207); new edition with photograph by L. MIGEOTTE, BCH 109, 1985, 597–607.

⁵² BOWERSOCK in MILLAR – SEGAL, Caesar Augustus (n. 47) 174; MIGEOTTE (n. 51) 604; A. J. SPAWFORTH, Greece and the Roman Cultural Revolution, 2012, 213–217 (SEG 62, 225).

⁵³ Repairs: SEG 23, 207, 12–14. Ephebic list: P. THEMELIS, PAAH 147, 1992 (1995), 71 f., col. A 1–2 (SEG 43, 145). As envoy: Inscription C 14.

⁵⁴ P. THEMELIS, PAAH 143, 1988 (1991), 57 f. (SEG 41, 328; Ann. ép. 1991, 1442). «Pity» is also what Aristides asks from the emperor after the Smyrnaean earthquake of 178, Or. 19, 3.

⁵⁵ Caesius Gallus: above, n. 41.