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CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

Augustus and Panhellenes on Samos

In the following it will be proposed that a fragmentary inscription of Samos, though it refers to «Panhellenes», does not refer to the Hadrianic Panhellenion, as might appear at first sight, but to a date either soon after Actium or possibly later in the reign of Augustus.¹ The editor, KLAUS HALLOF, describes the stone as «fragmentum e marmore albo supra integrum, a. 0,08, l. 0.34. Litt. a. 0.02, apicibus valde ornatae; interv. 0.015.» The text consists of two broken lines.

[ὁ δῆ]μος Θεᾶι Ῥώμηι καὶ -----
----- Πανέλληνες ἐτίμη[ησαν]---

Inferring that the text refers to the Panhellenion founded by Hadrian in 131, HALLOF suggests that the remainder of line 1 might perhaps («fortasse») have read [Αὐτοκράτορι Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ].

It would not be surprising if Samos had joined Hadrian's Panhellenion. The island and its eponymous city had a long and glorious Greek past, and would have been a suitable member for a body that united «Hellenes» of every kind, from old and established members such as Cyrene to those of less obviously Hellenic descent such as Nicopolis in Epirus and Timbriada in Pisidia.² Yet joint dedications in honor of the goddess Roma and an individual emperor usually involve Augustus, and are very rare for later ones; the cult of the goddess Roma by herself survives in the imperial period only as a «fossil».³

The term «Panhellenes» goes as far back in literature as Homer (Il. 5.530), where its meaning was disputed, but by the classical period it can denote «all the Greeks», either all Greeks in general or all in a particular grouping. The latter is its sense in Socrates of Rhodes, a historian perhaps of Augustan date writing about Antony's stay in Athens in 39–38. According to him, Antony had an imitation cave constructed above the theater

¹ IG XII 6, 1, 440. I shall refer to the first emperor as «Augustus» to avoid ambiguity, even when mentioning events earlier than the year 27. I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK, KLAUS HALLOF, and the editors of Chiron for advice and improvements.

² Nicopolis: SEG 50, 199; L'Année Epigraphique 2001 (2004), 1826. Timbriada: B. ΤΑΚΜΕΡ – Ν. ΓÖΚΑΛΡ, Gephyra 2, 2005, 109 no. 3: Τιμ[βριαδέων ὁ δῆμος] Σάμον, Ἄβαντα Πανέλληνας παρὰ Ῥεῖη.

³ Cults of Roma and the emperors: C. FAYER, Il Culto della Dea Roma: Origine e Diffusione nell'Impero, 1976; R. MELLOR, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ: The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World, 1975 («fossil» p. 26).

of Dionysus, and revealed there with his friends «when all the Greeks had assembled for the spectacle» (συνθηροισμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν τῶν Πανελλήνων).⁴ Before Hadrian's Panhellenion, the league (κοινόν) of various regions of central Greece, Boeotians, Euboeans, Locrians and Phocians, uses the term «Hellenes» or «Panhellenes» when referring to itself in decrees of the mid-first century.⁵ This league has been called «less a representative of cities than of separate κοινά», and its use of the term shows that «Panhellenes» can signify an organization of Greeks prior to Hadrian's one, and less universal.

A new example of the word has turned up on a statue-base set up by the Colophonians at Claros. By a coincidence, J.-L. FERRARY published it in 2000, the very year in which HALLOF produced the fragment from Samos.⁶ The text is as follows:

ὁ δῆμος
[Αὐτοκρ]άτορα Θεοῦ υἱὸν Καίσαρα
[διά τ]ε τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς
[ισο]θέους πράξεις καὶ τὰς εὐερ-
[γε]σίας τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
[καὶ κ]οινῶς εἰς τοὺς Πανέλληνας.

FERRARY rightly notes that the date must be after the Battle of Actium in September 31 and before the conferral of the title «Augustus» in January 27; he suggests that the statue might be connected with the young Caesar's second stay on Samos in 30/29, after the final defeat of Antony and Cleopatra. He also proposes that, as in Socrates of Rhodes, the term «Panhellenes» means the Greeks in general and not some formal organization.⁷

It might therefore be wondered if the fragment discussed here is also from the years between 31 and 27. The script is no obstacle, since although the letters were «apicibus valde ornatae», that is already true of Samian inscriptions as early as the 60's BCE.⁸ The text could be restored as [ὁ δῆ]μος Θεᾶι Ἰώμη καὶ [αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Θεοῦ υἱῶι] (or Θεοῦ υἱῶι Καίσαρι), while the next line might have contained a relative clause such as [ὄν καὶ οἱ] Πανέλληνες ἐτίμη[ησαν, κτλ.]. If the two inscriptions, that from Claros and that from Samos, are contemporary, the question arises whether the word «Panhellenes» does in fact designate «all the Greeks» in an informal sense, or whether it refers to some organized body. It was during the winter of 30/29, and so probably while he was still on Samos, that Augustus permitted the *peregrini* of Asia and Bithynia, «calling them Greeks», to build sanctuaries for Roma and himself in Pergamum

⁴ Athen. 4, 148 c = FGrHist 192 F 2, cited by J.-L. FERRARY, BCH 124, 2000, 359. On the events of this stay, C. B. R. PELLING, Plutarch: Life of Antony, 1988, 208f.

⁵ IG VII 2711, 61, 67, 101; 2712, 39, 44. Cf. J. H. OLIVER, Hesperia 47, 1978, 185–188.

⁶ FERRARY (n. 4) 357–359 no. 8 (SEG 48, 1593).

⁷ FERRARY (n. 4) 359: «tous les Grecs, de façon générale et informelle».

⁸ Thus IG XII 6, 352, 354, 355, etc.

and Nicomedia respectively.⁹ These Greeks of Asia are thought to be identical with the Asian κοινόν attested in a number of inscriptions, the earliest being a well-known decree in honor of two brothers from Aphrodisias, of which the approximate date is the second quarter of the first century.¹⁰ That honors the brothers for having «achieved the greatest and most advantageous successes for all the cities and tribes [in Asia]», τοῖς [ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ π]ᾶσιν δῆμοις τε καὶ ἔθνεσιν. It is thus conceivable that in the inscriptions from Claros and Samos the word «Panhellenes» designates the κοινόν as the representative body of «all Greeks» of the province in 30 or 29. About this same time, after years of civil war, these same Greeks affirmed their newly-cemented unity by setting up a temple to Roma and Augustus in Pergamum.

It would be fitting for the κοινόν of Asian Greeks to honor Augustus precisely on Samos, one of his favorite places. The city observed an era of «the victory of Caesar» dated from Actium, and Augustus had gone there soon after the battle, but was forced to leave because of troubles in Italy. He made a longer stay in the winter of 30/29, when he entered on his fifth consulate. On his last visit to the eastern provinces, he spent the winter of 21/20 on the island, and made a fourth visit in 20/19 while returning westwards, when he granted the city its freedom and dedicated a building in his name. From this year the Samians began an «era of the colony», though the nature of this colony is in dispute.¹¹ The goddess Roma and Augustus shared a temple in the city, and several statue-bases, all of them dated to 27 or later, are dedicated to the two of them jointly.¹² Between 2/1 BCE and 8/9 CE Augustus wrote a letter to the Samians of which not very much survives.¹³ Two statue bases in honor of Livia, calling her by the unusual name «Drusilla», have been found in the Heraion. The earlier one, dated between 31 and 27, honors her for her «piety towards the goddess», and P. HERRMANN inferred that she could have joined Augustus on one of his first stays on the island. Later, after her deification by Claudius, she enjoyed joint cult with Hera, and her parents, M. Livius Drusus and Alfidia, received statues as «the source of the greatest benefits to the world», μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίων γεγονότα (αἰτίαν γεγονυῖαν) τῶι κόσμῳ.¹⁴

⁹ Cass. Dio 51.20.7; CH. HABICHT, *Die augusteische Zeit*, in: W. DEN BOER (ed.), *Le culte des souverains dans l'Empire romain*, 1973, 55–56.

¹⁰ J. M. REYNOLDS, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, 1982, 26–32 no. 5.

¹¹ First visit (31/30): Suet. Aug. 17.3. Era of Actium: IG VI 6, 186, with HALLOF's commentary (IGR IV 991 [1706]). Third visit (21/20): Cass. Dio 54.7.4. Fourth: Dio 54.9.7; IG VI 6, 480. Colony: HALLOF on IG VI 6, 186 line 67.

¹² Temple: IG XII 6, 7, line 30 (IGR IV 996, cf. 1708); IG XII 6, 484 (IGR IV 971 and 978). Bases: IG VI 6, 294 (IGR IV 977), 366, 373 (IGR IV 994), 404, 405, 434, 435. HALLOF suggests that VI 6, 366 is identical with the inscription published by STAMATIADIS, *Samiaka* (1862), Sylloge no. 75 (non vidi) (IGR IV 975; cf. MELLOR [n. 3] 216 no. 106; McCABE, List 187), but both the line-divisions of this and the Greek text are different; I do not know on what authority MELLOR says that it comes from an architrave.

¹³ HALLOF, *Chiron* 29, 1999, 215–217 (SEG 49, 1149); IG XII 6, 161.

¹⁴ Joint cult: IG XII 6, 330 (IGR IV 984). Livia's parents: XII 6, 370, 371 (IGR IV 982, 983). Cf. P. HERRMANN, *MDAI(A)* 75, 1960, 104–107.

The relations between Augustus and Samos also arise in an inscription of Aphrodisias published by J. REYNOLDS in 1982. In this he refuses Samos' petition for the privilege of freedom, even though his wife Livia has supported it, on the ground that Aphrodisias, unlike Samos, had «taken my side in the war and been captured because of its goodwill to us» (ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας δοριάλωτος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν ἐγένετο). The inscribed text is headed by this sentence, «Imperator Caesar, son of the god Julius, Augustus (*Augoustos*), to the Samians, which he wrote beneath (their) request»; W. WILLIAMS has argued that this line was added later, perhaps in the third century when this transliteration of *Augustus* frequently replaced the earlier *Sebastos*, especially in reference to the first emperor.¹⁵ REYNOLDS favored a date soon after the «War of Labienus» in 40, but E. BADIAN and G. W. BOWERSOCK independently observed that Augustus' phrase, «taking my side» (τὰ ἐμὰ φρονήσας), should mean the whole course of the war with Antony. BADIAN therefore proposed a date precisely in 31 BCE, soon after Actium, while BOWERSOCK has proposed a later one, perhaps in the late twenties during Augustus' last eastern tour.¹⁶ Since the emperor did in fact grant the Samians freedom at the end of this same tour, such a dating seems uncomfortably late, and a date in 31 or soon thereafter is to be preferred. Samos' unsuccessful petition to the victorious Caesar would then be close in time to the inscription from Claros, and also to the present one from Samos itself.

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¹⁵ REYNOLDS (n. 10) 104–107, no. 13 (IG XII 6, 160); W. WILLIAMS, ZPE 66, 1986, 181. For *Augoustos*, J. ROUGÉ, RPh 43, 1969, 89–91.

¹⁶ G. W. BOWERSOCK, Gnomon 56, 1984, 52; E. BADIAN, GRBS 25, 1984, 165–170.