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GEORGE SOURIS

Α παιδεύσεως ἐργαστήριον for «Hellenes» in Ephesos.
Iulia Domna's letter to the city revisited

The inscription I.Ephesos II 212 (J. H. OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions*, 1989, nos. 264–266) is of special interest for students of imperial correspondence mainly because in addition to two letters, one by an unknown emperor concerning the privileges of the Artemisia festival and the other by Caracalla on the award of a third neocorate in Ephesos, it also contains a letter to the city by Iulia Domna, the only surviving document with the *ipsissima verba* of this famous *matrona docta*.

After its first publication by J. KEIL and G. MARESCH in 1960, unfortunately with no photograph, the inscription attracted the attention of L. ROBERT, who improved the text considerably. A number of other scholars also worked on it. A landmark in the history of research into the document was undoubtedly its recent republication by C. P. JONES, who made several essential improvements to the text based on new readings made from a squeeze.¹

In the present paper I shall discuss some textual problems pertaining to Iulia Domna's letter² and propose new supplements at certain points. The text of the docu-

¹ J. KEIL – G. MARESCH, *JÖAI* 45, 1960, Beibl. Col. 80–82; L. ROBERT, *RPh* 41, 1967, 44–64 (OMS V, 384–404); R. MERKELBACH – J. NOLLÉ, *Addenda und Corrigenda zu den Inschriften von Ephesos I–VII.1*, 1981, 6–7; B. LIFSCHITZ, *ZPE* 6, 1970, 57–60; H. ENGELMANN, *ZPE* 51, 1983, 125–126; C. P. JONES, *Imperial Letters at Ephesos*, EA 33, 2001, 39–44 (AE 2001, 1896; SEG 51, 1579). In what follows, the above authors will be referred to by their name alone. This paper was presented at the first Greek-Turkish Epigraphic Colloquium «Epigraphic Research in Greece and Turkey», Athens 27–30 January 2005. For discussion and advice I am indebted to the participants of this colloquium and also to CHRISTOPHER JONES, GEORG PETZL, and RUDOLF HAENSCH.

² There is a scholarly debate as to whether the document is a letter or a *subscriptio*. D. NÖRR, *ZRG* 98, 1981, 24 n. 66 (followed by J.-L. MOURGUES, *JRS* 77, 1987, 82 n. 24 and W. TURPIN, *JRS* 81, 1991, 109f.) argued for the latter because of the absence of the greetings formulae from the text inscribed. On the contrary W. WILLIAMS, *ZPE* 66, 1986, 183 n. 8, considers it a letter. In my view, we are probably dealing with a letter from which the Ephesians took just a part (κεφάλαιον) – that in which the empress praises their city – and put it on stone. – For extensive or casual references to the document in the secondary bibliography see W. WILLIAMS, *Latomus* 38, 1979 86f.; E. KETTENHOFEN, *Die syrischen Augustae in der historischen Überlieferung: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Orientalisierung*, 1979, 17; F. GHEDINI, *Giulia Domna tra oriente e occidente: le fonti archeologiche*, 1984, 14; E. HEMELRIJK, *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*, 1999, 356 n. 83; B. LEVICK, *Julia Domna, Syrian Empress*, 2007, 96.

ment according to C. P. JONES' recent edition is reproduced, with detailed apparatus, in SEG 51, 1579 as follows:

vacat Ἰουλία vacat Σεβαστή vacat Ἐφεσί[οις]
 πάσαις μὲν πόλεσιν καὶ σύνπασι δῆμοις vac. ε[ὕεργεσιῶν]
 τυγχάνειν τοῦ γλυκυτάτου μου υἱοῦ vac. τοῦ α[ὐτοκράτο]-
 12 ρος συνε[ύ]χομαι, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρα διὰ [τὸ μέγεθος]
 καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν [ἄξι]φσιν καὶ τὸ παιδ[ευτήριον]
 εἶναι τοῖς πανταχόθεν ἐ[λθοῦσιν ἦ?] ἐργαστήριον [vacat?]

The fragmentarily preserved last two lines of the document, for which many supplements have already been proposed, have proven to be among the most problematic passages in the entire corpus of imperial documents preserved on stone. The supplement [ἄξι]φσιν in line 13, suggested by A. VAN DE HOEK apud C. P. JONES instead of δόσιν read by the first editors, δόξαν proposed by L. ROBERT and [ἄρμ]οσιν by R. MERKELBACH and J. NOLLÉ, seems to have solved one of the problems rather satisfactorily – but in my view an equally plausible and perhaps even preferable supplement would have been [γν]ῶσιν with the meaning of «fame» –³ other problems remain, especially in the last line, where the enigmatic presence of the word ἐργαστήριον has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation, although several attempts have been made.

L. ROBERT found the word incomprehensible in this context⁴ and left it untranslated: «... du reste de sa gloire (?) et parce qu'elle est l'école de ceux qui viennent de partout dans le –». Little progress was made thereafter. R. MERKELBACH and J. NOLLÉ rightly noted that there is space for a longer supplement in the lacuna before the word, and instead of ε[ἰς τὸ] of the first editors, suggested ε[ἰς τοῦτο τὸ] ἐργαστήριον. A longer supplement was also independently proposed by H. ENGELMANN who argued that Iulia Domna drew her inspiration for the passage from Xenophon's *Hell.* 3. 4. 16, where Ephesos is described as πολέμου ἐργαστήριον and played with the idea of restoring ε[ἰς εἰρήνης] ἐργαστήριον. Finally C. P. JONES, stressing the difficulty of the passage, tentatively proposed the supplement τοῖς πανταχόθεν ἐ[λθοῦσιν ἦ?] ἐργαστήριον «(a school) for those [coming] from everywhere [or] a workshop (?)» arguing that the empress is alluding here to the city's importance both as a cultural and as commercial center.

In my view the difficulty can be overcome if, in l. 13 instead of παιδ[ευτήριον], a supplement proposed by L. ROBERT and accepted by all subsequent editors of, or commentators upon, the text, we supply παιδ[είας] or perhaps better παιδ[εῦσεως]. This would mean that here Iulia Domna is not describing the city, as both a school and

³ CHRISTOPHER JONES kindly sent me a magnified photo of the squeeze showing that in the lacuna of line 13 there is space for two or three letters. For the term γνῶσις with the meaning of «fame» see LSJ s.v. III.2 «fame, credit», citing Herodian 7. 5. 5: ἐν τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ γνῶσις οὐκ ἄσημος καὶ τιμὴ ἔνδοξος αἰεὶ. Cf. Sardis VII 1, no. 8 ll. 125–126: τῇ τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διαπρέπων γνώσει (1 B.C.).

⁴ ROBERT, 59 (OMS V, 399): «A la dernière ligne, je ne comprends guère ἐργαστήριον.»

an ἐργαστήριον, but simply as παιδεύσεως ἐργαστήριον. Gregorius Nazianzenus uses this very expression in the *laudatio funebris* for his brother Caesarius describing the city of Alexandria as παντοίας παιδεύσεως ἐργαστήριον.⁵

If the above suggestion is right, the supplement Ἐ[λλησιν] with the meaning of students of rhetoric seems attractive for the lacuna of about six or seven letters in l. 14. This is also supported by Domna's personal history and culture. Philostratus, a writer belonging to her so-called «circle»,⁶ referring to the audience and students of major sophists, frequently uses the terms Ἕλληνες and τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.⁷ For example Herodes Atticus wrote, according to Philostratus, to the sophist Alexander, known as Peloplaton, that he would come from Marathon to Athens to attend his lectures with his students: ἀφιξομαι ... μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτός (soph. 571). Heracleides of Lycia attracted students to Smyrna, where he was teaching, not only from Ionia, Lydia, Phrygia and Caria, but also from Europe: τὸ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἑλληνικόν (soph. 613).

It is noteworthy that the adverb πανταχόθεν is also used twice by Philostratus to refer to students coming from various places to study with major sophists. After his lectures in Athens, Hadrianus of Tyre was escorted by students from everywhere: ξὺν πομπῇ τοῦ πανταχόθεν Ἑλληνικοῦ (soph. 587). Herodes Atticus also attracted young men from all places to Athens: τῆς πανταχόθεν νεότητος, οἱ κατ' ἔρωτα τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐφοίτων Ἀθήνας (soph. 562).

Although a study on Ephesos as a centre of learning is still a desideratum, there is no doubt that, along with Smyrna and Athens, the city was one of the capitals of the Second Sophistic attracting students from everywhere.⁸ This fact is sufficiently docu-

⁵ Or. 7. 6 (PG 35, 761 A): ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἐγκαταμείνας παιδευτηρίοις, ἀνθοῦσι τότε, κατὰ ῥητορικῆς ἔρωτα, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν καταλαβὼν, παντοίας παιδεύσεως καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν οὐσάν τε καὶ δοκοῦσαν ἐργαστήριον (ed. F. BOULENGER). Cf. also Himerius (ed. A. COLONNA), Or. 44. 58: Κύρω δὲ μόνω συνών (sc. Ξενοφῶν), τῆς Κύρου γέγονε παιδείας καλὸν ἐργαστήριον. For the term ἐργαστήριον with figurative meaning cf. also Heliodorus 2. 26. 1: ἀνδρῶν τε σοφῶν ἐργαστήριον (Delphi); Menander Rhetor (ed. D. A. RUSSELL – N. G. WILSON) 432, 5–6: ἀκούων λόγων αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν πόλιν) εἶναι καὶ Μουσῶν ἐργαστήριον; B. LIFSHITZ also suggested that ἐργαστήριον is used figuratively here with the meaning of «school». Nevertheless by accepting L. ROBERT's supplement παιδ[ευτήριον] he fails to solve the problems of the passage.

⁶ For this «circle» see G. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 1969, 101–109. For the scholarly debate over its character and composition see the recent balanced account by LEVICK, o.c. (n. 2) 111 ff. with bibliography.

⁷ See S. FOLLET, *Divers aspects de l'hellenisme chez Philostrate*, in: S. SAÏD (ed.), *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 26–27 octobre 1989, 1991, 206–208.

⁸ See J. KEIL, *Vertreter der zweiten Sophistik in Ephesos*, *JÖAI* 40, 1953, 5–26; ROBERT, 60–61 (OMS V, 400–401); BOWERSOCK, o.c. (n. 6) 27 f.; H. ENGELMANN, *Philostrat und Ephesos*, *ZPE* 108, 1995, 77–87 and recently S. DMITRIEV, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, 2005, 283–286 (with bibliography), who also draws attention to an honorific inscription in which the city is described as «city of wisdom», *I.Ephesos* IV 1064, l. 1–2: ὦ τῆς ἀρίστης Ἀνδροκλείου καὶ σοφῆς δαίμων πόλιος.

mented by a number of Ephesian inscriptions.⁹ An inscription on the base of a statue of the sophist Soteris gives the names of his μαθηταί and their place of origin: they came from Rhodes, Phocaea, Hierapolis, Caunus, Nicea, Antioch in Pisidia and Ancyra.¹⁰ In another, a sophist or philosopher is honoured with a statue by his pupils, who came from all over the world.¹¹ There also exist three epitaphs of young men who died in the city while pursuing their studies there. Two of them are described as φιλόλογοι, one comes from Savatra in Lykaonia¹² and the other from Aspendos,¹³ while a student of rhetoric from Prusias, twenty years old, died after five years of study in the city.¹⁴

All this educational activity taking place in the city would justify its description as a «workshop of παιδευσις (or παιδεία)». ¹⁵ Thus the last lines of the empress' letter could, as suggested above, be supplemented as follows:

διὰ [τὸ μέγεθος]
καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν [γν]ῶσιν καὶ τὸ παιδ[εύσεως]
εἶναι τοῖς πανταχόθεν Ἑ[λλησιν] ἐργαστήριον [vacat?].

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⁹ See ROBERT, 60–61 (OMS V, 400–401).

¹⁰ I.Ephesos V 1548.

¹¹ I.Ephesos III 825, l. 14–15: οἱ ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης μαθηταί].

¹² I.Ephesos VI 2211.

¹³ I.Ephesos VI 2202.

¹⁴ I.Ephesos V 1626 ll. 10–11: ἔτη δ' ἐπὶ πέντε λόγοισιν ἰν Ἐφέσῳ σχολάσας εικοσέτης ἔθανον.

¹⁵ For the meaning of the terms παιδευσις (education) and παιδεία (as result of it) see H.-I. MARROU, *Μουσικὸς Ἀνῆρ. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains*, 1938, 229 n. 97. The term παιδευσις occurs three times in Philostratus (soph. 494, 535, 544), while παιδεία is absent; see I. and M. AVOTINS, *An Index to the Lives of the Sophists of Philostratos*, 1978, s.v. On the contrary the term παιδεία occurs five times in the vocabulary of the imperial documents from Hadrian on; see V. ANASTASIADIS – G. SOURIS, *An Index to Roman Imperial Constitutions from Greek Inscriptions and Papyri. 27 B.C. to 284 A.D.*, 2000, s.v. For the crucial role of παιδεία in our understanding of the elite identity and the cultural responses of the Greek city to the realities of the Roman rule see E. BOWIE, *Hellenes and Hellenisme in the Writers of the Early Second Sophistic*, in: SAID (ed.), o.c. (n. 7) 183–204; M. GLEASON, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*, 1995, xxi–xxiv; J.-J. FLINTERMAN, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism: Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship between Philosopher and Monarch and Political Life in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius*, 1995, 29–95; S. SWAIN, *Hellenisme and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*, 1996, 33–34, 63–64, 139–148; R. PRESTON, *Roman questions, Greek answers: Plutarch and the construction of identity*, in: S. GOLDHILL, *Being Greek under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, 2001, 86–119, especially 89–90.