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C. P. JONES

## A Constitution of Hadrian Concerning Cyrene\*

A marble stele from Cyrene is estimated to have been at least 1.42 metres in height and about 0.72 wide. The surviving fragments represent less than half of the original, but enough to show that it was inscribed with several imperial constitutions. In 1950, PETER FRASER published a single piece from the upper left-hand portion; in 1958 JOYCE REYNOLDS published several more, three of which come from the right-hand margin, and provided a text and commentary which have remained the basis for all further discussion.<sup>1</sup>

Across the top were inscribed in letters 3 cms. tall the words, «God. With good fortune» (Θεός. Τύχα ἀγαθῆ). The following text probably fell into not more than five distinct sections. The first, a letter of Hadrian dated to 134/35, has the emperor's title and his salutation to the city in letters one-half as tall, 1,5 cms. All the rest of the inscription, about eighty lines, was in letters again one-half as tall, 0.75 cms. The exception is line 69, «Extracts from a letter of the lord Antoninus», where the letters are about 1,5 cms. tall, no doubt in order to draw attention to a change of author from Hadrian to Pius. The mason has also used outspacing (*ecthesis*) to mark the beginning of new paragraphs.

The document that has provoked most discussion is the first, a letter of Hadrian concerning Cyrene's claims to be enrolled in the newly-founded Panhellenion.<sup>2</sup> The present study is concerned with the longest of the documents (if it is a single one), the third. This began after a vacant space in the present

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\* I have used the following special abbreviations: Bull. épigr. = Bulletin épigraphique, appearing annually in REG; OLIVER, Greek Constitutions = JAMES H. OLIVER, Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society No. 178, Philadelphia 1989; REYNOLDS = J. M. REYNOLDS, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities, JRS 68, 1978, 111–21, with Plates II–IV. I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK for his comments, and to DONALD WHITE of the University of Pennsylvania for lending me photographs of the fragments. I have been greatly helped by use of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.

<sup>1</sup> P. M. FRASER, JRS 40, 1950, 77–87; REYNOLDS. REYNOLDS' text is reproduced as SEG 28, 1566, and also by F. MARTIN, La documentación griega de la cancellería del emperador Adriano, Pamplona 1982, nos. 47–50.

<sup>2</sup> On this, C. P. JONES, Chiron 26, 1996, 47–53.

line 25, and went over at least thirty-seven lines and probably more, whereas the next longest (discounting the space taken up by imperial titulature) is of eleven. It is called an «extract» (κεφάλαιον), and cannot have begun with the present opening words, βουλοίμην δέ. Not enough remains to show whether the following text could have been continuous in the original, that is, whether there are similar omissions between the subsequent paragraphs; the opposite seems implied by the γάρ which forms the second word of two paragraphs (lines 42, 44).

In the heading, after the opening words κεφάλαιον ἐκ FRASER supplied [διατάγματος], and REYNOLDS sees a trace of the first delta. That could well be right, since edicts are occasionally found which use the second person plural, for example one of Caracalla from Banasa in Mauretania.<sup>3</sup> The more general word διατάξεως, «constitution», is perhaps not excluded.<sup>4</sup> JAMES H. OLIVER suggested δημηγορίας, «oration», though the content does not suggest a speech, but rather a series of provisions and exhortations similar to Marcus Aurelius' famous letter to the Athenians, which has been classified variously as a letter or an edict.<sup>5</sup>

In what follows, I am mainly concerned with the first two paragraphs, which for reasons already considered may or may not have been contiguous in the original, though they are certainly related in subject. The first of these paragraphs runs from lines 26 through 30, and REYNOLDS is surely right to suppose that it forms a single sentence. She restores and supplements it thus (I underline those supplements which she does not print in her text, but suggests in her commentary).

- 26 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς μὴ τῷ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιτυχουσῶν ὑμῖν κακοπαθειῶν ἀσθε-  
ν]ῶς εἴξαν-  
 27 τας, καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστι [πολίτας ὄντας ἀπολείπειν πόλιν  
διὰ] χρησμούς τοῦ  
 28 Ἀπόλλωνος ὠκισμένην ἀναξίως καὶ τ[αλαιπώρως καὶ ἄνευ τῆς δόξης] τῆς  
 παλαιᾶς δια-  
 29 κειμένην, συνελθεῖν καὶ συναυξῆσαι τ[ὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν καὶ οὐ μόνον  
οἰκῆτορας ἀλλὰ  
 30 [καὶ οἰκιστάς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος.

«[The Cyrenaeans] should not yield to fear, but, remembering that it is disgraceful to allow a city founded in accordance with Apolline oracles to lie in

<sup>3</sup> Ann. épigr. 1948, 109; M. EUZENAT – J. MARION, Inscriptions antiques du Maroc 2: Inscriptions latines, Paris 1982, 96–98 no. 100. Cf. F. MILLAR, The Emperor in the Roman World, London 1977, 256, also citing G. E. BEAN, AnatStud 10, 1960, 71–72 (SEG 19, 854; OLIVER, Greek Constitutions no. 186).

<sup>4</sup> For this sense, LIDDELL – SCOTT – JONES, s.v. διάταξις II 2.

<sup>5</sup> OLIVER, Greek Constitutions no. 184.

ruins in a matter unworthy of its ancient fame, should become not simply residents but also founders of what is their own country.»<sup>6</sup>

26. REYNOLDS is surely right that the genitives following φόβω are subjective, «fear of . . .», but her supplement, which is presumably intended to mean «the sufferings that have befallen you», causes difficulties. We would expect the Cyrenaeans' fear to concern something or somebody which may belong to the past, but will also continue into the future. This is the sense which φόβω with the genitive always has in Plutarch: thus Alcib.14,3, μίσει καὶ φόβω τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ζητοῦντας ἀποστροφὴν; Cicero 20,7, παραλιπεῖν τὴν μήνυσιν φόβω τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

If that is right, it might be wondered if the genitive plural following τῶν referred to the Jews. The Jewish revolt in the last years of Trajan caused widespread destruction in Cyrene. Several public buildings, perhaps all the chief ones, were damaged or destroyed, and reconstruction lasted until the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The only text which is complete can do duty for all: *Imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parthici fil. divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug. pontif. max. trib. potest. III cos. III balineum cum porticibus et sphaeristeris ceterisque adiacentibus quae tumultu Iudaico diruta et excusta erant civitati Cyrenensium restitui iussit.*<sup>7</sup> When a new fragment revealed the end of lines 31 and following, REYNOLDS correctly saw that they referred to the rebuilding of the Cyrenaeans' gymnasium after its destruction in the revolt, and restored the lacuna accordingly.

Now in the present line, if the letter following τῶν is indeed epsilon, the supplement Ἑ[βραίων] might come to mind. This designation, in place of the more usual Ἰουδαῖοι, is found in ancient authors from the first century of the Christian era on, and the contemporary Pausanias uses it of the Jewish revolt suppressed by Hadrian in Palestine. It might, on the other hand, seem rather literary for an imperial constitution, though perhaps not for one written by Hadrian.<sup>8</sup>

The letter in question, however, is broken on the right, and from FRASER's photograph looks as least as likely to be theta as epsilon (a theta misread as omicron in 6, ἐφολκεῖ for ἐφθάκει, for a long time obstructed understanding

<sup>6</sup> REYNOLDS 118.

<sup>7</sup> A.FUKS, JRS 51, 1961, 98–104; E.SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* 1, Edinburgh 1973, 529–34; E.M.SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden 1981, 396–99. G.LÜDERITZ, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*, Beiheft zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B Nr. 5, Wiesbaden 1983, gives a convenient, but not quite complete, collection of the inscriptions; the example in the text is his no. 23.

<sup>8</sup> This supplement was proposed by K.DALY in my epigraphy seminar at Harvard, Fall Term, 1995. For the designation «Hebrew» in Greek and Latin literature of this period, M.STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* 2, Jerusalem 1980, 161; Paus.1,5,5, Ἑβραίους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Σύρων ἐχειρώσατο ἀποστάντας.

of that line). If that is right, then any reference to the Jews must have been preceded by an epithet. The usual one is ἄνόσιοι, which may have come into use precisely at this time.<sup>9</sup> But an epithet of similar meaning is θεομισεῖς, and this is found precisely on the lips of an emperor in a well-known literary text, the Embassy of Philo, in which Gaius says to the Jewish envoys of Alexandria, «You are those god-detested people (θεομισεῖς) who do not think I am a god» (Leg. 353). Another expression which could be restored in the present text is θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, which Plutarch uses as a near-synonym both of ἄνόσιος and of θεομισής (Dio 28,1, de commun. not. 1065e). However, given the uncertainty of the damaged letter, I leave the lacuna unfilled.

27. The καί introducing the following phrase shows that it involves a contrast with the previous one: «I would wish you, not yielding . . . and remembering . . .», which English might render as a complete sentence, «I would not wish you to yield . . . but to remember . . .». In the indirect statement introduced by ἀναμνησθέντας, as REYNOLDS saw, αἰσχρόν ἐστι must agree with an infinitive meaning «permit», «allow». The obvious candidate is περιῖδεῖν, which often appears with a preceding negative in the sense of «to allow any longer», «to permit to continue».<sup>10</sup> An inscription which has more than a slight resemblance to the present one is the «Stele of the Cytenians» from the Letoon of Xanthos, first published in 1988. In this the Xanthians recall how the Cytenians had begged them, «remembering our kinship with them through gods and heroes, not to allow the walls of their ancestral city (to be any longer) destroyed», μὴ περιῖδεῖν κατεσκαμμένα τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῶν τὰ τεῖχη; further on, «they requested us not to allow the largest city in the Metropolis to be obliterated», μὴ περιῖδεῖν τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει ἐξαλειφθεῖσαν.<sup>11</sup> A decree of Cos found at Olympia praises the emperor Augustus for «not allowing the city to remain lying on the ground» after an earthquake, μὴ περιῖδεῖν κειμένην ἐπ' ἐδάφους.<sup>12</sup> This same sense is frequent in authors: thus Aelius Aristides, again referring to an earthquake, urges the Rhodians «not to allow the name of Rhodes to vanish from the earth», μὴ περιῖδεῖν τὸ τῆς Ῥόδου ὄνομα ἀπελθὼν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.<sup>13</sup> With περιῖδεῖν, the rest of the space calculated by REYNOLDS would be exactly filled by [τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν κατὰ] χρησμούς, κτλ. (κατὰ, not διά, is surely required by the sense).

<sup>9</sup> FUKS (n. 7) 103, citing CPJud II no. 157 III 43, 49; no. 158a VI 19; no. 438, 4; no. 443 II 4.

<sup>10</sup> On this word in inscriptions, L.ROBERT, OMS II 1214 (RPhil 1936); OMS VI 652 (Gnomon 1970); J. and L.ROBERT, Bull. épigr. 1970, 627 p. 472.

<sup>11</sup> SEG 38, 1476, 16–17, 32–33.

<sup>12</sup> IOlympia no. 53; L.ROBERT, Documents d'Asie Mineure, BEFAR 239 bis, Paris 1987, 97 (BCH 1978).

<sup>13</sup> Ael.Ar. 25,69, cf. 20,6.

28. In filling the lacuna, REYNOLDS takes ἀναξίως to be the first in a string of adverbs, and interprets διακειμένην as «lying in ruins». It is surely more natural to take the adverb as introducing a series of genitives ending with [τῆς παλαιᾶς, and to understand the participle in its common sense of «being in a certain state» (usually an inauspicious one). Aelius Aristides uses just this construction: ὥς ἀναξίως αὐτοῦ διακειμεθα (24, 46), where CHARLES BEHR translates, «how undeserving of it we are».<sup>14</sup> In the previous document Hadrian referred to the Cyrenaeans' «ancient nobility» (τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμῶν εὐγενείας), and this noun, usually but not always denoting a Hellenic pedigree, is frequent in reference to ancient cities.<sup>15</sup> The space postulated by REYNOLDS can be filled by a supplement such as ἀναξίως καὶ τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς παλαιᾶς.

29. While τῆν πόλιν] could be right, it is not really necessary for the syntax, and a better supplement might be τῆν ταχίστην]. Exactly the same expression appears in a decree of the Aetolian league which forms part of the «Stele of the Cytenians», where the league urges that «the walls of the *patris*» be rebuilt «as soon as possible»; in an even closer instance, Hadrian orders levées to be built «as soon as possible» to control the rivers on the territory of Coronea.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, late epigrams frequently say that a building has been erected τάχιστα.<sup>17</sup> If this supplement is right in the present case, then a further fifteen or so letters will be needed, for example, [καὶ οὕτως οὐ μόνον οἰκίητορας, κτλ.

30. πατρίς is of course «ancestral city», and not strictly «country», as in the Stele of the Cytenians cited above.

In short, I propose the following text of lines 26 to 30, though cautioning that the supplements are used to indicate the sense, not the precise wording:

- 26 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς μὴ τῷ φόβῳ τῶν [- - ca. 37 - -] ΩΣ εἶξαν-  
 27 τας, καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστι [περιῦδεῖν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν,  
 κατὰ] χρησμοῦς τοῦ  
 28 Ἀπόλλωνος ὀκισμένην, ἀναξίως καὶ T[- - ca. 10 - - καὶ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς  
 παλαιᾶς δια-  
 29 κειμένην, συνελθεῖν καὶ συναυξῆσαι τῆν ταχίστην, καὶ οὕτως οὐ μόνον  
 οἰκίητορας ἀλλὰ  
 30 [καὶ οἰκιστὰς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος.

<sup>14</sup> Thus A. MAUERSBERGER, *Polybios-Lexikon*, Berlin 1956-, s.v., «sich in einer (adv. bestimmten) Verfassung, Situation, mitmenschl. Haltung befinden», with the large majority of examples being negative ones. This sense appears already in Thucydides, 1,75,1; 8,68,1. Aristides: C.A.BEHR, *Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works II*, Leiden 1981, 54.

<sup>15</sup> L. ROBERT, *OMS VII 266–67* (JS 1973), with many examples; L. PERNOT, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*, Paris 1993, 154–56, 725–26.

<sup>16</sup> SEG 38, 1476, 79; OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions* no. 108,8, cf. no. 113,11.

<sup>17</sup> L. ROBERT, in: J. DES GAGNIERS et al., *Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée*, Québec – Paris 1969, 340–42; J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. épigr.* 1973, 480.

«I would not wish you to yield to fear of the . . . , but rather, remembering that it is disgraceful (to allow your city), founded according to oracles of Apollo, to be in a state unworthy of . . . and your ancient (nobility), to come together and join in making it prosper (as soon as possible, and thus become not only inhabitants but founders of your ancestral city.»

\* \* \*

The next part, lines 31 to 35, is more uncertain. Again, I begin with REYNOLDS' text, underlining the supplements which she proposes only tentatively.

- 31 πυνθάνομαι τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῶν κα[ταβληθῆναι ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαίων πολέμῳ καὶ  
μα]νθάνων πολ-  
32 λούς ἤδη παῖδας τρεφεμένους καὶ αὐξ[ανομένους καὶ οὐκ ἀσχοῦντας τὴν  
γυμναστικὴν] μὴ ἐν τῷ κο[ι]-  
33 νῷ γυμνασίῳ συναναφύρῳνται τοῖς ἀ[νδράσι δίδωμι ὑμῖν καινὴν παλαίστραν  
ἐ]φηβικὴν ἰδίᾳ  
34 εἰς ἣν φοιτῶντες καὶ τὰς διατριβάς ποι[οῦμενοι καὶ ἀσχοῦντες] δωρεὰς] λήμ-  
ψονται τὰς  
35 παρ' ἐμοῦ διδομένας.

In general, REYNOLDS comments: «Hadrian proceeds from urging activity on the Cyrenaeans to a promise of specific aid from himself; typically he gives something connected with education. In l. 31 he probably said that the gymnasium is lying in ruins . . . It is now reasonably clear that his gift is not, as FRASER argued, a training ground in which old and new citizens could mingle together, but one specifically for the young. Something was clearly in operation (τὸ κοινὸν γυμνάσιον in ll. 32–33) and the emperor undertook to provide a new gymnasium for ephebes in which they would not have to rub shoulders with older men; frequenting this, he argues, they would really appreciate the imperial generosity.»<sup>18</sup> It is indeed clear that the paragraph concerns a new building for the use of young males, but not that the «common gymnasium» was still in operation: rather, this still remained to be built (or rebuilt), and the emperor is concerned with its future arrangement, and with some part of it which is to be reserved for younger users. A building identified as the «Hadrianic gymnasium» is thought to be either identical with the large complex called the «Insula of Jason Magnus», or with a structure close by.<sup>19</sup>

31. The infinitive beginning with the syllable κα- might be καταβληθῆναι, but a vox propria in such contexts is κατασκάπτειν: «des mots κατασκάπτειν,

<sup>18</sup> REYNOLDS 118.

<sup>19</sup> L.BACCHIELLI, ArchClass 31, 1979, 161–63; A.SPAWFORTH – S.WALKER, JRS 76, 1986, 99.

κατασκαφή sont de langue courante pour la destruction d'une ville ou de bâtiments, de maisons, de murailles». <sup>20</sup> If there was a reference to the Jewish uprising, it should have used not πόλεμος but τάραχος, which corresponds to the expression *tumultus Iudaicus*. <sup>21</sup>

REYNOLDS understands a new colon to begin in the lacuna, with μανθάνων introducing a long participial clause which explains the action of the main verb in 33. But it would be simpler to make μανθάνων depend on a preceding verb, for example, «I was glad», ἥσθην. Thus Marcus and Commodus writing to the Athenians, ἥσθημεν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὑμῶν ἐντυχόντες; so also Caracalla to the Ephesians, τὸ ψήφισμα δεξάμενος ὑμῶν . . . ἥσθην. <sup>22</sup>

32. The references to «boys being nourished» must surely be taken in conjunction with an inscription of Cyrene from 128/29, in which Hadrian is honored as the city's «founder, nourisher and lawgiver», κτίσταν καὶ τροφ[έα καὶ] νομο[θέταν]. <sup>23</sup> This was at one time understood to refer to difficulties caused by the Jewish revolt, but must rather concern an alimentary system of a kind found both in the western and the eastern halves of the empire; the best-known of these is the imperial one founded by Nerva or Trajan, and continued for several centuries by their successors. <sup>24</sup> According to the *Historia Augusta* (Hadr. 7,8), Hadrian «gave with increased generosity to the boys and girls to whom Trajan had given nourishment (*alimenta*)», and a constitution of Hadrian preserved in the *Digest* sets the eighteenth year as the maximum age at which boys may receive *alimenta*. It is also relevant that at Antinoopolis Hadrian issued constitutions establishing the eligibility of boys and ephebes to compete in his newly-founded Antinoeia. <sup>25</sup> A papyrus from the same city refers to the «benefactions . . . by which [he] wished the children (τέκνα) of the Antinoeans to be nourished (τρέφεσθαι)». <sup>26</sup>

While αὐξ[ανομένους] seems correct, it does not follow that yet another participle followed. REYNOLDS takes the μή after the lacuna to refer to the

<sup>20</sup> L. and J. ROBERT, OMS VII 334–35 (JS 1976).

<sup>21</sup> Thus LÜDERITZ (n. 7) nos. 17, 22. SEG 9,189, a verse-inscription from the temple of Apollo, is not a guide to imperial usage.

<sup>22</sup> OLIVER, Greek Constitutions no. 196, 55 (Marcus and Commodus), no. 244, 10 (Caracalla). Cf. no. 213,17 (Septimius Severus), ἥσθην ὅτι δημοσίαν ἡγάγετε ἐοστῆν.

<sup>23</sup> REYNOLDS, PBSR 26, 1958, 164 (revised text in SEG 17, 809; see also J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. épigr. 1960, 438).

<sup>24</sup> R. P. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge – New York 1982, Ch. 7; C. P. JONES, JHS 109, 1989, 189–91; G. WOOLF, PBSR 58, 1990, 197–228.

<sup>25</sup> Pap. Soc. Ital. 3 (1914) no. 199, with the discussion of J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. épigr. 1952, pp. 192–93.

<sup>26</sup> HA Hadr. 7, 8; Dig. 34,1,4,1, *Hadrianum constituisse, ut pueri usque ad decimum octavum, puellae usque ad quartum decimum annum alantur*; PLond. 1905, 4–5, published by H. I. BELL, Aegyptus 13, 1933, 518–22 (Sammelbuch V 7602).



fears of the boys. It should rather refer to the emperor's own concern, and explain the motive for the gift or order which he is about to announce. That is, the *nu* preceding *μή* should be part of the phrase *ὅπως* or *ἵνα οὖν μή*, and the emperor is expressing his intention to keep the boys separated from other users of the gymnasium, «so that they not mingle with the . . .». His fear is evidently of moral corruption by their elders, and other texts show legislators or benefactors attempting to protect the morals of boys in gymnasia. The gymnasiarchic law of Beroea, from the second century before our era, provides that «none of the young men (*νεανίσκοι*) is to enter in with the boys, nor are they to speak with the boys».<sup>27</sup> At Halicarnassus one of the Ptolemies (probably the first) gives funds «in order that [the younger men] may have a gymnasium, and [the boys may get back] the [palaestra] which the young men are now using», [*ὅπως οἱ νέοι*] *ἔχωσι γυμνάσιον καὶ [οἱ παῖδες κο]μίσωνται τὴν [πάλαιστρον] ἣν νῦν οἱ νέοι χρῶνται*.<sup>28</sup> Hadrian's provision for such matters is shown by an inscription found near the Ilissos which carries an imperial letter: the text may have been, «I give to your boys their own gymnasium», *τοῖς παισὶν ὑμῶν τὸ ἴδιον γυμνάσιον δίδωμι*.<sup>29</sup> At Cyrene, therefore, it was probably not just the grown men (*ἄνδρες*) who concerned the emperor, but «the other» users of the gymnasium in general, *τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

33–35. These lines contained Hadrian's promise or order, and are best considered together. It is agreed that he is providing not merely a common gymnasium, but also a facility which FRASER took to be a stoa, REYNOLDS to be a palaestra. A clue comes from the word *διατριβαί* in line 34. FRASER took it to mean «recreation», and REYNOLDS also seems to understand it of physical exercise, but the word appears never to have such a meaning. In Hellenistic and later Greek, it has two principal senses, «stay, sojourn», and an educational sense in which it may denote an establishment like a teacher's «school» or «class», or a student's «studies» or «lessons». Polybius continually reverts to the word in the second sense, often coupling it with the word *μειράκιον*, «lad, youth», in his criticism of Timaeus: thus Timaeus leaves no room «even for the youths in the schools and the colonnades (*ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς καὶ τοῖς περιπάτοις*) to surpass him».<sup>30</sup> So also Diodorus says of Pausanias, the assassin of Philip II of Macedon: «when [he] was studying (*σχολάζων*) with [the sophist Hermocrates], and had asked during the lesson (*διατριβή*) how a person might become very

<sup>27</sup> PH. GAUTHIER – M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia*, Athens 1993, B 13; cf. L. ROBERT, OMS V 55 (Ann. Coll. Fr. 1974).

<sup>28</sup> A. WILHELM, JOEAI 11, 1908, 56 = *Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* 1, Leipzig 1984; NEWTON's copy had *-νίσωνται*, WILHELM reads *[ἀνακτῆ]σονται*.

<sup>29</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1102; improved text in OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions* no. 85.

<sup>30</sup> Polyb. 12,25k,8; cf. also Polybius' adjective *διατριβικός*, «schoolboyish», 12,25i,5, etc.

famous, the sophist replied, «By killing the man with the highest achievements».<sup>31</sup>

The feminine noun which preceded the relative clause in line 34 should therefore have designated some facility or building in close conjunction with the gymnasium, and yet especially appropriate for education. FRASER's στοάν is possible, since stoas are frequently mentioned in gymnasia. We might, though, expect something which more clearly separated the boys from the men, and it is tempting to suppose that this is an *exedra*. In his directions for planning a gymnasium, Vitruvius lays down the following: «In three (of the four) colonnades there should be constructed spacious *exedrae*, with seats, in which philosophers, rhetors and the others who take delight in studies may sit and dispute.» He also designates one part of the gymnasium as an «*ephebeum*, that is, a very large *exedra* with seats».<sup>32</sup> Similar structures, that is, large rooms opening on one side onto an enclosed court, with benches around the three other sides, have been found at several places. Thus on Delos one of the *exedria* (as they are called in an inscription) is still excellently preserved.<sup>33</sup> Several other inscriptions mention *exedrae* as part of the gymnasium: thus at Sebastopolis in Caria in 116 or 117 a citizen is honored for «paving the *exedra* in the colonnaded court of the gymnasium».<sup>34</sup>

While there seems a very good chance that the required noun in line 33 is ἐξέδραν, the precise syntax must remain uncertain. From the run of the sentence it seems clear enough that the «boys» are the subject of the verb λήμψονται at the end of 34, and if so the «ephebic» *exedra* must have been mentioned as a place separate from the boys' one. Perhaps, therefore, [ἰδῶμι αὐτοῖς ἐξέδραν παρὰ (κατὰ) τὴν ἐφηβικὴν ἰδίαν, «I give them an *exedra* beside (opposite) the ephebic one separately.»

The emperor intends that, as well as a separate space, the boys will be able to receive something given by himself. «Gifts», δωρεάς, is undesirably vague, especially when qualified by the participle διδομένας. Since line 32 referred to the boys being «nourished», a more likely supplement is τροφάς, «gifts of food». Several texts refer to τροφαί given by local benefactors in time of need;

<sup>31</sup> Diod. Sic. 16,94,1.

<sup>32</sup> Vitruv. 5,11,2. In general, J. DELORME, Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce, BEFAR 196, Paris 1960, 325–30; S. SETTIS, ANRW I 4, Berlin – New York 1973, 671–72.

<sup>33</sup> J. AUDIAT, Exploration archéologique de Délos 28: Le Gymnase, Paris 1970, esp. Plate 9 («Salle C»).

<sup>34</sup> J. and L. ROBERT, La Carie, Paris 1954, no. 168. Cf. L. ROBERT, Études anatoliennes, Paris 1937, 78–79, and for a recent example from Athens, D. CLAY, Hesperia 46, 1977, 263–74, observing that «exedrai were the center of the intellectual life of a Greek gymnasium».

thus at Perichaxis of Mysia, παρασχόντα . . . ἀφθόνως καὶ λυσιτελῶς τὰς τροφὰς τῇ πατρίδι.<sup>35</sup>

Again, I propose a tentative restoration and translation (the syntax of line 33 is very uncertain):

- 31 πυνθάνομαι τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῶν κα[τεσκάφθαι ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ ταράχῳ· ἥσθην  
δὲ μα]νθάνων πολ-  
32 λούς ἥδη παῖδας τρεφομένους καὶ αὐξ[ανομένους· -- ca. 15 -- ὅπως οὐ]ν μὴ  
ἐν τῷ κο[ι]-  
33 νῷ γυμνασίῳ συναναφύρονται τοῖς ἄλλοις, δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ἐξέδραν παρὰ  
(κατὰ) τὴν ἐ]φηβικὴν ἰδίαν,  
34 εἰς ἣν φοιτῶντες καὶ τὰς διατριβάς ποι[ήσονται ἀδεῶς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς] λήμ-  
ψονται τὰς  
35 παρ' ἐμοῦ διδομένας.

«I hear that your gymnasium was (demolished in the Jewish disturbance; but I was pleased) to learn that there are now many boys being nourished and growing up . . . (In order therefore) that they may not mingle with the (others) in the general gymnasium, (I grant them an *exedra* beside [or opposite]) the ephebic one separately, going to which they will both take their lessons (with security) and will receive (the food-distributions) given by myself.»

\* \* \*

From line 36 on, less and less of the stone is preserved. I give what is essentially REYNOLDS' text as far as line 43, after which the sense becomes impossible to follow: the apparatus shows the few changes.

- 36 ὁ μάλιστα ἀνανκαῖον ἦν, ὡς ἡξιώσατ[ε ὑμεῖς αὐτοί --- ca. 20 ---] . . . N  
ἐποιη[σ]ά-  
37 μην, ἔστιν δ' οὐδὲν νόμῳ ΠΡΟΥ[- - - ca. 44 - - -] ΩΝ ἀφ' οἷων ὑμεῖς  
38 κατοικιζομένην vac. τίνες δ' ἂν νό[μοι --- ca. 45 --- Λ]ακωνικῶν  
39 καὶ τύχη τινὶ ἀγαθῇ τῆς Κυρήνης [- - - ca. 42 - - -] N τοῖς Λακεδαι-  
40 μονίοις ἐπηνορθωκῶς τοὺς [- - - ca. 44 - - -] vac.  
41 [. ] THCENC[.] NXΩPA[. . .] N[- - - ca. 54 - - -] τέσσερα vac.  
42 Δωριέων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων [- - - ca. 56 - - - Λα]κωνικῇ  
43 σωφροσύνη καὶ ἄσκη[σις . . .]

36: [νομοθε]σίαν R.; [ἐπιμέλ]ειαν? 37: πρὸ ὑ[μῶν] R.: προ[υ]ργαίτερον OLIVER. 39: [ἐ]ν τοῖς R.

The emperor therefore refers to laws, to Spartans and Dorians, and apparently to reforms which he had carried out at Sparta. There has long been evidence for his law reforms at Athens, Megara, and Thespieae. On a statue-

<sup>35</sup> This and several other examples in L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, 76.

base from Cythera, an emperor who is surely Hadrian is honored as the «law-giver and benefactor» (νομοθέταν καὶ εὐεργέταν) of the city; an unpublished text is said to show that he gave Cythera to Sparta at the end of his reign.<sup>36</sup> This part of the Cyrenaean dossier is also relevant to the contemporary Greek interest in collective «nobility» and in the moral codes enacted by early law-givers. Eusebius says explicitly that in reforming the laws of Athens, Hadrian was inspired by the legislation of Dracon and Solon,<sup>37</sup> and Plutarch's Lives of Lycurgus and Solon are not far away in date from the present text.

There remains a fragment which seems to come from this section of the text, and preserves the words [παι]δεύονται and perhaps [ἐπι]σταμαι.<sup>38</sup> Here too the emperor seems to have been discussing education.

\* \* \*

It remains to place this constitution of Hadrian, so far as possible, in a wider setting. The first document on the stone is of 134/35, but it does not follow that the subsequent ones are later. The call for the inhabitants of Cyrene to «come together» to rebuild the city (line 29) might suggest a date soon after the revolt; that would fit with the fact that the inscriptions referring to new buildings or roads after the revolt are dated to 118 or 119.<sup>39</sup> The inscription in which he is honored as a «founder, nourisher and lawgiver» belongs to 128/29, and thus seems to provide a terminus ante, at least if the present document refers to his legislation for Cyrene as something recent or still in progress.<sup>40</sup> The only contrary indication might be his statement that the boys of Cyrene were «*now* being nourished and growing up», but that need not imply the passage of more than a few years since the outbreak of the revolt.

It is natural that a city so proud of its Doric origins should pay particular attention to gymnastic activities, and the evidence for such at Cyrene goes back to the fourth century. It is perhaps also natural that the gymnasium, a classic symbol of Greek public culture, should attract Jewish inhabitants of Cyrene. The gymnasium of Jerusalem was one of the burning issues in the struggle between Hellenising and orthodox Jews at the time of the Maccabees; so also Claudius' famous letter to the Alexandrians shows that Jews of that city

<sup>36</sup> In general, J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. épigr. 1960, 438, citing the evidence for Athens (principally IG II<sup>2</sup> 1100; OLIVER, Greek Constitutions no. 92), Megara (IG VII 70–72), and Thespieae (P. JAMOT, BCH 26, 1902, 296 no. 12); for Athens, see now S. FOLLET, Athènes au II<sup>e</sup> et au III<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris 1976, 112–25. Sparta and inscription of Cythera: I. A. PETROCHELOS, ABSA 93, 1988, 359–62 (SEG 38, 1332).

<sup>37</sup> Eus. Chron. ed. FOTHERINGHAM p. 280, *Hadrianus Atheniensibus leges petentibus ex Draconis et Solonis reliquorumque libris iura composuit*. Cf. FOLLET (previous n.) 114, 118.

<sup>38</sup> REYNOLDS 114, with Plate III 4.

<sup>39</sup> LÜDERITZ (n. 7) nos. 17, 23–25.

<sup>40</sup> SEG 17,809; observed by REYNOLDS 118.

had been «intruding on contests given by the gymnasiarchs and the cosmetes».<sup>41</sup> At Cyrene, Jews appear enrolled among the ephebes in a long list of 3/4 CE, and similarly in another of 60/61.<sup>42</sup> It may be guessed, however, that well before the revolt of 115, perhaps since the Jewish war of Vespasian, they had been excluded from this most Greek of public institutions.

If the text proposed here is approximately correct, Hadrian mentioned the oracles which had blessed the founding of the city, and at the same time he execrated the Jews whose recent depredations continued to cause fear. His concern for the gymnasium is part of the same story. Just as the gymnasium might well have served as a primary target of Jewish violence in the revolt, so correspondingly Hadrian's measures seem to have accentuated the «Dorian» elements in the city's constitution, rather as Claudius reaffirmed the Hellenic institutions of Alexandria after the troubles under Gaius.<sup>43</sup> When interpreted in this way, this document may also help to provide part of the background for the emperor's measures in Judaea in the later 120's and for his edict against circumcision. This, according to the *Historia Augusta*, led directly to the Jewish War of his final years.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Maccabees: II Macc. 4,9; 4,12; 4,14. Claudius: OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions* no. 19, 92–93. On Jews attested in other gymnasia, LÜDERITZ (n. 7) pp. 20–21.

<sup>42</sup> LÜDERITZ (n. 7) nos. 7, 8 (SEG 20, 741, 737).

<sup>43</sup> A. D. MOMIGLIANO, *Claudius: The Emperor and his Achievement*<sup>2</sup>, London 1961, 298–336; SMALLWOOD (n. 7) 247–50.

<sup>44</sup> HA Hadr. 14,2, *moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia*. Thus e.g. SMALLWOOD (n. 7) 429–31; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *A Roman Perspective on the Bar Kochba War*, in: W.S. GREEN (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism II*, *Brown Judaic Studies* 9, Providence RI 1980, 131–41 = *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire*, Goldbach (Unterfranken) 1994, 75–84.