

PHILOSOPHERS AND PROCURATORS, RELATIVES OF THE AEMILIUS JUNCUS OF *VITA* *COMMUDI* 4, 11

(PLATES 17, 18)

IN May 1966 B. D. Meritt sent much information and invited the writer to publish two Agora inscriptions, for which he had waited many years and about which he had just inquired, namely the monument for Ti. Varius Caelianus and the monument for his daughter Varia Archelais. The latter particularly presented a problem, because heavy marble fragments had to be held in position in order to be read and to be measured for gaps. When large pieces offer only a small or even no area of contact, this becomes very difficult. In the summer of 1966 Eugene Vanderpool helped to reconstruct the Varia Archelais monument out of fragments which Margaret Crosby had brought together over the years as she happened to recognize them. To all the Agora staff and particularly to these three eminent scholars the writer, who worked chiefly in America, owes a debt which he gladly and gratefully acknowledges.

HONORARY MONUMENT OF VARIUS CAELIANUS

1 (Plate 17). Six joining and several (uninscribed) non-joining fragments of a large base of Pentelic marble with top and two sides smoothed, back and bottom broken away. It is finished along the top (both in front and at the sides) with a heavy moulding, well preserved above the left side. The smooth flat top is unusual in the concave slope along the top and sides, rather like that on the Varia Archelais monument *infra* but with a more pronounced curve to a deeper slope, 0.12 m. wide on the sides and 0.08 m. wide on the front. The fragments were discovered November 17, 1936 in a modern house wall at the north foot of the Areopagus (L 16-17).

Preserved height, 0.64 m.; width just below moulding, 0.78 m.; projection of moulding, 0.078 m.; preserved thickness, *ca.* 0.375 m.

Height of letters, 0.045 m.

Inventory No. I 4280.

A.D. 90-170

·Τι· Οὐάριος
Κ[α]ιλιανὸς
διὰ[δ]οχος
[λόγω]ν

Heads of philosophical schools at Athens are attested by *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64 (Flavius Menander, whose son and grandchildren made a dedication to Trajan), *I.G.*, II², 1099 (Pupillius Theotimus of the Epicurean School), 3571 (T. Coponius Maximus of the Stoic School, an Athenian citizen), 3801 (Aurelius Heraclides of the Stoic School, an Athenian citizen), 11551 (Julius Zosimianus of the Stoic School) and *T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 495 (Epicurean School). References to philosophers in the inscriptions have been collected by M. N. Tod, "Sidelights on Greek Philosophers," *J.H.S.*, LXXVII, 1957, pp. 132-141; additions and corrections are offered by J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*, 1958, no. 84.

The *diadochos* Caelianus, successor of Plato or Aristotle or Zeno or Epicurus and as such head of the Academy or other school, was hitherto unknown. The Stoa and Epicurean School seem less likely because of directors already attested, but they cannot be excluded. A Stoic, furthermore, would probably be identified as such (cf. *I.G.*, II², 3801 and 11551, τὸν διάδοχον τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος λόγων, and 3571, διάδοχον Στω[ικόν]), whether with special pride or to distinguish him from the head of the Academy. We think of Caelianus as a Platonist, because the school is not differentiated and the article is absent (as also in the title of Flavius Menander). The inscription in any case contributes the name of an important personality of the period. He was not an Athenian citizen, probably because until A.D. 121 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1099) the head of a philosophical school had to be a Roman citizen and it was still unusual for a prominent Roman citizen to accept any other citizenship.

Probably Hieronymus of Cardia first applied the word *diadochoi* to the first-generation successors of Alexander the Great, whereas the succeeding generations were known as the *epigonoi*. The word *diadochoi*, which appears in the testament of Epicurus, was naturally used also for the successors of Plato, Zeno, etc., not just of the first generation, and the word *diadoche* was a term for philosophical school at least from the Trajanic Period on. Plutarch, *De exilio*, 605B speaks of the *Stoike diadoche* at Babylon. Leo¹ may have hit the mark in saying "die eigentliche *διαδοχή* ist seit Sotion die *διαδοχή τῶν φιλοσόφων*." Sotion's *Διαδοχή τῶν φιλοσόφων* gave the biographies of the philosophers with special attention to school, writings and *apophthegmata*.² But what is the date of Sotion, Hellenistic as Leo thought, or Julio-Claudian as Philippson³ argued? Also Nicias of Nicaea wrote an influential work on Successions of the philosophical schools. And what is the date of Nicias, earlier than Sotion as Philippson⁴ claimed, or "gegen Ende der Neronischen Zeit" as

¹ Fr. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 129.

² Karl Praechter, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des Altertums*, Berlin, 1920, p. 24 dates the work of Sotion between 200 and 170 B.C.

³ R. Philippson, "Panaetiana," *Rh. Mus.*, LXXVIII, 1929, pp. 342-353 and LXXIX, 1930, pp. 406-410, who says he is identical with Seneca's teacher.

⁴ R. Philippson, *R.E.*, Supplementband VII, 1940, coll. 569 f., s.v. "Nikias 26a."

Usener⁵ argued? The answers are not clear, but an epigraphist will receive the impression that something happened not far from A.D. 70 to identify in everyone's mind the terms *diadochos* and *diadoche* with the Succession in the philosophical schools. This may have been partly the influence of a new work on "Successions," but a basic regulation of the philosophical, rhetorical and medical schools by Vespasian, whose concern with higher education appears in a famous edict,⁶ would account for the recent emergence of the terms in public documents. For we have to explain why all the epigraphical references occur in the Trajanic Period and later. The Roman interest in the succession of those at the head of philosophical schools probably arose with a new interest in protecting the endowments under Vespasian or even Domitian.⁷ For a while it was felt that only a Roman citizen could make an effective director. If local magnates, burdened with liturgies, tried to divert his funds, a Roman citizen had immediate access to a Roman court.

The monument in honor of Caelianus was probably erected during his lifetime, but whether this is true or not, the dating depends upon our interpretation of the Varia Archelais monument set up by the grandson of Caelianus.

VARIA ARCHELAIS MONUMENT

2 (Plate 17). Fragments of a large base of white ("Pentelic") marble were gathered during the year 1934 from the walls of several modern houses in the area M-N 14-15 of the Athenian Agora. Fifteen inscribed and several uninscribed fragments join as one piece preserving parts of the top, sides and bottom, but broken away in back. There is a heavy moulding above and below. The smooth flat top (see photograph on Plate 17) is unusual in the slight concave slope, 0.08 m. wide, along the front and sides, like that of a mensa.

Height, 0.74 m.; width, 0.74 m.; preserved thickness, 0.33 m.

Height of letters, 0.04 in lines 1-3 and 5-6, 0.03 m. in line 4.

Inventory Nos., I 1228 + 1232 + 1271 + 1292 + 1323 + 1793 + 2029 + 2596.

Another fragment belonging to the lower right corner of the inscription pre-

⁵ H. Usener, "Die Unterlage des Diogenes Laertius," *Sitzungsb. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1892, pp. 1023-1034. One need not consider Nicias of Nicaea the foundation for Diogenes Laertius as Usener does.

⁶ See R. Herzog, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1935, pp. 967-1019.

⁷ For a discussion of the peril to endowments and of the Roman remedy see J. H. Oliver, "The Ruling Power," *Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.*, XLIII, 1953, pp. 970-976. Claudius too showed concern but not Nero. Th. Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften*, III, p. 52 thought the regulation that the director had to be a Roman citizen was made, "um die Suprematie über Hellas zu behaupten," and Herzog rather agreed with him. In the writer's opinion this was not the reason at all.

serves part of the right side but does not join. The accompanying drawing (Fig. 1) shows it in position.

Preserved height, 0.20 m.; preserved width, 0.29 m.; preserved thickness, 0.32 m.
Height of letters, 0.04 m. in line 5, 0.025 m. in line 6 (end).



FIG. 1

Inventory No. I 2032.

[Ο]ὐάρια Ϝ Ἀρχελαῖς
[Τί] Οὐα[ρίου] Κα[ιλιανού θυ]γά[τηρ]
[Αἰ]μιλίου Ἰούνκο[υ ὑπατι]κοῦ [γυνή]
συνεβίω ἔτε[σι --]
5 Δ Ϝ Αἰμί[λ]ιος Ἰοῦγκ[ο]ς ὑπατικὸς
[Γ]αργήτι[ο]ς ἀνθύπατος

The difference in lettering suggests that line 4 and the last word of line 6 were not part of the original design but were added because the dedicator was proud of his

proconsulship and his father's long life and marriage, or, more likely, because his mother asked for these additions.

The dedicator was L. Aemilius Juncus, vir consularis, Athenian citizen of the deme Gargettos, proconsul. Since he was a *consularis*, he was proconsul of either Africa or Asia, not Achaia. The proconsul of Achaia was always a man of praetorian rank. Africa is remote, and so with virtual certainty we may recognize in Aemilius Juncus of Gargettos a governor of Asia.

The person honored was his mother, Varia Archelais, daughter of Ti. Varius Caelianus, whom we have just encountered in the honorary inscription on a rather similar base, the *diadochos* of a philosophical school at Athens. By residence, though not by law, the lady was an Athenian.

While there is no evidence that either Varius Caelianus or the elder Juncus received Athenian citizenship, the younger Juncus did become an Athenian citizen. Whether he received his Athenian citizenship by serving as ephebe at Athens,⁸ a city with which he was closely connected through his mother, or by special grant we do not know.

The main problem is to identify Aemilius Juncus the father. The *Fasti Ostienses*⁹ and a military diploma¹⁰ attest a *consul suffectus* named L. Aemilius Juncus for the year 127. This (rather than a later Aemilius Juncus consularis) would seem to be our man, Aemilius Juncus, the father.

If, as we shall note, the father came from an equestrian family, he did not achieve the consulate at the minimum age of thirty-three, but he may have been forty or fifty years old in 127. He was married perhaps around the age of thirty-one, because a consular would have presumably contracted a more splendid marriage than that with the daughter of a philosopher. Did he meet his future wife by visiting Athens with Hadrian? Did he himself as a young man study philosophy at Athens with Varius Caelianus? We cannot say, but we shall hit the mark fairly well if we date his marriage between A.D. 107 and 120. Let us assume that Aemilius Juncus, the Gargettian, first saw the light of day one year later and that as the son of a consular he became consul at the age of thirty-three and proconsul about fourteen years later. We incline to the view that the Gargettian became proconsul of Asia in some year between A.D. 150 and 165. His father, whether septuagenarian or octogenarian, was still alive, and the length of the marriage had a special interest.

The second most important problem is to determine the relationship between the

⁸ O. W. Reinmuth, "The Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 211-231. In *I.G.*, II², 2017 and *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 247, no. 8 (Raubitschek) the son of a *diadochos* and donor of a library, T. Flavius Pantaenus, appears as an Athenian citizen of the deme Gargettos. Two rich foreigners, therefore, who had connections with a School at Athens were assigned to the deme Gargettos on receiving citizenship.

⁹ *I.I.*, XIII, 5 XXVI, cited *infra*, D.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.*, XVI, 72 (= X, 7854), cited *infra*, E.

Gargettian who was proconsul (of Asia) in the reign of Antoninus Pius or of Marcus Aurelius, and the consul(ar) named Aemilius Juncus who was driven into exile by Commodus in A.D. 183. If the Gargettian was still alive in 183, he would according to our calculations have been between sixty-two and seventy-five years old.¹¹

The information concerning the exile of a consular named Aemilius Juncus in A.D. 183 comes from the *Vita Commodi* 4, 11: *In exilium autem acti sunt <A>emilius Iunc{t}us e{s}t Atilius Severus consules.*

The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* enjoy little respect for accuracy, and the need for testing information is greater in their case than with our other sources. One question that arises concerns the word *consules*, which, as Groag and Degraasi insist, may mean *consul<ar>es* in view of the way the *SHA* garble names and titles. There is no corroborating evidence that Aemilius Juncus and Atilius Severus were *consules suffecti* in A.D. 183 itself; they were certainly not the *ordinarii*. The other question concerns the fact of their disgrace. On both these points inscriptions from the Athenian Agora have a possible bearing. The Varia Archelais inscription shows that Aemilius Juncus had received Athenian citizenship and been enrolled in the deme Gargettos. This fact recalls to our memory the problem of an Agora inscription, to which we now return after more than thirty years.

A prytany catalogue for the tenth prytany of A.D. 182/3¹² (Pl. 18) contains, as B. D. Meritt pointed out,¹³ a complete panel of forty names "if two names plus titles . . . are supplied in the erasures of lines 5-8." Accordingly, these erasures, unparalleled for Athenian councillors, cannot be explained in any way except as the consequence of *abolitio memoriae*. The two names erased were the first two names in the catalogue. Since both names came under the heading Γαργήττιοι, neither man was the so-called eponymos of the prytanizing tribe, who bore the expenses in the absence of a rich prytanis.¹⁴ The first name, however, must have been that of the treasurer, whom the prytaneis chose from their own number.¹⁵ The title of the treasurer did not appear after his name in prytany catalogues, at least not under normal circumstances, although it might be engraved in a citation or in a decree. Therefore, the titles or predicates of rank, which followed or preceded the names in the prytany catalogue

¹¹ In *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* of 1933, Groag assumed that the *consul suffectus* of A.D. 127 (*PIR*² A 355) was the father or grandfather of the Aemilius Juncus (*PIR*² A 352) who was driven into exile in A.D. 183, but in his review of Hüttl's *Antoninus Pius*, vol. II Groag asserted that the exiled consular could not have been the son of the consul of 127 (*Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 16 Dec. 1933, col. 1382).

¹² Originally published as *ca.* A.D. 180/1 by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 48, no. 11, and precisely dated to A.D. 182/3 by J. A. Notopoulos, "Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire," *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, pp. 44-55.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 302 f.

¹⁴ J. H. Oliver, "Patrons Providing Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens," *A.J.P.*, LXX, 1949, pp. 299-308 and 403.

¹⁵ S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (= *Hesperia*, Supplement I, 1937), pp. 13-15.

of 183 and underwent erasure with them, were unusual. In this year, the year after Memmius Flaccus as the Athenians called it, no one was found to assume the financial burden of the archonship, but in the tenth prytany some unusual man of wealth turned up among the Gargettios in time to serve as prytanis and treasurer.

It is our suggestion that the two names erased in the catalogue of A.D. 183 were those of the exiled senator Aemilius Juncus and a kinsman of his, since one Aemilius Juncus belonged to the deme Gargettos as we now learn from the Agora inscription in honor of Varia Archelais. One entry probably read ὁ κράτιστος Αἰμίλιος | Ἰοῦνκος, and the second, with a name two letters shorter, ὁ κράτιστος Αἰμίλιος | Κᾶρος. They had come back to Athens in more or less voluntary exile and were enthusiastically received for a few months until a public condemnation occurred or the political implications of the sojourn were better understood.

A Hadrianic or slightly later L. Aemilius Carus is already known at Athens from *I.G.*, II², 2810, but he does not have the appearance of a Roman senator. A *vir clarissimus* Aemilius Carus, on the other hand, appears in inscriptions of Dacia as imperial legate of the Three Dacias under Marcus Aurelius. A. Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien* (= *Diss. Pann.*, I, 14, 1944), pp. 44-46 distinguished this man from the L. Aemilius L. f. Cam(ilia tribu) Karus (*sic*), whose brilliant career is familiar to us from an inscription at Rome, *I.L.S.*, 1077; Karus was legate of Arabia, consul, then legate of Cappadocia. The governorship of Arabia may be dated around April of A.D. 143 by a dedication best consulted in *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven, Conn., 1938, inscription 15. Karus was over thirty in 143. He could have been a son of the Juncus cos. 127 and have derived his cognomen from a certain Varius Karus (*sic*), presumably his mother's uncle or brother and certainly a strikingly close associate of one Aemilius Juncus. We dare not assume it. The evidence remains confusing, but if the consul of 127 had a (younger) son born before A.D. 113, the Aemilius Juncus exiled in 183 was more likely to be his grandson than his son. It is fair to call him the first *vir clarissimus* of the prytany catalogue; the second *vir clarissimus* from the same deme and with the same fate would be a close relative, e.g. brother. Since the cognomen Carus is certainly attested in the family and just fits the space, we may call him the *v. c.* Aemilius Carus without identifying him further.

In the post-Hadrianic period the civil year at Athens began with the month Boedromion¹⁶ (roughly September). We do not know what kind of year, ordinary or intercalary, preceded or coincided with the year 182/3, the year after Memmius Flaccus, but if we assume that 182/3 was an ordinary year, the tenth prytany fell in the period between day 241 and day 271. If we assume that 182/3 was a year of thirteen months, the tenth prytany fell in the period between day 269 and day 299. Since there were thirteen tribes in post-Hadrianic Athens, there were thirteen pry-

¹⁶ O. Hirschfeld, *Hermes*, VII, 1873, p. 57; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 14-17.

tanies in a year; hence the tenth prytany of 182/3 fell around May of A.D. 183. We draw from all this the inferences that an Aemilius Juncus was indeed condemned in A.D. 183, that Aemilius Juncus, surely a grandson of Juncus and Varia Archelais, was still closely enough connected with Athens to choose Athens for voluntary retirement and that he was the Aemilius Juncus driven into exile by Commodus, and that in the spring of 183 L. Aemilius Juncus had not yet been publicly condemned.

Even before the conspiracy of Lucilla, Commodus began easing out his father's friends. *Amicos senes abiicit*, one reads in the *Vita*, 3, 1. It is now known that the conspiracy of Lucilla occurred in 182,¹⁷ not in 183, but the big purge did not occur until months later in 183, when charges were brought against many distinguished senators.

We now list all the epigraphical references to men named Aemilius Juncus.

A) Lead tessera at Berytus, *A.É.*, 1903, 116: *Aemilio [I]unco [p]roc(uratori) Aug(usti)*.

B) Lead pipe at Rome, *C.I.L.*, XV, 7379: *L. Aemili Iunci*.

C) Sepulchral monument at Rome, *C.I.L.*, VI, 32995: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aemilius Iuncus | et Varius Karus fecer(unt) | lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue) suis | posterisq(ue) eorum*. To the right of the inscription, at a point between lines 2 and 3, appear the letters *PP*, traditionally interpreted to mean *p(rimus) p(ilus)* and connected with Aemilius Juncus. Are they ancient at all, and if so, could they not mean *p(atroni)*? Or *p(atroni) p(ientissimi)*? Not that *primipilus* is impossible (cf. *I.G.R.R.*, III, 810), but the original inscription is complete without *PP*. From Rome Robert B. Lloyd and Herbert Benario report that the stone has disappeared.

D) Fasti Ostienses, *I.I.*, XIII, 5, XXVI, under consuls of A.D. 127: *k. Oct. L. Aemilius Iuncus [Se]x. Iulius Severus*.

E) Diploma militare of A.D. 127, *C.I.L.*, XVI, 72, dated *a. d. V id. Oct. L. Aemilio Iunco Sex. Iulio Severo cos.*

F) Honorary inscription at Sparta, *I.G.*, V, 1, 485: 'Α πόλις | Τιβ. Κλαύδιον 'Αρμό|νεικον Πλειστο|ξένου λαβόντα τὰς | τῆς ἀριστοπολειτ[εί]ας τειμὰς κατὰ τὸν | νόμον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ | δήμου, καθὰ καὶ ὁ θει|ότατος Αὐτοκράτωρ | Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς 'Αδρι|ανὸς Σεβαστὸς καὶ | Αἰμίλιος Ἰούγκος ὁ δι|καιοδότης περὶ αὐ|τοῦ ἐπέστειλαν.

G) Statue base on the Acropolis at Athens, *I.G.*, II², 4210: Τριπολιτῶν τῆς | Φοινείκης τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀ|σύλου καὶ αὐτονόμου | καὶ ναυαρχίδος οἱ ἄρχον|τες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Αἰμίλιον Ἰούγκον πρεσβευ|τὴν Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρά|τηγον τὸν ἐαυτῶν πολεῖ|την καὶ εὐεργέτην εὐχαρισ|τίας ἔνεκεν διὰ πρεσβευτοῦ | Γαίου Ἰουλίου Προκλητιανοῦ | ἀνέθηκαν ἐπιψηφισαμένης | τῆς ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλῆς | καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Φ^ο καὶ

¹⁷ J. Aymard, "La conjuration de Lucilla," *R.E.A.*, LVII, 1955, pp. 86-91 at 86-87; F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodus* (Memorie dell' Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie IV, 7, 1964), pp. 145-183.

τοῦ | δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων | ἐπὶ ἱερείας Φλ Φαιναρέτης. The Council of the Five Hundred began operation in 125.¹⁸

H) The Agora inscription published above, in honor of Varia Archelais, [Αἰ]μ-
λίον Ἰούνκο[υ ὑπατι]κοῦ [γυνή].

I) The sepulchral monument at Thyatira published by P. Foucart from A. Fontrier's copy and squeeze, *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, p. 99, no. 22 (= *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 1275):

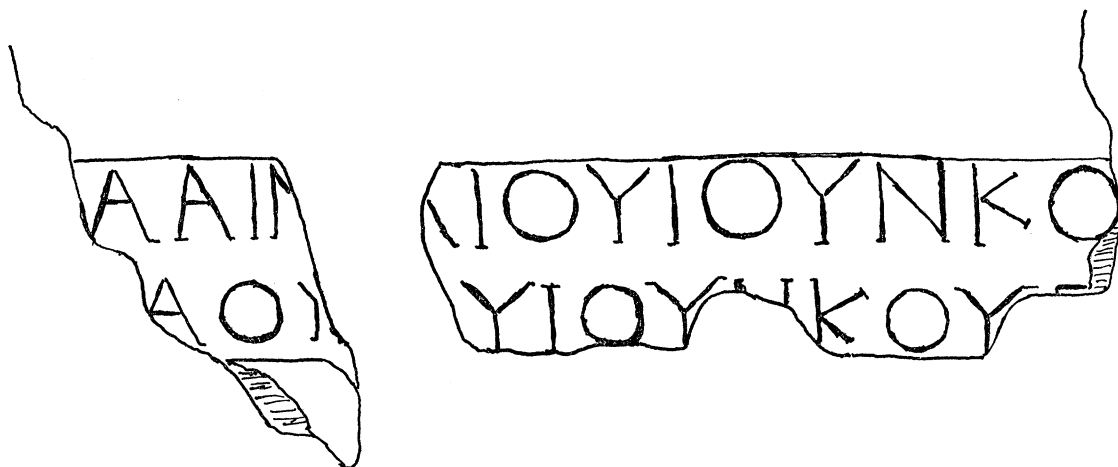


FIG. 2

[Ἀ]λέξανδρος, Μηνοφίλου Θυατειρηνὸς τὴν σορὸν ἑαυτῷ. | οὐδενὶ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ἐξέσται θεῖναι
τινα εἰς τὴν σορὸν οὐ[δὲ] | ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι κατὰ οὐδένα τρόπον· εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ παρὰ τα[ῦτά] |
τι ποιήσας δώ[σει] τῇ Θυατειρηνῶν πόλει Χ δισχίλια πεντα|κόσια. ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς
ἀντίγραφον ἐτέθη εἰς τὸ ἀρχε[ῖ] | ον, ἀνθυπάτῳ Αἰμιλίῳ Ἰούνκῳ μη(νὸς) Ξανδικοῦ ὀκτω-
καιδεκάτῃ.

J) A dedication in the Asclepieum at Athens, *I.G.*, II², 4512 (Fig. 2): [— — —]α
Αἰμ[ι]λίον Ἰούνκο[υ θυγάτηρ] | — — —]αου[ί]ο[υ] Ἰούνκου γ[υνή] — — —.¹⁹

¹⁸ The change from a Council of the Six Hundred to one of Five Hundred was part of the reorganization of the Athenian constitution by Hadrian on his first visit as emperor at Athenian request. The year 122 given by Jerome or 121 given by the *Versio Armenia* is more likely to be that of the Athenian request than of the emperor's performance. The visit occurred in 124/5. Since some new honors were invented for later visits, the date at which the Athenians changed the name of the intercalary month from Ποσειδεὼν β' to Ἀδριανῶν need not have come at this time at all and should not confuse the issue as in the unconvincing discussion by J. A. Notopoulos, "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53-56. The Athenians, as P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, p. 32 pointed out, had been trying to revise their laws from at least 119/20. Hence, the year 124/5 when the Council of the Six Hundred (*I.G.*, II², 3287) is last mentioned and when thirteen *cunei* were laid out in the Theater is the crucial year, as Graindor saw.

¹⁹ The reading, here given, and the drawing which accompanies it (Fig. 2) were made by the writer in September, 1966. Daniel Geagan had in June notified him correctly that the two lines

Whereas new men were seldom admitted to curule office under the Republic, the senatorial nobility of the Early Empire was constantly renewed by the admission of new families. In his masterly study of the equestrian order, A. Stein²⁰ has shown that the new men were found largely among the sons of the emperor's best equestrian agents. The known examples are so numerous that when a prominent equestrian agent like a procurator of Syria has the same nomen and cognomen as a senator of the next generation or so, it is natural to infer that the senator is descended from the homonymous procurator, who in turn may have been the son of another eques or himself recruited from the army.

The procurator of Syria mentioned in A was identified by A. Stein (*PIR*² A 354) as probably the father of the consul suffectus of 127. No evidence concerning a man named Aemilius Juncus weakens this attractive identification.

Foucart preferred to date the proconsul mentioned in I with the suffect consul of 127. Others²¹ said "either the suffect consul of 127 or the consular exiled in 183," but in a review of Hüttl's *Antoninus Pius* II Groag²² commented: "Der Proconsul von Asia Aemilius Juncus könnte auch der Generation zwischen dem Consul 127 und dem von Commodus verbannten Consular . . . angehören." Part of the problem is settled by the Varia Archelais monument which proves that the proconsul of Asia was the son of the consul of 127.

So much for the main evidence. We now turn to peripheral problems. It must be remembered Juncus was not such an uncommon name that in the Trajanic-Hadrianic period there would have been only one procurator with that cognomen. For the sake of completeness, however, we add these three further inscriptions, L, M, N, which have the cognomen Juncus without the nomen Aemilius but which have been interpreted by some student or other as referring to some Aemilius Juncus. These identifications must be corroborated by evidence stronger than a common cognomen, if they are to be taken seriously.

L) The plaque at Pergamum published by H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 286-291, no. 15 and XXXIII, 1908, p. 420 (= *I.G.R.R.*, IV, 35) with several imperial letters, one dated 131-132, and another engraved below it and pre-

were engraved on the recessed portion, occupying its whole height, and that there never had been a third line. It is a curved monument; one cannot estimate exactly how much of the inscription is lost to left and right, but not much, because the names must have been legible to a reader without walking around the dedication. Restorations of line 1 are Αἰμ[ι]λίου Ἰούγκου by Dittenberger, θνγάτηρ by Kirchner. Kirchner restored [Ἰ]ουκ[τ]αυ[ί]ου and γυνή in line 2, where one could consider also [Τ· Φλ]αυ[ί]ου or [Καλ]αυ[ί]ου and γ[υνή] ἐχθήν].

²⁰ A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, X, 1927), pp. 307-344.

²¹ For instance, Victor Chapot, "Données nouvelles sur la prosopographie de l'Asie proconsulaire," *Mélanges en hommage à la mémoire de Fr. Martroye*, Paris, 1941, pp. 81-92.

²² Ed. Groag, *Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 16 Dec. 1933, col. 1382.

sumably later, which begins with the greetings of Hadrian to the archons, council and demos of the Pergamenes and ends — — — — — Ἰο]ῦνκος ὁ ἐπίτροπος μου.

M) The statue base reported by A. Stein, *R.E.*, X, 1919, col. 954, no. 2 and published by J. Keil, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, IV, 1, 1932, pp. 89-90, no. 12 (= *A.É.*, 1935, 167 and Smallwood, *Documents . . .*, no. 246): [— — — —] | *Iuncum* | *prae-f(ectum) coh(ortis) I* | *Pannoniorum, trib(unum)* | *cohortis V Gemellae* | *civium Romanorum*, | *tribunum leg(ionis) X Fretensis*, | *prae-f(ectum) alae Gallor(um) veteranor(um)*, | *donáto ab imp(eratore) Traiáno* | *in bello Parthico hasta púra* | *et corona vallari, próc(uratorem) Cilic(iae)* | *et Cypri, iuridicum Alexandreae* | *ad Aegyptum, próc(uratorem)* | *provinc(iae) Asiae*. | *Decuriónes et tabellári* | *et equités qui sunt* | *ad Larés Domnicós*.

N) The plaque from the Athenian Acropolis published as *I.G.*, II², 3194 (= III, 70). The heading mentions an Athenian archon Syllas who held office for a year between A.D. 144 and 150. Then at least two documents are cited, and since these unlike the heading are given in the archaizing (Old Attic) script, they are not contemporary but older documents extracted from local archives because of their importance for a new situation.

N 1 (= lines 4-17), the first and presumably earliest document, contains, as was pointed out in *A.J.P.*, LXXVIII, 1957, p. 35, the typical formula of a decision in a Roman court. We here ignore the archaizing script and read the opening words of this mutilated text: Ἰοῦγκ[ος λαλήσα]ς μετὰ τῶν συνεδρευόντων[ν] | ἀνέγ[ν]ω [ἀπόφασιν].

N 2 (= lines 18 ff.), the second document, perhaps the decision of another Roman judge, may have begun Ζηρόδοτος [εἶπεν and contains in line 20 a reference to the preceding decision, — — — — Ἰ]οῦγκος.

It is easiest to begin with N. Since Aemilius Juncus is attested by F as *δικαιοδότης* under Hadrian for business concerning the free city of Sparta, it seems obvious that the Roman judge Juncus who delivered a decision on a matter concerning the free city of Athens in a period earlier than the late forties of the second century was the same man, presumably a *legatus Aug. pro pr.* identical with the homonymous consul of 127.

As for L and M, Stein pointed out that they concerned a single individual who was procurator of Asia. He did not identify the procurator of Asia with Aemilius Juncus attested by A as procurator of Syria, of whom in *PIR*² A 354 he later said, "Pater videtur consulis a. 127." The son would have risen to the consulate in that case before the father became a *ducenarius*. This could hardly be. Rather it proves that the Juncus procurator of Asia was not the Aemilius Juncus who became procurator of Syria. Keil, however, identified the two procurators, and in this inference he is followed by H.-G. Pflaum, who accordingly has to deny that the procurator

Aemilius Juncus was the father of the consul of 127. In our opinion this conflation which runs through both parts of Pflaum's ordinarily reliable study of the procurators²³ is mistaken. We think it more likely that the procurator of Asia was the -avius Juncus of J.

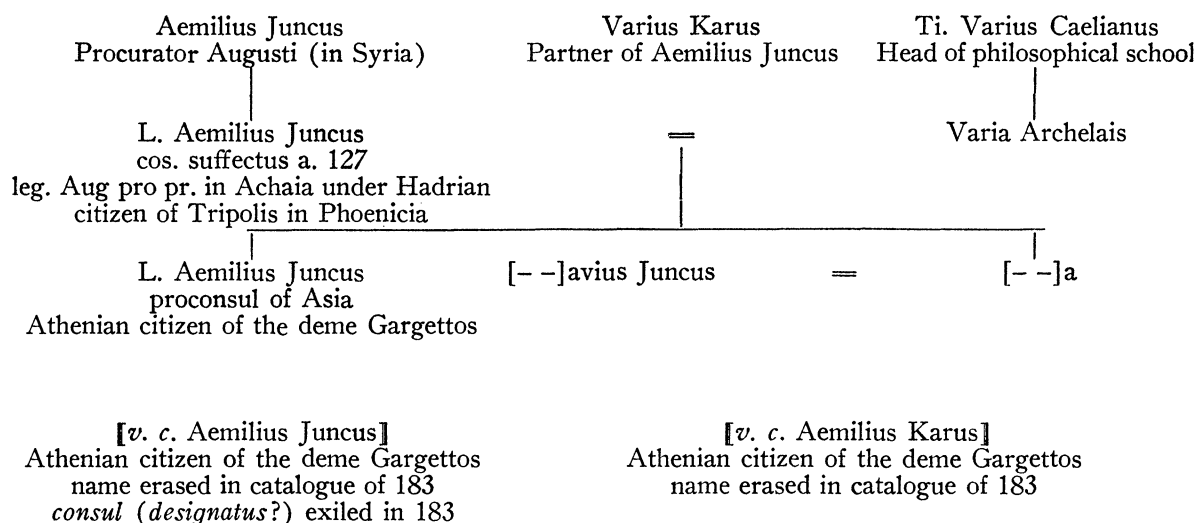


FIG. 3. L. Aemilius Juncus and his Relatives. Whether the consul or consular exiled in A.D. 183 was the son or the nephew of the proconsul of Asia remains uncertain. The son-in-law of the consul of A.D. 127 could have been a prominent *eques* like the Juncus procurator of Asia under Hadrian.

Finally, there is a Juncus whom no one has thought of identifying with an Aemilius Juncus but who could well be the son-in-law or grandson of the *diadochos*. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, IV, pp. 1060-1065 Hense, has preserved an extract labeled Ἰούγκων ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ Γήρων. Praechter²⁴ considers this Juncus a Platonist of the late first or second century after Christ. Moreschini²⁵ dates him to the same period.

That the author of the *Περὶ Γήρων* is identical with the Aemilius Juncus cos. 127 the writer believes for four reasons of which the reader will judge the validity or subjectivity.

1) The well-known men named Juncus were the consulares named Aemilius Juncus. The author of the *Περὶ Γήρων* ought to have been differentiated if he were not

²³ H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain*, Paris, 1950, pp. 236, 342, 345, and *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain* (= Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, LVII, 1960-1961), pp. 281-283, no. 116.

²⁴ K. Praechter, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des Altertums*, Berlin, 1920, p. 564.

²⁵ C. Moreschini, "La posizione di Apuleio e della scuola di Gaio nell'ambito del medio-platonismo," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. II, XXXIII, 1964, p. 28, mentions Juncus without enthusiasm.

an Aemilius Juncus. Therefore, the chances are that he was a consular named Aemilius Juncus.

2) The Aemilius Juncus cos. 127 probably married the daughter of the head of a philosophical school at Athens because he himself was in some way connected with the school. He probably had philosophical pretensions.

3) The Varia Archelais monument attests to the advanced age of the cos. 127, who accordingly had an important qualification for the authorship.

4) The extract from Juncus, *Περὶ Γήρωος*, composed in a good Attic Greek, contains a reference to Solon's legislation concerning the minimum age of thirty for an archon and councilman. Juncus "the philosopher" says: Ἀθηναῖος Σόλων, νομοθετήσας μῆτε ἄρχειν τὸν σφόδρα νέον μῆτε ξυμβουλεύειν, εἰ καὶ ἄριστα δοκοίη γνώμης ἔχει. The reference seems to be to the post-Solonian Council of the Five Hundred, but the rule could have been formulated first for the Solonian Council of the Four Hundred, if the reader admits the latter's historicity, as in fact the writer does. The last six words, however, reflect a more recent discussion of the advisability of maintaining this rule, and in the writer's opinion the more recent discussion would be that of the Hadrianic period when the Athenians, having difficulty in finding eligible men for the Council of Six Hundred, returned to the original Cleisthenean number of Five Hundred and persuaded the emperor to revise "the laws from Draco and Solon,"²⁶ as they called their code and constitution. Now the Roman judge Juncus, who appears at Athens in text N above, has been recognized as both the cos. of 127 and the legal expert whom Hadrian sent to the free cities of Achaia with the title, *legatus Augusti pro praetore iuridicus*.

TRANSLATION OF THE STOBAEUS EXTRACT FROM JUNCUS, *ON OLD AGE*

To return to my own opinion, I think that older men, because of the influence of time itself and because throughout their lives they have seen results, are clean of misconceptions, while young men in a search for the good are impeded by physical strength, relying on which they are somehow drawn to wars and encroachment, and by negligence of their true interests. And note that Solon of Athens stands at my side in support of this view; in drawing up the code of laws he ordered that the very young man should not be eligible to hold a magistracy or to be a member of the Council, even if he seemed to be of excellent judgment.

Moreover, there is the fact that the old men have been drained of their desires and are no longer troubled by them at all. This in my opinion has been granted to mankind as a very great and proper gift indeed, by the gods, in accordance with a certain resemblance of the nature of men to their own. For while the gods "eat not grain, drink not sparkling wine" (*Il.*, V, 341), the men who refrain from the food or drink which is excessive and troublesome in no respect miss the use of it; on the one hand, they have escaped the grievousness of its lack, and, on the other, their self-sufficiency brings them pleasure. And that they have been relieved of the impulse and

²⁶ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, Ch. IV; J. H. Oliver, "The Ruling Power," *Trans. Am. Philosoph. Soc.*, XLIII, 1953, pp. 960-963, and "The Athens of Hadrian," *Colloque International (à Madrid, 1964) sur les empereurs Romains d'Espagne*, Paris, 1965, pp. 123-133.

yearning for sexual intercourse, I should call a great gain, O Zeus, and a subsidence of frenzy and madness, when the irrational and appetitive part of the soul has escaped its bad masters and sleeps, but the rational part finds enjoyment through its view of the pleasure one finds in the beautiful. Yes, for the old man will admire him who has this power and will embrace him like a son on his approach and will rear him according to the law of Socrates but will not even mention the excessive and licentious. And in general, my friend, in all matters observe this very thing, that the fierce desire to obtain whatever it may be brings grief when failure follows, but the calm disposition in want of naught reproduces to a certain degree the divine moderation.

This I shall explain to you still more clearly in reply to the impeachments of old age which you have made a little while ago. For if the older man, by eating or drinking less and by refraining like a hierophant from sexual intercourse, stays in a condition where he feels no pain and wants for nothing, taking what he needs to keep him well and leaving to young men like you the things which through ignorance and folly are considered highly desirable, call him blessed: he is released from human ills and has leisure for the things which are in truth fine and good. But when you call old men poor and crippled and enfeebled, remember that these sufferings are not merely results of old age, but countless times from some accident they happen even to young men. The man in the full vigor of youth, I think, feels these afflictions terribly, whereas anyone in his right mind will consider that the older man in the late afternoon of his life, even with misfortune, is less injured. Again, as for these sufferings which seem to you to be somehow terrible and unavoidable, not only do ministrations of friends and relatives ease them, but especially the formative force in philosophy, the *logos* which one must believe is to those who follow it a guide, a protector, a richness, an illumination.²⁷

You laughed a little while ago at what had been said concerning the ugliness of old men. <You were wrong>, for old age was not brought in to be on a basis of beauty judged against youth, nor were certain kinds of comeliness being tested in their case as if by merchants or lovers. Nevertheless, in order that I may not appear to be omitting these obvious points, I shall remind you that a certain freshness and vigor seem to adorn youth, of which the physical bloom disappears with time, but that the true beauty, which obtained its effect by effluence from some divine association²⁸ and came to some, this beauty neither toil nor hunger nor any neglect, no, not even the long passage of time can dim, but when once it is joined and reared with anyone whomsoever, it is seen to be inseparable from him, departing no sooner than life itself. Just as in a good land a planted seed, always eager, sends up crops and maintains them for long periods, so then an emanation which has caught hold of a child grows with him and remains with the adolescent and now being nourished more and more and adorned by his freshness accompanies him²⁹ as a youth and does not leave him when he is old.

For example, one can see not only that the majority of old men are constantly adorned by a dignity in their bearing and by a gentle style of walking, and even by employing a sweet voice and "the delicate tone of the cicadae," as Homer said somewhere in regard to the old men (*Il.*, III, 150); but, more important, the goodly appearance remains with them. Accordingly, when seen downtown or in theaters anywhere, they present their goodly appearance clear to the eyes of all, as in a herd of cattle or horses do those who seem to rule the herd. Especially when they are sacrificing at sacred rites, crowned with garlands, they attract more attention than the priests;

²⁷ In Greek the section ends artistically in nouns of four, three, two, and one syllable: *μάλιστα δὲ ὁ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγος, ὃν δεῖ πιστεῖν τοῖς μειοῦσιν αὐτὸν χειραγωγόν τε εἶναι καὶ φύλακα καὶ πλούτον καὶ φῶς.*

²⁸ This passage, *τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς κάλλος, ὅπερ ἐκ θείας κοινωνίας ἔσχε τὴν ἀπορροήν*, reflects but does not copy Plato, *Phaedrus*, 251 B.

²⁹ The verb *συμπαρομαρτεῖ* reflects Xenophon, *Symph.*, 4, 11: *συμπαρομαρτοῦντος πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ κάλλους*, from a passage which Juncus cites again in the next paragraph as from Xenophon ὁ φιλόσοφος.

and it is they themselves whom the law elects to "carry young olive-shoots to Athena," as that philosopher Xenophon says (*Symp.*, 4, 17).³⁰

I turn from the present argument—and perhaps I have dwelled on it longer than was proper—to that which has been made by you as an ultimate and irresistible argument. For the latter seemed somehow to be simultaneously disturbing and grieving some of those present, since when you put it forward as a screen for both the whole contest and the jest, you expected that the fear of death would overpower also me no less who were your adversary.

And yet the common end which is death, and the fact that no law or time applying to it has been prescribed by the gods, equalize the matter, I think, for the young and for the old. But the old man having received the good things beforehand and having spent more time among them, remains, even in the present life as the end approaches, with his memory of what he has seen and of what he has shared in with pleasure, and he takes heart as having arrived at them, while he who dies in the full vigor of his youth—for even young men have to die—will be without experience of these joys and unfulfilled in like ways. It seems to me that each of these resembles contestants in a race or regatta. And the one has crossed the great sea which I say that life is and has put in at some harbor, when the pilot gave the order, and has disembarked or has competed somewhere in the stadium and has obtained the crown and bids adieu to the games, while the other in the middle of the passage was destroyed at sea, without completing the intended voyage for which he had often prayed, or as he ran in the stadium, had a fall somewhere and was carried out uncrowned.

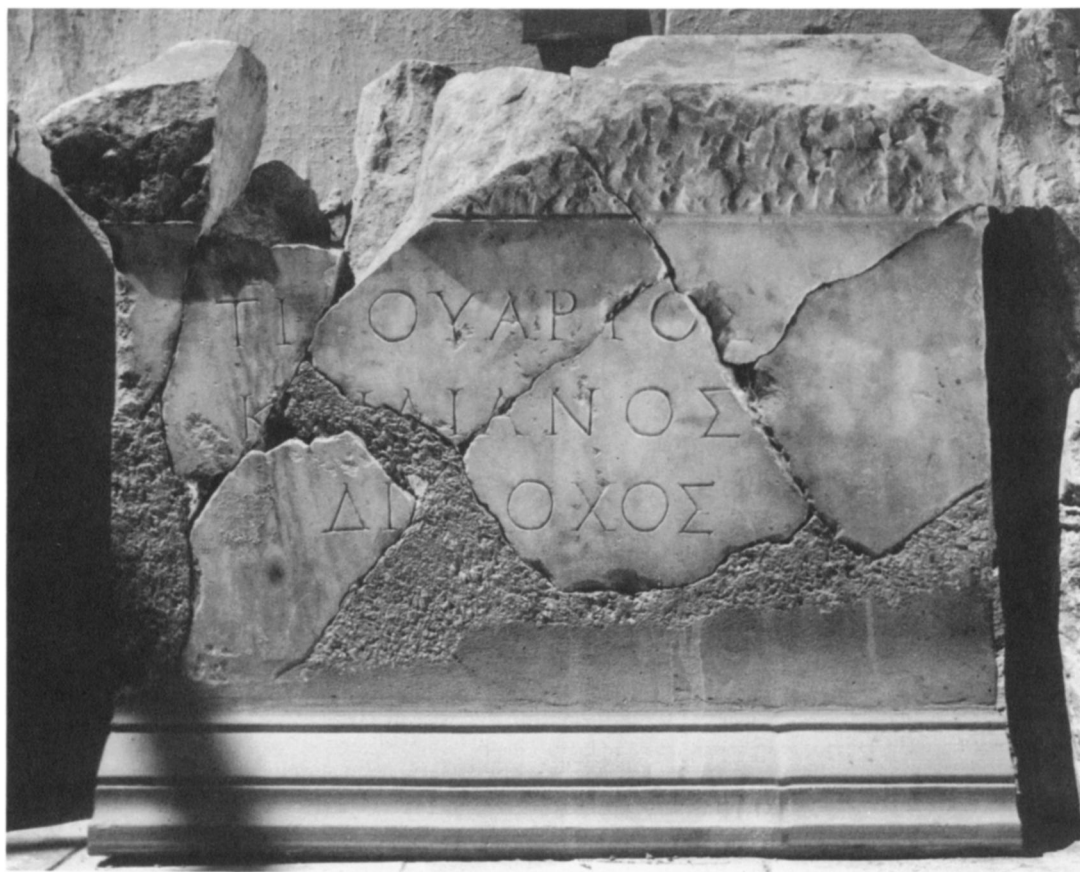
ADDENDUM:—At Delphi an unpublished inscription, to which Sir Ronald Syme called our attention, presents a decree in honor of Aemilius Juncus, *διορθωτῆς τῶν ἐλευθέρων δ[ήμων]*. This accords perfectly with the post we visualized in discussing texts F, G and N above. J. Jannoray, who in *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, p. 76 reported the existence of the Delphian inscription, referred to Juncus as already a consular. Georges Daux writes that the inscription dates from 129/30 and will be published by Claude Vatin.

It has just been realized that in the acephalous Greek inscription of *Corinth*, VIII, 3, 124 the *legatus Imp. Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti provinciae Cappadociae* with philosophical pretensions or connections probably was L. Aemilius L. f. Cam. Karus, who appears at Rome (*I.L.S.*, 1077) as *leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Cappadociae*. If so, Juncus cos. 127 was perhaps his brother and the Karus of A.D. 143 in *Gerasa*, No. 15 a relative.

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³⁰ The reference is to the Athenian festival of the Panathenaea.



No. 1



No. 2

JAMES H. OLIVER: PHILOSOPHERS AND PROCURATORS, RELATIVES OF THE
AEMILIUS JUNCUS OF *VITA COMMODI* 4, 11



Hesperia, IV, 1935, No. 11 (Agora Inv. I 594).

JAMES H. OLIVER: PHILOSOPHERS AND PROCURATORS, RELATIVES OF THE
AEMILIUS JUNCUS OF *VITA COMMUDI* 4, 11