

A FAMILY OF EUMOLPIDAI AND KERYKES DESCENDED FROM PERICLES

ABSTRACT

The inscription on a statue base (I 7483) found in the Agora Excavations provides information from the late second and early third century A.D. on intermarriage between families of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, specifically the Casiani of Steiria of the *genos* of Eumolpidai and the Claudii of Melite of the *genos* of Kerykes. It allows us also to identify with high probability members of the Casiani with Eleusinian priests whose names have hitherto been known to us only in their hieronymous form. In addition, it provides important new evidence from the third century A.D. of the display of noble ancestry.

The dedicatory inscription on a statue base found in the Agora Excavations throws new light on relations between families of hierophants and daduchs in the late second and early third century A.D.¹ In particular, it provides an especially happy benefit by allowing us to trace the career of an important sophist—a career that culminated in his service as hierophant. The statue base evidently consisted of three courses. The lowest, which has remained in situ, is a molded base mounted prominently on the south side of the street that led from the Panathenaic Way to the Market of Caesar and Augustus;² it stands in front of the stoa that is now located on the north side of the Library of Pantainos. The inscription appears on the intermediate course, which consists of two blocks, the left-hand one now mostly missing.³

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Four nonjoining fragments derive from two blocks of white (“Pentelic”) marble; the Agora Excavations staff has placed fragment *a*, from the right-hand block, on (the right half of) the molded base on which it originally stood.⁴ The molded base is built into the edge of the street that passes in front of the stoa north of the Library of Pantainos and leads to the Roman Agora; it covers the drainage channel along the street’s edge. The monument faces the street; its precise position is marked on Figure 1.⁵

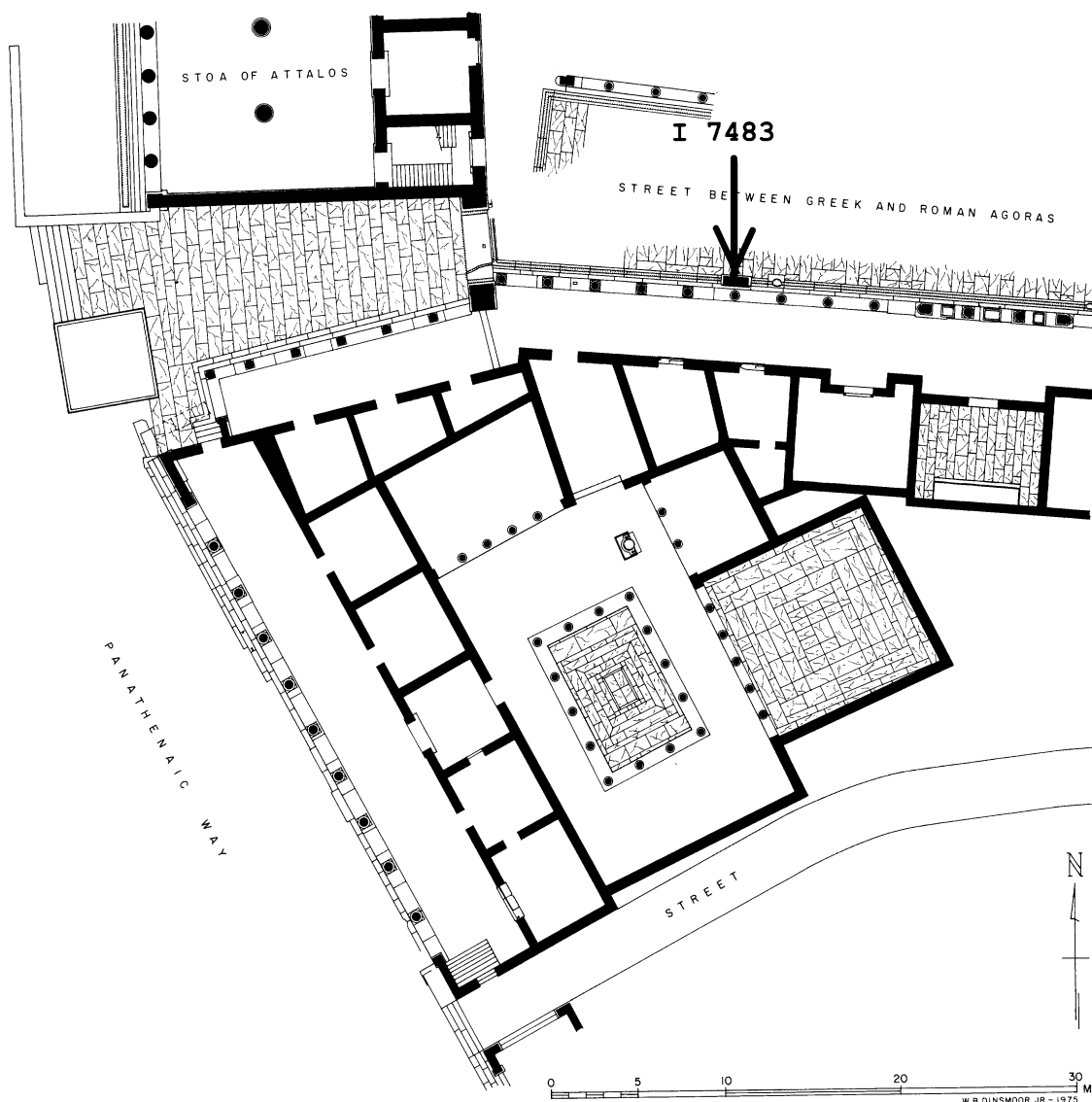
1. I am very grateful to John McK. Camp, Director of the Agora Excavations, for granting me permission in 2001 to publish this important document; to *Hesperia*’s anonymous referees for their encouragement and useful suggestions; and to John Traill and Nora Dimitrova for their helpful discussions.

2. The base is 1.432 m wide at the top and 1.75 m wide at the bottom.

3. It was perhaps slightly wider (by ca. 1 cm) than the right-hand one.

4. In December 2002 I identified fragments *c* and *d* as belonging to this monument. D. J. Geagan kindly sent me his editions of these fragments, which he had incorporated in his forthcoming manuscript of *Agora XVIII*.

5. For the plan and restored views of the stoa and the street, see Camp 1990, pp. 137–140, figs. 86, 88, 90. A detailed plan and description are given by the excavator, Shear 1973, pp. 386–390, fig. 6; for further description of the stoa, see Shear 1975, pp. 332–335.



Agora I 7483

H. 1.35, W. 0.711, Th. 0.51 m

a: Found July 2, 1974, built into a seventh-century wall on the stylobate of the stoa mentioned above. Block of white marble, completely preserved below and partially preserved on all other sides. The upper front is broken away. The top, rear, and left sides are rough-picked, with anathyrosis along the front edge of the left side (the original anathyrosis and rough picking on the left side were smoothed to create a level surface on the entire left side). On top a clamp cutting is preserved at the left edge. The front surface was smoothed horizontally to ca. 0.21 m below the right column of text; below this point it was smoothed vertically.

Discussion: Camp 1986, p. 196; Kapetanopoulos 1992, pp. 263–264.

Figs. 2–4

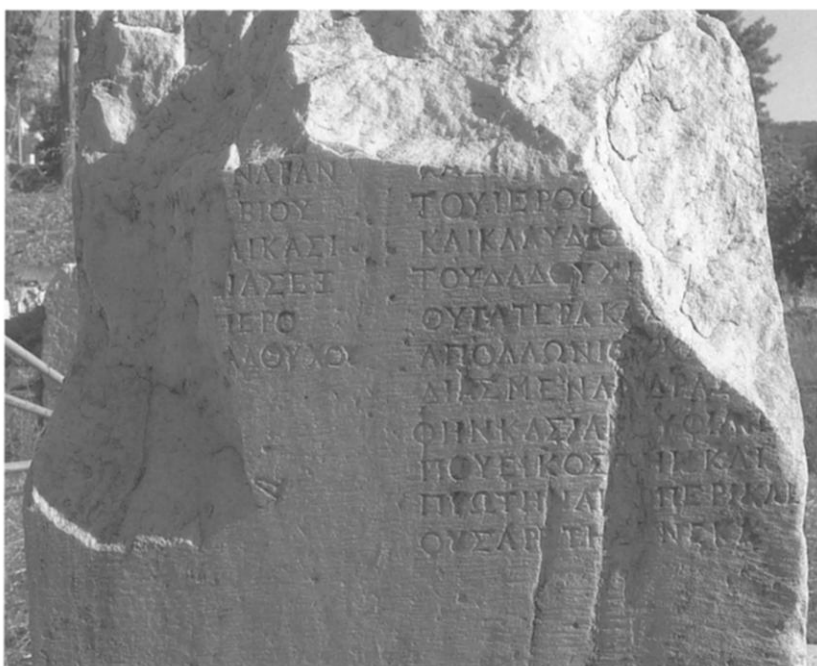
Figure 1. The Library of Pantainos and vicinity, with the location of Agora I 7483 indicated. Drawing PD 2327; W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., courtesy Agora Excavations

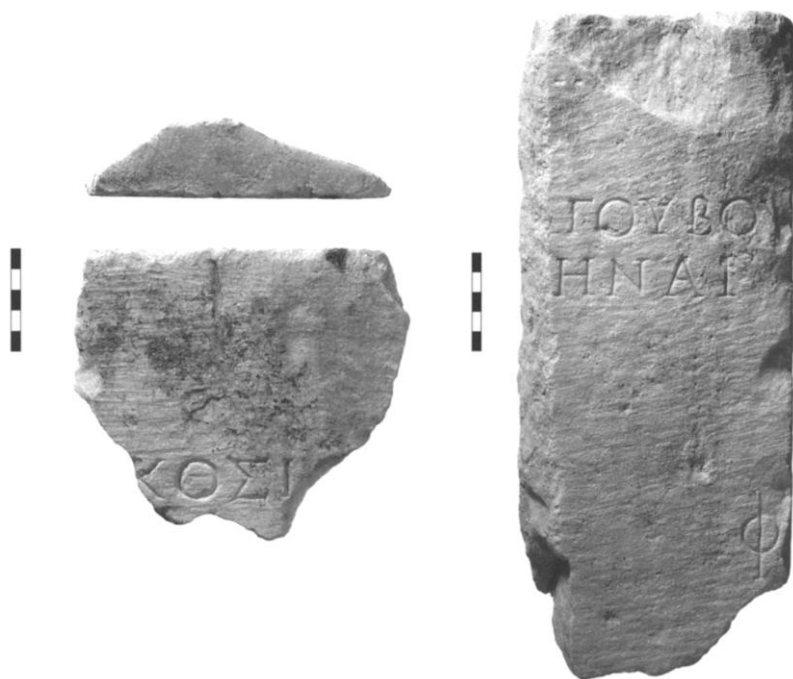


Figure 2 (*above, left*). Fragment *a*, I 7483. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 3 (*above, right*). Fragment *a*, I 7483, right side. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Figure 4 (*right*). Fragment *a*, I 7483, detail. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations





Agora I 7483b

H. 0.135, W. 0.153, Th. 0.038 m

b: Found at the same time and in the same place as fragment *a*. Sliver of white marble from top front of a block, preserved only above, where it shows anathyrosis covering the entire preserved surface.

Discussion: Camp 1986, p. 196; Kapetanopoulos 1992, pp. 263–264.

Fig. 5

Figure 5 (left). Fragment *b*, I 7483b, two views. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Agora I 365

H. 0.345, W. 0.145, Th. 0.115 m

c: Found before excavation in 1933 in the wall of a modern house over the area of the Late Roman water mill (Q 13). Fragment of white marble, preserved only above and on the right, with anathyrosis above (along both the front and right edges) and on the right. The left side has been recut for a later use; the right side has a small cavity, ca. 0.02 m deep and 0.006 m in diameter, apparently intended for a small metal dowel. The horizontal tooling on the face is similar to that on the upper part of the face of fragment *a*.

Fig. 6

Figure 6 (center). Fragment *c*, I 365. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Agora I 782

H. 0.25, W. 0.16, Th. 0.185 m

d: Found on May 1, 1933, in a modern wall over the west part of the Library of Pantainos (R 14). Fragment of white marble, preserving only part of the smooth-picked left side. The horizontal tooling on the face is similar to that on the upper part of the face of fragment *a*.

Fig. 7

L.H. 0.018–0.020 m (except phi)

Figure 7 (right). Fragment *d*, I 782. Photo C. Mauzy, courtesy Agora Excavations

Block A		Block B	
		<i>vacat</i> 0.095 m	
<i>c</i>		<i>b</i>	
[ή ἐξ Ἀρείου π]άγου βου[λή και ή βουλή τῶν πεντα]κοσίω[ν]			
[και ό δημος ό Ἀθ]ηναίω[ν] <i>vacat</i>	
I	II	III	
[-----]	<i>vacat</i> 13-17.]	
[-----]	<i>vacat</i> 13-17.]	
5 [-----]	<i>vacat</i> 13-17.]	
[-----] ^{υυυυ} Φ	[. ca. 11.]νδραν	Κασιανῶ[υ 8-9]	<i>a</i>
[-----] ^{υυυ}	[. ca. 11.]βιου ^υ	τοῦ ἱεροφ[αντήσαντος]	
[-----] ^{υυυ}	[. . . . 9-10.]αί Κασι-	και Κλαυδίου [. . . 7-8]	
10 [-----]	[. . . . 9-10.]ίας ἐξ	τοῦ δαδουχή[σαντος.]	
	[. . . . 9-10.] ^υ ἱερο-	θυγατέρα Κασ[ιανου]	
	[φάντου και δ]αδούχου	Ἀπολλωνίου κα[ι Κλαυ]-	
	<i>vacat</i>	δίας Μενάνδρας, [ἀδελ]-	
		φήν Κασιανου Φιλίπ[- ^υ]	
		που, εἰκοστήν και ^{υυ}	
		πρώτην ἀπ' ^υ ὸ Περικλέ-	
		ους ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα. ^{υυ}	
		<i>vacat</i>	
<i>d</i>			
[-----]			
[. .]αν[-----]			
[. .]την[-----]			
[ἔ]γγονον [-----]			
[. . .] Φλα[-----]			
5 [.] ^υ ^ [-----]			
[-----]			

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The distance between the top of line 7 and the top of the stone is 0.25 m, space for approximately eight lines. The width of the right-hand block can accommodate ca. 37 letters. Judging from fragment *d*, line 3, the inscription on the left block began ca. 6 cm from the left edge; on the right block it ended ca. 1 cm from the edge in line 15.

A figure that appears on the fourth line below column II may represent a leaf.

Line 2. Last preserved letter: faint outline of omega.

Column II, line 6. The phi is written on the left block.

Column II, line 7. The first letter may have been inscribed entirely on the right block: a trace of it should have appeared beneath the phi of line 6 if it had been carved on the left block, unless it was inscribed across the joint. This is not indicated in the text.

Column II, lines 8-11. It is possible that the initial letter of some of these lines was inscribed on the left block, as in line 6, or that it was inscribed across the joint, as perhaps in line 7. This is not indicated in the text.

Column II, line 9. First preserved letter: trace of horizontal stroke at base of line, with no trace of a seriph on the right; delta, epsilon, or sigma is most likely, but zeta or xi cannot be ruled out.

Column II, line 10. First preserved letter: upper part of vertical stroke close to the iota.

Column III, line 6. Fourth letter: lower part of vertical stroke. Fifth: lower parts of two oblique strokes. Sixth: lower tip of vertical stroke on the left. Seventh: outline of lower section of circle. The lacuna can accommodate at most nine or ten letters.

Column III, line 8. The lacuna can accommodate at most seven or eight letters.

Column III, line 15. Eighth letter: vertical stroke on the left. The space between this letter and the omicron is apparently uninscribed, presumably because of the defect in the stone.

DISCUSSION

Originally the two marble blocks of the intermediate course of the statue base were joined by a clamp. The two inscriptions on the preserved right-hand block inform us that upon this block there stood two statues, each of a woman. The short inscription on the left (col. II) suggests a diminutive female; the much longer one on the right (col. III) an adult female: most likely daughter and mother. From the preserved lines of the inscription in column III the length of the line can be established; the size of the lacunas are accordingly indicated in the text. The restoration of line III.7 is obvious, given line III.9, and should be grammatically symmetrical, hence the participle. This then suggests that the restoration of line II.11 should be [φάντου καὶ δ]αδούχου, though here the nominal rather than the participial form of the priest's title is required. The approximate size of the other lacunas in column II, as given in the text, is based on this restoration.

It is clear that both of these honorands were Roman citizens. The mother was the daughter of Casianus Apollonios and Claudia Menandra. The daughter of course held her father's *gentilicium*, for which the space in line II.6 is suitable; she was most likely named after her grandmother Menandra. Her patronymic should follow in the next two lines, consisting of her father's *gentilicium* and Greek *cognomen*. The preserved end of the line II.7 must then be part of a *gentilicium* and the most probable restoration is [θυγατέρα Φλα]βίου,⁶ consistent with line II.6, in which we should restore Φ[λαβίαν Μενά]νδραν. Flavia Menandra's matronymic obviously follows in lines II.8–9 (consistent with lines III.10, 13): Κασι[ανῆς . . . 5–6 . . .]_ίας. In line III.3 we must accordingly restore [Κασιανῆν . . . 5–6 . . .]_ίαν. Following Flavia Menandra's matronymic in lines II.8–9, we apparently have a reference to her maternal ancestors mentioned in column III, who were respectively a hierophant and daduch. These are Flavia Menandra's great-grandfathers, hence we might consider [ἐπιπάππω]ν in line II.10; it is too short for the space, however, and in any case would be a unique term of filiation in Attic inscriptions, to my knowledge. Another

6. The wide vacant space to the left of beta in this line would suit alpha rather well, with its apical serif flaring to the left as it often does in this document.

possibility is an adjective such as σεμνοτάτω]γ. In either case there would be no reference to a distinguished service performed by Menandra's father, his father, or his grandfathers. It seems advisable, therefore, to interpret the broken letter in line III.10 as the end of κα]ί and to assume that the lacuna contained a title that belonged to an ancestor of the father, such as ῥήτορος or σοφιστοῦ.⁷ The text of column II can be edited as follows (but, as indicated in the epigraphical commentary above, some of the text in lines 8–11 may have started on the left block):

6	Φ[λαβίαν Μενά]νδραν [θυγατέρα Φλα]βίου ^v [. . . . 9–10. . . . κ]αὶ Κασι- [ανῆς . . . 5–6 . . .] ἱας ἐξ
10	[. . . 7–8. . . . κα]ὶ ἱερο- ^{uv} [φάντου καὶ δ]αδούχου

As the daughter's patronymic appears immediately after her name, so the same patronymic should also appear in column III immediately after her mother's name, here as husband. Next, for the mother, her male relatives are listed, distant to present. Thus, for lines III.4–5 we may restore the following:

[γυναῖκα Φλαβίου]
[. . . . 9–10. . . . , ἔγγονον]

In the case of the daughter it was superfluous to restate for her, in column II, her mother's grandparents, so after stating the daughter's patronymic and matronymic it was only necessary to allude to the titles of these ancestors (hierophant and daduch), her maternal great-grandfathers.

The missing left-hand block most likely supported the statue of the father of the family, a certain Flavius. Unfortunately, not enough is preserved to identify him with certainty. Fragment *d*'s precise vertical position in column I is unclear. From the preserved surface in fragment *c* and the preserved left edge in fragment *d*, it is clear that, unlike the inscriptions on the right block, the inscription on the left block had ample margins, almost three letters wide on the left and at least six letters wide on the right; and since the entire width of the block could accommodate 37–38 letters, the inscription in column I could have been ca. 29–30 letters wide. As in column III we should expect the filiation of the honorand to be listed from distant to present. Therefore line *d*.3, which begins the naming of grandfather(s), should immediately follow the name of the honorand himself and his titles. The preserved letters in line *d*.1 are appropriate for titles of many offices, i.e., a participle ending in -αντα; those in the following line suit such titles as ἄρξαντα] τὴν [ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν or ἐπιμελη]τὴν [τῆς πόλεως. His paternal grandfather's name should follow [ἔ]γγονον in line 3, starting with the *gentilicium* Φλαβίου.

Fortunately, sufficient information is preserved to identify the family of the mother, Casiana [. . . .]ia. According to the text she is the sister of Casianus Philippos, the daughter of Casianus Apollonios and Claudia Menandra, and the granddaughter of the hierophant Casianus [- - -]

7. Though the restoration need not be one of these titles, either (including their plural) is possible. For ἐξ before rho or sigma in Attic inscriptions, see Threagte 1980, pp. 586–587; both phenomena are attested, but ἐξ before rho only in the Classical period.

and the daduch Claudius [- - -]. Athenians with the Roman *gentilicium* Casianus and the *cognomina* Apollonios and Philippos occur in the second half of the second and the first half of the third century A.D.⁸ In this period the distinguished family of the Claudii of Melite flourished; it belonged to the Kerykes clan and several of its members served as daduchs of the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁹ The only one of these daduchs who is known to have had a daughter by the name of Claudia Menandra is Claudius Philippos. This Claudia Menandra should be the mother of our Casiana [. . . .]ia, and Φιλίππου therefore should be restored in column III, line 8.¹⁰ Claudius Philippos served as daduch from ca. 191 to ca. 195–200.¹¹ Claudia Menandra is known from a statue base at Eleusis that celebrated her service as a hearth-initiate when she was a young child:¹²

[Κλ Μενάν]δραν
 [Κλ Φιλίππ]ου τοῦ *a*
 [δαδουχ]ήσαντος
c θυγα[τέρ]α καὶ Ἀ[ἰλ]
 5 Πραξα[γ]όρου τ[οῦ] *b*
 δα[δου]χ[ή]σαν[τος]
 [ἀπόγον]ον [τὴν ἀφ']
 [ἐστίας].

The original width of the base, 0.29 m, and thickness, 0.34 m, suit a small statue. Since this base gives her father's name as Κλ(αύδιος) Φιλίππος instead of its hieronymous form (Κλαύδιος Δαδοῦχος), it follows that her father was already dead at this time; it also follows that if his tenure as daduch ended while his daughter was a young child, probably not much older than 10 years, he probably did not serve for a long period.¹³ Since Claudius Philippos's father, Claudius Demonstratos, was eponymous archon ca. 157/8,¹⁴ and Demonstratos's father, the daduch Sospis, died ca. A.D. 150, probably at a relatively young age,¹⁵ it seems reasonable to assume a birth date of ca. 150 for Claudius Philippos, which would make him roughly 40 years old when he became daduch. If we assign his death to ca. 197, then this base should probably date around the end of the century, and Menandra would have been born ca. 10–15 years earlier, ca. 185–190. This is not inconsistent with the probable birth date of her father and his relatively short tenure as daduch.

A fuller account of Claudia Menandra's male ancestry is neatly given on a later statue base at Eleusis, *IG II*² 4088:

ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου
 βουλῇ καὶ ἡ βουλῇ
 τῶν · Φ · καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ὁ Ἀθηναίων Κλαυδί-
 5 αν Μενάνδραν, Κλαυ-
 δίου Φιλίππου τοῦ
 δαδουχ[ή]σαντος θυγατέ-
 ρα, Κλαυ Δημοστράτου ἔγ-
 γονον, Αἰλ Πραξαγόρου ἀ-
 10 πόγονον, ἀρετῇς ἔνεκεν.

8. Clinton 1974, p. 80; Follet 1976, p. 287.

9. Clinton 1974, pp. 57–63; Follet 1976, pp. 275–280.

10. Noted also by Camp 1986, p. 196.

11. I dated his service from 191 or 192 to ca. 197 (Clinton 1974, p. 63, no. 24); Follet (1976, pp. 279–280) from 191/2 to 208/9; see also Traill, *PA* 573590. For reasons given below, it is probably best to take the end of his tenure, following Clinton 1974 and Traill, *PA*, as occurring ca. 197, coinciding with his last known attestations, in documents dating ca. 190–200 (*IG II*² 2124, lines 4–5; 2340 [= *SEG XII* 140 = *XLII* 139], line 26).

12. Clinton 1974, pp. 124, 128, no. V (= *IG II*² 3713 + 4089 + new fragment).

13. On the practice of hieronymy, see Clinton 1974, pp. 9–10.

14. Follet 1976, p. 277.

15. Clinton 1974, p. 59, no. 20; Follet 1976, p. 277, “mort avant 152/3.”

This base must have been set up when Claudia Menandra was an adult but perhaps not yet married (her husband's name is not given), perhaps ca. 205–210; the original dimensions suit a statue of an adult (W. 0.55, Th. 0.54 m).¹⁶ Thus, for the present base, which shows her daughter already married with a daughter of her own, we may consider a date around 20 years later, viz., ca. 225–230.

Identification of Casiana's father, Casianus Apollonios, her brother Casianus Philippos, and her grandfather Casianus the hierophant is less obvious. Casianus Hierokeryx, who was honored with a statue base at Eleusis, *IG II*² 3707, is probably related, given his name and priesthood:

ἡ πόλις
τὸν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύστην
Κασιανὸν ἱεροκήρυκα,
πρεσβεύσαντα οἴκοθεν
5 εἰς Βρεταννίαν. ἀγωνο-
θετήσαντα Ἀδριανείων,
στρατηγήσαντα. ἄρξαν[τα]

For the identity of this sacred herald, who was eponymous archon in 231/2,¹⁷ Follet listed several possibilities:¹⁸ Cassianus Mousonios and Casianus Bassos, ephebes ca. 200 whose demes are unknown (*IG II*² 2203, lines 35–36, 38, 55–57, 63–65, 78–79); Casianus Apollonios, ephebe in 161/2 (*IG II*² 2085, lines 2–3), hoplite general in 188/9 (*Agora* XV 416, 418–419), and archon ca. 204 (*IG II*² 2199, line 7); the father of Casianus Philippos, ephebe in 235/6 (*IG II*² 2235, lines 9, 38, 89);¹⁹ and Casianus I[soch]rys[os], prytanis ca. 220/1 (*IG II*² 1826, line 16). Her own (hypothetical) preference was for Cassianus Bassos of unknown deme, ephebic strategos, systemmatarch, agonothete of the Hadrianeia and Severeia between 196/7 and 201 (*IG II*² 2203, lines 35–36, 56–57, 64–65, 79).

The crucial piece of information supplied by our statue base is that there was a hierophant with the Roman name Casianus roughly contemporaneous with the daduch Claudius Philippos, who lived ca. 150–200. The Casiani listed by Follet ought to be the most likely candidates. As an approximate contemporary of Claudius Philippos, this hierophant should have been in office toward the end of the second century or at the beginning of the third. As it happens, we know the hierophants who served from the reign of Antoninus Pius to ca. 191: Flavius Leosthenes (to 167/8) and Julius Hierophantes (168/9 to ca. 191).²⁰ Follet has shown that the tenure of Claudius Apollinarios of Acharnai belongs to the first decade of the third century.²¹ The period from ca. 191 to ca. 200 might also

16. Aelius Praxagoras, the father-in-law of Demostratos, may have been included (rather than Sospis, the father of Demostratos) for reasons of affection (he had died relatively recently, in 191) or because he was far more famous.

17. For the date, see Follet 1976, p. 287.

18. Follet 1976, p. 287.

19. The father's name, however, was probably not Philippos as Follet supposed; see below.

20. Clinton 1974, pp. 36–39, nos. 24–25; Follet 1976, pp. 256–259.

21. Follet 1976, pp. 261–262. The only document in which this hiero-

phant certainly appears while alive (hieronymously, as a prytanis) is *Agora* XV 449 (= *IG II*² 1803), line 10, dated by Meritt and Traill to ca. 205. Follet made a strong case for reading Κλ Ἱεροφάντης Ἀχαρ (instead of Μαρ) in *IG II*² 1077, line III.39 (= *Agora* XV 460, line 84) of the year 209/10.

be assigned to him or to our hierophant named Casianus.²² The career of Casianus Apollonios—ephebe in 161/2, hoplite general in 188/9, and archon ca. 204—is very similar to the one described by Philostratos (*VS* 2.20) for the hierophant Apollonios:

ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὀνόματος μὲν ἤξιώθη καθ' Ἑλλήνας, ὥς ἱκανὸς τὰ δικανικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μελέτην οὐ μεμπτός, ἐπαίδευσε δὲ Ἀθήνησι καθ' Ἡρακλείδην τε καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ θρόνου προεστὼς ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ. διαπρεπὴς δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ γενόμενος ἔν τε πρεσβείαις ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπρέσβευσεν ἔν τε λειτουργίαις, ἃς μεγίστας Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσι, τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπετράπη καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωνὰς ἤδη γηράσκων, Ἡρακλείδου μὲν καὶ Λογίμου καὶ Γλαύκου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱεροφαντῶν εὐφωνίᾳ μὲν ἀποδέων, σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ παρὰ πολλοὺς δοκῶν τῶν ἄνω. . . . ἔτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη πολὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίων δῆμῳ πνεύσας, ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τῆς Ἐλευσίνανδε λεωφόρου. ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ προαστείῳ Ἱερὰ Συκῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἐλευσινόθεν ἱερὰ, ἐπειδὴν ἐς ἄστὺ ἄγωσιν, ἐκεῖ ἀναπαύουσιν.

Apollonios of Athens won a name for himself among the Greeks as an able speaker in the legal branch of oratory, and as a declaimer he was not to be despised. He taught at Athens at the same time as Herakleides and his own namesake [sc. Apollonios of Naukratis] and held the chair of political oratory at a salary of one talent. He also won distinction in public affairs, and not only was he sent as an ambassador on missions of the greatest importance, but also performed the public functions which the Athenians rank highest, being appointed both archon and hoplite general, and when already well on in years hierophant of the Anaktoron of Demeter. In beauty of enunciation he fell short of Herakleides, Logimos, and Glaukos, but in dignity, magnificence, and in his attire he showed himself superior to many of his predecessors. . . . He died about seventy-five, after a career of great energy as a speaker at Athens, and was buried in the suburbs near the highway that leads to Eleusis. This suburb is called the “Sacred Fig,” and when the sacred emblems from Eleusis are carried in procession to the city they halt here to rest.²³

22. Follet (1976, pp. 259–260), however, regarded the hierophant who preceded Apollinarios to be possibly “(Aelios?) Logismos (of Hagnous?),” but this is highly speculative. Following Wilhelm 1909, pp. 95–97, no. 81, she emended the name of Logimos, the hierophant reported in Philostr. *VS* 2.20, to Logi<s>mos and suggested that he was a descendant of Ἰάσων Ζήθου ὁ καὶ Λόγισμος Ἀγνούσιος (*IG* II² 3664). Iason, however, was a

member of the Kerykes (Clinton 1974, pp. 95–96, no. 2), and even though a descendant of his could have become a Eumolpid through his maternal line, the change in *genos* presents a potential difficulty. Her association of a relief of a hierophant from Hagnous (Clinton 1974, p. 34, fig. 3) with this hypothetical hierophant is not consonant with the stylistic dating of the relief (no one, to my knowledge, has dated it so late). Philostratos (*VS* 2.20), in making a

comparison concerning the voice of Apollonios the hierophant, names three hierophants who had a better voice: Hierokleides, Logimos, and Glaukos. Philostratos does not specify a temporal relationship between Apollonios and these three. It seems preferable, as is argued below, to regard them as successors to Apollonios.

23. Trans. Wright 1921, pp. 257, 259, with minor modifications.

This sophist led a distinguished political life: eponymous archon, hoplite general, and ambassador on several missions, including one to Septimius Severus.²⁴ He taught rhetoric at Athens at the same time as Herakleides of Lycia and Apollonios of Naukratis, ca. 176–180; his embassy to Septimius Severus in Rome (described by Philostratos in the passage above but not quoted here), during which he debated Herakleides, evidently took place in 202 or 203, before the emperor traveled to Africa.²⁵ When well on in years (ἡδὴ γηράσκων) he became hierophant, and died about the age of 75; he was buried along the Sacred Way in the suburb known as Sacred Fig. The dates of Casianus Apollonios's service as hoplite general and eponymous archon fit the career of the sophist very well indeed, as Follet and others have noted.²⁶ In fact, the identification of Casianus Apollonios with the sophist and hierophant was made long ago by Dumont, followed by Graindor, Raubitschek, Sarikakis, and Meritt and Traill.²⁷ Apollonios is attested as hierophant also in epigrams on a statue base at Eleusis, *IG II² 3811*:²⁸

a

ὦ μύσται, τότε μ' εἶδες' ἀνακτόρου ἐκ προφανέντα
 νυξιν ἐν ἀργενναῖς, νῦν δὲ μεθήμεριον
 ἐκ προγόνων ῥητῆρα λόγοις ἐναγώνιον αἰεῖ·
 τῶν ἀποπαυσάμενος θέσφατα νῦν ἰάχῃ.
 5 οὔνομα δ' ὅστις ἐγὼ μὴ δῖζο· θεσμὸς ἐκεῖνο
 μυστικός ὥχετ' ἄγων εἰς ἄλλα πορφυρέην.
 ἀλλ' ὅταν εἰς μακάρων ἔλθῃ καὶ μόρσιμον ἦμαρ,
 λέξουσιν τότε δὴ πάντες ὅσοις μέλομαι.

vacat 0.068 m

νῦν ἡδὴ παῖδες κλυτὸν οὔνομα πατρός ἀρίστοι
 10 φαίνομεν, ὃ ζωὸς κρύψεν ἄλδος πελάγ[ει]·
 οὔτος Ἀπολλώνιος ἀοίδιμος, ὃν φ[άμενός τις]
 σημαίνει μύσταις οὔνομα πατ[ρός] ὁμοῦ, *b*
 σὺν δὲ Ποσειδάωνι φερώνυμος εὖ πα[- - - -].

Initiates, erstwhile you saw me appearing from the temple
 in blazing nights, and then by day
 ever contesting in speech as an orator like my fathers:
 from this I have ceased and now cry out holy utterances.
 What name is mine, do not ask: initiate law
 has borne it off into the purple sea.
 But when I come to the land of the blessed and my doomed day
 then shall all speak it to whom I am dear.

Now at last by his children the glorious name of their excellent
 father

is revealed, which in life he hid in the briny sea:
 this is celebrated Apollonios, (a name) which [when said]
 points out to initiates the name of his father also.
 And bearing a name with Poseidon was happily [- - -].²⁹

24. Oliver (1967) identified the peregrine Apollonios son of Apollonios in the *consilium* of Commodus in letters of the emperor to the Athenians with the sophist; but considering the frequency of the name, this must remain uncertain. The sophist can, on the other hand, be identified with the honorand of *IG II² 3812*, as Oliver assumed and as I so edited (Clinton 1974, p. 41).

25. For discussion and documentation see Follet 1976, p. 267.

26. Follet 1976, p. 269.

27. Dumont 1870, p. 114 (identifying the sophist with the archon of ca. 204 [*IG II² 2199*, line 7]); Graindor 1922, pp. 216–217, no. 162 bis; Raubitschek 1949, p. 283, n. 5; Sarikakis 1951, pp. 42–43; *Agora XV*, p. 362. Cf. Follet 1976, p. 269, citing also Neubauer 1869, pp. 88, 159 (*non vidi*), who proposed this as a hypothesis.

28. See Clinton 1971, p. 118, no. 12, for the addition of fr. *b*.

29. Trans. Bowie 1989, p. 243; modified in lines 11–13 to reflect the new fragment and Keil's restorations. Line 13 logically would seem to refer to an additional name, such as Poseidonios, or more likely the demotic, Steirius, but it is hard to see a reference in the demotic to Poseidon; in either case παρεκλήθη, Keil's restoration in line 13, would have to be equivalent to ἐπι-κλήθη, but this is an otherwise unattested use of παρακαλεῖν.

The first epigram celebrates his most important functions as hierophant, coming forth from the Anaktoron (i.e., Telesterion), appearing in brilliant light and uttering sacred words (θέσφατα νῦν ἰάχῳ; cf. τὰς ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωνὰς, εὐφωνία of Philostratos, *VS* 2.20).³⁰ His destiny will be the abode of the Blessed. It also gives us precious information about the custom of hieronymy: his name, apparently written on a tablet, was thrown into the sea, and could not be divulged before his death.³¹ Moreover, he was a descendant of orators. The second epigram (lines 9ff) was added after his death. His father, according to lines 11–12, was also named Apollonios. This too fits Casianus Apollonios: the full name of the man who has been identified as his father is C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios of Steiria,³² anti-cosmete in 158/9 (*IG* II² 2079, lines 3–4; 3012, line 2), cosmete in 161/2 (*IG* II² 2085, line 5), and perhaps prytanis later in the 160s (*IG* II² 1772 [= *Agora* XV 364], line 16).³³ The new information that a hierophant of the end of the second century or beginning of the third was named Casianus makes the identification of Casianus Apollonios son of Apollonios of Steiria with the hierophant Apollonios son of Apollonios virtually certain.³⁴ As Casianus Apollonios was ephebe in 161/2, he was therefore born ca. 141, and was about 47 years of age when he became hoplite general in 188/9; identified with the sophist, he was over 60 years old on his last embassy to Septimius Severus, and archon ca. 204. He was ἡδὴ γηράσκων according to Philostratos when he became hierophant, the description presumably not indicating an age prior to his late 60s or early 70s. Given that another hierophant, Claudius Apollinarios, was probably in office in 209/10 and had been serving for a few years,³⁵ Casianus Apollonios would have taken office after Apollinarios, when he was about 70 years old, fitting Philostratos's description quite nicely.³⁶ He would then have died ca. A.D. 216. This is not in contradiction with the date of ca. 225–230 derived for the statue base presented here, based on the prosopography of Claudia Menandra: the lack of hieronymy in the name of the hierophant indicates that he was already deceased.

30. On the equivalence of Anaktoron and Telesterion, see Clinton 1992, pp. 126–132.

31. For the custom of hieronymy, see Clinton 1974, pp. 9–10.

32. Members of the family sometimes omitted the common *gentilicium* Iulius in favor of Casianus; cf. Clinton 1974, p. 80.

33. On the date of the latter document, see Follet 1976, p. 7, n. 2.

34. The discussion by Camp (1986, p. 196) assumes restoration of Apollonios. Follet (1976, pp. 271–272) preferred to identify the hierophant with P. Aelius Dionysios, whose career is given in *IG* II² 3688, but a powerful argument against it is, as I noted earlier (1974, p. 41), that there is no mention in 3688 of Apollonios's sophistic

profession of which he was justifiably proud (noted also by Follet, 1976, p. 271: “l’absence de toute allusion à la carrière d’Apollonios sophiste... surprend davantage dans un texte relativement détaillé tel que 3688”).

35. See above, n. 21.

36. According to Follet (1976, p. 262), Glaukos, who died in his 10th year as hierophant (*IG* II² 3661), served after Apollinarios, i.e., “210–220 (ou même un peu plus tard).” If Apollonios served at the earliest time under Follet's scheme, viz., from 220 to ca. 230, he was born ca. 150. He would then have been ca. 25 years old when he made a mark as a teacher of rhetoric, which seems a bit young; and of course if he took office in 225 or even later, as Follet's scheme allows, this problem

becomes even greater. So it seems best to assume that the upper limit for his death is ca. 220, that he was born therefore ca. 145 or a bit earlier, was a teacher of rhetoric at about 30 (or more) years of age, and became hierophant ca. 212—which suits the known career of Casianus Apollonios. Thus, the three hierophants whom Philostratos compares with Apollonios—Hierokleides, Logimos, and Glaukos—should have served, all things considered, after Apollonios, and most likely in that order. Glaukos therefore served roughly from A.D. 230 to 235, right about the time Philostratos was composing his work (for the date of composition, between 231/2 and 238, see Clinton 1974, p. 41, n. 232).

Incorporating the results of the above discussion, the text of the inscription on the statue base can now be given as follows:

Block A		Block B	
ca. A.D. 225–230		<i>vacat</i> 0.095 m	
<i>c</i>		<i>b</i>	
[ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου π]άγου βου[λῆ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν πεντα]χοσίω[ν]		[ν <i>vacat</i>] <i>vacat</i>	
[καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ]ηναίω			
I		II	
[-----]		<i>vacat</i>	
[-----]		<i>vacat</i>	
5 [-----]		<i>vacat</i>	
[-----] ^{υυυυ} Φ		[λαβίαν Μενά]νδραν	
[-----] ^{υυυ}		[θυγατέρα Φλα]βίου ^υ	
[-----] ^{υυυ}		[. . . 9–10. . . . κ]αὶ Κασι-	
-----		[ανῆς . . . 5–6 . . .]ίας ἐξ	
10 -----		[. . . 7–8. . . . κα]ῖ ἱερο- ^{υυ}	
		[φάντου καὶ δ]αδούχου	
		<i>vacat</i>	
		III	
		Κασιανὴν . . . 5–6. . . [αν]	
		γυναῖκα Φλαβίου]	
	 9–10. . . . , ἔγγονον]	
		Κασιανῷ [ὑ Ἀπολλωνίου] <i>a</i>	
		τοῦ ἱεροφ[αντήσαντος]	
		καὶ Κλαυδίου [Φιλίππου]	
		τοῦ δαδουχ[ήσαντος.]	
		θυγατέρα Κασ[ιανου]	
		Ἀπολλωνίου κα[ὶ Κλαυ]-	
		δίας Μενάνδρας, [ἀδελ]-	
		φὴν Κασιανου Φιλίπ[^υ]	
		που, εἰκοστὴν καὶ ^{υυ}	
		πρώτην ἀπ[^υ ὁ Περικλέ-	
		ους ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα. ^{υυ}	
		<i>vacat</i>	
<i>d</i>			

[. .]αν[-----]			
[. .]την[-----]			
[ἔ]γγονον [Φλαβίου -----]			
[. . .] Φλα[βίου -----]			
5 [. . . .] ^ [-----]			

We may now turn to the identification of Casiana's father, also named Casianus Apollonios, and her brother, Casianus Philippos. In order for her to be the granddaughter of the hierophant Casianus Apollonios, her father must of course be his son, therefore born presumably ca. 175–180. He is probably to be identified with the Casianus Apollonios of Steiria, who was eponymous of his prytany ca. 220.³⁷ Given the priestly ancestry of the family, he can be further identified with probability as the Casianus Hierokeryx who was in office in 231/2.³⁸ Although the son of a hierophant and on that account ineligible to be a sacred herald, he presumably achieved

37. *Agora* XV 477 (= *IG* II² 1826), line 15. Meritt and Traill date it after 217; Follet (1976, pp. 77–78, 287, 518) assigns it to 215/6–225/6.

38. *IG* II² 2230, line 3; 2241, lines 1–3; *Agora* XV 491, lines 9–10; see

Follet 1976, pp. 287, 332. Follet's choice of Cassianus Bassos of unknown deme cannot be ruled out, but our ignorance of his deme does not make it probable, and, as she notes, the lack of reference in *IG* II² 3707 (printed above,

p. 47) to his agonothesia of the Severeia is a problem that has to be explained away (possible, she believes, if the document dates after the *damnatio memoriae* of Severus Alexander early in 235).

eligibility through his mother; intermarriage between children of Eumolpidae and Kerykes was not uncommon in this period, as is shown by his own marriage (the son of a hierophant marrying the daughter of a daduch).³⁹ He died sometime before 238.⁴⁰

Casianus Philippos, the brother of the honorand, most likely was named after his maternal grandfather, Claudius Philippos the daduch. He should probably be identified with the homonymous ephebe of 235/6. It follows that *Agora* XV 466 (= *IG* II² 1817), where he is listed as hoplite general, must belong to the late 240s or later.⁴¹

A further identification is conceivable. The father of Apollonios the hierophant was, as mentioned above, C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios of Steiria, anticosmete in 158/9, cosmete in 161/2, and perhaps prytanis later in the 160s. It is a bit strange that we hear no more of this man, who was clearly destined for a distinguished career, but not strange if the later testimonia concerned him when he had become hieronymous, now *Ἰούλιος Ἱεροφάντης*. The testimonia for this hierophant start precisely in 168/9 and continue to ca. 192, around which time he was eponymous archon.⁴² In 170 or 171 he achieved renown as he saved the sacred objects in Eleusis before the advancing army of the Costobocs,⁴³ and in 176 he initiated Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.⁴⁴ Clearly this hierophant had achieved a social and political status similar to that enjoyed by Apollonios the sophist and hierophant. The family was using the *gentilicium* Iulius at this time (but apparently not in the third century) and it would be natural for C. Iulius Casianus Apollonios, cosmete of 161/2, to use it when he became hierophant. Attractive as this identification is, unfortunately not enough evidence is available to make it more than hypothetical.⁴⁵

The filiations may be summarized in a stemma, shown in Figure 8. Unfortunately, the only evidence that the inscription provides for identifying the father of Flavia Menandra is his *gentilicium* and a lacuna of nine or ten letters for his *cognomen*. It seems highly unlikely that the reputation of the mother and her distinguished ancestry would by itself have been enough to secure such a privileged position for the statue group of the family—in front of the Library of Pantainos. The father and his family must also have

39. See, e.g., *IG* II² 3984. On transferring *genos*, see Oliver 1970, p. 4, lines 7–11.

40. Cf. Clinton 1974, p. 81; Follet 1976, p. 287.

41. The same must be said for the document edited by Geagan (1967, pp. 164–170), where he appears as an Areopagite (line 89); the late date was suspected by Follet (1976, pp. 97, 291, 421), while an even earlier date, ca. 190/1, was proposed by Geagan (1979). The identity of Casianus, the prytany eponymos in the list edited by Traill (1982, p. 231, no. 34 [= *SEG* XXXII 194]), remains unclear.

42. For documentation see Clinton

1974, pp. 38–40, no. 25; Follet 1976, pp. 257–259. An age of approximately 58 years would not be remarkable at the start of *hierophanteia*. An age of approximately 80 for an archon is indeed unusual, but even if the identification is incorrect, we have to reckon with it as probable for Iulius Hierophantes, given the beginning of his *hierophanteia*.

43. *IG* II² 3411, 3639; *SEG* XXX 339.

44. *IG* II² 3411, with Clinton 1974 p. 39. Most of line 6 (following the delta) was erased, undoubtedly in order to eliminate reference to Commodus after his *damnatio*.

45. A possible argument against it is

an apparent relation to Iulius Sekoundos, as *SEG* XIX 172, line 9 (= Meritt 1960, pp. 29–32, no. 37, line 9) has been interpreted: *Ἰουλίου Σεκούνδου Ἰούλιος Ἱεροφάντης*. It is sometimes thought that Iulius Sekoundos is the father of Iulius Hierophantes (so Follet 1976, p. 257; Oliver 1979, p. 158), but this cannot be securely inferred from this document: the genitive here is not in the normal position of the patronymic (following the name), and the use of other genitives in this position in this document seems to indicate the source of funds, not necessarily a relative of the person who follows in the nominative.

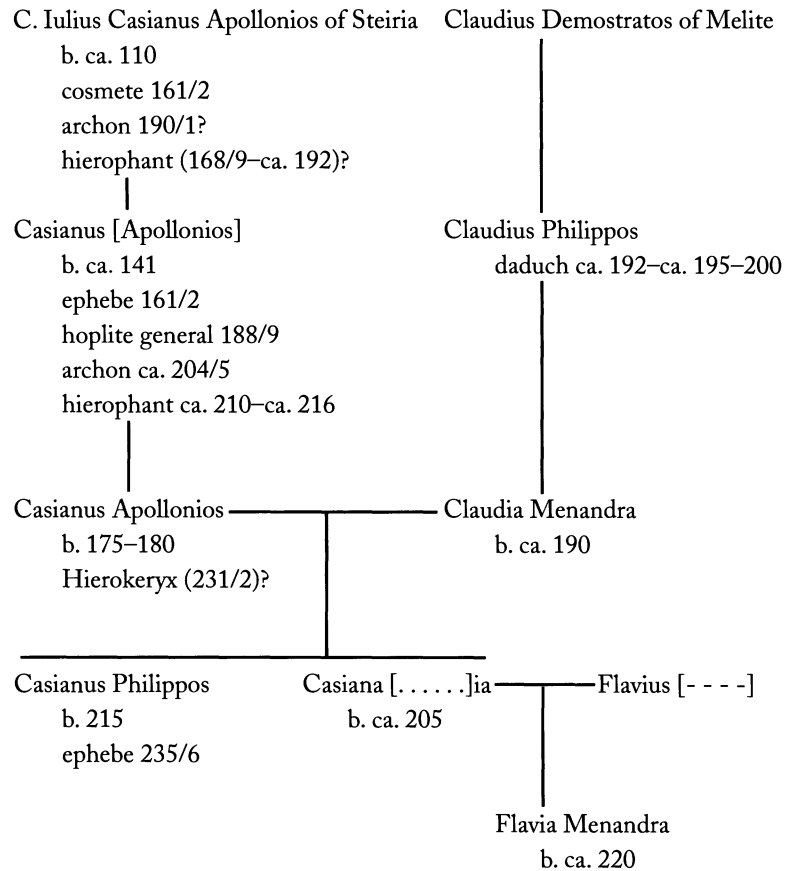


Figure 8. Stemma of the ancestors of Flavia Menandra

been very influential members of the polis. Among the most distinguished Flavii of this period are the Flavii of Marathon, who achieved extraordinary honors in many fields of endeavor, including philosophy, rhetoric, sophistic, poetry, religion (viz., the hierophant Glaukos), and the Roman imperial service.⁴⁶ But no known member of this family seems suitable, either because his name does not fit the lacuna or his wife is known. The family of the donor of the library, Flavius Pantainos, would seem perfectly appropriate, but this family is not securely attested after the middle of the second century.⁴⁷

Another suitable family is that of Flavius Philostratos, sophist and author of *Lives of the Sophists*, who was hoplite general ca. 205.⁴⁸ The name Φιλοστράτου (so divided) would fit lines III.4-5 without difficulty (even entirely in line III.5 with very slight crowding). The same restoration would fit line II.8 with very little crowding, but if the line began on block A, as line II.6 did (and if the left margin of col. II was, like that of col. III, not perfectly straight), this restoration would fit comfortably. The date of the statue base is too late for the honorand to have been the author of *Lives of the Sophists* (a young daughter is unlikely for him ca. 225). But his

46. See Oliver 1949, with stemma, fig. 2; Aleshire 1991, pp. 71-73, with table I; Traill, *PAI* 276380.

47. Oliver (1979, p. 158) dressed a stemma of the family but it is hypo-

thetical beyond the middle of the century.

48. *Agora* XV 447-449; for the identification with the biographer, see Traill 1971, pp. 324-325. On the life

of the biographer see Bowersock 1969, pp. 2-8; Anderson 1986, pp. 2-7, 291-296. He wrote the *VS* between 231 and 238; for the terminus post quem, see Clinton 1974, p. 81.

homonymous son, hoplite general ca. 225–230, is certainly a good candidate for the father honored in column I.⁴⁹ Lines I.d.3–4 could be restored as follows:

[ἔ]γγονον [Φλαβίου Φιλοστράτου]
[καί] Φλα[βίου - - - - -]

If the son of the biographer is the honorand, then the inscription should include here the distinguished title of his grandfather, τοῦ σοφιστοῦ,⁵⁰ but there apparently would not be enough space in line 3 for τοῦ σοφιστοῦ (see above), and so fragment d would force us to assume either (1) that his maternal grandfather was also a Flavius and a sophist, in which case τῶν σοφιστῶν could have followed both names;⁵¹ or (2) that the Flavius in line 4 is his great-grandfather (reading ἀπόγονον) Φλα[βίου in lines 3–4). But the latter possibility, in addition to apparently exceeding the available space in line 4, would create asymmetry with column III, which presents the ancestry of his wife only as far back as grandparents. Least likely is restoration of a grandmother, Φλα[βίας, both because of asymmetry with column III and the absence of a title for the grandfather. If the honorand is the son of the famous biographer, the most satisfactory restoration requires that both his grandfathers be Flavii and sophists. This single title for his grandfathers would nicely suit column II, line 10, which demands only a single title of distinction for Menandra's great-grandfathers: σοφιστῶν fits the space perfectly.

Given the uncertainties, our Flavius is probably best left unidentified, with the possibility left open that he might be the homonymous son of Flavius Philostratos the sophist and biographer. What stands most in favor of this hypothesis, in addition to the correct *gentilicium*, is the fact that only a single distinguished title was given for this honorand's ancestors in column II, line 10 (where it is clearly not that of one of the main Eleusinian priesthoods—hierophant, daduch, sacred herald, or altar priest—nor that of political office, which did not have the same status as the *hierophanteia* or *dadouchia*). The title σοφιστῶν, permissible after the preposition ἐξ,⁵² would proclaim similar prestige, as the many honorific monuments for sophists testify, to that of the most distinguished priesthoods held by his wife's ancestors. If the honorand was indeed the homonymous son of the famous Philostratos, the date of this monument, ca. 225–230, may be significant; it was erected around the time that he was hoplite general, possibly in the very year.⁵³ As hoplite general he was the principal administrative officer of the polis, in prestige not much (if at all) inferior to the eponymous archon;⁵⁴ at this time he would have been well situated to procure for himself and his family this prominent monument in the street between the two Agoras. In any case, in this period the son of the biographer commanded great respect, which may have been enough for his family to be worthy of such honor.

The inscription proudly proclaims that Casiana is a descendant of Pericles in the 21st generation. We do not know how this was reckoned. Presumably the family had a stemma.⁵⁵ The descent, if correct, is not incompatible with the date of this inscription, by a reckoning of 30 years to

49. *Agora* XV 485. If the father of the honorand on a statue base in Erythrae, *Syll.*³ 879, Fl. Kapitoleinos, son of Fl. Philostratos, “the sophist,” is to be identified as the biographer, then the present honorand might be a brother of Kapitoleinos; but the honorand on the statue base could have been the brother of the biographer (see n. 50, below).

50. From the *Suda*, s.v. Φιλόστρατος 421–423 (Adler) we learn (422) that the father of the biographer was also a sophist. There seems to be no reason to doubt this, though the *Suda*'s assignment of his birth to the reign of Nero is impossible.

51. Cf. *IG* II² 4007, lines 6–8, for the title δαδούχων in a similar context; 3814, lines 4–5, for τῶν φιλοσόφων.

52. See above, n. 7.

53. See above, n. 49.

54. Geagan 1967, pp. 6–10, 18–31.

55. The treatise of Meliton of Athens, *Περὶ τῶν Κηρύκων γένους* (*FGrHist* 345 F2), may have provided much information; cf. Chaniotis 1988, p. 226, with bibliography.

a generation. Other Athenian dedications of the second and third centuries A.D. refer to famous ancestors of the Classical period,⁵⁶ but none gives the ordinal number of the current generation.⁵⁷ It is interesting that they all have in common an honorand who is related to an Eleusinian priest or priestess. They do not, however, include the first known instance of an Eleusinian family boasting of descent from a famous Classical ancestor: Pausanias was familiar with a stemma that traced a family of the Kerykes of the Late Hellenistic period back to Themistocles.⁵⁸ But what is remarkable now is that with the present document we have three such occurrences in the early third century A.D., reflecting great interest at this time in celebrating noble ancestry.⁵⁹ Of the two other occurrences, *IG* II² 3679 is especially germane:

ca. A.D. 240

ἀγαθῇ ὦ τύχηι
 ἡ ἀπὸ δαδούχων
 καὶ γένους ἀπὸ Πε-
 ρικλέους καὶ Κόνω-
 5 νος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδό-
 νες (*sic*) ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάν-
 δου (*sic*) Ὀνορατιανῇ
 Πολυχαρμῖς τὴν
 ἀφ' ἐστίας Ἰουνίαν
 10 Θεμιστόκλειαν
τὴν θυγατέρα

Despite the name of the hearth-initiate, the family only claims descent from Pericles and Conon. The mother, Honoratiana Polycharmis, is the daughter of Honoratianus Polycharmos and Claudia Themistokleia, who happens to be the sister of Claudia Menandra, the mother of our Casiana.⁶⁰ Thus, it seems reasonably clear that, of the families involved in this dedication, the descent from Pericles was claimed through the Claudii of Melite, Casiana's maternal line, whereas descent from Alexander was probably asserted by the family of Honoratianus Polycharmos, of known Macedonian origin,⁶¹ and descent from Conon therefore presumably by

56. *IG* II² 3546 (Pericles), 3679 (Pericles, Conon, Alexander), 3688 (Conon and Callimachus).

57. *IG* II² 3610 (cf. Follet 1976, pp. 275–277; Kapetanopoulos 1968, p. 494, n. 1 [= *SEG* XXV 213]) does so according to Boeckh's restoration of lines 6–7, but it seems more likely, given the position of "19th" (at the beginning of a list of accomplishments) and the space available (confirmed by my autopsy), that it refers to the number of times an office was held or a benefaction performed.

58. Paus. 1.37.1. For the family,

Clinton 1974, pp. 50–57; on the connection (uncertain) to Themistocles, Davies 1971, pp. 219–220.

59. See above, n. 56. For the general phenomenon of claiming such distant ancestry around this time, see Chaniotis 1987; 1988, pp. 225–226, with bibliography.

60. See *IG* II² 3710; Clinton 1974, p. 112, nos. 50, 52; Kapetanopoulos 1968, stemma C.

61. The rarity of the nomen Honoratianus at Athens would suggest that it belonged to a foreigner of Macedonian ancestry who settled in Athens and

acquired Athenian citizenship, and this has recently been confirmed. Kapetanopoulos 1992 (= *SEG* XL 188) identified the father of the honorand with the Honoratianus Polycharmos son of Aelius Potamon (probably of Beroea or somewhere in the vicinity) who set up a statue of his father at Beroea (Walter 1942, p. 178, no. 16; cf. Tataki 1988, p. 239, no. 977). This family must have claimed descent from Alexander the Great. For other such claims of descent from the family of Alexander, cf. Kapetanopoulos 1992, p. 263.

the family of Honoratiana Polycharmis's unknown husband. Most interesting is the fact that we are hearing, now for the first time, in the third century A.D., the proud claim of the Claudii of Melite that they were descendants of Pericles. In all the earlier statue bases that have survived for members of this family, some of them listing several generations, there is not a word about descent from Pericles.⁶² Particularly apt is *IG II² 4088*, quoted above, which lists *three* prior generations for Claudia Menandra, the mother of the honorand, without mention of Pericles. So we may wonder why it was felt to be important to proclaim such noble ancestry now. It is tempting to think that the relatively recent *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which in the year 212 granted the status of Roman citizenship to all Athenians,⁶³ was a factor in prompting some to emphasize a much more meaningful status, not newly acquired by imperial decree but rooted in most noble ancestry.

The inscription presented here is indeed an artful expression of ancestry. For Casiana the inscription lists ancestors only as far back as her grandfathers—hierophant (on her father's side) and daduch (on her mother's)—although, in fact, earlier ancestors on her mother's side were daduchs, and quite possibly, as was suggested above, there was an earlier ancestor on her father's side (her great-grandfather) who was a hierophant. Consequently, the inscription for her daughter (col. II) is limited to mentioning only a single daduch and (apparently) a single hierophant, namely her daughter's great-grandfathers, despite the plurality of predecessors who held at least one of these priesthoods. Thus, the missing inscription for Casiana's husband ought also to have been limited to listing his ancestors only as far back as his grandfathers, whose title (of necessity identical if both were listed) appeared also in the lacuna of his daughter's inscription. This would tend to suggest that the wife's ancestry may have been limited to two generations because her husband's ancestry was not as distinguished in the generation prior to the second. The original inscription on both blocks, then, must have been a study in ancestral symmetry, somehow balancing, between husband and wife, distinguished ancestry in recent generations. Whether the husband could also claim descent from a Classical statesman or general we do not know, but we should not be surprised if he did.

62. See, e.g., *IG II² 3609–3610*, 3612–3615, and 4088 (p. 46, above). On 3610, probably not referring to the 19th generation, see above, n. 57.

63. On the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and Athens, see especially Follet 1976, pp. 63–105.

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