

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE ATTIC PANHELLENION

IN THE time of Trajan, Plutarch, *Pericles*, 17, advertised as an example of the Olympian's *φρόνημα* and *μεγαλοφροσύνη* an attempt unmentioned by Thucydides or, for that matter, in any other extant ancient work, an unsuccessful attempt to establish at Athens a super-league of Greek leagues, an organization of all Greek cities, to work for the common good of all Greeks. In 131/2 A.D. (cf. *S.I.G.*³ 842), the Panhellenion, a super-league of all Greek cities, was established at Athens by the emperor Hadrian.

The Attic Panhellenion, its goals and membership, have been well handled by Paul Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), especially pp. 102-111. For his preparation Graindor was particularly indebted to M. N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia," *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 167-180. There is no need to rehash the whole material, but it may be of service to collect references to more recent discoveries concerning the Panhellenion.

TOD'S LIST OF THE KNOWN PANHELLENES

THE OLD NAMES

T. Flavius Cyllus came from Hypata (*A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 440 f.).

Tib. Claudius Herodes Atticus. For him *I.G.*, II², 1088 should no longer be cited as evidence (cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 366).

Cn. Cornelius Pulcher is attested as archon by *Corinth*, VIII, i, Nos. 80 and 81.

Dionysius Pathas (?). Delete the element "Pathas" (cf. A. Wilhelm, *Glotta*, XIV, 1925, p. 79).

NEW NAMES

Κασιανὸς Ἀντίου ὁ καὶ Συνέσιος, of uncertain date and provenience, is attested as archon by *I.G.*, II², 3712.

A. Cornelius Postumus and [---]chus are attested as *synedroi* from Sardes by *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 83, No. 35 (second century).

Pardalas, Panhellene designate, of Lyttos, is attested by *Inscr. Cret.*, I, p. 205, No. 56 (Πανέλληνα ἀποδειχθέντα τοῦ συνεδρίου, cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Klio*, XXXVIII, 1937, p. 255).

Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion, a Cretan of perhaps Hierapytna, is attested as archon by *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 74, No. 22, dated by the editor (Raubitschek) shortly after 160 A.D.

An unknown *vir clarissimus*, [πολλῶν πόλεω]ν πολεῖτ[ην] (cf. *I.G.*, II², 3817 for what to expect in lines 4 and 5), is attested as an ex-archon by *I.G.*, II², 3627, (dated by Kirchner in the second half of the second century).

For Panhellenes from Sparta see A. M. Woodward, *B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925-1926, pp. 234 f.

PUBLICATIONS OF THEIR OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AT ATHENS

I.G., II², 3194 (= III 70), which Graindor (pp. 23 and 110) connected with the Panhellenes, has in the writer's opinion nothing to do with them (see *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 438 f.).

I.G., II², 1092, which also has no connection with the Panhellenes, will be treated elsewhere.

I.G., II², 1089 (= III 14) has been republished with a new fragment in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 82 f., No. 35.

I.G., II², 1088 (= III 12+13), now combined with *I.G.*, II², 1090 (= III 15) and *I.G.*, III, 3985, has undergone considerable revisions by the author who presents photographs and a new arrangement of fragments in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 363-368. This inscription contains the Thyatirene decree. The passage (lines 7-14) beginning at the end of the motivation with a reference to a decree of the Panhellenes about recording imperial benefactions is here reproduced with some changes: ἀνα]γράψα[ι Ἀθήνησι] ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἐ[ν στηλή] πάσ]ας δωρεὰς ὡς [ἕκασται ἐδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] μεγίσ[του τῶν π]οτε βασιλέων Αὐ[τοκράτορ]ος Καίσαρος Τραια[νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Ὀλυμπί[ου Πανελλ]ηνίου Διός, ἐφ' [ὅτῳ τι τοι]οῦτο ἔδοσεν ἀγα[θῆ] τύχη δεδόχθαι τῷ Θνα]τε[ι]ρη[ῶν]τῷ δήμῳ τό[δε μὲν τὸ ψήφ]ισμα ἐνχαράξαι λίθ[ω καὶ προσαναθεῖναι, ὅπῳ]ς [ἂν] ἐν [.] ἔκδηλον [ὑπάρχη] τοῖς Ἑλ]λησι ἅπασιν ὄσων [εὐεργεσιῶν τ]ετ[ύχηκ]ε α[ὐτὸ (the ethnos) παρὰ τοῦ βασι]λέως, ὅτ[ι ἰδία καὶ κοι]νῇ πᾶν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλή[νων ἔθνος ε]νεργέ[τησ]εν] ὁ βα[σιλεύς, κτλ.

Here the Thyatirene decree seems to contrast the entire *ethnos* with the individual *ethnē*, which I take to be not so much a term indicating Roman provinces as a term borrowed from the *sermo publicus* of the ancient Pylaeo-Delphic Amphictyony: τὰ τε ἔθνη κ[αὶ] in line 7, and [πάντα τὰ ἔθ]νη τῆς ἀπάσης Ἑλλάδος in line 6. Of course, the decree stresses particularly the rôle of Hadrian as a Hellenistic *basileus euergetes*, for which see W. Schubart, "Das hellenistische Königsideal nach Inschriften und Papyri," *Archiv für Papyrusf.*, XII, 1936, pp. 1-26. Hadrian is called *basileus* not only in the passage cited above but also in lines 27 and 30, while on the loose fragment *g* the verb *εὐεργετέω* occurs twice.

THE INSCRIPTION AT CYRENE

Lines 2-12 of the inscription well read and carefully published by P. M. Fraser, "Hadrian and Cyrene," *J.R.S.*, XL, 1950, pp. 77-87 (with photograph), contain the following imperial letter of 134 A.D.:

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ Τρα[ιανοῦ Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός, θεοῦ]
 Νέρονα υἱόνος, Τραιανὸς Ἀδριαν[οῦ Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,]
 δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰθ', ὑπατ[ὶ]ος τὸ γ', πατὴρ πατρίδος,]

10 Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου ἐφέλκει ἐπιστεῖλαι μοι π[ερί -----]
 τὰ δόξαντά μοι ἀντέγ[ρ]αψα καὶ ὑμεῖν ἔπεμψα τὴν προ[----- ἣν ἐπέστειλε Σαλούσιος]
 Κἄρος ὁ κρᾶτιστος ἀνθύπατος· vacat εὐτυχεῖ[τε vacat Περὶ Κυρηναίων λεγόντων ὅτι]
 δέχεσθαι δεῖ· οὐ μέντοι δίκαια ἀξιούσιν, τῶν αὐτ[-----]
 νος Ἄχαιον καὶ ἀκρειβῶς Δῶρον· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἰθαγεν[εῖς -----]
 προσεκτῆσαντο τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπικρυ[----- πό]
 λιν, Κυρηναίων δὴ δύο συνέδρους πεμπόντω[ν -----]

New restorations in line 6 at the end of lines 7 and 8 are here introduced to indicate the kind of document I think we have, but they are not certain. The equally tentative *εὐτυχεῖτε* (?) which Fraser restored at the end of line 12 on the theory that the letter of Salvius Clarus came in lines 8-12, is here eliminated as inconsistent with what I envisage. The word *ἐφέλκει* in line 6 does not to me suggest the meaning “is hesitant” (so Fraser) but a synonym for *ἐπάγει*, *ἐπαίρει* or *ἐπισπᾶ*. If I am right, the emperor says something like this: “The archon of the Panhellenion is making them consult me by letter concerning [your eligibility]. I have replied with a statement of my opinion, and to you I have sent the [--- which] the *clarissimus proconsul* [Salvius] Carus [submitted]. Farewell.” Then inasmuch as the Cyrenaeans do not know the text of the communication from the Panhellenes, an explanatory brief is added by the *ab epistulis* somewhat as follows: “[*Re* the Cyrenaeans, they think that the Panhellenion] should receive them. Their claim, however, that [they can trace their ancestry back to] Achaeus and even Dorus is false. They are just Libyans who have acquired the Hellenic name by surreptitious entry into citizenship. The would-be Cyrenaeans are sending two *synedroi*.”

Probably every affiliated city had two *synedroi* (cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 83), as each *ethnos* in the Pylaeo-Delphic Amphictyony had two *hieromnemones*.

About half of line 8 seems to have been lost to judge from line 2 where the restoration is certain. In other words, space for about 32½ letters has been lost by fracture in line 8. With two letters for the completion of *εὐτυχεῖ[τε* and with seven blanks after as before the latter, the remainder of the restoration is reduced to about 23½ letters, where counting iota as half a letter, we have restored 22½.

Lines 13-24 were probably labeled *Κεφάλαια ἐξ ἐπιστολ[ῆς ἀνθυπάτου]*, and if so, they contain sections from the aforementioned report from the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene, Salvius Carus. The version sent to Cyrene by the emperor was a summary, an incomplete text, of which, moreover, the Cyrenaeans have engraved only a part commencing *Προσκεκίμενου δὲ* (sc. *Κάρου*) *ἐπὶ τέλους ἐνί, ὅτι* (followed by the proconsul's own words).

Lines 25-49 may well contain an extract from an earlier edict of the emperor, as Fraser interprets it with reference to the reconstruction of the *politeuma* after the massacre by the Jews. The Cyrenaeans are citing this early edict in order to show that the new citizens are real Greeks and not *ἰθαγενεῖς* passing as Greeks.

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