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RUTLEDGE, Harry Carraci. HERODES ATTICUS: WORLD CITIZEN, A.D. 101-177.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1960
Language and Literature, classical

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
HERODES ATTICUS: WORLD CITIZEN
A. D. 101 - 177

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
1960

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PREFACE

Herodes Atticus has frequently been designated as the orator nobilissimus of the Second Sophistic, the well-known rhetorical movement of the second century A.D. Although his prominence in the Second Sophistic is undoubted, Herodes is scarcely one of the major figures of antiquity; the Second Sophistic itself, because of its lack of recognized literary masterpieces, engages the interest of few but specialists. No literary works at all are extant from the hand of Herodes Atticus; but he has never suffered the artistic eclipse that time has imposed on men like Cornelius Gallus, for example, since Flavius Philostratus, fascinated by the extraordinary variety in Herodes' life, saw fit to give him the paramount position in his Vitae Sophistarum. Furthermore, Herodes' name, if not his life-story, has ever been well known to archaeologists and historians of ancient art because of the survival of so many traces of his architectural philanthropies. Herodes was the most prominent millionaire of the second century; his lavish gift to Athens of the Odeum at the foot of the Acropolis has been a familiar landmark for centuries.

His rhetoric, in which he was a famous cultivator of the Attic style, and his buildings, which were the last splendid ones erected in Roman Greece, have stimulated
several scholars to a consideration of Herodes Atticus. Chief among these studies, and of our own century, are K. Münscher's very full article on Herodes in the Real-Encyclopädie of Pauly-Wissowa (1912); Paul Graindor's excellent Un milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille (1930); Karl Neugebauer's beautifully illustrated "Herodes Atticus, ein antiker Kunstmäzen," in Die Antike (1934); and Artur Stein's article in the second edition of the Prosopographia Imperii Romani (1936). Obviously, practically all the evidence pertaining to Herodes has been previously collected and published.

What the history of Herodes Atticus has needed, however, besides a full treatment in the English language, is an interpretative study which would attempt to reveal both the personality of the man and his position in second-century civilization. In the studies cited above, Herodes moves as an immaterial being, who is known to have cultivated classical Greek literature, spoken magnificently, served as consul at Rome, and caused the erection of some handsome buildings. He has been seen impersonally as an active man of great talent and wealth; but the fact of his intimate personal connections with the rulers and fellow-citizens of his era has received little emphasis. It is the purpose of

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\(^1\)See Bibliography for details of publication on the following works.

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this study to present Herodes, the *orator nobilissimus*, as a man intricately involved with the life and culture of the Antonine era, as the chief representative and exponent of the unexampled unity of the Antonine world.

Furthermore, recent archaeological reports, especially from Olympia and Corinth, and new studies in chronology and epigraphy have made necessary several corrections in the older works on Herodes. It is hoped that this biography will both freshen and enrich our total concept of the famous millionaire. I have neither the secret wish nor covert intention to magnify unduly the position of Herodes Atticus in antiquity. As far as his palpable effect on his contemporaries or posterity is concerned, Herodes is distinctly a minor figure. He can contribute much, however, to our total understanding of the ancient world in his dual rôle of transmitter of the classical tradition and symbol of the world's unity under the Antonines.

My indebtedness to the many studies of Paul Graindor on Herodes and the second century in general (see Bibliography) is tremendous. The basic chronology of this paper is that established by Graindor. My principal deviation from Graindor's biography is to present Herodes' life and activities in almost strictly chronological fashion, rather than by Graindor's method of dealing in separate sections with Herodes' family, rhetorical art, and monuments. I think the latter plan, although it has the virtue of lucid organization, tends to result in the fragmentation of the
man. In a chronological treatment, the reader, I believe, can see the simultaneous development of the subject's mental powers, artistic taste, relationships with family and friends, and public prestige. The result of the chronological approach should be a portrait of a complex individual, with all his activities and interests integrated, seen in his total significance.

The primary literary sources for Herodes Atticus are the fairly long biography by Philostratus in his Vitae Sophistarum, various anecdotes in the Noctes Atticae of Aulus Gellius, and the correspondence of Cornelius Fronto. All three sources are biased: Philostratus was fascinated by his subject and offers an uncritical, journalistic account of the millionaire; Gellius was a welcome guest at Herodes' Attic villas and reports only the most flattering anecdotes; Fronto, on the other hand, was Herodes' chief rival for the august friendship of Marcus Aurelius. Of the three sources, Fronto was most able to view Herodes critically and candidly; but even Fronto could not be completely objective, since for several years both he and Herodes were eager for the distinction of foremost friend and mentor of Prince Marcus. I have used these sources abundantly, but as objectively as possible. The reader must bear in mind that we regrettably lack an account of Herodes that is both contemporary and dispassionate.

Throughout this study the quotations from the ancient authors are rendered in my own translations. This scheme
was especially designed to increase the accessibility of Philostratus, so often obscure, and the excessively elegant Fronto. The text of Philostratus, whose most readable edition is Wright's in the Loeb Classical Library, is referred to by paragraph number plus a page and line reference from Kayser's Teubner text.

Two appendices conclude the study. Appendix I discusses the Περὶ πολιτείας, a work often attributed to Herodes Atticus. Appendix II gives an epigraphical index on Herodes, his wife, and his surviving son. The index is followed by a list of the inscriptions not discussed in Stein's articles on these three persons in the second edition of the Prosopographia Imperii Romani, and the new inscriptions found since the publication of Stein's work.

I should like to express my gratitude to the faculty of the Department of Classical Languages at Ohio State University for their unanimous and constant encouragement during the past three years; to Professor Clarence A. Forbes for the exciting stimulus of his counsel and scholarship; but above all to my parents, who provided the ideal environment which made my graduate study so richly tranquil.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout this study. See the Bibliography for details of publication.

AJA  American Journal of Archaeology.
AJP  American Journal of Philology.
BCH  Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
CIG  Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
CIL  Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CP  Classical Philology.
CQ  Classical Quarterly.
Dar.-Sagl. Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines.
Degrassi Attilio Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell'impero romana.
Dessau Hermann Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.
Gellius Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae.
Graindor, Chronologie Paul Graindor, Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire.
IG  Inscriptiones Graecae.

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<td>IG II²</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae, editio minor.</td>
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<td>IGR</td>
<td>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.</td>
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<td>JHS</td>
<td>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</td>
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<td>JRS</td>
<td>Journal of Roman Studies.</td>
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<td>Münscher</td>
<td>K. Münscher, &quot;Herodes (13),&quot; RE VIII 921-954.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCD</td>
<td>Oxford Classical Dictionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBSR</td>
<td>Papers of the British School at Rome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phil.</td>
<td>Philostratus, Vitae Sophistarum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PIR²</td>
<td>Prosopographia Imperii Romani (2d ed. Groag and Stein).</td>
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<td>RE</td>
<td>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</td>
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<td>REA</td>
<td>Revue des études anciennes.</td>
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<td>SEG</td>
<td>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</td>
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<td>SHA</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

The city of Athens had had little political significance during the Hellenistic period, but following the Roman conquest she was completely deprived of the luster of power. She enjoyed no voice in the councils of empire and had no strong economic standing. The great Athens rapidly became a city of the past; but her ancient achievements gripped the imagination of her captor.

The world has always feared and respected power; its honor, however, has ever been given to the notable creations of mind and hand. The Cyruses, Hannibals, Napoleons, and Stalins are continually rising and falling and have an unsteady fame because the swift accumulation of world events requires that the general student skip over or treat cursorily whole periods and many celebrated old names. Only the scholar-specialist is inclined to muse eagerly, for example, over the complicated affairs of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. The dominant factors in the life of the average man today are the grim, colossal events of the last fifty years. Many people can scarcely cope with the present, let alone be cognizant of the past. Nevertheless, the long-recognized masterpieces of literature and art
continue to be engrossingly interesting, and the more demand-
ing secondary schools yet graduate students with some
notion of the place in time of the great thinkers and
artists. At a higher level, of course, students acquire an
ampler and more reliable literary-historical background, and
it is the authors of ancient Greece to whom the educated
grant an unassailable prestige. The mere names of Plato,
Sophocles, and Thucydides gleam steadily as stars many
light-years away. The young student may find barren
stretches in Shakespeare; Shelley may be obscurely intense;
but there is seldom boredom or carping with the great works
of Hellas.

Greece, and especially Athens, had the same intel-
lectual prestige among the Romans, whose authors did not
try to improve on the forms established by the Greeks, but
aspired to create imitatively, imbuing the inherited forms
with Italian vibrancy. Athens became a university town and
countless Romans from the time of Cicero made academic pil-
grimages to, in John Milton's phrase, "the mother of arts and
elocution." The city, however, enjoyed no substantial
imperial recognition during the first century A.D.--even
Nero declined to visit Athens--and not until Hadrian began
to lavish attention on her did she not only regain her old
position as the "school of Greece" but become the chief
university town of the Mediterranean. The professors at
Athens, several of whom received large salaries from the
Roman government, were much sought after by young men from all over the world. The fact must not be overlooked, however, that the basis of the admiration Athens received was still her splendid attainments of the past. The flourishing cities of Asia Minor, as will be seen presently, were much more active than Athens in furnishing notable servants and rhetoricians; but the Greek city alone possessed the venerable reputation.

When Athens, therefore, in 175 A. D. chose to hold a major procession to Eleusis (details below pp. 178-180) in honor of one of her citizens, the attention was signal and the recipient must have been overwhelmingly esteemed by the city which was the intellectual arbiter of the world. The man so honored was the eminent rhetorician and millionaire, Herodes Atticus. In these ascendant years Athens did not give her favors carelessly; no newcomer, no momentary lion could expect as a matter of course to receive the affection of the hypercritical Athenian populace. Inasmuch as Herodes Atticus lacked the rank and power of a Roman emperor, he must have earned the brilliant parade through other means; and indeed the parade was, as the following chapters will show, the culmination of a generous and active life that mirrors almost the whole of the second century. However, Herodes did not lack an illustrious ancestral heritage at Athens, and he partially earned the Eleusinian procession through being the most eminent son of an old and famous family.
Herodes' ancestors\textsuperscript{1} are recorded as holding office as early as 106/5 B.C. when a certain Euclèsc, son of Herodes, of the tribe Alantis and deme Marathon, was a phylarch. Euclèsc's grandfather, Herodes (I), is as far back as the line can validly be taken. Philostratus, however, fulsomely begins his account of Herodes Atticus by noting the family's reputed connection with the Aeacids, the house of Telamon and Ajax, and with those great figures of the Persian Wars, Miltiades and Cimon.\textsuperscript{2} Now genealogy was a characteristic mania among the Romans, probably reaching its height with the Julio-Claudians who claimed Venus as their ultimate ancestor. During the Empire, great citizens of Greece and elsewhere assumed strings of names in emulation of the Roman fashion, and the names of Herodes' own children will be seen to range from six to nine words. There is no proof for the fifth-century ancestry of Herodes, but Paul

\textsuperscript{1}For a genealogy of the family see commentary by J. Kirchner on IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3595. Graindor's chapter (Hérode Atticus, pp. I-17) on the history of the family prior to the career of Atticus, Herodes' father, is a masterpiece of historical synthesis. I have located no information which would augment or modify Graindor's presentation and so the following is simply a sketch, whose point is to show the prominence of the family before Herodes. Neither Dittenberger, "Die Familie des Herodes Atticus," Hermes, XIII (1878), 67-68 nor Münzscher in RE VIII, 921-954 deals with the family beyond the paternal grandfather.

\textsuperscript{2}Phil. 545-547 (Kays. II 55, 15-23). A second mythological connection is suggested by the appellation "Alkaides" in the poem celebrating Herodes' triumph in 175, which Graindor, op. cit., p. 3, interprets as referring not to Heracles but to Herodes' mother, Vibullia Alcia Agrippina.
Graindor has divined\(^3\) that the name of Herodes' daughter, Elpinice, may stem from Elpinice, sister of Cimon, who married the rich Callias. Such a remote connection could possibly mark the origin of the family fortune, which, however, became famous only with Hipparchus, Herodes' grandfather.

The son of the phylarch Euclès, Herodes, was archon at Athens in 60/59 B.C. and epimelete at the time Julius Caesar began the Roman agora at Athens. This forum was inaugurated under Augustus, however, as testified by the inscription\(^4\) on the arch which still stands before the precinct, sometime between 10/9 and 2/3, with the chief Greek official concerned being Euclès (V),\(^5\) strategos of the hoplites, epimelete, and son of the last mentioned Herodes. Euclès (V) had also been in charge of an embassy to Julius Caesar, after Pharsalus in 47 B.C. (rather as Herodes was destined to go before Hadrian at the beginning of his principate), on which occasion Athens probably declared her good will toward Julius. Shortly thereafter, Caesar promised a grant of money for the new agora and probably took the opportunity of his visit in 47, after the defeat of Pharnaces, to present the gift. The dictator very likely

\(^3\)Graindor, op. cit., p. 2.

\(^4\)IG II\(^2\) 3175; Graindor, op. cit., pp. 5-7.

\(^5\)The fifth so named in the family. He is the third Euclès in Herodes' direct line.
wanted to equal the gesture of his old rival, Pompey, who once had given the city fifty talents for the restoration of public buildings.  

The family became increasingly prominent in the first century A.D., when Eucles' (V) son, Polycharmos, was herald, or president, of the Areopagus, priest of Apollo Phytius, and archon eponymus (c. 22/3). His son was Herodes (III) who is the Tiberius Claudius Herodes of a decree from Smyrna. Herodes (III) is the first member of the family to have a Roman gentile name, and so was the first Roman citizen in the family. To date the acquisition of citizenship requires us to consider that the family belonged to the tribe Quirina and that new citizens were put into this tribe under Nero. The Flavian emperors also used this tribe for new citizens, but the name "Claudius" would hardly have been assumed under that dynasty. The date of the citizenship cannot be prior to Nero because

6Plutarch, Pompey 42; Graindor, op. cit., p. 7.
7Graindor, Chronologie, pp. 64-65.
8CIG 3187; Graindor, Hérode Atticus, pp. 8-9, 11; contra Stein, PIR² II, p. 177, who conjectures that this inscription pertains to Herodes Atticus.
9For an epigraphical reference to the tribe of Atticus, Herodes' father, see Allen Brown West, Latin Inscriptions, Vol. VIII, Part II of Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), no. 58; for Herodes' Quirine affiliation see SIG³ 863, note 1.
Claudius assigned new citizens to the tribe Claudia. The decree from Smyrna is fragmentary but contains honorific phrases pertaining to Ti. Claudius Herodes, which Graindor has conjecturally filled out as follows:

\[ [\gammaυμη] \text{T} ι\beta ϵειριον \text{Κλαυδιον Η} \rho ο\δον—\]  
\[ \kappa α\i ι \sigmaε\beta α\στο\i ι\ον\kαi [\alphaρχι\i σε\i ρε\i ς] \text{Θες} \]  
\[ \text{Ρωμης kαι Θεου [Σε\bα\i στοι] Κα\i ε\i σε\i ρος} \]

Ti. Claudius Herodes is making a proposal of uncertain details to the provincial assembly in his capacity as president of the body. He further holds the office of high priest of the imperial cult, consisting of the goddess Roma and the emperor's genius. Because of the obligations of games and other public events, only the richest men could afford such offices; this decree, therefore, indicates that Herodes Atticus' great-grandfather was a very substantial citizen. The decree further shows that the family must have had important interests in Asia Minor; Ti. Claudius Herodes' office made a precedent for our Herodes' term as corrector at Alexandria Troas in 135.

The grandfather of Herodes Atticus was Tiberius Claudius Hipparchus, who also held the high offices of priest for Apollo Pythius and of the imperial cult. Hipparchus had three children: Claudia Alcia, Claudia Athenais, and Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes. The status of

\[ 10\text{Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 10.} \]

\[ 11\text{Ibid.} \]

\[ 12\text{Ibid., p. 12.} \]
the family fortune became common knowledge during Hipparchus' career and he seems to have been as skillful a financier as J. P. Morgan. It was not always safe to be rich under the Empire, when some of the emperors habitually made excessive drafts on the state treasury and had to look elsewhere for revenues, but Hipparchus was safe when one Salvius Liberalis twitted the unassuming Vespasian with"What does Caesar care if Hipparchus has a hundred millions?" Vespasian did not care, but evil days were ahead.

The story is told by Philostratus of how Domitian in 92/3 found Hipparchus guilty of a conspiracy against the state whereby the millionaire would set himself up as a tyrant at Athens. The Athenians themselves, curiously enough, had not informed on Hipparchus, but the emperor, convinced of the man's guilt, saw fit to confiscate all the property personally owned by Hipparchus. The Greek cities at this time were dominated by local magnates, the πρωτοί, who controlled the economy of the towns and, usually, enjoyed the favor of the Roman governors. It is very possible that the Herodians had become overweening after so many years of

14Phil. 547 (Kays. II 56, 18-21).
16Plutarch, Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae 19.
steadily increasing ascendancy and that Domitian, if he was to keep a firm grip on his realm, had good reason to deprive Hipparchus of his wealth and power. That the citizens are not recorded as having brought a complaint to the imperial officials does not negate the likelihood of Hipparchus' conspiracy; they may very well have been intimidated and, as a matter of principle, Philostratus minimizes the negative features of the family history as much as possible. Hipparchus was probably put to death and his property quickly sold under the supervision of the Fiscus. The Hadrianic Oil Law of 124/5 directs that oil producers must give to the state one-third of their harvest, except the owners of property bought from the estates of Hipparchus, who need give but one-eighth. Graindor reasonably assumes that Hadrian was restating a former law which would have made the Hipparchan estates attractive to buy and thus be as quickly dissipated as Domitian wished.

Beginning with the principate of Nerva, the first of the "five good emperors," the resources of Hipparchus' family were suddenly revived. Hipparchus' son, Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, who seems to have been born around the


18Ibid., 960-963. Oliver's text is the most recent.

19Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 15.
middle of the century, discovered in one of his own houses near the Theatre of Dionysus an immense treasure-trove.\textsuperscript{20} (Apparently Domitian had not deprived Hipparchus' family of their personal property.) Not being sure of the disposition of the new emperor, Atticus wrote Nerva about his discovery. The emperor congratulated Atticus; but the latter, still apprehensive of imperial rancor such as his father had suffered, cautiously wrote Nerva a second letter in which he declared that the fortune was beyond his deserts. The emperor, however, above being jealous of a provincial millionaire, advised Atticus to keep and enjoy the treasure.\textsuperscript{21} Domitian dies; Atticus suddenly finds an immense sum of money--it is all to coincidental. Philostratus approaches his subject without criticism and so does \textit{not} rationalize this story. Graindor has perceived\textsuperscript{22} that Hipparchus probably concealed a large sum before the state could confiscate everything, and told his son the secret. Atticus announced his "discovery" so as to take advantage of the pre-Hadrianic law that the discoverer of unassigned treasure could keep the whole of his find.\textsuperscript{23} Under Nerva and his successors, however, such subterfuge was unnecessary.

\textsuperscript{20}Phil. 547-548 (Kays. II 56, 23-27).

\textsuperscript{21}Phil. 548 (Kays. II 56, 27 to 57, 2).

\textsuperscript{22}Graindor, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 22-23.

\textsuperscript{23}Cf. SHA (Loeb Classical Library), Hadrianus 18, 6 and David Magie's reference to Horace, \textit{Satires II} 6, 10 ff. for the precedent of the discoverer having title to a treasure-trove.
The family now entered its most brilliant period. Besides Atticus' money, which we may presume he invested and caused to increase at once, Herodes' mother, Vibullia Alcia Agrippina, brought a fortune to her marriage. The family was as famous for its wealth and luxury as the Vanderbilts used to be in this country, and even received the satirical attention of Juvenal:

\[\text{Atticus eximie si cenat, laetus habetur.}\]

At the same time, the family continued its tradition of having a public conscience, being only too willing to undertake expensive public offices. The Herodians did not accumulate money as an end in itself but enjoyed the prestige of offices which, as it happened, only the rich could afford to hold. They were covetous (we shall see that none was more so than Herodes himself), but not miserly. Their dynasty at Athens was something like that of the Adamses of Massachusetts in this country during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who, although men of means, took every opportunity to hold significant public office. Many

\[\text{24 Phil. 547 (Kays. II 56, 16-18).}\]

\[\text{25 Juvenal, Satires XI 1. Book IV of the Satires which contains the eleventh is only approximately dated by Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 14 as being a product of an older man and certainly post-Domitian. However, Highet (loc. cit.) dates Book III around 120 A.D. and Book V around 127 (ibid., p. 15). Between 120 and 127 was, indeed, the period when Atticus began his most notable philanthropies and must have been one of the famous millionaires of the day, more than worthy of Juvenal's notice.}\]
present-day millionaires, on the other hand, enjoy the manipulation of financial power but are not public spirited. Atticus and his son, Herodes, caused the family to attain the highest public preferment the imperial system allowed.

Atticus received *ornamenta praetoria* during the reign of Nerva. At this time the *ornamenta praetoria* did not entitle the possessor to a seat in the senate nor to the candidacy for any office for which he was not otherwise eligible. Following this honor, Atticus undoubtedly was adlected, through the agency of Trajan, to the Roman Senate, *inter praetorios*, and thus was the first Greek magnate to enter that body. Atticus is the last provincial we know to have received the *ornamenta* as a criterion for entering the Senate.

There are several references to Atticus' being consul, but he must have been consul *suffectus*, not *ordinarius*, since his name occurs on no lists of those who

26 West, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
28 West, *ibid.*
29 Phil. 545 (Kays. II 55, 16-17); *Suda*, s. v. "Herodes"; *IG VII*, 88; *SIG³* 859 A.
actually exercised office. He is reported to have been con-
sul (suffectus) twice.30

The only high office that Atticus held at Athens was
Δρχερεύς τῶν Σεβαστῶν, high-priest of the imperial cult,
a lifetime office. He does not seem to have assumed this
position, however, until the reign of Trajan, to whom Atticus
as high-priest erected a status sometime between 97 and
102.31

It was through their philanthropies, though, that
Atticus and his wife set an example for the kind of works by
which their son achieved his greatest fame. Atticus was
known to sacrifice a hundred oxen to Athena in the course of
a single day and on feast days he did not hesitate to play
host to the whole Athenian populace. During the annual
Dionysiac procession when the cult-statue was housed in its
shrine near the Academy, Atticus distributed donatives of
wine to citizens and strangers alike.32 He may, indeed,
have held the presidency of the Iobacchi, one of the illustri-
ous, semi-religious clubs at Athens, whose purpose was to

30 See references to Phil. and the Suda in note 29.
Degrassi, p. 166, in his index of nomina refers to Atticus
and dates him as "età di Traiano-Adriano."

31 N. M. Verdélis, "Inscriptions de l'agora romaine
d'Athènes," BCH, LXXI (1947), 42-46. Other epigraphic evi-
dence for Atticus as high-priest can be seen in IG II² 3295-
3296, 3595-3596, 3597 a-e.

32 Phil. 549 (Kays. II 57, 31 to 58, 2).
foster the worship of Dionysus. The president was required
to give wine to the club members on the day of the Great
Dionysia and was occasionally expected to serve the worship-
ping populace. Both Atticus and Vibullia Alcia were
honored with reserved seats in the Theatre of Dionysus.

Atticus seems to have been a solid, reliable citizen.
He was not so ambitious as his father nor so inclined to
impulsive display as his son was destined to be. Not allow-
ing himself to be dominated by wealth, Atticus shows a pref-
erence for the generous, good life, rather than fame. His
sister, Claudia Athenais, was also a patron and both of them
were honored with inscriptions by the councils of the
Areopagus and the Six Hundred and by the people, εὔεργεσίας
"εὐεργές έν εὐεργεία," with thanks for their munificence."

It was into this environment of great riches, philan-
thropy, and a long tradition of public service that Herodes
Atticus was born. His was a family long accustomed to social
position, public prestige, and acquaintance with the rulers
of Rome. This remarkable background comes to full flower--
almost overblown--in the career of Herodes Atticus.

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33 Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 31; M. Rostovtzeff,
The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, 2d ed.
148. On Herodes and the Iobacchi see below p. 198.

34 To II 5090, 5122.

35 To II 3594-3595.
1. Childhood

Herodes' full name was Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes⁠¹ and he was born at Marathon in the year 101.⁠² He has been familiar since his own era as "Herodes Atticus" or simply "Herodes."⁠³ All his names are from the paternal side of the family except Lucius and Vibullius, which were common in his mother's house.⁠⁴ Herodes' lengthy name is in accord with current Roman fashion and displays his far-reaching ancestry.

Herodes Atticus was born auspiciously at the beginning of the happy century of the Good Emperors; the Mediterranean world was basking in the gracious reign of Trajan,

¹According to IG II² 3603 and a Latin inscription found by Nilsson and published by Dittenberger in SIG³ 863 note 1 (see below p. 39) for a discussion of the significance of the latter document. The full titulature on Herodes' statue base at Delphi, SIG³ 859 A, lacks the initial praenomen.

²Determined on the basis of his being consul in 143.

³The initial reference to him by his friend and sometime student, Aulus Gellius, in the Noctes Atticae I 2 is as "Herodes Atticus." Thereafter, Gellius, like Philostratus, usually calls him "Herodes."

⁴See stemma PIR² II following p. 182.
whose program, in the phrase of A.E.R. Boak, was one of "benevolent paternalism." To be sure, the year 101 saw the emperor engage with King Decebalus of Dacia in the first of a series of wars with that country; but Rome, feeling the security of overwhelming strength, was on the offensive at her ever-restless frontier, and the problems of the north were of no immediate concern to sunny Attica. Herodes' first ten years seem to have passed without incident. His father, Atticus, was enjoying the ascedant position described above and Herodes may be presumed to have spent the carefree childhood of a millionaire's son. The immediate family of Atticus and Alcia consisted only of Herodes and his younger brother, Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodianus, of whom nothing is known beyond two inscriptions found on the island of Ceos. In one inscription of the early second century, the city of Iulis presented an honorific statue to Herodianus, ἀρετῆς ἐνεκέν, possibly in gratitude for benefactions received from one or both parents. The lack of evidence for him makes it reasonable to guess that Herodes' brother died as a boy.

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6 PIR2 II, no. 803; SIG3 855. The second inscription, found at Cerisia on Ceos, pertaining to Herodianus but lacking any details is in SEG XIV, no. 542. See Christiane Dunant and Jean Thomopoulou, "Inscriptions de Ceos," BCH, LXXVIII (1954), 335-336 for a brief description of the second inscription.

7 Dittenberger, SIG3 855 note 1.
Herodes' father has been proposed to be the "Atticus" named by Eusebius (quoting Hegesippus) as ΠΑΤΙΚΟΣ, i.e., legatus, of Syria during the reign of Trajan when Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom. Whether this Atticus was proconsul of Syria or procurator of Judea about to enter the consulship has not been determined. This office would have given Atticus the difficult experience of Pliny the Younger, but occurred in Herodes' life too early to have any effect on him. There is no record of Atticus' or Herodes' attitude toward Christianity.

When Herodes was about ten years old, Publius Aelius Hadrianus was archon at Athens (111/12). The archon had married Sabina, granddaughter of Trajan's sister, and already had some reputation as a philhellen. The future emperor's love of Athens caused him to be her greatest benefactor and his own works were to inspire the rich and eager Herodes Atticus. Thus forces were at work even in his boyhood which would direct the career of antiquity's

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9Artur Stein in PIR² II, p. 174 regards Atticus' consular rank as very uncertain and does not discuss these possible Syrian connections. The Atticus of the Syrian office is treated separately by Groag (apparently changing his position from that of his earlier discussion in cited in note 8 above), in PIR² I, no. 1338.
greatest private philanthropist. From 113 to 117 Trajan was occupied with his Mesopotamian expansion, which had its economic repercussions, as we shall see, but probably with little direct effect on Greece. The great Jewish rebellion of 116-117 undoubtedly horrified Greece because of the massacre of her countrymen, but the lad Herodes had more immediate concerns.

2. Elementary Education

Herodes' basic education was received not only at Athens but also at Rome, where his father seems to have gone during his time as consul suffectus. These Roman days are among the most shadowy of Herodes' career. There is no firm basis for the chronology, although Graindor reckons the visit to Rome as early in the second decade, certainly prior to Herodes' encounter with Hadrian in 117.11 The single reference to the Roman sojourn is in a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto12 in which Marcus observes that Herodes was educated in the home of his (Marcus') grandfather, P. Calvisius: "scio illum quidem in avi mei P. Calvisii domo eruditum. . . ." Since Herodes' training under his known Greek mentors was rhetorical and seems to have taken place mostly at Athens, eruditum in the above context must

10 Graindor, op. cit., p. 52.

11 Ibid.

12 Marcus to Fronto: p. 37, 5-7 Van den Hout; I, p. 61 Haines.
be in a fairly elementary sense. Herodes had probably completed his initial education under a family slave on his father's Attic estates. Upon coming to Rome for a visit of unknown duration, he was ready for a *grammaticus* and from that teacher learned Latin. These early Roman connections have great significance for Herodes' later history because Calvisius' daughter, Domitia Lucilla, in 121 became the mother of Marcus Aurelius, who as emperor would be the most eminent of Herodes' old pupils and friends. Calvisius, consul in 109, probably was a *hospes* of Herodes' father. When Herodes assumed the *toga virilis*, possibly as early as 116 at the age of fifteen (in a family as prominent and ambitious as Herodes' the boy would have been pressed into manhood at the earliest opportunity), he was ready for the standard third phase of his education at the hands of rhetoricians.

3. **The Second Sophistic**

At the time Herodes began the most complex stage of his training, the movement called the "New, or Second,

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13H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 257. Marrou makes the point that whereas the well-educated Roman was bilingual, only the very privileged Greeks were so. That Herodes did know Latin is indirectly attested by Gellius I 2, 6 where Herodes discusses a matter "Graeca, uti plurimus ei mos fuit..." He was undoubtedly expected to know Latin for the routine of his several positions in the Roman *cursus honorum*. 
Sophistic" was flourishing. The Second Sophistic was an artistic and educational phenomenon that burned brightly during the second century and then died away. The flame became most luminous in the art of Herodes Atticus; but, like a flame, the Second Sophistic was basically unsubstantial. This movement had nothing to do with an interpretation or direction of παιδεία as did the work of the fifth-century sophists, but was entirely concerned with the art of oratorical display and delectation. Our principal ancient source for the activity of the Second Sophistic, Philostratus, recognizes in his Vitae Sophistarum the difference between the two programs:

Now the original Sophistic, even when expounding on philosophical subjects, pursued these topics diffusely and at length, discoursing as it did on courage, justice, gods and heroes, and how the form of the universe was fashioned. The Sophistic following, which because of its age should not be termed 'new' but rather 'second,' made examples of the poor, the rich, nobility and tyrants, and dealt with those special topics for which history is the source. Gorgias of Leontini founded the earlier Sophistic . . . Aeschines the son of Atrometus the second. . . . Aeschines' followers took up subjects from the standpoint of artistic value; Gorgias' students were concerned with molding opinion.

As far as the Second Sophistic is concerned, the key words in Philostratus' analysis are ἱστορία and κατὰ τέχνην.

The Second Sophistic glorified the past, especially the

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Phil. 481 (Kays. II 2, 22 to 3, 7).
famous accomplishments of Greece, as excitingly and artfully as mind and tongue could manage.

It was required, then, that the successful student be a master of ancient history and literature so that he could draw readily on a copious store of famous events and apt allusions. Along with this broad historical-literary background, the student had to be well acquainted with the formal structure of a speech and the techniques of impressive oral delivery. The ultimate achievement was the ability to deliver a splendid speech ex tempore on a topic selected by an audience. The Second Sophistic was not an organized philosophic discipline; it demanded facility rather than originality; fluency instead of penetration. Herodes' rhetorical education was from the very start channeled along these requirements. His mature personality, as revealed in the literature, shows that as a youth he must have been nervous, impulsive, eager to learn, but more eager to show off. Herodes' mentors had the perfect raw material to fashion into a model exemplar of the Second Sophistic.\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\)The foregoing purports to be nothing more than a brief description of the Second Sophistic so as to suggest the atmosphere into which the young Herodes plunged himself. Herodes Atticus is renowned as the most accomplished orator in the Second Sophistic, but there was more to his life than rhetoric. Rather than have a section on "Herodes, Sophist and Teacher," I think his development as a rhetorician can be readily perceived as the successive events in his life happen to be concerned with oratory. The major work on the Second Sophistic is still by André Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère, Paris, 1923. A remarkable sketch of the movement and all its known figures (281 in all) has been prepared by Karl Gerth, "Zweite Sophistik," RE, Suppl. VIII, 719-782 (1956).
4. Herodes' Teachers and Training in the Second Sophistic

Herodes' rhetorical education began when he was about 15 or 16; he was still pursuing the elements of his art when, as we shall see, he was corrector in Asia Minor in 135. This span of some twenty years makes it impossible to define precisely the term of his schooling, an understandable difficulty considering the demanding and disparate goals of the Second Sophistic. The great requirements for success were deep erudition and abundant practice in public speaking, and there is almost no limit to the time one could spend in perfecting these attributes.

Herodes' teachers were of international origin. They were Polemo of Laodicea, Favorinus of Arles, Scopelian of Clazomenae, Secundus of Athens, Theagenes of Cnidos, Munatius of Tralles, and Taurus of Tyre. All but Favorinus and Secundus were from Asian districts, as were the other great figures (save Herodes) of the Second Sophistic. Philostratus has biographies for all the teachers except the grammarian Munatius and the philosopher Taurus, who are also omitted from the compilation by Karl Gerth (see end of note 15 above).

Favorinus of Arles was a student of Dio Chrysostom and lived from around 85 to around 150. He subscribed to the

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16Phil. 564 (Kays. II 71, 23-30).
17Gerth, RE, Suppl. VIII, 721.
ideas of the Skeptics, but his fame stemmed from his oratory. He extemporized with great ease and was popular in Rome, where he enchanted even his non-Greek speaking audience by his expressive eyes, sonority, and rhythm of his language. Favorinus was not one of the great and memorable rhetoricians, but he was a glib, entertaining speaker who could give the young Herodes some idea of the possibilities in extempore oratory. It is not likely that he made any concrete contribution to Herodes' education. Favorinus became a great friend of Herodes, who in later years wrote to his old tutor, "When am I to see you and lick your lips?" as though the man's every word were delicious. Favorinus had an Indian slave, Autolecythus, who often amused his master and Herodes as they drank, by speaking a queer language combining Greek and Indian words. The date of Favorinus' death is not certain, but he willed to Herodes his library, a house in Rome, and Autolecythus.

The most eminent of Herodes' early teachers was Scopelian of Clazomenae, who normally held forth at Smyrna.

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18 Phil. 491 (Kays. II 10, 29).
19 Ibid. (Kays. II 11, 7-12).
20 Phil. 490 (Kays. II 10, 5-6).
21 Ibid. (Kays. II 10, 9-12).
22 Ibid. (Kays. II 10, 6-9).
He had been a pupil of Nicetes of Smyrna, choosing that center of rhetoric as his headquarters rather than unimportant Clazomenae. Students flocked to him from all Asia Minor, Egypt, and Attica, paying him fees in proportion to their property. From Scopelian a student could learn the art of the Asiatic style, because that master excelled in speeches on grand themes, especially topics from the Persian Wars pertaining to Darius and Xerxes. The Greeks, like the Romans of the same era, taught and practiced rhetoric through speeches on problematic themes. The Romans employed the controversia, a speech on a difficult point of law, or the sausoria, whereby the speaker presented a solution to a critical problem in the life of a great historical figure. The Greeks much preferred the historical approach with such themes as Polemo's "Demosthenes denies taking the bribe of fifty talents" or "Solon asks for the rescinding of his laws when Peisistratus takes on a bodyguard." Odd sociological topics were also favored, such as Alexander Peloplaton's "The Scythians should return to nomadic life since their health is impaired by city life." These grandiose

23 Phil. 516 (Kays. II 29, 14-15).
24 Phil. 519 (Kays. II 32, 22-23).
25 Ibid. (Kays. II 33, 4-6).
26 For the foregoing themes see Phil. 538, 542, 572 (Kays. II 48, 30-31; 53, 14-15; 78, 20-21).
themes served to revive a little of the exciting past in the Greeks' excessively placid and regulated second-century world.

Scopelian frequently headed embassies to Rome with regard to Smyrnean affairs and even charmed the morose Domitian on occasion. On one of these journeys he stopped at Athens, where he was the guest of Atticus. Philostratus' description of the visit reveals that the boy had not hitherto studied under Scopelian but had taken the classical orators as his models for extempore speaking. As yet, however, Herodes had neither mastered the ancients nor adequately practiced the difficult extempore technique, and thus was making no progress. Atticus saw that the brilliant Scopelian was the man to train his son and showed that he intended Herodes to begin anew by ordering the portrait-busts of the old orators in the house to be pelted with stones. Herodes certainly needed training and discipline, but he proved his inherent gifts by delivering a very convincing imitation of Scopelian's style during the course of the master's visit. Atticus, delighted with his son's performance and show of promise, gave him a reward of fifty talents and Scopelian fifteen; but Herodes gaily increased

27Phil. 520, see Wright's note 2, p. 84 (Kays. II 33, 31 to 34, 2).

28Phil. 521 (Kays. II 34, 4-25).

29Kayser, improbably, ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΑ; Wright, ΠΕΝΤΗ-ΚΟΝΤΑ (see note 28 above).
the sophist's prize by an additional fifteen talents.  
(These casual gifts indicate something of the great 
resources the family had.) There is no record, but at his 
earliest opportunity Herodes probably joined Scopelian at 
Smyrna and there was introduced to the art of Asian oratory. 
His great enthusiasm would have made the impetuous Herodes 
an apt pupil; both Favorinus and Scopelian are to be cred-
ited with fostering Herodes' taste for the Asiatic style.30

Until Herodes, while corrector in Asia Minor in 135, 
encountered the great Polemo of Laodicea, Favorinus and 
Scopelian were his most important teachers. He also studied 
for a while with Secundus of Athens31 (fl. under Trajan), 
son of a carpenter, who had a fairly subtle mind but 
expressed himself in the simple style. The influence of 
Secundus may have been the origin of Herodes' later predilec-
tion for the Attic style in general and the works of Critias 
in particular. Though yet a boy, Herodes quarreled with 
Secundus (evidently finding the man rather pedestrian), 
taunting him with a parody on Hesiod:32

The potter envies the potter and the carpenter the 
orator.

30Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 51.
31Phil. 544-545 (Kays. II 54, 25 to 55, 14).
32Herodes changed the TÉKTOVÉ of Hesiod's line 
(Works and Days 25), καὶ κεραμεύς κεραμεῖ κοτέει τέκτονι
τέκτων τῷ δήτορι.
The boy has the pride and egotism of the man and even in this early stage of his training has a facility for apt quotation. When Secundus died, however, Herodes pronounced with tears the funeral oration.

In addition to skill in oratory, the would-be sophist had to develop a ready discernment—

\[ \text{Tŏ κριτικόν} \]

—in literary matters, and for this training Herodes enrolled with two grammarians, Theagenes of Cnidos and Munatius of Tralles. About neither of these are there any details available, although we shall meet Munatius later in connection with Herodes and Polemo. Criticism among the men of the Second Sophistic entailed grammar and textual explanation. The student acquired good diction through a careful perusal of the classical authors, especially the poets, and memorized a great deal so that he could easily draw on a fund of bright apophthegms. From the "explication des textes" the student gained a pretty solid background in history, geography, astronomy, and the sciences.

As for the Tyrian, Calvisius Taurus, one of Aulus Gellius' masters and an Academic philosopher, Philostratus

\[ ^{33} \text{As indicated earlier (above p. 21), "sophistic" in the second century had nothing to do with philosophy. The term was virtually synonymous with "rhetoric," carrying over, however, its old connotations of clever talking.} \]

\[ ^{34} \text{Graindor, op. cit., pp. 39-40.} \]
mentions\textsuperscript{35} that Herodes studied Plato under him. Taurus lived in Athens\textsuperscript{36} and was one of the more important thinkers the second-century city offered; but he seems to have had little influence on Herodes, who never showed any inclination toward philosophy.

As suggested earlier, Herodes' rhetorical-critical education went on almost indefinitely, certainly through 135 when, as we shall see, he made such a point of hearing Polemo. Since the senior Atticus took a great deal of interest in his son's career, we may presume that he had a strong voice in the selection of the tutors, as in the case of Scopelian. It is unlikely, moreover, that there was a clash of interests between father and son for both were eager that Herodes have the best education and swiftest advancement possible. Atticus seems to have put no pressure on Herodes to enter the family's commercial pursuits; actually, the Herodians' financial empire seems practically to have run itself through the able surveillance of the freedmen regularly employed.

Herodes accomplished his advanced education by going from one tutor to another, now entertaining the sophists in his father's villas as they passed through Attica, and now

\textsuperscript{35}Phil. 564 (Kays. II 71, 29-30). That Philostratus' Taurus of Tyre and Calvisius Taurus are the same, see K. Praechter, "Tauros (11)," \textit{RE} VA, 58.

\textsuperscript{34}Gellius VII 13. For many references to Taurus see an \textit{index nominum} for Gellius.
seeking them out in Asia Minor. The product of this long training was a man of immense cultivation, whose wide reading had developed in him a vivid imagination, a well-trained memory, and a critical intimacy with the Greek language. The length of time Herodes devoted to this task probably was extraordinary, since only the very privileged could afford such a long educational gestation. Few could have excelled him in the depth and breadth of a training which gave him such a refined and yet eclectic literary taste. Small wonder that in his late years Herodes Atticus was the savant of the Mediterranean world and that students came to him as to a shrine.

5. **The Accession of Hadrian**

When Herodes' education was just under way, the emperor Trajan died at Selinus in Cilicia (August, 117). In his last days Trajan had adopted Publius Aelius Hadrianus as his son and left him in command of the eastern forces, while he himself began the long return to Rome. The eastern armies quickly ratified the adoption and saluted Hadrian as emperor. Regardless of evil rumors and adverse opinion, therefore, the Senate had no choice but to concur with Trajan's arrangements.

Hadrian proceeded to Rome slowly, stopping for a while on the Danube in Pannonia, where a delegation from Athens came to greet the new emperor, who just a few years before in his archonship had shown such affection for the
ancient city. Herodes was a part of this embassy, possibly representing the Athenian ephbebs.\textsuperscript{37} No youth in Athens had a more illustrious name, and he might have become acquainted with Hadrian at Atticus' house when the emperor was archon. Herodes was charged with delivering a speech before Hadrian, but in the very midst of the address the boy broke down, could not rally, and had to leave the audience in mortifying shame. It was probably a lapse of memory in a very formal and ornate eulogy, but the proud Herodes was overwhelmed with chagrin. He ran to the edge of the river, longing for the nerve to throw himself in, because he believed that he had stunted his blossoming career.\textsuperscript{38}

In the same year (117/8), Herodes' cousin, L. Vibullius Hipparchus Marathonius, was archon eponymus.\textsuperscript{39}

6. Family Philanthropy

Atticus himself was not idle during these years of his son's education. Around 120 he and his wife, Vibullia

\textsuperscript{37}Graindor, \textit{op.} \textit{cit.}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{38}Phil. 565 (Kays. II 72, 25 to 73, 2). Graindor, \textit{ibid.}, p. 48 proposes that Atticus' stoning of the orators' busts in his house (see above p. 25) followed his son's faux pas before Hadrian. I think, however, that the stoning incident can just as well remain where Phil. has it, with the story of Scopelian. Philostratus is systematic enough that he could be expected to have the stoning incident in the life of Herodes if the affair were peculiar to Herodes. As it stands, the incident illustrates Atticus' vehement admiration for the great Scopelian.

\textsuperscript{39}Graindor, \textit{Chronologie}, p. 118.
Alcina, established an endowment in perpetuity to relieve their tribe, the Aiantis, from the onerous sacrificial expenses required of each tribe's prytany.\footnote{IG II² 1073-1074; James H. Oliver, "Patrons Providing Financial Aid to the Tribes of Roman Athens," \textit{AJP}, LXX (1949), 299 and 302.} During the Hellenistic era the prytaneis had shared these expenses, but in post-Sullan days the leading member of the prytany, the treasurer, gradually shouldered the burden alone.\footnote{Sterling Dow, \textit{Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring Athenian Councillors}, \textit{Hesperia}, Suppl. I (1937).} By the second century A.D., however, this system was no longer feasible, since there was such a shortage of wealthy men. As I shall point out in more detail in connection with Herodes' inheritance, Greece was actually poor under the Empire; indeed, the massive campaigns of Domitian and Trajan, although removed from the Mediterranean littoral, had been so costly as to undermine the financial structure of the whole realm.\footnote{John Day, \textit{An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. 178.} Even worse than the military expenses was the fact that Greece had ceased to be a major mercantile center for wine, oil, and manufactured goods. Athens chose to ignore these hard facts and insisted that the venerable and beautiful religious festivals be maintained. Atticus' endowment was the first of its kind, but was really only a
prop for a crumbling dike; nevertheless, the acknowledging inscriptions hold Atticus and his wife in grateful honor. As will be seen later, the millionaire established similar endowments for several other tribes just before his death.

Moreover, Athens was not alone in enjoying the lavish munificence of the Herodians. Their second city was Corinth (especially, as we shall see, for Herodes in his later years) and we have already discussed the Flavian inscription from Corinth honoring Atticus.\(^3\) The Corinthians also offered their esteem to the young son of the Athenian magnate. On a statue base from Eleusis there are two dedications on adjacent sides of the stone. The earlier (\textit{IG II}\(^2\) 3604 a) records the initiation into the Mysteries of Claudia Alcia, one of Hipparchus' two daughters, during the middle of the first century. It is likely that Claudia's statue was removed after her father was found guilty of the tyrannical conspiracy under Domitian,\(^4\) since the sanctuary ought not hold memorials of persons even indirectly connected with such conspiracy. The statue base remained at Eleusis, however (apparently \textit{damnatio memoriae} was not inflicted on


\(^4\)Dittenberger, \textit{SIG}\(^3\) 853 note 1.
Hipparchus), and the Corinthian government—with singular economy—appropriated it in the second century to hold a statue of Claudia's nephew, Herodes. The dedication\textsuperscript{45} bestows upon Herodes the handsome title, "Hellas' son," \textit{βιὸς Ἑλλάδος}, but mentions no other titles or offices. Dittenberger interprets the inscription as belonging to Herodes' youth, since none of his honors, no priesthood, no public offices are included. The title, \textit{βιὸς Ἑλλάδος}, is the grander form of the fairly common \textit{βιὸς τοῦ δῆμου}, and denotes a youth of famous family and great expectations.\textsuperscript{46}

7. The Beginning of a Public Career

While the emperor was engaged in the first of his world-tours (121-125), the young Herodes entered public life. In 122 he was agoranomus,\textsuperscript{47} or clerk of the market, whose job was to see that bread remained cheap and the prices of other commodities kept within bounds.\textsuperscript{48} It was an assignment of no great standing and certainly thankless, corresponding with the aedileship in Rome. But the virtue of the position was that it put Herodes into the \textit{cursus} of

\textsuperscript{45}\textit{IG II² 3604 b (SIG³ 854).}

\textsuperscript{46}\textit{SIG³ 854 notes 4 and 5. Münch in RE VIII, 932 concurs with Dittenberger's interpretation.}

\textsuperscript{47}\textit{IG II² 3602.}

public offices. Atticus probably arranged the job for his son as part of a plan to ensure that he should not become a playboy.

The following two years passed quickly enough as Herodes went on with his studies. In the winter of 124, however, Athens became alive with excitement over the impending visit of Hadrian, who since 121 had been inspecting his realms, traveling from Gaul to Africa to the Euphrates, now returning to Rome by way of Greece. Athens was not wrong to anticipate a renaissance, because Hadrian, in love with the culture of Greece since his archonship, intended to treat her as a princess among cities. During the visit of 124/5 he saw to the mapping out of a new area of the city to be called "Hadrianopolis," and took up the much-interrupted work on the Olympieion, a tremendous temple to Zeus Olympios begun under the Peisistratids (but whose present ruins are traceable only to the first half of the second century B.C.). In gratitude for these major projects, the twelve tribes erected a statue of Hadrian in the Theatre of Dionysus.50

8. Economic Sidelights on the Reign of Hadrian

As Athens enters upon her second heyday, it must be observed that the economy of the second century is fraught


50Judeich, ibid.
with contradictions, and the manifestations of material well-being in the great cities of Rome and Athens do not represent the whole picture. We have already mentioned that the imperial wars had cost the assessed provinces a great deal and that men of wealth were not numerous. Atticus had seen the need of helping the people pay for one of the most essential state functions, the sacrifices of the prytaneis. The imperial system creaked from the very start because "the Empire was not civilized enough, that is to say, its economic life was not progressive enough, to bear the heavy burden of maintaining itself as a single political unit." Part of the trouble was the maldistribution of wealth in the hands of a few capitalists like the Herodians (whose particular interests will be discussed in connection with Atticus' will, below).

Ostensibly, Hadrian's major building program provided employment for numerous Athenian laborers and artisans, putting into motion economic forces which benefited a large part of the population. Furthermore, a flood of tourists began to come to the city to participate in the many religious festivals which the emperor encouraged. Hadrian provided support for the agonothesia of the Panathenaea and built a bridge over the river Cephisus, also providing stone dikes for the stream, so as to guarantee access to Eleusis

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Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 365.
at all times. It was during the first visit to Athens that Hadrian was initiated into the Mysteries, and the delight of the city can be imagined. But Hadrian's attention to Athens and other cities created only a veneer of prosperity, whose beneficial effects were offset by the expense of the greatly increased civil service and the maintenance of security along the eastern frontiers. The result was that all the favor of the emperor could not lay a really sound basis for prosperity.

We may be sure that Herodes watched all these imperial activities with relish. He did not blame the emperor for his ambassadorial fiasco of a few years earlier, but, in fact, must have admired Hadrian for his cultivation, enthusiasm for the arts, and penchant for the archaic. The son of a man as rich as Atticus could easily dream of the time when he would benefit his city just as the emperor had done.

9. Archon

Herodes was elected archon eponymus in 126/7 and with this office he became a frequent subject for the stone-cutters. A certain Carpodorus, son of Alaius, devoted a

52 Day, op. cit., pp. 186-188.
53 Ibid., pp. 195-196.
54 Phil. 549 (Kays. II 58, 27-28); Graindor, Chronologie, p. 127.
tablet to Herodes, the Athenian ephebes erected a statue to him as archon "because of his benevolence and generosity toward them." A base of Hymettic marble in the Theatre of Dionysus denotes his archonship and probably held a statue erected by the city in gratitude for his largesses which, in all likelihood, were more than could be expected of an archon. A final memorial is a tablet decorated with amphora, crown, and palm which lists several city officials of 127/7, the first of whom is Herodes.

Upon retiring from his archonship, Herodes became increasingly identified with the family's benefactions—Atticus by this time was probably satisfied that he did not have a wastrel on his hands—and the city of Athens honored Herodes with a statue sometime before 128/9, in behalf of his munificence.

10. Entry into the Roman Cursus Honorum

The emperor returned to Athens in the fall of 128 and was present for the dedication of Hadrianopolis and the cella
of the Olympieion at the beginning of 129. In all likelihood Hadrian was entertained more than once at the villas of Atticus, where the discussion would have easily turned to Herodes' future. Herodes shared his father's high hopes for himself, especially since under Hadrian, and his successors, neither the equestrian or senatorial order was confined to Italy. Many members of Rome's officialdom came from the municipal aristocracy of the provinces and customarily maintained residences both in Rome and their home towns. Society became international in the second century and was composed of the wealthiest and best educated citizens of the Mediterranean world. Since Atticus' son was a talented and promising "world citizen," Hadrian undoubtedly encouraged Herodes to begin the imperial cursus honorum.

His father's senatorial rank put Herodes into that class without difficulty; he had evidently long since learned Latin (see above p. 19). If one may judge by the dates of his succeeding offices, Herodes must have held the quaestorship around 130, when he had more than attained the age requirement of twenty-five years. The monetary criterion of one million sesterces was certainly no obstacle, and he seems to have been permitted to skip the customary prerequisites, the office of tribunus militum and service with the Vigintivirate.

60Judeich, op. cit., p. 101.
61Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 124.
11. **Amicus Principis**

Herodes could have passed these latter offices only by imperial dispensation, which means that he had to enjoy the special favor of the emperor. The privileged position which Herodes had is indicated categorically by only one document, the Latin inscription which Dittenberger reported from Nilsson in the third edition of the *Sylloge*:\(^\text{62}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
L. VIBULLIUM & \cdot \\
HIPPARCHUM & \cdot TI \\
CL & \cdot TI \cdot F \cdot QUIR \cdot ATTICUM \\
HERODEN & \cdot Q \cdot IMP \cdot CAESARIS \\
HADRIANI & \cdot AUG \cdot INTER \cdot AMI \\
COS & \cdot TRIB \cdot PLEB \cdot PRAETOREM. \\
\end{align*}
\]

This inscription specifically lists Herodes as being "quaestor imperatoris Caesaris Hadriani Augusti inter amicos";\(^\text{63}\) of the twenty quaestors elected annually, two were regularly attached to the emperor as special aides, an honor in itself;\(^\text{64}\) but it is the phrase, "inter amicos" that denotes a status of particular prestige. *Amicus* (*principis*) occurs as a title of provincial governors, procurators, equestrian secretaries, special commissioners, and distinguished people with no official standing at all. The men who bore the title were representatives to their fellows of the

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\(^{62}\text{SIG}^3\) \(^{63}\) note 1. I have been unable to locate this important inscription in any of the standard, more recent, epigraphical publications.

\(^{63}\text{PIR}^2\) \(^{64}\) II, p. 177.

\(^{64}\) Cf. Dessau 1000, 1025, 1032.
emperor's auctoritas. In addition to the officials just mentioned, the emperor's family relations, personal friends, and comites were often designated as amici, although the term did not require friendship in any emotional sense. In fact, that a man was amicus does not mean that he was a regular and active councillor of the emperor. The title simply shows imperial regard for selected persons in any of the aforementioned public or personal relationships with the princeps.

The inscription found by Nilsson proves that Herodes was an amicus of Hadrian, and we shall see how he maintained his position under the two succeeding rulers. The family's fortune and Athenian position could have won the honor for him regardless of his pursuit of the cursus honorum. As for Herodes' duties during the quaestorship, we have no record. If he was one of the emperor's aides, it is interesting to speculate that he might have accompanied Hadrian on the imperial progress. In June of 129

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65John Crook, Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 23-24. For a compilation of amici principum so specified in the ancient literature, see that of M. Bang in the seventh appendix to Friedländer's 1921 edition of Darstellungen aus der Sitten- geschichte Roms.


67Crook's list (op. cit., pp. 148-190) of the amici and Bang's (op. cit., pp. 60-75) do not include Herodes; but Syme, op. cit., 270, recognized Herodes' position.
Hadrian had been at Antioch, where he maintained headquarters until the first of the year. Going south, the emperor stopped at Jerusalem, where he ordered the restoration of the city as "Aelia Capitolina," and then proceeded to Petra. Alexandria was next, where the beloved Antinous met his mysterious death at Canopus sometime in October (130). The emperor lingered in Egypt through the first half of 131. If Herodes was with Hadrian at this time, he would have seen the sculpture which may have inspired the Egyptian statuary found on his property (to be described later). Certainly Hadrian's own taste for things Egyptian was acquired during his sojourn by the Nile.

Hadrian visited Athens for the last time in the fall and winter of 131/2. At this time he witnessed the completion of the Olympieion, the beginning of the library, and the founding of his great festival, the Panhellenion, through which the emperor reached the zenith of his philhellenic enthusiasm. The brilliant orator, Polemo of Laodicea, was invited to speak at the temple's consecration sacrifices, but for none of this splendid celebration is

70 Phil. 533 (Kays. II 44, 18-27).
there any record that Herodes was present. Only the most official duties could have kept the young sophist from Athens, and so he must have been in Rome, chafing at the bit of the duties of a tribunus plebis.71

132-134 were the years of the Jewish rebellion over the new colony at Jerusalem of Aelia Capitolina and other manifestations of Roman effrontery. The revolt was quelled only at great cost to both sides and in 135 Hadrian assumed the title, Imperator II.

12. Praetor at Rome

In the year 134 Herodes was praetor72 at Rome and his father was patronomus of Sparta.73 Atticus' public days were fast coming to an end and this is the last office he is known to have held; Herodes, however, really entered upon his illustrious career with his praetorship. At Rome, the days of busy official duties as Cicero had known them had come to an end and the civil bureaucracy was really running the Empire; thus Herodes was not seriously occupied with official assignments, and could devote a good deal of time to lecturing. One of the famous sophists who as a young man heard Herodes at Rome, between 130 and 140,74 was Aristocles.

71 Cf. the Nilsson inscription above p. 39; Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 58.
72 Graindor, ibid.
73 IQ V, Part 1, 32 A, 287, 288.
74 W. D. Ross, "Aristocles (1)," OCD, p. 91.
of Pergamum, who had changed from philosophy to rhetoric and extempore oratory.\textsuperscript{75} Because, as we shall see, Herodes was otherwise engaged from 135-140, it stands to reason that Aristocles heard Herodes' lectures during the latter's praetorship. There were other students also to benefit from Herodes' first efforts to share his long-accumulated learning. Julius Capitolinus tells that the young Marcus Aurelius studied Greek oratory under Aninius Macer, Caninius Celer, and Herodes Atticus.\textsuperscript{76} His Latin tutor was Cornelius Fronto. We do not know when Marcus began these studies, but having been born in 121 and become a precocious child, he could well have studied with Herodes (indeed, learned his Greek from that master) in 134. At any rate, Herodes' happy connections with Hadrian made it reasonable for the millionaire-praetor to renew his acquaintance with the imperial family in 134 and the lad Marcus (Hadrian's 'Verissimus') would have delighted the cultivated Greek.\textsuperscript{77}

13. **Asian Days**

At the close of his praetorship another office presented itself to Herodes, that of corrector of the free cities of Asia. Since the reign of Trajan the cities of

\textsuperscript{75}Phil. 567 (Kays. II 74, 11-13).

\textsuperscript{76}SHA, Marcus Aurelius II 4.

\textsuperscript{77}Herodes had lived with Marcus' maternal grandfather during his boyhood Roman years (above p. 18). For a possible later date for Herodes' being Marcus' tutor, see below p. 98 and note 78.
Asia Minor were notorious for such reckless spending as to jeopardize their tax payments to Rome. By 110 the financial affairs of one senatorial province, Bithynia-Pontus, were in such need of reform that the emperor had to appoint the younger Pliny as a special commissioner, corrector, of the whole province. Hadrian continued to exercise a close surveillance over the expenditures of the lucrative Asian towns and around 135 sent Herodes to serve as corrector of the free cities of Asia78 which were Ilium, Caunus, Onidus, Mylasa, Alabanda, Stratonicea, and Aphrodisias.79 Herodes' official title was "legatus Augusti ad corrigendum statum civitatum liberarum"; his praetorian rank was appropriate for the position.

Once in office Herodes did not hesitate to take advantage of the opportunities Asia Minor presented for his own advancement. Philostratus declares that Herodes preferred fame in extempore speaking to even the name of consul and descendant of consuls,80 and in this observation the biographer is neither ennobling his subject nor being grandiloquent. Herodes gives no indication of having taken his high offices really seriously, but seems to have felt

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78Phil. 548 (Kays. II 57, 7-8); Graindor, op. cit., p. 58.
80Phil. 536 (Kays. II 47, 23-24).
that they were his just deserts and good means to his ends. During the correctorship the great Polemo was holding forth at Smyrna and we may safely presume that Herodes lost no time in going to hear him.

When Herodes had embraced and kissed the master,\(^8^1\) a favorite of emperors,\(^8^2\) he asked, "O father, when shall I hear you?" thinking that Polemo would want to make special preparation before giving a declamation before so high-ranking an auditor. Polemo, however, was willing to begin at once, and without deference invited Herodes to attend him. The proud Athenian was astonished at Polemo's casual attitude, but the clever orator proceeded to declaim flattering on the words and deeds of the corrector.

Herodes listened to Polemo for three days and received many impressions which would influence his own art. Philostratus had access to Herodes' letters, in which Polemo was reported to have spoken on the following themes: "Demosthenes swears that he did not accept a bribe of fifty talents" (referring to Demades' charge about the orator's

\(^8^1\) The following account is based on Phil. 536-539 (Kays. II 47, 23 to 49, 20).

\(^8^2\) Phil. 532-533 (Kays. II 44, 3-10): Trajan gave Polemo the right to travel free by land or sea; Hadrian extended this privilege to all his descendants and enrolled him in the Museum at Alexandria. Once, at Rome, Polemo demanded the sum of 250,000 drachmas and Hadrian unquestioningly gave it to him. Polemo lived from around 88 to 145, was one of the most impressive orators of the Second Sophistic, and warranted a full history from Philostratus.
corruption by the Persians); "The Greek trophies should be taken down" (referring to the proper restoration of equality between Athens and Sparta after the peace treaty of the Peloponnesian War); and "The Athenians should return to their homeland after Aegospotami." Polemo's delivery was always remarkable, especially since his arthritic condition compelled him to speak from a litter. The procedure at these conclaves was for the audience to present a theme to the speaker. It was Polemo's practice, upon receiving the theme, to withdraw for a few minutes to collect his thoughts. The ensuing speech was ever movingly and ringingly uttered, punctuated with Polemo's leaping from his litter at climactic points.

Herodes was fascinated—he heard the first speech in the attitude of a critic; the second as a lover; the third as one enchanted. After the last lecture, Herodes sent Polemo a gift of 150,000 drachmas, which the orator strangely refused. Munatius of Tralles, mentioned earlier as one of Herodes' tutors in grammar, advised his old pupil that Polemo had hoped to receive 250,000. Herodes promptly sent the difference to Polemo and this time the gift was accepted
as a fitting reward. Herodes also gave a display speech, but Polemo was allowed to leave the city so as not to have to give the counter-performance that was usually in order at these sophistic gatherings.

Herodes may have had a cavalier attitude toward his official posts, but he was devoted to his art. Polemo undoubtedly inspired Herodes to pursue his studies with even greater concentration. Because he had his mind and body well under control, Herodes could study profitably for long hours. Although he was vain about his wealth and position, he never presumed to be perfect in his rhetoric. He learned more quickly than most people, but was always methodical and diligent. He used to study even while relaxing over a cup of wine or at night during sleepless hours. Because of this ability to sup and work at the same time, his detractors used to call him the "fatted orator" (σιτευτὸν ὅπτορα).

The correctorship not only afforded Herodes the opportunity to further his rhetorical background, but also gave him his first experience with a major benefaction. While visiting his son in Asia, Atticus noted that Ilium (later

85Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 63, feels that this prize was in bad taste on Herodes' part; but I think that the ostentation of the day made the extravagant gift quite in order, coming as it did from the son of a millionaire. Tasteful restraint was hardly the vogue in the Age of Hadrian.

86Phil. 565 (Kays. II 72, 14-18).

87Phil. 548 (Kays. II 57, 6-25).
"Alexandria Troas") was lacking a municipal bath and that the citizens had no reliable water supply. He described this sorry state of affairs in a letter to Hadrian, in which he asked the emperor to allot the city the sum of three million drachmas for a waterworks. The emperor approved the project and directed his corrector to take charge. In a short time, unfortunately, the expenses for the aqueduct and nymphaeum had soared to seven millions and the other Roman officials in Asia Minor, led by Titus Aurelius Antoninus, proconsul (and next emperor), complained to Hadrian about his lavishing the tribute of five hundred cities on the fountain of one.

The conservative Antoninus seems to have had little good will toward the Herodians at this time, because there must be a kernel of substance to the tale, which Philostratus denies, of Herodes' having struck Antoninus when the two chanced to meet once on Mt. Ida. Philostratus thinks the proconsul and the corrector simply jostled each other on a narrow road; but impatient men in such a situation often call out loose remarks and the attendants of Herodes and Antoninus could easily have come to blows. Their masters would not have managed the situation well, since Herodes was so impulsive and Antoninus had only distaste for the author of the current extravagance at Ilium.

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88Phil. 554-555 (Kays. II 63 7-15).
Hadrian accepted the criticism from his Asian representatives and remonstrated with Atticus about the expense of the waterworks. The millionaire, however, grandly advised the emperor that he himself would assume all costs in excess of the original grant from the government, giving the required difference to Herodes, who in turn would give it to Ilium. The aqueduct was completed, therefore, as a gift from the Herodians.

This opulent gift—Herodes' first direct contact with major philanthropy—consisted of a quadrangular nymphaeum 17.05 metres long and 8.32 deep. The interior had seven niches from which gushed the waters borne by an aqueduct from Mt. Ida. The ruins of baths to the north of the site of Alexandria Troas cannot with any certainty be attributed to the Herodians. A fragmentary inscription found on a statue base in the ruins of the aqueduct at Ephesus may pertain to our Herodes and indicate that he, or his father, once gave material assistance to that city, perhaps in the aftermath of an earthquake in that frequently unsettled region.

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89 Graindor, op. cit., p. 33.
90 Ibid. Magie, op. cit., p. 626, has the wrong impression when he states that Hadrian chose as corrector Herodes Atticus "who during his incumbency built a bath costing 7,000,000 drachmae at Alexandria Troas."
91 CIG 2978. That the base refers to our Herodes is accepted by Karl A. Neugebauer, "Herodes Atticus, ein antiker Kunstmäzen," Die Antike, X (1934), 98 and Stein, PIR² II, p. 177. Graindor, op. cit., p. 201 note 2 merely
Although the correctorship lasted but a year, it was a term full of significance for Herodes' future: Asia, Polemo, philanthropy—he was well on the highroad of great affluence and the new rhetoric. All Herodes lacked to give a powerful impetus to his career was the possession of a personal fortune.

14. Problems in Chronology

At this point the narrative must pause for a consideration of the chronological problems that the next decade presents. Following 135, the next undisputed date in Herodes' life is 143, the year of his consulship.92 Between these years occurred the death of Atticus, Herodes' negotiations to break his father's will, his service as agonothetes of the Panathenaea, a law suit at Rome, and marriage. Dating Herodes' Panathenaic duty may help put the other events in logical order. When Herodes was offered the post of Panathenaic agonothetes,93 he delightedly promised that he would receive the Greeks attending the festival and the competing athletes in a stadium of white marble. On the basis

suggests the possibility of the attribution. Groag, in his article on Herodes' father (RE III, 2677) cites CIG 2978 as an ambiguous inscription, which could refer to either father or son. The only evidence for Herodes' connection with Ephesus is this brief, fragmentary inscription, and such evidence is too faint for definitive statements.

92 Degrassi, p. 40.

93 Phil. 549-550 (Kays. II 58, 28 to 59, 3).
of Philostratus' next remark that the stadium was completed within four years, Herodes must have intended for the new stadium to be a highlight of the next Great Panathenaea, an event of every fourth year. Moreover, since Philostratus glowingly describes Herodes' Panathenaic service as "crowning event," it too must have been the occasion of a Great Panathenaea, not the usual annual celebration. The next fact to consider is that in July and August of 143, Cornelius Fronto served as consul suffectus. These were the very months of the Athenian Panathenaea; in all likelihood, Herodes asked to be relieved temporarily of his consular duties so as to return to Athens for the dedication of his new stadium. Since the Great Panathenaea occurred in the third year of the Olympiad, 143 was indeed the time for that celebration; thus the previous one of which Herodes

94 Degrassi, loc. cit.
95 Graindor, op. cit., p. 83.
96 E. Cahen, "Panathenaia," Dar.-Sagl. IV, p. 304; Ludwig Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin; Press of the Academy, 1956), p. 23; L. Ziehen, "Panathenaia," RE XVIII, 458 (1949). Graindor, Chronologie (1922), p. 255, calculates that during Hadrian's reign the Great Panathenaea was rearranged to occur in the second rather than in the third year of the Olympiad and then continued on that basis. The three reliable sources cited at the beginning of this note do not even suggest such an arrangement. Furthermore, this system would make Herodes agonothetes in 138 and the stadium finished in 142. These dates do not agree with those in Graindor's own biography of Herodes for the promise and completion of the Athenian stadium (cf. below p. 109).
was agonothetes would have been in 139. With the Great Panathenaea of 139 and the consulship of 143 as a framework, the other events can fall at least into a logical order.

15. The Inheritance Question

Herodes' father died between 135 and the death of Hadrian in July of 138. As will be seen shortly, the rapid movement of events concerning Atticus' will requires that he have died before Hadrian but not too long before the turn of the decade, thus about 137/8. Now it has been pointed out many times already that Herodes' family was always involved in philanthropic projects. In 120, Atticus and his wife had presented a major endowment for expenses of the prytany to their tribe, the Aiantis (above p. 31). Around or just prior to 138 four other tribes—Antiochis, Kekropis, Oineis, and Ptolemais—erected statues to Atticus for his benevolence to them.\textsuperscript{98} Apparently Herodes' father wanted to help other tribes with their heavy official expenses, as he had his own. Atticus could do with his fortune as he pleased, because Alicia's fortune was almost as great as his own,\textsuperscript{99} Atticus could presume that their son would never want. (Inasmuch as Alicia survived her husband for a number of years, it must have been obvious in Atticus' declining days, when he drew up his will, that his wife was going to outlive him.)

\textsuperscript{98} PHI2 3597 a-d.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{99} Phil. 549 (Kays. II 57, 4-5).
Unfortunately, however, Atticus was not entirely his own master. He was prey to the counsel of his freedmen, who put no faith in the good will of Herodes toward them after his father's death. Therefore, with cunning persuasion the freedmen suggested to their master that he leave a great part of his money to the people of Athens. In this way they could ingratiate themselves with the populace as the authors of windfall and would thereby be safe from Herodes' ill will, which they apparently had experienced before.

Atticus' fortune amounted to about 24,000,000 drachmas and this was half the fortune Hipparchus had had (around 100,000,000 sesterces) prior to Domitian's confiscation. According to IG II² 2776, from the reign of Hadrian, a drachma equalled 1/6 of a denarius. Converting this figure to modern American currency—the result of which can be only the roughest approximation—on the basis of a denarius being equal to eightpence halfpenny (about 10 cents), in the second century, Atticus had a

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100 The story of the will is at Phil. 549 (Kays. II 58, 3-26).
101 Day, op. cit., p. 245 (Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 72).
103 Ibid., p. 489.
104 Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 470.
fortune of around $400,000. Being of philanthropic inclination and influenced by his freedmen, Atticus created a will whereby he bequeathed a gift of one mina (100 denarii) annually for each adult male citizen.\textsuperscript{105} Graindor has estimated that there were around 12,000 adult males in Athens in the second century; thus Atticus' foundation would have to pay out 12,000 minas annually, a sum requiring an initial endowment, assuming a return of 5 per cent on investments, of 24,000,000 drachmas.\textsuperscript{106} This is the most significant endowment known to us from antiquity \textsuperscript{107} and offers some interesting legal complications.

Ordinarily, Roman citizens could not bequeath anything to non-Roman citizens; Atticus, having Roman citizenship, would have had to make his bequest via the \textit{fideicommissum}, the only legal way for \textit{peregrini} to inherit from Roman

\textsuperscript{105}Phil. 549 (Kays. II 57, 26-28); Larsen, op. cit., p. 490 points out that only the adult males were involved.

\textsuperscript{106}See note 101. These figures are by no means remarkable by our standards, but as Larsen, op. cit., p. 490 points out, "fractional currency of such small denominations was in use that the value of money must have been high and prices correspondingly low." The article on luxus in Hans Lamer's \textit{Wörterbuch der Antike} (1950) observes that "auch die reichsten antiken Menschen waren nicht so reich wie heutige amerikanische Multimillionäre." In fact, the Herodians did not have nearly so much as the famous millionaires of the Republic; see Tenney Frank, Rome and Italy of the Republic, Vol. I of \textit{An Economic Survey}, pp. 393-394.

Not even his own family could have directly received an inheritance from Atticus without being Roman citizens, but Herodes himself had all the necessary qualifications. The fideicommissum was a "gift mortis causa expressed in an informal request which was addressed to a person who himself acquired something mortis causa from the grantor." Moreover, the person charged with executing the informal request was under no obligation to do so unless compelled by a legal extraordinaria cognitio.

His father's testament infuriated Herodes Atticus. Not only had Atticus deprived his son of a great deal of money, but he had been cajoled into doing so by his ubiquitous freedmen. Herodes was galvanized into action at once and he first of all composed a vilifying statement against the unscrupulous servants, which document he seems to have made public. He thereupon took steps not to honor his father's bequest but to take advantage of the inaction that the law of fideicommissum allowed him. When the will had been read, Herodes proposed to the Athenian inheritors that he give a lump sum of five minas per person and thus cancel the annuity clause of the will. Herodes clearly had no

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109 Graindor, op. cit., p. 73.

110 Schulz, loc. cit.

111 Phil. 549 (Kays. 11 58, 10-13).
intention of honoring the fideicommissum; the poorer folk in the crowd probably thought that five minas were better than a possible nothing; so Herodes' scheme was accepted.

Upon presenting themselves at the banking tables, however, the citizens met with the hard and ruthless side of Herodes Atticus. Their previous indebtedness to Herodes' parents was by no means cancelled, and the debts of some people had been accumulating since the era of Hipparchus. The bank clerks subtracted from the five minas the previous debts, with the melancholy result that some men got only a small amount of money, some got nothing, and others were publicly detained as still being in debt! It was a black day for Athens and a worse one for the personal esteem of our Herodes. Worse was to follow; for not only were the people deprived of a bequest of unexampled generosity, but the executor also stopped the tribal endowments which Atticus had provided. This latter action is strongly suggested by the fact that the system of financing the Athenian government had to be reorganized at this time. The arrangement for tribal patrons, called epapmoi, which lasted until the reign of Severus Alexander is first attested in the third prytany of 138/9.\footnote{James H. Oliver, "The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N. S. XLIII, part 4 (1953), 957. Cf. Oliver, "Patrons Providing Financial Aid" (above, note 40), 308.} The new financial arrangements
might have been devised, at Hadrian's request, by C. Julius Severus, a well-known corrector and financial expert.\textsuperscript{113}

Herodes now was a millionaire in his own right. His method for attaining this position was reprehensible; and some forty years will have to elapse before the enmity of the Athenians against him is completely mollified. Herodes' attitude, however, was not erratic or inconsistent. He was accustomed to wealth and all it could buy; he much preferred self-preservation to sacrifice. It was perfectly clear that only men of wealth were being chosen for the desirable public honors, and Herodes loved glory, even if he had to buy it. Since Atticus' too generous will would have thwarted Herodes' personal aspirations, he had no choice but to break the intolerable instrument.

16. \textbf{Character of the Fortune}

Now that Herodes has come into his own, let us consider the basis of the famous fortune. In antiquity the main source of a great income was commerce, and this money was increased by mortgage-lending and landed investments. The Herodians were chiefly bankers, almost, in fact, usurers. With regard to Atticus' will, Philostratus tells that the fathers and grandfathers of the Athenian citizens were in debt to Herodes' parents and that the people had to go

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{113} Oliver, "Ruling Power," 968.
\end{footnote}
Thus money-lending was a primary family activity and their loans commanded a substantial rate of interest, possibly 8 to 9 per cent.\textsuperscript{115} Antiquity is notorious for its gross maldistribution of wealth, and the estates of the rich—especially very large estates like those of the Herodians—must have been accumulated through an unscrupulous exploitation of the poor.\textsuperscript{116} Furthermore, the concentration of so much capital could not help but have had a crippling effect on Athenian economic development\textsuperscript{117}—too much enterprise was dependent on the purse of the Herodians.

But this is the era of which Edward Gibbon proclaimed:\textsuperscript{118}

\begin{quote}
If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus.
\end{quote}

Where were the economic hardships? To be sure, the literature, papyri, and coinage all show that in the second

\textsuperscript{114}Phil. 549 (Kays. II 58, 16-19).

\textsuperscript{115}Larsen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 491. Day, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 250 note 421 states that the normal rate of interest in the Greek world under the Empire varied between 6 and 9 per cent.

\textsuperscript{116}Day, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 250.


century the cities of the Empire had one thing in common: they spared nothing to make urban life as easy and comfortable as possible.\textsuperscript{119} The impression is valid that life at Athens was one continuous festival; but who were financing these revels? A wealthy few regularly bore the expenses; the city herself had no treasury to speak of. The luxurious buildings given by Hadrian and Herodes, the pageantry, the doles were but "the thinnest veneers for a poverty which lay close beneath the resplendent surface."\textsuperscript{120} The fact is that Greece was one of the poorest parts of the world and as soon as she ceased to be the purveyor of oil, wine, and manufactured goods for the rest of the world she could only decay.\textsuperscript{121} The Athenian economy depended greatly on these benefactions; such funds, however, in turn depended on the patrons' interest and pleasure. No, Athenian economy was not sound and part of the reason was the insidious self-aggrandizement of the Herodians.

The reverberations of the scandal over Atticus' will reached the capital and the custom of \textit{fideicommissum} was discredited. Hadrian himself passed an interdict against \textit{peregrini} inheriting by \textit{fideicommissum} and henceforth property willed by that means was appropriated by the imperial treasury.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{119}Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 139.
\textsuperscript{120}Day, op. cit., p. 251.
\textsuperscript{121}Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 375.
\textsuperscript{122}Gaius, \textit{Institutionum Commentarii} II 285.
The next events encroach upon the reign of Antoninus Pius, but since they are concerned with the scandal over the will and the chronological problems described above, we shall discuss them at once. Hadrian had fallen ill around 136 of a painful and wasting sickness which seems to have combined tuberculosis and dropsy.\(^{123}\) In July of 138 the life of Hadrian, always so restless and unfulfilled, came to a close and he was succeeded by his adopted son, T. Aurelius Antoninus, soon "Pius." Herodes did not have the best opinion of Antoninus because of their differences when both were on duty in Asia; but his own affairs at the moment were too pressing for him to be especially concerned about the new principate.

17. **International Scandal**

Not all the Athenian citizens were so docile as the others about Herodes' high-handed management of their legacy from Atticus. The correspondence between Marcus Aurelius and Cornelius Fronto shows that suit was brought against Herodes in Rome over the affair of the will. The chronology is much debated, but surely these legal difficulties were over before the consulship of 143. Indeed, must not the problem have been more or less resolved for Herodes' tribe to choose him as their agonothetes for the Great Panathenaea? If his enemies were preparing a lawsuit against him at the

\(^{123}\)Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
time of the Panathenaea, not even his own tribe would have been so intimidated by the Herodian affluence as to have given him such a signal honor. Therefore, I propose to date the suit within the year between July, 138 (Hadrian's death) and July, 139 (the Great Panathenaea).¹²⁴

Philostratus mentions nothing of this suit; our only source is an exchange of five letters between Marcus Aurelius and his Latin tutor, the rhetorician Cornelius Fronto. The names of Herodes¹ accused in Rome are unknown, but they could have been a committee of Athenian citizens, inspired by Herodes¹ thwarted freedmen, who hoped, perhaps, to force an extraordinaria cognitio in their favor.¹²⁵ Fronto himself was counsel for the prosecution, and as such was

¹²⁴Haines I, pp. 58-69 tentatively dates the letters between Marcus and Fronto at 140-143, but avers in note 2, p. 59 that the whole affair must have been over before Herodes¹ consulship. Graindor, Hérode Atticus, pp. 77-78 believes that the suit was dragged out until sometime between the consulship (143) and Marcus¹ marriage (145). Münscher, RE VIII, 930 had the same idea as Graindor and believed the affair to have ended in Herodes¹ favor in 143/4. Rudolf Hanslik, "Fronto und Herodes Atticus," Opuscula Philologa, VI (1934), 27 and 34, believes the suit to have begun shortly after 138/9 and to have finished in 140/1. None of these authors discusses Herodes¹ Panathenaic duties insofar as they could have any relevance for the dating of the suit.

¹²⁵Haines I, pp. 58-59 note 2 states that Demostratus Petilianus was the leader of the opposition; but only Philostratus tells about Demostratus¹ enmity for Herodes and that quarrel belongs to the affair at Sirmium of 174 (see below pp. 173-176). Cf. Hanslik, op. cit., 27 where he notes that there is no evidence that Herodes even knew Demostratus before 150.
extremely irritated by the selfish Herodes; but his royal
student advised him to be moderate.\textsuperscript{126}

The trial draws near in which men not only will
seem to give ear favorably to your address, but
will regard unfavorably your animosity. I know
of no one besides myself who dares advise you in
this matter.

Marcus continues: \textsuperscript{127}

But if he (Herodes) should attack first, whatever
you must reply can be overlooked. I have, how­
ever, begged him not to go first and I think he
is persuaded. For I cherish each one of you for
his own merits and I know full well that he was
educated in the house of my grandfather, Publius
Calvisius, whereas I was educated under you. Thus
I am especially anxious that this most distasteful
affair be accomplished as decently as possible.

Fronto's reply is, as usual, flattering and deferen­
tial to his princely friend, but he does bring out the crux
of the case: namely, the freedmen's ill treatment at the
hands of Herodes.\textsuperscript{128}

If this Herodes is a man of honor and virtue, it
is not right for such a man to be rebuffed with
censure by me; if he is good-for-nothing and evil,
then our contest is not equal and we cannot incur
the same harm. For any contact with something
unclean defiles a person, even if he prevails.
But the former is more likely—that he is a
worthy man—since you judge him worthy of your
concern. If I had ever known this—may all the
gods curse me if I should ever have dared to
insult any friend of yours! Now I pray, by your
love for me in which I am so fortunate, that you
will help me in this matter, too.

\textsuperscript{126}Marcus to Fronto: p. 36, 13-16 Van den Hout; I,
p. 60 Haines.

\textsuperscript{127}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 37, 3-9 Van den Hout.

\textsuperscript{128}Fronto to Marcus: pp. 37, 22 to 38, 20 Van den
Hout; I, pp. 62-66 Haines.
I hardly doubt that I must say nothing irrelevant which could injure Herodes, but as for those facts which pertain to the case—and they are indeed hideous—how to handle them is what I hesitate and ask your advice about. I must tell about freedmen cruelly beaten and robbed, one of whom was killed; I must tell about a son, undutiful and unheeding of his father's prayers; I must denounce cruelty and greed; in this case must Herodes be established as a very murderer. Now if in those accusations on which the indictment rests you think that I should force and attack my adversary with all my might, inform me, my best and dearest lord, of your advice. On the other hand, if you believe there should be some restraint in this affair, whatever you advise I shall regard as the best thing to do. As I said, however, you may rest assured that I shall say nothing about his character and other aspects of his life which is irrelevant to the case. But if you think that I must do justice to my suit, let me warn you now that I shall not be taking immoderate advantage of the opportunity the case affords, for the accusations are savage and must be related savagely. The details about the robbed and beaten men shall be so described by me as to smack of gall and bile; but when I call him a "Greekling" and "unlearned," there will be no intent of murder.

As a postscript to the above, Fronto sent another letter to Marcus, evidently eager to keep that prince's good will:  

... it occurred to me that those who will be engaged in this suit (and there seem to be many who will plead) may say some things to Herodes without restraint; in this matter take care how you regard me alone.

Marcus' reply shows definite pleasure in Fronto's amenable attitude, to which Fronto answers that he is glad to please his master and will handle the case as discreetly as

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possible. Fronto goes on to say, however, rather amusingly, that Herodes is a dangerous adversary because "he is said to burn with a passion for pleading."\textsuperscript{131}

There is no further evidence about this lawsuit; but the silence of the literature shows that Herodes must have been acquitted of whatever complaints his enemies had made, since he suffered no ill consequences and his arrangements of his father's estate were not changed. His treatment of the freedmen as reported by Fronto was probably exaggerated. One of the ironies of Herodes' history is that in later years he himself succumbed to the excessive influence of his freedmen. Herodes and Fronto patched up their differences in the course of time\textsuperscript{132} and so all's well that ends well. Upon returning to Athens, Herodes naturally found the family name in low esteem and his position less admired than his father's had been. But he had his money and in time could expect to recover the affection of his fellow citizens.

18. \textit{Panathenaeae}

In the summer of 139\textsuperscript{133} Herodes was chosen agonothetes of the Panathenaic festival, which I have previously

\textsuperscript{131}Fronto to Marcus: p. 40, 4-5 Van den Hout; I, p. 70 Haines.

\textsuperscript{132}See below p. 161 and note 6.

\textsuperscript{133}Graindor, \textit{Hérode Atticus}, p. 181; Day, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 163.
suggested to be the Great Panathenaea. The agonothetai were chosen by tribe, as a rule,\textsuperscript{134} although Philostratus' remark that Herodes was "crowned" (στέφανοι θείοι) with the honor of supervising the Panathenaea\textsuperscript{135} suggests that this year Herodes had the whole responsibility. If at this time, when his name was still under a cloud, the Aiantis tribe chose Herodes as their representative on the Panathenaic commission, it was because he alone of that tribe could afford the job and they chose him regardless of his tarnished reputation; at least he was through being the defendant in a noisome lawsuit at Rome. On the other hand, Herodes' naive fondness for praise and honor made him not above the purchase of favor. Philostratus says that upon being "crowned" with the Panathenaic office Herodes grandly declared:\textsuperscript{136} "O men of Athens--I shall receive the spectators of Greece and all the participating athletes in a stadium of white marble!"

Now, Philostratus' biography is not scholarly and certainly not dispassionate. It is altogether possible that Herodes made his generous utterance before being chosen agonothetes, and the people, although many despised him for his cupidity, could not resist the prospect of a fair stadium. In other words, Herodes returned to Athens from the trial at Rome and

\textsuperscript{134}E. Cahen, loc. cit. (above note 96).

\textsuperscript{135}Phil. 549 (Kays. II 58, 28-29).

\textsuperscript{136}Phil. 550 (Kays. II 58, 30-32).
began to insinuate himself back into popular esteem with a
great monetary gift. Philostratus may have rearranged these
events to make his hero appear in a better light.

A stunning feature of the Panathenaea of 139 was an
extraordinary ship which bore the peplos of the goddess.
The ship was propelled along the Panathenaic Way to its
final resting place at the Pythium not by animals but by an
"underground mechanism." 137 This sensation was the gift of
Herodes, who perhaps had the ship mounted on a float beneath
which were crawling slaves; at any rate, it appeared to be
moving under its own power, and thus became legendary
enough for Philostratus in the next century to make a special
point of it.

19. Problem of the Panhellenion

One last question remains concerning the "early years"
of Herodes Atticus. Philostratus states that Herodes was in
charge once of the Panhellenic Festival 138 which Hadrian had
instituted in 131. Besides Philostratus' statement, the only
other evidence for Herodes' participation in this festival
has been IG II 2 1088, a decree from Thyatira honoring Athens
as the seat of the Panhellenion. Line 61 of this inscrip-
tion has long been read as

\[ Ti: KA \text{ 'H[\omega\delta\etaς 'Attiκός—]} \]

137 Phil. 550 (Kays. II 59, 4-10).
138 Phil. 549 (Kays. II 58, 27-28).
and has been taken to denote Herodes as the first Panhellenic magistrate. This reading was accepted by Graindor, Dittenberger, and Marcus N. Tod. Kirchner in IG II² dates the inscription between 131 and 138; Tod accepts the same dating; Graindor, however, with his usual adroit chronology, puts Herodes in the office about 135/6. Unfortunately for these earlier readings, the Thyatirian decree has been subjected to further scrutiny. James H. Oliver in his rearrangement of the fragments of the inscription cannot read the crucial Η in line 61 but thinks it may be an Μ and refer to a certain Ti. Cl. Menagenes Caecilianus. In 1943, Antony Raubitschek confirmed Oliver's analysis and declared that "the epigraphical evidence for the Panhellenic archonship of Herodes Atticus (IG II² 1088) was based on an incorrect restoration." Oliver then finally makes a point of correcting Tod's reading of the inscription, stating positively that Herodes' name cannot be read on IG II² 1088.ENERGIZED EXCITATION OF PHOTOMETRIC DATA

139 Graindor, op. cit., p. 64; Dittenberger, IG II² 1088, note on line 61; Tod, "Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia," JHS, XLII (1922), 177.

140 James H. Oliver, "Documents Concerning the Emperor Hadrian," Hesperia, X (1941), 368.

141 Antony E. Raubitschek, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia, XII (1943), 75.

So we are left with Philostratus' statement alone, which need not be discounted, but cannot be dated. If Herodes did hold the great office of Panhellenic archon, however, it must have been after his father's death, not prior to 137/8, if he was expected to sustain the expenses of the position with his own money. Atticus was not averse to helping his son, of course, as was seen in the building of the aqueduct at Ilium, so Graindor's date (135/6) is not impossible; but the present lack of epigraphical evidence prevents any precise dating.
CHAPTER III

THE MIDDLE YEARS: 139 - 161

1. Introduction

The reign of Antoninus Pius saw the Roman Empire at the most unified, almost monolithic, stage of its development. The world was as one; the peregrinations of Hadrian had illustrated for all people the great breadth of Roman hegemony and under Hadrian's successor the totality of Roman rule was undoubted. Proof of this unity is seen in the fact that Antoninus never left Italy during the twenty-two years of his reign. The Oecumene could at last be confidently governed from a single capital.

The personality of Antoninus is formidable and elusive. (His modern counterpart, perhaps, would be the mysteriously powerful Charles de Gaulle.) It is almost incredible that a man of such unaffected simplicity should be a Roman emperor, and in the scandal-ridden pages of the Scriptores Historiae Augustae there is not a single word of censure or evil innuendo against Antoninus the Pious. His life was one of complete benevolence and modesty; moreover, in his own day he was likened to Numa, that ancient paragon of Rome's earliest history.¹

¹SHA, Antoninus Pius XIII 4.
By no means, however, was Antoninus indifferent to the demands of his office. One sentence in Julius Capitoline's biography is pregnant with meaning, showing that Antoninus possibly was more thoroughly in control of the state than any emperor since Augustus:  

"et tamen ingenti auctoritate apud omnes gentes fuit, cum in urbe propterea sedet, ut undique nuntios, medius utpote, citius posset accipere." "And yet he enjoyed a world-wide prestige, especially since he established himself in the capital so that from his central location he could receive messages from every point."

Comparing Antoninus to King Numa was very appropriate inasmuch as the emperor fostered the recollection and honoring of Rome's hoary past. The imperial ideals of Antoninus can be seen on the coinage, and among the early issues of his reign are Italia and the ancient legends honored: Aeneas fleeing Troy, Mars and Rhea Silvia, the wolf and twins, and Romulus Conditor all figure prominently on the metal. There are representations of Vesta and Juno Sospita, besides the noble abstractions of Liberalitas and Felicitas. The underlying and constant theme on the coins is Roma Renascens.

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2 Ibid., VII 12.


4 Ibid., p. lxxx.
whereby the emperor encouraged belief in the return of the Age of Gold. In this era of broad tranquillity when the present was at ease and the future loomed blandly, the past was revered and studied as never before; in the ribbon of time the past had the more interesting texture.

A wave of antiquarianism, especially in matters of religion, swept over Italy and the Greek East. Italy is well suited to hallowed religious observances and intense spiritual feeling. A land of brilliant light and deep shadows, her old sanctuaries at places like Veii, Caere, and Lake Avernus have ever been imbued with a mysterious antiquity, which even the most skeptical visitor must feel. The very coloration of the Italian towns and countryside is of a peculiar warmth and intensity which are conducive to a mood of tranquil awe and rapport with the ever-present numina. The religious atmosphere of Italy was especially suitable for the archaizing program of Antoninus. The religion cultivated by Antoninus Pius was, if I may quote from one of the very sensitive essayists of the nineteenth century,6

a system of symbolic usages [which developed in one] a great seriousness--an impressibility to the sacredness of time, of life and its events, and the circumstances of family fellowship; of such gifts to men as fire, water, the earth,

from labour on which they live, really understood . . . as gifts—a sense of religious responsibility in the reception of them.

For the state officials and the citizens who still cared for the ancient polytheism, reverence for the time-honored religious customs was exceptionally strong at mid-century under the imperial stimulus. Greece shared the official Roman spirit and her high holidays enjoyed an esteem worthy of a second Pindar. There were, unfortunately, no really gifted minstrels to celebrate the festivals, but the rites and games could at least be presented magnificently. It was under the reign of Antoninus Pius that Herodes Atticus, high-priest of the imperial cult, moved from Athens to Delphi to Olympia to Latium bestowing unexampled largesses upon hallowed sanctuaries.

2. Herodes' Marriage

Although the period under consideration is part of the early reign of Antoninus Pius, we are still concerned with the chronologically difficult years of 135-143, described in the preceding chapter. The last event of signal importance in Herodes' life before his consulship of 143 was his marriage to a Roman heiress, Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caecidio Tertulla, of whom little is known aside from her illustrious relatives and associations. Regilla

7SIG3 856. The office was hereditary in Herodes' family; for Atticus in the office see above p. 13.

8SIG3 857.
had two attributes which would have attracted a man like Herodes Atticus to her: she was rich and she was related to the imperial house. Her grandfather was Appius Annius Trebonius Gallus, consul in 108; her father was Appius Annius Gallus, consul designatus in 138/9. Both father and grandfather had been pontifex maximus. Regilla, therefore, was of the same clan as Annia Galeria Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius.

The dating of the marriage is most difficult, but there are some reasonable conjectures to assist us. The children of Herodes and Regilla were depicted in the statue-group on Herodes' nymphaeum at Olympia which was finished in 157/8, having been promised as a gift from the Herodians in 153/4. Their youngest daughter, Athenais, has been judged

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9Phil. 558 (Kays, II 66, 18). At his death, as will be discussed later, Herodes left Regilla's fortune to their son, Bradua.

10PIR² I, no. 692.

11PIR² I, no. 654; Dessau 7190; Degrassi, notes p. 40.

12Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 87. The nymphaeum will be discussed in detail below (pp. 124-134). The major publication is Olympia: Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung, ed. Curtius and Adler (Berlin: A Asher and Co., 1887-1897), from which of especial importance to this study are Vol. III, Bildwerke in Stein und Thon by G. Treu and Vol. V, Die Inschriften by W. Dittenberger and A. Purgold. The excavations have been reviewed and partially republished under the editorship of Emil Kunze and Hans Schleif, Olympische Forschungen, Vols. I–VI (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1944-1958).
to be about twelve years old in her surviving portrait-statue.\(^3\) Taking a median date of 155 for the time when the Olympian monument was being built, Athenais would have been born about 142/3. Her sister Elpinice, the eldest of Herodes' children, has been judged to be fourteen years old in the Olympian group,\(^4\) and thus was born about 140/1. Herodes and Regilla, therefore, must have been married about 139/40, at the very latest.\(^5\) It is quite possible that he was introduced to Regilla while he was in Rome for the case over Atticus' will.\(^6\)

3. **The Family of Herodes and Regilla**

Two of Herodes' children have just been mentioned; the whole family\(^7\) is as follows: a nameless son dead at birth; two sons: Tiberius Claudius Marcus Appius Atilius

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\(^3\) Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

\(^4\) Mün scher, *RE* VIII, 929.

\(^5\) Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 81 actually commits himself no further on the date of the marriage than "139-146." Dittenberger, _SIO\(^3\)_ 856 note 1 states that Herodes married Regilla "paulllo ante consulatum." Haines I, p. 163 note 2 states that Herodes married around 143. Mün scher, *RE* VIII, 929 believes that the marriage was "nicht lange nach dem Tode seines Vaters."


\(^7\) For genealogy see _PIR\(^2\)* II, following p. 182. The ages of the children as suggested by the Olympian statues are not discussed by either Treu or Dittenberger in their major works on Olympia.
Bradua Regillus Atticus and (Tiberius) Claudius Herodes
Lucius Vibullius Regillus; two daughters: Appia Annia
Claudia Atilia Regilla Elpince Agrippina Atria Polla and
Marcia Annia Claudia Alcia Athenais Gavidia Latiaria. Dis-
regarding for the moment the child dead at birth, the chil-
dren seem to have been born in this order: Elpince (140/1),
Bradua (141/2), Athenais (142/3), Regillus (c. 144/5). The
date for the child dead at birth is variously put
between 143 and 145. These dates are only approximate,
determined as they have been from rough analogies. The
statuary at Olympia was not executed with care and most of
it is decapitated and mutilated today. The birth and death
of the nameless dead baby can be ascertained only by esti-
mating the time when Marcus Aurelius, Fronto, and Herodes
were all on good terms again after the affair of the will,
since the evidence for the child's death is in that cor-
respondence (to be discussed in connection with the year 143).

On the basis of his size in the Olympian group, Bradua
seems

18Graindor, op. cit., p. 102, on the basis of Bradua's
size in Olympian group, estimates his age to be between the
two girls'.

19Cf. above pp. 73-74 for age-analysis of Elpince
and Athenais.

20Münscher, RE VIII, 934 judges Regillus to be a
schoolboy in the Olympian group.

to have been born between Elpinice and Athenais. Regillus is simply an unknown quantity as far as any really accurate measuring of his life-span is concerned. All things considered, it seems that Herodes married Regilla early in the decade of the 140's and they began their family immediately. In the next decade they had four children ranging from around ten years to early teens.

The children's elaborate names are mostly of family origin. Herodes called his eldest daughter "Elpinice." Her names Appia Annia Atilia Regilla were her mother's also; Claudia reflects Herodes' Roman tribal affiliation; Agrippina was her paternal grandmother; Atria Polla is from an unknown maternal relation; Elpinice is a name arbitrarily selected by the parents. Bradua's names are recorded in both sides of the family. As for Athenais, Claudia is the

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22Cf. note 18.
23Cf. note 20.
24Stein, PIR², p. 180: "Quaenam [aetas] cuique ex statuis Olympiae repertis tribuenda sit, id prorsus incertum viri docti alii aliter definire temptaverunt."
25Phil. 558 (Kays. II 66, 1).
26SIG³ 863 note 1. For the suggestion that the name "Elpinice" may reflect an ancient ancestry, viz. Cimon's sister, see above p. 5.
27SIG³ 862 note 2. Herodes knew his son as "Atticus" (Phil. 558, Kays. II 66, 6), which name marks him as the eldest son, as noted by Dittenberger commenting on Olympia V, no. 623. Graindor, op. cit., pp. 81-82, et passim, refers to the boy as "Bradua," and that name prevents any confusion of reference between the son and his grandfather.
gentile name, Alcia is from her paternal grandmother, Marcia and Gavidia Latiaria seem to belong to her mother's house; Athenais was probably in honor of her rich great-aunt, Claudia Athenais, and emphasizes her Attic connections. Regillus had his father's names plus Regillus from his mother's side. The children's titulature is like that of young princes and princesses. The great provincial houses had the same lofty status as that of the powerful Italian families of the first century B.C. and Herodes seems to have felt that he could vaunt his family's lineage as easily as could the imperial Antonines.

4. The Family Residences

This wonderfully privileged family lived in luxury. The character of the several homes of Herodes Atticus is suggested by Aulus Gellius' description of the villa at Cephisia, a little town in central Attica:30

When we were at his villa called 'Cephisia,' both in the summertime and the hottest part of autumn, we used to take refuge in the shade of spacious groves, on meandering gentle paths, in the coolly situated house, or in the full, sparkling, elegant pools—in fact in the loveliness of the whole estate with its trilling song-birds and fountains.

The atmosphere is distinctly that of an eighteenth-century manor and park, where there was every facility for gay and

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28Erroneously "Panathenais" in Phil. 557 (Kays. II 65, 29).
29Sic! note 1. For Claudia Athenais see above p. 14.
30Gellius I 2, 2.
gracious pleasure. Herodes took greatest pleasure in his villas at Marathon, the ancestral home, and Cephisia, but he had many other properties for purposes of relaxation or investment.

We know of Herodes' properties through the following evidence. In the course of his life, Herodes adopted three young men as foster-sons, about whom we shall speak in more detail later. In his devotion to these alumni after their deaths, Herodes caused statues of them to be set about on his estates in attitudes of "hunting, having finished hunting, and preparing to hunt," on which were carved execrations for anyone disturbing the pieces. Herms with similar execrations have been found from which the location of many of Herodes' properties may be deduced. These places are Souli (near Marathon), Bei (south of Marathon), Ninoi (west of Marathon), Varnava and Masi (northern Attica), Loukou (Cynuria in Laconia), and Tragounera (Euboea). In addition, Herodes probably had inherited the buildings near the Theatre of Dionysus, where Atticus had found Hipparchus' hoard, and a property at Corinth; Regilla brought him an

31Phil. 562 (Kays. II 69, 26-28).
32Phil. 558-559 (Kays. II 66, 25-30).
34Phil. 547 (Kays. II 56, 23-25); above pp. 9-10.
35SEG II 52 (detailed discussion below p. 142).
estate on the Appian Way.\textsuperscript{36} Our principal associations, of
course, for Herodes are with Marathon and Cephisia.

Herodes was able to rear his family and enjoy himself
under the most favorable conditions that the ancient world
afforded. Few private citizens ever attain the happy union
of intellectual cultivation and material prosperity that
Herodes had; yet with it all he was unable to make a lasting
contribution to either rhetoric or learning. Regardless of
his perfect circumstances, Herodes' life was incomplete; as
we pursue his history we must bear in mind how immense his
early expectations and possibilities were.

5. The Schoolmaster

Herodes' regular occupation during these years of
rearing a family and establishing himself in public life
was that of a practicing sophist. The chronology for this
aspect of his life is as loose as we found it was for the
years of his own education; he was teaching rhetoric as
early as 134 during his praetorship and remained an active
teacher until his death in 178. Because the time of
Herodes' dealing with each of his better-known students
cannot be specified, we shall interrupt the sequential

\textsuperscript{36}This estate, known now from the shrine there as
"The Triopion," will be discussed below pp. 148-154. The
Egyptian property which Day, loc. cit., declares to have
belonged to Herodes' daughter, Claudia Athenais, actually
belonged to his aunt, Claudia Athenais (see below p. 164
and note 15.).
narrative here to describe the Attic school of Herodes and his pupils. Herodes' own history and development as a famous sophist will continue to be treated in as chronological a manner as the notable oratorical events of his life can be ascertained.

The names of Herodes' prominent students come primarily from the pages of Philostratus and are as follows:

Adrian of Tyre
Amphicles of Chalcis
Aristocles of Pergamum
Chrestus of Byzantium
Pausanias of Caesarea
Ptolemy of Naucratis
Rufus of Perinthus
Aelius Aristides of Smyrna.

In addition to these, Herodes was an early tutor of the Antonine princes, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Other figures of the Second Sophistic are associated with Herodes, but only these men just listed seem to have been regular pupils of the master.

It was his great riches in particular which made Herodes Atticus one of the famous citizens of Attica in the

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37SHA, Marcus Antoninus II 4 and Verus II 5.

38Aulus Gellius, Theodotus of Athens (or Melite), and Alexander Peloplaton will be discussed in connection with Herodes in this study, but they were occasional, not regular auditors. Gerth, RE Suppl. VIII, 772 has my list except that he adds Theodotus and excludes Ptolemy. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans le province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère (Paris, 1923) includes Theodotus and Alexander but excludes the Antonines. Curiously enough, all three lists have ten names.
second century. His silver tongue was Herodes' second attribute. Just as students and historians of art used to covet entrée to "I Tatti," Bernard Berenson's lovely home above Florence, or as people used to seek out Gertrude Stein when she was an arbiter litterarum in Paris, so Herodes was a person to be seen when one visited Athens. Aulus Gellius tells how he often was invited, along with other Romans devoted to Greek culture, to one of Herodes' country places when he was studying with other teachers in the city of Athens.39 Herodes undoubtedly was the richest teacher in Athens, but there were many others since Hadrian had initiated the spiritual rejuvenation of the city.

By mid-century Athens was a veritable university town. The state endowments for chairs of learning became prominent under Antoninus Pius, attaining major significance in the 170's when Herodes and the emperor, Marcus Aurelius, planned a more organized system of chairs (discussed below, pp. 184-187). The town was alive with the coming and going of students, the exciting visits of celebrated orators, the public debates and oratorical displays to which both town and gown would flock. The religious revival which Hadrian had fostered also drew many visitors; and, of course, in this day of such widespread philhellenic feeling there were always

39Gellius I 2 and XVIII 10. In the later section Gellius mentions that he was at the Cephisian villa recovering from a fever. Herodes seemed to like Gellius very much.
the wonderful architectural works to attract the traveler. The students and tourists probably contributed materially to the merchants' prosperity; thus everyone was pleased with the cultural renascence of Athens. The city was by no means a rich capital any longer, but she possessed an aura of academic brilliance which was unsurpassed.

In his biography of Adrian of Tyre, Philostratus briefly describes the school of Herodes at Athens. Since Adrian was born around 113\(^4^0\) and admitted to the school when he was eighteen,\(^4^1\) Herodes' school must have been flourishing in the decade of the 130's. The millionaire maintained his school in one of his Attic villas and there were usually more than ten students in attendance.\(^4^2\) For a select ten, however, Herodes often held private sessions during which he recited and commented on as much material as he could within the time that a hundred verses could be recited by a water clock. He permitted no interruption or applause but demanded the students' closest attention. The students themselves timed these lessons by a water clock and because of the prominence of that instrument, the academy became known as the "Clepsydrion."\(^4^3\)

\(^{40}\)"Adrianus of Tyre," OCD, p. 8.
\(^{41}\)Phil. 585 (Kays. II 90, 5).
\(^{42}\)Ibid. (Kays. II 90, 8-13).
\(^{43}\)Philostratus' description is hardly crystal clear. Wright takes \textit{ἐπεσιτίσουτο} literally and believes that the ten students dined while Herodes recited by the water
Herodes further enjoined his students to follow his own example in reading and studying even while relaxing over wine (cf. p. 47 above), with the result that there was an atmosphere in the villa of intense devotion to study. Adrian, in fact, felt that he was a participant in some high ritual. Moreover, we can be confident that Herodes possessed the best possible library, allowing his students to use it freely as a supplement to his lectures. Indeed, since Herodes probably prescribed for his students the same broad program of study to which he had subjected himself, the immense reading that his sophistic curriculum required made an ample library imperative. Furthermore, Herodes encouraged his students to travel and hear other sophists for the sake of a well-rounded background. He himself went to Pergamum to hear his old pupil, Aristocles, and sent his students to that master also. Herodes was thoroughly clock. In his note 2, p. 222, however, Wright says that, "Rohde thinks that the meal is figurative." Liddell and Scott under ἐπιστήμων cite this passage as a case where the verb means "provide oneself with" with object accusative. Grainor, Ηέρωδε Αττικός, p. 144 observes that Wright misinterprets the Greek and explains: "Cette académie devait son nom à ce qu'Hérode y parlait pendant la durée de cent lignes, mesurées par la clepsydre, sans que les disciples fussent autorisés à l'interrompre par leurs applaudissements, comme ils avaient le droit et le devoir de la faire aux leçons communes."

44 Phil. 586 (Kays. II 90, 17).

45 As we are sure that at least one teacher, Proclus of Naucratis, did (Phil. 604, Kays. II 106, 6-8).

46 Phil. 568-569 (Kays. II 74, 20-24).
serious and enthusiastic about his work (as he was about anything that he enjoyed) with the intention that both he and his students would be as proficient as possible in the fine art of sophistic oratory. As a matter of fact, Herodes, regardless of his millions, may have required a fee of his students. We have seen how Scopelian and Polemo demanded ample compensation (although all auditors and students would hardly have been expected to give such payment to their tutors as the Herodians could afford), and their practice was usual. Herodes knew that education must be precious if the average student is to appreciate its value; thus his fees were to induce the students to apply themselves diligently, regardless of their luxurious classroom.

6. **Herodes' Students**

As for the students cited earlier, we have already seen how Aristocles of Pergamum\(^47\) switched from philosophy to rhetoric and studied extempore oratory with Herodes at Rome (above p. 43). He favored the Attic style (as Herodes had probably encouraged him) and was famous at Pergamum. Aristocles later became of consular rank, but his service is unknown.\(^48\)

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\(^47\) *Vita*: Phil. 567-568 (Kays. II 74, 7-31).

\(^48\) Possibly consul *suffectus* under Septimius Severus; see Degrassi, p. 117.
Adrian of Tyre (c. 113-193), or Claudius Hadrianus, was one of Herodes' early students at the Clepsydrion, and his experiences there help fill out our information on Herodes' pedagogy. Once when the students were discussing the styles of the famous sophists, Adrian offered to illustrate their conversation with brief extempore imitations of each orator under consideration. At the conclusion of Adrian's performance, Amphicles asked why their own admirable Herodes had not been represented. Adrian responded, "Because the others are the kind who can be imitated even by a tipsy speaker; as for Herodes, a very lord of words, it would be marvelous if I could imitate him even while cold sober!" Herodes loved this kind of flattery and was pleased when Adrian's remark was reported to him. The incident shows that the Clepsydrion encouraged fellowship and unsupervised debates as well as tutored training.

On another occasion, Adrian requested Herodes to criticize an extempore speech. The master listened carefully and gave appropriate comments, closing his remarks genially with, "These could be the great fragments of a colossus." The lad's speech had been roughly constructed,

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49*Vita: Phil. 585-590 (Kays. II 89, 32 to 94, 28); "Claudius Hadrianus" in Gerth, RE, Suppl. VIII, 753.

50Phil. 586 (Kays. II 90, 27-29).

51Ibid. (Kays. II 91, 4-5).
but Herodes could praise the splendid vocabulary and noble ideas that Adrian employed. Adrian went on to a glittering career, holding the chair of rhetoric at Athens under Marcus Aurelius, giving lectures of immense popularity at Rome, and being appointed ab epistulis under Commodus.

Of Amphicles of Chalcis nothing is known except a brief reference in Philostratus, who refers to Amphicles as one of Herodes' outstanding students. One evening in the Ceramicus, Amphicles met Philagrus of Cilicia, who promptly began to taunt Herodes' student. In the angry words that followed, Philagrus used some queer, non-Attic expression upon which Amphicles pounced with the jeer, "And what good author said that?" His opponent smartly replied, "Philagrus!" The two then separated. This was the age when only the vocabulary of the classic authors was in good taste and every student an arch-philologist. Herodes had trained Amphicles well; Philagrus had slipped, even though he did have the last word. The next day Herodes received a letter from Philagrus in which the impertinent Amphicles was criticized; But Herodes coolly and tersely replied, "I think your exordium is poor." The great Herodes Atticus would not be provoked by a second-rate orator like Philagrus.

We have mentioned, now, in connection with both Amphicles and Aristocles that Herodes fostered the "Attic

52Phil. 578 (Kays. II 84, 13-14).
style," as far as diction was concerned. The really dominant oratorical influence of the period, however, was the "Asiatic style," as was only natural since Asia Minor was the very stronghold of the Second Sophistic. We have indicated in the previous chapter that all but one of Herodes' teachers were Asian Greeks. Concurrent, however, with the grand manner of speaking was the choice of subject matter from Greek history, and the great models were the famous authors of the past. Herodes and his circle chose to limit even their vocabulary to the diction favored by the celebrated writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, and thus cultivated an Attic style. Since Herodes himself is developing in these middle years, I shall reserve an analysis of his taste for the later years of the narrative; but it may be said here that Herodes' predilection for the Attic was as fatal to his influence as was the Renaissance fondness for Cicero to the Latin vernacular. Herodes and his school were simply operating tangentially to the main sophist trend of the second century. Had the other sophists wholeheartedly tried to cultivate a strong, vital style (Herodes' devotion to the famous Attic style was too much to ask of the writers of the second century A.D.), the Second Sophistic might have been more of an artistic success. As it was, the sophists' practice of deriving material and inspiration from the highly controlled authors and orators of the classical period, while encrusting their speeches with erudite allusions
and delivering them in a highly mannered fashion, was a
technique full of aesthetic contradictions and is one of
the chief reasons for the false ring, the insincerity, of
second-century rhetoric.

Chrestus of Byzantium\(^{53}\) was one of Herodes' students
who did not become famous for epideictic oratory, but who
taught many well-known men. Philostratus observes that
Chrestus' education under Herodes was the best a Greek could
receive, but he was never able to match Herodes' skill.

An even less able orator was Pausanias of Caesarea\(^{54}\)
(Cappadocia), who was trained at the Clepsydrion. He was
very good at extempore oratory, but had a bad accent and
worse pronunciation. These faults, however, did not prevent
him from becoming professor of rhetoric at both Athens and
Rome.

Ptolemy of Naucratis\(^{55}\) studied with Herodes but soon
came under the influence of Polemo. His remarkable facility
with extempore oratory could have been learned from either
master. Ptolemy is associated with no particular center of
 sophistry because he was constantly traveling from place to
place.

\(^{53}\) vita: Phil. 590-592 (Kays. II 94, 29 to 96, 2).
\(^{54}\) vita: Phil. 593-594 (Kays. II 97, 23 to 98, 10).
\(^{55}\) vita: Phil. 595-596 (Kays. II 98, 25 to 99, 32).
Rufus of Perinthus\textsuperscript{56} studied as a youth with both Herodes and Aristocles. He was of a high family which boasted members of consular rank, and he himself served as Panhellenic archon in the Antonine era, the richest man to hold that office.\textsuperscript{57} He was a successful extempore orator, who took great pride in having studied with Herodes, whom he called "master and tongue of Greece," "lord of words," and other appellations of the sort.\textsuperscript{58}

Among all these lesser lights one pupil of Herodes stands supreme in the history of the Second Sophistic—Aelius Aristides (117-189).\textsuperscript{59} His first teacher was Alexander of Cotiaion who cultivated in him an admiration for Greece's heroic past, erudition in general, and Attic Greek.\textsuperscript{60} These interests were developed by Herodes at Athens and Aristocles at Pergamum, the scenes of Aristides' earlieast endeavors. But Aristides did not go into extempore oratory and so was never really a disciple of Herodes. Some

\begin{footnotes}
\item[56] Vita: Phil. 597-598 (Kays. II 100, 21 to 101, 17).
\item[57] IG II\textsuperscript{2} 1093 and note; Marcus N. Tod, "Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia," JHS, XLII (1922), 177.
\item[58] Phil. 598 (Kays. II 101, 12-14).
\item[59] Vita: Phil. 581-585 (Kays. II 86, 22 to 89, 31). The major study is by André Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère ("Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome," Vol. CXXVI, Paris, 1923). For recent literature see RE, Suppl. VIII, 739-740.
\item[60] Boulanger, op. cit., p. 118.
\end{footnotes}
fifty-five extant speeches are attributed to Aelius Aris-
tides; although Philostratus does not give him special
prominence in the Vitae (Herodes has that honor), the biogra-
pher does seriously observe that of all the sophists Aelius
Aristides was the most proficient in his art.61

The most complete picture of Herodes the trainer of
sophists is given by his frequent house-guest, Aulus Gellius.
Since Gellius speaks of Herodes as "consulari honore
praeditus,"62 he must have spent his year in Athens sometime
after Herodes' consulship of 143, probably in the latter
part of that decade.63 Gellius gives us the description of
the spacious villa at Cephisia, as rendered above, which
introduces the story of one of Gellius' visits to Herodes,
when there was also present a young braggart Stoic who
vaunted his supreme tranquillity and self-control.64 At the

61Phil. 585 (Kays. II 89, 24-25). Sopheter, "Proleg-
omena on Aristides' Panathenaiicus" in Vol. III of Aelius
Aristides, Libri Rhetorici, ed. W. Dindorf, pp. 738-739,
recounts the story, possibly apocryphal (Graindor, op. cit.,
p. 153) that Herodes, because of his jealousy of the bril-
liant Aristides, would have prevented the delivery of the
famous Ἀριστίδης unless Aristides had pretended to his
master that he was going to deliver an inferior speech. The
vain Herodes would not have been incapable of such an action,
but it would have had to occur fairly late in Aristides' life,
probably after his long sickness of 144-161, as dated by W.
Schmid and O. Stahlin, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur,
Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1924),
p. 703.

62Gellius I 2.

63John C. Rolfe (trans.), The Attic Nights of Aulus

64Gellius I 2, 3-13.
close of the youth's ranting, Herodes said, "Since we whom you call uninformed cannot answer you, a very prince of philosophers, allow us to quote from a book what Epictetus, the greatest of the Stoics, thought and said about such brag-gadocio as yours." Herodes asked a servant to bring in the first volume of Epictetus' Discourses. When the book was produced, Herodes read that section wherein Epictetus distinguishes the true Stoic from a loudly self-appointed member of that sect. The young man was astounded at the force of the passage and felt that Herodes, not Epictetus, had delivered the diatribe against him.

On another occasion, Herodes again upbraided a man for being otherwise than he claimed. A man wearing a cloak, long hair, and a beard down to his hips came to the villa and asked Herodes for money. Upon Herodes' asking who he was, the fellow angrily replied that he obviously was a philosopher. "Well," said Herodes, "I see a beard and a clock, but I do not yet see a philosopher! Now be so good, please, as to tell me by what evidence you think we can recognize you as a philosopher."

In the meantime, some of Herodes' friends, who were gathered around, advised their host that his visitor was a notorious ne'er-do-well who would behave very offensively if he did not get what he asked. Thereupon Herodes, not caring

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65Epictetus, Dissertationes II 19.
66Gellius IX 2.
to deal with the beggar any further, ended the colloquy with, "Let us give him some money, regardless of what sort he is, not because he is a human being, but because we are." Turning them to his friends, Herodes said that he did not object to furnishing a beggar with money, but it was aggravating that such low creatures should usurp the exalted name of "philosopher." Feeling strongly on this matter, since he was devoted to learning and its prestige, Herodes went on to say, "As a matter of fact, my Athenian ancestors ordained by public decree that slaves should never take the names of those valiant young men, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who tried to recover freedom by killing the tyrant, Hippias. Why then do we allow the glorious name of philosophy to become defiled in men of the lowest sort?" As a further example of the importance of propriety in names, Herodes cited the Roman custom of forbidding patricians to have the names of ancestors who had deserved ill of the state.

Gellius' narrative shows us Herodes as the center of a learned circle, taking the opportunity to dilate on the problem of professional integrity at a time when glibness, not knowledge, was the criterion of learning and some people had the effrontery to bandy about the title, "lover of wisdom." Herodes had pursued his education as deliberately and systematically as the age allowed. His mind was a supple instrument of learning, which enabled him to be perfectly aware of the limitations of others as well as of his own.
Although he often was preoccupied with material well-being and his own prestige, in matters pertaining to the art of rhetoric he was preeminently lucid and could be satisfied only with perfection. Herodes never claimed to be a philosopher, but his deep reading had made him certain of the correct attributes of that individual. Like Horace, Herodes believed in the superiority of the scholar and artist. Although he could not have been so outspoken in the Agora among his banking tables, at Cephisia and Marathon he too despised the profanum vulgus and wanted to be removed from the common people.67

7. Herodes and the Rustic, "Hercules"

So much for Herodes and his school. There is one other incident in Philostratus' history which has some bearing on Herodes' cultural attitudes, without having any particular place in his chronology.68 In a letter to one Julianus,69 Herodes described a neighborhood rustic of surpassing strength and handsomeness called, appropriately, "Hercules." Upon being asked by Herodes what he lived on, the amazing youth replied that he lived chiefly on the milk

67 Horace, Odes III 1, 1 and I 1, 30-32.

68 Phil. 552-553 (Kays. II 60, 28 to 63, 6).

69 Claudius Julianus, consul in 158 or 159, recipient of letters from Fronto (pp. 174-176 Van den Hout; II, pp. 90-94 Haines), according to Minscher, RE VIII, 947; Antonius Julianus, rhetorician (see Von Rhoden, "Antonius Julianus (66)," RE I, 2632) according to Wright, p. 153 note 2.
of goats, cows, brood mares, and she-asses, with barley meal being his other favorite food. Heracles claimed that the farmers of Marathon and Boeotia furnished him with the latter item and called him "Agathion" because of the good luck he brought them. Then Herodes asked Heracles where he had got his education; to which the man replied that he learned his language in rural Attica where there had been no foreign incursions to cause the corruption of the dialect that cosmopolitan Athens had suffered. When Herodes asked if he had ever attended one of the great festivals, Heracles told how he had watched at Delphi from the height of Parnassus, but was grieved to see the Greeks enjoying the unedifying performances dealing with the criminal deeds of the houses of Pelops and Labdacus, since such stories could influence the audience for evil.

Now seeing that the rustic was something of a philosopher, Herodes asked him what he thought of gymnastic contests. Heracles declared it ridiculous for men to compete with each other; the real test for a runner would be to outstrip a deer or a horse, and a wrestler should throw a bull or a bear! Delighted with such vivid responses, Herodes invited Heracles to dinner; but the child of nature said that on the morrow he would come to Herodes at the "Temple of Canopus,"\(^70\) where he would drink a bowl of milk not

\(^{70}\)Meaning a temple of Serapis, long worshipped at Athens (Wright, p. 156 note 1) or, perhaps, one of Herodes' pseudo-Egyptian monuments which he favored, emulating
procured by a woman. When the two met the next day, Heracles would not drink the milk because he sensed in it a woman's touch; when he had sent to find out, Herodes learned that indeed a female had prepared the bowl of milk. Herodes marveled.

We have seen before in the case of the Indian slave, Autolecythus (above p. 23), that Herodes had a predilection for novel persons, but there is no reason for insisting that Herodes actually knew such a person as Heracles. The story very likely is a fiction71 invented by Herodes for the amusement of his correspondent, Julianus. He may indeed have used the story in a lecture to illustrate the keen perceptions of the "noble savage." The clue to this explanation is Heracles' pride in his use of pure Attic Greek, a virtue Herodes always made much of in his life-long effort to foster the Attic style. Heracles' extreme simplicity is indeed a contrast to the taste of the times, and thus the story is a humorous parable against excessive, if not exquisite, sophistication. A person as widely read and verbally gifted as Herodes Atticus must have been a superb raconteur, whose lectures probably abounded in such pointed illustrations as the story of Heracles.

Hadrian. (For a discussion of Herodes' Egyptian statuary, see below p. 164.)

71As suggested by Münscher, RE VIII, 949.
8. The Consulship: A.D. 143

Although Herodes delighted in his teaching and the cultivation of his art, his desire for personal glory made him eager for public prominence. His public career, which had begun humbly with the office of agoranomus at Athens in 122, reached its culmination in 143 when, with C. Bellicius Flaccus (?) Torquatus as colleague, he was Consul at Rome. By virtue of Regilla’s family connections with the imperial house, Herodes undoubtedly continued on the list of amici principis, as he had been under Hadrian; but there is almost no direct evidence for Pius’ amici and there is certainly no record of any close relationship between the emperor and Herodes Atticus. The latter was much too ostentatious for the simple taste of the emperor, let alone the possibility that Antoninus still harbored the bad impression that he had received of the Herodians in 135 in Asia. Regilla would have been the only direct connection between the two men; another factor to be considered, however, is that a poor man could be emperor but not consul, and Herodes could well afford the costly honor. He may have been a closer amicus as one of the emperor’s consilium in 143, since Antoninus

72 Degrassi, p. 40; Phil. 556 (Kays. II 64, 11-12); CIL VI 2379 b; SI03 857, 859 E; IG XIV 1055 b; IG II 3608; Gellius I 2.

"never made any decision about the provinces or other questions before consulting his amici, and in accordance with their ideas he decided what to do." After 143, Herodes was not sufficiently available to advise the princeps directly.

In January of 143 Herodes was in Rome to take office. Regilla accompanied her husband, along with a small retinue. Where they lived is unknown, but Regilla had brought her husband some property (to be discussed below) near the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way, which could have afforded a residence. On the other hand, the Herodians might have been the guests of Marcus Aurelius' grandmother, Domitia Lucilla, Herodes' old friend of long standing. Under these latter circumstances it would have been easy for Herodes to continue, if not begin, the teaching of Greek and a little rhetoric to the future co-emperors, Marcus Aurelius

74 SHA, Antoninus Pius VI 11.

75 Whether or not Antoninus also gave Herodes the consulship in gratitude for his tutoring of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, following Domitian's example in the case of Quintilian, as suggested by H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, trans. George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 308, depends upon the occasion of Herodes' imperial tutoring. If he had worked with Marcus in 134 during his praetorship, as suggested above p. 43, then this could have been a factor in Antoninus' choice; on the other hand, if 143 was Herodes' first pedagogical encounter with the princes, only the marriage connection (and the Herodian fortune) could have prompted the emperor to choose Herodes as consul. But see my final opinion in note 78 following.

76 Hanslik, op. cit., 32 concurs with this conjecture.

and Lucius Verus. Marcus would have been twenty-two and Verus thirteen in 143.

It was a wonderful time to be in the capital because Aelius Aristides was present on April 21, the anniversary of Rome's founding, to deliver his grandiloquent panegyric, On Rome; furthermore, it is possible that the speech was delivered in the recently completed Temple of Venus and Rome, Hadrian's most splendid inspiration. Herodes would have had a prominent position in such ceremonies and must have been thrilled (if not rather envious) with his own student's handsome effusion on the far-flung glories of the Empire. As he listened his eyes would have ranged with delight over the form and decorations of the marvelous temple with its great double apse, and he may well have received impressions from that building, which would influence some of his own architectural schemes in later years.

78SHA, Marcus Antoninus II 4; Verus II 5. A.S.L. Farquharson, Marcus Aurelius: His Life and His World (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951), p. 34, dates this training during Herodes' consulship. But this is a late date for the heir-apparent to be learning the Empire's second language. Marrou's point in note 75 above is plausible; I personally prefer to think that Marcus was tutored by Herodes in 134.


The whole affair was just the kind of stately pageant that Herodes loved; there could not have been a better year to be consul, when the Pax Antonina was most effulgent.

9. Gift to Canusium

Philostratus records among the many other benefactions of Herodes that he "colonized" (ὁ ἱδρυτές, in the sense, I think, of "rehabilitate") Canusium, the largest town in the district of Apulia in southern Italy, giving it a water system (which lacks description) for greatly needed irrigation.81 Horace commented on the aridity of Canusium in his description of the trip to Brundisium (Satires I 5, 91); Herodes' waterworks may have stimulated the town's rejuvenation. Under Antoninus Pius, Canusium achieved the desirable status of colonia (colonia Aurelia Augusta Pia Canusium).82 As for assigning a date to Herodes' gift, he had the best opportunity during his consulship for ordering the building of the waterworks. Herodes may have been a patronus of Canusium and Regilla may have had property there,83 thus making Herodes the likely philanthropist for assisting the rejuvenation of the town. Herodes was not without experience

81 Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 32 to 60, 3): ἡμερώσας μάλα τοῦτον δεσμευν.  
83 Graindor, Hérode Atticus, pp. 68-69. Herodes is not on the list of Canusium's patroni (CIL IX 338), but that list is dated 223 A.D.
in building waterworks, since he had been in charge of the
aqueduct in Asia Minor. Moreover, it is not impossible that
Herodes, as well as Regilla, had landed interests at Canusium,
since Trajan, among other measures taken to build up the
economy of Italy, had compelled senators to invest money in
Italian land. Atticus might have bought land at Canusium
to meet Trajan's requirement.

10. The Stadium at Athens

Herodes left Italy in the summer of 143 in order to
be at Athens for the dedication of his stadium (above p. 65). Cornelius Fronto was consul suffectus from the first of July
until the thirty-first of August; perhaps he served as
Herodes' substitute while the latter was in Greece. Athen's
first stadium had existed in the southeastern section of the
city across the river Ilissos since Lycurgus built it around
330 B.C. Herodes' gift was to enlarge the stadium and fit
it with a complete veneer of white Pentelic marble. It
was a large horse-shoe structure, whose inner dimensions
were 204.07 metres long and 33.36 metres wide. Sheathed

84 M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of
the Roman Empire, 2d ed. rev. P.M. Fraser (Oxford: The

85 James G. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece,
Judeich, Topographie von Athen, Handbuch der Altertumswis-

86 Graindor, op. cit., p. 182.
in marble and accommodating some 50,000 spectators, the structure was a sight of dazzling magnificence, which Pausanias and Philostratus agree to have been incomparable.\(^{87}\) When the stadium was excavated and rebuilt in 1896 for the reintroduction of the Olympic Games, the remains of the ancient stadium were found to date from Herodes' renovation of 139-143.\(^{88}\) From Herodes' stadium was found a double herm which is a free copy of the "Hermes Propylaios" of Alkamenes (fl. second half of the fifth century, B.C.), the sort of archaistic decoration that Herodes' taste would have favored.\(^{89}\)

The enthusiastic Pausanias states that Herodes exhausted the greater part of the Pentelic quarries in the veneering of the stadium;\(^{90}\) this by no means suggests that Herodes owned the quarries; but, after Hadrian, Herodes was responsible for the major building operations in second-century Greece, which may well have absorbed most of the

\(^{87}\)Pausanias I 19, 6; Phil. 550 (Kays. II 58, 29 to 59, 3).

\(^{88}\)Judeich, op. cit., pp. 102 and 417. See Die Antike, X (1934), plate 12 (following p. 98) for a photograph of the restored building.


\(^{90}\)Pausanias I 19, 6.
marble produced.\textsuperscript{91} For the most part, the quarries were imperial property.\textsuperscript{92}

Unfortunately for Herodes, the people of Athens had only distaste for a benevolent despot, even when he provided a major enhancement for their beloved city. They had not yet forgotten how he had cunningly deprived them of his father's legacy, and it was the muttered consensus of all that the Panathenaic Stadium was well named, since it was built at the expense of all the Athenians.\textsuperscript{93}

On Mt. Ardettos, west of the stadium and facing it, are the remains of a temple of Tyche, which Herodes donated to the city.\textsuperscript{94} Regilla, in fact, was the first priestess of this shrine.\textsuperscript{95} The date of the commemorative inscription is not specified beyond "ante 161," the approximate date of Regilla's death, but the temple and Regilla's appointment as priestess could well have been a part of Herodes' "Athenian period," since he enjoyed doing things on a grand scale and readily would have thought that Tyche and the race-course complemented each other. The temple was 25 metres long and


\textsuperscript{92}Ibid., p. 462; John Day, "Pausanias and the Pentelic Quarries," \textit{CP}, XLI (1946), 163.

\textsuperscript{93}Phil. 549 (Kays. II 58, 23-26).

\textsuperscript{94}Phil. 550 (Kays. II 59, 10-12).

\textsuperscript{95}IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3607 (SIG\textsuperscript{3} 856).
16 wide with a broad terrace at its entrance. The cult-statue of ivory, possibly chryselephantine, was undoubtedly donated by Herodes, as may have been the bridge crossing the Ilissos to the stadium since it had characteristics of construction similar to the temple. At any rate, the renovation of the stadium and the building of Tyche's temple are certainly due to the munificence of Herodes Atticus, who indulged in his first major personal philanthropy with these structures. The stage was set at Athens for an era of princely benefactions from the hand of Herodes Atticus and he will return to Athens in his last years for his handsomest gift.

11. Death of a Child

A single cloud marred the brilliant year of the consulship. In 143, probably at the end of the year, or early in 144, a child of Herodes and Regilla died at birth. At the close of a letter to Fronto, Marcus Aurelius says:

A son of Herodes died today at birth; Herodes is beside himself with grief. I wish that you would write an appropriate note to him.

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96 Judeich, op. cit., p. 419.
97 Phil. 550 (Kays. II 59, 12).
98 Judeich, loc. cit.
100 See above p. 75 and note 21 on the dating.
Marcus is plainly writing on the very day of the child's death and for such a communication to reach him so quickly implies that parents and child were in or near Rome. It is not surprising that Herodes should express his feelings so strongly; his art involved the eliciting of emotion from an audience and he came from a family of emotional disposition (Atticus' knocking the heads off the orators' busts will be recalled, above p. 25). Furthermore, Herodes loved the bright things of life and hated difficulties; he really was not equal to pain or discomfort. Indeed, his way of life was so rich and beautifully ordered that I doubt if he could believe that a common misfortune had actually struck his perfect affairs.

Clearly demonstrating his reconciliation with Herodes following the inheritance suit, Fronto did Marcus' bidding and wrote in Greek to the grieving millionaire a stiff but proper consolatio. He suggested to Herodes that a man of education should know better than to resent an evil; besides, Herodes was not past the age of begetting other children. Fronto urged Herodes to hope for better days and to assuage his grief in thinking of his rare and favored connections with a "noble youth" whose friendship surpassed all other affections. What Herodes thought of these platitudes we can

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102 Hanslik, op. cit., 32.
103 Fronto to Herodes: pp. 16, 5 to 17, 6 Van den Hout; I, pp. 168-171 Haines.
only guess; there never was much love lost between the two rivals for the affections of Prince Marcus. Of course the sophist rallied; life had to go on and would. He could hope for his living children, Elpinice, Bradua, and Athenais, and whatever children the future would bring. In 144 Herodes stepped down from the consulship and returned home.

The year 144 was marked with no special incidents beyond Regilla's new pregnancy and the birth of Regillus. Indeed, since the consulship was Herodes' last high public post, we may presume that Herodes spent the remaining decades of his life chiefly in the environment previously described of the Attic villas. These years were highlighted by architectural projects and many public events, but essentially Herodes' career was that of sophist-in-residence at Athens.

12. Events of 145

The leading imperial event of 145 was the marriage, prior to August, of Marcus Aurelius to the younger daughter of Antoninus Pius, Annia Galeria Faustina. The marriage was another rivet in the friendship of Marcus and Herodes, since Faustina the Younger, like Faustina the Elder (who had died in 141), was of Regilla's clan.

Of more direct interest to Herodes' personal repute was a contest \( \text{περί ἀληθής} \) held for the first time by the

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104 von Arnim, "M. Annius Verus (Marcus Aurelius)," RE 1, 2286; C. H. V. Sutherland, "Aurelius, Marcus," OCD, p. 124.
Athenian ephebes in honor of Herodes at Eleusis. 105 About this celebration, however, almost nothing is known. 106

A third event of 145 which had considerable significance for Herodes was the death of the great sophist, Polemo of Laodicea. He was only fifty-six, but his arthritic condition had increased unbearably. In his last years he wrote to Herodes, 107 "I must eat, but I have no hands; I must walk, but I have no feet; I must suffer pain—then indeed I know that I have hands and feet!" The death of Polemo in his prime was a sorry occasion, which Herodes would have lamented as he recalled the glittering lectures at Smyrna in 135. Herodes had always yielded first place to Polemo; once when Marcus Aurelius asked for his opinion of Polemo, Herodes replied gravely,

The ring of swift-footed horses strikes upon my ears. 108

ησι [νικημένες.

106 Albert Dumont, Essai sur l'éphèbie attique, Vol. I (Paris: Librairie Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1876), p. 303 includes the παραλκής among ephebic events instituted in the Roman era, but notes that it was not properly a festival or a regular game. Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 134 note 6 suggests that the dative case with Herodes' name (see note 105 above) shows that the exercise took place in Herodes' honor but not in his presence. The affair seems to have had no significance beyond a compliment to Herodes, the ephebes' most eminent member.

107 Phil. 543 (Kays. II 53, 26-30).

108 Phil. 539 (Kays. II 49, 30-32); Homer, Iliad X 535.
When the consul of the year 157, Marcus Barbarus, asked
Herodes what teachers he had had, the sophist replied,
"Several while I was being taught, but Polemo while I was
teaching." With Polemo's death, on the other hand,
Herodes Atticus was now preeminent in the field of extempore
oratory, and he could wear his masters' mantle with grace
and authority.110

13. The Stadium at Delphi

In the summer of 147,111 Herodes and Regilla attended
the quadrennial celebration of the Pythian Games. Also
among the spectators were the inseparable brothers Quintilii,
of whom Sextus Quintilius Condianus was proconsul of Achaia
and Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus the legate,112 pos-
sibly corrector,113 of Achaia. Their family was from Ilium
(Alexandria Troas). Herodes had known the Quintilii for

109 Phil. 539 (Kays. II 48, 9-11). Philostratus on
two occasions refers to Herodes' friend and correspondent,
"Varus" (Phil. 537, Kays. II 48, 9-11, and 539, Kays. II 50,
2-5). The MS reading at both these points is βαραυον
which (according to Graindor, op. cit., pp. 151-158) has
been arbitrarily and inexplicably corrected by the editors
of the text to βαρον. Of the four Barbari who were consuls
in the imperial era, only M. (Ceionius) Civica Barbarus,
consul in 157, fits into Herodes' career when Polemo
flourished. Stein, PIR² II, p. 181 also accepts the reading
βαραυον. Cf. Groag's notes PIR² II, no. 602 on M.
(Ceionius) Civica Barbarus. See below p. 135 and notes 195-
197 on details on Barbarus at the time of his consulship.

110 The excellent Aelius Aristides, it will be re-
called, never made extempore oratory a specialty.

111 Graindor, op. cit., p. 112.
112 Phil. 559 (Kays. II 67, 3-5); PIR¹ III, p. 116.
113 Graindor, op. cit., p. 111.
some time and had never cared for them. He disagreed even with Marcus Aurelius about their merits, observing, after hearing the prince's fulsome praise of the brothers,\footnote{Phil. 559 (Kays. II 67, 8-10).} "Why I find fault with the Zeus of Homer because he loves the Trojans!" This remark, naturally, got back to the Quintilii whose subsequent meeting with Herodes at Delphi could only have been hostile. The occasion for an open quarrel came during the musical competition of the Pythian Games, when Herodes' views differed from the brothers'. The enmity that developed at Delphi lasted for almost thirty more years, coming to a crisis in 174 when the Quintilii were involved in a plot to discredit the millionaire before the emperor, Marcus Aurelius.\footnote{Below pp. 173-176. Philaestratus combines the affair at Delphi with the suit of 174 before Marcus at Sirmium, but there is no doubt that the two affairs are the beginning and end of a long smouldering hostility. Cf. PIR\textsuperscript{1} III, p. 116 on Herodes and the Quintilii.}

Herodes, of course, would not let a petty quarrel spoil his enjoyment of the high holiday and the beautiful sanctuary at Delphi. Having just recently witnessed the successful renovation of Athens' stadium, he offered a similar gift to the Amphictionic Council. His proposal was accepted with undoubted pleasure, although Delphi had been receiving embellishments since the reign of Trajan\footnote{J. Keil, "The Greek Provinces," CAH XI, p. 564.} as a
part of the imperial interest in the antique religion. Appropriately, however, Delphi reached the height of its renaissance in the reign of Antoninus Pius through the generosity of Herodes Atticus.

Herodes promised the stadium's renovation in 147/8\textsuperscript{117} and the work must have been completed before the next Pythian Games. Pausanias notes that Herodes rebuilt the stadium of Pentelic marble\textsuperscript{118} (another of his immense demands on the quarries); Philostratus tells that he dedicated the structure, as was natural, to the Pythian god.\textsuperscript{119} Herodes' gift was a marble veneer of sufficient extent that a rededication of the stadium to Apollo was justified, if not required.\textsuperscript{120}

The total length of the stadium was 199 metres; the arms are slightly bowed so as to avoid a concave appearance and their width at the greatest breadth is 28.5 metres.\textsuperscript{121} The entry was a triumphal arch consisting of three arcades on four piers.\textsuperscript{122} The seating capacity was around 7000. Nestled on Parnassus as it was, the stadium had a long low beauty which

\textsuperscript{117}Graindor, op. cit., p. 112.

\textsuperscript{118}Pausanias X 32, 1.

\textsuperscript{119}Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 29).


\textsuperscript{121}de la Coste-Messelière, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{122}Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 189.
Cyriac of Ancona was able to admire in 1437, but was despoiled before Wheler visited the site two centuries later.

Immensely gratified with the results of Herodes' generosity, the city of Delphi erected a statue to Herodes, φιλίας καὶ [φιλό]γενίας ἔβεκα; the Amphictionic Council a similar one. Regilla, as wife of the benefactor, was honored with three small statues from the city of Delphi. In a small nympheum below the temple of Apollo, not far from Gaia's precinct, were statues erected by Herodes in honor of three of his children. This group was put up with the permission of the city of Delphi and thus is a further manifestation of Herodes' esteem in that city. The children represented were Regillus, Elpinice, and Athenais; why the

123 Sig3 859 A note 5.
124 Frazer, op. cit., p. 395.
125 Sig3 859 A. Dittenberger, note 3, suggests that this could be a monument dating from before Herodes' consuls, since that office is not mentioned in the inscription; but Herodes' connections with Delphi before 147 are unknown and the reference to the consulship is not a criterion of Herodes' later titulature, e.g., Sig3 863-864.
126 Sig3 859 B.
127 Sig3 859 C-E. Dittenberger observes in his Note 8 that it cannot be ascertained whether 859 D was erected for or by Regilla. Her name is in the nominative, thus differing from the usual accusative of recipient. But cf. IG III 1417 for an inscription in the nominative honoring Regilla after her death. There is a fairly standard pattern for these honorific stones, but variations and exceptions do occur.
128 Sig3 860 A-C.
elder son, Bradua, was not included is inexplicable, unless he had already displayed the sloth (he would have been around eight years old in 150) which his father despised. At any rate, the inscriptions from Delphi are our earliest reference to the children of Herodes and Regilla.

14. Herodes and Bradua

We know almost nothing about the personalities of Herodes' children, except for Bradua, the eldest son, whose relations with his father illustrate again the selfish and inflexible side of the millionaire. Although Herodes adhered to the required formalities of rearing a family, with his male children he was disappointed. Regillus died as a boy; but Bradua, with whom Herodes was ever displeased, flourished and lived to be consul in 185. Herodes yearned for perfection in every aspect of his life, but he was unable to reproduce his own sensitivity and talent. He found his son Bradua dull. As a boy, Bradua could not (perhaps would not) learn the alphabet, so Herodes brought in twenty-four boys named with the letters of the alphabet so that Bradua would be forced to learn the alphabet through the names of his playmates! When he became a young man, Bradua was extremely pleasure-loving and his father pronounced him dissolute. Bradua was not the amenable son Herodes had been; moreover, since he was not especially

129Phil. 558 (Kays. II 66, 7-13).
gifted, he lacked ambition. Herodes probably exerted every effort to mould his son along his own intellectually impeccable lines, but failed. The millionaire closed his eyes to the fact that a son will duplicate the father only under the special circumstances of intellectual and emotional similarity. In his chagrin, Herodes often was heard to say,

Still one fool yet remains in the spacious dwelling.

His anger did not stifle his gift for epigram;¹³⁰ but he was thoroughly aggravated with his carefree son whom he could only regard as a wastrel.

For his daughters Herodes had real affection, as we shall see on the occasion of their deaths.

15. The Alumni

It was probably because of his disappointment in Bradua that Herodes, while he yet had four natural children, enrolled among his household three foster sons¹³¹ whose names were Achilles, Memnon, and Polydeucion.¹³² Herodes' affection for these young men was equal to, if not beyond, his love for his daughters. The alumni were of the highest character; but even more important, as far as Herodes was

¹³⁰Ibid. (Kays. II 66, 14-17). Herodes adapted Odyssey IV 498 by changing πόντος to ὀίκω.

¹³¹Ibid. (Kays. II 66, 20-25).

¹³²Philostratus calls him "Polydeuces," but all the epigraphic texts have the affectionate diminutive, "Polydeucion."
concerned, they were $\textit{φιλομαθεῖς}$, "fond of study."

The time of their adoption is unknown, but it probably was in the decade of the 140's, after Herodes and Regilla had begun their own family.

Of Achilles nothing is known. Memnon was an Ethiopian\textsuperscript{133} and sat for a portrait-bust found on Herodes' property in Cynuria, when he was around thirty-five years old.\textsuperscript{134}

The portrait, presently at Berlin, is a finely modeled head with heavy-lidded but intent eyes. The mouth has the broad lips of a Negro and the nose, although mutilated, had the Negroid flare. Herodes' taste for an exotic disciple like Memnon is not strange in the light of his fondness for the Indian slave, Autolecythus. Herodes, leaning toward the unusual as he did, would have been charmed with such a colorful addition to the coterie surrounding him as he progressed from one villa and pleasure-park to another.

The person of Polydeucion is the easiest to remove from the shadows surrounding Herodes' \textit{alumni}. His undoubted

\textsuperscript{133}Phil. Apollonius of Tyana III 11 (Kays. I 91, 10-14).

portrait\textsuperscript{135} in Berlin is the well-preserved bust of a young man about sixteen or seventeen years old. The portrait has an undefinable quality about it that most antique portraits lack: the expression is placid, but instead of presenting a clear gaze, the mien betrays a certain lethargic insolence. Perhaps this disturbing quality is created by the excessively upturned pupils of the eyes. On his forehead are long separated locks that almost touch the eyebrow; the lips are sensuously full, almost petulant; his face is a perfectly smooth oval. There is not a single strong quality in the portrait. Polydeucion, whose full name, in fact, was Vibullius Polydeucion,\textsuperscript{136} seems to have been a relative of Herodes through his mother's house of the Vibullii; but the boy's precise relationship to Herodes cannot be determined.\textsuperscript{137}

Herodes was enchanted with his alumni, who seemed to make his life in the decade of the 140's quite perfect. The millionaire's life had been beautifully unruffled in the

\textsuperscript{135} Schefold, op. cit., pp. 180 and 181 figure 1; Neugebauer, op. cit., 100.

\textsuperscript{136} IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3968-3969; PIR\textsuperscript{2} II, p. 181.

\textsuperscript{137} Graindor, Hérode Atticus, pp. 29 and 117, and Stein, PIR\textsuperscript{2} II, p. 181 read IG III 810-811 as referring to Vibullius Hipparchus, archon of 118/9 and son of Herodes' aunt, Claudia Athenais. IG III 811 had been restored as Πολυδευκείας Ἰππάρχου νιάν ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου; but the missing portion has been partially found (IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3969) so that Polydeucion no longer can be connected with Vibullius Hipparchus, since the new fragments read Πολυδευκείας Ἰππάρχου νιάν ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου, simply denoting Polydeucion as having the status of a Roman eques. Cf. notes to IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3968.
early years of the decade, and as late as 147 at the Pythian Games Herodes Atticus enjoyed a state of prosperity to make him the envy of mankind—his honors, his untold wealth put the very world at his fingertips, and he was surrounded by admiring disciples. Some men who beheld his prosperity may have been jealous, the gods clearly were; for in the latter part of the decade around 147/8, Heaven turned its face from Herodes and before the brothers Quintili left their Greek assignments in 150, the alumni were dead. What caused the premature deaths of three young men blessed with every advantage is unknown. Herodes' grief over a baby dead at birth was unbridled; thus his state of mind over losing the three favorites can scarcely be described.

Herodes set about to immortalize the alumni everywhere they had been, and caused statues of them to be erected on all his properties in attitudes of hunting, having hunted, and preparing to hunt. The statues, along with herms bearing execrations against despoilers, were placed in groves, fields, beside springs, or in the shade of plane trees. When the malicious Quintili criticized the millionaire for his extravagance, Herodes disdainfully, but pathetically, replied, "What business is it of yours if I delude myself with my little stones?" Philostratus' account

138Phil. 559 (Kays. II 66, 25-30). For the list of places, see above p. 78.
139Ibid. (Kays. II 67, 1-2).
indicates that all the alumni were dead before the Quintili left Greece. A monument put up for Polydeucion by the Rhabdophori, the officers in charge of maintaining the calendar of state games and festivals, in the archonship of Dionysius (147/8 or a little later) allows us to treat that boy's death more precisely. That all the deaths were practically coincidental between 147-150, as suggested by Philostratus, is readily accepted by Graindor, and I can see no reason to think otherwise.

Of the three foster-sons, Polydeucion was especially beloved. In addition to the memorials in stone, Demonax, the Cynic philosopher, speaking of Herodes' grief for Polydeucion, tells how Herodes ("the excessive," ὁ παράνυστος) for some time directed that a chariot be kept ready with horses harnessed to it just as if Polydeucion were about to take his customary daily drive, and his place was maintained at the dinner table as if he would join the group for dining. Demonax visited Herodes one day and said to him, "I have a message for you from Polydeucion." Herodes, pleased that the philosopher was so ready to humor his feelings, as the

140 Graindor, Chronologie, p. 151 no. 109.
142 Lucian, Demonax 24. Lucian expresses the boy's name as "Polydeuces," but I shall translate as "Polydeucion."
rest of the circle did, replied, "Pray, Demonax, what does Polydeucion desire?" "He finds fault with you," said the Cynic, "for not joining him already!"

But Herodes would not be mocked or shocked into good sense. He frankly believed in the value of emotional display, contrary to the doctrines of the Stoics. He was criticized once for not enduring with sufficient wisdom and strength the death of a boy whom he had loved.\textsuperscript{144} The boy is not specified, but he very likely was one of the alumni and the story suits Herodes' particular grief for Polydeucion. In condemning Stoic πάθη, Herodes argued that extreme mental feelings, such as sorrow, desire, fear, anger, and pleasure, kept the mind stimulated and thus had a salubrious influence on the good and useful powers of the intellect. The negative emotions should not be indulged without restraint, but should certainly be permitted to occur when appropriate. Herodes illustrated his point with the parable of the untutored Thracian who acquired an orchard of olives and vines in a more civilized country. Upon seeing his neighbor, one day, engaged in pruning his ash-trees, olives and vines, the Tracian, amazed at such cutting, asked the neighbor why he was doing such a thing. The farmer replied, "Why, so that the field will be neat and clean, and the trees and vines more productive." The ignorant Tracian thought this a good

\textsuperscript{144}The following narrative is from Gellius XIX 12.
idea, but proceeded to prune and cut to such an extreme
degree that his property was ruined. "So," said Herodes,
"those admirers of passivity, who wish to seem tranquil,
staunch, and unmoved through desiring nothing, grieving for
nothing, being angry about and rejoicing in nothing, having
stripped away all the attributes of the more emotional mind,
grow old in the torpor of a sluggish and, so to speak,
unnerved life." Herodes played the role of the bereaved
father as much as decency would allow and was only too happy
that others acknowledged the virtues of the alumni and of
the fair Polydeucion in particular.

Of the many monuments to the alumni, IG II² 3968-
3976, pertaining to Polydeucion, afford examples. Typical
of the herms is IG II² 3970:

Πολυδευ —
κιννα, ὁ ἄν
θυ[π]ον ἔστε,
<ὑή>έν καὶ ἐνθα-
δε Ἡρωδης [α]ν
εἴηκεν ὡς ἐν-
δίδε καὶ περὶ
οἴραν ἔιχον.

"To Polydeucion—whom Herodes loved as a son and memorial-
ized here where they oft would hunt." In addition to the
hunting statuary and associated herms, Herodes' mother,

145Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 115 note 1 has
detailed citations for the publication of the herms.

146For the long curse see Theodoric H. Westbrook,
"A Herm Dedicated by Herodes Atticus," AJA, XXXIII (1929),
402-404.
prompted by Polydeucion's Vibullian connections, caused a statue to be erected at Cephisia to the boy "dearest to her son and to herself,"\(^{147}\) and another near Marathon.\(^{148}\) L. Octavius Restitutus Marathonius (of whom nothing more is known) put up a statue to "the hero, Polydeucion."\(^{149}\) The citizens, Council of the Areopagus, and Council of the Five Hundred of Athens voted to let Herodes erect a statue to the favorite as a "Roman eques," a very rare denotation in Attic inscriptions.\(^{150}\) For Polydeucion as an agonothetes of unknown games, the Rhabdophori erected a statue at Cephisia.\(^{151}\) The youth was also connected with a public bath, probably one of Herodes' minor benefactions, with regard to which Herodes honored Polydeucion with a herm.\(^{152}\) Foster-father, family, friends, and city all saw fit thus to honor the youth of the apathetic portrait. The supreme memorial was granted by lofty Delphi itself: a cippus to "the hero of Herodes," \(σωφρόσυνης ἐνεκα--"for his sweet temper."\(^{153}\)

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\(^{147}\) IG II² 3972.  \(^{148}\) IG II² 3973.  \\
\(^{149}\) IG II² 3974.  \(^{150}\) IG II² 3969 and note.  \\
\(^{151}\) IG II² 3968.  See above p. 116 on these officials. \\
\(^{152}\) IG II² 3971.  \\
\(^{153}\) IG³ 861.
Nor were the other alumni slighted. A herm to Achilles has an inscription of sweet remembrance, almost untranslatably compressed, which goes something like:

Herodes to Achilles: I would behold you in the woodland glade—I, and anyone else there. By you will all be reminded of that friendship which was ours.

This is sincere. Indeed, all of Herodes' epigraphic writings have a compelling brevity that is beautifully impressive.

The majority of the inscriptions, whose cutting and spelling are similar to the Attic inscriptions found prior to the archonship of Eucleides (403-402 B.C., when the Ionic alphabet replaced the Attic in inscriptions), are archaistic to the point of mania on their author's part. As we have seen, and will note further, Herodes was devoted to pristine Attic culture.

The beloved young men who had enjoyed the singular devotion of Herodes Atticus were lost by 150. The origin of Herodes' attachment to them can only have been in disappointment in his own family. Regilla must have had to endure a great deal from Herodes, inasmuch as she probably felt their own household and family were quite enough to care for; but Herodes brought the alumni in and no one would gainsay him.

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Whether through sycophancy or fear, his circle never opposed his wishes, as is shown by the way the group joined Herodes' excessive demonstration for Polydeucion in pretending that he was alive.

In artistic matters Herodes admired and wanted to emulate the emperor Hadrian; this raises the question as to whether Herodes was influenced in the choice of his friends by Hadrian's flaunted affection for the youth, Antinous.\(^{156}\) Although the abundance of carved memorial s to the alumni rather parallels the many statues of Antinous, was Herodes, emulator of the emperor in so many ways, capable even of copying Hadrian's aberrations? I think it unlikely that Herodes had any unnatural affection for his foster-sons, nor is there any evidence for such a relationship. People like the brothers Quintilii and Herodes' other detractors would have tried to make a scandal out of any such suspicions, but there is no indication that they did. Furthermore, I doubt if the noble Aloia, Herodes' mother, would have been a party to statuary honoring such an extreme friendship. No, there is no such skeleton in Herodes' closet. He simply was a person who loved to be surrounded by bright young people; his students, in fact, were an audience rather than a class. The alumni were engagingly alert, handsome, and docile; their presence made the villas alive with talk and laughter.

\(^{156}\)Graindor, Hérode Atticus, pp. 114 and 118 takes up the point, as does Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 100.
provided the kind of atmosphere that the generous, gregarious, demanding Herodes especially relished. Small wonder, then, that the luster of his fortunate life seemed to grow dim near 150, when his best companions were no longer with him.

Herodes' old teacher, Favorinus of Arles, also died around 150, bequeathing to Herodes a house in Rome, his library, and the slave Autolecythus, as we have described above (p. 23). The following two years passed unruffled except that the year 151 saw the brothers Quintillii as consuls. Herodes was probably glad that he had held the great office before his fraternal enemies.

16. The Visit to Olympia

The ensuing decade brought Herodes some of his greatest delights and worst misfortunes. The period is dominated by his interest in one of the most famous sanctuaries of ancient Greece—Olympia. In 153 Herodes and Regilla

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157 Degrassi, p. 43.

158 The studies of this century have left no doubt that Herodes' projects at Olympia were executed between 150-160 (cf. Münscher, RE VIII, 935); the difficulty is in matching events with specific years within the decade. For my chronology I am completely indebted to the cogent arguments of Paul Graindor, whose dating will be explained in the course of the discussion (for a brief summary see note 194 below). For an earlier dating see Frazer, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 74 and Dittenberger, Olympia V, notes for no. 627, both of which authorities date the nymphaeum at around 147-151. Frazer does not deny the possibility of a later dating, however, setting the terminus ante quem at 161.
visited Olympia for the two hundred thirty-third celebration of the games. The millionaire offered his talents to the oratorical display, choosing for his theme the virtues of the Golden Mean. The speech created a sensation; he was acclaimed by the audience as a second Demosthenes, certainly equal to any of the Attic orators in the Canon of Ten. Herodes must have fairly burst with pride at such signal attention to his art, but maintaining a pose of modesty he responded, "I wish I were a second Polemo," and "Well, I am better than Andocides."

To Regilla even greater honor was given. It was the rule at Olympia that only unmarried women could witness the games, except for the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, who was usually a prominent matron selected arbitrarily by the officials of Olympia (Pausanias VI 20, 9). Regilla was appointed Demeter's priestess for the festival of 153/4, thereby

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159 Graindor, op. cit., p. 87.
160 Phil. 557 (Kays. II 64, 29 to 65, 1); for 153 as the date of the Olympian speech, see Graindor, op. cit., p.161.
161 Phil. 539 (Kays. II 49, 24-25).
162 Phil. 564 (Kays. II 72, 10-12).
163 Phil. 539 (Kays. II 49, 25-27).
164 Phil. 564 (Kays. II 72, 13). The references in notes 161-164 are of two separate anecdotes, but their synthesis is logical; a separate dating for each is impossible.
enjoying one of the highest religious offices a woman could hold. The officers of the festival probably elected Regilla to this office as a mark of flattery to herself and Herodes, the famous millionaires. Herodes and Regilla had met with a superb reception; enchanted with such unbounded flattery, the Herodians decided to include Olympia among their major philanthropies. First of all, they caused new statues of Demeter and Persephone to be made of Pentelic marble and placed in the temple of Demeter near the hippodrome.166

17. The Nymphaeum at Olympia

Thereupon Herodes' previous building experience began to direct his imagination. The Olympic Games were regularly held in July and August, a season that had long been notorious in the district of Elis for its heat and drought. In the course of the games the high temperatures and dust often became almost intolerable for the crowds, many of whose great numbers regularly collapsed from thirst.167 The waters of the nearby Alpheus were scarcely potable, and so it was necessary to import water from a distance.168 Herodes, well

166 Pausanias VI 21, 1-2.

167 Lucian, De Morte Peregrini 19. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 294 describes the many early wells and water conduits found by the excavators both in and beyond the Altis; but none of these systems was adequate for the demands of the crowds in August and September.

168 Frazer, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 72.
acquainted with aqueducts and waterworks from his earlier projects at Ilium and Canusium, conceived the idea of furnishing fresh water to the Altis at Olympia. By the time of the next Olympiad, 157, Olympia was graced with an aqueduct and monumental nymphaeum from the generosity of Herodes Atticus and Regilla.\(^{169}\)

Philostратus mentions that Herodes dedicated a waterworks to Zeus at Olympia,\(^{170}\) but the structure was far more significant than Philostратус (whose primary interest is not in Herodes the Builder) suggests. The edifice is in a state of the most regrettable ruin, today; but as a major example of later Roman architecture, at one of the ancient world's great sites, the Herodians' gift has been subjected to intense scrutiny. The most recent and authoritative study has been done by H. Schleif and H. Weber in the new German investigation of the excavations of Olympia.\(^{171}\) The nymphaeum was a monumental termination of an aqueduct, which brought fresh spring water from a southwestern spur of Mt. Erymanthus to the north side of the Altis. It lay between the Heraeum and the row of treasuries,\(^{172}\) being about 30

\(^{169}\)Antonia Baebia had succeeded Regilla as priestess of Demeter for this Olympiad. See Olympia V, no. 456.

\(^{170}\)Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 29-30).


\(^{172}\)See photographs of the ruins, ibid., plates 31-33.
metres in length and 17 in depth. The water came from the side valleys of the Alpheus and was carried by an aqueduct (a pillar of which still stands near Miraka, about two miles from Olympia) and by a tunnel through the Hill of Kronos to a reservoir just north of the treasuries. From the reservoir the water entered a high semi-circular basin, descending through lions' mouths into a rectangular pool, from which led an open channel going to the stadium and eastern Altis. About the upper basin was a row of statues, which will be described shortly; at either end of the lower basin was a small monopteros, a tholos-like structure, which provided balance for the rather top-heavy edifice. The heavy magnificence of the fountain reminds one of certain features of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, which Herodes may well have visited. The idea of a semi-circular fountain flanked by monopteroi is of Hellenistic origin.

At the water level of the upper basin was a pedestal supporting a bull of Pentelic marble whose flank was inscribed:

Regilla, priestess of Demeter, [dedicates] this water and its appurtenances to Zeus.

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173 For reconstruction see ibid., plate 36.

174 None of the pieces described is whole today, see note 181 below for reproductions of the nymphaeum's statuary.

175 Olympia V, no. 610 (SIG 856 note 3).
The bull could represent the sacrificial victim offered to Zeus at the time of the fountain's dedication,¹⁷⁶ but the learned Herodes probably attached a symbolic significance to the otherwise incongruous beast. The bull could have represented Zeus who sped over the water to Crete; or, better still, Herodes could have recalled a passage from Pindar's fifth Olympian ode, lines 40-41:¹⁷⁷

Father Zeus, cloud-dweller, abiding in the Cronian hill,
Honoring broad-flowing Alpheus and the awesome Idaean cave.

There has been a question as to which one of the esteemed couple actually made the dedication, and, in fact, which one was financially responsible for the edifice. It would not have been impossible for the fountain to be the gift of Regilla, who in her own right was almost as rich as Herodes. Graindor felt¹⁷⁸ that Herodes was the true dedicant, but had let his wife enjoy the credit. The inscription on the bull, however, can be taken literally to the effect that Regilla performed the dedication as a former priestess of Demeter.¹⁷⁹

Further indication of Regilla's activities at Olympia is the statue base simply inscribed:¹⁸⁰ \( \text{Ρηγίλλα Ιάσι} \) [sic].

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¹⁷⁸ Graindor, op. cit., p. 193.
¹⁷⁹ SIG³ 856 note 3; Schleif, op. cit., p. 82.
¹⁸⁰ Olympia V, no. 288 (SIG³ 856 note 3).
For once Herodes' wife was in the forefront. Regilla and Herodes can be imagined at the head of stately processions moving slowly about the Altis during the Olympic Games of 153 and 157 in acts of dedication and honored attendance at the games. Their deeds at Olympia are truly those of a royal couple.

The nymphaeum, ornamental as well as practical, was embellished with a set of life-size statues representing members of the Flavian-Antonine dynasty and the House of Herodes Atticus. These statues were ranged along the semi-circular upper basin in fifteen niches. The heroic, armor-clad figures of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius seem to have been placed on the roof above the niches.181 But the decoration of this major edifice did not receive the care it deserved. It was not a question of money, certainly, but there is evidence of great haste in the planning and execution of the whole ensemble so as to get the fountain completed as quickly as possible. The result of this haste was that the heroic statues have no architectonic relation to the rest of the monument. The statue of Trajan, for example, has the elegant polish of work of the Hadrianic period, and seems to have been an older statue simply

181 Schleif, op. cit., p. 57 and reconstruction plate 36. The extant statuary has been reproduced in Curtius and Adler, op. cit., Vol. III of the Plates, nos. 65-69. These reproductions show that the draped bodies of the statuary are in a fairly good state of preservation, but are decapitated except for Hadrian, the Faustinae, and Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina (the eldest daughter of Marcus Aurelius).
incorporated into Herodes' new monument. Nevertheless, this
gift of Herodes and Regilla was the most important late
Roman addition to the sanctuary, and it was a desire to
restudy the character and arrangement of the historically
important statues that led, beginning in 1939, to Schleif
and Weber's new analysis of the nymphaeum.

The statues of the imperial house were donated by
Herodes; those of Herodes' family were given by the city
of Elis. Besides Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius,
there were statues of Antoninus Pius (617), Faustina
Maior (613), Faustina Minor (614), Marcus' son, T. Aelius
Antoninus (615), Marcus' daughter, Annia Galeria Aurelia
Faustina (616), and Lucius Verus (618). Herodes' family
included himself (622), Regilla (612? very fragmentary),
Regilla's father, Appius Annius Gallus (619), Regilla's
maternal grandfather, Marcus Appius Bradua (620), Herodes' mother, Vibullia Alcia Agrippina (621), Bradua (623),
Elpinice (624), Athenais (625), Regillus (626), Athenais'

182Olympia V, nos. 613-618, plus new fragments dis-
cussed by Schleif, op. cit., passim, but especially pp.
54-55.

183Olympia V, nos. 619-628, plus new fragments dis-
cussed by Schleif, op. cit., passim, but especially pp.
54-55.

184The following numbers refer to the inscriptions
of the statue bases as cataloged in Olympia V (cf. above
notes 182 and 183). My presentation is the same as
Münscher's, RE VIII, 934.
husband, L. Vibullius Hipparchus (627), and their daughter, Athenais (628). The last two statue bases lack the full ancestral names and designation of the donor. Dittenberger believes\textsuperscript{185} that space for two more statues was left to accommodate Herodes' future children, but the abrupt death of Regilla spoiled that plan. Herodes' son-in-law, L. Vibullius Hipparchus, and the latter's daughter were made to occupy the remaining bases, possibly because Hipparchus renovated or repaired the fountain at a later time.\textsuperscript{186} The absence of Herodes' father from the scheme is glaring. Apparently, Herodes had not yet forgiven his father for attempting to deprive him of the paternal inheritance. The presence of Regilla's father and grandfather displayed her high connections (above p. 73) and shows the interest of Regilla's purse in the project as well as Herodes'.

The extant statuary from the niches has a harmony and rhythm of stance which would have given the row of statues the unity of a frieze. The precise location of each statue

\textsuperscript{185}Commentary on nos. 627-628 of \textit{Olympia} V.

\textsuperscript{186}Schleif, op. cit., p. 57. Dittenberger in \textit{Olympia} V on nos. 627-628, believes that Elpinice married this Hipparchus and named her daughter after her sister. Graindor's stemma (\textit{Hérode Atticus}, p. 29), Kirchner at \textit{IG II²} 3595, and Stein, \textit{PIR² II}, pp. 180-181 and stemma, all believe Athenais to be the wife of the father of Athenais (628). The only question is precisely who Athenais' husband was. Kirchner thinks he was the brother of P. Aelius Vibullius Rufus, Graindor and Stein take him as the son. Münsocher, \textit{RE VIII}, 935 is not certain of Hipparchus' relationship in his family. If Kirchner were correct, Athenais (628) would be the granddaughter of Herodes' daughter, Athenais. The analysis of Graindor and Stein is acceptable.
cannot be determined, since bases and figures were found so jumbled,\textsuperscript{187} as a result, no doubt, of the earthquakes of 522 and 551 A.D. A female figure found near the right end may well have been Regilla, who held something of bronze in her hand (perhaps an ear of corn, since she was Demeter's priestess). The toga-clad figure on the opposite end must have been Herodes.\textsuperscript{188} Faustina Maior possibly was in the middle.

Of even greater interest is what kind of backdrop, if any, the nymphaeum had. Several restorers have believed that the whole fountain was topped with a huge half-dome, like a great apse.\textsuperscript{189} This theory is chiefly due to the presence of six heavy buttresses to the rear of the structure and corresponds well with the architectural mode that Hadrian perfected in his Temple of Venus and Rome as well as in his "Piazza d'Oro" at Tivoli. But the hard fact remains that not a single stone has been found to justify the apse.\textsuperscript{190} Nor do Schleif and Weber consider such a feature in their restorations. Among the classically simple buildings of Olympia, which were splendid without ostentation, such an

\textsuperscript{187}Schleif, op. cit., p. 70; Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 3-5. Münchner, \textit{RE} VIII, 934-935 attempts an arrangement.

\textsuperscript{188}Schleif, ibid.

\textsuperscript{189}Frazer, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 72; Gardiner, op. cit., p. 296; Graindor, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 191; Elderkin, \textit{op. cit.}, 132.

\textsuperscript{190}As first emphasized by Neugebauer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 108.
apse would have been a monstrosity.\(^{191}\) Herodes' taste inclined toward the flamboyant but not the grotesque. The buttresses were needed to support the walls under pressure both from water and the massive ensemble of statuary.\(^{192}\)

There are some remnants of marble slabs used for incrustation, but the precise scheme of the flat decoration is unknown. The carving on the statues and capitals is perfunctory, lacking in fine gradations. The edifice was probably conceived on the spur of the moment and four years were insufficient time for so much statuary and the engineering project of bringing water to the Altis to be executed. But the over-all effect must have been massively handsome; the fountain's showiness and broad, superficial beauty actually was in keeping with the intellectual attainments of the Second Sophistic.

Herodes had indeed given a boon to Olympia, but was unable to please everyone. Peregrinus Proteus, the Cynic, upon seeing the new waterworks, railed against Herodes for contributing to the effeminacy of the Greeks who ought to be able to endure a little thirst!\(^{193}\) At the next Olympiad

\(^{191}\)See reconstruction in Elderkin, op. cit., 132.

\(^{192}\)See Die Antike, X (1934), plate 13 following p. 108 for Hans Schleif's model of the Altis in the museum at Olympia. The nymphaeum is sans apse.

\(^{193}\)Lucian, De Morte Peregrini 19. Herodes had encountered Proteus before at Athens (Phil. 563-564), Kays. II 71, 12-22) when the Cynic used to hound him on the streets with insults delivered in a semi-barbarous tongue. Herodes the Purist tried to squelch him once with "Very
(161), however, Peregrinus gave an eulogy in behalf of Herodes for his gift of water.\textsuperscript{194} Peregrinus' criticism (his suicide was at the games of 165) may be connected with the singular silence of Pausanias about the nymphaeum. A party of the Eleans, perhaps, resented the gift that with its imperial statuary so emphasized Greece's subjection to Rome and to the favor of a few men of wealth like Herodes Atticus. Pausanias may have sympathized with this conservative element; although he seems to have composed Book VI, with its discussion of Olympia, in the 170's, by which time the ill feeling ought to have subsided. On the other hand, the structure may have been too modernistic for Pausanias' taste. Such a flamboyant monument at venerable Olympia could have been as sensational as the Guggenheim Museum in New York, today. Whatever the reason, Pausanias gives us

\textit{Well, insult me—but must it be in such language?} Nevertheless, Peregrinus continued his obnoxious ways until the occasion of the Olympiad of 161, as follows.

\textsuperscript{194}Lucian, ibid., 20. Here is the basis of Graindor's chronology (op. cit., p. 87): Peregrinus made his eulogy of Herodes in 161/2; thus the nymphaeum was in operation in 157/8; so it had been promised at the games of 153/4. If, however, the system of Olympiads did not revert to its pristine order following Nero's adjustment (Suetonius, Nerp 23) whereby the 211th Olympiad fell in 67 rather than 65, the occasion for Herodes' dedication of the nymphaeum would have been in 155, rather than 157 as in this paper, following Graindor, holds. Münscher, RE VIII, 935 estimates 155 as the date of Regilla's priesthood and the dedication of the nymphaeum; J. Wiesner, "Olympia, Topographie and Geschichte der Monumente," RE XVIII, 115 accepts 155 without qualification. A permanent change in the Olympiads due to the Emperor Nero is not even suggested by Wilhelm Kubitschek, Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1928), pp. 224-225.
none of the details about the fountain's appearance which we sorely need.

18. The Symbolic Importance of the Nymphaeum

The nymphaeum at Olympia and its sculptural decorations make as blatant a demand for recognition as the tremendous Victor Emmanuel Monument in Rome. The principal symbolic emphasis of the nymphaeum is the commingling of the imperial family with the family of Herodes. The monument fairly proclaims to the world the proud relationship that Herodes enjoyed with the rulers of the Empire. Herodes Atticus was a citizen of the Oecumene; moreover, Herodes was the leading private citizen of the Roman world at the middle of the second century. (The members of the imperial family had a supra-terrestrial status, which put them beyond comparison with the citizens of the realm.) None of Herodes' peers enjoyed such a pinnacle of wealth and public attainment. The statuary group at Olympia, one of the major sanctuaries of the world, proclaimed Herodes' singular social position.

The western world was a relatively small political organism in the second century A.D., but, from our standpoint, it was "the world." The unity of that world has never been equalled, not even in the sixteenth century when Charles V was Europe's arbiter. Without a unified world, consequently, there has never again really existed the possibility for one
private person to assume the status of "leading world citizen," but that is precisely what Herodes Atticus did achieve. To be sure, this accomplishment was ephemeral and had no consequence for later world history; but Herodes' status is a clear reflection of the unity of the world that was seen during the reign of Antoninus Pius and never again. Here was the Oecumene, inhabited by world citizens, whose leading member, according to the uncompromising standards of the monetary-social class system, of which humanity has never failed to take cognizance, was Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes.

19. **Minor Projects**

Among Herodes' mid-century projects also belong a shrine and cult-image of Athena in Athens, attested only by the brief inscription on the image's base.\(^{195}\) Herodes' work with the shrine seems to have been renovation, but the specific structure is unknown.

Shortly after 157 Herodes erected a statue\(^ {196}\) to his friend, M. (Ceionius) Civica Barbarus,\(^ {197}\) who was consul in 157. Barbarus was one of those persons more famous for his connections than his own exploits. His father was L. Ceionius Barbarus, consul in 106, whose elder son was L. Ceionius

\(^{195}\)IG II² 3191.


\(^{197}\)Cf. note 109 above.
Commodus, the adopted but short-lived son of Hadrian, who
him "L. Aelius Caesar." Herodes put up the statue with
the consent of Athens and made a point of designating
Barbarus as "friend." Barbarus' life span is not known, but
he is recorded as being an ambassador from Marcus Aurelius
to Verus in 164 at the time of the Parthian War. The
statue was erected, then, between 157 and 164; but since
Herodes probably wanted to call attention to his friend's
consulship, the dating is best taken as near 157.

Herodes honored another friend with a statue in the
same mid-century period. In accordance with city and deme,
a statue was erected to Flavius Dorotheus, a general and
supervisor of the great Eleusinian ceremonies. Dorotheus
is known as prytanis around 120, and no other facts of his
career are known aside from Herodes' statue to him, dated
"after the middle of the second century."

20. The Death of Regillus

This extraordinary decade of great fame and philanthropy ended, however, with Herodes' family life shattered
and his reputation in jeopardy. Shortly after the completion

198 PIR² II, nos. 602, 604-605.

199 SHA, Marcus Antoninus IX 4; PIR² II, p. 135.

200 IG II² 3605.
of the works at Olympia, Herodes' youngest son, Regillus, suddenly died. The circumstances are unknown, but Herodes' grief may be imagined to have been almost as great as, if not equal to, his grief for his lost foster-son, Polydeucion.

201 The "Triopion" inscription, IG XIV 1389, I (IGR I, 194) to be discussed below, records (Tines 13-15) that two of Herodes' children died before their mother. Regilla's death is assigned to 159/60. The two children could only have been Regillus and Athenais, since Elpinice and Bradua clearly survive their mother. For Regillus' dying first, see Dittenberger, "Die Familie des Herodes Atticus," Hermes, XIII (1878), 83 and Müncher, RE VIII, 936.

202 Dittenberger in "Die Familie," 83, seconded by Graindor, op. cit., p. 104 would emend the first words of Lucian, Demonax 25 from o d'αυτός(sc. Αμαζώς) to τῷ

203 See note 201 above for relation of Athenais and Regillus' deaths.

21. The Death of Athenais

Before the turn of the decade Herodes lost another child, his younger daughter, Athenais. She was only about eighteen years old; but, as we have seen in discussing the Olympian statuary, she had married L. Vibullius Hipparchus and had borne him a child, also named Athenais. The city of...
Athens rallied with compassion for this dreadful series of misfortunes befalling Herodes. To lose two natural children and three foster-sons within a decade was an incredible calamity. The city's indignation at the great sophist for his selfish handling of their legacy from Atticus had decreased with time, and so they willingly bestowed upon his dead daughter the extraordinary honors of a princess. Athenais was buried within the city and the day of her death was stricken from the calendar. Statues were raised to Athenais by two of Herodes' friends and former pupils: Eudemos Gargettios (prytanis of 138/9) and one Domitianos.

22. The Death of Regilla

Before Herodes could recover from the preceding grim events, disaster and scandal combined struck his house. Around 159/60, Regilla died in pregnancy from a severe blow on her abdomen. Rumor had it that in a quarrel Herodes had ordered one of his freedmen, Alcimedon, to punish the mistress of the household. It was a cruel death and an

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204 Phil. 557-558 (Kays. II 65, 28-31). This is the passage where Philostratus erroneously refers to the girl as "Panathenais" (see above note 28).

205 IG II² 4073.  

206 IG II² 4074.

207 Phil. 555 (Kays. II 63, 21-25). The date of Regilla's death is accepted by all as I have given it because her brother, Bradua, brought the charge of murder against Herodes when the former was of "consular rank" (Phil. 555, Kays. II 63, 27). Bradua was consul in 160 (Degrossi, p. 45). Cf. Münchscher, RE VIII, 936; Graindor, op. cit., p. 92.
ugly rumor. Regilla was always a person in the background, never seeming to assert herself in Herodes' affairs. She came out of the shadows briefly at Olympia, which, perhaps, was the only time that Herodes and his wife were close. The nymphaeum seems to have required their combined resources; at least their ostensible interest in the project was equal.

The only picture one can imagine of this woman is that of a noble Roman matron who took great pleasure in good works, but whose quiet personality was completely dominated by her husband's forceful character. The deaths of Regillus and Athenais had undoubtedly been difficult for her; she probably shared her husband's disappointment in the indifferent Bradua. Her brother, Appius Annius Atilius Bradua, was devoted to her, as will be seen in his charge of murder against Herodes, and so she must have loved her own family dearly. It is unlikely that Regilla shared her husband's enthusiasm for his alumni and his extreme melancholy at their deaths probably irritated her. Moreover, she had little authority in her own household, since Herodes had succumbed to relying on freedmen like Alcimedon. Thus her life must have been one of incessant tension and bewilderment over her husband's demands and idiosyncrasies. Herodes had his art and constant circle of friends to occupy him; he had no need of a wife except as the bearer of his children.
Apart from the interlude at Olympia, the marriage of Herodes and Regilla was unfortunate.

Nevertheless, Herodes launched into mourning of the most elaborate kind. His ostentation makes his sincerity questionable; but then it was Herodes' way both to be easily stricken and to indulge in extravagant manifestations of emotion, whether pleasure or pain. He caused one of his houses, probably the villa at Cephisia, to be decorated with black hangings, coverings, and slabs of Lesbian marble, a dark stone. A certain philosopher, Lucius, remonstrated with Herodes for affecting such extensive grief, when he had been the very one to exhort the Greeks to the Golden Mean at Olympia. Herodes refused to listen and Lucius was dismissed. As the philosopher left the house, he saw slaves preparing radishes for their master. At once he cried out, "Herodes insults Regilla by eating white radishes in a black house!"

The philosopher's mockery was reported to Herodes, who ordered the gloomy decorations removed lest he become the butt of more jokes.

For some time Herodes refused to acknowledge that Regilla would never return, and he continued to have her place set at the dinner table. The wily Demonax saw in Herodes' demonstration of grief proof that we have more than one soul, because a man with only one could not feast

208The following affair is from Phil. 556-557 (Kays. II 64, 16 to 65, 12).
Regilla and Polydeucion as Herodes did and still give his customary lectures.\textsuperscript{209} Herodes, however, saw nothing inconsistent in venting one's emotions while advocating oratory imbued with measured lucidity.

An epitaph to Regilla, with a long imprecation against despoilers, was erected near Cephisia,\textsuperscript{210} in which Herodes paid his wife a handsome compliment by calling her \textit{e\dow\s t\n\s o\ik\ias}, "light of the house." Another Cephisian stone declares that all nature is conscious of Herodes' loss.\textsuperscript{211} In the city itself, Flavius Sulpicianus, a Panhellenic archon, dedicated a statue to Regilla out of respect for Herodes' grief.\textsuperscript{212}

23. \textbf{Herodes, Regilla, and Corinth}

We should expect of Herodes more impressive memorials than the preceding, but we must look beyond Attica for the first splendid monuments to Regilla. Next to Athens, the favorite city of the Herodians had long been Corinth. That ancient port had long ago received the benefactions of Atticus (above p. 32). and had honored the young Herodes at Eleusis as "Son of Greece" above p. 33). There is every

\textsuperscript{209}Lucian, \textit{Demonax} 33.
\textsuperscript{210}\textit{IG I} \textsuperscript{3} 1238 (\textit{IG III} 1417).
\textsuperscript{211}\textit{IG III} 1333 a.
\textsuperscript{212}\textit{IG II} \textsuperscript{2} 4076 with additions by Antony E. Rauhrt-
schek, "Greek Inscriptions," \textit{Hesperia}, XII (1943), 74-75.
likelihood that Herodes maintained a residence at Corinth, as a herm bearing his portrait suggests.213 On the pedestal is inscribed:214

\[
\text{Herodes} \\
\text{ἡ τοίχα} \\
\text{προεπτήτης.}
\]

Certainly Herodes had walked and talked and enjoyed himself in Corinth. The portrait and inscription are alive with happy associations.

Herodes saw to it, therefore, that Regilla was immortalized at Corinth. Near the temple of Venus Victrix/Tyche215 he had a statue erected to his wife, with the following florid inscription on the base:216

This is an image of Regilla. The sculptor has captured her nature, rendered in all its sweet

213 The portrait is mutilated but clearly is based on the same prototype as the fine Louvre bust described in the next chapter, pp. 181-182. The Corinthian portrait is in too bad repair to be subject to analysis, although that has been done by Alexandre Philadelpheus, "Un hermès d'Hérode Atticus," BCH, XLIV (1920), 171-172.


216 SEG XIII, no. 226. The original is eight lines in elegiac distich. The following is a translation of the tentative restoration. Cf. Scranton, op. cit., p. 69 note 49.
temper, in stone. The great Herodes Atticus, exalted of men, utterly accomplished in every virtue, gave this, who was the husband famed throughout Greece of one who herself was peerless. Regilla: the Council, as if hailing you Tyche, has placed your stone image before that goddess' shrine.

The inscription is not in Herodes' usual terse style and he did not praise himself effusively on his own structures; thus this inscription seems to be the flattering work of a member of the Corinthian Senate. It was not inappropriate to honor Regilla near Tyche's shrine, since she had been priestess of that goddess at Athens (above p. 102).

Another statue of Regilla has a greater significance for the history of Roman architecture and Herodes' philanthropy. On a base of white marble is the inscription:

By decree of Corinth's Senate you behold me, Regilla, the image of sweet temper, beside the fountain's waters.

The fountain is that of Peirene and the statue's presence in one of the apses of the fountain-house shows that the fountain's "second marble period" is to be connected with a rich gift of Herodes Atticus. The fountain had been housed in a quadrangular court as early as the Roman refounding of the city, which began in 44 B.C. Herodes' building was a

217 IG IV 1599; discussed by Meritt, op. cit., no. 86.

218 Meritt, ibid. Cf. F. J. de Waele, "Peirene (3)," RE XIX, 112, who concurs on the post-Regilla restoration of the fountain. Pausanias II 3, 3 gives no physical details about this fountain of Peirene other than that it was adorned with white marble.
quadrangle, three sides of which contained a large apse, the fourth housing the waters. In each apse were three statuary niches which could have housed a total of nine family statues; but there are no Herodian statues extant from Peirene. Ilium, Canusium, Olympia, now Corinth have superb waterworks as the gift of the Herodians. The building at Corinth, however, most nearly resembles the architectural schemes which Hadrian developed at Rome and Tivoli.

Herodes' interest in waterworks may have some psychological implication, but he was probably influenced primarily by the fact that few architectural creations lend themselves to greater elegance than the arrangement and manipulation of running water.

Herodes liked the challenge of such elaborate projects; he delighted in control whether it was control of words, men, or nature. He was inherently despotic but craved a subtle power which was realized in immense, unassailable prestige. Public office and the strings political elevation could manage had little appeal for him, except that holding office was one of the more direct means of revealing one's superiority to his fellows and had the virtue

of instantaneous recognition from the citizenry. But to hold an audience spellbound, to have a whole city at your financial mercy, to manipulate nature itself—these were the capabilities involved in Herodes' concept of power. He was much too sophisticated to have delusions of divinity, because, as we shall see later, he knew that the works of men are vain and fleeting; but I am sure that he accepted as just Corinth's tribute of "Herodes Atticus, the Great."

The Isthmus of Corinth also enjoyed the largesses of Herodes, not necessarily in connection with a memorial to Regilla, but at least prior to 165, the approximate date of composition of Pausanias' second book. In his catalog of Herodes' benefactions, Philostratus mentions "Statues at the Isthmus, colossi of the Isthmian god and Amphitrite, the dolphin of Melicertes (Palaemon), and other offerings with which he filled the temple." The temple is that of Poseidon; there Pausanias saw Herodes' gift of a chariot pulled by four gilded horses with ivory hoofs, bearing chryselephantine statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite. The two Tritons sported beside the horses and Palaemon was represented riding a

220 See above p. 142, and note 216.
222 Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 25-28).
223 Pausanias II 1, 7-8.
dolphin. The base holding the car was decorated with a relief depicting the birth of Aphrodite. The group must have been gorgeous, perhaps excessively rich, unless one has a taste for baroque art. Herodes' Isthmian group suggests Poussin's highly ordered but flamboyant painting in Philadelphia, "The Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite."

It is quite likely that Herodes directed his artisans to create statues which would rival the Olympian Zeus of Phidias and Hadrian's Zeus in the Olympieion at Athens. The gift would have been made at one of the Isthmian Games, but a date is impossible, other than sometime between 138 (when Herodes became master of his father's fortune) and 165 (when Pausanias wrote his description). Since there is no suggestion that the statuary had anything to do with commemorating Regilla's death, I should say that it was donated before that unhappy event and very likely belongs to the decade of Herodes' widest philanthropy, 150-160. The Isthmian Games, being held in the spring of the second and fourth years of each Olympiad, would have occurred in the even-numbered years of that decade. Inasmuch as Herodes was occupied with the projects at Olympia in the first half of the decade, he was most free to supervise a gift of such

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cost and magnitude at the Isthmus in the latter half of the 150's. But the dating is purely conjectural. 225

At Athens, Herodes in 160/1 started the Odeum, which would be the crowning work in memory of Regilla. This the finest of Herodes' buildings was not completed until around 174, at which time in our narrative we shall describe it.

24. Honors for Bradua

Official Rome took notice of the grievous turn of events that had befallen Herodes and as an act of consolation Antoninus Pius himself arranged for young Bradua to have the status of a Roman patrician. 226 Regardless of Herodes' ill opinion of the boy, the family's prestige had caused other honors to come to him. Sometime before his mother's death, Bradua was made an ephebe of Sparta 227 (his grandfather

225 Herodes' name has been further connected with the armed statue of Aphrodite in Acrocorinth's Temple of Aphrodite (cf. Frazer, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 31). Graindor, op. cit., p. 213 and Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 107 mention the patriarch Photius' (nineth century) description of the statue which he believed to be the gift of Herodes Atticus (Bibliotheca I, ed. Bekker, 1824, p. 342). There is no other evidence for such a gift from Herodes.

226 IG XIV 1392 (SIG3 858). See Dittenberger's interpretation of ἐπαρχομένας for "patricians" in SIG3 858 notes 3 and 6. Graindor concurs, op. cit., p. 91. For the emperors' being compelled to perpetuate the patriciate by ennobling non-patrician families from Italy and the provinces in the second century, see Mason Hammond, "Composition of the Senate: A.D. 68-235," JRS, XLVII (1957), 79.

227 IG V, Part 1, 45.
Atticus had been patronomus in 134, above p. 42). Between 150-160, Bradua was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries \(^{228}\) with the same grand appellation that Corinth had once bestowed upon Herodes: \(\textit{vios }\textit{tis Ellados}\).

Bradua's public esteem notwithstanding, Herodes preferred to have nothing to do with him. Following the death of his younger son, Regillus, Herodes adopted one of the Vibullii, the grandson of his aunt, Claudia Athenais, \(^{229}\) who was thereafter known as L. Vibullius Claudius Herodes. \(^{230}\) The statue base honoring this boy was found near Cephisia and is dated "after the middle of the second century."

Because his new name recalls that of Regillus, I think it was the latter's death that prompted the former's adoption. In his phobia for Bradua, Herodes probably felt that he was bereft of sons after the death of Regillus. \(^{231}\)

25. The Triopion

The attention which the emperor chose to bestow upon Herodes' bereavement was, perhaps, motivated by a brief visit that Herodes made to Italy to arrange for his wife's Italian memorial. We have noted before that Herodes and

\(^{228}\) IG II² 3608.

\(^{229}\) PIR² II, stemma following p. 182; contra stemma following IG II² 3595.

\(^{230}\) IG II² 3979.

\(^{231}\) Graindor concurs with this conjecture: "Inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale," BCH, XXXVIII (1914), 367-368.
Regilla had a property on the Appian Way, in the vicinity of Caecilia Metella's tomb, where Herodes could have maintained a residence during his consulship (above p. 97). This estate, as far as can be ascertained from the location of the several stones pertaining to the Herodians, was between the third and seventh milestones, with the monument to Regilla being in the vicinity of the present-day church of St. Urbano. \(^{232}\)

Our chief evidence for the shrine consists of two large marble stelae in the Louvre, each inscribed with a poem by Marcellus of Side in commemoration of Herodes' gift and Regilla's death. \(^{233}\) Marcellus was a physician-poet contemporary of Herodes whose most important extant, but fragmentary, work is "On Fishes." With regard to the stelae, Poem I is a long, florid, turgid epitaph for Regilla, which recounts the Herodians' divine ancestry and lofty earthly connections. The second, shorter, poem is of the same sort but brings in Herodes himself as the creator of the precinct (Poem II 12). The shrine was sacred to Demeter, whose priestess, it will be recalled, Regilla had been at Olympia.

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\(^{233}\) IG XIV 1389, I and II. For a full explication of the poems, in addition to a discussion of Marcellus, see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Marcellus von Side," Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse), 1928, Part I, 3-30.
and with whose sanctuary at Eleusis the family had long been connected. A second immortal associated with the monument was Faustina the Elder (Poem I 48), styled in I 6 as the "new Demeter," in contrast with the goddess herself, the "old Demeter." Because of this connection with the empress, it may be that Herodes devoted a shrine to her at her death in 141, and then enlarged it after Regilla's death, commissioning the well-known Marcellus of Side to do the main inscriptions.

The shrine of 161 was at once known as the "Triopion." The name seems to be of Herodes' devising, probably referring to the sanctuary of Demeter near Cnidos (a city known to Herodes from its being under his correctionship in 135), at Cape Triopion. This promontory received its name from Erysichthon, son of Triopas, who, having

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234 E.g., the statues of Herodes and Bradua at Eleusis, above pp. 32 and 148. On Herodes as Eleusinian exegete, see below p. 151.

235 This interpretation of Δηντενέη Δηνοτεπαλαγ (line 6) is held by Kaibel, IG XIV 1389, p. 374; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, op. cit., II; Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 97. K. Buresch, "Triopion, Herodes, Regilla," Rheinisches Museum, XLIV (1889), 495, thinks that Faustina the Younger is suggested; but such implication of apotheosis is unlikely since Faustina Minor was still alive in 160/1, not dying until 175.

236 von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, op. cit., 11; J. Weiss, "Triopion (2)," RE VII A, 176-177.

237 IG XIV 1390.

desecrated the grove about a shrine of Demeter in Thessaly, was, in some accounts, exiled by the goddess Cnidos. Herodes may have selected the name "Triopion" as a means of definitely associating Faustina, and later Regilla, with Demeter, but avoiding a presumptuous connection with Demeter's greatest sanctuary, Eleusis. Naming the Italian precinct for the ill-fated son of Triopas would also, in an optimistic way, have been an erudite warning against vagrants and despoilers.

In establishing Regilla side by side with the great goddess and the empress, Herodes was again promoting the exaltation of his family, as he had at Olympia. As Faustina had experienced an apotheosis, so, Herodes implied, had Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus. Furthermore, in Poem II 1-2 et passim, Herodes also consecrates his precinct to Athena and Nemesis, thus making his humble wife the center of a divine gathering. It must be noted, however, that Herodes was not misappropriating honors for Regilla. By mid-century he himself had acquired importance at Eleusis in his high capacity of exegete, or interpreter of sacred law. This office is recorded in the inscription on a statue.

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239 Erysichthon's story is told by Callimachus, Hymn VI, 24-117.


241 von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, op. cit., 11.
base for Regilla at Eleusis. The inscription is dated from the middle of the second century, and thus need not be taken as a memorial to Regilla. (I should say that it was put up near the time of Regilla's service to Demeter Chamyne in the early 150's.) The family of the Eumolpidae had had the office of interpreting sacred law since early times, but later the Ceryci clan shared the honor. We know from Marcellus' poem (I 33) that Herodes was of the Ceryci.

Marcellus' poems are encomia of the most unrestrained kind. The pompous tone and recondite mythology give the poems a highly encrusted character, which is a far cry from Herodes' trenchant Attic style. Aside from identifying the Triopion and its founder, the only vital information is that Regilla lost two children (I 13-15) before her death (whom we have previously identified as Regillus and Athenais; Marcellus discounted or did not know about the child dead at birth) and in consolation to Herodes the emperor gave their son, Bradua, the patrician insignia (I 23-27). (This latter evidence corroborates IG XIV 1392, discussed above p. 147 and note 226.)

Further relics of the Triopion are two columns found near the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The columns, inscribed

\[242^{\text{IG II}} 4072.\]
\[243^{\text{IG}} 857 \text{ note 4.}\]
\[244^{\text{IG XIV}} 1390 \text{ a-b.}\]
identically but without the same arrangement of words, advise the wayfarer that he is near Herodes' estate and the Triopion. These columns were probably at the entrance to the area.

Another column found on the Via Praenestina has a bilingual inscription denoting the region as part of the estate of Herodes' wife, Regilla, "light of the house." The careless features of spelling and syntax, which Kaibel points out, show that this marker was not inspected by the meticulous sophist.

A final memorial inscription comes from a stone found near Westminster, England, in the seventeenth century and since lost. Besides words honoring Regilla and the facts about Bradua's being assigned patrician status, the inscription says, "This is not a tomb, for the body is in Greece and even now rests by her husband." Kaibel and Dittenberger agree that the stone undoubtedly came from Rome, having been donated (at the Triopion?) by a friend or member of the family after the death of Herodes himself. At any rate,

\[245\text{TG XIV 1391.}\]
\[246\text{TG XIV 1392 (SIG}^3\text{ 858).}\]
\[247\text{Graindor, op. cit., p. 217 describes three caryatid-canephori with stylistic features of second-century work, found near Caecilia Metella's tomb, which could have been part of the Triopion. Such caryatids would, of course, suit a shrine to Demeter. For photographs see Neugebauer, op. cit., plates 14 and 15 following p. 116.}\]
the Roman heiress, Appia Annia Regilla, met her end in Attica and was buried on the Herodians' estate at Marathon.

26. The Murder Charge

But such a vast and costly display of mourning! Statuary, the marbled fountain of Peirene, the Triopion, the progressing Odeum at Athens—all this in extravagant memorial to the hapless Regilla. Her family, however, was not satisfied. In 160/1, Regilla's brother, Appius Annius Attilius Bradua, consul of 160, brought a suit against his brother-in-law for murder. Bradua probably hoped to humble his proud relative, but the prosecution did not go well. In dilating on his own illustrious heritage, Bradua was cut off by Herodes with "You have your fine genealogy right on your ankles," referring to Bradua's ivory crescents worn upon the shoes of patricians and senators. (The trial would have been before the senate, with the decision thereafter reviewed by the emperor.) When Bradua began to dwell on benefactions, Herodes observed that he himself could recite places all over the world that had enjoyed his philanthropy.

The prosecution was feeble; Herodes' defense relied on his claim not to have ordered Alcimedon to strike Regilla and on his lavish demonstration of grief. Herodes declared that unless he was innocent he would hardly have begun such

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248 The following narrative is from Phil. 555-556 (Kays. II 63, 20 to 64, 16).
a theatre (the Odeum) in her memory, nor would he have postponed the casting of lots for a "second consulship"; and he would hardly have dedicated, as he did, some of her apparel at Eleusis, since an offering polluted with murder would have brought on him the everlasting wrath of Demeter and Persephone. Herodes was acquitted; Bradua had been able to prove nothing. The dreadful scandal had probably been concocted by the sophist's enemies in their resentment of his unexampled prestige and pride. The remote basis for the grim allegation was in the fact, as discussed previously, that Herodes and Regilla lacked a great deal of having a happy marriage.

27. The Death of Elpinice

The crowning blow of these mid-century years, during which Herodes had experienced the extremes of mental exhilaration and pain, was the death of his daughter, Elpinice. The date is unknown, but we know that she survived her mother, since on the first stela of the Triopion's inscriptions two children are recorded as having died before Regilla, whom we have established to be Regillus and

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249 Philostratus' phrase is δευτέραν καλησίαν τῆς ναπάτου ἀφικόντας στρατεύοντας. The reference to a sortitio (καλησίας) seems to refer to a proconsulship; but δευτέραν casts doubt on the interpretation of proconsulship, since that office was usually held but once. Perhaps Herodes was indeed on the list for a second consulship. Philostratus is very vague here and probably was confused over the Roman terminology. Cf. *FIR* II, pp. 177-178.
Athenais. The account given by Philostratus gives the impression that Elpinice's death followed close upon that of Athenais, thus being around 161/2, or very early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Graindor believes that the girl died prior to the plague of 167.

Elpinice's death brought to a culmination the extraordinary succession of losses that Herodes had had to endure. His feelings were heartfelt sorrow for a beloved child, mixed with chagrin that his expectations for his family had been so cruelly thwarted. Herodes lay on the floor, beating it with his fists and crying out, "What shall I dedicate to you, my daughter, what shall I bury with you?"

The man was exhausted with funerary monuments; even his grandiose imagination had momentarily run dry and he was numb from grief and aggravation. His lament, however, was overheard by one of his guests, the Boeotian philosopher, Sextus, who told his host that he would do a fine thing for Elpinice if he would only control his anguish.

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250Phil. 558 (Kays. II 65, 32 to 66, 6).

251Graindor, op. cit., p. 105. Münscher, RE VIII, 943 associates her death with the plague. Dittenberger, "Die Familie," 84-85 on Elpinice, attempts no other dating than "after mother and sister." Münscher's date is logical, but had Herodes been connected with the devastation wrought by the great plague (discussed below p. 161), Philostratus very possibly would have mentioned it in his list of Herodes' calamities. The date of Elpinice's death is simply unknown.

252See note 250.
There are no remarkable monuments to Elpinice. Her epitaph is on a fragment of stone found near Cephisia, which records only her name and parentage.\textsuperscript{253} Near the temple of Apollo Ptoios, just east of Acraephium, in Boeotia, the deme erected a statue to Elpinice,\textsuperscript{254} probably in gratitude for some gift of Herodes to the sanctuary.

Thus ended the events of the middle period of Herodes' life. The millionaire must have witnessed the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius without remorse; perhaps the next reign would bring better days to a life that possessed so much, had known such worldly glory, but had lost that which money cannot buy--beloved children and devoted friends.

\textsuperscript{253} IG III 1333 b.
\textsuperscript{254} Maurice Holleaux, "Notes d'épigraphie béotienne," BCH, XVI (1892), 464.
CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT YEARS: 161 - 177

1. Introduction

Antoninus Pius died in March, 161 and was succeeded jointly by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Herodes, at the moment, was very much involved with his own affairs, because of the complications which Regilla's death had introduced into his life, but he must have been pleased with the imperial succession. Although he had not been intimate with Antoninus, he could hope for a close relationship with his former pupils, Marcus and Verus. Herodes scarcely needed to ask for or be dependent on imperial favors, but his natural pride undoubtedly encouraged him to anticipate with some relish the role of informal counsellor and old friend to the masters of the world. Indeed, as events showed, the reign of Marcus Aurelius did mark the zenith of Herodes' career. To this period belong the triumph at Athens and the completion of his most famous benefaction. These years were marred with difficulties, but Herodes rose above them. For the culmination of a rich and eventful life, 161-177 were the great years.

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For Marcus, however, the years of rule were possibly the most disappointing and trying of his life. Immediately upon coming to the throne, he was beset with the first of several international conflicts, the war with Parthia (161-165). Syria was invaded and Marcus, in the spring of 162, dispatched Verus to take command of the eastern situation. But after getting only as far as Canusium, Verus fell ill and did not even reach Athens until autumn. He tarried in Greece long enough to be initiated at Eleusis and to visit his old mentor, Herodes Atticus.¹

Herodes was probably glad enough to be a host for the imperial visitor; but he must also have been a little embarrassed by Verus' loitering, since Marcus' desire for the swift prosecution of the war was well known. Julius Capitolinus (one of the writers of the Historia Augusta) undoubtedly exaggerates Verus' profligacy, but it is certain that the young man took advantage of the opportunities for luxurious living which his position afforded. Verus finally proceeded to Antioch, but the war was really conducted by the professional commanders. The Parthian War turned in Rome's favor around 163 when the able General Avidius Cassius began to take the offensive, and by 166 Rome had regained control of Armenia and northern Mesopotamia. During

¹ISHA, Verus VI 9; Phil. 561 (Kays. II 68, 22-23); Wilhelm Weber, The Antonines, "CAH XI, p. 346.
the war, Herodes probably occupied himself with supervising the
building of the Odeum for Regilla at Athens and other lesser works; but there is no specific evidence for his activities in the years 161-165. We are certain that he continued in his high office of priest of the imperial cult.2

3. Herodes and the Ephebes

In 165 Athens celebrated the victory of Rome over Parthia with a grand ephebic procession to Eleusis. Now the ephebes for centuries had worn black cloaks (chlamydes) in mourning, as Philostratus believed, for the Athenians' slaying of Copreus, herald of King Eurystheus (who had imposed the labors on Heracles).3 This was certainly a gloomy costume for an event which recalled the former days of Athenian victory over Persia, and Herodes seized the opportunity for a dramatic gesture. He apparently suggested to the president of the ephebes that for the thanksgiving procession the young men should discard their black garments in favor of white ones. At an ephebic meeting the president made the proposal to the group; at first no one spoke, since there seems to have been hesitation as to the advisability of such a drastic change, and it is unlikely that there were sufficient funds. At this critical point Herodes arose and

2Ig II2 2090, line 7. Cf. above p. 72 and note 7.
3Phil. 550 (Kays. II 59, 12-18).
declared, "Ephebic youth, so long as I am at your service, do not go without the white mantle!" His handsome gesture was accepted; the ephebes paraded in white for the Parthian victory.\(^5\)

4. **Herodes and the Imperial Brothers**

Herodes was in great favor with the imperial house at this time. The affair of the will seems to be quite forgotten, since even Fronto acknowledges in a letter to Verus (of which a copy was sent to Marcus) that Herodes is now very dear to him.\(^6\) But the Parthian success was marred by the outbreak of a plague, possibly smallpox,\(^7\) which appeared in

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\(^4\)IG II\(^2\) 2090, 10-11.

\(^5\)The foregoing narrative seems to be the simplest explanation for Herodes' generous act and is in accord with Graindor, Chronologie, p. 166. P. Roussel, "Les chlamydes noires des éphèbes athénien," REA, XLIII (1941), 163-165 discusses another passage in which the white mantles figure, lines 18-22 of the poem honoring Herodes' triumph (see below pp. 179-180 and note 41), The anonymous author of this poem declares that Herodes gave the white mantles \(\lambda_i\delta\eta\nu\) \(\tau\rho\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\delta\omicron\omicron\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\nu\) \(\alpha\lambda\iota\gamma\iota\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\). . . . Roussel interprets this passage as referring to Theseus' unfortunate error with regard to the sails of his returning ship; thus the ephebes wore black in atonement for Theseus' deed. Philostratus evidently knew another explanation for the standard ephebic costume. Herodes put an end to the wearing of black, but I doubt if his motivation was mythological rather than an appropriate compliment to his imperial pupils. The elegant mythological explanation would naturally appeal to the bard who celebrated Herodes' triumph.


165 among the troops of Cassius in Mesopotamia and which
the returning soldiers caused to be spread virtually through­
out the Empire. Nevertheless, on October 12, 166, Marcus
and Verus celebrated their Parthian triumph at Rome. Had it
not been for the able professionals, Verus would likely have
botched the campaign. Marcus was never able to rely on
Verus, and even had to send M. (Ceionius) Cicio Barbarus to
Syria to check on his co-ruler; but the triumph displayed
renewed concord between the brothers.

One of the less well-known structures put up by
Herodes perhaps heralds the imperial amity. On the road to
Marathon are the remnants of a gate which has this super­
scription:9

"Gate of eternal harmony—you are entering the domain of
Herodes." At the piers of the arch, flanking the entry, sit
two figures dressed in long chitons. A second inscription
also goes with this gate, designating it as the entry to the
property of Regilla.10 On the basis of the latter inscrip­
tion, Graindor, followed by Kirchner, dates the portal

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8SHA, Verus IX 2. On Barbarus see above pp. 135-136.
9IG II 5189.
10Ibid.
anterior to the death of Regilla (before 160). The
former inscription, however, is reasonably interpreted as
referring to the concord between Marcus and Verus. (There
was no ostensible conflict to be publicly resolved between
Herodes and his wife prior to her death, and the motto has
no point afterwards.) There are numismatic precedents for
both ομονοία and Concordia in the career of Marcus Aurelius
(when Antoninus announced him as heir and when he married),
and so Herodes' inscription would suit the concord between
the two brothers. The gate, therefore, probably was
erected prior to Regilla's death as the entrance to the
Herodians' estate at Marathon; but Herodes seems to have
changed the character of the gate later in order to compli-
ment the emperors. The terse motto is in keeping with
Herodes' favored epigraphical style. The portal became a
monument in the imperial cult and the statues (whose sex
is indeterminate today) may have been the emperors, if not
Herodes and Regilla.

11 Ibid., commentary and Graindor, Hérode Atticus,
p. 186.
12 Graindor, ibid.
13 Karl A. Neugebauer, "Herodes Atticus, ein antiker
Kunstmäzen," Die Antike, X (1934), 96. One other monument
pertaining to Herodes from 165/6 is a thanksgiving-inscrip-
tion at Eleusis to the tutelary gods of the imperial
brothers, IG II² 4779, presented by the city at the expense
of Herodes.
5. *Egyptian Statuary*

While we are dealing with the estate at Marathon, I should describe a piece of statuary whose provenance seems to be the property of Herodes. The statue, of Pentelic marble, is of the Egyptian-pharaoh type, but has stylistic traits, especially in the treatment of the eyes, which definitely put it in the age of Hadrian.\(^{14}\) It is unmutilated and was seen by Graindor (c. 1929) in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The figure would be an oddity on the grounds of the philhellenic Herodes, but Hadrian had made Egypt seem more fascinating than ever because of his travels there, and had himself immortalized Canopus in the handsome pool at Tivoli. Herodes, ever fond of emulating Hadrian, may have followed his lead in putting some Neo-Egyptian decorations on his estate. Another possibility is that Herodes had visited Egypt himself. I have suggested above (p. 41) that Herodes could have accompanied Hadrian to Egypt around 130, during the former's quaestorship. Furthermore, Herodes' paternal aunt, Claudia Athenais, had a property in the Hermopolites district of Egypt around 127-128, as indicated in a papyrus at Strassburg,\(^ {15}\) which Herodes

\(^{14}\) Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 188.

might have visited. The Flavians and Antonines had a policy of suppressing absentee ownership of large estates, but a few harmless descendants of ancient owners were allowed to keep their possessions. Herodes, therefore, could have got the idea of having such a statue either from an Egyptian trip or from Hadrian's decorative monuments; but inasmuch as Herodes' taste inclined more to the impressive than to the original, the acquisition of the statue was probably inspired by Hadrian's collections.

6. The Balkan Wars

In 167 began the barbarian invasion with which Marcus had to contend until 175. The invaders penetrated Noricum and Pannonia as far as Aquileia. The Empire was in dire economic straits because of the exhaustion of the treasury from the Parthian War and losses occasioned by the decimating plague. Marcus set an example by auctioning the palace treasures to help fill the war-chest, so as not to required additional taxation from the impoverished provinces. Both he and Verus repaired to the Balkans to command the legions; but during a respite near Aquileia in 169, Verus died of apoplexy. We have no information about Herodes for this period. He undoubtedly went into deep mourning for Verus and his correspondence with Marcus must have been frequent.

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16 Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 295.
Southern Greece usually was not directly affected by the imperial wars, which had a habit of occurring in the northern or eastern parts of the Empire; but in 170 a pillaging band of Costoboci broke through and even descended upon Eleusis, where they plundered and destroyed the Periclean temple of the Mysteries. They were repulsed by L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus. The alarm and dismay of Attica can be imagined, and Herodes was probably frantic both for his estates and beloved Eleusis. There is no record of a monument erected by Herodes at Eleusis in thanksgiving for the repulse of the Costoboci, but it is likely that he made some appropriate gesture.

The new decade began peacefully, as far as Herodes was concerned. He was now seventy and looked forward to a few remaining years of tranquil munificence. The Odeum for Regilla was yet to be finished, and there were other desirable projects. His interest in the imperial family continued; from 173 there is a stone inscribed by Herodes in honor of On. Claudius Severus, consul II ordinarius for 173 and son-in-law of the emperor. Severus seems to have had no

18 Ibid., p. 354.
20IG II2 4780; revised and supplemented by a join with another fragment, effected by James HI Oliver, "Notes on Documents of the Roman East," AJA, XLV (1941), 540. On Severus see PIR2 II no. 1024. He seems to have been a royal intellectual, since he was versed in Aristotelian philosophy and much interested in the anatomical studies of Galen.
special connection with Herodes. The millionaire, however, had set himself a precedent for honoring secondary members of the imperial family in his statue to Barbarus, consul of 157 (above pp. 135-136).

7. **The Athenian Visit of Alexander Peloplaton**

At about this same time (173), Marcus appointed Alexander Peloplaton, a famous orator of Cilicia and Syria, ab epistulis for Greek affairs.\(^{21}\) On his way to join the emperor in Pannonia, Alexander stopped at Athens and announced to the delighted citizens that he would be glad to deliver a few extempore speeches.\(^{22}\) Upon learning, however, that most of the students were with Herodes Atticus that day at Marathon, Alexander sent a note to Herodes asking him to release the students. Herodes promptly replied that he himself would come, along with the young men.

The citizenry assembled in the Odeum of the Agora, the "Agrippaeon," to hear Alexander, but at the appointed hour Herodes and party still were not present. Since the audience was impatient, Alexander had to make his introductory speech before the great man arrived. Alexander's

\(^{21}\)Phil. 571 (Kays. II 77, 29-30). So dated by Stein, \textit{PIR}^2 II, p. 179; contra R. E. Wycherley, \textit{Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia}, Vol. III of \textit{The Athenian Agora; Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens} (Princeton, 1957), no. 522, who dates the incident at 177, rather too late in Herodes' life.

\(^{22}\)The following account is based on Phil. 571-574 (Kays. II 78, 1 to 80, 24).
opening remarks were full of flattering remarks for the city; but, even before he had begun, his stunning appearance alone had captivated the crowd. As was the case with so many orators of the Second Sophistic, Alexander's speech-making was intended to be a spectacular monologue. The audience chose as the theme of his main presentation the proposition that "The Scythians should be recalled to their former nomadic life since urban living weakens their health."^{23}

The performance was in progress when Herodes arrived, wearing the broad-brimmed Arcadian hat which the Athenian summer requires. Alexander paid honor to Herodes' presence by pausing and asking him if the topic under consideration was satisfactory. Herodes bowed to the pleasure of the assembly and "The Scythians" continued. At the close of the declamation, Alexander rushed over to the millionaire, embraced him and asked, "My dear Herodes, will you not entertain me in turn?" To which the great man replied, "Indeed, why shouldn't I entertain one who has regaled me so brilliantly?"

In the intermission that ensued before Herodes took the stage, he held among his students an impromptu critique of Alexander's speech. Sceptus of Corinth, making a play on "Peloplaton," cuttingly declared that he had found the clay

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^{23} This topic was especially timely since Marcus had hired some of the fabled Scythians as mercenary troops for the war. (See Weber, op. cit., p. 352.)
but had yet to see the Plato. Herodes had asked for criticism, not a smart remark, and therefore replied, "Do not speak in that fashion to anyone else, or you will be censured as indiscriminate. But rather say as I, that he is a sober Scopelian." Herodes felt that Alexander, in his use of bold sophistic thoughts in a non-bombastic style, had displayed the impressive argumentation of the exponents of the Asian style, without encrusting his speech with a florid vocabulary. Thus Alexander had the best traits of Herodes' early teacher, Scopelian of Smyrna (above pp. 23-26).

The assemblage then voted that Herodes deal with the theme, "The wounded in Sicily beg the retreating Athenians to kill them with their own hands." The agile, artful Herodes employed the style of Alexander, but with greater intensity, and used rhythms more varied than even musical instruments could produce. In the course of his speech he cried out, "O Nicias, O father, would that you might again see Athens!" At which point Alexander, completely enthralled, burst out, "O Herodes, all of us sophists are only fragments of you!" At the end of his performance, Herodes, delighted with Alexander's praise, gave the imperial secretary an extraordinary gift: ten each of pack-animals, horses, cup-bearers, and shorthand writers; twenty talents of gold, a large amount of silver, and two lisping slave-boys (since he had heard that Alexander enjoyed childish voices!).
This incident gives us Herodes of Athens, surrounded by his students, in the brilliant, flattering kind of circumstances that he loved. He himself was really the show, not Alexander, and his late but gracious entrance pointed up his preeminence. It was a good moment and he knew it. The gift to Alexander probably became legendary at once and made the whole incident memorable enough for Philostratus to tell it in such detail.

Among Herodes' other gifts of this period (173-174) were the therapeutic bathing pools at Thermopylae described by Pausanias. These pools were fed by hot springs and had water of a brilliant blue color.²⁴

8. The Plot against Herodes Atticus

These rare days, however, were but the lull before the storm. For some time an intrigue had been forming in Athens against Herodes; essentially, it seems to have been a matter of "have-nots" against one who had.²⁵ The opposition dared not move against Herodes so long as his friend, the emperor Verus, lived; but following Verus' death, the

²⁴Pausanias IV 35, 9; Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 30-32). Graindor, Hérode Atticus, p. 227 saw the correspondence of these two references and established the date on the basis of the time when Pausanias composed his fourth book.

²⁵Phil. 559-561 (Kays. II 67, 18 to 69, 18) is the source for this narrative. Philostratus, however, confuses and combines the earlier quarrel with the Quintillii at Delphi with this later matter (above pp. 107-108 and note 115).
millionaire's enemies had only to wait for the right moment to attack. The affair of Atticus' will undoubtedly yet rankled in many hearts and Herodes, probably, was one of the few who continued to flourish in those days of war-time privation. Officially, the Ecclesia charged Herodes with having attempted to corrupt the archons. The leaders of the opposition were Tiberius Claudius Demostratus, (Aelius) Praxagoras, and (Marcus Valerius) Mamertinus. The most important was Demostratus, whose distinguished cursus honorum included strategos of hoplites, herald of the Areopagus, gymnasiarch, agonothetes of the Panathenaic and Eleusinian ceremonies, exegete of the Mysteries, and priest of Poseidon Erechtheus. Demostratus was as rich as he was powerful, or he could not have maintained such expensive offices. Moreover, he had a powerful, but always covert, ally in the Archon Basileus, Theodotus, who later held Marcus Aurelius' first chair of rhetoric at Athens. Demostratus also had on his side the sympathy of Herodes' old enemies, the brothers Quintilii (above pp. 107-108).

Herodes found himself surrounded by adversaries. Since he was not one to endure slander and opposition quietly, he made a counter-attack with a charge of conspiracy before the proconsular court. The opposition, apparently

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26Phil. 561 (Kays. II 69, 5-6).
27PIR² II, no. 849; Stein, "Demostratus (13)," RE V, 192.
28Phil. 566 (Kays. II 73,17-18).
doubting their position but wanting to ruin Herodes once for all, hurried north to present their grievances before the emperor himself. They thought that the democratically inclined Marcus would readily join them against the arrogant aristocrat.29

9. The Trial at Sirmium

It was 17430 and the emperor at that time had his headquarters at Sirmium in Pannonia. Marcus had been leading an offensive against the barbarians for two years. Demostratus pleaded his case with all the art at his command, even disparaging the really praiseworthy deeds of Herodes.31 Marcus heard Demostratus with some sympathy, but was really won over when both Faustina and his little daughter begged him to favor Demostratus. Herodes' wily opponent may have got the empress' ear even before he approached Marcus; but Faustina may also have remembered bitterly the strange death of her fellow-clanswoman, Regilla, and would have been prejudiced under any circumstances.

Herodes, naturally, had followed his adversaries to Sirmium. In his party were the twin daughters of his favorite freeman, Alcimedon. Herodes doted on these girls, having apparently transferred to them the affection that he

29Phil. 560 (Kays. II 67, 25).
31Phil. 555 (Kays. II 63, 17-19).
had once been able to bestow on the alumni and his own daughters. He fondly regarded the twins as his "cooks" and "cupbearers," indeed as his own children. One night before Herodes was granted audience by Marcus, there was a terrific storm and the twins were killed by lightning as they slept. Herodes, already on a nervous strain, went quite to pieces. He had been cruelly offended by the attack against him at Athens—a person of Herodes' temperament dislikes being criticized and resents having to explain actions which he is sure are for the good. But insult was added to injury when he was forced to make a long journey to a bleak military camp to defend himself before his former pupil. Furthermore, he must have been tortured with the thought that had he not been required to make this unhappy journey, the daughters of Alcimedon would still be alive.

When Herodes came before the imperial tribunal, he disregarded all caution and propriety. He addressed Marcus caustically, not even softening his chagrin with the careful ornaments of oratory. "So this is my reward," he cried, "for my hospitality to Lucius, whom you yourself sent to me! In this way you pass judgment, merely to humor a woman and a three-year old child!" (Herodes was evidently alluding to his entertainment of Lucius Verus when the co-emperor was on his way to Syria in 162, above p. 159). At this, Bassaeus, the pretorian prefect, drily observed that Herodes was inviting death; but the millionaire disdainfully replied,
"An old man fears little, your excellency"; and with those words he stalked out of court.

The cabal from Athens defended themselves against Herodes, using speeches that their secret ally, the renowned rhetorician Theodotus, had helped prepare; but they presented their case so vindictively that Marcus was finally moved to compassion. When the indictment of the Ecclesia referred to the "honey" of Herodes' eloquence, his enemies cried out, "Ah, what bitter honey!" And at another point, "Lucky were those who perished in the plague!" Herodes, for all his pride and ostentation, did not deserve such harsh treatment. Fortunately, the emperor could punish a scapegoat. The Ecclesia had indicted Herodes' freedmen as well as their master; Marcus believed that the household of Herodes had become overweening in Athens, so he decreed a punishment for the freedmen, making a point, however, that it be a mild one. He gave no punishment to Alcimedon, observing that the loss of his children was enough.

Herodes did not tarry long at Sirmium, but proceeded south at once. He was probably despondent over the loss of Alcimedon's children and the ignominy of the trial; he would not, however, have been completely disheartened since he had, in a way, won a moral victory over his critics. Herodes probably realized that he had the characteristics of the

32Phil. 566 (Kays. II 73, 22-24).
benevolent despot, but found it incredible that anyone should ever want to oppose or malign him. It is easy to imagine him saying to himself, both approaching and leaving Sirmium, "Why should they be so ungrateful? Think what I've done for them!" His fine rapport with the imperial house would never again be quite the same; Marcus will come round to Herodes later, but a free and casual relationship would be possible no longer.

The emperor's Meditations are a product of the campaign years of the 170's and there is no mention of Herodes in the long description of imperial mentors in the first book. To be sure, Marcus had long since given up rhetoric for philosophy; but it was rather ungenerous of him to omit from his list of teachers the man who probably taught him Greek.33

33 Meditations I 6-15 is the description of tutors outside Marcus' family to whom he is indebted. Many virtues outlined here are at variance with Herodes' characteristics. Marcus is glad to know how not to exhibit himself as an ascetic orphananthropist (I 7, 2); to be steadfast in pain, at the loss of a child or in long illnesses (I 8, 3); never to give the impression of anger or any other emotion, but to be quite dispassionate while affectionate at the same time (I 9, 9). Other examples could be cited, all at variance with Herodes' credo in favor of emotion, above pp. 117-118. It would be wrong to see petty, personal criticism of Herodes in the emperor's noble work; but, apparently, the personalities of Herodes and Marcus, for all their early friendship, were diametrically opposed.
10. **Herodes in Epirus**

Herodes fell ill on the trip home and had to rest at Oricum in Epirus on the Adriatic before he could proceed. He was incapable, however, of being idle even while sick and took steps to revive the town which had fallen on evil days. Having never really recovered from its sack by Pompey, in the second century the town had suffered an earthquake. The precise aspects of its renascence under Herodes are unknown. A rumor was circulated that Herodes had been exiled to Oricum; but Philostratus emphatically denies this story, and there is no other allusion to such a predicament.

A statue dedicated by Herodes on the island of Corcyra possibly belongs to his Epirote sojourn. With the approval of the council of Corcyra, Herodes dedicated a statue to one Nymphius, a lad in the ephebic corps, the son of Nymphius, an otherwise unknown friend of Herodes. We have seen previously in connection with the ephebic ἀληθεία of 145 (above pp. 105-106) and his donation

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34 Phil. 562 (Kays. II 69, 19-24).
35 Phil. 551 (Kays. II 60, 1).
37 Johanna Schmidt, "Orkos," RE XVIII, 1061.
38 Phil. 562 (Kays. II 69, 19 ff.).
39 IG IX, Part 1, 732.
of the white chlamydes (p. 161) how deeply interested Herodes was in the organized ephebi.

In a few months Herodes was quite recovered, and it seems to have been upon his return to health and home that he gave a statue of Asclepius to the Eleusinian sanctuary. 40

11. The Triumph at Athens

In the meantime, Athens had learned of the results of the trial at Sirmium and that Herodes Atticus had been virtually acquitted of the accusations presented to the emperor by Demostratus and company. The Athenians began to reconsider their controversial fellow-citizen, perceiving that, regardless of his faults, they really had treated him rather shabbily. Almost forty years had passed since Herodes had managed to deprive them of his father's legacy; since then Herodes had used his fortune to bestow upon Greece architectural gifts of imperial proportion; Herodes had been generous after all—he asked only to direct the expenditure of his own funds. The Athenians now could well afford to show their change of heart and new appreciation for the works of their impetuous millionaire. Upon Herodes' return from Epirus, in 175, Athens accorded him an almost

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{40}IG II}^2 4781. \]
unprecedented reception. An unknown laureate celebrated
the splendid occasion as follows:

O Marathon, now you are truly blest and noted more
by men than ever as the splendid Alcian son you see returning from Sarmatia wild—the farthest land away—wherein he met
War's friend, Ausonia's lord, distantly riding.
Zeus' ivied son, Eiraphiotes, led
the man of priestly rank back to his famous home,
and followed them the Goddesses of Life.
Athena, city's guardian-goddess, joined these
coming to Rheitos, Chalcidian stream
(where Thrian swell and river blend with the sea),
leading her people, every clan assembled:
Now first of all the holy priests of flowing locks,
in garb unique, with handsome form to all,
and next the holy maids conducting carless Love;
behind these, youths renowned, chorally singing,
for Zeus Olympian the priests most wonderful.

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41 IG II² 3606; N. Svensson, "Reception solennelle d'Hérode Atticus," BCH, L (1926), 527-535; Graindor, op. cit., pp. 127-129. The poem is edited and analyzed by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Marcellus von Side," Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse), 1928, Part I, 26-30. Wilamowitz by no means attributes the poem to Marcellus, but through it illustrates Marcellus' superior art of eulogy (in the poems for the Triopion). My translation, an alternation of a loose iambic hexameter and pentameter, is of lines 1-28. Thereafter the lines are fragmentary; but I have appended lines 30-32, broken as they are, because they contain the only specific reference to Herodes. I have employed both Svensson's commentary and the notes at IG II² 3606.

42 Αλκαίδην: a reference to Herodes' maternal ancestry (see above p. 5 note 2 and p. 11).

43 Demeter and Kore.

44 Stream dividing Athens from the district of Eleusis.

45 An Eleusinian deme.

46 Kirchner at IG II² 3606 and Graindor (see note 41) take the κυδαλίοις θαλάς διδονόλους as a group of official chanters, rather than children of high families, as Svensson, op. cit., 531 interprets.
after these a bachelor band of virile skill, children of Athens, epheses delighting in weapons of bronze,
which youths of dark disgrace this man maintained and rectified the fault of Theseus old,47 by garbing them in cloaks of dazzling white, honored in turn with shoulder pins of electrum rare. And next the council chosen of Cecrops' folk, first of men, in throng moved forward—our Ares' best, and right behind, that council came of rank no less. The whole was cloaked in robes of purest sheen.

No person stayed to watch at home
No child, no maid was left behind—
But all received Herodes. . . .

This parade was a superb gesture on the part of Athens; Herodes must have been delighted. The commemorative poem is floridly effusive, but the occasion was gorgeous and the hero scarcely a simple man. The poem envisioned great divinities at the head of the procession—Bacchus, Demeter, Persephone, and Athena. Following the gods and really visible were the priests of the city, then the priestesses of Aphrodite, and the college of chanters. The epheses en masse came next, whom the poet emphasizes due to their close connections with the millionaire. After the epheses marched the august Councils of the Areopagus and the Five Hundred. The heart and flower of Athens, both political and divine, pay homage to Herodes in a manner befitting a monarch; and indeed the affair is reminiscent of the honors accorded King Attalus I of Pergamum, when he came to Athens in 200 B.C.48

47See above p. 161 and note 5.
48Livy XXXI 14, 12; Polybius XVI 25, 7 ff.
After many years of panhellenic and imperial concerns, Herodes had in every way "come home" to his beloved Attica. He had earned the esteem, if not the love, of his fellow-citizens. He was getting old, and now life was to be enjoyed, before it was too late. By this time Herodes had acquired international recognition on the basis of his public offices, immense philanthropy, and rhetorical artistry. No longer did his eminence have to be self-proclaimed, as through the monumental nymphaeum at Olympia. For about three years Herodes would reign as arbiter of the intellectual world; students came from all over the world and hung on his every word in their zeal for his discourse.  

12. The Portrait of Herodes

The sobriety of the portrait in the Louvre suits this period when the flamboyant, impulsive, artistic Herodes assumed the rôle of sage. The portrait-bust is actually that of only a middle-aged man. The head is tilted slightly forward and to the right. The pupils are so cut that Herodes seems to be looking at something not too far away. His hair is thick and curly and he wears a beard on face and chin that is at least wavy. The face is actually thin; the cheekbones are high and prominent. A mustache overhangs the

49Phil. 562 (Kays. II 69, 28-30).

50Die Antike, X (1934), plate 9; Karl Schefold, Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner and Denker (Basel: Benno Schwabe and Co., 1943), p. 181, fig. 2.
upper lip but the lower is plainly thin. The eyes are set in deeply. The portrait suggests neither an exquisite nor a voluptuary—the kind of person so often associated with ancient millionaires. This face has been ravaged neither by worry nor luxurious dissipation. To be sure, the portrait is pre-Sirmium; but Herodes kept excellent care of himself, as witnessed by his recuperation at Oricum when he probably was suffering from nothing more than nervous strain, and, possibly, a cold from the unsatisfactory arrangements for lodging which the camp afforded.

The portrait is really very bland; even the heavy beard cannot conceal the fact that the face is somewhat lacking in character. Schefold's collection of photographs of ancient portraits enables us to compare Herodes' with other likenesses. His lacks the worried, perplexed strain of Marcus Aurelius\(^5\) and the imperious, supercilious drive of Seneca the Philosopher.\(^5\) The Louvre Herodes is fine, elegant, and tranquil. No other feeling can validly be read from this face than a faint Weltschmerz, which suits Herodes for the time of his losing Polydeucion. But now we must think of this great gentleman with his head held high, eyes aglow, as he assumes fresh dignity and great position at Athens.

\(^5\)Schefold, ibid., p. 183, fig. 1.
\(^5\)Ibid., p. 179, fig. 3.
13. *Amicus principis*

Herodes naturally wondered, after the affair at Sirmium, just what his status was in the emperor's affections. He certainly did not want the flattering relations of half a century with the imperial house to be completely severed. In 175, probably after the death of Faustine, who had had such a baneful influence on the emperor at Sirmium, Herodes took a bold step and wrote Marcus a letter void of excuses but lamenting that he missed the emperor's letters, which once had come as often as three in a day.53

Marcus replied graciously.54 The letter began, "My dear Herodes, greetings!" After some general comments on his current headquarters and the loss of Faustina, Marcus wrote:

I hope that you are in health and regard me as well disposed toward you; please do not think yourself unjustly treated if I, having found some of your servants behaving unseemly, undertook, but in the mildest possible way, corrective measures. Do not be angry with me because of this matter; but if I have caused you grief or still grieve you, pray, exact punishment from me in the temple of Athena during the Mysteries. For I had vowed, when the war was blazing most furiously, that I too would be initiated; and, in fact, I hope that you will be my initiator.

The emperor could hardly have been more generous; perhaps he did regret having been so coerced by the empress and Demostatus at Sirmium. At any rate, this was the kind of letter

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53 Phil. 562 (Kays. II 70, 1-4).
54 Phil. 562-563 (Kays. II 70, 10-25).
Herodes wanted to receive, and thus his old rapport with Marcus was somewhat reestablished.

Herodes could now be an amicus principis more actively than ever before. Both he and Marcus were fond of communication by correspondence, and it was important to Herodes' rank of amicus that he once more be among the emperor's correspondents. The emperor was an inveterate letter-writer, who composed his letters personally even after he had succeeded to the principate. Now that Herodes had recovered his earlier standing with Marcus, I should conjecture that he was an extra-official source of information and advice on matters pertaining to Athens and Greece.

14. Marcus, Herodes, and the University at Athens

The emperor and his Athenian amicus turned their attention at once to a problem of common concern. Marcus was keenly interested in education and was as willing as Hadrian to regard Athens not only as the "school of Greece," but of the world. He decided to establish at Athens a loosely organized "university," for which he instructed Herodes to name one professor each of the Platonic, Stoic, Peripatetic, and Epicurean philosophies. He himself chose Theodotus (Herodes' covert opponent at Sirmium, above p.175) to be the professor of rhetoric at an annual salary of

55 Cassius Dio LXXI 36, 2.
10,000 drachmas.\textsuperscript{56} What Marcus did was to give form to an educational arrangement which had been flourishing since Antoninus Pius established academic chairs with salaries attached.\textsuperscript{57} Theodotus held his office for two years\textsuperscript{58} and died around 176/7; Marcus must have created these chairs around 174-175.

But why did not the emperor give Herodes, orator \textit{nobilissimus}, the chair of rhetoric? Philostratus' life of Herodes tells nothing of his connection with this "university"; the emperor's arrangements are described in the life of Theodotus. Sopater, a fourth century rhetorician, says that Herodes did indeed occupy the chair of rhetoric at Athens. Agreeing with Sopater, Graindor believes that

\textsuperscript{56} Phil. 566-567 (Kays. II 73, 28 to 74, 2).

\textsuperscript{57} John W. H. Walden, The Universities of Ancient Greece (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 87, 91-94; James H. Oliver, "The \textit{MOYLEION} in Late Attic Inscriptions," Hesperia, III (1934), 194. The substance of Oliver's article is to prove that the university at Athens was known as the \textit{Μουσείον}. Oliver's evidence is based on three epigraphical texts: IG II\textsuperscript{2} 3712, 3810, and no. 26 of Hesperia, IV (1935), 63. That Oliver has misinterpreted these texts and thus has no basis for assigning \textit{Μουσείον} as the name of Athens' university is incisely demonstrated by Graindor, "Le nom de l'université d'Athènes sous l'empire," Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, XVII (1938), 207-212. Graindor believed that there is insufficient evidence for assigning a particular name to the university at Athens.

\textsuperscript{58} Phil. 567 (Kays. II 74, 4).
Herodes held the professorship between Lollianus and Theodotus. Even so, Theodotus, not Herodes, enjoyed the first chair of rhetoric as far as the system of Marcus Aurelius was concerned. James H. Oliver has stated that Marcus "added to the older chair in rhetoric still another with a larger salary paid out of the imperial treasury." I think it likely that Herodes, in addition to directing his Clepsydrion, indeed had been regarded as the professor of rhetoric of Athens. But Marcus saw fit to organize the "university" more specifically; and the emperor, whether he drew up his plans before or after the reconciliation with Herodes, was so inclined to a fair dispensation of honors that he would have seen no reason to give the post to the already fortunate Herodes when there was another man also equal to the responsibility. Herodes, not wanting to jeopardize his reconciliation with Marcus, did not protest the emperor's plan. The idea of there being two professorships of rhetoric of equal rank is contrary to the general plan of the "university" as described in the life of Theodotus; thus I think that both Oliver and Walden interpret the evidence too liberally for their scheme of the


60 Oliver, loc. cit. Walden, op. cit., p. 92 and note 2 believes that Marcus endowed two chairs in each of the four schools of philosophy. What the case was with the chair(s) of sophistry, Walden does not conjecture.
double professorships for any of the chairs of learning during the latter years of Herodes' lifetime. Herodes' fame was by no means diminished, but it seems that for once he had to step gracefully to one side. His pupil, Adrian of Tyre, followed Theodotus in the chair of rhetoric, being ensconced there when Marcus visited Athens in 176 (details below).  

15. Herodes' Literary Works

From a person of Herodes' talents and interests we would expect to have abundant letters, speeches, and memoirs. We have referred several times to his correspondence; Philostratus and Aulus Gellius refer to his speeches and paraphrase parts of them. But not even in his own day was Herodes Atticus known for having written any major works. Philostratus knew of \textsuperscript{62} letters, discourses (\textit{diálegetai}), diaries (\textit{éphemerides}), handbooks (\textit{égherpídia}), and florilegia of quotations from ancient authors (\textit{kairou tìn árchaian polýmadhsan ev bráxei ápnyvómea}). Boulanger interpreted \textit{éphemerides} and \textit{égherpídia} as lecture notes and compilations.  

\footnote{\textsuperscript{61}Phil. 588 (Kays. II 92, 28-30); Walden, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 91 and 92 note 1.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{62}Phil. 565 (Kays. II 72, 23-25).}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{63}André Boulanger, \textbf{Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIe siècle de notre ère (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Vol. CXXXVI, 1923)}, p. 98.}
and accomplished speaker of the second century we have no reports about or remains of major rhetorical works. There is no evidence that Herodes was an original thinker or was particularly fond of writing. Literary composition is hard work, requiring a concentration of time and energy. Herodes spent a lifetime developing himself into a facile orator; the writing of rhetorical manuals would have demanded too much of his attention. Of course he taught at Rome and maintained his Clepsydrion in Attica, but he lacked the passion for inculcation and propagation of learning that Cicero and Quintilian demonstrate. I believe that Herodes taught as much as he did simply because the lecture-room was a congenial environment. Teaching occupied him (the ubiquitous freedmen probably managed his estates and fortune) and gave him an appropriate setting in which to display his own talent. But possibly most important of all from a psychological point of view, Herodes needed to be surrounded with people, and he preferred young people. His fondness for the young Marcus and Verus, for the alumni, for his daughters Elpinice and Athenais, for the daughters of Alcimedes, was much greater than for his wife. He was most in his element and at the height of his powers in the last decade of his life when students from all over the world came to him as to a shrine.

In any discussion of the Second Sophistic, Herodes is always mentioned as the chief proponent of the Attic
style. It would seem, then, that Herodes' chief literary-oratorical contribution to the work and learning of the second century would have been the fostering of a general appreciation, if not employment, of the Attic style. But it is the admiring Philostratus who hints that Herodes' influence was not such as the master would have liked. In discussing letter-writing, Philostratus states that among orators Herodes was the best writer of letters, but by his hyperatticisms and prolixity he considerably overstepped the bounds appropriate to letters. Then, in the biography, Philostratus describes how Herodes made Critias (460-403 B.C., the most notorious of the Thirty who ruled Athens in 404-403) his chief model. Herodes always impressed his audience, but employed a relatively plain style of speaking, Philostratus goes on to say, in a resonant voice like that of Critias. He expressed himself with striking ideas and many figures, but his diction was never forced or outlandish. He was preeminently resourceful in vocabulary and illustration (his copia was developed to an astonishing degree), but was never bombastic; Herodes' oratory, Philostratus concludes, was like the effect of gold dust glittering in the silvery waters of a stream. He applied himself to all the old authors, but, Philostratus

64Phil. Epistolae (Kays. II 258, 5-8).
65Phil. 564 (Kays. II 71, 30 to 72, 9).
emphasizes, clung particularly to Critias and actually re-introduced him to the Greeks, since Critias for some time had been neglected and overlooked.

Now Critias is not one of the memorable names in the literature of the classical period. Regardless of his sometime political importance, Critias was a minor literary figure whom the taste of succeeding years, devoted as it was to the more impressive speakers who came to be included in the Canon of Ten, eased aside into relative obscurity. Critias may have appealed to the millionaire because of the former's unyielding belief in oligarchy. Herodes was not capable of the strict political philosophy of an oligarch like Critias; such an attitude is too austere, requiring much concentration and self-denial. Herodes, in fact, coveted the honors of Athens while disdaining her familiarity. His concept of aristocracy involved a benevolent despotism like that of the Dutch patroons of colonial New York, but he may have looked upon Critias as a man who was ideally devoted both to Attic Greek and the general principles of dictatorial aristocracy. As for what we know of Critias' oratorical art (cf. Appendix I, p. 221 note 7), however, it seems that Herodes' own eloquence and verbal artistry developed in spite of his penchant for Critias. Philostratus praises Herodes when he says of Aristocles of
Pergamum that "his Atticism, if tested beside the language of Herodes, would seem to be overly subtle rather than endowed with impressive sonority." Critias was never in the Canon of Ten; there is no evidence that his work was possessed of a memorable κρότος and ηχος. Hadrian had preferred Ennius to Vergil; perhaps Herodes, carried away by the archaistic movement of his day, arbitrarily selected Critias as the early author whom he would foster. (The clever arbitri elegantiae of any age sometimes impose strange tastes on people; had Herodes lived in the nineteenth century, he probably would have been a Pre-Raphaelite.)

The fact is that second-century Attica's most illustrious son neither created nor left an abiding influence. He is part of the Atticistic, archaistic trend of the period, not a founder. He left no works to perpetuate the movement. Indeed, the traces we have of his oratory show that he was not wholly Atticistic. The truly dominant influence of the day was the Asiatic style of oratory (cf. the obiter dicta concerning Herodes the pedagogue, above pp. 86-87), which Herodes tempered judiciously with a simpler vocabulary and a more subdued, steady manner of presentation; but Herodes' use of abundant images and figures is quite in the

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66 Phil. 568 (Kays. II 74, 27-30).

67 The one extant work of some length which has been attributed to Herodes is the Περὶ πολιτικῶν, the subject of my Appendix.
Furthermore, he had admirers but not champions in his students. None of his students shows an Herodian influence—the lure of the Asiatic style was too great in an age of display. "The Asian oratory, which scoffed at Critias and his sobriety, continued to fascinate the multitude and had illustrious representatives at Athens even until the time of Himerios." The only native Athenian who attended Herodes' lectures with any regularity was Theodotus, and he was not a member of the select Clepsydrion. Moreover, since Theodotus supported Herodes' enemies at Sirmium, he would hardly in his mature years have taken Herodes for his model. The great sophist, therefore, regardless of the glittering swath he cut in the course of the Second Sophistic, earned himself no fame as a litterateur or taste-maker; what his significance is in the total picture of the second century we shall examine in the concluding remarks of this study.

16. The Odeum at Athens

Throughout this history we have seen that Herodes was continually engaged in directing the building of some edifice. It was in his buildings and statuary that he finally took his most lasting pleasure. Since Herodes had, in fact, deliberately made improvisation his special rhetorical gift,

69 Boulanger, op. cit., p. 106.
he had not even tried to achieve a memorable name in permanent literature. It must have occurred to him early in his career that a more dependable means of gaining lasting fame would be to have his name inscribed on stone throughout Greece.

The handsome Odeum for Regilla at Athens was completed around 174 and was probably the finest, most harmonious building erected anywhere in the name of Herodes Atticus. Pausanias regarded this theatre as unrivaled both in size and magnificence.\(70\) It was especially remarkable for its costly roof of cedar wood.\(71\) The Odeum\(72\) was constructed mostly of poros, with a filling of brick, concrete, and small stones. The interior was faced with marble and the seats, for some 5000 people, were of marble. About the stage were ten niches, which probably held statues of Herodes, Regilla, and some of the Antonines. Besides its customary use as a place for music and theatrics, the Odeum may well have been used as a conference hall for sophistic gatherings. Herodes' meeting with Alexander took place in an odeum, the Agrippaeion. We can imagine that the inauguration

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\(70\) Pausanias VII 20, 6. This reference assures us of the late date of completion of the Odeum because Pausanias does not mention it when describing Athens in his first book, dated 161/2. The seventh book was composed around 174. Cf. Graindor, \textit{Hérode Atticus}, p. 93.

\(71\) Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 19-21).

of the Odeum was a grand affair; Herodes would have brought his school and any prominent orators available to the ceremonies. The theatre was given to Athens in the name of Regilla, but I doubt if that unfortunate woman was much remembered fourteen long and crowded years after her death.

17. The Odeum at Corinth

The following year, 175, saw the completion of Herodes' work on the odeum at Corinth, which had ever, after Athens, been the favorite city of the Herodians. This theatre was excellent, but not so marveled at as was the one at Athens. The Corinthian odeum had originally been constructed in the last third of the first century. Herodes' contribution was chiefly one of enchancement and his era is referred to as the "Marble Period" in the life of the structure. Herodes' work, regrettably, was destroyed by fire in the early third century; around 225 the stage was removed and the orchestra enlarged as an arena. This odeum is not described by Pausanias in his second book nor does he join it to the discussion of the odea at Patras and Athens in Book Seven. The dating of the structure, therefore, depends

73 Phil. 551 (Kays. II 59, 22-25).

upon the remains themselves. Bronner makes the following evaluation concerning the odeum at Corinth:75

The carving of certain fragments which unquestionably belong to the restored building points to the late Antonine period. In view of these facts it seems likely that the restoration took place near the end of Herodes Atticus' life, perhaps about the year 175 A.D.

18. Isthmian Ambitions

But the millionaire's vivid imagination was not yet satisfied. Even in his declining years, when he was in his seventies, his taste for the grandiose had only been whetted by his theatres, stadia, and the great nymphaeum. He perceived that a really stunning achievement would be to give the world a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth.76 To join the Ionian and Aegean Seas, to telescope the circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus into a mere 160 kilometers would gain him everlasting praise and fame. Financing such a canal would be no problem, but Herodes feared to ask the emperor for permission lest he be accused of an ambition which even Nero had failed to realize. The idea preyed on his mind. Once when coming to the Isthmus with his friend Ctesidemus, Herodes cried out,77 "Poseidon, I wish it but no one will let me!" The startled Ctesidemus asked why

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75 Ibid., p. 146.
76 Phil. 551 (Kays. II 60, 6-9).
77 Phil. 552 (Kays. II 60, 15-28).
Herodes had said such a thing. Herodes turned to his friend and replied fervently, "For a long time I have striven to leave to posterity an example of the genius which marks me for the kind of man I have been, and I do not think that I have attained this reputation."

Ctesidemus immediately remonstrated with his friend, citing praises of his speeches and benefactions which no other man could exceed. But Herodes would not be mollified: "The things you mention are transitory, Ctesidemus, and will be consumed by time; others will wreak havoc with my speeches, criticizing first one part and then another. Cutting the Isthmus, however, would be a deathless achievement, practically beyond human capacity, for it seems to me that to pierce the Isthmus requires Poseidon rather than a man."

Supremely vain, but essentially realistic, Herodes Atticus knew that only the most remarkable achievements are long remembered. Oratory was obviously ephemeral, and he appreciated the impermanence of even great monuments. Herodes could not know, of course, that in the next century a biographer would idolize him and that centuries later his inscriptions would be assiduously collected. It is fortunate for Herodes, who at the last was on the verge of doubting himself, that, in the phrase of Edmund Burke, "veneration of antiquity is congenial to the human mind."
19. **The Last Years**

Imperial events took his attention toward the end of his life. In 175, upon a false report of the death of Marcus, Avidius Cassius, the governor of Syria, proclaimed himself emperor. Cassius had won the confidence of Marcus in the Parthian War (above p. 159) and had been given the extraordinary command of all Asia Minor in 167-168, when Marcus was beset with the war in the Balkans.\(^78\) For six months, April to July of 175, Cassius had the recognition of Syria, Judaea, Cilicia, and Egypt. The story is told that Cassius contacted Herodes during this period, but Herodes tersely, and wisely, replied:\(^79\) "Herodes to Cassius—you are mad." Cassius evidently was unaware that Herodes and Marcus had effected a reconciliation after their bad relations at Sirmium and possibly hoped that the great sophist might win support for him in Greece. When the emperor headed for the East, However, Cassius fell at the hands of his own frightened followers.

Marcus came to Athens in 176 to be initiated at Eleusis, as he had suggested to Herodes in the letter of reconciliation (above p. 183). The city must have accorded the emperor a tremendous reception, and few citizens would have been more prominent than Herodes, through whose

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\(^79\) Phil. 563 (*Kays.* II 70, 28 to 71, 2).
generosity the city dedicated a statue to Marcus. Perhaps the emperor did make a point of being especially friendly towards Herodes during this visit so as to demonstrate the full cessation of their former difficulties, but Herodes did not have the honor of conducting Marcus through the Eleusinian initiation.

Herodes' status in Athens since the triumph of 174 had remained secure. Late in 177 he became president of the society of Iobacchi, a club devoted to the worship of Bacchus and monthly dinner meetings. Herodes' father, it will be recalled (above p. 13) had probably been a member, if not president, too. Herodes was vice-priest at the time of his elevation, succeeding Aurelius Nicomachus, who had been president for 23 years.

The tranquil, genial years following Sirmium were few in number. Herodes contracted tuberculosis and died in his seventy-sixth, perhaps seventy-seventh, year (177/8). He

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80 SIG II2 3409.

81 N. M. Verdélis, "Inscriptions de l'agora romaine d'Athènes," BCH, LXXI (1947), 44-45.

82 SIG3 872. Marcus was initiated by L. Memmius, one of the great priests at Eleusis.

83 SIG II2 1368 (SIG3 1109); discussed and translated by Marcus N. Tod, Sidelines on Greek History (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932), pp. 86 ff.

84 Phil. 565 (Kays. II 73, 3-4). Philostratus says that Herodes died around the age of 76; his cursus honorum let us set his birth at 101; since the Iobacchi inscription is dated "late 177," Herodes could have lived into 178. He apparently was able to enjoy the honors of the Iobacchi but a few months before his death.
does not seem to have been afflicted very long, since he could engage in so much activity during the last years. His life had been surpassingly full; he had not pierced the Isthmus, but otherwise he could have few regrets.

20. **Funerary Honors**

Herodes died at Marathon and was buried there, in accordance with his instructions. Philostratus tells how the ephesians, joined by citizens of every age, carried the body of their constant friend and benefactor into the city for the last rites. The funeral oration was movingly delivered by Adrian of Tyre, one of Herodes' most devoted students. Then the biographer goes on to say that Herodes was buried in the Panathenaic Stadion, but no tomb has been discovered there. In the exterior of the wall going around the highest seats, however, has been found a stone containing this concise, archaic inscription:

"To the hero from Marathon." On the summit of a hill which dominates the stadium to the east the extensive substructures of a building have been found, which might have been a tomb but more likely was simply a monument to Herodes, for

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85 Phil. 565-566 (Kays. II 73, 3-15).

86 Phil. 586 (Kays. II 91, 8-10).

which the above epigram, dislodged as it has been in the course of time, would have been the dedication. But we dare no more than conjecture that this inscription pertains to Herodes. The tomb itself must certainly have been at Marathon where portraits of Herodes (the Louvre bust) and the imperial brothers were found. Philostratus does give the true epitaph:

'Αττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὐ τάδε πάντα κεῖται τάδε τάφῳ, πάντωθεν εὐδόκιμος.

"Herodes of Marathon, son of Atticus. This sepulchre has his remains, the world his fame."

21. The End of the Fortune

I shall reserve for the Conclusion some final remarks on Herodes' character and his position in the life and thought of the second century. A few facts of his life remain to be considered. First of all, how did he dispose of his fortune? He had long since given up Bradua as worthless and arranged that he should have Regilla's estate, while denying him the patrimony. Herodes' estate was divided among several heirs. Philostratus notes that the

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88 Graindor, op. cit., pp. 130-131. But Judeich, op. cit., p. 419, follows Philostratus and thinks that the structure on the hill east of the stadium very possibly was the tomb of Herodes.

89 Phil. 558 (Kays. II 66, 18-20).
Athenians thought the will outrageous; Herodes had not chosen to relax his implacable animosity toward Bradua even at the end.

Bradua, as will be seen below, enjoyed several high offices after his father's death; so his mother's money must have made him fairly rich. However, the Herodian fortune that had existed for three generations was no longer remarkable, nor did the family have any renown after Herodes' death. The money was dissipated through Herodes' will, but I wonder if the total bequest was immense. Herodes had spent several fortunes in the course of his life, and the soundest banking house could not flourish indefinitely in the unstable economic conditions of the late second century. But even had the reign of Marcus Aurelius not been marked with economic distress, Herodes, who knew well how easily wills are broken, was vindictive enough to arrange that Bradua should never get much patrimony. Regilla's Odeum was almost incredibly sumptuous and the rich renovation of the odeum at Corinth was rather above and beyond Herodes' call of duty. The lavish benefactions of the last years redounded to Herodes' fame but to Bradua's deprivation. The fortune was not famous in later years because it no longer existed.

Herodes died just in time because the happy century was to end wretchedly. The reign of Commodus was imminent. In 177 Marcus arranged for his son to be consul for the
first time, to hold the tribunician power twice, to be hailed as Augustus and Pater Patriae; he was all of sixteen years old. Herodes saw that the Empire was in serious economic difficulties and that the heir-apparent would not be the dedicated ruler that Antoninus and Marcus had been. Herodes probably rejoiced that his fortune was spent, so that no imperial figure would be able to covet and seize his fortune as Domitian had done to the riches of Hipparchus. The great sophist may have been too solicitous about the security and future of his fortune; but for other reasons the reign of Commodus would not have been to Herodes' taste. The new emperor had little sympathy for culture as exemplified by the famous orator, Herodes Atticus. The death of Herodes truly marked the end of an age.

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90 Weber, op. cit., p. 344. The Senate, worried after the revolt of Cassius that the Antonine dynasty might fall, probably encouraged Marcus to give all these honors to Commodus, according to Henry D. Sedgwick, Marcus Aurelius (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), pp. 193-194. Actually, the emperor had no good reason to deny his son these honors. The young man was only nineteen when Marcus died and had not yet displayed his infamous degeneracy; furthermore, Commodus had been the heir-apparent for several years. His succession, at least, was perfectly natural. Cf. F. H. Hayward, Marcus Aurelius: A Saviour of Men (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1935), pp. 212-214.
1. The Decline of the Family

The much-honored career of Herodes was at once the crowning glory and termination of the Herodians' ascendancy in provincial and imperial affairs. Herodes' son, Bradua, enjoyed several honors, including the consulship, but his history is only the palest reflection of his father's sweep through the second century. Herodes, however, had really exaggerated Bradua's lack of ability; the young man seems to have had the misfortune to be of merely average intelligence with no inclination toward Herodes' interests. Bradua by no means spent his maternal inheritance selfishly, but, in fact, earned a statue from the citizens of the Piraeus for his benefactions.\(^1\) If we reckon the comparatively limited means at his disposal, he seems not to have been oblivious of the family's fine tradition of philanthropy. Furthermore, like his grandfather, Bradua was a patronomus of Sparta.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) IG II² 3978 (SIG3 862).

\(^2\) IG V, Part 1, 45.
In 185 Bradua was consul ordinarius. His esteem at Athens is shown in his being archon eponymus for 190/1-191/2. The rest of his life is unknown; nor do we have any details about his family. Claudius Atticus Marathonius, the κηρυκτικής και δήμου of 209 or 210, may have been Bradua's son. Claudius, therefore, is the last attested member of the great family. Philostratus, in dedicating his Vitae Sophistaraum to the Emperor Gordian (A.D. 238), connects the emperor's lineage with Herodes Atticus, but this relationship is inexplicable to Artur Stein.

2. The Place in History of Herodes Atticus

With the passing of Bradua, the Herodians had no further significance; as far as our present evidence reaches, the family declined and disappeared in the third century.

3 Degrassi, p. 51.
4 IG II² 2113-2114. See James A. Notopoulos, "Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire," Hesperia, XVIII (1949), 22 and charts following. PIR² II, p. 169 had dated Bradua's archonship only as 183/4-191/2. The resourceful Dittenberger gave the date in 1917 as 192/3 (SIG³ 862).
5 Dittenberger, SIG³ 862, believed that Bradua was the proconsul of Asia of that name in CIG 3189 (IGR IV, 1413); but Groag, PIR² I, no. 1303 categorically refutes this reading, interpreting CIG 3189 as referring to a contemporary of the emperor Domitian.
6 IG II² 1077.
7 PIR² II, p. 169.
8 Phil. 479 (Kays. II 1, superscription and lines 1-5).
9 PIR² II, p. 181.
The family's acme was in the second century when it could boast of three men of international renown: Herodes' father, Atticus; Herodes himself; and Bradua, Herodes' son. No Herodian, however, enjoyed such a rich life and brilliant reputation as our Herodes. The long family tradition of wealth and public service that had begun with Eucles, the phylarch of 106/5 (above p. 4), continuing through Eucles (V), the ambassador to Julius Caesar in 47/6 (above p. 5), reaching unexampled heights in Herodes' grandfather, Hipparchus (above pp. 7-9), was but the foundation, the prelude, as it were, for the wonderful career of Herodes Atticus.

Herodes readily took the family torch from the hands of his father, proceeding along a path of public honors which received added luster for themselves because of the millionaire's eminence in the additional fields of rhetoric and philanthropy. Herodes was archon eponymus in 126/7, consul in 143, high-priest of the imperial cult under Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius. For Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus he was regularly an amicus principis, a position bearing the mark of considerable imperial interest and esteem. Throughout his adult years until his death, moreover, Herodes occupied a host of less prestigious, but nevertheless responsible, positions.

At the same time, Herodes made himself into a sophistic orator of consummate artistry whose oratorical improvisations were the most famous ornaments of the
rhetorical movement called the "Second Sophistic." As he executed his official duties, Herodes never failed to maintain his rhetorical studies and lectures. Only a man of large independent means could have supported the expenses of high office (like the remarkable Panathenaic barge which Herodes as agonothetes gave to the festival of 139) and the endless study that sophistry in the second century required. Fortunately, through inheritance and marriage, Herodes possessed one of the largest private fortunes of his day (above pp. 53-57, 72-73).

Inasmuch as philanthropy was a tradition in his family, Herodes, besides his eminent official and sophistic activities, became a benefactor in the grand manner. As Philostratus says, no man has ever employed his wealth to better purpose.\footnote{Philo. 547 (Kays. II 55, 24). Atticus and Herodes are by far the most significant philanthropists in Greece, aside from the emperor Hadrian, in the second century. The comparative poverty of Greece could have supported few millionaires. It is from the more affluent regions of Asia Minor and Africa that we get our general impression of widespread benefactions in the second century. See VOL. IV of An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, ed. Tenney Frank (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), pp. 74 (Africa) and 794-795 (Asia Minor). See above p. 54 note106 for reference to the famous fortunes of the late Republic. The great difference between a millionaire of the Republic and early Empire up to the time of Pliny the Younger, and a millionaire of the Hadrianic-Antonine era, is that only the latter made a practice of philanthropy.} His remarkable renovations of the stadia at Athens and Delphi, his princely rehabilitation of the Fountain of Peirene at Corinth, the aqueduct at Canusium, the shrine to
Demeter, Faustina Maior, and his wife on the Appian Way, the opulent nymphaeum at Olympia, and the well-known Odeum at Athens comprise a group of private benefactions which were unexampled until the works of the Rockefellers in our own century.

Public service, rhetoric, philanthropy—these were the areas in which Herodes concentrated his interest. He had so much in his favor, and seems to have been so prominent in the Roman Empire at its height, that his ought to be one of the most illustrious names of antiquity; yet it is not, and for several reasons. To begin with, the Herodians flourished at a time when Rome had made the Mediterranean world almost excessively stable and regulated under an omnipotent emperor and his efficient civil service. The days of the late Republic and early Empire were over when great families like the Metelli, the Catones, and the Julio-Claudii not only held the major offices but also wielded power. To hold one of the ancient municipal or state offices in the second century was to have one's family and fortune noticed, one's personal prestige enhanced; but since there was nothing important to do, a person had no opportunity to win political fame for genuine leadership and enterprise. We know, for example, what Cicero did in his consulship; but what did Herodes do? Aside from his attendance at the dedication of the Temple of Venus and Rome (above pp. 98-99), his consulship had only titular significance. Inasmuch as
the emperor and his civil service had assumed all real responsibility, Herodes' many offices could not and did not make him an immortal figure.

The next factor in Herodes' contemporary renown was his position in the Second Sophistic. We have seen how Herodes was studying with Polemo as late as 135 at the age of 34, when the former was *corrector* at Ilium. Herodes, in his expert familiarity with the classical Greek authors, made himself one of the most erudite men of his day. As an extempore orator he was without peer, being able to hold spellbound a throng, as he did at Olympia, or a hypercritical audience of Athenians and fellow-sophists, as he did during Alexander Peloplaton's visit to Athens. Yet Herodes is not one of the celebrated literary figures of antiquity; his oratorical fame depends entirely on the devoted reports of Aulus Gellius and Flavius Philostratus. There is no reason to doubt either reporter; the examples they cite are so varied and numerous that Herodes undoubtedly had a tongue of quicksilver for private conversation or public demonstration. But the very nature of his art forbade Herodes literary immortality. He published no collection of his own speeches; not a single speech is extant today. Consequently, the name most familiarly associated with the Second Sophistic is that of Herodes' pupil, Aelius Aristides, who left some fifty-five speeches.
The matter of his pupils illustrates another point contributing to Herodes' lack of great fame. None of them (above p. 80), save Aristides and Marcus Aurelius, was capable of bringing honor to his old master. Except for the two mentioned, all Herodes' students are minor figures in the culture of the second century. As for the two remarkable students, Aristides did not specialize in Herodes' art of extempore oratory and Marcus abandoned rhetoric in favor of philosophy. As he has gained little fame for his efforts at his private school in Attica, so Herodes' work in the "university" of Athens is uncelebrated. Herodes was prominent in Marcus Aurelius' organization of the institution, but the emperor enjoys the credit for those important arrangements (above pp. 184-187).

A final element in Herodes' lack of renown is that he seems not to have been an original thinker. His devotion to his art is undoubted, his professional integrity unassailable; but he gave his complete adherence to the Second Sophist's demand for glibness above originality. His famous cultivation of Attic diction (above pp. 188-190), was more of a mania than a means of enhancing his talents. As an educator, therefore, Herodes has no great name because of the ephemeral nature of both his teaching and his art. Oratorical fame, furthermore, has an unfortunate dependence upon written evidence. Just as we can only take for granted
the rhetorical ability of Julius Caesar, so that of Herodes is
based entirely on the reports of auditors.

Consequently, if the fame of Herodes Atticus is not
based on his principal occupations of public official, ora-
tor, and educator, we must ask what was the motivation of
Philostratus' biography and the basis of his present import-
ance. The answer, in a word, is money. Herodes' fame
depended and depends upon the many ramifications of the fact
of his great wealth. Had he not been a millionaire's son in
the first place, he could not have devoted over twenty years
to his superb education. Of course he became a master of his
art, but there were many fine speakers in the hey-day of the
Second Sophistic. Herodes' millions made him a curiosity in
addition to his being a genuinely expert sophist. His
famous generosity and the splendor of his academy at the
Cephisian villa contributed not a little to his attracting
students from all over the world. His art had no lasting
effect upon his students; the lack of famous pupils indi-
cates that few paid sufficient attention to come away bear-
ing transmissible impressions. He was a person to be
sought out--like Berenson at Florence or Miss Guggenheim in
Venice, people of strong individual tastes who have had the
additional virtue of living beautifully. I dare say that
Philostratus at first was fascinated by the subject of his
longest biographical sketch because of Herodes' ostentatious
and justly celebrated benefactions; as his study progressed,
Philostatus found that he was indeed dealing with a prince among orators. In his enchantment with Herodes, then, Philostatus gave the first place in his Vitae to Herodes rather than to the excellent and thoroughly substantial Aelius Aristides.

Rhetoricians have come and gone, millionaires have often enjoyed a brief notoriety and then been forgotten. Why is Herodes Atticus important to antiquity and world culture from our standpoint? Although he was not one of the principal figures of the ancient world, there are three reasons for giving close attention to Herodes' place in history: his unique social position; his enthusiasm for his Greek heritage; and his unusual personality. These reasons are involved in the general speculation of how our understanding of antiquity would be affected if Herodes, his life and works, were to be eradicated from historical record.

The difficulty with Herodes is that he suffers by comparison. As a sophist and educator he has none of the importance of a Protagoras or Quintilian; as imperial confidante and official he lacks the significance of an Agricola or Seneca; as millionaire he is not so interesting as a Lucullus or so influential as Maecenas.

The commanding attribute of Herodes Atticus is that he reflects an age. He is a mirror for the extraordinary unity that the Mediterranean world experienced under the Antonine monarchy. In the semi-circle of statues on the
nymphaeum at Olympia (above pp. 128-131), Herodes and his family share an equal position with the statues of the imperial house. In the Triopion on the Appian Way, Herodes' wife, Regilla, shares virtually equal honor with Demeter and the empress, Faustina Maior. On neither of these monuments do the Herodians assume a secondary, or subservient position as do the donors on the canvas of a fifteenth-century altar-piece. Now Herodes was not so rash as to presume equality with the imperial family; indeed, the imperial house enjoyed a supra-terrestrial status which no private citizen could possibly equal. The point, however, of the monuments in Elis and Latium is that the Herodians were entitled to be the terrestrial counterparts of the imperial house. In other words, Herodes Atticus and his family were the private citizens of highest standing in the world of the Antonines. This singular status was won for them by their family fortune. Herodes met the two criteria for superlative status that the world of privilege and leisure has ever required for its membership: namely, an ancient background and great wealth. The combination of Herodes' lofty official standing and comparatively large fortune was so elevating as to make him a social phenomenon: the first private citizen of the Oecumene. Never again has there been such a unity of the world that one man could actually be the first citizen of "the world" (ever excluding the imperial family
who were beyond such denomination). Herodes' rare position was possible only in connection with the broad and resplendent organization that was the Pax Antonina; thus Herodes reflects the most salient feature of life in the mid-second century—the unity of the Roman world.

The second aspect of Herodes' importance is his role as a preserver of Greek culture and traditions. The Second Sophistic has a primary position in the history of literature as a movement that greatly aided the preservation of the classical Greek literature. The predilection that the later sophists had for the ancient masterpieces helped to extend the life of those works and guaranteed their being appreciated longer than if the speakers and savants of the Second Sophistic had given themselves over to literary novelty. We may lament the fact that there are so few important original works from the Hadrianic-Antonine era, but better have the ancient works well preserved than lost due to an influx of jejune, second-rate writing. The archetypes of many extant manuscripts are undoubtedly good fresh copies made when the classical authors enjoyed such a vogue in the second century A.D. The widespread interest in literature at that time is clearly indicated by the fact that more literary papyri come from the second and third centuries of our era than from any other period, with the
greatest number coming from the second century. Herodes, as the chief figure among the pro-Attic sophists, may be regarded, therefore, as one of the leading transmitters of the classical masterpieces.

Herodes further acted as a preserver of Hellenic cultural traditions at the time when the ancient rites and festivals were beginning to be jeopardized by skepticism and disbelief. Although the official doctrine of Antoninus Pius was to elevate the pristine religion and Roma Renascens (above pp. 70-71) and Hadrian had exalted philhellenism, it is well known that the second century saw the spread of disinterest in the ancient traditions through such diverse agents as the growth of Christianity, the wild-fire extension of Mithraism, and Lucian’s sophisticated mockery. Nevertheless, in his passionate enthusiasm for things antique and his numerous benefactions for the enhancement of the great festivals, Herodes Atticus briefly halted the crumbling of the old way of life. The lovely Fountain of Peirene at Corinth is known today from the period of its renovation under Herodes; the Panathenaic Stadium at Athens was found at its Herodian phase when the nineteenth-century excavations were undertaken; the last major edifice at venerable Olympia was Herodes’ fountain; the Odeum for Regilla

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at Athens was a very house of classicism inasmuch as it also served as a lecture hall for sophistic gatherings.

Herodes is one of group of devoted persons who have helped preserve the classical tradition. His cultivation of the classical literature is undoubted; the festivals at Athens, Delphi, and Olympia could only have received increased luster from such marble embellishments as Herodes gave them. His devotion to the ephebes of Athens helped sustain the prestige of that body and the whole fine concept of ἀρετή; he gave his wholehearted attention to holy Eleusis as an interpreter of the sacred law. The trend of the age, of course, was against Antoninus Pius and Herodes Atticus; but without them the ancient culture might have faded sooner and be all the more difficult to resurrect today. Herodes was an active factor in the vitality of the Greco-Roman literary and cultural milieu as it existed in the Indian summer of classical antiquity.

Finally, Herodes was such a thoroughly interesting individual that a study of him helps to amplify our understanding of great and complicated men. He craved affection and esteem, but so often had to buy or demand from his entourage and fellow citizens this good will. He loved the flattery and regard of his fellow-Athenians, yet almost lost their affection forever when he deprived them of his father's legacy. He decorated his house with black marble, enlarged the Triopion, and planned the Odeum at Athens in
memory of his wife at her death; but while she lived he showed her none of the feelings of a warm partnership. He adored his foster-sons, who must have been fond of him; yet Herodes undoubtedly incurred the ill will of both his son, Bradua, and Regilla because of his excessive interest in the alumni. He took great delight in his friendship with his most eminent pupil, Marcus Aurelius, who, however, chose to omit Herodes from his list of mentors in the Meditations. Herodes' relationships with family and friends were always erratic and shifting, or thwarted, as with the series of premature deaths of his alumni and daughters.

Herodes thoroughly enjoyed the things that his money could buy. He was not particularly Sybaritic, yet his life at the Cephisian villa or abroad was scarcely ascetic. Herodes realized that money meant power. The public offices that he could well afford gave him an enormous prestige; at one time he had all Athens at his mercy over the affair of his father's will; his princely gifts endeared him to Corinth, Elis, and Delphi. Then, to show, as it were, that his influence was not totally dependent on his money, he learned to hold an audience spellbound with his gifted tongue. At the end of his life, however, the transitory nature of his attainments made Herodes afraid of being forgotten; his proposed solution for oblivion was the forbidden project of a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. His
hopes for immortality were finally based on what could be realized with his fortune.

It would be regrettable indeed if we were to lose the history of Herodes Atticus. The placid, elegant Herodes of the Louvre portrait (above pp. 181-182) gazes serenely over the privileged and artistic life of the second century as a genius of the highest attainments of that civilization. The Louvre portrait conceals the complicated man of impulsive generosity, of cold disinterest toward wife and son, of child-like delight for holidays and pageantry, of consuming devotion to classical Greek literature, of strong inclination toward benevolent despotism. The portrait is altogether satisfactory, however, for the most impressive orator of his day and leading citizen of the Antonine world. The career of Herodes Atticus casts a fleeting but memorable light on Roman civilization at the height of its splendid unity.
APPENDIX I

CONCERNING THE ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ

It is the purpose of the following discussion simply to account for the one extant work attributed to Herodes Atticus, inasmuch as an extensive historical and philological treatment of the ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ is beyond the scope of this biographical study. The problems, indeed, which surround this work are great enough in themselves to be worthy of a dissertation. Furthermore, since the ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ has already been subjected to the scrutiny of several scholars, I shall attempt little more than to describe several of these past studies and evaluate some of the conclusions reached.

The present text of the work is based on a single thirteenth-century manuscript, cod. Burneianus 95 (or Crippsianus) of the British Museum, a collection of speeches at the end of which the ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ occupies pages 166b - 170a. The other authors presented are Andocides, Isaeus, Deinarchus, Antiphon, Lycurgus, Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Lesbonax. There are several manuscripts stemming from the Burneianus 95.1 The full title of our document is

1Engelbert Drerup, "[ΗΡΩΔΟΥ] ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ: Ein politisches Pamphlet aus Athen 404 vor Chr.," Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, II, Part I (1908), 1-2.
ἩΡΩΔΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ. A very serviceable text with a copious apparatus is offered by Drerup on pages 7-16 of his major discussion cited in note 1.2

Our document is a short speech ostensibly delivered by a young orator of Larisa, inspired to exhort his friends to join Sparta against the tyrant, Archelaus of Macedon (413-399 B.C.), who has managed to impose a strict oligarchy upon Larisa, his Thessalian neighbor. The time is the end of the fifth century, at the close of the Peloponnesian War, when Sparta was designing to punish Archelaus for not fighting with her against Athens.3

For centuries this document was accepted as the sole surviving creation of Herodes Atticus; but in 1897 Julius Beloch in his Griechische Geschichte, Vol. II, p. 132 note 2, declared against this attribution of the basis of vocabulary and style, which to him seemed genuinely late fifth-century. For anyone attuned to the Second Sophistic and the taste of Herodes Atticus, this dry little speech was incredible as a sincere product of the master Sophist. Furthermore, the title, "On Government," had nothing to do with the specific


3For a neat outline of the speech see J. S. Morrison, "Meno of Pharsalus, Polycrates, and Ismenias," CQ, XXXVI (1942), 69.
problem treated in the speech, viz., the Thessalian-Spartan alliance, except for a brief digression on the institution of oligarchy in sections 30-31 (13 lines in Drerup's text out of over 200). Beloch started an international argument, which is not settled yet, over one of the most unimpressive minor works that the medieval scribes inexplicably chose to preserve. In 1923, André Boulanger was able to state that the German philologists preferred to accept the attribution given by the manuscript, whereas the historians challenged the Herodian authorship. The historian-philologist division still remains, more or less; the present discussion will highlight the more illustrious opinions of each side.

The most elementary reason for accepting Herodes' authorship is the superscription on the manuscript. Not caring to challenge that denotation, Münchener in his article on Herodes in the Real-Encyclopädie accepts Herodes as the author, following Erwin Rohde in the latter's "Die asianische Rhetorik und die zweite Sophistik," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, XLI (1886), 186 note 1. Having accepted the


5 For a more recent summary of the divided opinions see Wade-Gery, Essays, p. 275 note 3.

6 Münchener, RE VIII, 953.
titular attribution, Münscher then considers the speech, in its simple Attic style, to be an example of Herodes' well-known cultivation of the style of Critias, the fifth-century oligarch.\textsuperscript{7}

F. E. Adcock and A. D. Knox have given qualified support to Münscher's analysis. Without finding the speech particularly Attic, they do believe that the speech is a product of the second century A. D. Adcock reasons\textsuperscript{8} that there is no date at which all the statements in the speech could have been credible to a contemporary audience. The statement of the Thessalian situation is so ambiguous that it seems to be the work of a later writer combining two or more authorities without much concern for historical consistency.

If, however, the speech is to be taken literally and not as a late sophist's μη λέγεται to be used by young students of oratory, then it becomes a document derived from the complicated politics in Greece following the defeat of Athens in 404 B.C., and may actually illuminate some of the difficulties pertaining to the status of Thessaly at that

\textsuperscript{7} Citias' conciseness and non-pedantic preference for Attic diction are emphasized in Philostratus' life of the oligarch, Phil. 503 (Kays. II 19, 16-26). On Herodes and Critias see above pp.189 -191.

\textsuperscript{8} F. E. Adcock and A. D. Knox, "Ημώδων περὶ πολιτείας," Klio, XIII (1913), 253.
time. The most eminent contemporary supporter for the historicity of the speech is Henry Theodore Wade-Gery. Categorically opposed to the second century's advocates, Wade-Gery brings his massive scholarship to bear on the problem, believing our document to be a contemporary speech delivered by a Larisan at Sparta to request help against Lycophron of Pherae, who had designs on the whole of Thessaly. Wade-Gery believes that the speech actually was delivered by Critias, who had spent his recent exile in Thessaly, returning after the defeat of Athens in 404 as a friend of Sparta. On the basis of this analysis, the speech may very possibly be dated between April of 404 (the defeat of Athens) and September (the inauguration of the Thirty at Athens, led by Critias and Theramenes).

Professor Wade-Gery, then, contrary to Adcock finds the situation outlined by the young Larisan both real and credible for a contemporary audience. Wade-Gery, indeed, was somewhat anticipated by J. S. Morrison who, in a powerful display of historical synthesis, found that essentially the \( \pi\epsilon\rho\iota \ \pi\omicron\alpha\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\varsigma \) suits history as we know

\[ ^{9}\text{Wade-Gery, op. cit., pp. 274 and 276. Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica II 3, 4.} \]
\[ ^{10}\text{Wade-Gery, op. cit., pp. 281-282.} \]
\[ ^{11}\text{Ibid., p. 282.} \]
\[ ^{12}\text{Morrison, op. cit., 57-78.} \]
it and "the speaker's account of the Spartan hegemony is perfectly compatible with the state of affairs existing in Greece between 405 and 401."\textsuperscript{13} Morrison (whose essay, it should be noted, received its revision from Wade-Gery) even saw fit to declare:\textsuperscript{14}

The four months between the capitulation of Athens in April and the campaign of Lycophron in September 404 is the period which suits the apparent circumstances of the περὶ πολιτείας. That we can identify a suitable period shows that the historical value of the speech is not to be neglected: that we can identify it within such narrow limits precludes any but the closest use of the fifth century source by a writer of the second century, A.D.

These are strong statements which elevate our document to a primary position. Yet Morrison interprets the speech moderately compared to the analysis of the document that Drerup elaborated in 123 pages (less 10 for the text of the speech).\textsuperscript{15}

Drerup held that the speech may indeed have come from Herodes' atelier, thus explaining the superscription; but for every reason--stylistic, rhetorical, historical--the piece could not be Herodes' work.\textsuperscript{16} The speech might have been in an Attic oratorical anthology which had been collected by the great sophist; but, Drerup asserts,\textsuperscript{17} only a

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}, 71 and 73. \textsuperscript{14}\textit{Ibid.}, 74.
\textsuperscript{15}Drerup, \textit{op. cit.}, 1-124.
\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Ibid.}, 123. \textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, 109.
Thessalian contemporary with the events could have written the speech, which is in the form of the ἰθυμαγορικὸς λόγος, initiated by Thrasymachus of Chalcedon in his treatise of 411 on the πάτριος πολιτεία and perfected by the great Isocrates.

Moreover, according to Drerup, the speech has deeper implications. The emphasis throughout the piece on the evils of στάσις (the Larisan wants the oligarchical faction and the democrats to band together against Archelaus) suits beautifully the politically situation in Athens in 404 prior to the establishment of the Thirty. The speech in fact, may very well be a product of Theramenes' circle for the promulgation of political concord. Noting that the speech does have an ambiguous, veiled quality, Drerup believes that all the more there is reason to take the speech as an indirect message from Theramenes to the group following Critias. Drerup, as do Wade-Gery and Morrison, heaps facts and acute analogies upon each other in an impressive display of erudite sensitivity to the complex character of the last decade of the fifth century.

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18 Ibid., 116-117.

19 Ibid., 114: "Die Unbestimmtheit, das Halbdunkel der Situation ist in der Tat das Charakteristikum der ganzen Rede, die zwischen den Zeilen einen dem Verfasser näher liegenden Zweck erkennen lässt, als das eigentliche Thema der Rede besagt."
Nevertheless, Adcock could not see where there is sufficient knowledge of Thessalian affairs shown in the speech to warrant positive contemporary attribution. I approached the problem myself by first reading the speech and then the modern discussions. I was first impressed by the modest generality of the piece, in which three main points are touched upon:

1. The present internal Στράτης is lamentable (1-18)

2. Archelaus' yoke must be thrown off (19-29)

3. The greatest hope is in Sparta (30-37).

Beyond these points there is nothing in the speech to denote a peculiar familiarity with events that only a contemporary could have displayed.\(^{20}\) Certainly the speech is too simple to be a subtle message to Critias from Theramenes prior to their September coalition!\(^{21}\)

I can only agree with Professors Adcock and Wade-Gery that Drerup's analysis is too ingenious and goes rather too far. On the other hand, I am very interested in any interpretation which reasonably removes the speech from Herodes' responsibility. It would be ironical, indeed pathetic, in the extreme that our only literary remains

\(^{20}\)The only specific detail in the speech pertaining to Archelaus' tyranny is his holding ten children as hostages (Section 33).

\(^{21}\)Adcock, op. cit., 252; Wade-Gery, op. cit., p. 278.
from the hand of Herodes Atticus, orator incomparable, should be this school-boy's production. However, although I am in no position to quarrel with Wade-Gery's and Morrison's display of historical perspicuity with regard to Greek affairs at the end of the Peloponnesian War, I think that they have stretched the contents of the speech to fit those complex Spartan-Thessalian affairs without the document's possessing details to lend itself to such a significant interpretation. Wade-Gery himself calls the speech "maddeningly allusive" and its very generality makes it seem to me to be an historical pastiche composed some time after the events.

To my regret and, I think, his loss, Wade-Gery did not consult the opinion of scholars really sensitive to the productions of the second-century A.D. Since the document has been held in such doubt, both specialists of the fifth century and the Age of Hadrian need to evaluate the document both historically and literarily. There must be some basis, however ill-founded and remote, for the superscription ἩΡΩΔΟΥ; and that designation cannot be wished or talked away. Of the second-century scholars, certainly the opinion of the two who have been my familiars throughout this study should not be overlooked: Paul Graindor and André Boulanger.

22Wade-Gery, ibid., p. 273 note 1.
Graindor observes that since the speech has none of the vibrant qualities associated with the art of Herodes Atticus, the superscription may refer to another Herodes—perhaps, indeed, a fifth-century Thessalian of that name.\footnote{Graindor, Hérode Atticus, pp. 167-168.} Graindor declares, in fact, that if the piece is of Herodes' authorship, then he has succeeded in a perfect imitation of the simple style favored at the end of the fifth century.\footnote{Ibid., p. 167.} The only quality common to the speech and what we know of Herodes' works is the conciseness\footnote{Ibid., p. 171.}—an attribute, however, more stressed by Herodes' epigraphic creations than his speeches. Herodes' oratory was renowned for its rich clarity; Gellius' version of the master's parable of the Thracian farmer (Noctes Atticae XIX 12, above pp. 98-99) shows a certain conciseness, but Herodes, the pupil of Polemo, probably did not dazzle the crowds at Olympia (above pp. 122-123) with a speech whose chief feature was conciseness! Without several works for evaluation, Herodes' style cannot be easily defined since he is reported to have been capable of such variety.

Graindor would, I think, hear favorably Wade-Gery's fifth-century attribution of the speech; but instead of finding the document "maddeningly allusive," Graindor
emphasizes the "précision de détails," which is so unlike the usual productions of the Second Sophistic where details are so often blurred in favor of a glittering effect.\textsuperscript{26} Graindor does not emphasize the features of Critias' style which can be seen in the speech, and his idea of the author's being a Thessalian named Herodes is an attractive one; Graindor would not go so far, I think, as to see the actual hand of Critias in the speech, as Wade-Gery does, who bases his analysis on the description that Philostratus gives of the oligarch's style\textsuperscript{27} (see my note 7 above). I think, however, that it is a risky business to analyze stylistically a piece of writing only on the basis of another person's fond description of the style. Wade-Gery falls back on this approach simply because of the paucity of argumentative fragments assigned to Critias in Diel's \textit{Fragmente der Vorsokratiker}, Section 88 (Fifth edition). As we can have only a general idea of Herodes' style as described so flatteringlly by Philostratus, so the description of Critias must be taken very generally.

Boulanger declared that the speech could not possibly be of fifth-century origin because of the presence of so

\[\text{\textsuperscript{26}bid., p. 164.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{27}Wade-Gery, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 285.}\]
many words and forms from the κοινή; however, Boulanger did not choose to tarry over the περὶ πολιτείας and so does not give specific examples. Knox cites five examples of late and foreign usages in the speech, which would make Boulanger's statement more substantial if it were not for the fact that Morrison has found parallels for Knox's examples in classical literature. The great debate over the speech is more of a game than scholarship. Opinions have varied so drastically and even the best people have succumbed to making recondite analogies or broad generalities which they present as proof of either the fifth-century or Hadrianic-Antonine origin of the speech. The argument becomes almost absurd when one eminent scholar calls a document "maddeningly allusive" which an equally qualified student terms "precise."

I agree with Boulanger, who analyzes the speech as a réfection, according to the rules of sophistic eloquence, of a fifth-century work, perhaps Thrasymachus' 'Ὑπὲρ λαοὶδίων. Mün scher also relates our speech to Thrasy machus' work, observing that the speech is too vague to have pertained to contemporary events, but was based on works

29Adcock and Knox, op. cit., p. 256.
30Morrison, op. cit., 68 note 5.
31Boulanger, loc. cit.
extant from the late fifth century. Thus the speech is essentially an historical fiction, designed as a rhetorical exercise, composed, perhaps, by one of Herodes' young pupils. Wade-Gery feels that "as a 'work of art' our speech is incredible. A sophistic speech puts all its cards on the table and is nothing if not explicit." The professor forgets that the sophists put a premium on imitation, as we saw in the training of Adrian of Tyre under Herodes (above p. 85); that the students would and could produce an imitation of fifth-century works is made quite clear in Philostratus' biographies. Furthermore, "explicit" is an unusual description of sophistic oratory. The word means "clear," "unequivocal," "not ambiguous." As far as not dealing with political or philosophical subtleties is concerned, the work of the Second Sophistic is perfectly explicit; but from the critical standpoint the sophists used history freely in their quest for auditory and emotional effects. In his discussion of Aelius Aristides' speech, the famous Παναθανακός, Boulanger calls it not only "le triomphe

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32Münscher, RE VIII, 953: "... die Uneinigkeit in der Bestimmung dieser Situation beweist aber, dass der Verfasser in Wahrheit keine bestimmte historische Situation in Auge hat, nur im allgemeinen auf Grund seiner Kenntnis der Verhältnisse Thessaliens nach dem Ende des Peloponnesischen Krieges and einiger positiven Tatsachen (die er Thrasymachos entnahm) seine Deklamation verfasst hat."

de l'art sophistique," but also "la condamnation." For Aelius, "transposing history into the sophistic vein, seems to divest the narrative of all precision and envelop it in a sort of poetic cloud." Boulanger accompanies this criticism with examples from Aristides' work, but the observation is valid for most of the late sophists' productions.

Although I frankly believe that Boulanger interprets the speech per se correctly, his analysis makes a mystery of the speech's being included among the genuinely early oratorical productions (with the exception of Lesbonax) of cod. Burnelianus 95. Of course, the very presence of two of Lesbonax' (second century A.D.) works (the "Politikos" and the "Protreptikoi") makes the manuscript a regular potpourri, chronologically, speaking, which the compiler may have tried to balance with another second-century work, the περὶ πολιτείας. The only feasible way to support the speech as an earlier work, contemporary with the events described, is to face boldly its lack of a purely attic style and assign it to a young Thessalian, as Graindor suggests. As for Herodes' authorship (which is all this discussion is required to consider), nothing that we know of that master, not even his fondness for Critias, gives us any basis for assigning it to his hand. Nor is there

34 Boulanger, op. cit., p. 372.

sufficient stylistic evidence to attribute the document to the oligarch himself.\(^{36}\) The utterly lack-luster quality of the speech has been most trenchantly described by Boulanger:\(^{37}\)

La disposition est banale, l'argumentation pauvre et peu ingénieuse, le style singulièrement incolore et sec, dépourvu d'ornements et ne visant jamais à l'effet.

It is inconceivable that Herodes Atticus wrote this speech—he who was the word-artist far surpassing almost everyone of Aulus Gellius' acquaintance not only in impressive dignity (gravitas), but also in the abundance (copia) and beauty (elegantia) of words at his command.\(^{38}\) The enraptured Philostratus, in fact, declared that Herodes' oratory was like the effect of gold dust glittering in the silvery waters of a stream.\(^{39}\)

Certainly, therefore, I am justified in relegating the \(\pi\varepsilon\rho\iota\ \pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\) to this appendix. In summary, there is no reason at all any longer to regard the speech as one of Herodes Atticus' compositions. The superscription \(\Upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\Lambda\omicron\omicron\) need not refer to the great sophist. If one

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\(^{36}\)As F. Gschnitzer, reviewing Wade-Gery's Essays states in Gnomon, XXXI (1959), 449: "Vermag er (Wade-Gery), soviel ich sehe, für diese Zuweisung auch keinen zwingenden Grund anzuführen (er scheint ihr auch selbst nur eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit beizumessen), so führen uns seine feinen Beobachtungen doch in der Textgestalt und Interpretation dieser Rede um einiges weiter."

\(^{37}\)Boulanger, op. cit., p. 102.

\(^{38}\)Gellius XIX 12, 1.

\(^{39}\)Phil. 564 (Kays. II 72, 5-7.)
feels compelled to a fifth-century attribution, the author must have been a Thessalian named "Herodes"; if Hadrianic or Antonine, the speech came from Herodes' atelier. The origin of the document is completely unknown. Since it occurs at the end of cod. Burneianus 95, it could have been appended by a medieval collector who perceived similar qualities in our speech and the earlier productions or felt that the document simply went well with the work of Lesbonax in the anthology. The title itself is very likely the casual work of the thirteenth-century editor, or an editor before him, who perceived the ambiguous character of the speech which dealt with factionalism and oligarchy—thus, περὶ πολιτείας. Only the vagaries of interest and taste have caused the speech to be preserved; it is not significant and it is not by Herodes.
Prior to this study, the most complete and up-to-date compilation of inscriptions pertaining to Herodes Atticus was done by Artur Stein for the second edition of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Vol. II, no. 802. Stein made a similar compilation for Regilla, Vol. I, no. 720, and for their son Bradua, Vol. II, no. 785. These full and reliable compilations practically solved the epigraphical problems with which this study had to deal. My research disclosed only a handful of inscriptions which were available to Stein but not included in his lists, or which have been discovered since the publication of *PIR²* I-II (1933-1936).

The tabulation below organizes by publication Stein's epigraphical compilations for Herodes, Regilla, and Bradua. I used throughout my study, of course, the other articles in the *Prosopographia* pertaining to the Herodians, and I have cited many inscriptions beyond those relevant only to Herodes, Regilla, and Bradua; but since by far the greatest emphasis has been on the careers of these three, the epigraphical index will be limited to them. The second chapter of Paul Graindor's biography of Herodes is still
the definitive treatment of Herodes' father, the famous Atticus. For Atticus and the other figures of this study, the reader is advised still to consult the standard reference works for the pertinent and full epigraphical data. As for Herodes, Regilla, and Bradua, the study and following table are intended to be complete.

My tabulation is designed to make the inscriptions as accessible as possible. Thus, the *Inscriptiones Graecarum* (editio minor) is cited wherever possible, as well as the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, the notes of which are indispensable. The following abbreviations are used:

- H - Herodes, *PIR² II*, no. 002
- R - Regilla, *PIR² I*, no. 720
- B - Bradua, *PIR² II*, no. 705

The number following these letters will be that number assigned by Stein at the beginning of each of his articles to each inscription. A page reference will be given for those inscriptions discussed in the body of Stein's articles without being included in the initial list.
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¹The inscription is only Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.
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²The basic epigraphical evidence for Herodes' position as amicus principis.
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288 R 1 127, note 180
610 R 2 126, note 175
611 not cited not cited³
612 R 3 129
613 not cited⁴ 129
614 H 53 129
615 H 54 129
616 H 55 129
617 not cited 129

³Very fragmentary, only Μαρά[ςώvios].
⁴Omitted for unclear reason from Stein's compilation; see addenda below.
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| BCH                  |                  |                           |
| XVI (1892), 464      | H 44             | 157, note 254            |

| Ephemeris Archaeologike |                  |                           |
| 1893, 73              | H 8              | 106, note 105            |

In addition to the foregoing inscriptions, this study has included the following inscriptions which Stein regarded

[^5]: Both 617 and 618 extremely fragmentary.

[^6]: Donor not specified in either 627 or 628. See discussion in text above as cited.
as dubious, omitted, or could not consider due to their being unavailable to him.

1. Epigraphical data for Herodes' consulship; Stein, PIR² II, p. 177 includes all under.fasti. See above p. 96 and note 72.

2. IG II² 1088 (above pp. 66-68). It has been established that this inscription does not properly pertain to Herodes. Stein omitted.

3. IG II² 3971 (above p. 119, note 152). To Polydeucion. Stein omitted.

4. IG II² 4076 (above p. 141, note 212). To Regilla. Stein lacked the positive data of the new joins.

5. IG II² 4779 (above p. 163, note 13). Stein thought the attribution dubious. I see no reason to doubt its relevance to Herodes.


7. IG II² 5189 plus commentary (above p. 162, note 10). To Regilla. The inscription included in the notes for IG II² 5189 was unavailable to Stein.


9. SEG XIV 542 (above p. 16, note 6). To Herodianus. Not available to Stein.


11. Olympia V:

Olympia V: (contd.)

617-618 (above p. 129). Both very fragmentary.

627-628 (above p. 130). Donor(s) not specified. Reasonably omitted by Stein from his specific articles on Herodes and Regilla.

Stein lists (PIR² II, p. 176) the following inscriptions as possibly pertaining to Herodes: IG II² 3599, 4779, 4780. Inscriptions 4779 and 4780 are included above in my list of supplementary inscriptions, since recent scholarship has made their Herodian attribution certain. As for 3599, I would add that very fragmentary and ambiguous inscription, which could pertain to either Herodes or his father, to the other inscriptions which Stein (loc. cit.) regards as really doubtfully Herodian: IG II² 3193, 3960, 4992, and IGR III 938. To this group of doubted inscriptions should be added the archaistic dedication found in the wall of the stadium at Athens, cited above p. 199, note 87.
1. Primary Sources

a. Ancient Literature


b. Epigraphical Collections

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum


Inscriptiones Graecae


2. Secondary Sources


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Stein, Artur. See Groag, E.


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Verdélis, N. M. "Inscriptions de l'agora romaine d'Athènes," BCH, LXXI (1947), 42-46.


I, Harry Carraci Rutledge, was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, January 23, 1932. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Columbus, Ohio, and my undergraduate training at Ohio State University, which granted me the Bachelor of Science in Education degree, summa cum laude, in 1954. Thereupon I served as a commissioned officer in the United States Army for two years. During the academic years of 1956-1958, I held the appointment of University Fellow at Ohio State University, from which I received the Master of Arts degree in 1957. In the summer of 1958 I was the Eta Sigma Phi Scholar at the Summer Session of the American Academy in Rome; in August of 1958 I participated in the tour sponsored by the Vergilian Society of America at Cumae, Italy. I was appointed a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Classical Languages at Ohio State University in September, 1958, and held this position for two years while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.