Intellectuals and the integration of the eastern provinces 1st – 2nd century AD*

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From the beginning of the 1st century AD, Rome ruled the Mediterranean. Spain, Africa, Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt were reduced to provinces. The German tribes were forced back to the eastern banks of Rhine, Danube and Elbe. The Parthians concentrated their influence on central Asia. Internal conflicts like the civil wars 69 AD and the Judean revolts were overcome. The Roman Empire was at the height of its military power, political stability and cultural splendour. Appian could rightfully claim that Rome had become the most powerful empire ever, the largest and the most stable[1].

The reason Appian gives for this success is striking: For him it was not so much Rome's military power or specific Roman virtues like prudence (εὐβουλία), proficiency (ἀρετή), patience (φερεπονία) or hard labour (ταλαιπωρία) that made the Roman empire work[2]. Even less it was senatorial *libertas*[3], like Tacitus, who understood the Roman Empire mainly as playground of senatorial families originating from Italy, had argued two generations earlier. Appian, who was born into a family of Alexandrian nobles in the 90s AD and spoke of the Ptolemies as "*my kings*"[4] despite that he lived and worked as advocate

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[1] App. *hist*. prooem. 29-42.

[2] App. *hist*. prooem. 43-44. I translated "ἀρετή" as "proficiency", as I share the position of Goldmann 1988, p. 6-23 against Kuhn-Chen 2002, p. 125: Kuhn-Chen limited the term "ἀρετή" to a post-Platonic understanding and therefore thinks of "ἀρετή" only as "ethical prowess" or "moral virtue". But Appian's context shows, that he used the word in its older meaning as "practical prowess", or like the Latin word *virtus* in the sense of "military prowess".

[3] Meaning the political independence of the senate as well as privileges, which senators granted to their clients, may these have been persons or *amici et socii* of the empire.

[4] App. *hist*. prooem. 39 [Gabba/Roos/Viereck]: καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνοις ἦν στρατιά τε πεζῶν μυριάδες εἴκοσι καὶ μυριάδες ἱππέων τέσσαρες.

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in Rome for most of his life[5], emphasized the cultural superiority, political matureness and economical abilities that each of the conquered people contributed to the whole[6]. According to Appian it was especially the integration of the Greek east and Egypt with Rome that defined and stabilized the Empire, in terms of its geography as well as in its constitution as *de facto* monarchy[7].

In the following pages I want to explore the first two reasons Appian gave, cultural superiority and political matureness, by asking how Greek intellectuals were assimilated into the Roman networks and political processes.

Sophists (in the sense of highly reputed orators and teachers of rhetoric like in Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum*)[8] and philosophers both influenced their surroundings solely by their intellectual abilities, one by the power of persuasion, the other by the power of reason[9]. Both combined Greek cultural traditions dating back to classical Athens, political habits defined by Greeks for more than six centuries, and social habits of Greco-Roman aristocrats in the east. Since Hadrianic times they were complemented by some grammarians who managed to transform their detailed knowledge of language into procuratorial careers. Historians like Arrian and Cassius Dio described and summed up the political processes they influenced as senators. Inscriptions styled magistrates and provincial nobles alike as "sophist"

[5] App. *hist*. prooem. 62: δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας τῶν βασιλέων. According to Stein 1927, p. 134, note 2 and Brodersen 1993, p. 353 Appian served as *causidicus* / barrister. Schwartz 1895; PIR^2 A 943 and Pflaum 1960-61, p. 1033 suggest that he was *advocatus fisci* / an advocate who represented the interests of the imperial treasury at the courts.

[6] App. *hist*. prooem. 17-18; 20-28; 48.

[7] App. *hist*. prooem. 19-28.

[8] The term "sophist" can describe (a) a teacher of rhetoric (*Dig*. 27.1.6; P.Oxy. 2190), (b) a highly reputed teacher of rhetoric or star orator (see Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum* or Aelius Aristides' orations), (c) in platonic tradition the selfish tempter of juveniles and false philosopher (e.g. Philo *det*. 35-39; *som*. 1.211; *aetern*. 132), and (d) someone who tries influence politics on grounds of his philosophical understanding of life and the world around him (see the σὸφος ἀνήρ of the First Sophistic). Modern scholars on the Second Sophistic since Bowersock 1969 tend to use the term "sophist" for both, the star orator as well as men like Dio Chrysostom despite that the latter would describe themselves as "φιλόσοφος" due to their political interests and ambitions. Here I follow the sources and rate Dio among the philosophers, as I also understand "sophist" in the sense of Philostratus' *vit.Soph*.

[9] For their political ambitions and impact see Schmitz 1997 and Hahn 1989.

(σοφιστής), "orator" (ῥήτωρ) or "philosopher" resp. "lover of wisdom" (φιλόσοφος)[10]. The worlds of intellect and politics were linked in multiple ways.

To bring some order to this vast field, the paper is divided into two main sections: The first section discusses intellectuals at the imperial level of administration and politics. Here one has to differentiate between (I.1) the rather indirect ways of influence gained by scholars as part of a senator's or emperor's entourage, and (I.2) the more direct influence of orators and grammarians in procuratorial offices. The second main section discusses intellectuals at the provincial and civic level of administration. Here I examine (II.1) how the image of "the philosopher" could justify political ambitions, (II.2) how the image of "the philosopher" was used by local nobles, and (II.3) what type of civic or provincial offices was held by "sophists", "orators" and "philosophers" as documented by coins and inscriptions. Did they only hold offices of cultural or social relevance, or did they also serve in offices of a genuinely administrational character?

I.1 Scholars and patrons

In late Republican times, Greek professional intellectuals became a regular part of Roman senators' entourages. Tiberius Gracchus, Cato Uticensis, Messalla Corvinus and Cicero surrounded themselves with scholars and poets who sung their praises[11], as did Faustus Sulla, Pompey, Mark Anthony and Asinius Pollio[12]. Augustus and Maecenas were the most prominent of these figures and were more successful by nursing their scholars and poets into the Principate[13]. When Hadrian and Julia Domna supported intellectuals, they just followed a well-established aristocratic habit, in addition to their personal interest in cultural pursuits[14], like other Roman nobles in their time[15]. The social

[10] I left out "γραμματικοί" mentioned on inscriptions as these refer to professionals only, as well as "φιλόλογοι" as the term was rather used to assert broad cultural interests than that it described a special type of scholar or intellectual branch.
[11] Plut. *TG* 8: the orator Diophanes; *Cat.min*. 6; 10: Athenodoros Kordylion; 67; 69; Cic. *tusc*. 5.113: Diodotus and Asclepiades; *acad*. 115: Diodotus; *Att*. 2.20.6: Diodotus left his patron Cicero a legacy. Zetzel 1972; Davies 1973.
[12] Suda T 588 [Adler]; Sen. *de ira* 3.23.8; Plut. *Ant*. 72. Scardigli 1983; Bowersock 1965, pp. 125-126; 137.
[13] Syme 1959; Bowersock 1965, pp. 30-41; Davies 1973.
[14] For Hadrian see Fein 1994. For Julia Domna see Bowersock 1969, pp.101-109; Levick 2007, pp. 107-123.

and intellectual mechanisms of these circles have already been discussed[16]. Here it is more interesting to see how scholar-protégées influenced their patrons in political matters.

According to Plutarch, Arius Didymus managed to save Alexandria from being destroyed after the conquest of Egypt 31 BC[17]. Julian the Apostate followed this line of tradition and styled Arius Didymus as a philosopher-teacher who guarded a juvenile regent (Octavian) against the temptations of power[18]. But if one skips the *topos* of the Socrates-like guardian, there remains an Alexandrian Greek who saved his home town by using his personal relationship to Augustus – a highly political context in which this philosopher was acting. Whether Arius, the *amicus* of Octavian, is identical with Arius the doxographer is a matter of dispute[19]. But even if one favours Göransson's scepticism, Arius is to be understood as some sort of philosopher-*amicus*, since Suetonius *Aug*. 89 mentions him explicitly as "*Areus philosophus*", as does Plutarch[20]. About 21 AD Augustus sent him to Sicily as head of the financial administration (διοικέτης), which made him responsible for all legal affairs of the province[21].

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[15] Bowersock 1969, pp. 76-88; Schlange-Schöningen 2003.

[16] Clarke 1978; Gold 1982; Saller 1983; Gallia 2009; Eshleman 2012.

[17] Plut. *Ant*. 80-81; *mor*. 814d; Cass. Dio 51.16.3-4.

[18] Julian *ep. ad Them*. 265c [Rochefort]: Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐοίκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρηματικὸν ὁρμήσαντες βίον τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τὸν πρακτικόν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραιτησαμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθης, Ἀρείου (Didymus), Νικολάου (of Damascus), Θρασύλλου καὶ Μουσωνίου (Rufus) μνημονεύσω· τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως τις ἦν κύριος τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄρειος, ὡς φασί, καὶ διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπιτροπεῦσαι παρῃτήσατο, Θράσυλλος δὲ Τιβερίῳ πικρῷ καὶ φύσει χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ξυγγενόμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογήσατο, δείξας ὅστις ἦν, ὤφειλεν ἂν εἰς τέλος αἰσχύνην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὕτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὤνησεν ἡ πολιτεία.

[19] For the identity of Arius Didymus see Göransson 1995; Fortenbaugh 1983; Inwood 1989; Moraux 1973, vol. 1, p. 259-443; Natali 1999; Hahm 1990. Von Arnim 1895, Susemihl 1891-1892, vol. 2, p. 252; 295 and Fraser 1972, vol. 1, p. 490-91 identify the friend of Augustus with the doxographer and consider Arius to be a pupil of Antiochus' of Ascalon. More hesitant is Göransson, as is Baltes 1996 and Gombocz 1997, vol. 4, p. 415, note 2. If one accepts this, PIR^2 A 1035 is obsolete.

[20] Plut. Ant. 80.1: Αὐτὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰσήλαυνεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Ἀρείῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ προσδιαλεγόμενος καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνδεδωκώς, ἵν' εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς πολίταις περίβλεπτος εἴη καὶ θαυμάζοιτο τιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπρεπῶς. Cass. Dio 51.16.4: … καὶ τρίτον Ἄρειον τὸν πολίτην, ᾧ που φιλοσοφοῦντί τε καὶ συνόντι οἱ ἐχρῆτο.

[21] Plut. *mor*. 207b: Ἐν δὲ Σικελίᾳ Ἄρειον ἀντὶ Θεοδώρου κατέστησε διοικητήν. Pflaum 1960-61, pp. 31; 1044.

Arius' outspokenness not only brought him near to the seats of imperial power, but also made him rise to a procuratorial career.

Thrasyllus became part of Tiberius' entourage in Rhodes[22] and followed his imperial *amicus* until both ended their lives in Capri. According to Suetonius, Thrasyllus tried to save innocent men who were involved in *maiestas*-trials, though with mixed results[23]. Themistius and Julian mentioned him together with Arius and styled him as an unselfish philosopher-sage, who attempted to calm a brutish tyrant by holding up the royal virtues of modesty and benevolence. But, oddly enough, they remembered Thrasyllus only for his relations to Tiberius. Despite being neo-platonists, they did not mention Thrasyllus' scholarly work: that he had rearranged, and maybe also re-edited the Platonic dialogues in tetralogies, and that this became the leading edition until the 6th century[24]. Instead Julian and Themistius reduced Thrasyllus to his political role, as they had reduced Arius on it. Arius' and Thrasyllus' intellectual interests were of minor importance to Julian and Themistius.

The examples of Arius and Thrasyllus show two things: (a) Scholars tried to influence emperors by using their semi-private position, which allowed outspokenness to a great extent than did the position of senator. (b) On the other hand our knowledge of such actions is highly biased: Their being remembered depended on whether they could be used as role model. Especially Arius' protection of his native city is only testified by authors who followed a particular philosophical line of interest that was meant to elucidate the sense of public duty as the first of all virtues.

This last point becomes even more obvious in the case of Timagenes, who was not mentioned by Themistius and Julian despite that he seems to have acted even more fearlessly than Arius and Thrasyllus. Timagenes was harshly criticized by Seneca *de ira* 3.23.4 for his sharp tongue against Augustus[25]. His outspokenness seems to have gone beyond the acceptable not only because Timagenes' tone antagonized Augustus' newly established court, but also because he seemed to have followed a Republican line of political convictions

[22] Suet. *Tib*. 14.4; Cass. Dio 55.11.1.
[23] Suet. *Tib*. 62; Cass. Dio 58.27.3.
[24] Diog.Laert. 3.56-62; Albin. *eisag*. 4.
[25] Sen. *de ira* 3.23.4-8; *ep*. 91.13 ; *contr*. 10.5.22; Hor. *ep*. 1.19, l. 15; Plut. *mor*. 68b. On literature in political contexts see Cramer 1945; Eich 2000; Raaflaub, Samons 1990, p. 438.

more than was appropriate: "Timagenes, a writer of history, made some unfriendly remarks about the emperor himself, his wife, and all his family, and they had not been lost" ("*Timagenes historiarum scriptor quaedam in ipsum* [= Augustus]*, quaedam in uxorem eius et in totam domum dixerat, nec perdiderat dicta*"): Timagenes not only opposed Augustus, but his entire, now royal, house. He criticized not only actual political decisions, but the entire monarchical setting that Augustus had created. Timagenes was not ignored by Themistius and Julian because he was a historian; they do mention Timagenes' rival Nicolaus of Damascus. But Nicolaus wrote a panegyrical biography of Augustus and remained his *amicus*, whereas Timagenes criticized Augustus' politics on principal. Asinius Pollio gave Timagenes shelter after his relations to Augustus reached the breaking point and he ended his life in Albany reduced to being a teacher[26]. His undefeatable sense of political independence made it impossible for Themistius and Julian to include Timagenes in their list of intellectual role models.

On the other hand, Arius, Thrasyllus and Timagenes have in common, that they were only as influential as their personal relationship to the emperor allowed. At the time they spoke up against an emperor they held no office, which was an advantage in so far as it allowed the outspokenness (παρρησία) of the semi-private position of an *amicus*. On the other hand, it was a disadvantage, since the final decision was still up to the emperor.

I.2 Intellectuals in procuratorial offices

The influence of court intellectuals became more official in mid-1st century AD, when the imperial administration became increasingly elaborate and secretarial posts a regular part of procuratorial careers[27]. Claudius' personal physician (ἀρχίατρος), C. Stertinius Xenophon, became *procurator ad legationes et ad responsa Graeca* (chief

[26] Suda T 588 [Adler].

[27] Halfmann 1979, p. 19: „Dass Griechen unter den Freigelassenen (= of the *familia Caesaris*) stark vertreten waren, war die Folge republikanischer Tradition, als griechische Sklaven und Freigelassene sich in der Umgebung der nobiles aufhielten; kaum ein politisch ehrgeiziger Römer bezweifelte die Bedeutung griechischer Erziehung und verzichtete auf sie."; Millar 1967.

secretary responsible for all imperial decrees concerning the East)[28], as did Tib. Claudius Balbillus[29], whom Seneca called "a very distinguished man, exceptionally accomplished in every type of literature" ("*virorum optimus perfectusque in omni litterarum genere rarissime*")[30]. Balbillus also had been head of the Alexandrian mouseion, the Alexandrian archive of Hermes and *praefectus Aegypti*: all offices at the interface of administrational and cultural matters. He joined Claudius as military tribune in Brittany, but this was rather meant to enable Balbillus to go on with an equestrian career rather than that he had profound military experience[31].

From Hadrianic time onwards, men like Xenophon and Balbillus were replaced by professional sophists. C. Avidius Heliodorus, a Greek orator from Syria, was *procurator ab epistulis Graecis* (chief secretary for the emperor's correspondence with the Greek east). Later he became *praefectus Aegypti*. Since Dionysius of Miletus needled him for his allegedly insufficient rhetorical abilities, Heliodorus should be counted among the protagonists of the Second Sophistic. Dionysius' criticism fits other jealousies and rivalries mentioned in Philostratus *Vitae Sophistarum*[32]. The professional sophists Caninius Celer[33], Alexander Peloplaton[34] and Aspasius of

[28] Paton/Hicks, InscrCos no.345, l. 4-5: ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλη|νικῶν ἀποκριμάτων; Maiuri, Syll. no.475, Kos, l. 4-5: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποκριμά|των. PIR S 913; Kind 1909; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 1020; no.16.

[29] IEph 3042, l. 10-12: ad legati|ones et resp[onsa Graeca? Ca]esaris Aug(usti) | divi Claudi.

[30] Sen. *nat.quaest*. 4.2.13.

[31] Colosse de Memnon 29, l. 16: Βάλβιλλός τ' ὸ σόφος; IEph 3042; IGR 4.459; Cass. Dio 66.9.2. Merkelbach 1981, p. 187. For the procurator Balbillus see Pflaum 1960-1961, no.15; p. 1020; Stein 1950, p. 33-34. Here it is not necessary to discuss Balbillus' identity to full extend: A minimalistic position which identifies the procurator with the father of Balbilla is enough to make my point. Two main positions were discussed: Cichorius 1922 and 1927 argued for combining all sources mentioning a Balbillus mid-1st century AD. It was rejected by Stein (PIR B 38 and PIR^2 C 813), who differentiates even between the procurator and the astrologer. For the Alexandrian museion see Lewis 1963 and Holder 2017: The majority of its members were Alexandrian nobles, not professional intellectuals.

[32] Cass. Dio 69.3.5; 71.22.2. Fein 1994, p. 256-265; PIR^2 A 1405; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 1021, no.106; Stein 1950, pp. 72-74. Eshleman 2008.

[33] Philostr. *vit.soph*. 524: οὐ γὰρ Διονυσίου τὸ φρόντισμα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ Κέλερος τοῦ τεχνογράφου, ὁ δὲ Κέλερ βασιλικῶν μὲν ἐπιστολῶν ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, μελέτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν, Διονυσίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐκ μειρακίου χρόνον διάφορος. PIR^2 C 388; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 1021.

Ravenna[35] had also been *procurator ab epistulis Graecis*. The „σοφιστής" L. Julius Vestinus was head of the Alexandrian mouseion, *procurator a bibliothecis*, *ab epistulis* and *a studiis*[36]. Vestinus, who made a shortened edition of Pamphilus and wrote *eclogae* on Demosthenes, Thucydides, Isaeus, Isocrates and Thrasymachus "*and other orators*" ("καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων")[37], seems to have worked at the interface of grammatical and rhetorical studies, but was not a sophist in the sense of Philostratus; neither teaching nor public speeches (προβαλλόμενα) are attested for him. Dionysius, son of Glaucus, „γραμματικός" and pupil of the Stoic Chaeremon, became *procurator a bibliothecis, ab epistulis* and *responsis ad legations* under Trajan[38].

That Valerius Eudaemon achieved a procuratorial career because of his past as a professional sophist was only assumed by Stein[39]. No sources mention Eudaemon directly as sophist or orator. The sophist Claudius Hadrianus was promoted to *procurator ab epistulis* by Commodus[40]. As Hadrianus died shortly after the nomination, it remains uncertain whether he was expected to exercise this office. It is also possible, that his promotion was only a matter of rank as in the case of the historian Appian[41].

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[34] Suda A 1128 [Adler]: σοφιστής; Philostr. *vit.soph*. 570-576; esp. 571: ὑπὸ Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐκεῖ στρατεύοντος καὶ δεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν Ἕλλησιν. Schmid 1894; PIR^2 A 503; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 1021.

[35] Suda A 4205 [Adler]; Philostr. *vit.soph*. 628: ἐπειδὴ παρελθὼν ἐς βασιλείους ἐπιστολὰς. PIR^2 A 1262; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 102.

[36] IGUrbRom 1.62, l. 5-7; Suda O 835 [Adler]: Οὐηστῖνος, Ἰούλιος χρηματίσας, σοφιστής. Ziegler 1955; Kroll 1918; PIR^2 I 623; Pflaum 1960-61, pp. 1020; 1022-23; no.105.

[37] Suda, prooem.; O 835 [Adler].

[38] Suda Δ 1173 [Adler]. PIR^2 D 103; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 1020-21; 1023; no.46; Cohn 1905.

[39] Stein 1950, p. 76: „Wir werden auch für ihn annehmen dürfen, daß er aus dem Kreise der griechischen Sophisten hervorgegangen ist und durch seine literarischen Verdienste in die prokuratorische Laufbahn aufstieg".

[40] Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 585-590; Suda A 528 [Adler]: ἐσοφίστευσε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑπὸ Κομόδου ἐγένετο, suggests that Hadrianus really exercised this office but seems to misquote Philostratus, see Jones 1972, p. 482, note 39. Bowersock 1969, p. 55.

[41] Fronto *Antonin. Pium lib.* 10.1 [van den Hout]: *dignitatis enim suae* (the historian Appian) *in senectute ornandae causa, non ambitione aut procuratoris stipendii cupiditate optat adpisci hunc honorem*.

Orators also held posts of a diplomatic nature: The sophist Dionysius of Miletus was *legatus Augusti* of Hadrian[42]. T. Aurelius Nikostratos, son of Nikostratos[43], the "*sophist*" Tib. Claudius Antipatros[44], and an "*orator*" from Samos, whose name is lost[45], served as envoys for their home towns on Rhodes, Lindos and Samos. The orator Harpocration announced the decisions and decrees of Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans I, and, like Dionysius of Miletus, mediated in conflicts between the emperor and the provinces. He was not directly mentioned as *legatus Augusti* in the papyri, but his task was identical[46].

Thus (a) professional intellectuals in imperial services were limited to posts that dealt with the emperor's affairs in the Greek east where their rhetorical abilities were expected to smooth relations. (b) With the exception of Vestinus, who was related to consuls and whose family came from Vienne[47], none of them held posts which included the affairs of the Latin speaking west. (c) No professional intellectuals served in procuratorial offices of a genuinely administrative nature. Balbillus and Heliodorus both served as *praefectus Aegypti* under an emperor who supported the Alexandrian mouseion[48], and both in times of Egyptian uprisings[49]: Balbillus was involved in the aftermath

[42] Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 524: Ἀδριανὸς γὰρ σατράπην μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἐθνῶν, κατέλεξε δὲ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ ἱππεύουσι...; IEph 3047, l. 2-4: [Τ(ίτον) Κλ(αύδιον)] Φ[λαουιαν]ὸν Διονύσιον | [τὸν] ῥητορα καὶ σοφιστὴν | [δ]ὶς ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. Jones 1980, p. 373-374. PIR^2 D 105: „praeses (sc. procurator) factus provinciarum, quarundam haud ita exiguarum"; Pflaum 1960-1961, p. 1100: „procurator provinciae nescio cuius". Fein 1994, p. 265, note 237 doubts whether Dionysius executed an office. For Dionysius see Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 521-526; Schwartz 1905b; Bowersock 1969, pp. 51-53; Fein 1994, pp. 264-266; Schmitz 1997, pp. 53-54.

[43] IG 12.1.83, Rhodes, 2nd half of the 3rd century AD, l. 2-5; Blinkenberg, Lindos 2.492.

[44] Blinkenberg, Lindos 2.449, about 100 AD, l. 8-10.

[45] IG 12.6.1.458, Samos, 2nd century AD, l. 2-17.

[46] P.Ammon [Maresch/Andorlini].

[47] Hanslik 1955: M. (Julius) Vestinus Atticus became *consul ordinarius* in 65 AD;

[48] Hadrian supported it by granting memberships (Hist.Aug. *Hadr*. 20.2; Athen. 15 (677df); Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 524; 532; perhaps also Colosse de Memnon 37, see Fein 1994, p. 114), Claudius by financing a „*a museio additum*" (Suet. *Claud*. 42).

[49] Halfmann 1979, p. 22: Die „hohen ritterlichen Beamten griechischer Herkunft, von den bis zum Tod Neros drei zum *praefectus Aegypti* aufstiegen (…) waren sämtlich freier Herkunft; bei ihrer Auswahl zur ritterlichen Laufbahn vermischten sich noch stark persönliche Interessen des Kaiserhauses, wobei allein die

of the conflict between Jews and Alexandrians 39 AD[50], Heliodorus served from 138 to 141 AD, right after the Bar-Kochba revolt, which had also spread to Egypt[51]. Their task required men of administrative as well as of diplomatic qualities. (d) Sophists can be attested as procurators under Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Severus Alexander, all emperors who either had a great need to stabilize their reign, or had distinct intellectual interests. (e) Although sophists held offices at the imperial level of administration, they only held positions that were defined by personal closeness to the emperor and the transmission of his directions. Thus, their situation is still comparable to that of professional intellectuals in the entourage of senators or emperors.

II.1 The philosopher as political adviser

Dio Chrysostom and Apollonius of Tyana (or at least the literary figure Philostratus presents in his *Vita Apollonii*) might be the two most prominent examples of professional philosophers, who had political ambitions on the civic and provincial level of administration. Dio Chrysostom, whose career was at its height during the reign of Trajan and Hadrian, accentuated the public benefit gained from his political advice as follows:

> "If I do not wholly mistake your purpose regarding me, and also if I am cognizant of all the matters in which I am capable of serving you, the only thing left to account for my having been made a citizen by you is naught else than that, perhaps to a greater degree than others, I have both the desire and the ability to give advice on the interests of the commonwealth. However, if such is not the case, then not only have you been misguided in your interest in me but I too, it would appear, was rash in heeding your call in the hope of proving useful to your city in the future, since you are not making that use of me for which alone I am adapted. If, on the other hand, all cities, or rather the great cities, need not only the men of wealth, both to finance the public spectacles and liberally to provide such customary

Beziehungen zum Hofe die Laufbahn und den Einsatzort bestimmen konnten, mit objektiven Notwendigkeiten der Reichsverwaltung, die die Heranziehung von Griechen unabhängig vom privaten Interesse des Kaisers unumgänglich machten."

[50] *Acta Isidori* = Musurillo 1961, 4c.

[51] Stein 1950, pp. 72-74.

> expenses, and flatterers to afford pleasure by their demagogic lap-trap, but also counsellors to provide safety by their policies, I myself shall not shrink from aiding the city to the best of my abilities by giving advice on matters of greatest importance"[52].

Dio's self-understanding as philosopher-orator is, above all, to be a "σύμβουλος", a "*counsellor*", in political matters, not a teacher of rhetoric or philosophy, or a "*Konzertredner*" (as L. Rademacher called them), who speaks on cultural or philosophical topics in order to entertain an audience[53]. Unlike Aelius Aristides, who focused on his Greek cultural heritage, Dio Chrysostom, although his orations were equally stylized, emphasized rather the terms and conditions of civic self-government, and he did it by following a tradition of philosophical guidance with its roots in Socrates as role model and exemplified by Plato living at the court of Dionysius II of Syracuse[54], as well as by Theophastus at the circle of Hermias of Artaneus[55].

From Dio' point of view, claiming a political role was justified (a) by his keen philosophical understanding of life and the κόσμος, the basis of every ethical conviction, which enabled him to give advice in political situations, (b) by his willingness to speak up even if it meant risking one's personal welfare, and (c) by doing this even more dedicatedly than magistrates or civic nobles might be able to[56].

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[52] Dio Chrysostom *or*. 38.1-2 [von Arnim]: εἰ δὲ μὴ διαμαρτάνω μήτε τῆς ὑμετέρας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως, ὅσα τε ὑμῖν δύναμαι χρήσιμος εἶναι, ταῦτα ἐπίσταμαι· τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν, δι' ὃ πολίτης ἐγὼ γεγένημαι παρ' ὑμῖν [σπουδῆς], οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ συμβουλεύειν ἐμέ τι περὶ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων ἴσως μᾶλλον ἑτέρων καὶ βούλεσθαι καὶ δύνασθαι. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον, ὑμεῖς τε τῆς περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδῆς διημάρτετε ἐγώ τε ἔοικα μάτην ὑπακούσας ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ γενήσεσθαι τῇ πόλει χρήσιμος, οὐ ποιουμένων μου χρείαν ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣν μόνον ἐπιτήδειός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ πάσαις μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις, δεῖ μὲν καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἵνα καὶ χορηγῶσι καὶ φιλοτιμῶνται ταυτὶ τὰ νενομισμένα δαπανήματα, δεῖ δὲ καὶ κολάκων ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα δημαγωγοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἥδωνται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ συμβούλων, ἵνα σῴζωνται ταῖς πολιτείαις, κἀγὼ καθ' ὅσον μοι δυνατὸν οὐκ ὀκνήσω περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλεύων ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν (transl. by Crosby).

[53] For a sophist of more cultural interests see the speeches of Aelius Aristides, for a sophist of more philosophical interests see Favorinus Arelates in Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 490-492; Gal. *praecogn. ad Epigen*., vol.14, p. 629 [Kühn]; PIR^2 F 123; Follet 2000.

[54] Plut. *Dion* 11-22.

[55] Gaiser 1985, pp. 18-20. On Dio as philosopher see Nesselrath 2009.

[56] Dio Chrysostom *or*. 38.1 [von Arnim]: Ὅταν ἐκλογίσωμαι τὰς αἰτίας, ἄνδρες Νικομηδεῖς, δι' ἃς ἐποιήσασθέ με πολίτην· οὐ γὰρ πλοῦτον ὄντα ὁρῶ μοι μέγαν, ὥστε νομίζειν ὅτι διὰ χρήματα ἐσπουδάσθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ θεραπεύειν τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντι ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα· οὔκουν οὐδὲ εἰς τοῦτό μου χρῄζειν

Therefore Dio styled his ideal philosopher-orator as a man, who is not someone of leisure and elegance, or someone who comforts his audience. He is neither soft-spoken, nor entertaining, nor does he charm or support his listeners' fancies. On the contrary: It is the philosopher-orator's outspokenness (παρρησία), at times sharp and even unpleasant, and his lack of economic wealth and public offices that guarantees his truthful intentions towards the city hosting him. He is not bound to his place of birth, but independent from daily demands, obliged to serve all who are in need of good counsel, and a travelling specialist (τεχνίτης) in politics like the sophists of classical Athens – or at least this is the role Dio asserts for himself:

> "I am well aware, men of Tarsus, that it is customary both here and elsewhere for citizens to mount the platform and give advice; not just any citizens, but those who are prominent and men of wealth, and particularly those who have honorary performed their special services toward the state. For it is not reasonable, if I may say so, that you should have your share in the possessions of the wealthy but fail to profit by their intelligence, whatever that may be. And yet, whenever you wish to listen to harpists or pipers or to enjoy the sight of athletes, you do not call upon only men of wealth or your fellow citizens, but rather upon those who have expert knowledge and capacity, and this is true not only of you but of everybody like you"[57].

A rather similar image is presented by Philostratus in the *Vita Apollonii*. Again a philosopher who cannot clearly be assigned to a particular philosophical school is teaching an entourage of pupils and friends (ἑταῖροι) and giving public speeches in front of the municipal senate (βουλαί) about how politics might be improved. Especially Apollonius' speech of defence in a *maiestas*-trial before Domitian

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δοκεῖτε, τὸ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ὑμῶν ἁπάσαις ὑπηρετεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐμέ· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ συμποτικός εἰμί τις οὐδὲ κοινὸς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συνουσίαις, ὥστε ἀπό γε τούτου παρέχειν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡδονήν·

[57] Dio Chrysostom *or*. 34.1 [von Arnim]: Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς, ὅτι νομίζεται καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς πολίτας παριέναι καὶ συμβουλεύειν, οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς καλῶς λελειτουργηκότας. οὐ γὰρ εὔλογον ἴσως τῆς μὲν οὐσίας τῆς τῶν πλουσίων μετέχειν ὑμᾶς τὸ μέρος, τῆς δὲ διανοίας μὴ ἀπολαύειν, ὁποία ποτ' ἂν ᾖ. καίτοι κιθαρῳδῶν γε ὁπόταν ἀκούειν ἐθελήσητε ἢ αὐλητῶν ἢ ἀθλητὰς θεωρεῖν, οὐ καλεῖτε τοὺς πλουσίους οὐδὲ τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους καὶ δυναμένους, οὐχ ὑμεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι (transl. by Crosby).

follows Plato's *Apologia*. Apollonius had been accused of high treason on grounds of a connection to the future emperor Nerva[58]. The Socratic model had similarly been used in the *Vita Sophistarum* for Nicetes[59]. It can also be found for Demetrius the Cynic in Cassius Dio's *History*[60], and for the Alexandrian magistrates in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, who defended the interests of their home town, Alexandria, against unjust emperors. In this respect the *Vita Apollonii* follows a literary tradition that was very popular at this time. Nonetheless, Philostratus' image of Apollonius captures at a philosophical ideal of the 2nd century AD.

Like the philosophers in the entourage of senators or emperors, Dio Chrysostom, Apollonius of Tyana and Demetrius the Cynic acted as private persons (ἰδιῶται). The political influence of Dio, Apollonius and Demetrius was grounded in their personal authority and in the goodwill of their recipients, which made it highly unreliable and dependent. As the philosopher-orators' influence was also limited on civic and provincial matters, it was in fact far less significant than Dio Chrysostom wants us to believe. On the other hand, the image of "the philosopher" was strong enough to enhance Dio's position within civic social and political networks, and it influenced not only professional intellectuals but also local nobles.

Since, however, they argued within the traditional parameters of the intellectual debate concerning the relationship between philosophy and rhetoric, the claim that only philosophy could provide the necessary knowledge and abilities to handle the demands of politics was a rather conventional position and a position that promoted the relevance and superiority of one field of education over that of others.

II.2 Local nobles and the image of "the philosopher"

Nobles at the civic or provincial level of administration were styled as intellectuals by many inscriptions. But whereas the case of Dio Chrystom and Apollonius of Tyana is clear, it must be asked whether

[58] Philostr. *vit.Apoll*. 7.5-8.10; esp. 7.9: ἐκάλει (Domitian) τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήτων.
[59] Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 511-512. Fant 1981.
[60] Cass. Dio 65.10-15 on grounds of Tac. *hist*. 4.40; *ann*. 16.34. Demetrius also appears in Philostr. *vit.Apoll*. 4.432; 6.33: here already transformed into a literary figure.

the intellectuals mentioned on inscriptions were professional intellectuals who took up the burden of civic offices and services[61], or whether they were nobles who claimed erudite prowess for themselves by adopting the title of a philosopher (φιλόσοφος), sophist (σοφιστής) or orator (ῥήτωρ).

"Sophists", "orators" and "philosophers" who served as officials were attested by many inscriptions. As most of the inscriptions were found in Asia Minor and Greece, it seems to be not a general phenomenon but rather specific to a certain area. All inscriptions date between early-2nd and late-3rd century AD, despite philosophers (and especially philosophers of the neo-platonic school) being greatly involved in late antique politics[62]. This can partly be explained by the economic and political crisis of the 3rd century AD, which destroyed the local aristocracy's basis, but also by the centralized government that was established to compensate the political and administrational vacuum they left.

Here I want to focus on two aspects: intellectual education as a means of social distinction, and the kind of offices that were held by men (and women) styled as intellectuals.

The role, which intellectual or even philosophical education played for asserting social distinction, can be seen best in IG II² 3704, ISelge 17 and IG 5.1.598. In IG II² 3704 from mid-3rd century Athens, T. Flavius Glaukos was "poet and orator and philosopher" who had also been *advocatus fisci* ("ποιητὴς καὶ ῥήτωρ καὶ φιλόσοφος, | ἀπὸ συνηγοριῶν ταμίου", l. 13-14). He was second cousin to Q. Statius Themistocles, on his mother's side, "descendent from a line of φιλόσοφοι, consulars and asiarchs" ("φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπατικῶν καὶ Ἀσ[ι]|αρχῶν ἔκγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον", l. 9-10)[63]. No other offices are mentioned, only priesthoods. In IG II² 3704, being a "*philosopher*" (this may be someone interested in philosophy, or more generally just a "lover of wisdom") was part of a family's identity as provincial nobles, not only a matter of sophisticated upper-class lifestyle. In

[61] Münsterberg 1973, p. 119: A sophist who served in public offices out of social constraints ("freiwilligem Zwang").
[62] O'Meara 2005.
[63] Another Statilius Themistocles is mentioned in IG II² 2039, Athens, 126 AD, l. 8-9: Στατίλ(ιος) Θεμιστοκλ[ῆς] | Ἀφροδείσιος, but lived much too early to be linked with the one from IG II² 3704. The same goes for the Flavius Glaukos mentioned in SEG 3.539.

other words, philosophical interests were used to define this family's status alongside of consular rank and ancestry.

Philosophy as part of a noble identity was not limited to men, as ISelge 17 from late Severan time shows. The first lines and right side of this inscription are damaged and, thus, the name of the woman honoured by it, is lost. She was, however, the wife of "φιλόσοφος" C. Valerius Eugenos, who belonged to one of the founding families of Selge ("[τ]οῦ πόλ̣[εως κτίστου τε] καὶ τροφέως", l. 10). Given his *nomen gentile*, Eugenos' forefathers must have been enfranchised at a rather early date. As in the case of Glaukos, no offices, services or priesthoods are mentioned for Eugenos, only his inherited social position and in-laws[64]. His wife, her father Magnianus Xenos and her brother Magnianus Aelianus Perikles Arrius are referred to as city nobles[65] and priests[66]. Not only the "φιλόσοφος" Eugenos but also his father in law Magnianus Xenos were styled as "πανάρετος" (l. 7; 10), this title is, again, rather bound to social position than to intellectual achievements. The same goes for her "high-mindedness" / "[με]γαλοφροσύνη" (l. 3). The father of the honoured woman belonged to the municipal senate and served in civic offices, but this is only mentioned as an aside and in rather general terms[67]. Her brother was even more generally referred to as someone who took care of the city's interests and needs[68].

In IG 5.1.598 from imperial Sparta, Aurelia Oppia is styled as "[τὴν φιλ]οσοφωτάτην καὶ σωφρο|νεστάτη]ν Αὐρηλίαν Ὀππίαν | [τοῦ] φιλοσοφωτάτου Καλλι|[κράτους?] θυγατέρα | [γυναῖκα] δὲ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου | [Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)?[69] Τε]ισαμενοῦ", l. 2-7. Given (a) that her husband is praised as "the most well-born" Teisamenes,

[64] ISelge 17, l. 9-10: [Γαίου] Οὐαλερίου Εὐγέ[ν]ους, πρ[οέδρου, φιλοπά]|τριδος, παναρέτο|υ, [τ]οῦ Πόλ̣[εως κτίστου τε] καὶ τροφέως, φιλοσό|[φου.

[65] ISelge l. 2: κτίστριαν καὶ τροφόν; l. 5: κτίστο[υ τῆς] πόλεως.

[66] ISelge 17, l. 1: [συνδη]μι̣ο̣υ̣ρ̣γ̣ή̣σ̣α̣σαν, ἱέρειαν Τύχης πόλεως, φιλόπατριν; l. 7: ἀρχιεροθύτου.

[67] ISelge 17, l. 7-9: [βου]|λευσαμένου τῇ πατρίδ[ι ἔ]ν τε πρ̣ά̣γ̣[μασι], ἀ̣ρ̣χ̣ὰ̣[ς πά]σας προῖκα ὑ̣π̣ε̣σ̣χ̣[ημένου ἐπὶ] | ἐπιδόσεσι χρημά[των].

[68] ISelge 17, l. 13: τῇ πατρίδι κατα[σκ]ευάσ[α]σαν ἔργα λαμπρὰ.

[69] He is mentioned in IG 5.1.599 as Teisamenes, father of Herakleia (l. 5) and Penelope (l. 17), but each time without tria nomina. As everybody else is a "M. Aurelius" or "Aurelia", Teisamenes might have been a "Marcus Aurelius" as well, as Kolbe suggested, but it is not certain.

that (b) her son[70] in law M. Aurelius Eutychianos was mentioned as poet and with the honorary title "father of the laws[71] and the city" ("[πατὴρ] νόμων καὶ πόλεως", l. 15), and (c) that she and her father were equally praised by the term "φιλοσοφώτατος", these lines should be translated as: "The most wisdom-loving and modest-living Aurelia Oppia, daughter of the most wisdom-loving Callicrates, wife of the most well-born [M. Aurelius?] Teisamenes". Neither Oppia, nor her father was a professional philosopher, but both were styled by the image of "the philosopher" as being superior in terms of morals as well as of social position. Like in IG II² 3704 and ISelge 17, offices are mentioned only in general terms ("καὶ ὡς χρηματίζῃ", l. 7). Oppia was honoured instead "for having every virtue and goodwill and her piety towards the goddess" ("ἀρετῆς πάσῃ[ς] | [καὶ εὐνοίας] καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς θεὰ[ς εὐ]|[σεβείας ἕν]εκα", l. 10-12), a phrase usually used for male "φιλόσοφοι", and for "being adorned with modesty more than everyone else, and with a bright understanding, with which she was splendidly attired" ("[Ὀππίαν σω]φροσύνη κοσμεῖ περιῴ[σιον ἄλλων] | [καὶ πινυτ]ὴ σοφίη τήνδε [κ]ατηγλ[άϊσεν]·", l. 18-19). As in the case of Charilampiane Olympias, who was mentioned in IHeraklPont 10, and Aurelia Leite[72], these typically male attributes were softened by the more female characteristic of Oppia being a loving wife[73]. Her two daughters were praised by the same phrases in IG 5.1.599[74].

In other inscriptions, to be styled as "φιλόσοφος" was connected with more concrete functions and services: A priest of the imperial cult, P. Memmius Leon, financed public games in Dodona in 241/2 AD and was therefore styled as "lover of the fatherland and philosopher" ("φιλόπατριν | καὶ φιλόσοφον", Cabanes, L'Épire p. 552,

[70] IG 5.1.599, l. 16: [τοῦ γαμβ]ροῦ αὐτῆς. It has to be a son in law, not brother in law, as he is explicitly mentioned as her daughter's husband in IG 5.1.599, l. 4-5; 13-14.

[71] One should think less of law / νόμος in the sense of "natural law" or "ethics", than of law in the sense of "civil rights".

[72] IG 12.5.292.

[73] IG 5.1.598, l. 20-21: [καὶ στέρξεν μάλ]α δή σε φιλομειδὴς [Ἀφροδίτη], | [ἔξοχος ἦν ἀν]δρῶν γείνε[το Καλλικράτης].

[74] IG 5.1.599, l. 2-5: τὴν σεμνοτάτην καὶ | φιλοσοφωτάτην καὶ | εὐγενεστάτην Ἡρά|κλειαν Τεισαμενοῦ; l. 8-10: Heracleia, wife of M. Aurelius Eutychianos, was honoured "ἀρετῆς πάσης καὶ σω|φροσύνης καὶ εὐ|σεβείας ἕνεκα"; l. 15-24 for her sister Penelope.

no. 30, l. 8-9). The same combination of functions and honorary titles can be found for Aurelia Leite, who lived in 3rd century Paros. In IG 12.5.292, she was praised as "φιλόσοφος" and "φιλόπατρις", since she seems to have funded the local gymnasium[75]. As she was the daughter of Aurelius Theodotos and wife of gymnasiarch and ἀρχιερεύς τῶν Σεβαστῶν M. Aurelius Faustus, she clearly belonged to the local aristocracy. Like other civic nobles, she was praised as having "every virtue" ("πάντα ἀρίστην", l. 1) and for being a "φιλόσοφος, lover of her husband, lover of her children, lover of the fatherland, [—], full of wisdom (and) a spouse who is bearing the best children" ("τὴν φιλόσο|φον καί φίλανδρον καὶ φιλόπαιδα καὶ φιλόπατριν [—] | τὴν σοφίαν φορέουσαν ἀριστοτόκιαν ἄκοιτιν", l. 6-8) – again, a mix of typically male honorary titles and female attributes[76]. The honorary title "lover of the fatherland" / "φιλόπατρις" is to be explained by Memmius' and Leite's eagerness to finance the local gymnasium. As the title "φιλόσοφος" is equally mentioned, it seems to reflect the honouree's generosity, too, and should therefore be translated as "lover of wisdom".

"Φιλόσοφοι" are mentioned with reference to offices of genuinely political or administrational character in, e.g. the following three inscriptions: (1) The epicurean philosopher Apollophanes, son of Demetrius, lived in first century BC Pergamon and was honoured for his capability for bringing the city's affairs in Rome to a satisfying end.[77] As his mission must have been of diplomatic nature, he can be compared with the orators in diplomatic services mentioned above. (2) In 2nd century Thespiai, the "φιλόσοφος" Avitius Archestratos, son of the "φιλόσοφος" Avitius Parmenides, served as χιλίαρχος, ἀγορανόμος, στρατηγός and gymnasiarch. He also financed the Thespian games, which were celebrated in honour of the muses and date back to early Hellenistic time[78]. (3) C. Aelius Flavianus Sulpicius from Ankara lived in the 2nd half of the 2nd century AD. He is

[75] IG 12.5.292, l. 5: τὴν γυμνασίαρχον ἐν ᾧ κατεσκεύασεν καὶ ἀνενεώσατο ἀπὸ πολυετοῦς χρόνου πεπονηκότ[ι] | γυμνασίῳ ἡ λαμπροτάτη Παρίων πόλις.

[76] To the best of my knowledge, there is only one inscription more, praising a woman for bearing the best children / being an "ἀριστοτόκια": MAMA 8.404, l. 7-8. Thus this exclusive term fits the general style of IG 12.5.292.

[77] MDAI(A) 33 (1908), p. 408, no.38, l. 3-6: πάσης ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν [ἐν] | πολλο[ῖ]ς καὶ ἀναγκαίοις καιροῖς ἐν [Ῥώ]||μηι κ[ατορθ]ώσαντα τὰ τῆς πατρίδος | πράγματα.

[78] IG 7.2519, l. 1-5: Ἀβίδιον Ἀρχέσ[τρα]τον φιλόσοφον, Ἀβιδίο[υ] | Παρμενείδου φιλοσόφου υἱόν, χειλαρχήσαν|τα, στρατηγήσαντ[α], γυμνασιαρχήσαντα, ἀγοραν[ο]||μήσαντα πλεονά[κις] φιλοτιμίας χάριν, ἀγωνοθ[ε]||τήσαντα τῶν Μουσῶν.

mentioned in four inscriptions[79], but only the honorary inscription Mitchell, Ankara no.103 styles him as "φιλόσοφος"; the others were put up by freedman of Sulpicius and follow a similar formula, perhaps that of the household[80]. Sulpicius came from an old leading family of Galatia[81]. He was president of the provincial council of Galatia twice[82] and "recipient of many crowns" ("πολυστέφανον", l. 6). The phrase "ἄλειπτος πολειτευτής" / "unconquered statesman" (l. 8) has agonistic connotations[83] and is only attested here. He was also praised as "lover of high reputation" ("φιλόδοξον", l. 4), "enricher of the city" ("πλουτιστὴν", l. 5) and "lover of his fatherland" ("φιλόπατριν", l. 7), which is exemplified by referring to buildings which he donated[84].

These few key examples suggest that provincial nobles shared to some extent the ideal of "philosopher" as a potent political adviser, which Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus had adapted for their social class.

But whereas Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus in his *Vita Apollonii* had argued within the traditional parameters of intellectual debate between philosophy and rhetoric, the honoured nobles were primarily presented as an elite that is defined by a sense of duty and benevolence. Actual offices were of secondary importance. For them the term "φιλόσοφος" was a sign of social distinction, to be superior in every respect, rather than an attribute adapted from a professional context.

So even if nobles and intellectuals like Dio and Apollonius shared a common point of view, they stressed different aspects of it according to the differences of their social position.

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[79] Mitchell, Ankara no.103-106.
[80] Mitchell, Ankara, p. 272.
[81] Mitchell, Ankara no.103, l. 5: κτίστην; l. 3: πρῶτον τοῦ ἔθνου[ς] / "first man of the province".
[82] Mitchell, Ankara no.103, l. 4: δὶς γαλατάρχην; no.104, l. 3-4; no.105, l. 3-4; no.106, l. 3-4.
[83] For all translations of Mitchell, Ankara no.103 see Mitchell, Ankara, p. 269. For the word "ἄλειπτος" see Mitchell's commentary pp. 269-270. Additionally see IGUrbRom 1.240, l. 9-10; SEG 41.1407, l. 4-10. At least similar is the wording in IG 5.1.569, l. 2-4: Γά(ϊον) Ῥούβριον Βιάνορα Σερᾶ | ἀλείπτην, τὸν ἴδιον πο|λείτην.
[84] Mitchell, Ankara no.103, l. 9-10: τὸν ἑαυτοῦ (the people of Ankara's) εὐεργέτην ἐν | [το]ῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ κτίσμασιν.

II.3 Intellectuals in civic or provincial offices

In order to compare the situation of professional philosophers like Dio Chrysostom and Apollonius of Tyana with that of professional sophists and orators who took part in political processes, it will be useful to check what kind of public offices were held by historians, orators and sophists, as well as their family backgrounds.

Philostratus and Cassius Dio both had ambitions to be respected among intellectuals of the Severan time. But as much as their historical context is the same, their social context is not. Philostratus was of comparably humble birth while Cassius Dio was a former consul, son of a consul, and member of a well-established senatorial family originating from Bithynia[85]. Philostratus gladly accepted a place in the circle around Julia Domna and praised Apollonius of Tyana, whom Caracalla honoured with a temple[86]. Cassius Dio arrogantly repudiated not only Apollonius but the entire Severan dynasty, ostensibly for being insufficient emperors but, in fact, for their non-Greek background[87]. Dio preferred the erudite circles of his peers[88].

Two generations earlier, the well-known historian Arrian was a former consul as well. He relied on his cultural pedigree between offices and after his political career ended[89]. Like Cassius Dio, intellectual pursuits were not the main interest in Arrian's life. For Philostratus, they were, as his background would not allow him to rise beyond an empresses' personal surroundings.

Thus family connections should not be disregarded.

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[85] PIR C 942; Schwartz 1899; Swain 1996, pp. 401-408.

[86] Anderson 1986, p. 77-96; Flinterman 1995; Eshleman 2008. On Julia Domna's circle see Cass. Dio 76.15.7; 78.18.3; Bowersock 1969, pp.101-109. On Apollonius of Tyana and the Severans see Cass. Dio 78.18.4.

[87] Cass. Dio 77.6.1; 78.30.2-4: family background; 77.6.2-17.1: immorality and tyranny; 77.18.2-3; 78.23.1-24.3: Julia Domna; 79.9.1-12.2: Elagabalus' cult policy; 79.14.1-3: effeminate appearance; 79.13.1-4; 14.4-17.1. For Elagabalus' father see CIL 10.6569: He made most of his career in times of political instability and taking sides in usurpations. Similar is Dio's critic on Macrinus' background. Nonetheless Dio could respect Macrinus for his qualities as ruler, see Cass. Dio 78.11.1-4; 27.1; 40.3-41.4.

[88] Cass. Dio 77.18.4: τοῖς δὲ μάγοις καὶ γόησιν οὕτως ἔχαιρεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, ὅστις καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡρῷον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι.

[89] Syme 1982; Swain 1996, pp. 242-248.

Several sophists and orators of senatorial and consular rank are attested, some with the public offices they held. None of the sophists serving at the imperial level of administration can be found among them, since most of these were not even descendants from procuratorial families but were the first of their families to rise to procuratorial rank.

One sophist ("σοφιστής") of senatorial rank was Valerius Apsines[90]. Another, Herodes Atticus, was consul and son of a *consul suffectus*[91]. Philostratus mentions the consular rank of Antiochus of Aigai[92] and Antipatros of Hierapolis[93]. The sophist Eragatianus Menodorus, who lived in 3rd century Perge, had consular rank[94]. While Flavius Damianus did not himself rise to senatorial rank, his sons became consular[95]. This social ascent might have depended less on Damianus' reputation as a professional sophist or the influence he gained as γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου who supplied Lucius Verus' army on its way back from Parthia 165 AD, but on the position of his in-laws, the Ephesian Vedii. Polemo of Smyrna descended from Pontian kings and Mark Anthony[96]. Oddly enough, none of these were mentioned as sophists and officials at the same time, not even Polemo, Herodes and Damianus, who had been mentioned with their offices on inscriptions resp. coins. This is the more striking, as it is contrary to what can be observed for orators (ῥήτορες).

Orators (ῥήτορες) who were relatives of consulars included Pomponius Cornelius Lollianus Hedianus, who was honoured with an inscription in Smyrna around the year 214 AD[97], and Flavius Menander, both father and son. The two Menandri served as

[90] SEG 12.156, Attica, before 238 AD, l. 4-7: τοῦ κρατί|στου Οὐαλε[ρ]ίου Ἀψίνου | τοῦ σοφιστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως. He is not to be mixed with Apsines from Gadara, see Brzoska 1895; PIR^2 A 978.
[91] Ameling 1983, vol.1, p. 18; Halfmann 1979, p. 38; no.68.
[92] Philostr. *vit.soph*. 568. PIR^2 A 730: P. Anteius Antiochos.
[93] Philostr. *vit.soph*. 607.
[94] IPerge 316, l. 10-14: Ἐραγατιανοῦ Μηνο|δώρου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ | καὶ πρώτου τῆς ἐπαρ|χείας, γένους ὑπατι|κοῦ.
[95] IEph 3081.
[96] Stegmann 1952; Halfmann 1979, p. 44-45. For a stemma see PIR^2, vol.6.1, p. 233.
[97] ISmyrna 638, l. 9-12: τὸν ἀσιάρχην καὶ ῥή|[τ]ορα, ὑπατικῶν συν|[γ]ενῆ, τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν | [εὐνοίας — ἕνεκεν]. PIR^2 P 711.

γραμματεῖς τοῦ δήμου and στρατηγός[98], Hedianus as asiarch. An orator of consular rank was Claudius Aristokles, who was honoured in Elis at the time of Antoninus Pius[99]. Of senatorial rank was the orator mentioned in TAM 2.297 (whose name is lost)[100], and the orators Aurelius Septimius Apollonius[101], Amphikles of Chalcis[102] and (though a very late example) C. Calpurnius Collega from Antioch in Pisidia[103]. Perhaps one can also count among them the orator mentioned in the badly damaged inscription IEleusis 652, and M. Appalenus from Tegea in Arcadia[104]. Of equestrian rank was the orator Tib. Claudius Polemo from Cibyra[105].

That a larger number of sophists are attested as consulars might depend largely on Philostratus' interest in presenting sophists as an elitist circle, intellectually as well as socially, while the aspect of social superiority might be linked with Herodes Atticus being the central hero of Philostratus' *Vitae Sophistarum*. On the other hand, inscriptions focused on actual offices and therefore documented a broader spectrum of family backgrounds, reaching from equestrian to consular rank. But by checking sophists and orators for the actual offices they held, one can observe another reason for this: both terms were differently used, depending on whether someone's social context or someone's actual political influence was meant.

"Σοφισταί" who held public offices, can only be attested for Athens, Smyrna and Sebastopolis[106], e.g. the Athenian "sophist" Julius

[98] IEph 436; 801; 3062; 3249; SEG 28.871, all found in Ephesus. Münsterberg 1973, p. 139, and Geissen 1986, p. 117, refer to a set of coins minted by the Flavii Menandri, all found in Hypaipa in Lycia. For Flavius Menandros father and son see PIR^2 F 320, for their brother resp. son Flavius Hierax PIR^2 F 308.

[99] Dittenberger, IvOlympia 462: Κλαύδιον | Ἀριστοκλέα, | ῥήτο[ρα], | ὑπατικόν. PIR^2 C 789.

[100] TAM 2.297, Xanthus in Lycia, l. 1-4: [Σ]θέ[νιππο?]ν ἄν|δρα ἀγαθόν, ῥήτορα | ἐνδοξ[ό]τατ[όν τ]ε [καὶ κρά?]|τιστ[ο]ν.

[101] SEG 17.200, Olympia, 221-224 AD, l. 4-11: Αὐρ(ήλιον) Σεπτίμιον | Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀν|τιοχέα ἀπὸ Μαιάν|δρου, πατέρα συν|κλητικῶν ἀρχιε|ρέα Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν | ἐν Σάρδεσιν τὸν | ῥήτορα.

[102] Ziebarth links IG 12.9.1179 with Amphikles of Chalcis. For Amphikles see Jones 1980, p. 377-379; PIR^2 A 568; F 201.

[103] SEG 32.1302, Antioch/Pisidia, 4th cent., l. 1.

[104] IG 5.2.155, Tegea/Arcadia, l. 1-2: Μ(ᾶρκον) Ἀππαληνὸν [τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον] | ῥήτορα, καθαρὸν λο[γισ]τήν".

[105] IKibyra 67, l. 1-3: Τιβ(έριον) Κλ(αύδιον) Πολέμων[α] | ἱππικὸν, ῥήτορα | ἄριστον. PIR^2 C 963.

[106] IG II² 3806; Robert, La Carie 2.169. For Smyrna see below, note 109-110.

Theodotus, who served as στρατηγός, ἄρχων βασιλεύς and herald of the Areopag in about 170 AD[107]. Coins were minted by Polemo and his son Attalus of Laodicaea[108], Claudius Proclus and Claudius Rufinus while they were serving as στρατηγοί for Smyrna. The first of them, who is explicitly mentioned as σοφιστής, was Claudius Proclus[109]. Therefore it has to be assumed, that being mentioned as sophist became more usual in the 2nd half of the 2nd century, not earlier. And even then it was limited to the two centers of the Second Sophistic, Athens and Smyrna.

The word "orator" is far more often used for officials at the civic and provincial level of administration[110]. For example, the στρατηγός and orator L. Maecius Faustinus was honoured with an inscription during the reign of Antoninus Pius[111]. An orator Athenodorus minted coins for Hadrian[112]. The asiarch and orator Aurelius Athenaeus was honoured by two inscriptions put up in Thyateira during the reign of Severus Alexander[113]. And the orator Diotrephus, son of Diotrephus, served as gymnasiarch in Antioch ad Maeandrum[114]. An orator whose name is lost served in Samos as gymnasiarch, *legatus Augusti,* and clerk of the market (ἀγορανόμος). He also financed public games[115]. Games were also financed by

[107] IEleusis 492. PIR^2 I 599.
[108] For Polemo's coins see Klose 1987, pp. 248-249: Hadrian; p. 250: Sabina; pp. 250-254: Antinous; Münsterberg 1973, p. 120. For Attalus' coins see Klose 1987, pp. 328-330: Marcus Aurelius; p. 331: Faustina II; Geissen 1986, p. 114. Philostr. *vit.Soph*. 530; 536; 609; 610. PIR^2 A 862; C 797; Schmid 1895; Stegmann 1952; Jones 1980, pp. 374-377; Bowersock 1969, pp. 22-24; S. 120-123; Stertz 1993; Fein 1994, pp. 236-241; Gleason 1995, pp. 21-54.
[109] For Claudius Proclus see Klose 1987, pp. 69; 184-186: semiautonomous; p. 258: Marcus Aurelius; p. 261-262: Faustina II; 262-263: L. Verus. For Claudius Rufinus see ISmyrna 602. Klose 1987, p. 72, note 430, is not sure whether Rufinus should be identified with the grand-grandson of Polemo resp. grandson of Attalus of Laodicaia. For Rufinus' coins see Klose 1987, pp. 307-308: Gordian III; p. 310: Tranquillia.
[110] E.g. ISmyrna 635; Homeros 3 (1875), 80 with MAMA 8.564.
[111] InscrCorinth 8.3.264. PIR^2 M 56.
[112] Geissen 1986, p. 114; Münsterberg 1973, p. 138.
[113] TAM 5.2.954; 5.2.957.
[114] Jones 1983.
[115] IG 12.6.1.458, Samos, 2nd cent., l. 2-17: στεφα[νη]|φόρου καὶ γυ|μνασιάρχου | ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔ|τει, καὶ τοῦ εἰσ|[π]οιησαμένου | [ἀ]γωνοθέ|[το]υ καὶ β′ ἀγο|[ρα]νόμου, πρεσ|βεῦσάντων | πρὸς τὸν αὐτο|κράτορα ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων περὶ τῶν | τῇ πόλει συνφε|ρόντων, γεν[ό]||μενον ῥήτορα.

Eubion from Thebes[116], C. Curtius Proclus[117] and Tib. Claudius Frontonianus from Melos[118]. The orator Poseidonius from Corinth was *helladarch*[119]. The historian Arrian, who was mentioned as φιλόσοφος on his inscriptions[120], served in municipal offices in Athens after his retirement, as did the historian P. Herennius Dexippus, who was mentioned as orator (ῥήτωρ)[121], and whose works are listed in Photius[122]. The "*orator and sophist*" [Tib.?] Aurelius Claudius Zelos from Aphrodisias served as priest and is only generally mentioned as magistrate[123].

To conclude: (1) One has to differentiate whether professional intellectuals at the court may have been *amici* of the emperor or his secretaries, or professional intellectuals in the provinces. (2) Professional intellectuals could gain political influence with procuratorial careers like the *procuratores ab epistulis* etc. since Hadrian, or by giving their personal advice to emperors or cities like Arius Didymus or Dio Chrysostom. (3) Teachers of rhetoric and star orators could improve their social position by taking up the burdens of public offices and services, in the provinces as well as at the court in Rome, like e.g. Dionysius of Miletus, Lollian of Ephesus and Flavius Damianus. (4) The majority of office-holding magistrates were presented as "orators" (ῥήτορες), not as "sophists" (σοφισταί) or "philosophers" (φιλόσοφοι), and, in the end, offices were more respected than mere intellectual qualities. (6) The majority of

[116] IG 7.2540, Thebes/Boiotia, l. 3: οὗτος ἀγωνοθέτης κ[αὶ ῥ]ήτωρ ἀρχιερεύ[ς τ' ἦν]. SEG 22.420 dates this inscription 2nd – 3rd cent.
[117] IG 7.106, l. 4-5.
[118] IG 12.3.1119, l. 3.
[119] InscrCorinth 8.3, no.307, late 2nd cent., l. 4-6: ἐπεὶ Ποσειδώνειο[ς — —]|ος ἑλλαδάρχης [—] | πρῶτός τε ῥήτω[ρ —].
[120] SEG 30.159, 145-180 AD; IG II² 1773, 166/167 AD; IG II² 1776, 169/170 AD; IG II² 2055, 145/146 AD. Only added in: SEG 26.171 resp. 28.195, 145/146 AD. All were found in Athens.
[121] Sironen, InscrAttica, p. 55, no.4, after 270 AD, frg. A, l. 2-7: τὸν | ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχὴν καὶ | ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα | καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων οἴκο|θεν ἱερέα παναγῆ Πό(πλιον) Ἐρέν(νιον) Δέξιππον Πτολεμαίου | Ἕρμειον τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ συνγραφέα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα οἱ παῖδε[ς]. Schwartz 1905a; Stein 1912; PIR² H 104.
[122] Phot. *bibl.cod.* 82. FrGrHist no.100.
[123] Homeros 3 (1875), 80, l. 1-11: τὸν ῥήτορα | καὶ σοφιστήν | ἀρχιερέα, τα|μίαν, νεωποι|όν, κτίστην, | πολλὰ καὶ | διὰ συνηγο|ριῶν κατορ|θώσαντα τῇ | πατρίδι υἱὸν Τιβ(ερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) | Ζήλου.

"sophists" mentioned on inscriptions were professional teachers. (7) "Orators" and "φιλόσοφοι" can be found equally in offices of a genuinely administrative character as well as in offices of social or cultural relevance. Sophists are only attested as officials for Athens, Smyrna and Sebastopolis. (8) A relatively large number of provincial nobles made it a mark of social distinction to style themselves on inscriptions as "philosophers" after Socratic image which remained very popular in the Greco-Roman east. This image can also be found in Dio Chrysostom's orations, for Apollonius of Tyana, in Tacitus' works, in the letters of Themistius and Julian the Apostate for men like Arius Didymus and Thrasyllus, and in the *Acta Alexandrinorum* for Alexandrian magistrates at trial. (9) The image of "the philosopher" could be used from two perspectives: Magistrates and provincial nobles used it to mark social and moral excellence. Professional intellectuals used it to claim superiority for a certain branch of education (philosophy) over other educational branches (rhetoric and grammar).

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