

“Live Like a King”: The Monument of Philopappus and the Continuity of Client-Kingship

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INTRODUCTION

The Philopappus Monument on the Mouseion Hill at Athens hails as a displaced descendant of the Commagenian dynasty (163 BCE–72 CE) with a lavish façade projecting two sitting statues and a processional frieze toward the Athenian Acropolis, the most revered space of the ancient city. Inscriptions on the monument façade identify the sitting statues as kings: flanking the central figure to the left is Gaius Julius Antiochus IV (fl. 17–c. 72 CE), the last king to rule Commagene before Vespasian (9–79 CE) divested him of his kingdom. In the central arcuated niche sits Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus (c. 65–116 CE), the grandson of the divested king. It is likely that Philopappus died in Athens and was interred in the monument, where scholars hypothesized that the now dismantled and exposed space behind the monumental façade may have been a funerary chamber housing a sarcophagus (Santangelo 1947, pp. 244–253; Kleiner 1983, pp. 41–44).

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The Philopappus Monument can be viewed in the context of the growing extravagance of self-aggrandizement among the Roman aristocracy under the empire (Cormack 1997, p. 139ff; Raja 2012, p. 215–218). They invested in competitive monumental construction with overwhelming size and multiplicity of architectonic symbols—a trend since the Late Republic (Zanker 1990, p. 16ff). One such hallmark is the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, which served as a monumental tomb for Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus (45–120 CE), along with some 12,000 scrolls enclosed in the library’s extravagantly designed and decorated façade (Strocka 2003, pp. 34–40). As provincial elites continuously invested local communities with monumental projects that displayed their power, status, wealth and influence, the variant forms of design and aesthetic taste reflect in turn selective mixtures of cultural expressions (Thomas 2003, pp. 7–8). Diana Kleiner has identified resemblances between Philopappus’ monumental façade and the architectural elements of Greco-Roman tombs at Pompeii, Rome, St. Rémy and Capua; Roman arches, such as the Arch of Titus in Rome and the arches of Trajan at Ancona and Benevento; and also other structures, such as funerary pyres, nymphaea and theaters (Kleiner 1983, pp. 97–98).

The aggrandizing and eclectic aspects of the sculptural program of the Philopappus Monument, along with its role as precursor to the Hadrianic revival of monumental construction at Athens (Boatwright 2000, p. 144–157), provoked surprisingly few responses, both ancient and modern. The lone witness from antiquity regarding the monument is Pausanias the Periegete (c. 115–180 CE), who in his *Periegesis Hellados* commented simply that the monument was built “for a Syrian” (μνημα... ἀνδρὶ ὑποδομήθῃ Σύρω, I.25.8 Santangelo 1947, p. 158; cf. Steinhart 2003). It would not be until the fifteenth century that travelers such as Cyriacus de’ Pizziccolli of Ancona (c. 1391–c. 1455 CE) began to take interest in reporting and sketching the monument (Kleiner 1983, p. 22–26). Cyriacus’ report of two missing inscriptions—one inscribed on the pilaster flanking right of the central niche stating Philopappus’ royal lineage, the other inscribed on the base of the right niche stating that the missing statue figure is the diadoch Seleucus Nicator—remains critical to the understanding of the monumental façade’s dismantled past (Santangelo 1947, p. 196; Kleiner 1983, p. 15).

Modern studies have approached monuments such as that of Philopappus’ by unpacking the dynamics of viewing artistic objects and the construction of identity behind surviving visual representation (Fig. 1) (Elsner 1995, p. 19ff).

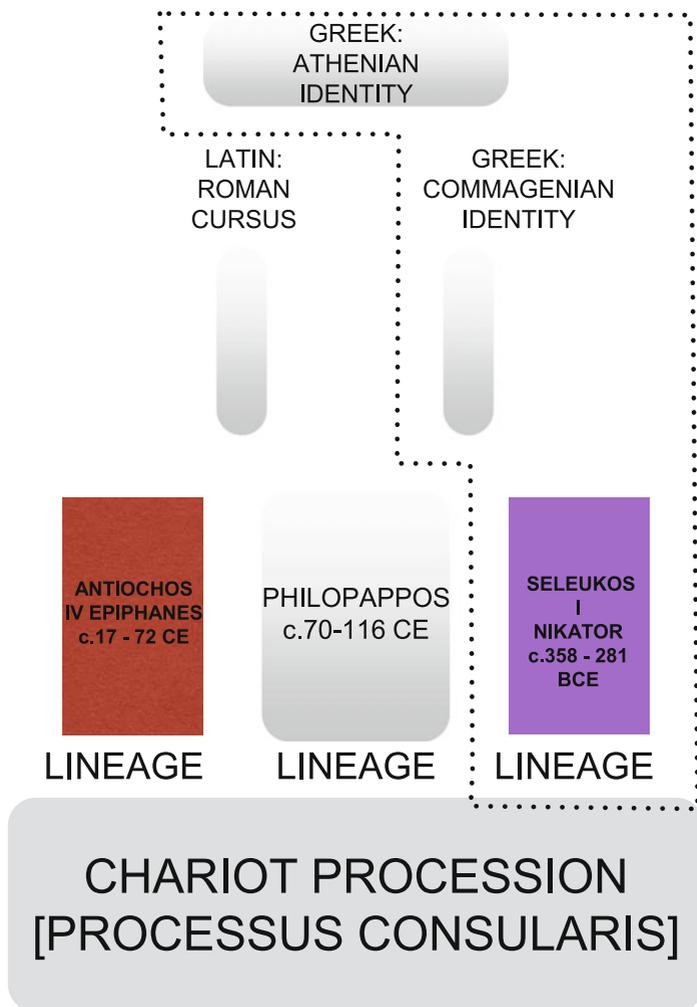


Fig. 1 Philopappus Monument Façade Layout

The first critical study of the monument was carried out by Maria Santangelo, who saw the eclecticism of the monument’s sculptural program as an “imperial koiné” (Santangelo 1947, p. 224). She also observed that the architectural traits of the monument resemble

Commagenian *hierothesia* built in the Commagenian heartland, hence infused with “multiplistic inspirations from the Orient,” including Persian, Armenian and Greek variations (ibid., 253; also see Sanders and Young 1996, pp. 378–471). Diana Kleiner observed that the placement of the monument near the summit of the Philopappus Hill may be a tribute to the royal tomb-sanctuary at Nemrud Dagi and elsewhere in the Commagenian heartland (Kleiner 1983, pp. 53ff), and that various details—such as the rayed sun behind the head of Philopappus on the processional relief, and the enshrined Herakles emblem on the processional chariot—were deliberately incorporated to signify Commagenian origins in a manifestly Roman scene (Kleiner 1983, p. 87). Yet, Kleiner determined that the overall design was evidently “non-Commagenian, but Greco-Roman,” because “the source of many of the [sculptural and architectural ideas] lay outside Athens and the East,” and, in particular, “its architectural form ... was based in part on Roman commemorative arches” (Kleiner 1983, 85, pp. 97–98). Recently, scholars such as Margherita Facella further downplayed the “Commagenian” choices, privileging the Greco-Romanness of the sculptural program as the feature that actually attracts attention (Facella 2006, pp. 355–358). Some even declare the monument to be one for “a Roman aristocrat in the Greek heartland” (Kropp 2013, p. 188). In sum, Richard Miles’ reading is representative of the current opinion regarding the sculptural program of the Philopappus Monument in this way: “the fact that Philopappus can represent himself as a Roman consul, an Athenian archon, a Commagenian king and even a god on the same monument shows that identity is a constructed rather than a fixed reality” (Miles 2000, p. 34).

This chapter proposes a reading of the Philopappus Monument as a piece that “talks” about the role of Commagenian kings (Clarke 2003, p. 9–12 & 16–17). The visual language of the monument—a togate statue of “king” Antiochus IV, and a Roman consul Philopappus who is the king designate—is a continuous and consistent concept of kingship under Roman rule. By reading the monumental façade from the viewpoint of the togate representations of both Antiochus IV and Philopappus, this chapter wishes to explore the theme of client-kingship from the perspective of the client-kings themselves: the design of the Philopappus Monument can be understood as a unique concept of kingship as part of the Roman bureaucratic system in the early principate.

READING THE FAÇADE

From some distance away, a viewer could easily see the central arcuated niche housing a figure in heroic nudity, and to the left, a niche housing a Roman magistrate. Cyriacus of Ancona’s drawing reports that the right niche housed a third seated figure, who was identified by an inscription—now also lost—as the diadoch Seleucus Nicator (c. 358–281 BCE). Below them runs a frieze commonly identified as the *processus consularis* (Beard 2007, p. 385 n. 67; Versnel 1970, p. 303). All three features blend into a calculated curvature (Cerutti & Richardson 1989, p. 175–176). More difficult to see are the two Greek and one Latin inscriptions that identify—in the case of the Greek inscription on the pilaster left of the central niche—and qualify the honorands (Santangelo 1947, pp. 194–199; (I)nscriptiones (G)raecae (volume) III (edition) 1, 557). On the left, the Roman magistrate is supposed to be “king Antiochus son of king Antiochus” (βασιλεύς Ἀντίοχος βασιλέ[ως Ἀντίοχου]), also known as Antiochus IV of Commagene. The hero in the center is “Philopappus son of Epiphanes, demesman of Besa” ([Φιλό]παππος Ἐπιφάνου Βησαιεύς), who was Antiochus IV’s grandson.

Considered the last king of Commagene, Antiochus IV’s Roman *toga* and *sella curulis* are somewhat unexpected features. Diana Kleiner, apart from a short description of what clothes and chair they were, made no additional comment (Kleiner 1983, p. 90). Maria Santangelo, on the other hand, emphasized that “il re Antiochos è stato ritratto pannelggiato nella toga e seduto sedia curule nel l’atteggiamento di un vero e proprio magistrato romano. Antiochos, il grande avo che perduto il regno venne onoratio dai Romani con pubbliche magistrature, appare ritratto nella pienezza delle sue funzioni, vestito con tunica e toga” (Santangelo 1947, p. 203–204). Togate representations were fashionable in the Roman East during the first century CE due to the rarity of citizenships awarded in the early years of the Julio-Claudian emperors (Smith 1998, p. 65). While it might be that Antiochus IV is togated to emphasize that he is the first to receive citizenship, this might not have been the case, as Mithridates III (ca. 36–20 BCE, P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, M 637) and Antiochus III (c. 12 BCE–17 CE, P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, A 740) were more likely to have been the first (Raggi 2010, p. 94; Braund 1984, p. 43; Sullivan 1977a, p. 783). Also, the choice of adopting his iconography shown on coinage issued in Commagene was clearly avoided (Facella 2006, pp. 335–345), making his portrayal as a “true Roman magistrate” noteworthy. The *sella curulis*



Fig. 2 Antiochus IV and the sella curulis

is even more striking: such chairs were used only by curulian magistracies as part of their official signia. No record indicates that Antiochus IV held Roman magistracy (P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, I 149), aside from Gaius appointing him as the king of Commagene and coastal Cilicia (Dio 59.8.2). The design of Antiochus IV as the Roman magistrate may be a unique self-definition regarding the nature of the client-kingship as the Commagenian royals saw it: a Roman office (Fig. 2).

Roman magistracy is indeed a pronounced theme on the monumental façade, considering the Latin inscription cut into the upper portion of the false column to the left of the central niche (Santangelo 1947, p. 198; *CIL* 3.552 = 7278 [*ILS* 845]):

Gaius Julius Antiochus Philopappus son of Caius of the tribus Fabia Antiochus Philopappus consul, frater Arvalis, adlected among the praetorian rank by Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus, optimus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus.

C. Iulius C. f(ilius) | Fab(ia) Antio|chus Philo|pappus co(n)s(ul), || frater Ar|valis alle|ctus inter | praetori|os ab Imp(eratore) | Caesare || Nerva Traia|no, optu|mo Augus|to, Germa|nico Da|lico.

Unlike the Greek inscriptions, the Latin inscription—which includes Philopappus’ Roman name, his affiliation to the Roman tribe of the Fabii, his membership in Arval brotherhood, the consulship and adlection into the praetorian rank by Trajan—would hardly be legible even from up close, as it is. The relationship between this inscription and the frieze can be seen as record and re-enactment: the visual narrative—likely the consular procession that would have taken place should Philopappus be physically in Rome—enacts what the inscription says, namely, Philopappus’ attainment of the consulship (Mommsen 1887, p. 616). In the account of the monumental façade, Antiochus IV attained higher magistracy befitting the *sella curule*. The visual presentation shows that his legacy and Philopappus’ success are interconnected. Even more, Antiochus’ *sella curule* can be seen as part of a selection of visual highlights, a sequence secondary to the inscriptions; it is an ensemble including the rayed sun behind Philopappus’ head, and the Herakles-in-naiskos emblem on Philopappus’ chariot, both of which are imprints of a sense of self-awareness of exclusive birth and status (Kleiner 1983, pp. 87–89).

Philopappus’ membership in the Arval Brethren is unique in terms of demarcating status. This priesthood was an office described as “a short step to ornamenta consularia,” “select and exclusive,” but more deridingly, a title that “permitted an approach to one of the ideals of a leisured society: something to live for and nothing to do” (Syme 1980, p. 115). Ronald Syme observed that the pattern of appointments of the Arval Brethren reflects that the institution was an inclusive instrument of “chance and change,” particularly under the Flavian emperors: those who are enrolled as Arvales—Julius Polemaeanus, Julius Candidus and Julius Quadratus, for instance—were magnates of Asia, and swung the Roman East in Vespasian’s favor (Syme 1980, pp. 75–77, 113–118). It is perhaps possible that Philopappus’ inclusion is the result of his family’s legacy. In other words, Philopappus was the successor of one of the Flavian emperors’ eastern supporters, and an asset even for Trajan, as the marriage connection between the royals of Commagene and other kingdoms in the region—Parthia included—formed an “Eastern dynastic network” that constituted the geopolitical fabric of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, and could create support as well as havoc when mismanaged (Sullivan 1977b, p. 938).

What Cyriacus of Ancona also reported in the drawings includes an inscription on the pilaster between the right and the central niches: “*basileus* Antiochus Philopappus, son of king Epiphanes son of Antiochus”

(*IG II² 3451* = (I)nscriptiones (G)raecae (volume) III (edition) 1, 557). The title *basileus*, which literally means “king,” drew considerable attention, as Plutarch in the *Questiones Coniuniales* described that “when *basileus* Philopappus was *agonothete* and acted as *choregos* for all the civic tribes together, the civic *agon* attained most intense of rivalries” (Plut. *Moralia* 628a-b).

How much power should we assign to Philopappus’ title of “basileus”? Santangelo thinks that while the inscriptions seem to present Philopappus in “triplice condizione di cittadino attico, di cittadino-magistrato romano, e di re,” the sense of king ought to be reconsidered, hence “o meglio di principe reale,” as Philopappus held no kingdom, unlike his grandfather (Santangelo 1947, p. 199). This moderation of *basileus* was adopted by Diana Kleiner, who thinks that Philopappus was “rather a man who was destined to be king, but who, thanks to the Romans, never achieved that position” (Kleiner 1986, p. 11). Yet, as Marie-Françoise Baslez has shown, the epithet was attached to Philopappus regularly ever since he entered into public life around 92–94 CE (Baslez 1992, pp. 96–97). One such example comes from an inscription dedicated to the tribe of Oineis (*IG II² 3112*); as well as another, found at Lykosoura in Arcadia (*IG V.2 524*). Another inscription found in one of the underground tombs (known as the “Syringes of Thebes”) at the Valley of the Kings, likely dedicated by a Commagenian soldier from the *ala I Commagenicum* and datable to 94–96 CE by his mother’s remarriage, also calls Philopappus “basileus.”

Baslez thinks that Philopappus may have benefited from a series of “oriental promotions” under the Flavians and later by Trajan, creating a class of nobility of the empire that would fill up the ever-growing number of praetorian provincial appointments, and particularly when emperors adopt anti-Parthian policies and even campaigns, such as under Trajan, likely just before Philopappus’ own death (Baslez 1992, p. 98). One might even argue that the creation of a class of nobility began much earlier, as part of the ring of pro-Roman principalities, which David Braund dubbed “friendly kings,” in which relationships with Rome were not simply conqueror and conquered, but constructions of friendship from which Rome could draw manpower and resources, but could not afford to antagonize all at once (Braund 1983, p. 6). With Commagene, the line between province and friendly principality was even more ambiguous. According to Josephus, when Antiochus III (r. 12 BCE–17 CE) died, “there rose a conflict between the *plethoi* (or the masses) and the *dynastoi* (or men of note),” both sending embassies to Rome demanding what they deemed necessary: the masses demanding ancestral

monarchy, while the men of note demanded Roman rule (J. *AJ* 18.53; Tac. *Ann.* 2.42.5). Tiberius subsequently provincialized Commagene into a senatorial province, governed by a certain praetor Quintus Servaeus (Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.4). Twenty years later, the province was again reverted to a kingdom, this time led by Antiochus IV, the son of Antiochus III. Along with the king of Judaea, Agrippa I, Antiochus was called a tyrant-trainer by the emperor Gaius, and subsequently was appointed king of Commagene, with an expanded territory that included Rough Cilicia (Dio 59.8.2). Similar appointments of kings to oversee particular regions are found elsewhere, for example, the appointment of Herod as strategus of Coele-Syria and Samaria (Braund 1983, p. 85).

PHILOPAPPUS' KINGSHIP

What if Philopappus was more than a nominal “king” like his grandfather, being one of the classes of nobility who could be deputized by the princeps for extraordinary appointments at provinces when there is a need? According to current *communis opinio*, Philopappus held office in his early career of agonothetes (c. 92 CE), eponymous archon and agonothetes of the Dionysia (c. 93 CE) and agonothetes and choregos of all tribes (c. 94 CE) (Byrne 2003, pp. 308–309). The importance of these offices could be downplayed by emphasizing that they were wealth-based (Arafat 1996, p. 192–194), and aimed to distinguish notable Athenians who have acquired Roman citizenship (Notopoulos 1944, p. 155). On the other hand, Philopappus was no ordinary Athenian—there is no indication that the family of Antiochus IV came to Athens, only to Sparta and Rome, according to Josephus (J. *BJ* 7.239–240).

James Oliver’s theory is that Philopappus was “encouraged” to participate in Athenian affairs, perhaps to deal with the “uncomfortably independent and uncooperative” philosophical schools that were revived during Vespaian’s time (Oliver 1981, p. 418). During the Julio-Claudian period, Athens was free and exempt from taxes and from intervention by the provincial governor, also known as a special status of *civitas foederata libera et immunis*, essentially meaning that Athens enjoyed autonomy, however limited (Abbott & Johnson 1926, pp. 39–54). The privately funded and propertied philosophical schools of Athens were exemplary in that effect, whose *diadochoi* or successors protected school properties and interests, which were often in contradiction with the Roman administrative agenda (Dio 66.12–13). Inscriptions regarding the *diadochoi*

of these schools are not found to pre-date Vespasian's reign, however, leading Oliver to suspect that there was a revival of the philosophical schools (Oliver 1977, pp. 163–165). Oliver observed that four of the five *diadochoi* names now attested in inscriptions use the *trianomina*, and the earliest—Flavius Menander—bears the nomen of Vespasian (Oliver 1981, p. 418). It is likely, then, that Vespasian revived the philosophical schools by appointing Roman citizens as *diadochoi*, who could protect the properties and interests against local administrative abuse, while being a political check on the activities of the schools themselves. Oliver also suspects that Philopappus was identified by Domitian as a “Roman” philosopher and therefore “encouraged” him to participate in Athenian civic affairs for the same purpose as Vespasian appointed the “Roman” *diadochoi*.

Historical change in Athenian demography may have led to a shift in imperial policy toward Athens. The prosopographical data collected by Sean Byrne suggests that Athenians began to receive Roman citizenship with more regularity, starting from the reign of Claudius. From the Flavian period onward, Roman citizenship became so prevalent that only six archons can be certainly identified as *peregrini* instead of Roman citizens (Byrne 2003, p. xiv–xv). The corollary of this development may be that there is an actual need for imperial supervision—if not intervention—by agents chosen by the emperor, without challenging the city's bestowed legal status that guaranteed the opposite. It so happens that Domitian is known for “micromanaging” provinces (Jones 1992, p. 73 & 110–114). Could Philopappus have been his agent? A parallel case would be Neronian: according to Tacitus, the first “Roman” archon Gaius Carrinas Secundus, *philokaisar* (“Caesar lover”) and priest of Drusus, was dispatched by Nero to hunt down Greek art in 64 CE (Tac. *Ann.* 15.45). Oliver substantiated Tacitus' report with an inscription from a statue base found in the Agora dedicated to a certain Gaius Carreina, who became eponymous archon (*IG II²* 4188). His archonship has been interpreted as an attempt by the Athenians to limit the extent of his damage by means of public honorification (Byrne 2003, p. 100). If true, then the relationship between an eponymous archon and an imperial agent would, in this particular case, be one not only of appeasement but rather of bestowing the highest possible civic recognition onto the figure wielding the most authority, however temporarily.

To push Oliver's theory further, Philopappus' role as Roman consul would seem to be a reward of his success in his administration of Athens. One might even suspect that the Trajanian appointment of the Frater Arvalis, the consulship, and the entry into the praetorian rank

were preparations for Philopappus to take on a larger role, maybe in the Parthian theater (Syme 1958, p. 3ff). The Roman consuls in the imperial period, be it *ordinarius* or *suffectus*, have become appointed posts by the emperor (Millar 1977, p. 307). Even the senatorial *cur-sus* is carefully selected by the emperor, which shows the intricate ties between a figure such as Philopappus with Domitian and Trajan. While the method of attaining even the senatorial qualifications has become entirely dependent upon the *amicitia* of the emperor instead of clan competition in the Republican period, consulates are by no means only honorary as a result, but remain a standard pathway to proconsular governorships of senatorial provinces or imperial legates in imperial provinces (Stevenson 1975, pp. 106–110). In fact, as Haensch pointed out, the governor must be a Roman senator and must be of senatorial rank in order to command the legions of the Roman Army, as the Roman military command dealing with the Judaeian revolt of 66–70 CE shows (Haensch 2010). By selecting consuls and praetors, the emperors were selecting persons whom they could deploy, and their selections have consequences that go beyond the respective reigns of each emperor (Kagan 2006, p. 358–361). As John Crook observes, friends of the emperor do not lose their position after the emperor dies: it was the friends—not only counselors to the emperor, but also soldiers and governors—who maintained continuity in imperial policy by serving in the government (Crook 1955, p. 29). Philopappus’ consulship—assumed to have taken place in 109 CE (Degrassi 1952, p. 32)—happens to have occurred during a time when Trajan is about to shift from the Dacian to the Parthian theater, in which event Philopappus’ legitimacy to control Samosata and other key positions on the Euphrates frontier could be more than welcomed (Millar 1995, p. 42).

Philopappus’ consulship also took place a decade after Philopappus’ tenure as Athenian civic magistrate in the late years of Domitian’s reign, leading to the question whether Trajan’s favors—Philopappus’ consulship and adlection into the praetorian rank—were related to both his success in Athens as Domitian’s administrator and what Josephus called “the ancient friendship between the Romans and the Commagenians.” Josephus reported that, after Paetus captured Antiochus and dispatched the king to Rome, Vespasian (*J. BJ* 7.239–240; trans. William Jones):

could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner [i.e., in chains], but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon

pretense of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome, but should now go and live at Lacedemon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also.

The ancient friendship to which Vespasian was referring was the backbone of Roman political organization in the Roman East since the Late Republican period (Facella 2010, p. 186–191; Speidel 2005, p. 86–89). The choice for Antiochus to appear in Roman garb and take a Roman magistrate seat makes sense in this context, as well as Josephus’ account on Antiochus IV’s response toward the Syrian governor’s aggression. “The king did not venture to make war towards the Romans on account of necessity, but rather bearing fate what must be endured” (J. BJ 7.231). This is the position of a king who thinks like a Roman magistrate. Philopappus’ choice of representing Antiochus IV as a magistrate beside him, and describing himself as “grandfather-loving,” gives the impression that he intends to emulate his grandfather in terms of understanding what “king” means—namely an extraordinary Roman magistrate, living like a king. Herein lies the principle of kingship as Philopappus saw it. The images, and in particular, the inscriptions of Philopappus’ monumental façade can be read, then, as a continuity of Antiochus IV’s concept of kingship down to Philopappus, a concept that is expressed by Antiochus IV’s appearance as a Roman magistrate (despite being *basileus*), and to Philopappus as a Roman consul (and *basileus*).

POLITICS OF BURIAL AND REMEMBERING

Such understanding of how Commagenian kingship operates—not only subordinate to, but also integrated with the Roman administrative system—can bring a new perspective on the extraordinary location of Philopappus’ funerary monument, as Athens prohibited intramural burial (Camp 2004, pp. 198–199). Even Romans had to respect such a tradition, as a letter from Servius Sulpicius to Cicero shows (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 4.12.3; trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh):

I could not induce the Athenians to grant him a place of burial within the city, [Note] as they alleged that they were prevented by religious scruples from doing so; and it is a fact that they had never granted that privilege to anyone. But they allowed us, which was the next best thing, to bury him in any gymnasium we chose.

The fact that Athenians in the Late Republic still observed the notion of “intra urbem” even when the Athenian walls were dismantled by Sulla a generation earlier suggests that the notion of Athens proper does not perish with the walls.

Of course, as Kleiner pointed out, “intramural burials may not have been as rigorously opposed in Philopappus’ day as they were earlier” (Kleiner 1983, p. 16). For instance, when Panathenais, the daughter of Herodes Atticus, died, “the Athenians softened [his sorrow] for Panathenais his daughter, burying her in the city” (τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Παναθηναίδι τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀθηναίων ἐπράσαν ἐν ἄστει τε αὐτὴν θάψαντες, Philostr. *VS* 2.1.557-558; trans. Wilmer Wright). In comparison, the burial site of Herodes was significant not in relation to the city boundary but rather with the Athenians’ response to Herodes’ benefaction (Philostratus *VS* 2.1.565–566; trans. Wilmer Wright):

The Athenians, carrying him off by the hands of epebes, bore him into the city, all the youths meeting the body at the bier, crying with tears, as if sons bereft of a good father, and they buried him in the Panathenaikos [stadium].

Herodes was brought *to Athens proper* (ἐς ἄστυ) to be honored, but later entombed in the Panathenaic Stadium, which lies outside both the Themistoclean and the Valerian walls (Theocharaki 2011). Joseph Rife is careful to make the distinction that Herodes did not receive the honor of intramural burial, but rather a “substantial, conspicuous and accessible monument,” whose foundation has been identified as being on the east hill of the stadium (Rife 2008, p. 102, 109f). While Herodes seemed to have received “the nearest thing” permitted by the Athenians for Sulpicius’ friend, to be buried in a gymnasium, it must be also pointed out that the act of bringing him into the city to be honored can be understood as a symbolic intramural burial—in this sense, he was buried outside of the ancient city boundary only because he could be better honored by being buried at his own benefaction.

From the case of Herodes Atticus and his daughter Panathenais, Philopappus could have been awarded an intramural burial. Why then the Mouseion Hill? The Mouseion Hill upon which the Philopappus Monument is built has been quite an attractive location in itself, as our only ancient witness Pausanias sees Philopappus Monument and explains (1.25.8; trans. William Jones):

After freeing the Athenians from tyrants Demetrius the son of Antigonus did not restore the Peiraeus to them immediately after the flight of Lachares,

but subsequently overcame them and brought a garrison even into the upper city, fortifying the place called the Museum. This is a hill right opposite the Acropolis within the old city boundaries, where legend says Musaeus used to sing, and, dying of old age, was buried. Afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian. At the time to which I refer Demetrius fortified and held it.

The reason for the hill's attraction to foreign occupation lies in its strategic advantage. It is the second highest elevation other than the Acropolis Hill within the old city boundaries, and also overlooks the vital road between Athens and the Piraeus (Costaki 2006, 16 no. 53, 581–5). Enemies of Athens fortified themselves there, the list including Demetrius Poliorcetes, Mithridates and Sulla (Facella 2006, p. 355). As such, the Mouseion Hill resembles a *lieux de mémoire*, embodying the Athenian historical, mythical and present memorial consciousness, and as historically a space that is associated with the struggle against foreign occupation (Nora 1989, p. 12).

It is significant that Pausanias invoked the Philopappus Monument in the context of shaping up Athenian mythical and historical consciousness: he may be invoking the “complex, innovative, and hybrid cultural expressions of ethnic and social identification that took shape in Commagene from the Late Republican period onwards” (Andrade 2013, p. 67). The specific context in which such Syrianness was invoked—namely, foreign occupation—implies tension instead of hybridity. Pausanias may have employed a rhetorical practice of distain that is akin to his own earlier comment concerning the rededication of icons of Miltiades and Themistocles, “reinscribing the names of the two into a Roman and a Thracian” (Paus. 1.18.3; Habicht 1985, 137, no. 79). Admittedly, this reading of the Philopappus Monument in the context of the mythical and historical significance of the Mouseion Hill assumes that Pausanias learned about a considerable pushback against Philopappus' presence in Athens. Yet it could be that the location of the Philopappus Monument became controversial or even undesirable as his influence toward the Athenian elite circle became less distinct.

It is curious that Philopappus' benefactions did not create lasting impressions in Athens to mythologize his monument. Kleiner pointed out that there are no buildings that can be attributed to Philopappus' benefaction, which could be one reason behind the quick fading of the memory of his involvement in civic affairs (Kleiner 1983, p. 17). What may also have been

a factor was that Philopappus was a figure wielding considerable foreign influence. For example, Magarita Facella thinks that Philopappus’ connection to the emperor Hadrian helped to increase the favorable opinion of Hadrian toward Athens, and hence he was rewarded with the honors of intramural burial by the Athenian citizens (Facella 2006, p. 356). Facella assumes that Philopappus was close to Hadrian, an opinion adopted by many scholars, particularly because Philopappus’ sister Balbilla was part of Hadrian’s retinue on his travels to Egypt (Brennan 1998, p. 233; Facella 2006, p. 345ff). The relationship between Philopappus and Hadrian is however difficult to ascertain due to the paucity of evidence. James Oliver observed that Philopappus and Hadrian shared the same demotic (Oliver 1942, p. 60; Oliver 1951, p. 348) and Athenian civic offices (Puech 1992, p. 4861); he proposed that Hadrian followed Philopappus’ footsteps to enter into Athenian politics (Oliver 1950, p. 298), even though he has nothing else other than a bold emendation of the text of the *Vita Hadriani*, that Philopappus —not Philip—was whom Hadrian wished to emulate when becoming an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries (*HA Hadrianus* 13.1; Oliver 1950, p. 298). What Oliver wishes to propose is that Philopappus was “the representative of the glorious Hellenistic tradition” of a “genuine *basileus*,” and that Hadrian was drawing from the successful implementation of Philopappus’ model to establish himself in Athens (Oliver 1950, p. 298–299).

Roman emperors do employ eastern dynasts as local governors (Syme 1988, p. 9ff). From Flavian emperors onward, persons whose background were from eastern aristocratic or dynastic groups began to attain the consulship (Millar 1982, p. 21–22). Some also entered into the Arval Brethren, and even rose to prominent leadership positions in eastern provinces, such as Gaius Claudius Severus (*PIR* C 1023), the first governor of Arabia in 105–106 CE (Sullivan 1977b, p. 936); Gaius Julius Bassus, the governor of Bithynia in 98 CE; and his son Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus, the governor of Asia in 105 CE (Mitchell and French 2012, pp. 227–230). Like these eastern elite, Philopappus rose to the consulship and entered into the Arval Brethren at a time when political arrangements and gubernatorial choices between 109 and 111 CE were designed to facilitate war and logistics.

In this respect, Hadrian’s career shares some similarity with Philopappus. When Trajan was preparing for war against Parthia, Hadrian was assigned to Syria in preparation for the war around 111 CE (Dio 69.1.1), and coin types including the celebration of Trajan the Elder’s triumph against Parthia, as well as those with the legend of *Fortuna Redux*, often associ-

ated with overseas journeys for emperors, were issued between 106 and 109 CE (Bennett 2005, p. 187). Trajan himself arrived at Athens perhaps in 111 CE, after having been elected eponymous archon in the same year, and it was at Athens where the Parthian embassy met him and presented requests for peace (Dio 68.17.2).

Yet, it is striking that Philopappus' career does not resemble the likes of his relatives, who took up military provinces and fought in wars (Syme 1988, p. 11–15; Cotton & Eck 1997, p. 41–42). For example, Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus (c. 70–117 CE), a Galatian aristocrat whose family was tied into the Asia Minor royal marriage network. He received the consulship (cos. 105) four years earlier than Philopappus (cos. 109), and was a military commander under Trajan in the second Dacian war; most significantly, Quadratus Bassus subsequently held Cappadocia, Syria and Dacia, all military provinces (Syme 1988, pp. 12–13). His relatives include three consuls, all from similar royal ancestry, who attained consulships under Trajan: C. Julius Alexander (cos. suff. CE 103?), Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus (cos. suff. 110 CE) and C. Claudius Severus (cos. suff. 112 CE) (Mitchell and French 2012, p. 227). This discrepancy between the two careers is much more apparent when considering that Domitian organized the defenses of the Danube with the *ala I Commagenorum* while grooming Philopappus in Athens, separating homeland, armed force and royal heir.

If, according to Henry Oliver, Philopappus was encouraged, if not even assigned by Domitian, to take up a career in Athens, then it would be a separation from the roles which eastern aristocrats would generally take up—roles in which they are much more valuable. Philopappus taking up a non-military role may be related to the strained relationship between his family and Roman administrators.

REHABILITATION

Philopappus is a cognomen that essentially means grandfather-loving, and in extension, his grandfather's actions were part of what Philopappus loved. Such love would justify how, in the face of dissolution of his kingdom when the Syrian governor attacked Samosata, Antiochus IV “having bemoaned his own fate, endured with patience what was inevitable” (τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην ὀδυρόμενος ὃ τι δέοι παθεῖν ὑπέμενε, J. *AJ* 7.231; trans Whiston). In contrast, Philopappus' father, Epiphanes, and uncle, Callinicus, were no *philrhomaioi*, and took up arms to resist—quite successfully, too, until Antiochus decided to take his wife and daughters to

flee to Cilicia, causing the dissolution of the Commagenian force. This, in turn, forced Epiphanes to take refuge at the court of the Parthian king Vologeses, a connection based on marriage networking that was in place since the time of Antiochus I Theos (c. 70–c. 36 BCE; Dio 49.23.4). As further antagonism between Commagene and Rome would result in a Parthian intervention on the pretense of ancestry (Facella 2006, p. 334), Vespasian took care to ensure the safety and dignity of Antiochus and his family, “having a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them” (τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀξιῶν φιλίας μᾶλλον αἰδῶ λαβεῖν, J *AJ* 7.239; trans. Whiston). After all, Vespasian’s concerns have already been addressed with the incorporation of Commagene into Syria (Bowersock 1973, p. 135; Facella 2010, p. 197). In return, Antiochus IV maintained a low profile as a guarantee of peace (cf. Kleiner & Buxton 2008, p. 77–79), and his son was willing—or perhaps forced—to return from the court of Vologeses and attend to his father in Sparta, and later Rome. Philopappus’ choice of portraying the pro-Roman grandfather and anti-Roman father creates a career, but perhaps more importantly continues to prove that their family was of no harm to Roman interests.

Philopappus’ sister Julia Balbilla (P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, I 650), whose nomenclature invokes her and Philopappus’ maternal grandfather, the imperial prefect of Egypt (55–59 CE), Tiberius Claudius Balbillus Modestus “the Wise” (c.5–c.70 CE), was perhaps working along the lines of Philopappus to reassert their royal line as being pious instead of a threat to the Roman imperial court (Cirio 2011, p. 55–56). A poem of hers was inscribed onto the colossus statue (Bernard and Bernard 1960, *Colosse de Memnon* 29):

But I don’t think that this statue of you could ever perish, and I sense in my heart a soul hereafter immortal. For my parents and my grandparents were pious, Balbillus the wise and Antiochus the king: Balbillus was the father of my mother the queen, and King Antiochus was my father’s father. From their race, I, too, have obtained noble blood, and these are my writings, Balbilla the pious. (Trans. A. & E. Bernard)

The emphasis of piety and on Antiochus IV, along with a subtle downplaying of her father Archelaos Epiphanes, can be read as following a similar rationale on the Philopappus Monument. Her grandfather Balbillus “the wise” and her mother “the queen” Claudia Capitolina (P(rosopographia) I(mperii) R(omani) (edition) 2, C 1085) were important references, too,

as connections to respectable elements feature prominently when it comes to deciding who is proper (Rosenmeyer 2008, p. 350–351). Baslez saw the union between the Antiochus Epiphanes with Balbillus' daughter, a fundamental change from the dynastic to the philosophic. The astrologer and prefect of Egypt offered not only eastern royal ancestry but also intellectualism (Baslez 1992, p. 100). Plutarch took note of Philopappus' learning and wit, giving him a speaking part in his *Questiones conviviales* (628b-d) in the witty persona of a Democritus the Philosopher. Democritus wanted to go to the place where his slave-woman claimed to have bought a cucumber, because the cucumber is so sweet that he needs to see it himself. When the slave-woman explained that the sweetness was because she dropped the cucumber into a honey jar, Democritus feigned anger, and said that he will seek the explanation as if sweetness were proper and natural to that cucumber.

In a way, Philopappus' role at Athens was no less important compared to imperial legates in military provinces (Birley 1997, p. 216). Athens required no arms to control, but rather learning and wit. As James Oliver pointed out, Vespasian deliberately revived the diadoch tradition of philosophical schools at Athens (Oliver 1979, p. 159), in order to give philosophers greater protection in a Roman court of law, and also to control their political activities; the appointee must be a Roman citizen, and the community property must be managed with Roman legal formulae (Oliver 1983, p. 102). Notable appointments likely include Plutarch himself, and Arrian the “consular philosopher” (ὑπατικὸς φιλόσοφος, SEG 30.159, SEG 31.174; cf. Oliver 1983, p. 71). Philopappus can very well be a Domitian and Trajanic consular philosopher who governed the free city.

CONCLUSION

If there was a unitary theme in the eclecticism of the Philopappus Monument, it would not be Syrianness, but a self-expression of what client-kingship means to Philopappus and his family. Antiochus IV's kingship was in form and essence a sort of Roman office, and this is the example that deserves to be mentioned, unlike the example of Philopappus' father Epiphanes, whose defiance in the face of Roman annexation led to a downplay of his representation on the façade of the Philopappus Monument.

Philopappus' credentials—a consulship and a member of the Arval Brethren—is identical with some of the eastern aristocrats who have taken up gubernatorial and even military posts under the Flavians and Trajan.

Philopappus’ attainment of such credentials under Trajan perhaps related to his successful career at Athens, which, if following James Oliver’s supposition, was devised by Domitian. Philopappus’ understanding of the essence of his family’s kingship—a Roman office—may have played a part, but his ability to engage in the philosophical circles of Athens was certainly key to a successful career in Athens. To Plutarch, Philopappus was a philosopher king of sorts who completed the renovative process of the Commagenian line from a Persian-Greek heritage to a Roman-Greek one, and took a path that was no longer banking on returning to their ancestral kingdom to rule as a client-king, but a proper Roman magistrate who found a place and rule as sovereign.

The role of Seleucus Nicator could be explored further. Though Nicator was barely a distant relative of the Persian-Greek Orontids, the Nemrud Dagi epigraphic program presents him as second in line in their ancestral genealogy, only after Alexander the Great (Dörner 1996, pp. 376–377). What would Nicator wear? How would his presence add to the self-explanation of what Commagene is? Further studies that explore the Hellenistic influence of the idea of kingship and its subsequent transformation in the Roman context would be needed to further understand the full story behind the Philopappus Monument.

In sum, the Philopappus Monument can be treated as a document regarding the nature of the Roman institution of client-kingship by kings themselves. Under the Roman scheme, kings thrive on influence and status, and will be able to live like a king, provided that they understand that their territory of control was guaranteed by Roman authorities. Since the death of Antiochus III, Commagenian kingship was effectively prolonged by severing the notion of kingship from the ancestral, territorial kingdom. Philopappus was able to fully recognize this dissociation. Like his grandfather, they understood that a king was, under Rome, a new concept. Both Philopappus and his grandfather represented a new paradigm that his father and uncle did not recognize fully when they resisted the Syrian governor.

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