

THE LIFE OF HERODES ATTICUS

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SCHOOL PAPER

submitted by

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Abbreviations

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae

SIG = Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, Tertium Editio

V.S. = Philostratus, Vitae Sophistarum

Note

The translations from Philostratus are taken from Wilmer Cave Wright's Philostratus and Eunapius, The Lives of the Sophists, in the Loeb Library.

Note 1, p. 1. Examples of Philostratus' sources: letter of Herodes to Polemo, V.S. I, 8, iii; to Varus, I, 25, vi; to Emperor Hadrian, II, 1, iii; to Julian, II, 1, vii; to Cassius, II, 1, xviii; letter of Marcus to Herodes, II, 1, xii; letter of Alexander to Herodes, II, 3, iii; exchange of letters between Philostratus and Herodes, II, 8, i; conversation of Philostratus with Gtesidemus, a friend of Herodes, II, 1, vi; published speech of Demosthenes against Herodes, II, 1, viii and xiii; invective of Herodes against freedmen, II, 1, iv; and against Marcus, II, 1, xi.

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THE LIFE OF HERODES ATTICUS

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A professor of rhetoric who oppressed the people of Athens with his tyranny, a restorer of cities and a donor of theatres and stadiums who was accused of cruel and unfilial actions, an admired and revered instructor of youth, who was brought to trial for the murder of his pregnant wife, such are the conflicting descriptions of Herodes Atticus, who dominated the Athens of his day financially and intellectually, and who left memorials of his wealth and power which in their extent and scale are worthy of an emperor.

In spite of a disregard of chronology and ordered arrangement, the account of Herodes in "The Lives of the Sophists" of Philostratus and the reference to him in the other "Lives" give a vivid picture of the man and his relations to the period in which he lived. The author is an ardent admirer of the great sophist, whose attainments in various types of eloquence and learning, put him ahead of all rivals, but ready as Philostratus is to defend Herodes from the charges which assailed him from corruption of magistrates to uxoricide, a love of anecdote results in the inclusion of many incidents which do not redound to the credit of his protagonist. Our confidence in the justness of the picture is encouraged by the knowledge that among the important sources were the correspondence of Herodes, contemporary declamations and written documents, and conversation with those who had known Herodes.

¹ - See opposite.

The primary interest of Philostratus in the styles and relative excellences of the various sophists results in generous materials for an estimate of the ideals of sophistic attainment.

Pausanias supplies contemporary comments on buildings and statues erected and dedicated by Herodes at Olympia, the Isthmus of Corinth, Delphi, and Athens. Lucian adds a few anecdotes as well as an indication of his respect for Herodes, and in Athenaeus, the Lexicon of Suidas, Dio Cassius, and elsewhere there are scattered references. Among works in Latin, the "Letters of Fronto" and the "Historia Augusta" supply valuable information about the relations of Herodes to members of the imperial family in Rome. The "Attic Nights" of Aulus Gellius give a picture of the life of Herodes' students in Athens and Cephissia and strengthen his claim to the highest rank among the orators and rhetoricians of his day.

Most of our knowledge of the family of Herodes and many details of his own life is derived from the widespread inscriptional evidence which is to a great extent a remainder of the monuments which his wealth created. The very number of inscriptions is in its way as significant as the honors, offices, and relationships which they record. The extant monuments, which he built or restored, the odeums at Athens and Corinth, the Exedra at Olympia, the stadiums of Athens and Delphi, and other lesser works, although a small representation of his vast expenditures, leave no doubt as to his unrestrained munificence.

Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, as the name usually appears,¹ or Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius

1. CIG II, 1883; CIG III, 674; CIL VI, 202, etc.

Atticus Herodes of Marathon, as it appears in its fullest form, was the scion of a prominent and wealthy family with large estates centred chiefly about Marathon. Marcellus, in his memorial verses to Regilla at the Triopium near Rome, hails Herodes as a member of the family of the Ceryces and thus descended

from Hermes and Herse, the daughter of Cecrops.² The more immediate ancestry is almost as difficult to establish, but a large number of scattered inscriptions, especially those from Delphi and the Exedra at Olympia, give the main branches of the family tree. Philostratus says that Herodes took great pride in his descent from the Aeacids and especially Miltiades and Cimon on account of their great services to Athens and the rest of Greece.³

The name of Eucles of Marathon, the son of Eucles, in a list from the theatre at Delos provides a record of the family that goes back to the last quarter of the second century B.C.⁴

Another Eucles, the son of Herodes, appears as phylarch of the tribe Aiantis in the Pythaid of Agathocles, in the year 106/5,⁵ and from this Herodes, who was apparently the brother of the older of the two aforementioned Marathonians named Eucles,⁶ the direct line of descent can be traced to the great rhetorician. The Herodes who was archon in 60/59 is probably the grandson of the earlier Herodes and has as his son Eucles, who for at least the last third of the century was priest of Pythian Apollo and served also as general of hoplites. We know that the father of Hipparchus,

1. SIG, 859 and CIG 1333 with comment of Graindor B.C.H. LI (1927), p. 279

2. Kaibel, Epig. Graeca 1046 = CIG. According to Pausanias (I.38.3) Ceryx was the son of Hermes and Aglaurus. Herodes' connection with the Ceryces is established also by an inscription from Eleusis (SIG, 857) in honor of Regilla, his wife, which states that he was a director of the Mysteries.

3. V.S. II, 1, I

4. Roussel in B.C.H. XXXII (1908), p. 333, N° 245 and p. 441

5. Fouilles de Delphes III Epigr. Fasc. 2, p. 35, N° 28, l. 13

the grandfather of the rhetorician, was named Herodes,¹ but whether he was the son of Eucles is uncertain. It seems probable, however, and in that case Polycharmus, herald of the Areopagus and high priest of Tiberius Caesar, was a great, great uncle of the subject of this paper.²

With Tiberius Claudius Hipparchus, who was priest and high-priest of Pythian Apollo under Domitian,³ we have, in addition to indications of the prestige of the family, direct evidence as to its financial status. Philostratus informs us that Hipparchus, the grandfather of Herodes, was charged with aspiring to a tyranny and suffered the confiscation of his estates. The accusation was not brought by the people of Athens, but arose out of the Emperor's knowledge of the state of affairs.⁴ It appears then that Hipparchus made use of his wealth to gain unwarranted powers in somewhat the manner which later led his grandson into such strained relations with the Athenians and resulted in public meetings of protest. But the serious offences of Herodes and members of his household were punished entirely at the expense of the latter, whereas the severe treatment of Hipparchus may well have been based on less substantial evidence. A passage from Suetonius appears to be related to this episode. As an illustration of Vespasian's liberality and appreciation of frank expression, he is cited as commending Salvius Liberalis who while defending a rich client said,⁵ "What is it to Caesar if Hipparchus has a hundred millions?" There is nothing to determine at what period the remark was made but since Hipparchus held his priesthood under Domitian it is

1. SIG 853, from Eleusis

2. Graindor, BCH xxxviii (1914), p. 440, (g)(h).

3. Fouilles de Delphes III, 2, Nos. 64, 65

4. V.S. II, 1, II

5. Suet., Vesp. XIII

6. Sundwall, Prosop. Att. pp. 78, 90 and Graindor, B.C.H. XXXVIII (1914) p. 437, where this descent is tabulated

thought that the prosecution did not take place until this reign.¹ However, it is conceivable that he might be priest after the loss of his estates under an earlier Emperor. The importance of the confiscated estates of Hipparchus, which were sold by the Imperial Treasury, can be inferred from their produce being made the single exception in a law of Hadrian limiting the amount of oil which could be exported from Athens.²

The low ebb of the family fortunes was remedied during the reign of Nerva with the discovery ^{by} of Atticus, the son of Hipparchus, of a vast treasure in one of his houses near the theatre. He informed Nerva and awaited the imperial commands in regard to his find, and, when Nerva ordered him to use it, he replied that its vastness was beyond his station. However, after the Emperor sent back word "Then misuse your windfall, for yours it is," Atticus accepted his good luck and thus strengthened the foundations of the wealth of his illustrious son.³ Of the many wild solutions of the problem of the origin of this money, perhaps the most startling is the statement that it was part of the treasure left hidden by Xerxes in a cleft of the Acropolis.⁴ A more commonly accepted theory and one which accords with general probability and our specific knowledge is that the money was hidden during the period when the family was under suspicion of the emperor at Rome, probably Domitian, and was simply brought to light under a more lenient rule.

1. Graindor in B. C. H. XXXVIII (1914) p. 440 (1)

2. CIG III, 38

3. V.S. II, 1, II. Suidas (v. sub 'Ηρώδης' Ιούλιος χρηματίας) evidently errs in attributing the discovery of the treasure to Herodes himself (cf. also Schol. on Arist. III, 739 Dind), in adding Julius to the name of Herodes, and in naming Plutarchus as the father of Atticus.

4. Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 289

That Atticus was generous in his expenditures for the public welfare and happiness is made amply evident by Philostratus. Although his fortune was smaller than that of Herodes, it was not unusual for him to sacrifice to the goddess a hundred oxen in a single day and at the sacrificial feast to entertain the whole population of Athens by tribes and families. "And whenever the festival of Dionysus came round and the image of Dionysus descended to the Academy he would furnish wine to drink for citizens and strangers alike as they lay in the Cerameicus on couches of ivy leaves." By the terms of his will he left a mina annually to each citizen of Athens. A striking example of his munificence, showing his readiness to encourage his son's public spirit and to cooperate in his extravagances, occurred when the latter was ruling the free cities of Asia. Herodes applied to Hadrian for three million drachmae with which to provide an adequate water supply for the ancient city of Alexandria Troas. The Emperor approved of the plan and put Herodes in charge of the water supply. By the time seven million drachmae had been spent Hadrian had received from officials in Asia numerous protests against the tribute from five hundred cities being spent upon the fountain of one. "The Emperor expressed his disapproval of this to Atticus, whereupon Atticus replied in the most lordly fashion in the world: "Do not, O Emperor, allow yourself to be irritated on account of so trifling a sum. For the amount spent in excess of the three millions, I hereby present to my son, and my son will present it to the town."¹ A disregard of expense and a desire to have their benefactions on a scale which would make them unforgettable seem to be established family traits.

1. V.S. III, 1, 111

Atticus served as high priest of the Augustalia and was honored for his virtues by a decree of the Greeks who had convened at Platea to celebrate the ancient victory over the Persians.¹ The high priest and his wife, Vibullia Alcia, were honored for their good works by statues and a golden crown during the prytany of the tribe Aiantis,² and also by the other tribes individually.³ The council of the Areopagus and the Council of the Six Hundred did honor to the benefactions of Atticus and his sister Claudia Athenais.⁴

The Attici represent in the fullest degree the type of private citizen, who, throughout the provincial cities of Rome particularly in the second century A.D., dominated his particular region and, by the occupancy of magistracies and priest-hoods which required great expenditures from his private funds as an expected payment for honors conferred and by the exhibition of a public spirit almost demanded of the affluent by the common people, maintained the extensive public institutions, temples, games, and banquets and financed the building of roads and bridges and other public works.⁵ As in the case of Herodes the wealth of these citizens was enormous and they themselves were in a number of cases leaders in the intellectual life of their communities. As Professor Rostovtzeff has pointed out there was a decentralization of wealth, as contrasted with its former concentration in the hands of the senatorial class at Rome. But in the provincial cities land ownership and profits

1. CIG VII, 2509. Cf. Plutarch Arist. XIX, 7

2. CIG III, 3

3. CIG III, 669-672 and 674

4. CIG III, 664, 665

5. Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, pp. 137-151

from commerce were apt to be centred around a few individuals. The extent of the commercial interests of Herodes is unknown, but large land tenure and the production of the staple products of trade, oil and wine, principally in the rich lands of Cephissia and Marathon were doubtless at the basis of his wealth. There is evidence that he had holdings elsewhere, and his aunt Claudia Athenais had large estates in Egypt.¹ Herodes' high standing and his services as a teacher in the imperial family and his rank as one of the foremost orators and sophists of a day when educators became wealthy added at least to his opportunities for increasing his fortune. His mother came from a prominent family and her legacy to Herodes was almost as great as that from Atticus.²

In about the year 101 or 102 A.D. not long after Atticus had had his profitable correspondence with Nerva, he and his wealthy wife, Vibullia Alcia Agrippina, the daughter of Rufus,³ became the parents of Herodes.⁴ An inscription from Ceos informs us that they had also a younger son, but the absence of any further evidence indicates that he died early in life.⁵ The youth of Herodes was undoubtedly much occupied with rhetorical studies under the prominent sophists then teaching at Athens, and some of his education was acquired in Rome in the house of Publius Calvisius, the maternal grandfather of Marcus Aurelius.⁶

At some time in his youth he made inauspicious use of an opportunity for oratorical distinction. For he broke down in a speech before the Emperor in Pannonia, and so bitter was the disappointment at thus failing in his chosen field that he

1. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 270, 577 n. 46. For other estates of Herodes, infra p. 17.

2. V.S. II, 1, 11

3. Olympia, ~~Besult~~ Ergebnisse V Inschr. no. 621

4. See evidence for date of death, infra p. 51.

5. CIG XII, 5, 631

6. Fronto, ad M. Caes. III, 2

rushed to the Danube as though to throw himself in. However, as Philostratus points out, the same thing happened to Demosthenes before Philip so that those who taunted Herodes with his misfortune simply exhibited their ignorance.¹

Herodes' great inspiration in ex tempore speaking came at an early age, when the versatile and witty sophist Scopelian of Smyrna was entertained in Athens by Atticus. Scopelian proved to be so brilliant that Atticus gave orders that all the busts of the ancient orators that were in his house should be pelted with stones because they had corrupted his son's talent. The confidence and vigor which Herodes gained from the example of Scopelian enabled him to imitate his style so successfully in a declamation before his father that the latter's admiration took the form of a gift of fifty talents with another fifteen for Scopelian. Herodes delighted his source of inspiration by calling him teacher and by giving him fifteen² of his newly-earned talents.

The teachers of Herodes in the critical branch of oratory were Theagenes of Cnidos and Munatius of Tralles, and Taurus of Tyre instructed him in the doctrines of Plato.³ Secundus of Athens also taught him and quarreled with him when he was still his pupil, so that Herodes ridiculed what he regarded as his jealousy by reciting:

"καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ ῥήτορι τέκτον." ⁴

However, when he died, Herodes delivered the funeral oration⁵ and shed a tribute of tears over him.

1. V.S. II, 1, xiv. The Ms. gives Paeonia as the scene of this episode, but the mention of the Danube and the fact that the names were often confused seem to indicate that Pannonia is meant.
2. V.S. I, 21, vii
3. V.S. II, 1, xiv
4. Hesiod, Opera et Dies, 25. Herodes substituted ῥήτορι for τέκτονι.
5. V.S. I, 26

In two discussions related by Plutarch on unusual questions in regard to the Muses and on the palm as an emblem of victory in the games, a Herodes plays a conspicuous part and is perhaps the great Sophist in his early days.¹

An inscription found at the Portico of Athena Archegetis in the Roman market of Athens informs us that Herodes occupied the office of agoranomos,² and this was probably before his elevation to the more important position of eponymous archon in the year 126/7, a date obtained from an inscription stating that the archonship of Herodes was the third year after a visit of Hadrian to Athens.³ Herodes' early prominence in civic life was continued by a curatorship of the Panhellenic festival⁴ some time after its founding by Hadrian in 131,⁵ when the completion of the Olympieion was celebrated and the sacrifice adorned by a speech from Polemo of Smyrna.⁶

Possibly as a result of this later visit of Hadrian, and certainly within the years 130-135, when Antoninus Pius was pro-consul of Asia, Herodes was made governor of the free cities of that province.⁷ That his abilities and wealth were quite unevenly distributed in the occupation of this important office has been shown by his lavish expenditures on the water supply of Alexandria Troas. A fragmentary inscription from Smyrna, in which Tiberius Claudius Herodes is named as priest of Augustus and of the goddess Roma probably records honors received at this period.⁸ That the greatness of soul (μεγαλοψυχία) which produced the financial and emotional extravagances of Herodes, may have

1. Moralia, Quaest. Conviv. VIII, 4; IX, 14
2. CIG III, 160
3. CIG III, 735 and Graindor, Chronologie, p. 127, N° 92
4. V.S. II, 1, v
5. SIG, 842
6. V.S. I, 1, viii
7. V.S. II, 1, viii
8. CI, 3187

created difficulties in his human relationships is indicated by the encounter which he had on Mt. Ida with the proconsul Antoninus. The road was narrow and rough and apparently the middle seemed desirable to both parties. Philostratus insists that the shoving never turned into blows, and he regards the silence on this point of Herodes' great opponent Demonstratus as conclusive evidence that there were no materials for a formal charge, but popular opinion was not unready to associate violence with the name of Herodes.¹

That Herodes availed himself of the opportunities for contact with the great⁺ sophists of Asia Minor and that his own reputation at this period inspired respect is illustrated by his relations with Polemo, whom he regarded throughout his life as the greatest orator. "Herodes you must know, felt a keener desire to succeed in ex tempore speaking than to be called a consul and the descendant of consuls, and so, before he was acquainted with Polemo, he came to Smyrna in order to study him. It was at the time when Herodes was regulating the status of the free cities. When he had embraced Polemo and saluted him very affectionately by kissing him on the mouth, he asked, 'Father, when shall I hear you declaim?' Now Herodes thought that he would put off the declamation and would say that he hesitated to run any risks in the presence of so great a man, but Polemo, without any such pretext, replied: 'Hear me declaim today, and let us be going.' Herodes says that when he heard this he was struck with admiration of the man and the ready facility both of his tongue and brain. This incident illustrates Polemo's pride and, by Zeus, the cleverness with which he was wont to

1. V.S. II, 1, viii

dazzle his hearers, but the following shows equally his modesty and sense of propriety. For when the other arrived to hear him declaim, he received him with a long and appropriate panegyric on the words and deeds of Herodes." Herodes in his letter to Varus in which the brilliant methods of Polemo were described adds that he listened to the first of the three declamations which he heard with a judicial attitude, to the second with love, and to the third with wonder. The themes of the three speeches were: first, "Demosthenes swears that he did not take the fifty talents," a defence against the charges of Demades on the basis of Alexander's report of the account-book of Darius; second, "That the trophies erected by the Greeks (after the Peloponnesian War) should be taken down;" and third, "The Athenians should return to their demes," (after the battle of Aegospotami they should abandon their naval program). Herodes sent 150 000 drachmae in payment for the three declamations, but, when this was not accepted and his drinking companion, the critic Munatius of Tralles suggested that Polemo expected 250 000, Herodes sent the additional amount which proved to be satisfactory.¹

There was doubtless much intercourse with other members of the brilliant schools of Asia Minor whose names are numerous on the pages of Philostratus. With the eloquent hermaphrodite Favorinus, the great rival of Polemo, Herodes probably at this time cultivated the acquaintance which developed into a close intimacy. This paradoxical sophist who used to say that although a Gaul he led the life of a Hellene, although a eunuch he had been tried for adultery, and although he had quarreled with an emperor he was still alive, was regarded as a teacher and father by Herodes, who wrote to him, "When shall I see you and lick the honey from your lips?" When Favorinus died he bequeathed to

Herodes his entire library, his house in Rome, and pet Indian slave, Autolecythus, whose faltering mixture of Indian dialect with Attic words used to provide an amusing accompaniment to their wine-drinking.¹

Some time after the entrance of Herodes upon his duties in Asia Minor, but before the year 143, when his elevation to the consulship probably succeeded his acquittal from charges prosecuted in Rome by Marcus Cornelius Fronto and others, the death of Atticus occurred. The accusations of unfilial conduct and maltreatment of freedmen must certainly be the same as those referred to by Philostratus in the account of Herodes' execution of his father's will. The trial occurred after 139 since Fronto addresses Marcus as Caesar, and it probably came very soon after the death of Atticus.²

The relations between Herodes and the freedmen of Atticus were very strained, and as an object of invective Herodes found them most stimulating. The influence of these freedmen upon Atticus was considerable and often displeasing to Herodes. At any rate they were credited with advising Atticus to leave the will by which each citizen was to receive a mina annually. Their motive according to Philostratus was to ingratiate themselves with the Athenians and establish a refuge in anticipation of the death of Atticus.³ How Herodes dealt with the freedmen can be inferred from a letter of Fronto to Marcus Aurelius, which must

1. V.S. I, 8, iii

2. V.S. II, 1, v and Fronto, ad M. Caes. III, 3. Graindor, B.C.H. XXXVIII (1914) p. 354 points out that the death of Hadrian can not be used as a terminus ante quem for the death of Atticus since the priesthood of Statius Quadratus (CIG III, 486) after Hadrian's death separated the occupation of the office by Atticus and Herodes. He claims that CIG 476 and 478, both before Hadrian's death must refer to the father, although in one the priest is called Claudius Atticus and in the other Claudius Herodes.

3. V.S. II, 1, iv.

be before Herodes' consulship and probably before his tutoring of the future emperors, since the writer expresses ignorance of any friendly relations between his pupil and his opponent. After stating that he has reasons for doubting the worthiness of Herodes, Fronto promises not to go beyond the facts of the case to impugn his character, but the facts in question must be stated, freedmen brutally beaten and robbed, of one even slain. In short, disregard of a father's exhortations, cruelty, avarice, and even murder are the charges.¹ The unfilial conduct referred to doubtless includes Herodes' method of executing his father's will. He first came to an agreement with the citizens whereby an immediate payment of five minae to each relieved him of all further obligations. But when they came to the banks to receive their money they were greeted with recitals of contracts made by their fathers and grandfathers showing them to be in debt to the parents of Herodes and so instead of being given their five minae the Athenians found themselves faced with these old debts. As a result some received only small sums, others nothing at all, and some were detained as debtors. The hatred of the Athenians for Herodes was never entirely extinguished by his benefactions, and the exasperation evinced by this particular act resulted in the jest that the Panathenaic stadium was well-named since Herodes had built it with money of which all the Athenians were being deprived.²

Just how these conflicts developed into a court case is unknown, but as we have seen, they centred about Herodes' maltreatment of the freedmen. The proceedings took place in Rome

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1. ad M. Caes., III, 3
2. V.S. II, 1, iv
3. ad M. Caes., III, 4

as appears from the correspondence of Fronto in which besides himself Capreolus, Marcianus, and Villianus are mentioned as likely to plead. Fronto warns Marcus that the other pleaders may not show the same restraint which he himself has promised in the charges which are to be brought against Herodes¹.

The evidence was inconclusive or the wealth and prestige were too staunch as defences against legal processes, and Herodes' stay in Rome was crowned with every good fortune, the tutorship of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, marriage to the wealthy and influential Regilla, and in 143 the consulship (ordinarius) with Gaius Bellus Torquatus and with Fronto as consul suffectus for two months.²

The chronological order is conjectural, but all these events occurred within a short time since a letter from Marcus Aurelius to Fronto soon after the latter's consulship announces that Herodes is overwhelmed with grief at the loss of a son born on the same day and urges Fronto to write a message appropriate to the occasion. In Fronto's note of sympathy, consolation in the love of a noble youth (Marcus) is recommended although Herodes is acknowledged as a rival already in the field.³

This rivalry appears to have been friendly and in his later correspondence Fronto refers to Herodes as a very dear friend in spite of the publication of the speech (presumably the one made in the trial).⁴ Oratory was the field in which both Fronto and Herodes trained the future emperors, Marcus and Verus.⁵ Herodes delivered regular lectures in Rome on ex tempore oratory, and among his hearers at the time was

1. ad M. Caes. III, iv
2. Prosop. Imp. Rom I pp. 353, 356. CIL VI 20, 217, 24162; XIV 3692
3. Letter of Marcus, Fronto ad M. Caes. I, 6, 7; reply of Fronto ad M. Caes. I, 7, 2; Fronto's letter to Herodes, Epist. Graec. 3
4. Ad Ant. Imp. II, 8 and ad Verum Imp II, 9. Probably in 165. See also ad M. Caes. IV, 2, 2
5. J. Capitolinus (Scrip. Hist. Aug.), Vita Marc. Ant. 2, 4 and Verus 2, 5. Cassius Dio LXXI, 35

Aristocles, who, having been converted from philosophy, later established a school of oratory in Pergamon, which gained a great reputation, especially when it was visited by Herodes and all his own pupils which was "as though Athene herself had cast the vote."

There is no perfectly conclusive evidence as to the date of Herodes' marriage, but since Herodes had already lost a son very soon after his consulship, as we know from the letter to Marcus just mentioned, the ceremony took place probably very soon after his acquittal in Rome and shortly before his consulship. The full name of his wife, Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Canidia Tertulla appears on a base from Eleusis which also states that she was the daughter of the priest and consul Appius.² The Olympia dedication to Regilla's father adds Annius Gallus to his name and quaestor and praetor to his titles.³ The maternal grandfather of Regilla has even a longer list of titles on his Olympian dedication, quaestor, praetor, consul, propraeor of Hadrian in Germany and Britain, and sodalis of Hadrian.⁴ Thus Herodes connected himself with two of the leading families in Rome in addition to establishing close bonds with the imperial house, of which his later correspondence with Marcus⁵ and the visit of Lucius Verus to his home in Athens⁶ are added evidence.

Among the expensive honors which the Athenians showered upon Herodes, probably more from economic sagacity than affection,

1. V.S. II, 3
2. SIG, 857
3. Ol. V Inscr. N° 619. See Prosop. Imp. Rom I, p. 66 for an account of this distinguished family
4. Ol. V Inscr. N° 620
5. V.S. II, 1, xii
6. V.S. II, 1, xi

and probably about the time of his return from Rome, was the charge of the Panathenaic festival, a climax to his many lesser offices. Herodes responded by promising a stadium of pure white marble for the occasion and within the four years' interval the great work was completed on the site and with the main features of the present magnificent stadium of Athens. It was a monument beyond all other marvels and unrivalled by any theatre according to Philostratus.¹ Pausanias was greatly impressed by its appearance and remarked on the exhaustion of the Pentelic quarries in its construction.² This remark might be explained as referring to certain quarries owned by Herodes or to quarries with a particular quality of marble or it may simply reflect Pausanias' too ready belief of a voluble guide. The end of the stadium was occupied by a temple of Fortune with her statue in ivory to show that she directed all the contests.³ The whole festival was performed in noteworthy style. The robe of Athena, "with folds that swelled before the breeze," was especially charming, and the ship which transported it was not hauled by animals but slid forward by underground machinery and was conducted by a thousand rowers on its course from the Cerameicus, around the Eleusinium, and by the Pelasgicum to its anchorage by the Pythium.⁴

Confirmation of the account in Philostratus of Herodes' devotion to his foster sons and valuable information as to the extent of his landholdings are provided by a series of inscriptions, some fragmentary, some well-preserved, many on decapitated herms, in honor of the individuals mentioned in the "Life of Herodes." When these foster-sons, Achilles, Polydeucion (he is called Polydeuces by Philostratus), and Memnon died,

1. V.S. II, 1, v

2. Descr. Graec. 1, xic, 6

3. Regilla was at one time priestess of the Fortune of the City. SIG, 856, from Ardetus Hill

4. V.S. II, 1, v

they were mourned by Herodes as though they had been his own children. They all were "highly honorable youths, noble-minded and fond of study, a credit to their upbringing in his house." Accordingly he put up statues of them hunting, having hunted, and about to hunt, some in his shrubberies, others in the fields, others by springs or in the shade of plane trees, not hidden away, but inscribed with execrations on any who should pull down or move them." To the Quintilii who, while they were governing Greece, reproached him for this extravagance, Herodes replied, "What business is it of yours, if I amuse myself with my poor marbles?"¹ A group of some eighteen inscriptions have been found all bearing the same formula or what remains of it, which in a detailed manner curses with personal and agricultural disasters any owner of the land who disturbs the images, and promises an abundance of good things to whomever protests and honors them. The names of the three foster sons (τρόφιμοι) appear at least once each in this group. Polydeucion on a herm from Cephissia, Achilles on herms from Marathon and Varnava, in the north of Attica, and Memnon from Bey, near Marathon. Other places in which these inscriptions were found are Souli, near Marathon, Masi, near Kapandriti, Tragounera in the centre of Euboea, and Loucon, in the eastern central Peloponnesus.² From this last place which is other-

wise associated with Herodes by a memorial to his grandfather Hipparchus,³ is the head of a negro named Memnon, whom Graindor⁴

has very convincingly identified with the favorite of Herodes, 1.V.S. II, 1, x. For the Quintilii see Prosop. imp. Rom III, p. 116

2. For the additions of Graindor to a list drawn up by Wilhelm (Beiträge zur Griech. Inschriftenkunde, p. 978) see B.C.H. XXXVIII (1914) pp. 358-362 and Album d'Inscriptions Attiques (1924) pp. 39, 40

3. XVIII (1906) pp. 439, 443

4. B.C.H. XXXIX (1915) pp. 402 ff.

since we know from Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana¹ that this pupil of his was an Ethiopian. He was featured by having a brightly-shining crescent-shaped spot between his eyebrows, which waned as he grew up and finally disappeared when he reached man's estate. This added information removes any doubts which might be created by the fact that the bust is of a man thirty to thirty-five years of age. Since their consulship was in 151, the proconsulship of Sextus Quintilius Condianus over the praetorian province of Achaia with his brother Sextus Quintilius Valerius Maximus in some high position under him must have been shortly before that date, which must also have been the time when Herodes was erecting these monuments.

Polydeucion, whose family name of Vibullius, and the fact that he was honored with dedications of Vibullia Alcia,² the mother of Herodes, seem to point to some sort of relationship with his foster-father, was especially favored. In the archonship of Dionysus he was honored as a hero by the rabdophorai.³ Other dedications to Polydeucion appear in various places and with various formulas.⁴ A dedication to Nemesis at Rhamnus by Herodes states that he brought up and loved Polydeucion as though he were his own son,⁵ and an inscription from Souli, very likely from one of the statues mentioned by Philostratus, states that Herodes put up the likeness of Polydeucion where they used to hunt.⁶ Others mark the baths and triple roads that they used to frequent. At Delphi the sophrosyne of Polydeucion was commemorated.⁷ A herm consecrated to Hermes found west of Varnava was put up by Herodes in order that he and other passersby in the valley might see Achilles and be reminded of the great friendship that was theirs.⁸

1. III. xi. The name here appears as Menon, but in the cases of Polydeuces (for Polydeucion) and Panathenais (for Athenais) (V.S. II, 1, x) Philostratus departs from the inscriptional forms
2. CIG III, 815, 816 4. ibid. 810-818 5. ibid. 811 6. ibid. 813

Two incidents related by Lucian about his admired teacher Demonax, the philosopher, show that Herodes was as lavish in displaying grief as in other things. "When Herodes, the syperlative (ὁ πᾶν) was mourning the premature death of Polydeuces and wanted a chariot regularly made ready and horses put to it just as if the boy were going for a drive, and dinner regularly served for him, Demonax went to him and said: 'I am bringing you a message from Polydeuces.' Herodes was pleased and thought that Demonax, like every one else, was falling in with his humour, so he said: 'Well what does Polydeuces want, Demonax?' 'He finds fault with you,' said he, 'for not going to join him at once.'¹ Although ready to discourage his excesses of grief, yet Demonax respected the talents of Herodes for some years later, "he remarked that Plato was right in saying that we have more than one soul, for a man with only one could not feast Regilla and Polydeuces as if they were still alive and say what he did in his lectures."²

Although the amazing thoroughness with which Herodes endeavoured to preserve the memory of his foster-sons shows that they occupied the first place in his affections, yet he interested himself in another youth of quite a different sort. This was the remarkable Heracles of Herodes, as men used to call him, because of his powerful, almost eight-foot frame and his mighty deeds. He wore wolf-skins as garments and the fact that he regularly wrestled with bulls and bears and other wild beasts made

3. CIG III, 810. According to Grainger's chronology of archons, Polydeucion must have died before 147, B.C.H. XXXIX (1915) pp. 407-408

7. SIG, 861

8. B.C.H. XXXVIII (1914), p. 362, N° 4

1. Demonax, 24. Translation of A. H. Harmon in Loeb Library

2. ibid. 33

him quite scornful of the public games which he had seen at Delphi. He told Herodes that fortune had robbed him of a really great encounter since Acarnania no longer bred lions. His father was said to have been the rustic hero Marathon, and the farmers called his son Agathion in the belief that he brought them luck. Herodes was much delighted with this child of nature, whom he found also to be gifted with a philosophic bent, and when Agathion dined with Herodes and was able to detect by the odor that the milk he drank had been milked by a woman, Herodes recognized him as ¹superhuman.

The memorials put up by Herodes were, however, but a small element in his quarrel with the Quintilii which was said by some to have originated in a dispute over the musical competition at the Pythian festival, and by others in the jests which Herodes made at their expense to Marcus. For the Trojan origin of the Quintilii and the favor in which they were held by Marcus gave opportunity for Herodes' remark: "I blame Homer's Zeus also, for loving the Trojans." As a matter of fact there was a far more serious basis of disagreement. At the time when the Quintilii were governing Greece they were invited to a meeting of the Assembly where speeches were made about the oppressive tyranny of Herodes and requests expressed that the Emperor be informed. The pity of the Quintilii for the people led them to report what they had heard, whereupon Herodes asserted that they were plotting against him by inciting the Athenians to attack him. From that time forth the public policies of Herodes met with active opposition from many able and distinguished men such as Demost¹rat²us, Praxagoras, and Mm²ertinus. After relating this episode

1. V.S. II, 1, vii. Cf. Lucian, Demonax 1, where he is called Sostratus

2. V.S. II, 1, xi

Philostratus goes on with no break in his narrative to recount the charge of conspiracy brought by Herodes against these men, their taking refuge with the Emperor at Sirmium among the tribes of Pannonia (about 171 A.D.), Herodes' bitter attack upon the Emperor for his unfair treatment, the charge of corruption of magistrates brought against Herodes by the defence, and the punishment of certain of Herodes freedmen. From the available dates for the Quintilii it appears that Philostratus has put together two related episodes in the life of Herodes. We know that the Sirmium episode came late in Herodes' life, and when we consider the popular indignation which he aroused just after his father's death, it would be surprising to have no record of discord in the intervening period. The fact that a party of opposition to Herodes took definite form when the Quintilii were in Athens is sufficient to account for a discussion of them being found in connection with the story of the conclusive trial which came about twenty years later. At least there appears to be no more plausible settlement of the uncertain chronology of these events.

Nothing more is known about the nature of the disagreement over the Pythian musical competition, but there is much evidence to show that Herodes Atticus and his family were prominent among the contributors to the second century revival of the Delphic sanctuary after a period of neglect in the first century. In fact they occupy more space there than the emper-
ors.¹ The Amphictyonic Council and the people of Delphi honored the friendship and the good works of Herodes even before the time of his consulship, and other inscriptions honor his wife²

1. B.C.H. XX (1896) p. 724
2. SIG 859

Regilla. Herodes put up statues of his two daughters and his younger son.¹ The disfavor in which Atticus, the older son, was held perhaps accounts for the failure to find a dedication to him. The outstanding contribution of Herodes was the rebuilding in Pentelic marble of the stadium, hitherto of common Parnassus stone. That is the statement of Pausanias² and Philostratus mentions Herodes' dedication of the stadium at Pytho to the Pythian God.³ The excavators found no traces of marble and discredited the account of Pausanias,⁴ but his accuracy is confirmed by the reliable accounts of Cyriacus of Ancona in the fifteenth century and Wheeler in the seventeenth both of whom reported degrees of white marble, which were doubtless devoted to the needs of the natives for lime.⁵

While Herodes was at the height of his fame and fortune, Olympia also benefited by his eloquence and his wealth, and the celebrators of the festival hailed him as the equal of Demosthenes.⁶ Pausanias informs us that Herodes replaced the old images of Demeter Chamyne and the Maid by new ones of Pentelic marble.⁷ Philostratus records that he dedicated the water-supply to Zeus.⁸ The Exedra, as it is called, consists essentially of two large basins to receive the supply of water which was brought about two miles by a tunnel and aqueduct from the River Alpheios to the Altis. It was an elaborate and showy, but carelessly constructed structure of brick and stone covered on the outside with stucco and on the inside encrusted

1. SIG, 860

2. X, xxxii, 1

3. V.S. II, 1, v

4. B.C.H. XXII (1898), p. 564

5. See commentary of Frazer on the reference in Pausanias

6. V.S. II, 1, vii

7. VI, xxi, 2

8. V.S. II, 1, vii

with marbles of different colors and decorated with architectural details carved on thin marble slabs. Two rotundas with bases for statues at either end of the lower tank were built of Pentelic marble with pillars of Carystian. Around the upper and inner basin were eight semicircular niches corresponding to the eight buttresses on the outside and between them seven oblong niches of about twice the size. They were occupied respectively by statues of the imperial family and the family of Herodes. The former were dedicated by Herodes and the latter by the city of Elis. A marble bull, which stood in the centre of the front wall of the lower tank, bears the inscription: "Regilla, priestess of Demeter dedicated the water and all connected with it to Zeus."¹ Thus the dedication was in the name of Regilla, but both Philostratus and Lucian speak of the benefaction as performed by Herodes.²

That it was a much needed contribution to the health and comfort of the spectators of the games is shown in Lucian's description of the attitude of the Cynic philosopher Proteus Peregrinus to the donor of the water supply who by his act put an end to people dying of thirst during the celebration of the festival. Peregrinus reproached Herodes with making the Greeks effeminate, saying that as spectators of the Olympian games they ought to endure thirst patiently and perish in large numbers of the diseases which the dryness of the region made prevalent. Peregrinus, who incidentally availed himself of the new water supply, attracted only a shower of stones with his doctrines. It is interesting that the critical pen of

1. Ol. V Inschr. N° 610

2. Lucian, De Morte Peregrini, 19 f. Herodes is not mentioned by name, but the nature of his gift and his relations with Proteus are sufficient identity.

Lucian describes Herodes as a man foremost in teaching and in worth of character (ἄνδρα παιδεία καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχοντα). Philostratus illustrates Herodes' self-control in the face of abuse by his attitude towards the persistent insults which Proteus cast upon him in a semi-barbarous dialect, dogging his footsteps all the while. So once in Athens Herodes turned round and said, "You speak ill of me, so be it, but why in such bad Greek?" And when this had no effect, Herodes showed his scorn of false accusations by remarking, "We two have grown old, you in speaking ill of me and I in hearing you."¹

The value of the inscriptions of the Exedra in giving information about the family of Herodes has already been mentioned. Of the Imperial family there are inscriptions to show that the statues represented Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder, Faustina the Younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius, and their first two children, and the future emperor Commodus. The statue of Hadrian was also discovered and part of a mailed figure has been identified with Marcus Aurelius, who must certainly have been represented. There is uncertainty as to the number of missing inscriptions since the occupancy of the rotundas is undetermined. The extant inscriptions of the family of Herodes honored by the city of Elis are as follows: (1) Appius Annius Gallus, the father of Regilla, Herodes' wife; (2) Marcus Appius Bradus, the grandfather of Regilla on her mother's side; (3) Vibullia Alcia Agrippina, daughter of Rufus, wife of Atticus, and mother of Herodes; (4) Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes of Marathon, the son of Atticus; (5) Marcus Atilius Atticus Bradua Regillus, the son of Herodes and Regilla; (6) Appia Annia Atilia Regilla Elpinice Agrippina Atria Polla, the daughter of Herodes and Regilla; (7) Marcia Claudia Alcia

1. V.S. II, 1, xiii

Athenais Gavidia Latiaris, the daughter of Herodes and Regilla; (8) (on the same base as Athenais) Lucius Claudius Vibullius Regillus Herodes, the son of Herodes and Regilla; (9) (added considerably later) Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus; and (10) (added probably at the same time as the preceding) Athenais the daughter of Hipparchus. There are apparently five bases missing since the two youngest children of Herodes are on one base and there was room for two bases in each of the seven niches. Regilla herself, her paternal grandfather, her mother, and the father and grandfather of Herodes were probably the others.¹ The Exedra can be only approximately dated. Marcus Aurelius and Faustina were married in 145 and the fact that there are statues to two of their children makes 147 the terminus post quem. The death of Regilla by 161 gives the terminus ante quem. The absence of Anna Lucilia who was born to Faustina and Marcus in 150 or 151 does not provide a certain terminus ante quem since the bases for the imperial family are not complete, and the date of Regilla's priesthood is uncertain.

The identities of Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus and Athenais~~is~~, the daughter of Hipparchus have been much debated. Graindor believes that this Hipparchus was the grandson of Herodes, on the basis of the name and the relative dates of the Exedra inscriptions. He points out a hitherto neglected point, that Herodes adopted a Lucius Vibullius, the son of Vibullius Rufus. Through his mother Herodes was related to the family of the Vibulii, and Polydeucion was a member of it. The adoption of Lucius can easily be accounted for by the desire of Herodes for a worthy heir.² The pleasure-loving nature of his

1. Ol. V Inscr. pp. 613-639

2. Graindor in B.O.H. XXXVIII (1914) pp. 365-368. See also V.S. II, 1, x

elder son Atticus made the death of his other children particularly bitter. Herodes had brought him up with twenty-four boys of his age, called after the different letters, in order to overcome his difficulties in mastering the alphabet. The reports which Herodes received misrepresented him as foolish, bad at his letters, and of a dull memory, and his drunkenness and amorous tendencies led the disappointed father to adapt a verse of Homer as follows:

"Εἰς δ' ἔτι που μωρὸς καταλείπεται εὐρεί οἴκῳ."¹

Herodes' will conferred all but Regilla's estates upon other heirs, an act regarded as inhuman by the Athenians. In spite of his lack of zeal Atticus had a highly successful career, including the consulship in 181.² The death of the younger son had provided Demonax another opportunity to criticize the excessive grief of Herodes, when the latter was shut up in a dark room mourning the loss of his child. Demonax promised to raise his son if he would name three men who had never mourned for anyone. When Herodes was unable to do this, Demonax pointed out that his suffering was not beyond endurance since everybody experienced it.³ When the death of Regilla about 161 had removed Herodes' hopes of an heir being born to him, he adopted his relative, whose name then became Lucius Vibullius Claudius Herodes.

The death of Athenais, or Panathenais as Philostratus calls her, caused great sorrow to Herodes, but this was mitigated by the Athenians who allowed her to be buried in the city and decreed that the day on which she died should be taken out of the year. "But, when his other daughter Elpinice died also,

1. Odyssey IV, 498 reads: "Εἰς δ' ἔτι που ζωὸς καταρύκεται εὐρεί πόντῳ."
2. Papposop. Imp. Rom. p. 348. N° 640 and SIG, 862
3. Lucian, Dem. 25

he lay on the floor, beating the earth and crying aloud: 'O my daughter, what offerings shall I consecrate to thee? What shall I bury with thee?' Then Sextus the philosopher, who chanced to be present said: 'No small gift will you give your daughter if you control your grief for her!'" A statue at the sanctuary of Ptoan Apollo in Boeotia was among the numerous honors paid to Elpinice.²

Another scene of the benefactions of Herodes was Corinth and the Isthmus. Philostratus mentions "the statues at the Isthmus, and the colossal statue of the Isthmian god, and that of Amphitrite and the other offerings with which he filled the temple, "including the dolphin sacred to Melicertes."³ Pausanias describes these dedications in more detail.⁴ Chryselephantine statues of Amphitrite and Poseidon stood upon a chariot with horses gilded all over except for their ivory hoofs. The boy Palaemon was erect on a dolphin, and by the horses stood two Tritons of gold above the waist and of ivory below. The middle of the pedestal of the chariot had a relief of the sea holding up the child Aphrodite, and on either side were Nereids. Stephani has expressed the belief that the chryselephantine statue of the presider over the Isthmian games was intended to challenge comparison with Paeidias' chryselephantine statue of Zeus, the presider over the Olympian games, especially since the birth of Aphrodite was represented on both.⁵

At Corinth the outstanding contribution of Herodes was the roofed theatre which Philostratus says was inferior to the one at Athens, yet equalled by few famous things elsewhere.⁶ The building known as the Odeum, as it is called by Pausanias in a passing mention,⁷ is undoubtedly the one in question. The original structure dates from the middle of the first century A.D.,

but in the second century probably in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, there was an elaborate renovation, and everything points to the fact that Herodes was the donor.¹ The inside walls, the floor of the orchestra, and the seats of the cavea were covered with marble, and the stage was decorated with opus sectile. The stage front was supplied with columns of granite and many-colored marbles with Ionic and Corinthian capitals of white marble. The cavea and the stage were apparently roofed over, and in general the decorative standards of Herodes were maintained. The casual mention by Pausanias leads to the belief that his visit to Corinth was before the reconstruction.

The fountain Peirene received an elaborate marble facing at about this period, and the discovery of the base of a statue of Regilla makes it most probable that this was another of Herodes' benefactions. For otherwise it is not easy to account for the inscription: "By the will of the Sisyphian Council, you behold me at the outpouring of the waters, Regilla, the image of virtue."²

That Herodes had a residence in Corinth was indicated by the discovery in 1917 of a herm inscribed: "Ἡρώδης ἐνθάδε περιπατεῖ" ("Here Herodes used to walk," perhaps with the implication of teaching in the peripatetic fashion).³ The much battered head

- p. 28 {
1. V.S. II, 1, x
 2. B.C.H. XVI (1892) p. 464, N° vii
 3. V.S. II, 1, v
 4. II, 1, 7-9
 5. Compte Rendu (St. Petersburg) 1870-1873, p. 27. See Frazer's Commentary on Pausanias
 6. V.S. II, 1, v
 7. Broneer in A.J.A. XXXII (1928) pp. 461-464. The present state of the Odeum shows a second rebuilding late in the second century or early in the third.

8. A.J.A. IV (1900) pp. 213-237
9. B.C.H. XLIV (1920) pp. 170-180. For the bust in the Louvre see Bernouilli, Griechische Ikonographie, Herodes Atticus

provided the first authentic portrait of Herodes and confirmed the identification of a bust in the Louvre, which was discovered in a funerary edifice at Probalinthos near Marathon along with busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and which had long been regarded as a portrait of Herodes.

Although Herodes had erected great monuments in many parts of the world and performed many notable achievements, yet the Isthmus of Corinth provided him with a permanent challenge. He built two of the greatest structures in Athens, Delphi and Olympia profited by his magnanimity, at the healing waters of Thermopylae he made bathing pools for the Greeks of Thessaly and Malis, he endowed cities in Boeotia, the Peloponnese and Euboea, he revived the decaying city of Oricum in Epirus, and made habitable Canusium in Italy by giving it a water supply, but he felt that he had done nothing since he had not cut a canal through the Isthmus. To cut away the mainland to join two seas, and to contract lengths of sea into a voyage of twenty-six stades appealed to him as a really great achievement, but he always withheld from asking permission to undertake a task at which the Emperor Nero had failed. He wished to leave to future generations some real proof of the sort of man he really was, and when his companion Ctesidemus recited praises of his unsurpassable speeches and deeds, Herodes replied: "All this that you speak of must decay and yield to the hand of time, and others will plunder my speeches and criticize now this, now that. But the cutting of the Isthmus is a deathless achievement and more than one would credit to human powers, for in my opinion to cleave through the Isthmus calls for Poseidon rather than a mere man."

1. V.S.II, i, v and vii. The question whether the Isthmus could be cut was a regular theme of rhetoricians. Cf. Quintilian, Inst. III, 8, 16

Herodes was not unsuccessful in leaving an impressive record of accomplishments to posterity, but probably the one impression most commonly held in regard to his life is his responsibility for the death of his wife. This occurred not later than 161 A.D. since Antoninus Pius enrolled her son among the patricians of Rome as a consolation for his loss,¹ and probably not earlier than 160, the year of her brother Bradua's consulship, since his high honors are mentioned by Philostratus in connection with the trial of Herodes for murder.

Herodes was charged with having ordered his freedman Alcimedon to beat Regilla for some slight fault. She was in the eighth month of her pregnancy and died in premature childbirth of a blow in the belly. The chief arguments in defense were that no such orders had been given and that the violent grief exhibited by Herodes was proof of his innocence. The dedication of the theatre in Athens, the passing over of an opportunity for a second consulship, the dedication of Regilla's apparel at Eleusis, by doing which a polluted murderer would risk the wrath of the goddess, and the inclusion of even the decorations of his house in the mourning for Regilla are cited by Philostratus as proofs of his innocence. However, excessive grief is compatible with responsibility, and although there is every reason to believe that Herodes regretted his wife's death, yet in a moment of excitement he may have given orders which her delicate condition made dangerous. The long continuance of Herodes' grief, his devotion to his daughters and his desire for a worthy heir, and the many evidences of love and respect which he left during Regilla's lifetime make

1. SIG, 858

2. V.S. II, 1, viii and Prosop. Imp. Rom. I, p. 63

it impossible to suspect Herodes of any desire for her death. On the other hand we must explain in some way the fact that Bradua had enough evidence to bring the case before the tribunal at Rome. Probably some unforeseen accident occurred, for which it is and perhaps was impossible to place the responsibility but giving rise to distorted reports that Bradua seized upon with misplaced zeal either because of his distress at the loss of his sister or because of his dislike of Herodes. That Herodes did not hold Alcimedon responsible is indicated by the favor in which he stood at the time of the Sirmium episode about ten years later.¹ According to Philostratus Bradua brought no convincing proof, but delivered a long panegyric on himself and his family. A crescent-shaped ivory buckle on his sandal was the outward sign of his patrician rank and the response of Herodes to his self-praise was: "You have your pedigree on your toe-joints," a remark with a number of possible implications. When Bradua boasted about his benefactions to one of the cities of Italy, Herodes remarked: "I too could have recited many such actions of my own in whatever part of the earth I were now being tried." The conclusion of all these irrelevancies was the acquittal of Herodes.²

The grief displayed by Herodes on the occasion of his wife's death surpassed any of his previous efforts. The paintings and decorations of his house were made black by means of hangings, dye, and dark Lesbian marble. Lucius, who had been trained in philosophy and incidentally witty repartee by Musonius of Tyre and who was an intimate friend of Herodes, endeavored to advise him against such extravagant display.

1. V.S. II, 1, xi
2. V.S. II, 1, vii

He pointed out that Herodes had lost his self-control and was risking his reputation by so widely departing from the golden mean. For Lucius had heard him urgently commending this to the Greeks and even exhorting rivers to keep their course in mid-channel between their banks. Herodes refused to be convinced, and Lucius departed in a violent state of irritation. When he saw some slaves washing radishes and upon inquiry, found that they were for Herodes' dinner, he remarked: "Herodes insults Regilla by eating white radishes in a black house." After that speech had been reported to Herodes, he removed the signs of mourning from the house for fear that he should become the laughing stock of wise men.¹

Herodes gave to the Athenians a theatre in memory of Regilla. Its roof (probably over the stage only) was of cedar, a wood expensive even for statues, and Philostratus regards this building and the stadium as unequalled in the Roman Empire.² Pausanias, calling it an odeum, records also that Herodes erected it in honor of his wife and says that it surpassed both in size and in its whole style the odeum at Patras which was otherwise the grandest in Greece. It was built after Pausanias had written his description of Athens.³ The magnificence of its marble seats, marble-covered walls, cedar roof, painted decorations, mosaics, and statues must now be supplied largely by the imagination, but its massive walls and arched openings still dominate the south slope of the Acropolis.

The lands owned by Regilla at Rome between the Appian Way and the valley of the Almo were consecrated by Herodes to the memory of his wife and to the honor of Pallas Athene and Nemesis of Rhamnus as protecting divinities. An inscribed invocation

1. V.S. II, 1, ix

2. V.S. II, 1, v

3. Pausanias VII, xx, 6

to these goddesses of thirty-nine lines and a consecration of the statue of Regilla of fifty-eight were discovered about 1607 near the third milestone of the Appian Way, and in addition to the information in regard to this particular act of devotion on the part of Herodes they supply several facts about his life and his family.¹ The inscriptions were composed in dactylic hexameters by the poet Marcellus and abound in learned mythological references and rather obscure and indirect statements. In the invocation to Pallas and Nemesis, the goddesses are summoned to the rich and friendly country of Triopas,² the friend of Ceres, since Herodes has consecrated to them all the land inclosed within the circular wall to be forever inviolable. Athena in her assent threatens punishment for any one who disturbs a single stone or sod. Dire warnings of persecution by the Triopeian divinities and by Nemesis are pronounced against any who should dare to disturb the ground in order to destroy the old or make new tombs unless they be for persons of the blood and family of the builder.

To summarize the other poem: the matrons of the Tiber are summoned to the shrine to bring sacrifices to the statue of Regilla whose descent was from Aphrodite, Anchises and Aeneas. Her statue is consecrated to the old Demeter and to the new (Faustina, the wife of Antoninus), who have honored her. She has been given a place among the heroines on the Isles of the Blessed where Cronos reigns. Thus Zeus had compassion on the husband, lying in his sad old age on a lonely couch, since the Fates had deprived him of half his children (Regillus and Athennais), leaving two (Atticus and Elpinice) not old enough to

1. CIG XIV 1389 = Kaibel, Epigram. Graec. 1046 = Inscrip. Grecoques du Louvre 7, 8

2. Chishull has explained the building of the Triopaeum by the influence of Theagenes the Onidian on the basis of the sacred Triopea. See Kaibel 1046, p. 467. Theagenes was a teacher of Herodes (V.S. II, 1, xiv)

appreciate the greatness of their loss in the death of a mother who had not yet reached the borders of old age. The Emperor (Antoninus) resembling his father Zeus in appearance and in wisdom granted to the son (Atticus) to wear the stars and the crescent on his sandals (the emblem of the patricians) which they say Hermes wore when he led forth Aeneas from the war with the Achaeans, an appropriate honor even for an Athenian since he was a member of the family of the Ceryces. Because of this lineage was Herodes honored with the consulship, nor is there any person in Greece more regal in family and in eloquence. They call him the tongue of the Athenians (γλῶσσαν... Ἀθηνέων). Make sacrifices or not as you wish for Regilla is no longer a mortal nor is she a goddess, she has neither a temple nor a tomb, neither the homage due to mortals nor the honors owed to the gods. She has a monument similar to a temple at Athens, but her soul hovers around the sceptre of Rhadamanthus (king of the Isles of the Blessed). This statue has been put up with the approval of Faustina, in the land of Triopas, where Regilla possessed great estates, vineyards, and olive orchards. The Empress has not disdained to be the guardian of her honors and her attendant. As Artemis deemed Iphigenia worthy of Athens, Herse, so will Demeter deem Regilla worthy.

From these inscriptions we discover that there were, in addition to the fields, groves, and pastures, a burial ground for the family, a shrine of Regilla, and a temple of the New Demeter, or Faustina. An inscription in Greek and Latin, probably on a boundary mark, reads: "Annia Regilla, wife of Herodes, the light of the home, who owned these lands." ¹ Two columns

are inscribed as dedications to Demeter, Core, and the divinities of the lower regions and also bear warnings against disturbing the Triopium, at the third mile of the Appian Way, in the domains of Herodes.¹ The imitation of Attic epigraphy is very evident in the forms of the letters. Another inscription, now lost, probably from the Triopium but perhaps of later date, read: "Herodes put up this also as a memorial of his misfortune and his wife's virtue; this is not a tomb, for her body is at present in Greece near her husband." Then followed the statement that Antoninus enrolled her son among the patricians in Rome as a consolation.² A base of Pentelic marble found in the excavations of a temple between Cephisia and Amarousi bears the words "Appia Annia Regilla, wife of Herodes, the light of the home." Then follows the elaborate curse upon any future owner of the land who disturbs the statue and the promise of good crops to whosoever honors and protects it, according to the formula which Herodes used upon the memorials to his foster-sons.³ This base might well be associated with the shrine of Regilla which is implied in the Triopeian inscription.

Among the public benefactions performed by Herodes was the changing of the dress of the Athenian ephebes. Formerly they had always worn black cloaks when they sat in a group at public meetings or marched in festal procession in token of public mourning for the herald Copreus, and Herodes was the first to dress them in white cloaks.⁴ An inscribed catalogue of these white-clad ephebes informs us that the change took place during Herodes' life in Athens after the death of Regilla between the

1. CIGALV 1390
2. ibid. 1392 = SIG 858
3. CIG III, 1417. cf. supra p. 18
4. V.S. II, 4, v

years 166 and 169, since Lucius Verus was still alive and with Marcus Aurelius had acquired the title Armenian and Parthian.¹ The inscription states that the ephebes owe their white cloaks to the distinguished public spirit of Tiberius Claudius Herodes of Marathon, the great high priest. There is a brief description of the unanimous vote on the proposal that the ephebes should wear white on the days that they go in procession to Eleusis. Herodes' words are given: "O ephebes, leave it to me, you will not lack white cloaks."

Herodes' conspicuous public services seem to have continued to accompany a disregard of the rights of the citizens of Athens. From the fact that the Emperor Marcus later saw fit to punish the freedmen of Herodes² we may assume that Demostratus and his associates had justification for organizing the people against Herodes. It is not surprising that the combination of financial domination, a tremendously energetic nature, and great oratorical powers should have led Herodes to exceed his strict rights in endeavouring to enforce his will in Athens. The accusers of Herodes were noteworthy citizens. Demostratus, their leader, a member of the family of the Lyconides and son-in-law of Praxagoras, who shared his sympathies, held the office of archon eponymous, general of hoplites, gymnasiarch, herald of the Areopagus, agonothele of the Panathenaic and Eleusinian festivals, director of the Mysteries at Eleusis, and priest of Poseidon Erechtheus.³ Theodotus the sophist, who because of his exceptional abilities was appointed by Marcus Aurelius to occupy the chair of rhetoric at Athens with a salary of ten

1. SIG 870

2. Cf. infra p. 40

3. B.C.H. VI (1882) pp. 436-438 inscrip. from Eleusis and Real-Encyc. V, p. 192, N° 13

thousand drachmae, was chief archon at the time and, although not openly hostile, became thoroughly involved in the opposition to Herodes and collaborated with Demostratus and the rest in their carefully planned speech against him.¹ Herodes met the brewing trouble by indicting Demostratus and others on a charge of conspiracy to set the people against him and tried to bring them before the proconsular court.² They escaped secretly, however, to Sirmium in Pannonia to present their case to the Emperor Marcus, relying on his democratic disposition and the fact that he had suspected Herodes of being an accomplice in the treasonable plots of Lucius Verus, his colleague, who had stayed at the house of Herodes in 162 at the time of the Parthian War, when he was neglecting his responsibilities for the pleasures of Athens and Corinth.³ The later relations of Marcus and Herodes and the general character of the letter indicate that the suspicions of the emperor were unjustified. The Sirmium episode was probably about 170, during an interlude in the campaign of Marcus against the tribes of Pannonia.⁴ Demostratus and his friends were received with great attention by the emperor and furnished with supplies. His wife took a particular interest in their cause, and his little daughter who was not yet able to speak plainly used to fall at her father's knees and beseech him to save the Athenians for her.

When Herodes arrived to present his side of the case he lodged in a suburb where he met with a very great misfortune. For the twin daughters of his freedman Alcimedon, very beautiful girls and just of marriageable age, who had been loved by Herodes from their childhood as if they were his own daughters and had

1. V.S. II, 2

2. V.S. II, 1, x. This is rather conclusive evidence that the Sirmium affair took place after the proconsulship of Quintilius

3. Hist. Aug. Verus VI. 9 and V.S. II, 1, xi, where Herodes speaks of having entertained Verus. 4. Real-Encyc. I, pp. 2297, 2299

served as cooks and cupbearers, were killed one night by a thunderbolt which struck them as they were sleeping in a tower. Herodes was driven so frantic by this disaster that he was quite ready for death when he came before the Emperor's tribunal. "For when he came forward to speak, he launched into invectives against the Emperor, and did not even use figures of speech, though it might have been expected that a man who had been trained in this type of oratory would have had his own anger under control. But with an aggressive and unguarded tongue he persisted in his attack, and cried, 'This is what I get for showing hospitality to Lucius, though it was you who sent him to me! These are the grounds on which you judge men, and you sacrifice me to the whim of a woman and a three-year-old child!' And when Bassaeus, the praetorian prefect, said that he evidently wished to die, Herodes replied, 'My good fellow, an old man fears few things.' With these words Herodes left the court, leaving much of his allowance in the clock still to run. But among the eminently philosophical actions of Marcus we must include his behaviour in this trial. For he never frowned or changed his expression, as might have happened even to an umpire, but he turned to the Athenians and said: 'Make your defence, Athenians, even though Herodes does not give you leave.' And as he listened to the speeches in defence, he was greatly pained, though without showing it, by many things that he heard. But when the decree of the Athenian assembly was recited to him, in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to corrupt the magistrates of Greece with the honeyed strains of his eloquence

1. Philostratus praises highly the uniform high quality and general impressiveness of the speech of Demonstratus against Herodes, V.S. II, 1, xiii

and when they exclaimed: 'Alas what bitter honey!' and again 'Happy they who perished in the plague!' his feelings were so profoundly affected by what he heard that he burst into tears without concealment. But since the Athenian defence contained an indictment not of Herodes only but also of his freedman, Marcus turned his anger against the freedman, employing a punishment which was 'as mild as possible,'¹ for with this phrase he himself describes his judgment. Only in the case of Alcimedon he remitted the penalty, saying that the loss of his children was enough. Thus did he conduct this affair in a manner worthy of a philosopher."²

Philostratus states that it had been falsely recorded that Herodes was condemned to exile and that he rebuilt Oricum in Epirus in order to make the city suitable for his constitution. As a matter of fact he did restore it when it was falling into decay, lived there for a time, fell ill and offered sacrifices in return for his recovery, but the letter of Marcus to Herodes is cited as proof that it was not a question of exile.³ The intensity of feeling in the party opposing Herodes in Athens is certainly enough to explain a temporary withdrawal on his part which might create the impression with some of an enforced absence. Herodes' triumphant return from the land of the Sarmatians is honored in an inscription of at least thirty-eight verses in elegiac meter which was found in the village of Bey near Marathon.⁴ A most solemn and magnificent welcome is described, and, since Herodes' expedition was to the Emperor it is highly probable that the great reception thus recorded

1. Probably death
2. V.S. II, 1, xi
3. V.S. II, 1, xii and v
4. B.C.H. L (1926) pp. 527-535

celebrated the conclusion of the Sirmium affair. Either the irksome policies of Herodes did not include Marathon or his supporting party and personal influence were enough to produce the impression of what is described as a unanimous welcome, for all of the elements in the population participated in the great procession.

Herodes tested out whether the Emperor was offended with him for what had occurred in the court by sending a letter in which he complained that Marcus no longer wrote him although formerly his letters had come so often that on one occasion three carriers had arrived in a single day, treading in one another's footsteps. The Emperor replied with a long and gracious letter in which he discussed his winter quarters, his wife's death (about 175 A.D.), his poor health, and went on: "For yourself I wish you good health, and that you should think of me as well disposed to you. And do not regard yourself as unjustly treated, if after I detected the crimes of some of your household I chastened them with a punishment as mild as possible. Do not, I say, feel resentment against me on this account, but if I have annoyed you in aught, or am still annoying you, demand reparation from me in the temple of Athena in your city at the time of the Mysteries. For I made a vow, when the war began to blaze highest, that I too would be initiated, and I could wish that you yourself should initiate me into these rites."

Another evidence of the devotion of Herodes to Marcus, and, as Philostratus says, "a strong demonstration by one who, to defend the Emperor, took up the weapons of the intelligence," is the single extant specimen of Herodes' epistolary style. It was sent to Cassius who was plotting a conspiracy in Syria in 175

1. Marcus was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries probably in 176. SIG, 872

and read:

"Ἡρώδης Καροῖα· ἐμάνης" (you have gone mad)¹

After the Pannonia affair Herodes spent most of his remaining years in the demes that he loved best, Marathon and Cephisia. Youths from all over the world flocked to hear his eloquence, and among them was Aulus Gellius, who in the Noctes Atticae gives a picture of Herodes' suburban life.

"Herodes Atticus, a man foremost both in Greek eloquence and in consular rank, conducted us often at the time when we were students in Athens to his villas nearest the city, myself and the distinguished Servilianus and several of our compatriots, who had left Rome for Greece for the cultivation of our minds. And when we were there with him at his villa which is called Cephisia we would protect ourselves from the excessive heat by the shade of large groves, by the cool position of the buildings, by the clear and shining baths, and by the charm of the whole establishment, echoing on every hand with the music of birds and flowing water." Then follows an account of an objectionable young student of philosophy very persistent in his immature dissertations. "When this fellow was blowing off these idle boasts and everyone had long been anxious for him to cease and had become thoroughly tired of his wearisome talk, Herodes, employing the Greek oratorical form, as was his usual custom, said, 'Most erudite of philosophers, since we whom you call idiots can not make reply to you, let us read from a book what the greatest of Stoics, Epictetus, has thought and said about this type of magniloquence.' "The reading, an attack on youths who babble on about Stoicism without knowing the fundamental assumptions, proved to be an effective silencer.²

1. V.S. II, 1, xiii
2. Noct. Att. 1, ii

In another passage Herodes "famous for his intellect, his wealth, and his eloquent Greek," expresses his disgust for a youth who begs for bread, depending entirely on his outward appearance, his beard and his cloak, to prove himself a philosopher. Herodes quotes the story about Musonius who, when confronted with such a fellow and told by his friends that he was a rascal and worthy of nothing, said, "He is worthy then of money." Herodes regrets that the name of philosopher, like other great names, can not be protected from the vilification of being borne by the basest sort of men.¹

At another time Aulus Gellius took refuge from the mid-summer heat at Herodes' Cephisia villa and while he was confined to his bed there by a fever he was visited by the philosopher Calpurnius Taurus.² Finally these^{are} notes on the Stoic ἀπάθεια by Herodes, whose supremacy in forceful, fluent, and graceful oratory is remarked. Herodes pointed out that the subduing of feeling (πάθος) resulted in a deadening of the soul and that selection and moderation were higher ideals. He gave as an illustration the story of a Thracian savage unfamiliar with agriculture, who moved into a country where cultivation of the soil was practised. He saw his neighbor pruning his fruit trees and trimming his vines and was told that it was to make them more fruitful. Happy in his knowledge he returned to his own plot and proceeded to fell his own trees and cut his vines to the ground and thus eliminated all possibility of fruitfulness. Thus the apparent tranquility resulting from the complete attainment of apathy is merely a state of torpor, the wreckage of a destroyed life.³

1. Noct. Att. IX, 11
2. ibid. XVIII, x
3. ibid. XIX, xii

When at the height of his fame, Herodes was evidently the foremost figure among the sophists of Athens, and he was hailed as one of the Ten Orators. His reply to this compliment was simply, "Well at any rate I am better than Andocides."¹ However, in his most successful moments Herodes always acknowledged the superiority of Polemo of Smyrna. When Herodes was being praised in Athens for brilliantly maintaining the argument about the war trophies, which was one of the original three which Herodes had heard Polemo deliver in Asia Minor, he said, "Read Polemo's declamation, and then you will know a great man." At the Olympic games, when all Greece hailed Herodes as the equal of Demosthenes, he replied by expressing the wish that he were the equal of Polemo, and his reply to the question of the Emperor Marcus about his opinion of Polemo was to quote with a fixed look:

"ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὕατα βάλλει."²

When Varus the consul asked him about his teachers, he replied: "This man and that while I was being taught, but Polemo when I was teaching others."³

The Emperor Marcus took no small interest in the educational affairs of Athens and founded a chair of rhetoric, which was first occupied by Theodotus, who although a pupil of Lollianus had attended the lectures of Herodes. Marcus entrusted to Herodes the selection of the teachers of Platonic, Stoic, Peripatetic, and Epicurean philosophy.⁴ Herodes' own reputation as a teacher was very high, and Philostratus describes Chrestus of Byzantium as ~~a man who received from Herodes the~~ man who received from Herodes the best education of any Hellene,⁵

1. V.S. II, 1, xiv
2. II. X, 535
3. V.S. I, 25, vii
4. V.S. II, 2
5. V.S. II, 11, i

Aristeides, who was long regarded as the world's greatest orator studied under Herodes when the latter was at the height of his popularity.¹ The brilliant Ptolemy of Naucratis was a pupil² of Herodes, although his preference was to imitate Polemo, and Rufus of Perinthus, one of the students of Aristocles, admired extravagantly the former teacher in Rome of his master, and called Herodes the master, the tongue of the Hellenes, the prince of eloquence, and so on.³ Philostratus declares that a great injustice was done to Onomarchus of Andros by those who said⁴ that he had not attended the lectures of Herodes, and a certain Pausanias of Caesarea, whom there is no reason for identifying as the noted traveler, was also one of the most successful pupils,⁵ and a member of the Clepsydrion.

The Clepsydrion was a leading feature of Herodes' method of instruction. After his general lectures which were open to all, his ten most capable and advanced students would dine for a period limited by a water-clock (κλεψύδρα) to last through a hundred verses. Herodes would expound the verses with copious comments, allowing no interruptions or applause.⁶ The members of this inner circle were commonly known as "the thirsty ones" (οἱ διψῶντες).⁷ Adrian of Tyre had begun to attend the school of Herodes when he was about eighteen years old, and his natural talents had very soon gained him a place among the chosen pupils. Their thirst was primarily for knowledge, and, although they did not neglect the hour for drinking, they would

1. V.S. II, 9, 1 and Suidas:

2. V.S. II, 15, 1

3. V.S. II, 17. Aristocles was a pupil of Herodes in Rome.
cf. supra p. 16.

4. V.S. II, 18

5. V.S. II, 13

6. V.S. II, 10, 1

7. V.S. II, 13

carry out the precepts of Herodes against idleness by pursuing some sort of study over their wine "as though it were a mystic rite." During one of these sessions the styles of various sophists were under discussion, and Adrian proceeded to imitate them in a series of ex tempore passages. He left out Herodes, however, and since all the students were enthusiastic about their teacher, Amphicles inquired the reason. Adrian replied, "Because these fellows are the sort that lend themselves to imitation, even when one is drunk. But as for Herodes, the prince of eloquence, I should be thankful if I could mimic him when I have had no wine and am sober." This was reported to Herodes and proved very satisfying to his love of approbation. When very young Adrian had delivered an ex tempore speech before Herodes, who had listened with attention to his awkwardly expressed, but moving words, and after giving him every encouragement, had remarked, "These might well be great fragments of a colossus."¹

The relations of Herodes with other sophists appear generally to have been marked by courtesy and consideration. Even in the case of Philagr^{us} of Cilicia, noted for his hot temper, Herodes showed great restraint. When Philagr^{us} unreasonably quarreled with some of Herodes' pupils and sent a violent letter rebuking his neglect of teaching them good manners, Herodes, very justly recognizing that the great weakness of the oratory of Philagr^{us} was the failure to gain the good-will of his audience, replied, "It seems to me that you are not very successful with your pro^{gen}ium. The pupils of Herodes were rather more severe. Having heard that in ex tempore declamations Philagr^{us} would simply recite from memory if a theme happened

to be proposed which he had previously used, they once proposed the theme, "The Uninvited," on which they knew he had declaimed, and, while he was pretending to improvise audibly, they made him a laughing stock by reading aloud the very same words.¹

The visit to Athens of Alexander of Seleucia, called "Clay-Plato" (ὁ πηλοπλάτων) provided a noteworthy display of Herodes' open-handed hospitality. Alexander had been summoned by the Emperor Marcus to Pannonia and on his way he rested for a time at Athens. The populace were anxious to hear him deliver some ex tempore speeches, but before he did so he wrote to Herodes at Marathon asking for the attendance of his pupils. The reply was, "My Hellenes and I also will come." When the audience had assembled in the Theatre of Agrippa to hear the speeches, Herodes had failed to appear, and finally since the Athenians began to fear^{that} they had been induced to come under false pretenses, Alexander started his introductory speech, a panegyric of Athens and an apology for not having visited it before. Because of his elegant appearance and his brilliant oratory he was gaining great favor and had begun on the theme of the recall of the Scythians to their nomadic life because of the destructiveness to their health of city-life, when Herodes made his appearance, "wearing a shady Arcadian hat as was the fashion in the summer season at Athens, but perhaps also to show Alexander that he had just arrived from a journey." Alexander with great deference asked whether Herodes would like to propose a new theme, but Herodes appealed to the audience and they agreed unanimously that "the Scythians" should be continued. Alexander performed even more sensationally in the presence of Herodes, and, when he had finished, he requested that Herodes regale him in return. "Why not, since you have

regaled me so magnificently," said Herodes. The audience selected for him the theme: "The wounded in Sicily implore the Athenians who are retreating thence to put them to death with their own hands." Herodes brilliantly turned his declamation into the Asianic style, employing the dramatic intensity and musical rhythms in which Alexander was especially proficient. At the high point of the argument the latter exclaimed, "O Herodes, we sophists are all of us merely small slices of yourself!" In a conference with his more advanced pupils after the declamations, Herodes asked his pupils their opinion of the new sophist. Sceptus of Corinth had the temerity to say that he had found the Clay but not the Plato. The master, however, warned Sceptus against marking himself as an illiterate critic and proceeded to describe Alexander as a more sober Scopelian. In fact Herodes was so delighted with Alexander and the latter's fulsome praise of himself that he made him the following gifts: "ten pack-animals, ten horses, ten cup-bearers, ten shorthand writers, twenty talents of gold, a great quantity of silver, and two lisping children from the deme Collytus, since he was told that Alexander liked to hear childish voices."¹

Certainly the various expenditures of Herodes bear out the record that Philostratus has left of his generous ideas on wealth.² "For indeed he used to say that he who would use his wealth aright ought to give to the needy that they might cease to need and to those that needed it not lest they should fall into need; and he used to call riches that did not circulate and were tied up by parsimony 'dead riches,' and the treasure chambers in which some men hoard their money 'prison-houses of

1. V.S. II, 5, iii
2. V.S. II, 1, 1

wealth,' and those who thought they must actually sacrifice to their hoarded money he nicknamed 'Aloadae,' for they sacrificed to Ares after they had imprisoned him." Whether or not he "laid up the treasures of his riches in the hearts of those who shared them with him" is difficult to determine, but at least he found a means of expressing his forceful individuality and was reasonably successful in his endeavour to leave an impression that would not easily fade.

In his literary tastes Herodes was an ardent classicist. He was devoted to the old writers and especially to the higher-to neglected Critias. He was a leader in the artistic revival of the second century, and in literature was a staunch supporter of the Attic tradition and an important factor in the maintenance of a system of education which included a thorough knowledge of the classical authors, so that a large proportion of the quotations preserved from this period are echoes or actual reproductions of phrases from their works. His antiquarian interest is exhibited in the archaized inscriptions which he left and on which in some cases there is an attempt to employ the obsolete pre-Euclidean alphabet.¹ A reclothing of the inherited body of classical thought and culture in the showy garb of new and elaborate forms of expression was for the sophists a perfectly adequate ideal, but, at least, Herodes and his school created a popular familiarity with the best art and literature, which was incidentally an important factor in their preservation.

In his style of oratory Herodes was strong in the Attic, as opposed to the Ionic tradition, depending more on a smooth, steady, sonorous flow of words than on a vehement, dramatic

¹. Roberts and Gardner, *Introd. to Greek Epig.* Part II, p. xvii.

delivery accompanied by the elaboration of tones and rhythms by which the Asianic orators added the effects of musical instruments to their repertory. Herodes was noted, however, for his ability to use all the oratorical methods at will, and in his declamation before Alexander he exhibited his mastery of the Ionic type of address. In fact, his versatility, his supremacy in whatever means of expression he employed, was what Philostratus most admired. He was as skilful at elaborate composition as at ex tempore speaking. Claudius Aelian pronounced him the most varied of orators.¹ He was credited with the introduction of an unusual number of original ideas, an easy and urbane wit, an ability to draw for his effects upon every-day life as well as upon tragedy, a pleasing diversity of constructions, and an abundance of graceful figures of speech and effective synonyms. His restrained, but subtly forceful eloquence is described by Philostratus as "like gold dust shining beneath the waters of a silvery eddying river."²

"Though no man ever learned more easily than he (Herodes), he did not neglect hard work, but used to study even while he drank his wine, and at night in his wakeful intervals. Hence the lazy and light-minded used to call him the 'Stuffed Orator' (σικευτός)." Philostratus mentions as extant works of Herodes many letters, discourses and diaries, handbooks, and anthologies of antique erudition.³ In the "Letters" of one of the Philostrati, Herodes is ranked as the best letter-writer of all the orators, "although by his over-atticism and prolixity he often oversteps the bounds proper to the epistolary style."⁴

1. V.S. II, 31, ii
2. V.S. II, 1, xiv and passim, especially II, 3; II, 11, iii; II, 18, i; and II, 5, iii
3. V.S. II, 1, xiv
4. Philostratus, Edit. Teubner, vol. 2, p. 258. Trans. C. R. Haines, Loeb. Fronto

a statement in striking contrast with his one-word message to Cassius.¹ The only work which remains to us under the name of Herodes is a discourse entitled "Περὶ Πολιτείας," in which a Theban exhorts his fellow-citizens to declare war on Archeloo²s, king of Macedonia. The authenticity of the speech is dubious, and it gives little evidence of the qualities attributed to the style of Herodes.

One of the last recorded acts of Herodes appears to be inscribed on the drum of a column from the Hall of Iobacchi, south of the Areopagus of Athens. The inscription of about the year 177, relates the decision of the Iobacchi to have the regulations of the society recorded upon a stele, and these regulations occupy most of the inscription in question. In the first part, however, it is stated that the priest of the Iobacchi, Aurelius Nichomachus has resigned in favor of the most illustrious Claudius Herodes and that the new priest has been in turn appointed his predecessor to the position of vicar. The colloquial language of the voting on the question of the stele and the wishing of many years to the new priest³ are amusingly recorded.

Since Herodes has left no epigraphical monuments or other records of activity after the accession of Commodus, since he described himself as an old man at the time of the Sirmium episode and died at the age of about seventy-six, and since he must have been born very early in the century in order to occupy the various offices he held under Hadrian, including that of archon in 126, we can estimate the year of his death, by a

1. *supra*. p. 42
2. *Orat. Attici*, Didot II, p. 189
3. *SIG*, 1109

wasting sickness (*ξυντάκης*), as about 178. And though he expired at Marathon and had left directions to his freedmen to bury him there, the Athenians carried him off by the hands of youths and bore him into the city, and every age went out to meet the bier with tears and pious ejaculations as would sons who were bereft of a good father." He was buried in the Panathenaic stadium, and his former pupil Adrian delivered a very moving funeral oration which did full justice to Herodes' fine qualities. Over his grave was placed this brief inscription:

" Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθῶνιος, οὗ τάδε πάντα
κέϊται τῷδε τάφῳ, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος." ¹

1. V.S. II, 1, xv and II, 10, i. For age and mode of death see also Suidas: