

**A RECONSIDERATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF A DECREE OF  
ABDERA (SYLL.<sup>3</sup> 656) AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CONCEPT  
OF ROMAN PATRONAGE TO THE GREEKS  
IN THE SECOND CENTURY BC**

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**SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL**

Appendix 1: early epigraphic references to *πάτρων* down to the 80s BC

Appendix 2: non-technical usage of the terminology surrounding patronage in Roman sources by the early second century BC

Bibliography

### Appendix 1: early epigraphic references to *πάτρων* down to the 80s BC

	<i>Erector</i>	<i>Year of erection</i>	<i>Honorand</i>	<i>Position of <i>πάτρων</i></i>	<i>Is it a case of Roman <i>πάτρων</i> as a permanent guardian of some community?</i>
SEG 1.152	The people of Delphi	(?) after 146 BC but possibly in the period of the Julio-Claudian emperors, in particular before AD 35	(?) A. Postumius Albinus, but possibly C. Poppaeus Sabinus, the <i>ἐαυτᾶς πάτρων</i>	There is no reference in the decree, but Albinus was one of the <i>legati</i> after the Achaean War, and Sabinus served as the governor of Moesia, Macedon and Achaia.	Yes
IG XII.6.351	The people of Samos	From the early years of the 120s to 97 BC	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the son of the <i>πάτρων</i> in the affair concerning the temple of Artemis Tauropolos	There is no reference in the decree, but Domitius the Elder was possibly one of the <i>legati</i> under the governor of Asia and ‘given as <i>πάτρων</i> by the senate’ <i>ad hoc</i> .	No. For his son, the honorand of the decree, there is no reference to the connection between him and the polis.
SEG 39.1244	The people of Colophon	After 133 but possibly in the 90s	Menippus, the embassy of Colophon	There is no reference in the decree, but they were apparently leading senators.	Not necessarily yes. The Roman patrons are simply mentioned as a group of people whom the honorand visited.
SEG 39.1243	The people of Colophon	After 133 but possibly in the same or later period of Menippus	Polemaeus, the embassy of Colophon	There is no reference in the decree, but they were apparently leading senators.	Not necessarily yes. The Roman patrons are simply mentioned as a group of people whom the honoree visited.

<i>SGDI</i> 2688	The people of Delphi	In the period from 101 to 59 <sup>1</sup>	L. Tillius, the πάτρων (of the polis)	There is no reference in the decree, but, based on the names of the Delphic magistrates, we can date the decree to the first half of the first century or thereabouts.	Possibly, yes.
<i>IDelos</i> 2005	Hellen, son of Sarapion, a Tyrian	<i>ca.</i> 100	Sarapion, an Athenian citizen	There is no reference in the inscription.	No. The control of the Romans in the region is not connected.
<i>IDelos</i> 1802	Three Q. Tullii, freedmen	<i>ca.</i> 100 but probably after 97/6	Q. Tullius, the πάτρων and <i>patronus</i> of the erectors	There is no reference in the inscription.	No. The control of the Romans in the region is not directly connected.
<i>IDelos</i> 1700	The people of Delos	After 97	M. Antonius, the ἐαυτῶν πάτρων <sup>2</sup>	στρατηγὸς ὑπατος τιμητής.	Yes
<i>SEG</i> 51.1586 <sup>3</sup>	The people of Colophon	Before or in 95	C. Valerius Flaccus, the πάτρων of the polis	στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος.	Yes
<i>SEG</i> 51.1587 <sup>4</sup>	The people of Colophon	Perhaps 94 or 93	L. Valerius Flaccus, the πάτρων of the polis	στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος.	Yes
<i>Αἴ</i> (1967) 532 <sup>5</sup>	The people of Cyrene	After 92	C. Claudius Pulcher, the εὐεργέτης καὶ πάτρων of the Cyreneans	στρατηγὸς ὑπατος.	Yes

<sup>1</sup> Ferrary (1997b) 112; Eilers (2002) 200.

<sup>2</sup> Baslez (1982) 55–57; Bechard (2000) 246 n.41.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *SEG* 29.1129bis; Eilers (2002) 228.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *SEG* 29.1130; Eilers (2002) 228.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *SEG* 53.2045, 55.1863; Brennan (2000) 364, 768.

<i>IDelos</i> 1701	The people of Delos	Around the 90s <sup>6</sup>	C. Iulius Caesar, the ἑαυτῶν πατέρων	There is no reference in the decree, but he served as the governor of Asia in <i>ca.</i> 91.	Yes
<i>IG</i> XII.6.389 <sup>7</sup>	The people of Samos	Around the 90s <sup>8</sup>	C. Iulius Caesar, the εὐεργέτης καὶ πατέρων of the polis	There is no reference, but he is probably the father of the famous Caesar.	Yes
<i>IEph.</i> 3.630a	The people of Ephesus	In the 90s <sup>9</sup>	Caelia, the wife of Q. Mucius Scaevola who was the πατέρων (of the polis)	There is no reference, but Scaevola served as the governor of Asia in the 90s.	Yes
Eilers and Milner (1995) 76	The people of Oenoanda	In the 90s	Q. Mucius Scaevola, the πατέρων καὶ εὐεργέτης of the polis	There is no reference in the decree, but Scaevola served as the governor of Asia in the 90s. <sup>10</sup>	Yes
<i>IvO</i> 328	τὸ κοινὸν of Achaia	Before around 90 or the 70s <sup>11</sup>	Q. Ancharius, the αὐτῶν πατέρων καὶ εὐεργέτης	ἀντιταμίας.	Yes
<i>IG</i> VII.331	The people of Oropus	After 86 or possibly 75–72 <sup>12</sup>	C. Scribonius Curio, the αὐτῶν πατέρων	There is no reference in the decree, but he was probably a <i>legatus</i> under Sulla in the 80s.	Yes

<sup>6</sup> Baslez (1982) 55–57; Eilers (2002) 214.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *IGR* 4.970.

<sup>8</sup> Eilers (2002) 218.

<sup>9</sup> Ferrary (1997a) 223; Eilers (2002) 234.

<sup>10</sup> Canali De Rossi (2001) 58–59.

<sup>11</sup> Morstein Kallet-Marx (1995) 63, 308; Eilers (2002) 192.

<sup>12</sup> *IOropos* 444; Eilers (2002) 201–03.

Reynolds (1982) no. 3	Probably the people of Aphrodisias	Around 85 <sup>13</sup>	None. This is an inscription of the letter by Q. Oppius, who accepted the position of τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ὑμετέρου πάτρων, to the people of Plarasa and Aphrodisias	ἀνθύπατος and στρατηγός or στρατηγός ἀνθύπατος.	Yes
<i>IEph.</i> 4.2941	Possibly the people of Ephesus	In the 80s <sup>14</sup>	L. Licinius Lucullus, the (πάτρων) καὶ εὐεργέτης (of the polis)	ἀντιταμίας.	Yes
<i>MAMA</i> 4.52 <sup>15</sup>	The people of Synnada	In the 80s <sup>16</sup>	L. Licinius Lucullus, the πάτρων (of the polis)	ἀντιταμίας.	Yes
<i>IEph.</i> 3.630b	Probably the people of Ephesus	Possibly in the 80s	L. Calpurnius, the πατρωνεύσαντα of the polis	There is no reference in the inscription.	No <sup>17</sup>
<i>IG</i> VII.311	The people of Oropus	Possibly in the 80s <sup>18</sup>	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, the ἑατοῦ πάτρων καὶ εὐεργέτης	There is no reference, but he was probably Sulla's supporter in this decade.	Yes
<i>MAMA</i> 4.258	The people of Acmonia in Phrygia	Possibly around the beginning of the first century <sup>19</sup>	Q. Decimius, the πάτρων of the polis	There is no reference.	Yes

<sup>13</sup> Sherck (1984) no. 59b; Eilers (2002) 23–25, 241–42.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *SEG* 44.1227; see also Eilers (2002) 234; Thonemann (2004) 80–82.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *IGR* 4.701; *SEG* 44.1227.

<sup>16</sup> Thonemann (2004) 80–82.

<sup>17</sup> Ferrary (1997a) 219; Eilers (2002) 232–33.

<sup>18</sup> *IOropos* 446; Eilers (2002) 201.

<sup>19</sup> Eilers (2002) 254; Thonemann (2010) 172–73.

## Appendix 2: non-technical usage of the terminology surrounding patronage in Roman sources by the early second century BC

A range of sources confirm that different kinds of patronage were referred to (sometimes comically) and observed by the Romans in the second century BC and contemporary foreigners.

### *Literary sources*

For example, Plaut. *Capt.* 444–45: *tu mihi erus nunc es, tu patronus, tu pater, tibi commendo spes opesque meas* ('You are now my master, you my patron, you my father, and to you I commend my hopes and my fortunes'); *Men.* 571–74, 580–81, 585–86: *Ut hoc utimur maxime more moro molestoque multum, atque uti quique sunt optumi, maxime morem habent hunc: clientes sibi omnes volunt esse multos ... qui neque leges neque aequom bonum usquam colunt, sollicitos patronos habent ... eis ubi dicitur dies, simul patronis dicitur. [quippe qui pro illis loquimur quae male fecerunt]* ('What a foolish and troublesome custom we practise here, and how even those who are the most worthy and great follow this habit! All wish their dependents to be many in number ... Those who neither regard laws nor any good or justice at all, have zealous patrons ... When the day for trial is appointed, at the same time it is mentioned to their patrons, in order that they may plead for them, about what they have done amiss'); Ter. *Eun.* 886–87: *ego me tuae commendo et committo fide[i], te mihi patronam capio, Thai, te obsecro* ('I entrust and commit myself to your care. I take you, Thais, as my protectress. I implore you').

In the first passage, Tyndarus, a slave, and Philocrates, his master and a noble citizen of Elis captured by Aetolia, pretend to be each other, and in front of their capturer the supposed master Tyndarus affects to beg Philocrates to make a trade of prisoner for him, using flattering phrases such as master, patron and father. In the second, Menaechmus, a wealthy citizen of Epidamnus, in monologue complains about the obligation of a patron to support his low-minded dependents in lawsuits. In the last case, Chaerea, an Athenian citizen, asks Thais, a courtesan but a wise woman, to support his love for Pamphila, a slave girl, through the behaviour of a *cliens* and the language of patronage, such as *fides* and *patrona*.

### *Rhetorical sources*

Gell. *NA* 5.13.4: *M. Cato in oratione, quam dixit apud censores In Lentulum, ita scripsit: Quod maiores sanctius; habuere, defendi pupillos quam clientem non fallere. Adversus cognatos pro cliente testatur, testimonium adversus clientem nemo dicit. Patrem primum, postea patronum proximum nomen habuere* ('M. Cato, in the speech which he delivered before the censors Against Lentulus, wrote as follows: Our forefathers regarded it as a more sacred obligation to defend their wards than not to deceive a *cliens*. One testifies in a *cliens*' behalf against one's relatives; testimony against a *cliens* is given by no one. A father held the first position of honour, and being a *patronus* was the second').

This sentence appears in Gellius' report of the discussion about the order of duties of Roman citizens, and his quotation of the oration suggests that the language and the relation of patron-client had been openly considered by the Romans in the second century BC (cf. Saller (1997) 190-91; Eilers (2002) 11–14).

### *The term 'atrium'*

The term *atrium* may not have been entirely familiar to Greeks in this period, but, from the phrasing of Plaut. *Aul.* 3.5, we can confirm that the word was used by Romans and that foreigners could have heard it, although it is difficult to date this work (cf. Gruen (1990) 144–45). Certainly, this does not necessarily show that in the first half of the second century BC

the Greeks frequently observed morning salutations in the *atria* of houses of leading Romans, as part of their contacts with them. As Goldbeck (2010) 188–224 argues, it could be that from the 120s onwards the custom evolved into a communication with important political functions. Yet he acknowledges that leading Romans received such salutations before this time. Indeed, this can be confirmed, for instance, by Plaut. *Stich.* 2.2, a work that was first staged in 200. In this scene, Gelasimus, a poor man, visits the house of Epignomus, a celebrity, for food, on the bidding of Epignomus' wife, Panegyris, but, in the entrance, is ordered about by her (and even by her servant) immediately after greetings are exchanged. This shows that Gelasimus is a *cliens* of Epignomus, and that such a relationship, including the meeting in the entrance, was standard for Romans at the beginning of the second century. The author would not have expected unusual relationships to be understood and so would not have included a reference to one, even in a comedy. For the chronology of the first performance of *Stichus*, the role of Gelasimus in the drama and the context of Roman society around 200, see Owens (2000) 385–405; Moodie (2015) 1 n.1.

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