

POLYBIUS OF SARDIS

In Gibbon's famous judgment on the Antonine age, "a cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators, darkened the face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed by the corruption of taste."¹ These unfortunates may have no aesthetic interest, but they played an essential role in the transmission of earlier literature, and often in the social and cultural history of their times. Even the younger Philostratus, mainly interested in the literary lions of the Second Sophistic, mentions "critics" as associates, or in some cases as fathers, of his sophists. These men are expounders of literature, similar to γραμματικοί though perhaps on a higher social and literary level.²

Polybius of Sardis was only a name when four of his treatises, none of them more than a few hundred words long, were published in 1769 from a fifteenth-century manuscript in Madrid.³ The titles of the four are *On Solecism*, *On Use of Incorrect Words* (περὶ ἀκυρολογίας)—both treated, interestingly, as deliberate effects and not as lapses—*On Alteration* (περὶ μετασχηματισμοῦ), and *On Comparisons* (the manuscript title is *On the Types of Adornment*). All of them are concerned with these phenomena in classical poetry, especially Homer. The first editor, Joannes Iriarte, observed of the manuscript that it contained a *fragmentorum opusculorumque grammaticorum farraginem* and, though some of Polybius' works entered into standard collections of *rhetores Graeci* in the nineteenth century, there is in fact nothing that justifies calling him a rhetor: his interests betray the expounder of literature, the γραμματικός or κριτικός.

The 1952 article on Polybius in Pauly-Wissowa, besides classifying Polybius as a rhetor, fails to notice an inscription published twenty years before.⁴ Found at Sardis in 1914, this was a modest rectangular block (height, 0.22; width, 0.70; depth, 0.33) with an inset for a small statue or bust; the principal face has an epigram in letters that the editors, Buckler and Robinson, dated "about the middle of the second century A.D."⁵ The Greek text runs:

σὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν, Κικέρων, εὐρῶν ἀνέθηκα
Ἑλλήν Πουλύβιος Ῥωμαϊκῶν προκρίτου.

This text recalls a much-cited epigram purportedly coming from one of the several tombs of Homer, an appropriate echo for a κριτικός:⁶

1. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (London, 1776–88), chap. 2, penultimate paragraph ad. fin.

2. Philostr. *VS* 1.22.4 (p. 37, l. 25 K.), 1.25.7 (p. 49, l. 9 K.), 2.1.14 (p. 71, l. 27 K.), 2.12.2 (p. 96, l. 11 K.), 2.33.1 (p. 125, l. 19 K.); Philostratus does not use the term γραμματικός. On the relation of these two terms, see A. Gudeman, "Κριτικός," *RE* 11.2 (1922): 1912–15; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), 157–58; David L. Blank, "Diogenes of Babylon and the κριτικοί in Philodemus," *CronErc* 24 (1994): 55–62.

3. Joannes Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci* (Madrid, 1769), 147–48, 374–75; the manuscript is cod. Gr. 40. The works *On Alteration* and *On Comparisons*, printed as a single essay, are also in Spengel, *Rhet.* 3. 105–9.

4. C. Wendel, "Polybius 14," *RE* 21.1 (1952): 1580–81.

5. W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis VII 1: Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1932), no. 49.

6. *Anthologia Palatina* 7.3; T. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* (Leipzig, 1891), no. 29.

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει
 ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων κοσμητόρα, θεῖον Ὀμηρον.

Similarly, Polybius' participle, "having found," might recall to the modern reader Suetonius' pride in the *puerilis imaguncula* of the young Augustus, which the author obtained (*nactus*) and presented to the emperor (*Aug.* 7.1).

The epigram has not received its due as a document for the Greek admiration of Cicero. Cicero is the only Roman author to be discussed by the writer of *On the Sublime*, who was perhaps reacting to a comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes by the Augustan critic Caecilius of Cale Acte. When Plutarch writes the lives of the same two orators, he sharply criticizes Caecilius for his effrontery as a Greek-speaker in comparing their literary qualities, and confesses his own inability to judge the finer points of Latin style. Plutarch also tells how Cicero's teacher in rhetoric, Apollonius Molo, heard Cicero declaim, and then observed, "You, Cicero, I praise and admire: but I pity the fate of Greece, seeing that the only glories left to us, education and eloquence (παίδειαν καὶ λόγον), have passed to the Romans because of you." An index of Cicero's high standing among Greek readers is also shown by the Latin papyri, in which he is the most frequently represented author of Latin prose.⁷

Peter Herrmann has now given an excellent publication of two new inscriptions from Sardis, carved on the front and back faces of a single stone, which seem to concern the same Polybius.⁸ The text on one face contains the end of a minute of the Athenian Areopagus, followed by a speech of Polybius; the text on the other contains the end of a letter whose source is not immediately clear. From the mention of the Hadrianeion in the minute of the Areopagus, and also from his attribution of the letter to the Panhellenion founded by Hadrian, Herrmann infers a *terminus post quem* of 132; he puts both texts about the middle of the second century, which would also accord with the script and with Buckler and Robinson's dating of the epigram.

The first side may be translated thus:

"... be left (?)." [(Name?),] the president [πρόεδρος], asked: "Do you wish that a letter be written to the most excellent Sardians about the most venerable [ἀξιολογώτατος] Polybius?" "(Yes,) we all do."⁹ "What do you think?" "Let it be decreed." After being summoned [εἰσκληθεῖς], Polybius said: "I judge no other felicity more splendid than the present one, men of the Areopagus: it has been my fortune to stand before you, to speak, and to enjoy your testimony, which once gave great joy to gods when they received it." They shouted: "He is worthy."¹⁰

Herrmann notes that Polybius' allusion to the gods must involve a particular episode in the history of the Areopagus, but admits that he cannot identify it.¹¹ This

7. [Longinus], *Subl.* 12.4; Plut. *Dem.* 3 (Plutarch's Latin), *Cic.* 4.7 (Apollonius Molo). Papyri: I. Gallo, *Greek and Latin Papyrology* (London, 1986), 65.

8. P. Herrmann, "Epigraphische Forschungen in Lydien (Polybios aus Sardeis)," in *Die Epigraphische und altentumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens: Hundert Jahre Kleinasiatische Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, DAWW 236 (Vienna, 1993), 211–19, with Taf. XVI.

9. Assuming with Herrmann that πᾶσ[τ]ω in l. 4 is governed by δοκεῖ in l. 2: the problem is not important here.

10. On ἄξιος in acclamations, Herrmann, "Epigraphische Forschungen," p. 215; add L. Robert, "Les Épigrammes satiriques de Lucillius sur les athlètes. Parodie et réalités," in *L'Épigramme grecque*, Entretiens Hardt XIV (Geneva, 1969), 213–14 (*Opera Minora Selecta* 6.349–50). With εἰσκληθεῖς contrast Paul of Tarsus led (ἤγαγον) before the Areopagus in *Act. Ap.* 17.19.

11. Herrmann, "Epigraphische Forschungen," p. 215.

body was often thought to have derived its name from the god Ares, who was brought to trial before it for killing Halirrhothius, the son of Poseidon.¹² About the time of this inscription, Aelius Aristides praises the Areopagus at length in his *Panathenaicus*:

Not only did the gods contend with one another because of the city, but also they decided in this city the matters over which they contended with one another, turning the attention of all men everywhere to the city and wishing to deposit in its keeping the first principles and patterns of all things. . . . And change almost uniquely, as is the nature of human affairs, has not touched this spot (the Areopagus); but it is left open to be as it were a place of contest for the gods and for those whom it befitted thereafter, and all men, thinking it a model of justice, so honor it in reverence of the gods.¹³

The text on the other side of the stone is more mutilated and considerably more difficult. I first give a translation, noting some of the key words in the original:

. . . Hadrianeion (which has been?) built . . . and congratulating you on the man's well-being (?) [συνησθέντες [ὑμῶν τῆς κατὰ τὸν] ἄνδρα εὐφορίας],¹⁴ we have . . . , praying always to find a similar nature in those who visit us here from there. We pray to our ancestral gods [τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς] for your good health.

Herrmann was at first inclined to identify the sender as a Roman emperor, but became convinced that it was the Panhellenion. This was a league of Greeks founded in 131/32 under the patronage of Hadrian; it included cities both in old Greece and in areas such as Cyrene, and its chief functions appear to have been religious and ceremonial.¹⁵ Herrmann has three principal arguments for supposing that the letter emanates from the Panhellenion:

1. The salutation ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι (εὐχόμεθα) is not found in imperial letters, but is found in a letter of the Panhellenes to the League of Greeks in Asia; the subject is the Panhellene M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, a personage of Aezanoi now known from several texts.¹⁶ A "minor confirmation" might also be found in the construction of συνήδομαι with the genitive, which recurs in one of the letters of the Panhellenes in the same dossier.

2. Relations between Sardis and the Panhellenion are already attested by an inscription from Athens that refers to the "beauty" (κάλλος) of Sardis, apparently the effect of new buildings: one of these might be the Hadrianeion mentioned in this same letter.¹⁷

12. Trial of Ares: Hellenic., *FGrH* 4 F 38 (*Suda* s.v. Ἄρειος πάγος); *Marmor Parium* s. 3 = *FGrH* 239 F 3; other sources in T. Thalheim, "Ἄρειος πάγος," *RE* 2.1 (1895): 628. The allusion is noted by S. Follet, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 108 (1995): 465, no. 248.

13. Aristid. 1.45, 47, tr. C. A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1986), 14.

14. Without the context, εὐφορία is obscure: though if it is a quality of Polybius himself, as Herrmann takes it, κατὰ seems preferable to his περί. On this use of κατὰ, e.g., A. Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* (Berlin, 1956), 1279–81, s.v. κατὰ, "betreffend, bezüglich, insbesondere zwecks Meidung zweier Genitive."

15. On this institution, A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion," *JRS* 75 (1985): 78–104; 76, (1986): 88–105; M. Wörle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde aus Aezanoi I," *Chiron* 22 (1992): 337–76; C. P. Jones, "The Panhellenion," *Chiron* 26 (1996); in press.

16. *OGIS* 507; *IGR* 4. 576; James H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East*, *Hesperia* Supplement 13 (1970), no. 30, l. 12. On Eurycles, Herrmann, "Epigraphische Forschungen," p. 217, n. 18, and now M. Wörle, "Neue Inschriftenfunde," which Herrmann was able to note only when his article was in proof.

17. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, no. 45.

3. An inscription of Attaleia in northwestern Lydia mentions a “most worthy Asiarch and auditor” (ἀξιολογώτατος Ἀσιάρχης καὶ λογιστὴς) called Polybius. This Polybius could be the same person, a cultured man also active in the service of the emperor; similarly, the already mentioned Eurycles of Aezanoi was auditor of the gerousia of Ephesus and of the city of Aphrodisias, and also an Asiarch.¹⁸

To take these arguments in order:

1. As Herrmann observes, the expression ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, while not used by emperors, appears in letters written by other senders. In papyri, it is common in letters of every kind from the first century of our era on: while mention of the gods in the phrase is comparatively rare, there is at least one example in a private letter from Oxyrhynchus, ἐρῶσθαι [καὶ ὀλοκληρεῖν] σε . . . θεοῖς πᾶσι εὐχομαι.¹⁹ As for συνήδομαι with the genitive, this is not the mark of a particular group but of an era. At its origin lies the classical *Genitiv des Sachbetroffs* with verbs of wondering, praising, and the like; the first extant author using this genitive with συνήδομαι is Appian (*Mac.* 17), exactly in the period of this inscription.²⁰

2. Herrmann is certainly right that the texts on both sides of the inscription must be connected, and hence that the “here” of the letter is likely to be Athens. But visitors to Athens were many and, apart from the regular civic bodies such as the Areopagus and the Council, other corporations such as the Dionysiac artists were represented there. Hence a μαρτυρία emanating from some corporation in the city of Athens need not have come only from the Panhellenion; thus the already mentioned Eurycles of Aezanoi receives testimonials both from the Panhellenion and from the Areopagus.²¹

3. Even if Polybius were identical with the auditor of Attaleia, that person is not said to be a Panhellene. The coincidence that the adjective ἀξιολογώτατος is used for both Polybii is less striking than it might appear. As a general term for distinguished persons, this adjective is found as early as Thucydides: as a civic title, it is common from the late second century and throughout the third.²²

Two phrases in the letter might seem to counsel against taking the letter as coming from the Panhellenion. One is “those who visit us here from there” (τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐπιδημοῦντων ἐνταῦθα). The Panhellenion met in Athens, or at least in Attica, but this language suggests a body that could speak for a particular city, not one that merely had its headquarters in it. In honoring their *confrères*, the Panhellenes praise them for their πολιτεία, “conduct as member,” “service,” but not for

18. Inscription of Attaleia: *TAM* 5. 2, no. 828 C, l. 9. Eurycles at Ephesus and Aphrodisias: *Inscripfen von Ephesos* no. 25, l. 3 = James H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* No. 178 (Philadelphia, 1989), no. 170; J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, *Journal of Roman Studies Monographs* 1 (London, 1982), no. 57.

19. *P.Oxy.* 14.1766, 16–17. An instructive list of such formulas is in F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter* (Chicago, [1923] 1976), pp. 74–77, with this example.

20. On this genitive in inscriptions: G. Nachmanson, “Syntaktische Inschriftenstudien I: Zum Genitiv des Sachbetroffs,” *Eranos* 9 (1909): 31–43; L. Robert, “Sur des Inscriptions d’Éphèse,” *RPhil* 41 (1967), p. 55, n. 5 (*Opera Minora Selecta* 5.395, n. 5).

21. Panhellenion: *OGIS* 507, Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, no. 12. Areopagus: *OGIS* 505. *MAMA* 9, p. 178, no. P6.

22. Thuc. 2.10.3, τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογώτατους. In the second and third centuries: L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris, 1964), 56; id., *Le Martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*, ed. G. W. Bowersock and C. P. Jones (Washington, D.C., 1994), 94. The examples in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1931), 184 s.v. ἀξιολογώτατος, are almost all of the third century.

their conduct as visitors to Athens: thus “excellent member” (ἄριστον πολιτευτήν), “having served with us (συνπεπολιτευμένος ἡμεῖν) uprightly during all the time of his membership of the council,” “with regard to the service of (his) fellow-Panhellenes (περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τῶν συνπανελλήνων).”²³

The other suspicious phrase is the formula of farewell, especially the reference to “our ancestral gods.” Herrmann argues that such a phrase suits the Panhellenion, since it conveniently covers the ancestral gods of many cities.²⁴ But again it is striking that the extant documents of the Panhellenion never use such a phrase: the gods with whom this body were concerned were, so far as can be seen, exclusively Hadrian and his successors. By contrast, the expression πάτριοι θεοὶ is frequently used for the gods of a particular city. Herodotus observes of the Caunians that “when foreign rites (ἰρὰ ξεινικά) had been established among them, after taking a decision, and this decision was to worship only their ancestral gods (τοῖσι πατρίοισι μόνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι), they drove out the foreign gods” (1.172.2). In the imperial period, numerous cities make dedications “to the ancestral gods” and an emperor.²⁵

Thus Herrmann’s arguments for the Panhellenes as the authors of the letter are not conclusive: the signs point rather to a body competent to speak for a single city, and since the text on the other side emanates from the Areopagus, the city must be Athens. In that text the president of the Areopagus asks the members whether it is their wish to write to Sardis about Polybius, and they give their assent: it surely follows that the text on the other side of the stone is the letter in question. In the period of Roman domination, beginning from Sulla’s occupation, the Areopagus was the most important corporation in the city, with competence in a wide number of areas; above all, it had ultimate authority in dealings with other cities, and its chief officer, the herald, controlled Athens’ official seal.²⁶

One example of this competence, cited by Herrmann, happens to come from a dossier of testimonials already mentioned. Carved on the walls of the temple of Zeus at Aezanoi, it is a letter honoring the Panhellenene already mentioned, Ulpius Eurycles:²⁷

Your most venerable [ἀξιολογώτατος] citizen M. Ulpius Eurycles has stayed in our city for all this time in a manner worthy of his own reputation and your city, spending his time in Athens as if in his ancestral city [πατρίς], concerning himself with culture and displaying highly virtuous conduct²⁸ because of his zeal for the most honorable and solemn matters. For this reason we have honored him with the appropriate honors and the erection of a full-length statue and a portrait in our ancestral city [πατρίς] of Athens, (to be set up) in whatever place he wishes, and in your city. These same matters we thought it right to attest on the gentleman’s behalf because of his dignity, his character, and his ambition for culture.

The closing formula, which might have been revealing, has been omitted.

23. “Excellent member”: Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius*, no. 12, ll. 4–5; “Having served with us . . .”: *ibid.* no. 28, ll. 6–7; “With regard to the conduct . . .”: *ibid.* no. 30, l. 9.

24. Herrmann, “Epigraphische Forschungen,” p. 217.

25. Thus J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* (Paris, 1954), no. 58; *TAM* 5, 1, nos. 517, 693, 694, 761; a recent example precisely from Sardis in Herrmann, “Inchriften von Sardeis,” *Chiron* 23 (1993): 233–34. Cf. *IDidyma* no. 92, in which a citizen of Aphrodisias sets up a statue of Aphrodite, his “ancestral goddess.”

26. Daniel J. Geagan, “Ordo Areopagitarum Atheniensium,” in *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1974), 53–54.

27. *OGIS* 505; *MAMA* 9, p. 178, no. P6.

28. πᾶσαν ἐνάρετον προαίρεσιν: for ἐνάρετος in documents of the imperial period, C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, *Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 3* (Berlin, 1969), 161–62.

As part of its authority in dealing with other cities, the Areopagus several times honored men of culture who were visiting Athens for a long or short term, or were distinguished teachers in their own cities. According to Plutarch (*Cic.* 24.7–8), Cicero “obtained from the Council of the Areopagus that it should vote to request Cratippus to remain in Athens and lecture to the young men, on the ground that he was an adornment to the city. There are letters of Cicero on these matters to Herodes.” Cratippus was from a well-established family of Pergamon, just as Herodes was from the aristocracy of Athens.²⁹

Some years ago it was proposed that a document preserved among the *Letters of Apollonius of Tyana* was a formal testimonial (μαρτυρία) from some body in Greece.³⁰

Claudius to the council of the Tyaneans. Your citizen Apollonius, the Pythagorean philosopher, has made an honorable visit (καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα) to Greece and benefited our young men. We have honored him with worthy honors (ἄξιας τιμαῖς), such as are fitting for good men who truly represent philosophy, and we wanted to make clear our goodwill towards you by letter.

Though the letter does not refer specifically to Athens, it too may possibly come from the Areopagus.

Two inscriptions from the second century show the Areopagus honoring men of culture from Asia Minor; whether or not they had spent much time in Athens, they maintained good relations with it while continuing to teach in their native city. Heracleitus of Rhodiapolis in Lycia was “a doctor, author, poet of the achievements of medicine and philosophy, whom (his citizens) inscribed as ‘the Homer of medical poetry.’” He had given copies of his works to his native city and in addition to Alexandria, Rhodes, and Athens, three of the great centers of Greek culture; among the bodies that honored him in return was the Areopagus.³¹ Similarly Claudius Anterus of Mylasa was a γραμματικός honored by his native city and by the Areopagus, Council, and people of Athens “because of his virtue and for training the young in various disciplines, so that most of them were greatly improved by him, both citizens and those who studied here from many places abroad, as is testified in accordance with his worth (κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν) by the decrees from each place.”³²

Robert Kaster has analyzed the social standing of γραμματικοί between the third and sixth centuries, arguing that they tend to be drawn from the middle ranks of society, though some like Ausonius could rise to high positions at court.³³ For the period of the high empire, the best portrait of a γραμματικός is given by Aelius Aristides when he sends a letter of consolation to Cotaion in Phrygia on the death

29. On Cratippus, A. O'Brien-Moore, “M. Tullius Cratippus, Priest of Rome,” *YCS* 8 (1942): 23–49; Habicht, *Die Inschriften*, pp. 164–65. On Herodes, W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus* (Hildesheim, 1983), vol. 1, 5–10, vol. 2, 38–42.

30. *Ep. Ap.* 53; C. P. Jones, “A Martyria for Apollonius of Tyana,” *Chiron* 12 (1982): 137–44.

31. *TAM* 2. 3, no. 910 (*IGRR* 3, 733).

32. J. Crampa, *Labraunda* 3. 2: *The Greek Inscriptions* (Stockholm, 1972), no. 66.

33. Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley, 1988), chap. 3. “The Social Status of Grammarians.”

of his teacher Alexander. Like Anterus of Mylasa, Alexander drew pupils from every quarter and prepared them for every kind of discipline; so lavishly did he spend on buildings for his native city that he could be regarded as its second founder.³⁴ Another generous γραμματικός is Pilius Euarestus at Oenoanda of Pisidia. A lover of his city (φιλόπατρις), and attentive to the usual interests of his compatriots, he endowed a permanent foundation for an athletic contest called the Euaresteia. After a while, he decided to “grace the Muses with strong Heracles,” that is, to add entries for musical and literary subjects. This last achievement Euarestus celebrates in a poem of eleven elegiac couplets.³⁵

Polybius might have been both a γραμματικός and a Panhellene, since παιδεία was a mark of several of the Panhellenes. As we have seen, though, Herrmann’s reasons for supposing Polybius a Panhellene are not strong, and on the present evidence it might be better to say only that he was a distinguished γραμματικός or κριτικός of second-century Sardis who spent some time in Athens and was honored by the Areopagus.

If that is so, there may be a reference to Polybius of Sardis in a well-known text of literature. Lucian’s *Demonax* is formally a biography of a Cynic philosopher who resided in Athens in the second century, but is really a series of amusing interchanges between the subject and various interlocutors, often ones of high rank. Among these is

a certain Polybius, a very uneducated and ill-spoken man, who said, “The king has honored me with the Roman citizenship [ὁ βασιλεύς με τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ τετίμηκεν].” “If only,” said (*Demonax*), “he had made you a Greek rather than a Roman.”³⁶

It was suggested several years ago that this self-satisfied Greek might be the same Polybius of Sardis who so proudly set up the statue of Cicero, and wrote minute studies of language: if the word-order of his boast is deliberately meant to suggest a speaker of Latin, that would be an especially cruel hit, but not badly aimed at someone who revered Cicero and wrote on solecism.³⁷ It now appears that this same Polybius visited Athens, was honored by the Areopagus, and modestly thanked the members for a testimonial “that once gave great joy to gods.” The absence of his Roman names on the extant inscriptions might indicate that he had not yet received the citizenship, but it might simply reflect the tendency of men of culture to call themselves by their given, Greek, name.³⁸

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34. Aristid. *Or.* 32, esp. sections 10–12 (pupils), 17–18, 22–23 (buildings). The evidence for Alexander is collected by Wentzel, “Alexandros 95,” *RE* 1.2 (1894): 1455–56; note also S. Argyle, “A New Greek Grammarian,” *CQ* 39 (1989): 530.

35. A. S. Hall and N. Milner in *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia*, ed. David S. French (Ankara, 1994), 8–30.

36. *Demon.* 40.

37. C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1986), 96.

38. On this tendency, see for example L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), 216–17, H. Müller, “Marcus Aurelius Olympiodorus,” *ZPE* 3 (1968): 208–9, 217.

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