



Of Wellbeing or Savior? Emending the Herennia Announcement¹

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Abstract

This paper discusses a widely accepted emendation to an earlier version of *IG X 2.1 137*. Early draft copies of the Herennia announcement show that Antoninus Pius was hailed as Σωτήρ by the city of Thessalonike, a rare epithet for this emperor. This reading was later replaced due to an expert's claim that σωτήρως has to be read σωτηρίας. Since this seems to conform to a well-known salutary formula, the emendation was adopted from then on. This paper suggests that the reading of σωτήρως is based on reliable and published reports instead, and ought to be preferred over the expert claim. Empirical evidence is given to support reading σωτήρως.

Keywords: testamentary munus; epigraphy; emendation; Thessalonike; Antoninus Pius

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Introduction

This paper revisits the trail of studies that concern an inscribed announcement of a series of gladiatorial spectacles to be performed at Thessalonike in 141/2 CE.² The stone upon which the announcement was inscribed is now lost, and one must depend upon the authoritative edition produced by Charles Edson, who was unfortunately unable to perform an autopsy on the stone, and depended upon an assemblage of earlier studies to produce a (*IG* X 2.1 no. 137). Scholars have paid considerable interest to the relatively short announcement, because it happens to contain unique information on the municipal political and social institutions of Thessalonike in the Antonine period. Yet, scholars who devoted attention to this study also attempted to restore – and at times to emend – the inscription, and this paper wishes to interrogate one case in particular, namely Edson's emendation of the omicron in σωτήρος to iota-alpha, producing σωτηρίας. We will begin with an introduction on *IG* entry, followed by discussions on studies upon which Edson depended to produce what is now commonly accepted as the authoritative text.

1. The Text of the Herennia Hispana Inscription in the *IG*

The Herennia announcement is in three sections: the invocation of imperial personages and institutions (ll. 1-6), the announcement (ll. 6-12), and the actual date on which the spectacles are to begin (ll. 6-14). A separate line is added to note that the spectacles were indeed carried out under the prescribed officials (l. 15). Edson's text printed in the *IG* is provided below (figure 1), and my translation of the text.

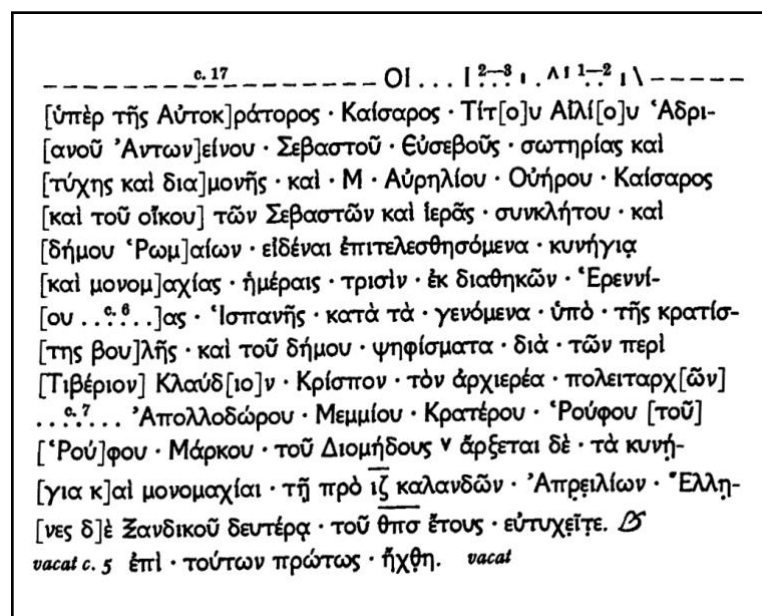


Figure 1. Reconstructed text of the Herennia Hispana Inscription, *IG* X 2.1 no. 137, 55.

² Tod 1918-1919, 209.

Translation:

...for the sake of the well-being, fortune, and continuity of the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Pius Augustus, and Marcus Aurelius Verus Caesar, and of the household of the Augusti, and the sacred Senate and the People of Rome: know that the beast hunt and gladiatorial combat shall be celebrated for three days funded by the testamentary gift of Herenni[...]as Hispana, in accordance with the decision that had been reached by the most excellent council and the people's assembly (of Thessalonike), (carried out) by the politarchs attendant to the highpriest of Tiberius Claudius Crispus: ... Apollodorus, Memmius Craterus,³ Rufus son of Rufus, Marcus son of Diomedes. The beast hunts and gladiatorial combats shall begin before the seventeenth of the calends of April (Mars 13th), (or) in the Hellenic calendar, the second of Xandikos of the 289th year (of the provincial era, 141/2 CE)⁴. May you be fortunate. During these (magistrates) (the festival in the memory of the donor) was first begun.

Our focus is in the preamble. We find a familiar sequence of salutary language, the announcement proper, and supervision clauses in an example from Beroia (*EKM* 68) issued in 229 CE.⁵

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου [[Ἀλεξάνδρου]] Εὐσεβοῦς, Εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὄγδοον, ὑπάτου τὸ γ', πατρὸς πατρίδος, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωτάτης μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [[Ἰουλίας Μاماίας]] Σεβαστῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος θείου οἴκου αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν διασημοτάτων ἐπάρχων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, Οὐαλεριανὸς Φιλόξενος ὁ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγῶνος ἀλεξανδρείου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανὴ Ἀμμία ἡ ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Σεβαστῆς | ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλει κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας | τρεῖς. ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμῶν τῇ πρὸ · ζ' · καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουλίῳ, || Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) · Αὐρηλίῳ Σεου<ή>ρω [[Ἀλεξάνδρῳ]] φ Εὐσεβεῖ, Εὐτυχεῖ, Σεβαστῷ τὸ · γ' · καὶ Κλ(αυδίῳ) Κασσίῳ Δίῳ τὸ β' · ὑπάτοις, ἐλληνικῇ δὲ ἔτους · ξς · σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ · σο·τ · Πανήμου εἰ'. | εὐτυχεῖτε.

To good fortune. For the sake of the health and well-being, victory and eternal reign of the great and divine and undefeated our lord imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius the Fortunate, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the tribunician powers for the eighth time [228-229 CE], Consul for the third time, Pater Patria, and for the sake of the most sacred our mother Iulia Mamaia Augusta, and of all their divine household, and the sacred Senate and the righteous praetorian prefects, the sacred armed forces, and the People of Rome: Valerianus Philoxenos the Macedoniarch and the high

³ While Memmius Craterus could be read as a nomen-cognomen construct, Horseley 1994, 107 expresses uncertainty on whether four politarchs or more are referred here.

⁴ Tod 1918-1919, 209-214, on the evidence for a "provincial era" that counted from the epoch of 148 BCE when Macedonia became a Roman province.

⁵ *AE* 1974, 140-141 no. 430.

priest of Augustus, the agonothele for the Alexandrian games of the Koinon of the Macedonians, and his wife Varleriana Ammia the high priestess of Augusta, shall produce in Beroia the most glorious metropolis of Macedonia beast hunts and gladiatorial combat for three days. The liturgies shall begin before the 7th of the calends of July (June 25), dedicated to the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius the Fortunate, when Augustus was thrice and Claudius Cassius Dio was twice consuls [Jan. 229 CE], in the Hellenic calendar the 260th year of the Augustan/Actian era and 376th year of the provincial era, on the 15th of Panemos. May you be fortunate.

This Beroian announcement for the spectacles of Valerianus Philoxenos and Valeriana Ammia opens with the invocation of imperial, military, and civilian authorities (ll. 1-9), followed by the preamble that outlines who was giving the games and for how long (ll. 9-13), and concluded with the announcement of the precise dates for the liturgies (ll. 14-17). We also find the familiar farewell εὐτυχεῖτε attached to the end of the inscription (l. 18). In this case, we know precisely that the high priest of the Macedonian Koinon was the giver of the shows: his name is given in the nominative, and the future indicative form of the word ἐπιτελέω ascribes the spectacles to his agency.⁶

There are several examples of gladiatorial announcements, or *invitationes ad munera* as is commonly referred, now available for comparison. Including the spectacles of the Valeriani we have another more lavish one from Beroia (EKM No. 69), which announced even more days of spectacles, and in Thessalonike there is IG X 2.1 141 first reported by Petros Papageorgiou in 1889,⁷ along with several newly discovered announcements during the excavations of the theater, published in 1999 (IG X 2.1 Suppl. 1073-1076).⁸ The third century examples were all discovered after Louis Robert published his important volume on gladiation in the Greek East, unfortunately, so we are unable to learn how Robert would incorporate these examples into his discussion of this particular genre. What Robert did have were second century CE examples, including the Herennia Hispana inscription that this paper is focused on, as well as an example from Nicopolis ad Istrum (IG Bulg II 660), which is given below:

ἀγαθῇ τ[ύχη]. | ὑπὲρ τῆς τ[ῶ]ν Αὐτ[ο]κρατόρω[ν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρη]λίου Ἀντωνε[ίνου
Κα]ίσαρος Σεβ[αστοῦ] καὶ Λ[ουκίου] Αὐρηλίου [Οὐήρου] | Σεβ[αστοῦ] καὶ Φαυστ[εῖνης
Σεβ[αστῆς] καὶ τ[ῶν παί]δων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ σύ[μπαντος] || [αὐτῶν οἴκου τύχης καὶ
σωτηρί]ας κα[ὶ αἰωνί]ου διαμονῆς ἱερᾶς τε συνκ[λήτου] | καὶ δ[ήμου] Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ
λαμπροτά[του] {κ[ρατίσ]του} ἡ[γεμόνο]ς Ἀππίου Κλαυ[δίου] Μαρτι[άλου]
πρεσβ[υτου] | Σεβ[αστῶν] ἀντ[ιστρ]ατήγου βο[υ]λῆς τε καὶ δήμ[ου Οὐλίπ]ιας

⁶ Beroia EKM no. 69 ll. 7-9: ὁ μακεδονίαρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς [τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνο]θέτης ... Λ(ούκιος) Σε]πτίμιος Ἰνστεϊανὸς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Αἰλ(ία) Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρχιέρεια ἐπιτελέσου[σιν ἐν τῇ] | λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ β' νεωκόρῳ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλι κτλ.; SEG 49.816 ll. 6-8 [Κλαύδιος Ῥούφριος Μένων...] καὶ μακεδονίαρχης | καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης ... καὶ Βαιβία Μάγνα ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτῃ ἀρχιέρει[α ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Θεσσαλονικαίων μητροπόλει κτλ.; SEG 49.817 ll. 6-9 Τιβ(έριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ῥούφριος Μένων ὁ κρ(άτιστος) ἱεροφάντης τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου θεοῦ Καβείρου καὶ διὰ βίου ἀγωνοθέτης [τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων] | καὶ μακεδονίαρχης καὶ β' ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν ... καὶ Βαιβία Μάγνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξ(ιολογωτάτῃ) μ[ακεδονίαρχ]ισσα καὶ β' ἀρχιέρεια ἐπιτελέσουσιν [φιλοτιμί]αν ἐν τῇ λαμ[π]ροτάτῃ Θεσσαλονικ[έ]ων μητροπόλει κτλ.

⁷ Nigdelis 2015, 49; I thank the anonymous reader for this reference.

⁸ Also see Veleni 1999 for the excavation report, and Adam-Veleni 2012 for the restored depictions of gladiatorial combat.

Ν[εικοπόλεως τῆς πρὸς] | Ἰστρον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως [Μιν]ίκιος Ο[— — — — —
 — — — — — καὶ] | Μινικία Φιρμεῖνα θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ φιλότ[ε]ιμος [ἀρχιέρεια]
 ἐπιτε[λέσουσιν] || κυνήγια καὶ μονομαχίας [— — — — — τῇ] ιβ' καὶ τ[— — — — —
 — — — — —] | απο[— — — — —]

To good fortune. For the sake of the Imperatores Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar Augustus and Lucius Aelius Verus Augustus and Faustina Sebasta and their children and all of their household, for their fortune, safety, and eternal continuity, and for the sake of the sacred Senate and the People of Rome, and of the most glorious governor Appius Claudius Martialis the Legatus Propraetore Augusti, and for the sake of the Boule and the Demos of Ulpia Nikopolis ad Istrum, the highpriest of the city Minicius... and Minicia Firmina his daughter the honor-loving highpriestess, completed their charge of giving the beast hunt and gladiatorial spectacle on the 12th of (month) and...

Though heavily restored, this Nikopolitan inscription is clearly the same sort of inscription as those highlighted earlier – a gladiatorial invitation for the inhabitants of the community to prepare and partake in the celebrations.

Returning to the Herennia Hispana inscription, what first sets this Thessalonian announcement apart from those in Beroia and Nikopolis mentioned here is the absence of a highpriest or highpriestess – instead we have the imperatival infinitive εἰδέναι and the neuter future passive participle ἐπιτελεσθῆσόμενα. This method of rendering may be understood as to be purposely "prescribing a certain actional procedure."⁹ Together, the combination introduces the procedural aspects of the boule and demos approving the testamentary gift and delegating its execution to the competent municipal authorities. In the Beroia and Nikopolitan announcements, the action of the macedoniarch and highpriest would be the ones bringing the hunt and the combat to completion, along with their respective consorts, who serve as highpriestesses. Therefore, use of the imperatival infinitive construction is marked: there was no specific *munerarius* when convention calls for it, and hence no direct agency for the public to focus on.

The rest of the announcement captures the indirect agency involved and extends the imperatival infinitive construction's markedness. Herennia's legacy is acknowledged but in a prepositional construct.¹⁰ The administrative process for the spectacles is also tempered via the same ploy, with the *boule* and *demos* voting and delegating the responsibility of presenting the games to a college of politarchs presided by a high-priest, but none solely responsible.¹¹

2. The Critical Apparatus for the Herennia Announcement

⁹ For the use of the imperatival infinitive, see Allan 2010, 212-213.

¹⁰ *IG X 2.1* no. 137 ll. 7-8: ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἑρεννί[...]*ας Ἰσπανῆς κτλ.*

¹¹ *IG X 2.1* no. 137 ll. 9-13: κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίσ[τῆς βουλ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματα, διὰ τῶν περὶ Τιβέριον Κλαύδον Κρίσπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολειταρχῶν κτλ. Heuzey 1876, 275. For the interpretation of the formula τῶν περὶ so-and-so πολιτάρχων as the presiding figure and the college of politarchs, see Horseley 1994, 116-117, Schuler 1960, 90.

Heuzey's ΕΚΔΙΑΘΗΚΩΝ (ἐκ διαθήκων), and line 11 has ΡΟΥΘΟΥ versus Heuzey's ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ('Ρούφου). We note that contributions from Hogarth's text do not appear until the fourth line; it also tends to confirm the right half of Heuzey's reading when the letters are relatively intact.

While Heuzey's reading is observedly superior, it is not accepted absolutely in the *IG* entry. An apparent example is in line 13, where we find two line-capped Greek numerals and the word "calends" (καλανδῶν). Here one also expects the name of the Roman month to complete the formulaic notation that marks the exact date on which the festivities shall be first inaugurated. Le Bas has ΑΠΑΚΙΑΙΩΝ while Heuzey has ΑΠΙΚΙΑΙΩΝ; the *IG* settled for ΑΠΠΕΙΑΙΩΝ (Ἀπρειλίων). Conceivably, the Greek inscriber may have committed an error on a Latin term, missing the critical *rho*. As for the lunate *sigma* noted by Le Bas and Heuzey, we could assume an *epsilon* with its center bar lost. Hogarth's alternative suggested Ἀγασιλίων, but the linguistic context expects a Roman month.

Also not accepted in the *IG* entry is σωτήρος in line 3. Daux's treatment of the Herennia Hispana inscription in his 1972 and 1973 papers focused only on lines 6 to 15, and hence of little relevance in the upcoming discussions. That said, his acknowledgment of Papageorgiou is a notable detail.¹² As we learn from the critical apparatus and other sources, Petros Papageorgiou commented on this inscription in 1889, claiming that σωτήρος in Duchesne's reprint of the Herennia Hispana inscription was in fact σωτηρίας.¹³ However, this is a surprising claim. While Le Bas read CTΩTHCAM, we know he printed σωτήρος, as Duchesne made clear (hereon we will refer to this text as the Le Bas-Duchesne text).¹⁴ Heuzey's reading is even more secure, and he printed σωτήρος as well. As for Hogarth, who, according to how the *IG* entry presented his findings, saw the stone in a more deteriorated state, printed]σεβοῦς σωτηρ[.]ς, giving space to only one letter. Interestingly, the *IG* entry did not consult the actual paper that Papageorgiou wrote, but rather relied upon a short statement from the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*.¹⁵ From what we have from the *IG*'s critical apparatus, there seems much in doubt about what Papageorgiou actually saw.

Briefly summing up the observations above, the *IG* entry's report of the differences observable among draft copies indicates that the stone of the text deteriorated significantly by the time Hogarth carried out his autopsy. This fact was briefly stated in the introductory section of the *IG* entry: what Hogarth saw was only the right section of the original inscription (*solam partem dextram tituli*). Also, the same introduction made it clear that the editor, while being unable to assess Papagiorgiou's claim directly, suppressed σωτήρος. In the following, we examine the reports by Heuzey, Hogarth, and Papageorgiou to contextualize the problem with σωτήρος versus σωτηρίας in historical perspective.

3. A Historical Perspective on the Emendation of *IG* X 2.1 137

Heuzey's encounter with the stone was published in 1874, and at that time the stone was still "built

¹² Daux 1972, 489.

¹³ Dimitas 1896, 430.

¹⁴ Duchesne 1877, 10.

¹⁵ Belger & Seyffert 1889, 330.

into a subsidiary building of the Mosque Moharem-Pacha-Tabak" in Thessalonike.¹⁶ Heuzey is particularly attentive to detailed visual representation, both in terms of the inscribed letters and the inscribed field, as shown in figure 3. We can gather from Heuzey's draft copy that he saw a rectangular stone slab with 15 lines of inscribed text of approximately 40 letters per line. The first line is almost entirely lost except for several strokes of letters in the center, and the second line is missing approximately 13 letters, followed by a decreasing amount of damage to the left side of the stone. The illustration also keeps track of orthographical differences, as mentioned previously, and this is quite important, for it speaks to the degree of diligence that Heuzey paid in making sure what can or cannot be seen. All lines were inscribed in what Heuzey chose to describe as an "uncial" font, except the last line, where the execution was in "square" letters. The lunate *sigma* in the first 14 lines versus the four-bar *sigma* in *πρωτῶς* of line 15 is all the more significant, as it highlights Heuzey's intentional approach to distinguish between different letterforms.

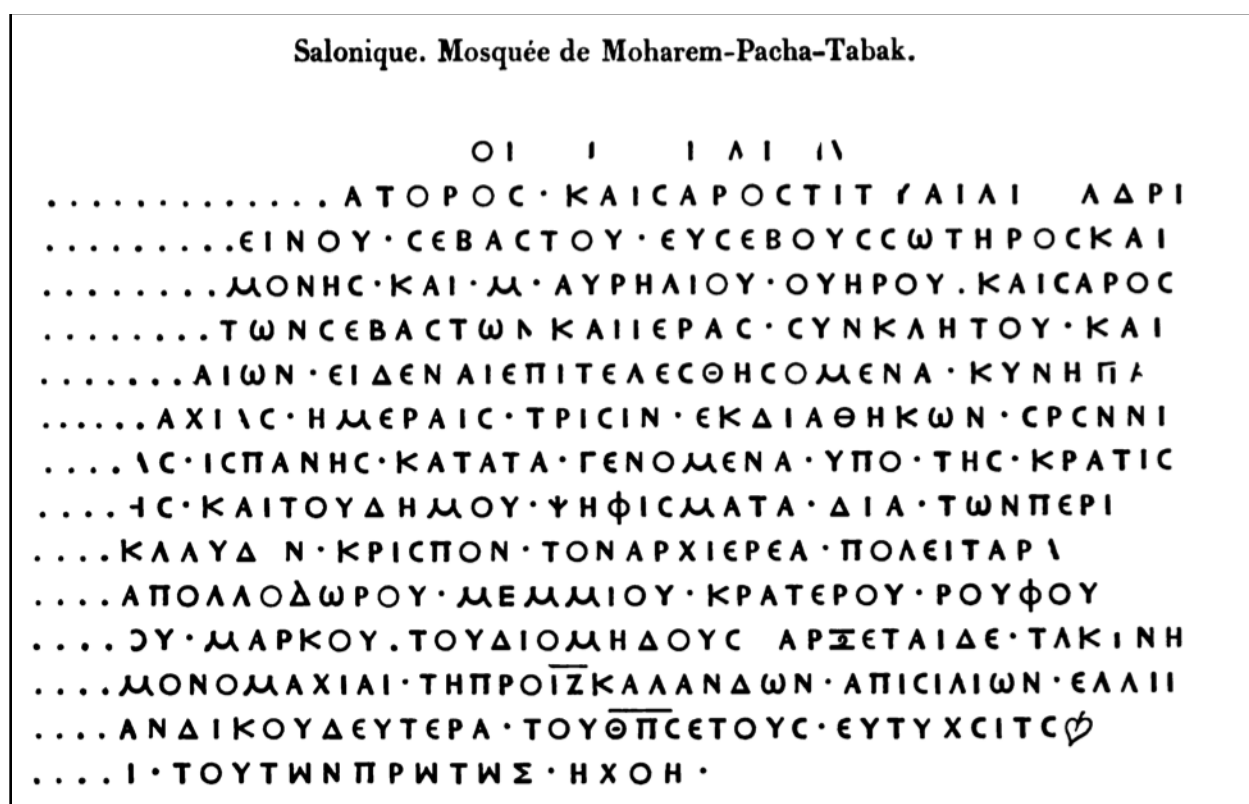


Figure 3. Drawing of the Herennia Hispana Inscription in Heuzey 1887, p. 274.

Hogarth's draft copy published in 1887, as shown below (Figure 4), is particularly important, because it adopted a similar method of visual presentation with particular emphasis on orthographical features, and it can be used to cross-examine what Heuzey saw. Furthermore, Hogarth reported the location, which is in the courtyard of the Konak and not built into an ancillary building of a mosque, and he gave measurements. We learn that the size of the "limestone slab" was approximately 75 cm high and 45 cm in width, with "fairly neat letters 25 mm high."¹⁷

¹⁶ Heuzey 1876, 273: "Une des plus importantes est l'inscription des jeux d'Hérennia, encadrée dans une construction dépendant de la mosquée de Moharem-Pacha-Tabak."

¹⁷ Hogarth 1887, 361.

<p>↓</p> <p> ΔΣΤΙΓ . ΥΑΙΛΙ . ΎΑΔΡΙ ΎΣΕΒΟΥΣΣΩΤΗΡ . ΣΚΑΙ ΛΙΟΥΟΥΗΡ . ΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΙΣΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΟΥΚΑΙ 5 ΛΕΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΑΚΥΝΗΓΙ/ ΕΚΔΙΑΘΗΚΩΝΕΡΕΝΝΙ ΔΜΕΝΑ . ΥΠΟΤΗΣΚΡΑΤΙ(Σ) ΛΑΤΑ . ΔΙΑΤΩΝΠΕΡΙ ΛΙΕΡΕΑ . ΠΟΛΕΙΑΡΛ 10 ΔΥΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥ . ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΑΡΞΕΤΑΙΔΕ . ΤΑΚ . ΝΗ ΔΩΝ . ΑΓ . ΣΙΛΙ(Ω)Ν . ΕΛΛΗ ΔΥΣΣΥΤΥ(ΧΕΙΤΣΡ) ? ΧΟΗ ? Hogarth 1887, 361-362 no. 3 </p>	<p> I Λ I Λ ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΤΙΤ ΓΑΙΛΙ ΛΔΡΙ Υ . ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣΣΩΤΗΡΟΣΚΑΙ ΓΡΗΛΙΟΥ . ΟΥΗΡΟΥ . ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΑΙΙΕΡΑΣ . ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ . ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΑ . ΚΥΝΗΓΑ ΣΙΝ . ΕΚΔΙΑΘΗΚΩΝ . ΣΡΕΝΝΙ ΕΝΟΜΕΝΑ . ΥΠΟ . ΤΗΣ . ΚΡΑΤΙΣ ΙΦΙΣΛΑΤΑ . ΔΙΑ . ΤΩΝΠΕΡΙ ΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ . ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΡΛ ΛΙΟΥ . ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥ . ΡΟΥΦΟΥ ΛΗΔΟΥΣ ΑΡΞΕΤΑΙΔΕ . ΤΑΚΙΝΗ ΚΑΛΑΝΔΩΝ . ΑΠΙΣΙΛΙΩΝ . ΕΛΛΗ ΎΘΠΣΕΤΟΥΣ . ΕΥΤΥΧΙΤΣϙ ΧΟΗ . Heuzey 1876, 274 no. 112. </p>
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Figure 4. The draft copies of Hogarth and Heuzey compared.

We now come to a rather difficult question: was Hogarth examining the same stone as Heuzey? Hogarth spoke of his stone's left side being broken, and "the cleanness of the fracture" to the left side leads him to suspect that there was another adjoining piece of the stone slab.¹⁸ This is an opportunity to test how the two draft copies could match, assuming that each paid due diligence to recording the letter and line spacing in relation to the physical stone. Surprisingly, if we try to match letter by letter, the result is a jagged edge. Margarites Dimitsas first suggested in 1896 that, while it is possible to conjecture that the stone which Hogarth saw was brought to the Konak from its original location where Heuzey saw it, a second possibility is that there were multiple copies of the same text.¹⁹ The visual comparison here makes his second theory worth considering. Orthographically, while Hogarth's *mu* and *xi* are identical with Heuzey's, Hogarth rendered the upper strokes of his *upsilons* as curled, while Heuzey rendered them as straight lines. Also, the two *thetas* in lines 6-7 are rendered round in Heuzey, but one has a half-bar, the other a full bar, while Hogarth gave two identical, ovular *thetas*. Furthermore, since both Hogarth and Heuzey emphasized interpuncts and letter spacing, the discrepancies in where the interpuncts appear in

¹⁸ Hogarth 1887, 362.

¹⁹ Dimitsas 1896, 430: "τὸν λίθον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιγραφή, εὗρεν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ διοικητηρίου (κονακίου), ἀλλ' ἀπῆντησε προσκόμματα κατὰ τὴν ἀντιγραφὴν, ἐξ ἧς καταφαίνεται ὅτι τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος λίαν τεθραυσμένον καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον, τοῦ ὁποίου ὀλίγα μόνον μέρη ἡδυνήθη νὰ συμπληρώσῃ" (he (Hogarth) found the stone, upon which the inscription was engraved, in the courtyard of the governor's mansion (the Konak), but he came across obstacles with regard to the impression, from which it seems that a considerable part of the left side was broken and hewn off, of which sort of damage that only a small part (of the text) was filled in). This description comes from Hogarth 1887, 361-362.

lines 4-7 of the two illustrations further suggests that there may have been two inscriptions of perhaps the same text.

While between Heuzey's and Hogarth's stones there remains some doubt on how directly connected they are, the same cannot be said of the stone encountered by Papageorgiou, which he clearly stated as to have been in the Konak, and was half of the Le Bas-Duchesne text. Papageorgiou's full account of his encounter with the Herennia Hispana inscription is included in the second piece of his short notices published in the journal *Aristoteles* on recently rediscovered stones at the time that could corroborate Abbot Duchesne's epigraphic compendium published in 1877. In closing his study of what is now *IG X 2.1 141*, one could sense his particular enthusiasm in the scientific nature of the study of epigraphy, for what was previously reported can still be confirmed when the stones are re-discovered.²⁰

τὴν μεγάλην ἀξίαν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τρεῖς μόναι εὐρέθησαν ὅμοιαι ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, κατακεχωρισμέναι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κ. Duchesne ἐν σελ. 10 καὶ 11 τοῦ βιβλίου αὐτοῦ· ἡ πρώτη αὐτῶν σφᾶζεται καὶ νυν ἔτι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ διοικητηρίου κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ μόνον καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος δύναται νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ αὐτήν· ἐν παρόδῳ παρατηρῶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ β' στίχῳ αὐτῆς ἀνέγνων καθαρώτατον ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ καὶ οὐχὶ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ὅπως κεῖται κακῶς παρὰ τῷ κ. Duchesne.

On the great value of epigraphy the proof is this: three unique, identical items discovered in Thessalonike that had been previously recorded by Duchesne in pages 10 and 11 of his book: the first of which, now in the courtyard of the Dioikitirio (Konak/the governor's mansion in Thessalonike), survives, down to only half, and whoever takes interest can examine it; I make an observation in passing that in line 2 of the stone I recognize most clearly ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ and not ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ as set down erroneously by Duchesne.

Much of the same lines were reported by Dimitsas verbatim,²¹ and this short article was also summarized in the March edition of *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, which became what Edson used to support his emendation of Heuzey's edition.²²

While Papageorgiou is an experienced and highly regarded epigraphist, the fact that he did not provide an illustration or a dedicated study of what he claimed to have "most clearly see" creates questions on the credibility of his claim. He saw the stone in the Konak, and the stone was down to half – this must have been the stone Hogarth encountered two years earlier. How would it be possible for Papageorgiou to have seen "clearly" what Hogarth clearly indicated as illegible?

Despite the fact that Papageorgiou did not provide supporting evidence to demonstrate that his observations were in fact correct, his claim became widely accepted. Ernest Burton, for example, was convinced that "Heuzey's text seems to be at every point preferable, unless it be at the

²⁰ I thank Professor Pandelis Nigdelis for making available Papageorgiou's reprinted articles in Nigdelis 2015, 47-49, and I am grateful to the anonymous reader for providing this reference.

²¹ Dimitsas 1896, 430.

²² Belger & Seyffert 1889, 330: "Papageorg bemerkt noch, daß in der von Duchesne in seinem Buche über die Altertümer von Thessalonike S. 10 No. 11 veröffentlichen Inschrift (Zeile 2) σωτηρίας (statt σωτήρος) auf dem Steine stehe" (Papageorgios remarked still that in Duchesne's volume on the antiquities from Thessalonike, he saw from the stone that line 2 of the printed inscription on page 10 No. 11 is σωτηρίας (instead of σωτήρος)).

beginning," because "according to Dimitsas...P. Papageorgios testifies from personal examination that in line 2 (Heuzey's line 3) the next to last word is clearly σωτηρίας, not Σωτήρος."²³ Louis Robert, in the catalogue for his *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*, also supplied σωτηρ[ία]ς, though he noted in the critical apparatus that Σωτήρος is generally reported.²⁴ The weight of such scholarly opinion seemed to have been so convincing that Edson's *IG* entry stated that Papageorgiou's reading has been "affirmed on the stone" (*reuera in lapide est*), rejecting Hogarth and Heuzey outright despite not having at all considered the potential risks in preferring Papageorgiou's word without any other evidence. Even Georges Daux noted that Papageorgiou was "le dernier helléniste qui ait interrogé la pierre ou du moins qui ait fait connaître ses observations (en 1889)" and have contributed to the "amélioration d'autre part dans les restitutions,"²⁵ though there is every reason to believe that the conflict with studies by Heuzey and Hogarth ought to place Papageorgiou's claim under more scrutiny and not less.

To sum up this section, I first acknowledge that there is a great risk in challenging established opinions, especially when those opinions are endorsed consecutively by distinguished epigraphists. However, it must be emphasized that, when we consider the studies concerning the Herennia Hispana inscription in sequence, there is clear evidence that the stone underwent a process of deterioration between 1870 and 1889 that must be taken into account before taking Papageorgiou's observation as matter of fact.

1) Le Bas was the first scholar in the scholarly literature to have studied the inscription, with his study published in 1870. While Le Bas originally read ΣΩTHCΛAN, he printed ΣΩTHPOΣ, and later the inscription became known among epigraphist circles following Duchesne's reprinting of it in 1876.

2) Heuzey was the second scholar to have seen the stone before Hogarth and Papageorgiou. His study of the stone was published in 1876, the same year as the Le Bas-Duchesne text that was cited by in Papageorgiou's short article published thirteen years later. The stone was in 1876 built into an ancillary building of the Mosque de Moharem-Pacha-Tabak, not the Konak where Hogarth and Papageorgiou saw it. According to Heuzey's illustration, the inscription was in relatively good state.

3) Hogarth's study of the stone was in 1887, and by this time only half of the stone remains, and the inscribed surface was a good deal weather-worn. The fact that Hogarth printed a dot between the rho and the sigma of ΣΩTHPOΣ instead of a half-letter (which he does with every line when traces of letters remain) indicates that it is impossible for any letter to be read, at least certainly not "most clearly."

4) Now we come to Papageorgiou, who claimed to have seen the same stone as that was preserved in Duchesne. His encounter with this stone was 2-3 years later than Hogarth and 13 years later than Heuzey's publication. Papageorgiou stated that he saw the stone in the courtyard of the Konak (ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ διοικητηρίου) – not in the same location where Heuzey first saw it. The stone is now down to only half (κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ μόνον) of what

²³ Burton 1898, 607.

²⁴ Robert 1971, 78.

²⁵ Daux 1972, 489.

he associates with Duchesne's re-print of Le Bas' study. Also, his encounter with the stone does not account to a complete and meticulous study, as he himself stated: he did so cursorily (ἐν παροδῷ).

The four different readings must be viewed in chronological sequence: Le Bas -- Heuzey -- Hogarth -- Papageorgiou. With the stone's deterioration by the time of Hogarth's reading, and given Hogarth's diligence in studying the stone, as well as his personal training and expertise, there is little reason to discredit Hogarth's reading. Of course, Papageorgiou's distinguished career must also be respected, and his claim to have seen ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ clearly should not be taken lightly.²⁶ However, he also made clear that his observation was done "cursorily" (ἐν παροδῷ). In the scholarly literature we can also find various claims of having been able to "see clearly" certain letters, such as the debate over the name of the archon in the Egesta degree that went back and forth for quite a while, before Angelos Matthaiou set the debate to rest (mostly). Taking Papageorgiou's claim over the published studies of Heuzey and Hogarth is also questionable due to their apparently diligent work in providing illustrations that are essentially analyses of what can or cannot be clearly read. That said, Antoninus Pius is not known to have been declared Savior in Macedonia, and in the first section we have seen that σωτηρίας is a commonly invoked salutary vocabulary. Is there any reason to not restore σωτηρίας?

4. Restoring the preamble

In this section we are mostly concerned with the question of how the preamble of the Herennia Hispana inscription ought to be restored, if not σωτηρ[ία]ς καὶ | [τύχης καὶ δια]μονῆς, as proposed by Louis Robert, and accepted by Edson (henceforth the Robert-Edson restoration).²⁷ Le Bas, Duchesne, and Heuzey suggest σωτήρος καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς, but letter spacing and the καὶ present problems. The first question then, is whether αἰωνίου διαμονῆς was an accepted form of salutation without σωτηρίας and other accompanying combinations. The second question is to find examples of τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς to observe how this combination was used in the epigraphical record.

A database approach is taken to identify any examples from the PHI database that included formulae based on αἰωνίου διαμονῆς, since, as what comes before ΜΟΝΗΣ lies at the heart of the restoration work for *IG* X 2.1 137. For the first question on the combinations associated with αἰωνίου διαμονῆς, there are a total of 69 inscriptions in 11 combinations with a diachronical spread from the first to the fourth centuries CE. The distribution chart of the inscriptions in chronological order is in the appendix, and here we list the 11 combinations and their example count.

1. σωτηρίας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 6
2. νείκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 15
3. ὑγείας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 3
4. αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 7
5. τύχης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 1
6. τύχης + σωτηρίας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 2

²⁶ I thank the anonymous reviewer for stressing this point.

²⁷ Robert 1971, 78.

7. τύχης + νείκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 16
8. νείκης + ὑγείας + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 4
9. σωτηρίας + νείκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 7
10. ὑγείας + σωτηρίας + νίκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 6
11. ὑγείας + σωτηρίας + τύχης + νίκης + αἰωνίου διαμονῆς x 1

Our focus is naturally on combination 4 – the singular use of αἰωνίου διαμονῆς without other accompanying salutary vocabulary, since this is what was printed by Heuzey. This combination has six examples, listed below:

1) *IGBulg V 5636* ANTONINUS PIUS 138-161 CE

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν | αἰωνίου διαμονῆς | καὶ ἱερᾶς · συνκλήτου || καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων | ἡγεμονεύ[ο]ντος | Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνίου Ζήνωνος, | ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ | Σεβ(αστοῦ) · Κλωδίου Παυλείνου, || ἐπὶ ἐπάρχου Οὐαριανοῦ | Θεοκρίτου · Ἑλληνας οἱ | κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καβύλῃ | Ἡρακλέα Ἀγοραῖον κατεσκεύασαν καὶ ἀφιέρωσαν || προνοήσαντος τῆς κα[τασκευ]ῆς Ναρκίσσου Ζήνων[ος] | Περινθίου · Στατειλίου Μα[ξιμου] | καὶ Λολλιανῶ Ἀουεῖτω ὑπά[τοις]. | Ἰούλιος ἔγραψα.

2) *Hermoupolis Magna 12* MARCUS AURELIUS 161-180 CE

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | [[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]] Σεβασ[τῶν], || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν, Μηδικῶν, Παρθικῶν, [Γερ]μανικῶν, Σαρ[μα]τικῶν μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]νίου διαμονῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος | [αὐτῶν οἴκου ἐπὶ Τ(ίτου) Πα]κτουμίου Μάγνου | [ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου], ἐπιστρατηγοῦντο[ς]

3) *IGR I,5 1145* MARCUS AURELIUS 161-180 CE

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | [[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]] Σεβασ[τῶν] || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερ[μανικῶν] Σαρ[μα]τικῶν Μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]νίου διαμονῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος | [αὐτῶν οἴκου ἐπὶ Τ(ίτου) Πα]κτουμίου Μάγνου [ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου], ἐπιστρατηγοῦντο[ς — — —]

4) *Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 9* COMMODUS 181-196 CE

ἀγαθ[ῇ] τύχῃ· | [ὑπὲρ Αὐ]τοκράτορος θεοῦ | [Μ. Αὐρηλίου] Ἀντωνείνου [υἱοῦ, Α. Αὐ]ρηλίου Κομ[μό]δου καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐ[τοῦ] οἴκου αἰ[ωνίου] δια[μονῆς], | [οἱ ἐνκριθέν]τες ἐν τῇ καταστα[θείσῃ] ὑπὸ(?) Κλ. Σεο[υ]ήρου τοῦ πατρ[ω]ς [ἐφηβεία ἐν τῇ] μητροπό[λει] τῆς || [Παφλαγονίας Πομ]πηιοπόλει [ἔφη] [βοι σὺν] τῷ Κλ. [Θεοδώρῳ —?—]

5) *Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 10* COMMODUS 181-196 CE

[ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ· | [ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Μ. Αὐ]ρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου υἱοῦ, Α. Αὐ]ρηλίου Κομμόδου καὶ τοῦ σ<ύ>ν[παντος] αὐτοῦ οἴκου αἰωνίου διαμονῆς | [οἱ ἐνκριθέν]τες ἐν τῇ κατασταθείσῃ | ὑπὸ Κλ. Σεο[υ]ήρου τοῦ πατρωνος ἐφηβεία | [ἐν τῇ] μητροπόλ[ει] τῆς Παφλαγονίας Π[ομ]πηιοπόλει σὺν τῷ Κλ. Θεοδώρῳ ἐφ[ηβοι(?)]

6) IGBulg IV 2002 241-244 CE GORDINANUS III

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ὑπὲρ | [αἰωνί]ον διαμονῆς τοῦ θειοτά|του [Αὐτοκρά]τορος Μ(άρκου)
Ἀντωνείου {Ἀντωνίου} | Γορδ[ιανο]ῦ Εὐσεβ(οῦς) καὶ θεοφιλεστ|[άτ]ης
Τ[ρ]ανκυλλείνης [συμβίου] | τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, | [ήγ]εμονεύοντος τῆς
Θρ[ακῶν] | ἐπαρχείας Πομπωνίου Μαγ[ια]νο[ύ] πρ(εσβευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ)
ἀντιστρατήγου, || ἡ Σερδων πόλις τὸ μίλιον.

It is notable that the six examples above are predominantly from the Antonine period, with the first example from the reign of Antoninus Pius. There is also an interesting unity in the postposition of the phrase αἰωνίου διαμονῆς for the Antonine period examples, underlined below:

1) IGBulg V 5636 [138-161 CE]: ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν | αἰωνίου διαμονῆς κτλ.

2) Hermoupolis Magna 12 I [61-180 CE]: ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Kaisάρων | [Μάρ]κου
Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | [[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]] Σεβασ[τῶν], ||
[Ἀρμε]νιακῶν, Μηδικῶν, Παρθικῶν, [Γερ][μαν]ικῶν, Σαρ[μα]τικῶν μεγίστων
[α]ἰ[ω]ν[ί]ου διαμονῆς κτλ.

3) IGR I,5 1145 [161-180 CE]: ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρατόρων Kaisάρων | [Μάρ]κου Αὐρηλίου
Ἀντωνίνου [κα]ὶ | [[Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου]] Σεβασ[τῶν] || [Ἀρμε]νιακῶν
Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερ[μαν]ικῶν Σαρ[μα]τικῶν Μεγίστων [α]ἰ[ω]ν[ί]ου διαμονῆς κτλ.

4) Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 9 [181-196 CE]: [ὑπὲρ Αὐ]τοκράτορος [θεοῦ] | [Μ.
Αὐρηλί]ου Ἀντωνεί[ου] | [υἱοῦ, Λ. Αὐ]ρηλίου Κομ[μό]δου καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντ[ος]
αὐ]τοῦ οἴκου αἰ[ω]ν[ί]ου διαμονῆς κτλ.

5) Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 10 [181-196 CE]: [ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Μ.
Αὐ]ρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου υἱοῦ, Λ. Αὐ]ρηλίου Κομμόδου καὶ τοῦ σ<ύ>ν[παντος αὐτοῦ]
οἴκου αἰωνίου διαμονῆς κτλ.

when contrasted with the third century inscription of Gordianus III,

6) ὑπὲρ | [αἰωνί]ου διαμονῆς τοῦ θειοτά|του [Αὐτοκρά]τορος Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνείου
{Ἀντωνίου} | Γορδ[ιανο]ῦ Εὐσεβ(οῦς) καὶ θεοφιλεστ|[άτ]ης Τ[ρ]ανκυλλείνης [συμβίου] |
τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος κτλ.

as well as the three third century CE *invitationes ad munera* from Beroia and Thessalonike:

7) EKM 68 [229 CE]: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ υὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου
διαμονῆς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσα|ρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου [Ἀλεξάνδρου] εὐσεβοῦς, εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ
κτλ.

8) EKM 69 [240 CE]: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ | ὕπ[ε]ρ υὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου
διαμονῆς το[ῦ] θειοτάτου καὶ | μεγίστου καὶ ἀνεικῆτου Αὐτ[ο]κράτορος Καίσαρος

Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γ[ορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς], | εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Γ, ὑπάτου, | π(ατρὸς) π(ατρίδος) κτλ.

9) IG X Suppl. 1073 [252 CE]: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμο[νῆς] τῶν κ[υ]ρίων ἡμῶν μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων | δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσί[ας] τὸ δεύτερ]ον, πατέρων πατρίδος, ἀνθυπ[ατ]ων κτλ.

10) IG X Suppl. 1074 [259 CE]: ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ] | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου δ[ιαμονῆς] τῶν μεγίστων καὶ θειοτάτων κυρίων ἡμῶν ἀηττήων | Αὐτοκρατόρων κτλ.

11) IG X Suppl. 1075 [260 CE]: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ | ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστω[ν] καὶ θειοτ[άτω]ν κυρίων Ἡμῶν ἀη[ττήτων] Αὐ[το]κρατόρων κτλ.

It becomes apparent that the position of the salutary vocabulary formed two distinct patterns. The first pattern is the postposition of salutary vocabulary *after* the emperors' titlature seen in examples 1-5, which, along with ὑπὲρ, effectively brackets the imperial titlature into a coherent unit. Examples 1-5 also happens to appear uniformly among second century CE inscriptions. The second pattern is the frontal position *before* the emperors' titlature, seen in examples 6-11. In this case, the bracketing formula no longer exists, and the examples suggest that the formulaic shift takes place uniformly among third century CE inscriptions.

That said, it is still important to point out that the Robert-Edson restoration is certainly supported by known examples, listed below:

12) IGBulg II 666

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Διεὶ καὶ Ἡρα καὶ | Ἀθηνᾶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν | Αὐτοκρατόρων τύ[χη]ς καὶ διαμονῆς ὑμνωδοὶ πρεσβύτε|ροι χοροστατοῦντος | Θεαγένου ἐκ τῶν ιδ[ί]ων ἀνέστησαν. || νησ.

13) Gerasa 58 HADRIAN 130 CE

ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος · Καίσαρος, θεοῦ · Τραιανοῦ · Παρθικοῦ · υἱοῦ, · θεοῦ Νέρουα · υἱωνοῦ, Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ | Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέος μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιδ', ὑπάτου τὸ γ', πατρὸς παρίδος, καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς τοῦ | σύνπαντ[ος] αὐτοῦ οἴκου ἢ πόλιν Ἀντιοχείων πρὸς τῷ τῶν Χρυσορῶα τῶν πρότερον Γερασσηνῶν ἐκ διαθήκης Φλαουίου || Ἀγρίππου τὴν πύλιν σὺν θριάμβῳ. ἔτους βορ'.

14) Fayoum 1:88 COMMODUS 180 CE

(ἔτους) κ' Λουκίου Α[ύ]ρηλίου | Κομμόδου Σεβαστοῦ | [Μ]εσορὴ κατ' ἀρχαίους ιγ', | **ὑπὲρ [τῆς] Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου || τύχης καὶ δ[ια]μονῆς** Περεσούχῳ καὶ Πνεφερώτι θεοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ.

15) TAM V,3 1656 COMMODUS

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ὑπὲρ τῆς | τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος | Κομμόδου τύχης καὶ δια|μονῆς | οἱ Ἔρωτες ἐποίησαν ἐκ τῶν | ιδίων· κτλ.

While the results given here suggest that Robert's restoration is the better option than restoring καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς, the examples also indicate that there is no necessary requirement for σωτήρ to be emended to σωτηρίας in order to make Robert's restoration of καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς work.²⁸ Example 13 in particular has the salutary sequence of ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας...καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς, which would nicely fit with how the Le Bas-Duchesne proposal was styled, and what Heuzey generally followed, as presented below:

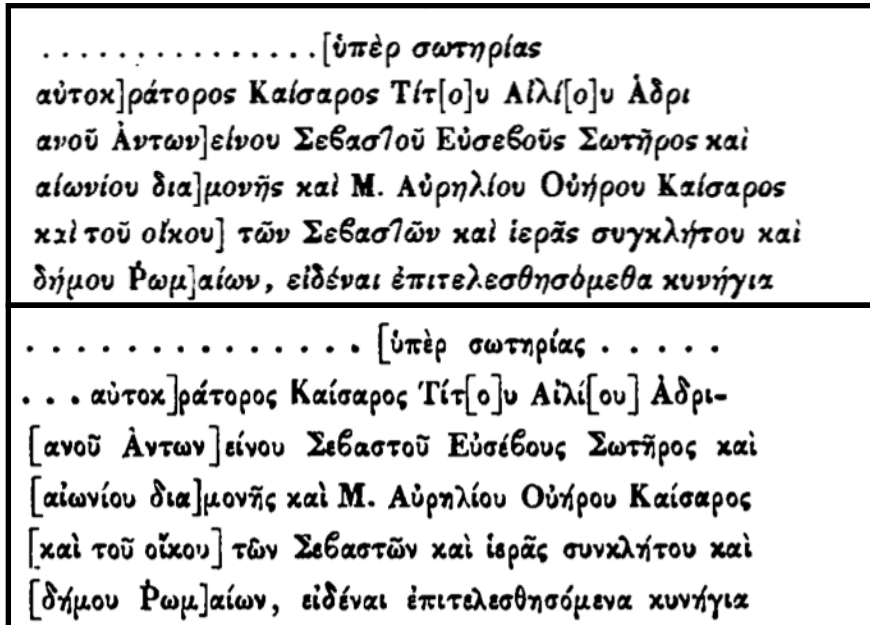


Figure 5. Top: Duchesne 1876, p. 10. Bottom: Heuzey 1876, p. 274

The outcome of the database approach leads to three observations that can be used to measure past restorations of the salutary invocation in the Herennia Hispana inscription, and propose a new one. First, there is no precedent that requires Σωτήρ to be emended: the Antonine custom allows for the positioning of αἰωνίου διαμονῆς immediately after the imperial titulature, without an intervening σωτηρίας. Second, καὶ [τύχης καὶ δια]μονῆς, as Robert suggested, is better than καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς, and as example 11 from Gerasa indicates, this restoration does not require σωτηρίας to precede καί. In fact, example 11 from Gerasa makes it clear that if σωτηρίας were to be invoked, it could be deployed at the beginning of the salutary sequence. By importing example 11 from Gerasa, the reconstructed salutary sequence for the Herennia Hispana inscription could be:

.....[ὑπὲρ (σωτηρίας)] | [αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτ[ο]υ Αἰλίου Ἀδρι|
Ἀντων]εῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Σωτήρος καὶ | [τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς] κτλ.

On account of (the safety) the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius
the Savior's (and of his) fortune and continuity etc.

²⁸ I appreciate the anonymous reader for the responses given regarding my lack of treatment for the validity of Le Bas-Duchesne and Heuzey's proposed reconstruction in an earlier manuscript.

The virtue of this proposal is, on the one hand, that it retains Robert's solution to resolving what comes after καὶ is more ideal than bluntly restoring καὶ | [αἰωνίου δια]μονῆς; on the other hand, it draws from an extant model formulated in example 11. In other words, Heuzey's reading of σωτήρος remains valid *even if* the following salutary sequence is not αἰωνίου διαμονῆς but rather καὶ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς.

The outcome of this section can be simplified into two observations on the Robert-Edson emendation of σωτήρος to σωτηρίας: 1) there is no example of σωτηρίας appearing in postposition during the Antonine period; 2) Σωτήρος could stand as an epithet to Antoninus Pius without disturbing the natural flow of the salutary sequence used in the early to mid-second century CE. In fact, the examples given show that αἰωνίου διαμονῆς indeed an acceptable Antonine period formula, its postposition after imperial titulatures is so uniform among second century inscriptions – and so distinctly different from third century inscriptions, that it makes Papageorgiou's claim to have seen σωτηρίας unlikely to be acceptable. One could reconcile this apparent contradiction by considering the context in which Papageorgiou made the claim: it was about the rediscovery of *IG X 2.1 141*, which is a third century *invitatio ad munera* with a prepositioned formula restored as [ὕπερ] ὑγείας κ[αὶ σωτηρί]ας καὶ νεκ[ῆς καὶ διαμονῆς τοῦ μεγίσ]του καὶ θ[εο]τάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος] κτλ.(ll. 1-2). Possibly, Papageorgiou's claim was more of a conjecture based on his belief that the formula in the rediscovered *invitatio* during the reign of Severus Alexander (226 or 228 CE) could be applied universally. From hindsight, we have clear proof that the Herennia announcement need not take σωτηρίας in its salutary opening.²⁹

5. The Preamble: Interpretation and Uses

Assuming the argument advanced in the previous sections is correct, what would the consequences be? First to consider is whether reading σωτήρ impacts established interpretations of the Herennia announcement that were based on reading σωτηρίας. We focus the discussion on Louis Robert's engagement, which remains one of the most important contribution to our understanding of the importance of the Herennia announcement. In the relevant sections of his analysis, Robert saw a close relationship between gladiatorial spectacles and the imperial cult based on the Herennia announcement's reference to the emperor's health.³⁰ Yet, when going into the specifics, his remark was: "a Thessalonique, l'annonce des spectacles est précédée d'une formule développée de vœux en faveur des empereurs régnants, de la maison impériale, du sénat et du peuple romains" (in Thessalonique, the announcement of spectacles is preceded by a developed formula of vows in favor of the reigning emperors, the imperial household, the Senate and the Roman people).³¹ These are potentially conflicting observations. Should deference to the the Senate and the Roman people count as part of the imperial cult? Would it be necessary to say that the gladiatorial spectacles were actually not performed "for the sake of the Senate and the People of Rome," but really only for the

²⁹ Dimitsas' critique of Papageorgios is surprisingly relevant here (Dimitsas 1876, 430). Dimitsas thought Papageorgios was wrong to accuse Duchesne for having erroneously printed ΣΩΤΗΡ when the text ought to have been ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ instead. Dimitsas seems to not be speaking in jest when he remarked that Duchesne indeed printed ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, but only in small-cased letters and for the purpose of restoring the first line of the Herennia announcement ("ἀδίκως κατηγορεῖ τούτου· διότι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ αὐτοῦ p. 10 οὐχὶ κακῶς, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς κεῖται...ὕπερ σωτηρίας, μικροῖς μόνον γράμμασι καὶ οὐχὶ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ).

³⁰ Robert 1971, 270-271: les combats de gladiateurs sont liés au culte impérial de façon expresse.

³¹ Robert 1971, 270 fn. 1.

emperor and his household?

The question also extends to third century CE announcements, and here we may find even more indication that gladiatorial announcements used a formula that targeted the entirety of the Roman establishment broadly construed, instead of only the emperors and their household. In the Beroian example cited earlier we have three sets of referents:³²

1) ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν κτλ. [Severus Alexander],

2) ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωτάτης μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [Iulia Mamaia Augusta];

3) ὑπὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος θείου οἴκου καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου [Roman Senate] καὶ τῶν διασημοτάτων ἐπάρχων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων [the imperial household, the sacred Senate, distinguished commanders, the sacred armed forces, and the people of Rome].

The third set is most surprising: not only has the list grew longer, but we now learn that the armed forces and their commanders now have just as much standing as the Senate and People in the language of fealty that local communities deploy in public communications. A separate discussion on the governing bodies and power groups that can be included in the salutary preamble will be needed to consider the nuances comprehensively, but it would suffice to import a separate example that is not in Macedonia, nor related to gladiatorial spectacles. In the city of Amastris, a local ephebarch dedicated a statue of a satyr along with an altar inscribed with the ephebes under his charge that year, and this inscription was also capped with a long salutary preamble (*SEG* 35.1317):

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱοῦ | Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνοῦ Τραιανοῦ || Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς | καὶ νείκης καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ | βουλῆς καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ἀμαστριανῶν, Γάϊος Ἡλιοφῶντος | ἐφηβαρχήσας ἐν τῷ ἀσ' | ἔτει ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Λ. Αἴλιον | Αἴλιανὸν ἀρχόντων τὸν σά|τυρον σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευάσας ἀνέ|θηκεν ἐνγράφας καὶ τοὺς | ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐφήβους.

To good fortune. For the sake of the reign and eternal continuity of the imperator Caesar Hadrianus Augustus son of divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of divine Nerva, and for the sake of the victory of both the sacred Senate and the People of Rome, and both the *boule* and the *demos* of the Amastrians. Gaius Heliophontos (or son of Heliophon), served as ephebarch in the year 201 (of the Lucullan era of 70 BCE, hence 131 CE) when the magistrates were in the service of Lucius Aelius Aelianus, furnished the satyr with an altar from his own expenses, and dedicated it having inscribed the ephebes under his charge.

It could certainly be argued that the altar was a dedication to the emperor and hence ought to be categorized as an act of imperial worship, but what role would the *boule* and *demos* of the Amastrians play under such an assumption? It is also noticeable here that the language of power

³² *EKM* 68 ll. 2-9.

and victory far outweighs any specific consideration for the emperor's health in this particular example. Such salutary formula resembles a pledge of fealty to the Roman establishment broadly construed, instead of an exclusive act to worship the living emperor.

What would an act of worship resemble, and how would gladiatorial spectacles fit into a ritualized program of worship? We can turn to the vows mentioned in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* as a test case (RGDA 9).³³

uota p[ro] uale tudine³⁴ mea susc]ipi p[er] con]sules et sacerdotes qu[un]to qu[o]que anno decreuit senatus. ex iis] uotis s[ae]pe fecerunt uiuo m[e] ludos aliquotiens sacerdot]um quattuor amplissima colle[gia, aliquotiens consules. pr]iua[ti]m etiam et municipatim uniuer]si [ciues unanimite]r con[tinente]r apud omnia puluinaria pro uale[tu]din[e] mea s]upp[lica]uerunt].

Vows for my well-being are to be undertaken by the consuls and the priests every fifth year, so decreed the Senate. In fulfillment of these vows, shows often take place, on some occasions staged by the four priestly colleges, on others the consuls. Also, on individual and municipal terms, all citizenries, of one mind and steadfast, supplicated before all the seats of the gods for my well-being.

εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ἱερέων καθ' ἐκάστην πεντετηρίδα ἐψηφίσατο ἡ σύνκλητος. ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι, τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῆς συναρχίας τῶν τεσσάρων ἱερέων, τοτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων. καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις σύνπαντες οἱ πολεῖται ὁμοθυμαδ[ὸν] συνεχῶς ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σω[τ]ηρίας.

Vows for my well-being are to be undertaken by the consuls and the priests every fifth year, so decreed the Senate. In fulfillment of these vows, shows often take place, on some occasions staged by the four priestly colleges, on others the consuls. Also, on individual and municipal terms, all citizenries, of one mind and steadfast, performed sacrifices for the sake of my well-being.

The vows described in the *Res Gestae* – εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας – calls to mind the third century CE *invitatio* from Beroia that we saw earlier. Following John Scheid's interpretation, the act of taking up the vow on behalf of the emperor's well-being (εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἀναλαμβάνειν) would eventually lead to the "fulfillment" of the vow (en acquittement de ces vœux).³⁵ However, the literal meaning of ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὐχῶν πλειστάκις ἐγένοντο θέαι – "there

³³ Scheid 2007, 9-10.

³⁴ Mommsen's restoration of *ualetudo* was revisited by Scheid 2007, 41-42, who thinks that restoring *pro salute* would be preferable: "ualetudo désigne autre chose que le salut physique et moral, et renvoie à une maladie," and hence take a Greek equivalent of ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑγείας, which is not the case here. R. Cooley 2009, 152, translated health, but also noted welfare may be better understood here, particularly regarding Augustus' safe journeys on the return home in 16 BCE (εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανάδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο, Dio Cass. 54.19.7) and 13 BCE respectively (τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκαίᾳ, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανάδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίστατο, Dio Cass. 54.27.1).

³⁵ Scheid 2007, 41-42.

were often spectacles resulting from the vows" – is quite ambiguous.³⁶ Would the θεαί here be pentaeteric, and hence resemble the Actian games that included gymnastic competitions and "combat with weapons between prisoners of war,"³⁷ or were they something separate, considering Augustus' attentiveness to their frequency (πλειστάκις)?

Priestly colleges at Rome do craft vows so that the emperor's health and wellbeing would be taken to heart by a broad cross-section of the Roman empire, and examples include the *uota pro incolumitate* (vows for safety), the *uota pro ualetudine* (vows for wellness) and *uota pro salute principis* (vows for the health of the princeps).³⁸ Inscribed accounts of prayers which the Arval Brethren took for the sake of the emperor's well-being and safe passage indicate that vows were fulfilled with gilded bulls and cows.³⁹ In the provinces the governors would perform similar vows but with a cosmopolitan audience. Pliny's report to Trajan that the annual vow for the emperor's *incolumitas* – which the public welfare depended upon – was taken up (*suscepimus*) and sealed (*signari*), while the old vow was revealed and paid (*soluimus*), with the governor presiding the ceremony, with Romans, provincials, and Roman soldiers in attendance.⁴⁰ It is here that one would give pause and consider whether it is necessary to apply a strict interpretative framework and equate a vow taken for the emperor's safety as an act of emperor worship or the imperial cult. Pliny's point – that the emperor's safety was necessary because the well-being of the public was contingent upon it (*publica salus continetur*) – suggests that vows were understood by both the imperial establishment and the provincial elites as a viable way to communicate their consensus on the status quo of the empire.

³⁶ Cooley 2009, 95-96, rendered the relationship more ambiguously: "in accordance with these vows" for the Latin and "along with these prayers" in the Greek.

³⁷ Dio Cass. 53.4-5: καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένη ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν διὰ τε τῶν παίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε αἰεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἐρωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα, λέγω δὲ τοὺς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τοὺς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους: τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρειῷ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὅπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐγένετο. (Augustus) also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honor of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the hippodrome (Circensian) games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession – I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quinceviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives.

³⁸ Daly 1950, 164-165; Cooley 2009, 152-153.

³⁹ Sherwin-White 1966, 611; Beard 1985, 121-125. A sample provided here: collegium decreuit | [qu]od bonum faustum felix salutarequ[e sit: cu]m u[ota] | contingeret ut priora soluerentur [e]t noua [uouerentur] | pro salute et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Ca[es]aris diui [Vespasiani f(ili)] | Domitiani Aug(usti) Germanici pontif(icis) max(imi) et Domi[tiae Aug(ustae)] coniug(is) | eius et Iuliae Aug(ustae) totique domui eorum, Iou[i o(ptimo)] m(aximo) b(ouem) m(arem), Iunoni | reginae b(ouem) f(eminam), Mineruae b(ouem) f(eminam), saluti pulibca[e popu]li Romani Quiri[tium b(ouem) f(eminam)] [the college of the Arval Brethren decred: may it be good, propitious, fortunate, and safe: since it was right that the previous vows should be fulfilled and new ones made for the health and safety of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, son of the deified Vespasian, pontifex maximus and of Domitia Augusta, his wife, and of Julia Augusta and of all their house – for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a bull; for Juno Regina, a cow, for Minerva, a cow; for the Common Health of the Roman People, the Quirites, a cow (trans. Mary Beard)].

⁴⁰ Plin. *Ep.* 10.35: sollemnia uota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur, et suscepimus, domine, pariter et soluimus. precati deos, ut uelint ea semper solui semperque signari. [We took up solemn vows for your safety which the public weal is contingent upon, lord, and discharged (the previous); we likewise prayed to the gods that these vows shall for ever be discharged and forever be confirmed. Plin. *Ep.* 10.35-36, 52-53, 100-101.

It is also worth considering the fact that the vocabulary used in the salutary formula differs: we find health, well-being, victory, and others paired with the continuity of reign. The different combinations were likely responding to different circumstances – perhaps different vows taken, or different historical circumstances that prompted the need to inscribe and announce the dedication of an object the or organization of a festive occasion. Again, this is a topic for a separate occasion, but apart from the singular use of αἰωνίου διαμονῆς, during the reign of Antoninus Pius we find νεΐκης, τύχης, and ὑγείας paired with "αἰωνίου διαμονῆς" on different inscriptions.⁴¹

One possible angle to approach Robert's vow hypothesis is to consider the salutary formula more than responding to specific vows, but rather in the lens of what Jason Moralee described as the functionalistic salutary ideology. Deploying formulae laden with words of salutary ideology and piety carried specific functions: it was a convenient method to affirm social status, and publicize and promote public benefactions made by individuals and communities.⁴² Moralee's examples are particularly striking on the lower end of the social hierarchy. People who make use of imperial dedications were by no means only important personages for stately occasions or priests of the imperial cult. Rather low level officers, soldiers and veterans, and even small communities and their citizens were the private operators, and their concerns are notably local and personal. Many aimed at self-promotion and expressions of religious sentiment.⁴³ On the higher end of the spectrum, the deployment of salutary ideology generates a different dynamic in public benefaction and execution of wills. A prominent example given by Moralee is the triumphal arch at Gerasa dedicated to Hadrian, which was at once a communal venture led by the city but also a testamentary gift from a certain Flavius Agrippa.⁴⁴ He placed the monument within his discussion on the local rationale that benefactions for the public good would more likely receive premium value in prestige terms, if it were to be offered as a pledge for the well-being of emperors who were well-received by their peer communities.

Another comparable example is a letter by Pliny to Trajan regarding the testamentary gift from a certain Iulius Largus from Pontus.⁴⁵ The testator instructed that Pliny shall use his trust fund to

⁴¹ Taşlıklioğlu II:67,1: νεΐκης / αἰωνίου διαμονῆς; *IG XII,5* 659, *IG XII,5* 661, *IG XII Suppl.* 238: ὑγείας / αἰωνίου διαμονῆς; *IGBulg V* 5636: αἰωνίου διαμονῆς; *IG XII,3* 325: τύχης / αἰωνίου διαμονῆς.

⁴² Moralee 2004, 37-38: "in addition to expressing acceptance of the salutary ideology and piety, the inscriptions demonstrate the degree to which the dedicators used the formula as a means of affirming social status. This includes the use of the formula as publicity for the dedicators' public benefactions (glossed as philotimia or euergesia) and promotions."

⁴³ Moralee 2004, 38-45.

⁴⁴ Gerasa no. 58 ll. 4-5 ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων πρὸς τῷ τῶν Χρυσορόα τῶν πρότερον Γερασσηνῶν ἐκ διαθήκης Φλαουίου ἢ Ἀγρίππου τὴν πύλιν σὺν θριάμβῳ. This testamentary gift was also connected to a series of Gerasaeen inscriptions set up around the time of Hadrian's journey to the province of Arabia and prolonged stay in Gerasa during the winter season. Gerasa no. 30 ll. 5-9: equites sing(ulares) eius qui | hibernati sunt Antioch[i]ae ad Chrysorhoan quae | et Gerasa hiera et asylo(s) et au|tonomos etc. Millar 1993, 105-107 provides an useful account on the itinerary.

⁴⁵ Plin. *Ep.* 10.75: Iulius...Largus ex Ponto...rogauit enim testamento, ut hereditatem suam adirem cerneremque, ac deinde praeceptis quinquaginta milibus nummum reliquum omne Heracleotarum et Tianorum ciuitatibus redderem, ita ut esset arbitrii mei utrum opera facienda, quae honori tuo consecrarentur, putarem an instituendos quinquennales agonas, qui Traiani adpellarentur. [Iulius Largus from Pontus requested in his will that I shall accept and inspect his inheritance, and, with fifty thousand nummi set aside, the rest I shall bestow to the cities Heraclae Pontica and Tium, in such a way that I decide whether construction work is necessary to carry out that are consecrated in your honor, or a quinquennial agon should be instituted and called the Traianic.]

benefit the cities of Heraclea Pontica and Tium by either constructing buildings dedicated to Trajan's honor; or establishing a quinquennial games in Trajan's name for the two cities. From a practical perspective, the testator here seems to be factoring in the potential value of the estate in prestige terms should the project receive approval – and potentially support – from the highest imperial authority in the province. Yet, separate consideration may have been dictating the Pontian's choice. As Sherwin-White points out, it was only until the reign of Hadrian that the Senate passed the *SC Apronianum* and granted cities the privilege to act as legitimate heirs and receive *fideicommissa* from a testator.⁴⁶ A separate interpretation arises. Largus had few options if he wished to bequeath the communities of his choice without an intermediary. He wished to improve his chances of successfully bequeathing Heraclea Pontica and Tium with his trust fund, his best option was state his devotion to Trajan in his will up front, so that Pliny would not be able to refuse to execute his will according to his instructions. Pliny, in turn, had to oblige. Trajan's response made it clear that Pliny expected to play the role of the reliable governor and honor a provincial elite's devotion to both the emperor and his homeland.

To recapitulate, the observation to make from the analysis up to this point is that gladiatorial spectacles were not "expressly connected" to the imperial cult. As the salutary preamble suggests, gladiatorial spectacles were comparable to other objects and occasions that could be put forth by communities as pledges of fealty to the empire – a fealty directed towards not only the emperor and his household, but the Senate and the People of Rome, the armed forces, and other governing bodies that the issuer of the announcement or decree deemed important to recognize. The combined outcomes of the speech-act and the dedicatory gesture create the semblance of political stability and continuity of the norms of governance. The absence (or presence) of the emperor's σωτηρία within the salutary formula would only serve as a modifying element of the pledge.

In contrast, the presence of *soter* bracketed within the salutary formula is an entirely different matter. Hailing *soter* carry significant implications, covering transactional relationships between benefactors and communities in need or acknowledgement to power figures shaping the regional order with which the bestowing community must align. Epithets used under such mechanisms (such as *soter*, *euergetes*, and *kitstes*) could be accompanied with worship, but as Bowersock puts it, the combination was less about Greek religious life but more about their ways to conduct diplomacy, securing prospective benefactors or encourage further benefactions.⁴⁷ While often regarded as a panhellenic practice, Macedonia has a good share of notable examples. As early as the Peloponnesian War we see the Amphipolitans shifted from worshipping the Athenian Hagnon to hailing the Spartan Brasidas as *soter* following a change of allegiance.⁴⁸ In the Hellenistic period "free" cities that remained autonomous after annexed by Macedonian kings responded to royal benefactions, concessions, or high-impact military victories with such epithets.⁴⁹ We find similar transactional proclamations given to their Roman conquerors – the liberties and privileges that

⁴⁶ Sherwin-White 1966, 663. *Dig.* 36.1.27: omnibus ciuitatibus, quae sub imperio populi romani sunt, restitui debere et posse hereditatem fideicommissam Apronianum senatus consultum iubet. sed et actiones in eas placuit ex Trebelliano transferri: sed municipes ad eas admittuntur. [all cities under the imperium of the Roman people ought to be restore and possess fideicommissary inheritances, as ordered by the Senatus Consultum Apronianum. Also, actions against them, as is set by the SC Trebellianum, are to be passed over; also, citizens of municipalities are permitted to carry actions against them.]

⁴⁷ Bowersock 1965, 112.

⁴⁸ Mari 2008, 238-239; Thuc. 5.11.1: "νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρα σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι."

⁴⁹ Mari 2008, 237; Nock 1972, 722.

some cities (such as Thessalonike and Amphipolis) were known to have possessed may be associated with such honors that prominent Roman governors and commanders received while in Macedonia.⁵⁰ These are but a few of the undercurrents that lie beneath the hailing of a principal political figure as *soter*.

Hailing an emperor *soter* took on a different meaning from the Augustan period onwards. Cassius Dio informed us that Augustus prohibited subjected communities from bestow honors upon Rome-dispatched magistrates, because some of these would try to manipulate and game the local honors system in bad faith.⁵¹ Instead, it was Augustus himself who became the recipient of such honors. For instance, the post-Actium development in Greece, as Kantirea observed, took on a "soterological" trajectory:⁵² her evidence included dedications such as "Caesar Augustus the God, Founder, Savior" on altars in Athens and Thessaly, also "Caesar Augustus son of *God*, savior of the Hellenes and of the entire world" on the architrave of the Metroon at Olympia.⁵³ Kantirea argued that such veneration of rulers was primarily a political expression – they reflect the cities' acknowledgement the official ideology disseminated from Rome regarding Augustus and his successors and also the cities' gratitude for specific benefactions – that conveyed the cities' support in spirit of the emperor's legitimation within the subtle veneration of the civic homage system.⁵⁴ Turning to Macedonia, statue bases in front of the main gate of Amphipolis (gate Δ) bear unpublished inscriptions with similar uses of *soter* and *ktistes* for Augustus.⁵⁵ As Daubner sees it, the Amphipolitans' placement of this statue for Augustus as god, savior, and founder of the city was a carefully calculated choice, for it brought the ancestral tombs of Amphipolis the Via Egnatia, and the early Hellenistic lion monument into alignment, leaving viewers of the statue with the impression that Augustus' (re-)foundation has brought continuity to the city's heroic past.⁵⁶

Antoninus Pius is not known to have been hailed as savior in Macedonia. Assuming that the restoration of σωτήρ is accepted, then we have the first example of Antoninus Pius's engagement with Macedonia's provincial capital, and may be placed in the context of rivalry between Thessalonike and Beroia, which may have already become significant during the Flavian period based on epigraphic evidence. Hailing the reigning emperor as savior may suggest that Thessalonike achieved additional success in this tussle for regional prominence.

While Antoninus Pius was not known to have been hailed *soter* in Macedonia, we do find Spartan dedications of several dozen altars honoring him as Zeus Eleutherius Antoninus Soter, and

⁵⁰ Thessalonike honoring Quintus Caecilius Metellus: *IG* X 2.1 134; Amphipolis honoring Marcus Licinius Crassus: Nigdelis & Anagnostoudis 2017, 305-13 no. 18; Xydopoulos 2018, 88-89, 91.

⁵¹ Dio Cass. 56.25.6: (ὁ Αὐγούστου) τῷ ὑπηκόῳ προσπαρήγγειλε μηδενὶ τῶν προστασσομένων αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μήτε ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν μετὰ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι σφας τιμὴν τινα διδόναι, ὅτι τινὲς μαρτυρίας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπαίνους προπαρασκευαζόμενοι πολλὰ διὰ τούτου ἐκακούργουν. [(Augustus) ordered the subjected to bestow no honor upon those whom were appointed to magistracies while in office and during the sixty dates after they are discharged from office, because some of them seek to prearrange testimonies and praises in their favor, and perpetrate many evils on account of it.]

⁵² Kantirea 2007, 48-52.

⁵³ *IG* II² 3237: ὁ δῆμος | Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου θεοῦ ἀρχηγέτου σωτήρος; IvO 366: Ἡλῆοι θε[εοῦ] υἱοῦ Καί[σαρος] | Σεβαστοῦ, σωτ[ήρ]ος τῶν Ἑλ[λ]λ[ήν]ων [τ]ε καὶ [τῆς οἰκου][μέ]ν[ης] πά[σ]η[ς, ναόν]; for altars from Thessaly, see list at Kantirea 2007, 51-52.

⁵⁴ Kantirea 2007, 195-196.

⁵⁵ Daubner 2016, 399.

⁵⁶ Daubner 2016, 407.

Spawforth assumed that this may have to do with his involvement in significant disputes between Sparta and the Eleutherolaconian league.⁵⁷ Interestingly, there are also two dozen altars dedicated to his predecessor Hadrian, who was assimilated with Zeus Soter Olympus: considering one example spoke of Hadrian as an benefactor, and another as founder, these may have been dedicated on different occasions and for different purposes.⁵⁸ Arbitrations and benefactions in the Peloponnese may be mirrored in northern Greece: the veneration of Antoninus Pius as Soter may indicate that the emperor took up a sizable role financially or politically to the benefit of Thessalonike.

Claiming an emperor as savior is, in the general scheme of the history of euergetism in the Greek East, similar to the city giving thanks to a local benefactor or testator by drawing the public's attention to their deeds. Vickers observed that significant building activity in Thessalonike during the Roman period begun only until the Antonine period, and this could fit with Antoninus Pius' role as euergetist of the city's infrastructure. In addition, Vickers also pointed out that there was an inscribed rescript from Antoninus Pius to the city's boule and demos found in the Serapeum,⁵⁹ along with a dedicatory inscription that the city engraved upon an ionic marble epistyle for Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina Augusta, and Lucius Commodus.⁶⁰ Noticeably, the dedicatory inscription did not include σωτήρ. Yet, considering that inscription already described Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus as adoptive sons to Antoninus Pius, the inscription would have been at least four years later than the Herennia announcement.⁶¹ Circumstances may have already evolved, and the term "savior" may have been no longer an immediately relevant form of invocation. The genre of the inscription is dedicatory, and in terms of format different from the examples of civic announcements and decrees that would require the string of preambulatory salutation, and hence not indicative of what would or would not be used in that genre.

What the rescript from Antoninus Pius that the magistrates of Thessalonike decided to inscribe and the ionic marble epistyle together suggest is that there was clear positive relationship between Thessalonike and the reigning emperor. It also happens that Thessalonike had one of the more curious ephebic cults associated with Antoninus Pius. The city worshipped θεός (Αὐρήλιος) Φοῦλβος, which may have been the cult of Antoninus Pius' son Marcus Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, who died before 138 CE, or Marcus Aurelius' son Titus Aurelius Fulvus Antonius, who died in 165 CE.⁶² While the epigraphic record concerning this particular cult is from third-century honorific inscriptions,⁶³ the personages taking up the offices were young individuals from a close-knit kinship group that intermarried between three lineages in Thessalonike. Their hold on the priesthood can span up to four generations. They also have ties to the lineages of Macedoniarchs

⁵⁷ *IG* 5.1 nos. 407-445; Spawforth 2002, 105.

⁵⁸ *IG* 5.1 no. 395: αὐτοκράτ[ορος] Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος σωτήρος καὶ εὐεργ[έ]του τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος. *IG* 5.1 no. 404: αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Σεβαστῷ τῷ τᾶ[ς] Λακεδαιμόνος σωτῇ[ρι] καὶ κτίστη. Spawforth 2002, 100.

⁵⁹ *IG* X 2.1 no. 15: ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ]. | [Αὐτοκράτωρ] Καῖσαρ Θεοῦ Ἀδρι[ανοῦ υἱός], | [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ] υἱόνός, Θεοῦ Νέρουα [ἀπόγονος], | [Τ. Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνί]νος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, || [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ... Αὐτο]κράτωρ τὸ β, ὕπατος τὸ [... πατὴρ πατρίδος] | [Θεσσαλονικέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν].

⁶⁰ *IG* X 2.1. no. 36: αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τ. Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις αὐτοῦ Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Φαυστεινῇ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Λουκίῳ Κομόδῳ ἡ πόλις.

⁶¹ Vickers 1970, 249-251.

⁶² *CIL* VI 988-989; See Steimle 2008, 152, for the debate between Edson and Robert on the matter.

⁶³ Steimle 2008, 143-148.

in Beroia.⁶⁴ Steimle believes that the cult in question was Antoninus Pius's son Marcus Fulvus, and replaced the Antinoos cult, which was generally absent in the city's epigraphical record.⁶⁵ If true, then Thessalonike's devout act may have hit Antoninus Pius' sweet spot in the year of his accession, which paved the way for Thessalonike's gradual rise in further prosperity during the mid-second century CE. Herennia's spectacles may have been in the early years of this upward trajectory of the city's fortunes.

That said, Herennia was not described as a highpriestess, a point that would make her gift quite extraordinary. The private giving of spectacles had been subject to significant restrictions since the Augustan period onwards,⁶⁶ and in the Greek provinces we find the spectacles generally performed by highpriests as a necessary component of their appointment.⁶⁷ The issue here is in part logistical. Spectacles required more than funds but the ability to obtain the right goods and services with them. Highpriests of the imperial cult (or at least the more successful of them) were known to have been master organizers: they owned and inherited gladiatorial troupes, and had the social and political means to muster logistical feats such as the importation of exotic animals or the renovation of theaters into arenas.⁶⁸ The Thessalonian *invitatio* of 260 CE boasted pairs of leopards, hyenas, and Laconian dogs (Lakaines), and such specific reference to the types and numbers to be fielded must have meant that Claudius Rufius Menon, the Hierophant of the sacred divine Kabeiros, agonothete of the Macedonian koinon for life, Macedoniarch, twice highpriest of the Augusti, and agonothete of the neokorate games invested considerably at his personal expense to attribute his (and his wife's) success to the entire imperial establishment (two co-emperors, their household, Sacred Senate, Sacred Armed Forces, People of Rome, Commanders of the sacred Praetorian

⁶⁴ Steimle 2008, 149.

⁶⁵ Steimle 2008, 152-153.

⁶⁶ A Senate decision is required for gladiatorial shows in the context of Augustus' reform of public celebratory events, assigning the duty to present all festivities (τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας) – gladiatorial shows (ὄπλομαχία) included – to praetors, and gladiatorial shows by decree of the Senate. Dio Cass. 54.2.4: καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δίδοσθαι τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαπειπὼν μήτε ἐξ ἐκείνας οἰκοθέν τινα πλεῖον τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀναλίσκειν μήθ' ὄπλομαχίαν μήτ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλή ψηφίσαιτο, μήτ' αὖ πλεονάκις ἢ δις ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔτει, μήτε πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν (and Augustus arranged for the praetors to oversee all festivities; he ordered that sums from the public purse are to be provided to them, and he set restrictions that no one shall spend more than another from his private purse towards these festivals, nor armed combat shows be allowed unless the Senate decrees it, nor indeed could there be in excess of two shows in each year, nor should a show be staged to exceed 120 men). Augustus therefore effectively monopolized the giving of gladiatorial shows.

⁶⁷ Carter 2004, 45-53; Deininger 1965, 46 (Koinon of Asia), 64-65 (Pontic Koina), 66-67 (Galatian Koinon), 160 (Overview).

⁶⁸ That provincial priests could lease gladiators from lanistae, or purchase gladiatorial familiae from their predecessors, are expressly discussed in the *CIL* II 6278 ll. 59-60: sacerdotes quoque prouinciarm, quibus nullu[m] cum lanisti[s] nego[tiu]m e[rit], gladiatores a prioribu[s] sacerdotibus su[s]ceptos, uel si pla[c]et auctoratos, recipiunt, at post editi[o]n(em) plu[re] ex p[re]t[er]ito in succedentes tran[s]ferunt... (Also, there are provincial priests who do not conduct business with lanistae and instead acquire gladiators (or, if they prefer, auctoritati) from previous priests, but, following the event, transfer them at a higher price to their successors...). For the literary and epigraphical examples of organizing and staging beast hunts with exotic animals, see discussion in Epplatt 2014, 509-514; for discussion on the epigraphic dossier and archaeological examples in Aphrodisias, particularly on the infrastructure and the gladiatorial troupes maintained by the high priest of Asia, see Kontokosta 2008, 192-195; On important literary references that concerns the ownership and maintenance of gladiatorial troupes by high priests of Asia, see Carter 2004, 42-45.

guard) that were invoked in the preamble.⁶⁹ Back in 142 CE, Tiberius Claudius Crispus and the Thessalonian politarchs shared the spotlight instead, perhaps to make sure that the logistics for the three days' hunt and gladiatorial fights were in order. The announcement seemed less about their posturing of their respective social standing and financial prowess, but rather to serve at the city's bidding. That is not to say there was nothing to gain. Gladiatorial spectacles were indeed an accepted demonstration of loyalty across the empire.⁷⁰ An enthusiastic audience would also appreciate the organizers, certainly a positive for their social standing.⁷¹

However, funds present does not mean that they would match expenses. There are still risks to take. Francesco Camia's excellent exposé of the apparent and hidden costs for financing festivals in the eastern provinces demonstrate the challenging scenarios that may overwhelm cities, leading to bloated budgets that sapped municipal revenues and financial burdens that make festivities ruinous.⁷² One instance concerns the pentaeteric Serapieia held in Tanagra. An agnothete by the name of Glaukos took charge of an agonistic foundation and was given 3,000 drachmae to cover the ordinary costs, but ended up spending 3,276 drachmae. This final tally does not include additional out-of-pocket expenses for sacrificial victims and libations, daily banquets for judges, artists, choirs, and winners.⁷³ One could imagine that the risks were even higher when the success of the events intertwined with the emperor's well-being.⁷⁴ Lavishly prepared machinations, exotic imports of beasts and personnel, and prolonged programs were the best demonstrations of loyalty in general terms, but can be financially ruinous.⁷⁵ Latin and Greek sources indicate that imperial interventions on expenses were frequent in the second century, because provincial elites may refuse nomination for a range of reasons, including risk avoidance.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Nigdelis 2006, 90-91; *IG X 2.1 Suppl.* 1075 ll. 2-10 ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν μεγίστων καὶ θεοτ[άτων] κυρίων ἡμῶν ἀν[τι]τ[η]των Αὐ[τοκ]ρατόρων...καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος θεοῦ οὐκοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου | Τιβ[έριος] Κλ[αύδιος] Ρούφριος Μένων ὁ κρ[α]τίστος ἱεροφάντης τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου θεοῦ Καβείρου καὶ δὲ βίου ἀγωνοθέτης [τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων] | καὶ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ β[ασιλεὺς] τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ αἰωνιοτάτης λαμπρᾶς Θεσσαλονικαίων μητροπόλεως καὶ κολωνείας καὶ β[ασιλεὺς] [νε]ωκόρου ἀγ[ωνοθέτης] ἀγῶνος ἱερ[οῦ] οἰκουμ[ενικοῦ] εἰσελαστικοῦ τῶν μεγάλων ΚΑ[ρ]σαρειῶν Ἐπινεικίων Καβειρίων Πυθίων κτλ.

⁷⁰ Oliver 1955, 324-326, discussed how privileges granted to provincial priests in Gaul to acquire prisoners condemned to death for gladiatorial performances could secure provincial loyalty, for it guaranteed a channel for gallic traditions to be continued in conjunction with displays of loyalty towards the emperor (ad Gallias sed et <trin> qui in ciuitatibus splendidissimarum Galliarum ueteri more et sacro ritu expectantur ne ampliore pretio | lanistae praebeant quam binis milibus, cum maximi pr[et]oris oratione sua praedixerint fore ut damnatum a<d> gladium | procurator eorum non plure quam sex aureis lanistis pra[e]beat, *CIL II* 6278 ll. 56-58).

⁷¹ Price 1984, 116; Robert 1971, 174 no. 171.

⁷² Camia 2011, 47-49.

⁷³ Camia 2011, 51; Calvet and Roesch, 1966, 298 ll. 20-21 for the ordinary expenses (ἔλαθον παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς Καφισίου τοῦ Βουκάττου ἀπτικοῦ κ[εφαλῆν] Γ[α]λ[λ]ίας ἀ[ρ]γυρίου κτλ.; l. 52 for the total expenses (Κεφ[αλή] ΓΣΟΦ), and ll. 53-56 for expenses unaccounted for: [τὰ ἄλλα ἀνηλώματα τὰ γενόμενα εἰς τε τὰ ὄρκια τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν [καὶ τὰς ἐσθ[έρας]] [τῶν ἀσείων τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν τε κριτῶν [καὶ τεχνιτῶν] | [καὶ χ]ορῶν καὶ νικησάντων καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπίθυμα καὶ ῥάσ[μα] οὐκ ἀπο[λ]ογίζομαι διὰ τὸ δεδαπανηκέναι παρ' ἑμᾶν τοῦ.

⁷⁴ In the *Aes Italicae*, the minutes for the so-called *Senatus Consultum de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis*, the speaker spoke of one individual just appointed provincial priest and already consider his fortunes entirely lost, and even sought to appeal to the emperor for the removal of this appointment. Oliver 1955, 331 l. 16: erat aliquis qui deplorauerat fortunas suas creatus sacerdos, qui auxilium sibi in prouocatione ad principes facta constituerat.

⁷⁵ Coleman 2008, 33; Reynolds 2000, 16-18.

⁷⁶ Carter 2006, 169 fn. 42. *SHA Pius* 12.3 sumptum muneribus gladiatorii instituit (he fixed the expenses for gladiatorial liturgies); *SHA Marc.* 11.4 gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperauit (he fixed gladiatorial

Herennia was also (likely) deceased, which implies that the risk of organizing the spectacles would be left unclaimed. The last line, ἐπὶ τούτων πρώτως ἤχθη, suggests the show was not a recurring event, and a collective burden (ἐπὶ τούτων) shared between the highpriest and the politarchs of Thessalonike.⁷⁷ The conventional view is that municipal institutions were rarely if at all charged with the giving of gladiatorial spectacles; rather, their primary charge was to present agonistic festivals.⁷⁸ Here, at least, is one rare example in which private benefactions were assigned with specifically designated officers to oversee the success of the operation.⁷⁹ Perhaps Thessalonike even had to ask permission from Antoninus Pius for Herennia's spectacles to be given for the emperor's well-being, as Pliny had done with Iulius Largus' bequest. The city then had to accept that they must make sure that Herennia's spectacles – and Antoninus Pius' well-being – would be managed appropriately. The college of politarchs and the presiding high priest of the imperial cult would collectively shoulder the burden, akin to what Glaukos had done for Tanagra's pentaeteric Serapieia.

6. Conclusions

The first of this paper's aim is to take a more closer look at Papageorgiou's claim that σωτήρος out to be changed to σωτηρίας. By taking into account earlier studies by Heuzey and Hogarth in particular, along with supporting epigraphic evidence gleaned from Louis Robert's study and the PHI internet database, the suggestion that this paper wishes to put forth is to revert back to Heuzey's reading of σωτήρος. Further discussions on how the Herennia announcement was written to balance different concerns, including the unique incorporation of the college of politarchs and the municipal high priest of the imperial cult for a privately funded series of spectacles, are given to

spectacles at moderate prices), 27.6 gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit (he created a proper measure of the cost for gladiatorial liturgy); Reynolds 2000, 9 ll. 32-36: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν τινες πολεῖται ὑμέτεροι λέγοντες εἰς ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀδύνατοι ὄντες προβεβλησθαι, ἀνέπεμψα αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐξετάσαντας προτερον δύναται ὄντες λειτουργεῖν διαδύονται, ἢ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν. εἰ μέντοι φαίνονται τινες αὐτῶν εὐπορώτεροι, προτέρους ἐκείνους ἀρχιεραῖσθαι δίκαιον. ("and since there were certain citizens among you saying that they are unable to undertake the high priesthood yet were put forward, I sent them to your charge, that you examine well, firstly, whether they are able to serve yet are evading, or they speak truthfully. If some of them seem to be financially more viable, it is right to have those to be high priest). See discussion on comparanda for nomination to high priestships in Reynolds 2000, 18-19.

⁷⁷ On the recurring formula, see also the founding of the Eurycleian games at Sparta (Sparta Archaeological Museum Inv. 6474) published by Steinhauer and Paspalas 2006/2007, 199, [ἔ]φοροι ἐπὶ Νεικηφ[όρου] τοῦ Μάρκου ἐφ' ὧν | [Α]ὐτοκράτωρ Ἀδριανὸς | [ἐ]χ[α]ρίστο τῇ πόλει || [Κύ]θηρα τὴν νῆσσον | [καί] πρώτως ἤχθη ὁ τῶν | [Εὐρυ]κλείων ἀγών. | [ὧ]ν πρέσβυς | [Γ. Ἰούλι]ος Εὐδαμος.

⁷⁸ The demarcation is quite clear, as observed by Louis Robert: "Il est très rare que la ville ait à s'occuper des combats de gladiateurs. Ce ne sont pas des fêtes organisées par la cité, comme le sont les concours gymniques, hippiques et musicaux, mais par un citoyen qui en fait les frais et qui offre ce spectacle à ses concitoyens. C'est bien un munus. Le combat de gladiateurs ne compte pas parmi les agones de la ville, mais parmi les liturgies des citoyens" (it is quite rare for a city to become occupied with gladiatorial combat. These are not festivities organized by the city, unlike gymnastic, equestrian, and musical competitions. Rather, they were by the citizenry, who covers the expenses, and offers such spectacles to their fellow peers. It is indeed a "munus." Gladiatorial combat does not count among the agones of the city, but rather count as the liturgies of its citizens) (Robert 1971, 267).

⁷⁹ Ville 1981, 199: "il s'agit d'une cura collective, dont nous ne connaissons pas d'exemple pour les munera publics ou de fondation occidentaux." For a list of inscriptions of what Ville categorized as the munera de fondation, see Ville 1981, 197-199. Mann 2011, 57-58 categorized known examples into four types: spectacles given by the agonothete/gymnasiarchs; inaugural shows; testamentary liturgies; commercial shows charged for entrance fees.

account for the inscription's uniqueness. In particular, the new reading suggests that the Thessalonians were keen in following permitted salutary language adopted across the eastern provinces to mark their special relationship with Antoninus Pius shared during the early years of his reign.

From the perspective of inter-city rivalry between Thessalonike and Beroia, Herennia's testamentary munus was more than a demonstration of loyalty to the Roman establishment by a member of the provincial elite, but a sort of counter to Beroia, which had long served the center of gravity for festivities and spectacles. One important piece of evidence is the honorific inscription recording the achievements of Quintus Popillius Python, the high priest for life of the Augusti and agonothete of the Macedonian Koinon. He was generous as high priest, having imported exotic animals for beast fights and gladiatorial shows and to distributing money province-wide, building roads, and lowering corn prices.⁸⁰ The most important contribution, however, was his embassy to Nerva, which purpose was to secure their hold on the exclusive rights for Beroia to monopolize the title of neokoros of the Augusti and the title of metropolis – ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα.⁸¹ Thessalonike was the other Macedonian city known as metropolis in the first century (according to Strabo),⁸² and would have likely been the failed contender, and it seems that Beroia's grasp on both titles extended further on, for the Herennia announcement mentioned no such title, despite having the chance to do so.⁸³

We may posit that, following Herennia's demise, the municipal government – instead of her kin – was entrusted with the execution of her legacy, and at considerable risk to the city magistrates. At the time, the provincial high priesthood was likely controlled by important personages in Beroia, and so too the appropriate venues and resources, which would have been much more efficiently assembled in the metropolis. Yet, the Thessalonians have already achieved some success in establishing bona fides with the new emperor. One of the more drastic measures being the switching of the cult of Antinoos for the cult of the Divine Fulvus, likely Antoninus Pius' son. Antoninus Pius may have returned the favor, perhaps in the form of building programs or some other benefaction that addressed the city's urgent needs, leading to the decision by the civic

⁸⁰ *EKM* 1. Beroia 117 ll. 8-20 καὶ δόντα ἐν τῷ | τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ τὸ ἐπικε||φάλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὁ|δοὺς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἐπισκευάσαν|τα καὶ καταγγείλαντα καὶ ἀγαγόντα | εἰσακτίους ἀγῶνας, ταλαντιαίους, θυμελικούς καὶ γυμνικούς, δόν|τα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζώων, | ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν, καὶ μονομαχί|ας, ποησάμενον δὲ κ<α>| σείτων παραπρά|σεις κ<α>| ἐπευνώϊσαντα ἐν καιροῖς ἀνανκ<α>|οῖς | κ<α>| διαδόμασιν παρ' ὅλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιαιρω||σύνης χρόνον πανδήμοις κτλ.

⁸¹ *EKM* 1. Beroia 117 ll. 1-8: τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ M<α>κε|δόνων Κ(όντων) Ποπίλλιον Πύθωνα πρεσ|βεύσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Βεροί||ας ἐπὶ θεὸν Νέρουαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα κτλ. See discussion at Burrell 2004, 191-192, where she suggested that the contender of Beroia was Thessalonike.

⁸² Strab. 7.8.21: εἶτα Θεσσαλονίκηια Κασάνδρου κτίσμα ἐν ἄλλοις τετταράκοντα καὶ ἡ Ἐγνατία ὁδός. ἐπωνόμασε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Θεσσαλονίκης, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμύντου θυγατρὸς...ἡ δὲ μητρόπολις τῆς νῦν Μακεδονίας ἐστὶ. [then there is Thessalonike, a foundation by Cassander, in another forty stades further, and also the Egnatian Road. Cassander named the city after his wife Thessalonike, the daughter of Philip son of Amyntas...it is now the metropolis of Macedonia.]

⁸³ In association, we mention that, in the Valeriani announcement, Beroia only advertised its rank as metropolis: Burrell saw this lapse as an indication that the status of neokoros (now a second time after the bestowal of Elagabalus) was likely withdrawn briefly during the reign of Severus Alexander as part of the purge of his predecessor's influence. See discussion at Burrell 2004, 294-296.

authorities to hail Antoninus Pius as Soter.

With Herennia's spectacles approved, whether by the imperial establishment or the city of Thessalonike, the *boule* and *demos* decided, by a vote that had taken place, that the high priest of the city's imperial cult establishment shall lead the college of politarchs to make all proper arrangements financial or otherwise, so that the spectacles take place on the 13th of March, 142 CE. As all parties involved have a stake in the joint venture, but also the share of the glory, blame, and burdens – if any – that comes with the success or failure of the recurring event, the drafter of the announcement opted to redirect the interlocutory focus in a template that was designed to focus on the *munerarius* towards the decisions, votes, and delegated agents tasked with executing the testamentary munus.⁸⁴ The outcome was satisfactory, and it was inscribed in stone.

⁸⁴ See the discussion on the conceptual nuances in Ceccarelli 2018, 169-171; for bibliography on the impersonal writing of decrees, see Ceccarelli 2018, 170 fn. 50.

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