



ROMANS AT BESA: NEW LIGHT ON AN ATHENIAN DEME IN THE IMPERIAL PERIOD*

ABSTRACT

This article presents an overview of Roman citizens registered in the small Attic deme of Besa. The epigraphic record indicates that three Roman emperors—Hadrian, Commodus and Severus Alexander—were enrolled as citizens in this deme, as was the influential eastern magnate G. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos and several men who dominated Athenian politics during the High Imperial period. We argue that Hadrian’s enrolment and repeated sojourns in Athens encouraged various individuals—including two of his successors—to join this deme, but why did the emperor himself choose Besa and not a larger, more important deme in the city’s civic centre? Consequently, where did he live while serving as eponymous archon of Athens in 111/112 and later during his visits to the city as emperor? By synthesizing epigraphic, literary, archaeological and environmental sources, this paper offers the first comprehensive examination of Besa and its Roman citizens, highlighting the deme’s significance within imperial Athens and the broader Roman empire. Finally, it suggests avenues for further interdisciplinary research in the study of this region of south Attica.

Keywords: Roman Athens; Hadrian; citizenship in antiquity; imperial politics

INTRODUCTION

In the southern part of the Attic peninsula lies the location of Besa (Βῆσα),¹ one of the ancient demes of Attica (Fig. 1). It was bordered by the demes of Thorikos to the east, Amfitrope to the north, Anaphlystos to the west, and Sounion to the south. The distance from the centre of Athens to Besa is listed as 300 stadia (about fifty-five and a half kilometres),² making it one of the farthest demes to reach by road or by sea. Although Besa played a minor role in Athenian politics from the Classical to the Hellenistic periods and is not known to have produced any significant individuals during that time, the deme became particularly important during the High Imperial period: three Roman emperors and several men who dominated Athenian politics from the late first to

* We would like to thank the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, the Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica, the Hellenic National Archaeological Museum and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for permission to reproduce material in their collections and for providing important information on Besa and south Attica. We are also indebted to Hercules Katsaros, Ewen Bowie, Andreas Kapetanios, Eirini Michailidou and David C. Capps for discussions about the Lavreotiki area. The comments of the editor and of the two anonymous reviewers were valuable in improving the final version of this article. Finally, our thanks go to Matthias Kalisch for producing the maps.

¹ The etymology of Besa is unclear. According to Strabo 9.4.5 the name Βῆσσα with two sigmas, differentiating it from Attic Besa with one sigma, referred to an uninhabited location in Locris during his lifetime (that is, late in the first century B.C.E. or early in the first century C.E.) and meant ‘wooded land’. Since Attic Besa was also heavily wooded, it is likely that the etymology is the same as that of Locrian Bessa. Attempts to connect the name of the Attic deme to the Bessi tribe of Thrace or to the Egyptian god Bes and the Egyptian village of Besa are unconvincing.

² Isac, 3, *On the Estate of Pyrrhus* 22.



FIG. 1. Map of south Attica showing the location of Besa (Matthias Kalisch).

the early third century C.E. were enrolled as citizens of Besa. How and why did this deme come to be so important in the Roman Imperial period, and why did it harbour a disproportionately large number of important Roman citizens given its small area and population? In this article, we shed light on the imperial and elite Roman presence at Besa, with a particular focus on its most illustrious citizen, Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138 C.E.).

The earliest extant literary reference to Besa is in Isaeus' *On the Estate of Pyrrhus* 22 (c.375 B.C.E.) regarding the deme's mining district. The author also makes brief reference to a citizen of the deme in his *On the Estate of Nicostratus*.³ Besa's location in the Classical period can be pinpointed with relative accuracy thanks to a reference in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* which indicates that it was located half-way between the demes of Thorikos and Anaphlystos (modern Anavyssos).⁴ Based on this reference,

³ Isae. 4, *On the Estate of Nicostratus* 9.

⁴ Xen. *Oec.* 4.11: '... we have in the neighborhood of the mines certain fortresses—one on the southern slope in Anaphlystos; and we have another fort on the northern side in Thorikos, the two being about seven and a half miles apart. Suppose then a third breastwork were to be placed between

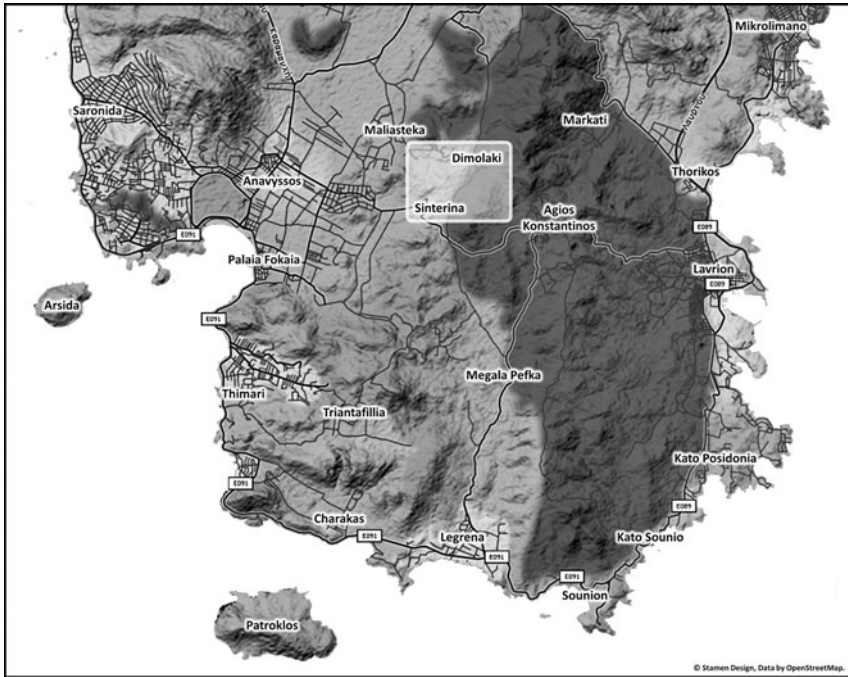


Fig. 2. Map of south Attica with the relative location of Besa at Sinterina and Dimolaki (Matthias Kalisch).

the deme was situated in the territory of the modern villages of Sinterina, Dimolaki and part of Agios Konstantinos (Fig. 2), with the highest point mentioned by Xenophon being the hill known today as Megalo Rimbari, which is enclosed by a rubble wall.⁵ The modern toponym Anavyssos to the west of Sinterina apparently preserves part of the name of the ancient deme, which would translate as ‘upwards of Besa’, signifying its geographic position relative to the location of Besa. In addition to being rich in metals and forming part of the mining district in the wider area of Lavrion, this region of south Attica was and still is abundant in olive trees, vines,⁶ marble,⁷ shale, beekeeping and animals for game. Scattered rescue excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service since the mid twentieth century have yielded minor

these, on the highest point of Besa, that would enable the operatives to collect into one out of all the fortresses, and at the first perception of a hostile movement it would only be a short distance for each to retire into safety.’

⁵ H. Lowry and E. Smith, *A Survey of Mountain Top Sanctuaries in Attica with an Appendix on the Fortifications of Attica* (Athens, ASCSA archives, 1954); J.R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, vol. 11 (Princeton, 1966), 75. We thank Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan and the ASCSA for making the notes from the survey diaries of the former article available to us.

⁶ The white-grape variety now known as Savvatiano (traditionally used to make *retsina*) was widely planted in Attica and central Greece in antiquity, including at Besa (personal communication, Sinterina Estate, July 2022).

⁷ The quarries of Agrileza, located southeast of Besa, supplied the fine white marble for various buildings in south Attica, including the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. See E. Photos-Jones and J.E. Jones, ‘The building and industrial remains at Agrileza, Lavrion (fourth century BC) and their contribution to the workings at the site’, *ABSA* 89 (1994), 307–58.

archaeological remains and little epigraphy from the area of the deme itself,⁸ and inscriptions mentioning Besans found outside the deme are by no means plentiful. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods Besa was represented by two *bouleutai* in the Athenian *boulē*, making it one of the smallest of the Attic demes with an estimated population of, at most, 660 male citizens.⁹ In south Attica the deme was eclipsed by its larger and more prosperous neighbours: Anaphlystos, which also served as its harbour, and Thorikos, which was an old and prosperous settlement close to the mines of Lavrion. Even the southernmost Attic deme of Sounion harboured a larger population than Besa, being represented by four *bouleutai*.¹⁰

BESA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

While scant literary and epigraphic references to Besa can be traced back to the Classical period, its importance in the Roman period is the focus of this article. It was the home deme of three Roman emperors who became Athenian citizens: Hadrian, Commodus and probably Severus Alexander.¹¹ Furthermore, the influential eastern magnate Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos included the name of his deme on his funerary monument on Mouseion Hill in the centre of Athens, where he proudly styled himself as Βησσαεύς.¹² Unfortunately, our current evidence for Roman Besa derives mainly from epigraphy and any conclusions about the importance of this deme must rely on conjectures drawn from disparate sources.

The idea for this article arose out of our discussions about Hadrian's relationship with this specific Attic deme and his possible place of residence in Athens. He was a regular on the Athenian scene long before he ascended the Roman imperial throne; if Ewen Bowie is correct in his assessment—as we believe he is—Hadrian was taught

⁸ For a list of references to archaeological research in the area, see especially P. Karvonis, *Tabula Imperii Romani* (Athens, 2016), 233–7; see also M. Papaioannou, 'Villas in Roman Greece', in A. Marzano and G.P.R. Métraux (edd.), *The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin* (Cambridge, 2018), 358. Note that I.N. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen, 1988) includes the location of Besa on a map of south Attica, but does not otherwise discuss the deme.

⁹ On the deme structure of Attica and the approximate population of each deme in the Classical period, see especially J.S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica: A Study of the Demes, Trittyes, and Phylai, and their Representation in the Athenian Council* (*Hesperia Supplement* 14) (Athens and Princeton, NJ, 1975), i–169; V.J. Rosivach, 'The distribution of population in Attica', *GRBS* 34 (1993), 391–407; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7 – ca. 250 bc: A Political and Social Study* (Princeton, 1986). Compare the largest Attic deme, Acharnai, which was represented by twenty-two *bouleutai* and had an estimated population of about six thousand and six hundred male citizens.

¹⁰ Traill (n. 9). See also C.W.J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attica: A Study of the Policy of Kleisthenes* (Toronto, 1962).

¹¹ On the Athenian citizenship of Roman emperors, see J.H. Oliver, 'Athenian citizenship of Roman emperors', *Hesperia* 20 (1951), 346–9, who states that Hadrian is also the earliest-known western Roman senator to have obtained Athenian citizenship at a time when holding citizenship other than Roman would have been problematic for a man of his rank. Although not a senator, the Roman knight and high priest of the imperial cult in Gallia Narbonensis, Q. Trebellius Rufus, was enrolled as a citizen in the deme of Lamprai during the reign of Domitian. *IG II³* 4 130 preserves a dedication to Q. Trebellius Rufus by Eraton, son of Antigonos, of Besa. See also *PIR T* 316.

¹² *IG II²* 3451, line 27: [Φιλό]παιπος Ἐπιφάνου Βησσαεύς. The Suda notes that a citizen of Besa was known as Βησσαεύς; this is confirmed by grave stelai and other epigraphic documents mentioning Besans, including the monument of Philopappos and the grave stele depicted in Fig. 3 in this article (see below).

by the Syrian sophist Isaeus in Athens several years before he became eponymous archon in 111.¹³ By this year at the latest he was granted Athenian citizenship and enrolled in the deme of Besa (Appendix 1, entry 10), like his older friend Philopappos. A passage in Cassius Dio notes that Hadrian, arrayed in local costume, organized the City Dionysia,¹⁴ a task which was explicitly reserved for eponymous archons. This clearly indicates that he served his archonship in person and not *in absentia*, as was the case with Emperor Domitian before him.¹⁵ Thus, Hadrian was the first and probably the only Roman emperor to have become an Athenian citizen before ascending the imperial throne. But did he live in Besa during his tenure as eponymous archon, in the centre of Athens, or did he own multiple properties in Attica? Earlier suggestions that he and his wife Sabina lived in Philopappos' estate—presumably located at Besa—during his eponymous archonship are flawed since Roman noblemen came with a large coterie of followers, including family members, slaves, guards, secretaries and others.¹⁶ For this reason, among others, it would have been a considerable financial burden on hosts who were not governors of a province to accommodate such a large number of guests for a long period of time.

A passage in Aristotle's *The Constitution of the Athenians* indicates that the prytaneion was the office of the eponymous archons of Athens during his lifetime in the fourth century B.C.E.,¹⁷ but it is unclear whether this building also served as a residence at that time. Pausanias, who wrote in the Antonine period, mentions the location of a building in the centre of Athens that functioned as the *prytaneion* in the second century C.E. and that the laws of Solon—which Hadrian had re-edited at the request of the Athenians—were inscribed and displayed in it.¹⁸ The *prytaneion*, then,

¹³ E.L. Bowie, 'Afterward', in A. Kouremenos (ed.), *The Province of Achaëa in the Second Century CE: The Past Present* (Abingdon and New York, 2022), 375–84, at 377. See *IG II 3632 = IEIeus*. 502. On the career of Isaeus, see W.S. Smith, 'Juvenal and the sophist Isaeus', *CW* 91 (1997), 39–45. Although a Syrian by birth, Isaeus was noted for his fluency and teaching in Attic Greek, which suggests that he was a long-term resident of Athens by the time he taught Hadrian. *IG II³ 4 137* preserves a dedication to Apollo Hypo Makraïis by L. Volussius Isaeus of Melite. Given the relative rarity of the name Isaeus in Roman Athens, it is likely that this person was Hadrian's teacher (or perhaps his son). See AIO: <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGII34/137>. Accessed 14 December 2023.

¹⁴ Dio Cass. 69.16.

¹⁵ Domitian was eponymous archon of Athens *in absentia* in 87/88 while he was emperor; see Philostr. *V A* 8.16; *IG II²* 1996; F. Delphes III 2.65.

¹⁶ A. Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor* (London, 1997), 63 with earlier bibliography.

¹⁷ Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 3.5: 'These are the intervals between the dates of the institution of the various supreme offices. And the Nine Archons were not all together, but the King had what is now called the Bucolium, near the town hall (as is indicated by the fact that even at the present day the union and marriage of the King's Wife with Dionysus takes place there), while the Archon had the President's Hall, and the War-lord the Epilyceum (which formerly used to be called the War-lord's House, but because Epilyceum on becoming War-lord rebuilt and furnished it, it received the name of Epilyceum); and the Legislators had the Legislators' Court.' In this passage, the verb εἶχε, which translates as 'had' or 'possessed', is vague. M.B. Sakellariou, *Η Αθηναϊκή Δημοκρατία* (Herakleion, 2019), 233–4 asserts that the structure functioned as an office for the official duties of the archons; however, it is unclear whether the archons also used the *prytaneion* as residence in the second century C.E.

¹⁸ Paus. 1.18.3 places its location near the Temple of Olympian Zeus. For the location of the *prytaneion* on modern Lysikratous street, see G.C.R. Schmalz, 'The Athenian *Prytaneion* discovered?', *Hesperia* 75 (2006), 33–81; G. Kavvadias and A. Matthaiou, 'A new Attic inscription of the fifth cent. B.C. from the east slope of the Acropolis', in A.P. Matthaiou and R.K. Pitt (edd.), *ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΙΟΣ. Studies in Honour of Harold B. Mattingly* (Athens, 2014), 51–72. For this location's relationship with Hadrianic monuments nearby, see A. Kouremenos, "'The city of Hadrian and not of Theseus': a cultural history of Hadrian's Arch', in A. Kouremenos (ed.), *The*

still served as the office of the eponymous archons in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods. None the less, it is certain that eponymous archons, who came from various parts of Attica, also owned property in their home demes.

Hadrian's early involvement in Athenian politics and his later sojourns in Athens as emperor suggest that he acquired property in Attica before he ascended the imperial throne, which is unsurprising since it is well known that he owned multiple estates in Italy.¹⁹ Indeed, a passage in Philostratus not only provides the location of his favourite palace in Italy—at Antium—but also implies that he owned villas outside the country, as was the custom with other emperors;²⁰ he must surely have inherited his father's estates in his native Italica in south Spain; however, given his Athenian citizenship and repeated stays in Athens, he must have also owned at least one residence in the Greek city. One of his predecessors, Tiberius, chose to disengage from public life in Rome and lived on the island of Rhodes for six years prior to ascending the throne; he is recorded to have owned two modest residences on the island, one in the town of Rhodes and a villa *suburbana* in an unspecified location.²¹ Nero, who spent a year in Greece as emperor, has been associated with a villa at Olympia,²² where he resided temporarily during his participation in the Olympic Games in 67 C.E. It is thus clear that imperial ownership of one or more villa estates in Greece was not uncommon. Since Hadrian was registered as a citizen of Besa, it follows that his primary residence in Athens would have been in his home deme, but this does not exclude his owning property elsewhere in the city. We shall return to Hadrian and his relationship with Besa shortly.

Individuals with Roman citizenship inhabited Besa since at least the late first century B.C.E. / first century C.E. The earliest attested Roman Besan thus far is Marcus Fulvius (Appendix 1, entry 1), dated to the first century B.C.E. / first century C.E., who is listed in an inscription as ταμίαις τῶν πρυτάνεων ('treasurer of the *prytaneis*'). After him, a number of citizens bearing the *praenomen* and *nomen* Tiberius Claudius are recorded in various Attic demes during the first century C.E.;²³ Besa itself had several Tiberii Claudii (Appendix 1, entries 2–6) who served in various high offices, including those of eponymous archon (Tiberius Claudius Diotimos) and *prytanis* (Tiberius Claudius Themistocles).²⁴ None of these Tiberii Claudii, however, appears to have been

Province of Achaëa in the Second Century CE: The Past Present (Abingdon and New York, 2022), 345–74, at 350–3. On Hadrian's re-editing of the laws of Draco and Solon, see most recently J.M. Cortés Copete, 'Koinoi nomoi: Hadrian and the harmonization of local laws', in O. Hekster and K. Verboven (edd.), *The Impact of Justice on the Roman Empire* (Leiden, 2018), 105–21.

¹⁹ Confirmed villa estates owned by Hadrian were located at Tibur, Antium, Praeneste and Baiae. For the emperor's villas, especially the one at Tibur, see W.L. MacDonald and J.A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy* (New Haven, 1995).

²⁰ Philostr. *V A.* 8.20: '... but in regard to the volume in question I must set on record my conviction, that it was subsequently conveyed to the emperor Hadrian at the same time as certain letters of Apollonius, though by no means all of them; and it remained in the palace at Antium, which was that one of his Italian palaces in which this emperor took the most pleasure.'

²¹ Suet. *Tib.* 11.1.

²² A lead water pipe bearing the inscription *NER. AVG.* has been associated with a villa of the first century C.E. at Olympia. See U. Sinn, *Olympia: Kult, Sport und Feste in der Antike* (Munich, 2002); for the debate on the identity of the villa's owner and its dating, see also S.B. Zoumbaki, *Elis and Olympia in der Kaiserzeit. Das Leben einer Gesellschaft zwischen Stadt und Heiligtum auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Μελετήματα 32) (Athens, 2001), 299–300.

²³ On the Tiberii Claudii in general, see A. Rizakis, 'Les Ti. Claudii et la promotion des élites péloponnésiennes', in Y. Perrin (ed.), *Neronia VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce: Hellenisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C.: actes du VIIe Colloque international de la SIEN* (Athènes, 21–23 octobre 2004) (Brussels, 2007), 183–95.

²⁴ See E. Kapetanopoulos, 'Tiberius Claudius Dioteimos Besaicus', *Hesperia* 36 (1967), 429–31.

Italians or westerners since they all bear Greek *cognomina*, indicating that they were enfranchised by the Julio-Claudians and were mainly of native Athenian stock. Given the current epigraphic evidence, it appears that the number of Roman citizens at Besa in the first century C.E. was limited. Nevertheless, the five recorded Tiberii Claudii of Besa were members of the same family and were certainly among the most politically influential Roman Besans until the enrolment of Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos (Appendix 1, entry 7).

The exact date of Philopappos' enrolment in the deme of Besa is unknown. It is likely that his father, Gaius Julius Archelaus Antiochus Epiphanes, son of the deposed king of Commagene who had moved with his family to Rome after the loss of his kingdom,²⁵ also acquired citizenship and property in south Attica and enrolled himself and his children at Besa. Philopappos, who was born around the year 65 in Samosata, thus spent much of his youth in Rome and Athens, and by the late first / early second century C.E. he had held several political offices, including that of eponymous archon of Athens, *agōnothetēs/chorēgos* of all tribes, and senator in Rome. These and other offices suggest that he spent most of his life in these two cities, and he would have owned at least one estate in or near each. In 109 C.E. he served as suffect consul, one year after his friend Hadrian had held the same political office. As former royalty and a prominent Roman and Athenian citizen, Philopappos, along with his younger sister, Julia Balbilla, had already developed a close relationship with the imperial court of Trajan. For this reason, it has been suggested that he encouraged Trajan's former ward, Hadrian, who by then had already risen through various military and political ranks,²⁶ to enrol in the same Attic deme as him. Philopappos died shortly before Hadrian's ascension to the imperial throne in 117 C.E.²⁷ Since no known issue appears in the epigraphic record of Athens after his death, it is likely that the estates he owned in Attica passed to his sister, who survived him by many years and was a member of Hadrian's imperial entourage in c.130 C.E. on his trip to Egypt.²⁸

The reasons Besa would have appealed to Hadrian are not limited to the influence of Philopappos alone, however. The location of the deme in south Attica was ideal for a country estate and afforded peace and privacy away from the hustle and bustle of the city's civic centre. Limited archaeological surveys and rescue excavations conducted in the area around the location of Besa suggest that it harboured scattered farmsteads

²⁵ Gaius Julius Antiochus IV Epiphanes became the last king of Commagene after he was deposed by Vespasian in 72 C.E.

²⁶ *IG II² 3286/CIL 3.550*. Hadrian's career up to 111 is conveyed on the marble base for a statue of him set up by the Athenians in the Theatre of Dionysus to commemorate his eponymous archonship.

²⁷ The date for his tomb in Athens is 114–116 C.E., so he must have died in 116 at the latest. See A.J.S. Spawforth, 'Balbilla, the Euryclids and memorials for a Greek magnate', *ABSA* 73 (1978), 249–60; D. Kleiner, *The Monument of Philopappos* (Rome, 1983); C.Y. Wu, "'Live like a king": the monument of Philopappos and the continuity of client-kingship', in F.K.H. So (ed.), *Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2016), 25–47; H.R. Goette, 'Παρατηρήσεις στο Μουσολείο του Φιλοπάππου', in D. Damaskos, P. Karanastasi, T. Stephanidou-Tiveriou (edd.), *Πλαστική στη Ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα: Νέα Ευρήματα και Νέες Έρευνες* (Thessaloniki, 2022), 47–60.

²⁸ On Julia Balbilla, see R.H. Chowen, 'Traveling companions of Hadrian', *CJ* 50 (1954), 122–4; T.C. Brennan, 'The poets Julia Balbilla and Damo at the Colossus of Memnon', *CW* 91 (1998), 215–34; P. Rosenmeyer, 'Greek verse inscriptions in Roman Egypt: Julia Balbilla's Sapphic voice', *CA* 27 (2008), 334–58; A.M. Cirio, *Gli epigrammi di Giulia Balbilla (ricordi di una dama di corte) e altri testi al femminile sul Colosso di Memnone* (Lecce, 2011); P. Rosenmeyer, *The Language of Ruins: Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Memnon Colossus* (New York, 2018), 33–61.

and villa estates during the period from the first to the third centuries C.E.,²⁹ although their extents are yet to be determined. In addition to its lucrative suburban location, we surmise that there was another reason why Hadrian chose to enrol in this deme rather than in the more prominent ones in the civic centre of Athens: Besa afforded prime hunting grounds with abundant game. Our extant literary, epigraphic, numismatic and artistic sources are replete with references to the emperor's love of hunting. Indeed, he was so enamoured of the sport that, when he returned to Italica in Spain as a teenager to look after his father's estates and begin his military training, he allegedly spent much of his time there hunting, which prompted his guardian, Trajan, to recall him back to Rome.³⁰ His own poetry and coinage allude to his hunting prowess,³¹ and it was partly for this reason, we suspect, that he chose to enrol at Besa. It is tempting to suppose that he first encountered the area while visiting Philopappos' estate before his tenure as eponymous archon in 111 and may have gone hunting with him there.

What would Hadrian and others have been hunting in this part of south Attica? Today the area in which Besa was located is on the outskirts of the National Preserve of Sounion (Εθνικός Δρυμός Σουνίου), a forested region which was—and, to a lesser extent, still is—rich in wildlife. The main animals and birds inhabiting the area today are rabbits, partridges, crows, deer, foxes and ferrets, but skeletal remains of wild boar and bears dated to the second century C.E. have also been found in caves within the deme's vicinity,³² indicating that these animals roamed the area in antiquity.³³ Both animals are associated with Hadrian in different contexts; he is depicted hunting wild boar on horseback in some of his coins and medallions,³⁴ and in one of the tondi on the Arch of Constantine in Rome.³⁵ An epigram composed by him and

²⁹ For a list of references to structures identified as farmsteads and villas in the area, see Karvonis (n. 8), 230–40.

³⁰ HA *Hadr.* 2.1.

³¹ Kaibel, *Epig. Graec.* 811 = *FGE V* = *IG VII* 1828. On Hadrian's poetry in general, including the epigram found in Thespieae, see especially E.L. Bowie, 'Hadrian and Greek poetry', in E.N. Østenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks: Studies in Cultural Interaction* (Aarhus, 2002), 172–97; for a list of coins and medallions of Hadrian, see <http://numismatics.org/digitallibrary/ark:/53695/nan171365>; see also M. Lagogianni-Georgakarakos and E. Papi (edd.), *HADRIANVS – ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ. Ο Αδριανός, η Αθήνα και τα Γυμνάσια – Adriano, Atene e i Ginnasi – Hadrian, Athens and the Gymnasia* (Athens, 2018).

³² Bears seem to have become extinct in this part of Attica in Late Antiquity. Wild boar were thought to be extinct in the area from the late nineteenth century until 2021, when locals spotted a herd roaming the Lavreotiki region. (Personal communication with Hercules Katsaros, February 2023.) For the bones of bears and wild boar found in a cave near Sinterina, see N. Lambert, C. Perlès and R. Jullien, 'Grotte de Kitsos (Laurion)', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 96 (1972), 839–44. A court case from the 1840s reveals that a watchman for the National Preserve of Sounion killed about thirty wild boar in the area. The court proceedings for this case were published in 1904. See D.G. Trakolis, G. Mavrommatis and G. Nakos, *Μελέτη: Οργάνωση Διαχείρισης του Εθνικού Δρυμού Σουνίου* (Athens, 1983), 15. We are indebted to E. Michailidou for this information.

³³ For a reference to a feast given by Plutarch's friend Euthydemus of Sounion which featured a large, wild boar, see Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 658A, 3.10.2; for commentary, E.L. Bowie, 'Plutarch's Chaeronea', in L. Athanassaki and F. Titchener (edd.), *Plutarch's Cities* (Oxford, 2022), 36. It is unclear, however, if the boar was hunted in south Attica.

³⁴ For a fine example of a medallion depicting Hadrian hunting a wild boar, see <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=621&lot=565> (accessed on 7 January 2024). For additional examples and discussions, see F. Gnecci, *I medaglioni romani* (Milan, 1912); J.K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1985), 101–21.

³⁵ For the Hadrianic tondi, see J. Elsner, 'From the culture of *spolia* to the cult of relics: the Arch of Constantine and the genesis of late antique forms', *PBSR* 68 (2000), 149–84; G.A. Hess, *The Hadrianic Tondi on the Arch of Constantine: New Perspectives on the Eastern Paradigms* (University Park, PA, 2011).



FIG. 3. Grave stele of Artemidoros of Besa hunting a wild boar, Hellenic National Archaeological Museum. Inv. Nr. NAM Γ 1192 (Photo: © Hellenic Ministry of Culture / Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development).

found at Thespieae in Boeotia reveals that he had killed a bear and dedicated its skin to the local god, Eros.³⁶ Although at least one scholar has attempted to trace the origin of that bear skin to one of his hunts in Mysia, where he is recorded to have killed a bear from horseback and the location of the imperial hunt henceforth took the name of Hadrianoutherai ('Hadrian's hunts'),³⁷ in our view, it is more plausible that the bear was killed either in Boeotia or in Attica. What better place to indulge his passion for hunting than his home deme of Besa, which afforded ample hunting territory that could be traversed on horse and/or foot?

Hadrian was not the only Besan who was enamoured of hunting. One of the few surviving grave stelai of Besans was discovered near the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens and is dated on stylistic grounds to the late Hadrianic/Antonine period (Fig. 3).³⁸ It depicts a young man, Artemidoros, hunting a wild boar, but nothing

³⁶ *JG* VII 1828; see also Bowie (n. 31) for commentary on this epigram.

³⁷ Dio Cass. 69.10.

³⁸ On the findspot and dating of this stele (*JG* II² 5895), see K. Pittakis, *AEph*, 23, no. 9, entry 601, stele no. 601 (1941), 431; D.M. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*

else is known about him or his family apart from the names of two of his male relatives (Aristoteles and Artemidoros) that were engraved above his name.³⁹ None of these men was a Roman citizen.

Although the depiction of young men as hunters on grave stelai evoked masculinity and heroism in antiquity and the sport was closely associated with nobility,⁴⁰ one wonders whether a more literal meaning could be provided for the composition on this gravestone. While the scene on the stele need not necessarily stand for Artemidoros' home deme, the choice in composition reveals that the sport was popular not only among elite males who were Roman citizens but also among local Athenians who attempted to imitate the lifestyle of the latter.⁴¹ The location where the stele was discovered near the Temple of Olympian Zeus, the central site for the veneration of Hadrian as *Hadrianos Olympios Panhellēnios*, implies that Artemidoros and his family aimed to align themselves with the prominent imperial deity by that time.⁴²

Although the number of Roman citizens at Besa was rather limited prior to Hadrian's enrolment, there is a noticeable uptick in the number of Roman Besans starting in his reign and continuing well into the second century C.E. When the Athenians added a thirteenth tribe to the city's subdivisions, they named it Hadrianis, and some of the demes that originally belonged to Antiochis and other tribes were transferred to the aforementioned tribe.⁴³ Besa was among them, as was Antinoeis, a new deme founded after 130 C.E. to commemorate Hadrian's favourite, Antinous.⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, many recorded Besans of the late Hadrianic/Antonine period, like those of Antinoeis, bear the *nomen* Aelius, indicating enfranchisement by Hadrian (see Appendix); but Claudii are still prominent in Besa and other Attic demes, suggesting that, by the second century C.E., many of them would have been considered today's equivalent of 'old money'.

Of particular interest are two Besans who served as eponymous archons of Athens either back-to-back or at least their archonships fell very close together. Claudius Dometianos (Appendix 1, entry 11) and Claudius Philogenes (Appendix 1, entry 12) were eponymous archons in the years 129/130 and 131/132 respectively, which coincided with two of Hadrian's sojourns in Athens as emperor.⁴⁵ Although not

(Mainz, 1988), no. 205, tables 25d, 26a–b; N. Kaltsas, *Τα Γλυπτά. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο* (Athens, 2001), 353 no. 747. Based on *SEG* 36, 294, A. Datsouli-Stavridi, 'Ρωμαϊκά Γλυπτά από το Εθνικό Μουσείο', *AEPH* (1984), 169, Table 15b argues for a late Hadrianic date.

³⁹ Note that *Aristoteles* is misspelled as *Arristoteles*, surely an engraving error. The other Artemidoros in the inscription was from the deme of Melite.

⁴⁰ On hunting in the Greek and Roman worlds, see especially Anderson (n. 34); on the significance of boar hunting for young men, see especially C.S. Hollingsworth, 'Dangerous game: boar hunting symbolism from the ancient Greeks to the Romans' (MA Diss., University of Wisconsin, 2018).

⁴¹ On the imitation of the Roman emperor in the Graeco-Roman East, see G. Mitropoulos, *The Model of the Emperor and the imitatio imperatoris: Dialectics of Influence in the Graeco-Roman East (31 BC – AD 235)* (Athens, 2023).

⁴² On the worship of *Hadrianos Olympios Panhellēnios* in Athens, see most recently F. Camia, 'Hadrianos Olympios Panhellenios: worshipping Hadrian in Athens', in A. Kouremenos (ed.), *The Province of Achaëa in the Second Century CE: The Past Present* (Abingdon and New York, 2022), 93–116.

⁴³ J.A. Notopoulos, 'The date of the creation of Hadrianis', *TAPhA* 77 (1946), 53–6; E. Kapetanopoulos, 'Hadrianis and the *boule* of five hundred', *Balkan Studies* 22 (1981), 147–65; E. Kapetanopoulos, 'The reform of the Athenian constitution under Hadrian', *Horos* 10 (1992–8), 215–37.

⁴⁴ Notopoulos (n. 43).

⁴⁵ For the dates of their eponymous archonships, see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Paris, 1934), 293; M. Woloch, *Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite, AD 90–161: Two*

much is known about these two prominent individuals apart from the fact that they belonged to the well-connected Athenian family of the Tiberii Claudii and served in other important offices in the city, it is significant that the Athenians elected men from the emperor's own deme to serve as eponymous archons during his official visits, which would have been planned months, if not years, in advance. As individuals holding the highest political positions, Dometianos and Philogenes would have been involved in the building of various projects funded by the emperor, including those in the new quarter of Athens known as Hadrianopolis or νέας Ἀθήνας Ἀδριανάς.⁴⁶ In addition, Lucius Staius Quadratus (Appendix 1, entry 13), originally from a prominent family from Asia Minor who became a naturalized Besan and High Priest of Olympian Zeus, set up a statue of Hadrian in the precinct of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in c.132 following the inauguration of the temple and the *Panhellēnion*. It is noteworthy that in his dedication he calls Hadrian 'his own saviour and benefactor' (*IG II² 3319*). This implies not only that Quadratus was on close terms with the emperor and that it was probably through his aid that he had acquired numerous political offices, but also that he followed Hadrian's example of enrolling as a citizen in Besa, as many other Romans did in the Antonine period. He, too, must have owned property in the deme since his son, Lucius Staius Aquila (Appendix 1, entry 16), appears on the ephebic catalogue in the early Antonine period (*IG II² 2044*, line 92), which indicates that he was raised in Athens, but further information about his life and career is unavailable.

The relatively large number of Besans dated to the Antonine period reflects both the desire of individuals of financial means to enrol in Hadrian's deme and the renewed prosperity of Athens as the centre of the *Panhellēnion* in the later part of the second century C.E.,⁴⁷ which also brought a sizeable number of new enrolments to multiple Athenian demes. Delegates of member cities in the *Panhellēnion*, surely numbering in the hundreds, were generally men of financial means from various Greek cities and provinces, and some of them acquired Athenian citizenship by aiding the city through various benefactions. After Hadrian, Besa also seems to have attained the reputation of an imperial deme. Commodus (r. 180–192) (Appendix 1, entry 40), who visited Athens with his father, Marcus Aurelius, in 176,⁴⁸ is listed in numerous inscriptions as a citizen of Besa. He was eponymous archon of Athens *in absentia* in 188/189 as well as *panēgyriarchēs* (again, *in absentia*), but is otherwise not known to have visited the city while on the imperial throne.⁴⁹ Moreover, imperial properties were generally passed on to successive emperors, and Commodus would have inherited any properties owned by Hadrian, his great-grandfather (adoptive) through both of his

Prosopographical Catalogues (Amsterdam, 1973); S.G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens (Studia Hellenistica 40)* (Leuven and Dudley, MA, 2003), 508.

⁴⁶ Hadrianopolis: HA *Hadri.* 20.4; νέας Ἀθήνας Ἀδριανάς: Phlegon, *FGrHist* 257 F 19.

⁴⁷ For the *Panhellēnion* in general, see especially A.J. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The world of the *Panhellenion* I. Athens and Eleusis', *JRS* 75 (1985), 78–104; A.J. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The world of the *Panhellenion* II. Three Dorian cities', *JRS* 76 (1986), 88–105; I. Romeo, 'The *Panhellenion* and ethnic identity in Hadriatic Greece', *CPh* 97 (2002), 21–40; R. Gordillo Hervas, *La construcción religiosa de la Hélade imperial: El Panhelenion* (Florence, 2012).

⁴⁸ On the visit of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in Achaëa, see most recently G. Mitropoulos, 'Politics of the past: Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in Achaëa', in A. Kouremenos (ed.), *The Province of Achaëa in the Second Century CE: The Past Present* (Abingdon and New York, 2022), 143–65, at 143–54.

⁴⁹ On the date of the eponymous archonship of Commodus, see S.I. Rotroff, 'An Athenian archon list of the late second century after Christ', *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 402–8; Byrne (n. 45), 509.

parents, at Besa and elsewhere. Severus Alexander (r. 222–235) (Appendix 1, entry 48) was probably another imperial citizen of Besa; he was enrolled in the tribe Hadrianis (*IG II²* 1832) and, given the citizenship of two of his predecessors, it is almost certain that he was also enrolled in their deme. He did not visit Athens in his lifetime and did not serve as eponymous archon either before or during his reign. Like his predecessors, Severus Alexander would have inherited any imperial estates in the area, and this may explain his choice of deme. In the mid third century C.E., Gallienus, another emperor who had close ties to Athens and became eponymous archon in 264,⁵⁰ broke with the tradition of his imperial predecessors and chose to enrol in a different deme.⁵¹ The last-known imperial eponymous archon of Athens is Constantine I, who served his term *in absentia*.⁵²

That Roman emperors would have desired to acquire or accept Athenian citizenship speaks to the prestige of said citizenship in the second and early third centuries C.E. By this time, Athens, as the headquarters of the *Panhellēnion* and a city noted primarily for its historical past and philosophical schools, became the *de facto* cultural capital of the Empire and attracted a large number of—mostly eastern—notables who possessed Roman citizenship. However, the relative absence in the epigraphic record of Besans dated to the period after 212 C.E., when the *Constitutio Antoniniana* went into effect, seems striking. Given the small sample size, it is likely that this reflects the uneven epigraphic evidence, but it is also possible that the increase in the number of residents at Besa ended in the third century C.E. The general economic decline in the Empire in the third century, combined with an apparent depletion in the population of suburban and rural areas in Attica and other parts of Greece, may have led some of the wealthier owners of estates at Besa to abandon them and move elsewhere. What is clear from the meagre archaeological remains identified in this part of south Attica thus far is that there was a significant shift in the settlement pattern at some point during the late third / early fourth century C.E. for reasons that require further investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Besa was a small deme that played a very minor role in Athenian history and politics from the Classical era to the Early Roman period, it became especially important in the second century C.E. thanks in part to the enrolment of Hadrian, who was probably enticed to register in the deme by his friend and Besan citizen, Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos. It is thus highly likely that he acquired property in this part of south Attica before he became emperor. We suggested that Hadrian was attracted to the

⁵⁰ On Gallienus' close relationship with Athens, see especially D. Armstrong, 'Gallienus in Athens', *ZPE* 67 (1987), 235–58; C. Mallan, 'In praise of Gallienus? Reconsidering a Gallienic date for the Εἰς βασιλεύα of Pseudo-Aristides ([Aristid.] *Or.* 35 K)', in F. Mitthof, G. Martin, J. Grusková (edd.), *Empire in Crisis: Gothic Invasions and Roman Historiography* (Vienna, 2020). Note that HA *The Two Gallieni* 11.3 implies that the emperor served part of his eponymous archonship in Athens in person; on this, see Armstrong (this note), 243–4, who argues that Gallienus' sojourn in Athens in 264 could not have lasted more than a month or two, since trouble was brewing back in Rome.

⁵¹ It is unknown in which deme Gallienus was enrolled; see J.H. Oliver, 'Roman emperors and Athens', *Historia* 30 (1981), 412–23.

⁵² Oliver (n. 51).

deme's suburban setting and its hunting grounds where he could indulge in his favourite pastime. He was the first citizen of Besa to become Roman emperor and eventually came to be worshipped as a god in Athens in the later years of his reign. As a result, other prominent individuals, including men who held the chief political offices of eponymous archon and *prytanis*, followed his example by enrolling in the deme, with a few actually hailing from it. The prominence of Besa was further augmented by the enrolment of two additional emperors, Commodus and—probably—Severus Alexander. Thus, the noticeable uptick in Roman citizens at Besa starting in Hadrian's reign and peaking in the Antonine period reflects the deme's prosperity that resulted from the enrolment of Roman emperors and elite individuals who hailed mainly from Greek cities but also included a sizeable number of non-Greeks.

There was also a general increase in the number of Roman citizens who were enrolled in Athenian demes during the second century C.E. However, it should be noted that the available epigraphic and literary evidence pertaining to other demes during the Imperial period is not evenly distributed, which necessitates caution in drawing conclusions. This issue is exemplified by the demographic data for Besa's neighbouring deme and harbour, Anaphlystos, where the population during the pre-Roman period was considerably larger than that of the former. Currently, only twelve Roman citizens from Anaphlystos have been identified, and all of them belong to the second century C.E. (Appendix 2). It remains uncertain whether this scarcity of evidence reflects the uneven nature of the available epigraphic records or if, during the second century, Anaphlystos was overshadowed by Besa in terms of significance and attention.

Unfortunately, the area in which Besa is located is poorly understood archaeologically, mainly because very few excavations have been conducted within its limits. Given our current evidence, it is unclear whether the deme was composed of a nucleated settlement or, as was common in suburban areas with villa estates in the Roman period, a dispersed settlement pattern. What is apparent is that the area continued to be inhabited, almost certainly with interruptions, until the modern period. Remains of household and church architecture mixed with limestone and marble from earlier Greek and Roman structures, along with Christian graves and an oblong building tentatively identified as a basilica, have been discovered southeast of Sinterina, indicating that a Christian settlement existed in the locality of Besa.⁵³ Further interdisciplinary research in the area will reveal much-needed information about this important Athenian deme in antiquity.

Sacred Heart University

ANNA KOUREMENOS
kouremenosa@sacredheart.edu

National Hellenic Research Foundation

GIORGOS MITROPOULOS
gmitro@cie.gr

⁵³ On post-Roman remains in Sinterina and its surroundings, see M. Salliora-Oikononakou, *ArchDelt* 38, B' 1 Chron. 57; M. Salliora-Oikononakou, *Ο Αρχαίος Δήμος του Σουνίου. Ιστορική και Τοπογραφική Επισκόπηση* (Athens, 1983), 78–9; E. Tzavela, 'Urban and rural landscape in Early and Middle Byzantine Attica (4th–12th c. AD)' (PhD Diss., University of Birmingham, 2013), 182–3; Karvonis (n. 8), 233–7.

APPENDIX 1

Roman Besans, after Byrne (n. 45), with additions; compiled by G. Mitropoulos.

Pre-Hadrianic period

1. Marcus Fulvius: i B.C.E. / i C.E.: τομίως τῶν πρυτάνεων, *Ag.* XV 301, 2, 4, 13, 16, cf. Byrne, Fulvius 1.
2. Tiberius Claudius Themistocles (father of Theophilus 6): first century: πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 308, line 6, cf. Byrne, Claudius 120. According to Schmalz (n. 19), 40, this Themistocles (without Roman name) is probably the younger brother (or, less likely, the son) of Diotimos 3.
3. Tiberius Claudius Diotimos (father of Theophilus 4+ Sostratos 5): 41/2, hoplite general, *IG* II² 3268, line 10, cf. Byrne, Claudius 117. Byrne distinguishes between two individuals, both bearing the name Ti. Claudius Diotimos (Claudius 117 and Claudius 122); but see Schmalz note 192 who identifies them correctly. According to Schmalz, Diotimos is again referred to in an honorific dedication by two individuals from Marathon (Trophimos and Daphnos) of Neronian date (probably between 60–68 C.E.) as a priest, former eponymous archon (c.35 C.E.), herald, thrice hoplite general, twice *agōnothetēs* (probably in the Great Panathenaia and Sebasta Caesarea, Schmalz), thrice *gymnasiarchos*, *epimelētēs* of the *polis* and overseer for the adornment of the Metroon (that had some imperial honorific association with Agrippina, Nero's mother, Schmalz), *IG* II² 3580. Thus, this Diotimos is a prominent Besan of the Julio-Claudian period, competing with renowned *stratēgoi* such as Novios of Oion. Byrne, in his comment on the stemma of the Claudii (pages 148–9), connects this Claudius with the enrolment of Philopappos at Besa which in turn led to the enrolment of Hadrian, L. Staius Quadratus and Commodus.
4. Tiberius Claudius Theophilus (son of Diotimos 2): 41–54: honoured with a crown according to an ephobic text, *IG* II² 1980, line 6 + s. (= second half of the) first century: honoured with statue dedications at Eleusis, *IG* II² 3938, cf. Byrne, Claudius 118, Schmalz note 214.
5. Tiberius Claudius Sostratos? (son of Diotimos 2): s. first century: honoured with a statue by an Athenian, *SEG* 24, 219 + s. first century: honoured with statue dedications at Eleusis, *IG* II² 3938; cf. Byrne, Claudius 119, Schmalz note 214.
6. Tiberius Claudius Theophilus (son of Themistocles 2): s. first century, *IG* II² 5902, cf. Byrne, Claudius 121.
7. Gaius Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappos: c.90 offering to Despoina and Soteira at Lycosura, *IG* V 2, 524 + c.92 *agōnothetēs*? *Ag.* XV 312, 4, *IG* II² 1759 + c.93: eponymous archon and *agōnothetēs* of the Dionysia [first direct mention of him as a Besan], *IG* II² 3112 + c.93 offering at the sanctuary of Asklepios, *IG* II² 4511 + c.94: *agōnothetēs/chorēgos* of all tribes, *Plut. Mor.* 628A–B + c.94 *chorēgos*?, *IG* II² 1948, etc. = *SEG* 28, 225 + c.92–96: tribute to him and Statilius Maximus in Thebes, Egypt, *OGIS* 408 + 114–116: his funeral monument, *IG* II² 3451, cf. Byrne, Iulius 37. Byrne, page 310: 'his enrolment in the deme of Besa [...] probably reflects a connection with the prominent Claudii of Besa, especially with Claudius 122 Diotimos who was hoplite general three times around the turn of the century. Through his influence, Hadrian (cf. Aelius 119) and L. Staius (2) Quadratus were enrolled in this deme.'

8. Quintia? Stratonice: first–second century, honoured with a statue dedicated to Demeter and Kore, *IG II² 4055*, cf. Byrne, Quintius 1.
9. Aufidius Primos: c.110, *πρύτανις*, *Ag. XV 321*, 19, cf. Byrne, Aufidius 2.

Hadrianic period (117–138 C.E.)

10. Publius Aelius P. f. Hadrianus (111/2), eponymous archon: *Ag. XV 334*; *IG II² 3286*, cf. Byrne, Aelius 119.
11. Claudius Dometianos: 128–131, eponymous archon, *IG II² 2041*, lines 6–7, 10–11 + 141/2, *πρύτανις*: *Ag. XV 334*, 11 [as a *πρύτανις*, he is the second in line to be named as a Besan below *diuus Hadrianus*; after both names there is a lacuna in the text], cf. Byrne, Claudius 123.
12. Claudius Philogenes: 131/2, eponymous archon, *Ag. XV 326*, 6, cf. Byrne, Claudius 126.
13. Lucius Staius Quadratus (naturalized): 132, honoured Emperor Hadrian, *IG II² 3319* + c.140, priest of Olympian Zeus, *IG II² 3310*, line 8. Various scholars assume that he was imperial high priest (not of Olympian Zeus) + 139/40 patronym, *IG II² 2044*, line 92. He was consul *ordinarius* in 142 and proconsul of Asia in c.156/7, cf. Byrne, Staius 2. AIO: ‘Quadratus was [...] resident in Athens with his son in the 130s C.E. and was presumably granted Athenian citizenship at that time (assigned to the same deme as emperor Hadrian).’ Wachtel’s entry in *PIR 1* (S 883): ‘Origine Atheniensis’.

Antonine period (138–192 C.E.)

14. Papius Onesimos: father of Papia (15), second century, *IG II² 3656*, 9, cf. Byrne, Papius 3.
15. Papia Onesime: daughter of Papius Onesimos (Papius 14), wife of T. Flavius Agathon of Piraeus (Byrne 86), mother of T. Flavius Atimitos of Piraeus (Byrne 87) + second century, honoured her son as hearth initiate, *IG II² 3656*, 9, cf. Byrne, Papius 4.
16. Lucius Staius Aquila (naturalized): son of Lucius Staius Quadratus (13), 139/40, ephebe, *IG II² 2044*, line 92, cf. Byrne, Staius 3, *PIR* (S 883).
17. Aelius Hieracon: 141/2, *πρύτανις*, *Ag. XV 334*, line 12, cf. Byrne, Aelius 120.
18. Gaius Marcus K–: 141/2, *πρύτανις*, *Ag. XV 334*, 14. Perhaps the same person as *IG II² 3963*, 12–13 (zakore of Asklepieion, 130s), *Ag. XV 355*, 8 (*πρύτανις*, 150–200), cf. Byrne, Marcus 1.
19. Claudius Kastalios: 141/2, *πρύτανις*, *Ag. XV 334*, 13, cf. Byrne, Claudius 128.
20. Julius –: 141/2, *πρύτανις*, *Ag. XV 334*, 15, cf. Byrne, Julius 38.
21. Claudius Aquilinos: 144/5? ephebe, *IG II² 2051*, line 46 + second century, *πρύτανις*, *Ag. XV 354*, 4; 355, 7, cf. Byrne, Claudius 127.
22. Titus Aelius Apollonios: c.145, ephebe liturgist, *IG II² 2042*, line 4. According to S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographique* (Paris, 1976), 246, Woloch (n. 45), 251 and Byrne, the *praenomen* implies acquisition of Roman citizenship from Antoninus Pius, cf. Byrne, Aelius 121.

23. Claudius Diotimos: s. second century, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 355, 4, cf. Byrne, Claudius 125.
24. Claudius Dometianos: s. second century, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 355, 3, cf. Byrne, Claudius 124 [probably related to Byrne, Claudius 123].
25. Flavius Zo- : s. second century, *Ag.* XV 355, 5, cf. Byrne, Flavius 80.
26. Flavius Kal- : s. second century, *Ag.* XV 355, 6, cf. Byrne, Flavius 81.
27. Cati[---]: s. second century, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 355, 2 (Κατί[λιος ? —] *Ag.*, Καπ[ίτων] *IG* II² 2476, Byrne suggests that Catienus, Catinius, Catius are also possible *inter alia*, cf. H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* [Hildesheim, 1988], 50).
28. Aelius Hermogenes: 150/1, ephebe liturgist: *IG* II² 2065, line 47 + shortly before 180/1, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 397, line 6, cf. Byrne, Aelius 122.
29. Claudius Asiatikos: 150/1, ephebe, *IG* II² 2065, 83, cf. Byrne, Claudius 129.
30. Claudius Poseidonios: 150/1, ephebe, *IG* II² 2065, 84 + shortly before 180/1: πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 397, 7, cf. Byrne, Claudius 130.
31. Domitius Pannichos: 154/5, ephebe, *IG* II² 2067, 97, cf. Byrne, Domitius 7.
32. Poplius (Publius): 155/6, *thesmothetēs*, *IG* II² 2068, line 189.
33. Aelius Dorieus: 163/4, ephebe liturgist: *IG* II² 2086, line 15, cf. Byrne, Aelius 123.
34. Claudius Leon: 163/4, ephebe, *IG* II² 2086, 139; *IG* II² 2087, 48, 71 (winner of the ephebic games), cf. Byrne, Claudius 131.
35. Claudius Nikostratos Milichos: 165/6, *hyposophronistēs*, *IG* II² 2090, lines 25–6.
36. Papius Attikos: 168/9, herald of the *boulē* and *dēmos*, *Ag.* XV 373, 43; 372, 21, cf. Byrne, Papius 2.
37. Tineius Pontikos: 168/9, eponymous archon, *Ag.* XV 373, 2; 374, 2; 375, 4 + 169/70, eponymous archon of the previous year, *Ag.* XV 377, 3; 378, 3; 379, 3; *IG* II² 2097, 5; 3760 + 3749, cf. Byrne, Tineius 2.
38. Valerius Peireus: 179/80, ephebe, *IG* II² 2122 = *SEG* 35, 130, line 76, cf. Byrne, Valerius 10.
39. Valerius Phaleros: 179/80, ephebe, *IG* II² 2122 = *SEG* 35, 130, line 77. His son, Aurelius Phaleros, was ephebe in 217/18, *IG* II² 2221 = *Aeph* 1971, pages 56–8, n. I, 41. Byrne: ‘The personal names of these brothers have been adapted from those of the neighboring demes Peiraieus and Phaleron’, cf. Byrne, Valerius 11.
40. Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus: 188/9, eponymous archon, *Ag.* XV, 416, 418, 419, c.191, *panēgyriarchēs*, *IG* II² 1792; see also *IG* II² 1832 for a Severan catalogue of Hadrianis citing Hadrian, Commodus and Severus Alexander. Commodus followed the example of Hadrian in his enrolment in the deme of Besa.
41. Aelius Nikolaos: shortly before 180/1: πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 397, line 8, cf. Byrne, Aelius 124.
42. Vergilius Heimertos: shortly before 180/1, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 397, 2, cf. Byrne, Vergilius 1.
43. Aelius Pythagoras: c.180–190, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 409, line 8 + again in 188/9, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 419, line 14, cf. Byrne, Aelius 125.
44. Marcus Phil[---]: c.180–190, πρύτανις, *Ag.* XV 409, line 9.

Severan period

45. Plotius Asclepiades: 197/8?, ephebe, *IG II²* 2203, line 96, cf. Byrne, Plotius 3.
46. Avienus Cerialios: c.200, paianist, *IG II²* 2481, line 17 + c.205, paianist, *IG II²* 1948, etc. = *SEG* 28, 225 right face B, 21, cf. Byrne, Avienus 1.
47. Aurelius Phaleros: 217/18, ephebe, *IG II²* 2221, line 26 = *AE* 1971, pages 56–8, n. I, 41. He was the son of Valerius Phaleros.
48. Severus Alexander: *IG II²* 1832, lines 5–8 = *Ag.* XV 491 (c.231/2), lines 13–16, catalogue of Hadrianis naming Hadrian, Commodus and Severus Alexander. Thus, the last of the Severans was almost certainly a member of the deme of Besa, following the example of his imperial predecessors.

Third century C.E.

49. Polla E- : iii C.E., *IG II²* 5909, priestess of Isis, cf. Byrne, E- 1.
50. Aurelius Isidoros, also known as Apollinarios: 238/9–243/4, ephebe, *IG II²* 2239, lines 249–50.
51. Marcus Aurelius Kleitos: middle of iii C.E., *sōphronistēs*, *IG II²* 2243, line 14.

APPENDIX 2

Roman citizens of Anaphlystos, after Byrne (n. 45); compiled by G. Mitropoulos.

Second century C.E.

1. Spedius Dionysios: ii C.E., *IG II²* 5656, cf. Byrne, Spedius 2.
2. Titus Spedius Phileros: ii C.E., *IG II²* 5684 = *Ag.* XVII 72, cf. Byrne, Spedius 1.
3. Aelius - : c.150–160 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 428, line 8, cf. Byrne, Aelius 42.
4. Annus P- : c.150–160 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 428, line 11, cf. Byrne, Annus 4.
5. Iunius - : c.150–160 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 428, line 10, cf. Byrne, Iunius 4.
6. Scribonius - : c.150–160 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 428, line 7, cf. Byrne, Scribonius 1.
7. Cornelius Adeimantos: 160–180 C.E., *IG XII*, 8, 216, line 11, cf. Byrne, Cornelius 8.
8. Cornelia Alexandra: 160–180 C.E., *IG XII*, 8, 216, line 12, cf. Byrne, Cornelius 9. Daughter of Cornelius Adeimantos.
9. Aelius Marcus: ?190/1 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 423, line 26. He was *πρύτανις* again in c.190–200 C.E., *Ag.* XV 425, line 17, cf. Byrne, Aelius 43. The family received Roman citizenship under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, Follet (Appendix 1 above, entry 22), 169.
10. Claudius Serapion: ?190/1 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 423, line 27, cf. Byrne, Claudius 79.
11. Iulius Caecilianus: ?190/1 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 423, line 28, cf. Byrne, Iulius 28.
12. Aelius Dion: c.190–200 C.E., *πρύτανις*, *Ag.* XV 425, line 24, cf. Byrne, Aelius 44.