

McCarthy.

## Herodes Atticus

It was in the age of the Antonines, following immediately upon the benefactions of Hadrian that a private Athenian citizen for the first time since the days of Demosthenes<sup>1</sup> interested himself in the permanent beautification of his native state. Herodes Atticus is remembered in this light, as a man who spent his enormous fortune wisely and generously even more than as the most celebrated Sophist of the second century. Unfortunately, our knowledge of his life and literary works is not proportionate to the celebrity that he justly enjoyed among his contemporaries. Of the works from his pen mentioned in Suidas and Philostratos, not one has come down to us. For his life, our most important source is to be found in "The Lives of the Sophists," by his admirer Philostratos. Since Herodes is obviously his favourite, he gives us more details concerning him than concerning any of the other Sophists, but these details are not arranged as an orderly consecutive bibliography. They are rather a collection of incidents and anecdotes, undoubtedly authoritative, but not so inclusive as one could wish. From the dedication of

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1. Cf. Herzberg, Athen. 1885, p. 195

the "Lives" to Gordian, we can fix as an approximate date for the publication of the work some time between the years 230 and 238<sup>2</sup> or between fifty and sixty years after the death of Herodes, not long enough for groundless traditions to have sprung up about his name, especially among his own tribe of Sophists, who would have handed down the facts concerning him from one to the other. Philostratos had written documents on which to base his life, but he also draws upon this oral tradition as is clear from his concluding words " τούτα περὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ

Ἀθηναίου, τὰ μὲν εἰρημένα, τὰ δὲ ἠγρονμένα ἕτεροις. " 3

To supplement the information given us by Philostratos, we have the testimony of several contemporaries. In his "Noctes Atticae," Aulus Gellius has given us some intimate glimpses of his master, and has left us a summary of an oration which he heard him deliver. Frequent references to Herodes are found in the correspondence which passed between his friend and rival Marcus Cornelius Fronto and

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2. Gordian was consul for the second time in 229/30 and since Philostratos in his preface addresses him first as consul and then as proconsul, we may infer that the dedication was written while Gordian was proconsul of Africa, immediately following his consulship.

3. Philostratos "Lives of the Sophists" p. 566

his two noble pupils, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Among Fronto's letters too we have one preserved which he addressed to Herodes on the death of his son.<sup>4</sup> Lucian's dialogues refer to him several times, and in the words of the traveller Pausanias who was his pupil, we have descriptions of the buildings which were erected through his munificence. The author of the *Προλεγόμενα* to Aristeides *Παραδυναίικον* gives us a glimpse of his relations with that author. As far as I know, Herodes is further mentioned in classical literature only in Suidas' "Lexicon" which gives us a brief and not wholly correct sketch of his life and works and in the writings of Cassius Dio, Capitolinus and Aristeides, in all of which the references are of the most casual kind. Mrs. Wilmer Cave Wright, in her introduction to the Loeb edition of the "Lives of the Sophists," speaks of "many admiring references in Plutarch."<sup>5</sup> It is true that in his *Συμπροσάκειν* *Προβλημάτων* the protagonist in two brief dialogues<sup>6</sup> is called *Ἡρώδης ὁ ῥήτωρ* but if we accept the common view which places Plutarch's death in 120 A.D., this Herodes is certainly not the celebrated Sophist who would have been scarcely nineteen at the time of Plutarch's death.

In addition to the knowledge which we gain from literary sources, we have fortunately a great mass of epigraphical

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4. Fronto, Epist. Graec. 3 (p. 243 *Naber*) München (Real-Encyc. vol. viii, p. 930, line 64) speaks of this letter as written "wahrscheinlich nach dem Tode seine Gattin." But that it refers to the death of a child is clear from the words "Ἄλλ' ὄψει τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας σοὶ παρῶ χηκεν πρὸς πατρὸν ἑτέρων εὐατροφῆν." and it is almost certainly an outcome of Marcus' request

material dealing with Herodes and his family. These inscriptions may be found for the most part in I G III (dating from 1878-1882), I 9 xiv, nos. 1389-1392 (dating from 1890), CIL vi nos. 20217, 24162, 29335 (1886) De Herodes Attici Monumentis Olympicis, Ind. Schol. Halle (1892) and Olympia, Ergebnisse vol. V (1896). Since the time of these publications, the following inscriptions dealing with Herodes have been published:

Ἀθηναίων X 1882, p. 541

A. J. A. 1900, p. 235

Ath. Mitt. 1883, p. 288

8 1894, p. 248

1887, p. 308, p. 314, p. 315

B. C. H. 1893, p. 633

8 1920, p. 170 ff.

1914, p. 355 (N° 2) p. 360 (N° 3) p. 362 (N° 4) p. 365 (N° 5)

Classical Journal, Jan. 10, 1927, p. 1

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(Ad M. Caes. I 6 *Nabe* p. 13) - "Herodi filius natus  
<hod~~ia~~> mortuus est. Volo ut illi aliquid quod ad  
hanc rem adteneat pauculorum verborum scribas."

5. Wright, "Philostratus and Eunapius" Introduction, p. xxxiv.

6. Συμποσιακῶν Προβλημάτων Book viii, 4; Book ix, 14

Delphes, vol. III<sub>2</sub> 1909-1913, nos. 65 and 66

Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889, p. 189 (3);

" 1893, p. 74

Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, p. 152

" 1894, p. 206, 7 (a and b)

Graindor, Album d'Inscriptions Attiques d'Époque Impériale, 1924

p. 34, nos. 45 and 46, Plates xxxvii and xxxviii

(Republication of <sup>7</sup> III 735 and 736

p. 39, Plate XLVI

p. 40, Plate XLVII

Herodes, whose name in its fullest form reads Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, was the son of Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes and Vibullia Alcia. The genealogy of his father's family has been set forth in tabular form by Graindor<sup>8</sup> and this, based as it is on more recent epigraphical evidence, supplants that earlier given by Dittenberger.<sup>9</sup> The family of Herodes boasted of being descended from the Aeacids,<sup>10</sup> and of thus belonging to the same line which produced Cimon and Miltiades. We can trace the family back with certainty to the last part of the second century B.C. to a certain [Εὐκλῆς Ἡρώδου Μαραθῦνας]<sup>11</sup> phylarch in 106/5 B.C., a cousin of Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείου Μαραθῦνας<sup>12</sup> who is cited in a catalogue of the last quarter of the second century B.C. The son of Εὐκλῆς Ἡρώδου, who, like his grandfather bore

7. To be found in I <sup>7</sup> III 1333; Rev. de Phil. xxv (1901) 191

8. B.C.H. vol. XXXVIII (1914) p. 439

9. Die Familie des H. Atticus Hermes xiii (1878) 67

10. Phil. "Lives of the Sophists," p. 546

11. Sundwall, Nachträge zur Pros. Att., p. 78; Roussel, B.C.H. xxxii (1908) p. 533 N° 254

12. Sundwall idem, p. 72. Roussel, idem, N° 245. Graindor B.C.H. 1014

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the name <sup>ε</sup>Ἱπάρχης<sup>13</sup>, was archon in 60/59, and it was his son <sup>Εὐκλῆς</sup> who as general of the hoplites under the Emperor Augustus dedicated the Market Gate of Athena Archegetes, the erection of which had been started by his father.<sup>14</sup> Passing over our Herodes' great grandfather, Herodes III, who is known to us only from an inscription<sup>15</sup> where he is mentioned as the father of Hipparchus, we come to his grandfather, who suffered the confiscation of his vast estate on the charge of aspiring to a tyranny.<sup>16</sup> From inscriptions found at Delphi<sup>17</sup> we know that the confiscation took place under the emperor Domitian and not under Nero, a possibility allowed by München<sup>18</sup> for in the inscription in question, we find him still filling under Domitian his functions of archiereus and priest of Pythian Apollo. Mrs. Wright is certainly wrong in her statement<sup>19</sup> that his trial on this charge is referred to by Suetonius in his Life of Vespasian.<sup>20</sup>

The family coffers, however, were replenished in the next generation *through* the finding by Hipparchus' son, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes of an enormous treasure in

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13. Pros. Att. 6338, 6542; Sundwall, pp. 78, 90  
14. I *Q* III, 65  
15. S I *Q* 2394  
16. Phil., Lives of the Sophists, p. 547 C I A III 38  
17. Delphes Epig. III, 65, 66  
18. Real. Enc. viii, p. 923  
19. Wright, "Philostratus and Eunapius," p. 140, note 3  
20. Vespasian, 13

a house which he owned near the theatre, a treasure which München<sup>21</sup> suggests may have been "bei dem Konfiskation glücklich beiseite beschafften." The story is told by Philostratos<sup>22</sup> that Atticus, because of the great size of his find, "εὐλαβῆς μάλῶν ἢ περιχαρὴς γινόμενος" wrote to the Emperor Nerva to ask what disposition he should make of this windfall. "Use it," answered Nerva. Atticus still doubtful, wrote again, explaining that the sum was enormous for one in his station. "Then misuse it," replied the emperor, "for it is yours."<sup>23</sup> Restored thus almost over night to wealth and power, Atticus proceeded to double<sup>24</sup> his fortune by marriage with Vibullia Alcia Agrippina, daughter of Vibullius Rufus, of a family whose members several times held the consulship during the second century. This wealthy couple were the parents of two sons, T. C. Atticus Herodianus,<sup>25</sup> and the celebrated builder and Sophist commonly known as Herodes Atticus.

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21. Real. Enc. viii, p. 923

22. Lives of the Sophists, p. 548

23. idem. The story is wrongly told of our Herodes by Suidas and by the author of the Prolegomena to Aristeides Παράδηαικον (III 739 Dind.)

24. Vidal-Lablache (pp. 44 ff.) makes Vibullia the wife of the younger Herodes by a marriage previous to that with Regilla.

25. Known only from C. I. G. 2371

Herodes first saw the light of day on his father's estate at Marathon <sup>26</sup> and thus belonged to the tribe Aeantis.

Philostratos does not give us the date of his birth, which has been variously judged to be anywhere between <sup>27</sup> 94 and 112. <sup>28</sup>

It is now, however, fairly well established that his death occurred in 177 or 178, and since Philostratos tells us that he lived seventy-six years, his birth must be placed in the year 101 or 102. Concerning his early years we have very little information.

Philostratos does give us, however, a list of his teachers. In sophistic rhetoric he was instructed by Secundus the Athenian, whom Philostratos describes as

ἄνωγα μὲν Περικτῶς, ἐρμηνεύουσα δὲ ἀπερίττου <sup>29</sup>

The same author tells us in his life of Secundus how the teacher quarreled with Herodes while he was still his pupil and was ridiculed by him in a verse parodied from Hesiod

"καὶ κεραμῆος κεραμῆε κοτέει καὶ ῥήτορε τέκτων." <sup>30</sup>

The "ῥήτωρ" is of course Herodes and the "τέκτων" Secundus, whose father was a carpenter by trade. This quarrel, however, was neither serious nor lasting, and when Secundus died, Herodes, who delivered the funeral oration, shed tears of sorrow for him. <sup>31</sup> As Herodes' teachers in the critical

26. He is therefore referred to as *Μαραθῶνας* e.g. C.I.A III 69

27. Schellbach, "Odeion d'Hérode Attique," p. 7

28. Visconti

29. Lives of the Sophists, 544

30. idem. parodied from Hesiod "Works and Days," 25

31. idem. 544



branch of oratory (*Κρητικὸς τῶν λόγων*) Philostratos names  
Theagenes of Cnidus and Munatius of Tralles, the latter<sup>32</sup>  
of whom we find in his company later at Smyrna;<sup>33</sup> and as  
teacher<sup>34</sup> of Platonic philosophy, Taurus of Tyre. From  
a letter written by Marcus Aurelius to Fronto, we know  
that Herodes visited Rome while still a boy, for Marcus  
says "Et scio illum quidem in avi mei P. Calvisii domo  
educatum."<sup>35</sup> Since his father Atticus was twice consul  
suffectus under Trajan, it is natural that his family  
should have lived for some time in Rome with him.

When Herodes was seventeen years of age, through the  
influence of his ambitious father, he was chosen to make  
an address before the Emperor Hadrian in Pannonia.<sup>36</sup> The  
strain of such an important responsibility was too great  
even for so talented a youth and he broke down completely  
in the midst of his speech. His failure caused him such  
humiliation that he longed to fling himself into the Danube.  
Atticus, too, was grieved by his son's lack of success and  
it was probably at this time that he ordered all the busts  
of the ancient orators in the portico of his house to be  
pelted with stones because, he said, they had corrupted his

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32. Lives of the Sophists, 564  
33. idem. 538  
34. idem. 564  
35. Ad M. Caes. III 2 ( *nabe* p. 40)  
36. Lives of the Sophists, 565

son's talent. To insure as far as possible his future success, he secured for his son the instruction of the popular Sophist, Scopelian of Clazomenae.<sup>37</sup> At this time, we are told, the young Herodes cared only for extempore speaking, although he had not as yet gained sufficient vigour or confidence for success in this type of eloquence. These qualities he acquired through the example and instruction of Scopelian and when he had proved his progress through a declamation in the manner of his master, Atticus was so much pleased that he gave the pupil a present of fifty<sup>38</sup> talents and the teacher fifteen, a sum which Herodes doubled out of his own gift, calling Scopelian his teacher, a title which from the lips of his favourite pupil was sweeter to the old Sophist than the springs of Pactolus.<sup>39</sup> We have no way of knowing how long Scopelian's connection with his young pupil lasted.

The first public office held by Herodes was that of *ἀγοράνομος* as we learn from an inscribed base found to the east of the market gate of Athena Archegetes.<sup>40</sup> We do not know the exact date at which he filled this position, but it was probably between the years 121 and 127. He would scarcely have been appointed to such a position before he reached the age of twenty, whereas this lesser office must have preceded his consulship of the year 128. The

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37. Lives of the Sophists, 521

38. Kayser reads ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΑ but Valckenaer has suggested ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΙΑ as a more reasonable sum.

39. Phil. 521. It is not possible to interpret the Greek of this passage as Vidal-Lablache does, to mean that it was Scopelian who in an access of enthusiasm called Herodes his teacher and that this was "plus doux à Hérode que la source du Pactole."

40. C I A III 160

date of this first consulship is fixed by an inscription beginning "ἐπὶ Τιβ. Κλαυδίου Ἡράδου Μαραθῶνιον ἄρχοντος, τρίτου ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισημίας τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊάνου Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ." 41

It is Hadrian's first visit to Athens in 125/6 that is referred to here when, after a tour of the western provinces, of Africa, Egypt and Asia, he finally crossed the islands of the Aegean Sea and stopped to rest in his favoured city Athens which in 112 had conferred the Athenian consulship upon him and in 118 when he was on his way to Rome after being proclaimed emperor, had sent a committee to meet him at Pannonia with words of greeting from Athens. During this visit Hadrian set into motion the completion of the Olympeian<sup>42</sup> which was solemnly consecrated in the autumn of 131 or the beginning of 132 upon the occasion of his third visit to Athens. It was the father Atticus and not Herodes<sup>43</sup> who held the hereditary office of ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν at the time of this visit, which marked not only the dedication of the Olympeian but the erection of a temple to Zeus<sup>44</sup> Panhellenios and the founding of the Panhellenic Union.

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41. C I A III 735  
 42. Graindor, B.C.H. 1914, p. 354; I § III 476; ΕΦΑΡΧ 1889, 63.9 I § III 485  
 43. As Vidal-Lablache says, p. 37. But Herodes is not characterized as ἀρχιερεὺς before the time of Marcus Aurelius (I § III 1132) cf. B.C.H. 1914 p. 354 ff.  
 44. Cf. Todd, J. H. S. 1921, p. 174 ff.

This new league of Greek States, both European and Asiatic, was grounded on no political motive but had as its purpose the strengthening among Greeks everywhere of a love of the traditions of their race and pride in their past history.

Athens was made the head of the union, and Herodes was appointed the first *ἄρχων τῶν Παιδευμένων*<sup>45</sup>

Although only about thirty years of age at this time, Herodes had already gained such a wide reputation as a teacher that he was entirely worthy of this great honour. Already he had instituted his famous feasts of reason known as Klepsydría from the fact that their length was regulated by a water clock. After the general lecture, which was open to the public, ten of his pupils who had proved themselves worthy of the honour assisted at a dinner during which a hundred verses were expounded by their master with copious comments. That the

school was well established even at this early period is certain from the fact that Adrian of Tyre was admitted to the Klepsydría *ὀκτώ καὶ δεκά τῶν γεγραμμένων* <sup>2/</sup> *στη* " <sup>46</sup>

Since we know that Adrian died at the age of eighty under the reign of Commodus,<sup>47</sup> at the latest that is in the year 192, we must place his birth at the latest in 113, and his entrance into the school of Herodes about the year 131. Philostratos tells us several stories in connection with this Sophist which give us a glimpse into the relations which existed

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45. Lives of the Sophists, 550

46. idem. 585

47. idem. 590

between Herodes and his pupils. When Adrian was still a youth, perhaps about the time when he began to study under Herodes, he invited his teacher to hear him attempt an extempore speech.<sup>48</sup> Herodes listened "ἀπὸ τοῦ διακειμένου τῆ καὶ εἴλω," and was impressed by the grandeur of the young man's words and ideas, although his speech was disjointed and ill constructed in style. His comment, when Adrian finished, took account both of the good and bad qualities of his discourse. "κόλοσος" he said, "ταῦτα μεγάλα σπάργματα ἂν εἴη."

After Adrian had been admitted to the Klepsydrion, he was drinking with his fellow pupils on one occasion when a discussion arose concerning oratorical style. Adrian, whose ability for extempore speaking had increased since his initial attempt before Herodes, arose and gave imitations of the styles of the various Sophists. He omitted Herodes, however, because, as he said, "οὗτοι μὲν οἶον καὶ μεθύοντες παραδοῦναι μέγιστον, Ἡρώδου δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν λόγων ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ἀνοικνᾶς τε καὶ κήφων ὑποκρίνωμα." <sup>49</sup>

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48. Livrs of the Sophists, 586

49. idem. 586

We know the names of two other pupils of this period, Sceptus and Amphicles, neither of whom gained the lasting celebrity of Adrian, although Philostratos speaks of the latter as

τῶν Ἡρώδου μαθητῶν τὴν πρώτην φερόμενος.<sup>51</sup>

This Amphicles on one occasion had an encounter of words in the Cerameicus with a hot-tempered conceited Sophist, Philagius of Cilicia, who the next day wrote to Herodes upbraiding him for failing to teach his pupil decent manners. Herodes'

reply was not an answer to the attack, for he wrote simply

“δοκεῖς μοι οὐ καλῶς προομιᾶσθαι” —

which Philostratos explains as a rebuke to Philagius for not trying to win the good will of his audience “ἢν προομιῶν

ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τῶν ἐπιδείξεων.”<sup>52</sup>

At some period before 135, Herodes' lectures were interrupted for a time. The close contact into which he

came with the emperor at the time of his visit in 131 resulted in his appointment as διορθῶτης of the free cities of Asia, an office of some importance if we may

judge from the heartiness with which Pliny the Younger congratulates Maximus who had already served as quaestor,

praetor and tribune, when he obtained under Trajan a

similar authority over the free cities of Achaia. <sup>53</sup> The

date at which Herodes held this office is fixed by the proconsulship of Antoninus Pius in Asia (130-135) for

Philostratos mentions an encounter between Herodes and the

50. Lives of the Sophists, 585

51. idem. 578

52. idem. 579

53. Letter viii, 24

future emperor on Mt. Ida in order to refute the gossip which accused Herodes of having lifted his hand against Antoninus during that meeting. We know very little about his administration, which was probably not very eventful. His only public work recorded by Philostratos is the construction of a new water supply for the city of Alexandreia-Troas. Herodes, disturbed by the lack of water in this city, wrote to Hadrian, requesting him to give the city three million drachmas for the construction of an aqueduct. The emperor approved of his advice and appointed Herodes himself to take charge of the work, a task which he carried out with such enthusiasm that the outlay soon reached the sum of seven million drachmas. The officials of Asia complained to the emperor concerning this extravagance and he in turn expressed his disapproval to Herodes' father, who with his customary μεγαλοψυχία offered at once to defray all the expenses above the specified three million.

From an inscription found at Smyrna we learn that while governor of the free cities of Asia, Herodes held the office of "ἀρχιερέως θεῶν Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ [Ἐεβατοῦ Καίσαρος] Διὸς πατρῴου αὐτοκράτορος," and it is probable that he may have held other offices of this kind, costly honours since they often entailed bearing the expense of festivals and monuments.

54. Lives of the Sophists, 554,5

55. idem, 548

56. idem, 548,9

57. C I g II 3187

58. Cf. Vidal-Lablache, p. 27

The cities of the province of Asia, especially Smyrna and Ephesus, were at this time brilliant intellectual centres, and Herodes must have found many friends among the leading Sophists and rhetoricians. It would not be surprising in view of his tastes if he were less preoccupied with the administration of his office than with the opportunities for studying oratory and rhetoric afforded him. We know from Philostratos something of his relations at this time with two of the most celebrated Sophists of the day. One was the Gaul Favorinus, the favourite of the Ephesians, whom Herodes regarded as both teacher and father, and to whom he wrote "πότε ἔτι ἴδω καὶ πότε σοῦ περιδείξω τὸ στυγεύ" <sup>59</sup>

This friendship, formed during his period of office in Asia Minor, lasted until the death of the older man. From Aulus Gellius we learn that they were on terms of close intimacy at Rome during Herodes' consulship. <sup>60</sup> At his death, Favorinus bequeathed to his friend his library, his house in Rome and his black slave Autolecythos, over whose Greek with its strong Indian accent they had frequently laughed together while <sup>61</sup> sipping their wine.

The other man whose acquaintance influenced Herodes at this time was Polemo of Laodicia, a bitter rival of Favorinus, and the intellectual leader of Smyrna. Herodes while in Smyrna attended a series of three lectures given by Polemo,

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59. Lives of the Sophists, 490. A reminiscence of Aristophanes fragment 231 (preserved in Dio Chrysostom Oration 52 Arnim)

60. Noctes Atticae xiii, 25, II

61. Lives of the Sophists, 490



and in a letter to Varus quoted by Philostratos, he describes how he listened to the first "ὡς οἱ Σικαῖοι", & the second "ὡς οἱ Ἐρωῖοι, & the third ὡς οἱ Δαρυαῖοι." 62

At the end of three days he sent Polemo a hundred and fifty thousand drachmae as "μυριάδων τῆς ἑκκοσίου." This sum was promptly returned to him, and Herodes, hurt and surprised, sought the counsel of his old teacher Munatius of Tralles, who advised him to increase the gift by one hundred thousand drachmae. When Herodes had done this, Polemo took the money without hesitation, as if, says Philostratos, he were taking only what was justly due him. 63 Herodes' admiration for Polemo knew no bounds and although not of an overmodest or retiring nature, he considered himself his inferior in oratory. Once, when he was being complimented upon a successful speech, his answer was "τὴν Πολέμου καὶ ἐμὴν ἀνάγκη καὶ εἴσαθε ἀνδρα." 64.

On another occasion when at the Olympic games he was called the equal of Demosthenes, he replied, "εἴθε γὰρ ὡς ὁ Δῆμος." 65

He valued highly the lessons he had learned from listening to the speeches of Polemo and boasted that he had been his pupil "ἦδη παρὰ δούλων." 66

Although Herodes considered Polemo his superior, Philostratos nowhere says, as Vidal-Lablache states, 67 that through fear of an unfavourable comparison, he fled from Smyrna by night in order not to have to

62. Quoted by Philostratos, 537

63. Lives of the Sophists, 538

64. idem, 539

65. idem, 539

66. idem, 539

67. Hérode Atticus, p. 29

contend in speaking with him. In the passage from which he must have gained this idea, it is Polemo who leaves Smyrna by night, and his reason for so doing is clearly stated. The Greek of the passage is not at all ambiguous -

"ἔδωκε τῷ Πολέμῳ ὁ Ἡρόδης καὶ τὸ μὴ παρελθεῖν ἔπ' αὐτῷ ἐς λόγων ἐπέδειξεν, μὴδ' ἐπαγωνίσασθαι ὅς ἔκλυε ἐξελῆσαι τῆς Σμύρνης, ὡς μὴ οἱ βιασθῆναι, θρασὺ γὰρ καὶ τὸ βιασθῆναι ἔστο "68

We do not know the date of Herodes' return to Athens and very little about the events of the next few years. It is probable that he lived quietly at Marathon and Kephissia, where he continued to gather students about him and to hold his famous Klepsydrion. From this period of his life we must

date his relations with his three τροφίμοι Achilles, Polydeukes and Memnon, whom he loved as his own children, and

with justice "ἔπειθ' ἠ καλοὶ μάκιστα καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν γενναῖοί τε καὶ φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῷ τροφῇ τρέποντες "69

Just what was the standing of these young men is not clear. They were certainly favourite pupils and were raised in the house of Herodes, but there is no evidence to show that they were adopted by the Sophist. We should judge that Vibullius

Polydeukes was more or less closely related by blood to his master from the fact that Herodes' mother was the daughter of Vibullius Rufus. Memnon is described in a letter of Philo-

stratos to Apollonius as an Aethopian with a bright moon-shaped mark on his forehead. <sup>70</sup> The affection which Herodes had for

68. Lives of the Sophists, 538,9

69. idem. 558

70. Book III, 11. The name is here spelled Μένων.



A herme to Achilles with a more sentimental dedication, which is now lying in the bed of a stream opposite the chapel of the *Ἥρα* near <sup>rn</sup> Vamava, has been reedited in 1914 by Graindor.<sup>73</sup> In the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, Herodes dedicated a statue to Polydeukion, the inscribed base of which has been preserved.<sup>74</sup> We have also inscriptions in which the memory of Polydeukes is honoured by Herodes' mother and by his friends.<sup>75</sup>

It was during this period of his life at Athens that Herodes suffered another loss in the death of his generous father Atticus, a grief which, if we may draw conclusions from Philostratos' silence on the subject, he must have borne with much greater stoicism than the death of others who were dear to him. Surely, if Herodes had mourned inordinately upon this occasion, Philostratos, who records in detail his sorrow over the death of his wife, his children, and his beloved *τρόφιμος* would not, in mentioning Atticus' death have lost the opportunity of dwelling upon Herodes' violent grief. The exact year in which Atticus died is unknown, but it must have been after 135, since we have on record that he was still patronomos at **S**parta about that date.<sup>76</sup> At his death, he bequeathed to the people of Athens a mina annually for every citizen. This clause had been inserted into his will at the advice of his freedmen who wished to gain the good will of the Athenians through their responsibility for this legacy, in order that if they should be cast out by Herodes, the Athenians might receive them into their houses, for they saw that "χαλεπήν ἢ ἡρώσου φύου ἀπειροθέου τὲ καὶ βούλου." <sup>77</sup>

75. I *Q* III 815, 816, 817, 818. Nos 815 and 816 are dedicated by Vibullia; 817 by *Λούκιος Δικτάβιος Πραξιππύτης Μαγαδάριος, ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκατέρου Ἀκτιππίου*  
 76. B.S.A. XV (1908-9) p. 69  
 77. Lives of the Sophists, 549

And Herodes, whose generosity was more tempered by cold, businesslike reason than that of his father must in truth have seemed to all the Athenians to be exhibiting a very <sup>1</sup> "Χαλζπη φύσις" in his method of administrating this will. For when the people came to the banks to receive the first payment on their legacy, "there was read to them a list of the debts which their fathers and grandfathers owed to the ancestors of Herodes and they were held responsible for their payment, so that some received only a small sum, some nothing, and others were held in the agora as debtors." <sup>78</sup> Fronto

refers to this unfilial act in a letter to Marcus Aurelius, written between 140 and 143, in which he says in reference to a trial which is being conducted against Herodes, "Delendum <sup>Dicendum</sup> est de filio impio et precum patēnarum immemore." <sup>79</sup> The

Athenians felt very bitter towards Herodes because of the injustice which they felt had been done them, and when the Panathenaic Stadium was built maintained that "τὸ οὖν στάδιον ἐν ἑπιπρονομίᾳ κατασκευάσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἑν ἀπειροῦντο Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες." This protest serves to date approximately the building of the stadium, since it must have been accomplished not long after the death of Atticus when their wrong was fresh in the minds of the Athenians.

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78. Lives of the Sophists, 549

79. Ad M. Caes. III 3 (Naber p. 41) Some suppose these words to refer to the son of Herodes, but since the trial is being conducted against Herodes and not against his son, the above is a more reasonable interpretation.

80. Lives of the Sophists, 549

The stadium was built in fulfillment of a promise made by Herodes to the Athenians at the time when he was crowned agonothetes of the Panathenaic festival, to the effect that at the next festival he would welcome them to a stadium of pure white marble.<sup>81</sup> Herodes must have been in charge of the celebration in 134/5 or 138/9 and the stadium must have been completed in 138/9 or 142/3. The latter date is the more probable one, since it is not likely that Herodes would have promised to undertake such a costly project until after the death of his father when the administration of his immense wealth was in his own hands.

Sometime around the year 140, Herodes went to Rome, where he acted as teacher of rhetoric to the adopted sons of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, at that time about nineteen and ten years of age.<sup>82</sup> The mind of the young Marcus, who had adopted the dress and philosophy of the Stoics at the age of twelve, was at this time fully formed and although he became a devoted friend of Herodes and sometimes wrote him as many as three letters a day, he was not influenced by him to the extent that he seems to have been influenced by his other teacher of rhetoric, Marcus Cornelius Fronto.<sup>83</sup> In the first chapter of his "Meditations," when he recalls how much he owes to his different masters, the name of the great Sophist is omitted. It is probable, however, that Herodes took a greater part in the education of his younger pupil, Lucius Verus.

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81. Lives of the Sophists, 550

82. Cass. Dio. XXI, 35

83. Lives of the Sophists, 562

Very shortly after his arrival in Rome, Herodes married Appia Annia Regilla Atelia Caucidia Tertulla, <sup>84</sup> one of the noblest and wealthiest heiresses of Rome, whose father and grandfather had both held the consulship, and who was related to Annia Galeria Faustina, the wife of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. It may have been partly as a result of his wife's connection with the imperial family, partly because of his success in instructing his adopted sons that Antoninus raised him to the rank of Consul Eponymous, an office which he shared in 143 with C. Bellicius Torquatus. <sup>85</sup> Fronto was at the same time appointed Consul Suffectus.

I cannot agree with München <sup>86</sup> who follows Mommsen <sup>87</sup> in placing the conflict which occurred in Rome between Herodes and Fronto "nach dem consulat 143 und vor der Hochzeit des Marcus, 145." This hostility between the two Sophists arose when Fronto acted as one of the lawyers for the prosecution in a case brought against Herodes at Rome in which the latter was accused of various crimes by the Athenians. Our only information on this subject is afforded by some letters which passed between Marcus Aurelius and Fronto. <sup>88</sup> Haines proposes to date these letters between 140 and 143 A.D. or before Herodes' consulship on the ground that "he could hardly have been elected to it with such accusations hanging over him - to which one <sup>89</sup>

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84. Pros. Imp. Rom I 79, 557; Real Enc. V I p. 2315, 125

85. Lives of the Sophists, 550; C I B vi 32520 I g S I 1055b  
III p. 152

86. Real Enc. viii, p. 930

87. Hermes viii, 1874, 211

88. Ad M. Caes. III (2-6) (*Nale* p. 40-44)

89. Haines, The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto (1919), p. 59

might reply, of course, that the accusation could have been brought against him after his election to the consulship. But it seems to me that there is a strong support for Mr. Haines' dating in Fronto's obvious lack of acquaintance with Herodes at this time. In reply to a letter from Marcus begging him for his sake, since he loves both of them, to see "uti quam honestissimæ negotium istud odiosissimum transigatur" Fronto replies, "Sive sit iste Herodes vir frugi et pudicus, protelari convicus talem a me virum noti est verum; sive nequam et improbus est non aequa mihi cum eo certatio neque idem detrementi capitur," and a little later in the same letter, "Quod si umquam scissem, tum me di omnes male adflixant si ego verbo laedere ausus <sup>90</sup> *fuisse* quemquam amicum tibi." This ignorance of Fronto concerning the character of Herodes and his friendship with Marcus, strange as it must seem in any case, becomes inexplicable if we agree that Herodes had already been some time in Rome, a frequent visitor at the house of the emperor, and that both had held consulships in the same year. It is more likely that the trial took place shortly after Herodes' arrival in Rome and we may even guess that unpleasantness which culminated in it may have had something to do with his departure from Athens. If his consulship followed soon afterwards, he must have been honourably acquitted in spite of the able pleading not only of Fronto but of Capreolus, Marcianus and Villianus. <sup>91</sup> Herodes and Fronto bore no permanent

90. Ad M. Caes. III, 3

91. idem III, 4 ( *Waber* p. 43 ) These men are known only from Fronto's mention of them in this connection.



grudge against each other as a result of the trial but were soon on friendly terms, probably through the influence of the young Marcus who in a letter dating probably from about the time of the trial writes to Fronto "et Herodes te amat et ego <sup>92</sup>istic hoc ago." In a letter to Lucius Verus dating from 165 A.D., Fronto in speaking of a certain Asclepiodotus, against whom he had written a speech without knowing that he was on friendly terms with Verus, expresses the hope that "Asclepiodotum quom a te probetur mihi quoque <sup>93</sup> *fieri* filii amicissimum, tam hercule quam est Herodes summus nunc meus, quamquam extet oratio." The "oratio" may, as Haines believes, be a speech of recent date, but it seems more probable that it refers to Fronto's oration against Herodes in the trial of ? 140-143.

We must connect with Herodes' stay in Rome his supervision over the changing of Canusium in Apulia into a colony and his building of an aqueduct for the city " *ἐπέτα τούτου* *ἔργον.*" <sup>94</sup> That Herodes while in Italy did not devote himself entirely to public offices and private instructing, but carried on his career as a sophistic lecturer we know from Philostratos, who tells us how Aristocles of Pergamon was converted from a Peripatetic to a Stoic and at Rome regularly went to hear Herodes when he lectured on <sup>95</sup> extempore oratory.

92. Ad M. Caes. iv 2 ( *Nabes* p. 60)

93. Ad Verum Imp. II 9 ( *Nabes* p. 137). In a letter to Marcus (Ad Antoninum Imp. II 8 *Nabes* p. III ) Fronto quotes these lines which he has just written to Verus.

94. Lives of the Sophists, 551

95. idem, 567

We do not know the date of Herodes' return to Greece, but for a decade or so after his home coming he must have led a very happy existence living with his wife in his beloved Marathon and Kephissia, following his career as a sophistic teacher, acting as officer at various religious and civic festivals, and spending his great wealth in beautifying and benefiting his native country. Many inscriptions relative to Herodes have been found at Kephissia, but no remains of his villa have come to light, although a Roman tomb discovered in 1866 on the principal square of the town dates from his time and may, in the opinion of Mr. Eustratiades, have belonged to his estate.<sup>96</sup> The site of his villa at Marathon is

marked by the well-known stone of Avlona, ~~first read by Leake,~~ which is from the arch of the gateway to the estate and bears the inscription "Ὁμορῳίας ἀθαράτου ἀθαράτης πόλην Ἡρώδου ὁ Χῶρος εἰς ὃν εἰσέρχεται." 97 Mr. Sotiriades

while excavating at Marathon in the fall of 1926 re-examined this stone and found that the reverse side also bears an inscription which reads "Ὁμορῳίας ἀθαράτου πόλην Ἡρώδου ὁ Χῶρος εἰς ὃν εἰσέρχεται." 98

The gate from which the arch came had door posts of marble two meters long by .75 meters wide. There were found in this small excavation blocks of stone, pieces of marble, and some fairly well preserved whitewashed walls .75 meters in width of Roman date

96. Arch. Zeit. (1869) pp. 35-40  
 97. First read by Leake  
 98. Classical Weekly, Jan. 10, 1927, p. 1

"evidently belonging to some annex of the portal." Mr. Sotiriades comments too on the harbour works of the Romans near the mouth of a broad canal by which the Romans conveyed water from the little marsh of Brexiza to the sea. These works probably owed their construction to Herodes and Mr. Sotiriades hopes to continue their investigation at a later date.

This happy period during which so far as we know Herodes was troubled by no violent accusations on the part of the Athenians marks the highest point of his building activities in Greece. On the hill to the west of the Stadium he erected a small Ionic temple to Fortune "with an ivory statue of the goddess as director of the contests." The temple was put up in honour of Regilla who, we learn from an inscription set up in her honour at Piraeus, was made chief priestess of "Τύχη τῆς πόλεως" a cult which was established in the second century A.D.

We have no record of his erecting any other building in Athens during this period, nor are we sure that any part of Attica benefited by his generosity during these years. Yet, although we cannot tell whether it is chronologically correct

99. Classical Weekly, Jan 10, 1927, p. 1

100. Ath. Mitt. 1883, p. 288

101. How popular the goddess Fortune was in Rome we can judge from a letter written by Fronto to Marcus Aurelius (ad M. Caes. I 3 Naber p.5) in which he says, "Quis antem ignorat Fortunam deam dearumque praecipiam? templum fana delubrae passim Fortunae dicata?"

to bring it in at this point, it may be well to mention here his repair of a temple, probably dedicated to Athena, at Myrrhinus, and his dedication therein of an image of Athena. The inscription which records these acts was found at Merenda,<sup>102</sup> a village on the site of the ancient Myrrhinus, east of Mt. Hymettus and about a mile and three-quarters south-east of the large village of Markopoulo. Professor Milchhöfer conjectures that fragments of the statue of Athena dedicated by Herodes are to be recognized in a female torso now at the Chapel of St. George between Merenda and Markopoulo, and in a fragment of a statue of Athena, including the gorgon's head, in the Chapel of the Taxiarchi at Dankla, a village south of Markopoulo.<sup>103</sup>

On the analogy of Herodes' repairs of this sanctuary, Lolling has suggested that he may also have repaired the sanctuary of Amarysian Artemis, southwest of the modern village of Marusi (the name of this town is obviously a survival of the surname of the goddess) and thus not far from Herodes' home in Kephissia. Two boundary stones of this sanctuary have been found, one of which has archaic characters of the pre-Euclidean alphabet, while the letter forms of the other seem to be archaistic rather than archaic.<sup>104</sup> Lolling conjectures that Herodes whose love for archaic elegance is well-known was the author of the latter inscription, and that he had this new boundary stone erected after repairing the sanctuary.

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102. C I A III 697

103. Ath. Mitt. 1887, p. 277 ff.

104. Lolling, Neues Grenzstein des Artemis Amarysia, Ath. Mitt. 1880

However, inconclusive these arguments may seem, the attribution has more basis, surely, than his suggestion, unaccompanied by proofs, that the well-known statue in the rocky islet at Porto-Raphta may owe its Roman remodelling to Herodes.

105

Herodes' munificence was not confined by any means to Attica, but extended widely throughout Greece. From the period under discussion we have impressive remains at Delphi, Corinth and Olympia. The Pythian Stadium at Delphi owes its existence or at least its final form to his generosity. Pausanias tells us that it was rebuilt by Herodes the Athenian, while Philostratos says of him "ἀρέσθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ τῷ Πυθίῳ ἑστῆσαν." <sup>107</sup>

106

As in the case of the Athenian

Stadium, we may conjecture that Herodes promised to the Delphians the rebuilding of their stadium on the occasion when he held some office at the Pythian festival.\* We know of his holding such an office from Philostratos who tells us how he aroused the enmity of the Quintilii by differing in opinion with them on the subject of the musical competition. The rebuilding of the Stadium is like most of the events of Herodes' life not accurately dateable. Hiller who dates it in Hadrian's time is contradicted by München who would place the encounter with the Quintilii in 147 when the brothers would be officials and not private citizens.

108

109

105. Lolling, Prasiae, Ath. Mitt. 1879

106. Pausanias x, 32 1

107. Lives of the Sophists, 550

108. idem, 559

109. Cf. München Real Enc. viii, p. 931

Corinth also was favoured by Herodes who erected there  
a covered theatre or odeion and may have been responsible for  
reconstructing the open Greek theatre. That it was he too  
who paid the bill for an elaborate remodelling of the fountain  
of Peirene was proved by the finding of a statue base with an  
inscription to Regilla, reading

“νεύματι Ελευφίης Βουλῆς παρὰ χεύματι πηγῶν  
Ῥηγίλλαν μ' εὐοφῶνς εἰκόνα σαρφοσύνης.” 112

Both Philostratos and Pausanias describe the magnificent gold  
and ivory statues that he dedicated within the temple in the  
Isthmian Precinct. Upon a pedestal decorated with sculptured  
Nereids stood a chariot drawn by four gilded horses with ivory  
hoofs and in the chariot stood Amphitrite and Poseidon, while  
near the horses were two tritons and a dolphin bearing the boy  
Palaemon - a group of which it is difficult to form any mental  
picture since no copies of it have been preserved to us.

But it was Olympia that especially honoured Herodes and  
that was therefore the special object of his bounty. Thither  
he went to deliver orations at the Olympic games and to be  
acclaimed by all Greece as "the equal of Demosthenes," and "one  
of the Ten." His wife was honoured with the priestessship  
of Demeter Chamyne, an office which carried with it the privilege

110. Lives of the Sophists, 557

111. Shear, A.J.A., 1925 p. 388 (Excavations at Corinth in 1925)

112. Richardson, "Peirene," A.J.A. 1900, p. 235

113. Lives of the Sophists, p. 551; Pausanias I, 44 11

114. Lives of the Sophists, 539

115. idem, 565

of sitting opposite the umpires in the stadium upon an altar of white marble and viewing the Olympian games from which all other married women were barred.<sup>116</sup> In recognition of this distinction accorded to Regilla, Herodes dedicated new images of Pentelic marble in the sanctuary of Demeter Chamyne <sup>117</sup> On the low hill to the east of the stadium, and constructed a new <sup>118</sup> aqueduct to bring the water from the Alpheus to the Altis. This aqueduct terminated in the so-called exedra in the center of which stood a marble bull dedicated to Regilla as priestess of Demeter Chamyne. The date of this construction must be placed between 147 and 161. The earlier limit is fixed by the fact that statues were erected in the exedra to the two children of Faustina and Marcus Aurelius who were married in the year 145. The latter terminus is fixed by the date of Regilla's death. Adler would place the commencement of the aqueduct immediately after 153, the year in which he believes <sup>119</sup> Regilla to have held the priestessship of Demeter Chamyne.

From Philostratos we know that Herodes at some time during his life, perhaps during this period of his greatest building activity constructed "τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις κολυμβήτρικας τοῖς ῥοδῶσι παλιναῖον."<sup>120</sup> colonized Oricum in Epirus and endowed the cities of Euboea, the Peloponnese and Boeotia with various gifts.<sup>121</sup> The ruins of Oricum are to be seen <sup>on</sup> ~~at~~

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116. Pausanias VI, 2199  
 117. idem VI 21 1, 2  
 118. This construction is not mentioned by Pausanias but we have ancient references to it in Lucian, Life's End of Peregrinus 19, where the story is told that Peregrinus was stoned by the crowd for denouncing the new effeminate innovation. and in Philostratos' Lives of the Sophists 551.  
 119. Olympia 1892 vol. II p. 139. Cf. Gardner, "Olympia" (1925) p. 299  
 120. Lives of the Sophists 551; Cf. Bursian Geographie von Griechenland, vol. I p 93 (1862)

a desert site now called Erikho near the modern village of  
 Dukadha in the midst of a series of lagoons. <sup>122</sup> Inscriptions  
 in memory of his beloved *Τρόφιμος* have been found in the  
 east of the Peloponnese and in Euboea, although there are no  
 monuments in these places to which we can affix his name.

The best preserved and probably the most ambitious  
 monument undertaken by Herodes is connected with the great <sup>123</sup>  
 sorrow which befell him in 161, the death of his wife Regilla.  
 Shortly before this crowning blow we must place the death of his  
 two children, Regillus and Athenais. <sup>124</sup> As usual, Herodes took  
 his losses in anything but a spirit of resignation. Lucian  
 tells us how he sat in a dark room grieving for his youngest  
 son when his friend Demonax approached him, announced himself  
 as a magician and promised to call up an image of the boy if  
 Herodes could name for him three men who had never suffered.  
 Then Demonax urged upon him the sensible but futile argument  
 always addressed to those in grief "*τίτε μόνος ἀφόρητα*  
*πᾶσ' ἔχει κομίσσεις μηδένα ὄρων πένθους ἀμώρον;*" <sup>125</sup>  
 His sorrow over the death of his daughter Athenais was miti-  
 gated by the honour which the Athenians accorded her for they  
 buried her in the city and decreed that the day on which she  
 died should be taken out of the year. <sup>126</sup> His other daughter

121. Lives of the Sophists, 551

122. Cf. Leake "Northern Greece" (1862) Vol. I, p. 93

123. Lives of the Sophists, 551; Pausanias VII, 26, 6

124. Called in Lives of the Sophists 557 Panathenais

125. Lucian *Ἀγώνων τῆς Βίης* 25

126. Lives of the Sophists 558



Elpinice survived her mother by some years, but when she too died, his grief was terrible to see, for he lay on the floor beating the earth with his hands and cried aloud, "Τί σοι, θυγάτηρ, καὶ θάξιω; τί σοι οὐκ ἔσθω;" It was the philosopher Sextus who on this occasion tried to comfort him in his loss and begged him to temper his grief with the words

"μεγάλα τῇ θυγατρὶ σώσεις ἑγκρατῶς αὐτὴν πένθης."<sup>127</sup>

But his mourning on these occasions was as nothing in comparison with the grief which he displayed on the death of Regilla.

His sorrow on his wife's death found various means of expression. It was because of his mourning that he refused a second consulship which was offered him about this time. To perpetuate her memory, he began the construction of the magnificent odeion on the south slope of the Acropolis. His house itself took on perpetual mourning in her honour, for he re-decorated it with Lesbian black marble and had the whole place hung with black curtains and draperies. Again, however, a sensible friend appeared who tried to show him the folly of his excessive show of grief. Lucius, who was "σοφός" and

"ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς αὐτοῦ δαίος" argued with him for a long time in vain, urging the golden mean and self-control, and finally brought him to his senses by ridicule. Learning that

radishes were being prepared for Herodes' dinner, he remarked, "Ἐδοκεῖ τῇ γυλλαν Ἡρώδης λευκὰς ῥαφανίδας αἰτῶμενα ἐν μελαίνῃ οἰκίᾳ;"<sup>130</sup> There were some who believed

127. Lives of the Sophists, 558

128. idem, 556

129. idem. 556

130. idem, 557

to a guilty conscience. Regilla had died pregnant, and it was said that her death had been caused by a beating administered at Herodes' order by his freedman Alcomedon. On this ground, a charge of murder was brought against him by his brother-in-law Bradwas, a man of consular rank, but he had no evidence to support his accusation. <sup>131</sup> It would seem that the decision was rightly given in favour of Herodes, although his grief, not only on this occasion, but when other sorrows befell him, has a ring of insincerity about it. He seems to have belonged to that class of people who are possessed of such a strong dramatic instinct that they give us the impression of acting even when they are most sincere.

The trial took place in Rome, <sup>132</sup> whither Herodes went soon after his wife's death in order to enshrine her as a new heroine, that Rome might share in honouring her memory. He renamed the estate on the Appian Way where he had lived with her Triopeium after the well-known shrine of Demeter at Cnidus with which he had become acquainted during his residence in Asia Minor. At the entrance he had her image erected upon a column bearing the bilingual inscription "Ἀρρία Πηγίλλα ἡρώδου γυνή, τὸ φῶς τῆς οἰκίας, τίνας ταῦτα τὰ χυρία γέγονεν. Annia Regilla Herodes uxor lumen domus cuius haec praedia fuerunt." <sup>133</sup> This stone in the time of Maxentius was reused

as the seventh milestone of the Appian Way, and bore on its reverse side the inscription "Domino nostro Maxentio Pio Felici Invicto Augusto VI." The two most important inscriptions

131. Lives of the Sophists, 555

132. idem. 555

133. I G iv 1391

from the Triopeium are now in the Louvre and bear poems, one containing thirty-nine, the other fifty-nine hexameters by the poet Marcellus of Side.<sup>134</sup> The former is an invocation to Athena addressed as "Ποτρε' Αθηναων ἐπιήρανε" and to Oripis<sup>Oripis</sup> or Nemesis of Rhamnus. The latter is written as a dedication of a statue of Regilla which Herodes had erected side by side with that of her cousin, the Empress Faustina. These were probably placed in the sanctuary which he erected within the estate where Regilla and Faustina (the Δηώ τε καὶ Δηά τε παλαιή of the poems) were worshipped together with Demeter and Kore, Athena and Nemesis. Herodes was prompted to make this a shrine of Demeter by the fact that Regilla had served as priestess of Demeter Chamyne. Before the sanctuary were placed two columns, one with a dedication to Demeter and Kore and the other chthonic divinities, the second calling down curses on anyone who should dare to displace these monuments.<sup>135</sup> Herodes' love for archaism shows itself in these inscriptions, the characters of which greatly antedate in style the archonship of Euclides.

It was in Rome that Antoninus Pius offered Herodes the second consulship which he refused because of his mourning for Regilla.<sup>136</sup> The Emperor then chose to honour him by

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134. I. G. xiv, 1389

135. I. G. xiv, 1390

136. Lives of the Sophists 556

raising his son Atticus to the rank of Senator, thus bringing  
the young man into the patrician class. <sup>137</sup> It is doubtful  
whether Herodes' heart was really much rejoiced by this honour  
accorded to one whose membership in his family he would have  
been glad to forget. For Atticus, although his oldest and  
now his only son, brought no comfort to his father, who was  
distressed by his drunkenness and loose living as he had been  
in his childhood by his stupidity and dullness. The story  
is told that when as a boy he was unable to learn the alphabet  
Herodes conceived the idea of bringing up with him twenty-four  
boys of the same age, named for the twenty-four letters of the  
alphabet, so that he would be obliged to learn his letters  
while learning the names of his companions. <sup>138</sup> As he grew older  
his father became more and more disgusted with him and  
although he was receiving public honours, Herodes finally  
disinherited him, an action which was considered inhuman by  
the Athenians. <sup>139</sup>

Now that his wife's death deprived him of the hope of  
ever being father to a worthy heir, Herodes proceeded to  
adopt a certain L. Vibullius Claudius Herodes. <sup>140</sup> This addi-  
tion to his family is a discovery of Professor Paul Graindor  
who was the first to realize the importance of a brief dedica-  
tory inscription, which had heretofore been read incorrectly.  
This inscription, which was discovered in Kephissia, reads

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137. Marcellus 23 I g xv, 1392

138. Lives of the Sophists, 558

139. idem, 558

140. Berl. Phil. Woch. 1885, N<sup>o</sup> 27; Larfeld, Bursian Jahrbuch  
1887, p. 427  
B.C.H. 38 (1914) p. 365f.

"Λούκιος Βιβούλλιος Κληρώδης, Πομφόου  
γρήσας υἱός, Ἡράδου ἐκπαλιότης,"

(not Λούκιος Βιβούλλιος Κληρώδης as it is given by  
previous editors).<sup>141</sup> It seems clear that the man who  
adopted Vibullius was <sup>an</sup> Herodes, since his family was re-  
lated to the Vibulii - his mother in fact bore the name  
Vibullia Alcia Agrippina. The P. *Ael.* Vibullius Rufus,  
who was archon in 140/1 was undoubtedly a relative of this  
adopted son, perhaps his father or uncle.

We do not know when Herodes, now the most celebrated  
and most sought after of all the Sophists, returned to Athens  
not even whether it was before or after the death of Antoninus  
Pius. From the period of his life which follows, we have  
many personal reminiscences in the "Noctes Atticae" of Aulus  
Gellius, who came to Athens to pursue his studies in rhetoric  
and philosophy under Calvisius Taurus. He was a frequent  
visitor at Herodes' villa in Kephissia (<sup>accusabat</sup> ~~accusabat~~ saepe nos  
cum apud magistros Athenis essemus, in villas ei urbi proximas"<sup>142</sup>  
and gives us an enthusiastic picture of its beauty, "longis  
ambulacris et mollibus, aquis undique cano<sup>r</sup>is<sup>143</sup> atque avibus."<sup>144</sup>  
Again he writes of it as "aquis et lucis nemoribus frequentem"<sup>144</sup>  
He had an opportunity to know the villa well, for on the  
occasion of one visit he fell ill with a fever and had to  
remain there for some time.<sup>145</sup>

141. Berl. Phil. Woch. 1885 N° 27 Larfeld Bursian Jarhb. 1887  
p. 427

142. Noctes Atticae I, 2.1

143. idem I, 2:2

144. idem. xviii, 10.1

145. idem. xviii, 10, 2.3

If we combine his glimpses with those given us by Philostratos we get a fairly vivid picture of Herodes, the Sophist and teacher. Gellius praises very highly Herodes' genius for oratory "in qua fere omnes memoriae nostrae universos gravitate atque copia et elegantia vocum <sup>longe</sup> ~~large~~ praestitit." <sup>146</sup> He recalls a speech that the great Sophist delivered in answer to a Stoic who had reproved him for his inordinate grief over the death of one of his favourites. In his answer Herodes passed judgment upon the Stoic doctrine of *apatheia*, which in his opinion was contrary to human nature and if followed to its logical conclusion would stamp out all the passions instead of teaching men to moderate and control them. <sup>147</sup> He cites in comparison the case of a Thracian barbarian who decides to go in for agriculture, a profession of which he is entirely ignorant. After watching a neighbour pruning his vines and cutting off the dead branches from his fruit and olive trees, the ignorant fellow goes home and in his stupidity hacks away at his own trees and vines decapitating and ruining them completely. <sup>148</sup> This Stoic whom Herodes was answering on this occasion was, we may suppose, someone of note in his school and worthy of a reply. For we find him making short work of a conceited, talkative young man "disciplinae ut ipse dicebat stoicae." <sup>149</sup> When this would-be philosopher was on the point of boring everyone to distraction, Herodes silenced him effectually by quoting from the greatest of the Stoics, Epictetus, a passage in which the

146. Noctes Atticae, XIX, 12.1  
147. idem, XIX, 12.2-6  
148. idem, XIX, 12.7-10  
149. idem, I, 2.3

true Stoic is distinguished from the "vulgus nebulorum hominum qui se Stoicos nuncuparent," with the unmistakable inference that the young speaker belonged to the latter class. <sup>150</sup>

Gellius gives us later a picture of the way in which Herodes dealt with another pretender to the title of philosopher. <sup>151</sup> This time it was an old man, probably of the Cynic persuasion, who considered that his long beard and mantle stamped him as a philosopher. Presenting himself before Herodes one day, he begged for money "εἰς ἀποτρον." Herodes asked him his profession and when the old fellow pretended to be insulted and expressed surprise that the answer was not obvious, Herodes replied "Video barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum video." Yet he ordered him to be given the price of bread for thirty days and when some of his pupils seemed to feel that this charity was not deserved, said "Demus huic aliquid aeris cuiusmodi est, tamquam homines non tamquam homini." He then quoted Musonius, who on a similar occasion when his friends urged that the man to whom he was giving charity was "nulla re bona dignus" answered "ἀξίως οὐκ εἶται ἀποτρον."

In addition to Gellius and the three students who were named above, Adrian of Tyre, Skeptus of Corinth and Amphicles of Chalcis, we know from Philostratos the names of a few other members of his school - Pausanias of Cappadocia, who is generally <sup>152</sup>

151. Noctes Atticae I, 2.7

152. idem, IX, 2

153. Lives of the Sophists 594

identified with the celebrated traveller, <sup>153</sup> *Chrestus* of Byzantium,  
<sup>154</sup> Rufus of Perinthus, <sup>155</sup> Ptolemais of Naucratis, Onomarchus of  
<sup>156</sup> Andros and <sup>157</sup> Aristеides of Smyrna. From an inscription in

honour of his daughter Athenais we learn the name of one more  
pupil *Φ(καουκος)Μακρ.* <sup>158</sup> The influence of Herodes on the  
succeeding generation is traced in Schmid's "Atticismus"  
where the names of his pupils' pupils are gathered together.

Herodes' reputation was so great that visiting Sophists  
were eager to meet him and to hear him discourse. Philostratos  
tells us how Alexander of Seleucia, nicknamed Peloplaton,  
passed through Athens one time on his way to Pannonia at the  
summons of the Emperor Marcus. <sup>160</sup> The Theatre of Agrippa in

the Cerameicus was crowded with people who were anxious to  
hear the visiting scholar deliver an extempore speech. After  
he had presented an excellent discourse, he begged Herodes to  
favour him with a speech in turn. Herodes then arose and  
elaborated the theme which was selected by his audience.

"The wounded Sicilians implore the retreating Athenians to  
put them to death." Alexander's admiration at his oratory  
was so enthusiastic that he exclaimed " *ὦ Πρώτη, τεράχια*  
*σου ἐσμέν οὐ σοφισταὶ πάντες.*" <sup>161</sup> This praise so

pleased Herodes that he loaded the visitor with gifts: ~~ten~~ ten  
pack animals, ten horses, ten cup-bearers, ten shorthand

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- 153. Lives of the Sophists, 591
  - 154. idem, 598
  - 155. idem, 595
  - 156. idem, 598
  - 157. idem, 581
  - 158. I § III 894a
  - 159. I 201ff
  - 160. Lives of the Sophists 571
  - 161. idem, 574



writers, a hundred talents of gold, a large sum of silver and two ~~l~~lipping children from Collytus "since he had heard that Alexander delighted in hearing childish voices."

Philostratos does not tell us that there were times when his hero feared for his reputation as the greatest of orators, and so it is from another source that we learn of his jealousy of his own pupil, Celius Aristeides. In the *Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὸν Ἀριστείδου Παναθηναϊκόν* <sup>162</sup> the story is told how Aristeides, when he wished to deliver the address at the Panathenaic festival, encountered violent opposition from Herodes. In order to quiet this opposition he resorted to strategy and presented to his teacher as the oration which he proposed to deliver at the festival a discourse which was *εὐτελής καὶ ψυχρὸν* so that Herodes desisted from his jealous opposition in the belief that Aristeides would disgrace himself. But on the day of the Panathenaic the orator arose and "*εἶπε τοῦτον τὸν ἀναγινωσκόμενον καὶ θαυμάζομενον καὶ πάνυ ἠὲ σοκίμηται*" <sup>163</sup> This oration still survives.

As a teacher of the youth of Greece, Herodes established relations with the College of the *ἑφῆβοι* although he does not seem to have held any especial office in that connection. Philostratos tells us how he presented them all with white cloaks to take the place of the black ones they were accustomed to wear when they appeared as a body in processions and at public meetings. <sup>164</sup> An inscription found in the Stoa of

162. So-called in Aldine prima; but *εἰς ἑφῆβους* in Aldine Secunda.

163. Aristeides, ed. Dindorf (1829). pp. 738, 39

164. Lives of the Sophists, 550

Attalus in 1861 serves to confirm this story and at the same time to give us an approximate date for the donation - during the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus " τῶν δευδοτάτων αὐτοκρατορῶν Σεβαστῶν," and therefore between the years 166 and 169. In celebration of a victory over the Parthians, the traditional mourning for Copeus, the herald of Eurystheus, was laid aside and white cloaks for the procession to Eleusis were provided by Herodes the ἀρχιερεὺς, 165

Maass 166 thinks that in token of appreciation for the gift, the ephebes held games in his honour at Eleusis, for an inscription dealing with ephebic games contains the phrase " τῶν ἐπι κλαυδίῳ Ἡρώδῃ πρῶτον ἀρχιερεῖ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ ἀγάλῃ 167

Lolling translates ἐπι κλαυδίῳ Ἡρώδῃ " simply as "παρόντας τοῦ Ἡρώδου" but his date 167/8 for the inscription makes it very probable that these games were in fact held as a mark of gratitude to Herodes for this gift, and the correct rendering of the phrase is probably "in honour of Claudius Herodes." Maass would date from about this same 168

time the famous Jobacchoi inscription and with good reason identified the "κράτιστος Κλαύδιος Ἡρώδης" who was consecrated priest by Aurelius Nichomachus, after the latter had held the office for twenty-three years, with the κράτιστος ἀρχιερεὺς

"Τ.β. Κλ. Ἡρώδης Μαραθωνίου" of I G III 1132 and so with our Herodes.

165. I G III 1132

166. Maass, Orpheus (1895) p. 46

167. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 74 (commented on p. 83)

168. Ath. Mitt. XIX, 248

But although Herodes was apparently reaping great honours, he was unable to gain the affection of the Athenians, who still

οὐκ ἔπαύσαντο μισοῦντες οὐδὲ σπότε τὰ μέγιστα  
ἐυεργετῶν ἕξτο. 169

We have already mentioned

the beginning of his quarrel with the Quintilii, natives of Alexandria-Troas, who were high in the favour of Marcus Aurelius. Not only had he come into conflict with them at Delphi but apparently moved by jealousy of the honours accorded to them by the emperor, he made jests at their expense.

Philostratos quotes for us the remark that he made to Marcus - <sup>α, β</sup> <sub>ε, ς</sub>  
καὶ τὸν Δία μὲν φωνάζων τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν ὅτι τὸν Τρώα φιλῶ. 170

But these were by-products and not the cause of the enmity existing between them. The real reason for this antagonism

lay as Philostratos divined in the fact that the Quintilii sympathized with the Athenians in their complaints against Herodes. At the time when the brothers were governing the

province of Achaia, the people made speeches in the assembly to the effect that Herodes was acting the rôle of tyrant and oppressing them. When the Quintilii reported this to the

emperor, Herodes asserted that they were plotting against him and inciting the Athenians to attack him. <sup>171</sup> There was some

truth in Herodes' charge, for encouraged by the support of the Roman governors, a strong party rose up in opposition to him, the names of whose leaders are given by Philostratos as

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169. Lives of the Sophists, 549

170. idem, 559

171. idem, 559, 60

Demostratus, Praxagoras and Mamertonius. Their antagonism became so actively unpleasant that Herodes was forced to assume the offensive and accused them before the proconsular court of a conspiracy to set the people against him. <sup>173</sup> But while Herodes was engaged in bringing this charge, his enemies secretly left the city and went to lay their complaints before the Emperor Marcus whose headquarters were at the time in Sirmium, and who with this city as a base, had since the year 169 been carrying on a war against the barbaric tribes of the Danube. The death of Lucius Verus had occurred only a couple of years before, and the rumour was that he had died a victim of poison administered with the permission of Marcus. <sup>174</sup> Whatever the truth or falsity of the current gossip, it shows that the brothers had been on terms of hostility before Lucius' death, and Herodes' sympathies were known to be on the side of the younger brother, whom he had entertained in Athens in the year 162, when he was setting out to make war against the Parthians. For this reason then the leaders of the opposition counted on Herodes' finding no great favour with the emperor.

The reception which Marcus accorded to Demostratus and his friends seemed to justify their optimism, for they were lodged near the emperor's headquarters and he himself saw that they wanted nothing. Their nearness to the imperial family gave them a chance to work on the sympathies of the women of

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172. Lives of the Sophists, 559

173. idem, 560

174. Dio Cassius LXXII, 22; Dindorf, vol. IV, p. 213  
Capitolinus Hist. Aug. (ed. Leyden) p. 348

the household, so that both Marcus' wife Faustina and his little three-year-old daughter pleaded with him to save the Athenians from the tyrant. Herodes, who had been forced to follow his accusers to Sirmium, had to take up his quarters in a suburb of the town among the fortifications. Just before the trial a calamity occurred which was sufficient to unnerve completely a man so lacking in self-control as Herodes. The daughters of his freedman Alcimedon whom he called his own daughters "καὶ ὧδε αὐτὰ ἱμένας" and who had travelled to Sirmium with him were struck by lightning during the night and killed. Frantic with grief, Herodes, when he came into the court, made no attempt to plead his cause, but launched a tirade of abuse against the emperor, winding up with the words

"ὄσον δικάσεις, γυναικί μου καὶ τρεῖται παρδῶ  
κατὰ καρπὸν ἱμένας." 176

When Bassaeus, the

praetorian prefect, horrified by this insolence, threatened him with death, his answer was "ὦ τίποτε, γέρον ὀλίγα φουβέταις."

During Herodes' abusive harangue Marcus maintained a philosophical calm, and when he had finished speaking and had rushed wildly from the court, the emperor quietly bade the Athenians to proceed with their address "εἰ καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖ ἡρώδης"

Philostratos cites phrases from Demonstratus's speech which was written with the collaboration of Theodotus, a former pupil of Herodes. These extracts strike a flowery, sentimental note,

175. Lives of the Sophists, 560

176. idem. 561

177. idem.

but the address had its effect on Marcus, whose feelings were so deeply touched by the sufferings of the Athenians that he burst into tears. Yet he did not pass judgment against Herodes, but since his freedmen were also involved in the Athenians' indictment, he turned his anger against them, employing, however, as light as possible a punishment. In Alcimedon's case he remitted the penalty entirely, since he had suffered sufficiently through the death of his two daughters.

On his return journey to Athens, Herodes fell ill in Oricum and was forced to remain there some time, a fact which gave his enemies the opportunity to spread abroad a rumour to the effect that Marcus had exiled him. <sup>179</sup> But on his recovery he returned to Attica, and passed the remaining years of his life in his beloved demes of Marathon and Kephissia, where youths from all parts of the world gathered to ~~hear~~ <sup>hear</sup> his eloquence.

Philostratos records that Herodes and Marcus were reconciled some time after the trial. The old Sophist, anxious to find out if the emperor was still offended, but too proud to offer apologies or sue for favour, wrote to Marcus rebuking him for neglecting him. In answer, he received a long friendly letter opening with the salutation "Χαίρετέ μοι φίλε Ἡρώδην," in which the emperor expressed the wish to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries by his old teacher. <sup>180</sup> To show how

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178. Lives of the Sophists, 566

179. idem, 562

completely Herodes was restored to favour, he later invited him to choose the men who should fill the four new chairs he was establishing at the University in Platonic, Stoic, 181. That Herodes was Peripatetic and Epicurean philosophy.

loyal to Marcus is clear from a letter which he wrote to Cassius, the governor of the eastern provinces when the latter was conspiring against the emperor. His rebuke was brief but sufficient "Ἡρώδης Κασσίου ἑμίανης." 182

It must have been not long after his reconciliation with the emperor that Herodes at the age of seventy-six, died in his villa at Marathon. He had left a request to be buried there, but the Athenians, who, now that it was too late, began to appreciate all that he had tried to do for them, insisted on bearing his body to the Panathenaic Stadium where he was buried with great honour, while people of all ages mourned for him "ὄσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρευσαυτος." 183

An eloquent funeral oration "ἑνάξιον τοῦ ἀνδρῶς" was delivered by his pupil Adrian of Tyre, and over his grave was set an epitaph which read,

"Ἀττικῶν Ἡρώδης Μαραθῶνας ὃν τάδε πάντα 185  
κεῖται τῷδε τάφῳ πάντοθεν εὐδοκίμος."

On the hill to the east of the stadium there are remains of a rectangular building of a peculiarly elongated ground plan (the foundations measure 55 x 11 meters) which, from their material and construction are dated in the time of Herodes.

- 180. Lives of the Sophists, 562
- 181. idem, 566
- 182. idem, 563
- 183. idem, 566
- 184. idem, 586
- 185. idem, 566

The identification of this structure with the grave monument  
of Herodes, while not at all certain, has much in its favour. <sup>186</sup>

True, Philostratos says distinctly that he was buried in the  
stadium, but Judeich rightly remarks that it is difficult to <sup>187</sup>

conceive of a grave in the race course or auditorium of the  
stadium. <sup>188</sup> It seems more reasonable to suppose that Philostratos

is using the term in a broader sense to include the hills  
which support the cavea.

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186. For this view see Ziller, Zeitschrift v. Bonn, 1870,  
p. 492 and for a contrary opinion, Wachsnuth Stadt. *A*  
Athen vol. I, p. 246

187. Lives of the Sophists, 566

188. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, p. 368