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EURYCLES OF SPARTA ¹

By G. W. BOWERSOCK

The most notable personality in the history of Augustan Greece is the Spartan, C. Julius Eurycles. As a partisan of Octavian, he led the Spartan force against Antony at Actium,² and his name reveals that his allegiance was rewarded with Roman citizenship. Eurycles enjoyed the friendship of Augustus, and abused it. The history of this man provides valuable evidence for Augustan policy toward cities and dynasts of the East. Yet most of the modern literature dealing with him is inconclusive.³ It will be impossible to say the final word about Eurycles, but a great deal of confusion can be cleared up. Moreover, a recently published palimpsest requires that a crucial piece of evidence be revised.

A few preliminary matters must be considered first. Strabo the geographer, a contemporary of Eurycles, calls him ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμών.⁴ Elsewhere Strabo refers to his ἐπιστάσις.⁵ Constitutionalists may ask whether Eurycles was ἡγεμών or ἐπιστάτης of Sparta. Strabo is an unreliable guide in such a delicate inquiry: he also applies the term ἡγεμών to Sulla, a provincial governor, a prefect of Egypt, a German chieftain and the Emperor Tiberius.⁶ The word ἐπιστάσις is uncommon in Strabo, but there is no reason to believe that he is using it any more technically than his somewhat older contemporary, Diodorus the Sicilian, when he says τὰς πόλεις ἡλευθέρου τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιστάσις.⁷

But it does not matter much what Eurycles was called; his power was the vital thing. Weil demonstrated long ago from numismatic evidence that Eurycles held a unique, dynastic position in Sparta, which his son held after him.⁸ Coins with the legends ἐπὶ Εὐρυκλέους and ἐπὶ Λάκωνος form a series, beginning soon after Actium. Although there is an abundance of Spartan coins from the period before Actium, none bears the name of Lachares, Eurycles' father. It was the Emperor who raised up the Euryclids, and it was the Emperor who could pull them down again.

Inasmuch as the first Eurycles coin belongs to the years 31–27 B.C., it is reasonable to suppose that Eurycles was established as dynast of Sparta through the φιλία of a grateful Octavian not long after the Battle of Actium. Further confirmation of the early installation of Eurycles may perhaps lie in a passage of Strabo in which the Spartans are said to have presided over the newly founded Actia.⁹ Octavian chose the Spartans, no doubt, not only because of the refuge accorded to Livia¹⁰ and the support rendered at Actium but also because an *amicus*, appreciative of the citizenship, was in control at

¹ For criticism of various drafts of this paper I am deeply grateful to Professor Sir Ronald Syme, Professor F. W. Walbank, Mr. R. Meiggs and Mr. E. W. Gray. A much abbreviated version of this study was included in a paper read to the Oxford Branch of the Classical Association on 25th May, 1961.

² Plut., *Ant.* 67.

³ The following contain the most important studies of Eurycles: R. Weil, *Ath. Mitt.* 6 (1881), 10 ff.; E. Kjellberg, *Klio* 17 (1921), 44 ff.; E. Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiserkult* (Breslau, 1929) 13 ff.; S. Accame, *Il Dominio Romano in Grecia dalla Guerra Acaica ad Augusto* (Rome, 1946) 124 ff.; K. M. T. Chrimes (Mrs. Atkinson), *Ancient Sparta* (Manchester, 1949) 169 ff.; J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Philadelphia, 1953) 954 ff. Also notices in P-W: Niese, 6, 1330 f. (inaccurate); Groag, 10, 580; Ehrenberg, 2te. Reihe, 3, 1447. There are valuable remarks on Eurycles in the following reviews: A. Momigliano (Chrimes), *Rivista Storica Italiana* 62 (1950), 283; A. M. Woodward (Chrimes), *Historia* 1 (1950), 622, and *JHS* 73 (1953), 171; E. W. Gray (Oliver),

JHS 75 (1955), 196. Each of these books and articles to be cited by its author's surname only. References will be given by the letter S and the appropriate page number.

⁴ S 363.

⁵ S 366.

⁶ S 595 and 654 (Sulla), 569 (governor), 780 (Aelius Gallus), 291 (Segimundus), 627 (Tiberius).

⁷ Diod. 20, 32. Possibly Strabo is echoing the Hellenistic usage of ἐπιστάτης outside Egypt, as a special city governor in the service of a Hellenistic king: cf. M. Holleaux, *BCH* 17 (1893), 56; *Études d'Épig. et d'Hist. grecques* 1, 413–7. Cf. also F. W. Walbank, *Comm. on Polybius* (Oxford, 1959) pp. 559 and 579.

⁸ Weil, Chrimes, 196, thought ἐπὶ Εὐρυκλέους meant that Eurycles was a high priest of Augustus. This theory is untenable: cf. Woodward's objections in *Historia* o.c. (note 3) and Momigliano ('ipotesi senza base documentaria').

⁹ S 325.

¹⁰ Sparta had given refuge to Livia and the young Tiberius after the Perusine War (Dio 54, 7, 2) and was in the *clientela* of the Claudii (Suet., *Tib.* 6, 2).

Sparta. Subsequently, Augustus honoured the Spartans further by presenting them with Cythera, Thuria and Cardamyle.¹¹

The actual termination of Eurycles' rule is the central problem in writing his history. It raises topics of historical gravity: the relations of client kings and dynasts of Rome with one another, imperial intervention in the affairs of a free city and the degree to which the emperor can support a corrupt nominee in the face of strong local opposition. If it was Roman policy to encourage the aristocracies of eastern cities, a nice dilemma arises when one segment of a city aristocracy is violently hostile to another. Historians have a bad habit of thinking of local eastern aristocracies as units to be supported or opposed, and yet preoccupations with aristocratic factions at Rome ought naturally to have led them to investigate the same phenomena in other less important cities. Such factions in eastern cities obviously posed a serious problem in the implementation of Roman policy. It was just such a problem that Augustus faced in the case of C. Julius Eurycles.

Strabo provides the basic text. The following have long been taken to be his words: νεωστὶ δ' Εὐρυκλήης αὐτοὺς ἐτάραξε δόξας ἀποχρήσασθαι τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστασίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπαύσατο δ' ἡ ἀρχὴ ταχέως, ἐκείνου μὲν παραχωρήσαντος εἰς τὸ χρεῶν, τοῦ δ' υἱοῦ τὴν φιλίαν ἀπεστραμμένου τὴν τοιαύτην πᾶσαν.¹² ('Recently Eurycles stirred up trouble among the Spartans by seeming immoderately to abuse his friendship with the Emperor in the exercise of his authority over them, but his rule came to a swift end when ἐκείνος died and his son rejected all such friendship.') As it was impossible to make sense of the Greek and to preserve historical sense at the same time, scholars understandably found it necessary to do violence either to language or to history. A palimpsest now shows that the corruption lurked in the language, but a brief account of the views previously advanced may still be a salutary introduction to the problems which the palimpsest goes far toward solving.

Who are ἐκείνος and his son? Normal Greek usage would require that ἐκείνος refer to that one of two persons mentioned farther back, in this case Eurycles rather than Augustus. But to suppose that Eurycles' ἀρχή was terminated by his death appeared to conflict with the explicit testimony of Josephus, who says that the Spartan dynast was banished after being accused twice before Augustus himself.¹³ Therefore, most scholars preferred to understand ἐκείνος as Augustus in spite of the Greek: Strabo's sentence was made to mean that Eurycles' rule was ended by Augustus' death in A.D. 14. Tiberius was thus ὁ υἱός, who might well have rejected a dynast's friendship; it would have been highly implausible to maintain that Eurycles' son rejected an emperor's friendship. Ehrenberg postulated a return of Eurycles to Sparta after his banishment and a renewal of his domination till the death of Augustus.¹⁴ Dittenberger,¹⁵ Kjellberg,¹⁶ Kolbe¹⁷ and Kornemann¹⁸ all expressed the same view, which was becoming almost canonical. Strabo's note on Eurycles was accordingly to be regarded as one of the twenty-odd additions he made to the Geography in the reign of Tiberius.¹⁹

This view was rendered untenable in 1928 when Kougeás published an inscription from Gytheum in Laconia which revealed that Eurycles himself was dead in A.D. 15 and

¹¹ Dio 54, 7, 2 (Cythera); Paus. 4, 31, 1 (Thuria), and Paus. 3, 26, 7 (Cardamyle). This generosity may be due in part to a desire of the Emperor to compensate the Spartans for his liberation of the Laconian League from their control (Paus. 3, 21, 6). In S 363 Cythera is said to be the personal possession of Eurycles, but there is no difficulty, *pace* Chrimes, 173, in supposing that Augustus presented the island nominally to the Spartans and in fact to their overlord.

¹² S 366.

¹³ Jos., *Bj* 1, 531, quoted below in footnote 27. Cf. Plut., *Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* 207 F.

¹⁴ Ehrenberg o.c. (n.3), col. 1447.

¹⁵ *SIG*³ 787/788, n. 2.

¹⁶ Kjellberg, p. 57, declared confidently, 'Es ist

nicht notwendig und durch nichts bezeugt, dass er schon früher (i.e. than Augustus' death) in die Verbannung hat gehen müssen.'

¹⁷ W. Kolbe *apud IG* v, 1, xvi.

¹⁸ Kornemann, p. 15.

¹⁹ The composition of Strabo's Geography is admirably examined in J. G. C. Anderson's article in *Anat. Studies pres. to Ramsay* (Manchester, 1923), 1 ff., revising E. Pais, *Ancient Italy* (Chicago, 1908), 379 ff. Cf. also below, footnote 26. The νεωστὶ is unhelpful, as Strabo applies it to incidents over a range of six decades: e.g. it is used of Caesar's refoundation of Corinth in 44 B.C. (S 379) and of Zeno's accession to the throne of Armenia in A.D. 18 (S 556).

by that date thoroughly rehabilitated.²⁰ It was most unlikely that Eurycles died some time between 19th August, A.D. 14, and the composition of the Gytheum text, inasmuch as the inscription records an already flourishing benefactor cult of Eurycles. Perhaps, after all, ἐκείνος is not Augustus; then ὁ υἱός will not be Tiberius either. Indeed, Strabo never elsewhere refers to Tiberius in that way. The nearest parallel would be ὁ διαδεξάμενος υἱός Τιβέριος,²¹ but even there Strabo says explicitly Τιβέριος. Thus, history has vindicated the natural reading of the Greek. ἐκείνος is Eurycles, and ὁ υἱός is his son, C. Julius Laco.

Two recent scholars have wrestled again with the old problem posed by Josephus' account of Eurycles' banishment. One scholar rejected Josephus outright, while both attempted a new translation of the expression παραχωρήσαντος εἰς τὸ χρεῶν in yet another effort to reconcile Strabo and history.²² Nevertheless, the genitive absolute must certainly mean 'having died': cf. Strabo's expression for dying on p. 61, ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεῶν, and indeed the references in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-Eng. Lexicon*⁹ s.v. χρεῶν II.

Such was the problem, until the recent publication of the Vatican palimpsest of Strabo, dating from c. A.D. 500 and by far the oldest extant text of that author.²³ The latter part of the Eurycles passage appears there in the following form: ἐ[πι]αύσαντο δ' ἡ παρα[χ]ήν ταχέως, ἐκείνου μὲν παραχωρήσαντος εἰς τὸ χρ[ε]ῶν, [το]ῦ δ' υἱοῦ εἰς τὴν φ[ιλο]τιμίαν ἀ[πε]στραμμένον τ[ὴν] τοιαύτην π[ᾶ]σαν. The text is slightly muddled (ἐπαύσαντο for ἐπαύσατο, παραχὴν for παραχή, and the εἰς with χρεῶν iterated after υἱοῦ), but it is clear enough to confirm the accuracy of two crucial conjectures: παραχή to replace ἀρχή and φιλοτιμίαν to replace φιλίαν.²⁴ The second half of Strabo's sentence must now be read: ἐπαύσατο δ' ἡ παραχὴ ταχέως, ἐκείνου μὲν παραχωρήσαντος εἰς τὸ χρεῶν, τοῦ δ' υἱοῦ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἀπεστραμμένου τὴν τοιαύτην πᾶσαν. The whole sentence may be translated as follows: 'Recently Eurycles stirred up trouble among the Spartans by seeming immoderately to abuse his friendship with the Emperor in the exercise of his authority over them, but the tumult came to a swift end when Eurycles died and his son rejected all such ambition.'

The new readings relieve the interpreter of much excess baggage. It was not Eurycles' overlordship which ended with his death, but the trouble which he fomented. There is no longer any difficulty about reconciling Strabo's words with Josephus' account of Eurycles' banishment: Eurycles continued causing trouble after he was banished. When he died, the trouble stopped. Strabo makes no mention of the banishment because it clearly had little effect on the situation in Greece, and it reflected badly on the Emperor. In the second of the two genitive absolutes explaining the cessation of trouble, Strabo declares that Eurycles' son had none of the sort of ambition his father had; in other words, Laco was in no way inclined to take up where his father had left off and to carry on the tumult in his father's name. Thus the tumult was not perpetuated. There is no longer any need to worry about the coincidence of the end of Eurycles' ἀρχή with his own death (or Augustus'), nor will scholars now be faced with the absurdity of Laco's rejecting the *friendship* of an emperor. A man in Laco's position simply would not do such a thing. The Vatican palimpsest makes a vast difference.

The new readings also make it clear that Strabo wrote his lines about Eurycles before he gave up working on the Geography in the reign of Augustus. Laco was keeping discreetly quiet after the death of his turbulent father and perhaps hoped that his good behaviour would one day have its reward. Coins and an inscription attest Laco's subsequent overlordship of Sparta, but Strabo will have written before he moved into that exalted position. The numismatic evidence reveals what must be expected: a hiatus

²⁰ S. B. Kougéas, 'Ελληνικά (Athens, 1928) 16 = *AE* 1929, 99 = E-J. 102. Kornemann expounded this document but did not see its significance for Eurycles.

²¹ S 288.

²² Chrimes, 171: 'gave in to necessity.' Oliver, 956: 'Caesar withdrew far enough so that the influence of Eurycles might be reduced to proportion.' Oliver rejected Josephus.

²³ W. Aly, *De Strabonis codice rescripto cuius reliquiae in codicibus Vaticanis Vat. Gr. 2306 et 2061 A servatae sunt* (Vatican City, 1956), p. 9 = fol. 205, 1, 5-20.

²⁴ παραχὴ Koraës. φιλοτιμίαν R. Syme (an unpublished emendation proposed in a paper to the Oxford Philological Society in 1948).

between the dynasties of Eurycles and Laco.²⁵ Surely Strabo's remarks about Eurycles are to be dated to that hiatus, for he knows nothing of Eurycles' posthumous rehabilitation and Laco's elevation. This inference is useful, since Strabo had ceased to work on his Geography by 2 B.C.; and the Eurycles passage cannot be a part of the revision under Tiberius, inasmuch as Eurycles had already been rehabilitated and Laco established in his place by A.D. 15.²⁶ Accordingly, Eurycles must have been dead c. 2 B.C. A *terminus ante quem* for the end of his rule has now emerged.

A *terminus post quem* is within reach. Josephus makes it plain that the trouble which Eurycles caused in Greece and the two accusations in the presence of Augustus occurred *after* Eurycles' return from a journey to Herod in Judaea and Archelaus in Cappadocia.²⁷ The ταραχή to which Strabo alludes will be that specified in Josephus: στασέως ἐμπλήσσει τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις.²⁸ When Eurycles went to Judaea, he was already established as overlord of Sparta; the inception of his rule had taken place soon after Actium. Josephus declares that when he reached Herod he was οὐκ ἄσημος τῶν ἐκεῖ.²⁹

So Eurycles arrived in Judaea as dynast of Sparta and friend of Augustus. The reason for his journey to the East is obscure. Possibly, Herod was furnishing hospitality to Eurycles in return for hospitality received at Sparta during the two journeys of the Jew as king to the city of Rome,³⁰ and evidently Eurycles endeavoured to turn his visits to eastern kings to his own financial gain. Augustus could not have been pleased with the disastrous chaos which his Spartan friend left in his wake in two client kingdoms. With his eastern money, Eurycles went back to Greece and initiated the discord and civil strife which led to his banishment.³¹

Eurycles' return from Judaea and Cappadocia can be dated. Josephus relates that while at the court of Herod, Eurycles ingratiated himself with the King's sons, Antipater, son of the common woman Doris, and Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of the princess Mariamne. Eurycles played false to the sons of Mariamne in favour of Antipater, whose hostility to his half-brothers and rivals was long-standing. As a result of Eurycles' testimony, the king's suspicions, which Antipater had previously worked upon, were aroused again, and Herod committed his two sons by Mariamne to prison. Subsequently an embassy was sent to Rome. Augustus reluctantly permitted Herod to put his own offspring to death after a trial at Beirut.³² Alexander and Aristobulus were strangled at

²⁵ Weil, 17-18: a coin, which belongs clearly to the series of Eurycles and Laco, bears the name Timaristos, called an ephor. The bearded head, characteristic of the Euryclid series, is named Lycurgus on the Timaristos piece. This coin, although belonging to the age of the early Euryclids, thus makes no mention of them but alludes instead to the Spartan constitution by the words 'ephor' and 'Lycurgus'. Most probably, therefore, the coin falls between the régimes of Eurycles and Laco, and not surprisingly the hiatus will have been marked by a conspicuous reversion to constitutionalism.

²⁶ The latest datable occurrence in Strabo, apart from passages evidently added in the later revision, is the inclusion of Amaseia in the Roman *provincia* (S 561), which happened in 3-2 B.C. With regard to certain other eastern places, Strabo's account reflects a state of things which ceased to exist in 2 B.C. On all this, see Anderson, o.c. (n. 19) 7-10. On the memory of Eurycles and the position of Laco in A.D. 15: *AE* 1929, 99 (ll. 19-22 (Gytheum)). The slight difference in Laco's titles from his dead father's on that document may perhaps be attributed to the discretion by virtue of which he advanced so far.

²⁷ Jos., *B γ* 1, 531: after his sojourns with Herod and Archelaus, διάρος δ' εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ἐκ κακῶν κτηθεῖσι εἰς ὁμοία (i.e. like the trouble Josephus says he caused in the Near East) κατεχρήσατο· δις γοῦν ἐπὶ Καίσαρος κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ στασέως ἐμπλήσσει τὴν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ περιδύειν τὰς πόλεις φυγαδεύεται. *A γ* 16, 310: also after his visits to Herod and Archelaus, Εὐρυκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ παυσάμενος εἶναι μοχθηρὸς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἀπεστερήθη τῆς πατρίδος.

²⁸ Oliver, 955, is surely right in correcting Miss Chrimès' mistranslation of these charges (Chrimès, 175). Josephus says that Eurycles was charged with fomenting civil discord throughout Achaëa and stripping the cities (whatever exactly that may mean).

²⁹ Jos., *A γ* 16, 301. Miss Chrimès' attempt to prove that Eurycles was not yet supreme in Sparta when he went to Judaea is unsuccessful. When Josephus says, γένος ἦν Λάκων, Εὐρυκλῆς τοῦνομα, πρόφω χρημάτων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προσφθαρῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἀντείχεν ἐτι ἡ Ἑλλάς αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ (*B γ* 1, 513), he is referring to Eurycles' ill-omened arrival in the kingdom of Herod (βασιλείαν), not to a desire of Eurycles 'to enrich himself in order to make himself king' (Chrimès, 174). (I accept the *difficilior lectio* προσφθαρῆς which Miss Chrimès prints but does not correctly translate.) Moreover, the following γὰρ would lack point after Miss Chrimès' translation. See also Walbank, *CR* 65 (1951), 100.

³⁰ His two journeys as king: W. Otto, P-W Suppl. 2, table facing p. 160. On Herod's relations with Sparta, observe Jos., *B γ* 1, 425. During one trip to Rome, Herod paused to be agonothete at the Olympic Games: *B γ* 1, 427. On earlier relations between Jews and Spartans, including an alleged common ancestry: Jos., *A γ* 13, 164, with which cf. 1 *Maccabees* 12, 6-18.

³¹ Jos., *B γ* 1, 531, quoted in footnote 27, says explicitly that Eurycles used the riches he had acquired in the Near East to foment discord in Achaëa.

³² Jos., *B γ* 1, 536-7.

Sebaste, near Caesarea, c. 7 B.C.³³ Meantime, after seeing Herod (presumably in the preceding year), Eurycles had gone on to visit Alexander's father-in-law, the King of Cappadocia. The Spartan spent long enough with Archelaus to assure him that he had reconciled Herod with his sons and to receive money from him. Eurycles returned to Greece from Cappadocia. The date of his return will, therefore, be approximately 7 B.C.

Accordingly, the tumult in Greece, the trials before Augustus and the death of Eurycles are to be dated between c. 7 and 2 B.C. The apparent failure of Dio Cassius to deal with these events will not be surprising. They happened precisely within that part of the Augustan Age for which the text of Dio is seriously defective.

Josephus reveals that Eurycles stirred up στάσις in Achaëa; with the persuasion of his eastern money Eurycles carried what had been local Spartan strife probably throughout the cities of the Free Laconian League. A precious anecdote in Plutarch discloses the identity of one of Eurycles' accusers in the court of Augustus as a descendant of Brasidas.³⁴ During the Augustan principate, the old and distinguished family of Brasidas still lacked the Roman citizenship,³⁵ while an upstart who had fought on the right side at Actium not only dominated them but rejoiced in the name, C. Julius Eurycles. The old Spartan aristocracy bared its teeth to the new; after all, Eurycles' father had been a pirate.³⁶ The island of Cythera, which Augustus so generously presented to Sparta, had become, in fact, the personal property of its dynast; his father had perhaps been based there.³⁷ In the Achaean cities to which Josephus refers Eurycles must have tried to bribe the leading lights to support him. He may have aimed at extending his domination over the entire League of Free Laconians, which had been subjected to Sparta since the time of Nabis and had only just received its freedom from Augustus.³⁸ Inscriptions show Eurycles' influence in at least two league cities, Asopus and Gytheum, of which the latter established a cult in his honour for what must have been a particularly liberal benefaction.³⁹ Gytheum hailed Eurycles, after his rehabilitation, as εὐεργέτης τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς πόλεως: the πόλις is surely Gytheum itself, the ἔθνος the League of Free Laconians.⁴⁰ If Eurycles had tried to re-establish Spartan control over the Laconian cities after Augustus had liberated them, that would have been an abuse of the imperial friendship indeed.

The descendants of Brasidas can hardly have been willing to gaze quietly at the enlargement of Eurycles' dominion. Achaëa was engulfed in local στάσις probably, as at Sparta, between opposing factions of city aristocracies. The banishment of Eurycles did little good to relieve the crisis. But when he died, Laco made no attempt to perpetuate his father's struggle, and peace came swiftly. The Spartans breathed a sigh of relief, looked back to Lycurgus and embraced the ancient constitution under which the great general Brasidas once had lived.⁴¹

The discreet Laco knew the folly of his father's ambition. In the years that followed Eurycles' death he must have come to terms with the family of Brasidas. He caused no trouble and endured constitutional government for a while. Rome could only have been pleased with him. Laco's son married into a Mytilenean family highly favoured by the Emperor.⁴² By the end of his principate, the ugly events of Augustan Sparta were covered

³³ The chronology is discussed by W. Otto, P-W Suppl. 2 s.v. Herodes.

³⁴ Plut., *Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* 207 F. The reference in that anecdote to the seventh book of Thucydides is obscure but fortunately irrelevant to this discussion. Miss Chrimes, 179, rightly noted the nature of the opposition to Eurycles.

³⁵ Cf. H. Box, *JRS* XXI (1931), 202.

³⁶ Plut., *Ant.* 67. Eurycles' son and grandson to be ranked by Tacitus among the *primores Achaeorum* (*Ann.* 6, 18).

³⁷ Cythera as a pirate base: Polyb. 4, 6; cf. above, footnote 11.

³⁸ S 366; Paus. 3, 21, 6. The most natural time for Augustus' liberation of the Laconian cities was soon after Actium. The attempt of A. Gitti to interpret τυραννοσύνης τῆς Σπάρτης in S 366 as a reference to Eurycles, instead of Nabis, is not

convincing: 'La Condizione delle Città della Laconia e l'Opera di Augusto,' *Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* 2 (1940), 389 ff.

³⁹ Asopus (*IG* v, 1, 970); Gytheum (*AE* 1929, 99, ll. 19-20, alluding to cult). For these cities as league members: Paus. 3, 21, 7. S 343 and 363 call Gytheum τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπίγειον.

⁴⁰ *AE* 1929, 99, l. 20. Examples of the interchange of ἔθνος for κοινόν: s.v. κοινόν in P-W Suppl. 4, 919-920.

⁴¹ See above, footnote 25.

⁴² C. Julius Argolicus, son of Laco, was the husband of Pompeia Macrina (*Tac.*, *Ann.* 6, 18). Macrina's father was an *illustris eques* (*ibid.*), identified in *PIR*, P 473 as the younger Pompeius Macer (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7, 219, and 9, 28). Her brother was Q. Pompeius Macer, praetor in A.D. 15 (*Tac.*, *Ann.* 1, 72; 6, 18; *ILS* 9349). According to

over by the rehabilitation of Augustus' good friend, Laco's father. Without the testimony of a learned Jew no one would ever have known that the Emperor had been compelled once to send his friend and nominee into banishment.

FAMILY

Eurycles' descendants were persons of prestige in the early empire; a fresh account of his distinguished family is required in the light of the foregoing results. The Euryclid coinage series revealed that a Laco held a position in Sparta similar to that which Eurycles himself had held. Inasmuch as certain of the Laco coins are dated to the reign of Claudius,⁴³ it had once been tempting to assume that Laco had been set up as dynast through the favour of that Emperor. But there are also Laco coins which have not the slightest indication of Claudian date,⁴⁴ so that, with the emergence of the Gytheum document and the new palimpsest readings, it becomes clear that Laco was probably already installed in Eurycles' position early under Tiberius. He will have been expelled by the same Emperor in the early thirties,⁴⁵ perhaps due to circumstances ironically reminiscent of those which led to Eurycles' own expulsion. Gaius or more probably Claudius can be assumed to have reinstated Laco; the hostile members of the Brasidas family were pacified by a grant of the citizenship.⁴⁶ It has generally been inferred with good reason that the Laco of the coins was Eurycles' son, and if the Laco of the Gytheum inscription is the man of the same name on the non-Claudian coins, then this inference is strengthened.

An inscription from Corinth, published in 1926, records a C. Julius Laco who was a procurator of imperial estates under Claudius.⁴⁷ This knight was immediately identified with the dynast, Eurycles' son, and attempts were made to reconcile the evidence for his rule at Sparta and a procuratorship at Corinth. But it would be well to observe that the procurator's filiation is given as *C. f.*; nowhere is the filiation of a son of the great Eurycles given in any other form than 'son of Eurycles':

*SIG*³ 788 (Athens) [Γάϊον] Ἰ[σ]ύλιον Δεξιμάχων [Ε]ὐρυκλέους υἱόν. (? son by adoption.)

*SIG*³ 789 (Olympia) Γ. Ἰούλιον Εὐρυκλέους υἱόν Λάκωνα.

IG v, 1, 1243 (Taenarum) Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Λάκωνα Εὐρυκλέους υἱόν. Honoured by the League of Free Laconians.⁴⁸

Indeed, Eurycles' grandson, C. Julius Spartiacus, is called *Euryclis n.*⁴⁹ Such a famous ancestor was not to be obscured by the mere praenomen. Hence, the Corinthian procurator must be a different man from the Spartan dynast, presumably his son; the dynast was growing old by the time of Claudius.

A revised stemma of the Euryclids may now be useful. Eurycles' great-grandfather is named below as Heraclanus. A certain Heraclanus is attested as the father of a Lachares on two first-century B.C. inscriptions,⁵⁰ but he cannot be Eurycles' paternal grandfather,

Tacitus, her great-grandfather was Theophanes of Mytilene (Tac., *Ann.* 6, 18). Theophanes' son, therefore Macrina's alleged grandfather, will have had the same name and the same equestrian rank as her father (S 618, reading Μάκρον for Μάρκον, as is customary): he served under Augustus as librarian (Suet., *Jul.* 56, 7) and procurator of Asia (S 618). But Professor Syme, in his *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958) 748-9, argues that Tacitus has erred in the number of generations between Theophanes and the praetor of A.D. 15; Strabo (618) says that Theophanes left a son [*sic*], whom Augustus at one time made procurator of Asia and who is now (καὶ νῦν) one of the chief friends of Tiberius. Accordingly, this passage will be one of those added by Strabo in his later revision, and Theophanes' son will be the praetor's father.

⁴³ Weil 14, no. 7. And coins in an unpublished hoard mentioned by Miss Chrimes, 184-5, footnote 4.

⁴⁴ Weil 14, nos. 5 and 6.

⁴⁵ Tac., *Ann.* 6, 18.

⁴⁶ *JRS* XXI (1931), 205, on Ti. Claudius Brasidas.

⁴⁷ *AJA* 30 (1926), 390 = *Corinth* VIII, 2, no. 67.

⁴⁸ *AE* 1929, 99, l. 21 (Gytheum), gives no filiation for Laco, presumably because his father's name appears in l. 19 in a parallel context. Two of Laco's sons, Cratinus (*IG* v, 2, 541) and Spartiacus (*AJA* 30 [1926], 393 = *Corinth* VIII, 2, no. 68), are each called 'son of Laco', and his daughter, Julia Pantimia (*IG* v, 2, 542), is called 'daughter of Laco'. But a son who was himself called Laco after his father would only need the simple *C. f.*

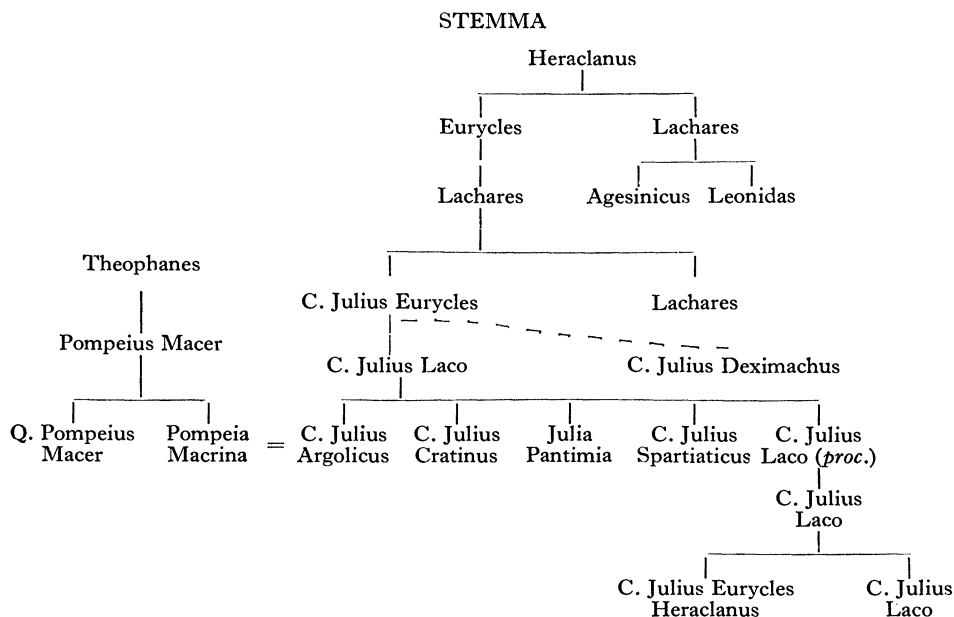
⁴⁹ *AJA* 30 (1926), 393 = *Corinth* VIII, 2, no. 68.

⁵⁰ *IG* v, 1, 94, l. 11; v, 1, 265. The name Heraclanus does not imply Roman citizenship, as Miss Chrimes thought (461, n. 3): cf. Kolbe ad *IG* v, 1, 94. On provincials adopting Roman names without the franchise, see Dittenberger *apud* Box, *JRS* XXI (1931), 200, and Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford, 1958), 256-7.

whose name happened also to be Eurycles.⁵¹ Therefore, probably his great-grandfather. Agesinicus and Leonidas, both called sons of a Lachares on first-century B.C. documents,⁵² have been somewhat arbitrarily made brothers and the offspring of Heraclanus' son. The Lachares mentioned in an inscription of 71–70 B.C., in honour of the Cloatii brothers at Gytheum,⁵³ is taken to be identical with the father of Agesinicus and Leonidas; he could not easily be the father of Julius Eurycles. The Augustan Lachares, son of Lachares,⁵⁴ is most plausibly a brother of the ἡγεμῶν. Α Λαχάρης Ἐπιπράτου Λακεδαιμόνιος, attested on an inscription from the second century B.C.,⁵⁵ does not appear on the stemma below.

Of the imperial Euryclids, the children of Laco the dynast are, apart from the procurator, non-controversial.⁵⁶ The patronomos of c. A.D. 75, also named C. Julius Laco, is taken to be the procurator's son, who, in turn, had a son of the same name substituting for him.⁵⁷ A brother of the substitute patronomos will be the son of a C. Julius Laco, namely the senator C. Julius Eurycles Heraclanus, who died sometime after A.D. 130.⁵⁸

The family of Theophanes in the early empire is presented in accordance with the latest study of Theophanes' posterity.⁵⁹



⁵¹ *SIG*³ 786.

⁵² *IG* v, 1, 210, l. 16 (Agesinicus); v, 1, 610, l. 2 (Leonidas). Miss Chrimes, 204, singled out Agesinicus to be a brother of the great Eurycles and ignored Leonidas altogether.

⁵³ *SIG*³ 748, l. 7.

⁵⁴ *IG* v, 1, 267. Miss Chrimes, 204, has a different view.

⁵⁵ *IG* v, 1, 29, l. 17.

⁵⁶ Argolicus: Tac., *Ann.* 6, 18. For other children, see above, footnote 48.

⁵⁷ *IG* v, 1, 280, l. 5. I accept Miss Chrimes' date for the substitute patronomos on p. 191, footnote 2. This date upsets Kolbe's stemma in *IG* v, 1, p. 307.

⁵⁸ *PIR*, I 199. Cf. *SIG*³ 841 (after Antinoüs' death).

⁵⁹ See above, footnote 42.