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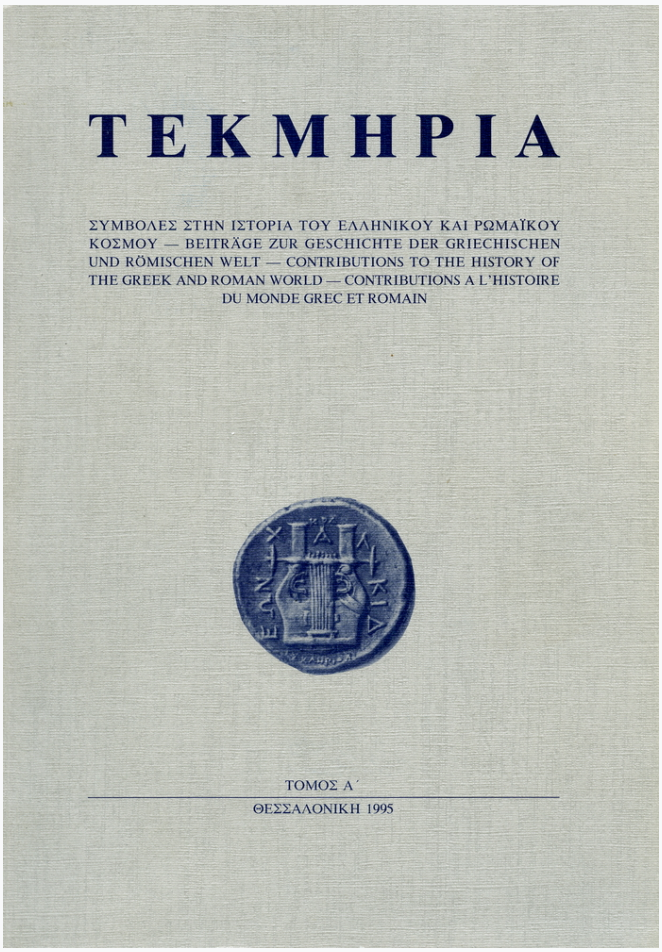

Theophanes and Mytilene's Freedom reconsidered

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THEOPHANES AND MYTILENE'S FREEDOM RECONSIDERED

«After arranging and settling affairs in those parts [of Pontus], Pompey proceeded on his journey, and now with greater pomp and ceremony. For instance, when he came to Mitylene, he gave the city its freedom, *for the sake of Theophanes*, and witnessed the traditional contest of the poets there, who now took as their sole theme his own exploits. And being pleased with the theatre, he had sketches and plans of it made for him, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid».[1] This is Plutarch's account of Pompey's visit to Mytilene in 62 BC, after the end of the Third Mithridatic War.[2] He particularly stresses the fact that the Roman general granted it the status of a free city, and explicitly attributes this to Pompey's friendship with the historiographer Theophanes, who had gone with him on his campaign and was accompanying him back to Rome. It is precisely this aspect of the subject that needs reconsidering.

Although the matter is not mentioned in two of our main sources, Appian and Dio,[3] Plutarch's information is clearly corroborated by Velleius Paterculus' brief reference to the clash between Rome and the King of Pontus,

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1. Plut. *Pomp.* 42, 8; translated by B. Perrin: διοικήσας δὲ τἀκεῖ καὶ καταστησάμενος, οὕτως ἤδη πανηγυρικώτερον ἐχρῆτο τῇ πορείᾳ. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἀφικόμενος [sc. Πομπήιος], τήν τε πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε διὰ Θεοφάνη, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πάτριον ἐθεάσατο τῶν ποιητῶν, ὑπόθεσιν μίαν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ, περιεγράψατο τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τύπον, ὡς ὅμοιον ἀπεργασόμενος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, μεῖζον δὲ καὶ σεμνότερον.

2. For the precise date of the visit, cf. A. Rehm, «Milesische Chronologie von Sulla bis Tiberius», *SB München* 1939, 17-8.

3. In his encomium (13, 2, 3: Οὗτος δὲ [sc. Θεοφάνης] καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ ὑπῆρξε καὶ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Μάγνῳ κατέστη φίλος, μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτήν, καὶ πάσας συγκατώρθωσεν αὐτῷ τὰς πράξεις· ἀφ' ὧν τήν τε πατρίδα ἐκόσμησε τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκείνου, τὰ δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνέδειξεν), Strabo, who is chronologically closer to the events in question, emphasises Theophanes and Pompey's close friendship, but it would be risky to take the somewhat vague τήν τε πατρίδα ἐκόσμησε τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκείνου, τὰ δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦ as a precise parallel to what Velleius and Plutarch say. Nor is it correct to correlate it with Val. Max. 8, 14, 3, as does R. K. Levang, *Studies in the History of Lesbos*, diss. Minnesota 1972 (UMI), p. 48.

Mithridates. The latter contrasts the loyalty of the Rhodians with the perfidious behaviour of the Mytilenaeans, and, with respect to the city's freedom, he writes *horum* [sc. *Rhodiorum*] *fidem Mytilenaeorum perfidia illuminavit qui M'. Aquilium aliosque Mithridati vinctos tradiderunt quibus libertas in unius Theophanis gratiam postea a Pompeio restituta est* (2, 18, 3). Furthermore, the honorific inscriptions and other information in literary sources seem to attest on the one hand Theophanes' influence on Pompey and on the other the Mytilenaeans' gratitude both to their illustrious fellow citizen (particularly *CRAI* 1969, p. 53, ll. 4-5: τάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν | πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκαταστάσαντα) and to their Roman benefactor.[4] Finally, it is reasonable, in this case, to draw parallels with other cases in which Greek friends of the Roman *imperatores* secured important privileges for their native cities; and also, indeed, to link Theophanes' deification (as Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος) directly with the recovery of Mytilene's freedom.[5]

So historical research, from the nineteenth century to the most recent studies, accepts with varying degrees of certainty that Pompey's decision to grant Mytilene the status of a free city was due to his friendship with Theophanes. Scholars tend to embrace one of three basic views on the subject. Most unreservedly accept and repeat as topoi Plutarch's information (διὰ Θεοφάνη) and Velleius' comment (*in unius Theophanis gratiam*);[6] while others

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4. For the sources, see W. Drumann - P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, vol. 4, Leipzig ^{2}1908, pp. 555-7, and *FGrHist* 188. For the inscriptional evidence, see D. Salzmann, «Cn. Pompeius Theophanes. Ein Benennungsvorschlag zu einem Porträt in Mytilene», *MDAI(R)* 92, 1985, Anhang I (Theophanes), and p. 250, n. 43 (Pompey; cf. R. Hodot, «Notes critiques sur le corpus épigraphique de Lesbos», *EAC* 5, 1976, 76, 6).

5. L. Robert, «Théophane de Mytilène à Constantinople», *CRAI* 1969, pp. 50-2 and 63-4; cf. «Une épigramme satirique d'Automédon», *REG* 94, 1981, 353.

6. S. L. Plehn, *Lesbiacorum liber*, Berlin 1826, p. 81 (cf. pp. 211-2); E. Fabricius, «Inschriften aus Lesbos», *MDAI(A)* 9, 1884, 85: «vermittelte er seinem Vertrauten und Begleiter T. zu Liebe, dass der Stadt ...»; C. Cichorius, *Rom und Mytilene*, Leipzig 1888, p. 7: «Dem T. zu Gefallen gab P. Mytilene seine Freiheit wieder» (cf. *Römische Studien*, Leipzig - Berlin 1922 (repr. 1970), p. 321); V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, Paris 1904 (repr. 1967), p. 107: «l'amitié du Pompée pour un Lesbien ...»; H. de la Ville de Mirmont, «Théophane de Mitylène», *REG* 18, 1905, 167: «en consideration du seul T.»; W. Drumann - P. Groebe, *op.cit.*, p. 555; S. Taxis, *Συνοπτικὴ ἱστορία καὶ τοπογραφία τῆς Λέσβου*, Cairo ^{2}1909, p. 38; *Syll.*^{3} 752-4, n. 1; D. Evangelidis, «Λέσβου ἐπιγραφαί», *AD* 6, 1920-1, 108-9; D. G. Vernardakis, «Ἡ Μυτιλήνη στὰ ρωμαϊκὰ χρόνια», *Λεσβιακὰ* 1, 1953, 183 (^{1}1931); R. Laqueur, s.v. «Theophanes», *RE* V A.2 (Stuttgart 1934), 2093: «er ihr die verlorene Freiheit wiedergab διὰ Θεοφάνη»; S. Accame, «Roma e la lega dei Lesbî», *RFIC* 24, 1946, 111: «per merito del suo cittadino T. apprezzato e amato da P.» (cf. s.v. «Lesbus», in E. de Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, vol. 4, Rome 1953, p. 673); D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, vol. 1, p. 365:

are content either to link Pompey's decision with the moral satisfaction he gained from the poetry contest in his honour (he attended it in person and, as Plutarch again tells us, the sole theme was his own exploits),[7] or to note that Theophanes' influence merely contributed to Mytilene's being granted its freedom.[8] Irrespective of individual differences, however, at the heart of every interpretation is the notion that the complacent or vain Pompey, at the pinnacle of his glory and highly susceptible to flattery, was easily persuaded

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«for the sake of the historian T.»; F. Miltner, s.v. «Pompeius», *RE* XXI.2 (Stuttgart 1952), 2117; J. van Ooteghem, *Pompée le Grand. Bâtisseur d'Empire*, Brussels 1954, p. 268: «par égard pour T.»; F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1957, p. 369; R. K. Sherk, «Caesar and Mytilene» and «Senatus Consultum de Agris Mytilenaeorum», *GRBS* 4, 1963, 151 and 229 (cf. *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore 1969, pp. 144 and 270, n. 2); G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965, p. 4; W. Spoerri, s.v. «Theophanes», *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich - Stuttgart 1965), 3056; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 2, Rome 1969, p. 687; R. K. Levang, *op.cit.*, p. 144; A. Ştefan, «Le début de la domination romaine sur les cités de la côte ouest du Pont-Euxin: date et circonstances», in *Actes de la XIIe conférence internationale d'études classiques Eirene, Cluj-Napoca 2-7 Octobre 1972*, Bucharest - Amsterdam 1972, pp. 623-4; H.- R. Breitenbach, s.v. «Theophanes», *Der Kleine Pauly* (Munich 1975), 717; J. Glucker, *Antiochus and the Late Academy* [Hypomnemata 56], Göttingen 1978, p. 24; J. Leach, *Pompey the Great*, London 1978, p. 101: «in honour of T., ..., a crossing was made to Lesbos, where ...»; R. Seager, *Pompey. A Political Biography*, Oxford 1979, p. 52: «was granted its freedom as a compliment to its distinguished citizen»; P. Greenhalgh, *Pompey. The Roman Alexander*, London 1980, p. 166: «he also granted Mytilene its freedom for no better reason than to please T.»; P. Green, *Lesbos and the Cities of Asia Minor*, Austin 1984, p. 19 (who makes irrelevant and forced generalisations, based on Plutarch's account); A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Foreign Policy in the East*, London 1984, p. 254: «T. of Mytilene used the patronage of P. to restore his city's freedom»; B. K. Gold, «Pompey and Theophanes of Mytilene», *AJPh* 106, 1985, 324; D. Salzmann, *op.cit.*, p. 250; R. W. Parker, «Potamon of Mytilene and his Family», *ZPE* 85, 1991, 116; P. Pédech, «Deux Grecs face à Rome au Ier siècle av. J.-C.: Métrodore de Scepsis et Théophane de Mitylène», *REA* 93, 1991, 72; G. Labarre, *Lesbiaca*, diss. Lyon 1992, pp. 249-50.

7. E.g. R. Herbst, s.v. «Mytilene», *RE* XVI.2 (Stuttgart 1935), 1416: «entzückt über die schmeichelhafte Aufnahme, ..., erwirkte er beim Senat die Freiheit»; M. Gelzer, *Pompeius*, Stuttgart 1984 (repr. of ^{2}1973), p. 97; W. S. Anderson, *Pompey, his Friends and the Literature of the First Century B.C.*, Berkeley 1963, p. 35: «duly impressed and flattered»; R. Bernhardt, *Imperium und Eleutheria*, diss. Hamburg 1971, p. 150: «zum Dank gab der Geehrte den Mytilenaiern die alte Freiheit wieder»; M. H. Crawford, «Greek Intellectuals and the Roman Aristocracy in the First century B.C.», in P. D. A. Garnsey - C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1978, p. 204: «what T. provided for P. in return for the freedom of Mytilene was a cultural egotrip».

8. E. g. J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. 1, Leipzig ^{2}1881 (repr. 1975), p. 78, n. 12 (: «Fürsprache»); also W. Dahlheim, *Gewalt und Herrschaft*, Berlin - New York 1977, p. 244 (: «mit Hilfe»; cf. W. S. Anderson, *ibid.*: «his Greek supporter's appeal»).

by his trusty friend to perform an undeniably significant political action, namely to liberate a city which had in the past plainly demonstrated its hostile feelings towards Rome. This is expressed in extremely negative terms by Mommsen, who writes: «ist das Regiment der griechischen Lakaien über die römischen Monarchen so alt wie die Monarchie: der erste in der ebenso langen wie widerwärtigen Liste dieser Individuen ist Pompeius vertrauter Bedienter Theophanes von Mytilene, welcher durch seine Gewalt über den schwachen Herrn wahrscheinlich mehr als irgend ein anderer Mann zu dem Ausbruch des Krieges zwischen Pompeius und Caesar beigetragen hat» (!).[9] In direct contrast, an extremely positive account is found in Robert: «ainsi y aura-t-il un type spécial d'évergète: par ses relations, pat sa familiarité, par son amitié avec un de ces grands hommes, il aura obtenu de grands privilèges pour sa patrie».[10]

Although Theophanes' contribution cannot be ruled out,[11] both cases seem to avoid the question of whether the Roman general decided to grant Mytilene its freedom of his own volition, or whether some ulterior political motive played a part in the decision. The events may indeed be reconsidered from this point of view. As we shall see, Pompey's decision does not seem to have been a momentary impulse, because quite some time later, in 55 BC, he was still offering Mytilene his support. Any political expediency, if it existed, should be investigated in relation, on the one hand, to what had happened earlier in Mytilene and, on the other, to Pompey's general policy on Eastern affairs.

In exchange for supporting Rome against Antiochus III during the Syrian War, Mytilene had been awarded its freedom in 188 BC, and probably retained it after the founding of the province of Asia. Although it did not take part in Aristonicus' uprising, in the early 80s BC it sided with Mithridates VI. We have no idea of the reasons for this volte-face, but we do know that the decision was accompanied by extreme harshness: the Roman general M'. Aquilius, a friend of Marius and a former consul, who had sought refuge on

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9. *Römische Geschichte*, vol. 3, Berlin ^{8}1889, p. 551.

10. «Théophane ...», p. 43.

11. Except by P. S. Paraskeuaidis, *Ἡ ρωμαϊκὴ Λέσβος*, Athens 1978, pp. 23-4, who completely rejects what Plutarch says. His reasoning runs along the right lines, but his arguments are very general and show evidence of a certain prejudice. Crawford, *ibid.*, uses different arguments to dispute Strabo (*loc.cit.*) and dates Theophanes' political influence to after 51 BC (cf. Anderson's verdict (*ibid.*, n. 20) on the assessment of Theophanes' influence in van Ooteghem's monograph, *op.cit.*). J.- L. Ferrary's objections, in *Philhellénisme et impérialisme*, Rome 1988, p. 612, n. 89, are reasonable, but they do not concern the truly exaggerated style of the encomium.

the island as an invalid, was handed over to Mithridates to be mercilessly pilloried all the way to Pergamum, where he died an agonising death (Diod. 37, 27; cf. App. *Mithr.* 21). It is significant too that later, in 84 BC, Lucullus is supposed to have undertaken to punish the unrepentant Mytilenaeans and tried in vain to do so as mildly as possible (Plut. *Luc.* 4, 2-3: ἐβούλετο μὲν εὐγνωμονῆσαι καὶ δίκης τυχεῖν μετρίας ἐφ' οἷς περὶ Μάνιον ἐξήμαρτον, ὡς δ' ἑώρα αὐτοὺς κακοδαιμονοῦντας ...). After putting up a vigorous resistance, the city was eventually captured in 80/79 by M. Minucius Thermus and annexed to the province of Asia;[12] but it is quite possible that the city's status after its conquest was not clearly defined.[13]

The handing over of M'. Aquilius understandably raised something of a storm in Rome, provoking feelings of pain and rage that would not be easily forgotten. This distress was echoed in the comment made by Velleius nearly a century later, when he deliberately recalled the *perfidia Mytilenaeorum*, in view of which Pompey's favour was unbecoming. After a much shorter period, only twenty-five years, could Pompey himself have been so influenced by Theophanes as to forget the past and be so generous to the «perfidious» Mytilenaeans, shutting his eyes to the probable indignation in Rome? It is hard to believe. On the contrary, for precisely the same reasons it seems more likely that Mytilene presented an ideal opportunity for a spectacular display of his *clementia*: even if the news were badly received in Rome, it would certainly arouse the sympathy, even the enthusiasm, of his Greek supporters. He opted for the second alternative, and not without effect: Pompey's general philhellenic policy was later vindicated, albeit to no avail, when the Greek cities supported him in various ways during his civil war against Caesar.

Consequently, the decision to grant Mytilene the status of a free city should be regarded above all as a symbolic act: limited self-government and the right to exploit the territory around the city were well worth having, certainly; but Roman sovereignty and surveillance were not likely to be any more lax than over other cities that do not appear to have been similarly fa-

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12. See C. Cichorius, *Rom* ..., pp. 3-6 (whence D. G. Vernardakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 177-81); B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten*, vol. 3, Gotha 1903, p. 63; V. Chapot, *op.cit.*, p. 60; F. F. Abbott - A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926 (repr. 1968), p. 42. Chapot, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-3, concludes, with reservations, that Lesbos was included in the province of Asia after its foundation (though cf. B. Niese, *op.cit.*, p. 370); Accame, «Roma ...», p. 110 (cf. in E. de Ruggiero, *op.cit.*, p. 672), maintains that it then became a *civitas foederata*.

13. As Gelzer, *ibid.*, observes on Cic. *de leg. agr.* 2, 40, in its proper context (38-46); cf. R. Herbst, *ibid.*

voured.[14] Furthermore, the documents of the Potamon Monument record the intense diplomatic activity of the years immediately after the Pharsala defeat, upon the success of which activity hung the safeguarding of Mytilene's privileges.[15] Amongst these documents is a fragment of a Senatus Consultum (SC), which, according to Sherk, was probably the work of Pompey in 55 BC. The purpose was to relieve the city of the activities of the *publicani*, which do not seem to have stopped even after the city received its freedom.[16] In contrast, the medium-term benefits Pompey conferred proved rather more secure: as Cichorius has pointed out,[17] Mytilene became the base of Pompey's followers' activities in the East.

In fact, Mytilene had enjoyed the privileged status of a free city for more than a century, but had lost it some twenty years before Pompey's visit. So it seems reasonable to suppose that, just as before 188 BC, so in this period too, some powerful local political faction had forged sufficiently friendly relations with Rome and now, after the disastrous consequences of the city's brief swing in favour of Mithridates, the same political faction was acting as a guarantor of future loyalty.[18] Although any conjecture about Theophanes' earlier links with this pro-Roman faction is unfounded,[19] we may be quite certain that, as a

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14. See J. Marquardt, *op.cit.*, p. 71 ff.; V. Chapot, *op.cit.*, p. 83; W. T. Arnold (rev. by E. S. Bouchier), *The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, Oxford ^{3}1914 (repr. 1968), p. 228 ff.; F. F. Abbott - A. C. Johnson, *op.cit.*, p. 39 ff., and A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City*, Oxford 1940, pp. 117-20. Levang, *op.cit.*, p. 147, goes so far (probably too far) as to equate Mytilene's status with that of the other cities on Lesbos; for the cities' comparative benefits and their strategy during the civil war, see W. Dahlheim, *op.cit.*, p. 243.

15. Fabricius, *ibid.*, believed that one of his inscriptions from the Mytilene Acropolis preserved part of the official act granting Mytilene its freedom. Cichorius, *op.cit.*, p. 25, dissociated the contents of the inscription's two columns, though he did agree with Fabricius about the content of the document in the left-hand column (SC copy of 62 BC). But, as Mommsen («Das Potamon-Denkmal auf Mytilene», *SB Berlin* 1895, pp. 897-8) showed during his attempt to reconstruct the Potamon Monument, both scholars were wrong (and W. R. Paton, *IG* XIII.2, 35c-d, agrees). F. Hiller von Gaertringen later suggested that the SC granting the status of a free city was contained in another inscription (*IG* XII Suppl., p. 12, no. 11 + p. 208, no. 11; cf. S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia*, Rome 1946, pp. 90-2; «Roma ...», pp. 111-4 and in E. de Ruggiero (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 673), but this theory too was plausibly refuted by Sherk (see «Senatus ...», pp. 217-30).

16. *Ibid.* (cf. *Roman Documents ...*, pp. 144-5 and 271). Cf. W. Dahlheim, *op.cit.*, pp. 244-5.

17. *Op.cit.*, p. 8; cf. V. Chapot, *op.cit.*, pp. 50 and 58.

18. Cf. P. S. Paraskeuaidis, *ibid.* For the numerous Romanised Greeks on Lesbos, see J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, Paris 1919 (repr. 1975), p. 92.

19. Hypotheses of this nature were made by Abb Sévin in 1739 (cited in C. Müller, *FHG*, vol. 3, Paris 1849 (repr. 1975), p. 312, n. 2) and similar ones are presented in the modern literature (e.g. W. S. Anderson, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-5, P. Pédech, *op.cit.*, p. 71, and

politician belonging to the local elite and as an outstanding propagandist for his patron amongst the non-Roman readership,[20] he brought his influence to bear on Pompey's behalf. Not only did Pompey himself entrust the safety of his wife and son to the Mytilenaeans during the civil war with Caesar, but his son, Sextus, also found refuge there much later, in 36 BC.[21] The presence of loyal supporters, thanks both to Theophanes' intervention and to the additional constraint of gratitude for the city's freedom, must be taken as read.

It should also be noted that, if parellel cases are taken into account, the favourable treatment meted out to Mytilene was by no means unique or even unusual. Pompey intended to complete his conciliatory mission by giving a new dimension to Roman rule. The most important aspect of this was to safequard Rome's interests, but without curtailing the rights or undermining the development of the Empire's subject cities (cf. App. *Mithr.* 115: καὶ ἑτέρας [sc. πόλεις] πολλαχοῦ κατενεχθείσας ἢ βεβλαμμένας διωρθοῦτο περί τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν; Dio 37, 20: ἦρξε πάντας [sc. τοὺς δήμους] δι' εὐνοίας εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος).[22] It is precisely in this context, as also with respect to the reinforcement of Pompey's personal position that one should read the beginning and end of Plutarch's account of Pompey's return from Amisus to Rome in 62 BC: οὕτως ἤδη πανηγυρικώτερον ἐχρῆτο τῇ πορείᾳ, ... λαμπρότατος ἀνθρώπων ἤλπιζεν ἐπιβήσεσθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας (*Pomp.* 42, 7-11). Apart from granting Mytilene the status of a free city, the acts which demonstrate what Plutarch describes with the adverb πανηγυρικώτερον also include Pompey's considerable gifts to the philosophers of Rhodes and his donation of fifty talents «for the restoration of Athens». We also know of other cities to which, probably at the same period, Pompey was careful to display his generosity: it is attested by honorary inscriptions from Ilium, Miletus, and Miletopolis.[23] We also know that he had already granted Phanagoreia the status of a free city, and he reinstated the Didyma festival at Miletus, another action connected with the earlier loss of the city's freedom.[24] He had recently implemented a similar strategy in

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particularly B. K. Gold, *op.cit.*, p. 319).

20. See E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, Baltimore 1985, p. 61.

21. For Sextus, see the recent article by J. DeRose Evans, «Sicilian Coinage of Sextus Pompeius», *ANSMusN* 32, 1987, 124-9.

22. See, in brief, M. Gelzer, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

23. See D. Magie, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1230, n. 28. For Pompey's return, see F. Miltner, *op.cit.*, 2117-8.

24. For Phanagoreia and the political expediency of granting it the status of a free city, see P. Greenhalgh, *op.cit.*, pp. 149-50; cf. R. Bernhardt, *op.cit.*, p. 149. For Miletus, see A.

Judaea too.[25] Generally speaking, the existence of independent cities with established feelings of loyalty towards Rome was a guarantee of stout resistance to the plans any rebel might make, stouter, at least, than what Rome could expect from debilitated subject communities and than what had been the case with Mithridates.[26]

Furthermore, at least two parallel cases deter one from making the sweeping statement that, in addition to certain acts of personal generosity, Pompey misguidedly added a public dimension to his relations with his favourites. In contrast to his conduct with Theophanes, there do not seem to have been similar motives for conferring the Roman citizenship on other close friends, such as Pythodorus of Tralles.[27] Much more typical, however, is the case of another of his advisers (who occupied a similar position to Theophanes on matters relating to Antioch and Syria),[28] the freedman Demetrius, whose birthplace of Gadara Pompey is also supposed to have favoured unduly in 63 BC (Jos. *AJ* 14, 75 = *BJ* 1, 155: ἀνέκτισε ... Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος). The unfortuitous political aspect of this benefaction too was closely connected with the re-organisation of the region's affairs. The same source also mentions the cities' liberation and their annexation by Syria, their restoration to their legitimate inhabitants, and the founding of Decapolis. The rebuilding of Gadara, which the Judaeans had destroyed a few years earlier, came into this context.

Apart from Pompey's general attitude towards the subject cities and his advisers, in the case of his singling out of Mytilene we should also bear in mind the Roman generals' earlier activity in the region. On the one hand, only fifteen years before, Sulla's war operations had left unpleasant memories; on the other, in an effort to attenuate these very memories, Lucullus had been gentle and clement even towards cities that had resisted. Now that pacification had been conclusively achieved and he had every reason to

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Rehm, I. *Didyma* (Berlin 1958), 367; cf. *Syll.*[3] 751, n. 1, and L. Robert, *op.cit.*, p. 62. Cf. also, for Samos, A. Rehm, *Milet* I.3 (Berlin 1914), 173. See also M. Cary, «Pompey's Settlement of the East», in *CAH* 9, Cambridge [2]1951, pp. 390-6.

25. See J. Colin, *Les villes libres de l'Orient gréco-romain* [Collection Latomus 82], Brussels 1965, p. 28 ff.

26. This political intention is more clearly evident in the case of Judaea; see P. Greenhalgh, *op.cit.*, p. 162; cf. R. Bernhardt, *ibid.*, and J. Leach, *op.cit.*, p. 96. For the Roman *imperatores'* granting cities their freedom in the first century BC generally, see A. H. M. Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-1 (cf. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford [2]1971, pp. 62-3 and 390, n. 51); cf. also J. Colin, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-75.

27. For a probable interpretation, see M. H. Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 195.

28. V. Burr, «Rom und Judäa im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Pompeius und die Juden)», in *ANRW* 1.1, Berlin - New York 1972, pp. 875-6.

demonstrate its far-reaching substance, Pompey had to refute the justifiable mistrust of the subject cities and follow or rather exceed the same spirit of generosity as his personal adversary, Lucullus.[29] Hence, his notable donation to Athens was intended to restore the damage Sulla had done to the Deigma of Piraeus.[30] The restoration of the Didyma festival contrasts sharply with the heavy sanction Sulla had imposed upon Miletus during the first war against Mithridates, when he took away the freedom it had been granted (as had Mytilene too) in 188 BC.[31] Pompey also added extensive territories to Amisus and Sinope, whose rebuilding and independence, although they had resisted, had been the gift of Lucullus.[32]

In Mytilene's case, then, particularly after those responsible for M'. Aquilius' arrest had been handed over to Pompey (by Pharnaces, when Pompey was in Amisus: App. *Mithr.* 113),[33] the symbolic aspects of its rehabilitation and of its reward were combined in equal measure. No other city had so determinedly resisted Sulla and Lucullus, nor had any other city suffered such devastation: even before it was seized by M. Minucius, Lucullus himself had put five hundred citizens of Mytilene to death, taken six thousand slaves, and plundered the city (Plut. *Luc.*, loc.cit.).[34] Thereafter it had certainly maintained a loyal attitude, at least, towards Rome, and it was from this major east Aegean naval base that Pompey had launched his campaign against Mithridates in 67 BC.

On the other hand, Theophanes unquestionably belonged to the Greek scholarly set who involved themselves in the Roman *imperatores'* patronage network and secured privileges for their home cities.[35] Each man's influence on his patron has to be appraised individually, however, and naturally it is not always possible to do so with the necessary degree of accuracy. Theophanes can be credited with suggesting that Pompey stop off at Mytilene on his way back to Rome, organising the poetry contest in the exalted visitor's honour, and outlining to Pompey most propitiously the advantages of an act of favour

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29. For Pompey's efforts to distance himself from Sulla and Lucullus, see the brief reference by R. Bernhardt, *op.cit.*, pp. 149-50.

30. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* [HAW 3.2.2], Munich ^{2}1931, p. 448.

31. See n. 24 above. For the free cities after 188 BC, see G. Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo*, Rome 1906 (repr. 1968), pp. 96-8.

32. See P. Greenhalgh, *op.cit.*, pp. 154-6; cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *op.cit.*, pp. 251-2.

33. Cf. D. Magie, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 365, and M. Gelzer, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

34. See V. Chapot, *op.cit.*, pp. 35 and 50; nor is it fortuitous that Pompey is also supposed to have favoured Ilium, which had suffered similar devastation at the hands of Fimbria (p. 34, n. 2).

35. See in particular A. Ştefan, *op.cit.*, p. 625 ff.

towards Mytilene; but none of this is really sufficient to justify the exceptional honours the Mytilenaeans rendered to him, which were concurrent with and equal in every respect to those rendered to Pompey.[36]

This leads one to seek the influence of other factors: some further important services Theophanes may have performed for the city, perhaps, while he was in Rome or after his probable final return to Lesbos; or possibly the local propaganda of the pro-Roman faction. One might, for instance, suspect that Theophanes' active interest was behind the afore-mentioned SC of 55 BC (which would, furthermore, give us a better understanding of the opposition τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκείνου, τὰ δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦ in Strabo's encomium).[37] Also, there is reason to suppose that the city's pro-Roman faction not only was powerful enough to be equal to the demands of the times after the Pharsala defeat, but also regarded its tradition as a collective achievement, and presented it as such. Certainly, when Theophanes' star waned, following his great patron's fate (though his family did not vanish from the scene), this political faction was standing by to fill the gap and appoint Potamon as its new leader. Potamon shouldered considerable tasks at precisely that crucial time and it has been suggested that he had probably led one of the rival wings at some point.[38] However, this did not prevent the community, when Potamon was at the zenith of his career (at any rate, after Caesar's death), from deifying Theophanes and later honouring Pompey, the deified Theophanes, and Potamon together in a three-column inscription.[39]

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36. For Theophanes' relationship with Pompey and its parallels, as also a different evaluation of Theophanes' honours, see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, p. 263, n. 2 (who links them with Greek adulation, in accordance with Tacitus' comment, *Ann.* 6, 18: *Graeca adulatio tribuerat*), and L. Robert, *op.cit.*, p. 51, n. 4 and p. 63 (who categorically rejects this opinion; cf. *Hellenica* 8, 1950, 95-6). Cf. also G. W. Bowersock, *ibid.*, who describes Theophanes, in his concern for his community, as «an exception» amongst the other «cultivated Greeks who appeared regularly in the retinues of Roman luminaries».

37. See n. 3 above. For his return to Mytilene, see H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *op.cit.*, p. 202; cf. also R. Laqueur, *op.cit.*, 2099 and W. S. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

38. Mommsen, for instance, *op.cit.*, p. 896: «Potamon muss, ... , in irgend welcher Weise Caesar näher getreten sein, sei es, dass er in Mytilene die Gegenpartei führte, sei es, dass er litterarische Beziehungen zu dem Römer gehabt hat»; cf. R. Syme, *op.cit.*, p. 262, and R. W. Parker, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

39. The deification was posthumous, and must therefore be dated to after 44 or 36 BC; see L. Robert, «Théophane ...», pp. 49 and 63 (cf. B. K. Gold, *op.cit.*, p. 325). Laqueur, *op.cit.*, 2093-4, dates the inscription to 36/35; cf. W. Stegemann, s.v. «Potamon», *RE* XXII.1 (Stuttgart 1953), 1025. For the year of Theophanes' death, as also for the monument from which the three-column inscription came (*IG* XII.2, 163), see D. Salzmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 251-2. It is certain that neither K. Keil's original hypothesis that the inscription dates from c. 62 BC («Inschriften aus Griechenland», *Philologus* Suppl. 2, 1863, 577) nor

To return to the information given by Plutarch and confirmed by Velleius, by its very nature it is probably a subjective judgement, and consequently we have to check our sources particularly in this case, in which there is substantial cause for reservations, even if one's suspicions are not aroused by the fact that both sources date from after the events and, in any case, much later than Theophanes' deification (Velleius' history was written in AD 30 and Plutarch was writing quite some time later). More specifically, as far as the first source is concerned, in the same passage Plutarch makes the probably inaccurate assertion that Pompey made a copy of the Mytilene theatre as a model for the theatre he intended to build in Rome,[40] which leads one to suspect an exaggerated note in the whole description of Pompey's visit. Moreover, we know that Pompey's biography was based not only on Theophanes' own history and on Poseidonius' account, but also, to a certain extent, on a hostile text by Timagenes.[41] The issue is further complicated by the fact that we do not know whether Theophanes' account of Pompey's campaign included the events of 62 BC, in which case it would have been used as a primary source for the events surrounding the granting of Mytilene's freedom. If the conjecture, for instance, that the work covered Pompey's return to Rome and came out c. 59 BC is valid,[42] then Theophanes would certainly

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W. Dittenberger's hypothesis that Potamon's inscription was a later addition (*Syll.*[3] 752-4, n. 1) is valid; see L. Robert, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-51 (cf. B. K. Gold, *ibid.*). Cf. also Sherk's hypothesis («Senatus ...», pp. 218-9 and n. 3; cf. *Roman Documents* ..., p. 270) that a monument similar to Potamon's was erected in Theophanes' honour.

40. Despite the theories that have been put forward about what this information means (see J. van Ooteghem, *op.cit.*, p. 402 and n. 1), it is doubtful that Pompey did in fact borrow any architectural details. The reservations expressed by J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples*, Princeton 1959, pp. 53-5, are shared by W. S. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p. 35, n. 23, E. Rawson, *op.cit.*, p. 109, n. 55, B. K. Gold, *op.cit.*, p. 324, n. 55, and particularly E. H. Williams, «Notes on Roman Mytilene», in S. Walker - A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, London 1989, p. 164 and n. 14.

41. See H. Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer*, Halle 1865 (repr. Amsterdam 1965), pp. 115-7; cf. K. Ziegler, s.v. «Plutarchos», *RE* XXI.1 (Stuttgart 1951), 912. Cf. also C. Müller, *op.cit.*, p. 314; H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *op.cit.*, pp. 183 and 192-4; F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 188 Komm., p. 615; R. Laqueur, *op.cit.*, 2098-9; B. K. Gold, *op.cit.*, p. 321, n. 44. E. Rawson, *op.cit.*, p. 108, believes that Plutarch probably used another publicist of the same period as a source, as well as Theophanes. For Velleius, see I. Lana, *Velleio Patercolo o della propaganda*, Turin 1952, p. 83, n. 73.

42. R. Laqueur, *op.cit.*, 2125-7. *Contra*, F. Jacoby, *op.cit.*, p. 616, T1; also H.- R. Breitenbach, *ibid.*, S. P. Haley, «Archias, Theophanes and Cicero: The Politics of the "Pro Archia"», *CB* 59, 1983, 3, and E. Rawson, *ibid.* In this respect, de la Ville de Mirmont accepts Fabricius' earlier assertion that Theophanes published his work in 63/62 (*op.cit.*, p.

have overemphasised his own part in matters relating to the favourable treatment meted out to his native city.

As far as the second source is concerned, Velleius' account is obviously animated by a feeling of reproach against both Pompey and Theophanes. As Lana has observed, in this he falls into line with Tiberius' negative attitude towards Cyzicus' freedom in AD 25 and his deprecation of the deification of prominent citizens.[43] Moreover, it seems to be no accident that Velleius' harking back to this specific event has the effect precisely of reinforcing the reproach, which a few years later, in AD 33, was to drive Theophanes' descendants to suicide or exile. Although the real reason probably had something to do with their links with Seianus' circle, it seems that, somewhat paradoxically, their forebear's relations with Pompey and his posthumous deification were publicly cited as incriminating evidence against them.[44]

To sum up, one may say that the afore-mentioned inscriptional evidence is connected with the positive presentation of Theophanes' beneficence towards his city. It is an expression of the gratitude and respect felt by the community itself (or rather by its pro-Roman elite) towards the man who laid the foundations of their relations with sovereign Rome. The literary sources, however, display a somewhat equivocal attitude. The fact that Pompey used his position of unlimited authority to grant Mytilene its freedom, and particularly the suspicion that he was motivated solely by favouritism, offered fertile ground for sarcasm or censure directed against both himself and Theophanes.

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176), though elsewhere he does not rule out the possibility that it went as far as the triumph of 61 BC (p. 175). All the same, Cicero's description, *Theophanem, ..., scriptorem rerum suarum* [sc. *Pompeii*] (*pro Arch.* 24), as early as 62 BC, may satisfactorily be correlated with B. Rawson's hypothesis, in *The Politics of Friendship. Pompey and Cicero*, Sydney 1978, p. 83, n. 40, that «throughout this time, [Theophanes] would be keeping an account of the journeys, and dramatic reports were no doubt being sent off to Rome» (cf. L. Robert, *op.cit.*, p. 46: «on pourrait se demander si cette sorte de Commentaires n'avait pas paru par morceaux»).

43. *Op.cit.*, pp. 80-3.

44. Tac., *loc.cit.*: *datum erat crimini quod Theophanem Mytilenaeum proavum eorum Cn. Magnus inter intimos habuisset quodque defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat.* His son M. Pompeius Macer committed suicide (for the identification, see J.- M. Bertrand, «A propos de deux disparus: Cn. Pompeius Theophanes, M. Pompeius Macer», *ZPE* 59, 1985, 173-6), as did his grandson Q. Pompeius Macer, and his granddaughter Pompeia Macrina went into exile. Syme («Tacitus' Sources of Information», *JRS* 72, 1982, 80) quite rightly remarks that «the incrimination appears unduly trivial» (cf. I. Lana, *op.cit.*, p. 79). For the correlation with the Seianus affair, see H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* [Hypomnemata 58], Göttingen 1979, p. 33 (cf. also F. Hiller von Gaertringen, «Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Epigraphik von Lesbos», *NAWG* N.F. 1, 1934-6, 110).

We have reason to believe that the memory of the act of granting Mytilene its freedom was preserved by means of two separate and opposing channels, the one inscriptional and the other literary. In each case, however, for different reasons, interest is focused on the protagonists in person and not on the ulterior political motives behind Pompey's decision.

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Mytilene

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ο ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΣΗ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΣΤΗ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΗ

Στὴ σύγχρονη ἱστοριογραφία ἔχει ἐπικρατήσει ἡ ἄποψη ὅτι ἡ παραχώρηση ἀπὸ τὸν Πομπήιο στὴ Μυτιλήνη καθεστῶτος ἐλεύθερης πόλης, τὸ 62 π.Χ., ὀφείλεται σχεδὸν ἀποκλειστικὰ στὴν ἐπιρροὴ τοῦ Θεοφάνη τοῦ Μυτιληναίου. Ἡ ἄποψη αὐτὴ θεμελιώνεται στὶς σχετικὲς ἀναφορὲς τοῦ Πλουτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Βελληίου Πατερκούλου, καθὼς καὶ στὶς τιμὲς ποὺ οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἀπέδωσαν στὸν ἐπιφανῆ συμπολίτη τους. Φαίνεται, ὡστόσο, ὅτι πίσω ἀπὸ τὴν πρωτοβουλία τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποκρύπτονταν πολιτικὲς σκοπιμότητες. Ἡ Μυτιλήνη, ἀκριβῶς ἐξαιτίας τῆς στάσης της ἔναντι τῶν Ρωμαίων κατὰ τὴν ἐξέγερση τοῦ Μιθριδάτη, προσφερόταν γιὰ μιὰ θεαματικὴ ἐπίδειξη ἐπιείκειας (clementia), ἡ ὁποία θὰ ἐνίσχυε τὴν ὑψηλὴ ἐκτίμηση ποὺ ἔτρεφαν γιὰ τὸν Πομπήιο οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑποστηρικτές του. Ἐπιπλέον, ἡ ἀποκατάσταση τῆς πόλης, μετὰ τὶς βαρύτατες συνέπειες ποὺ εἶχε ὑποστεῖ κατὰ τὸ παρελθόν, ἀποτελοῦσε λαμπρὴ εὐκαιρία γιὰ νὰ ἀναδειχθεῖ ἡ ἐπίτευξη τῆς ὁριστικῆς ἐξειρήνευσης. Ἐξάλλου, ἀνάλογη εὐνοϊκὴ μεταχείριση μεμονωμένων πόλεων εἶχε προηγηθεῖ καὶ ἀλλοῦ. Οἱ πηγές μας, λοιπόν, γιὰ διαφορετικοὺς λόγους ἡ καθεμιά, ὑπερτονίζουν μὲ θετικὸ ἢ ἀρνητικὸ πνεῦμα τὸν ρόλο ποὺ διαδραμάτισε στὴ λήψη τῆς συγκεκριμένης ἀπόφασης ἡ σχέση ἀνάμεσα στὸν Πομπήιο καὶ τὸν Θεοφάνη, ἐνῶ ἀντίθετα ὑποτιμοῦν τὸν πολιτικὸ παράγοντα.