

ΑΠΟΞΕΝΟΥΣΘΑΙ: ATIMIA IN ROMAN TIMES?

In A.D. 38 the *Boule* and the *Demos* of the Cyzicenes, in tribute to Antonia Tryphaena,¹ the benefactress who was financing public works in the city,² instituted severe penalties for any citizen, foreigner or metic, who, by selling goods at higher prices in the city market, would put in danger the provisioning of the city, in a period of unusual affluence of workers.³ For citizens the penalty is loss of citizenship, ἀποξενοῦσθαι, a penalty strongly reminding that of ἀτιμία.

Cyzicus, strategically located on the southern shore of the Propontis, on the trade route between Pergamum, Propontis and the Euxine, was the leading city of northern Mysia, a commercial port lying in a fertile and prosperous land.⁴ The city had supported the Romans against king Mithridates VI of Pontus, who besieged it with 300,000 men in 74 B.C., a siege finally lifted by Lucullus.⁵ The Romans in recognition of the city's loyalty awarded it the status of *civitas libera*⁶ and extended its territory.⁷ This incident linked the city to Rome and Cyzicus became one of its strong naval allies, lending ships to Rome for several expeditions.⁸ But, the city fell in disgrace under Augustus, after being accused of killing Roman citizens and therefore lost its status of *civitas libera*⁹ in 20 B.C.¹⁰ Through the assistance of

¹ On Antonia Tryphaena see Macurdy 1937: 41ff., Sullivan 1979: 200 ff.

² Three inscriptions from Cyzicus refer to her benefactions: *IGR IV 144* (= *SEG IV 707*, see Reinach 1882: 612-616), *IGR IV 145* (= *Syll.*³ 798), *IGR IV 146* (= *Syll.*³ 799 I, commented in this paper).

³ *IGR IV 146* (= *Syll.*² 366 = *Syll.*³ 799 I). Joubin 1893: 8-22 and 1894: 45-47.

⁴ W. Ruge, *RE*, s.v. Kyzikos, cols. 228-234. On the commercial activity of Cyzicus see Rostovtzeff 1941 (I): 587-589.

⁵ Lucullus therefore gained the status of city hero, Plutarch, *Luc.* 12.1.1-3. Citizens even founded a festival in his honour, by the name of Lucullea, Appian, *Mith.* 330.1-331.1.

⁶ Strabo, 12.8.11.33: Ρωμαῖοι δ' ἐτίμησαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔστιν ἐλευθέρα μέχρι νῦν καὶ χάραν ἔχει πολλὴν τὴν μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν δὲ τῶν Ρωμαίων προσθέντων.

⁷ On the extended territory of Cyzicus see Magie 1950: 901-903 (n.116-117) and Jones 1971: 86-87.

⁸ Hasluck 1910: 181-184.

⁹ On the loss of the status of Cyzicus see Colin 1965: 64.

¹⁰ Dio Cassius, 54.7.6.1-2: τούς τε Κυζικηνοῦς, ὅτι Ρωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδουλώσατο; Suetonius, *Aug.* 47: Urbium quasdam, foederatas sed ad exitium licentia praecipites, libertate privavit, alias aut aere alieno laborantis levavit aut terrae motu subversas denuo condidit aut merita erga populum R. adlegantes Latinitate vel civitate donavit.

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law and Caligula's grandfather, Cyzicus managed to regain its free status in 15 B.C.¹¹ The city lost again briefly its privileges under Tiberius, in A.D. 25, on account, once more, of an alleged maltreatment and imprisonment of Romans¹² and for neglecting the imperial cult,¹³ more specifically for failing to finish a temple dedicated to Augustus.¹⁴ The Cyzicenes promptly remedied offense, showing in the future due respect to the imperial family.¹⁵ The restoration of the city's privileges must be attributed to Caligula,¹⁶ while his favor towards Cyzicus may be due to the influence of Antonia Tryphaena, who was related to him through their common ancestor, Mark Antony.¹⁷

Ἀντωνία Τρύφαινα or Τρυφαίνη (10 B.C. – A.D. 55),¹⁸ was a remarkable lady of early imperial times, whose favor for Cyzicus was the result of international politics as well as personal misfortunes. An offspring of two of the most distinguished families of Asia Minor, she was the daughter of the king of Pontus, Polemon Pythodoros and of Pythodoris of Pontus.¹⁹ As her name reflects, she also had Roman lineage: through her mother, she was probably the granddaughter of the triumvir Mark Antony²⁰ and of his second wife (and first cousin) Antonia Hybrida Minor.²¹ Already related to an array of client kings of the eastern Roman Empire,²²

¹¹ Cf. Dio Cassius 54.23.7.2-3: καὶ Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε. Agrippa probably visited Cyzicus during his trip in the East in 15 B.C.

¹² Dmitriev 2005: 305, speculates these were probably Greek natives of Cyzicus who had received Roman citizenship as a grant and Cyzicus obviously enforced its own laws to all residents, exercising its right as a free city.

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* IV.36.2: obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus adversum civis Romanos et amisere libertatem, quam bello Mithridatis meruerant, circumsessi nec minus sua constantia quam praesidio Luculli pulso rege. Suetonius, *Tib.* 37.7: Cyzicenis in ciues R. uiolentia quaedam ausis publice libertatem ademit, quam Mithridatico bello meruerant. Dio Cassius 57.24.6.1-7.1: τὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον ἐκείνον ταῦτά τε ἐς ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἐγένετο, καὶ Κυζικηνῶν ἡ ἐλευθερία ἀδῆτις, ὅτι τε Ρωμαίους τινὰς ἔδησαν καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἡρῶον ὃ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ποιεῖν ἤρξαντο οὐκ ἐξετέλεσαν, ἀφηρέθη.

¹⁴ See Price 1984: 83.

¹⁵ Later, they would refer to Tiberius, in a decree of the city honoring Antonia Tryphaena (*JGR* IV 144 = *SEG* 4.707), as the «greatest of Gods». See Magie 1950: 502.

¹⁶ Cyzicus in the second century was still using a particular calendar, which according to Mommsen 1952: 707, n.2, was a sign of restitution of the autonomy of the city after Tiberius.

¹⁷ By different wives, Antonia Tryphaena through Antonia, Caligula through Octavia.

¹⁸ See Magie 1950: 486.

¹⁹ On Pythodoris, see Kearsley 2005: 101-103.

²⁰ *The Cambridge Ancient History*, X, 1996: 112-113. Mark Antony had his daughter, Antonia, married to the extremely wealthy Greek, Pythodoros of Tralleis, in the hope of obtaining a part of his fortune to finance his ambitious expeditions.

²¹ And thus Antonia Tryphaena was a distant cousin to the Emperor Caligula. Through Mark Antony, she was also related to other client kings of the Roman Empire, such as to

she married the gentle and cultivated Cotys VIII,²³ king of Thrace, becoming queen of Thrace²⁴ and bearing him three sons, Rhoemetalces, Polemon and Cotys. When, in A.D. 18, her husband was murdered²⁵ by his uncle Rhescuporis II who invaded his part of the kingdom, Antonia Tryphaena took refuge for the first time to Cyzicus. Tiberius managed to have Rhescuporis captivated and brought to Rome²⁶ to be put on trial before the Senate, where Tryphaena was invited to present a formal accusation against him²⁷ and obtain his condemnation.²⁸ Antonia's three sons were brought to Rome to be educated at Tiberius' court, where they became close friends of their distant cousin Gaius, the future emperor Caligula, a relationship their

the daughter of Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, Cleopatra Selene II of Mauretania, to her son, King Ptolemy of Mauretania, and his sister, Drusilla of Mauretania.

- ²² Her elder brother, Zenon, was proclaimed by Germanicus king of Armenia Maior in 18 B.C., ruling under the name of Artaxias III, while her other brother, Polemon II of Pontus, would succeed their mother Pythodoris and become the last ruler of Pontus, on which see Barrett 1978: 437-448.
- ²³ Cotys is described by Tacitus as a man of «gentle disposition, good nature and manners». Supposedly he was also a poet at whose court famous Greek and Roman poets of the time were frequenting. Ovid, during his exile in Tomis, in the Black Sea, addressed to him a long letter in verse, included in his *Epistulae ex Ponto* where he appeals to his 'brother' poet (II, 9, 65), begging to let him spend the rest of his life in Thrace. See Leschhorn 1993: 99-105.
- ²⁴ Her coins were inscribed *Βασιλίσσης Τρυφαίνης* and dated ιζ' and ιη'. See Waddington W., Babelon E., Reinach Th., *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1912-1925, I²: 22f., no. 22f.
- ²⁵ According to Tacitus (*Annal.*, II.64.3-67) after the death of Coty's father, Rhoemetalces I, who was an ally of Rome, Augustus, for political reasons divided the kingdom of Thrace between Cotys and his uncle, Rhescuporis II. In his share, Cotys got the best part of Thrace, the cultivated lands and most towns, including the Greek cities of Thrace, from the river Strymon to the estuary of Istros, whereas to Rhescuporis II were left the savage and unfriendly parts of Thrace. Soon after Augustus' death in A.D. 14, Rhescuporis II invaded Coty's lands (see Velleius Paterculus II, 129, 1). Upon Tiberius' intervention in this conflict, and advise to both kings to make peace with each other, Cotys released his army and was invited to a banquet by Rhescuporis, under the pretext of signing a peace treaty. There, he was taken prisoner by his uncle who invaded the rest of the kingdom of Thrace and claimed his nephew had been conspiring against the Emperor. When he was confronted by Tiberius and asked to come to Rome to defend his accusations against his nephew, Rhescuporis assassinated Cotys and spread the rumor that he had committed suicide.
- ²⁶ Tiberius sent Pomponius Flaccus to Thrace, who managed to lure Rhescuporis into coming to the Roman outpost, offering him a guard as a sign of royal honor. When Rhescuporis tried to leave, he realized he was a captive of the Emperor.
- ²⁷ Tacitus, *Annal.*, II.67: *accusatus in senatu ab uxore Cotyis damnatur, ut procul regno teneretur*. For the role of Antonia Tryphaena in the prosecution of her husbands' murder and the subsequent history of her three sons, see Magie 1950: 513-515.
- ²⁸ He was found guilty and sent to live in exile in Alexandria, only to be killed on his way to Egypt, in an attempt to escape, «genuine or not». *The Cambridge Ancient History*, X, 1996: 645.

protégés, the Cyzikenes, would not fail to underline, by mentioning them, in one of the several inscription honoring Antonia Tryphaena's family, as Caligula's "foster-brothers and comrades".²⁹ Tiberius returned the whole Thracian kingdom to Tryphaena and appointed her and her elder son, Rhoemetaces II,³⁰ as rulers of Thrace.³¹ When her son died childless in 38, he was succeeded by his cousin Rhoemetaces III³² who married, by Antonia Tryphaena's arrangement, her daughter, Pythodoris.³³ She then retired to live in Cyzicus, where she repaid the hospitality of the Cyzicenes at the time of her husband's murder by becoming the protector of the city, being welcomed by the whole population (l. 12-15) "οὐχ ὡς εἰς φίλην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εἰς γνησίαν πατρίδα, ὅτι καὶ ἡ βασιλέων μὲν θυγάτηρ, βασιλέων δὲ μήτηρ, ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῶν Τρύφαινα, ταύτην ἡγήμενη πατρίδα, οἴκου τε τὸ ἐφέστιον καὶ βίου τὸ εὐτυχὲς ἀνεμεσῆτοις ἐνευδαμονήσουσα τέκνων βασιλείαις ἐνταῦθα ἴδρυται."

A few years earlier, an accusation of neglecting the imperial cults, had cost Cyzicus its status as a free city within the Roman Empire. Antonia Tryphaena undertook the imperial cult herself in Cyzicus, being appointed by Caligula as a priestess in the cult of his favorite sister Julia Drusilla,³⁴ worshiped as New Aphrodite³⁵ and by Claudius in 42, as a priestess in the cult of late Empress Livia.³⁶ She would also follow the euergetic model of Livia herself, becoming one of the leading female *εὐεργέτιδα* of the Roman East.³⁷ Tryphaena, upon her return to the city in A.D. 37-38, commissioned and financed at her own expense the restoration of Cyzicus, as a thanks offering to the memory of Augustus.

Cyzicus was reputed, according to Strabo,³⁸ to be a beautiful and well ordered

²⁹ *IGR* IV 145 (= *Syll.*³ 798), l. 6-7: τοὺς Κότυος δὲ παῖδας Ῥοιμητάκην καὶ Πολέμονα καὶ Κότυν συντρόφους καὶ ἐταίρους ἑαυτῶι γεγονότας εἰς τὰς ἐκ πα<τέρ>ων καὶ προγόνων αὐτοῖς ὀφειλομένας ἀποκαθέστακεν βασιλείας·

³⁰ See Sullivan 1980: 913-930.

³¹ They served Tiberius and Rome as loyal client rulers, even at the malcontent of their Thracian subjects, who were resenting the growing submission of their rulers to the Romans. For the disorder in Thrace after Coty's death, see Tacitus, *Ann.* III.38.4f.; IV.5.5 and 47f.

³² He was the son of the murderer of the king Cotys, who was spared by Tiberius and allowed to return to Thrace.

³³ Antonia Tryphaena was hoping by this matrimony to restore the dynastic conflict. A few years later, in A.D. 46, Rhoemetaces III, last king of Thrace, is murdered and Thrace finally becomes a Roman province.

³⁴ *IGR* IV 145 = *Syll.*³ 798, l. 12.

³⁵ On imperial cult associated to a demand of Roman favor, see Price 1984: 65ff.

³⁶ *IGR* IV 144 (= *SEG* 4.707).

³⁷ On the tradition of benefactions see Gauthier 1985: passim. For city benefactors in Asia see Dmitriev 2005: 38-45.

³⁸ Strabo, 12.8.11.10-19: ἔστι δ' ἐνάμιλλος ταῖς πρώταις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἢ πόλις μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει καὶ εὐνομίᾳ πρὸς τε εἰρήνην καὶ πόλεμον· ἔοικέ τε τῷ παραπλησίῳ τῷ πφ κοσμεῖσθαι ὡσπερ ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν καὶ

city which benefited from its peculiar landscape. Built on an island or promontory,³⁹ the city had two ports, situated on the east and west side of an isthmus separating the city from the mainland, originally connected between them by two channels, which formed in the middle a lake.⁴⁰ Antonia Tryphaena undertook a thorough dredging and reconstruction of the city harbors, proceeding to the reopening of the canals through the bridges which had been purposely blocked in the past, in order to secure communication with the mainland during warfare.⁴¹ This blockading of the city isthmus and ports, which must have lasted a decade, certainly had repercussions on the reputed trade of the city and therefore to its prosperity. So, the works for the restitution of the former aspect of the city were a project of major importance, attracting a great number of foreign workers. The city felt bound, in a decision of the most elaborate style,⁴² to express its gratitude to its benefactress by taking concrete and extremely severe measures in order to secure the adequate supply of reasonably priced goods to the market, so that nothing could undermine the successful completion of the project.

IGR IV 146 (= Syll.² 366; Syll.³ 799 I)

- [ἐπ]ὶ Ἐστιαίου τοῦ Θεμιστόνακτος ἱπάρχω, Ἀθηναίωνος ἰ',
 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγὸς κατὰ πόλιν Ἀπολλώνιος Δημη-
 τρίου Ἀργαδεὺς μέσης ἐπὶ Θεμιστόνακτος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἡ κρατίστη καὶ φιλοσό-
 βαστος Ἀντωνία Τρύφαινα πᾶσαν ἀεὶ ὁσίαν τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν
 5 εὐσεβείας ἐφευρίσκουσα ἐπίνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἐπισκευὴν
 χαριστήριον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καθωσίωκεν οὐχ ἱστορήσασα ἡμᾶς ὡς παλαιὸν
 Κυζίκου κτίσμα, [ἀ]λλὰ ἐπιγνοῦσα νέαν Ἀγρίππα χάριν, τὰ τε συγχωσθέντα τῶν εὐ-
 ρείπων πρότερον φόβοις πολέμου τῆ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συναίνουσα[α] εἰρήνη μεγί-
 στω καὶ [ἐ]{π}ιφανεσ(τά)τω θεῷ [Γαίῳ] Καίσαρι ἀρχαίαν καὶ προγονικὴν τοῦ
 γένους αὐτοῦ νεω-
 10 κόρον ἐπανακτωμένη πόλιν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον θαυμά-
 σασ εὐσεβείαν καὶ τῆς ἀδιαφεύστου ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί τῶν ἐντολῶν μνήμη Ροιμητάλκα
 βασιλεῖ Κόττος υἱῷ ἀποδεξάμενος ἀ<λ>εῖπτοις ἐκείνου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας βουλήμασιν
 καὶ τεθν<ε>ῶτος ἐνέζηκεν ἢ τῶν σπουδασθέντων μνήμη πολλὴν εἰση-

Καρχηδονίων τῶν πάλαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ ἐῶ, τρεῖς δ' ἀρχιτέκτονας τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους οἰκοδομημάτων τε δημοσίων καὶ ὀργάνων, τρεῖς δὲ καὶ θησαυροὺς κέκτηται, τὸν μὲν ὄπλων τὸν δ' ὀργάνων τὸν δὲ σίτου.

³⁹ Strabo, 12.8.11.1-6: Ἔστι δὲ νῆσος ἐν τῇ Προποντιδίῃ ἡ Κύζικος συναπτομένη γεφύραις δυοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον, ἀρετῇ μὲν κρατίστη μεγέθει δὲ ὅσον πεντακοσίων σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον· ἔχει δὲ ὁμώνυμον πόλιν πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς γεφύραις καὶ λιμένας δύο κλειστοὺς καὶ νεωσοίκους πλείους τῶν διακοσίων.

⁴⁰ See A. E. Henderson 1904: 135-153. On the ports see M. Sève 1979: 349 sqq.

⁴¹ See note 32. Perhaps also Cyzicus took precautions in order to avoid a siege similar to that of Mithridates in the past.

⁴² A. Joubin, in his edition of the inscription, rightfully spoke of a «chef d'œuvre de complication, poussée jusqu' à l'obscurité et le barbarisme» and of «élégances criardes qui consistent dans l'abus des termes abstraits». Dittenberger also commented «Structuram et conexum orationis turbatum esse manifestum est».

- 15 νέγκατο σπουδὴν, ὅπως μὴ τὸ πολυδάπανον αὐτῆς τῶν κατασκευαζομέ-
 νων ἔργων [αἰ] περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνποδίσωσι δυσφημίαι, ἐκ παντὸς αὐτῆς βουλομένης
 τῆ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων δαψειλίᾳ ἀνεπιβάρητον περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μεῖναι τὴν εὐε-
 τηρίαν, καὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευασμένης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἀνελλιπῆ
 παρασ-
 χεῖν τὴν ἀγορὰν· δι' ἃ δὴ δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ στε-
 φανφόρους πάντας συνεπισχύνει τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις, ὅπως ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς πᾶσα ἡ
 ἀγο-
 20 ρὰ πάντων μένη τιμαῖς, καὶ μηδὲ εἰς τῶν πιπρασκόντων τι κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον
 πλείονος ἐπιβάλληται πιπράσκειν τῆς ἐνεστῶσης τιμῆς· τὸν δὲ κακουροῦντ[α πε]-
 ρ<ὶ τ>ὴν κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως εὐετηρίαν καὶ παραφθίραντὰ τι τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ὄ[νι]-
 ων [ῶ]ς κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως λυμεῶνα ἐπάρατον εἶναι ζημιουῖσθαι τε ὑπὸ τῶν [ἀρχόν]-
 των, καὶ ἀναχθέντα εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐὰν μὲν πολεῖτης ᾖ, ἀποξενουῖσθαι, ἐ[ἴ]αν δὲ ξέ]-
 25 νος ἢ μέτοικος, καὶ τῆς πόλεως εἴργεσθαι, τό τε ἐργαστήριον αὐτοῦ σανιδίοι[ς]
 προσηλουῖσθαι, ἄχρι οὐ συντελεσθῆ τὸ ἔργον, ἔχον καὶ τὴν τῆς ζημίας ἐπιγραφή[ν]·
 τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σπουδῆς τε καὶ εὐνοίας ταῖς τῶν ἔργων ἑαυτοὺς ἐνπαρασχόντας
 ὑπηρεσίαι[ς τε]-
 χνεῖτας τε καὶ ἐπιστ<άτ>ας καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονας μαρτυρηθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς σεμνοτάτης
 Τρυφαῖνης[ς με]-
 τὰ τὴν τελεί<ω>σιν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τυχεῖν ἀπο<δο>χῆς·
 προσκαταστήσαι δὲ κα[ὶ]

When Hestaios, son of Themistonax, was hipparch, on the tenth day of the month Lenaion, the boule and the demos decided. The strategos of the city Apollonios son of Demetrios, of the middle (trittys?) of the Argadis tribe, when Themistonax (held the presidency of the assembly), said. Because the very mighty and devout to the Emperor Antonia Tryphaena always shows every inventiveness possible in designs worthy of her piety towards Augustus and has dedicated our city's restoration as a thank-offering in memory of Augustus, considering us not an ancient foundation of (the hero) Cyzicus, but pointing to the recent favor by Agrippa, (because she) is opening up—with the help of Augustus' peace—the canals that had been filled up in the past for fear of war, restoring for the great and most eminent god (Gaius) Caesar the ancient city (which is) neokoros of his family for many generations. The demos admiring her piety to the imperial family and (knowing?) the unquestionable respect over the orders concerning her child, the king Roemetalces, son of Cotys, (the demos) having accepted repeatedly that his wish should remain undisturbed, so that after his death the memory of his achievements survives, (the demos) showed a great zeal in order to prevent slanders circulating in the market from obstructing the expensive constructions undertaken by her, herself being determined to maintain undisturbed, thanks to the liberality of her own expense, the proper provision of the market and being prepared to fully supply the market at her own expenses for the workers in these (constructions). And for these reasons the boule and the demos decided: all the archons and the stephanophoroi should join efforts with the agoranomoi, in order to maintain the same prices in all goods in the whole market and for not even one of the vendors to try to sell anything, in any way, for more than the actual price. And anyone who will harm the plentiful provision of goods in the city and will alter in any way the provision of the market, to the common detriment of the city, (he is) to be damned and be fined by the archons, and, brought before the demos, if he is a citizen, to lose his citizen rights, whereas if he is a foreigner or a metic, to be also excluded from entering the city

and his workshop to be boarded up with planks, until the works are finished, bearing also an inscription of the fine. Those on the other hand who, with effort and goodwill have offered their services to the works, craftsmen and superintendents and architects, as the most dignified Tryphaena will testify, after the completion of the works, to be acknowledged by the demos. To arrange besides also...

The Cyzicenes, motivated by a need to erase previous accusations of disrespect to imperial cult, underline the connection of Antonia Tryphaena to the Emperor, valuing her capacity to befriend the Roman authorities.⁴³ It is noteworthy that this inscription provides the first known attestation of a city called “νεοκόρος” of the imperial family, although this term is not yet an official city title.⁴⁴ Other than flattery to the Emperor, the main preoccupation of the city’s decree is to support Tryphaena in her wish for a constant and plentiful supply of affordable goods in the city market.

Cyzicus, as early as the sixth century B.C., was a commercial port of importance. Although the famous staters, the “Cyzicenes”, once the currency of choice for the Euxine trade, were no longer minted, the city had not lost its importance as a trading center. The city possessed a large area of fertile land, making it almost self-sufficient. Strabo mentions that Cyzicus possessed three treasuries, one for the storage of weapons, one for tools and one for grain, and speaks about the ample provisions stored in its granaries.⁴⁵ The local products provided for the requirements of a large population and of temporary residents, while a part of the produce was exported.⁴⁶ The city possessed at least three agoras⁴⁷ (the sacred, the squared and the men’s agora), whereas the fair of the city (πανήγυρις) was famous, attracting temporary residents from all parts of the world. Cyzicus was, in the words of Rostovzeff, «the great *entrepôt* of the Pontic trade», «a place of call for ships and a clearing-house for goods of the same trade».⁴⁸ But, recently, the city had suffered several vicissitudes: the siege by Mithridates, the loss of the status as a *civitas libera*, imperial disgrace, the closing of its harbors due to warfare. So, when Tryphaena proposed, not only to finance the restoration of the city’s canals and dedicate the works to the memory of Augustus, but also to provide for the nourishment of workers,⁴⁹ the Cyzicenes felt bound to take care that these noble offerings would not be tainted by the merchants’ speculation, often characteristic of times of increased demand. Such speculation had obviously already

⁴³ On this attitude see Mourgues 1995: 112, n. 19.

⁴⁴ It underlines the variety of ties between the city to the emperor. See Dmitriev 2005: 267.

⁴⁵ Strabo 12.8.11.19: ποιεί δὲ τὸν σίτον ἄσηπτον ἢ Χαλκιδικῆ γῆ μιγνυμένη.

⁴⁶ The city also exported wine, fish, perfumes and unguents. See Hasluck 1910: 171.

⁴⁷ On the agoras of Cyzicus, see Sève 1979: 346ff.

⁴⁸ Rostovtzeff, 1941: 1264. On the coinage in use see 588.

⁴⁹ According to Jones 1940: 215, this must be viewed as linked to «the influx of labour in the context of an emergency». Jones also thinks this measure though could only have applied to home-grown produce and not to importers.

been noticed in the city markets and may have affected the offer and availability of manpower. For this reason, the city attempted to control inflationary pressures in its markets, by the menace of heavy penalties.

The supervision of the market prices is entrusted to the ἀγορανόμοι, whom, due to the extent of the work, all other officials—including the στεφανηφόροι—must assist. In Cyzicus, the ἀγορανόμοι had their office, the ἀγορανόμιον, in the portico of the squared market place, in close vicinity to those of the other archons of the city, the κοσμοφύλαξ and the τιμητής.⁵⁰ As in most cities, the duties of the ἀγορανόμοι⁵¹ included the general supervision of the market⁵² and of equitable exchanges.⁵³ Their right to fix prices is mentioned in several inscriptions of Greek cities as well as in other sources.⁵⁴ We do not know if, in order for the ἐνεστώσα τιμή to be known to all in Cyzicus, such prices were recorded or set by the ἀγορανόμοι at the time of this decision, as in the agoranomic inscription from Pireaus dating from the first half of the first century B.C., recording the prices set by the ἀγορανόμος for different cuts of pork, goat, lamb and beef.⁵⁵ No trace of such a record survives in Cyzicus, where the ἀγορανόμοι are not instructed to actually *fix* the maximum prices, but to supervise the selling of goods at the ἐνεστώσα τιμή.⁵⁶ This expression reminds the καθεστηκυῖα τιμή mentioned in sources in Athens,⁵⁷ the meaning of which as “normal price”, “current price”, or “official price set by the city” in relation to import of grain has made the object of an animated debate among

⁵⁰ Sève 1979: 346, 351ff.

⁵¹ On the duties of the ἀγορανόμοι see Jones 1940: 215-216 (on inscriptions mentioning different functions, see 345-350, n. 10-11); Stanley 1979: 72-79; Jakab 1997: 70-80, 82-85; Harris 2005: 159-176.

⁵² *Syll.*³ 946, *SEG* 4.518, *Forsch. Eph.*, III. 10-16. On the establishment, conservation and reproduction of official weights and measures, see *IG* II² 1013.

⁵³ Among other duties, the *agoranomoi* were responsible for collecting the rents on the shops leased by the city in the agora, inspecting the quality of the goods exposed for sale, using the correct weights and measures according to the standards kept in their office, stamping the weights and measures used by traders and enforcing currency laws and rates of exchange. It was their duty to also regulate the hiring of casual labour and to see that an adequate supply of provisions was put on the market at a fair price. Cf. Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 51.1. On these duties, cf. Stanley 1976.

⁵⁴ Plautus, in his *Miles gloriosus*, has one of the figures of the play regret that gods have not regulated better human life, as an *agoranomos* does (727-729): *Sicuti merci pretium statuit qui est probus agoranomus: | quae probast <mers pretium ei statuit>, provirtute ut veneat | quae inprobat, pro mercis uitio dominum pretio pauperet.*

⁵⁵ Steinhower 1994: 51-68. See Bresson 2000: 151-182, esp. 171-182.

⁵⁶ Migeotte 1997: 42, thinks on the contrary that «ici les prix étaient probablement fixés par les agoranomes selon les indications de la bienfaitrice et, pour l'application de la mesure, étant donné l'affluence, ces magistrats devaient être secondés par les archontes et les stéphanéphores.»

⁵⁷ Demosthenes, XXXVI.39; LVI.8 and 10.

modern scholars.⁵⁸ The word ἐνεστώσα of the decree of Cyzicus is rather implying prices in effect “at the current moment” and the measure is explicitly applying to all sorts of merchandise sold in the market and not only to grain, fish or meat, the prices of which have been recorded in a handful of inscriptions from other cities.⁵⁹ Regardless of whether prices were fixed by the ἀγορανόμοι or not, the penalties imposed for the crime of “speculation” in Cyzicus remain exceptional. In no other case are the ἀγορανόμοι instructed to superintend the stability of market prices, where the offense of selling at higher prices is punished by disfranchising the tradesman or deporting him, boarding up his shop and placarding his offense upon it.

The severity of the penalties threatened for transgressors indicates the importance attached by the city to the control of prices. Transgressors are, in the first place, to receive damnation (ἐπάρατον εἶναι) by the city, a most appalling punishment.⁶⁰ They are also to be fined (ζημιουῦσθαί τε), although the amount of the fine is not specified.⁶¹ Then, the traders guilty of selling at higher prices are threatened with rejection from the citizen body itself. Αποξενούσθαι implies that any citizen of Cyzicus found by the ἀγορανόμοι or other archons to sell goods for more than their current price, would be brought before the assembly to be punished with loss of citizenship. Even in these times of attenuated city independence, losing one’s status as citizen was an extreme punishment, all the more since recently Cyzicus had probably regained its status as a *civitas libera* within the Roman Empire.

⁵⁸ The different propositions are commented by Migeotte 1997: 47, n. 24 and Bresson 2000: 183ff., who also comments on the relevant literary, epigraphic and papyrological sources mentioning καθεστῶσα τιμή.

⁵⁹ Migeotte 1997: 40-42, comments on seven inscriptions, dating from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., where different cities are fixing prices for goods sold in the markets.

⁶⁰ I thank Professor Angelos Chaniotis, for the following comments: «The combination of cursing and fining is very well attested in excerpts of testaments concerning the use of graves in the Imperial period (a famous example is the so-called *Testament des Epikrates*, published by Peter Herrmann [1969], more examples are included in Strubbe, [1997]). Exactly as the decree from Kyzikos, such texts threaten the violator of the grave and of the testator’s wishes both with the consequences of a curse (ἐπάρατον εἶναι) and with the payment of a fine. The cursing, which is referred to in these texts is *preventive*. Cursed are potential violators; the texts usually contain the funerary imprecations, i.e. they quote the formulae used during the cursing ceremony; in a few cases, it is explicitly mentioned that the cursing has already taken place. So, I wonder whether we have a similar case in Kyzikos: cursing in advance (and anonymously) potential violators (as in the case of the *arae Teiorum*), who might have remained unknown (they could sell goods at higher prices secretly), rather than cursing post eventum of a known violator of the decree. Preventive cursing is well attested in Roman Asia Minor, e.g. in the ‘confession inscriptions’».

⁶¹ On fines imposed by the ἀγορανόμοι and other city officials see Dmitriev 2005: 34-35.

Ἀποξενόσθαι is an *hapax* in city decrees, and remains without immediate parallel in the juridical meaning of “penalty”. The closest meaning in literary sources⁶² is that of being estranged, alienated, driven into exile or to be obliged to live away from home. In the context of the above decree, the term seems close in meaning to ἀτιμία. The penalty of ἀτιμία, as a partial or total loss of the rights attached to citizenship, often mentioned in the context of the classical or early Hellenistic cities, is a rarity in Roman times. Ἀτιμία,⁶³ better known in fourth century Athens, was covering various crimes such as theft, bribery, military crimes, false testimony and disrespect towards parents. It extended to a range of offenses, climaxing into several levels of exclusion of civic rights. Under certain circumstances, ἀτιμία was limiting specific rights, according to particular sanctions (κατὰ προστάξεις).⁶⁴ In the most complete form, it was a punishment for debtors to the state, persons guilty of treason or attempt to overthrow the democratic constitution, persons convicted of bribery or theft and those who had proposed the abolition of certain laws. The citizen was then deprived of all civic rights: the right to seat in the *Boule* or as a juror, to speak before the *Ecclesia* or take part in it, to move decrees, to hold a magistracy, to prosecute in public as well as in private actions, to serve as juror at court or to give evidence, to participate to religious festivals. Total ἀτιμία also deprived a citizen from the right to enter the *agora* (εἰσιέναι εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν) and the sanctuaries.⁶⁵

Whether ἀτιμία was in fact similar to the loss of citizenship, is debated.⁶⁶ Deprived of all rights connected to the possession of citizenship, the condition of the ἄτιμος καθ'ἅπαξ⁶⁷ was similar to that of a foreigner, but did not explicitly imply the loss of citizenship. In Athens the consequences of ἀτιμία as disfranchisement were progressively attenuated: in the 4th century, according to MacDowell “a disfranchised citizen was not equivalent to an alien.”⁶⁸ On the other hand, it has been supposed that the condition of the ἄτιμοι was similar to this of the

⁶² Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἀποξενόω.

⁶³ On ἀτιμία see Paoli 1930: 304ff.; Harrison 1971: 169-176; Todd 1993: 116-119, 181-182; Hansen 1973 (non vidi); idem 1976: 55-98; idem 1977: 113-120; Rainer 1986: 163-172; Youni 1998: passim.

⁶⁴ Andocides, *Myst.* 75.

⁶⁵ Lysias, VI.24; Demosthenes, XXII.77; XXIV.60.103.126; Aischines I.164; II.148; III.176.

⁶⁶ For ἄτιμος in the sense of «non citizen», see Hdt. 1.173.5: καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἄσπῃ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται: ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄσπὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχη, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεσθαι.

⁶⁷ Demosthenes, XXI.31. Swoboda 1905: 154.

⁶⁸ In some respects he was better off than an alien and in some worse, since an alien could not marry an Athenian woman, but he could trade in the Agora and speak in a law-court. Also, in 4th century ἀτιμία, although a serious handicap, seems to be much less serious than in the 6th century sense of outlawry, when the ἄτιμος could be killed by anyone without becoming liable to prosecution. On these see MacDowell 1978: 74-75.

ἀπελανόμενοι τῆς πολιτείας. Bordes, considering that the legal status of a citizen was the essential basis of the *politeia*, underlined that the effects of the exclusion of the penalty of ἀτιμία, pronounced by a court in a democratic regime, can be assimilated to the effects resulting from the political exclusion of citizens of Athens, as during the oligarchic revolution of 411 and 404 B.C.⁶⁹ Hansen, in his treatment of the subject,⁷⁰ has claimed that ἀτιμία was both more and less than disfranchisement, that it did not deprive the ἄτιμος of his citizenship, nor was he formally exiled.

Plato, a long time ago, maintained that ἄτιμον δὲ παντάπασιν μηδένα εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, μηδ' ὑπερορίαν φυγάδα.⁷¹ The penalty of Cyzicus, imposing for a first time offense *expressis verbis* the loss of citizenship and the interdiction to trade within the city,⁷² seems to regress to a severity long lost in Greek cities. Still, overall, the intended penalization in Cyzicus, bears many similarities with several aspects of ἀτιμία. The loss of citizenship and other sanctions threatened against metics and foreigners, are not an automatic penalty, but are to be the object of a sentence: a rudimentary procedure is sketched in the decree, according to which the persons who had committed the offense of selling at higher prices are to be fined by the archonts (ζημιουῦσθαί τε ὑπὸ τῶν [ἀρχόν]των) and brought before the assembly (ἀναχθέντα εἰς τὸν δῆμον), a procedure reminding of the ἀπαγωγή, or the ἐφήγησις of classical Athens (since the arrest is probably made by the ἀγορανόμοι or other city officials),⁷³ although this juridical terminology is lacking. The assembly is obviously acting as a jury court for the hearing of the case. Ἀτιμία was of course applicable only to citizens. Nevertheless, the penalties imposed upon greedy merchants in Cyzicus seem to have a strong “political” scope, regardless of the merchant’s status. It is as if the aim is to extend “ἀτιμία” in a broad sense, applicable only to citizens, to metics and foreigners as well, who of course could not be deprived of citizen rights. For foreigners and metics, it is noteworthy that the penalty included the exclusion from entering the city itself (τῆς πόλεως εἴργεσθαι), a much broader prohibition than the exclusion from ἀγορᾶς. This exclusion from any area of the city is clearly an analogy to the effects of ἀτιμία imposed upon citizens: εἴργεσθαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν⁷⁴ or τῶν νόμων,⁷⁵ was, in earlier centuries, an exclusion imposed upon citizens found to be ἄτιμοι, although such exclusion and ἀτιμία did not coincide completely. Are we to believe that this exclusion from the city meant that foreigners and metics were *ipso facto* exiled from

⁶⁹ Bordes 1982: 79-90.

⁷⁰ Hansen 1976: 55-56.

⁷¹ Plato, *Laws*, 855c: «nobody will ever, for a single crime, be deprived from his citizen rights, even if he is banished out of the borders».

⁷² On the limitation of the *ius commercii* as a practical effect of the penalty of ἀτιμία, see Poddighe 1993: 274.

⁷³ Todd 1993: 117; Youni 1998: 103-106.

⁷⁴ Isocrates, IV.157, Antiphon VI.36, Lysias VI.24.

⁷⁵ Demosthenes, XXIV.105.

its soil? Excluded from the *ius commercii* by radical measures—the placarding of the shop remains a very powerful image—any citizen, metic or foreigner could not go about his business in Cyzicus, would be deprived from any source of revenue within the city and therefore living in it would become difficult.⁷⁶ Concerning foreigners, the application of the decree would of course be extremely difficult for Roman *negotiatores* or merchants visiting the busy city ports. The first were not to be offended by any means, the second, how were they supposed to know the actual prices in Cyzicus at the time?

No means of rehabilitation or for recovery of their rights are given to the guilty parties.⁷⁷ It is though specified that (I.25) τὸ τε ἐργαστήριον αὐτοῦ στανιδίου[ς] προσηλοῦσθαι, ἄχρι οὗ συντελεσθῆ τὸ ἔργον. What is paradoxical is that the effects of ἀποξενοῦσθαι seem not to be limited in time, although the measure was obviously intended to last only for the duration of the works. The city had reasons to be stricter with its own citizens, the ones who should have been most grateful to Tryphaena, but probably the effects of this suspension of citizen rights also did not extend beyond the completion of the works. Considering whether ἀποξενοῦσθαι could imply that citizens guilty of speculation were not threatened with a loss of status, but threatened to be driven into exile, several objections can be raised. The term ἀποξενοῦσθαι has indeed been used in the sense of “being driven into exile” in literary sources. The meaning of the word as “estranged” and “alienated” is also attested, showing the semantic variety, which permits both explanations.⁷⁸ On the other hand, in city decrees, when the penalty threatened is to be driven into exile, the expression consistently used is φεύγειν and not ἀποξενοῦσθαι. Such is the case of the decree of Concord from Mytilene,⁷⁹ or the law against tyranny from Troas (around 281 B.C.),⁸⁰ while it is also in fact considered as a consequence of the penalty of ἀτιμία. In other cases, the penalty of exile is accompanied by a confiscation of all property, as in the decree on the agreement between Athens and

⁷⁶ But, he was not technically condemned to exile from the state (ἀειφυγία), the condition of φυγὰς implying several other elements such as the exile from the fatherland, the confiscation of property and, if also ἀγώγιμος, personal servitude, on which see Poddighe 1993: 278-279.

⁷⁷ Similar to the ἄδεια given by the assembly and six thousand votes in favor for the rehabilitation of the ἄτιμος. See McElwee 1975.

⁷⁸ See above note 62.

⁷⁹ SEG 36.750, around 340-330 BC, l. 14-21: αἱ μέγ κέ τις δίκας γενομένης |¹⁵ κατ τὸν νόμον φύγη ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ἀπυθάνη, | [χ]ρῆσθαι τῶι νόμῳ· αἱ δέ κε ἄλλον τινα τρόποι[ν Μυτ]ιληνάων ἢ τῶγ κατοικέντων ἐμ Μυτιλήν[ι]αι ἐπὶ προ[τάνιος Δίτα Σαωνυμείω σύμβαι ἀτι]μασθέντα φυγ]αδεύθην ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ἀπυθ[ί]²⁰[άνην ...]ντας χρήματα τ[ού]των τινὶ | [.....] ΤΑΣ.

⁸⁰ IMT¹ Skam/NebTaeler 182, (around 281 BC), l. 101-104: καὶ ἐὰν τὴν | δίκ[ην] μὴ νικήσῃ, ψῆφον προσθέμενος ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀτ[ιμον εἶναι] καὶ φεύγειν αὐτόγ | καὶ ἐκγόνους οἱ ἂν [ἐξ αὐτοῦ] γένωνται·

Ioulis on the payment of a debt,⁸¹ or also by the clause “καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν μ[ῆ] μιὰρὸς ἔστω” attested in the treaty between Teos and Kyrbissos concerning *sympoliteia*.⁸² As the word *καὶ* implies in the syntax of the phrase of the decree concerning the penalties for transgressors of different status (ἐὰν μὲν πολεΐτης ᾖ, ἀποξενούσθαι, ἐ[ὰν δὲ ξέ]νος ἢ μέτοικος, καὶ τῆς πόλεως εἴργεσθαι), the interdiction to enter the city is specifically destined to foreigners and metics, a fact that strongly argues against the interpretation of ἀποξενούσθαι simply as a penalty of exile. If ἀποξενούσθαι was only intended to mean “to be driven to live on a foreign land” and if it had nothing to do with the status of citizen, this does not explain why the decree is using different expressions and penalties for the different categories of merchants, according to their status as citizens on the one hand, or metics and foreigners on the other.

The offense is also characterized by a very strong moral reprobation: those who commit the “crime” are to be “ἐπάρατοι”, [ὠ]ς κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως λυμεῶνα, an indication that transgressors were considered to be enemies of the state. The penalty of ἄτιμία was indeed characteristic of a strong moral reprobation, being literarily synonymous with the loss of all honour.⁸³ In classical times, it is reserved for crimes that, in one way or another, represent an omission to fundamental civic duties:⁸⁴ the integrity of the State and its officials, the respect due to the constitution, the fairness of justice and propriety of judicial duties, the necessity of military service and of proper defense of the city, the respect due to one’s parents, the payment of debts to the state or to the gods, or a person’s moral integrity.⁸⁵ Whenever the city considered an offense to constitute a threat to these milestones of civic duty, ἄτιμία was instituted as a sanction aiming to exclude from the citizen body a member unworthy of this honor.

But the further we move away from the 5th and 4th century, the less ἄτιμία seems to be of importance. New instances where ἄτιμία is threatened in subsequent centuries are limited and very few such examples survive in later inscriptions.⁸⁶ In

⁸¹ *IG* II² 111, l. 40-41: φεύγειν αὐτὸς Κέω καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν δημοσίαν εἶναι τοῦ δή[μο] τοῦ Ἰουλιητῶν.

⁸² *SEG* 26.1306; 30.1376 (l. 21-26): τρέφειν [δὲ] τοὺς κυνάς τὸμ [φ]ρούραρχον· ὃς δ’ ἂν παραλαβῶν | τὸ χωρίον μὴ παραδῶ[ι] τ[ῶ]ι φρουράρχω[ι] τῶ[ι] ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποσ[τελ]λομένωι ἀεὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην τετράμη[νο]ν, φ[ε]ύγειν τε αὐτὸν ἄραιον | ἐκ Τέω καὶ ἐξ Ἀβδήρων καὶ ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς Τηίων καὶ τῆς Ἀβδηρ[ι]ῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ δη[μό]σια ε[ἶ]ναι, καὶ ὃς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν μ[ῆ] | μιὰρὸς ἔστω.

⁸³ On ἄτιμία as «dishonor» and the relevant citations, see Hansen 1976: 60-61.

⁸⁴ According to Hansen 1976: 74, «*atimia* was the penalty *par excellence* which an Athenian might incur in his capacity of a citizen, but not for offences he had committed as a private individual».

⁸⁵ Since ἄτιμία sanctioned even idleness, failure to divorce an adulteress, or male prostitution.

⁸⁶ *SEG* 9.1: a series of activities when exercised by citizens bring them the penalty of ἄτιμία. Cf. Velissaropoulos 1977: 66.

an inscription from Delphi⁸⁷, dated around 160-159 B.C., regarding a donation by king Attalus to the city for educational purposes and the regulation of loans accorded by the city officials, ἀτιμία is threatened against the ἐπιμεληταί who do not return the public funds entrusted to them (l. 81-85): εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδοίησαν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐν τῷ γεγραμμένῳ χρόνῳ ἢ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἄτιμοι ἀπογραφέντω {ἀ} <ὕ>πὸ τῶν ἐπικαίτασταθέντων ἐπιμελητῶν ποτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἡμῖ⁸⁵όλιον.

In a famous inscription from Pergamum, dated around 133 B.C.⁸⁸, the city in view of the ratification of the will of Attalus legating the city to Rome, decides to attribute the right of citizenship to several foreigners living in the city and the surrounding χώρα and ἀτιμία is threatened for those who, because of their absence, do not merit to be counted among the citizens (l. 26-30): ὅσοι δὲ τῶν κατοικούντων ἢ ὅσα ἐγγελοίπασιν ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς <τελευτῆς> τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ ἐγλίπωσιν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τὴν χώραν, εἶναι αὐτοὺς κα[ι] αὐτὰς ἀτίμους τε καὶ τὰ ἑκατέρων ὑπάρχοντα τῆς¹³⁰ πόλεως.

In the long inscription from Aegiale in Amorgos,⁸⁹ dated at the end of the second century B.C., regulating Kritolaos' foundation, ἀτιμία is threatened for anyone who would suggest a different usage for the funds (l. 128-129): ὁ τούτων τι ποιήσας ἄτιμος ἢ [ἔσ]τω καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δημοσία·

In an inscription from Athens, dated at the first century B.C.,⁹⁰ the restored ἀτιμία is a penalty for those trying to abolish public offices elected by ballot (l. 21-23): εἶναι δὲ τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα ἢ ὃν δὴ] ποτε οὖν τρό[π]ον καταλ[ύ]ειν τινὰ τῶν κληρωτῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ ἄτιμο]ν καὶ ἐπάρατον.

Finally, the last occurrence of ἀτιμία identified comes from Thasos of early imperial times,⁹¹ where, in connection to a measure of protection of property, destined also as a sign of respect to the imperial cult, ἀτιμία is threatened for those who would propose the abolition of the decree (l. 14-20): τὸν δὲ ἢ] ἢ¹⁵ γράψαντα ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντα ἢ ἀναγ[ρά]ψαντα τὴν γνώ]μην εἰς τὸ τῆς πόλεως γραμματοφυλακεῖον ὀφεί]λιν τοῖς τῶν Σεβαστῶν ναοῖς στατή[ρας] τετρα(?)κ]ισμυρίους καὶ ἄτιμον εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν κ[αὶ] γένος· ἢ ἐνέχ]εσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆι εἰς τοὺς Σε[βαστοὺς] ἀσει²⁰βείαι·

These instances of ἀτιμία, although very few compared to the period covered, show that the penalty did not cease to exist until early imperial times and that, although rarely, it continued to be threatened for offenses broadly similar to these known for Athens up to the 4th century B.C.: for crimes related to the management of public funds, or for proposing amendments contrary to the city's decisions or constitution. But, it remains a fact that the more the cities' autonomy and

⁸⁷ *Syll.*³ 672, cf. Dimopoulou 2007: 437-453.

⁸⁸ *OGIS* 338.

⁸⁹ *IG XII* 7. 515.

⁹⁰ *Ag.* 16.333.

⁹¹ *IG XII*, Suppl. 364.

independence receded, the less ἀτιμία was evoked as a sanction against citizens.⁹² Ἀτιμία was a penalty imposed upon those who failed to carry out their citizen obligations. In a broad sense, in Cyzicus, ἀποξενούσθαι and a series of penalties similar to the effects of ἀτιμία, sanctioned all those who failed to carry out their obligation to the purpose of the city's common prosperity. The penalty being disproportionate to the «crime», we may assume that it was intended to eliminate from the city market, for the duration of the works, all those who, by speculating on market prices, were jeopardizing their completion. Ἀποξενούσθαι, may thus imply a form of ἀτιμία limited in time, or a suspension of citizen rights for the duration of the works. For a city struggling to reassess its status within the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and committed to overcome past difficulties, this measure of outdated severity was nothing but an effective way of underlying the city's priorities. Excluding from the marketplace and the city itself all those guilty of profiteering was the strongest statement of respect to Antonia Tryphaena as well as to the Romans.

Whether the penalty of disfranchisement was ever applied in Cyzicus, remains to be known. A few years later, in another decree of Cyzicus honoring Antonia Tryphaena and her φιλανθρωπία πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐγχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ξένους, a vivid picture is given of the merchants “from the whole of the civilized world” (ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης) and of the “foreigners” (ξένοι), who gather at Cyzicus at the time of the fair.⁹³ As for the last disposition of the decree, regarding those who would offer proper services for the completion of the works, one such testimony did survive in an inscription from Cyzicus. Praise is given by the *Boule* and *Demos* of the Cyzicenes to Bacchus Artemonos, probably the ἐπιστάτης⁹⁴ of the works, for his work in digging and consolidating the port, the lake and the channels. Even if ἀποξενούσθαι and the rest of the sanctions against metics and foreigners were never applied,⁹⁵ their threat was obviously effective in securing the completion of the

⁹² Rainer 1986: 163-172: «Die Atimie als Einrichtung des öffentlichen Rechtes verlor umso mehr an Bedeutung, je stärker die Autonomie der einzelnen Stadtstaaten in Frage gestellt wurde. Die eigentlichen politischen Machthaber saßen anderswo und waren bestrebt, den inneren Frieden ihrer Reiche nicht durch unnütze Stadtquerelen beeinträchtigt zu sehen». He is not right thought when he comments on the inscription from Amorgos (*IG XII 7. 515*) «Diese Inschrift ist die letzte, in welcher der Begriff der Atimie aufscheint».

⁹³ *SEG 4.707*, l. 7-11: τῆ δὲ ἐνφύτῳι φιλανθρωπία πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐγχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐχρήσατο ὡς <θαυμάζεσθαι> ὑπὸ τ[ῶν ἐπιδη]μού<v>των ξένων μετὰ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἐπὶ τε εὐσεβείαι καὶ ὀσιότητι καὶ φιλοδοξίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατ' ἔτος [ἐνιαυτῷ] ἀπούσης μὲν αὐτῆς, πάντων δὲ συντετελεσμένων ἐκπλέως κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνης εὐσέβειαν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐνπόρων καὶ ξένων τῶν ἐληλυθότων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν βουλομένων ἀναθεῖναι αὐτῆς ὄπλον εἰκονικὸν ἐπ[ίχρυσ]ον.

⁹⁴ On the word ἐπιστάτης implied by γενόμενος, cf. *IvP* ii 359 (partly restored).

⁹⁵ See Joubin 1894: 45-47 (who comments that «*Bacchus ne fut pas le Lesseps de l'isthme de Cyzique; il n'y fit que des travaux de réparation*»): Βάκχος Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ Βακχίου, ἢ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρυχῆς τῶν ἰλιμένων καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἰδιορύγων καὶ τῆς ἐπιοικοδομίας ἢ τῶν προκειμένων χωμάτων καὶ ἰεπαινεθεῖς καὶ στεφανωθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς

works and the welfare of the city, for locals and foreigners alike.

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