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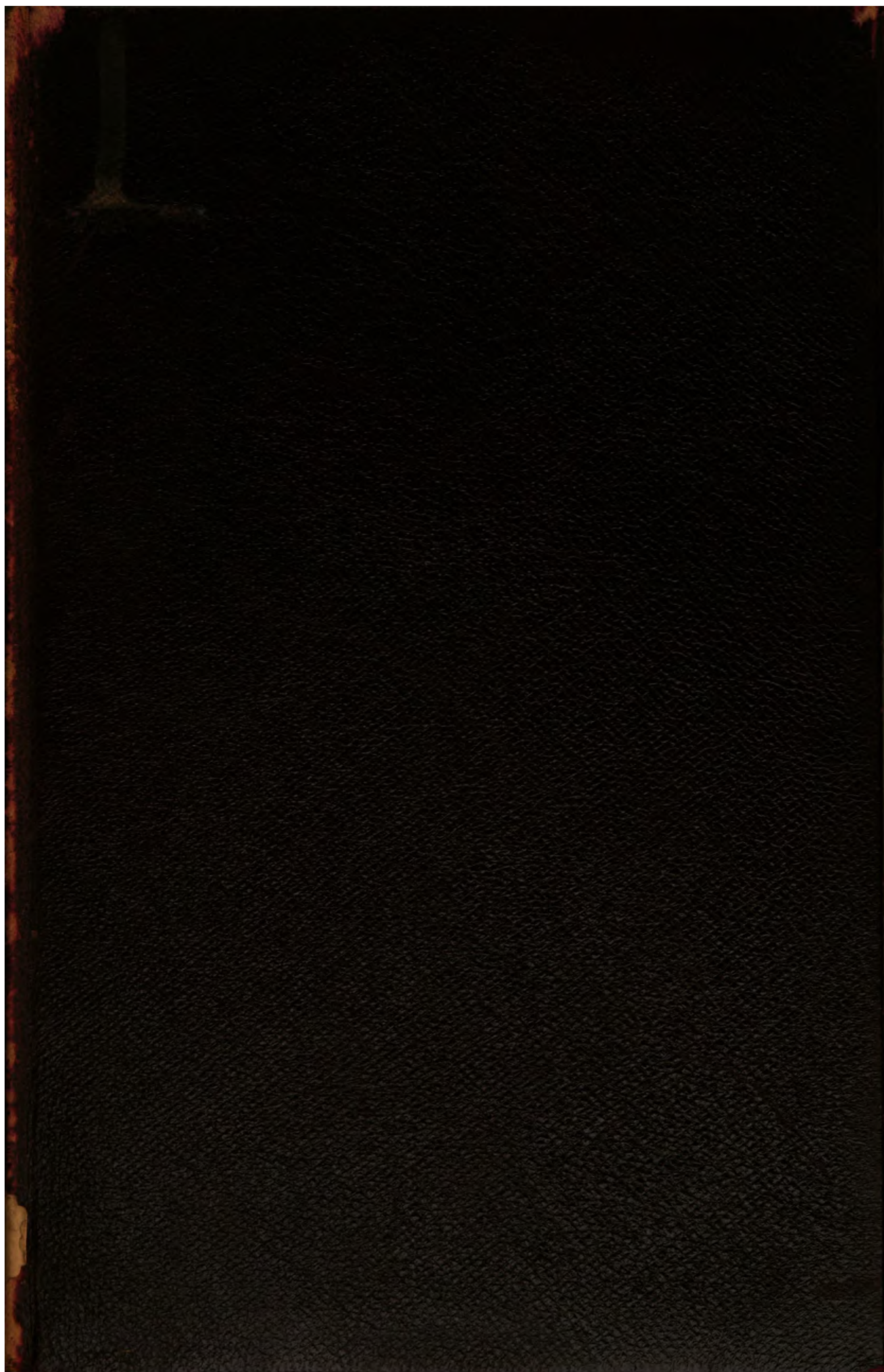
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**C. JULIUS THEUPOMPUS OF ONIDUS**

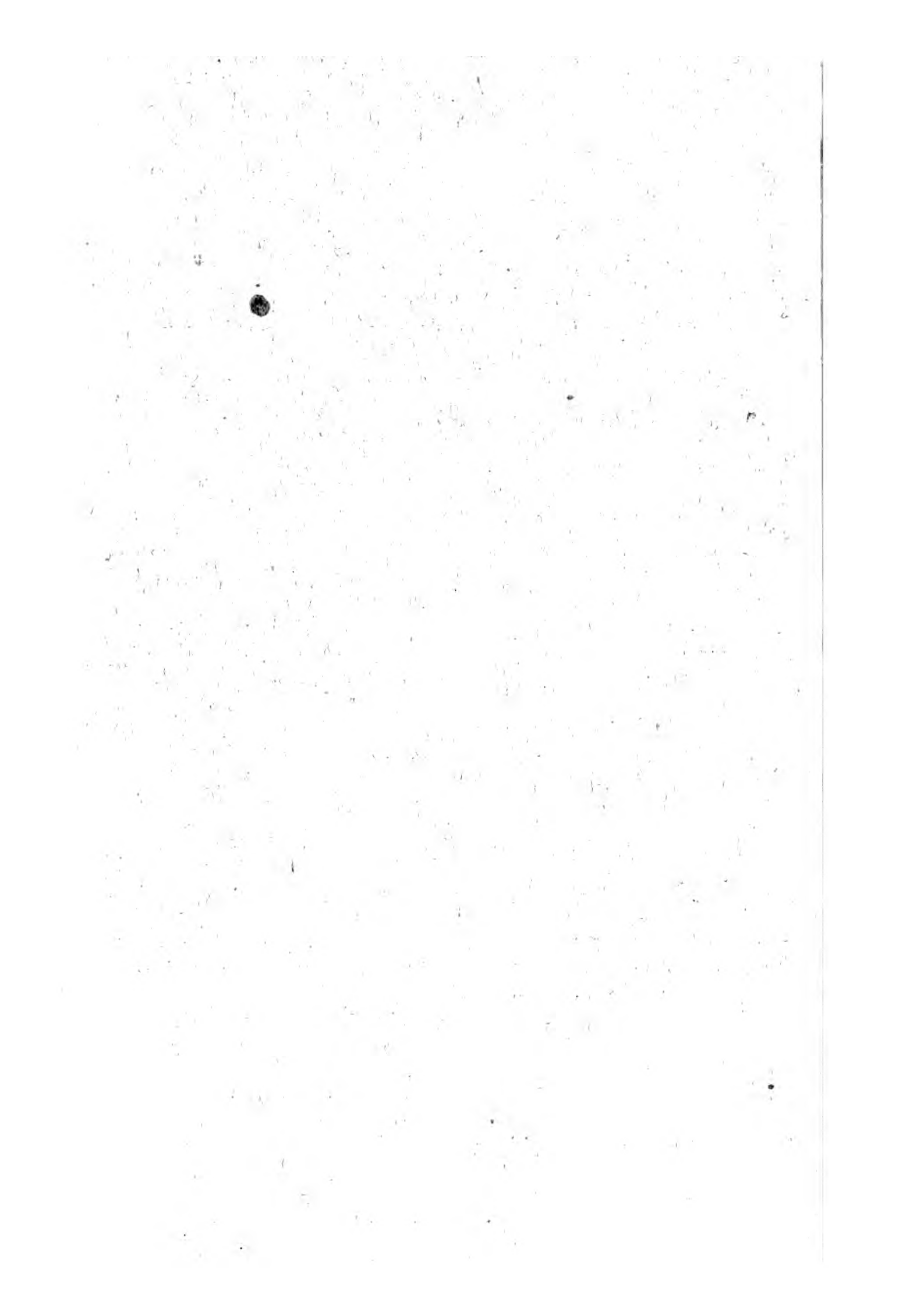
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BY

**G. HIRSCHFELD**

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### C. JULIUS THEUPOMPUS OF CNIDUS.

‘Es ist das schoene Vorrecht der historischen Forschung, die Verstorbenen in der Erinnerung der Nachwelt wieder aufleben zu lassen. Erscheint es billig, dass die Namen derer, welche sich hohe Verdienste um ihr Volk erworben, der Vergessenheit nicht anheimfallen, so ist es menschlich, denen überhaupt nachzuforschen, welche einst in weiten Kreisen von der Mit- und Nachwelt genannt und gefeiert worden sind.’

With these words, used by Dr. Koehler<sup>1</sup> in regard to the once famous ‘condottiere,’ Diogenes, in the third century B.C., I beg to introduce to the reader a personage who, although perhaps of limited interest, was once celebrated and powerful and had the honour of calling himself the friend of Julius Caesar. His son moreover did his best to prevent a deed, the failure of which would probably have changed the direction of the history of the world,—the murder of Caesar.

The passages in ancient writers which relate to the man of whom I speak are well known, but they have not hitherto been rightly connected with one another, or thoroughly understood. Among the memorable men who came from Cnidus in his own time—*καθ’ ἡμᾶς*—Strabo (p. 656 c) has recorded a certain Theopompus, and his son Artemidorus. To the name of the former is added a predicate, due apparently to facts within the writer’s knowledge though he does not state them—*ὁ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ φίλος, τῶν μεγάλα δυναμένων*. Curiously enough both Mr. Newton (*Hist. of Discoveries*, p. 712) and M. Waddington (*Lebas III. n. 1572*) have on the strength of this passage of Strabo called Theopompus a friend of Augustus.

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, vii. p. 1.



But there is no reason why Καίσαρ ὁ θεὸς should not signify here, as usually, Julius Caesar, the more so as there exists unmistakable evidence of friendship between him and Theopompus. This evidence has been strangely overlooked, and yet it occurs in no out of the way writer, but in Plutarch's Life of Caesar himself, cap. 48: Καίσαρ . . . ἀψάμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, Κνιδίου τε, Θεοπόμῳ, τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μύθους, χαριζόμενος, ἠλευθέρωσε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσι τὸ τρίτον τῶν φόρων ἀνῆκεν. This took place immediately after the battle of Pharsalus (A. U. C. 706). From a comparison of the different accounts of Caesar's pursuit of Pompeius it seems possible that he touched at Ephesus (*Bell. Civil.* cap. cv); most probably he passed Cnidus (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 116, see below) and certainly Rhodes (Appian, *op. cit.* II. 89, cp. *Bell. Civ.* cap. cvi). His whole stay in this region occupied only a few days, as the pursuit was particularly prompt and rapid.

We are certainly entitled to argue from Plutarch's expressions that Theopompus was a man still well known to the author's contemporaries, both for his literary pursuits and for his connection with Caesar. It is not improbable that this is the same Theopompus, who appears about three years later in Italy, in Cicero's *Tusculum*, and again in connection with Caesar.<sup>1</sup> He is possibly also the man whose expulsion and flight to Alexandria is so severely commented upon by Antonius in his letter to Hirtius (Cicero, *Philipp.* xiii. 16, 13). It is true that the Theopompus in question is very ill spoken of by Cicero in that passage. But we must remember that Cicero's judgments were notoriously affected by considerations of the moment. This Theopompus may therefore be identical not only with the person mentioned above (*Ad Att.* XIII. 7, 1) but even with the man of the same name who is referred to, in a very friendly way, in a letter to Quintus (*Ad Quint. fr.* I. 2, 3, 2). This, however, is not at all certain, as the letter was written as early as A. U. C. 695. Still more perplexing is another very brief mention of a Theopompus (*Ad Quint. fr.* II. 10, 4. A. U. C. 709).

This is all the historical evidence we possess in regard to

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Atticum* XIII. 7, 1. *Sestius scribere, sibi certum esse Romae manere apud me fuit et THEOPOMPUS pridie; etc. venisse a Caesare narrabat litteras, hoc*

Theopompus. It does not look particularly interesting, or worthy of much attention; but in this case also inscribed stones have given as it were life and flesh to the poor skeleton of tradition. More than forty years ago, W. T. Hamilton published in *Researches in Asia Minor* (*Inscr. n.* 287) a Cnidian inscription, repeated by Lebas (*III. n.* 1572), which belonged to a statue of Gaius Julius Theupompus, son of Artemidorus. This was a private dedication to Apollo Karneios, by a friend Apollonios, who however, like Theopompus, had a Roman praenomen and gentilicium, Μάαρκος Αἰφίκιος, and was even the son of a Μάαρκος.<sup>1</sup>

But this was not the only statue of Theopompus at Cnidus. Mr. Newton discovered and transferred to the British Museum a second stone, bearing the following inscription (*Hist. Discov.* p. 711; *n.* 11):

Ὁ Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέων<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση τῆς ἱερᾶς  
 καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ ἀντονόμου Γάϊου  
 Ἰούλιον Ἀρτεμιδώρου υἱὸν Θεύπομ  
 πον εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν

and in fact it is this document which, as belonging to my share in the inscriptions to be published for the British Museum, has led to the whole of this little inquiry.

A third inscription was found at Rhodes by M. Foucart:<sup>3</sup>

ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων  
 ἐτίμασε  
 Γάϊον Ἰούλιον  
 Θεύπομπον Ἀρτεμιδώρου  
 ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας  
 ἂν ἔχων διατελεῖ  
 εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Ῥοδίων.

No doubt the Theopompus of the three inscriptions is the writer of myths and the friend of Caesar. Now we understand

<sup>1</sup> The form Μάαρκος was formerly regarded as pointing to a period between 620 and 680 A. U. C. But Mommsen has established the use of this form from the time of Hannibal to that of Augustus. *Ephem. Epigr.* I. 1872,

p. 286, foll.

<sup>2</sup> The word ὁ δᾶμος, which is wanted in line 1, must have been written on an upper part of the pedestal now lost.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue archéologique*, 1866, xiii. p. 157, 9.

how he obtained the Roman citizenship through the interference of his powerful friend and therefore adopted the praenomen and nomen of his protector. In a like manner the grandfather of Pompeius Trogus had called himself after Pompeius (Justin, 43, 5, 11).

We may safely suppose, that the chance which has spared three inscriptions relative to the same man, did not spare all; but even so that vague expression of Strabo's *τῶν μεγάλα δυνάμενων* begins to have a more precise and significant look. The general relief accorded by Caesar (cp. above, Plut. *Caes.* cap. 48) seems to have been attributed—at least in part—to the interference of the well-known Cnidian Theopompus.<sup>1</sup> In fact these were services which could only be hinted at in such general terms as are found in the inscriptions. Laodicea proved a fervent adherent to Caesar's party even afterwards (cp. Dio Cass. XLVII. 30, *C. I. Gr.* 4470, 4471, Appian, *Bell. Civ.* V. 7).

So each of the great rivals had his Greek literary adherent: Pompeius his ill-famed Theophanes from Lesbos (see Mommsen, *R. Gesch.* III.<sup>5</sup> S. 536), and Caesar his Theopompus from Cnidus. It is a remarkable fact that the memory of the latter should have been so long lost in oblivion:<sup>2</sup> over such a man as Caesar no one was likely to gain such an influence as over his weak antagonist Pompeius. Nevertheless it seems certain that Theopompus was in high favour with the greatest of Romans.

Moreover the relations of Theopompus or at least of his family with Caesar are kept up to the end. On the day of Caesar's death, according to some accounts, it was a certain Artemidorus from Cnidus who handed him the roll which contained the details of the conspiracy, only it was unfortunately not read by the dictator. Others relate that Artemidorus did his best to approach Caesar but could not force his way up to him (Plut. *Caes.* cap. 65, cp. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II. 116, Cass. Dio 44, 18).

Mr. Newton and M. Waddington, supposing Theopompus to have been a friend of Augustus, naturally assumed this Artemidorus to have been his father, as mentioned in the inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> That he was very well known is proved too by the omission of the ethnic in the Rhodian inscription, in spite of his being a Cnidian and not a native of Rhodes. M. Foucart *l. l.* presumed

already that such services as we have traced had been performed by Theopompus.

<sup>2</sup> Even Drumann, as far as I can see, does not mention Theopompus.

But now I think there cannot be any doubt that he was rather Theopompus' son, who is mentioned by Strabo *l. l.* If we accept the words of Appian in a strict sense (*Bell. Civ.* II. 116 ὁ δ' ἐν Κνίδῳ γεγονὼς αὐτῷ (Καίσαρι) ξένος Ἀρτεμίδωρος) Caesar made his acquaintance during the short stay at Cnidus we supposed above, p. 287. Artemidorus was like his father a learned man, Ἑλληνικῶν λόγων σοφιστής (*Plut. Caes.* cap. 65) and both were evidently men of the same class as their contemporaries at Lesbos, Theophanes, Lesbonax and Potamo (see Plehn, *Lesbiaca* pp. 211, 217-18; Strabo XIII. p. 617, Newton, *Discov.* p. 712).

Nor is there wanting epigraphical evidence for this ἀξιόλογος Κνίδιος of the time of Strabo. Once more, W. T. Hamilton found an inscription at Cnidus (*n.* 294) which was repeated by Lebas (*III. n.* 1572, *b*) and brought into the British Museum and republished by Mr. Newton (*Discov.* p. 766, *n.* 52). There Artemidorus while yet alive is honoured τιμαῖς ἰσοθείοις; a contest is to be celebrated every fifth year under the name Ἀρτεμιδόρεια, etc.<sup>1</sup> We may fairly assume that Augustus in this case as in so many others did not forget the adherence of Artemidorus to his uncle and that he favoured Cnidus for his sake as Caesar had favoured it before for the sake of his father.<sup>2</sup>

Thus all the scattered fragments of tradition fit easily together and constitute as it were a coherent picture.

Yet a century later in the time of the Emperor Trajan the Cnidians honoured members of this family, gratefully remembering at the same time the merits of their ancestors. Cp. Mr. Newton's *Discov.* p. 758, foll. *n.* 44, 45, 47-50. All these inscriptions I hope to lay again before the public in the fourth volume of the inscriptions of the British Museum.

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KÖNIGSBERG, PR.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dubois has published a mutilated inscription from Cnidus, which now exists in the island of Nisyros; it is not impossible that this part of a decree belongs too to our family. *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén.* vii. p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Newton found at Cnidus an inscription, where it is open to question whether the words τοῦ κατακτησαμένου . . . ἐλευθερίαν καὶ ἀνισφορίαν refer to Theopompus or Artemidorus (*Discov.* p. 760, *n.* 47).

