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established as Egyptian prefect before the death of Hadrian.¹ It was a spectacular elevation, clouded only by the report of the Augustan History that Hadrian attacked Heliodorus in a notorious letter.² It would be perverse to regard this Heliodorus as a philosopher distinct from the rhetor. Admittedly, the Augustan History designates the object of Hadrian's attack as a philosopher, but from an item in Cassius Dio one may conjecture philosophical activity on the part of the rhetor Heliodorus.³ A philosopher-rhetor should evoke no surprise.

As for the Eudaemon against whom Hadrian raged, he was the *ab epistulis* who subsequently emerges as prefect of Egypt in the earlier part of Pius' reign.⁴ Since Eudaemon did not reach the prefecture while Hadrian was still alive, it is perhaps easier to credit that he had some difficulty with that emperor. At any rate there is no disputing one scholar's opinion that Eudaemon's career suggests that he was an eminent man of letters.⁵

The puzzling relationship of Heliodorus and Eudaemon to the emperor Hadrian is not an isolated problem in the study of that intellectual monarch, and it may be profitable to linger for a moment on this issue. There are other literary men who present difficulties, namely Favorinus and Dionysius of Miletus. Favorinus quarrelled with Hadrian, yet lived.⁶ No one would have guessed, until a papyrus turned up, that Favorinus had been exiled, although Cassius Dio does say that Hadrian *tried* to overthrow him.⁷ If he was exiled, Hadrian

¹ Cf. A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Aegypten* (1950), p. 73; O. Reinmuth, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 4 (1967), 95.

² HA Hadr. 15. 5: *Heliodorum famosis litteris lacessivit*.

³ HA Hadr. 16. 10 alludes to *Epictetum et Heliodorum philosophos*. But observe Dio 69. 3. 5 in which the Milesian Dionysius taunts Avidius Heliodorus, the *ab epistulis*: *Καίσαρ χρήματα μὲν σοι καὶ τιμὴν δοῦναι δύναται, ῥήτορα δὲ σε ποιῆσαι οὐ δύναται*. Heliodorus will have wished to be (like those men in Philostratus, above pp. 10 ff.) a philosopher who excelled also in rhetoric. The Heliodorus of HA Hadr. 16. 5 and 10 is identified as C. Avidius Heliodorus in *PIR*², A 1405 (A. Stein).

⁴ H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (1960), i, no. 110, pp. 264-71; A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Aegypten* (1950), pp. 74-6; O. Reinmuth, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 4 (1967), 96.

⁵ Pflaum, op. cit., i. 271: 'un homme de lettres réputé'.

⁶ *VS*, p. 489.

⁷ Dio 69. 3. 4: *καταλύειν ἐπεχείρει*. On the papyrus *De Exilio* and its problems see above p. 36.



