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must have done it. But when? At the end of the reign, perhaps. Philostratus' report of the Athenians' overturning a bronze statue of Favorinus could belong not—as he says it does—to the aftermath of an immunity appeal.¹ Favorinus certainly abandoned that appeal, and it therefore seems hardly sufficient justification for the Athenians' action.

In the case of Dionysius of Miletus, Dio produces the odd report that Hadrian tried to overthrow him too, along with Favorinus.² Yet Philostratus signals specially Hadrian's favour to Dionysius and mentions that the emperor appointed him satrap of eminent peoples, an item which was confirmed and clarified by the discovery of an inscription at Ephesus identifying him as a procurator.³ Is Dio's report totally muddled, or has he preserved some intimation of an unpleasant fact? The existence of the Favorinus papyrus has forced disquieting reflections about Hadrian and the sophists.

To summarize, in four cases (those of Heliodorus, Eudaemon, Favorinus, and Dionysius) there is reason to assume the emperor's favour *and* his hostility. Possibly in those last desperate years that saw the suicide of Servianus and other unpleasantness Hadrian turned upon certain of the greater sophists.⁴ With them one could subjoin the historian Arrian, abandoning Rome in the last years of Hadrian's life after a brilliant career under that very emperor.⁵ There remains a difficulty: Heliodorus was installed as prefect of Egypt before Hadrian died, but perhaps not long before. And he remained in office for several years under Pius, to be followed directly by another fallen sophist, Valerius Eudaemon. The

¹ *VS*, p. 490. Since Speech 37 in the corpus of Dio of Prusa is commonly accepted as the work of Favorinus (cf. A. Barigazzi, *Opere: Favorino di Arelate* [1966], pp. 298 ff.), it is relevant to note that the speech is devoted to reproaching the Corinthians for removal of a bronze statue which they had erected in the speaker's honour.

² Dio 69. 3. 4.

³ *VS*, p. 524: *σατράπην . . . οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἐθνῶν*. The inscription: J. Keil, *JÖAI* 40 (1953), 6, *ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*, probably of a province of middling importance. Keil proposed Raetia.

⁴ On Hadrian's last years, see R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958), ii. 600–1, and H.-G. Pflaum, *Historia-Augusta Colloquium Bonn 1963* (1964), pp. 91 ff.

⁵ *PIR*², F 219. Arrian was consul in 128 or 129, subsequently legate of Cappadocia. Under the Antonines he evidently lived in Athens, where he was archon in 145/6.

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